

Keeping the Past Present: Representations of Ming Dynasty Gardens

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Larry and Sally Brash (rest in peace), to my children, and to my husband, F. Roshan Ditter.

Abstract

Keeping the Past Present: Representations of Ming Dynasty Gardens

This study analyzes representations of Ming dynasty (1368- 1644) gardens. It argues that rather than documenting the physical gardens as static artifacts, gardens and representations of gardens have been used to reference and comment upon the past as a way of identifying with a larger community of scholars past and present, and as a method of instructing the present. In order to both create and read the layers of allusions embedded in these gardens and their representations, one must be conversant in Chinese history, literature, and art. This dissertation exposes how certain types of images of the garden were moved from the archive to the canon (as defined by Aleida Assman) to motif, and it demonstrates the relationship between memory, identity construction, and this shift.

The creation of archetypes (such as Tao Qian's "Peach Blossom Spring" or Wang Wei's *Wangchuan*) builds the archive. Some images/gardens have moved from the archive into the canon and back again, like Sima Guang's *Garden of Solitary Delight*. The two *Garden of the Humble Administrator* albums by Wen Zhengming demonstrate a shift in style and in models; they foreshadow how some elements are foregrounded and others move closer to becoming motif. In an examination of blue-and-white porcelain, I show how these forms were significantly reduced and their visibility then significantly increased: gardens can move from canon to motif. The epilogue examines three new Chinese-style gardens in the US and elucidates the difficulties of creating these re-presentations for viewers who may not grasp the allusions. The visual and written texts examined in this project were invested in keeping the past present in their own time.

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B. Wen Zhengming, *The Locust Pavilion*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

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List of Notations

1. I will follow the Chinese practice of presenting Chinese names with the surname first.
2. I will use pinyin Romanization except when quoting from a source that uses a different Romanization system or when the named individual has indicated a preferred form of spelling his/her name that is not pinyin.

Introduction

Although garden building in China is a practice that is thousands of years old, most of the surviving Chinese gardens are not plots of land demarcated by architectural elements, but are instead arrangements of words inked on paper or shapes painted on silk or paper or porcelain. The physical gardens have been the casualties of wars, neglect, and destruction. Many of these gardens have been reconstructed at various points in history. Over many centuries, scholars have not only written records, poems, and essays about these garden, they also painted representations of them. This body of work was not concerned with documenting the gardens with maps drawn to scale or precise descriptions of the layout and contents of the gardens; it was concerned with a different sort of knowledge. I will argue that rather than documenting the physical gardens as static artifacts, these scholars were more interested in using gardens and representations of gardens to reference and comment upon the past as a way of identifying with a larger community of scholars past and present, and as a method of instructing the present. My study particularly focuses on the mid-sixteenth century, during the middle of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), since this is a well-documented time of prolific garden building and social change. A great deal of research has been done on the gardens and on the texts about gardens of this period. Although I will examine characteristics of different styles and media, the focus of this dissertation will be the role of visual representations of gardens in forming identities and communities for the scholars who created them.

Review of Literature

Since the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911, there has been an interest in making the gardens and other cultural artifacts more accessible to the Chinese people and to the rest of the world. Scholars interested in Chinese gardens have come from a variety of disciplines: architecture, landscape architecture, art, art history, history, botany, etc. In his 1999 article “Longing and Belonging in Chinese Garden History” Stanislaus Fung divides modern scholarship of Chinese gardens into three periods of high productivity: the work of Japanese scholars in the 1930s (he particularly mentions the works of Oka Oji and Sugimura Yuzo) that compiled a methodical, chronological narrative of Chinese garden history; the prolific works of Chinese scholars in the 1980s (such as Zhang Jiaji and Zhou Weiquan); and the work of more recent scholars around the world (he mentions Wang Yi in particular).¹

I would add to that list several others, starting with Osvald Siren’s *Gardens of China* of 1949. Siren’s narrative is the story of art from a formalist perspective. The garden is art and art is the transcendental hero, a “work of the creative imagination.” Art is contrasted to Nature and its “slavish” imitations. In his first chapter, Siren lays out his argument for defining Chinese gardens as works of art and then dissects the garden into its various elements: mountains and water, flowers and trees, architectural elements. Next he looks at other forms of art depicting gardens. The latter half of the book is devoted to extant gardens. His work is problematic in that it is very Eurocentric and is particularly orientalist in its treatment of “the Chinese garden” as something

¹ Stanislaus Fung, “Longing and Belong in Chinese Garden History,” in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999: 206-207.

static, timeless, eternal. However, it has an emphasis on formal elements that is often far less developed in more recent scholarship.

Maggie Keswick's *The Chinese Garden: History, Art, and Architecture*, first written in 1978, is a very broad, popular, accessible, but not well-documented history of the Chinese garden based primarily on her personal observations of the gardens in a time when most Westerners did not have access to them. Keswick is more interested in the relationship between Chinese civilization and the garden – the garden as a place to live rather than an object for contemplation. Like Siren, she privileges the Westerner viewer as being “outside” the Chinese context although she repeatedly acknowledges this and Siren does not. Both imply that Chinese viewers would understand the gardens by virtue of being born in China.

The prolific work of Chen Congzhou of the mid-late twentieth century clearly indicates that this assumption was not true. His work documents the extant gardens and discusses issues of reconstruction and is addressed to both the specialist and non-specialist Chinese audience. A series of his essays was recently translated into English which will increase the audience of his holistic approach.

More recently, Craig Clunas has written a number of solidly researched works related to Chinese gardens, most notably his 1996 *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*. In it, he attempts to comprehend the garden from a variety of perspectives: economic, aesthetic, political, social. His story is taking the study of the Chinese garden out of Orientalist essentialism and bringing it to a postmodern discursive space. His is a story of progress, not of the story of the garden or the rise and fall of the civilization that created it, but it is rather a story of our progress in our studies

of the garden. He argues that the visual story is not the only story. As a result, formal analysis is neglected in his work. However, his contributions to our understanding of texts and social relationships are significant.

Although there is a growing body of literature, Stanislaus Fung noted that “[t]he study of the role of visual images in the historiography of Chinese gardens is a much neglected topic”² Many of the scholars above and others involved in reconstructions of gardens frequently cite the textual records of these gardens (which in their original form were often accompanied by paintings), but there has been very little work specifically with images. This study attempts to answer Fung’s call and to address this gap.

This dissertation will reveal representations of Chinese gardens as an evolution of archetypes that become widely adopted as the Chinese literati become the arbiters of taste and culture. These archetypes span time and space to create a shared memory and identity for self-styled morally upright scholar recluses. Identification with these archetypes produces an “imagined community”³ of scholarly gentlemen. By choosing the garden as subject matter and by choosing specific formats, styles, and techniques, an artist or author represents scholarly culture in a code that was comprehensible initially only to members of a highly educated elite; however, as the economic tide shifted in the Ming dynasty, the function and audience of these images broadened. In other words,

² Stanislaus Fung, “Longing and Belong in Chinese Garden History,” in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999: 208.

³ This term was originated by Benedict Anderson in his book, *Imagined Communities*. Although Anderson’s focus is on the creation of modern nations as “imagined communities,” the basic principles apply to a group like this as well. As in Anderson’s nation, most members of this group never actually see each other or have any tangible bond with one another; rather, they identify with one another by identifying themselves as members of the same “imagined” community. They participate in the state-run educational system, memorize and write the official histories, use the same language, and as I will discuss, create and are created by the media of their times.

gardens and their representations frequently functioned as an archive of references to Chinese history and art; usually these references were allusions to scholarly culture. As a particular figure gained currency, these visual references became part of an elite canon. Sometimes they become so ubiquitous and stylized that the reference becomes a motif that loses its original significance. My contribution exposes how certain types of images of the garden were transformed from being historical (archive) to being elite (canon) to being popular (motif), and it demonstrates the relationship between memory, identity construction, and this shift. This necessarily entails the examination of a range of forms, formats, and media.

Canon, Archive, Forgetting

As I began to comprehend the enormous history of garden imagery in China, I kept referring to the gardens and their representations as archives. There was so much knowledge stored there. The nature of an archive is that it can span time and space to create a shared memory and identity. Texts are written, pictures are painted, memories are created, and these texts, pictures, and memories might be worthy of preservation and so they are kept until needed again. Some archives are private, others are open to a broader group of users. I could also see these memories and images being reduced and transformed into motifs over time and was trying to articulate that process when I encountered a brief translation of some work by German cultural theorist Aleida Assman. She notes:

If we concede that forgetting is the normality of personal and cultural life, then remembering is the exception The institutions of active

memory preserve the *past as present* while the institutions of passive memory preserve the *past as past*. The tension between the pastness of the past and its presence is an important key to understanding the dynamics of cultural memory.⁴

She goes on to assign the term “archive” to stored memory and “canon” to the “actively circulated memory that keeps the past present.”⁵ She sees a need to make “archive” more practical and less of a trope and so reclaims it from Foucault: “The archive is the basis of what can be said in the future about the present when it will have become the past”⁶

Her use of “archive” is very like what I had found in this material and the idea of “canon” helped me to articulate the shift in how the images and allusions and memories I was seeing were stored and activated. However, I would add the notion of “motif” since in this material there seems to be a state between “canon” and “forgetting” in which the memories have been reduced to a broad collective version, simplified for a diverse audience. The original memories are no longer present, but the meanings ascribed to them are not wholly forgotten. In a sense, the motif is a form of being forgotten since the original meaning and context is lost and the role of the image is largely decorative.

⁴ Aleida Assman, “From ‘Canon and Archive’” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzdy-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011: 335. This short summary of her work articulated succinctly the relationship I have seen in the materials I have been researching. I had been using the idea of an “archive” for many years but have now added her term “canon” and became more sensitive to modes of “forgetting.”

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

The feeling of the past in the present permeates much of what the artists of mid-sixteenth century China recorded in writing and image. This aesthetic relies to a great extent on cultural memory.⁷ Many scholars have already begun to address this in different ways. For instance, Clunas' *Fruitful Sites* provides insightful analysis of many texts and objects. However, it does not fully address the contributions of the images of gardens to our understanding of this period and to our understanding of the function of gardens, not just as spaces in the physical world, but as cultural archives of a particular group. Not only did garden-building flourish, as Joanna Handlin-Smith discusses in her article, "Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan,"⁸ but creating images of gardens also flourishes in the sixteenth century, in the middle of the Ming dynasty.

What is a garden?

Before I can answer my questions, "What role do these images play in creating the literati identity? And what role do they play in creating history and memory?" I must first answer seemingly more straightforward questions, such as "What is a Chinese garden?"

Defining the garden setting was a challenge as some of the paintings look much like any other landscape painting but for the title. It became clear that the concept "garden" transcends the physically prescribed space. It is, in a very real sense, a state of

⁷ I use this term as described by Jan Assmann in "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 125-133, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/488538>.

⁸ Joanna F. Handlin Smith, "Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 51, No. 1 (1992): 55-81, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2058347>.

mind. Since gardens are the harmonious integration of humankind and the natural world, an image of a garden might sometimes be the idealized vision of a human in a landscape – the very idea that the garden was to evoke. Sometimes there are images of the human in what is a clearly garden setting. Other times the human is in a less cultivated landscape. Humans did not need to be present either. Sometimes a view such as might be seen in the garden is presented. It becomes clear that connotation is valued more than denotation; even when a specific site is depicted, it is done so as a creative, allusive imagining rather than a mimetic replication.

There is not a genre category of “garden painting” in Chinese art history. A constellation of factors contribute to the reading of a particular image as a representation of a garden. There may be visual allusions to past gardens or figures associated with gardens or the accompanying text may indicate that it was painted as recollection of a particular garden or moment in a garden. Since one of the purposes of a garden was to transport the viewer into a landscape, sometimes these representations present this ideal rather than the enclosed cultivated reality and the visual cue may be very subtle. An image of a flower or fruit or tree or rock also references a garden, although these images are typically classed in their own genres and I will not address them here.

Osvald Siren also noted a similar pattern when he divided the landscapes of Wen Zhengming into two groups: one in which the human element is more important than the scenery and the other in which the human element is absorbed into the

surrounding landscape.⁹ Siren places images with “scholars’ gardens with thatched huts for meditation and tea-drinking, mountain retreats” and images with scholars “talking of the past by candle-light, or writing poems” in the first category. He also notes that these images range in date from 1520 and “culminate” in the *Dule Yuan (Garden of Solitary Delight)* of 1558¹⁰ (the latter is the focus of Chapter 2). He remarks that the second group contains few if any garden views, no pavilions, no place for guests, and often not any humans at all.¹¹ Siren gives one example of this but does not elaborate with further examples or with comments on the dating. The example that he does give overlaps in date with the previous group (it was painted 1527-1531),¹² so presumably Siren is noting that Wen was working with multiple subjects at this time. It is interesting to note the dates of the former group since this project is largely focused on those decades (1530s-1550s). There seems to be a particular interest in picturing the garden in this period and it seems to be when the garden becomes canonized. This interest carries over into later periods, but in a much less subtle manner, eventually relegating the garden to a motif.

In Clunas’s *Fruitful Sites*, he examines a multitude of texts and finds a plethora of terms that can mean “garden” in English. In the texts that he studied there are many kinds of garden areas – some we would call parks or orchards. He notes that all areas covered by these terms include the idea of an enclosure. As noted above, there are frequently fences, hedges, balustrades, and walls in the garden images.

⁹ Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles, Volume IV*, NY: Hacker Art Books, Inc., 1973, pg. 182.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

This idea of an enclosure – wall, fence, hedge – is not limited to the garden in China. This idea could go even further. The word for China, *Zhongguo* (middle kingdom) illustrates this larger application. The written character for “kingdom” is a wall with a mouth and a weapon inside – the very identity of “China” is that which is inside the enclosure. In China, kingdoms have walls, cities have walls, the courtyard homes have walls. If the garden is a microcosm of the cosmos, it too would need an enclosure.

The only essential element in a garden image is some hint of the human (although it need not actually include a human figure). It might be overt – a large fence surrounding a pavilion. It could be more subtle – a hint of a balustrade blending in with some stones. Occasionally it might be quite ambiguous – a view from on high, as though one were standing on a viewing terrace. What traces of humanity are expected or customary in a garden image and the amount of subtlety used in their depiction undergoes a shift in the mid-sixteenth century.

Overview

This exploration does not take the form of a monograph. Rather than looking at all the images of one garden over time or the work of just one artist or analyzing one format or style, I instead look more broadly in order to illuminate how meaning is created and changed and in the creation of and in response to these images. The middle of the sixteenth century is a time of change in many aspects of the culture, and I situate the study in this time period to examine the meaning of these works against the cultural backdrop in which they were created.

Chapter 1 will demonstrate how some popular archetypes originated and how they moved from the archive to the canon. It will also explore the concept of past and the role of memory. First it will define the boundaries of this work by framing the use of the past – memory and history – in a general way before applying it to specific images. Then it will examine what will become two of the earliest and most pervasive elements of the canon: Tao Qian’s “Peach Blossom Spring” and Wang Wei’s *Wangchuan Villa* - archetypes that persist even today.

Chapter 2 will analyze two images of the *Garden of Solitary Delight (Dule Yuan)*, both painted in the mid-sixteenth century by Wen Zhengming and Qiu Ying, the eleventh-century text on which these images are based, and a much older image that may be contemporaneous with the text. The garden chosen is not one that is among the standard repertoire; it is not from the recent canon. In analyzing the move of this particular theme from the archive into the canon, its function is illuminated which sheds light on the larger shift in garden culture seen at this time.

Chapter 3 focuses on two albums of paintings of the *Garden of the Humble Administrator* created by Wen Zhengming nearly 20 years apart. The two albums by the prolific Wen Zhengming demonstrate a shift in style and shift in models and foreshadow how some elements are foregrounded for the canon and others move closer to the archive. It also elucidates the dangers of relying on images in reconstructing extant gardens.

Chapter 4 continues this examination of which elements were essential to reading an image as a garden image in the middle of the Ming dynasty and the codification of some of these elements to suit a popular medium: blue-and-white

ceramics. In applying this content to a new medium, the form is significantly reduced and its visibility is significantly increased.

The epilogue continues the move forward to the present by reflecting on how representations of these gardens are still fully engaged in this process of memory and forgetting. It exposes the perils of translating “classical” Chinese gardens for an audience that lacks the cultural memory needed to understand the allusions. Although the word “authentic” is liberally used at these sites, I will demonstrate the misapplication of that term.

Chapter 1 Archiving the Garden

Gardens perform as a part of a code of antiquity in China; these codes serve in part to identify the members of particular groups while at the same time forming them. The persistence of antiquity in cultural memory applies to specific representations of the garden. What was worthy of recollection? Who was worthy of recollection? What is in the archive? The role of Chinese gardens as a code of antiquity established an origin story for a unified scholar-recluse identity which later became a trope for an orthodox Chinese identity. At times the garden serves as a visual archive: particular views or names of sites reference a particular landscape, painting, poem, or person of the past. At the same time, when the viewer engages with the view or the site name, the reference becomes active, a part of the present. Paintings of gardens also perform in this way but also add the additional layer of referencing the past through brushwork modeled after a particular artist.

Memory

Although Chinese gardens are frequently referred to as microcosms of Chinese culture, there has been little analysis of how this actually works and this assumption is rarely questioned. By using the metaphor of the archive (which is a repository of history/memory that may be actively engaged or forgotten), it is possible to expose some of these processes. In his book *Elegant Debts*, which illuminates the social networks of Wen Zhengming, Craig Clunas delves into the textual and visual archives (although he strongly favors the textual). Two incidents that he addresses include

references to artworks and are particularly informative for this project. Clunas is using these incidents as examples to demonstrate both what Wen Zhengming's social network was and how it was created. I would add to his perceptive analysis another layer to also reveal how these artworks act as repositories for and instigators of memory.

In 1531, Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) saw a piece of calligraphy that he had seen in the company of his calligraphy teacher, Li Yingzhen, forty years earlier. Like many students, he had the humbling realization that what his teacher had "said about the work's quality was true, even if he did not grasp it at the time."¹³ He saw this piece of calligraphy when he was a student, then he did not see it again for 40 years – he had seemingly forgotten it. Since the work was preserved, he was able to see it again, as a mature artist. When Wen found this piece in his memory, he did not recall the art itself, but rather what his teacher had said and what his reaction to his teacher had been.¹⁴ He adds to the potential archive by writing on it. Hundreds of years later, Clunas uses this bit of the archive and the annotation to demonstrate the importance of having teachers with social connections to art collectors since a young student would otherwise not have the opportunity to study much art.¹⁵

Another way of reading this record would be that Wen not only remembered what his teacher said and how his own perceptions had changed, but he also decided that this memory and this shift in perception were worth recording on the piece of

¹³ Summarized from Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming, 1470-1559*, London, UK: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2004: 36. He indicates he used Zhou Daozhen's WZMJ II p 1330.

¹⁴ This is a good example of what Maurice Halbwachs, the father of memory studies, would call "social" or "collective" memory. For a more detailed discussion of this see his works: *On Collective Memory* (which is a confusing title – in English it should be *The Social Frameworks of Memory*) translated by Edward Coser, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992 and *The Collective Memory*, translated by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter, New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1980.

¹⁵ Clunas, *Elegant Debts*, 36.

calligraphy that had inspired them. Wen honors his teacher's memory, which is the proper Confucian attitude. He also acknowledges his own now-elevated role in his presumption to write on the older artwork. In linking himself to this perceptive teacher, Wen also demonstrates his presumably desirable connection to the past.

A second illustration of Wen recording his connections to the past occurs when he sees a painting done by his painting master, Shen Zhou, called *Ox-herding*:

I recall this as a work done in past years, when I was pupil at his gate, more than forty years ago, and I never thought that I would manage to see it in the family collection of Liwen, something which causes me overpowering emotion. The master has departed this life, and I am old and withered; in truth the years cannot be stayed for, but the place where he lodged his intention is still here – surely this encounter with it was predestined.¹⁶

This work was in the collection of the Xing family and Wen expressed surprise that he was able to see it. Once again, the painting resonates and stirs his memory and emotion. In addition to the proper Confucian respect for a teacher, he reveals genuine feeling (which is unusual for him). Clunas also aptly suggests that Wen's colophons of this type were likely valued not only because he was a well-known calligrapher and painter, but also because he was essentially authenticating the works for the current owner.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ibid. 39. Clunas also found this in Zhou Daozhen's WZMJ II p 1374.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Clunas additionally notes the “continued agency of the work after the death of its creator”¹⁸ This is the work of the archive once more – the preservation of ideas to be retrieved into conscious thought at a later time. In this case, the archive is semi-private – an individual owns the piece and could consign it to oblivion, but he does not. He shares it and thus triggers Wen’s memory and additional annotation. Once again Wen is annotating the archive and demonstrating his connection to the past and particularly his connection to his well-known teacher. As Clunas notes, these connections give Wen legitimacy and lineage beyond his family and shape his identity as an artist. At the same time, they hint that he already saw himself as part of the past in a future present – by recording his thoughts, he implied a future reader. At that imagined point in time for him (and actual present for us), his annotation will be a part of the archive and he will not perhaps exist in memory any longer.

In 1540, Wen painted *Landscape with Trees, Rocks, and Water* and added a colophon stating that he had copied a painting of his master, Shen Zhou (1427-1509), who had in turn based his work on an original by Wu Zhen (1280-1354). The inscription goes on to give a more detailed account of his memory of the image done by his master. Wen lamented, “How can I bear this feeling of the past in the present . . . as the present looks upon the past so will the future look upon the present.”¹⁹ Wen brushed this poignant thought while contemplating a work he had done while Shen was still alive. By the time he made this notation, Wen Zhengming alone remained. Yet he

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The colophon can be read at the British Museum’s website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=269795&partid=1&searchText=1540+Wen+Zhengming&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1 .

does not seem wholly alone, gazing upon a painting which is embedded with the spirit of his master and his master's master. Time was not linear in that moment; both past and present simultaneously existed in his memory and in the painting.

In each of the three examples above, the accretion of memory and meaning through repetition is like a pearl forming; once sufficient layers have accumulated, a bit of sand is transformed into a pearl. The individual bits of history, memory, and allusion found in the visual archive are just grains of sand without this layering. This type of accretion is very similar to what happens in other kinds of images in imperial China. For instance, gardens were often designed by and for viewers with a very specific education in the Chinese classics and in the history of Chinese art. Multiple layers of allusion were understood by these viewers.²⁰

The references alluded to in gardens and in representations of gardens are not usually as personal as the ones that Wen Zhengming creates in the examples above, but these examples do clearly illustrate how an image can activate a memory and result in a new annotation which also carries over into the building, naming, and imaging of gardens. In garden imagery, these allusions are frequently connected to men of the past who lived as recluses or who refused to serve in office, men that the artist would only have known through the reading of texts and the viewing of other images.

Tao Qian's "Peach Blossom Spring"

²⁰ A slightly different version of this paragraph and the preceding paragraph appear as the opening to my article, "Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-first Century America: Cultivating the Past," *ASIANetwork Exchange*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Fall 2011): 17. Creative Commons copyright.

There are dozens of these recluses. One particularly popular figure who retains currency even today is the Daoist poet, Tao Qian (365-427), who is also known by his given name, Tao Yuanming. In his tongue-in-cheek autobiography, “Biography of Master Five Willows,” done in a parody of the conventional style, Tao notes that “[n]o one knows where he came from. His given and literary names are also a mystery. But we know there were five willows growing beside his house, which is why he used this name.”²¹ The literary and given names are not significant identifiers here, rather, it is a particular landscape - in this case, five willow trees - that signify the man. For centuries to come, the image of five willows in a poem or painting may be read as a method to link a contemporary work to the past, to Tao Qian.

In his poems, Tao Qian often mentions working the land, and in some cases, even identifies himself as a farmer. One untitled poem begins, “I couldn’t want another life. This is my / true calling, working the fields and mulberries / with my own two hands . . .”²² In these moments, the land is not only an aesthetic space, but also an economic space. He still connects himself directly to the land, but maintains his scholarly identity by trying to articulate his experiences as a farmer and record them in poetry. Tens of thousands of Chinese men have worked fields and mulberries, but only an educated few, like Tao Qian, have captured these experiences in words. This becomes an ideal in later times – being both connected to the land and writing or painting about it.

²¹ David Hinton, *The Selected Poems of T’ao Ch’ien*, Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 1993: 13.

²² Hinton 36.

Tao Qian had also served as an official, although he was not particularly ambitious. In the preface to his “Back Home Again Chant,” Tao Qian explains that he took his last post due to outside pressure when his farming was not very successful. Once in office, he was filled with self-disgust and longed for home. When his younger sister died, he “escaped, leaving [his] duties behind.”²³ He held the post for a mere eighty days; an incident that over time earned him the admiration of many generations of disillusioned scholars.

Within the poem itself, although Tao Qian establishes himself as a retiring official, he is not wholly alone nor utterly desolate. Servants and children greet him at the gate, and his estate although “cramped,” is still large enough to contain a garden. The garden is not discussed in terms of profit (an economic focus), but rather as a place to stroll (an aesthetic purpose).²⁴ This connection of the garden to the personality of the owner is much older than some recent scholarship indicates. He further emphasizes the connection of the garden to his identity by including stopping “to pull weeds in the gardens” as one of the activities he dreams of doing on his journey to his “final home.”²⁵ In this poem, he is the unhappy scholar retiring contentedly to his garden, which is not quite the same as his presentation of himself as a farmer and the land as a form of economic sustenance in other poems. His scholarly disillusionment and connection to his land resonate even today.

Also of particular significance to this examination, Tao Qian’s story “Peach Blossom Spring” is one of the earliest and most repeated images of the recluse-scholar.

²³ Hinton 32.

²⁴ Hinton 33.

²⁵ Hinton 33-34.

The narrative of the story does not contain a scholar, rather it is the persona of the scholarly author embedded in the text that is so treasured. In the narrative of the story itself, a fisherman floats into a gorgeous peach orchard and in trying to ascertain its size, stumbles upon a small agricultural community that has been isolated from the outside world since the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE). The village is filled with familiar sights: houses, fields, ponds, dikes, paths, mulberries, bamboo, roosters, dogs, beans, millet. In a very Confucian way, Tao assigns order by age, by species, by seasons – everything knows its place and function. The villagers fled the ravages of the Qin and become one of the earliest representations of recluses. In this happy, agrarian land, no one has heard of the Han (206 BCE-220 CE), the Wei (220-265), or Tao's own time - the Jin (265-420) - nor does anyone even bother to read.

The parallels between the Warring States and Qin periods and the Six Dynasties and Jin periods are striking and suggest a veiled criticism by Tao Qian of the then-current Jin government. Through this story, he validates his own choice to be a recluse by indicating that he did so in protest of the government, inspiring generations of others to follow suit and cast off the chains of service to an unworthy, beastly government. In fact, all elements of control, outside of nature itself, have been removed; time is marked by the changing of the seasons. Tao Qian suggests to his audience that government control is inherently corrupt and that living in harmony with nature's laws, as opposed to man's laws, is the key to happiness.

Despite the scenes of plenty and joy before him, the fisherman in the story yearns to return to his world. He is allowed to do so, but is asked not to speak of this place. Instead of keeping his promise, he marches straight to the prefect of his town and

tells him everything. All attempts to relocate the village fail. Even a famous recluse is denied access. By denying both political and spiritual leaders access to the wonderful village, Tao implies that both would eventually betray the natural order.

Tao's persona is embedded in the text, but not only in the parallel between him and the villagers fleeing distasteful governments. He was also like the fisherman: he almost did not make it back from the intrigues of office. So the story is also almost autobiographical, but Tao is not the fisherman, he makes other choices. These choices become the ideal repeated again and again in later references to this story. Unlike the conventional utopian story, there is no redemption for the fisherman, nor for us, by our association with him. The story may even be read as a sort of morality test for the readers: Are we disappointed in the fisherman? What would we have done?²⁶

Whatever our response, Tao's message is ultimately pessimistic. He even ends the prose portion of the story with a challenge: "Since then, no one's asked the Way."²⁷

The implied question to the reader is, "Do *you* need to ask the way?"

Tao Qian concludes the prose story with a condensed version in verse. He closes the poem with the lines:

how I long to rise into thin air and
ride the wind in search of my own kind.²⁸

The poet longs for the apotheosis of a Daoist sage becoming a *xian*. He argues persuasively for personal freedom and liberty. More importantly, he yearns to join others who have left the dust of the world behind. This longing and yearning for "my

²⁶ This reading was first suggested to me by Professor Robert Poor.

²⁷ Hinton 73.

²⁸ Hinton 73.

own kind” becomes an integral part of later recluses’ stories. Even when there is not a direct reference to Tao, this notion of being separate, of standing alone is essential. And through the separation from the present distasteful circumstance, there is the implication of a connection to “my own kind” of the past.

In his own time, Tao’s writing was not popular; it was not until the eighth century that the individuality of his works gained attention.²⁹ Since the enlightened poets of the Tang (618-907) rediscovered Tao’s poeticized desire for a community of like-minded discontents, literati have been clamoring to join the club. In the twelfth century, the great poets of the Song Dynasty were impressed with the uncluttered homeliness of his style.³⁰ For a sixteenth-century example, let us turn to a long handscroll painting by Qiu Ying (about 1492-about 1552) c. 1540s (see Figure 1.1). It is painted in the Tang dynasty blue-and-green manner from nearly a millennium before Qiu’s time. Not only is the subject, Tao Qian’s story, a venerable one, but it is depicted using an ancient manner of painting as well. On the left edge of the bottom detail, we see the fisherman meandering up the stream. Throughout the foreground of the scroll, peach trees are in bloom, so we know that this is not just any old fisherman. Every element of the story is depicted: we see the fisherman enter a cave and we see the rice paddies and farm animals in the secret valley (see Figure 1.2). Qiu uses the stylized malachite and azurite mountains to frame each segment of the story into a neat space cell, until the end of the scroll where we see a figure, facing a waterfall, unable to find his way back and unable to move forward (see Figure 1.3). The mountain is abruptly cut off – the viewer and the figure are both prevented further access to the idyllic land.

²⁹ Hinton 7-8.

³⁰ Hinton 7-8.

In order to create and appreciate the scroll, the artist and patron would have been familiar with details of Tao's story. By owning such a scroll, the collector "owns" the story and creates a personal archive within which Tao resides (along with the rest of his collection). The collector may even believe he answers Tao's call. Tao creates and then becomes an archetype of the endangered official who retires from the world when its dust threatens to suffocate him. Although it was not in his lifetime, his wish for a community was eventually granted. He became (and remains) a member of a pantheon of venerated recluses, scholars, and retired officials.

Wang Wei's *Wangchuan Villa*

One of the first to join Tao's imagined community was the Tang poet, painter, and official, Wang Wei (active 699-759). Wang put Tao's "Peach Blossom Spring" into verse and he then referenced it in many of his other poems. He is one of the first to include these repeated references to "Peach Blossom Spring" in his own work, and so he was quite possibly instrumental to its becoming a symbol and then an archetype of the reclusive life. In Wang Wei's version, the fisherman leaves paradise for the filial reason of returning to his family who had been left behind. In other words, he leaves paradise to uphold his (Confucian) duties to his family. They cannot follow him to paradise, so he must return. This is an important departure from Tao's version since it creates a more sympathetic character out of the fisherman; he is a good Confucian man who understands his duty to his family. He does not tell anyone else of his adventure, but is still unable to return because

When spring comes, everywhere

there are peach blossom streams
 No one can tell which may be
 the spring of paradise.³¹

Wang's interpretation is inflected by his strong Buddhist beliefs: the myriad of peach blossom streams is just a mirage. The fisherman cannot return, not because he has betrayed the villagers (as in Tao's version), but because as an unenlightened being, he cannot pierce the veil of illusion. There is still room for hope in Wang's translation: there is the implication that once one can see through the illusion, one can reach paradise. Perhaps we are not always already corrupt, but merely in need of enlightenment. Even as he connects himself to the past by establishing the archetypal nature of Peach Blossom Spring, he asserts his individuality by inserting the overtly Buddhist tone.

Wang's professional path closely mirrors that of Tao. He also had a modest career as an official and weathered some tremendous shifts in politics (for instance, the An Lushan Rebellion). However, a more significant parallel between Wang and Tao is their shared affection for their gardens and their practice of each of writing about his garden. Wang's writings were more detailed than Tao's general references to a relatively nonspecific place. Instead Wang's habit was to meditate on the various sites/sights in his garden at Wangchuan Villa. These meditations were poetically inscribed on a long handscroll onto which he also painted the corresponding images of his garden. Wang is credited with creating the handscroll format of landscape painting,

³¹ G. W. Robinson, *Poems of Wang Wei*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Classics, 1973: 36.

and this episodic tour of his garden also becomes the template on which subsequent representations of gardens are based.

This nearly-mythical scroll no longer exists in the physical world. All that remain are written records and descriptions of it, as well as some translations into stone, painted images, and other languages. The poems lead the reader through a series of twenty views, focusing on quiet interactions with nature. The world of humans is not wholly left behind; it is sometimes heard from a distance or figures are vaguely seen from across a lake or thoughts turn to the actions of heroes. As a result, the garden appears to be a retreat from the mundane, human world to an almost sacred, paradise-like nature. The first and last poems provide a frame of immortality:

Meng Wall Hollow

New home near this Meng Wall
 Old trees – some dying willows still –
 And who will live here in the future
 To grieve vainly for him that was here before?³²

Pepper Garden

A cassia cup to welcome the Child of God
 Wild herbs to offer to the lovely girl
 Libation of pepper sauce on the jewelled mats
 All to draw down the Lord Within the clouds.³³

³² Robinson 27.

³³ Robinson 32.

The first poem is written from the entirely human point of view, lamenting the loss of the previous inhabitant and the inevitable loss of Wang himself while memorializing them both. The “dying willows” may also be an oblique attempt to canonize Tao Qian (Master Five Willows) while acknowledging that his work had been forgotten for some time. The last poem provides a joyful call to the divine spirits to descend,³⁴ which suggests to the reader that the garden is liminal and not truly of either the human or immortal world. Between these two poems, as one traverses Wang’s literary garden the human element is intermittent, but ultimately recedes until one is left with the descending immortals.

Wang often juxtaposed the secular, outside world with scenes of enlightenment³⁵ or merging with nature. One of the most translated poems, “Deer Park” is customarily interpreted as illustrating this tendency:

Empty mountain: don’t see anyone
 Yet hear someone’s words: sounds, echoes.
 Returning shadow enters the deep forest,
 Returning light greens the moss, rising . . .³⁶

Although the speaker is not able to see any humans, still the sounds of humanity penetrate his retreat. Despite this, the power of nature surrounding him enables him to

³⁴ Robinson reads the last poem as a pastiche of lines from the *Elegies of Chu* (33).

³⁵ Wang was a devoted Buddhist.

³⁶ This is my translation, but I owe the idea to use more than one meaning for *xiang* to Gary Snyder as discussed by Eliot Weinberger in *Nineteen Ways to Read Wang Wei: How a Chinese Poem is translated* (Mt. Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell Limited, 1987): 43; and for the idea to translate *shang* as it would have been used in the Tang dynasty, as ‘rising’, I owe Peter A. Boodberg, as discussed in Weinberger, page 51. I realize that *qing* is usually not translated as a verb, but I did so to preserve the parallelism in the break in the last two lines occurring after the second character. The alternative is to make *ru* a noun: “Returning shadows at the entrance of the deep forest / Returning light on the green moss, rising.” This alternative seems more awkward to me and lacks the idea that the light alters the viewer’s perception of the moss, which seems to be more in keeping with the change in consciousness required in Buddhist enlightenment.

achieve a momentary enlightenment, as symbolized by the light revealing the true color of the moss – the flash of color in a darkening forest like the flash of insight in a quiet mind.

A second, less common, reading finds a matching parallel in the second and fourth lines for the parallel between not being able to see anyone in the first line and the encroaching darkness of the third line. If the flash of color/enlightenment is seen as the happy result of both darkness and light, what is the happy result of not seeing, but hearing? Since many of the other twenty poems in this record of Wangchuan Villa reference other political failures/recluses, then perhaps not being in office, not being surrounded by people one can see, grants one the clarity to hear the wiser, quieter, voices of the past echoing in the garden.

Wang's voice has also been passed down, though more faintly, in copies of the painting that was once an integral part of these poems. Unfortunately, one of the oldest copies left is an anonymous painting from the Ming dynasty, which is supposed to have been based on a copy Wang Wei's original (Figures 1.4-1.8). The anonymous Ming painter copied *Wangchuan Villa* based on a 10th century copy by Guo Zhongshu (c. 910-977?), and used a Tang dynasty manner and colors similar to those of Qiu Ying in the previously discussed *Peach Blossom Spring*. In this version, *Wangchuan Villa* is shown as a series of scenes surrounded by mountains and water; these are sights in a Chinese landscape, with labels to help the viewer connect the particular view with the corresponding poem. The artist establishes his possession of the landscape by displaying incredible detail from impossible, bird's-eye-view vantage points, and he simultaneously distances the unworthy viewer from getting too close. The plethora of

detail implies an intimate knowledge of the site. This method of display also nicely matches Wang Wei's tendency in his poems both to acknowledge and reject the mundane world, for just as the speaker in his poems can sometimes see (or hear) people at a distance, the viewer can only see the garden across a vast distance. The acknowledgment and the rejection are essential to both the poems and the images. The joys of paradise are only fully realized if there is also an ordinary world which can see, but not enter; the joys of seclusion are most apparent when the echoes of officialdom can still be faintly heard.

The other notable element are the calligraphic labels written near the image of each site on the handscroll. Each label is the title of one of the poems from Wang's record of Wangchuan villa. This practice of labeling sites with the titles of (or lines from) a poem persists even in gardens today.

Another version of *Wangchuan Villa* uses a similar method of display. This treatment of perspective and distances appears again in Wang Yuanqi's (1642–1715) version of 1711, although Wang Yuanqi's version adopts the more linked space cells of the 14th-century painting and removes the labels of each site (Figure 1.9). These similarities contrasted with the stylistic preferences of each of the artists suggest that what each artist retained from the model was the subject, the handscroll format, and the high, distant viewing point, while adding his own methods of using brushstrokes, creating volume and depth, and choosing foliage. There are enough elements of Wangchuan Villa to make the reference clear, but each artist also asserts his individuality, his own identity. Part of that identity is the individual signature of his

brushwork but part of it is also his conscious activation of the past in his work; both are necessary.

From the time that Wang's poems and painting immortalized his garden, the numbers of texts and images of gardens continued to grow. Not only would scholars write of their own gardens (as both Tao and Wang did), but they might also write about the gardens of others; both widening the community and expanding the archive. Tao and Wang are two of the most referenced recluses of the past and provide clear examples of how the visual archive was formed. In both cases, a scholar official experiences political hardship and retires to a less urban site, reinforcing this association of the recluse, politics, and gardens. Like the discussion of Wen Zhengming archiving his memories at the beginning of the chapter, these references build layers over time, but the memories are no longer personal; they have become collective. Through this collective understanding of these codes, an individual can identify himself with and recognize others as belonging to this community that includes both Tao Qian and Wang Wei. The continued references to these men today mean that they are not only part of the archive, but remain in the canon. That is, since they are still actively referenced they are both part of the past and the present.

By the 11th century there are so many gardens being built that in addition to the poems and records written about individual gardens, some scholars write records (*ji*) that cover several gardens in one text. One example of this practice is Li Gefei's *Luoyang ming yuan ji (Record of the Famous Gardens of Luoyang)*. Many of these then-famous gardens exist only in this archive and would otherwise be forgotten. One of these famous gardens that moved from the archive into the canon (at least for a time)

is Sima Guang's (1019-1086) *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment (Dule yuan)*. The *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, like others in *Luoyang ming yuan ji*, is the garden of a retired official. In 1071, Sima Guang retired in protest of the reforms of Wang Anshi. He then built a garden in 1073. In this, his biography is quite similar to that of Tao Qian and Wang Wei. More to the point of this project, he writes a record of his garden and composes a poem for each of the seven named sites. Since he was not known as a painter, it is not surprising that there is no record of him painting his garden. His garden languishes in the textual archive until the mid-sixteenth century when two artists bring it temporarily into the canon by painting the garden based on the textual archive, as shown in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Canonizing the *Garden of Solitary Delight*

In Chinese gardens and their representations, certain images and themes appear and reappear over time, such as the Peach Blossom Spring or Wangchuan Villa. In some cases, these creations purport to be re-creations of physical gardens. Such images may or may not record a site as it actually appeared, but they do reflect the conflation of history, memory, and imagination in the minds of their creators. This conflation may be demonstrated by examining four very different representations of the same garden, *The Garden of Solitary Enjoyment (Du le yuan)*. In this case, two mid-sixteenth century artists rely on an eleventh-century text to create a visual representation of an eleventh-century garden. Although the official who built the garden had remained in the canons of history because of his texts, with the disappearance of his garden he had no presence in the visual archive until these two artists re-imagined his garden. These additions to the visual archive indicate that the texts were still being read in the mid-sixteenth century. The circulation of these images keeps this garden present until at least the nineteenth century. It then retires to the archive until rediscovered and recirculated in the mid-twentieth century. The long life of this “garden” is due at least in part to the strata of references to history and memory built into the original physical garden and its subsequent incarnations.

The *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment* was a small garden built by Sima Guang (1019-1086) in 1073 in Cunxian, a suburb of Luoyang. Sima had retired to Luoyang in 1071 after the new policy reforms of Wang Anshi (1021-1086) won favor at court. Sima was a leader of the conservative faction and when the emperor chose to implement

the new economic policies which Sima's faction opposed, it was clear that he was no longer in favor. Or another way of looking at it is that he was protesting the reforms, thereby acting the part of a good Confucian. Although many of Sima's fellow conservatives stayed at court to encourage a return to traditional policies, he found another means of providing encouragement for change: he wrote a history. First he constructed a rustic garden on less than an acre of land, including seven named sites. Each of the sites is associated with a famous person from the past who either retired prematurely or was a hermit.³⁷ He used the garden as the setting from which to write one of the great histories of China, the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi Tongjian*). Although he and the emperor continued to disagree on matters of policy, the emperor still supported Sima's writing project. To complete the project, he delineated a space in which tradition and the past reverberated both through his writing and through his references to past paragons of virtue.

Unfortunately, no physical remains of his garden have been preserved. The earliest representations of the garden are Sima Guang's record and seven poems documenting his garden after its construction in 1073 and a painting of the garden, *Dule yuan tu*, dated by the National Palace Museum to the Song dynasty.³⁸ This Song dynasty painting was once part of the collection of Xiang Yuanbian (1525-1602), as was another painting of the same garden done by Qiu Ying (working 1494-1552) in the

³⁷ This association with past recluses and hermits has also been noted by Ellen Johnston Laing in *Neo-Taoism and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in Chinese Painting*, Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1974; by David Ake Sensabaugh in "A Few Rocks Can Stir the Emotions: Chinese Gardens and Scholars," *Orientalism*, 31, no. 1 (2000): 32-40; and by Robert Harrist in "Site Names and Their Meanings in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment," *Journal of Garden History* 13, no. 4 (1993): 199-212.

³⁸ National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 44.

mid-sixteenth century. In 1644, Xiang Yukui (Xiang Yuanbian's descendent) purchased a calligraphic piece by Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) containing Sima Guang's essay and poems which was once owned by his grandfather and "reunited" it with Qiu Ying's painting (the entire handscroll is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art).³⁹ Wen Zhengming made two other recorded versions of this text. One other survives on a scroll which opens with Wen Zhengming's painting of the garden (now in the National Palace Museum) and the third is lost.

Both Wen's and Qiu's paintings were created in the middle century of the Ming dynasty, which has some parallels to the political climate that caused Sima Guang to retreat to his garden five centuries earlier. John Meskill summarizes the mood of this period of the Ming dynasty, noting that

[a]s chance would have it, most of the rulers came to the throne while very young and proved if not incompetent then dissolute. During their generally short reigns, they tended to keep senior scholar-officials at a distance and to acquiesce in the wishes of those with ready access to them in the palaces – their consorts, mothers, and eunuchs. . . . As this implies, corruption and factionalism occurred and recurred not only between eunuchs and scholar officials but among the scholar officials as well. One result . . . was the self-seeking of powerful men. Another was

³⁹ William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, and Wai-kam Ho. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1980) .

the resentment of men who would not or could not accommodate themselves to the venal atmosphere.⁴⁰

One escape for those who “could not accommodate themselves to the venal atmosphere” was to build a garden and retire to it, as Sima had done centuries earlier. Sima was well-known to the critics of the mid-sixteenth century. For instance, Ming scholar and friend of Wen Zhengming, He Liangzhun, criticizes his contemporaries for neglecting the (Confucian) classics, and then indicates proper role models, such as

[f]amous worthies of Sung times like Fan Chung-yen, Ou-yang Hsiu, Lu Kung-cho, Wang An-shih, Ssu-ma Kuang, Su Shih, and Huang T'ing-chien [who] all discussed learning. But all based themselves on Classical learning to seek what was really useful. They did not vacuously talk of mind and nature. That is why they were practical Confucians.⁴¹

He chooses a broad spectrum of scholars who in their own time may have been opposed to one another's policies, including both Sima Guang and his rival Wang Anshi. To He Liangzhun's circle of Suzhou Ming literati, Sima Guang was one example of a fine Confucian scholar official. These admonitions to attend to the classics as men such as Sima Guang purportedly did occur at the same time as the Song painting of Sima Guang's garden was in the possession of Suzhou collector Xiang Yuanbian.

⁴⁰John Thomas Meskill, *Gentlemanly Interests and Wealth on the Yangtze Delta*, (Ann Arbor, Mich: Association for Asian Studies, 1994): 9-10.

⁴¹Ibid 38-9.

Based on the work of Ellen Johnston-Laing,⁴² it is clear that Xiang Yuanbian was one of Qiu's three major patrons and that he commissioned works from Qiu that were based on other paintings in Xiang's collection. Although no archival evidence of such a commission is currently available, it seems likely that something similar occurs in the case of Qiu's version of the *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, since the anonymous Song painting of this subject already existed in Xiang Yuanbian's collection and his seals do appear on Qiu's painting as well.

Just as each of the sites of Sima's garden commemorates a famous worthy of ancient times, Xiang, Qiu, and Wen also look into the past for guidance and validation, while simultaneously displaying their knowledge of the past as a mark of their cultivation. Unlike Sima, none was successful in a career as an official, but Qiu and Wen were well-known for their artistic talent: in Qiu Ying's case, for his exquisite painting, and in Wen Zhengming's case, for his consummate calligraphy. Both chose to paint the *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, creating a visual memory of an historical site, a site that was built many centuries before their births and which they had not ever seen. Their representations both re-imagine and transmit the past, while simultaneously identifying the painters (and their patrons) as men well-versed in the discourse of garden culture and in the history of painting.

Wen Zhengming

⁴² See particularly Ellen Johnston-Laing's article, "Sixteenth-Century Patterns of Art Patronage: Qiu Ying and the Xiang Family," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1991), pp. 1-7.

Wen Zhengming studied the classics throughout his life. He spent much of his life preparing to be an official, as his father Wen Lin (1445-1499) had been. Unfortunately, he was not able to have the successful career as an official that his father had. He passed the first level of the civil service examinations, but did not pass the subsequent levels. A rebel prince based in the Suzhou area tried to enlist Wen Zhengming, but was refused. The prince was defeated. Based on this show of loyalty to the emperor and on his talents as a calligrapher and writer, he was recommended to the court by the governor. He served only a few years at court. His son, Wen Jia (c. 1501-1583), records that there was an incident at court that resulted in some officials being publicly flogged. Some were severely injured. Wen was not at court that day, but soon after the incident occurred, he returned to Suzhou, claiming that he was not qualified to serve. He had to petition three times before he was allowed to return home. It seems quite likely that he was disillusioned by the atmosphere at court which did not seem to match the Confucian ideal. As Sima Guang retired to protest the reforms of Wang Anshi, Wen Zhengming retired to remove himself from the impure court environment. This similarity in their situation probably did not escape him.

Wen Zhengming had the opportunity to see Liu Songnian's (1174-1224) painting of the *Garden of Solitary Delight* (current location unknown). He notes its elegance and use of color. He also remarks upon the lofty feelings that it inspires in later viewers and concludes that it is a treasure.

Wen's panoramic version of the garden (1558) evokes the quiet refuge of a reclusive scholar (Figure 2.1). The short handscroll (141.3 cm) opens with a traditionally diagonal outcropping in the foreground. The texturing brushstrokes

layered over this long, narrow triangle of land follow its shape and lead the eye into the scroll. A variety of trees clutch this land with their exposed roots, including one that is gnarled and twisted in the manner that Wen made so famous; it also leans slightly to the left, beckoning the viewer to enter. The trees do not seem to be conscious of the season; they include pine, willow, bamboo, and cypress - all in full glory. These are all trees included in treatises by the later Ming critic, Dong Qichang (1555-1636), who notes eight types of trees painted by the ancients. Wen also inserts a leafless, moss-encrusted tree that through contrast demonstrates the fecundity of the rest of the site, which Dong also recommends based on his observations of the ancients. Wen is more interested in demonstrating every type of brushstroke that may be used to create foliage (triangles, outlines, wet, dry, upward, downward, etc.) than he is in depicting realistic trees in a specific space. He has a calligrapher's dedication to the structure of the brushstroke. His woody specimens cling to contorted rock formations that jut from the ground like dragon's heads emerging from water. The verticality of the trees obstructs the movement of the eye; but nestled in this forest and adjacent to the opening diagonal are smaller straight-lined triangles which represent a fence and the thatched roofs of buildings. In the background, the horizontal lines of hills balance the verticals of the trees, and the small, triangular peaks continue the rhythm of the brushwork established in the opening diagonal.

A sloping willow branch and the continuation of the fence along a left diagonal lead the viewer through the woods to the more open space in the second third of the painting; the fences and buildings nestled into the trees and hills (not on the "surface" of the painting, as Dong notes in his discussion of the ancients) signal a transition to

human space. A shift to more diluted ink as well as a strongly vertical pine growing alongside a diagonal brook mark this change from wilderness to refuge. Behind the final fence post, a servant burdened with a large stack of books leads us to the scholar. The scholar, presumably Sima Guang, is placed in the center of a rectangle created by the opening of one end of a building (Figure 2.2).

Framed by the architecture and the curtains, he leans against a barrier and looks out toward the water. Behind him, a window opens to the bamboo on the other side of the building. The internal space of this building shifts when viewed through another opening. The line that created the supporting barrier for the scholar to rest against is now the floor. Wen is again not attempting to create realistic space, rather he continues to play with structure and to challenge the viewers' perceptions. On the floor of the unoccupied room stands a blank screen which obstructs any further view inside. The viewers are teased; we are allowed to hold the garden in our hands, to get a glimpse inside, but we are denied both any real access and any real view.

Wen positions Sima in the center of the rectangle and in the center of the pictorial composition which results in an emphasis on the idea of the man, rather than an idea of the garden. Sima is shown to be the center of a small, somewhat chaotic cosmos, far from the rigid formality of the court. He leans on his elbow and is at his ease as he gazes into the distance. Wen uses this framing to illustrate Sima's righteousness; Sima becomes a balancing, pivotal force in the middle of the more organic forms of the garden. The area around the window is also done with less tonal contrast and with simpler lines than the more energetic landscape surrounding the hut.

The water is disrupted by a dragon's head rock rearing in the foreground, echoing the darker tones and distorted shapes of the opening section. The land ends with a willow tree framing a partly hidden boat. The boat provides the transportation to the final rock, painted in the contorted style of Yuan dynasty master Wang Meng (c.1308-1385). One of the elements for which Wang Meng is celebrated is the energy of his rock masses. Examples of these twisted rocks seen in the foreground and middleground of his *Forest Grotto at Juqu* (see Figure 2.3) are the ancestors of the rocks seen in the area surrounding the garden in Wen's version. Wen references the past in both the subject and in the brushwork. Both artists' rocks jut from the land like dragons lurking partially submerged in water. In Wen's painting, the rock seems to nudge a little hut on stilts as if to send it into the empty space beyond. Fishing equipment is in use, but no one is in sight; only the wide space of the last section opens to distant mountains.

Wen reminds the viewer of Sima's reclusiveness by creating a space in which the prying eyes of outsiders are unable to discern many of the customary activities of the garden and by creating a barrier of contorted stones to partially frame the compound. Everything immediately outside of the stones is dark, rough, and chaotic. Everything inside the barrier is light and calm. In the midst of this secluded calm, Sima Guang rests, framed by a window in the center of the short handscroll. This also increases our sense of distance from Sima Guang. Although there is the immediacy of seeing him in his garden, he is still in the past, separated from us and from Wen by generations of alternating chaos and peace.

This distance increases as the viewer's eye moves to the last rock. At the far edge of the stony boundary is a small terrace, presumably the *Terrace for Seeing the Mountains*. A vast expanse of water separates this last vestige of humanity from the distant mountains. The terrace is delineated on a much smaller scale than the other buildings. As Ellen Johnston Laing remarks, displacing the vantage point to a great distance emphasizes the final scene.⁴³ Placing the most significance on the last of Sima's sites also emphasizes the associated historical personage, Tao Qian. One of Tao's poems discusses the sensation of viewing distant mountains from a less secluded site:

I built my hut amidst others, but there is no hubbub of horses and carts.

You ask "How can it be so?" When your mind is far way, the place is naturally remote.

Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence, I see the southern peaks in the distance.

The mountain air is wonderful by day and night; I return with the flying birds.

In this there is true meaning; I would like to discuss it, but I have already forgotten the words.

Like Tao, Sima built his garden retreat in a highly trafficked area, but like Tao, he can look above and beyond the hubbub to the peaks in the distance. If the *Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of Government* is any indication, Sima, unlike Tao, did not lose his

⁴³ Laing 379.

ability to discuss the meaning of the traditions he was referencing in his garden and in his history writing.

Starting just above the last willow, these distant mountains emerge from the gentle wash of ink in the background. This range of mountains continues along the background, briefly gaining detail and then fading away utterly by the end of the handscroll. The last third of the painting originally had nothing in the foreground and middle ground but broad space (Figure 2.4). It is now partly filled by a colophon of the Qianlong emperor (1711-1799) (Figure 2.5). No contorted forms or signs of humanity interrupted the vast expanse of paper and the viewer could contemplate the home of the immortals in peace.

Wen's interpretation uses the *wen ren*, or literati, style of the painting; it is done as one would write calligraphy, with close attention to brushwork and not mimetic form. This style allows Wen to exhibit his knowledge of art history. He notes in his brief colophon that he was painting after Wang Meng. He also references his painting master, Shen Zhou, with the large hut in which Sima rests (see Figure 2.6 for an example of Shen's hut). The diagonal opening section references Ni Zan (1301-1374) (Figure 2.7) and Shen's references of Ni Zan, although the chaotic, contorted rocks are from Wang Meng, as discussed above. The calmness surrounded by chaos resembles Shen Zhou's *Night Vigil* (Figure 2.6) of 1492 and results in a sense of stillness. The use of mist to create a sense of depth and distance has been popular since the Five Dynasties. Although the title and image place Sima Guang in his garden, this is as much a painting about painting as it is about the human activities of garden-building

and retiring. Once again Wen layers allusions about painting with references to history and to the garden.

Wen not only skillfully references the past, he also assertively inserts himself into the garden by opening the scroll with a twisted old cypress. His paintings of contorted evergreens became such a staple of his repertory (see Figure 2.8) and were so intensely unique that they became “eventually a new iconographical type.”⁴⁴ David Sensabaugh correctly reads the opening section of “wild vegetation” as a reference to Sima’s struggles,⁴⁵ but it is also Wen’s assertion of his own identity and perhaps an acknowledgment of his own mortality. He paints this in the year before his death. At that point he had enjoyed a long and fruitful sojourn as a painter, poet, and calligrapher. His masters, many of his colleagues, and his wife have all passed away. The sense of retreating from struggles is likely to be another instance of the past and present looking at each other. He looks back to Sima Guang and Wang Meng, but also sees himself.

The viewer sees Wen’s past and present from a distance. The viewer seems to be positioned at a scenic overlook at an elevated location, although this is not quite a bird’s-eye view. Despite the shift of perspective in each of the painting’s three sections, Wen enables the viewer to grasp the entire garden at a glance; he presents a unified whole rather than discrete parts. At the same time, he combines a synopsis of the history of Chinese painting, a virtuoso performance of its brushwork, a brief journey in the mind away from the chaos of mundane life to a more tranquil place for meditations of the spirit, and a moment to contemplate the paragon, Sima Guang. This

⁴⁴ Anne De Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming: The Ming Artist and Antiquity* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1975) 67.

⁴⁵ David Ake Sensabaugh, “A Few Rocks Can Stir the Emotions: Chinese Gardens and Scholars,” *Orientalism* 31.1 (January 2000) 39.

representation of Sima's garden records a journey of hardship to a place of refuge. It fulfills the function that Sima records for his garden in his documentation of its solitary delights. In fact, the name for the garden comes from a friend chiding Sima with a story from Mencius in which a man learns the lesson that things are meant to be enjoyed with others, not in solitude. Sima sardonically explains in his record that his garden is not nice enough to share with others and only someone so humble as he would find delight there. He hides behind a thin veneer of Confucian righteousness, but it is unclear if he was being antisocial as part of his protest against the court, because his writing kept him too busy, or because he simply preferred to be alone (and was too polite to say so directly). Most likely it was all three.

Rather than faithfully repeating Sima's writings, Wen records his own vision of the garden. In fact, his picture of the garden has no evidence of being Sima's garden outside of the title, the copy of the essay, and the copy of the poems. None of the ponds or streams mentioned by Sima are visible. There are several buildings, but they are haphazardly arranged and often hidden by foliage, so it is difficult to try to relate them to the specific sites of the *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*. Only the existence of a library is hinted at by a servant carrying books. Like Sima's garden, there are bamboos and a place from which one might view the mountains. Although these elements are specifically mentioned in Sima's essay, they are elements that appear in most other Chinese gardens, both pictorial and textual. This is a willful conflation of the preferred style of the artist, his memory of gardens in general, and his imagination of a specific site in history. His references to the past allow him to both acknowledge the

community past and present and to assert his own identity within that community in his present time.

Wen not only painted a pictorial representation of Sima's garden, he also inked a copy of the essay and poems in *xing* (walking) script on the same scroll (Figure 2.9). *Xing* script is the preferred mode for colophons of the Ming dynasty literati; it is less formal and certainly less official than *li* (official) script. It is also more difficult for an outsider to read. The script is yet another code to signify that the artist is a connoisseur and that if the viewer can decipher the code, then s/he is not only literate, but also a connoisseur.

Wen did two other versions of this text: one, also in *xing* script, is attached to the Qiu Ying painting discussed below, which was in the collection of Xiang Yuanbian. A 1644 colophon by Xiang Yukui (Xiang Yuanbian's grandson) states that he is "reuniting" the text and the painting.⁴⁶ He implies that Xiang Yuanbian had either commissioned or been gifted with both representations of Sima's garden and displayed them together on a single handscroll. The other version of the text, in *li* script, accompanied another version of the *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment* by Wen that is lost to us now. Certainly the regular structure and square shape of the *li* script version would look more formal and official than the vigorous, less-controlled *xing* script.

The multiple versions imply that the presentation was at least as significant as the content. These variations on a theme also document the interest of a particular group in recording gardens and in being associated with gardens, particularly this

⁴⁶ *Eight dynasties of Chinese Painting: collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio* : Cleveland Museum of Art, in cooperation with Indiana University Press, c1980: 206.

garden, during the middle of the sixteenth century in Suzhou. This is notable since although Sima seems to retain his currency as writer and thinker, his garden is not part of the visual canon after his lifetime until this group revives it. In Wen's case, he revisits this site multiple times.

Qiu Ying

Qiu Ying's painting of Sima Guang's *Garden of Solitary Delight* from Xiang Yuanbian's collection was also created in the mid-sixteenth century⁴⁷ (Figure 2.10). Qiu follows Sima's text fairly closely, but adds flourishes to complete the spaces in the text, for instance in visually connecting the sites. The handscroll opens with a rock set at a diagonal in the lower foreground corner that leads the viewer's eye to a path lined on either side with low wooden railings. The path meanders from behind a low hill and crosses a stream as it disappears behind the *Building for Playing with Water* (Figure 2.11). Near the initial rock and in the extreme foreground are a few empty branches to provide the necessary contrast to the verdant bushes surrounding the building. Although this convention of the ancients has been quietly acknowledged, it has been tacked onto these opening edges as if to acknowledge the scholarly custom without disrupting the beauty of the image of the garden. No blasted, moss-drenched tree here, just a few delicate, bare branches that do not cause the eye to pause, but rather direct the gaze into the image of Sima in his building. The luxuriant foliage of the trees belies

⁴⁷ This painting has not been securely dated, although Ellen Johnston Laing finds likely that he began his residence with the Xiang family in 1547 and since he died in 1552, the painting was most likely completed between those years. See her article "Sixteenth-Century Patterns of Art Patronage: Qiu Ying and the Xiang Family," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1991), pp. 3.

their presumed age as evidenced by the folds and drapes of sagging bark rolling down the trunks like melted wax. The contorted roots also seem to hint at the hoary origins of the garden. The open structure's tiled roof and simple ridgepole, latticed windows, unadorned wooden columns, and soft colors seem to blend into the surrounding landscape and at the same time provide a quiet, orderly rhythm for the eye to follow. The pattern of rectangles provides a contrasting pattern to the misshapen tree trunks and the undulating hills and water. With the rectangular pool perforating the center of the floor, the structure seems to float upon the water rather than occupy it.

It would seem that Qiu has mistakenly reversed the *Building for Playing with Water* and the *Reading Hall* (Figure 2.12), however, Qiu may also have been trying to follow the directionality of the text by doing so. In the text, the *Reading Hall* is mentioned first and the next building is placed to the south of it. The subsequent buildings are all to the north or east of each other in the text. Indicating the four directions is difficult in the long handscroll format when the point-of-view is mid-range. Qiu may have addressed this issue by placing the *Building for Playing with Water* first; the viewer is to read it as being in front (or south) of the *Reading Hall*. It also decreases the number of ponds to be depicted; the pond with five streams forming a tiger's paw is left to the viewer's imagination somewhere off the beginning of the scroll.

Another possible reading is that Qiu saw the anonymous Song version (Figure 2.21), which opens with a stream running around a small island. If Qiu was using that painting as a guide, but altering the format from an overview to a site-by-site strolling view, he would have to choose where to start. Since both of these paintings were in Xiang Yuanbian's collection and since Qiu had painted alternate versions of other

paintings in Xiang's collection, this last possibility seems most likely. And although a text generally has a set path which the reader follows from beginning to end, gardens are for wandering and the path is more fluid. Like a text (but unlike Wen's and the anonymous artist's paintings), Qiu's choices guide the viewer down a particular, set path.

Next on his itinerary is the *Reading Hall* (Figure 2.12). Again Sima is quite clearly shown; this time, he is reading a text. He and his reading table are off to one side so the viewer can peek inside and see the stacks of books and scrolls waiting to be read. A screen partitions the space and provides a simple backdrop for the scholar. There is a neatly manicured, woven stick fence enclosing the thatch-roofed building and symmetrically placed rocks and trees at the entrance – all is natural, but cultivated and arranged; rustic, not wild. The columns of the building have been smoothed, but retain knotholes and on the left wall, some of the plaster has fallen away. There is even piped-in water carried through hollowed bamboo stalks that are elevated and supported by wooden posts. This amazing technological detail is wholly Qiu's; it is not in the text or the anonymous Song painting. It was perhaps something he had seen in gardens of his own time, a convenience to a scholar too busy to wait for someone to bring water from the main well or stream.

Some of the elements are reminders of the past but are not from Sima's record of his garden. Looking at the *Reading Hall*, the woven fence, the raised stone foundation, and the choice of perspective all resemble Li Gonglin's *Mountain Villa* (Figure 2.13a and 2.13b). There is just enough there to remind a viewer who has seen the Li of the reference. Qiu's painting has removed the contorted wilderness that

encroaches upon the gate in the *Mountain Villa* copies. Since Qiu was not a calligrapher and rarely wrote much beyond his signature, he does not leave behind a colophon indicating that this was done in any particular style (unlike Wen's version which specifically cites Wang Meng as an inspiration above). Since Qiu's work was frequently likened to Li's by his contemporaries, it is not unreasonable to consider this artist from the past as inspiration. However, it is also possible that these elements were drawn from observation of the gardens of his colleagues (who may have been following convention or looking at Song paintings or – most likely – both).

Qiu captures many other details, even the small island with the circle of bamboo mentioned in the text is painstakingly delineated (Figure 2.14). There is no “hut” for the angling fisherman. He sits on the water's edge with his line, while on the other bank, servants move bamboo, their turned faces and horizontal bundles leading our eyes to the next section where we find our host sitting outside of another simple thatched building, presumably guiding the bamboo planting (Figure 2.15).

With the care of a draughtsman, Qiu embellishes his painting with details like potted plants, fences, hedges, and bridges that Sima Guang omits from his sometimes terse description. Some changes he makes to subjects described by Sima Guang may be to increase the visual legibility of the text, for instance, Sima Guang records that each of his plots of herbs is carefully labeled, but Qiu Ying does not attempt to paint the labels, only the herbs (Figure 2.16). At the distance from which he chooses to depict the garden, no label (or plant) would be readable, so he instead increases the scale of the plants, unlike the Song version where we can see plots, but cannot discern what might be growing in them. Although his embellishments may appear to provide additional

detail and meaning to Sima's text, they are more effective as a guide to what was important to Qiu's patron and to Qiu's understanding of gardens and how they should look. Here, being able to identify the plants and demonstrating the wide variety is essential. Qiu also includes a crane, not seen in the Song painting or text, but very popular in Ming painting as the sign of the presence of an immortal. Sima reclines in his bamboo shelter on a tiger pelt, his face carefully framed between two stalks of bamboo.

At the next view, he reclines in the most formal setting of the painting (Figure 2.17). Although the roofs in the Song painting appear to all be tiled, with ridgepoles, and even slightly upturned corners on a few, Qiu thatches the roofs of most of the buildings. Qiu gives the *Pavilion for Watering Flowers* a mostly-thatched roof, but adds more formal, finished columns and woodwork. The platform is all smooth and is not faced with the riverstones seen everywhere else. The fences for the flower plots are not only smooth and regular, they are painted. The flowers are raised on platforms and caged in fences. Although the pavilion is framed by overhanging pine boughs and wisteria above and a foregrounded diagonal rock with bamboo below, it is the most cultivated, controlled space in this painted garden with straight lines and geometric shapes.

Qiu closes with a dramatic interpretation of a terrace (Figure 2.18). His 15-foot cliff rising out of the water is joined to the mainland by a simple wooden walkway. The building, walkway, and terrace on the rocky island are all covered. Sima has exited these and stands on a piece of open ground, glancing back over his shoulder, presumably at the distant mountains.

As mentioned in the discussion of Wen's version above, the last scene of the distant mountains may refer to Tao. Because of Tao's Daoist association and the importance of mountains in Daoism, Ellen Johnston-Laing also ascribes a Daoist connotation to Qiu's painting.⁴⁸ However, since both paintings are in many respects concerned with Confucian rectitude, a deep Daoist theme is probably only part of the picture.

This final scene is the only scene in which Wen and Qiu are visually similar (Figures 2.19 and 2.20) which indicates a possibility that a distant landscape is a conventional subject for ending a handscroll at that time. In the rest of their works, their styles are quite different. This is particularly interesting since so many current reconstructions and studies of extant Chinese gardens are based on paintings and texts of these gardens. Here we have two artists painting the same garden at approximately the same time but with quite different results. How would you reconstruct Sima's garden with these images? How would you reconcile the vast differences? In this case, the garden in question is not extant and had been gone for centuries before these artists painted it so the differences are a little less surprising.

In this case, both Wen and Qiu look back to the past for visual inspiration, as well as for the content of their paintings, and so identify themselves as scholars of Chinese history. While Qiu relies on his gorgeous technique, his nearly rote visual representation of Sima's essay, and the plethora of scholarly paraphernalia to identify him (or more likely, his patron) as a literatus, Wen Zhengming uses his point of view, his visual presentation of art history, and his calligraphy to make the same point.

⁴⁸ Laing 379.

Qiu Ying's version seems narrative because in each section, the scholar is doing something, he is in action: reading, fishing, supervising the servants. Because the handscroll is divided into space cells with the same scholar appearing in each section, the scholar seems to be leading the viewer through a tour of the garden, site by site. We move through space and time, both of the garden and of the memory and of the history that it also represents.

While Qiu does guide our movement deliberately from site to site, there is room for us to wander, as well. Qiu invites the viewer's eye to linger over the delicate bamboo, or the symmetry of the design of the trees and rocks in front of the *Reading Hall*, or the activities of the servants. Through these activities of the servants, the viewer is also reminded of the constructed nature of a garden: servants are moving uprooted bamboos, and they transport water (probably to care for plants too far away from one of the streams). The viewer can glean at least two important pieces of information from Qiu's careful attention to the servants: 1) The garden and its contents are owned by someone and the servants, the buildings, the potted plants, the antiques on display are all part of a visual inventory; and 2) servants are an essential part of the garden although they are not always visibly present.

As mentioned above, Qiu lays out the garden as tour, with careful attention to guiding the viewer's gaze. Showing the sites from a slightly elevated view allows the observer to consume each scene in its entirety with one look. It also allows the artist to display his admiration for the labor that is necessary to maintain a garden, both economically (fishing) and aesthetically (rearranging the bamboo). Qiu Ying carefully observes the servants. They are not merely a conventional detail of the landscape as

they might be in the hands of the slightly earlier Shen Zhou or the contemporaneous Wen Zhengming; they are fully integrated into each space cell.⁴⁹ Although literati landowners like Shen and Wen might wish to appear sympathetic to the common folk and to appear to be naively living a “simple” life, Qiu better captures the reality of servants’ work. The incredible detail of the painting makes it clear that he has spent a great deal of time in gardens, but the point of view reveals that perhaps his patron’s status would be amplified by the number and attention given to servants in the garden.

This attention to the representational accuracy of a place that by Qiu’s time is only a memory attests to Qiu’s knowledge of the literati lifestyle. He knows what objects should be in a library, how a good scholar should dress, what both formal and informal scholarly gardens should look like, what medicinal herbs a gentlemen would know, where a good gardener should place pines, bamboo, and rocks, and he ensures that the viewer also knows that he knows. His attentive visual rendering of Sima’s essay implies his or his patron’s complete familiarity with the text; he does not miss a single stroke. His patron Xiang Yuanbian was a collector and connoisseur. By opening his collection to artists like Qiu and by commissioning artists to copy works in his collection, he perpetuated the transmission of memory and history. Without this access to the archive, Qiu’s understanding of the past and his ability to reference it would have been significantly decreased.

Anonymous artist

⁴⁹ This attention to the serving staff is not peculiar to this painting of Qiu Ying’s; it seems to be a part of nearly every reproduction of work attributed to him that I have been able to view.

Although this group of Ming artists and connoisseurs are interested in representing Sima's garden and thereby associating themselves with its virtues and with antiquity, it does not seem likely that they saw the actual garden. The artist of the anonymous Song painting done in the *jie hua* manner (Figures 2.21-2.23) may perhaps have been a visitor to Dule yuan. The authors of the colophons following the painting imply that they have seen the garden and relay some of its history, including stories of Sima wandering in it with his friends and a brief summary of a discussion with the ticket taker at the garden gate. The anecdote of the ticket taker (who charges admission, but uses the proceeds to improve the garden) seems to contradict the ideal of the recluse quietly writing history in his remote garden, but he was not at home (and apparently the garden is not terribly remote). There is a fair amount of textual documentation of this practice and in fact there was often an entrance to the garden from a public street, as well as an entrance from the private home. When the owners were not using the garden, the proper thing to do was to allow others to enjoy it (as Sima's colleague tried to remind him – if the colophon on this painting is accurate, it appears that he was eventually successful).

Like Wen's version, the anonymous painting shows the garden from above, in this case as though it were painted while the artist was on a nearby hill. It is a more intimate distance than Wen's painting and yet without the presence of the host, it is more detached. As in Qiu's version, the viewer is able to discern different elements of the garden, but not site by site and there are no people (host or servants) present. There is no portrait at the window (as in Wen's) or a series of portraits at each site (as in Qiu's). The focus remains on recording the garden and not the people associated with

it. The sites are all distinguishable, and showing them from a slight elevation with elastic perspective allows the viewer to also see the spatial relationship of the sites within the garden. These spatial relationships seem quite compressed when compared to Qiu's version, but are more open than Wen's.

The site that is the most altered by the later Ming artists is the *Terrace for Seeing the Mountains*. In the Song painting, the terrace is just off the large building in the center of the work and is more like a small courtyard. There are no mountains in view anywhere and the foliage surrounding the terrace would seem to obscure any distant view that might exist. If Johnston-Laing's reading is correct, then the emphasis on Tao Qian is more interesting to the Ming artist than to the Song artist although it is part of the canon during both periods. It is probably also indicative of a shift in relationship to the landscape. So although artists from both periods reference and activate the past, each does so in ways intelligible to his own time.

Sima Guang

None of these painted representations could exist without Sima's record of his garden in an essay followed by seven poems. In this record, he identifies himself as a highly-cultivated literatus and morally upright Confucian. In the essay he situates the garden in Luoyang and more specifically, in the north part of Cunxian. This lets the reader know that he is discussing an actual place, which is his to alter as he pleases. The act of composing the essay and poems and writing them down displays his education. His classical education is more overtly referenced in the garden's name and

in the opening section of the essay, which contain citations of Mengzi (Mencius), Kongzi (Confucius), and Zhuangzi about the virtues of solitude and simple living:

Mengzi said: Enjoying oneself in solitude is not as good as enjoying oneself with others; enjoying oneself with a few is not as good as enjoying oneself with the many. Such delights are for princes and eminent men, but not for the poor and those of lowly rank. Kongzi said: Even vegetarians who drink only water, and use their arm as a pillow may find pleasure in this. Yenzi consumed no more than a scoop of rice, yet he was happy. Such are the pleasures of sages and wise men; they are not for the simple-minded. The bird needs only a branch to build its nest. The tapir drinks only its fill from the river. Each takes what it needs and is then content. In this way did this old man also find happiness.⁵⁰

Sima Guang does not open his record of his garden with a description of it or even by mentioning it at all. Instead he quotes from Mengzi that enjoying oneself alone is not so good as enjoying oneself with others, but that such joys are for “princes and eminent men” not for “the poor and those of lowly rank.” Since he builds the garden after his fall from eminence at the court, he calls it his “The Garden of Solitary Delight.” His Confucian duty as a good official would require him to wish to be in the presence of the court, so he opens his record with an acknowledgement that he is in exile, alone, and

⁵⁰My translations rely on Osvald Sirén’s translation of Sima Guang’s essay in *Chinese Gardens* (NY: The Ronald Press Company, 1949) 77-78. He notes that these metaphors are taken from Zhuangzi. I also owe thanks to the reading group at Ann Waltner’s for their feedback on my version. I used the Chinese text from Guo li gu gong bo wu yuan, *Wu pai hua jiu shi nian zhan = Ninety years of Wu School painting* (Taibei: Guo li gu gong bo wu yuan, 1975).

that he knows the preferred state would be to be with others. He follows this with remarks from Confucius and Zhuangzi regarding the pleasure of a simple life found by wise men and by the behavior of animals whom sages have used as models of following nature. Since these paragons of propriety seem to support the idea of a simple life, Sima is able to validate his own choice to retire and find pleasure in his garden, alone.

He then likens himself to these sages by stating, “In this way did this old man also find happiness.”⁵¹ There is dissonance between the wealth that retiring to a garden implies and remarks which seem to imply a life of simplicity, such as “In this way did this old man also find happiness,” and “Yenzi consumed no more than a scoop of rice, yet he was happy,”⁵² unless these remarks are read as being in reference to having had his fill of the official life. In this reading, he is indicating that though serving as an official is something that every good Confucian aspires to do, one should accept the length of one’s tenure as sufficient, even if it is “no more than a measure.”

In the second section of his essay, Sima moves away from his allusions to a more concrete description of his project. He records that in 1071 he moved to Luoyang and bought some land in the northern section of the suburb Cunxian with the intention of creating a garden there:

In the fourth year of the Ning Xi era [1071] I settled in Luoyang, and in the sixth year I purchased some land in the north part of Cunxian to make a garden. I built a hall and gathered 5,000 volumes there; I called it the Library Hall. South of this hall I put another building. Underneath this, water flowed to a square pond three feet wide and three feet deep

⁵¹ Ibid 77.

⁵² Ibid 77.

through five streams, which made 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.⁵³

He situates his creation in a very specific place and time. Since in 1070 he retired as a protest against Wang Anshi's reforms, the date clearly lets the informed reader know the relationship between the timing of these two events. He goes on to write *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government (Zizhi Tongjian)* over the next 19 years, using the chronicle format. His geographical references also demonstrate that he is not in the capital or at an official post.

After the time and location, the first element of the garden that he attends to is the construction of the Library Hall. He records that he collected 5,000 volumes there. (His ability to construct a garden in the suburbs and to fill one building with 5000 books would contradict his introductory claim of being a man without means.) He deems this information to be all that is important and moves on to the next building, just to the south of the first, the Pavilion of the Playing Waters. He does not describe the pavilion, or discuss his intended use for it here. Instead he gives a detailed description of the water feature: a 3x3 square pond fed by five streams which formed a tiger's paw. It then flowed to the front steps of the pavilion, appearing as an elephant's trunk and then it split into two arms which embraced the building and rejoined in the northwest corner.

⁵³ Ibid 77.

Implicit in this description is the function of the pavilion as a place for viewing and listening to the water, which is the significant feature of the site.

He resumes the discussion of the layout and features of his garden.⁵⁴ Continuing north from the pavilion lay a pond with an island. On the island Sima plants bamboo in the shape of a thirty-foot jade *jue*. By tying the top together, he notes that a fisherman's tent can be created and so he designates this site as the Hut of the Angling Fisherman. He started with the great learning of the Library and as one advances, one reaches a more rustic environment. Yet even here he references jade and a shape which would be familiar to a connoisseur of ancient art, but perhaps not to the average fisherman. The fisherman might indeed create such a hut out of need on a rainy day, but he would not be likely to have planted the bamboo himself and not in this particular arrangement. So the simplicity of life implied in the opening is belied by the reality of the complex system of knowledge, taste, and funding required to attain such a seemingly rustic element.

Sima provides the direction for each site in relation to the last site. This continues his interest in locating the garden in a particular place by giving us the arrangement of its individual parts:

To the north of the pond lay a long building with six columns, covered with thatch to protect against the burning sun. The entrance faced east, but both the north and south sides had porches and windows, which invited cool breezes. In front of and behind this building I planted many

⁵⁴ Ibid 77-78.

bamboos, which offered protection against the heat. This was called The Studio of the Bamboo Grove [Zhong Zhu Zhai].⁵⁵

At this fourth site, Sima describes the architecture in more detail. He carefully records its location north of the pond, its directional orientation, and the use of thatching, porches, and windows. He plants bamboo around the building which gives the site its name, Studio of the Bamboo Grove. He does not indicate any particular function for the building, other than being an escape from the sun and the heat. This indicates that it was intended for use primarily in the summer.

In leading the reader to the fifth site, he changes direction from north to east. The ground to the east of the pond was divided into 120 small squares. On the north end of this garden is a ten-foot square plot planted with bamboo which creates a hut when its tops are bound. A promenade of bamboo and creeping plants leads to the hut and barriers of additional medicinal herbs are formed on either side. Unlike a Daoist sage wandering on mountainside collecting herbs in a long cape, Sima Guang is able to don his cape and collect from rigidly organized specimens which have been carefully labeled so that he will need to trust only to his ability to read rather than to visually identify the plants. After his exertions, he could retire to his bamboo hut to rest and imagine himself to be in a bamboo forest far from the city that lies near the gate of the garden.

Continuing to circle around, Sima moves south to his seventh site, a flower garden:

⁵⁵ Ibid 78.

To the south of this garden there were six enclosures for peonies⁵⁶ and 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 Flowers [Jiao Hua Ting].⁵⁷

He is careful to note that each species is represented by two specimens “as representatives for its name and form,” as though the name and form come first and the actual flower is rather insignificant in comparison to the knowledge needed to identify and categorize it. He is a collector of flowers rather than a gardener. There is no mention of arranging the flowerbeds in any particular way, so it is difficult to ascertain the aesthetics of the site. North of this garden (presumably between it and the herb garden) he builds the Pavilion for Watering Flowers. One suspects that after enjoying each of the gardens by physically placing his body in them, Sima provides structures at each site that function as sites from which one might escape the sun and still enjoy a view of the garden. By the eleventh century it is common practice to give names to the sites in a garden, as is the case here. So there is the physical garden and the visual garden and the textual garden and the imagined garden all in this small record. Each of these “types” of garden has a role to play in keeping the past present by providing another layer of knowledge.

⁵⁶Peony viewing was a favorite pastime in Song dynasty Luoyang that Li Gefei (and others) found irritating. See Xiaoshan Yang, “Li Gefei’s Luoyang Mingyuan Ji (A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang): Text and Context.” *Monumenta Serica* / 52 (2004): 229-30.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40727314>.

⁵⁷ Siren 78.

At the final site in the garden, Sima once again situates the reader in the city of Luoyang by reminding us that although it is not far from the mountains, the mountains are not visible due to the trees. He gives this as his reason for building a terrace and pavilion from which one can contemplate Wan An, Huan Yuan, and even the Faishi Mountains: It was called The Terrace for the Contemplation of the Mountains [Jian Shan Tai].⁵⁸ From his garden, one may raise one's eyes above the dusty urban life to regard the distant purity of the mountains. Ellen Johnston Laing in her reading of Qiu's depiction of this site, sees this as a Daoist desire to become one with the mountains, but Sima's wording also betrays a feeling of estrangement from mountains as somehow desirable but unattainable, perhaps akin to his feelings about the emperor and his position at court, a notably Confucian sensibility.

After having gently led the reader on a tour of his garden, he shares how he passes time there:

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?⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid 78.

⁵⁹ Ibid 78.

He returns to his beginning, his Library Hall. This is the only site for which he indicates a precise function that is not related to avoiding heat or to viewing the garden. Here is where “the great masters are [his] teachers and the wise are [his] company” and he may “[study] the origin of virtue and uprightness and read up the connection between the rites and music,” all through the portal of a book. He claims that he then becomes “aware of the cause of all things, right from the time when no forms existed, beyond the limits of this universe,” but with a sense of regret notes that learning is not sufficient and he has no right to expect anything from others. This brings him back to his opening argument for being alone, when such a state is so deplored by good Confucians. Although he is proud of his learning and believes himself to be quite knowledgeable, it is not sufficient to sway his emperor and so he does not feel he deserves the company of others. (Or perhaps this is just a more acceptable way of saying that they do not deserve the pleasure of his company!)

He goes on to describe physical, as well as mental exertions:

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 Dule Yuan, Garden for my Own pleasure.⁶⁰

Although he does not mention it directly here, he spends nineteen years writing the *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government (Zizhi Tongjian)*, a chronicle of Chinese history from the 5th century BCE to the 10th century CE. Like Sima Qian (and many others) before him, he attempts to leave a literary monument behind when his more open official influence on history is no longer possible.

He remarks that when he tires (presumably of studying or writing), he goes fishing, or gathers herbs in his long cape, or digs channels to irrigate the flowers, or trims the bamboo. In other words, after reading and constructing history, then gathering food and medicine, and constructing and maintaining beauty are his duties. He is free to move through time and space as he pleases. He says that he finds this enjoyable and so gives his garden the name, “Garden of Solitary Delight.”

He closes with a defense of his behavior that is at the same time a challenge:

Someone said to the stupid old man: “As far as I know, a gentleman[zhunzi] 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

⁶⁰ Ibid 78.

share such pleasures with me, then I bid him reverently welcome with lifted hands and do not keep everything for myself.⁶¹

Although Mencius's quote used to open his essay indicates is the proper thing to do, he is not sharing his joy with others. Therefore hhe must provide an appropriate reason for not appearing to do so. He is seemingly self-deprecating by calling himself "an old fool" not worthy of being compared to a gentlemen. He points out that he and his pleasures have not been appreciated by the world, and so he has retired to embody them in his garden. He challenges others to join him, bidding them welcome if they do. This is the same tactic used by Tao Qian in "Peach Blossom Spring."

The linear progression, one site at a time, in a proscribed space is similar to the handscroll format in its progression through a line. Yet this plan seems to circle back on itself in a way that would not be possible to show in a long, narrow format, like a handscroll. It is more like a series of album leaves, for one does not ever get a sense of an overall view, either. The anonymous Song painting comes the closest to matching the form of the essay.

Sima records two gardens: one is the physical garden of beauty, relief from heat, and relaxation, the other is the symbolic garden of escape from a political life. The majority of the essay describes the seven sites that comprise his garden. Each site is linked with a historical figure by one of the seven poems following the essay: 1) *Reading Hall (Du shu tang)*, which is associated with the Western Han Confucianist scholar Dong Zhongshu (179-93 BCE), who was so occupied by his studies that he was not able to enjoy his garden for three years; 2) the *Pavilion for Playing with Water*

⁶¹ Ibid 78.

(*Long shui xian*), which is related to the late Tang poet and statesman Du Mu (803-852), who washed his inkstone in the stream adjacent to his study; 3) the *Hut of the Angling Fisherman* (*Diao yu an*), which is connected to Yen Guang (ca. 25), who refused the summons of his childhood friend, the Eastern Han Emperor Wang Meng, preferring fishing and farming over serving as an official; 4) the *Studio for Planting Bamboo* (*Zhong zhu zhai*), refers to Wang Huizhi (d. 388), who also retired from the world and surrounded himself with bamboo; 5) the *Plot for Picking Herbs* (*Cai yao pu*), which is identified with Han Kang of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220), who fled to the mountains for fear that his reputation for honesty in selling herbs might bring him trouble; 6) the *Pavilion for Watering Flowers* (*Jiao hua ting*), which alludes to the Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846) who built a garden retreat in which he grew flowers, made wine, and wrote poetry with eight of his friends; and 7) the *Terrace for Seeing the Mountains* (*Jian shan tai*), which was inspired by a line of poetry by the Jin poet Tao Qian (365-427), who also refused to become an official and was famous for his reclusiveness, as we saw in the previous chapter.⁶² Sima Guang again looks back into the past for inspiration and validation. By placing a reference to each of these paragons in his garden, he links himself to them specifically and to a long history of literati and recluses more generally. Through the use of the garden locus to filter layers of literary allusions, Sima Guang identifies himself as an unequivocally Confucian literatus in righteous protest.

The later Ming artists and connoisseurs identify themselves with this upright figure through their appropriation of his garden. Their images did not record the site as

⁶² I am grateful to the reading group at Ann Waltner's for reviewing these with me.

it actually appeared (since they had never seen it), but they do reflect the conflation of history, memory, and imagination in the minds of their creators. Sima Guang remained in the canons of history because of his history texts. When his garden no longer existed, he had no presence in the visual archive until the anonymous image of his garden resurfaced and Wen and Qiu also reimagined his Garden of Solitary Delight. They based their representations on his texts and perhaps the older image.

After this sixteenth century flurry of interest in the Garden of Solitary Delight, there does not seem to be much engagement with the archive of this garden until the late 18th century when the Qianlong emperor inscribes Wen's painting of the garden with a long colophon. In the mid-19th century, Prince Gong builds a Dule Peak at his palace. Prince Gong was the brother of the emperor, a prince of the first rank. After the Opium War of 1860, he negotiated the treaty with England, France, and Russia. Although not Han Chinese, he also appropriates this symbol of the recluse from the garden archive and constructs it in his garden. The long life of this "garden" is due at least in part to the strata of references to history and memory built into the original physical garden and its subsequent incarnations.

In the following chapter, I will examine multiple representations of the *Zhuozheng Yuan (Garden of the Humble Administrator)* by Wen Zhengming to demonstrate the how these representations take slightly different forms as the goals of the artist change. In scholarship about this garden (which is a UNESCO World Heritage site), these representations (more especially the texts) are cited as evidence of the authenticity of the current design.

Chapter 3

Canonizing *The Garden of the Humble Administrator*

Knowledge of history, literature, and art was crucial not only to being able to understand the allusions, but for those selecting which references would be included, these choices could act as an identification, a type of signature or mark of the creator. According to Robert Harrist, the garden culture of the Northern Song “bequeathed to later periods the conviction that a garden, like a piece of calligraphy or a painting, was in some essential way an extension of the identity of the person who created it.”⁶³ Although Harrist’s work focuses on the eleventh century, some of the patterns he notes go back much further – back at least to Tao Qian (as discussed in Chapter 1), if not further. This use of gardens as a way of identifying oneself is also an essential component of later representations of gardens, as well as of the gardens themselves.

Representations of gardens cannot be clearly separated from those of landscapes, indeed it is impossible in the case of an idealized garden (which should blend into the landscape) to do so. In this period, the visual representations of gardens are not typically topographical nor documentary, but are rather evocative. By analyzing two albums of paintings and poetry by the same artist that take the same garden as their subject, this chapter will distinguish between: 1. which elements when grouped together characterized “the garden” in the minds of mid-Ming dynasty artists and (presumably) their patrons, and 2. which elements were altered in the nearly twenty years between the

⁶³ Robert Harrist, “Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty: Evidence from Gardens,” *Arts of the Sung and Yuan* (NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996) 147.

two albums, likely indicating a shift in style. At the same time, such an examination reveals some troubling issues for extant gardens modeled on these representations.

The Garden of the Humble Administrator Albums

Wen Zhengming painted two sets of album leaves of the *Zhuozheng Yuan* or Garden of the Humble Administrator,⁶⁴ one dated 1533 (fifteenth day of the fifth moon of the twelfth year in the reign Jiajing) and one dated 1551. This revisiting of the same site nearly 20 years later gives us a rare view into what elements were important to the Ming literati of this period. The 1533 album survived into the early twentieth century, but is no longer extant and we are forced to rely upon the 1923 reprint of the album. The 1551 is currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, New York. In both versions, the images are not precise documentary representations of the garden, but they can illuminate some of the ideal constituents of gardens and they contain enough references to a specific garden to allow the contemporaneous viewer with some imagination to recall the intended site. By looking at the same garden as depicted over a period of time, we can catch a glimpse of which features were essential and which were subject to evoking a particular time or particular company.

The garden was owned by a retired official, Wang Xianchen. The precise date of the construction of the physical *Garden of the Humble Administrator* is not currently known. Craig Clunas and Liu Dunzhen agree that it was very likely built between 1509

⁶⁴ Other commonly used translations of “Zhuo Zheng Yuan” are ‘The Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician’ and ‘The Garden of the Artless Official.’

and 1513.⁶⁵ Liu designates this range based on two statements: one by Wang Xianchen in 1539 which Clunas translates as “nurturing his lack of success for nearly thirty years,” and another by Wen Zhengming in 1533 discussing Wang’s retirement of “twenty years ago.”⁶⁶ Clunas adds that the *Gusu zhi* of 1506 records that the Dahong Temple was located on the site, but that the temple burned during the violence accompanying the dynastic shift and the author of the gazetteer described it as “a total wasteland” (Clunas’ translation).⁶⁷ Wen Zhengming mentions a garden of Wang Xianzhen in a poem of 1514 and refers specifically to the *Garden of the Humble Administrator* in a poem of 1517.⁶⁸ Wang’s father died in 1510 and he returned home then to observe the standard mourning period and at this point seems to have chosen to retire to a life of leisure.⁶⁹

In addition to this evidence presented by Clunas and Liu, in the preface to the 1533 album, Wen quotes Wang as saying that he had “the greater portion of the last forty years in politics with little success” and then notes that “for the past twenty years he has been building, planting trees, gardening, and producing vegetables, delighting as

⁶⁵ See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996): 24. See also Liu Dunzhen, *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* (n.p., 1979): 53. Clunas notes in his footnote that the Liu’s introduction is translated by Frances Wood in “Garden History,” *Journal of the Garden History Society*, X (1982): 108-41.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996): 24. See also WZMJ, II: 896-7 and WZMJ II: 906.

⁶⁸ See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996): 24.

⁶⁹ See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996): 24 from Chen Zhi and Zhang Gongshi, eds. *Zhongguo Lidai mingyuanji xuan zhu* (Hefei, 1983): 157-73.

many of the ancient worthies could not”⁷⁰ If the date of the album is accurate, then this confirms that Wang had been in his garden since about 1513.

As Clunas has noted, Wen mentioned the garden in other writings. In the *Record of the Garden of the Humble Administrator*, he sets out to document the garden as a whole. Sometimes the owners of gardens recorded their own gardens (as seen in the case of Sima Guang in Chapter 2). Clunas has carefully documented the complex relationship of patron and client between Wang and Wen in his book, *Elegant Debts*.⁷¹ It is not clear that Wang commissioned Wen to complete this record of his garden in words and images, but the references specifically to Wang and the sheer number of images intimates a desire on Wen’s part for Wang to see the album. Since Wang had granted Wen the use of a studio in the garden, Wen had both opportunity and obligation.

Painting a garden was one of a handful of subjects left in the Ming literati canon. As Anne De Coursey-Clapp describes it, the range of subject matter appropriate for Ming literati to paint had become increasingly narrow.⁷² Popular topics were not appropriate for the literati artists. Landscapes, landscape-related imagery (gardens, flowers, trees, etc.), and the past were the preferred topics. The garden was ideal since it encompassed both images of the natural world and was ripe with opportunities for referencing the past. De Coursey Clapp aptly explains,

⁷⁰ In *An Old Chinese Garden: A Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1923) preface “Wang shi Zhuo Zheng Yuan ji” by Wen Zhengming (no page numbers).

⁷¹ Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts* – especially Chapter 2.

⁷² Anne De Coursey Clapp, “The Sources of Wen Cheng-ming’s Style,” in Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming*, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 1976: 9-10.

The garden itself became in middle Ming a visual symbol of a mode of life which combined high thinking and a patrician standard of conduct and manners Its potency as a cultural symbol, combined with pride of ownership, fired Suchou's great land-owners with ambition for portraits and literary records of their estates.⁷³

It is this "potency" and "ambition" that ultimately propel this burgeoning genre into the realm of the popular, as we will see in the next chapter.

Although "portraits" of gardens are proper subjects, portraits of people are rare among the Ming literati.⁷⁴ Gardens are rarely discussed merely in terms of beauty, but are rather used to illustrate proper morals (this will be discussed further below). In a very real sense, the image of the garden serves as a portrait of the owner. It may represent the physical likeness of a site and it also provides an opportunity for artist and viewer to demonstrate their powers of imagination, but most importantly it represents the moral righteousness of the owner based on appropriate references to the past.

This is a natural extension of the practice of painting an image of a specific landscape to represent a person that evolved in the Yuan dynasty.⁷⁵ In the sixteenth century, there is a significant increase in the number of these sites as portraits.⁷⁶ In the mid-sixteenth century there is also a shift in the types of sites used for this purpose:

⁷³ Ibid., 9.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁵ Richard Vinograd, "Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng's "Pien Mountains" of 1366," *Ars Orientalis*, 13 (1982): 1-29.

⁷⁶ Anne De Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of T'ang Yin*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991. See especially Chapter 3, "Portraits Bring Gold: The Program of Commemorative Painting" and "Appendix One: Program Paintings."

garden sites become more prevalent. In Anne De Coursey Clapp's list of Tang Yin's⁷⁷ program paintings, she categorizes four as "Portraits in a Landscape," nineteen as "Memorials of House, Garden, or Estate," and twelve as "*Hao* Paintings."⁷⁸ By my count, all of the second group and at least two of the third group appear to include imagery of the garden; this would be nearly half of Tang's extant program paintings.

There does not seem to be a *hao* involved in Wen Zhengming's 1533 *Zhuo Zheng Yuan* album, but it does act as both a portrait of the garden and of the patron's character (if not his physical features). Wen is insistent upon creating a sense of place in the record of the garden. He first locates the garden in the northeastern section of Suzhou and places it between two of the city gates. He describes the site as "a secluded piece of land with a fresh water pond in the middle."⁷⁹ Wang added to it by "digging and draining swamps and planting a large number of trees."⁸⁰ Wen then goes on to name each of the 31 sites and to describe how to move from one site to the next, but does not spend much (if any) time describing the sites in the record. Rather, he is more interested in creating a map of words that illustrates the spatial relationship of one site to the next and in demonstrating the moral rectitude of his patron.

He states that there are thirty-one views and then specifically mentions that he includes views of: "one reception hall, one storied house, six bowers, balustrades,

⁷⁷ Tang Yin was born the same year and in the same area as Wen Zhengming. He was at times a friend and rival of Wen and was also a talented painter.

⁷⁸ De Coursey Clapp, *T'ang Yin*, pg. 239-40. A "*hao* painting" is one in which the *hao* name of the subject is cleverly alluded to in the imagery. Clapp rightly points out that many of the extant paintings of the period may be *hao* paintings since the subject is not documented and the iconography that would indicate the *hao* may now be forgotten.

⁷⁹ See "Wang shi Zhuo Zheng Yuan ji" by Wen Zhengming in *An Old Chinese Garden: A Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1923) no pages. I relied on Mo Zung Chung's translations, but altered only slightly in some cases due to archaic language, though more often my translations are more different than alike.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

ponds, coves, brooks”⁸¹ The architectural features are given primacy here and the reception hall and storied house are the first views in the visual version as well. This is a key difference separating landscape and garden paintings; in a landscape painting, the human alterations to nature would be subordinate to nature itself. The architecture and human features are even more prominent in the later 1551 version, as discussed below.

In the record, Wen goes on to describe another human element of the garden: the act of naming it. The naming of a garden and its sites is the performative act of connecting the object to the past. It is through the act of naming that the connection of the present to the past is made explicit. Painting certain subjects and doing so in the styles of past masters also accomplishes this. In this case, Wen quotes Wang as referencing Pan Yu who “was not able to achieve success, and retired to spend the rest of his years building, planting trees, gardening and producing vegetables.” In Wang’s own words, “This is one kind of administration but it is performed by less skilled officials.”⁸² Wang goes on to compare his own forty-year career as being even less successful than Pan Yu’s. He concludes, “I made this garden as a memorial of my failure in politics.”⁸³

Wen does not agree with Wang’s self-assessment. He describes Wang as a respected scholar and gentleman of righteousness and integrity. Wen differentiates Wang from Pan in a telling way by completing some missing details in Wang’s version of Pan’s story. Wen draws upon the archive to claim that Pan was a “shameless

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

flatterer”⁸⁴ and that it was Pan’s willingness to please anyone that ultimately led to his political downfall. Wen also reports that despite Pan’s worthy sentiments to the contrary, he never did truly enjoy retirement and served in politics his whole life. Wen wants a clear distinction between the career politician who merely speaks of the gentlemanly ideal of retirement on one hand (like Pan) and his friend and patron, Wang, who “withdrew from public life in politics to delight in the peace and happiness of family life”⁸⁵ on the other. The implication is that Wang’s act is more worthy of admiration. As in other forms of Confucian commemoration, this highlighting of the righteousness of the subject’s character is at least a key element and the purported main point of the portrait.

Wen acknowledges that the selection of Pan as an inspiration for the name of the garden is accurate in that it voices Wang’s frustration over retiring earlier than he might have liked. He points out that unbeknownst to the average ambitious gentleman, politics is often a dangerous business and that his friend has avoided misfortune by escaping while he could hold his head high. It is a complex text with many layers - although Wen is contradicting his patron in part, it is a strategy that allows him to both pay a compliment to Wang’s character and to demonstrate his own considerable scholarship and taste.

In the record, Wen has mapped the garden and created a small portrait of its owner. The garden seems vast and full of beauty. The owner is an upright gentleman who has had a worthy career. Wen takes it for granted that a garden should be broken down into units called “views” and that it is very important to include the main

⁸⁴ Ibid. – Mo Zung Chung’s phrase.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

architectural features in these views. It is also assumed that understanding the relationship between the sites is essential, and that this is best achieved in a written description. That is to say, in the record Wen tells the reader in prose form how to proceed to the next site from the current site by using phrases like “further west, along the bank” or “below this” or “on the left,” while the images are discrete views that do not give any indication of their relationship to the other parts of the garden. From these assumptions, it is clear that his audience would not have had any difficulty understanding the visual units as views and nor would they have been disconcerted that the relationship between the sites was developed through the text of the record, but not in visual form.

Additional information may be gleaned from Wen’s less favorable discussion of Pan himself; it suggests that there are others retiring to gardens who are not so admirable. Wen is at pains to not only provide a sense of what sites should be in a garden and how they relate to one another, but also to illustrate what sort of gentleman the readers (including his patron and other members of the Wang clan) should wish to emulate.

Wen closes the record with the lament that although he also recently retired from politics, he has not got “one mu⁸⁶ of land wherein to express my heart’s desire.”⁸⁷ He says that he envies his friend and patron and so wrote this record of the garden and “several verses on the various views in it.”⁸⁸ As noted above, it is not clear if Wang

⁸⁶ A mu was about 640 square meters or about .16 acres.

⁸⁷ See “Wang shi Zhuo Zheng Yuan ji” by Wen Zhengming in *An Old Chinese Garden: A Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1923) no pages.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

requested this or not, but since Wen was not a professional artist, any exchange would have to be couched in other terms (again see Clunas *Elegant Debts* Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of how this relationship between these two men was negotiated.) The reader learns what sites are desirable to include in a garden, what kind of character is desirable, and that neither is easily attained. Although Wen seems to be providing subtle edification to his readers, the assumptions underlying the form he uses also reveal the expectations of his peers.

Narrative of the poems

The collection of 31 poems continues to articulate and elaborate on these twin themes of the ideal sites of a garden and the preferred characteristics of a gentleman. The mapping quality of the record is in direct contrast to the paintings which show 31 views, each on an album page. The text accompanying each image combines the mapping aspect of the record and the series of views created in the images. This text includes a poem and a brief description describing the spatial relationship to at least one nearby site. Here the text can act as both view (poem) and map (prose). As we saw with Sima Guang's *Record of the Garden of Solitary Delight (Dule Yuan ji)*, the poems also frequently provide the source of the name of the view through a connection to a figure or poem from history. The image is both a view and also (like the poem/site name) a reference to the past.

At first glance, the order of the poems and images seems to be random. Upon closer examination, there is a loose narrative created in the juxtaposition of specific references and images. The 1533 album opens with *Rustic Villa*. In the prose portion,

Wen notes that this site is in the middle of the garden which is in the middle of Suzhou. He remarks that noted Tang dynasty Confucian scholar Lu Luwang once lived here and that Lu's friend Bi Ximei once said "Though Luwang lives within city walls his house in an open area that resembles the countryside." This reference to a long-ago scholar provides the name for the site. It demonstrates the pedigree of the site – it has a distinguished past. It also reminds the viewer of the extensive knowledge of the patron and the author. The poem reads:

To rouse your mind you do not need to go into the wilderness,
 The nearby garden plot can send your mind far away with feeling.
 Water flows beneath a broken bridge, spring grass color,
 A hibiscus hedge, a thatched hut, and cocks crowing at noon.
 By no means pity crossing the boundary – there are no carts and horses;
 There are mountains and woods in the city.
 I try to be true to this place of lofty hermits.
 With books in my hands, I give instructions to the plough-boy.⁸⁹

The poem does not directly indicate Lu, but instead refers to the idea of hermits and escaping the city more generally. The reader can look to his own internal archive of memories and find appropriate matches, in addition to the more specific history of Lu.

The text sets up the themes for the rest of the poems and images in the album: escaping the bustling outside world, views of nature that suggest the wilderness without traveling to the wilderness, plants, architecture, agricultural production, hermits, the past, scholarly pursuits. In descending order of frequency, themes that appear in the

⁸⁹ See *An Old Chinese Garden: A Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1923) album page with poem – no page number.

album texts include: career/state of politics/capital, plants, a particular view, communing with nature/wilderness, recluse/hermit, the past/figure from the past, architecture, seasons, crowds/dusty world, writing/painting/music, aging, tea. The overall image that emerges is one of the world of the urban recluse: living in tasteful architecture and surrounded by cultivated nature, safe from politics but wishing to serve, surrounded by history and creating art, in the midst of a bustling city and above its dusty trappings.

The individual images amplify these themes. The first image in the album (see Figure 3.1) is the only one with a discernible reference to a separation from the outside world: the form of a winding stone wall in the background reminds the viewer that there is an outside world. Throughout the images we see woven fences, hedges, and more permeable balustrades, but only here do we have a sense of an impassable wall that demarcates the inner and outer worlds. Only the scalloped top rises in the misty background like the dorsal scales of a dragon. The world beyond the wall does not intrude.

Two simple thatch-roofed buildings occupy the middle ground, the larger with a roofed terrace on either side. A variety of trees showcase Wen's painting skills: deciduous, evergreen, light, dark, soft, sharp, wet, dry, verdant, dying, and dead are all present. In the foreground, the open gate in a woven fence invites the viewer to enter, although from this view it is apparent that the viewer is already inside the Wang estate. Between the open gate and the buildings is an open space occupied by two figures – presumably the master and the plough-boy mentioned in the poem. The smaller figure wears the hairstyle of a younger male and carries what appears to be a hoe. The larger

figure wears an outer robe hanging open and his hair combed back into a knot on the top of his head. This latter figure is repeated in many of the subsequent scenes, and it is clear by his placement, the hieratic scale, and repetition of his image in later views that he is the master of this garden.

In this particular view and in many others, the viewer gazes from above at the scene, over a rocky foreground that angles up on the right to indicate further heights in that direction. Although the viewer seems to be overlooking the scene from a distance, it is not a vast distance and by painting the figures in a slightly larger scale, Wen increases the sense of intimacy. The viewer is an old friend coming to visit and as he comes over the last rise before the gate, he can glimpse the host already on his way to greet him. It is a variation on the host-waiting-for-the-guest theme. In a sense, the entire album plays on that theme since the viewer is often at this distance of seeing a view while the other elements simultaneously give a sense of intimacy, as though the host is ever waiting for us.

The text describing the second view reiterates the themes of the first and adds an overt reference to the theme of the retired official with the line “I turn my head back and wonder where the Capital is!”⁹⁰ Although one might retire from government service, it was appropriate (even expected) to express regret at not being in the Emperor’s presence. This sense of regret and of being distant from the capital is enhanced visually (see Figure 3.2) by showing the distant vista of mountains that are outside of the city (as noted in the prose text).⁹¹ The tower and its immediate surroundings are shown as though they are in the foothills of the remote mountain and

⁹⁰ Ibid, text from “Dreamy Tower.”

⁹¹ Ibid.

no indication is given of the wall seen in the previous image. There is no sign of Suzhou or its suburbs. The ideal view is that of a landscape and one does not need to go outside of the city to get it, as noted in the previous poem.

The next images are again more intimate views of the various sites. The texts continue the themes of retiring from official duties and yet being concerned with the fate of the country, of communing with nature, of being a hermit, of connecting to hermits of the past. As the poems progress, there also emerge themes of self-reflection and a concern with age (and always a reference to the past). In some cases, this is related to the retirement theme (for example one about someone who retired too soon) and in others it is a more personal concern with growing older.

The narrative eventually swings back to themes of integrity and of righteous officials avoiding political trouble through retiring, although on this end of the arc the tone is more melancholy, as in the thirtieth view, *Excellent Fruit Pavilion* (see Figure 3.3):

The noble nature prizes its own integrity,
 So rending the official cap, he declines to walk in the field of fame.
 Crystal and clear is his heart,
 Shining like the autumnal moon;
 Like the blossoms of the orange trees,
 Though on seemingly withered branches, their fragrance pleases all.
 The burden of your life is to do what pleases you,
 So there's no need to seek official posts;
 Thus you keep yourself out of harm's way,

And you have time to taste the joys of the cup;
 And true it is that the most delicious taste
 Is not to be found in the din and noise of the world.
 Like the bitter plum on the wayside,
 You spare yourself just because of the bitterness of your fruits.
 Thus sorrowfully I meditate,
 A sadness pervading my heart.⁹²

This poem sums up much of the previous poems and makes the connections between the owner and the views of nature from earlier in the album much more explicit.

Although his official career has ended, he still is worthy of attention.

The image is also appropriately melancholy: a stooped scholar trudges up a long flight of stairs. At the top of the stairs, he will be able to shelter in a shaded pavilion that commands a view. The composition is heavily weighted to the right foreground corner and opens diagonally into a vast space on the left background corner. Although this basic composition recalls the Southern Song landscape school, the placement and scale of the figure is more modern. The figure is very large in scale, so although he is not obtrusive, he still stands out and his slumped shoulders are legible, his gaze is resolutely on the stairs in front of him. Here is Wang, retired from the corrupt court and world-weary, trudging up and up to a clear and pure view. He is the fruit of the pavilion.

The final image in the 1533 album echoes this theme at one remove (see Figure 3.4). Gone are any overt references to court, the dusty world, and worldly concerns:

⁹² This is Mo Zung Chung's translation, *The Bower of Delicious Fruits*.

Once I ladled water from Xiangshan
 Cool as a stream of jade.
 Did you know that as far as Yao (7th star of the Dipper]) is from the
 Milky Way
 There is another clear jade spring?
 I use a rope to draw water,
 In an earthen jar, I boil it with moonlight.
 Who needs Lu Hongqian (Lu Yu, a tea-taster in the Tang)?
 At the first sip you can decide for yourself.⁹³

Here is pride in the site and thereby its owner. The famous mountain spring has amazing water, but so does Wang's garden spring thousands of miles away. Like Wang, the tea made from this water does not need expert approval. Yet it is important to mention the expert by name.

In the image, the spring is tucked behind a tree. Two men sit in a clearing, surrounded by trees (including the ubiquitous pine). The master has his back to the viewer and appears to be calling over his left shoulder, perhaps instructing the servants to bring tea. An album or book lies open on his lap, as though he had paused in reading (see Figure 3.5). The other gentleman faces the viewer, but his eyes are on the master. Servants are waiting behind the trees in the lower left foreground, surrounded with tea utensils. Apparently the two gentlemen are going to test the water from the spring in freshly brewed tea. Servants have set up an outdoor kitchen with a little stove and are making preparations for tea (see Figure 3.6). The guest is shown in a scholar's hat and

⁹³ Here I referred to Roderick Whitfield's translation, but again altered it slightly (from *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 68.)

is painted in a slightly larger scale than the master – he must be an important guest.

There is attention to the social realities – hieratic scale is employed to signify importance, the space in which the servants are active is clearly detached from the space in which the gentlemen enjoy their leisure.

Ending the album with a scene in which Wang is playing host and the guest is the center of the image returns us to the compliment that Wen paid Wang in the record of the garden. Wang is sharing the fruits of his retirement with at least one other deserving gentleman: he provided space for Wen to work in the garden for a time. Here the owner is shown pursuing the joys of intellectual work with a like mind, with the added refinement (both in terms of ceremony and in terms of keeping their minds sharp) of tea.

References to past artists

Let us return for a moment to the first image of the *Garden of the Humble Administrator* album. In addition to its function of reminding us that we are leaving the mundane world behind, the scalloped wall in the background is another reference to the past. This wall that separates the upper fourth of the composition in an undulating horizontal band is reminiscent of a composition used by Wen Zhengming's painting master, Shen Zhou in *Eastern Villa*, another (undated but before 1509) garden album (see Figure 3.7). Although Shen's wall is clearly fortified and ancient, Wen's wall is not complete: it is a motif in the misty background that creates a boundary and balance with the woven fence in the foreground, but not many details are shown. Wen borrows the banded, horizontal composition, but alters it and applies it to his own needs.

In other compositions in this album, Wen Zhengming borrows more directly from Shen's *Eastern Villa*. *Lotus Cove* (Figure 3.8), the sixth leaf of the *Garden of the Humble Administrator* album, is a very close (but not exact) copy of *Meandering Pond* in Shen Zhou's album. In the *Clean Retreated Bower* (Figure 3.9), the lower two-thirds of the painting is a somewhat close copy of *Northern Bay* in the *Eastern Villa* album. In the top third, Wen inserts a thick bamboo grove and a rustic pavilion with two men lounging with their robes open. The bamboo and architecture replace a hill and a grove of trees that diminishes into the distant horizon in Shen's work; Wen's changes produce a more intimate setting – the viewer knows these people and knows this place and is welcome to enter, not just to view.

Is it likely that the two sites had two such nearly identical water features? Anne De Coursey Clapp writes of garden paintings, “These paintings could not be imaginary if they were to serve their chief purpose of lending lustre to the owner's reputation as scholar and gentlemen.”⁹⁴ I would instead argue that it is precisely their imagination that allows for connections to the past, for allusions to the thoughts and works of others; this is what builds the reputation of the garden, owner, and artist. Here we see that the owners of these two gardens dredged two nearly identical water features into their gardens, or one artist accurately depicted the features of his site and the other did not, or – and this is the most likely to me - both artists were more interested in creating an image with more resonance than reality. Wen's patron, Wang Xianchen, was likely to have been aware of the work of Shen Zhou and also was likely to know of the *Eastern Villa Garden* album. He may even have seen Shen Zhou's album. It is possible that

⁹⁴ De Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 9.

Wen included these multiple, pointed references to Shen Zhou's work as references to other images and sites that had significance to his patron. It is clear that although Shen Zhou had been dead for 24 years and Wen Zhengming was by this time a well-established artist, Wen continued to interact with his teacher's works, sometimes overtly and sometimes in more subtle ways.

This is not to say that artists did not ever paint a view or a building or a rock that denoted an actual view or building or rock. Most of the time it appears that this more literal style was not appropriate for the Ming literati painters; even in topographical paintings a certain amount of imagination was required.

The 1551 album

Later in the Ming dynasty, garden culture continued to flourish. It reached a wider audience and not surprisingly a broader group aspired to participate in garden culture and later garden imagery reflects that. This shift is foreshadowed by some of the changes seen in Wen Zhengming's 1551 album of the *Garden of the Artless Official*.

The visual impact of the 1551 album is quite altered. It is a selection of eight of the original thirty-one sites arranged in a different order. Since Wang would have been well over 80 in 1551, it is possible that this was painted after his death, perhaps as a memorial for one of his sons or even for Wen himself. This later album uses the same poems for the sites selected, with a few exceptions and some minor alterations. The short prose descriptions are also generally unchanged, with a few additions. The order of text and image is also reversed: in the 1533 edition, the prose is followed by the

poem, and in the 1551 edition, the poem is followed by the prose (which has been abbreviated in most cases). The 1551 album does not include the record and the eight images are completely new renditions. These images done nearly twenty years after the first album are of a completely different flavor. Some of the features are so altered that they do not appear to be the same site; only the poem confirms the intention of the artist. These alterations are a key to understanding which elements were stable in creating an image of a garden at this time, and which elements were more idiosyncratic. It also may reflect changes to the topography and contents of the garden, since gardens are living, changing works of art. Both of these possibilities present issues to later archivists whose intention is to use these representations to reconstruct the garden.

The Wang family almost certainly updated and continued to build on their garden in the nearly two decades between the paintings and it is entirely possible that these changes indicate tangible new additions to their garden. Of course it is possible that both sets of these images bear little resemblance to the actual site. Even if either one or both are not literal representations of the physical garden at the time each was painted, the differences still inform us about how the ideal of the garden, or at least a view of a garden, was shifting from something more organic to a more controlled form which eventually becomes conventionalized. Both sets of representations utilize the archive of cultural memory to stimulate a response in the viewer. How the archive is used and what material is referenced undergoes some adjustment. Comparing the eight leaves in question will illuminate these issues.

Fragrance Bank

One of the sites altered in the 1551 album is the opening leaf, *The Fragrance Bank* (see Figure 3.10), which is the third site in the 1533 version. Although in both versions the pavilion is empty, the effect in the 1551 is one of quiet, perhaps even desolation, whereas the 1533 evokes a mood of anticipation.

The vantage point of the viewer in the 1551 version is higher and more distant, which contributes to the less intimate tone. There is no actual human presence; only the architecture and cultivated plants imply the existence of humans. The emphasis on long horizontals in the 1551 leaf is less dynamic and also adds to the sense of calm: starting in the foreground with a strip of land, a strip of bamboo, a strip of moat, a strip of bank, a strip of trees, a fence. Then the eye rests in open space at center, a courtyard. This middle section is also broken by the arch of the bridge from left and the arches in the fence at left and right. The lines are not rigid. There is a curved horizontal frame – roof, trees, fence, moat, bank, land, trees. This pattern of repeating horizontal lines also alternates in tonal contrast which elongates the horizontals and also increases the sense of stillness without becoming monotonous. The small moments of curve or unevenness also prevent the image from becoming overly static. Wen Zhengming was fond of working in the style of Yuan master Zhao Mengfu who also favored working in a strongly horizontal mode at times.

This is quite a contrast to the earlier version which is more intimate, organic, and has more of the human element. The servant carrying a tray in the foreground of the 1533 version adds a human touch (see Figure 3.11). The fact that he is hurrying toward an empty pavilion with a loaded tray creates the sense of anticipation and activity – a guest will arrive shortly. Perhaps the host has already gone out to greet him.

There is no human element visible in the later version outside of the presence of architecture and a clearly cultivated landscape. Even the pavilion's seating and spatial plan have become more rigid in the later version, with the platform replacing the more individually mobile stools. A moat is present in the later version making the visual isolation even more palpable. The pavilion has a thatched roof in the poem and in the earlier version, but in this later version, the roof has gained a ridgeline and structured eaves and possibly a tile roof. It is more formal in presentation and in the style of architecture. The simple balustrade has disappeared and a woven fence outlines the island in the moat. The fence will act as an arbor for creeping plants which will add another layer of fragrance to the site.

The poem addresses four of the five senses – highlighting the sense of smell:

Various kinds of flowers are planted next to the thatched house:

Purple luxuriance and red beauty in random array.

The spring radiance and brilliance embroiders them with a thousand artifices;

In the good air and scented mist a hundred fragrances mix.

I love the odors that fill my bosom and sleeves,

I do not heed the wind and dew that wets my clothes.

My high thoughts are already beyond the noisy world.

Aloof, I watch the bees flying up and down.⁹⁵

The last two lines are likely an oblique reference to Tao Qian's poem, "After Drinking Wine" in which his place is near the "noisy world" but his mind follows the birds to the

⁹⁵ Translated in Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, Rutland, VT: Princeton University and Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969: 66.

mountains. Wen writes in a different form and uses different words, but the idea is strikingly similar. Following the few lines of prose describing this site's location, Wen Zhengming also gives the source for the name of this site: a poem by Northern Song dynasty scholar Meng Congxian (act. ca. 1161-1190) with the line, "Beside your small house is a bank of many fragrances." Although he draws upon different material from the visual archive in creating these album leaves, he found no reason to alter the leaves of text. In this case, he even uses the same style of calligraphy (running script).

Lesser Canglang Pond

This shift in visual style is also evident when comparing the second image in the 1551 album to its counterpart in the 1533 album (see Figure 3.12). The 1533 painting of *The Lesser Canglang Pond* shows a distant view of a pavilion nestled on the misty water. The pond is surrounded by woods and gentle hillocks; the only other evidence of humans in this landscape is a simple bridge crossing a stream in the right foreground. In the pavilion, the master converses with a guest while leaning on the railing, robes open, sleeves slid back (see Figure 3.13). A servant stands at one side. The curtains have all been drawn back to allow the free play of the wind. The hipped roof has gables which would also increase the ventilation on very warm days.

In stark contrast, the 1551 painting shows very little of the pond and its natural environs. It focuses on architectural features – first the small gently arched bridge, then a tall woven fence identical to the one seen in the first painting, and part of a pavilion. In the pavilion, a *ding* and a vase with a flower are laid out on a table. The master waits at the arch in the fence. The composition is also less fluid than the earlier version. Like

the first image there is a rhythm of dark and light tones, but this time the pattern of lines is laid on the diagonal. The vantage point of the viewer is also much closer, which is the reverse of the first set of images. Wen opens with a small diagonal bit of land in the left foreground. A pair of trees on the spit of land balances the heavy dark roof of the pavilion in the opposite corner. A bridge leads the eye from the base of the tree across the water to the gate where the master waits. There is more actual activity in the first image and more implied activity with a palpable sense of waiting in the later image.

In the later image, the *ding* set out on the table is likely an antique and acts as a more overt reference to understanding the past. The host expects the guest to have an educated eye, to be a connoisseur. The activity of examining antiques is a theme in garden painting for most of the genre's history, but the popularity of this theme becomes more pronounced in the mid-sixteenth century.

We do not see the fisherman or the singing boys mentioned in the poem in either image:

Once a small pavilion was built by the Ts'ang-lang [pond];

The green water still surrounds its empty railings.

Here there are always wind and moon to offer to the fisherman,

And boys, too, singing "Wash your hat tassels!"

Rivers and lakes fill the whole land, enough for my enjoyment,

For a hundred years the fish and birds have forgotten walls.

Shun-ching [see below] is dead, Tu Ling [Tu Fu, 712-770] far away –

As a paragon of hermits who will compare with me?⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 66.

Wen mentions the line from the song, “Wash your hat fringes here” which is a recommendation to apply for an official post.⁹⁷ The implication is that although the common folk may not understand the perils of political life, he remembers and prefers the moonlit landscape. However, Wen ends by lamenting that there is no comparison to the hermits of old, the implication that Wang (and Wen) stand alone. This is the same lament voiced by Tao Qian in Chapter 1 – he calls for others to join him.

In the prose section, Wen once again explains the site’s name. The site is named in deference to Su Zimei of the Song dynasty. Like Wang and Wen, he travelled north to serve as an official and then returned to Suzhou. Wen explicitly notes that the similar paths followed by Su and by Wang inspired the name. His remarks emphasize that returning to Suzhou was the proper thing to do. The prose notes that Su had Canglang ponds and a Canglang pavilion in his garden. What is not explicitly stated is that Su Zimei had named his ponds and pavilion from the line of a poem by Qu Yuan (4th c. BCE).

Bamboo Bank

The third site in the 1551 album (see Figure 3.14), *The Bamboo Grove (Xiang Zhun Wu)*, continues the theme of leaving the dusty world/political career behind seen in the first two selections. It adds the element of experiencing altered states while in nature. According to the poem, the bamboo wood is so deep and thick that it is hard to know the season or time of day:

Bamboos are planted around the low mound

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Forming a bank of bamboo around the edge.
 In full summer it already seems to be autumn,
 So deep is the wood, one cannot tell when it is noon.
 In its midst is one who has abandoned the world,
 Enjoying himself with a *ch'in* and a goblet.
 When a wind stirs he wakes too from drunkenness
 To sit and listen to the rain on the bamboo leaves.⁹⁸

In this timeless place, the retiree plays *qin* and drinks wine until he sleeps. The wind wakes him and he listens to the rain on the bamboo. The prose adds only the location and a remark that this site is particularly secluded; there is no mention of a particular allusion made in the name. In this case, there are many poems and paintings of bamboo and of scholars drinking that might be remembered when reading this poem and painting. The viewer is free to make any type of connection. For instance, Li Bai's poem, "By Myself" addresses time lost while drunk as well as a solitary interaction with the natural environment:

Drinking wine, I was not aware of nightfall.
 Fallen flowers have filled my robe.
 Drunk, I got up and walked to the stream in the moonlight.
 The birds had gone home; people were also few.

The isolation is more profoundly felt in the 1533 view: a figure stands near a stream in a bamboo grove, apparently listening to the wind (see Figure 3.15). There is no rain, no goblet, no *qin*. Behind him (on the right) towers a wizened pine tree and

⁹⁸ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 67.

beyond it are other trees, some lush, others not so. There is no other sign of human life. Once again Wen has painted what is essentially a landscape and added the figure to it (see detail in Figure 3.15). The diagonals of the banks pull the attention to the center. A venerable pine rises above the rest of the foliage to hang over and also guide the eye to the figure. The ideal of being lost in nature's sounds and sights and rhythms is paramount here. The scene evokes the ideal experience. If it were not a leaf in an album of paintings of a particular garden, it would be hard to say that it was not set in the wilderness, much less in a specific garden.

In the 1551 view, Wen creates an altogether different experience. The emphasis is once again on the architecture. In the left foreground, a gate in a tall fence opens onto a pathway lined with a low fence. Plants have been placed along the fenceline to grow onto its supports. Part of the walkway is covered with an arbor. The walkway follows the water and leads to the upper right where there are two buildings. In the window of one building we see the master seated with a guest, watching a crane that is frolicking in the open space near the bamboo grove (see Figure 3.16). Next to the master is a servant. The crane is often used to indicate the presence of an immortal. The fence, the gate, and the buildings all emphasize the rectilinear, unlike the naturally rugged shapes of the 1533 image. The roofs of the buildings are simpler than in the previous two album leaves, but the buildings are still more complex than a thatched hut. Although the figures are seated in a building, there is an opening indicated in the bamboo that implies a path or space inside the grove that could lead to a more isolated spot. The people in the image are not isolated from other people, but are instead separated from nature.

Banana Enclosure

The 1533 leaf of *The Banana Enclosure* highlights the plant by removing everything but a rock and a fence (see Figure 3.17). The angle of the fence is like an arrow and focuses attention on the rock. The large scale and light color amplify the banana and allow it to vie for visual attention. In the 1551 leaf, the emphasis is again on the architectural features – a pavilion and a wall. The banana is sandwiched between the dark rock and the medium-tone building. Again the pale color does cause it to stand out a little, but the leaves that drape to the center of the painting lead the viewer back to the garden owner. He is examining a text, while a servant waits to one side. The white wall bisects the background. A few large trees appear over the wall. To one side of the pavilion are a few sparse palms.

These palms are the subject of the additional bit of prose in the 1551 album, “Later, palms were planted, to make a suitable shade for the summer months.”⁹⁹ The poem does not mention the palms, but is largely concerned with shade.

The new banana is more than ten feet tall;
 After rain it is clean as though washed.
 It does not dislike the high whitened wall,
 It elegantly matches the curved balustrade.
 Autumn sounds come into the cool pillow,
 Morning colors divide the green window.
 Let no tell the heedless shears to take it,

⁹⁹ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 67.

Leave it until the shade reaches the house.¹⁰⁰

When raindrops hit the large leaves of the banana plant, they create a soothing sound and are often used in gardens in the South. The fruit is used for food – so the plant is productive, provides climate control (shade), and is aesthetically pleasing.

The Fishing Stone

One often idealized image in Chinese landscape painting is that of the fisherman. If one could achieve the ideal life of a hermit, presumably this would mean living closer to the land and perhaps even having to provide provisions for the table, as Tao Qian had. In both albums (see Figure 3.18), Wen Zhengming shows the owner (not a fisherman) sitting comfortably near the water, appearing to fish. In the 1533 version, the figure sits up straight and has aligned his body with the fishing pole. He is framed by a tree, but surrounded by bamboo, water, landscape – no humans in sight. Although the pole rests in a wooden support (see Figure 3.19), the figure appears alert and is gazing down the pole to the water.

In contrast to this attentive figure, the figure in the 1551 does not appear to be engaged in fishing. He leans on one arm and gazes off into the distance. Wen places the figure just below the center of the painting and frames him between a slanting tree and the undulating shore. In one background corner are tree trunks, the branches cut off by the framing of the view. Behind the trees one can glimpse a stone wall that disappears as it moves across the background. In the other background corner is a

¹⁰⁰ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 67.

sparse, empty pavilion with a thatched roof – the wall disappears before reaching the building.

The poem adds birds to image:

The white stone is clean and dustless;

Flat, it overhangs the stream of wild water.

I sit and watch the line rolling.

I take quiet pleasure in the jade-like turning [of the water].

I enjoy rivers and lakes, far off,

I forget cares, and terns and egrets become tame.

You must know that he who stretches his line,

Is not one who desires [to catch] fish.¹⁰¹

The word for “fish” is a homophone for the word for “surplus/excess.” Fish are often used as a visual motif to connote this homophone. Here Wen Zhengming plays with this idea – he is perfectly satisfied and wants nothing more, just as he has previously indicated one in retirement should feel.

In the 1551 prose section, there is an added line: “At the time of spring brightness, the shade of the willows and the falling flowers make one sit so absorbed as to forget to return.”¹⁰² Yet in the 1551 image, there are no flowers or leaves to provide shade. This would not be in Wen Zhengming’s style – the attenuated branches are much better at demonstrating his refined brushwork. The text and image draw on different memories and have different purposes; together they give a more complete picture.

¹⁰¹ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 67-8.

¹⁰² Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 68.

Garden to Attract Birds

Several of the pages of the 1533 album appear to have suffered damage before the 1923 printing; this image is one of the most faded (see Figure 3.20). There is enough remaining to give a sense of the overall composition, but many details are lost. The upper two-thirds are left open and spacious. A hill is cut diagonally across the lower left corner. A swath of trees separated from us by a large white wall moves from the left until it disappears behind the hill in the foreground. The gate is just barely legible (see Figure 3.21) and we cannot see what activities are happening inside.¹⁰³

In the 1551 image, the viewer is already in the orchard and or is on some height that allows a view beyond the wall. There is a strip of sky at the top and a strip of land at the bottom; the rest of the surface is covered in trees. A small gap in the trees reveals a figure collecting fruit into two large baskets. The poem gives us an idea of how the fruit is used:

Here in summer a cool shade spreads over ten *mu*.

That is when the fruits begin to ripen in the long orchard.

At the place where the precious heavy baskets are divided and given away,

In a small window, I have got a rubbing of Yu-chun's [Wang Hsi-chih's] calligraphy.¹⁰⁴

Productivity, social obligations, history, and aesthetics are all addressed in the poem.

The orchard is large (the prose section indicates it is on both sides of Canglang Pond).

¹⁰³ In the text accompanying the 1923 reprint Kate Kerby claims to see a small bower in this painting. She may very well have seen the original in which it may have been more visible, but I cannot make it out here.

¹⁰⁴ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 68.

The fruits are divided – most likely to be used as gifts.¹⁰⁵ Wang Xizhi was said to have invented a new style of calligraphy after watching the movement of swans’ necks – so it is only fitting that his work should reside in a site dedicated to birds.

Jade Spring

The 1533 album leaf is discussed above. The triangle formed around the seated figures continues the interest in diagonals seen in the compositions from this earlier album. The newer painting once again has the focal point just below the center (see Figure 3.22). The view of the spring in the 1533 is mostly obstructed by the tree creating the diagonal. The well is more visible in the 1551 version; we see a servant retrieving water, presumably for tea.

As discussed above, the poem expresses a pride in the place and in the owner. The prose explains the name of the site: There was a spring by this name in the capital. When Wang discovered a fresh spring in his garden, he named it after that distant spring, “to show that he would not forget.”¹⁰⁶ This phrase is fraught with meaning – he will not forget that he once served in the capital, he will not forget why he has returned, he will not forget those who came before him, he will not forget how important it is to remain “pure,” he will not forget how distant the other spring is. In the image, we do not see Wang; in the poem, he is central.

The Locust Pavilion

¹⁰⁵ See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, for a more in depth discussion of this practice.

¹⁰⁶ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 68.

In the 1533 album (see Figure 3.23), the owner is at his leisure in a small thatched-roofed pavilion. He drapes his arm over the balustrade and gazes over the small bridge (see Figure 3.24). If he turned his head to look over the other shoulder, he would see a large, rocky hill framed by the columns, roof, and balustrade and would probably look like distant mountains. If he looked forward, a smaller hillock would set up another view. Trees shade the pavilion and the nearby stream adds some sound. In the 1551 version, two men are conversing in what appears to be an empty courtyard or perhaps the remaining pad of a demolished or unfinished building. The stone mosaic rectangle hovers in the center of the lower-third of the painting. Outside of the trees that surround it on all sides, there is no indication of the setting. A servant approaches the gentlemen carrying a *qin*. Wen appears to be playing with the name – Locust Pavilion. The locust trees are literally the pavilion.

Although it is certainly imaginative and playful, outside of the locust trees, the later image shows little connection to the poem:

Below the pavilion a tall locust tree falls over the wall,
 Mist on the cold leaves wets my clothes.
 The scattered flowers are sparse but their scent travels far,
 The cool shade falls all around, of lasting benefit to the world.
 The literary contests of the eighth moon recall past doings,
 When the honors of the three ministers were entrusted to the candidates.
 Since I became old I have not dreamt of Nan-k'o [of receiving high
 office],

Alone I move my bed to lie in the cool of the evening.¹⁰⁷

In the 1551, the poem is included, but the prose is not. The prose of the 1533 leaf gives us the location of the pavilion (south of Peach Blossom Bank and west of the Bamboo Bank) and also remarks that it is the owner's favorite site in the garden. There does not appear to be room on the page for the prose. Wen closes the album with a playful image and a somber poem. He returns to the themes of serving as an official and resting in solitude.

Concluding remarks

These two sets of eight images created nearly twenty years apart show some significant changes in the topography and elements of the garden, even though the site names and poems have not changed. Both sets continue to make references to the past through the names and poems, but also through the brushwork and compositions - both utilize the archive of cultural memory to stimulate a response in the viewer. The albums also exhibit a continued interest in showing a positive relationship between humans and the natural world. The righteous character of the owner is also important to each.

One other agent rarely mentioned so far is nature. Gardens are organic, living things. Plants die leaving gaps that must be filled in. Other plants burgeon beyond the bounds originally intended for them. Storms, animals, children – any of these could alter a view temporarily or permanently. The intentional and unintentional changes

¹⁰⁷ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 68-9.

present challenges to later archivists whose intention is to use these representations, these varying memories, to reconstruct the garden.

The increased interest in architectural features and a tendency toward detachment over intimacy are two other noticeable trends in the later album. This may reflect an interest in adding new buildings or restoring old ones on the part of the owner. It may more broadly suggest the general growth in gardens of that time since architecture was a key feature. The distance in the later leaves may also indicate a small move in conventionalizing some elements into a vocabulary of garden motifs. Removing a sense of personal intimacy would be the first step toward such a vocabulary. In the next chapter, I will establish the continued shift in representations of gardens as they move beyond the canon to become popular motifs.

Chapter 4

Popularizing the Garden

In the previous chapter, I analyzed two albums of the same garden by the same artist painted twenty years apart, uncovering some of the key elements of the garden in the sixteenth century. However, the very intimate format of the album is not the most effective tool for understanding the wide spread of this imagery or tracing its move beyond the canon and into popular culture. For this, an examination of blue-and-white porcelain is fruitful since it had a broader audience and its format is conducive to the reduction of the image to its simplest legible form. Through this reduction, what is essential for an image to be read as “garden” becomes even more apparent.

Scholars in the Garden on Ming Dynasty Blue and White Porcelain

Ming dynasty blue-and-white porcelain designers increasingly add concrete images of aestheticized gardens inhabited by scholars to the repertoire of more abstract references to productive gardens seen in their ever-popular fruit and floral motifs.¹⁰⁸ The subject matter of the pieces examined here is the scholar in the garden. In the Introduction, I discussed the difficulty in defining what constitutes a garden in painting. In porcelain, the garden imagery is overlaid with other conventionalized imagery – beauties in the garden, children (fertility) in the garden, auspicious plants, and the flower and fruit motifs. The scholar in the garden image most directly relates to this connection to the past and will be the focus here.

¹⁰⁸ I have limited myself to blue-and-white, though some of what I will say applies to the other polychrome wares as well.

Another commodity that both benefited from and contributed to the burgeoning Ming economy was blue-and-white porcelain. The revolutionary appearance of *qinghua*, or blue-and-white, occurred in the early 14th century (Yuan Dynasty) at Jingdezhen. It is a white porcelain body painted with cobalt blue underglaze, resulting in a striking contrast between the white body and the bright blue decor. Liu Xinyuan finds that the evidence indicates this innovation was a sudden development, despite precedents painting cobalt on a porcelain body from excavations of Tang sites.¹⁰⁹ Margaret Medley states that the cobalt imported during the Tang was used only to color lead glaze, not as a pigment for underglaze painting. She finds that this latter use of cobalt is not probable before the early 14th century.¹¹⁰

Sometime early in his reign, the first ruler of the Ming, the Hongwu emperor, established official kilns at Jingdezhen to produce imperial wares. Rosemary Kerr notes that as emperor, he was required to perform the rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices to Heaven and to the ancestors. To aid in legitimizing his rule, he returned to the ancient laws insisting that sacrificial vessels be made of gourds or clay, and so rejected all metal vessels. Instead, he ordered a set of porcelain vessels, distinctly dictating each type.¹¹¹ According to Medley, the term “imperial” was simply a mark of quality; no imperial kiln existed, only kilns run by the government.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ As stated by Jennifer Chen in Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe*, Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and University of Washington Press, 2000, 58. I am trying to pinpoint Liu Xinyuan's sources.

¹¹⁰ Margaret Medley, *The Chinese Potter: A practical history of Chinese ceramics* (New York, NY: Phaidon Press, Inc., 2001): 176.

¹¹¹ Rosemary Scott, ed, *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen*. Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, no. 16, London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 86. This order may be found in the *Da ming hui dian*.

¹¹² Medley 201.

In this brief survey, there is no example from this inaugural period of a blue-and-white porcelain with the scholar-in-the-garden motif.¹¹³ The number of items decorated with this motif increase in number during the Ming dynasty, which suggests that it is merely one expression of the garden culture and flourished only in its wake.¹¹⁴ How this motif is expressed on varying shapes and in varying formats parallels changes in technology, taste, and imperial control.

From nearly every period of blue-and-white porcelain production, numerous examples of the floral and fruit motifs exist, recalling the original function of gardens as sites of production. These motifs do not reproduce a site in the same way that the scholar-in-the-garden motif does: there are no architectural elements nor is there a sense of space nor hints of landscape. Rather, an organic form is scrolled around the surface of the vessel in an eye-pleasing manner, usually in horizontal registers (Figures 4.1-4.3). If one focuses on the content of the image and not merely its pleasant design, one may be reminded of the productive function of gardens, although that does not seem to be the intent of the artist.

The earliest pieces of blue-and-white with an image of the scholar in the garden available for examination here are two dishes and two jars dated to the Xuande reign (1426-1435) (Figure 4.4-4.7). Both of the dishes have a slightly flared lip and an articulated foot decorated by thin, blue lines. In Figure 4.4, there is not as much evidence of human intervention with nature as we see in the other three examples from this period. The ground has been cleared of all but a few strategically placed plants and

¹¹³ Of the over five hundred blue-and-white porcelains available for my review, only 44 include the scholar-in-the-garden motif.

¹¹⁴ From the Hongwu-Tianshun reigns, there are 8 examples of this motif, from the Chenghua-Longqing reigns there are 14, and from the Wanli-Chongzhen reigns there are 22.

the Three Friends (pine, bamboo, and plum)¹¹⁵ are foregrounded, giving them as much prominence as the figures. Although we have seen these plants before, they have not been pared down like this. The figures and the plants are all located along a wide band just above the foot. Distant mountains rise out of the mists, filling in the open areas of the foreground composition. The pictorial bands of Figures 4.5-4.7 are similar to that of Figure 4.4 in composition, but in the former, architectural elements and decorative rocks are also featured. The horizontally-arranged elements of each piece provide a minimal setting and at the same time also encourage the viewer's eye to continue around the vase in a horizontal manner.¹¹⁶ The artist has conceived each image as a scroll painting and it wraps around the entire piece. Like a handscroll, it is simultaneously one image, and yet because one cannot view its entirety in one glance, it is multiple images. Unlike a handscroll, in order to view the entire image, one must either move around it in space or touch the object in order to turn it, both of which are quite unlike the experience of unfurling a scroll. The views are on multiple planes; looking from above Figure 4.5 into the bottom, the viewer also gains the comforting view of the Three Friends, this time in a roundel.

The other five items (three jars and two *meiping*) dating before 1465 are similar in format and in their treatment of the subject. For example, Figure 4.9 is painted in a spontaneous, somewhat imprecise manner. There are three primary bands of decoration, each separated by two narrow lines. The bottom band is a ring of lotus petals and the band on the shoulder is a flower motif (it looks like chrysanthemum, but the photograph is difficult to read.) The central band is two-thirds of the vessel's

¹¹⁵ Pine, bamboo, and plum symbolize long life, integrity/flexibility, and beauty respectively.

¹¹⁶ In the cases of the two jars, I have access to only one side.

height. In it, two scholars are conversing in a slightly cultivated landscape, or garden. On the other side is a “monumental” pine tree.¹¹⁷ This pictorial band is divided into registers, presumably to suggest depth. From lowest to highest, the items are distributed in horizontal bands (registers): clumps of grass, clumps of rocks and flowers, blank space in which the scholars float, more rocks and flowers (these are overlapped by the scholars at the height of their shins), and meandering, scrolling, stylized clouds through which the moon peeks. The moon is depicted with a solid blue circle which is surrounded by a softer blue haze.

The delicately painted figures are not on a baseline; one stands further up the surface of the pot than the other, also contributing to the sense of depth. The robes of the scholars flutter elegantly, recalling efforts to instill a sense of motion in earlier paintings like *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, attributed to Gu Kaizhi. However, the arrangement of the elements to create depth, the slightly more expressive brushwork, and the sense of mass beneath the robes of the figures are later painting achievements.

The figure on the left is in profile, facing the figure on the right, whose body faces away from his friend, with his head turned back towards his companion. Their glances unite them into a coherent unit, while the directionality of their bodies leads the viewers' eyes around the vase to the rest of the composition. The staff carried by the figure on the right also points us to the right.

¹¹⁷ The opposite side is not reproduced in my source, so I must trust the description there. Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and University of Washington Press, 2000): 63.

The artist was not only less concerned with precision in the decor of this *meiping*, but has also produced a more rustic shape than those from more stable times. The opening begins where the second double line appears (the first double-line band being just at the foot), just above the lotus petals and gradually swells into a gently rounded shoulder. Once again the artist marks the shift in direction with a double-line band. In this case, the placement is slightly after the shift, which de-emphasizes the width of the shoulder and creates a sense of tension or constraint at the shoulder. The neck and lip continue this soft, rounded sensibility. The neck, which is half the height of the shoulder, curves in gentle opposition to it, even as the lip, which is half the height of the neck, gently curves back in and ends in a suggestion of verticality.

How do we know these two men are scholars in a garden? As I mentioned above, the landscape appears to be slightly more cultivated: they are standing on a path lined on either side with rocks and flowers. Their robes and hair are those of scholars. Additionally, the pine tree is often painted by literati to symbolize constancy in adversity. They are out enjoying the moon, perhaps for the Autumn Moon Festival, another favorite of the scholars. Autumn is sometimes symbolized by the chrysanthemum, which we find in the register above the pictorial band.¹¹⁸ Tao Qian is also associated with the chrysanthemum.

There are many other acceptable activities for scholars in gardens. Playing the *qin* was considered to be one of the “four arts,” along with calligraphy, painting, and playing *wei qi*; these were the arts that nobles and intellectuals were expected to learn.

¹¹⁸ There may also be chrysanthemums in the pictorial band, but my source is too difficult to read that level of detail.

And they appear again and again in paintings of scholars in gardens.¹¹⁹ In fact, some paintings or groups of paintings depict all four activities, for instance the anonymous Song painting, *The Eighteen Scholars* (which was later copied by Qiu Ying in the Ming dynasty.) A bowl from the reign of the Chenghua emperor (1465-1487) may also be a representation of the four scholarly arts set in a garden (Figure 4.9). In the reproduction I have, only one side is visible, the side with scholars playing *wei qi* in the garden. In this scene, two scholars are seated before a *wei qi* board. A third scholar approaches from the left and a servant stands ready with a fan. However, there are probably four scenes, divided by stalks of bamboo. This is indicated by the additional figures visible on the left side of the bamboo. A servant is readily discernible, and there appears to be a seated scholar, but it is not possible to read the activity. The paint style is similar, but not identical to the earlier *meiping*. The figures are not quite so delicately painted, and the only fluttering of garments is the host's neck gear. There are vestigial cloud forms occasionally meandering down from the lip and a sprig of bamboo jutting up from the foot. Both the lip and the foot have a very fine double-line band. There is an interesting lack of ornamentation, at least on the lip. The figures are once again arranged on different planes to create depth. Elastic perspective is employed to give the viewer the most information about each element in the picture, so the figures are seen straight on, but the table and *wei qi* board are seen from a slightly higher angle.

In the *wei qi* scene, the servant's body faces the action, but he looks over his shoulder into the scene beyond the bamboo to the right. This is the same device used by the painter of the *meiping* to lead the viewer's eye around the bowl. However, here the

¹¹⁹ See author's unpublished paper, *Scholars Playing Weiqi under a Pine Tree: Aspiring Allusions*, 2002.

artist acknowledges the viewer's inability to take in the entire painting at a glance, and provides visual punctuation in the form of bamboo "screens." This is more similar to the conventions of handscroll painting, where the artist provides visual punctuation every few feet or so, so that the rolled ends of the scroll do not contain information necessary to read the scene at hand.

The shape is simple and refined. The articulated foot raises the bowl and adds to the impression of lightness already begun in thinness of the vessel walls. Just above the foot, the body rounds and then flares out to the lip. The shape does not seem to be of equal concern in this piece; the painting is the focus.

The depiction of a game of *wei qi* and probably the other three arts indicates that this patron would be someone desirous of appearing scholarly and gentlemanly. The game board in the painting appears to be nineteen squares by nineteen squares, which is the standard size of a *wei qi* board. The game is essentially one of strategy and tactics; it is martial and confrontational. As a result, Chen Zuyan finds that "*wei-ch'i* was popular not only among the military but also in literary circles, for many courtiers, not satisfied by mere literary distinctions, hungered for the military glory that could be won on the frontier."¹²⁰ *Wei qi* may also be a metaphorical commentary for the cosmos.¹²¹ It may imitate the conflicts found in life or it may be influenced by "Buddhist and Taoist pacifist ideas – the notion that man should strive not for glory, but for a state of peace, particularly when faced with failure in one's career."¹²² So a recluse theme can also be implied by a number of visual signs, if one knows how to read them.

¹²⁰ Chen, Zu Yan. "The Art of Black and White: Wei-ch'i in Chinese Poetry." *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, V.117, N. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1997): 643.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

Additionally, the garden is not shown as a space for growing produce, but rather as a beautiful setting for entertaining friends.

Another popular theme in garden painting in the Ming Dynasty was the scholar at leisure. A jar excavated from the tomb of General Dai Xian (1504) illustrates this theme (Figure 4.10). Although the shape of the vessel does not change greatly from the earlier examples, the details of the decor are quite simplified: a band of stylized lotus petals at the bottom forms a pattern of rectangles, a pictorial band of a loosely brushed scholar with a servant bringing his zither, a band of stripes, and a crown of plantain leaves. The setting has been reduced to a few lines and washes of color to indicate cleared land and perhaps mountains in the distance. It is difficult to discern whether the triangle shapes to either side of the figures are intended to be rocks or distant mountains. Either way, the cleared land around them seems to indicate a landscape altered by humans.

During the rule of the Wanli emperor, in addition to nearly double the number of images of scholars in the garden, unusual formats and shapes become more numerous. For instance, a hexagonal teapot (Figure 4.11), a ewer¹²³ (Figure 4.12) and a box (Figure 4.13). The latter two both utilize a medallion to frame the picture and introduce new visual formats and more complex shapes. The beginnings of a discontinuous format seen in the Chenghua bowl are taken to a further extreme in these pieces. These more complex shapes required some, if not a great deal of labor-intensive hand building.

¹²³ There is no reign mark on the ewer. The curatorial staff at the Minneapolis Institute of Art lists it as being from the 16th century and its figures closely resemble those in the other Wanli pieces.

There are six separate scenes painted onto the teapot, one for each facet. Four examples are: seeing the prunus, enjoying looking at the lotus, planting bamboo, and viewing the waterfall.¹²⁴ The garden scenes are framed by lotus petals rising from the foot and suspended from the lip. In the foreground of each scene is a cluster of rocks and plants that block the access of the viewer, separating the viewer from the scene and establishing the voyeuristic nature of the gaze. This imperial ware is painted from the imperial perspective of the emperor looking from slightly above at, but remaining separate from, his scholar-subjects. In the scene on the left of the image, a scholar is seated under a tree, and a servant brings a vase with flowers. In the scene on the right, the scholar sits under a tree that is a mirror image of the tree in the previous scene. He reclines while reading, with stack of books behind him.¹²⁵ A servant approaches from the right. No garments ripple behind anyone. The ground on which the scholar and servant are placed is blank, white space. Behind them, or at about their waist level, a solid line divides the earth from the sky. Like paintings and woodblock prints of the time, an occasional scattering of dots reminds the eye that this is “earth.” The sky is indicated by the scrolling cloud forms seen on earlier wares, but here only the outline, not the body of the clouds, is indicated. The spout and handle have bamboo, plum, pine, and chrysanthemum; all four plants are associated with scholars, with the seasons, and are popular motifs in paintings of this time, as well. The cloud meanders are repeated on the lid, woven into a knot. The knob on the lid is a four-legged animal.

¹²⁴ Once again, I am forced to rely on the eyes of others as the reproduction that I have shows only two scenes. This information is taken from She Cheng, *Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Taipei: China Art Printing Works, 1988): 66.

¹²⁵ Or he may be holding a fan, it is hard to say from this reproduction.

The teapot body is six pieces, with a spout, a lid and a handle all created separately and added to it. The spout has a square opening, the lid is also hexagonal, and the handle is squared; all of which require more intricate handwork resulting in an extremely labor-intensive piece.

The trees and clouds do not perfectly match at the seams in the body of the pot. The artist does nothing to draw the eye around the pot, although the lotus petals, the clouds, and the ground line all work to unify the pot into a single work. But when viewed in this way, the pictures of the scholar in the garden become ornamental pattern, too. Either the eye focuses on the individual scene, or it backs away and views the entire pot at a glance. The seam lines, in addition to creating a pleasing visual rhythm and giving the pot an auspicious melon shape, serve to divide the painting into vignettes, which do not appear to be intended to be read as a continuous piece of fluid time and space; it is more like album leaves or woodblock prints than the handscroll format seen above.

This vertical division of the painting format is taken to a new extreme by the use of the medallion as a frame in the ewer and the round box (Figures 4.12 and 4.13). The break with the surface is complete, and the viewer is invited to look through the surface of the pot onto a scene. In the case of the ewer from the Minneapolis Institute of Art, the scene is of a scholar in a garden followed by his servants, one of whom carries a *qin*. On the round box, which bears the imperial stamp, the picture is once again from a slightly elevated point of view, and the subject seems to be depicted in a slightly more official tone and rigid manner than that of the ewer.

Like the teapot, the ewer is also comprised of several sections, although the divisions are primarily horizontally determined rather than vertically determined: the foot, body, and possibly the lip, the handle, spout, and the spout support. Unlike the teapot and the round box, however, the overall shape of the ewer shows significant foreign influence. In this case, the influence appears to be metal wares from the Middle East. This influence is also seen in the band on the lip of the spout and the band around the neck into which the handle and spout support attach; the geometric pattern is similar to that of Islamic tile.¹²⁶ The medallion often appears in European ceramics of the period and seems to have also influenced the Ming ceramic aesthetic. In each case here, the insertion of the framed image interrupts the flow of the evenly distributed ornamentation on the body of the vessel and opens a window into another space and time.

As the dynasty moved towards its close, there was a return to uncomplicated shapes and simplified formats, while the subject itself became more detailed and naturalistic (Figure 4.14). The scene is particularly apt for one at the collapse of a dynasty: the emperor's emissary in a scholar's hat, hands a scholar a scroll assigning him an official appointment. During dynastic transitions, scholars were faced with the difficult choice of remaining loyal to the old dynasty and going into reclusion, or serving the new dynasty and possibly being labeled a collaborator, unless they could somehow serve and still remain loyal, as Zhao Mengfu is purported to have done in this situation at the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty. In this case, the setting would indicate

¹²⁶ China did significant amounts of trade with the Middle East in the Ming. The Yongle emperor's planned expansion of China's tribute system was marked by seven great maritime expeditions that begun in 1405 and continued until 1433.

that the scholar is already in reclusion, perhaps like Sima Guang in the Song Dynasty, as discussed in Chapter 2. This piece does not have an imperial mark, and it seems to be a poignant reminder to the viewer of the difficult choices ahead.

Other than the pictorial representation, there is no other ornamentation on the stark white background. We have returned to the wraparound format, but with much more refined painting. The outlines are delicate and subtle, filled in with washes that incorporate shading to heighten the illusion of the volume of the figures. Even the postures have more force and realism than the earlier wares. Like the earlier wares, this artist creates a foreground, middle ground, and background, but is more elegant in his execution. This seems to be a precursor to the Qing precision in ceramic painting.

A cool elegance is also seen in the shaping of the brush pot. The foot is a gentle, almost invisible, diagonal that curves into the body with just a hint of articulation. The body is straight, erect, upright and then gently flares at the lip, which has a clearly demarcated edge. A brush pot would sit on the desk of the scholar, holding his brushes, and would be something that he would presumably meditate upon while sitting at his desk. This serene and cultivated form would be restful for the eyes, but the subject would stir the heart of a good Confucian scholar.

By the end of the Ming dynasty, the motif of the scholar in the garden appeared with increasing frequency and on an increasing variety of items. Most of the early objects were vessels of some sort, and often associated with drinking. This association seems natural, since drinking was one of the activities often done in gardens as an accompaniment to the music, poetry, painting, and *wei qi*. As time went on, and the

motif became more popular, it began appearing on all manner of objects, although it was most frequently seen on scholar objects or items used for entertaining in the garden.

The fact that it could be used as motif at all relies upon the existence of gardens, scholars, and stereotypes of their relationship. Such conventions appear in the literature and painting of the period, illustrating the value placed on having a garden and on being a scholar. The translation of these values onto porcelain, itself seen to be a highly desirable commodity, at once reduces the image and increases the value. Philip Rawson would call this reduction a “conceptual reduction” of the graphic image, which is when

a stereotype represents an attempt by a decorator who has only a restricted repertory of graphic symbols at his command either to reproduce or to refer back as a value-indicator to a more elaborate and richer graphic imagery – an imagery with which he is acquainted but over which he has no command.¹²⁷

We see the same scenes over and over and with increasing frequency. They are essentializations of the garden painting of the period.

The Song adaptation of the garden as an extension of scholarly identity was deepened in the Yuan and Ming. The depictions of gardens vary from time to time and individual to individual and medium to medium. Yet certain activities and objects and sentiments seem to be ever present and others seem to appear more frequently as times change. The increasing appearance of the scholar-in-the-garden motif reflects both the shift from viewing the garden as a site of cultural and agricultural production to viewing it as a sight, a visual pleasure. It may also reveal a concern on the part of the patron that

¹²⁷ Philip Rawson, *Ceramics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984): 157.

appearing to understand the allusions made in these visual reductions was important. In them, the meanings of the garden are not utterly forgotten, but they are reduced almost to the point of forgetting. There is no longer a text. The layers of allusion are less clear or absent, although the iconography is perhaps easier to read.

Epilogue

Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-first Century America: Cultivating the Past¹²⁸

During the course of this project, I visited several Chinese gardens in the United States. This epilogue reflects on three tracts of American real estate that have been transformed into representations of China. As I have noted above, in imperial China, gardens were often designed by and for viewers with a very specific education in the Chinese classics and in the history of Chinese art. Multiple layers of allusion were understood by these viewers. Can these strata of allusion be transmitted across time and space? Hybridization is unavoidable when transferring a cultural icon,¹²⁹ especially one so layered in meaning as the garden in China.

Elements of Chinese gardens have been migrating west for hundreds of years in various forms, for example: the writings of Matteo Ricci, the designs of William Chambers, the Chinese fence at Monticello, the plethora of Willow Ware patterns. More recently, a number of actual gardens have been cultivated in the United States. Most of these gardens have received little critical attention, although a few recent constructions have received attention in the press. To my knowledge, there is no organized history of this practice building “Chinese” gardens in the United States. This

¹²⁸ This portion of my dissertation has been published in a slightly different form as “Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-first Century America: Cultivating the Past,” *ASIANetwork Exchange*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Fall 2011): 17-29. It is a Creative Commons copyright.

¹²⁹ Thank you to the anonymous reviewer whose comments helped me to clarify this idea by suggesting the term “cultural icon.”

epilogue, which is the start of a larger project focusing only on extant gardens, is intended to begin to fill that gap.

This epilogue presents a brief examination of three tracts of American real estate that have been transformed into Chinese-style gardens. Each re-presentation serves a specific function at its particular site and also creates and perpetuates symbolic meaning that goes beyond the individual site to connect to other sites past and present. In each case, the re-presentation demonstrates adaptations and continuations in function and meaning. Producing meaning is crucial since the majority of the viewers of these new gardens will not share the cultural memory¹³⁰ upon which the older gardens were built, as I noted in the introduction.

The three sites used to illustrate the range of adaptations were chosen for their diversity in several areas: the defining and re-inventing of authenticity, their sizes and locations, the type of installation, their origin story and funding, the reflexivity of the institution about the changes made, and programs to produce meaning for the viewers. In their commitment to preserve, recreate, and sustain the past, these institutions have transformed the physical form of the garden.

The creators of today's Chinese gardens in the United States use and shape history, memory, and imagination in the construction of new "Classical Chinese" gardens. The term "Classical Chinese garden" is used in this essay because that is how the sponsoring institutions identify these gardens. It is not clear precisely what they mean by this term although it seems to indicate that the gardens are based on designs from southeastern China during the Ming-Qing periods (rather than imperial gardens

¹³⁰ I use this term as described by Jan Assmann in "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 125-133, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/488538>.

from northern China or gardens from the Song dynasty or Sichuan-style gardens).

Based on their designs, they are most likely referring to the gardens of the style promoted in the *Yuan Ye*, the first garden manual produced in China (around 1631).¹³¹

Many of the gardens also have somewhere in their promotional literature a claim like this: City X “. . . is the proud home of the most authentic Chinese garden outside of China.”¹³² It is quite common in this literature to equate “authentic” and “Chinese.” Evidence for this “authenticity” consists of noting how many Chinese artisans came to build it, which (if not all) of the materials were purchased and/or constructed in China, whether or not a traditional Chinese design was consulted, if the plants are native to China. Yet as Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims state in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Display*:

Authenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority. Objects have no authority; people do Authenticity – authority – enforces the social contract between the audience and the museum, a socially agreed-upon reality that exists only as long as confidence in the voice of the exhibition holds.¹³³

In another essay in this volume, Susan Vogel provides an example of this authority. In the exhibition *Art/artifact*, which examined the museum experience, she invoked her authority as a curator of by creating a section that

¹³¹ For an English translation of this work, see Ji Cheng, *Yuan Ye*, translated by Alison Hardie, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

¹³² Lan Su Chinese Garden, *Lan Su Chinese Garden*, “History and Culture,” http://www.lansugarden.org/garden/history_culture.

¹³³ Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, “Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue,” in *Exhibiting Culture: Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1991, p.163.

. . . contained an unedited and untranslated videotape showing the installation of a Mijikenda memorial post, accompanied by a label stating that only the original audience could have the original experience—that all other settings were inauthentic and arbitrary to a greater or lesser degree.¹³⁴

Vogel’s then-experimental exhibition displayed objects in a variety of ways, using both art museum and anthropological museum practices in an effort to draw the attention of the viewer to how objects in museums are mediated. In contrast, the presentation of these gardens does not seem to be aware of the current debates in exhibition practice (which itself is based in part on shifts in anthropology and ethnography in the past few decades).¹³⁵

Generally not discussed are those elements which are not related to this limited notion of authenticity. These unmentioned elements are what craft these gardens into authentic American creations, or perhaps more accurately, Chinese American creations since they are often clearly collaborations between the two countries with the goal of strengthening the bonds of friendship and understanding.¹³⁶ There are around 25 of these gardens today (see a table with a growing list of current Chinese-style gardens in the US in Figure 5.1 and see Figure 5.2 for a partial list of some that are at various stages in the process from fundraising to construction).

¹³⁴ Susan Vogel, “Always True to the Object, In our Fashion,” in *Exhibiting Culture: Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1991, p.196-7.

¹³⁵ See for example, Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1983 and Clifford Geertz and George Marcus, *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

¹³⁶ These gardens are tangible evidence that a shift in the power dynamic of this relationship is evolving – China is leaving its mark on the American landscape. This is worth further exploration, but is not the focus of this piece.

In the three examples below, history is layered differently. Each garden arose to fulfill a different need for a different type of institution, and yet each is called a “Chinese garden.” There is a set of objects and ideas that are present in each site that link them to the claim of “Chinese garden:” rocks, plants, views, architecture, connections to other arts. There are in some cases other overlapping concerns that are not related to being a Chinese garden, but rather to adaptations made due to being located in the United States in the twenty-first century: accessibility, safety requirements, education of a diverse public. All three institutions have incorporated some form(s) of didactics to increase the accessibility of their sites to a broad audience. All have useful pedagogical applications, depending on the level of the learner. If these tools are successful in creating memories and emotional connections in the viewers, they may give the site meaning to new communities of viewers.

Pursuing Harmony Garden

The *Pursuing Harmony Garden* at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, Minnesota, is a reconstructed Qing dynasty garden which is attached to a study that was taken apart and then rebuilt inside the museum (see Figure 5.3). It is owned and operated by the Minneapolis Institute of Art, although the project of finding, moving, and reconstructing it was backed by Bruce Dayton, a frequent donor to the museum.¹³⁷ The studio/library to which the small courtyard garden is attached is called the “Studio for Gratifying Discourse” (see Figure 5.4). This studio/library was part of a

¹³⁷ Rita Reif, “Arts and Artifacts: Far from China, but Completely at Home,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1998, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>.

house near Lake Tai in the town Dangli.¹³⁸ When curator Robert Jacobson located it, he noted that a plaque in the garden wall dated it to 1797. Most of the original stones of the garden were missing when the studio/library was purchased in 1996, but similar rocks from other Jiangnan gardens were purchased and used.¹³⁹ Jacobson was specifically looking for a library and a reception hall to showcase the furniture donated to the museum by Dayton and was delighted to find a library with a courtyard garden attached.¹⁴⁰ Chinese artisans disassembled the studio and the remains of the garden. They accompanied the pieces to Minneapolis to help with the reconstruction of the studio and the construction of the garden.

This site is the only one of the three examples located indoors, actually inside a museum. Dayton wanted the collection of Chinese furniture that he donated to have “context,” which led to the purchase of this garden. This type of installation is what Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett calls exhibiting *in situ*, “. . . the object is a part that stands in a contiguous relation to an absent whole that may or may not be recreated.”¹⁴¹ Dayton’s collection of objects is displayed in the studio/library and in display cases in the surrounding galleries. The garden is part of the setting and in combination with the studio/library allows the viewer to see the objects in relation to one another and to a space. The installation is part reconstruction and part new creation, but it also recalls the larger whole – the residence – from which it was excised.

¹³⁸ Minneapolis Institute of Arts, “Arts of Asia: Architecture: Scholar’s Library and Study,” <http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/architecture/chinese-scholars-study.cfm>.

¹³⁹ MIA, “Arts of Asia: Architecture: Scholar’s Library and Study – Garden Rocks,” <http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/architecture/chinese-scholars-study-garden-rocks.cfm>. Note that the MIA uses the Wade-Giles romanization system, but I use Pinyin, so “Jiangnan” is “Chiang-nan” in the MIA text.

¹⁴⁰ Reif, “Arts and Artifacts,” <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Visitors can walk through the courtyard garden. The doors on one side of the studio are open, but a sheet of clear plexiglass covers the bottom, preventing visitors from entering. Although the studio cannot be entered, it is possible to see the garden through the studio, creating a view and making the garden seem bigger than it actually is (see Figure 5.4). A viewer could imagine herself sitting in the chair and rearranging the brushes and paraphernalia in preparation for painting. Noticing how each of the windows frames a particular view increases the sense of space while also making a connection to paintings for the knowledgeable viewer. There are bamboo paintings hung in an adjacent gallery; a perceptive viewer can make a connection between the vertical hanging scroll format and the framed view through the window.

Both the smooth pebbles in the mosaic covering the ground of the garden and the fantastical standing stones are actual rocks. The plants however, are plastic, fabric, and wire (see Figure 5.5) making this more installation than garden. In its original context, the small courtyard would have connected to other courtyards and additional views would have been available through the other windows in the library and through the entries into the courtyard. With only a museum wall beyond the lattice windows in the garden wall, there is no borrowed view. There are no crickets or cicada, no sound of rain on leaves, no changing shadows on the walls, no smell of damp earth or flowers. Visitors cannot remove their shoes and walk on the stone mosaic for an acupuncture massage of their feet. The form of the garden has been preserved, but not its life. By removing the garden from its outdoor context and putting it into a museum, it becomes an artifact (or as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it, “a tomb with a view.”)¹⁴²

¹⁴² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” p. 416.

Some of the galleries near the garden are filled with scholar's objects or furniture, each with wall text to lead the interested viewer further into that world. Some of the objects have audio materials via headsets. The Minneapolis Institute of Art has a website, "Arts of Asia," which features a section on the library and rock garden.¹⁴³ There are docent-led tours that include the library and rock garden. In contrast to the in situ presentation of the garden, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes this mode of presentation as "in context":

The notion of in context, which poses the interpretive problem of theoretical frame of reference, entails particular techniques of arrangement and explanation to convey ideas In-context approaches to installation establish a theoretical frame of reference for the viewer, offer explanations, provide historical background, make comparisons, pose questions"¹⁴⁴

She concludes that these strategies give the viewer a reason for looking at the object. Dayton wanted the garden to function as context for the objects, but it becomes another artifact that becomes subject to interpretative strategies.

The *Pursuing Harmony Garden* is history that can be seen in the present. Even though parts of the site date to the eighteenth century, it is not that eighteenth century garden. Visitors can perhaps be swept into the past by this re-presentation of a garden. It may recall the past, but it is an adaptation of the present.

¹⁴³ MIA, "Scholar's Library and Study," <http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/architecture/chinese-scholars-study.cfm>.

¹⁴⁴ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," p. 390.

Lan Su Chinese Garden (also known as the *Garden of Awakening Orchids* and previously known as the *Portland-Suzhou Chinese Garden*)¹⁴⁵

In addition to preserving the past, Portland's representation of a Chinese garden has the added function of revitalizing another downtown neighborhood.¹⁴⁶ It is a new construction using traditional techniques, materials, and plants (see Figure 5.6). It is owned by the City of Portland and is operated by a nonprofit company. The *Lan Su Chinese Garden* also underscores the relationship between Portland and her sister city in China, Suzhou. In contrast to the modest *Pursuing Harmony Garden*, the Portland garden is essentially a city park and takes up an entire one-acre block of downtown Portland. Like *Pursuing Harmony Garden*, it was funded largely by donors but the land is owned by the City of Portland through the Board of Parks and Recreation.

Although “[g]arden designers and artisans from Suzhou built this Garden [sic],”¹⁴⁷ there were also architects, engineers, and contractors from Portland involved in the construction of the garden. These are not mentioned in the promotional material, but were necessary to be sure that the garden meets state and federal accessibility and safety requirements; there is a wheelchair-accessible route through the garden. However, there are many places where more traditional Chinese aesthetics were not altered to fit American building codes – there are still steps up into some buildings and some thresholds remain intact (for instance, one must step over the threshold of the

¹⁴⁵ The Lan Su Chinese Garden was originally called “The Portland Classical Chinese Garden.”

¹⁴⁶ Mark Hinshaw, “Secret Garden in the City: A Classical Chinese Garden Uplifts Portland’s Chinatown,” *Landscape Architecture* 93, no. 1 (2003): 92.

¹⁴⁷ Cynthia Johnson Haruyama, “Portland Chinese Garden Organizational Profile (pdf),” Lan Su Chinese Garden, “About the Garden,” http://www.lansugarden.org/garden/about_the_garden: 9.

Crabapple Blossom Gate).¹⁴⁸ A traditional Chinese garden has many liminal moments of slowing down and being more conscious of movement, stillness, and change; some of this is lost in the American descendants.

Most of the building materials and the rocks were brought from China.¹⁴⁹ The plants are those found in Chinese gardens, but were all grown in the United States. The design is not an exact replica of an extant garden, but is an original design based on gardens in the Suzhou area of China more generally. It utilizes the shape of the site and incorporates the surrounding neighborhood through leak windows and borrowed views (see the “borrowed view” of high rises in Figure 5.7).

In the garden’s organizational profile, “garden as museum” is listed as one of the intended goals.¹⁵⁰ It is essentially reversing the approach of the Minneapolis Institute of Art: it is collecting artifacts to provide context to the garden rather than adding a garden to provide context to artifacts. This suggests that the garden is conceived of as a site where culture is interpreted and produced. If this shift includes visible reflexivity about the installation and interpretation, it could be a powerful tool for engaging and challenging the viewers (see the discussion of Vogel’s installation strategy above).

The organizational profile of the *Lan Su Yuan* also notes that previous programming was focused too tightly on audiences that had significant knowledge of plants or Chinese art and culture.¹⁵¹ More recent programming reflects attempts to reach a broader audience: Feng shui classes, having your favorite poem done in Chinese

¹⁴⁸ A threshold is a key component of Chinese architecture: it forces the viewer to consciously raise her foot and acknowledge the movement of her body over a boundary into a new space. A threshold also provides a “foot” to a building and completes it aesthetically.

¹⁴⁹ A more detailed account can be found in the “Organizational Profile”, which is in pdf form and can be accessed through the website: http://www.lansugarden.org/garden/about_the_garden.

¹⁵⁰ Haruyama, “Portland Chinese Garden,” 15.

¹⁵¹ Haruyama, “Portland Chinese Garden,” 19.

calligraphy, etc. Such programming not only informs a greater audience, it also gets them to enter the garden multiple times. This repetition is essential to understanding Chinese garden aesthetics (and art of any kind, really).

In addition to its comprehensive website, programming, and tours, the *Lan Su Chinese Garden* has a printed guide that includes a cutout to help the visitor frame views at specific “vistas” noted and described on the guide.¹⁵² This in effect teaches the viewer one mode of interaction with the garden – it teaches them where and how to look. As Robert Pogue Harrison notes in the opening to his chapter called, “The Lost Art of Seeing” in *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition*:

Where appearances recede into the depths of space and time even as they come forward to stake their claim in the phenomenal realm, they make special demands on our powers of observation. That is bad news for gardens, for nothing is less cultivated these days in Western societies than the art of seeing. It is fair to say that there exists in our era a tragic discrepancy between the staggering richness of the visible world and the extreme poverty of our capacity to perceive it.¹⁵³

The sort of intervention described is not mimicking the behavior of an imagined, long-ago, far away Chinese gentleman in his garden. It is an adaptation that acknowledges that being able to see is an important skill, but one that is often underdeveloped in the here and now.

¹⁵² This guide is available on the website in a pdf: http://www.lansugarden.org/learning/view_the_garden.

¹⁵³ Robert Pogue Harrison, *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 114.

Unfortunately, the descriptions of the cultural references made in the design of the views are so general that it would be hard for a more ambitious learner to pursue more information. For example, in one of these constructed and guided views (see Figure 5.6) the story of a Chinese philosopher pondering the happiness of fishes is shared, but if a visitor wished to learn the whole story or who wrote it, it would be hard to research without the philosopher's name (Zhuangzi), since it is not mentioned. To remedy this, interested learners could also read *Listening to the Garden* by Reed College Professor Emeritus, David Wu. Here he writes about the process of naming and providing the calligraphy for the various sites in the *Lan Su Yuan*. He provides clear and thorough translations and explains how the translations work. He also provides a sense of the resonances created by the names chosen and names the references clearly.

Like the *Pursuing Harmony Garden*, the *Lan Su Garden* claims a Chinese geneology, but it is also more of a hybrid. Since the initial goal (urban revitalization) and location (city block) are so different from the installation at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, it is not surprising that the resulting adaptations are also distinctive. The challenges of interpretation and installation remain.

Liu Fang Yuan (Garden of Flowing Fragrance) – Huntington Library

The third site is *Liu Fang Yuan*, the *Garden of Flowing Fragrance* at The Huntington, San Marino, California, which is an ongoing construction that is one section of a larger botanical garden in an institution that also has a world-class library and art collection (see Figure 5.8). It is set against the backdrop of the San Gabriel Mountains.

Since the Huntington is library and archive and botanical garden, the *Liu Fang Yuan* is part of a larger complex of gardens, architecture, and culture of learning. The first phase is 3.5 acres, but there are plans to eventually expand to 12 acres. This is one of the most ambitious plans for a Chinese garden in the US. Since the mission of the Huntington is in part to “. . . encourage[s] research and promote[s] education in the arts, humanities, and botanical sciences . . .”¹⁵⁴ the addition of a Chinese garden is logical – it provides ample opportunities for each of these goals.

In a recently published record of the garden, a short essay addresses materials in the Huntington collections that document the history of the early Chinese American community of California.¹⁵⁵ The essay also indicates a continued commitment to preserving the history of this growing community and closes by highlighting the programs associated with the *Liu Fang Yuan* which function to “further enhance the understanding of the richness and distinctiveness of Chinese art, literature, and history.”¹⁵⁶ Although it is not located on a site particularly associated with the Chinese American community, the Huntington recognizes a connection to and a responsibility to include this community. This function of community-building appears frequently in many other sites as well.

Like *Lan Su Chinese Garden*, *Liu Fang Yuan* was constructed based on traditional designs, using as much material from China as possible, and with both

¹⁵⁴ “Mission Statement” at *The Huntington*, <http://www.huntington.org/mission.aspx>.

¹⁵⁵ Peter J. Blodgett and Robert C. Ritchie, “The Huntington Collections and the Chinese Community,” in a volume edited by T. June Li, *Another World Lies Beyond: Creating Liu Fang Yuan, the Huntington’s Chinese Garden*, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2009, p. 11-12.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

American architects and contractors as well as Chinese designers and artisans.¹⁵⁷ In this case, the institution is very forthcoming about where compromises were made to keep the traditional form in line with contemporary building and accessibility codes.¹⁵⁸ For example, it has included removable thresholds on some buildings (see Figure 5.9 for an example with the threshold in place). California has additional requirements due to the frequency of earthquakes in the area. For instance, the *tai hu* rocks must have proper supports to prevent them toppling should any seismic activity occur in the area. These practical alterations have mostly been cleverly disguised to blend with the original design (see Figure 5.10 for an example of colored concrete under smaller stones used to disguise a support).

Although many of the design principles are similar in the *Lan Su Chinese Garden* and *Liu Fang Yuan*, the scale is quite different. Both utilize the shape and features of their sites to advantage. Both use leak windows and borrowed views with quite different effects. The *Lan Su Chinese Garden* is downtown and the borrowed views to the contemporary urban world are a stark contrast to the traditional and quiet world inside; a reminder of the separateness of the garden and how the visitor is “escaping” to nature. *Liu Fang Yuan* is near the mountains and the borrowed views unify the garden with the larger natural world and expand its scope; the visitor feels small in the universe. Both gardens use architecture, plants, rocks, and water features to

¹⁵⁷ Even the terms used reflect the interest in both safety and authenticity – “architects” and “contractors” are job titles that have licensing and training associated with them; “designers” and “artisans” are titles that indicate a focus on aesthetics and a different type of training. For instance, “artisan” once meant “craftsperson” but is now used to indicate someone trained in traditional methods.

¹⁵⁸ This is discussed in the most detail in Laurie Sowd “The Making of Liu Fang Yuan: A Brief History,” in a volume edited by T. June Li, *Another World Lies Beyond: Creating Liu Fang Yuan, the Huntington’s Chinese Garden*, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2009, p.29-39.

create many series of views and layered views that can be enjoyed from stationary points along a path or while moving along a number of paths.

Just as it was in the Chinese models, a key element in the design of these views in the American gardens is naming the views and the architecture. The names reference the history of art and literature and are usually also layered in their meanings. This aspect of the Chinese garden has presented a particular challenge to today's garden builders. For much of the history of imperial China, educated men studied a series of texts in order to take the civil service examinations. There was a community of people all absorbing the same visual and textual references and then using them in their own writings, paintings, and gardens. The visitors to today's gardens are much more diverse in their education and in their knowledge of traditional Chinese art and culture. Many of the references are lost on contemporary viewers (no matter their background).

The *Liu Fang Yuan* has also adopted both broad and focused programming to reach a variety of visitors and to encourage repeated visits. It has organized international conferences, sponsored productions of Chinese opera, held regular talks on a variety of topics related to the Chinese garden, and has ongoing programming for specialists and non-specialists.

Besides the garden itself, Liu Fang's most significant contribution to the history of Chinese gardens is the aforementioned volume edited by the curator of the garden, T. June Li, *Another World Lies Beyond: Creating Liu Fang Yuan, the Huntington's Chinese Garden*. Li refers to the volume as a "*Liu Fang Yuan ji*" – a "ji" is a "record." This is a particular form of Chinese prose; this form is one of the primary sources on traditional Chinese gardens for scholars today. This contemporary record produced by

the Huntington is much more documentary than its Chinese predecessors. One frustration of contemporary researchers is that there is very little documentation of how Chinese gardens were laid out, how they were designed, how they “really” looked. The authors of pre-modern and early modern garden records were interested in evoking certain images and continuing to layer artistic, literary, and cultural allusions. Instead of maps and overviews and plan drawings done to scale, there is a long history of annotating the garden in China and these annotations are in some cases all that remains of a garden. These annotations come in the forms of poems, records, and paintings. From the act of naming, and from records of these names, there emerge patterns of certain images and themes – such as bamboo or rocks or the Peach Blossom Spring or Orchid Pavilion as discussed in Chapter 1. Over time, landscapes and eventually gardens become associated with the idea of a righteous (and often reclusive) gentleman.¹⁵⁹ In some cases, the painted representations purport to be re-creations of physical gardens and others are more of a symbolic portrait of the owner’s virtue.¹⁶⁰ These images are a record of what was evocative of and meaningful in the garden.

Contemporary American notions of documentation would be quite different. The Huntington volume attempts both types, but does more of the contemporary form. It includes detailed discussions of the building process, of the naming process, of the plants, of the calligraphy, a detailed map of Phase 1; it essentially covers the mission

¹⁵⁹ For examples of some early connections between landscapes and identity, see Ellen Johnston Laings, “Neo-Taoism and the ‘Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove’ in Chinese Painting,” *Artibus Asiae* 36, No. 1/2 (1974): 5-54, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3249709> and Richard Vinograd, “Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng’s ‘Pien Mountains’ of 1366,” *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 1-29, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4629310>.

¹⁶⁰ For example, see Robert Harrist, *Painting and private life in eleventh-century China: Mountain villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

statement of the institution. It is free of jargon and is accessible to a casual reader, but has enough depth to provide a more ambitious reader a solid basis for further study.

Like the previous two examples, the *Liu Fang Yuan* is one interpretation of a cultural icon. Not only has it adapted the site of the garden, but also the way in which the garden is documented.

Conclusion

In these three examples, the authenticating details emphasize a Chinese genealogy for the garden. Yet the alterations to the form, the diverse functions, and the necessity for community building illuminate a much more complicated identity struggling to integrate other memories and histories and resulting in distinctive adaptations. There is a growing body of sites that with some careful critical analysis could be useful as both a way of understanding the past and of understanding the evolution of the present. The writing and layering of history and memory in these gardens is even more complex. Although many layers of allusion and meaning are lost, these gardens keep the past present and also rearticulate it for the future.

Today's garden designers face the challenge of making these gardens physically, visually, and intellectually accessible to viewers who are not trained in the Chinese classics nor in the history of Chinese art. In meeting this challenge, they have continued the growth of Chinese gardens, or more accurately – Chinese-style gardens, and continue to annotate the garden archive in new ways. These new annotations aid contemporary viewers in building layers of meaning and memory that may - one day - result in a pearl.

Conclusion

In analyzing the movement of garden imagery from the archive into the canon, its function is illuminated, which sheds light on the larger shift in garden culture seen at this time. The creation of archetypes builds the archive and images and figures can move in and out of the archive – always in the past for the future, sometimes in the present. Some images/gardens have moved from the archive into the canon and back again, like the *Garden of Solitary Delight*. The two *Garden of the Humble Administrator* albums by the prolific Wen Zhengming demonstrate a shift in style and shift in models and foreshadow how some elements are foregrounded and others move closer to becoming motif. I have also shown how these forms were significantly reduced and their visibility then significantly increased: gardens can move from canon to motif. The visual and written texts examined in this project were invested in keeping the past present in their own time. Much of what was canon is now archive and much has likely been forgotten.

This is particularly important to note as we, the present, try to reconstruct the past. Many current reconstruction projects are relying on these images as evidence of “what the garden really looked like.” This project should suggest that such evidence is not very reliable for that purpose. However, there is still much to be learned from building and rebuilding these fascinating gardens.

Figures



Figure 1.1 Qiu Ying, details of *Peach Blossom Spring*, c. 1552. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. JPEG file. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/peach-blossom-spring-taohua-yuan-poem-by-tao-qian-365-427-29998>.



Figure 1.2 Qiu Ying, details of *Peach Blossom Spring*, c. 1552. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. JPEG file. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/peach-blossom-spring-taohua-yuan-poem-by-tao-qian-365-427-29998>.



Figure 1.3 Qiu Ying, details of *Peach Blossom Spring*, c. 1552. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. JPEG file. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/peach-blossom-spring-taohua-yuan-poem-by-tao-qian-365-427-29998>.



Figure 1.4 Anonymous, after Guo Zhongshu (c.910-970). Details from *Wang ch'uan*. Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Seattle Art Museum.

A. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311726844

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2BSnUp>

B. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311724275

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh8Qnwr>

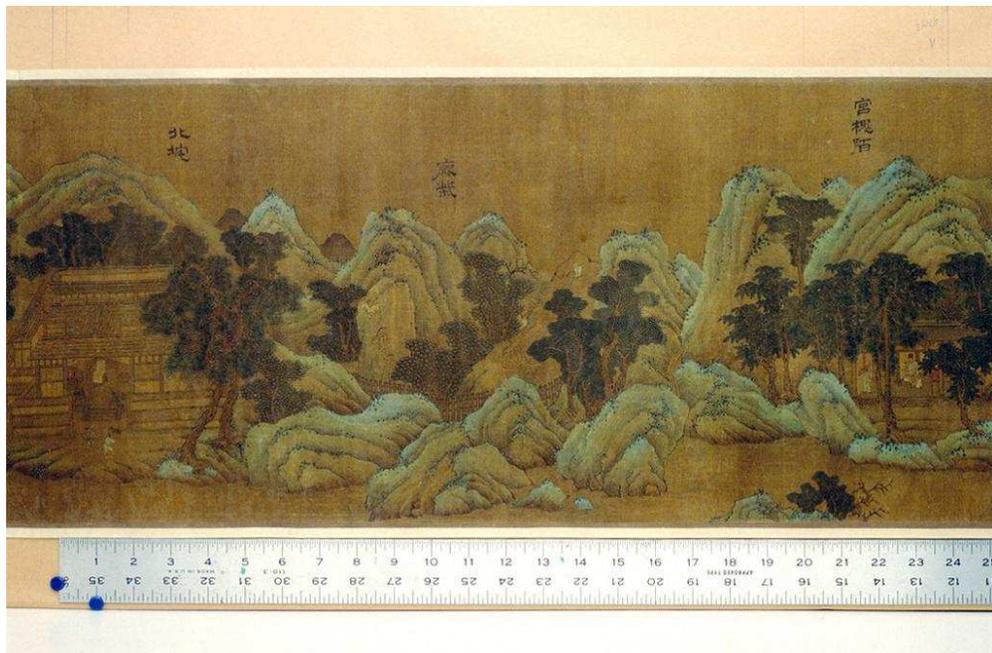


Figure 1.5 Anonymous, after Guo Zhongshu (c.910-970). Details from *Wang ch'uan*. Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Seattle Art Museum.

A. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727070

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQ34u>

B. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727123

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQnoo>



Figure 1.6 Anonymous, after Guo Zhongshu (c.910-970). Details from *Wang ch'uan*. Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Seattle Art Museum.

A. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727067

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQ38o>

B. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727120

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQnor>



Figure 1.7 Anonymous, after Guo Zhongshu (c.910-970). Details from *Wang ch'uan*. Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Seattle Art Museum.

A. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311724281

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh8QnMg>

B. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311724277

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh8Qnwp>



Figure 1.8 Anonymous, after Guo Zhongshu (c.910-970). Details from *Wang ch'uan*. Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Seattle Art Museum. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311724284. URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh8QnMI>.



Figure 1.9 Wang Yuanqi, *Wangchuan Villa*, 1711. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Right to left, top to bottom)

A. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575331.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8pXQ%3D%3D>.

B. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575330.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8pXA%3D%3D>.

C. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575329.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8oVA%3D%3D>.

D. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575328.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8oVQ%3D%3D>.

E. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575327.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8oWg%3D%3D>.

F. ARTstor : MMA_IAP_10311575375.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFM%2Fmai%2Fmu%2Foztd%2Fls04e%2Fzl4Rn8tXQ%3D%3D>.



Figure 2.1 Wen Zhengming, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, pictorial component, 1558. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu* (*Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk*), (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 44-45.

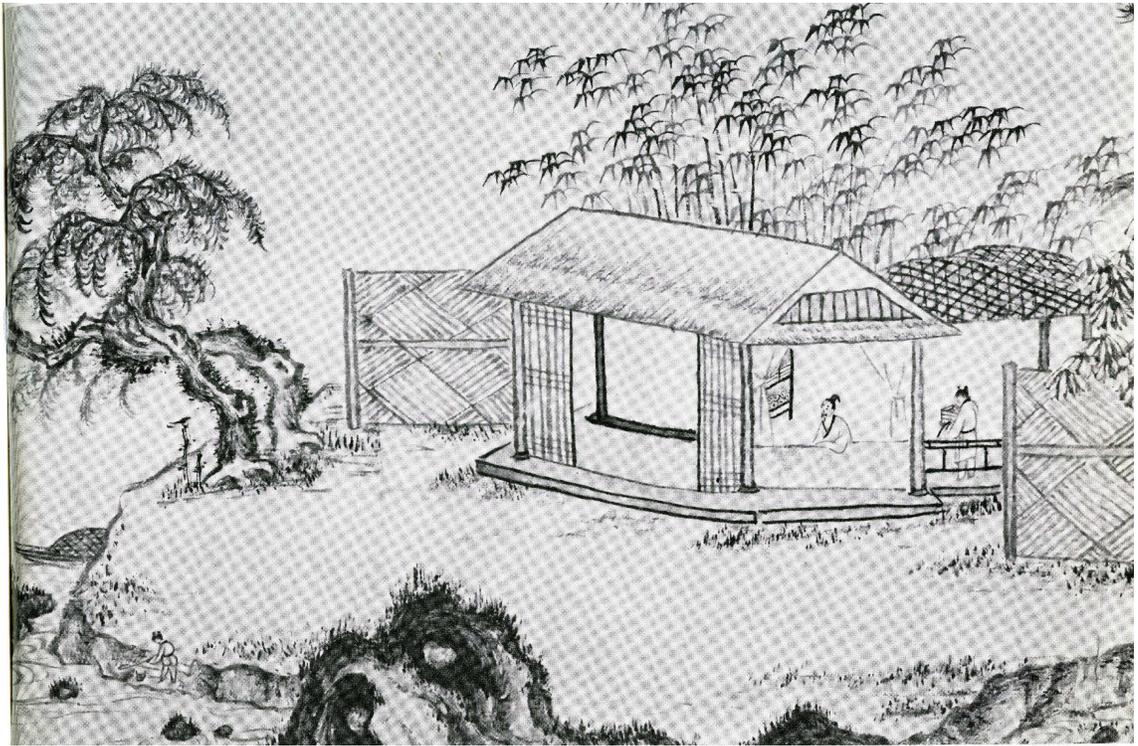


Figure 2.2 Wen Zhengming, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of pictorial component, 1558. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 44.



Figure 2.3. Wang Meng, *Forest Grotto at Juqu*, after 1638. National Palace Museum.
ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822001846839.
URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3gicV9yciw%3D>.



Figure 2.4. Wen Zhengming, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of pictorial component with colophon and seals removed (leaving only those added by the artist), 1558. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 45; altered by author.

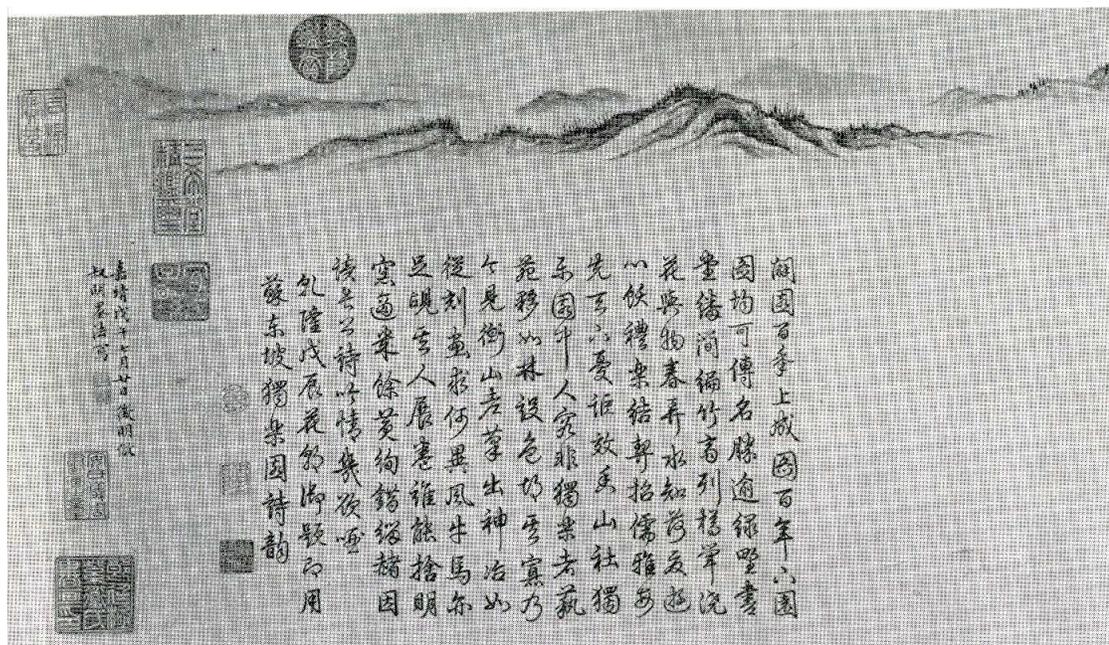


Figure 2.5 Wen Zhengming, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of pictorial component with colophon by Emperor Qianlong. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 45.



Figure 2.6 Shen Zhou, *Night Vigil*, 1492. National Palace Museum.

ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003006564.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3oofVt%2FeiQ%3D>.



Figure 2.7 Ni Zan, 1372. *Rongxi Studio*. National Palace Museum.

ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822001041423.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3gqeVh5fyc%3D>.



Figure 2.8 Wen Zhengming, *Cypress and Old Rock*, 1550. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003326491.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3orfF1%2BdC4%3D>.

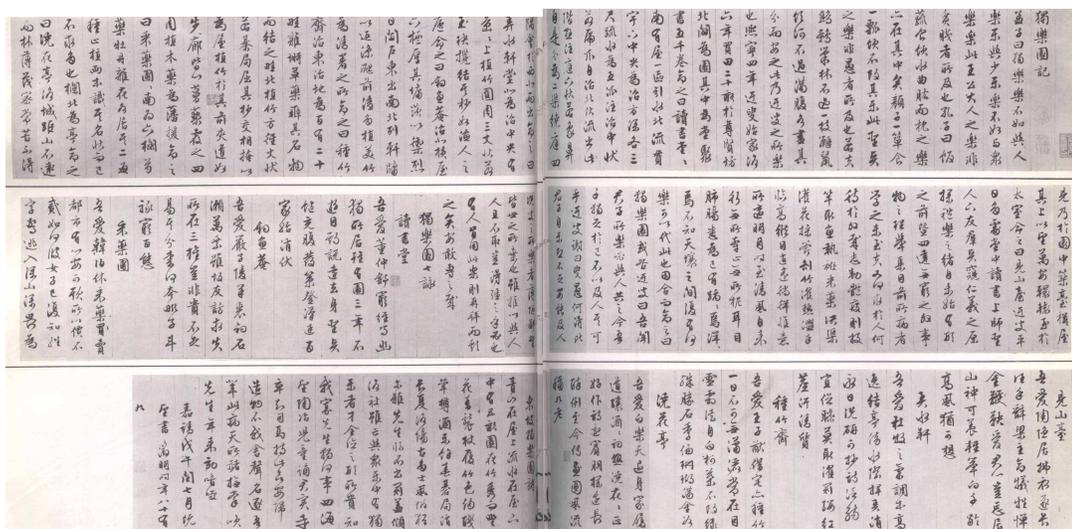


Figure 2.9 Wen Zhengming, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of essays and poems, 1558. Illustrated in Guo Li Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan (National Palace Museum), *Wu Pai Hua Jiu Shi Nian Zhan (Ninety Years of Wu School Painting)*, (Taipei: Guo Li Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan, 1975).

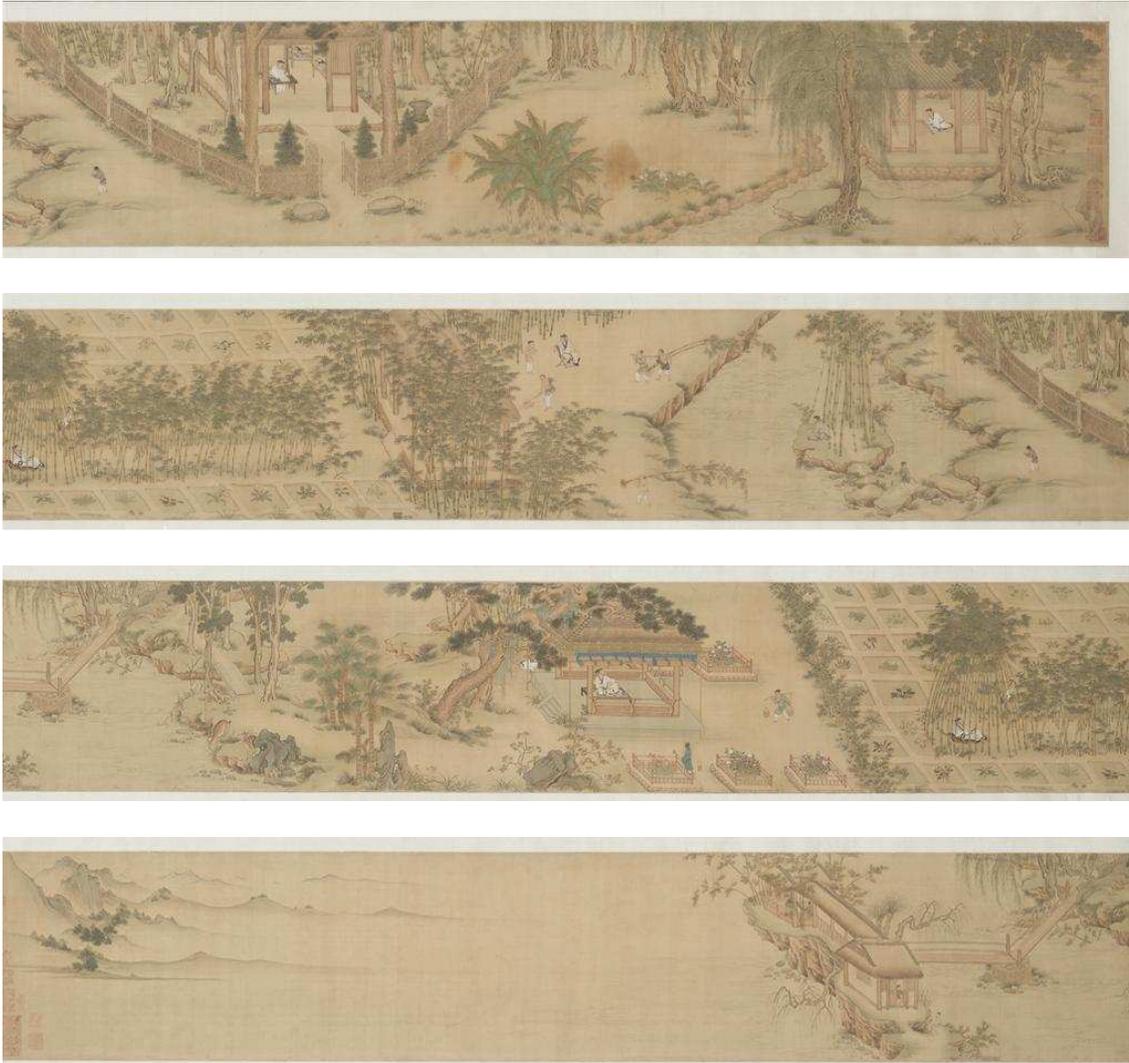


Figure 2.10 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, mid-sixteenth century.
Cleveland Museum of Art.

A. ARTstor : AMICO_CL_103801260

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8D1Efjk2NjsgQi85cDV7R30v>

B. ARTstor : AMICO_CL_103801261

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8D1Efjk2NjsgQi85cDV7R30u>

C. ARTstor : AMICO_CL_103801262

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8D1Efjk2NjsgQi85cDV7R30t>

D. ARTstor : AMICO_CL_103801263

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8D1Efjk2NjsgQi85cDV7R30s>



Figure 2.11 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of *Building for Playing with Water* (*Long shui xian*), mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by author.



Figure 2.12 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of *Reading Hall (Du shu tang)*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by author.

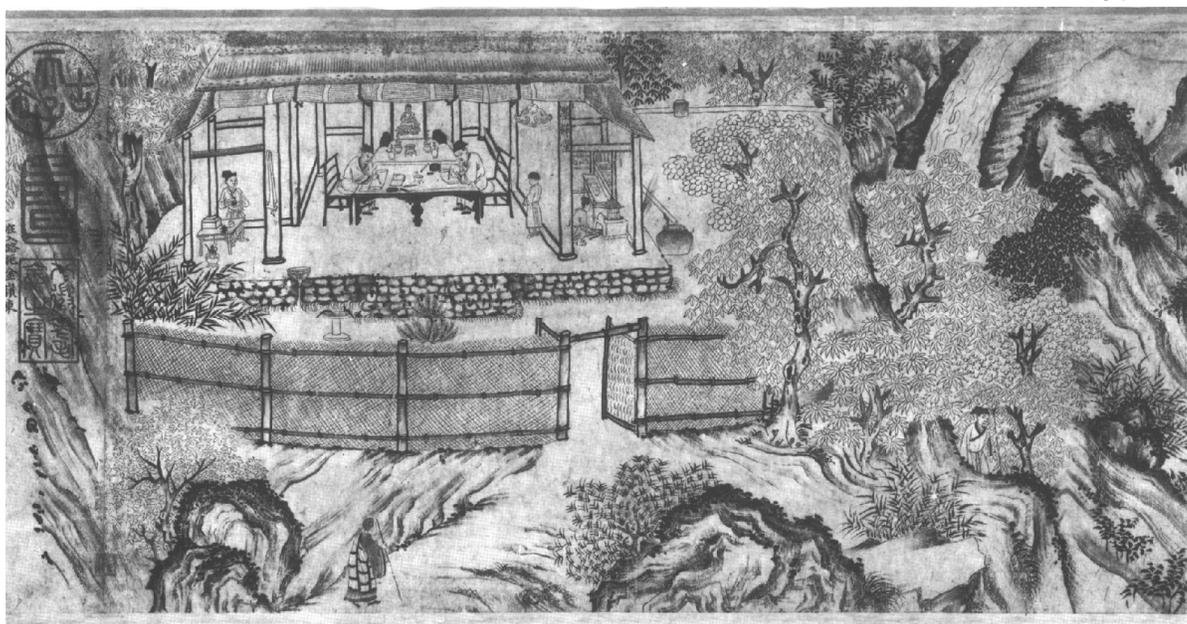


Figure 2.13a. copy after Li Gonglin. *Mountain Villa*, detail of *Meditation Hall*. Illustrated in Robert E. Harrist, and Li Gonglin, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-century China : Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1998).

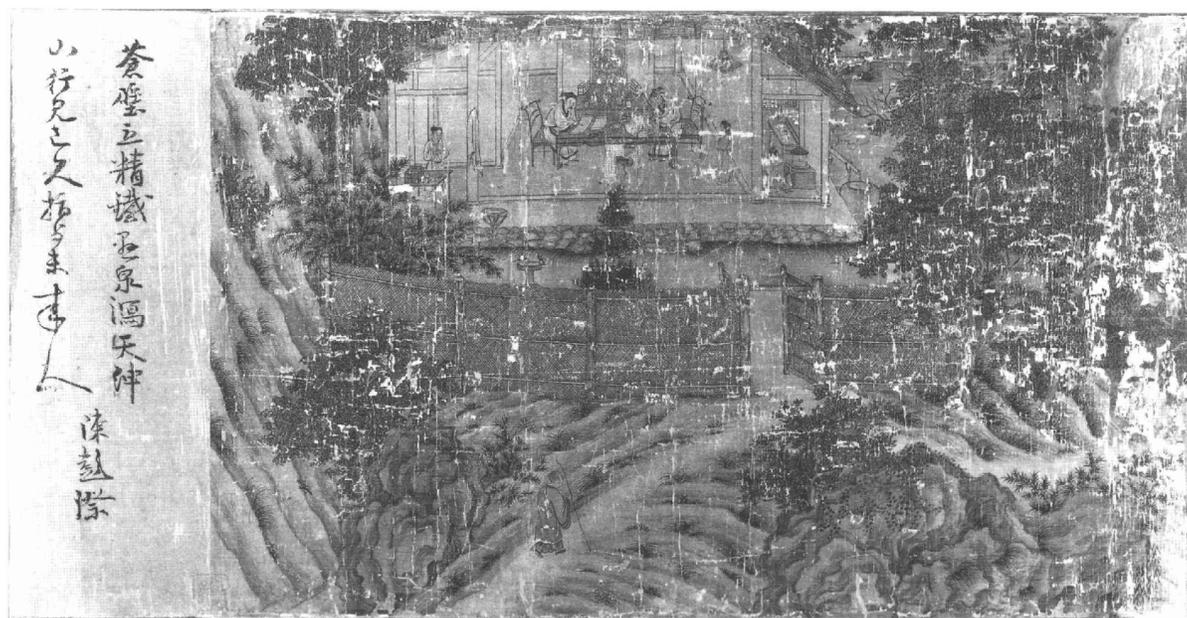


Figure 2.13b. copy after Li Gonglin. *Mountain Villa*, detail of *Meditation Hall*. Illustrated in Robert E. Harrist, and Li Gonglin, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-century China : Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1998).



Figure 2.14. Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of the *Hut of the Angling Fisherman (Diao yu an)*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art.

A. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727228

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQXkj>

B. ARTstor : AAPDIG_10311727283

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8DFRYDgoMloyLyw6fTh%2FQXMi>



Figure 2.15. Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of the *Studio for Planting Bamboo* (*Zhong zhu zhai*), mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art.

A. ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003466842.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3osf1lydSA%3D>.

B. ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003466834.

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3osf1lyciE%3D>.



Figure 2.16 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of the *Plot for Picking Herbs (Cai yao pu)*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by author.



Figure 2.17 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of the *Pavilion for Watering Flowers (Jiao hua ting)*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by author.



Figure 2.18 Qiu Ying, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, detail of the *Terrace for Seeing the Mountains (Jian shan tai)*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by author.

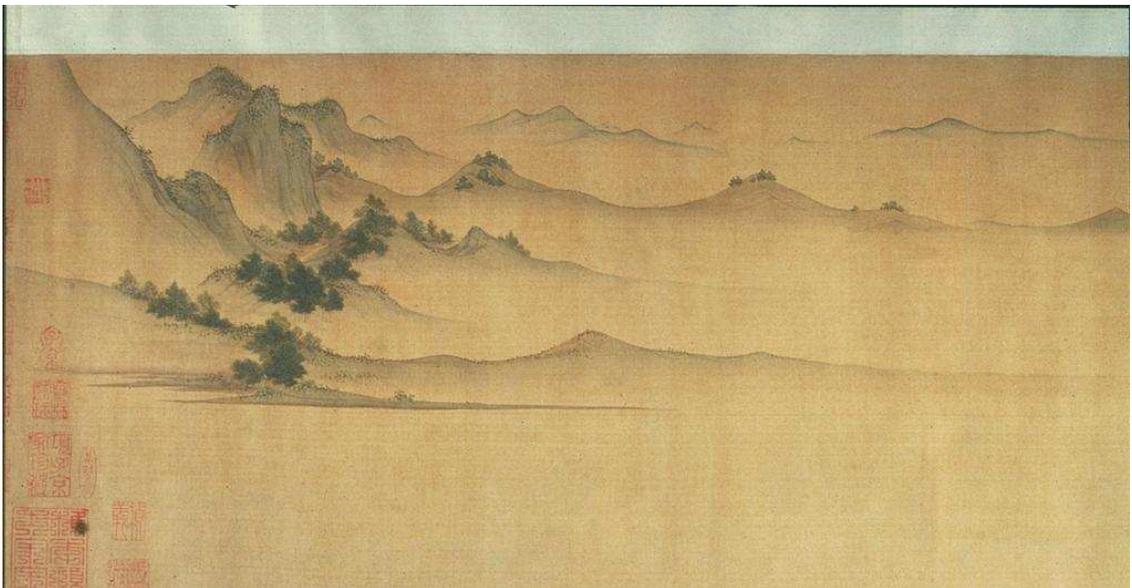
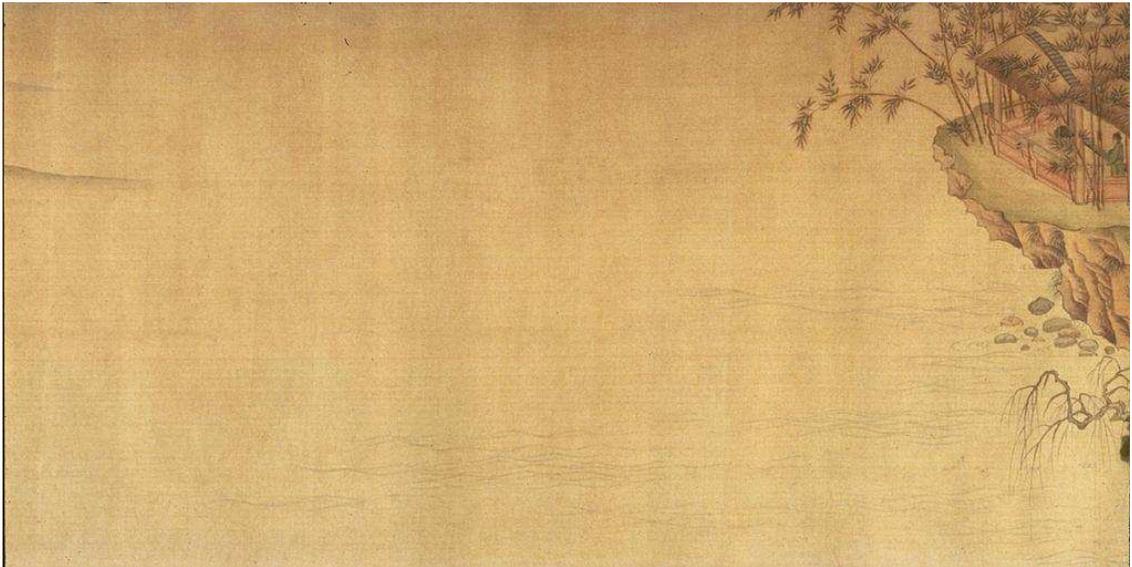


Figure 2.19 Qiu Ying, detail of *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, mid-sixteenth century. Cleveland Museum of Art.

A. ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003466743

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3osf119eiE%3D>

B. ARTstor : ARTSTOR_103_41822003466750

URL:<http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3osf119eyM%3D>



Figure 2.20. Wen Zhengming, detail of *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, 1558.
 Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu*
 (*Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk*), (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 45.

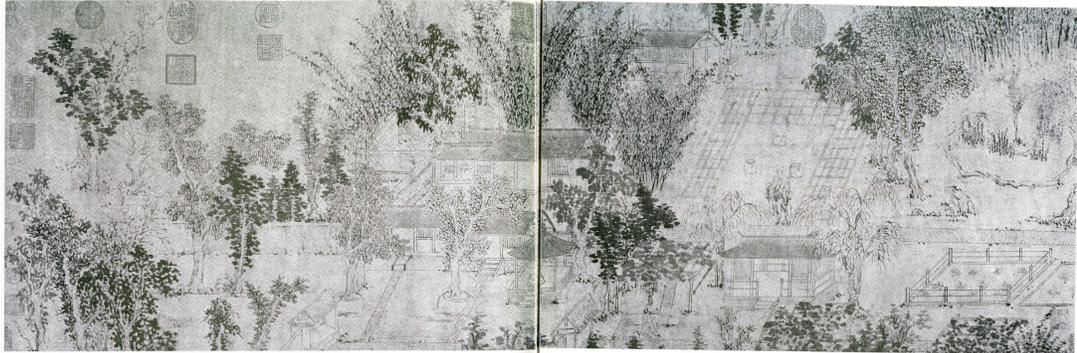


Figure 2.21 Anonymous, *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, Song dynasty. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 56-57.

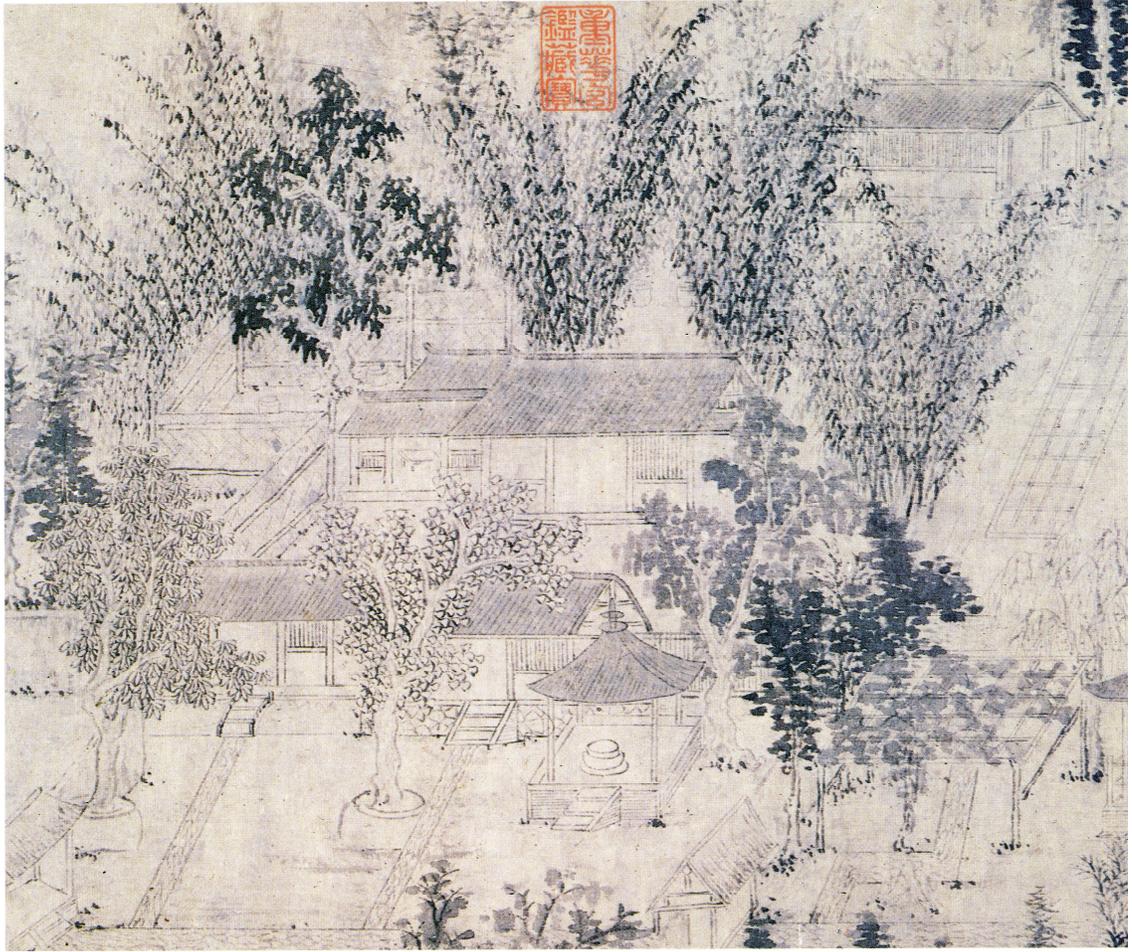


Figure 2.22 Anonymous, detail of *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, Song dynasty. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 14.

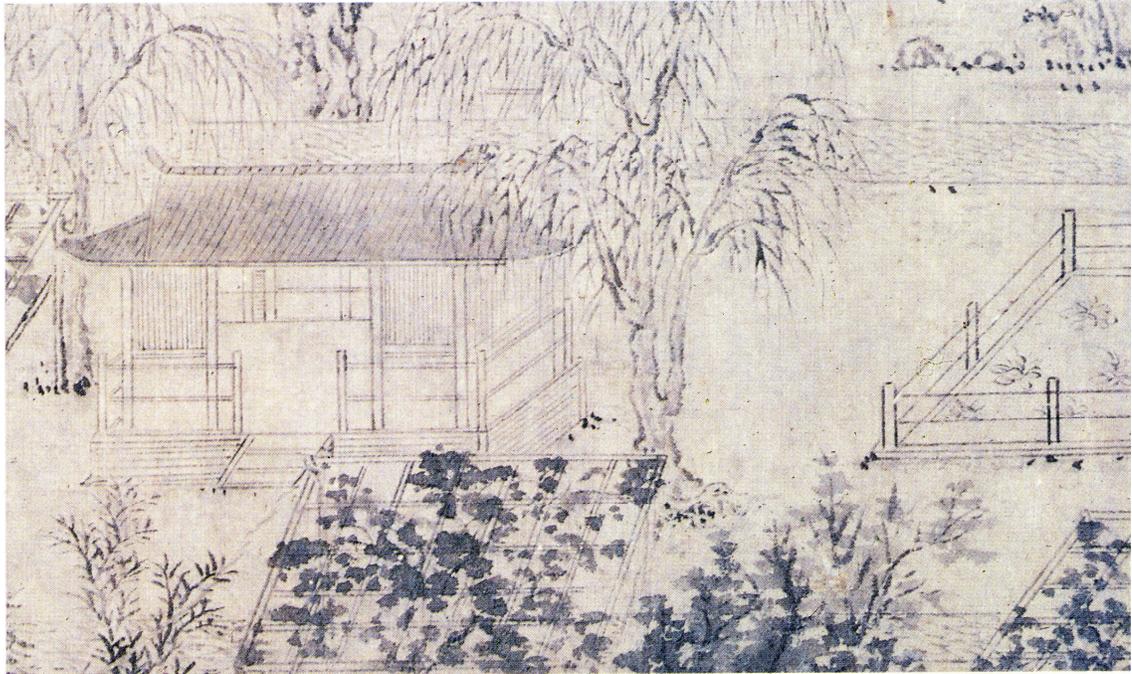


Figure 2.23 Anonymous, detail of *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment*, Song dynasty. Illustrated in National Palace Museum, *Yuanlin Minghua Tezhan Tulu (Chinese Gardens on Paper and Silk)*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1987): 14.



Figure 3.1. Wen Zhengming, *Rustic Villa* (from *Zhuo Zheng Yuan* album), 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.2 Wen Zhengming, *Dream of Reclusion Tower* (from *Zhuo Zheng Yuan* album), 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.3 Wen Zhengming, *Excellent Fruit Pavilion, Garden of the Artless Official album*, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.4 Wen Zhengming, *Jade Spring*, *Garden of the Artless Official album*, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.5 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Jade Spring*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.6 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Crystal Spring, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.7 Shen Zhou, *Eastern Wall, Eastern Villa*, undated. Nanjing Museum. Illustrated in Dong Shouqi and Yi Xueling, *Suzhou Yuan Lin Shan Shui Hua Xuan*, (Shanghai Shi: Shanghai San Lian Shu Dian, 2007).



Figure 3.8

A. Shen Zhou, *Northern Bay, Eastern Villa*, undated. Nanjing Museum. Illustrated in Dong Shouqi and Yi Xueling, *Suzhou Yuan Lin Shan Shui Hua Xuan*, (Shanghai Shi: Shanghai San Lian Shu Dian, 2007).

B. Wen Zhengming, *Clean Retreat Bower*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.9

A. Shen Zhou, *Meandering Pond, Eastern Villa*, undated. Nanjing Museum. Illustrated in Dong Shouqi and Yi Xueling, *Suzhou Yuan Lin Shan Shui Hua Xuan*, (Shanghai Shi: Shanghai San Lian Shu Dian, 2007).

B. Wen Zhengming, *Lotus Cove, Garden of the Artless Official album*, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

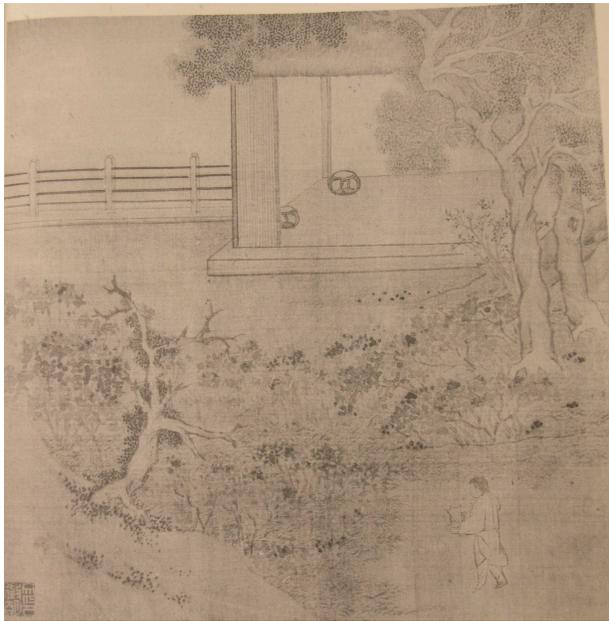
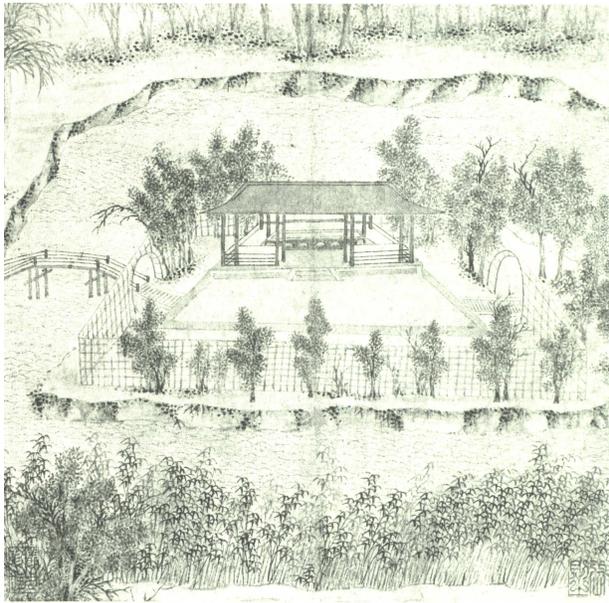


Figure 3.10

A. Wen Zhengming, *Many Fragrance Bank, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969): 71.3A.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Many Fragrance Bank, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.11 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Many Fragrance Bank*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

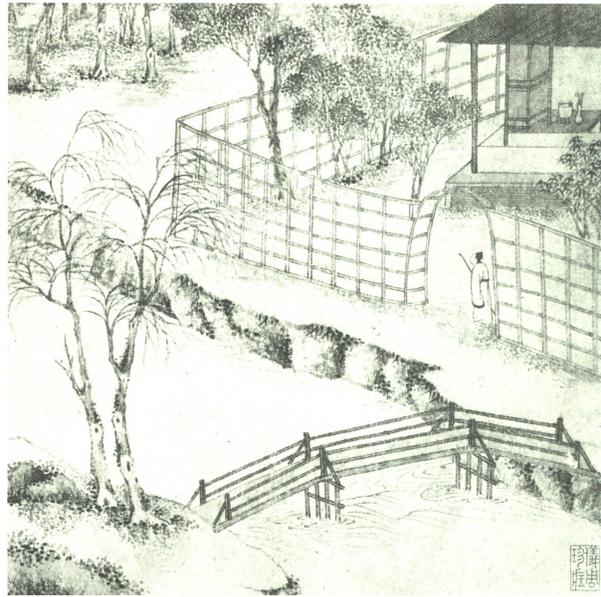


Figure 3.12

A. Wen Zhengming, *Lesser Canglang Pond*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):71.3B.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Lesser Canglang Pond*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

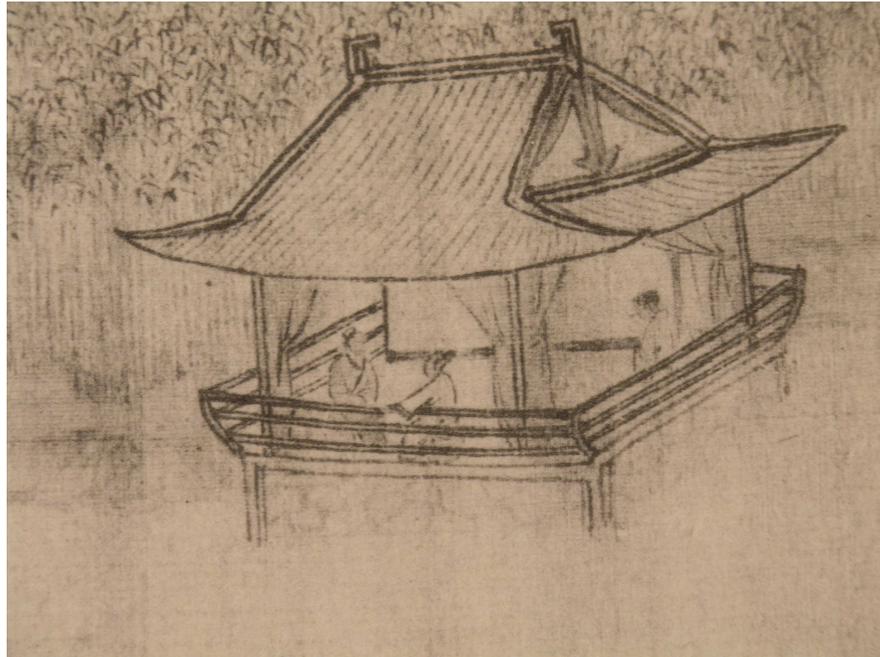


Figure 3.13 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Lesser Canglang Pond*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

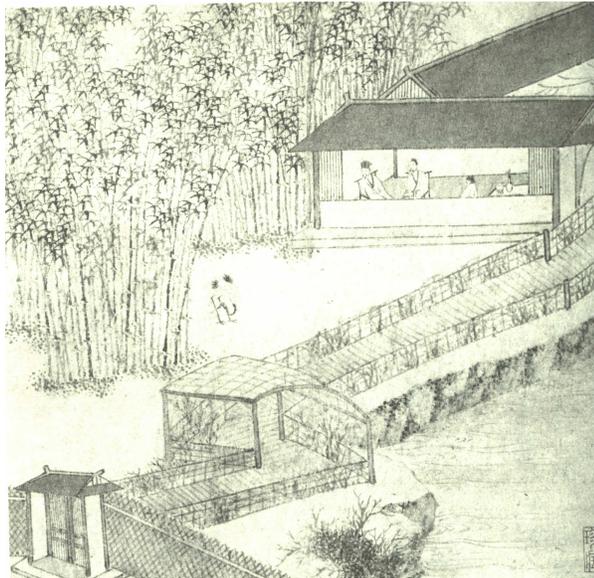


Figure 3.14

A. Wen Zhengming, *Bamboo Bank*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):72.3C.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Bamboo Bank*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Location unknown. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.15 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Bamboo Bank*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

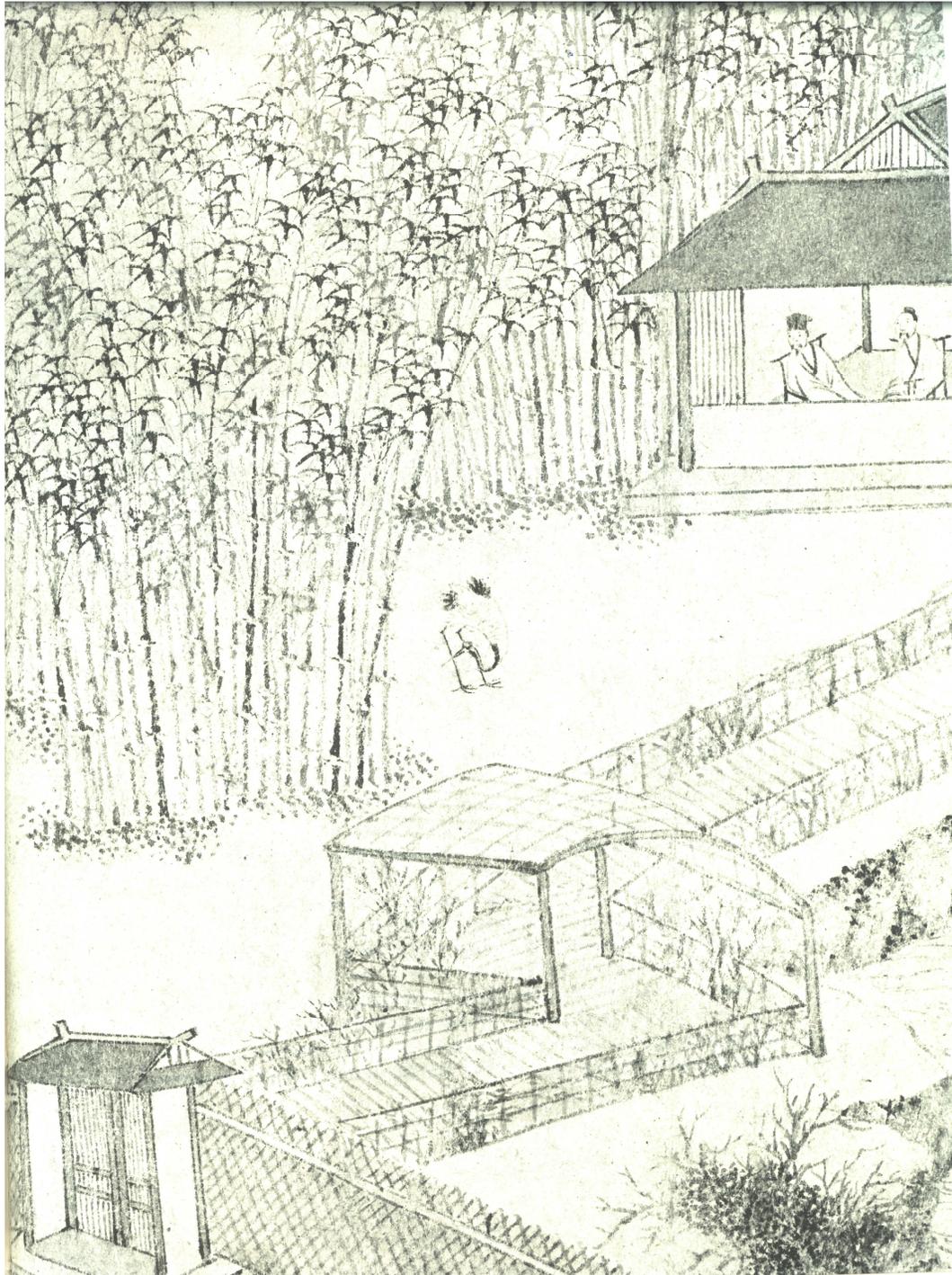


Figure 3.16 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Bamboo Bank*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):75.

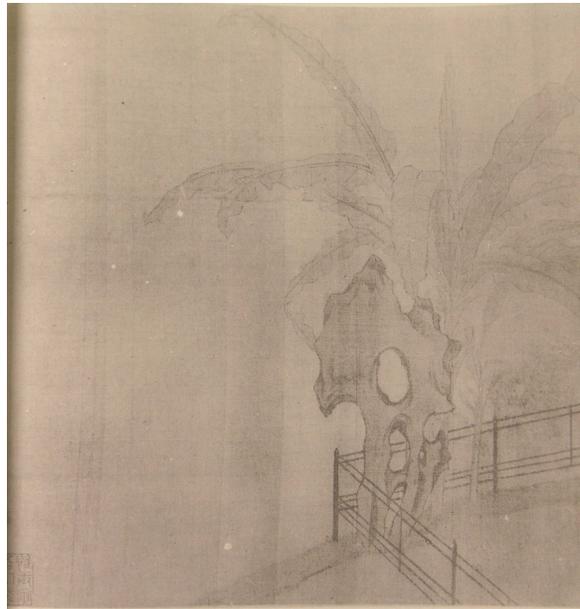
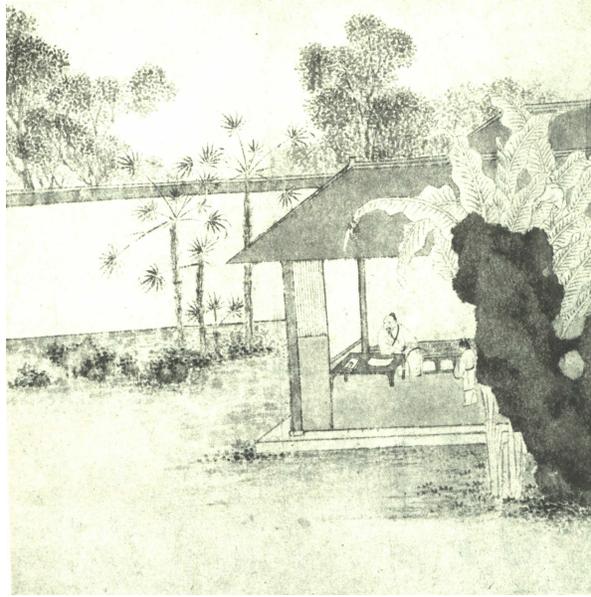


Figure 3.17

A. Wen Zhengming, *Banana Enclosure*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):72.3D.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Banana Enclosure*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.18

A. Wen Zhengming, *Fishing Stone*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):73.3E.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Fishing Stone*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page number.



Figure 3.19 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Fishing Stone*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.20

A. Wen Zhengming, *Garden to Attract Birds*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):73.3F.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Garden to Attract Birds*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.21 Wen Zhengming, detail of *Garden for Attracting Birds*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.

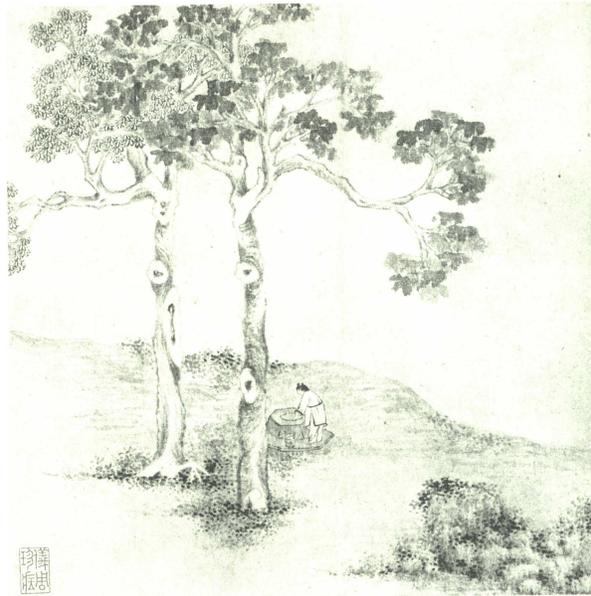


Figure 3.22

A. Wen Zhengming, *Jade Spring, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):74.3G.

B. Wen Zhengming, *Jade Spring, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 3.23

A. Wen Zhengming, *The Locust Pavilion*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1551. Illustrated in Roderick Whitfield, Wen Fong, and Princeton University Art Museum, *In Pursuit of Antiquity; Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ching Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969):74.3H.

B. Wen Zhengming, *The Locust Pavilion*, *Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



3.24 Wen Zhengming, detail of *The Locust Pavilion, Garden of the Artless Official* album, 1533. Illustrated in Wen, Zhengming, Kate Kerby, and Mo Zung Chung, *An Old Chinese Garden; a Three-fold Masterpiece of Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, (Shanghai: Chung Hwa Books, 1923): no page numbers.



Figure 4.1. Vase. Yuan (1279-1368). Illustrated in *Yuan and Ming Blue and White Ware from Jiangxi* (China: Jiangxi Provincial Museum; Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002): plate 20.

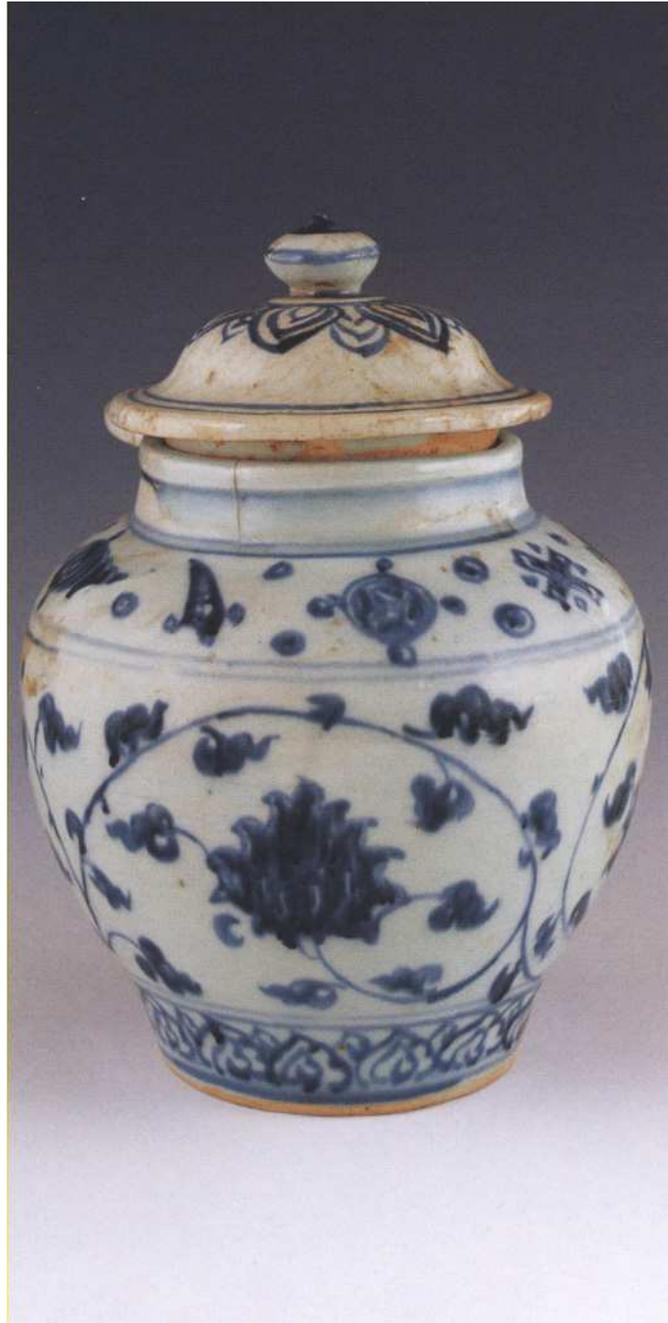


Figure 4.2. *Jar*. Excavated from a tomb dated to the second year of the Zhengtong reign (1437). Illustrated in *Yuan and Ming Blue and White Ware from Jiangxi* (China: Jiangxi Provincial Museum; Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002): plate 26.



Figure 4.3. *Pear-shaped Vase*. Excavated from a tomb dated to the first year of the Chongzhen reign (1628). Illustrated in *Yuan and Ming Blue and White Ware from Jiangxi* (China: Jiangxi Provincial Museum; Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002): plate 116.



Figure 4.4. Dish with underglaze-blue decoration of pine, bamboo, plum, and figures, Ming dynasty (1426-1435). H 3.8 cm. Illustrated in *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Selected Hsuan-te Imperial Porcelains of the Ming Dynasty* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2002): 402-403, plate 174.



Figure 4.5. Dish with underglaze-blue decoration of pine, bamboo, plum, and figures, Ming dynasty (1426-1435). H 3.8 cm. Illustrated in *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Selected Hsuan-te Imperial Porcelains of the Ming Dynasty* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2002): 404-405, plate 175.



Figure 4.6. *Jar*, Ming dynasty (1426-1435). H 39.4 cm. Illustrated in *Chinese Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty* (Beijing: Zhong guo min zu she ying yi shu chu ban she, 2002): 74, plate 98.

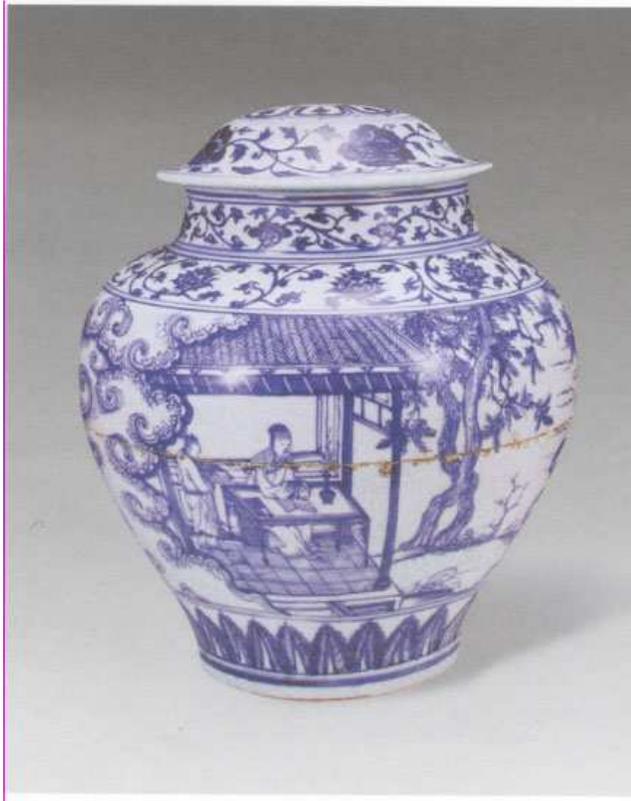


Figure 4.7. *Jar*, Ming dynasty (1426-1435). H 39.4 cm. Illustrated in *Chinese Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty* (Beijing: Zhong guo min zu she ying yi shu chu ban she, 2002): 74, plate 98.



Figure 4.8. *Meiping*, Ming Dynasty, 1436-64. No mark. H 33.7 cm. Illustrated in Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and University of Washington Press, 2000): p 63, plate 5.6.



Figure 4.9. *Bowl*. Chenghua (1465-1487). Illustrated in She Cheng. *Ming dai qing hua ci qi fa zhan yu yi shu zhi yan jiu* (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chu ban she, min guo 75 [1986]): p360, no. 265.



Figure 4.10. *Jar*. Hongzhi (1488-1505). Excavated from the tomb of General Dai Xian (1504). Illustrated in *Yuan and Ming Blue and White Ware from Jiangxi* (China: Jiangxi Provincial Museum; Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002): plate 5.



Figure 4.11. *Hexagonal teapot*. Wanli (1573-1620), imperial ware. H. (with handle) 22.5 cm. Illustrated in She Cheng. *Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Taibei: China Art Printing Works, 1988): 66.

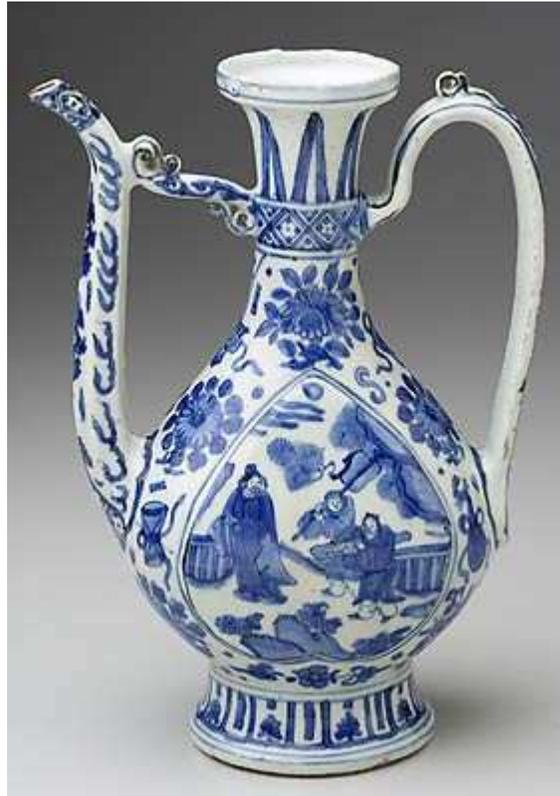


Figure 4.12. *Pear-shaped Ewer*. Ming Dynasty, 16th century. Illustrated on the Minneapolis Institute of Art website, <http://www.artsmia.org>, accessed November 27, 2002.



Figure 4.13. *Round Box*. Wanli (1573-1620), imperial ware. Diameter – 18.2 cm. Illustrated in She Cheng. *Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Taipei: China Art Printing Works, 1988): 70.



Figure 4.14. *Brush pot*. Ming dynasty, ca. 1640. H. 20.7 cm. Illustrated in Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholar's Motifs and Narratives* (NY: China Institute, 1995): 144.

Chinese gardens currently open in the US	
c.1863	Chinese Temple (1863) and Chinese Garden, Oroville, California
1953	International Peace Garden Plum Pavilion, Salt Lake City, Utah
1971	Chinese Cultural Garden, Overfelt Park, San Jose, California
1980	Astor Court in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York
1982	China Pavilion, EPCOT, Orlando, Florida
1985	Chinese Cultural Garden, Cleveland, Ohio
1996	Pursuing Harmony Garden at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, Minnesota
1996	The Margaret Grigg Nanjing Friendship Chinese Garden, St. Louis, Missouri
1996	Chinese Cup Garden, Schnormeier Gardens, Gambier, Ohio
1998	The Gardens, Chinese Cultural Center, Phoenix, AZ
1999	New York Chinese Scholar's Garden, Staten Island, New York
2000	Lan Su Classical Chinese Garden in Portland, Oregon
2006	Seattle Chinese Garden in Seattle, Washington
2006	The Chinese Garden in the Riverside International Friendship Gardens, Lacrosse, Wisconsin
2008	Liu Fang Yuan, the Garden of Flowing Fragrance at The Huntington, San Marino, California
2010	Tacoma Chinese Garden and Reconciliation Park, Tacoma, Washington

Figure 5.1. Table showing Chinese gardens currently open in the US

Proposed Chinese gardens in the US
Georgia-Suzhou Friendship Chinese Garden in Asian Village, Atlanta, Georgia
Riverfront Gardens, Des Moines, Iowa
Kansas City Chinese Garden, Kansas City, Kansas
The Garden of Northern Brightness (Bei Ming Yuan), Minneapolis, Minnesota
Garden of Surging Waves (Cang Lang Yuan), Astoria, Oregon
Chinese Garden, Dream Gardens, Grapevine, Texas
China Garden (Zhongguo Yuan) A Classical Chinese Garden at the US National Arboretum, Washington, DC
Chinese Gazebo and Garden, Evanston, Wyoming

Figure 5.2. Table of proposed Chinese gardens in the US

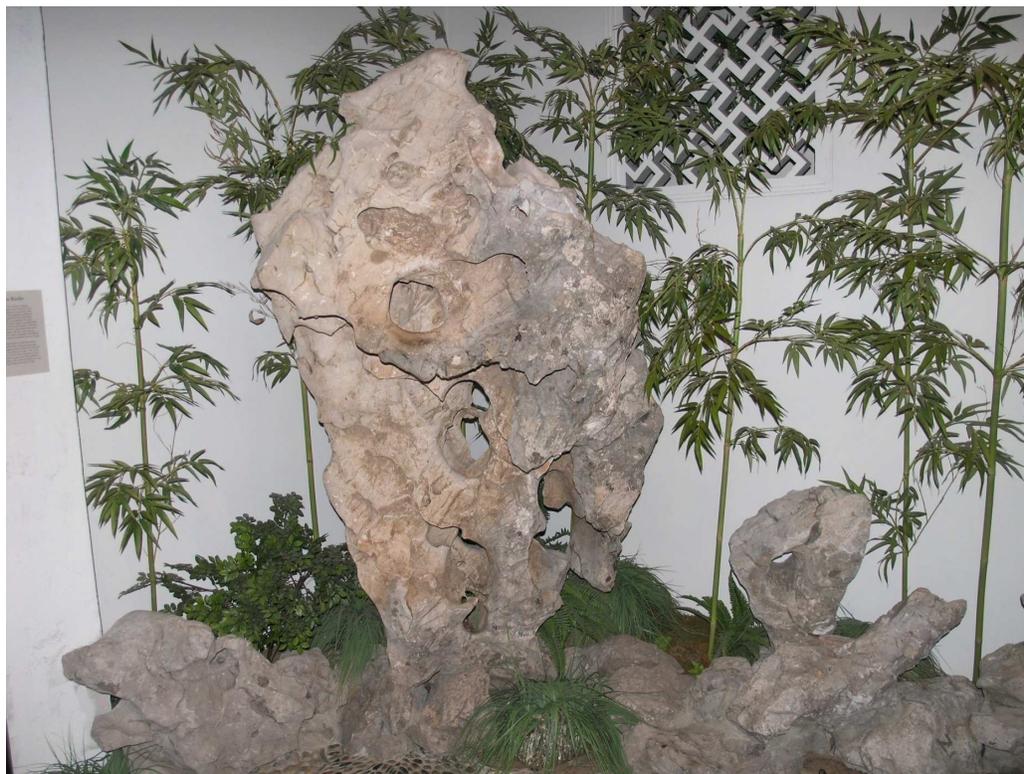


Figure 5.3. Tai hu rock, Pursuing Harmony, Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2011. Photo by author.



Figure 5.4. Studio of Gratifying Discourse, Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2011. Photo by author.



Figure 5.5. Rocks and silk plants, Pursuing Harmony, Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2011. Photo by author.



Figure 5.6. Knowing the Fish Pavillion, Lan Su Classical Chinese Garden, 2006. Photo by author.



Figure 5.7. Hall of Brocade Clouds, Lan Su Classical Chinese Garden. Photo by author.



Figure 5.8. View with a distant pavilion, Liu Fang Yuan, Huntington Garden, 2009.
Photo by author.



Figure 5.9. Detail of removable threshold, Freshwater Pavilion, Liu Fang Yuan. From Laurie Sowd, "The Making of Liu Fang Yuan." In *Another World Lies Beyond*, ed. June T. Li (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2008), 34.



Figure 5.10. Detail, Taihu rock, Liu Fang Yuan (Garden of Flowing Fragrance) at the Huntington, 2011. Photo by author.

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Appendix 1: Chinese names

皮襲美 Bi Ximei

董其昌 Dong Qichang

獨樂園 *Dule yuan (Garden of Solitary Enjoyment)*

計成 Ji Cheng

李格非 Li Gefei

劉松年 Liu Songnian

陸魯望 Lu Luwang

洛陽名園記 *Luoyang ming yuan ji (Record of the Famous Gardens of Luoyang)* \

倪瓚 Ni Zan

乾隆 Qianlong (emperor)

仇英 Qiu Ying

司馬光 Sima Guang

王安石 Wang Anshi

王蒙 Wang Meng

文嘉 Wen Jia

文林 Wen Lin

文徵明 Wen Zhengming

項元汴 Xiang Yuanbian

園冶 Yuan Ye

資治通鑒 *Zizhi Tongjian (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government)*