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History and Conservation of Rockwork in Gardens of Imperial China

By:

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Abstract

From the last century, especially from the 1950s onward, many historical gardens in China have been repaired and restored. Although the aim was to preserve the cultural heritage, many of these gardens were modified during the conservation projects. This thesis focuses on one of the typical garden features, the rockwork. Like gardens, historic rockwork in China has often been transformed from a particular into a generic style.

In view of this phenomenon, this thesis focuses on answering the following questions: How have the original appearance and states of rockwork been maintained in conservation projects? How can conservation practice be improved in order to accomplish more authentic restoration? Guided by these two main questions, this thesis aims to contribute to a more authentic restoration and conservation practice.

At the beginning, with a critical review of the history of rockwork in China, evidence is shown that preferences in rockwork changed over time. Various trends and most common characteristics of different periods are also identified. The subsequent analysis of legislation and guidelines related to the conservation of rockwork reveal conservation principles during and since the twentieth century, which continue to develop and change up to the present day. An understanding of the various trends and conservation principles provides a solid basis for the evaluation of conservation projects. Four individual cases were then studied in depth to investigate the conservation treatments applied to historic rockwork and the influences on the retention of their original appearance and state. These case studies demonstrate that historic rockwork has been modified to various extents during the conservation process, its historic significance has been overlooked, and some have been restored based on current aesthetic standards. Even so, some of these projects are still considered as good examples to be followed. Based on the problems and good practices identified in the case studies, specific recommendations are finally provided, to prevent the repetition of past mistakes, and to guide and improve future conservation practices.

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Preface

My interest on rockwork and historical Chinese gardens was closely related to my memory in childhood. As my father is an experienced landscape architect who preferred the classical style of garden design and applied it in many of his projects, I have been to many historical gardens during our family trips. I became familiar with all kinds of garden features; rockwork, especially those large ones with labyrinthic footpaths and caves, was the most joyful one for me in the young age.

Being trained as a landscape designer since 2006, I spent six years learning and practicing modern landscape design. During this process, my interest on the history of landscape design and how it was formed became stronger. In 2012, I decided to follow my interest and begin a doctoral research on garden history and conservation; eventually, I was able to focus on rockwork in Chinese gardens, the favourite garden feature of my childhood, as I found my current supervisor was also interested and curious about the development of it.

During the four years, I struggled and suffered, and also felt grateful and happy. Writing properly in the second language was not easy; but I also realised, working in the topic of my own culture could also be difficult. Because I have to avoid using some of the so-called 'common sense', and make sure all the terms and contexts mentioned in the thesis were proofed and clearly explained. The process was not always depressing; discovering new sources and having new findings always generate excitement.

'A journey of a thousand miles may not be achieved without every single step(不积跬步无以至千里)'. It is a Chinese verse from *Xunzi* 荀子 (ca. 5th century BC – 3rd century BC). For me, every day of the past five years was a step of this research journey, and this research is an important step of my life journey.

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List of Chinese Dynasties

| Dates | Name of Dynasties | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 2070BC -1600BC | Xia Dynasty 夏 | |
| 1600BC -1046BC | Shang Dynasty 商 | |
| 1046BC -256BC | Zhou Dynasty 周: | |
| | Western Zhou Dynasty 西周 | 1046BC - 771BC |
| | Eastern Zhou Dynasty 东周 | 770BC -256BC |
| | Spring and Autumn Period 春秋 | 770BC - 476BC |
| | Warring States Period 战国 | 475BC - 221BC |
| 221BC -206BC | Qin Dynasty 秦 | |
| 206BC -220AD | Han Dynasty 汉 | |
| | Western Han Dynasty 西汉 | 206BC - 25AD |
| | Eastern Han Dynasty 东汉 | 25 -220AD |
| 220 -280 | Three Kingdoms 三国 | |
| 265 -420 | Jin Dynasty 晋 | |
| 420 -589 | Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 | |
| 581 -618 | Sui Dynasty 隋 | |
| 618 -907 | Tang Dynasty 唐 | |
| 907 -960 | Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms | |
| 960 -1279 | Song Dynasty 宋 | |
| | Northern Song Dynasty 北宋 | 960-1127 |
| | Southern Song Dynasty 南宋 | 1127-1279 |
| 916 -1125 | Liao Dynasty 辽 | |

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| 1115 -1234 | Jin Dynasty 金 |
| 1038 -1127 | Xixia Dynasty 西夏 |
| 1279 -1368 | Yuan Dynasty 元 |
| 1368 -1644 | Ming Dynasty 明 |
| 1644 -1911 | Qing Dynasty 清 |

Conventions on Chinese language and translations

As a research on rockwork in Chinese gardens, many Chinese sources, terms, and names are included in the main texts of this thesis. In order to help non-Chinese speaking readers to fully understand the texts, translations of Chinese texts are provided. In order to reduce the misunderstanding of the original Chinese texts, both the Chinese characters and pinyin, the Romanization system that represents the pronunciation of Chinese characters, are included; because some characters have more than one pronunciation and some different characters have the same pronunciation.

When a person is mentioned for the first time in each chapter, pinyin and the Chinese characters are provided, and the birth and death dates are also involved if it was a deceased person. When the person is mentioned subsequently, only the pinyin is used.

When the names of books (or other sources), gardens, scenes, and certain Chinese terms are mentioned for the first time in each chapter, the pinyin, Chinese characters and translations are all provided. When they are mentioned subsequently, only the translations are used to help non-Chinese speaking readers to quickly understand the meaning. Exceptions can be found for some terms, including *'xiujiu rujiu 修旧如旧'*, *'xiadong shangtai 下洞上台'*, etc.; where the pinyin is used after the term is properly explained for the first time because there are no equivalent terms in English, and they need a longer translation.

When Chinese sources are quoted, only the translations are involved in the main text. If it was translated by the author, the original sentence is referred to in the footnote together with the reference of the source; if it was translated by others, the full reference of the translated source is provided in the footnote.

Conventions on references

When a source is referred to for the first time in each chapter, the full reference is provided in the footnote; all the references and bibliography follow the MHRA style based on the *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*.² In all references to a source after the first, the short intelligible form is used, which includes the author's name, main title of the source, volume number of the book, if applicable, and the page number. For the full reference of Chinese sources, the pinyin and Chinese characters of the author's name, and the pinyin, Chinese characters and translation of the title, are provided and the rest follows the same style as English sources; in later references, only the pinyin of the author's name, the English translation of the title, and the page number is used, so that non-Chinese readers can also quickly understand the source and easily find them in the bibliography.

² *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*, ed. by Subcommittee of MHRA, 2nd edn, (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008).

Chapter 1. Introduction

‘Water and rocks are the last features that should be absent in gardens.’³

In this quotation from the seventeenth-century book, *Treatise on Superfluous Things*, its author, Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1584-1645), affirms that water and rocks are two essential elements in Chinese gardens. This research focuses on one of these, the rockwork. As the quotation shows, it has been a significant and iconic feature of Chinese gardens for many years. Although stone structures are relatively stronger and more solid, many rockworks were destroyed and vanished along with the gardens over the centuries. The majority of existing works were constructed in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the last two dynasties of imperial China. Even the existing ones are found damaged to different degrees and extents. Although historic gardens have been restored as a requirement of nation-wide conservation policies since the twentieth century, the gardens and rockwork are often transformed into generic versions. Many historic gardens and rockwork were restored based on the current understanding and impression of classical gardens in general, rather than the characteristics that originally existed in each garden and rockwork. Therefore, many restored gardens and rockwork would look similar, and lost their distinctive historical appearance and characteristics. Thus, this thesis focuses on the origins of this issue, and intends to analyse how and why it has occurred. The present research will provide a basis of knowledge and understanding on which to improve conservation practice, so as to protect historic rockwork as well as the gardens containing them. This chapter explores the context of this issue, and states the narrative that is followed to carry out this research.

1.1 Definition of terms

Rockwork and *jiashan*:

In this thesis, rockwork is used as the translation of the Chinese term *jiashan* 假山 [literally, artificial mountains]. A rockwork is a man-made garden feature: at times made of naturally formed rocks, sometimes made of earth, or both, in order to represent mountains.⁴ Current

³ See original sentence ‘园林水石，最不可无’，in Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585-1645), *Zhangwuzhi jiaozhu* 长物志校注 [The Annotated Treatise on Superfluous Things], annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植 (Nanjing: Jiangsu kexue jishu chubanshe, 1984), p.102.

⁴ Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, ‘Jiashan qianshi 假山浅识 [Basic Introduction to Rockwork]’, in Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, *Meng Zhaozhen wenji: fengjing yuanlin lilun yu shijian* 孟兆祯文集: 风景园林理论与实践 [Collected Works of Meng Zhaozhen: Landscape Practice and Theory], ed. by Qi Qige 其其格 (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp.1-14 (p. 1).

notions of rockwork or *jiashan* refer to various types and forms, which are explained in section 1.2.1. Although the earliest example recorded can be dated back to the Qin Dynasty (221BC - 206BC), the word '*jiashan*' did not appear until the Tang Dynasty (618-907).⁵ Nowadays, *jiashan* refers to all types of rockwork, including those created before the Tang Dynasty, including individually displayed rocks and mountain-shape rockwork.

In this thesis, the term 'rockwork' and '*jiashan*' refers to rockwork of all kinds. Meanwhile, 'artificial mountain' refers to mountain-shaped rockwork so as to differentiate these types from individually displayed rocks.

Features of rockwork:

There are various kinds of features found in rockwork. Common features include peaks, caves and ravines.

- *Peak (feng 峰)*: In most cases, large individually displayed rocks which were placed on the ground, or on a rockwork, are called peaks. Sometimes, peak also refers to the pointed summit of a rockwork.
- *Cave (dong 洞)*: A cave is a hollow structure of a rockwork; caves are generally accessible with one or more entrances. Some of the caves are narrow and long, and are referred to as tunnels.
- *Ravine (jian 涧)*: A ravine is an artificial valley constructed in rockwork. It is typically formed by creating precipitous cliffs on either side.⁶

Earth platforms:

An earth platform is referred to as *Tai* (台) in Chinese. It is an ancient form of man-made terrace, that appeared earlier than, and is slightly different from man-made earth mountains. Earth platforms are usually large man-made mounds with a flat and level top. Such a feature is made by piling up earth, and is not directly associated with mountains; and therefore, it cannot really be included in the notion of rockwork or artificial mountains. They were mainly constructed for

⁵ Du Fu 杜甫 (712 -770), '*Jia shan 假山 [Artificial Mountain]*', in Wang Jingtao 王劲韬, '*Zhongguo huangjia yuanlin dieshan yanjiu 中国皇家园林叠山研究 [Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens]*' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Qinghua daxue, 2009), p.44.

⁶ Wang Xingbo 汪星伯, '*Jiashan 假山 [Artificial Mountains]*', in *Jianzhushi lunwenji disanji 建筑史论文集第三辑 [Treatises on the History of Architecture, third volume]*, ed. by Qinghuadaxue jianzhu gongcheng xi (Beijing: Qinghua daxue jianzhu gongcheng xi, 1979), pp.1-15; Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuanye zhushi 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens]* (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988), p.219; Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: the Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Alison Hardie (New York: Better Link Press, 2012), p.110.

meteorological and astronomical observations, heaven-worshipping ceremonies, and military defence. This form is believed to have originally appeared in the eleventh century BC,⁷ and the construction of new platforms gradually stopped in the third century BC.

Rockwork craftsmen:

The rockwork craftsmen are the people who actually participated in the construction of the rockwork. Although sometimes paintings would inspire or guide the design of the rockwork, the final presentation of the rockwork is highly dependent on the actual builder. The texture and appearance of each rock cannot be predicted as they are naturally formed: thus, an experienced craftsman is needed to arrange them together. Therefore, someone or someone's painting could inspire the construction of a certain rockwork, but s/he cannot be credited the work of the actual rockwork craftsman.

Eremitism and reclusion:

The concept of eremitism and reclusion is an important idea in Chinese culture: it represents a living attitude. The concept of eremitism has a close relationship with gardens and rockwork that derives from the traditional understanding of reclusion and hermitage. In China, living a reclusive life is not necessarily equal to being a real hermit and living away from society.⁸ There are numerous recorded examples of working people trying to live a reclusive life in cities, notably using gardens as their sanctuary. As Wang Wei 王维 (699-759) expressed in his poem: 'although your house borders on the realm of people, shutting the gate turns it into a hermitage'.⁹ Thus, having a private miniature landscape created with rockwork and watercourses allowed the garden owner and guests to live temporarily in an isolated world.¹⁰

⁷ Hu Jie, *The Splendid Chinese Garden: Origins, Aesthetics and Architecture* (New York: Betterlink Press, 2013) p.39.

⁸ Aat E. Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990), p.8.

⁹ Wang Wei 王维 (?-761), 'Jizhou guo zhaosou jiayan 济州过赵叟家宴 [Stopping at the Banquet in Old Zhao's House in Jizhou]', trans. by Xiaoshan Yang, in Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.52.

¹⁰ Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. by Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.109.

Common rock types:

The types of rocks used for constructing rockwork come in different colours, textures and forms. In surviving historical gardens (created during dynastic China), the most common rock types were the Taihu Rock, Yellow Rock, Bamboo Shoot Rock, and Lingbi Rock as follows:

- *Taihu Rock*: It is a type of limestone produced in the Taihu Lake area in Jiangnan. Shaped by its stay in the water, the rocks typically present holes (Fig. 1-1). It is in white and light gray colour. Taihu Rocks became a common choice for garden owners since the Tang Dynasty.¹¹ Although produced in Jiangnan, it was also transported to other parts of China, and can be found in historic gardens in Beijing and Xi'an as well. It is not always considered as the best choice for rockwork making, and it was criticised historically in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.
- *Yellow Rocks*: As the name implies, Yellow Rocks are normally of a yellow colour. Unlike the Taihu Rock, the Yellow Rock does not contain holes; it typically comes in angular pieces with sharp edges, as shown in Figure 1-2. It can be easily found in various locations such as the Yellow Mountain (*Huang shan* 黄山) in Changzhou, the Yaofeng Mountain (*Yaofeng shan* 尧峰山) in Suzhou and so on.¹² This is the reason why the Yellow Rock is sometimes known as Yaofeng Rock.¹³
- *Bamboo Shoot Rock*: A type of linear and pointy rock, which reminds the shape of bamboo shoots. It is sometimes referred to as Jinchuan Rock (*Jinchuan shi* 锦川石), Jinchuan being the main production site of this rock. Another name for this type is Pine Bark Rock (*Songpi shi* 松皮石) which refers to its texture and pattern (Fig. 1-3).
- *Lingbi Rock*: Found in the Lingbi County, this type of rock was frequently mentioned and highly praised in historic texts. Similar to Taihu Rock, the Lingbi Rock presents intricate structures with holes and gullies. Its colour is usually black or dark grey, with white veins. Another of its characteristics is that it makes a fine clear sound when knocked, which is perhaps why Wen Zhenheng described it as miraculous (*qi ye* 奇也).¹⁴ The Lingbi Rock is also listed in the first place in the stone catalogue of the Song Dynasty.¹⁵ Examples of

¹¹ Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), 'Taihushi ji 太湖石记 [Record of Taihu Rock]', trans. by Xiaoshan Yang, in Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang –Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.114.

¹² Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi, pp.224-225; Ji Cheng, *Craft of Gardens: the Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p.115-116.

¹³ Wen Zhenheng, *The Annotated Treatise on Superfluous Things*, annotated by Chen Zhi, p.113.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.111.

¹⁵ Edward H. Schafer, *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest: A Commentary and Synopsis* (Warren: Floating World Editions, 2005), p.50.

Lingbi Rocks are rare in existing historic gardens, even though the local stone market in Lingbi is very active today. Lingbi rocks of various sizes can be found to decorate interior space as well as gardens (Fig. 1-4).



Figure 1-1. Taihu Rock in Shizilin, Suzhou. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 1-2. Rockwork constructed with Yellow Rocks in the Summer Palace, Beijing. (Source: author, 2014.)



Figure 1-3. The Bamboo Shoot Rocks displayed in bamboo groves in the Ge Garden, Yangzhou. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 1-4. Lingbi rocks for sale as displayed in a local's house in Lingbi County. (Source: author, 2015.)

Conservation:

This term is the English equivalent of the Chinese term *baohu* 保护, which has a broad concept and conveys the practice of protection, maintenance, technical intervention, and management.¹⁶

Restoration, repair and reconstruction:

Restoration is a common approach to garden and rockwork conservation. Corresponding broadly with the Chinese term '*xiufu* 修复', it includes 'minor restoration' and 'major restoration'. The former is referred to as 'repair' in this thesis, and includes 'disassembly and replacement of elements or addition of new fabric'.¹⁷ The latter implies the restoration of an object to its known historic condition, and is referred to as reconstruction here. When undergoing minor restoration, removing later, non-historic parts is considered, but not adding new elements.

¹⁶ 'English-Chinese Glossary', in ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2015 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2015), p.107.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.111.

Characteristics:

The characteristics of rockwork include all types of features, materials, patterns, structures, etc. Characteristics are intrinsic features of things, including rockwork, which make an individual rockwork distinct from others. This thesis explores the characteristics of specific rockwork in the case studies, so as to obtain a better understanding of their original appearance and state.

1.2 Literature review: categorisation, analysis and conservation of rockwork

1.2.1 Types and functions of rockwork

According to its components, rockwork can be mainly divided into four types: individually displayed rocks, rock mountains, earth-rock mountains and earth mountains. Individually displayed rocks are called *zhi shi* 置石, which are single large natural stones placed individually, rather than assembled together with others.¹⁸ Traditionally, one or more fine pieces of rock, selected according to contemporaneous aesthetic standards, would be displayed in front of a building or outside the window of a study studio, or at other focus points.¹⁹ They could be displayed as a pair or a group, or be placed standing or lying amongst plants. The other three types of rockworks were made of many rocks and/or earth, and generally took the shape of mountains. Rock mountains (*shi shan* 石山), are a type of artificial mountains made only of rocks, while earth-rock mountains (*tu shi shan* 土石山), are artificial mountains rockwork made of both rocks and soil. The latter can be further classified into two groups based on the proportion of each material: some include more rocks which cover the soil while others are more like an earth mountain with some rocks among the plants. The last type are earth mountains (*tu shan* 土山), most often referring to low man-made mounds made of earth and covered with dense plants. This term also refers to large artificial mountains such as the 40 metres high Jingshan Mountain, located north of the Forbidden City and covering 23 hectares. Among these four types, individually displayed rocks, rock mountains, and rock-dominated mountains are the most common kind to be found in surviving historical Chinese gardens.

Each type of rockwork has been well defined and discussed in previous research, but they have not always been classified similarly. Some scholars put individual rocks into their own separate

¹⁸ Maggie Keswick (1941-1995), *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.172.

¹⁹ John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: the Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China House Gallery, 1986), p.15.

category, since the techniques involved in displaying individual rocks are totally different from the construction of artificial mountains. For example, Wang Xingbo 汪星伯 (1893-1979) notably avoided discussing individual rocks in his paper 'Jia shan 假山 [Artificial Mountains]' in 1979.²⁰ Unlike Wang, Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, a garden historian specializing in rockwork, referred to all these four types collectively as artificial mountains: he classified rockwork that made of only earth or mainly made of earth as 'earth mountains', and classified individually displayed rocks, rock-only and rock-dominated mountains as 'rock mountains'.²¹

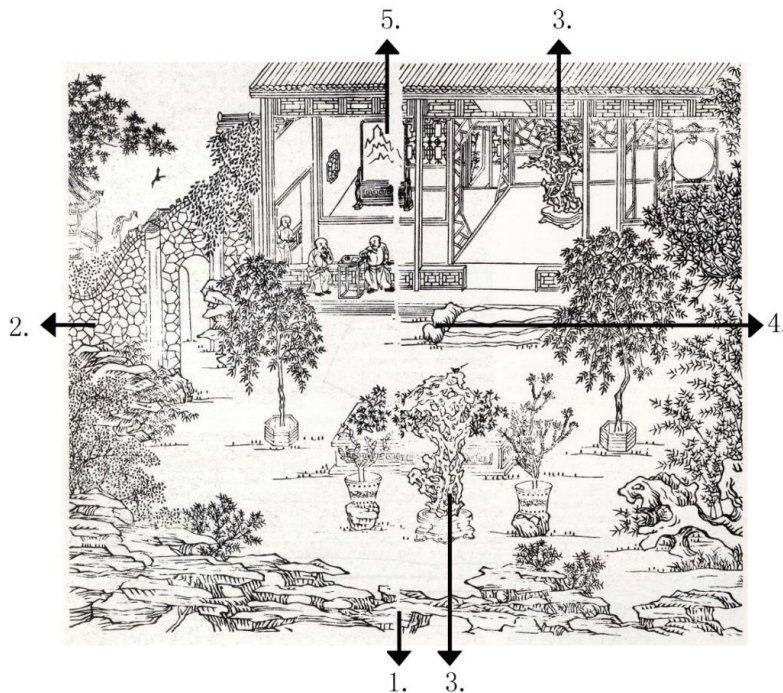


Figure 1-5. This woodcut shows the Baishi Pavilion (*Baishi xuan* 拜石轩) in the Garden of Half Acre (*Banmu yuan* 半亩园) in Beijing. Various types of rock features can be found in this illustration: 1. Rock mountains; 2. Stone wall; 3. Individual rock; 4. A set of stone steps; 5. Stone screen. (Source: Woodcut 'Baishi baishi 拜石拜石 [Worshipping rocks in the Pavilion for Worshipping Rocks]', in Wanyan Linqing 完颜麟庆 (1791-1846), *Hongxue yinyuan tuji* 鸿雪因缘图记 [A Wild Swan's Trail], illustration by Wang Chunquan 汪春泉 (ca.late 18th-19th century), 3 vols (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2011), III, pp.838-839.)

The rockwork displayed in gardens came in different forms and functions. The nineteenth-century woodcut of the Garden of Half Acre (Figure 1-5) is a good representative example of the way in which rockwork has been used in gardens. The woodcut shows one courtyard of the

²⁰ Wang Xingbo, 'Artificial Mountains', pp.1-15.

²¹ Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, 'Duoshan jishu 掇山技术 [Techniques of Constructing Rockwork]', in *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu jishushi* 中国古代建筑技术史 [History of Architecture and Technology in Ancient China], ed. by Zhongguo kexueyuan ziran kexueshi yanjiusuo (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1985), pp.480-496.

garden, which contains rock mountains (1), individual rocks (3) in the middle of the courtyard as well as in the middle entry room of the pavilion, and stone steps (4) at the entrance of the pavilion. In *Yuan Ye* 园冶 [The Craft of Gardens], the seventeenth-century garden treatise, Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?) described nine common locations for rockwork in gardens. He also identified several common structures that could be created in rockwork, such as peaks, caves and ravines.²² Ji Cheng discussed how rockwork should be placed in coordination with buildings such as towers, belvederes, studios or women's apartments. He also mentioned that rockwork could be placed in a pond, or against walls. It is noticeable that *The Craft of Gardens* mainly mentioned those with mountain shapes when demonstrating the design and arrangement of rockwork, other types, such as stone steps, rocky shores etc., were not discussed.

Maggie Keswick observed that, besides mountain-shapes, historic rockworks were also designed in the shape of rocky shores of watercourses, and to form garden seats and tables.²³ For the display of individual rocks, she concluded that 'the single grand rock would stand magnificently alone in front of a pavilion specially placed for viewing it, or be placed "under a stately pine or be combined with wonderful flowers"'.²⁴ Unlike Keswick, who only wrote succinctly about rock design, Meng Zhaozhen systematically studied rockwork and its design and functions. In his book *Yuanlin gongcheng* 园林工程 [Landscape Engineering] dedicated a chapter to rockwork, providing information on different types and techniques.²⁵ The rockwork that does not adopt a mountain-shape was discussed in this chapter, and described as a way of increasing the sense of a mountainous area in gardens. For example, a few steps made of flat natural rocks at the entrance of a building are often found in surviving historical gardens. These stone steps were called the Treads (*taduo* 踏蹠), which serve as a transition from a natural designed garden to a geometrical building. Sometimes, erect rocks would be put on one or both sides of steps. This single (or pair of) rock(s) was referred to as the Squatting (*dunpei* 蹲配) and serves as a retaining wall to the stone steps. A pair of tones lions or stone drums could fulfill a similar function. Holding-foot (*baojiao* 抱脚) and Filling-corner (*xiangyu* 镶隅) were also special forms of rockwork intended to increase the feeling of natural landscape in a garden. As their names imply, the holding-foot is a rockwork attached to the convex corners of walls. The filling-corner is a

²² Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi; Ji Cheng, *Craft of Gardens: the Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design*, trans. by Alison Hardie.

²³ Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*, p.172.

²⁴ Ibid, p.172.

²⁵ Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, 'Jiashan gongcheng 假山工程 [Rockwork Engineering]', in *Yuanlin gongcheng* 园林工程 [Landscape Engineering], ed. by Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, Mao Peilin 毛培琳, Huang Qingxi 黄庆喜 and Liang Yiren 梁伊任(Beijing: Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 1995), pp.201-232.

rockwork placed within the concave corners. Meng suggested that these forms of rockwork would allow visitors to feel as if the buildings were sitting on a real mountain. He also investigated the most common form of rockwork: the mountain-shaped type. Unlike Ji Cheng, who classified rockwork by location in *The Craft of Gardens*, Meng explored the design of rockwork in terms of its shape and appearance, for example the ways rockwork was associated with watercourses, and how its main structure or peak could be established and highlighted.

Meng's writing on the arrangement of rockwork is concise, but sometimes his descriptions are rather ambiguous. Due to the lack of thorough discussion of actual examples, and little support from pictorial materials, his texts are difficult to understand. His student Wei Feiyu 魏菲宇 did further research based on Meng's findings, and completed a doctoral thesis on design approaches to rockwork. Wei completed Meng's approach by analysing various arrangements of rockwork through a considerable number of examples.²⁶

1.2.2 Discussions and studies on rockwork during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Western studies on Chinese gardens is often considered as began in the eighteenth century, when detailed first-hand accounts were received, such as Jean Denis Attiret's (1702-1768) letter on the imperial garden Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuan ming yuan* 圆明园) and William Chambers' (1723-1796) book on Chinese gardens.²⁷ Nevertheless, Chinese gardens was not a category in the bibliographies of Chinese and Asian studies until the twentieth century.²⁸ Since the Second Opium War (1856-1860), more sights and gardens were opened to foreigners, which encouraged the studies on Chinese gardens, especially those in Beijing and northern China.²⁹ In the first half of the twentieth century, Osvald Sirén's (1879-1966) books *The Imperial Palaces of Peking* and *Gardens of China*, are two leading works in the field of Chinese gardens.³⁰ Western studies on Chinese gardens also affected domestic scholars: the outbreak of the May Fourth

²⁶ Wei Feiyu 魏菲宇, 'Zhongguo yuanlin zhishi duoshan sheji lifalun 中国园林置石掇山设计理论论 [A Study on Theories and Methods of Placing Stones and Piling Hills in Chinese Landscape]' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Beijing Forestry University, 2009).

²⁷ Liangyan Ge, 'On the Eighteenth Century English Misreading of the Chinese Garden', in *Comparative Civilisation Review*, 27(1992), pp.106-126; Jean Denis Attiret (1702-1768), 'Lettre à M. d'Assaut, 1 er November 1743', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: Guérin, 1742); William Chambers (1723-1796), *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: W. Griffin, 1773);

²⁸ Stainslaus Fung, 'Guide to Secondary Sources on Chinese Garden', in *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes: an International Quarterly*, 3(1998), pp.269-286 (p.269).

²⁹ Peter Valder, *Gardens in China* (Portland: Timber Press, 2002), p.53.

³⁰ Osvald Sirén (1879-1966), *The Imperial Palaces of Peking* (Paris, and Brussels: Van Oest, 1926); Osvald Sirén, *Gardens of China* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1949).

Movement (*Wusi yundong* 五四运动) in 1919 brought new ideas to Chinese academia, including the Western concept of having ‘Chinese gardens’ as an academic subject.³¹

At the same time, the loss of cultural heritage and the profound national identity crisis drew more and more attention among Chinese scholars:³² since the Second Opium War, many traditional buildings and gardens have been damaged, and art objects and antiques were plundered.³³ Therefore, led by Tong Jun 童寯 (1900-1983) and scholars from the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (*Yingzao xueshe* 营造学社), historic gardens were surveyed and studied. They also annotated and analysed ancient records about gardens and craftsmen in order to understand the ancient garden culture and building techniques.

Most of the publications in the early twentieth century focused on recording and introducing the gardens and their typical features, including rockwork, watercourses, plants and architectural elements. Having the information about the state of rockwork at that time, they become valuable for helping us understand the changes in them since then. Later, with the Reform and Opening-up, the Chinese economic reform program, starting in 1978, gave historic gardens more attention in order to recover the national unity and promote traditional culture. Also, relevant academic research in China has developed along with the rapidly expanding economy in the 1980s and 1990s. The promotion of traditional culture soon achieved initial success; and the number of relevant overseas studies also increased. Among these were some concentrating on rockwork in particular which mainly discussed the cultural contexts and design approaches. This section reviews the research related to rockwork in order to identify the research gap that needs to be filled; it discovers that previous research covers the following aspects.

1.2.2.1 The underlying meaning and aesthetic concepts of rockwork

As a long-standing feature of gardens, rockwork is closely related to the local culture and has special meanings to the Chinese. Thus, much previous research focused on revealing the underlying meanings of rockwork. Visitors from other cultures sometimes found themselves

³¹ Andong Lu, ‘Lost in Translation: Modernist Interpretation of the Chinese Garden as Experiential Space and Its Assumptions’, in *Journal of Architecture*, 4(2011), pp.499-527; Alison Hardie, in ‘Chinese Garden Design in the Later Ming Dynasty and Its Relation to Aesthetic Theory’, 3 vols. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2000).

³² Marc Andre Matten, ‘History, Memory, and Identity in Modern China’, in *Places of Memory in Modern China: History, Politics and Identity*, ed. by Marc Andre Matten (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 1-16.

³³ Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Lai Guolong, ‘The Emergence of “Cultural Heritage” in Modern China: A Historical and Legal Perspective’, in *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, ed. by Akira Matsuda, and Luisa E. Mengoni, (London: Ubiquity Press, 2016), pp.47-85(p.56).

‘overwhelmed by the rocks’ and even find the rockwork ‘slightly sinister – impressive, but alien to our taste for greenery, colour and lightness.’³⁴

Immortality, eremitism and Confucianism are the main ideas embodied in rockwork. In Chinese legends, the palaces of gods and dwellings of immortals are commonly described as located in the sacred mountains; these dwellings and mountains are frequently depicted and reflected in various kinds of artwork, such as paintings and incense burners. The latter were sometimes created in the shape of a mountain; as they normally symbolise the sacred mountain called Boshan 博山, this type of censer is called the Boshan Censer (*Boshan lu* 博山炉).³⁵ Sacred mountains were also popular models for rockwork; many early earth mountains created in the imperial gardens of the Qin and Han Dynasties were intended to mimic them. Emperors believed that it would allow them to be closer to heaven and the immortal world, and would help achieve a long life.³⁶ Another common structure in rockwork, the cave, is also influenced by the desire for immortality.³⁷ According to Taoism, an influential philosophy in China, some caves in specific mountains are pathways connecting heaven and earth, and immortals were believed to be living in these caves. These caves are referred to as *dongtian* 洞天, which literally means cave-heavens. Thus, the popularity of hollowed rocks like Taihu Rock, and rockwork with caves, is considered to be associated with this idea.

The relationship between rockwork and Confucianism has been frequently discussed according to Confucius’ concepts of ‘*zhizhe* [知者] to enjoy the water, and *renzhe* [仁者] to enjoy the mountains’.³⁸ *Zhizhe* refers to wise people, while *renzhe* refers to altruistic, humane and benevolent persons. The word ‘*ren* 仁’, or benevolence, is one of the most significant virtues appreciated by Confucius : one text attributed to him states that the need for benevolence was even more important than water and fire, as the latter may cause danger, while the former would bring nothing but benefits.³⁹ Following the proverb ‘see what he enjoys and you will know the man’, rockwork connoisseurs wanted to show their humaneness and benevolence by

³⁴ Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*, p.155.

³⁵ Susan N. Erickson, ‘Boshanlu - Mountain Censers of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Iconological Analysis,’ in *Archives of Asian Art*, 45 (1992), pp.6-28.

³⁶ Hu Jie, *The Splendid Chinese Garden: Origins, Aesthetics and Architecture*, p.24; Wang Duo 王铎, *Zhongguo gudai yuanyuan yu wenhua* 中国古代苑园与文化 [Ancient Chinese Gardens and Their Culture] (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), pp.88-92.

³⁷ Kiyohiko Munakata, ‘Mysterious Heavens and Chinese Classical Gardens’, in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 15 (1998), pp.61-88 (p.65); Stephen Little, and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago, Berkeley: The Art Institute of Chicago, University of California Press, 2000), p.376.

³⁸ See original sentence ‘知者乐水,仁者乐山’, in Bao Pengshan 鲍鹏山, *Lunyu daodu* 论语导读 [The Confucius Analects Review] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012), p.96.

³⁹ Bao Pengshan, *The Confucius Analects Review*, p.282.

constructing rockwork or collecting rocks.⁴⁰ Confucius is attributed the sentence that ‘the wise are happy and the humane live long’,⁴¹ implying that benevolent or moral people were normally open-minded and magnanimous.. Considering the long history and the relationship with humanity, mountains became a symbol of longevity. Thus, many artificial mountains in gardens were named ‘Longevity Mountain’.⁴² For example, the main rockwork in the Northeast Marchmont (*Genyue* 艮岳) (built in the early 12th century), the huge mountain in the Summer Palace (*Yihe yuan* 颐和园) (originally built in the 12th century, and renamed as Wanshou Shan in 1751) and the Qionghua Island (*Qiaonghua dao* 琼华岛) in Beihai Park (*Beihai gongyuan* 北海公园) (originally built in the 12th century, and renamed in 1271) either have or once had the name of ‘*Wansui shan* 万岁山’ or ‘*Wanshou shan* 万寿山’, which translates into English as ‘Longevity Mountain’.

Numerous landscape paintings reproduced or represented real scenery on paper while rockwork and water normally created miniature landscapes in gardens.⁴³ Scholars concluded that the mountain represented for garden owners a way to escape from society, as it is such an important part of the Chinese hermit culture.⁴⁴ West, the idea of being physically isolated from society, that is, to live in an inhospitable place, was fundamentally important for a hermit; whereas in China, physical isolation was not necessary to achieve eremitism.⁴⁵ Gardens were treated as a sanctuary that allowed their visitors to temporarily get away from society, helped to achieve inner peace and to purify their mind. While most Chinese garden history scholars associated the creation of miniature landscapes with reclusive culture, some argued that gardens actually took different meanings depending on their users. Imperial gardens for example show that the creation of a miniature landscape is sometimes used as a way to display the ruler’s majesty and power.⁴⁶ Philippe Forêt showed that miniature landscapes and rockwork held a special political

⁴⁰ Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. by Phyllis Brooks, p.95.

⁴¹ See original sentence ‘知者乐，仁者寿’, in Bao Pengshan, *The Confucius Analects Review*, p.96.

⁴² Meng Zhaozhen, ‘Zhongguo gudian yuanlin yu chuantong zheli 中国古典园林与传统哲理 [Historical Chinese Gardens and Traditional Philosophical Thoughts]’, in Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, *Meng Zhaozhen wenji: fengjing yuanlin lilun yu shijian 孟兆祯文集：风景园林理论与实践* [Collected Works of Meng Zhaozhen: Landscape Practice and Theory], ed. by Qi Qige 其其格 (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp.118-126 (p.120).

⁴³ Edward H. Schafer, *Tu Wan’s Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest: A Commentary and Synopsis*, pp.4-5.

⁴⁴ Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. by Phyllis Brooks, p.109.

⁴⁵ Aat E. Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty*, p.8.

⁴⁶ Stephen H. Whiteman, ‘From Upper Camp to Mountain Estate: Recovering Historical Narratives in Qing Imperial Landscapes’, in *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 4 (2013), pp.249-279 (p.254); Wang Jingtao 王劲韬, ‘Zhongguo huangjia yuanlin dieshan yanjiu 中国皇家园林叠山研究 [Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens]’ (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Qinghua daxue, 2009), p.33.

significance for emperors: by collecting rocks from various regions, and reproducing complex and small gardens from other parts of the country, or even western countries.⁴⁷

Besides discussing rockwork as a whole, some research was conducted to understand the appreciation of rocks as objects. Among them, John Hay provided much valuable information in his 1986 book on the rock culture in China. He notably explored how the cultural value of rocks was recognised in dynastic China, the reasons why certain rocks were appreciated, and the intersection of rock appreciation and other Chinese arts.⁴⁸ A year later, Hay produced another paper focusing on the most frequently built structures of rockwork. Hay demonstrated how rock amateurs showed a preference for narrow footed rocks, and discussed rock using aesthetic criteria such as thinness (*shou* 瘦), openness (*tou* 透) and wrinkling (*zhou* 皱). Hay's paper not only explored the common features of rockwork but also revealed the reasons why these features were appreciated and so frequently constructed.⁴⁹ Other scholars such as Harrist and Yang also noticed and discussed the preference for zoomorphic shapes and the so-called 'ugly' appearance in rocks.⁵⁰ Except for Yang, most scholars did not take fashion trends into consideration: some rocks' shapes were preferred in certain periods, and were criticised in other periods, especially during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This lack of chronological context seems to be a common issue in many studies that focus on the traditional aesthetic opinions of rockwork.

1.2.2.2 The design, construction and craftsmen

Comparing with foreign scholars, Chinese scholars paid relatively more attention to the design and construction techniques. It may also be related to the urgent needs of restoring and repairing historic gardens and rockwork after the Cultural Revolution. The investigation of ancient methods of making rockwork mainly began in the late 1970s, with the exploration of contemporaneous garden treatises and records. Led by Chen Zhi 陈植 (1902-2001), the architect specialised on architectural and garden history, a large number of relevant historical

⁴⁷ Philippe Forêt, 'The Intended Perception of the Imperial Gardens of Chengde in 1780', in *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 3-4 (1999), pp.343-363; Wang Jingtao, 'Study on rockery of Chinese imperial gardens', p.33; Hu Jie 胡洁, and Sun Xiaoxiang 孙筱祥, *Yitian suodi: qingdai huangjia yuanlin fenxi 移天缩地:清代皇家园林分析* [Analysis of Imperial Gardens in the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe,2011).

⁴⁸ John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art*.

⁴⁹ John Hay, 'Structure and Aesthetic Criteria in Chinese Rocks and Art', in *Res*, 13 (Spring 1987), pp.6-22.

⁵⁰ Robert E. Harrist, 'Mountains, Rocks and Stone Pictures: Forms of Visual Imagination in China', in *Orientalisms*, 12(2003), pp.39-45 (p.39); Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang –Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.98-108.

records were published with detailed annotation.⁵¹ These historical texts revealed ideas on the design and construction of gardens as well as the rockwork of different periods. The paper ‘Artificial Mountains’ by Wang Xingbo was a pioneering study that summarised the approaches to the making as well as the designing of rockwork based on ancient texts.⁵² At the beginning, Wang observed that rockwork has been developing and changing throughout history, and was transformed from the artificial mound to rock mountains. However, two seventeenth-century books *Xianqing Ouji* 闲情偶寄 [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling] and *Yuan Ye* 园冶 [Craft of Gardens] were used as main references,⁵³ which means that the information summarised in Wang’s paper was actually the opinions and knowledge of the seventeenth century rather than of Chinese rockwork in general. Besides historical materials, some studies investigated the design and layout of rockwork by exploring and analysing surviving examples, such as those by Meng Zhaozhen and Wei Feiyu.⁵⁴ There still are limitations to this mode of study because it cannot reflect the construction approaches in earlier periods while focusing on surviving examples; moreover, the surviving examples might have been changed so looking different from their original appearance. Although Wei’s work was informative and provided a clearer explanation, it still relied on existing examples and seventeenth-century sources, the same sources relied on by Wang Xingbo.

During the development of rockwork, many construction techniques were passed down orally from generation to generation of craftsmen. It is therefore important to pay attention to different groups of craftsmen and investigate and record their skills in order to have a better understanding of contemporaneous skills. In the 1930s, a series of papers titled ‘Catalogue of skilful craftsmen’ was published, in which many historical garden craftsmen were introduced, based on historical records, including 34 specialists in the creation of rockwork. These papers were later collected and published as a book, *Zhejiang lu* 哲匠录 [Catalogue of Skilful Craftsmen].⁵⁵ Cao Xun 曹汛, a garden historian, devoted himself to providing accurate

⁵¹ Chen Zhi 陈植 (1902-2001) was an architect who specialised on architectural and garden history, not the contemporaneous forester of the same name. His annotated works include: Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi; Wen Zhenheng, *The Annotated Treatise on Superfluous Things*, annotated by Chen Zhi; *Zhongguo lidai mingyuanji xuanzhu* 中国历代名园记选注 [Annotation of Selected Chinese Garden Records], annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, and Zhang Gongchi 张公弛 (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983).

⁵² Wang Xingbo, ‘Artificial Mountains’, pp.1-15.

⁵³ Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680), *Xianqing Ouji* 闲情偶寄 [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling] (1671), annotated by Du Shuying 杜书瀛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007); Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi; Ji Cheng, *Craft of Gardens: the Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design*, trans. by Alison Hardie.

⁵⁴ Meng Zhaozhen, ‘Rockwork Engineering’, pp.201-232; Wei Feiyu, ‘A Study on Theories and Methods of Placing Stones and Piling Hills in Chinese Landscape’.

⁵⁵ These papers were originally published in the *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 中国营造学社汇刊 [Journal of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture], from 1932 to 1936. Later they were collected and published as a

descriptions of those craftsmen and their contributions by critically analysing and reviewing numerous historical texts, including garden records, travel notes, gazetteers, and so on. Many historical figures known for making rockwork were studied, including Ge Yuliang 戈裕良 (1764-1830), Zhang Lian 张涟 (1587-1671), Zhang Ran 张然 (1621-1696), Zhang Xiong 张熊(1618-?), Shitao 石涛(1630-1707), and Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680).⁵⁶ Some of them were evidenced as skilful craftsmen and had special techniques of rockwork construction, whereas some were said to have been misunderstood as they were not able to actually build rockwork, like Shitao and Li Yu. Although Cao Xun's work provided comprehensive information about individual craftsmen and their works, few studies have attempted to compare their works and techniques and explore the reasons for the differences.

Learning the design of historic rockwork is not only beneficial for conservation works, but also for providing essential knowledge for the creation of new gardens but in the classical style. Since the 1990s, many books and papers have been published offering practical advice on the making of new rockwork. These have been written by professional landscape designers, architects and senior craftsmen, and provide guidance for technicians and demonstrate the construction process step-by-step.⁵⁷ This represents significant progress for the creation of rockwork, since craftsmen have rarely produced written materials in the past. However, there was a limitation in recent books written by craftsmen; the exploration of the development of rockwork was normally brief and less critical. The book *Shanshi han dieshan jiyi* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han] is worth mentioning.⁵⁸ Its author, Han Liangshun 韩良顺, is the third generation of a family of rockwork craftsmen which started their business in the nineteenth century. Entering this field at the young age of thirteen, he took part in the construction of rockwork in the 1940s and joined many conservation projects from the 1950s to the 1980s. Later, after participating in the construction of Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1980, Han Liangshun shifted his focus of work to the creation of new

book: *Zhejiang lu* 哲匠录 [Catalogue of Skilful Craftsmen], ed. by Yang Yongsheng 杨永生 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2005).

⁵⁶ See his papers such as: Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Zhuizong zhang xiong, xunzhao zhangshi zhi shan 追踪张熊,寻找张氏之山 [Tracing Zhang Xiong, Looking for the Mountains of Zhang Family]', in *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], 5 (Oct 2007), pp.96-103; Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Zaoyuan dashi zhang nanyuan(yi)-jinian zhang nanyuan dansheng sibai zhounian 造园大师张南垣(一)—纪念张南垣诞生四百周年 [The Master of Garden Design Zhang Nanyuan – Commemorating the 400th Birthday Anniversary of Zhang Nanyuan (1)]', in *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 [Journal of Chinese Landscape Architecture], 1(1988), pp.21-26.

⁵⁷ Zhu Zhihong 朱志红, *Jiashan gongcheng* 假山工程 [Rockwork Construction] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2009); Sun Jianzheng 孙俭争, *Gujianzhu jiashan* 古建筑假山 [Rockwork of Classical Architectural Complex] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2004).

⁵⁸ Han Liangshun 韩良顺, *Shanshi han dieshan jiyi* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2010).

rockwork.⁵⁹ His rich experience and inherited skills have been valuable in inspiring the next generation of craftsmen as well as garden historians. However, books by rockwork craftsmen generally emphasise introducing construction techniques with their own projects while paying less attention to the development of rockwork more generally.

1.2.2.3 Rockwork of a certain period or in a certain type of gardens

Scholars of Chinese garden history have identified and explored gardens of several types and periods. Most scholars have, like Maggie Keswick (1941-1995) analysed imperial gardens and literati gardens separately. Others like Zhou Weiquan 周维权 (1927-2007), investigated gardens according to the dynasty in which they were constructed and the regions they belonged to, such as the north, the 'south' and Lingnan.⁶⁰ However, most of twentieth century authors that attempted to discuss the whole of Chinese garden history in one book, were therefore unable to discuss each garden element comprehensively. There were a number of monograph studies focusing on just one garden type or one period, such as *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* and *Yitian suodi: qingdai huangjia yuanlin fenxi 移天缩地:清代皇家园林分析* [Analysis of Imperial Gardens in the Qing Dynasty].⁶¹ The former explored not only garden design but also its cultural context in the Ming Dynasty in Jiangnan, whilst the latter provided an in-depth analysis of the Qing imperial gardens, identifying differences between northern and southern gardens. Although neither discussed rockwork in particular, they have provided valuable information to help understand the background to each period. Gu Kai 顾凯's *Mingdai jiangnan yuanlin yanjiu 明代江南园林研究* [Gardens of the Jiangnan Area in the Ming Period] is another informative book which investigated Ming gardens.⁶² Just as Craig Clunas explored contemporaneous society in *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (1996), Gu reviewed and analysed a considerable number of contemporaneous examples and identified the characteristics of garden design in each period of the Ming Dynasty, including the arrangement of rockwork.

The rockwork of certain periods and particular gardens has received more scholarly attention. Notably, the fashion for appreciating individual rocks in the Tang and Song Dynasty has often

⁵⁹ Han Liangshun, *Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han*, pp.14-15.

⁶⁰ Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*; Zhou Weiquan 周维权 (1927-2007), *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi 中国古典园林史* [History of Chinese Classical Gardens] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1990).

⁶¹ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Hu Jie, and Sun Xiaoxiang, *Analysis of Imperial Gardens in Qing Dynasty*.

⁶² Gu Kai 顾凯, *Mingdai jiangnan yuanlin yanjiu 明代江南园林研究* [Gardens of the Jiangnan Area in the Ming Period] (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2010).

been studied. In the book *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*, Yang Xiaoshan discusses this trend, by analysing numerous contemporaneous poems in which he explored garden owners' obsessions about so-called 'ugly rocks'.⁶³ Yang not only investigated the rock amateurs' aesthetic standards but also the metaphorical meanings given to rocks at the time. The appreciation for 'ugly rocks' and the transportation of bizarre rocks from the south to the north of the Chinese empire during the late Song Dynasty has been regularly studied, as it has been a striking trend which has had a profound impact in Chinese gardens. Because a greater number of records survive, imperial gardens have attracted more historians. The doctoral thesis by Wang Jingtao 王劲韬 has concentrated on rockwork in imperial gardens. After briefly exploring their history, he focused on the construction process of different dynasties and discussed the use of materials, including common types of rock, lime powder and other bonding materials.⁶⁴ With the help of surviving records from the Qing court, he offered a clear understanding of the construction procedures and project management by taking the Qing imperial gardens as case studies. Wang provided greater systematic and practical knowledge of historical rockwork than other researchers before. While Wang focused on imperial gardens, another scholar, Duanmu Shan 端木山, wrote his PhD thesis on rockwork in private gardens of the Jiangnan region.⁶⁵ Despite having investigated rockwork in all kinds of gardens, Duanmu Shan's thesis involved limited discussion on private gardens in Jiangnan in particular, and did not identify the distinguishing features of rockwork in these gardens.

As this literature review shows, the rockworks of different periods and gardens types have been researched from several angles. Some gardens were more discussed due to various reasons, such as the large quantity of existing records. However, rockwork creation in different regions would have certainly affected each other, and the development of rockwork cannot have remained the same across the rise and fall of dynasties. Since very little systematic comparison between periods and regions has been made, therefore there has been limited discussion of the differences, changes and influences in the whole development of rockwork.

⁶³ Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*.

⁶⁴ Wang Jingtao, 'Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens'.

⁶⁵ Duanmu Shan 端木山, 'Jiangnan sijia yuanlin jiashan yanjiu -xingtai yu qi yuan 江南私家园林假山研究—形态与起源 [Study of Rockwork in Private Gardens in Jiangnan: the Forms and Origins]' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Zhongyang meishu xueyuan, 2011).

1.2.3 Conservation of gardens and rockwork

In China, there was a tradition of repairing and restoring gardens and architectural structures as well as constructing gardens: it is demonstrated in many historical sources and garden records,⁶⁶ which will be discussed in the Chapter Three. However, most conservation-related research mainly focused on conservation projects that took place from the twentieth century onwards. Because the national guidance and regulations were not promulgated until the early twentieth century. A nationwide wave of heritage conservation took place followed the promulgation of these guidance. A larger number of cultural relics have been restored and repaired since then, especially after the 1980s, when there was a political demand for promoting traditional culture and a growing economy to fund the projects.⁶⁷ Also, the conservation practice was not normalised until national regulations were set up. Since then, general conservation approaches and principles have been suggested, and more records were required to document the process.

Since the 1950s, the key conservation principle in China is retaining the original appearance and state; the details of which are further explored and discussed in Chapter Three. However, many historical gardens were found to have been altered during the conservation process. Some garden conservation practice was criticized as being based on an ‘imagined past’.⁶⁸ Chen Congzhou 陈从周(1918-2000), the garden and architectural historian, also argued that some projects were actually ‘changing a garden (*gaiyuan* 改园)’ instead of ‘restoring a garden (*fuyuan* 复园)’, as the original appearance and techniques were not followed and historic sources were not studied.⁶⁹ He briefly mentioned some poor conservation examples, which he found had

⁶⁶ Jiaqing Emperor 嘉庆 (1760-1820), ‘Yuzhi xiequyuan ji 御制谐趣园记 [Imperial Record of Xiequ Garden]’, in Liu Ruoyan 刘若晏, *Yuanshi gouchen 园史钩沉* [History of the Summer Palace] (Beijing: Zhongguo tiedao chubanshe, 2002), p.72; ‘Zhiyi dang Yuan Ming Yuan chongxiu gechu gongcheng zhundi 旨意档圆明园重修各处工程准底 [Archived Imperial Edicts of Records of Various Chongxiu Projects in Yuan Ming Yuan]’, in *Guojia tushuguan yangshilei tudang yuan ming yuan juan chubian 国家图书馆样式雷图档圆明园卷初编* [Preliminary Compilation of the Yuan Ming Yuan Volume of the Yangshi Lei Archives in National Library of China], ed. by National Library of China (*Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中国国家图书馆*) (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016), pp.487-503; Zhang Shusheng 张树声 (1824-1884), ‘Chongxiu canglang ting ji 重修沧浪亭记 [The Record of Restoring Surging Waves Pavilion]’, in *Canglang ting xinzhì 沧浪亭新志* [New Gazetteer of Surging Waves Pavilion] (1928), ed. by Jiang Jinghuan 蒋镜寰, in *Suzhou Museum: Ancient Book Database (Suzhou tushuguan gujiku 苏州图书馆古籍库)*, <<http://fzk.szlib.com/book/page?bookId=174&volId=7&pageId=22>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

⁶⁷ Zhu Yujie, ‘Cultural Effects of Authenticity: Contested Heritage Practices in China’, in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6 (2015), pp.594-608; Lei Gao, ‘“ Breaking and Repairing”: Conflicting Values in the Historic Gardens of China’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2010), p.189.

⁶⁸ Tobie Meyer-Fong, ‘Civil War, Revolutionary Heritage, and the Chinese Garden’, in *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, 13(2014), pp.75-98.

⁶⁹ Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), ‘Shuoyuan san 说园 (三) [Discussions on Gardens (3)]’, in *Yuanlin tancong 园林谈丛* [Essays on Gardens] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe), p.20.

changed the old features, such as the revetment in the Humble Administrator's Garden (*Zhuozheng yuan* 拙政园) and the leaking window in the Garden of Pleasance (*Yi yuan* 怡园).⁷⁰

To be more specific, few survive in their original form and have been transformed into a generic style. Being treated as one of the representatives of China on the world stage, historic gardens were restored as 'sites of beauty and leisure enjoyment';⁷¹ its full history, especially the darker side, such as the changed, damaged, and destroyed part, was found hidden or transformed. Certain styles were preferred and used as a base for conservation and restoration, such as Suzhou gardens, which were considered as the national icon.⁷² Tobie Meyer-Fong found an odd example: Yangzhou was once promoted as a city famous for well-preserved Suzhou-style gardens, but it was famous for the local Yangzhou-style gardens during the Qing Dynasty.⁷³

Similar issues are also found concerning historic rockwork. But critical reviews are limited as only a few researchers focused on rockwork, although it is recognized as an important element in Chinese gardens. Research has not generally focused on the conservation of specific examples or case studies, so specific issues are rarely recorded. Some well-known gardens or conservation projects led by famed scholars were commonly praised, especially by Chinese academics and landscape architects. For these reasons, current suggestions for the conservation of rockwork are not detailed and targeted, and therefore not able to effectively improve the conservation practice and states. *Gujianzhu jiashan* 古建筑假山 [Rockwork of Classical Architectural Complex], the book supposed to provide practical guidance, can be taken as an example. It suggested exploring the original style of the historic rockwork in order to restore the original appearance.⁷⁴ Despite this, the whole book did not investigate and analyse the various styles of rockwork.

1.2.4 Research gaps

After reviewing a large number of studies related to garden history and rockwork, it appears that much of previous research has focused on understanding the cultural meaning of mountain and rockwork in dynastic China. In other words, previous scholars overwhelmingly focused on explaining why rockwork was appreciated and displayed in gardens for such a long period. The

⁷⁰ Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), 'Xu shuoyuan 续说园 [Continued Discussions on Gardens]', in *Yuanlin tancong* 园林谈丛 [Essays on Gardens] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe), pp.15-16.

⁷¹ Tobie Meyer-Fong, 'Civil War, Revolutionary Heritage, and the Chinese Garden', p.78.

⁷² Ibid; Lei Gao, "'Breaking and Repairing": Conflicting Values in the Historic Gardens of China' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2010), p.189.

⁷³ Tobie Meyer-Fong, 'Civil War, Revolutionary Heritage, and the Chinese Garden', p.84.

⁷⁴ Sun Jianzheng, *Rockwork of Classical Architectural Complex*.

aspects of design and construction techniques have mainly been approached by Chinese specialists in the field of architecture and landscape, usually basing their analysis on surviving examples. However, many of those academics paid little attention to the fact that the design and techniques of rockwork have changed over time, and did not identify the styles and characteristics of rockwork of different periods. Moreover, when using existing examples to discuss the forms and techniques, in most cases, scholars have ignored the changes that had been made during recent conservation projects. Therefore, previous research has not often been able to uncover the historic appearances and techniques of rockworks. In terms of conservation, previous research revealed that restored gardens and rockwork had been changed and transformed into a generic version, which affected whether the original appearance and state had been retained. However, limited studies have been conducted to critically analyse and review the specific cases so as to identify and discuss the issues that actually led to the transformation. Many previous suggestions are not appropriate or targeted, so the issues still exist.

Overall, changes to the original state, especially the physical forms and uses, are a severe issue that is noticed in many historic gardens and rockwork. However, current conservation practice has not been critically and thoroughly reviewed and discussed; thus, current suggestions provided are not well-targeted and able to efficiently solve the problem. At the same time, the knowledge and awareness of the changing styles and trends of rockwork-making and culture is relatively weak, although it is considered to be necessary information to achieve authentic conservation.⁷⁵

1.3 Research aim and questions

Previous research suggests that rockwork forms an important feature in most gardens.⁷⁶ Yet in restoration work, its historic significance is frequently overlooked, and, like the gardens themselves, it is often transformed into generic versions. This is due to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the history of rockwork. This thesis aims to overcome this shortfall: a critical history aims to outline the significance of rockwork to gardens and culture, and identify what the trends and styles were, as a basis for identifying the characteristics of rockwork in individual gardens, and thereby contribute to a more authentic restoration and conservation practice.

⁷⁵ Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), 'Shuoyuan wu 说园 (五) [Discussions on Gardens (5)]', in *Yuanlin tancong 园林谈丛 [Essays on Gardens]* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe), pp.30-34(p.34).

⁷⁶ Meng Zhaozhen, 'Basic Introduction to Rockwork', p. 1.

This research is guided by the following questions:

1. How have the historic significance and original appearance and states of rockwork been maintained in conservation projects?
 - What are the general significance and styles of rockwork in Chinese gardens?
 - What are the significance and characteristics of rockwork in individual gardens?
 - Have they been well-retained during the conservation practice?
 - What are the policies and approaches applied in the conservation practice?
 - What are the issues in terms of retaining a rockwork's historical significance, original appearance and state?
2. How can we improve conservation practice, retain the original appearance and state, and accomplish more authentic restoration?

1.4 Research methods and approaches

In order to achieve the aims, and answer the research questions at the core of this thesis, historic information is collected and critically assessed in order to provide a context for the assessment of case studies. The latter aim to provide a range of examples revealing both good and bad rockwork conservation practices. This research approach is an appropriate strategy to answer 'how' questions, and to investigate real-life context, such as the key questions of this research.⁷⁷ During the research fieldworks, visits to various gardens have been conducted to collect primary data for the understanding of recent conservation projects. Some of the visited gardens were subjected to in-depth analysis in the form of case studies. Carrying out this research with multiple-case studies is not only to make the result more compelling, but also to obtain both 'similar results' and 'contrast results'.⁷⁸ The predicted 'similar results' are that issues and changes to the original look would be found in various conservation practices, even under different conservation approaches; meanwhile, the predicted 'contrast results' are different issues found in various specific circumstances. With this method, the conservation practice would be critically reviewed and issues would be identified. The following explains how the fieldwork and case studies are carried out and how the research is structured.

⁷⁷ Catherine Marshall, and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 6th edn (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC and Boston: Sage, 2016), pp.19-20; Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Method*, 5th edn (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington DC: SAGE, 2014), p.10.

⁷⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Method*, p.63.

1.4.1 Fieldwork approach

This thesis research involved different fieldworks in 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2017. A total of ten cities and twenty-six gardens were visited. Table 1 shows the basic information of these gardens, including the name, location, date of origin, type of rockwork, and the conservation approaches have been applied to the rockwork. The fieldwork was conducted to investigate the current state and the context. It had the following objectives: Firstly, to visit the sites in order to explore the conservation state of the physical remains of historic rockwork. Secondly, to visit relevant offices and talk to relevant staff in order to obtain records and information about conservation practices that took place on the corresponding sites. Thirdly, to access local libraries, museums and archives, and retrieve historic sources related to a specific garden and/or regional garden culture. By comparing and analysing the data collected, it has been possible to increase the understanding of the historic appearance and characteristics of historic rockworks, and to explore if, and to what extent, they had been changed during the conservation work.

Table 1. List of visited sites.

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Gazing Garden (Zhan yuan 瞻园) | Nanjing, Jiangsu Province (南京, 江苏省) | 16th century. | Earth-rock mountains (one earth-dominated mountain, two rock-dominated mountains); Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Transformation; Extension; New construction. |
| Zhi Garden (Zhi yuan 之园) | Changshu, Jiangsu Province (常熟, 江苏省) | Early 20th century. | Rock mountains. | Reconstruction. |
| Garden of Fuzzy Boundary (Xukuo yuan 虚廓园, also known as Zeng Garden in the current Zeng-Zhao Garden 曾赵园内曾园) | Changshu, Jiangsu Province (常熟, 江苏省) | 19th century. | Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reconstruction. |
| Shuiwu Garden (Shuiwu yuan 水吾园, also known as the Zhao Garden in current Zeng-Zhao Garden 曾赵园内赵园) | Changshu, Jiangsu Province (常熟, 江苏省) | 19th century. | Rock mountains; Earth-rock mountains (earth-dominated mountain). | Repair; Reconstruction. |
| Swallow Garden (Yan yuan 燕园) | Changshu, Jiangsu Province (常熟, 江苏省) | Late 18th century (rockworks were constructed in the 1820s). | Earth-rock mountains (rock-dominated mountain). | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction (small). |

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| Ge Garden (Ge yuan 个园) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏省) | 1818. | Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement. |
| The House of Two-thirds of the Moon (Er-fen mingyue lou 二分明月楼) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏省) | Early 19th century. | Rock mountains. | Reconstruction. |
| He Garden (He yuan 何园, also known as Jixiao Villa 寄啸山庄) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏省) | Renovated in the late 19th century. | Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reconstruction. |
| Mountain House of Sliced Stones (Pianshi shanfang 片石山房) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏) | First half of the 18th century. | Rock mountains. | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction (partially). |
| Little Pangu Garden (Xiaopangu 小盘谷) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏省) | 1904. | Rock mountains. | Repair; Reconstruction. |

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Slender West Lake (Shou xihu 瘦西湖) | Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (扬州, 江苏省) | Flourished in the Qing Dynasty, especially in the 18th century. | Earth-rock mountains; Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Reconstruction; New constructions; Repair.Reconstruction (small). |
| Jichang Garden (Jichang yuan 寄畅园) | Wuxi, Jiangsu Province (无锡, 江苏省) | 16th century, rockwork constructed in the 17th century | Earth-rock mountains; Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction (small portion).s |
| Qiao Garden (Qiao yuan 乔园) | Taizhou, Jiangsu Province (泰州, 江苏省) | Late 16th century or early 17th century. | Earth-rock mountains (rock-dominated mountains); Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction. |
| Garden of Cultivation (Yi pu 艺圃) | Suzhou, Jiangsu Province (苏州, 江苏省) | 1620. | Earth-rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reconstruction. |
| Lion Grove Garden (Shizilin 狮子林) | Suzhou, Jiangsu Province (苏州, 江苏省) | 1342 (rockworks have been greatly modified later). | Earth-rock mountains (rock-dominated mountains); Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Transformation; New construction. |

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|--|---------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (Huanxiu shanzhuang 环秀山庄) | Suzhou, Jiangsu Province (苏州, 江苏省) | 1807. | Earth-rock mountains (rock-dominated mountains); | Repair; Reinforcement. |
| Net Master's Garden (Wangshi yuan 网师园) | Wu Suzhou, Jiangsu Province (苏州, 江苏省) | Rockwork constructed in late Qianlong period. (1736-1795) | Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair. |
| Zhongshan Park (Zhongshan gongyuan 中山公园) | Beijing (北京) | Originally constructed in 1421 (as part of the palace); It was transformed into a park in 1914. | Individually displayed rocks; Earth-rock mountains (earth-dominated mountains) | Repair; New construction; Relocation. |
| Beihai Park (Beihai gongyuan 北海公园) | Beijing (北京) | Originally constructed in the 12th century. It was transformed into a park in 1925 | Earth-rock mountains; Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reconstruction. |

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---|--|
| Yuan Ming Yuan (圆明园) | Beijing (北京) | 1707 | Earth-rock mountains (earth-dominated mountains); Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement. |
| Prince Gong's Mansion (Gongwang fu 恭王府) | Beijing (北京) | Late 18th century | Earth-rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reconstruction. |
| The Forbidden City (Gu gong 故宫) | Beijing (北京) | 1406 | Earth-rock mountains (rock dominated mountains); Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement. |
| The Summer Palace (Yihe yuan 颐和园) | Beijing (北京) | Mid-18th century | Earth-rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction. |
| Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (Chengde bishu shanzhuang 承德避暑山庄) | Chengde, Hebei province (承德, 河北省) | Early 18th century | Earth-rock mountains; Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Repair; Reinforcement; Reconstruction. |

| Name of garden | Location | Date of origin | Type of rockwork | Rockwork conservation approach |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Putuo Zongcheng Temple (Putao zongcheng zhimiao 普陀宗乘之庙) | Chengde, Hebei province (承德, 河北省) | 1771 | Earth-rock mountains. | Repair. |
| Half Cocoon Garden (Banjian yuan 半茧园) | Kunshan, Jiangsu province (昆山, 江苏省) | 17th century. | Earth-rock mountains (earth-dominated mountains); Rock mountains; Individually displayed rocks. | Reconstruction. |
| Ma'an Mountain (M'an shan 马鞍山) | Kunshan, Jiangsu province (昆山, 江苏省) | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Various rock markets and so-called 'rock museums' in Suzhou. | Suzhou, Anhui province (宿州, 安徽省) | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Rock digging sites in Lingbi County (Lingbi xian 灵璧县) | Suzhou, Anhui province (宿州, 安徽省) | N/A | N/A | N/A |

Sites visited concentrated on the generalized Jiangnan area and a small part of the North China Plain region (mainly Beijing and Chengde). The former is located in the Yangtze River Delta and around the Taihu Lake, while the latter is the area around Beijing, which has been the capital since the Ming Dynasty (Fig. 1-6). The selection of these two regions was determined by various reasons. First of all, with limited time and funds, the scope of this research had to be restricted; it was not possible to visit historic rockwork in all the regions of China, although garden culture and existing examples are spread throughout China. Secondly, garden culture and the construction of rockwork have been celebrated in the two selected areas, even till today, and gardens are both easy to find and accessible. In the Jiangnan area, merchants and scholars had congregated creating an economic and cultural centre, where affluence ensured a flourishing garden culture;⁷⁹ it also has a rich production of various types of rocks, and is known for its rock culture as well. In Beijing and Chengde, imperial and noble gardens were the well-known examples. Having the highest political power, emperors were able to afford to transport rocks from various origins so as to decorate the imperial gardens. Because of the relatively larger number of historic gardens and rockwork existing in these two areas, conservation practices started earlier. This is another reason for including them in the research. Many of the gardens experienced several phases of restoration or repair, which has also affected rockwork; by reviewing and comparing each phase, it is possible to reveal the differences and changes between phases.

⁷⁹ Hu Jie, *The Splendid Chinese Garden: Origins, Aesthetics and Architecture*, p.39.



Figure 1-6. Location of visited sites based on the current map of China. (Source: drawn by author, 2017.)

The data collected from the fieldwork included records of conservation projects, photos and physical surveys, interviews, and historical sources. However, not all types of data were obtained for each garden visited. The accessibility and availability of data, especially primary data, was limited. A list of cities and gardens, the materials collected, and organisations visited to obtain materials are summarised in Appendix 1. The method of approaching data and the use of each type of data is explained below:

The records of conservation projects can be found in both primary and secondary sources. Most of the primary data recorded conservation practice from the mid-twentieth century onwards. Primary records were mainly found in the form of registration forms of historical and cultural sites, schematic survey maps, photos, proposals of conservation projects, and official responses to proposed conservation projects. During the fieldwork, primary material was obtained from various local offices, such as the Bureau of Garden and Landscape (exact names vary from city to city), the Bureau of Cultural Relics, the Bureau of Urban Planning, Urban Construction Archives, the administration office of each garden, and sometimes libraries.

Secondary sources are basically published books, papers and academic theses; they normally include descriptions, old photos and survey maps that related to the conservation process or the state of the site before and after conservation projects. By providing contemporaneous data, primary sources are relatively more authentic. Therefore, they are used as the basis for understanding the state of the rockwork of different periods, and the conservation approach and principles implemented in practice.

However, in many cases, the primary sources were incomplete, and records of rockwork even more so. For example, rockworks are commonly symbolised roughly in schematic survey maps, which offer limited accurate information about their form, size and location. Comparing with primary data, secondary sources are less reliable, because much of the information given is not clearly referenced. Therefore, publications written by individuals or organisations who participated in the conservation projects, received relatively more attention in this research.

Photos and physical surveys were an important part of primary data collected on-site. Photos were taken in all gardens visited to record the current appearance, condition, and the use of the historic rockwork. A few sites were measured with common surveying tools and filmed with drones. Videos collected by drones provide aerial images of the rockwork in an attempt to increase both speed and accuracy in surveying, as well as exploring the possibility of three-dimensional models.

Interviews carried out in this research were mainly informal conversations with staff working on-site and in the relevant offices as well as three formal interviews with rockwork craftsmen and designers. Communicating with staff on-site increases the understanding of the recent conservation treatments as well as the current conservation state of the garden and rockwork. Communicating with staff in government offices provided information about how historic gardens and rockwork were recorded and how the records were stored. Formally interviewed craftsmen and designer had participated in conservation projects of different periods; the interviews enhanced the general understanding of the conservation process and some issues they noticed in the process. Interviews aimed to provide additional information and enhance understanding of the site and conservation work more generally, so only a few have eventually been quoted in this thesis. A list of the interviews is included in Appendix 2. Part of the transcripts of formal interviews were translated and attached in Appendix 3.

Historical sources were also collected in order to reveal the historical context and development of the sites and its rockwork. This type of source allowed to uncover the historic style, characteristics and function of rockwork in the past. By analysing historical sources, the

contemporaneous cultural context such as aesthetic standards, politics and philosophy can be better understood. Sources obtained include gazetteers, garden records, poems, relevant ancient books, essays on stone inscriptions, paintings, etc. Most of the available textual sources were re-publications of original texts, and were accessed in local libraries. Stone inscriptions were commonly obtained from the site, while some copies were obtained from local libraries or museums.

Although they are historical sources, they should still be used carefully and reviewed critically because some historic texts may not record contemporaneous conditions but describe an earlier state based on other sources or rumours; and some of the authors had never visited the site in person. Moreover, the re-publications may also bring errors. Paintings were accessed in museums and from published sources. Although they offer visual and direct evidence of rockwork compared with textual material, the information they delivered was carefully used. Similar to textual sources, the artist of a garden painting also may or may not have visited it in person. Due to the issues the historical sources might have, it is crucial to evaluate the validity and authenticity of the information the sources provided. In the historical research, there are many discussions on the evaluation of sources, such as the *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, and *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*.⁸⁰ The methods this thesis used to criticise sources consulted are based on these research findings. First of all, when the descriptions about one aspect of a certain rockwork are consistent in all the sources, this information can be considered as correct or close to the fact. But when different opinions or descriptions appeared, the majority may not be correct. Secondly, primary sources are generally more reliable than secondary sources. Third, it is also necessary to investigate the informants, for example, whether the informant was the garden owner, or has a special relationship with the owner; this information can help understand if they would be interested in creating bias. Among all informants, eyewitnesses are more reliable; because they are more likely to describe the fact, or provide the opinions and ideas of their contemporaries. Thus, this thesis will pay more attention to contemporaneous and primary sources; it will also compare the information delivered by different sources; the identity of the informants will also be explored, as well as their relationship with the garden and rockwork. Additionally, in order to

⁸⁰ Martha Howell, and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp.70-71; John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.43-45; W.H. McDowell, *Historical Research: a Guide* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp.54-76.

avoid errors in the re-publications, this research chose to use common versions of re-publications that are widely used among academics. For example, re-publications from reliable publishers like *Zhonghua shuju* 中华书局, and those annotated by key scholars in this field, such as Chen Zhi and Chen Congzhou.

1.4.2 The selection of case studies

This research is carried out with multiple case studies. As shown in Table 1, the information about the rockwork and gardens visited is analysed and summarised, including the construction date, rockwork types, conservation approaches and so on. This helped with the selection of cases for in-depth research. In order to study examples that represented styles of different periods and the different conservation treatments received, four cases were selected: the Qiao Garden in Taizhou, the Gazing Garden in Nanjing, the Mountain House of Sliced Stones in Yangzhou and the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall in Yangzhou, They were originally constructed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the sixteenth century, the first half of the eighteenth century, and the early nineteenth century.

Historic rockwork in all of these four gardens had been damaged during the conservation process. In this thesis, the order of case studies is arranged based on the extent of the damage to their rockwork. The analysis of the Qiao Garden is considered first because its remaining historic rockwork had not been changed much. In the Gazing garden, which is analysed in the second case study, the volume of historic rockwork was increased due the extension. In the third case study, the destroyed and vanished part of the historic rockwork was reconstructed. In the last case study, the key historic rockwork was completely demolished and later replaced by other features.

Although more than one treatment was integrated in the practice, the main conservation approaches implemented differed: reinforce the remaining rockwork and reconstruct historic rockwork that has disappeared; transform the historic rockwork and add new constructions; partially restore the historic rockwork; and replace the vanished historic rockwork with new garden features. By investigating cases of different circumstances, it would be possible to discover as many types of issues as possible. Another important and realistic reason for choosing the four cases is the availability of research material. Although twenty-six gardens were visited, it was not possible to obtain primary data for in-depth research into each one. In order to conduct thorough case studies which are needed in this field, cases with more data were a priority.

Admittedly, selecting cases located in the same region would be the main limitation of this research. But the research result would be more convincing based on rich and available research materials and critical analysis of them. Also, the approach and framework used in this research might be applied in cases of other regions in the future, when more data is found and made accessible; in future work, the result of this research can also be used to compare with other case studies. Thus, the selection of these four cases is still valid and useful for the argument of this research and for extending our knowledge about rockwork conservation.

The four case studies were carried out with the same framework of four steps. First, exploring the history of the historic rockwork in order to reveal its development and cultural contexts, then the following step is exploring their characteristics and original appearance. The third step is to investigate the conservation practices and treatments they experienced. Conservation practices reviewed here were those implemented during the twentieth century and mainly since the mid-twentieth century since most available records are dated since then and also national conservation policies were issued by then; hence, large-scale conservation practices took place afterward. Conservation is a long-term and continuous process, most gardens and rockwork experienced conservation treatments for more than one time, which was the case in these four cases. Thus, the treatment of each round is referring to a conservation phase in this thesis. The last step assessed whether the characteristics, original appearance and significance had been retained along with the old forms, features and functions. With these four steps, this research is able to identify good and bad practice of rockwork conservation; so that we can further provide appropriate and targeted recommendations to solve current issues.

1.5 Research ethics

In order to complete the interviews necessary to this research, an ethics review was submitted and approved by the Ethics Review Committee on 7 February 2013, before the interviews were carried out.

The main ethical issue in this research was to obtain the informed consent of the interviewees. Interviewees received an information sheet to explain the research topic, and a participant consent form to approve the process before the formal interviews started. For informal conversations, the same process was used, but only oral consent was obtained: this was deemed more appropriate to address the cultural sensitivity in China about putting one's signature on contract-like documents. Oral consent was also obtained for one formal interview with a rockwork craftsman, as the interview took place via the telephone. With permission from the

interviewee, the conversation was recorded by audio (formal interview) and notes (informal conversations) for personal use only by the researcher. An undertaking was given that the interview transcript would only be included in the thesis if the interviewee gave permission for its release. Parts of the conversation have been used as primary data for case studies.

1.6 Structure of the chapters

The structure of this thesis is guided by the research questions. Before studying individual cases in depth and being able to explore how the significance and original appearance and states have been maintained, it was necessary to first investigate and understand the context of rockwork history and conservation practice. Therefore, in Chapter Two, this thesis critically reviews the cultural context of rockwork, and focuses on the investigation and identification of trends in rockwork making; it reveals the common style and characteristics of each period, and how rockwork was appreciated at that time. Chapter Three investigates the conservation policies in China and its development since the early twentieth century. It reviews the changes of policy which affect the conservation practices and attitudes towards different conservation approaches. The following four chapters (Four to Seven) are the four case studies, in which the history, original appearance and characteristics of rockwork, and conservation practice are thoroughly explored and discussed. The review of its own history and the general historical context information investigated in Chapter Two helped to reveal the original appearance and identify the characteristics. The research result from Chapter Three forms the reference for the assessment of conservation practice, such as if the policies were obeyed or if they were helpful for the conservation of rockwork. The final two chapters, Eight and Nine, are the discussion and conclusion of the whole thesis. By analysing the results, the answers to some questions would be clear, such as if the original appearance and characteristics had been maintained, if the historic rockwork retained its original appearance and what the causes of the current conservation state are. Most importantly, it summarises good and bad conservation practice and eventually provides recommendations for the improvement of rockwork conservation.

Chapter 2. A typology of rockwork in gardens

As mentioned in Chapter One, various types of rockwork can be found in existing gardens; each type actually emerged in different periods following contemporaneous trends. In the long history of rockwork, the changing context, including the aesthetic standards, development of craftsmanship, economic conditions and politics, strongly affected the creation and styles of rockwork: the preferred forms, structures, and features therefore changed over time, and the construction techniques evolved.

As previously explored, very little research has thoroughly investigated how the style and trend of rockwork-making changed over time; later studies have generally adopted the findings from earlier research. Cao Xun and David Ake Sensabaugh are two key researchers who have written papers focusing on the development of rockwork.⁸¹ Publishing their research in the 1980s and 1990s respectively, they produced different findings. Cao broadly divided the styles or trends of rockwork into three groups: from the Qin Dynasty (221BC-206BC) to the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD), large size rockworks were constructed to represent real mountains in terms of size and features; from the Jin Dynasty (265-420) to the Song Dynasty (960-1279), smaller sized rockworks were created to represent and symbolise large mountains, which Cao Xun summarised as '*xiaozhong jianda* 小中见大 [*multum in parvo*];⁸² in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the trend was to construct rockwork to represent a small section of real mountains instead of the entire mountains, so as to make the visitors feel as if they were in the real landscape on entering. It is true that earlier trends would not completely disappear when the later trend emerged, and Cao also argued for this as the trends were just leading styles rather than the only style that can be found in one period. Although he critically reviewed the dominant trends, the result and summarised trends are too broad and each trend covers a very wide time period. Hence, the common characteristics of each trend cannot be generalised, making the findings incapable of providing practical information for conservation works.

⁸¹ Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Lüelun woguo gudai yuanlin dieshan yishu de fazhan yanbian 略论我国古代园林叠山艺术的发展演变 [Brief Discussion of the Development of Rockwork in Ancient Chinese Gardens], in *Jianzhu lishi yu lilun* 建筑历史与理论 [History and Theory of Architecture], 1 (1980), pp.74-85; David Ake Sensabaugh, 'Fragments of Mountain and Chunks of Stone: the Rock in the Chinese Garden', in *Oriental Art*, 44.1(1998), pp.18-27.

⁸² Cao Xun, 'Brief Discussion of the Development of Rockwork in Ancient Chinese Gardens', p.83.

Compared with Cao Xun's paper, the classification provided in David Ake Sensabaugh's work is more refined. He summarises that earth mountains with animals and exotic flora were the leading style of the Qin Dynasty (221BC-206BC) and Han Dynasty (206BC-220AD); that miniature mountains were the leading style from the third to sixth century, which were perhaps smaller than the earlier trend but 'only gave the appearance of vastness' with amassed stones and planted groves;⁸³ single rocks were appreciated and leading the trend from the late Tang Dynasty (618-907). But the trends after the tenth century are not clearly identified in the paper, although some well-known examples are discussed, including the Northeast Marchmount (*Genyue* 艮岳) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127) and the Lion Grove (*Shizi lin* 狮子林), originally constructed in the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368).

The findings of both scholars emphasise that the styles of rockwork were changing over time, and help to focus attention on the development of rockwork. However, for the purposes of rockwork conservation, their research findings and revealed historic information are not detailed enough to provide direct guidance. To be more specific, more information, such as the common forms, structures, features and sizes of each trend, needs to be explored so as to help reveal the possible style of a certain period.

In order to extend the current historic knowledge of rockwork and, most importantly, to help in retaining the significance and the original appearance and state of historic rockwork and in improving conservation, which is the aim of this thesis, this chapter critically reviews the development of rockwork in order to identify various styles and their characteristics. While critically reviewing the development of rockwork, this chapter pays more attention to the trends in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, especially from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Because most of the historic rockwork I visited during the survey turned out to be constructed during this period, the four in-depth case studies from Chapters Four to Seven are from this period.

2.1 Reproducing sacred mountains: the Qin and the Han Dynasties (second century B.C. – second century A.D.)

As discussed in section 1.1.1, rockwork in the Chinese context is a kind of garden feature that is formed with earth and/or rocks and represents real mountains. That is why rockwork is referred to as artificial mountains. Some historical sources indicate that a man-made mountain was

⁸³ David Ake Sensabaugh, 'Fragments of Mountain and Chunks of Stone: the Rock in the Chinese Garden', p.21.

constructed in the eleventh century BC. For example, the Deer Platform (*Lu tai* 鹿台) that was planned by Emperor Zhou of Shang 商纣王 (?-1046BC) was recorded as ‘three *li* wide and thousands of *chi* high’ and could be used to ‘observe the wind and rain’.⁸⁴ Although the description might not be accurate, as no contemporaneous sources survive, the remains of it evidenced that the Deer Platform did exist.⁸⁵ The man-made earth mountains called *tai* (台) were actually large earth platforms. They were not associated with mountains; in fact, they were mainly constructed for meteorological and astronomical observation, and sometimes, for military defence. *Tai* were in use in the Spring and Autumn period (770BC-476BC) and the Warring States period (475BC-221BC); however, the construction of *tai* had nearly stopped by the third century AD.⁸⁶

Veritable artificial mountains was created in the Qin (221BC-206BC) and Han Dynasties (206BC-220AD), in response to the emperors’ desire for immortality. It is recorded that Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 (First Emperor of Qin, 259 BC-210 BC) and Emperor Wu of Han 汉武帝 (156 BC-87 BC) constructed earth mountains in their imperial gardens, modelling them on the legendary sacred mountains, Penglai 蓬莱, Yingzhou 瀛洲 and Fangzhang 方丈, in the East Sea 东海. In the Orchid Pond Palace (*Lanchi gong* 兰池宫), Qin Shi Huang created earth mountains inside a man-made pond, to represent these sacred mountains. The Han Dynasty book *Sanqin Ji* 三秦记 [Records of the Three Qin Area] described that only one earth mountain was constructed to represent Penglai Mountain while some later sources documented the number of earth mountains differently; all of them associated the man-made earth mountains with sacred mountains.⁸⁷ According to *Shi Ji* 史记 [Records of the Grand Historian], Emperor Wu of Han also created earth mountains in a man-made pond in his palace, the Jianzhang Palace (*Jianzhang gong* 建章宫); there were three earth mountains in total, carrying the names of the three sacred

⁸⁴ See the original sentence ‘其大三里，高千尺，临望云雨’，in Liu Xiang 刘向 (ca. 77BC-6BC), *Xin Xu Jiaoshi* 新序校释 [The Annotation of the New Prefaces], annotated by Shi Guangying 石光瑛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), p.800; In the Pre-Qin Period, one *li* equalled about 550 metres and one *chi* equalled about 23 centimetres, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 4th edn. (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), p.553.

⁸⁵ Wang Duo 王铎, *Zhongguo gudai yuanyuan yu wenhua* 中国古代苑园与文化 [Ancient Chinese Gardens and their Culture] (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), p.2.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.2; Wu Hung, ‘The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period’, in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 651-744 (p.653); Ōji Oka 冈大路, *Zhongguo gongyuan shikao* 中国宫苑园林史考 [History of Chinese Imperial Gardens], trans. by Chang Yingsheng 常瀛生 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1988).

⁸⁷ Xin Shi 辛氏, and Pan Yue 潘岳 (247-300), *Sanqin Ji Jizhu Guanzhong Ji Jizhu* 三秦记辑注关中记辑注 [Annotation of the Records of the Three Qin Area and the Records of the Guanzhong Area], ed. by Liu Qingzhu 刘庆柱 (Xi’an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2006), p.8; Zhou Weiquan 周维权 (1927-2007), *Zhongguo gudai yuanyuan shi* 中国古典园林史 [History of Chinese Classical Gardens] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp.25-33.

mountains.⁸⁸ The same source also quoted stories of how these two emperors were influenced by an alchemist and tried to find and access the sacred mountains in the East Sea: Qin Shi Huang sent thousands of boys and girls to the East Sea to seek and please the immortals, and himself visited the coast of the East Sea many times during inspection tours; Emperor Wu of Han also paid several visits to the eastern coastline, expecting to find the sacred mountains; both of them failed.⁸⁹ The reliability of this book is actually questioned by many scholars, as it covers the history from more than two thousand years earlier till the Han Dynasty; it was written by Sima Qian 司马迁 (ca.145BC-86BC), the Grand Astrologer (*Taishi ling* 太史令) of the Han Dynasty, who carried on this personal project from his father. But as a book that started to be written in the late second century BC and was completed in the first century BC, the contemporaneous information is considered as relatively more reliable.⁹⁰ Also, the rockwork in Qin Shi Huang and Emperor Wu of Han's gardens are likely to have existed while the book was being written. However, some detailed descriptions might be exaggerated by the author, such as the vast size of the garden and the massive undertaking of searching for the sacred mountains.

Despite the possibly exaggerated information, the aim of reproducing sacred mountains is clear. It reflects the emperors' passion and desire for supernatural ability and immortality.⁹¹ On the one hand, the emergence of artificial mountains is possibly influenced by the widely believed legends of immortals and elixirs at that time. On the other hand, it shows the emperors' greed after becoming the ruler, especially in the case of Qin Shi Huang, who conquered the other regions and unified the former seven warring states for the first time.

Although the reproduction of sacred mountains was mainly the trend in the Qin and Han Dynasties, the imitation of sacred mountains continued until the Qing Dynasty, and expanded from the imperial gardens to other private gardens. But by that time, the imitation of sacred mountains was used in a purely symbolic way, which is quite different from the practice in the Qin-Han period when the belief was real. After the Qin-Han period, some features would be placed in water to symbolise the three sacred mountains, such as three rocks, three islands, three buildings, three stone lanterns and so on. This becomes a common layout called 'Yichi

⁸⁸ Sima Qian 司马迁 (ca. 2nd century BC), *Shi ji* 史记 [Records of the Grand Historian], 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), IV, p.1402.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.1397; Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian*, I, p.274.

⁹⁰ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China: Volume 1, Introductory Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p.88.

⁹¹ Pierre Rambach and Suzanne Rambach, *Gardens of Longevity: in China and Japan* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1987).

sanshan (一池三山) in Chinese gardens, which literally means ‘one pond and three mountains’; it is commonly, but not necessarily, related to rockwork.⁹²

2.2 Reproducing real landscape: from the Han to the Sui Dynasties (second century – seventh century)

While the reproduction of sacred mountains was still a trend, especially in imperial gardens, a new style of artificial mountains was emerging; no record shows that these were associated with sacred mountains; they were more like real mountains in terms of their size and features. The emergence of this style was probably related to the contemporaneous cultural context, when natural landscape received increasing attention and appreciation. As Xiao Tong 萧统 (501-531), the Prince Zhaoming of Liang 梁昭明太子, replied when it was suggested that he should have performances of music and dance in his garden, ‘Why is there a need to play musical instruments? Mountains and water themselves are playing a fine piece of music.’⁹³ By quoting this verse from the poet Zuo Si 左思 (ca. 250-305), Xiao Tong clearly presented his idea that the beauty of the natural landscape was much to be preferred and appreciated. The genre of Mountain and Water Poems (*Shanshui shi* 山水诗), and Mountain and Water Paintings (*Shanshui hua* 山水画) were also formed in this period.⁹⁴

A celebrated private garden, the garden of Yuan Guanghan 袁广汉, contained a rockwork of this new style. Yuan was an extremely wealthy merchant of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-25 AD), and his garden was recorded as being four *li* long in the east-west direction and five *li* long in the north-south direction.⁹⁵ Inside this garden, ‘[he] constructed a mountain with rocks, which was more than ten *zhang* high, and several *li* long’, ‘all kinds of rare plants and trees were planted’, and many exotic beasts and birds were put in the mountain, such as white parrots, purple mandarin ducks and yaks.⁹⁶ The earliest source for Yuan’s garden is the *Xijing zaji* 西京杂记 [Miscellanies of the Western Capital], which was written in the fourth century AD.⁹⁷ It is unlikely that the author would know very detailed information about a garden constructed three

⁹² Hu Jie, *The Splendid Chinese Garden: Origins, Aesthetics and Architecture* (New York: Betterlink Press, 2013), p.24.

⁹³ See the original sentence ‘非必丝与竹，山水有清音’, in Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637), *Liang shu* 梁书 [Book of Liang], 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), I, p.168.

⁹⁴ Wang Yi 王毅, *Zhongguo yuanlin wenhua shi* 中国园林文化史 [History of Chinese Garden Culture] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2004), p.90.

⁹⁵ Zhou Weiyan, *History of Chinese Classical Gardens*, p.69; in the Han Dynasty, one *li* equalled about 715 metres, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, pp.555-556.

⁹⁶ Ge Hong 葛洪 (293-343), *Xijing zaji* 西京杂记 [Miscellanies of the Western Capital] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p.18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

hundred years earlier. However, he probably revealed how that garden looked in the fourth century; by then, artificial mountains might be of a large size, covered by dense groves, and used to accommodate animals.

Examples can also be found in records from the sixth century. For example, Zhang Lun's 张伦 (ca. late 5th-6th century) garden had a similar rockwork. Zhang was a powerful official in the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534). In his garden, there was a man-made Jingyang Mountain (*Jiāngyāng shān* 景阳山). As described in a sixth-century book, the huge rockwork contained dense and tall plants and some features like rough stone paths, streams and ravines.⁹⁸ Jiang Zhi 姜质 (ca. 6th century), who visited this garden, commented that 'on visiting [this artificial mountain], it always reminds visitors of real mountains and water.'⁹⁹

Both mountains were described as very large, but in reality they might just have given the impression of vastness. They were probably large-size earth mountains, as groves were planted on them; and a small amount of rocks might be used to form features like stone paths. These features helped to form the atmosphere of a real landscape, as Jiang Zhi felt on his visit; this was the key characteristic of this style.

2.3 The appreciation of small rockwork and individual rocks: the Tang and the Song Dynasties (eighth century – fourteenth century)

In early trends, rockwork seems to have been constructed on a very large scale, as a reproduction of real or legendary mountains. But there is a dramatic change in the style of rockwork in this period, as the size was significantly reduced; rockwork started to be regarded as a symbol rather than a recreation of real mountains, and appeared more frequently in gardens. Rocks began to be used as the main material, and the appreciation and collection of individual rocks emerged in this period.

⁹⁸ Yang Xuanzhi 杨衒之 (ca. 6th century), *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛阳伽蓝记 [Records of Temples in Luoyang], annotated by Shang Rong 尚荣, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), I, pp. 140-145; Yang Xuanzhi 杨衒之 (ca. 6th century), W.J.F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital (493-534)*, trans. by W.J.F. Jenner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp.188-192.

⁹⁹ Jiang Zhi 姜质 (ca. 6th century), 'Tingshan Fu 庭山赋 [Rhapsody on Courtyard Mountain]', in Yang Xuanzhi 杨衒之 (ca. 6th century), *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛阳伽蓝记 [Records of Temples in Luoyang], annotated by Shang Rong 尚荣, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), I, pp.143-145; Yang Xuanzhi 杨衒之 (ca. 6th century), *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital (493-534)*, trans. by W.J.F. Jenner, pp.190-192.

2.3.1 Small gardens and small rockwork

In this period, especially the Tang Dynasty, there was a dramatic increase in the number of gardens, which contributed to the flourishing garden culture. One of the causes, perhaps the direct cause, was the completion and implementation of the imperial examination system (*keju* 科举) in the Tang Dynasty. Candidates who passed the exams and were awarded degrees could be selected as officials at various levels, and formed the class of scholar-officials (*shidafu* 士大夫). The rise of this group encouraged the construction of new gardens, especially private gardens.¹⁰⁰ The construction of private gardens peaked in the eleventh century, when the status of the scholar-officials was consolidated. Because many of them suffered banishment and self-imposed retirement at that time, building gardens provided a way to take a break and recover from the stresses of political life and conflicts with rivals.¹⁰¹

Compared with imperial gardens, gardens of scholar-officials were much smaller in size due to their limited power and wealth. Many of these gardens were referred to as ‘small garden (*xiao yuan* 小园)’; and small rockwork was constructed on a correspondingly small scale,¹⁰² as is evidenced not only by contemporaneous poems but also by archaeological findings: the foundations of historic rockworks found on the archaeological sites of many Tang Dynasty gardens and palaces were much smaller, compared with rockwork mentioned in earlier records; the foundation of the largest remaining rockwork in the Shangyang Palace (*Shangyang gong* 上阳宫) in Luoyang has a diameter of only two metres.¹⁰³ A noteworthy fact is that the term ‘*jiashan* (假山)’, literally meaning artificial mountain, appeared for the first time in this period and has become the most common name for rockwork since then. The term comes from a poem by the contemporaneous poet and official Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), which depicted the rockwork in his uncle’s garden.¹⁰⁴ According to Du, this rockwork was made of earth, and was

¹⁰⁰ Although imperial gardens were also private for emperors, the private gardens to be discussed in this thesis are those owned by commoners, in which the size and design concepts differed from those of the large imperial gardens.

¹⁰¹ Robert E. Harrist, ‘Site Names and Their Meanings in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment’, in *The Journal of Garden History*, 4 (1993), pp.199-212 (p.200).

¹⁰² Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581), ‘Xiaoyuan fu 小园赋 [Rhapsody of Small Garden]’, in Chen Yihong 陈宜洪, ‘Yuxin xiaoyuan fushangxi 庾信《小园赋》赏析 [The Appreciation and Analysis of Yu Xin’s “Rhapsody of Small Garden”]’, in *Mingzuo xinshang* 名作欣赏 [Appreciation of Famous Literary Works], 2(1989), pp.14-17; Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.40.

¹⁰³ Duanmu Shan 端木山, ‘Jiangnan sija yuanlin jiashan yanjiu –xingtai yu qiyuan 江南私家园林假山研究—形态与起源 [Study of Rockwork in Private Gardens in Jiangnan: the Forms and Origins]’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Zhongyang meishu xueyuan, 2011), p.59.

¹⁰⁴ Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), ‘Jia shan 假山 [Artificial Mountain]’, in Wang Jingtao 王劲韬, ‘Zhongguo huangjia yuanlin dieshan yanjiu 中国皇家园林叠山研究 [Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens]’ (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Qinghua daxue, 2009), p.44.

about the size of one *kui* 匱 and only one *chi* high.¹⁰⁵ Originally, *kui* was the name of a kind of small basket for carrying soil. As this is a poetic description, in reality the rockwork might have been small but probably not just the size of a basket of soil.

The emergence of the term *jiashan* reflected the new understanding and style of rockwork. Before then, rockwork was constructed as reproductions of real mountains; they were normally huge man-made earth mountains, sometimes with groves and animals. But from the Tang Dynasty on, rockworks, especially those of smaller sizes, were treated as symbols of mountains and features to form miniature landscapes. The eighth-century official, Dugu Ji 独孤及 (726-777), believed that artificial landscapes were built to achieve the spirit of natural ones, so being on a large scale was not essential.¹⁰⁶

The miniature landscapes constructed in a garden conformed to the reclusive culture which was widely accepted among the elite at that time, who enjoyed different ways of being a hermit. At that time, ‘shutting the gate’ of a garden was considered as a way to ‘turn it into a hermitage’¹⁰⁷ because a garden with artificial mountains and rivers provided a space in which the owner could be temporarily separated from society. Thus, in order to fit the reduced size of gardens and meet the need to form an isolated world for hermitage, miniature landscapes and small rockworks were constructed and widely accepted.

2.3.2 The display and appreciation of individual rocks

Along with the development of small gardens, small rockwork started to be presented in a new, rather abstract, form: natural rocks were displayed individually in gardens to symbolise mountains, an arrangement which is now commonly known as *zhi shi* 置石 [individually displayed rocks]. This was a trend especially in the Tang and Song Dynasties, and became an important type of rockwork later.

Many garden owners started to collect rocks and display them in gardens. Niu Sengru 牛僧孺 (780-848) and Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850) were two of the best known connoisseurs of this period for their large collections and their obsession with rocks. Stories of their rocks were

¹⁰⁵ In the Tang context, one *chi* equalled 30.6 centimetres, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, p. 556.

¹⁰⁶ Dugu Ji 独孤及 (726-777), ‘Langya xishu 琅琊溪述 [Essay on Langya Stream]’, in *Quan tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete Collection of Tang Texts], 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), IV, p.3961.

¹⁰⁷ Wang Wei 王维 (701-761), ‘Jizhou guo zhaosou jiayan 济州过赵叟家宴 [Stopping at the Banquet in Old Zhao’s House in Jizhou]’, trans. by Xiaoshan Yang, in *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.52.

frequently mentioned in poems and essays of later times, although they were also two rival officials and the protagonists of ministerial factions, commonly known as the ‘Niu-Li factional conflict (Niuli dangzheng 牛李党争)’.¹⁰⁸ According to essays written by themselves and their friends, both of them collected rocks and plants from various origins such as Zhenze 震泽, Wuling 武陵, Luofu 罗浮 and Lufu 庐阜, for display in their gardens.¹⁰⁹ Although they may have overstated their collections with the intention of competing with each other, it seems that collecting rocks of different types and from various locations was prevalent and praised among contemporaneous rock connoisseurs.

Similarly to small artificial mountains, individually displayed rocks were also treated as symbols of real mountains. Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), the celebrated poet and scholar-official of the Tang Dynasty, as well as the close friend of Niu, described feeling as if he were among real mountains, and the beauty of the Five Mountains could be seen while sitting in Niu’s garden.

Apart from the symbolising of mountains, further aesthetic standards appeared for the evaluation of garden rocks. ‘qi 奇’ was an important characteristic of the valued garden rocks in this period. It is commonly translated as bizarre, or sometimes, grotesque and fantastic.¹¹⁰ Many rocks were described as bizarre rocks. For example, Li Deyu described his collection as ‘precious plants and bizarre rocks (*zhenmu qishi* 珍木奇石)’, and Bai Juyi described Niu’s rocks as ‘competing in bizarreness and grotesqueness (*zhengqi chengguai* 争奇骋怪)’.¹¹¹ The bizarreness of rocks mainly refers to the shape and texture, which can be inferred from descriptions such as ‘[rocks] look like [a] dragon or phoenix, as if curling up or moving’.¹¹² Along with the appreciation of a bizarre and grotesque appearance, Taihu Rocks, which have varied

¹⁰⁸ Ari Daniel Levine, *Divided by A Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p.39.

¹⁰⁹ Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850), ‘Pingquan shanzhuang caomu ji 平泉山居草木记 [The Record of Plants and Trees in the Level Spring Mountain Residence]’, in *Quan tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete Collection of Tang Texts], 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), VII, pp.7367-7368; Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850), ‘Pingquan shanju jie zisun ji 平泉山居诫子孙记 [Admonition for My Descendants on the Level Spring Mountain Residence]’, in *Quan tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete Collection of Tang Texts], 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), VII, p.7367; Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), ‘Taihushi ji 太湖石记 [Record of Taihu Rock]’, trans. by Xiaoshao Yang, in *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.114; Niu Sengru 牛僧孺 (780-848), ‘Li Suzhou yi taihushi qizhuang jue lun yinti ershi yun fengcheng mengde letian 李苏州遗太湖石奇状绝伦因题二十韵奉呈梦得乐天 [Prefect Li of Suzhou Presented Me with Some Lake Tai Rocks, the Strange Shape of which was Matchless; Hence I Wrote Twenty Couplets, which I Presented to Mengde and Letian], trans. by Xiaoshao Yang, in *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.106.

¹¹⁰ Xiaoshao Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry*, pp.129-138.

¹¹¹ Li Deyu, ‘Admonition for My Descendants on the Level Spring Mountain Residence’, p.7367; Bai Juyi, ‘Record of Taihu Rock’, trans. by Xiaoshao Yang, p.114.

¹¹² Bai Juyi, ‘Record of Taihu Rock’, trans. by Xiaoshao Yang, p.114;

shapes and a holey texture due to the erosion of water, became one of the most valuable types of rocks from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards; Niu even categorised these as ‘first-class’ rockwork.¹¹³ Later, in the eleventh century, Mi Fu 米芾(1051-1107), the artist and calligrapher, mentioned his specific aesthetic criteria for individual rocks; his criteria conformed to the characteristics of Taihu Rock. They include *shou* 瘦, *zhou* 皱, *tou* 透 and *lou* 漏. *Shou* means emaciated and sparse, but it also embodied the dense interior force within a rock. *Zhou* literally means corrugated, which was a requirement for the surface pattern. *Tou* means perforated, which was a description of the foraminate structure of rocks such as the Taihu Rock.¹¹⁴ *Lou* describes something which can be seen through; like *tou*, it required a rock to have many holes which should be connected, so that water drops and smoke could pass through.¹¹⁵ Although originally put forward in this period, these four criteria were put together and became formulaic terms in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁶

The ninth-century painting of ‘Gaoyi tu 高逸图 [Painting of Highly Respected Recluses]’ may illustrate the most appreciated garden rocks and reveal how they were included in gardens. In this painting, the artist Sun Wei 孙位 (ca. 9th century) actually depicts the gathering of the ‘Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (*Zhulin qixian* 竹林七贤)’, which was a group of scholars in the third century. It is unlikely the ninth-century artist could accurately recreate the figures and garden features of four hundred years earlier. He possibly created this scene based on contemporaneous gardens. As shown in Figure 2-1, they have intricate shapes with holes and gullies, similar to Taihu Rocks which were currently appreciated. If this hypothesis is correct, individual rocks in the ninth century might be displayed directly on the ground, together with plants beside them.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.114.

¹¹⁴ John Hay, ‘Structure and aesthetic criteria in Chinese rocks and art’, in *RES*, 13 (Spring 1987), pp.6-22(p.6).

¹¹⁵ Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, p.28.

¹¹⁶ Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry*, p.102.



Figure 2-1. Sun Wei 孙位 (ca. 9th century), 'Gaoyi Tu(高逸图) [Painting of Highly Respected Recluses]' (the surviving part), undated. This painting depicts the gathering of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (*Zhulin qixian* 竹林七贤), a group of scholars in the third century. (Source: Shanghai Museum.)

Contemporaneous scholar-officials provided explanations of their veneration of bizarre rocks. For them, although these rocks would be considered ugly, the bizarreness is a special value which could not be recognised and appreciated by ordinary people but could only be discovered by the transcendent mind.¹¹⁷ This opinion sounds like a metaphor for the poor condition of their political life. At that time, officials suffered from political instability and redeployment; some of those who worked at court were sent to the south, to the Jiangnan area where various types of bizarre rocks originated. Speaking highly of the bizarre rocks and their unrecognised value, they were actually complaining about not being valued by the court. This might only be the opinion of some connoisseurs; others like Niu and Li, who seem to have had a fetish for rocks, were considered as being pretentious or 'flashy'. Niu was criticised as a hypocritical person, more

¹¹⁷ Lu Guimeng 陆龟蒙 (?-881), 'Taihu Shi 太湖石 [The Lake Tai Rock]', trans. by Xiaoshan Yang, in *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.104-105; Bai Juyi 白居易, 'Shuang shi 双石 [A Pair of Rocks]', in Xiaoshao Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.100-101.

interested in building networks than liking rocks.¹¹⁸ Even in his friend Bai Juyi's essay, Niu is said to have received numerous bizarre rocks while governing the Heluo area in Luoyang.

2.3.3. Emperor Huizong of Song and his influences in the Jin and the Yuan Dynasties

The trend of appreciating individual rocks and displaying them in gardens started in the Tang Dynasty, and was pushed to its peak by Emperor Huizong of Song 宋徽宗 (1082-1135). His collection of rocks was on an unprecedented scale; although his imperial garden, Genyue, was not the largest imperial garden, it was considered the most influential, not only in this period but in all the history of Chinese rockwork.¹¹⁹ As an emperor as well as an artist, his obsession with rocks and plants might have been influenced by painting, but was greatly expanded after the establishment of the garden, Genyue, in which he constructed a large artificial mountain with numerous exotic rocks and plants. On the suggestion of a Taoist priest, the emperor decided to raise the terrain in the northeast of the capital Bianliang 汴梁 (today's Kaifeng 开封) so as to pray for more offspring for the public at large as well as the imperial family.¹²⁰ Therefore, Genyue was constructed in 1117, with several artificial mountains within it; the name literally means marchmount on the northeast. Although the garden was demolished four years after its completion, when the Jurchen army conquered Bianliang, the garden was documented in several historical articles and books, which help us to visualise its appearance. Among these materials, two essays were written by people who had certainly been to Genyue: the 'Imperial record of Genyue' by the owner Emperor Huizong, and the 'Record of Huayang Palace' by a monk, Zuxiu 祖秀, who visited it both before and after the garden was destroyed by the Jurchen army.

The most important element in Genyue was rocks. Countless numbers of them were displayed all over the garden and many were used to construct artificial mountains. Just like those appearing in poems and essays in the Tang Dynasty, rocks in Genyue were described as having 'a thousand postures, ten-thousand shapes'.¹²¹ One of Emperor Huizong's paintings depicts a bizarre rock from his collection, shown in Figure 2-2. It is not clear if it was part of the collection

¹¹⁸ Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang–Song Poetry*, p.91.

¹¹⁹ Maggie Keswick (1941-1995), *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.53.

¹²⁰ Zhang Hao 张濩 (ca. 12th century), 'Genyue ji 艮岳记 [Record of the Northeast Marchmount]', trans. by James M. Hargett, in 'Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng', in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 38 (1988-1989), pp.1-48 (pp.32-43).

¹²¹ Zuxiu 祖秀 (ca. 11th century), 'Huayanggong ji 华阳宫记 [Record of the Hua Yang Palace]', trans. by James M. Hargett, in 'Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng', in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 38 (1988-1989), pp.32-43(p.38).

in Genyue, but it shows the type of rock appreciated at this time. Similarly to one of the rocks in Figure 2-1, it features pores and holes. This is the rock that he referred to as the ‘Auspicious Dragon’. According to the poem that he wrote for it, he could see the frightful presence contained in the rock and felt as though a *qiu* (虬) was coming out of the rock.¹²² *Qiu* was a kind of dragon, of a sacred and auspicious species.



Figure 2-2. Emperor Huizong of Song 宋徽宗 (1082-1135), ‘Xianglongshi tujian 祥龙石图卷 [Painting Scroll of Auspicious Dragon Stone]’(part), undated. (Source: The Palace Museum, Beijing.)

Individual rocks were included in this garden in different ways: some stood in rows along the footpaths; some were located in courtyards; large pieces were displayed individually in their own pavilions.¹²³ This is possibly the earliest detailed description of how individual rocks were displayed in gardens, although Sun Wei’s painting (Fig.2-1) from an earlier time provides some clues. The thirteenth-century book *Qidong yeyu* 齐东野语 [Unofficial Records of East Qi] mentioned that all the rocks were classified into groups according to aesthetic values, and large

¹²² Emperor Huizong of Song 宋徽宗 (1082-1135), poem written on ‘Xianglongshi tujian 祥龙石图卷 [Painting Scroll of Auspicious Dragon Stone]’, in *The Palace Museum*. <<http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/122900.html>> [accessed 18 July 2016].

¹²³ Zuxiu, ‘Record of the Hua Yang Palace’, trans. by James M. Hargett, pp.32-43(p.38).

and delicate ones would be given names and even be ennobled and given a gold belt.¹²⁴ Since this work is not contemporary with Genyue, the information it provided cannot be fully trusted. However, the naming of the rocks is likely to be the case. Zuxiu's record mentions a rock in the garden named Divine Conveyance Peak (神运峰).¹²⁵ Emperor Huizong's painting of Auspicious Dragon Stone also shows that he would give names to rocks.

Although rocks were the key element in Genyue, many of them were used to decorate and construct the large artificial mountains. According to the emperor's record, the whole garden could be divided into two parts, 'the mountainous area on the left and the water on the right', which 'covers dozens of *li*'.¹²⁶ Vague and exaggerated descriptions of the location of each mountain and pond make it difficult to recreate the garden plan, but we can be sure that large man-made earth mountains were the foundation of the artificial mountains in Genyue, with many rocks placed on them. Both the emperor and Zuxiu's records described that these mountains contained high peaks, and that among them were features like ravines, caves, streams, ponds, cliffs and waterfalls. Various types of flowers, grass and trees were planted among them, as well as groves of bamboo, plum trees, and so on. Some of the characteristics were similar to earlier trends: the artificial mountains in Genyue were constructed in a large size, and involved groves, which is similar to the trend from the second to the seventh centuries; this was also related to the emperor's desire for immortality, just like those in the Qin and Han Dynasties. The main mountain was called Longevity Mountain (*Wansui shan* 万岁山) and the entire garden was established with the purpose of gaining descendants. Later sources even mention that man-made mist and clouds, which were described as 'Tribute Clouds (*Gongyun* 贡云)' were created among these mountains to create a mysterious atmosphere; however, the authenticity of this statement cannot be verified.¹²⁷ All these characteristics of artificial mountains in Genyue show that an earlier preferred style of rockwork would not completely disappear, rather it would just become less fashionable in a new period.

According to the garden record written by Emperor Huizong, rocks and plants were collected from various locations, especially the centre, south-east and sometimes the south-west of the

¹²⁴ Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), *Qidong Yeyu* 齐东野语 [Unofficial Records of East Qi], annotated by Zhang Maopeng 张茂鹏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p.117.

¹²⁵ Zuxiu, 'Record of the Hua Yang Palace', trans. by James M. Hargett, pp.32-43 (p.41).

¹²⁶ Emperor Huizong of Song 宋徽宗 (1082-1135), 'Yuzhi genyue ji 御制艮岳记 [Imperial-authored Record of the Northeast Marchmount]', trans. by James M. Hargett, in 'Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng', in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 38 (1988-1989), pp. 34-38; one *li* equals about 600 metres, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, pp.554-555.

¹²⁷ Zhou Mi, *Unofficial Records of East Qi*, annotated by Zhang Maopeng, p.117.

country. Although this seems like an exaggeration by the garden owner, it was actually achieved by a special group called *Huashi gang* (花石纲), or the Transportation Team of Rocks and Flowers; and the Suzhou Provision Bureau (*Suzhou yingfeng ju* 苏州应奉局) was established in Suzhou in 1104 in order to find and collect exotic rocks and plants. Collected rocks and plants were transported by boats to the capital via the Grand Canal. Due to the location of the Grand Canal and the location of common rock origins, most rocks came from the central and south eastern regions (Fig. 2-3).

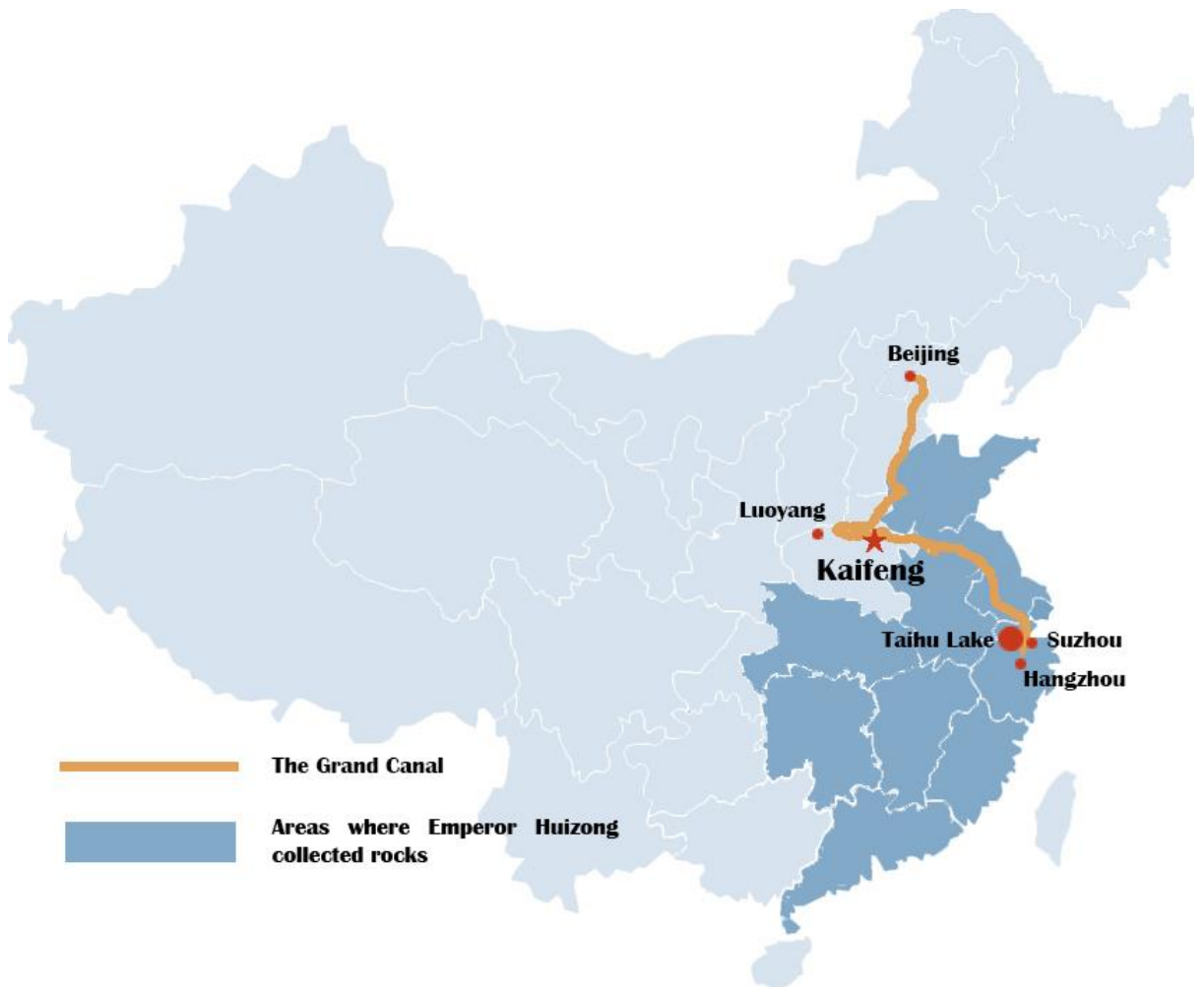


Figure 2-3. Map of China today. With the help of marks this shows the areas where Emperor Huizong of Song collected rocks and the location of the Grand Canal in the twelfth century. (Source: author, 2015).

There were two basic sources of rocks: quarrying, and ‘taking’ (that is, forcibly removing from private collectors) or buying. Many of Emperor Huizong’s collection were directly quarried from their place of origin, such as Lingbi County and Taihu Lake. Some rocks were taken from ordinary people. A twelfth-century book mentioned that workers of the *Huashi Gang* would directly enter a garden which contained valuable rocks or desirable plants without permission, and take and

transport those selected to the capital.¹²⁸ A significant amount of labour and financial resources were spent on the emperor's collecting, and the team might have to 'excavate rivers, break bridges, destroy weirs and pull down locks' during the transportation process.¹²⁹ The operation of the Huashi Gang shows the emperor was greedy and indulged in garden rocks; this was another important reason that has made Genyue famous ever since.

Collection of rocks across the country strongly influenced garden culture in various regions, especially those in which the rocks originated. It is in this period that the specialised rockwork craftsmen, referred to as *shanjiang* 山匠, were first recorded.¹³⁰ However, this record came from Zhou Mi's (1232-1298) book, which is not contemporary with Genyue; the only information that can be confirmed is that the term *shanjiang* 山匠 appeared no later than the thirteenth century, when Zhou Mi wrote about it.

Apart from the appearance of *shanjiang*, Emperor Huizong and Genyue exerted a more direct and profound influence on later gardens and garden culture. The garden was destroyed in the late 1120s, when the Jurchen army conquered the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty. After the Jurchen established the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234), many rocks in Genyue were transported to the new capital, Zhongdu 中都 (today's Beijing).¹³¹ These fine rocks collected from various locations became an important resource for the imperial gardens in Beijing. According to recent research, some of them are found in the existing rockwork of gardens in the Forbidden City, and some were documented as being used in the rockwork in the Southern Sea (*Nanhai* 南海).¹³² Since the Southern Sea currently serves as the headquarters of the State Council, it can not be confirmed if those descriptions are correct. Apart from the re-use of these rocks, emperors and garden owners in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties also followed the practice of the Northern Song: they invested in the collection of bizarre rocks and the construction of gardens. They were also recorded as collecting and transporting rocks from various locations.¹³³ These actions might really have occurred and be related to the indulgent and luxurious life that contemporaneous emperors lived, although the scale and details of the collections are not clear. Later, emperors

¹²⁸ Fang Shao 方勺 (ca. 11th-12th century), *Qingxi Kougui* 青溪寇轨 [Traces of the Bandits of Qingxi] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), p.3.

¹²⁹ See the original sentence '凿河断桥，毁堰拆闸', in Tuotuo 脱脱 (1314-1355) et al., *Song shi* 宋史 [History of the Song Dynasty], 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), IV, pp.2101-2102.

¹³⁰ Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), *Guixin zashi* 癸辛杂识 [Miscellaneous Notes from the Guixin Quarter], annotated by Wang Genlin 王根林 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), p.7.

¹³¹ James M. Hargett, 'Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng', in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 38 (1988-1989), pp.1-48 (p.27).

¹³² Wang Jingtao, 'Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens', pp.83-88.

¹³³ *Ibid*, pp.83-84.

in the early Ming Dynasty referred to the same lifestyle of emperors from the Northern Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties when suggesting the establishment of a humble and thrifty society.¹³⁴

2.4 Being 'humble' in the early Ming Dynasty (late fourteenth – early fifteenth century)

Emperors and garden owners in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties followed the earlier trends of investing in the collection of bizarre rocks and the construction of gardens. However, the passion for garden making and the development of rockwork slowed down dramatically, and the number of new constructions reduced from the later fourteenth century onwards.

This was caused by strict policies issued by the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), who had suffered from the chaotic days of the late Yuan Dynasty and hated corrupt officials. Therefore, he issued strict rules to restrain the power of officials and hindered the development of their gardens and rockwork. As recorded in the *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], a rule was set up in 1393 making specific requirements for officials' houses and gardens: meritorious officials were allowed to occupy some free space around their houses, but this land could only be up to ten *zhang* behind the buildings and five *zhang* to each side of the house; occupying a larger space than specified was not permitted, especially if it was for ornamental and aesthetic purposes and contained pavilions and ponds.¹³⁵ Since the *History of the Ming Dynasty* was compiled in the seventeenth century, it is not contemporary with Zhu Yuanzhang and may not provide accurate information on actual practice, although it is very likely that the court authors of the Qing Dynasty had access to the documents of the past Ming Dynasty, such as the imperial edicts.

Following the rules set up by the first Ming emperor, only a small number of gardens were constructed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of them were frugal and used as productive and economic horticultural land.¹³⁶ Thus, the construction of rockwork was limited.

¹³⁴ Zhu Zhanji 朱瞻基 (1399-1435), 'Yuzhi guanghan dian ji 御制广寒殿记 [Imperial Record of Guanghan Palace]', in *Ming Shilu* 明实录 [Veritable Record of the Ming Dynasty], 25 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962), XXI, pp.2258-2261.

¹³⁵ 'Baiguan dizhai 百官第宅 [Rules for Houses and Gardens of Officers]', in Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉 (1642-1755), *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], 28 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), VI, pp.1671-1672; In the Ming context, one *zhang* equalled 3.2 m, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, pp.555-556.

¹³⁶ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), p.21-22.

2.5 The appreciation of peaks: the middle and late Ming Dynasty (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)

In the early Ming Dynasty, society had advocated thrift and frugality, following the lead of the emperors. Later, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the economy prospered, this ethos started to change and there was a debate about whether people should spend or save money. More and more people began to argue that those who kept surplus wealth were slaves to it, while those who used it judiciously were its masters and could benefit in the long term.¹³⁷ Influenced by these changes in thought about social values, more gardens were constructed and the creation of rockwork also greatly increased. Gu Qiyuan 顾起元 (1565-1628), a Vice-Minister of Personnel (*Libu zuoshilang* 吏部左侍郎), mentioned that even common people spent a significant amount of money on establishing gardens by the end of Jiajing Period (1522-1566), while before the Zhengde Period (1506-1521), houses were low and small;¹³⁸ but Wang Qi 王琦 (1433-1499), another Ming author, observed that gardens and pavilions were already all over cities like Wuzhong 吴中 (today's Suzhou) by his time.¹³⁹ In any case, their texts show that garden culture had recovered and garden making was back in vogue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

This section focuses on one of the best known gardens of this period, the Yanshan Garden (*Yanshan yuan* 弇山园); by exploring the types and styles of rockwork within it and comparing them with other contemporaneous examples, the trend of this period can be revealed. Yanshan Garden was a garden belonging to Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), an important writer as well as an official of the Ming, who also wrote, visited and owned gardens; his 'You Jinling zhuyuan Ji 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visits to the Gardens of Jinling]' provided significant information on some gardens in contemporaneous Jinling 金陵 (today's Nanjing).¹⁴⁰ Yanshan Garden was the largest among all the gardens belonging to the Wang family in Taicang 太仓, for which Wang Shizhen wrote a series of eight essays, documenting it in detail.¹⁴¹ Located in

¹³⁷ Joanna F. Handlin Smith, 'Gardens in Ch'i Piao-chia's Social World: Wealth and Values in Late-Ming Kiangnan', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.51, 1(Feb 1992), pp.55-81.

¹³⁸ Gu Qiyuan 顾起元 (1565-1628), *Kezuo zhuiyu* 客座赘语 [Talks with Guests], annotated by Tan Dihua 谭棣华, and Chen Jiahe 陈稼禾 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp.169-170.

¹³⁹ Wang Qi 王琦 (1433-1499), *Yupu zaji* 寓圃杂记 [Miscellanies of Yupu], annotated by Zhang Dexin 张德信 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), p.42.

¹⁴⁰ Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), 'You Jinling zhuyuan ji 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visits to the Gardens of Jinling]', in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.136-145 (p.140).

¹⁴¹ Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), 'Yanshan yuanji 弇山园记 [The Record of Yanshan Garden]', in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao

the centre of Taicang, and frequently used for social purposes, it soon became famous and influential in Jiangnan.¹⁴²

According to Wang himself, the rockwork in Yanshan Garden occupied forty percent of the land. Two types of rockwork can be found within it: mountains constructed with rocks as well as earth, and individual rocks displayed among them.

From analysing the lengthy garden records, it seems this garden contained three earth-rock mountains, named Central Yanshan (*Zhong yan* 中舛), Western Yanshan (*Xi yan* 西舛) and Eastern Yanshan (*Dong yan* 东舛) respectively; they have three main characteristics: the structure of ‘caves beneath and platforms or buildings on top’; the repeated use of *feng* 峰, or single peaks, and their integration with water.

The structure integrating caves and platforms or pavilions was mentioned by Wang several times in his essay. The Dim and Illusory Tower (*Piaomiao lou* 缥缈楼) was described as being located on the summit of one of the artificial mountains, while the Qiu Dragon Cave (*Qianqiu dong* 潜虬洞) was beneath. Above another cave, named ‘Horns and Teeth (*Zouya* 馐牙)’, there was a platform with some plants and individual rocks located beside it.¹⁴³ Several more caves and platforms were mentioned, but the relationships between them were not explained. By creating caves in Yanshan Garden, the owner showed his desire to be associated with sacred mountains, referred to as *dongtian* 洞天. As explained in Chapter One, *dongtian* means cave-heaven. In Taoist belief, cave-heavens were caves within specific sacred mountains that connected heaven and earth.¹⁴⁴ Also, the garden name ‘Yanshan’ came from the name of a sacred mountain described in the ancient book *Shanhai Jing*.¹⁴⁵ This structure of cave and platform was common in contemporaneous rockwork, as can be evidenced by some existing examples. The rockwork Piling Up the Delicacy (*Duixiu* 堆绣) in the Imperial Garden of the Forbidden City, the northern and western mountains in the Gazing Garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园) in Nanjing, and the

Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.87-98; Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), ‘Yanshan yuanji 舛山园记 [The Record of Yanshan Garden]’, trans. by Alison Hardie, in ‘Chinese Garden Design in the Later Ming Dynasty and Its Relation to Aesthetic Theory’, 3 vols. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2000), III, pp.44-76.

¹⁴² Kenneth J. Hammond, ‘Wang Shizhen’s Yan Shan Garden Essays: Narrating A Literati Landscape’, in *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 3-4(1999), pp.276-287(p.280).

¹⁴³ Wang Shizhen, ‘The Record of Yanshan Garden’, trans. by Alison Hardie, pp.44-76(p.56).

¹⁴⁴ Stephen Little, Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago, Berkeley: The Art Institute of Chicago, University of California Press, 2000), p.376.

¹⁴⁵ *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas*, ed. and trans. by Richard E. Strassberg (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press), p.195.

rockwork in the Qiao Garden (*Qiao yuan* 乔园) in Taizhou were all originally constructed in this period and contained this structure (Fig.2-4). The last two are discussed in depth in Chapters Four and Five. This structure was summarised as *xiadong shangtai* (下洞上台) in the garden treatise published in the early seventeenth century, *Yuan ye* 园冶 [The Craft of Gardens]; its author, Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), mentioned it was a common structure in rockwork at that time, which he was actually criticising.¹⁴⁶ Although the term literally means ‘caves beneath and platforms above’, the upper element is sometimes formed of buildings rather than platforms in recorded and existing examples.

Constructing a cave inside a rockwork was not easy, at least in this period, in terms of the technological level it required, especially when buildings would be constructed above it. Therefore, some caves would be located next to a brick wall or constructed with bricks. According to Wang Shizhen’s work on gardens in Jinling, the rockwork in the garden *Jinpan li yuan* 金盘李园 had a cave on the ground level and a pavilion above it; a wall was constructed next to the cave and rockwork in order to provide structural support.¹⁴⁷ Existing rockwork in the Gazing Garden and Qiao Garden contains caves constructed with bricks; this is explored in later chapters. It is not clear if the cave in Piling Up the Delicacy was made of bricks as it is currently closed to the public.

¹⁴⁶ Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuanye zhushi* 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens] (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988); Ji Cheng (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Hardie, Alison (New York: Better Link Press, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), ‘You jinling zhuyuan ji 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visits to the Gardens of Jinling]’, in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.136-145 (p.140).



Figure 2-4. The rockwork named Piling Up the Delicacy (*Duixiu* 堆秀) in the Imperial Garden of the Forbidden City, Beijing. It was made of a large number of bizarre Fangshan Rocks; many pointed Bamboo Shoot Rocks were also displayed on it as peaks. The image on the right shows the entrance of the cave, which is labelled in the red frame of the left image. (Source: author, 2014.)

Besides the ‘xiadong shangtai’, other features like precipitous cliffs, ravines, stone screens, streams and waterfalls were also mentioned. Among all these, one frequently described feature was *feng* 峰, or peaks. In Wang Shizhen’s essays, this actually refers to erectly displayed rocks. For example, on the summit of one artificial mountain, there was a peak ‘named Red Twist Peak... [which] is the finest of Dongting [Taihu] rocks ... one keeps coming across fine rocks, with a single Jinchuan peak which is particularly choice, the finest of Sichuan rocks; it is named Dark Jade Bamboo-shoot.’¹⁴⁸ The painting of Yanshan Garden commissioned by Wang Shizhen (Fig. 2-5) also depicted many pointed features on the artificial mountains; however, they were not depicted as individual rocks in terms of their size, which indicates that paintings are insufficiently accurate to show the exact appearance of a garden or a rockwork although they may provide some useful information, such as the pointed shape in this case. Rocks on Piling Up the Delicacy could show us these peaks in reality, although in a very serried way (Fig.2-6). More discussion of rocks themselves can be found in later paragraphs about individual rocks.

¹⁴⁸ Wang Shizhen, ‘The Record of Yanshan Garden’, trans. by Alison Hardie, pp.44-76 (p.63).

Other than rockwork, water is another important element in Yanshan Garden, as it occupied thirty percent of the land. Most importantly, the water was integrated with the design of rockwork. Both the painting and the garden records indicate that there were ponds, streams and waterfalls among and around the three mountains. Wang Shizhen's comments reveal that the forms of water features became more diverse, and there were new ways of integrating water features and rockwork at that time; in the past, rockwork would be simply located in ponds, such as those representing sacred mountains in the East Sea. Wang wrote, 'for a mountain to be surrounded by water is a great wonder, and for water to have the benefit of a mountain is another great wonder'.¹⁴⁹



Figure 2-5. Qian Gu 钱穀 (1508-1578), 'Xiaozhi yuan tu 小祇园图[Painting of Xiao Zhi Garden]'¹⁵⁰(part), 1574. (Source: James Cahill, Huang Xiao 黄晓, and Liu Shanshan 刘珊珊, *Buxiu de linqun: zhongguo gudai yuanlin huihua 不朽的林泉: 中国古代园林绘画* [Garden Paintings in Old China] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), p.89.).

¹⁴⁹ Wang Shizhen, 'The Record of Yanshan Garden', trans. by Alison Hardie, pp.44-76 (p.73).

¹⁵⁰ *Xiaozhi yuan* [Xiaozhi Garden] is another name of the Yanshan Garden.



Fig.2-6. Red frames show rocks erectly displayed on the rockwork Piling Up the Delicacy, which might be the real *feng*, or peaks, described in sixteenth-century texts. (Source: author, 2014.)

Individual rocks in the Yanshan Garden seem to have conformed to the earlier aesthetic standards of the Tang Dynasty. Rocks and plants were mentioned as grotesque rocks and bizarre trees; and rocks were described as being in various shapes, such as those of lions, *qiu* dragons, oxen, and rams.¹⁵¹ Just like the rocks in Genyue, rocks in Yanshan Garden were also given names, which were generally based on their shapes. They were brought from different origins, as some were mentioned as coming from Dongting 洞庭 (an alternative name of Lake Taihu), Yaofeng 尧峰 and Jinchuan 锦川.

Wang's essay mainly described the shapes of individual rocks; it is not clear how they were displayed except that some were mentioned as being surrounded by plants and some were

¹⁵¹ Wang Shizhen, 'The Record of Yanshan Garden', trans. by Alison Hardie, pp.44-76 (pp.53-54).

displayed in groups. Some other sources provide more information about the use of individual rocks in the sixteenth century. Figures 2-7 and 2-8 illustrate two circumstances in gardens where rocks were displayed. According to the postscript by the artist himself, Figure 2-7 is a painting created for a garden named You Fang 友芳 in Chongde 崇德, owned by Lü Jiong 吕炯 (1519-1586), a scholar from a wealthy family. This painting shows that there was an earth mountain next to a pond, where several rocks of different types and sizes were displayed in a row and among some plants; the pond has straight edges that appear to be in a rectangular shape with a smooth sidewall. The artist clearly mentioned that he had never been to this garden, but was required to create this drawing.¹⁵² Although the painting would not be able to present the precise appearance of the garden, it shows the artist's understanding of gardens and rockwork of this period. In Figure 2-8, the artist Qiu Ying 仇英 (1493-1560) depicts a cluster of rocks erected in the relatively open space in front of a pavilion, along with some plants; this cluster is located in the central part of this garden. The artist depicted a Taihu Rock with its holes in the middle and two pointed Bamboo Shoot Rocks on either side, which formed a rather symmetrical look. This painting may not present the authentic look of a specific garden, as, similarly to the previous painting, its name is not given. The forms and arrangement of rockwork were possibly created based on the artist's understanding of contemporaneous garden features.

The way of displaying rocks in these two paintings also conformed to Ji Cheng's description in the *Craft of Gardens*, although it was detested in his book. He described rocks in gardens as 'hills of knives, tree of swords', for the way that they were displayed erectly, either in a row (as in Fig.2-7) or on artificial mountains (as in Yanshan Garden and Piling Up the Delicacy).¹⁵³ The symmetrical arrangement shown in Figure 2-8 was also common in the sixteenth century, according to Ji Cheng; it was criticized as looking 'like the censer flanked by two vases on an altar'.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² James Cahill, Huang Xiao 黄晓, and Liu Shanshan 刘珊珊, *Buxiu de linqun: zhongguo gudai yuanlin huihua* 不朽的林泉: 中国古代园林绘画 [Garden Paintings in Old China] (Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2012), pp.122-130.

¹⁵³ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p.104.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.104.

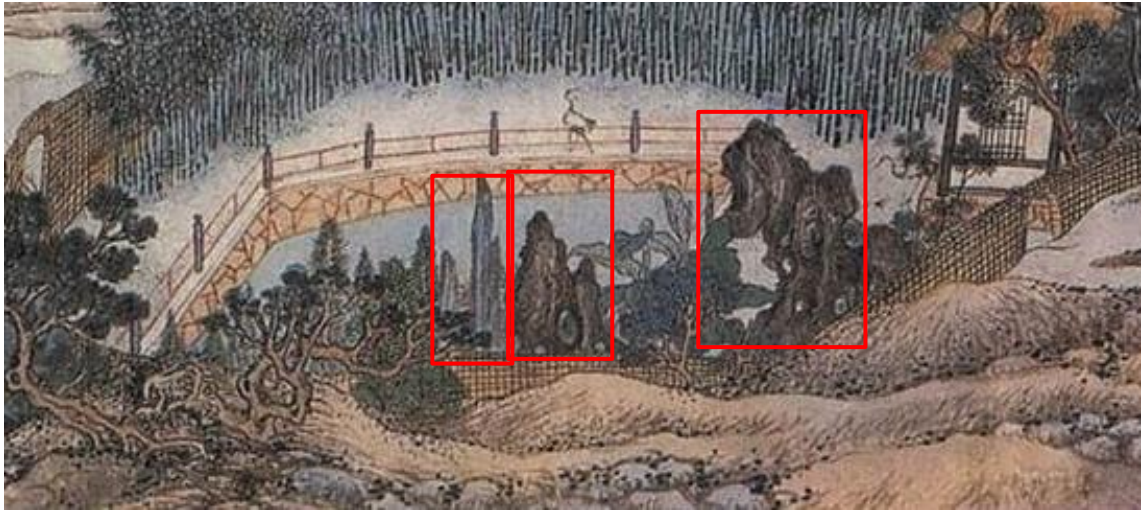


Figure 2-7. Sun Kehong 孙克弘 (ca.1532-1611), 'Changlin shiji tu 长林石几图 [The Stone Table Garden]'(part), 1572. It shows that some bizarre rocks were displayed in rows in the Youfang Garden. (Source: Asian Art Museum in San Francisco.)

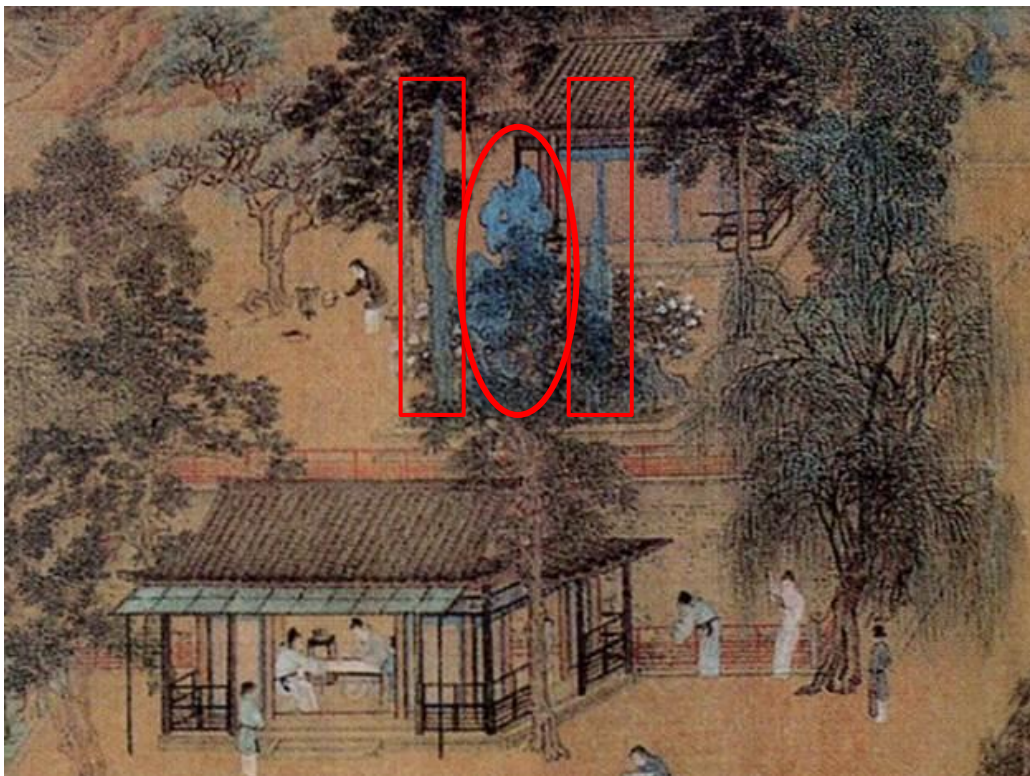


Figure 2-8. Qiu Ying 仇英 (1493-1560), 'Yuanlin shengjing tu 园林胜景图 [Wonderful Scenery in a Garden]' (part). Three rocks displayed as a group in the middle of the courtyard (detail from the centre of this image). (Source: Nanjing Museum.)

Apart from revealing the use and display of rockwork in this period, the example of the Yanshan Garden introduces a contemporaneous craftsman, Zhang Nanyang 张南阳 (1517-1596). According to Wang Shizhen, Zhang constructed the rockwork which made the Yanshan Garden famous among Jiangnan gardens. Zhang was also known as Wushi Shanren 悟石山人 or Woshi Shanren 卧石山人. *Shanren* literally means mountain person, and has the meaning of hermit. Thus, this term was commonly used in studio names, especially for scholars. It is possible that Zhang Nanyang used this term on purpose: to associate himself with reclusion as well as with his profession as a rockwork craftsmen. The currently well-known Yellow Rock Artificial Mountain (*Huangshi da jiashan* 黄石大假山) in Yuyuan Garden (*Yu yuan* 豫园), the representative historic garden in Shanghai, was also constructed by Zhang. Another of his clients, Chen Suoyun 陈所蕴 (1543-1626) wrote a biography of him as well as mentioning him in a garden record.¹⁵⁵ Chen recorded that Zhang would first survey the site to check its size and the number of rocks it contained, and then started the construction after having completed a design plan.

Although Chen's description of the preparation before construction might or might not be true, the texts that recorded this specific rockwork craftsman and highly praised his works indicated that the social status of rockwork craftsmen increased in this period. Previously, craftsmen would be mentioned as an occupation and a group, while individual figures were documented and praised only from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2.6 Recreating the 'atmosphere' of real mountains: the Ming-Qing transition and early Qing Dynasty (seventeenth - early eighteenth centuries)

In the seventeenth century, there was a change of regime, from the Ming (1368-1644) to the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). It was accompanied by social unrest and a conflict of cultural trends; there were new ideas on various issues. New theories on the creation of gardens and rockwork appeared, and preferences for the form of rockwork changed. The previous trend of arranging bizarre rocks in rows and constructing the common structure of *xidong shangtai* was criticized in the seventeenth century, while a new trend in rockwork-making aimed to create a 'natural'

¹⁵⁵ Chen Suoyun 陈所蕴 (1543-1626), 'Ri she yuanji 日涉园记 [Record of the Daily Visit Garden]', in *Yuan zong 园综* [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), II, pp.4-7.

environment.¹⁵⁶ However, this was different from the trend between the second and seventh centuries, when artificial mountains were constructed as reproductions of real mountains in the form of large earth mountains, covered by forests and animals. The new trend emphasised pursuing the atmosphere of the real landscape and avoiding artificial traces, rather than reproducing the real mountains in terms of size.

Zhang Lian 张涟 (1587-1671) and Ji Cheng 计成 were the most influential figures in rejecting the earlier trend and suggesting a new style of rockwork. Zhang Lian was a rockwork craftsman who produced a great deal of rockwork. Although no texts written by Zhang himself have survived or been discovered, contemporaneous records of the rockwork he created can still reveal his designs and preferences. Ji Cheng was known for his garden treatise, which contained a thorough chapter on the construction of rockwork. This section explores the style and characteristics of rockwork of this period mainly by investigating these men's works and advocacy. Some other examples are included to present this style.

2.6.1 The preference for individually displayed rocks

'Why do you not imitate the appearance of real mountains, instead of those heaps of fist-shaped stones?'¹⁵⁷ This was a query by Ji Cheng which questioned the previous trend of using pointed and erect rocks to symbolise real mountains. In his biography, Zhang Lian was also described as arguing against earlier these trends and regarding this practice as 'a trick to fool children'.¹⁵⁸ But in fact, they were not completely opposed to the inclusion of individual rocks or peaks. Individual rocks were introduced as one type of rockwork in the *Craft of Gardens*, and were also referred to as peaks. Other scholars and garden connoisseurs, such as Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585-1645) and Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680), also commented that they understood the use of individual rocks, as it was the type of rockwork that most common people could afford.¹⁵⁹

It is actually not the inclusion of individual rocks or peaks that was argued against, but the way they were used. As mentioned earlier, Ji Cheng compared symmetrical and linear arrangements

¹⁵⁶ James Cahill, Huang Xiao, and Liu Shanshan, *Garden Paintings in Old China*, p.46.

¹⁵⁷ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p.37; Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi, p.42.

¹⁵⁸ Wu Weiye 吴伟业 (1609-1671), 'Zhang Nanyuan zhuan 张南垣传 [The Biography of Zhang Nanyuan]', trans. by Alison Hardie, in 'The Life of A Seventeenth-century Chinese Garden Designer: "The Biography of Zhang Nanyuan" by Wu Weiye (1609-71)', in *Garden History*, vol. 32, 1 (Spring 2004), pp.138-139.

¹⁵⁹ Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585-1645), *Zhangwu zhi jiaozhu 长物志校注* [The Annotated Treatise on Superfluous Things], annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植 (Nanjing: Jiangsu kexue jishu chubanshe, 1984); Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680), *Xianqing ouji 闲情偶寄* [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling] (1671), annotated by Du Shuying 杜书瀛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007).

of rocks to a ‘hill of knives’, ‘tree of swords’, and ‘censer and vases’. On the contrary, he suggested the natural and disorderly display of individual rocks in groups or with plants, in the way they were found in real mountains.¹⁶⁰

2.6.2 The preference for artificial mountains

‘They should have a feel of the wilderness about them’.¹⁶¹

This sentence in the *Craft of Gardens* revealed the principle of this new trend of rockwork-making. Artificial mountains were created capable of being walked in and making visitors feel as if they were walking on a real mountain. In order to achieve this goal, new styles of structure and materials were suggested, which were very different from the earlier trend.

In the limited records about Zhang Lian and his works, his recommended rockwork style was described as ‘level hillocks and gentle slopes, mounds and hummocks ... tamping earth between shuttering, [so that] they can be set with rocks placed crisscross among them’.¹⁶² One of the paintings of the Suburbs Garden (*Jiao yuan* 郊园) illustrated the rockwork which was constructed by Zhang Lian.¹⁶³ As shown in Figure 2-9, there was a series of earth mountains with some rocks placed at their foot and beside the stream; it conforms to the description of ‘level hillocks and gentle slopes’. Although Zhang Lian did not write these texts or produce the painting, it is very likely that these sources recorded the common style of seventeenth century rockwork. Ji Cheng and Li Yu also suggested constructing an earth mountain as the foundation of rockwork, which would be able to follow the natural undulations of the land or be integrated into real mountains, and avoid obvious traces of artificiality.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, pp.104, 111; Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi, pp. 206, 221.

¹⁶¹ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p.111; Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi, p.221.

¹⁶² Wu Weiye, ‘The Biography of Zhang Nanyuan’, trans. by Alison Hardie, pp. 137-140(p.138).

¹⁶³ James Cahill, Huang Xiao, and Liu Shanshan, *Garden Paintings in Old China*, p.224.

¹⁶⁴ Zheng Yuanxun 郑元勋 (1603-1644), ‘Yingyuan ziji 影园自记[A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflections]’, trans. by Duncan M. Campbell, in ‘Zheng Yuanxun’s “A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflections”’, in *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, vol.29, 4(2009), pp.270-281(p.276); Zheng Yuanxun 郑元勋 (1603-1644), ‘Yingyuan ziji 影园自记[A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflections]’, in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.39-43(p.41); Li Yu, *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*, annotated by Du Shuying, p.208.



Figure 2-9. Painting of 'Xue zhai 雪斋 [Snowy Studio]', in Shen Shichong 沈士充 (ca. late 16th to 17th century), 'Jiaoyuan shi'er jing yuan 郊园十二景图 [Album of Twelve Paintings of Suburbs Garden]', 1625. (Source: James Cahill, Huang Xiao, and Liu Shanshan, *Garden Paintings in Old China*, p.222-223.)

For the structure of rockwork, Ji Cheng and Wen Zhenheng recommended allocating features and structures appropriate for different sites;¹⁶⁵ the previous trend of creating the same 'xiadong shangtai' structure for all rockwork did not continue in this period. In the *Craft of Gardens*, Ji Cheng described the way to choose and understand the site in detail, and introduced various types of features that could be included in rockwork, as well as the basic construction techniques required. Various types of rockwork were categorised based on their locations, such as *Ting shan* 厅山 [mountains in courtyards], *Chi shan* 池山 [mountains beside ponds], *Ge shan* 阁山 [mountains beside belvederes]; an existing example of *Ge shan* is discussed later, in Chapter Six. Features he introduced include ponds, peaks, caves, torrents, waterfalls, and so on. For ponds, both Ji and Wen emphasised making a rocky revetment with rustic rocks, and avoiding the creation of ponds in geometric shapes such as squares, circles and octagons (Fig. 2.7 shows a squared pond of the sixteenth century). Ji Cheng also documented a practical way of constructing caves. He suggested first constructing several pillars with rocks, then building the rest as though constructing cliffs and, finally, using longer rocks to make the ceiling. With this method, caves of rocks could be made as firm as earlier ones which relied on the support of

¹⁶⁵ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. by Alison Hardie, pp.104-106; Wen Zhenheng, *The Annotated Treatise on Superfluous Things*, annotated by Chen Zhi, p.102.

brick walls. It is possibly from this period that progressively fewer brick walls were used to help construct caves inside rockwork; most existing rockwork contains rock caves.

Rockworks in this period were constructed with improved new methods for creating features, such as ponds with winding edges and rocky revetments, and rockwork with rock caves; fewer fixed structures and arrangements were implemented, such '*xiadong shangtai*' and the display of individual rocks in a row. Thus, rockwork in this period was considered as having fewer traces of artificiality. One of Ji Cheng's clients, Zheng Yuanxun 郑元勋 (1604-1645), satisfied with Ji's work on Zheng's Garden of Reflections (*Ying yuan* 影园), commented with some exaggeration that his rockwork gave 'no visible sign of the effort of man.'¹⁶⁶

2.6.3 Representative examples created by the followers of this trend

The trend initiated by Ji and Wen was first followed and spread by their successors from the early seventeenth century onwards. Zhang Lian left his business to his four sons and other descendants.¹⁶⁷ Two of them, Zhang Xiong 张熊 (1618-?) and Zhang Ran 张然 (?-1699), were engaged in a large number of projects and later also became well-known rockwork craftsmen in the Jiangnan area and Beijing respectively.¹⁶⁸ Zhang Lian's nephew, Zhang Shi 张弼 (ca. 17th century), was also a rockwork artisan. Their works were frequently compared with Zhang Lian's, and were considered as having successfully inherited his style and techniques.¹⁶⁹ The 'Bayin Ravine (*Bayin jian* 八音涧)' in the Jichang Garden, Wuxi, is an existing rockwork constructed by Zhang Shi. It is based on an artificial earth mountain which has gentle slopes, and it is known for the rocky and deep ravine that cut the earth mountain into two parts; this arrangement is similar to the mountain torrents (*jian* 涧) and meanders (*qushui* 曲水) introduced in the *Craft of Gardens* (Fig. 2-10). Ji Cheng tells us he also intended to pass all his techniques to the next

¹⁶⁶ Zheng Yuanxun, 'A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflections', trans. by Duncan M. Campbell, pp.270-281(p.276); Zheng Yuanxun, 'A Personal Record of My Garden of Reflections', annotated by Zhao Houjun, pp.39-43 (p.41).

¹⁶⁷ Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲 (1610-1695), 'Zhang Nanyuan zhuan 张南垣传 [The Biography of Zhang Nanyuan]', in *Zhejiang Lu* 哲匠录 [Catalogue of Skilful Craftsmen], ed. by Yang Yongsheng 杨永生 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2005), p.333.

¹⁶⁸ Zhang Xiong 张熊, was styled as Shuxiang 叔祥; Zhang Ran 张然, was styled as Tao'an 陶庵; Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Zaoyuan dashi zhang nanyuan(yi)-jinian zhang nanyuan dansheng sibai zhounian 造园大师张南垣(一)—纪念张南垣诞生四百周年 [The Master of Garden Design Zhang Nanyuan – Commemorating the 400th Birthday Anniversary of Zhang Nanyuan (1)]', in *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 [Journal of Chinese Landscape Architecture], 1(1988), pp.21-26 (p.26).

¹⁶⁹ Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Zhuizong zhang xiong, xunzhao zhangshi zhi shan 追踪张熊, 寻找张氏之山 [Tracing Zhang Xiong, Looking for the Mountains of Zhang Family]', in *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], 5(2007), pp.96-103.

generation by writing the *Craft of Gardens*, but no further records were found showing that his sons succeeded him in the profession of making gardens and rockwork.¹⁷⁰



Figure 2-10. Rocky part of the Bayin Ravine in the Jichang Garden, constructed by Zhang Shi 张弼. (Source: author, 2013.)

¹⁷⁰ Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p. 121.

The trend was not only led by figures like Ji Cheng and Zhang Lian, and followed by their descendants, but also spread widely and influenced other garden designers and owners. Contemporaneous rockwork in both private gardens (those belonging to commoners) and imperial gardens presented characteristics of this trend.

An early eighteenth century painting, the 'Painting of East Garden', depicted a garden with various types of rockwork, all of which conformed to those advocated by Zhang Lian and Ji Cheng. The painting was created by the artist Yuan Jiang 袁江 (ca. 1671-1746) in 1710, one year after the completion of the garden. It was commissioned for presentation to Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711), who had been asked to write a record of the garden.¹⁷¹ As he was too old to visit it in person, the owner commissioned this painting with the expectation that it would depict the garden realistically.¹⁷² In fact, of course, he may also have wanted the garden's scenery to be shown in the best possible light. Whether the picture shows the authentic garden or not, the painting itself presents the artist's understanding of contemporaneous gardens and rockwork, which also satisfied the owner. According to the painting, the whole garden was divided into two sections separated by a stream: the residential part with the building complex on the right side of the painting, and the garden part on the left. As shown in Figure 2-11, the residential part included some small rockwork: stepping rocks and individual rocks beside plants, which were not displayed erect or in a row. The garden part on the left was dominated by artificial mountains: earth mountains were the basis, and rustic rocks were used to form rocky revetments and cliffs randomly placed among groves with no pointed peaks (Fig. 2-12). This was very similar to Zhang Lian's work with 'level hillocks and gentle slopes'.

¹⁷¹ This Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711) is differed from earlier Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), the owner of the Yanshan Garden.

¹⁷² David Ake Sensabaugh, 'A Few Rocks Can Stir the Emotions: Chinese Gardens and Scholars', in *Orientalisms*, vol.31, 1(2000), pp.32-39 (p. 34).

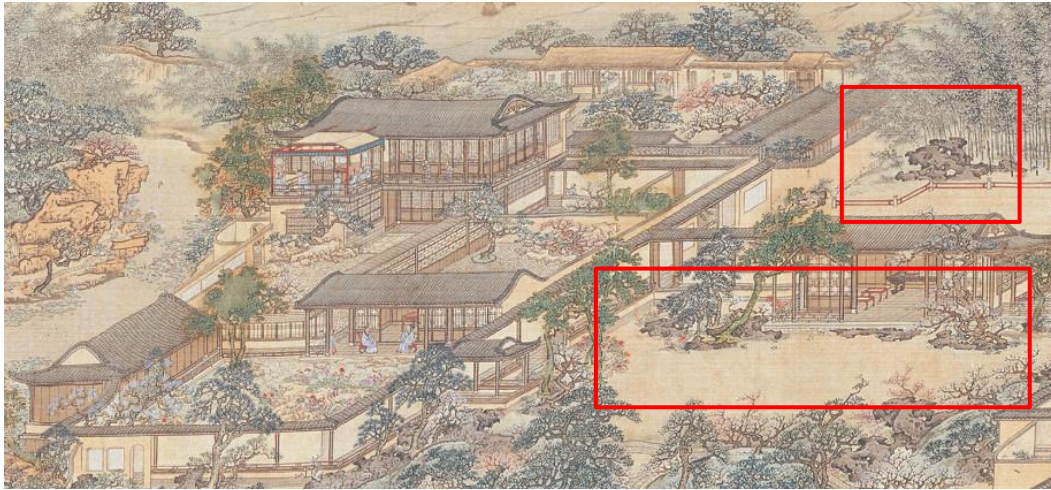


Figure 2-11. Residential part of the East Garden, in Yuan Jiang 袁江 (ca. 1671-1746), 'Dongyuan tu 东园图 [Painting of East Garden]' (part), 1710. (Source: Shanghai Museum.)



Figure 2-12: Garden part of the East Garden, in Yuan Jiang, 'Painting of East Garden', 1710. (Source: Shanghai Museum.)

Although very different from gardens belonging to private individuals, the imperial garden Garden of Perfect Brightness (*Yuan ming yuan* 圆明园, hereafter Yuan Ming Yuan), also contained many rockworks of this style in the eighteenth century; erect peaks had probably come to be appreciated again, at least by the Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799). Originally established in 1707 by the Kangxi Emperor 康熙帝 (1662-1722), the garden continued to be developed by later emperors, it was a large complex of more than 800 acres. Due to its being ransacked and burnt down during the Second Opium War (1856-1860), its ruins today can scarcely reveal its original appearance and features; but the painting album ‘Yuan ming yuan sishi jing 圆明园四十景 [The Forty Scenes of Yuan Ming Yuan]’ commissioned in 1744 by the Qianlong Emperor provides some information about this garden before Qianlong adding new complexes and gardens within it. According to the paintings and the existing ruins, the garden was dominated by continuous earth mountains and watercourses. Rocks were utilised for the construction of various types of smaller features. Some were used to form key features, such as the torrent in the scene ‘Sitting on Rocks Overlooking the Stream (*Zuoshi linliu* 坐石临流)’. The relevant painting shows some pointed and erectly displayed rocks along the stream, with earth mountains in the background (Fig. 2-13); Qianlong’s poem also describes ‘bizarre rocks standing in rows as firm rocks or stepping stones, as [an] islet or revetment.’¹⁷³ Yet it is currently unknown if they were actually bizarre rocks and displayed in a row, as the painting and the poem might only express Qianlong’s preference for displaying individual rocks. In the painting of other scenes, small rocks were used for the revetment, flat ones were used as stepping rocks, and larger ones were displayed erect at focal points, such as on the side of a bridge or around a pavilion, as shown in Figure 2-14.

¹⁷³ See the original sentence ‘奇石峭列，为坻为碕，为屿为奥’，in Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799), ‘Zuoshi linliu 坐石临流 [Poem on Sitting on Rocks Overlooking the Stream]’, in ‘Yuan Ming Yuan sishijing tuyong 圆明园四十景图咏 [Poems of Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan]’, ed. by Wangzhi Lishi 汪之力识, in *Yuan Ming Yuan xuekan* 《圆明园》学刊 [Academic Journal of Yuan Ming Yuan], 2(1982), pp.74-155(p.151).



Figure 2-13. The Orchid Pavilion and rockwork depicted in the scene 'Zuoshi linliu 坐石临流 [Sitting on Rocks Overlooking the Stream]', in Shen Yuan 沈源 (1763-1795), and Tang Dai 唐岱 (1673-?), 'Yuan ming yuan sishi jing 圆明园四十景 [The Forty Scenes of Yuan Ming Yuan]', 1744. (Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures, <http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/garden_perfect_brightness/gallery/pages/ymy1038_Zuoshi.htm> [accessed 22 July 2016])



Figure 2-14. The scene of 'Duoja ruyun 多稼如云 [Crops as Beautiful as the Clouds]', in Shen Yuan 沈源 (1763-1795), and Tang Dai 唐岱 (1673-?), 'Yuan ming yuan sishi jing 圆明园四十景 [The Forty Scenes of Yuan Ming Yuan]', 1744. (Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures, <http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/garden_perfect_brightness/gallery/pages/ymy1024_Duoja.htm> [accessed 22 July 2016].)

2.7 Southern inspection tours and their influences: the middle and late Qing Dynasty (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the construction and number of gardens dramatically increased in the areas along the Grand Canal. It was affected by the *Nanxun* 南巡 tours of the emperors; these were inspection tours to the south, starting from the capital and going all the way to the Jiangnan area via the Grand Canal. The inspection tours had various purposes: politically, the tours were intended to resolve issues of tax relief and water conservancy, and to project imperial power and consolidate Qing control of Jiangnan; the emperors also claimed to be acting out of filial piety by taking their mothers on tour. Both the Kangxi Emperor and the Qianlong Emperor had six southern inspection tours. During the reign of Kangxi, new travel lodges (*xinggong* 行宮) and some other complexes were constructed, but the inspection tours of Qianlong had greater influence on garden culture and rockwork-making, with a larger scale of construction taking place.¹⁷⁴

These gardens were mainly created by merchants and officials, who tried to flatter the emperor and win his favour. As many of them were rich and able to afford the pursuit of a luxurious life, expensive materials and features were included in their gardens. In terms of rockwork, the proportion of rocks was much higher than in the earlier trend. The previously preferred form of ‘level hillocks and gentle slopes’ was not pursued in this period; intricate structure, with more garden features and a larger proportion of rocks, became the main characteristic of rockwork. After visiting the south, Qianlong created many Jiangnan style gardens in his massive imperial gardens in the north, which were modelled on selected well-known gardens in Jiangnan. Reproduced gardens and garden features formed a significant and noticeable part of garden- and rockwork-making in this period.

2.7.1 Rockwork and gardens created for the reception of royal visits

Many contemporaneous records mention the wave of construction and decoration of local buildings and the environment to prepare for a royal visit. For example, imperial records note that ‘at all the gaps between houses, [local merchants and officials] built fake rockwork with

¹⁷⁴ Lucie B. Olivová, ‘Building History and the Preservation of Yangzhou’, in *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. by Lucie B. Olivová, and Vibeke Børdaahl (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2009), pp.3-36 (p.9).

mats, and painted and decorated poor buildings'.¹⁷⁵ The eighteenth-century novel *Shitou ji* 石头记 [The Story of the Stone; also known as *Honglou meng* 红楼梦], also described the situation when a family prepared to receive an imperial consort: 'The way they spent silver on that visit [to receive the Emperor on one of his visits in the Suzhou area], why, it was like pouring out salt sea water!'¹⁷⁶ Admittedly, imperial records may have exaggerated the facts, and descriptions in novels were artistically created to tell the story. Nevertheless, these sources reflect the grandiose preparations during the tours. Yangzhou, the city where wealthy salt merchants gathered, can be taken as an example. According to Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), a scholar-official of the Qianlong reign, the area along the *Baozhang He* 保障河 [Baozhang River] (today's Slender West Lake) in Yangzhou used to be a narrow river with only a few pavilions and dense plants beside it; this area was decorated and developed after Qianlong's first visit to Yangzhou, and a series of new gardens was constructed along the banks thereafter.¹⁷⁷ Figure 2-15 is a schematic map of Baozhang River from 1765, after the fourth inspection tour; it shows that a large number of gardens existed along the river by then.

Although the Qianlong Emperor commanded the locals in Jiangnan to continue their normal work and avoid a flattering atmosphere during the first southern tour in 1751,¹⁷⁸ he was pleased by those 'Potemkin Villages' and the luxurious life in the new gardens. According to the official records of Qianlong's southern tours, many locals were given grants and rewarded, including garden owners and officials who provided accommodation, citizens who came to welcome the royal household, the boat trackers and so on.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Cao Zhenyong 曹振鏞 (1755-1835), Dai Yunyuan 戴均元 (1546-1840), Yinghe 英和 (1771-1840), Wang Tingzhen 汪廷珍 (1757-1827), *Daqing renzongrui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* 大清仁宗睿 (嘉庆) 皇帝实录 [Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) Emperor of the Qing Dynasty], 8 vols. (Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1990), VI, p.3121.

¹⁷⁶ Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (ca.1715-1763), *Shitou ji* 石头记 [The Story of the Stone], trans. by David Hawkes, V (Bungay: Penguin Books, 1973), I, p.314.

¹⁷⁷ Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), 'Yangzhou huafang lu xu 扬州画舫录序 [Foreword to Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou]', in Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou] (1795), annotated by Zhou Guangpei 周光培 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guangling guji keyinshe, 1984), p.4.

¹⁷⁸ Zhao Erxun 赵尔巽 (1844-1927) and Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞 (1850-1933), *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 [Draft History of Qing] (Taipei: Hongshi chubanshe, 1981), p.410.

¹⁷⁹ Gao Jin 高晋 (?-1779), *Qinding nanxun shengdian* 钦定南巡盛典 [Imperial Records of Southern Imperial Tours] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol.69-73.

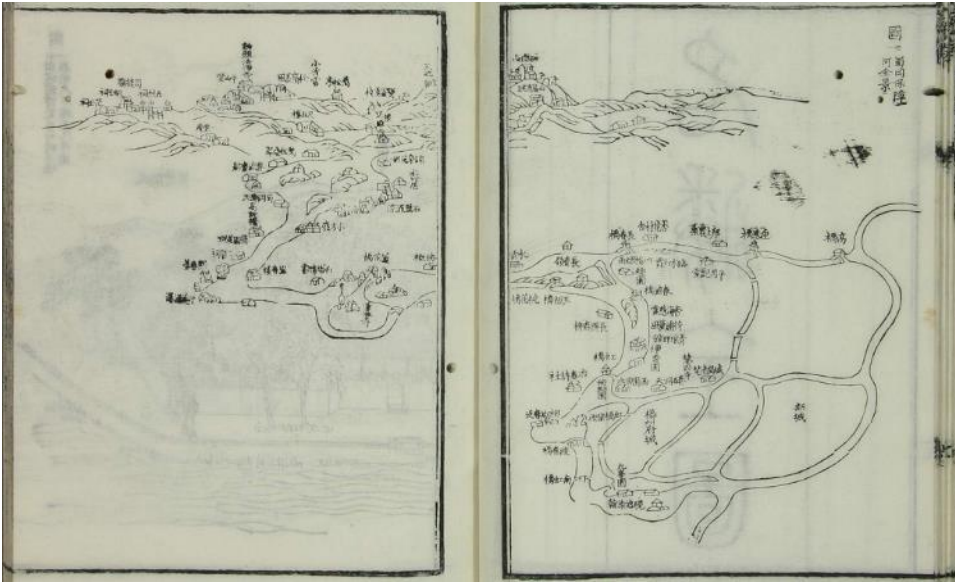


Figure 2-15. Map of gardens along the Baozhang River in Yangzhou, 1765. (Source: Zhao Zhibi 赵之璧 (ca. 18th century), *Pingshan tang tuzhi* 平山堂图志 [Records of Level Mountain Hall], ed. by Du Jiexiang 杜洁祥 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980), pp.46-47.)

The large scale construction of gardens also affected the development of rockwork. The change in the style of rockwork may have had a close relationship with the aim of flattering the emperor and demonstrating the region's booming economy. Compared with the trend led by Zhang Lian and Ji Cheng, the new trend shows more intricate structures and large portions of rocks containing many caves and holes that became a fashionable feature, increasing the complexity of the structure and texture of rockwork. According to contemporaneous descriptions of Yangzhou gardens, which were relatively more comprehensive and detailed, many of their rockworks had these characteristics.¹⁸⁰ One of these gardens was known for the 'best rockwork among suburban gardens'.¹⁸¹ It was named *Juanshi dongtian* 卷石洞天 after its main rockwork, which literally means 'cave heaven made of rocks'.¹⁸² In some sources, the first two characters are written as *Quanshi* 拳石, which means fist-sized rocks.¹⁸³ According to the late eighteenth century book *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou], the

¹⁸⁰ Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou] (1795), annotated by Zhou Guangpei 周光培 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guangling guji keyinshe, 1984); Zhao Zhibi 赵之璧 (ca. 18th century), *Pingshan tang tuzhi* 平山堂图志 [Records of Level Mountain Hall], ed. by Du Jiexiang 杜洁祥 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980).

¹⁸¹ Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.137.

¹⁸² Ibid, p.137; Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.143.

¹⁸³ Chang Jianhua 常建华, 'Shengqing Yangzhou de chengshi shenghuo yi Yangzhou huafang lu wei zhongxin 盛清扬州的城市生活—以扬州画舫录为中心 [Urban Life in Yangzhou during the High Qing – with Focus on the Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou]', in *Shengqing shehui yu Yangzhou yanjiu* 盛清社会与扬州研究 [Studies on the Society of High Qing and Yangzhou], ed. by Feng Mingzhu 冯明珠 (Taipei: yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2011), pp.227-259 (p.254).

rockwork was constructed by a craftsman called Monk Dong 董道士. Described as ‘empty in the middle and bizarre on the outside’, the rockwork may possibly have contained at least one cave, matching its name, and it had many bizarre rocks on its surface: the bizarre and hollowed Taihu Rocks made the whole rockwork look to the author like beehives and ant-nests.¹⁸⁴ As well as there being a cave in the middle, bridges, ponds, pavilions, stone terrace and stone screens were associated with, and located on or beside, the rockwork. The author also described the rockwork Juanshi Dongtian as containing nine peaks, each resembling a lion; it was therefore also referred to as the Mountain of Nine Lions (*Jiushi shan* 九狮山). Although the association with lions might be in the author’s imagination, there were a number of contemporaneous rockworks in Jiangnan resembling lions with the same name, including the Mountain of Nine Lions in Jichang Garden in Wuxi, and the one in Little Pangu Garden (*Xiao pangu* 小盘谷) in Yangzhou. Animal-like rockwork was also widely constructed in the gardens of nineteenth century Guangdong. Juanshi Dongtian was also recorded in other books, such as *Pingshan tang tuzhi* 平山堂图志 [Records of Level Mountain Hall], written and edited by the official Zhao Zhibi 赵之璧 (ca.18th century) who served on Qianlong’s southern inspection tours.¹⁸⁵ Although the description in this book is more concise, the information about each element and rockwork conforms to that in *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*. The rock mountain and individually displayed rocks were also described as bizarre and grotesque, and the former contained various features. However, the numbers of caves and holes were not emphasised.

Garden culture thrived in the Jiangnan region during the inspection tours. When the inspection tours ended, many suburban gardens were neglected due to the cessation of the imperial visits, such as those in the Baozhang River area: ‘buildings fell down and flowers and trees withered’, according to Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), who visited it in 1803 and 1819.¹⁸⁶

Even though gardens prepared and constructed for the inspection tours were abandoned, gardens in the cities of Jiangnan were still developing. Also, the style of rockwork did not show many differences from before. Ge Garden (*Ge yuan* 个园) in Yangzhou is one of the gardens established in this period, which still exists today. Its rockwork has the distinct characteristics of

¹⁸⁴ See the original sentence ‘中空外奇’ and ‘蜂房相比，蚁穴湧起’, in Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.137.

¹⁸⁵ Zhao Zhibi, *Records of Level Mountain Hall*, p.223.

¹⁸⁶ See the original sentence ‘楼台倾毁，花木彫零’, in Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), ‘Yangzhou huafang lu ba 扬州画舫录跋 [Postscript to Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou]’, in Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou] (1795), annotated by Zhou Guangpei 周光培 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guangling guji keyinshe, 1984), p.7.

this period. As Figure 2-15 shows, rockwork mainly made of rocks is the main element in it. It was established in 1818 by the leader of the salt merchants in northern Jiangsu province, Huang Zhiyun 黄至筠 (1770-1838).¹⁸⁷ Its best-known feature was its four-seasons-themed rockwork: each element was made of a certain type of rock, which was chosen for its texture and colour; together with selected plants, each rockwork formed a scene that represented one season. Mt. Spring is formed with several pointed Bamboo Shoot Rocks displayed among a bamboo grove; the other three are rock mountains. Mt. Summer and Mt. Autumn contain many features, such as caves with various entrances and footpaths, cliffs, bridges above water and in the air, pavilions, platforms, stone tables and desks and stone stairs (Fig. 2-16). Another important characteristic they possess is the large number of holes found in the rockwork: on Mt. Summer, for example, some were the original texture of the Taihu Rocks, and some were artificially created by leaving large gaps between rocks (Fig.2-18).

Artificially creating these holes in the rockwork may be related to limitations in the materials: possibly smaller pieces of Taihu Rocks with fewer holes could be obtained and available for construction. In the case of Ge Garden, Yangzhou, the city in which the garden is located, is neither beside the Taihu Lake nor close to other sources of rocks, so the use of Taihu Rocks in Yangzhou gardens was restricted. Another important reason may have been the reduced production of Taihu Rocks. Much of the historic rockwork in existing late Qing gardens was made of relatively smaller rocks; not only those in Yangzhou, but even examples in the areas surrounding Lake Taihu, such as Suzhou, contained small rocks. For example, rocks used in the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (*Huanxiu shanzhuang* 环秀山庄), created in the early nineteenth century, were also small, and the holes were formed by the connection and arrangement of rocks; the techniques used in this rockwork are discussed later.

¹⁸⁷ Pan Guxi 潘谷西, *Jiangnan lijing yishu* 江南理景艺术 [The Art of Landscaping in Jiangnan] (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2011), p.149.

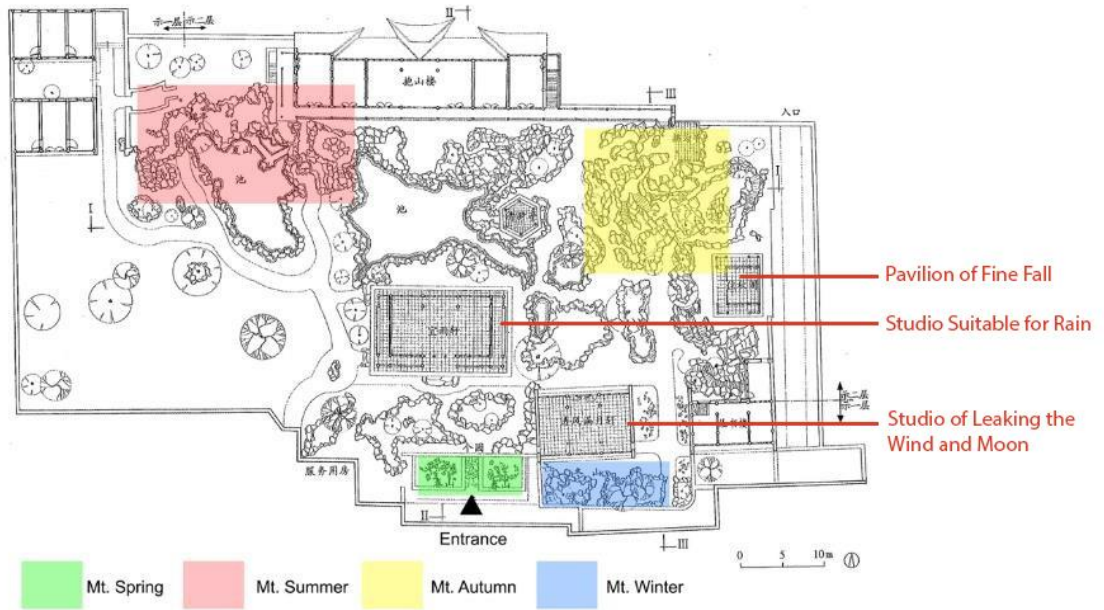


Figure 2-16. Survey map of Ge Garden. The location of each rockwork and the main buildings is marked. (Source: Pan Guxi 潘谷西, *Jiangnan lijing yishu* 江南理景艺术 [The Art of Landscaping in Jiangnan] (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2011), p.151.)



Figure 2-17. Mt. Summer (left) and Mt. Autumn (right) in the Ge Garden. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 2-18. The Mt. Summer in the Ge Garden; the holes that the craftsmen created between rocks looked artificial and like frames. (Source: author, 2013.)

With rapid development since the mid-eighteenth century, building techniques also improved. An influential and skilful craftsman appeared in this period. Ge Yuliang 戈裕良 (1764-1830), who came from Changzhou 常州 in Jiangnan, was considered to be one of the most significant artisans of the Qing Dynasty.¹⁸⁸ He was known for creating natural-looking rockwork with his own technique, the 'Hook and Connect Method (*Goudai fa* 钩带法)'. This was a way of constructing the ceilings and arches for caves. Where earlier craftsmen had used slabs of stone to make cave ceilings, he would 'make an arched structure with many rocks, just like the way of constructing an arch bridge, then [the cave] could last for thousands of years, and be as natural as caves in real mountains'.¹⁸⁹ For him, to imitate the arrangement of rocks in real mountains and reduce the traces of artificiality was the approach to creating natural-looking rockwork. His existing works in Swallow Garden (*Yan yuan* 燕园) and Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (*Huanxiu shanzhuang* 环秀山庄) reveal the result of the 'Hook and Connect Method': rocks pushed against each other to keep their balance. Figures 2-19 and 2-20 show the different results of Ge's work with the 'Hook and Connect Method' compared to the common method of other contemporaneous craftsmen. Another of his methods that I explored is his way of creating holes. Since aesthetic standards had not changed much, rockwork holes were still expected by garden owners. Thus, Ge Yuliang's work in Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty also has a surface with holes. However, compared with the 'leaking' holes in Mt. Summer, which look like window frames, the holes in this garden's rockwork were formed by sunken rocks and their shadows (Figs. 2-18 and 2-21).

¹⁸⁸ Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Ge yuliang zhuan kaolun-ge yuliang yu woguo gudai yuanlin dieshan yishu de zhongjie(shang) 戈裕良传考论-戈裕良与我国古代园林叠山艺术的终结(上) [Studies on the Biographies of Ge Yuliang-Ge Yuliang and the End of Historical Rockwork in Chinese Gardens (I)]', in *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], 4(2004), pp.98-104(p.98).

¹⁸⁹ See the original sentence '只能将大小石钩带联络, 如造环桥法, 可以千年不坏, 要如真山洞壑一般, in Qian Yong 钱泳 (1759-1844), *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from the Lü Garden] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju,1979), p.330.



Figure 2-19. The 'Hook and Connect Method' that Ge Yuliang applied in the caves of Mountain Villa and the Swallow Valley. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 2-20. The rockwork in the Pan Gu Garden (*Xiao pangu* 小盘谷), Yangzhou. The ceiling was made of linear stones. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 2-21. Rockwork in the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty, which contained many natural looking holes. (Source: author, 2013.)

2.7.2 Recreation of Jiangnan gardens in imperial gardens

A direct impact of the imperial inspection tours was the reproduction of the famed Jiangnan gardens. Between 1751 and 1784, Qianlong travelled on six inspection tours to the south, during which he visited many scenic spots and numerous gardens; nearly half of the poems that he created during the tours were about natural scenery and gardens.¹⁹⁰ Impressed by these gardens, Qianlong ordered the re-creation of some of his favourite Jiangnan gardens in his own gardens in Beijing. In doing so he followed a tradition: his predecessors the Kangxi Emperor and the Yongzheng Emperor 雍正帝 (1678-1735), had already named certain sections in their gardens after famous scenic sites in Jiangnan.¹⁹¹ Qianlong was particularly interested in gardens; thus, in total at least 47 gardens were constructed modelled on Jiangnan gardens, including the re-creation of whole gardens and individual building complexes, and the display of representative Jiangnan rocks and rockwork.

¹⁹⁰ Zhao Bingzheng 赵丙政, 'Qianlong·shanshui shi·yuanlin 乾隆·山水诗·园林 [Qianlong Emperor, Landscape Poetry and Garden of China]', (Unpublished masters dissertation, Tianjin University, 2011), p.9.

¹⁹¹ Chen Baozhen 陈葆真, 'Kangxi he qianlong erdi de nanxun jiqi dui jiangnan mingsheng he yuanlin de huizhi yu fangjian 康熙和乾隆二帝的南巡及其对江南名胜和园林的绘制与仿建 [The South Inspection Tours of the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors and the Painting of Jiangnan Sites and the Imitation of Jiangnan Gardens]', in *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宫学术季刊 [The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly], vol.32, 3(2015), pp.1-62 (p.19).

There were three main reasons for reproducing Jiangnan gardens. First of all, re-creating Jiangnan gardens in the imperial residences was a way of manifesting the emperor's power. Creating buildings and gardens from different areas was a way to declare his sovereignty; as a Manchu ruler, he aimed to cultivate and control the 'five peoples' (the five main ethnic groups within the country at that time).¹⁹² Secondly, re-creating Jiangnan gardens would remind Qianlong of the southern region and the Han people; he directly expressed this feeling in several poems, such as those he created for the reproduced Lion Grove and Garden of Little Heaven (*Xiaoyoutian yuan* 小有天园).¹⁹³ Qianlong's personal interest in renowned Jiangnan gardens was the third reason. For example, he visited the original Lion Grove on six occasions and created two reproductions of it in different imperial gardens, while the garden Thousand Chi of Snow (*Qianchi xue* 千尺雪)¹⁹⁴ was reproduced three times.

In order to successfully reproduce Qianlong's favoured gardens, drawings and even models of the prototypes were commanded to be made and brought back to the capital.¹⁹⁵ For rockwork in particular, the Qianlong Emperor employed craftsmen from Jiangnan; according to himself, this was to ensure the rockwork was constructed using the same techniques.¹⁹⁶ He brought back not only craftsmen, but also rocks from Jiangnan. Unlike Emperor Huizong of Song, who transported a huge number of rocks to build Genyue, Qianlong took back only a small number of rocks for individual display. For instance, the Blue Lotus Rock (*Qinglian duo* 青莲朵) currently displayed in Beijing's Zhongshan Park (*Zhongshan gongyuan* 中山公园) came from Hangzhou, during his first trip to the south in 1751 (Fig. 2-22).

¹⁹² James A Millward, *New Qing Imperial History* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), p.19.

¹⁹³ Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝(1711-1799), 'Qingbi ge 清闈阁 [Qingbi Chamber]', in 'Ti wenyuan shizilin shiliujing youxu 题文园狮子林十六景有序 [Poems of Sixteen Scenes in Wenyuan Lion Grove with Preface]' (1774), in *Qing gaozong yuzhi shiwen quanji* 清高宗御制诗文集 [Imperial Poems and Essays of Qing Gaozong], 10 vols. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1976), VII, p.33; Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799), 'Record of the Garden of Little Heaven within the Garden of Eternal Spring', trans. by Hui Zou, in *A Jesuit Garden in Beijing and Early Modern Chinese Culture* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011), p.41.

¹⁹⁴ In the Qing Dynasty, one *chi* equalled about 32 centimetres, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, p.555-556.

¹⁹⁵ See imperial edict that was commanded on 23rd April 1771, in *Yuan Ming Yuan* 圆明园, ed. by The First Historical Archives of China, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), II, p.1504.

¹⁹⁶ Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799), 'Jiashan 假山 [Artificial Mountain]', in 'Yuzhi shizilin bajing shi 御制狮子林八景诗 [Poems of Eight Scenes of Lion Grove]' (1722), in Yu Minzhong 于敏中 (1714-1780), *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考 [Collection of Chronicles of the Capital], 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983), III, p.1387.



Figure 2-22. The Blue Lotus Stone (*Qinglian duo* 青莲朵) in Zhongshan Park, Beijing. (Source: author, 2014.)

Although most of the reproduced gardens have been destroyed or severely damaged, their remains and historical sources reveal that many replicas did not entirely follow the original designs.¹⁹⁷ Some gardens and rockwork were found to be very different from their prototypes in terms of layout and shape, such as the Garden of Harmonious Pleasure (*Xiequ yuan* 谐趣园) in the Summer Palace compared to its prototype Jichang Garden in Wuxi; some replicas of the same garden were also found to be different from each other, such as the reproduced Lion Grove in Yuan Ming Yuan and in the Imperial Mountain Resort of Chengde (*Chengde bishu shanzhuang* 承德避暑山庄). Figures 2-23 and 2-24 are plans of these gardens, created based on archaeological findings and on historic models by the imperial architects, the Lei Family (*Yangshi lei* 样式雷).¹⁹⁸ In these two plans, the series of rockwork on the east side clearly have

¹⁹⁷ Li Yang 李阳, Li Xiong 李雄, Sun Hao 孙昊, 'Wenyuan shizilin de fang yu chuang 文园狮子林的“仿”与“创”[The Imitation and Innovation of Wen Yuan Lion Grove]', in *Fengjing yuanlin* 风景园林 [Landscape Architecture], 3(2014), pp.103-106; Jia Jun 贾珺, 'Qianlongdi xuejing xingle tu yu changchunyuan shizilin xukao 《乾隆帝雪景行乐图》与长春园狮子林续考 [Further Exploration into Lion Grove in Garden of Eternal Spring and the Painting of Qianlong Emperor in Snowscape]', in *Zhuangshi* 装饰 [Chinese Journal of Design], 3(2013), pp.52-57.

¹⁹⁸ The Lei Family, also known as Yangshi Lei 样式雷, was taking charge of the imperial building office during the Qing dynasty. Their job included design, construction, survey, modelling and mapping.

disparate layouts, as do the ponds and footpaths among them, although but the number and location of buildings in the garden part are nearly the same.

By exploring Qianlong's poems, some clues can be found to explain these differences. In his poem on the reproduced Garden of Little Heaven, he wrote: '[one] should not imitate the rich forms and utmost prettiness, but emulate only the *yi* [spirit and intention].'¹⁹⁹ For him, the '*yi*' was most important, that is to say the spirit of the garden or the intention of its design. The spirit or intention of the original gardens and rockwork was presented in replicas in various ways: the original design would be followed by applying the same techniques, by recreating key features, and by imitating the surroundings. For example, when reproducing the Thousand Chi of Snow on three occasions, his essay indicates that he was trying to reproduce a garden with a waterfall, old pine trees, quaint rocks and the sense of the wild and natural. The prototype was a scene in Han Shan Villa (*Hanshan bieye* 寒山别业), a private garden in Suzhou that was originally established in the Ming Dynasty; it was known for the waterfall on the rockwork. Qianlong believed its key features, like the waterfall, old pine trees, etc, formed the *yi* that he was pursuing.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799), 'Xiaoyoutian yuanji 小有天园记 [Record of the Garden of Little Heaven]', in *Qing Gaozong yuzhi shiwen quanji* 清高宗御制诗文全集 [Imperial Poems and Essays of Qing Gaozong], 10 vols. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1976), I, p.4.

²⁰⁰ Qianlong Emperor 乾隆帝 (1711-1799), 'Panshan qianchixue ji 盘山千尺雪记 [Record of the Thousand Chi of Snow in Panshan Palace]', in Yu Minzhong 于敏中 (1714-1780), *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考 [Collection of Chronicles of the Capital], 4 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983), III, pp. 1903-1904.

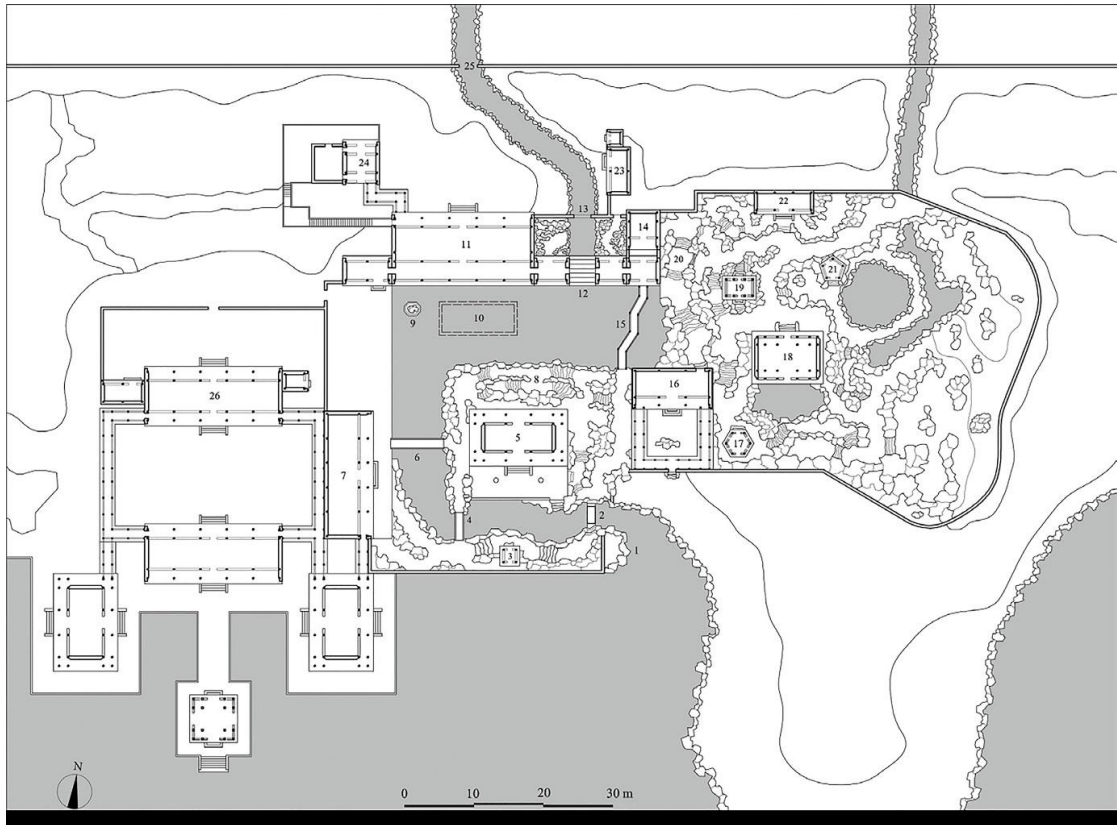


Figure 2-23. A plan of Shizi Lin in Yuan Ming Yuan based on the model by Yangshi Lei. (Source: Jia Jun 贾琨, 'Qianlongdi xuejing xingle tu yu changchunyuan shizilin xukao 《乾隆帝雪景行乐图》与长春园狮子林续考 [Further Exploration into Lion Grove in Garden of Eternal Spring and the Painting of Qianlong Emperor in Snowscape]', in *Zhuangshi 装饰* [Chinese Journal of Design], 3(2013), pp.52-57 (p.52).)

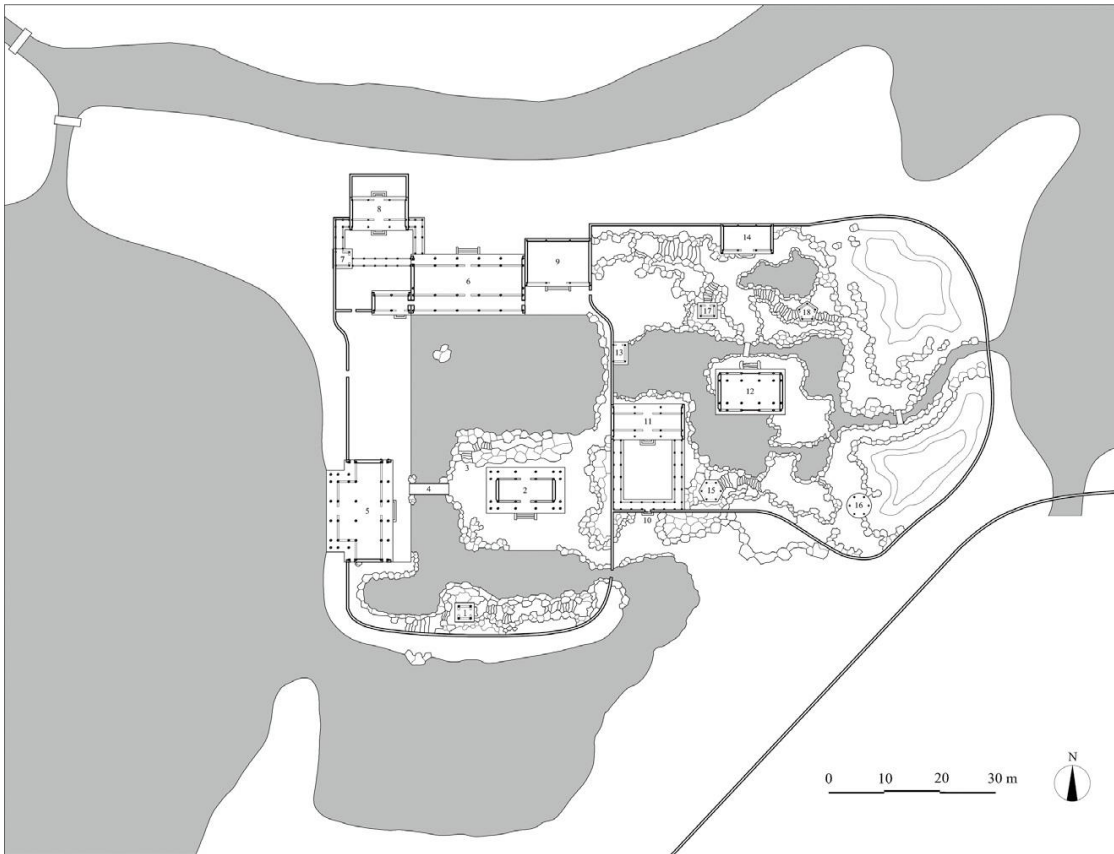


Figure 2-24. A plan of Shizi Lin in Imperial Mountain Resort of Chengde based on the survey of remains and the model by Yangshi Lei. (Source: Jia Jun, 'Further Exploration into Lion Grove in Garden of Eternal Spring and the Painting of Qianlong Emperor in Snowscape', in *Chinese Journal of Design*, 3(2013), pp.52-57 (p.55).)

2.7.3 Rockwork in Guangdong gardens

It is worth mentioning that the rockwork culture in Guangdong rapidly developed in this period, and some specific characteristics can be found therein, which are different from those in other areas. Although located on the South China Sea coast and being far from the capital, Guangdong was also important to the inland regions. In the late seventeenth century, the ban on maritime trade was lifted and trading resumed under Kangxi's new policy: the southeast province of Guangdong became an important port area. Many businessmen from Jiangnan and other areas came to Guangdong with cargo ships and started businesses.²⁰¹ Being a region of maritime trading ports, it also became a place to acquire exotic and foreign objects and culture. For example, Qianlong used to obtain European-style objects, such as glass windows, clocks,

²⁰¹ 'Bochong fengbo miao siji xiangdeng zhangcheng beiqi 拨充风伯庙祀祭香灯章程碑记 [Tablet Inscription of the Worship Ceremony of the Bochongfengbo Temple]', in *Chaozhou gugang zhanglin: ziliao yu yanjiu* 潮州古港樟林: 资料与研究 [The Old Port of Zhanglin in Chaozhou: Records and Studies], ed. by Lin Yuanhui 林远辉 (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubanshe, 2002), pp.192-193.

watches, furniture and European-style paintings from Guangzhou; although many were imported 'ocean goods (*Yanghuo* 洋货)', the majority of them were produced by artisans in local workshops.²⁰²

As with the association between merchant wealth and the flourishing of garden culture in cities such as Yangzhou, the development of garden and rockwork culture in Guangdong was associated with maritime trade and the Hong merchants. The principal merchants in Guangdong cooperated with each other and started the organisation Co-Hong (*Gonghang* 公行), monopolising the trade; they were known as the Hong merchants.²⁰³ After 1759, Guangzhou became the only port open to foreign trade. The local customs revenues increased with considerable speed and soon reached a large amount. The gathering of merchants and the booming economy promoted the construction of gardens. The number of gardens dramatically increased in the nineteenth century, and many were owned by Hong merchants as well as officials. Although the Opium Wars which took place during the 1840s and 1860s and the treaties which followed destroyed some gardens in Guangzhou and the luxurious life of the Hong merchants, the economy of the whole of Guangdong was not completely destroyed. Rich families who survived the chaos continued constructing gardens.

In large gardens, such as those of Pan Shicheng 潘仕成 (1804-1873), large-size rockwork made of either earth or rocks could be found, while in small gardens, which were the majority in Guangdong, small-size rockwork was more common. By investigating these works, three main characteristics can be found. First of all, rockworks in Guangdong gardens were relatively smaller, and precipitous mountains (*Qiaobi shan* 峭壁山) built up against a wall or stone screen were commonly found among them.²⁰⁴ One example is the rockwork named *Dou Dong* 斗洞 in Qinghui Garden (*Qinghui yuan* 清晖园), the garden established by the official Long Tinghuai 龙廷槐 (1750-?) after he had resigned and returned home in 1800. Located in the narrow gap between two main buildings, Dou Dong was constructed like a thin stone screen, separating the

²⁰² Kristina Kleutghen, *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces* (Seattle, and London: University of Washington Press, 2015), p.182.

²⁰³ Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p.20; Xiao Guoliang 萧国亮, 'Qingdai Guangzhou hangshang zhidu yanjiu 清代广州行商制度研究 [The Guangzhou Cohong System of the Qing Dynasty]', in *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 [Studies in Qing History], 1(2007), pp.32-48.

²⁰⁴ Liu Guanping 刘管平, *Lingnan yuanlin* 岭南园林 [Lingnan Gardens] (Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2013), p.122.

space (Figure 2-25). In order to make full use of the space, the craftsmen created caves and peaks with a small pond beneath.²⁰⁵

The second characteristic was an association with animals. Many rockworks in Guangdong gardens were created in the shape of animals and named after them; powerful animals like lions, tigers and dragons were commonly imitated.²⁰⁶ The Qinghui Garden also contained one called the ‘Three Lions Playing with a Ball (*Sanshi xiqiu* 三狮戏球)’. It was a small rockwork located on an earth mountain and surrounded by dense planting; three peaks were considered to be in the shape of three lions.

The selection of various rocks was another characteristic. Guangdong being far from the Jiangnan area, the use of Taihu Rocks and Yellow Rocks, which were common choices for many gardens there, was limited; rockworks in Guangdong gardens were mainly made of local rocks, such as Yingde Rocks (*Yingde shi* 英德石), Coral Rocks (*Shanhu shi* 珊瑚石), Yellow Wax Stones (*Huangla shi* 黄蜡石), and so on. The Dou Dong and Three Lions Playing with a Ball were both made of Yingde Rocks.



Figure 2-25. The rockwork ‘Dou Dong’ in Qinghui Garden. (Source: *Guangdong jindai yuanlin shi* 广东近代园林史 [The History of Early Modern Gardens in Guangdong], ed. by Zhou Linjie 周琳洁 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011), pp.30-35 (p.35).)

²⁰⁵ *Guangdong jindai yuanlin shi* 广东近代园林史 [The History of Early Modern Gardens in Guangdong], ed. by Zhou Linjie 周琳洁 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011), pp.30-35.

²⁰⁶ Lu Qi 陆琦, *Lingnan sijia yuanlin* 岭南私家园林 [The Private Gardens of Lingnan] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2013), p.180.

The creation of rockwork developed rapidly in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, especially in the middle and late eighteenth century under the influence of Qianlong's southern tours. Thus, the majority of existing historic gardens contain rockwork. However, the construction of gardens and rockwork began to lose ground in the nineteenth century and fewer new works were created. This started with the decline of salt merchants in the 1830s, when new rules were introduced to strengthen control of the salt trade and reduce smuggling. The new system affected the profits of the salt merchants, and they could no longer afford a luxurious lifestyle or their investment in gardens.²⁰⁷ Later, between the 1840s and 1860s, the outbreak of the two Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion significantly affected the entire Chinese society and its economy. Numerous gardens, including those of imperial dwellings, were destroyed or seriously damaged during this period; the economic recession also affected and nearly stopped the construction of new gardens and rockwork. In the late nineteenth century, old gardens and features started to be restored; only a few new gardens were constructed, many of which were influenced by western culture and design; therefore, even fewer rockworks were constructed. Thus, the exploration of rockwork in Chinese gardens ends with the imperial dynasties.

2.8 Conclusion

Based on my exploration and research on the development of rockwork, this chapter provides evidence that the creation of rockwork underwent distinctive changes in different periods, reflected in its forms, sizes, textures, fabrics, etc. The changing styles and trends of rockwork were the embodiment of the changing aesthetics, garden culture, policies and social contexts. This chapter has carefully investigated and critically reviewed the available sources to identify the style of rockwork of various trends; the following table summarises the main types of rockwork of each trend and their characteristics (Table 2). The findings of this chapter are more comprehensive and detailed than those of earlier research. They provide a better understanding of the history of rockwork, and the significance of certain features in certain periods. My findings can also help to identify the time of construction or restoration of a particular rockwork, and to analyse the remains of historic rockworks so as to achieve a more authentic conservation. In the

²⁰⁷ Liu Changshan 刘常山, 'Taoshu yu lianghuai yanwu gaige 陶澍与两淮盐务改革 [Tao Shu and the Revolution of Salt Trading System of Lianghuai District]', in *Fengjia renwen shehui xuebao* 逢甲人文社会学报 [Feng Chia Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences], 11(2005), pp.223-251. According to contemporaneous salt trading system, China was divided into eleven districts. The Lianghuai district was the wealthiest and most important one with headquarters in Yangzhou. The Jiangnan area was mainly included in the Lianghuai district. One district would contain more than one province and one province could also be divided into parts that belonged to different districts.

later chapters on conservation case studies, these findings are used as important sources to help in identifying and understanding features of historic rockwork.

Although preferences changed and at any particular time a certain type would be the most common form in vogue, it is noteworthy that the changes in trends rarely led to the disappearance of any older types of rockwork. More than one type of rockwork was constructed in each period, but the relative popularity of each type differed.

Table 2. Trends and characteristics of rockwork in different periods.

| Trends | Periods | Most common forms of each period | Common characteristics |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| Reproducing sacred mountains | Qin and Han Dynasties (2 nd century B.C. – 2 nd century A.D.) | Earth mountains. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enormous earth mountain; • Normally located in a large pond; • Imitation of sacred mountains. |
| Reproducing real landscape | Han to Sui Dynasties (2 nd – 7 th century) | Earth mountains, some include rocks. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enormous earth mountain; • Contained dense plants and, in some cases, animals, rocks; • Imitation of real landscape. |
| The appreciation of small rockwork and individual rocks | Tang and Song Dynasties (8 th – mid-14 th century) | Individually displayed rocks. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual rocks of various types; • Displayed individually or in groups with plants, or, in certain cases, in pavilions; • Bizarre or even ugly rocks were preferred, which, at that time, were commonly understood as those having intricate shapes with holes and gullies; • To symbolise mountains and form miniature landscapes. |
| | | Earth-rock mountains. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large artificial mountains that have an earth mountain as the base, covered and decorated with large numbers of bizarre rocks. |

| Trends | Periods | Most common forms of each period | Common characteristics |
|----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Being 'humble' | Early Ming Dynasty (late 14 th – early 15 th century) | Not much rockwork was constructed. Affected by contemporary garden culture. | |
| The appreciation of peaks | Middle and late Ming Dynasty (15 th – 16 th century) | Earth-rock mountains. Individually displayed rocks. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artificial mountains with a larger proportion of rocks; • Common structure was xiadong shangtai (下洞上台), i.e. caves beneath and platforms above; in some cases, the cave would be constructed with bricks or next to a brick wall, to provide structural support; • Contained many pointed rocks displayed erect, known as peaks. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rocks of various types would be displayed erect; • Some would be together in a row; some would be displayed on artificial mountains; some would be arranged symmetrically, e.g. a large piece of Taihu Rock in the middle with two Bamboo Shoot Rocks on either side. |

| Trends | Periods | Most common forms of each period | Common characteristics |
|---|--|---|--|
| <p>Recreating the 'atmosphere' of real landscape</p> | <p>Ming – Qing transition and early Qing Dynasty (17th – early 18th century)</p> | <p>Earth-rock mountains.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artificial mountains with a larger proportion of earth; • Rusticity and wildness were pursued, to create the atmosphere of a real mountain; • It was suggested to construct different features or structures for different rockwork and sites, and the combination of 'level hillocks and gentle slopes' was widely accepted; • Artificial mountains were constructed in various locations, such as in courtyards, beside ponds, beside belvederes, and so on; • More features were constructed, such as caves, torrents, waterfalls, ponds, and so on, but not many peaks or pointed rocks were involved; with improved techniques, caves no longer needed the support of brick walls; • Ponds normally had winding edges with rocky revetment in order to have fewer artificial traces; • Rustic and local rocks were preferred. |
| | | <p>Individually displayed rocks and other types of small rockwork (made of rocks only).</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual rocks were still included in gardens; some were displayed erect at focal points while some were not; • Some low and small rockworks were created to be stepping rocks, or beside plants. |

| Trends | Periods | Most common forms of each period | Common characteristics |
|---|--|--|--|
| Southern inspection tours and their influences | Middle and late Qing Dynasty (Mid-18 th – 19 th century) | Earth-rock mountains and rock mountains in Jiangnan area. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artificial mountains with a larger proportion of rocks or with rocks only; • Holey texture and structure were preferred; • Many features contained in one artificial mountain; • Sizes of the rocks in use, especially Taihu rocks, became smaller; • Building techniques were further developed; craftsmen like Ge Yuliang started to use the new 'Hook and Connect Method' to construct firm caves with fewer artificial traces. |
| | | Earth-rock mountains and rock mountains in imperial gardens. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New rockwork was mainly constructed in reproduced Jiangnan gardens; the spirit of the prototype was pursued and reproduced; • Thus, craftsmen from Jiangnan were recruited to construct them; the key features of the prototype were reproduced; the surrounding environment was imitated; but the final layout and appearance did not follow the original. |
| | | Earth-rock mountains and rock mountains in Guangdong. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artificial mountains with a larger proportion of rocks or with rocks only; • Normally of a much smaller size; • Common forms were precipitous mountains or stone screens, which only occupied small spaces; • Commonly associated with animals; • Various types of rocks were used, many of which were local rocks. |

Chapter 3. Conservation policies and development

As revealed in Chapter Two, the aesthetics of, and preferences for, rockwork were changing over time which led to the formation of various trends in different periods. The preferred style of rockwork in each period has distinctive characteristics. But, were these characteristics and features well retained in conservation? How are these distinctive and unique characteristics to be protected? These are urgent questions to be answered.

Before finding the answers with individual case studies on the conservation of historic rockwork, it is important to explore the context of garden and rockwork conservation in China. First, this chapter briefly discusses the conservation tradition and then focuses on the exploration of conservation policies, including the changes and development of policies, and the treatment that historic gardens and rockwork received under these policies. Since there were three periods of relatively obvious changes and evolutions, the exploration and discussion of conservation policies has been divided into three parts in this chapter.

In this thesis, the investigation of conservation policies and practices mainly focuses on the period from the twentieth century onwards, which is determined by the following reasons. Firstly, it is because the nation-wide conservation policies were generated in the early twentieth century; since then, the conservation practices across the country have unified requirements and principles, although the implementations were varied in different cases. Secondly, relatively more records and materials about the practices from the twentieth century onwards are available; with these records, we can further investigate the aims, principles and approaches of individual practices, and whether they affected the retention of historic characteristics.

3.1 The tradition of conservation, or '*chongxiu*'

As the architectural historian Jukka Jokilehto demonstrates, the theories of conservation in different countries were actually formed based on their own cultural background, which therefore led to the differences between theories.²⁰⁸ It is the same for China. The care of old buildings and gardens has long been a tradition. But this has been different from the present-day concept of conservation; and the current term of *baohu* 保护 [conservation] was not

²⁰⁸ Jukka Jokilehto, *History of architectural conservation* (Routledge, 2007).

frequently used until the early twentieth century. As can be seen from many existing garden records, some gardens were constructed based on historical or dilapidated gardens by new garden owners, such as the Net Master's Garden in Suzhou, the Qiao Garden in Taizhou, and so on;²⁰⁹ some gardens would be repaired by the same owner or the same family when they became old or damaged, as were many imperial gardens. Some of the practices were specifically referred to using the term *chongxiu* 重修. 'Chong' means repeat and 'xiu' means repair as well as construct; as the literal meaning indicates, *chongxiu* means to repair or restore something. Many such restorations were documented and written about in records of *chongxiu*.²¹⁰ However, it is not as simple as restoring everything; modifications can also be found in *chongxiu* and other traditional practices. So, what did *chongxiu* and similar practices actually mean and how did people treat old gardens in the past? These questions can be answered by exploring pre-modern practices.

The garden named Surging Waves Pavilion (*Canglang ting* 沧浪亭)²¹¹ in Suzhou is one garden that has been *chongxiu* several times in its history. It was a garden established by Su Shunqin 苏舜钦 (1009-1049), an official and scholar of the Song Dynasty. According to Su's garden record, the garden had a simple layout: it contained streams and endless bamboos; the pavilion had the same name as the garden located in the north, with bamboos in the front of the pavilion and streams at the back.²¹² The pavilion was possibly the only building that Su constructed, at least the only one mentioned in his record. After the death of Su, the garden changed hands many

²⁰⁹ Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he lühua guanliju* 苏州市园林和绿化管理局), *Wangshi yuan zhi* 网师园志 [Gazetteer of Net Master's Garden], ed. by Xiong Yong 熊勇 (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2014), p.143; Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), 'Taizhou Qiaoyuan 泰州乔园 [Qiao Garden in Taizhou]', in *Wenbo Tongxun* 文博通讯, 16 (1977), pp. 9-13.

²¹⁰ Jiaqing Emperor 嘉庆 (1760-1820), 'Yuzhi xiequyuan ji 御制谐趣园记 [Imperial Record of Xiequ Garden]', in Liu Ruoyan 刘若晏, *Yuanshi gouchen* 园史钩沉 [History of the Summer Palace] (Beijing: Zhongguo tiedao chubanshe, 2002), p.72; 'Zhiyi dang Yuan Ming Yuan chongxiu gechu gongcheng zhundi 旨意档圆明园重修各处工程准底 [Archived Imperial Edicts of Records of Various Chongxiu Projects in Yuan Ming Yuan]', in *Guojia tushuguan yangshilei tudang yuan ming yuan juan chubian* 国家图书馆样式雷图档圆明园卷初编 [Preliminary Compilation of the Yuan Ming Yuan Volume of the Yangshi Lei Archives in National Library of China], ed. by National Library of China (*Zhongguo guojia tushuguan* 中国国家图书馆) (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016), pp.487-503; Zhang Shusheng 张树声 (1824-1884), 'Chongxiu canglang ting ji 重修沧浪亭记 [The Record of Restoring Surging Waves Pavilion]', in *Canglang ting xinzhizhi* 沧浪亭新志 [New Gazetteer of Surging Waves Pavilion] (1928), ed. by Jiang Jinghuan 蒋镜寰, in *Suzhou Museum: Ancient Book Database (Suzhou tushuguan gujiku* 苏州图书馆古籍库), <<http://fzk.szlib.com/book/page?bookId=174&volId=7&pageId=22>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

²¹¹ Although 'Surging Waves Pavilion' might not be an accurate translation, it is now widely used in academic writings and accepted by common readers, and this thesis will also use this translation. But *canglang* actually means the water is a dark blue-green colour. See Xu Yinong, 'Interplay of Image and Fact: The Pavilion of Surging Waves, Suzhou', in *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 19.3-4 (1999), pp.288-301 (p.300).

²¹² Su Shunqin 苏舜钦 (1009-1049), 'Canglang ting ji 沧浪亭记 [The Record of Surging Waves Pavilion]', in *Canglang ting xinzhizhi* 沧浪亭新志 [New Gazetteer of Surging Waves Pavilion] (1928), ed. by Jiang Jinghuan 蒋镜寰 (1896-1981), in *Suzhou Museum: Ancient Book Database (Suzhou tushuguan gujiku* 苏州图书馆古籍库), <<http://fzk.szlib.com/book/page?bookId=174&volId=7>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

times; at least four of the later owners of Surging Waves Pavilion attempted *chongxiu*, with each writing a record.²¹³ They all mentioned that the aim of *chongxiu* was to reproduce the original appearance of this garden based on Su Shunqin's garden record. But in fact, the original appearance was unclear, as the descriptions by Su were poetic rather than factual. Even the limited features mentioned in Su's record were not retained or correctly reconstructed or reproduced: in 1696, Song Luo 宋瑩 (1634-1714) reconstructed the pavilion but located it on the summit of a man-made mound rather than by the water, and more buildings were constructed;²¹⁴ in 1873, the then owner Zhang Shusheng 张树声 (1824-1884) replaced the previous man-made mound with a rock-earth hill, and reconstructed the buildings, including the pavilion.

It is clear that the garden's original appearance from the Northern Song Dynasty was not reproduced, even though the later owners claimed so. Thus, what did they actually restore? The name Surging Waves, or *Canglang* in Chinese, came from the verse in *Mencius*: 'when the Canglang waters are clear, I can wash my hat strings in them; when the Canglang waters are muddy, I can wash my feet in them'.²¹⁵ By using this term, the first owner, Su Shunqin, suggests that a person should pursue a position in the government when it is righteous, and could be less involved if the government became corrupt but without the need to give up on it. According to the garden record, Su aimed to create a place for reflecting on himself and self-overcoming (*zisheng* 自胜). It is traditionally believed that *zisheng* is a powerful ability of a person. This idea is clearly explained in the classic text *Daodejing*: 'He who knows others is clever; He who knows himself has discernment. He who overcomes others has force; He who overcomes himself is strong'.²¹⁶ Hundreds of years later, when Song Luo was working in Suzhou as the provincial governor of Jiangsu, he decided to restore the Surging Waves Pavilion once he discovered its site. He kept the name Surging Waves and took two more terms from Su's record to name new buildings: *zisheng* and *guanyu* 观鱼 [watching the fish]. Although not suffering difficulties in his political career like Su, Song also believed that occasionally resting himself in a place like Surging Waves Pavilion would refresh his aspirations and vigour and enable him to remain

²¹³ *Canglang Ting xinzhì* 沧浪亭新志 [New Gazetteer of Surging Waves Pavilion] (1928), ed. by Jiang Jinghuan 蒋镜寰, in *Suzhou Museum: Ancient Book Database (Suzhou tushuguan gujiku* 苏州图书馆古籍库), <<http://fzk.szlib.com/book/page?bookId=174>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

²¹⁴ Liu Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1897-1968), *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林 [Classical Gardens of Suzhou] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1979), p.63.

²¹⁵ *Mencius*, trans. by Xu Yinong, in 'Interplay of Image and Fact: The Pavilion of Surging Waves, Suzhou', in *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 19.3-4 (1999), pp.288-301(p.293).

²¹⁶ Laozi, *Tao Te Ching*, trans. by D.C. Lau, 2nd edn (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989), p.51.

unconfused by unexpected difficulties.²¹⁷ Later when Zhang Shusheng undertook *chongxiu* in this garden in the late nineteenth century, he elicited different meanings. When he became the provincial governor of Jiangsu, he wished to recover the prosperity after the chaos of the Taiping Rebellion. Therefore, he treated the *chongxiu* of Surging Waves Pavilion as a sign of the revitalization of the country, which ‘should not be treated as extravagant hope, but as an encouragement’²¹⁸.

Apparently, the so-called ‘reproduction of the original appearance’ was not implemented. As Xu Yinong has argued, the retaining of the physical appearance was less important;²¹⁹ *chongxiu*, or other similar traditional practices, actually pursued the association with certain spirits and meanings that were symbolised by an old garden or old building. This tradition has been discussed in academic research, and Chen Wei and Willem Derde contrasted it with the West.²²⁰ Chen related this tradition to the philosophical context, such as the idea of *tianren heyi* 天人合一 [heaven and humanity are one entity]. According to this idea, individual objects or their physical forms were carriers of deeper meanings or spirits; and therefore, the inner meaning or connotations were valued in the traditional practice.²²¹

This is very different from the current notion of conservation, which generally means the protection and retaining of historic fabrics. Since the new concept was formed in the policies of the twentieth century, the purposes and approaches of conservation have greatly changed. The new understanding and aims of garden conservation, which became embodied and stated in the relevant policies, are explored in the following section.

3.2 Emergence of conservation policies: 1910s-1940s

The purposes and principles of *chongxiu* or other conservation practices were varied, until the national regulations and conservation system were set up in the early twentieth century. This was a dramatic change and challenge to the tradition, and was actually a consequence of a series

²¹⁷ Song Luo 宋肇 (1634-1714), ‘Chongxiu canglang ting ji 重修沧浪亭记 [The Record of Restoring Surging Waves Pavilion]’, in *Canglang ting xinzhì 沧浪亭新志 [New Gazetteer of Surging Waves Pavilion]* (1928), ed. by Jiang Jinghuan 蒋镜寰, in *Suzhou Museum: Ancient Book Database (Suzhou tushuguan gujiku 苏州图书馆古籍库)*, <<http://fzk.szlib.com/book/page?bookId=174&volId=7&pageId=17>>[accessed 28 July 2017]

²¹⁸ Zhang Shusheng, ‘The Record of Restoring Surging Waves Pavilion’.

²¹⁹ Xu Yinong, ‘Interplay of Image and Fact: The Pavilion of Surging Waves, Suzhou’, p.299.

²²⁰ Chen Wei, and Andreas Aass, ‘Heritage Conservation: East and West’, *ICOMOS Information*, 3(1989), pp.3-8; Willem Derde, ‘Heritage and its Cultural Boundaries: Challenging the Western Paradigm by Means of the Example of China’, *Heritage 2010-Heritage and Sustainable Development*, vol.2, ed.by Rogério Amoêda, Sérgio Lira, and C. Pinheiro (Barcelos: Green Lines Institute, 2010), pp. 827-836.

²²¹ Chen Wei, and Andreas Aass, ‘Heritage Conservation: East and West’, p.8.

of changes that emerged in contemporaneous society. The change of ownership is one of these. In the past, art works were normally in the hands of the imperial family or private collectors; sites like gardens and temples also belonged to private owners or religious groups.²²² After the imperial dynasties ended, many ancient remains, especially the ones that used to be in imperial collections, became state properties. Their protection therefore became a national task. Other than the change of ownership, the loss of a vast number of cultural relics also provoked public awareness of the protection of ancient remains. The two Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion that took place between the 1840s and 1860s caused the destruction of ancient gardens, palaces and other architectural complexes, and the plundering of antiques. More importantly, the Opium Wars led to the opening of more Chinese ports for foreign traders. As a result, the beginning of the twentieth century was even referred to as ‘a Golden Age for collecting Chinese art objects’, since the majority of Chinese antiques now belonging to Westerners were collected during this period.²²³ Regarding the outflow of ancient relics as a loss to the dignity of the nation, the public’s concern over conservation increased. Meanwhile, western ideas were introduced and absorbed. The study of western languages and knowledge started from the Opium Wars, when some officials suggested the strengthening of China’s power to catch up with the West. In the 1910s, the outbreak of *Xinwenhua yundong* 新文化运动 [New Culture Movement] and *Wusi yundong* 五四运动 [May Fourth Movement] further introduced and advocated new ideas from the West. Scholars who were educated in Japan and the United States came back in the early twentieth century and brought back knowledge of modernization as well as the conservation of ancient sites.²²⁴ The conflicts between Chinese and Western ideas and the discovery of new knowledge formed the social context that promoted the formulation of early Chinese policies on conservation.

Drawing on various influences, conservation regulations and guidance were set up in the early twentieth century, after the final collapse of the imperial dynasties, in order to rescue and protect ancient remains which were in danger; and governmental departments and non-governmental organisations contributed to conservation practice in different ways.

²²² Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2000).

²²³ Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Lai Guolong, ‘The Emergence of “Cultural Heritage” in Modern China: A Historical and Legal Perspective’, in *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, ed. by Akira Matsuda, and Luisa E. Mengoni, (London: Ubiquity Press, 2016), pp.47-85 (p.56).

²²⁴ Li Jian 李建, ‘Woguo wenwu baohu fazhigua de faduan –lun qingmo baocun guji tuiguang banfa 我国文物保护单位制化的发端—论清末《保存古迹推广方法》及其历史作用 [The Origin of the Legalization of Cultural Relics Protection in China- ‘Measures to Promote the Preservation of Monuments’ in the Late Qing Dynasty and Its Historical Role]’, in *Shandong daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 山东大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) [Journal of Shandong University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)], 6 (2015), pp.153-160.

3.2.1 Early conservation policies

The systematic conservation of heritage started with defining the range of remains that needed to be protected. The *Baocun guwu zanzing banfa* 保存古物暂行办法 [Provisional Administrative Measures on Antiquities Conservation] was the first official guideline on conservation, and was issued by the government of the Republic of China in 1916. As this was an initial attempt to preserve historical remains across the country, the scope of the protected objects was limited. This directive mainly focused on objects such as weapons, utensils, coins, statues and gravestones; historical gardens and garden features like rockwork and buildings did not come under its protection.²²⁵ The conservation of rockwork was beyond the scope of official protection until the late 1920s, when new rules on conservation were issued.

In the *Mingsheng guji guwu baocun tiaoli* 名胜古迹古物保存条例 [Regulations Governing Preservation of Scenic Resorts, Ancient Remains and Relics] of 1928 and the *Guwu baocun fa* 古物保存法 [Relics Preservation Law] of 1930, historical gardens and their features were respectively categorised under ancient establishments and historical architecture and were required to be protected.²²⁶ By defining ancient remains, the significance of rockwork and other garden features was acknowledged, which protected the remains from further damage.

The main proposition of these early policies was to repair damaged remains: ancient structures, including rockwork, 'shall undergo repairs whenever required with funds to be raised in consultation with local organizations. Those having historical referential value or remains still surviving but gradually becoming disappeared shall have tablets set up for future reference.'²²⁷ It shows that the government started to take measures for the historical remains. However, specific conservation approaches were not clarified in the regulations; thus, there might be no

²²⁵ Huang Xiangyu 黄翔瑜, 'Minguo yilai guwu baocun fazhi zhi dansheng beijing shixi 民国以来古物保存法制之诞生背景试析 (1911-1930) [Background Analysis of the Birth of Legalization of Antiques Preservation (1911-1930)]', in *Guoshiguan guankan* 国史馆馆刊 [The Academia Historica Journal], 34 (2012), pp. 1-44.

²²⁶ Ministry of Interior of the Republic of China (*Guomin zhengfu neizhengbu* 国民政府内政部), *Mingsheng guji guwu baocun tiaoli* 名胜古迹古物保存条例 [Regulations Governing Preservation of Scenic Resorts, Ancient Remains and Relics] (1928), Article 2. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/china_regulation_13_09_1928_eng_orof.pdf>

[accessed 26 Jul 2016]; Lin Huicheng 林会承, 'Bainian laide guji baocun 百年来的古迹保存 [The Conservation of Cultural Relics in the Past Century]', in *Humanities Research Center of National Chengchi University (Guoli zhengzhi daxue renwen zhongxin* 国立政治大学人文中心), p.3 <<http://hc.nccu.edu.tw/public/att/ef0b3cdc0ae4c6ca4f622d58c458cd9b.pdf>> [accessed 17 May 2016].

²²⁷ The quotation was adopted from the official translation of the following document, available on the online database of UNESCO: Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of China, *Regulations Governing Preservation of Scenic Resorts, Ancient Remains and Relics*, article 4.

or inexplicit practical guidance on how to carry out the conservation works or more specifically, their repair.

Although the guidance on practice lacked detail, special custodian offices were set up to manage the relics. According to the *Relics Preservation Law* (1930), custodian offices were under the control of several governmental departments, including the Ministry of Education (*Jiaoyu bu* 教育部), the Ministry of the Interior (*Neizheng bu* 内政部), and the Central Relics Custodian Commission (*Zhongyang guwu baoguan weiyuanhui* 中央古物保管委员会; hereafter the CRC Commission). The CRC Commission was set up to explore, preserve and repair cultural relics based on the relevant directives. It also determined the sphere and categories of relics.²²⁸ But the existence of multiple competent authorities brought conflicts in the management of heritage and therefore became an obstacle to conservation practice. Both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior had the power and right to supervise and guide the work of the CRC Commission and other offices. As noted by Huang Xiangyu, there were serious conflicts between authorities in the 1940s.²²⁹ This was a time when these two ministries fought for administrative power over the CRC Commission. After an interval of a few years from 1939, due to the chaos and budget shortage caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the Ministry of the Interior was given the power to restart the CRC Commission. This arrangement was opposed by the Ministry of Education, which insisted that the value of heritage equated to its academic value, so this Ministry should have the management of the relics and the CRC Commission.

The Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) affected the implementation of conservation policies. In such a chaotic period, protecting ancient remains in the war areas became a new task: preventing the destruction and disappearance of relics was more urgent and practical than further intervention such as repair and restoration. Although the CRC Commission stopped its work after 1939 due to the chaos and budget shortage caused by the war, new organisations and policies were established. In the 1930s and 1940s, several international conventions were

²²⁸ Zhou Yuan 周媛, 'Nanjing guomin zhengfu shiqi de mingsheng guji baohu (1927-1937) 南京国民政府时期的名胜古迹保护 (1927-1937) [The Protection of Historical Sites by the Nanjing National Government]', in *Yangzhou daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 扬州大学学报 (人文社会科学版) [Journal of Yangzhou University (Humanities & Social Sciences)], 9(2007), pp. 118-122 (p.118); Legislative Yuan of National Government (*Guomin zhengfu xingzheng yuan* 国民政府行政院), *Guwu baocun fa* 古物保存法 [Relics Preservation Law] (1935). <http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/china_law_10_11_1935_eng_orof.pdf> [accessed 26 Jul 2016].

²²⁹ Huang Xiangyu 黄翔瑜, 'Guwu baocun fa de zhiding jiqi shixing kunnan 古物保存法的制定及其施行困境 [The R.O.C.'s Antiquities Conservation Law and Its Implementation Difficulties]', in *Guoshiguan guankan* 国史馆馆刊 [The Academia Historica Journal], 32 (2012), pp. 41-88 (pp.78-79).

signed to protect the heritage of belligerent nations; China also participated in the discussion of these conventions. Having closer cooperation with relevant international organisations and being encouraged by the American Commission, China followed other countries in setting up its own 'Commission for the Protection of Cultural Relics in War Areas (*Zhanqu wenwu baocun weiyuanhui* 战区文物保存委员会)' in 1945.²³⁰ It was divided into four groups, which were dedicated to four types of relics: architecture, art, antiques and books. The main task of the architecture group was to compile a catalogue of ancient buildings in war areas and their locations, which was titled *Zhanqu wenwu baocun weiyuanhui wenwu mulu diyihao jianzhu yu moyu* 战区文物保存委员会文物目录第一号 建筑与摩崖 [Chinese Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Objects in War Areas List of Monuments:No.1- Architecture & Cave Temples; hereafter the *List of Monuments*]. The list and map were sent to the army, which was asked to assist by avoiding military actions near historical remains.²³¹ Many historical gardens were included in the list, such as the Lion Grove and Lingering Garden (*Liu yuan* 留园) in Suzhou.²³² Attached to the list, there was a series of principles to guide the identification of ancient buildings; however, the identification and protection of other garden features were not mentioned. This indicates that the conservation works during the war period mainly focused on buildings; other elements in gardens, such as rockwork, may have received less attention.

3.2.2 The study and survey of historic gardens and rockwork

Along with the issuing of policies and the establishment of special custodian offices, an initial conservation system was set up. Although the policies required the protection and repair of ancient sites and immovable objects on site, like rockwork, the lack of knowledge about conservation and the social instability caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War hindered the implementation of the policies. The urgent need was to find and locate ancient remains and document their state prior to restoration and repair. Therefore, the surveying of relics and the studying of historic sources were the main practices; although there are some records of the

²³⁰ Ibid., p.11.

²³¹ Ibid., p.11.

²³² Lin Zhu 林洙, 'Liang Sicheng yu quanguo zhongyao jianzhu wenwu jianmu 梁思成与《全国重要建筑文物简目》 [Liang Sicheng and the National Short List of Monuments]', in *Jianzhushi lunwenji di shier ji* 建筑史论文集第 12 辑 [Treatises on History of Architecture(XII)], ed.by Zhang Fuhe 张复合 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp.7-17.

repair of ancient buildings, such as the southern turret (*Jiaolou* 角楼) of the Forbidden City,²³³ very few rockworks received treatment.

Many of the surveys were carried out or led by scholars; the private research group *Yingzao xueshe* 营造学社 [The Society for Research in Chinese Architecture; hereafter the Society] played the leading role in the survey of and research on ancient buildings and gardens. The Society was established by Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤 (1872-1964), the Minister of Internal Affairs (*Neiwu zongzhang* 内务总长) and the president of the Municipal Council of Beijing (*Jingdu shizheng gongsuo* 京都市政公所) in the Beiyang government (1912-1928). Zhu had an influential impact on the modernization of Beijing, especially the public parks and road system.²³⁴ Having spent his childhood in France and frequently travelling to western countries and Japan, he understood modernity and attempted to apply it to transform Chinese cities. Therefore, he launched the Central Park project (*Zhongyang gongyuan* 中央公园, which is now the Zhongshan Park) and opened some royal gardens and scenic spots to the public.²³⁵ Aware of the value of ancient buildings and sites, Zhu gathered some architects to form the Society. Similarly to Zhu himself, most of its members had been trained abroad, mainly in Japan and the USA, including the architectural and garden historians, Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901-1972), Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1897-1968) and Lu Sheng 卢绳 (1918-1977), who thereafter devoted their lives to the conservation of ancient sites.²³⁶

The society had two tasks: to study ancient approaches to architecture and garden making, and to survey and document ancient sites and remains. They annotated and published many earlier treatises on the making of gardens and buildings, such as the seventeenth-century book *Yuan ye* 园冶 [The Craft of Gardens] and the early twentieth-century book *Yingzao fayuan* 营造法原 [Source of Architectural Methods].²³⁷ The Society also systematised records about ancient

²³³ Liu Shourou 刘守柔, 'Wenhua yichan baohu shijiaoxia de zhongguo yingzao xueshe gongzuo jiqi guannian fenxi 文化遗产保护视角下的中国营造学社工作及其观念分析 [Analysis of the Works and Philosophy of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture from the Perspective of Cultural Heritage Preservation]', *Zhongguo wenwu kexue yanjiu* 中国文物科学研究 [China Cultural Heritage Scientific Research], 4 (2007), pp.37-52 (p.38).

²³⁴ Lai Guolong 'The Emergence of "Cultural Heritage" in Modern China: A Historical and Legal Perspective', pp.47-85(p.68).

²³⁵ Jin Lei 金磊, 'Zhu qiqian: zhongguo jinxiandai wenhua yichan baohu de xianqu - xiezai zhu qiqian xiansheng danchen 135 zhounian zhiji 朱启钤: 中国近现代文化遗产保护的先驱——写在朱启钤先生诞辰 135 周年之际 [Zhu Qiqian: the Pioneer of Chinese Modern Cultural Heritage Preservation- Written on the 135th Anniversary of Mr. Zhu Qiqian's Birth]', in *Zhongwai jianzhu* 中外建筑 [Chinese and Overseas Architecture], 11(2007), pp. 1-4(p.2).

²³⁶ Lai Delin 赖德霖, *Zhongguo jindai jianzhusi yanjiu* 中国近代建筑史研究 [Studies in Modern Chinese Architectural History] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2007).

²³⁷ Lin Zhu 林洙, *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe shilue* 中国营造学社史略 [Brief History of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture] (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2008), p.88; Yao Chengzu 姚承祖 (1866-1938), *Yingzao*

craftsmen and projects; the records of Yuan Ming Yuan, and the notes, drawings and models created by the imperial architects, the Lei Family, were also a major focus of the Society. Their research findings provided a better understanding of the design of historical rockwork as well as the techniques that had been applied, which was essential information for conservation work.

Recognizing that study of texts was not enough, from 1932 the Society started a wide-ranging survey of historical buildings and gardens.²³⁸ However, field trips and surveys were not the missions that the founder, Zhu Qiqian, had originally proposed; on the contrary, he felt the field trips were unnecessary, and that the problems could be solved by literary research. It was the young architect Liang Sicheng who championed and contributed to the surveys.²³⁹ Liang was an influential architect in the twentieth century, who is now recognized as ‘the father of modern Chinese architecture’. These field trips were later participated in and supported by Liu Dunzhen, who was one of the founders of architecture courses in Chinese universities. Before working for the Society, he worked as a lecturer in the architecture department of the National Central University (*Guoli zhongyang daxue* 国立中央大学) and took students to visit and survey ancient sites.²⁴⁰ Under the leadership of Liang and Liu, a large number of surveys were carried out; survey findings were compared with historical texts in order to identify construction dates and understand structures.²⁴¹ The outcomes included survey reports and survey maps; the former discussed historical value and recorded local and current conditions while the latter normally recorded the contents of a garden or building and the location of each element. The findings were published as survey reports in the *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 中国营造学社汇刊 [Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture]. Later, during the Second Sino-Japanese War, their work was affected; but the surveying of the remaining historic buildings and gardens was still one of their main undertakings. The Society moved from Beijing to Yunnan Province in 1938 and then to Sichuan Province; therefore, most of the sites surveyed thereafter were in these two provinces. During the war period, its key member, Liang Sicheng, was appointed by the government as the deputy director of the Chinese Commission for the

fayuan 营造法原 [Source of Architectural Methods], ed. by Zhang Zhigang 张志刚, annotated by Liu Dunzhen 刘敦楨, 2nd edn (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1986).

²³⁸ Wen Yuqing 温玉清, and Wang Qiheng 王其亨, ‘Zhongguo yingzao xueshe xueshu chengjiu yu lishi guanxian shuping 中国营造学社学术成就与历史贡献述评 [Comments on the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture’s Historical Contributions]’, in *Jianzhu chuanguo 建筑创作* [Architectural Creation], 6 (2007), pp.126-133.

²³⁹ Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China’s Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p.54.

²⁴⁰ Yang Yongsheng 杨永生, Liu Xujie 刘叙杰, and Lin Zhu 林洙, *Jianzhu wu zongshi 建筑五宗师* [Five Masters of Chinese Architecture] (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2005), p.33.

²⁴¹ Liu Shourou, ‘Analysis of the Works and Philosophy of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture from the Perspective of Cultural Heritage Preservation’, p.42.

Preservation of Cultural Objects in War Areas, and led the compilation of the *List of Monuments* which helped the army to locate historic sites and avoid further damage caused by the war.²⁴² The Society was disbanded in 1945, and its journal also ceased publication.

Other than the Society, there were individual researchers with concerns about historical gardens who participated in their conservation. Tong Jun 童雋 (1900-1983) is one who had a strong interest in gardens. In order to study and preserve ancient gardens and buildings, he carried out many surveys and made records of rockwork and other garden features. In the 1930s, he visited at least 75 gardens in 21 cities and towns in the Jiangnan area, during which he took photographs of gardens and garden features, including rockwork, pavilions, gates, bridges, leaking windows, stonework and paving patterns. Based on these surveys and research on historical records relating to gardens, Tong wrote a book in 1937, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 [Records of Jiangnan Gardens].²⁴³

For the restoration of rockwork, however, the survey maps are not accurate enough. For example, Tong Jun's *Records of Jiangnan Gardens* included maps drawn at varied levels. Some of the maps were rough sketches which only pointed out the location of rockwork or simply indicated its layout, as shown in Figures 3-1 and 3-2. There were also maps with more details, like Figure 3-3, which includes the direction, scale, location and clearer layout of most of the garden features, with detailed plans of buildings. Different forms of rockwork, such as rock hills and earth mounds, were depicted differently. It is clear that vegetation was not shown on the map; it is possible that it was not surveyed at all, or was simply not depicted.

Nevertheless, these surveys still played an important role for the protection of relics including rockwork. The *List of Monuments*, which was created with the help of the Society member Liang Sicheng, helped to locate and protect relics in the war areas. The photos, maps and reports produced during the surveys became important references for later conservation practice since many of these relics were damaged or destroyed during the Second Sino-Japanese War and later in the Cultural Revolution.

²⁴² Lin Zhu, 'Liang Sicheng and the National Short List of Monuments', pp.7-17.

²⁴³ Tong Jun 童雋 (1900-1983), *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 [Records of Jiangnan Gardens], 2nd edn (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984).

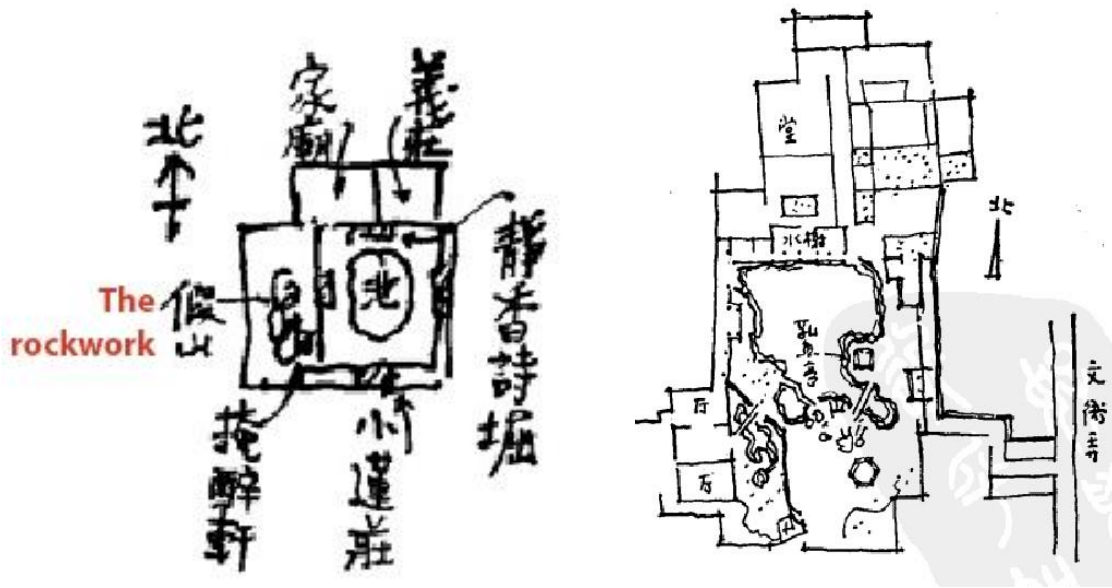


Figure 3-1. (Left) Sketch plan of Garden of the Liu Family (*Liu yuan* 刘园) in Nanxun, by Tong Jun. It is a rough sketch which only points out the location of each garden feature by text. (Source: Tong Jun 童寓, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 [Records of Jiangnan Gardens], 2nd edn (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984), p.121.)

Figure 3-2. (Right) Sketch plan of the Garden of cultivation (*Yi pu* 艺圃) in Suzhou, by Tong Jun. He roughly sketched the layout of the garden. (Source: Tong Jun, *Records of Jiangnan Gardens*, p.122.)

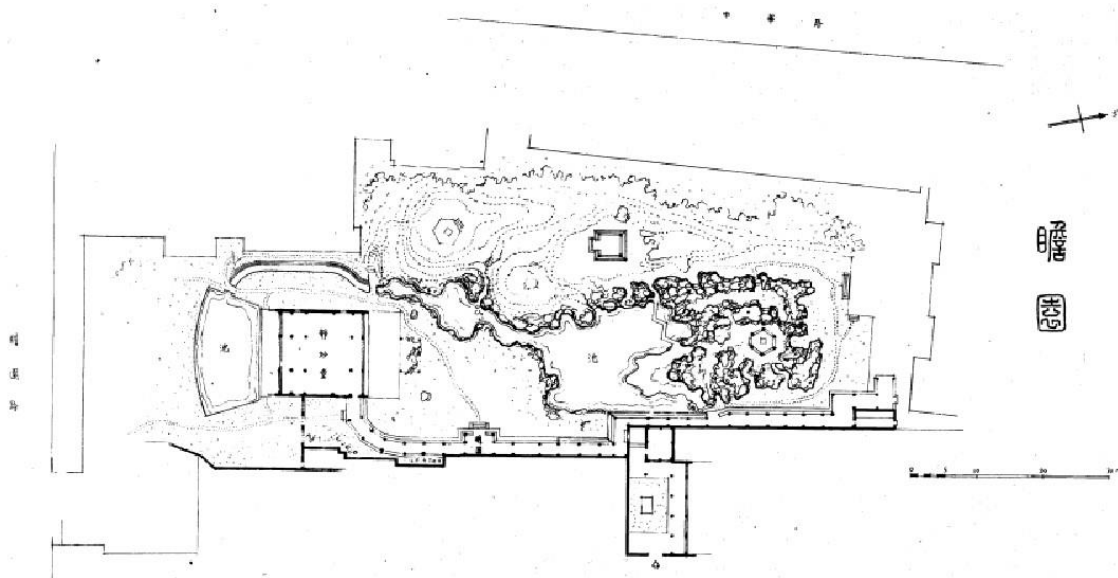


Figure 3-3. Detailed survey map of the Gazing garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园) in Nanjing, by Tong Jun. (Source: Tong Jun, *Records of Jiangnan Gardens*, volume of illustration, no.23.)

3.3 Development of conservation policies in the 1950s-1970s

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, new policies and laws were issued as part of the establishment of its legal system, forming the basis of the current conservation system. The principle known as *xiujiu rujiu* 修旧如旧 [restoring the old as it was] was enshrined in law, and is still the basic conservation principle in China. In architectural conservation, this was the time when the system of 'Historical and Cultural Sites (*Wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位)' was set up. This is the period when nation-wide conservation practice started for the first time; some historic gardens and rockworks were repaired, restored or reconstructed. Since the conservation of gardens had become an important part of heritage conservation, traditional garden features were studied and received due attention. As a result, rockwork was valued and professional rockwork craftsmen were also invited to participate in conservation practice.

Although historic gardens and rockwork received some treatment, the conservation practice was challenged for various reasons: the process of economic development was always a threat to conservation works; the Land Reform and Cultural Revolution changed the public attitude towards traditional culture and cultural relics, and led to the change of ownership of gardens; the Cultural Revolution affected not only the heritage but also the professionals who were working on it.

3.3.1 Conservation policies

During this period, the chief administrative authority, the Government Administration Council (*Zhengwu yuan* 政务院), which was transformed into the State Council of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), after 1954, issued many rules for the conservation of antiquities. Three of these relate to historic gardens and rockwork: the 'Guanyu baohu guwenwu jianzhu de zhishi 关于保护古文物建筑的指示 [Directive for the Conservation of Historical Cultural Relics and Buildings]' issued in 1950, 'Guanyu difang wenwu mingsheng guji de baohu guanli banfa 关于地方文物名胜古迹的保护管理办法 [Measures for the Conservation and Administration of Cultural Relics, Scenic Spots and Ancient Sites]' issued in 1951, and the 'Wenwu guanli zanxing tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics; hereafter, the *Temporary Regulations* (1961)]' issued in 1961.

The most important change in this period was the creation of a rating system for all surviving relics. It remains the basic conservation system in China. The *Temporary Regulations* (1961) required local government to assess the cultural and historical significance of all relics and select the important ones as Historical and Cultural Sites. They were classified at three levels: national level, provincial level and municipal and county level (*shixianji* 市县级). The treatment of sites of different levels varies, with higher-level sites receiving better care. Together with the *Temporary Regulations* (1961), the first batch of Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level (*Quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位) was announced.

The key principle stated for conservation was the retaining of the original appearance. According to the *Directive* (1950), the original appearance should be maintained, even if some of the cultural relics have to be temporarily utilised for other purposes;²⁴⁴ the *Temporary Regulations* (1961) also stated ‘when repairing or maintaining a cultural relic, the principle of restoring or retaining its original look must be observed’.²⁴⁵ This appears similar to the so-called pursuit of *chongxiu*, but as discussed in section 3.1, *chongxiu* actually means the association with the spirit and meanings of a site, while the rules required retaining its original appearance. This principle in the 1961 policy was commonly known as *xiujiu rujiu* 修旧如旧 [restoring the old as it was], as summarised by Liang Sicheng in his paper ‘Free talk on reconstruction and protection of ancient buildings (闲话文物建筑的重修与维护)’.²⁴⁶ Liang further suggested that restoration should be practised rather than the construction of new structures, and all conservation measures should be tested first before being applied.²⁴⁷ This principle is defined as the national criterion for authenticity in China, and the term *xiujiu rujiu* is frequently quoted in proposals for individual conservation projects to this day. According to the rules, if demolition and modification were unavoidable, the programme should not proceed before receiving permission from the highest relevant authority in the administrative region;²⁴⁸ records were required to be taken before any dismantling took place, including measurements, photographs and written

²⁴⁴ Administration Council (*Zhengwu yuan* 政务院), ‘Guanyu baohu guwenwu jianzhu de zhishi 关于保护古建筑建筑的指示 [Directive for the Conservation of Historical Cultural Relics and Buildings]’, *Yunnan zhengbao* 云南政报 [*Gazette of the People’s Government of Yunnan Province*], 3 (1950), p.160.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, article 11.

²⁴⁶ Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901-1972), ‘Xianhua wenwu jianzhu de chongxiu yu weihi 闲话文物建筑的重修与维护 [Discussion on the Reconstruction and Maintenance of Historic Buildings]’, in *Wenwu* 文物 [*Cultural Relics*], 7(1963), pp. 5-10.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp.5-10.

²⁴⁸ Administration Council, ‘Directive for the Conservation of Historical Cultural Relics and Buildings’, p.160.

records.²⁴⁹ This rule highlighted the significance of records and emphasised the importance of accurately documenting cultural heritage, which is essential for rockwork. When repairing a rockwork, earlier survey maps, photos and old paintings are significant visual sources helping to reveal its appearance before recent modifications took place. But with case studies in later chapters, I will argue that most of the records from this period are textual, the number of photos is limited and survey maps are not accurate; the archiving of these records is another issue.

In order to achieve the goal of *xiujiu rujiu*, there has been a new requirement since 1951 to invite relevant experts as committee members or consultants.²⁵⁰ This was a meaningful rule and remains valid. Although problems occurred in the conservation practice, as will be discussed in later chapters, the original intention was to strengthen the significance of professional knowledge and ensure that heritage features could receive protection and renovation at a professional level.

There were also relevant rules on the management of conservation. The *Measures* (1951) appointed both the Ministry of Culture (*Wenhua bu* 文化部) and Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Neiwu bu* 内务部) to manage and supervise conservation works.²⁵¹ They also required provincial and municipal authorities to establish a special office, the Cultural Relics Management Committee (*Wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 文物管理委员会), to directly survey, conserve and manage their relics; these committees were also organised and managed by the relevant local offices of civil affairs and culture. Although retaining the original appearance was the key principle, the *Temporary Regulations* (1961) allowed memorial and historic buildings to be used as museums or tourist sites, which was an encouragement for historic gardens to be opened to the public later on.²⁵² However, when the development of tourism became the main aim, the needs and expectations of tourists would affect the authenticity of conservation. This is further discussed in later chapters through case studies.

²⁴⁹ State Council of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), 'Wenwu guanli zanxing tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics]', in *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan gongbao* 中华人民共和国国务院公报 [Bulletin of the State Council of the People's Republic of China], 4 (1961), article 11, pp.76-79 (p.78).

²⁵⁰ Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Culture of the Central People's Republic of China (*Zhongyang renmin zhengfu neiwubu, wenhuabu* 中央人民政府内务部, 文化部), 'Guanyu difang wenwu mingsheng guji de baohu guanli banfa 关于地方文物名胜古迹的保护管理办法 [Measures for the Conservation and Administration of Cultural Relics, Scenic Spots and Ancient Sites]', in *Jiangxi zhengbao* 江西政报 [Gazette of the People's Government of Jiangxi Province], Z2(1951), p.120.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.120

²⁵² State Council of the People's Republic of China, 'Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics', p.78.

3.3.2 Conservation practice

With increased attention paid to the conservation of cultural heritage, historical rockwork started to be noticed and protected together with the conservation of historical gardens, especially those in the major gardens protected at the national level, such as those in the Humble Administrator's Garden (*Zhuozheng yuan* 拙政园), Lion Grove (*Shizi Lin* 狮子林) and Pleasurable Garden (*Yu yuan* 豫园). The restoration of the Gazing Garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园), which was known for its rockwork, was one of the best known undertakings in the 1960s. In this project, the rockwork was repaired and reinforced, but also modified; new rockwork was also created. This case is thoroughly discussed in Chapter Five.

In accordance with the policies, the participation in conservation projects of relevant experts was a requirement.²⁵³ As regards rockwork, such experts were mainly academics and rockwork craftsmen. Many of the academics had been members of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture. They initiated educational programmes in universities in the field of the history of architecture. Architectural and garden historians such as Lu Sheng and Liu Dunzhen were leading figures. Both of them headed architecture departments in universities. Specialised rockwork craftsmen were included in conservation projects as well, which indicates that each traditional garden feature was valued and studied separately. During this period, not many new gardens and rockwork were constructed. The main job of craftsmen shifted from building new ones to repairing old ones. The craftsman family, the Han family from Suzhou, was one of them. Their family rockwork-making business was established by Han Hengsheng 韩恒生 in the early nineteenth century and continued in business for over a century. The works by Han Hengsheng were liked by garden owners; therefore he became a well-known craftsman in the Jiangnan area and was known as '*Shanshi Han* 山石韩 [Rockwork Han]'. The family business continues today with the building techniques and the name *Shanshi Han* passed down from one generation to another. In the twentieth century, when the restoration of gardens started, craftsmen from the '*Shanshi Han*' family were frequently invited to restore and repair rockwork in gardens that were listed as Historical and Cultural Sites, such as the Humble Administrator's Garden, Lion Grove, and Lingering Garden.²⁵⁴ Figure 3-4 shows craftsmen from the Han family working on the rockwork of West Garden in Suzhou.

²⁵³ Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Culture of the Central People's, 'Measures for the Conservation and Administration of Cultural Relics, Scenic Spots and Ancient Sites', p.120.

²⁵⁴ Han Liangshun 韩良顺, *Shanshihan dieshan jiyi* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han] (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2010), pp.14-15.

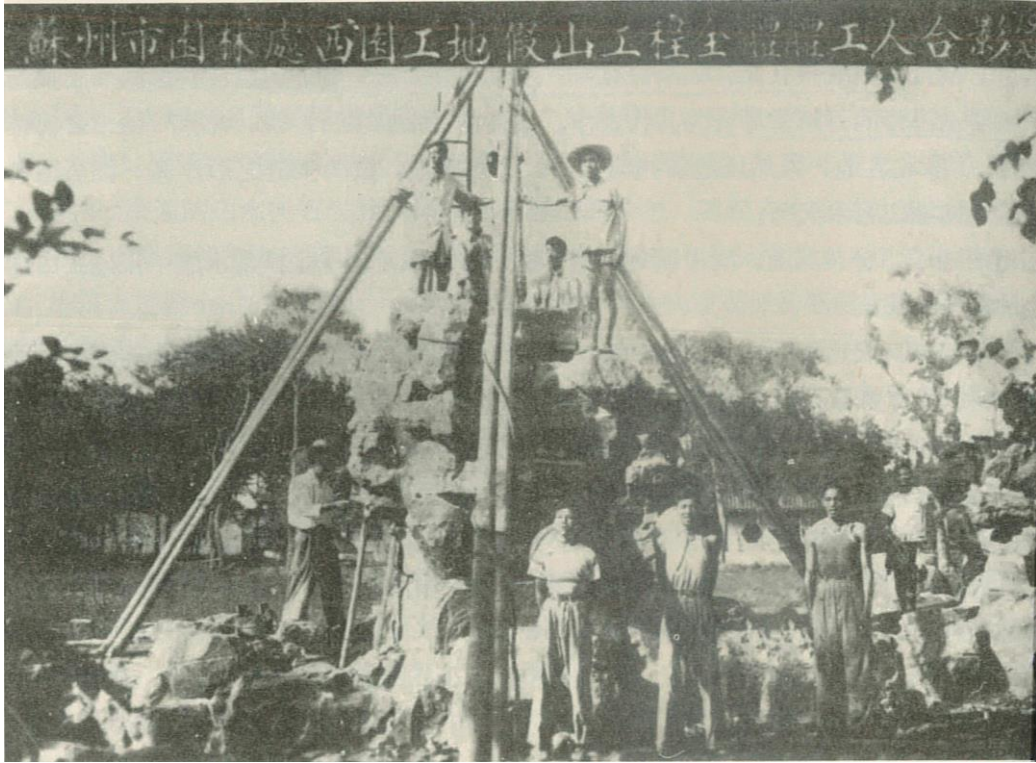


Figure 3-4. The second and third generations of the Han Family working on the rockwork in West Garden (Xi yuan 西園) in Suzhou, 1955. (Source: Han Liangshun 韩良顺, *Shanshihan dieshan jiji* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han] (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2010), p.6.)

The survey of relics was still one of the main aspects of conservation practice, especially after policy required the recording of relics.²⁵⁵ The survey maps in this period were relatively more detailed than before. Academics still played the key role in surveying historic sites. Surveying and mapping were included in the teaching programmes of architecture courses in universities. For example, both Lu Sheng and Liu Dunzhen surveyed a large number of gardens and produced numerous survey maps with the help of their students and other academics, which are helpful for the conservation of rockwork. During the 1950s and 1960s, Lu Sheng directed surveys of the gardens in the Forbidden City (*Gu gong* 故宫), Beihai Park (*Beihai gongyuan* 北海公园), and the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (*Chengde bishu shanzhuang* 承德避暑山庄).²⁵⁶ Some of his survey drawings were published later in the *Qingdai neiting gongyuan* 清代内廷宫苑 [Gardens in The Forbidden City], *Chengde gu jianzhu* 承德古建筑 [Historic Buildings of Chengde] and *Qingdai yuyuan xieying* 清代御苑撷英 [The Best Specimens of Imperial Gardens

²⁵⁵ State Council of the People's Republic of China, 'Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics', p.78.

²⁵⁶ Lu Sheng 卢绳 (1918-1977), *Lusheng yu zhongguo gujianzhu yanjiu* 卢绳与中国古建筑研究 [Lu Sheng and the Study of Ancient Chinese Architecture], ed. by Zhishi chanquan chubanshe (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2007), p.2.

of the Qing Dynasty] , and some other findings were published as reports.²⁵⁷ While Lu Sheng mainly focused on imperial gardens, Liu Dunzhen concentrated on the gardens of Suzhou. Since 1953, Liu had guided a group of researchers in investigating and providing measured surveys of historical gardens in Suzhou. In the following decade, they produced more than 2,000 survey maps and drawings, and more than 20,000 photographs.²⁵⁸ The achievements and findings of this long-term survey were analysed and collated into a book, *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林 [Classical Gardens of Suzhou].²⁵⁹ Compared to the survey maps produced in the early twentieth century, the maps created by Lu and Liu are much more detailed. For example, during fieldwork Lu Sheng created detailed maps, sketches and sometimes elevations and sections (Figs. 3-5 and 3-6). Figure 3-6 shows that Lu recorded the topography of a garden with contour lines, but did not provide a clear record of the form and layout of rockwork.



Figure 3-5. Birds-eye view of the Garden of Harmonious Interest (*Xiequ yuan* 谐趣园), in the Summer Palace, surveyed by Lu Sheng in the mid-twentieth century. (Source: *Qingdai neiting gongyuan* 清代内廷宫苑 [Gardens in The Forbidden City], ed. by Tianjin University School of Civil Engineering (*Tianjin daxue jianzhu gongcheng xi* 天津大学建筑工程系) (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 1986), p.39.)

²⁵⁷ *Qingdai neiting gongyuan* 清代内廷宫苑 [Gardens in The Forbidden City], ed. by Tianjin University School of Civil Engineering (*Tianjin daxue jianzhu gongcheng xi* 天津大学建筑工程系) (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 1986); *Chengde gu jianzhu* 承德古建筑 [Historic Buildings of Chengde], ed. by Tianjin University School of Architecture (*Tianjin daxue jianzhu xi* 天津大学建筑系) and Cultural Relics Bureau of Chengde (*Chengde wenwu ju* 承德文物局) (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1982); *Qingdai yuyuan xieying* 清代御苑撷英 [The Best Specimens of Imperial Garden of the Qing Dynasty], ed. by Tianjin University School of Architecture (*Tianjin daxue jianzhu xi* 天津大学建筑系) and Beijing Gardening Bureau (*Beijingshi yuanlin ju* 北京市园林局) (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 1990).

²⁵⁸ Yang Yongsheng, Liu Xujie, and Lin Zhu, *Five Masters of Chinese Architecture*.

²⁵⁹ Liu Dunzhen, *Classical Gardens of Suzhou*. The main body of this book was finished in 1960 but was not published before Liu passed away in 1968. With the help of his colleagues, the book and all his findings about Suzhou gardens were finally published in 1979.

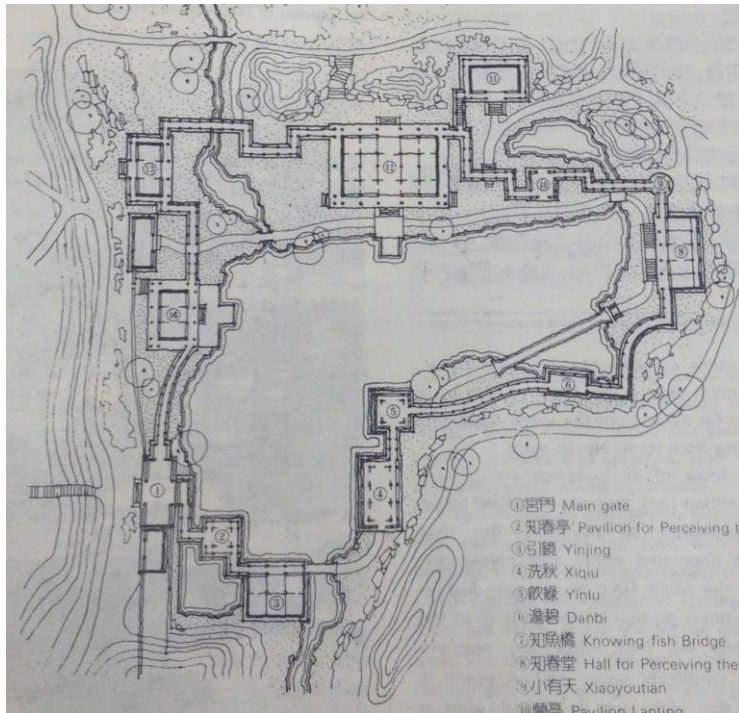


Figure 3-6. Plan of the Garden of Harmonious Interest, surveyed by Lu Sheng in the mid-twentieth century. (Source: *Gardens in The Forbidden City*, ed. by Tianjin daxue jianzhu gongcheng xi, p.39.)

Since the number of people with a knowledge of conservation was still tiny and demand for them was increasing, some custodian organisations held training sessions to cultivate specialists. For example, Beijing Cultural Relics Management Committee (*Beijing wenwu zhengli weiyuanhui* 北京文物整理委员会) held several training courses from 1953 to 1964. As the conservation of ancient buildings and gardens received much attention, they decided to start a Training Course for Ancient Buildings (*Gujian peixun ban* 古建培训班) distinct from the Archaeological Training Course (*Kaogu peixun ban* 考古培训班). Given the importance of site surveying for architectural conservation, the former course was longer than the latter; trainees of the former course had to spend one year with the committee, and most of their time was spent on fieldwork. The third training course started in 1963, after the issuing of the *Temporary Regulations* (1961). As the value of records and accurate surveys was emphasised in this policy, this course was renamed the Training Course in Surveying (*Cehui ban* 测绘班). As the organiser, Luo Zhewen 罗哲文, a former member of the Society and an architectural historian, recalled, the training this time focused on the surveys; most of the trainees from this course contributed to the surveying and documenting work for Historical and Cultural Sites after they graduated.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Luo Zhewen 罗哲文, 'Beijing wenwu zhengli weiyuanhui yu jianguo chuqi de gujianzhu weixiu 北京文物整理委员会与建国初期的古建筑维修 [Beijing Cultural Relics Management Committee and the Maintenance of Ancient

The guidance which had been set up should have been obeyed, but the implementation of rules did not meet expectations because of the contemporaneous context. First of all, public awareness of the protection of relics was still weak. In 1950 and 1951, *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao* 文物参考资料 [Research Materials on Cultural Relics, a journal issued by the Bureau of Cultural Relics of the Ministry of Culture (*Wenhua bu wenwu ju* 文化部文物局)] published several reports from local departments which reflected the loss and destruction of heritage in various locations: for example, the supplementary issue of 1950 described the destruction of some historic temples and pagodas in Shan'xi which were reported as destroyed or severely damaged.²⁶¹

Second, there was a sharp change in attitudes towards tradition and traditional culture in this period, which affected the protection of historic gardens and rockwork.²⁶² After the promulgation of the *Tudi gaige fa* 土地改革法 [Agrarian Reform Law] in 1950, much land was taken from the previous rich land-owners and given to landless peasants; this was considered a sure way to abolish “feudal” exploitation.²⁶³ On one hand, the willingness to eliminate and change the system of dynastic rule was strong, and the relationships between peasants and rich land-owners were tense; on the other hand, the confiscation of agricultural land greatly reduced the income of many garden owners. Hence, the donation of gardens to the government became a common choice: for example, the Lion Grove was donated by the Bei 贝 family in 1952, and the Winding Garden (*Qu yuan* 曲园) was donated by Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1900-1990) in 1954.²⁶⁴ Lacking the careful maintenance of private owners, many of these gardens were not well maintained.

The contradiction between economic development and conservation practice was another problem, especially for historic ruins and tombs.²⁶⁵ Revitalising the sluggish economy was one of the urgent tasks of the young nation. Adopted from the Soviet Union, China's first Five-Year

Buildings During the Early Days of the People's Republic of China', *Zhongguo wenhua yichan* 中国文化遗产 [China cultural heritage], 6(2005), pp.78-87.

²⁶¹ Many articles in this issue mentioned this problem, such as Xiao Li 萧离, Datong wenwu diaocha yungang shifo si jinkuang 大同文物调查云冈石佛寺近况 [Survey of cultural relics in Datong and the current condition of the temple of Yungang stone buddha], in *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao* 文物参考资料 [References of Cultural Relics], Z1(1950), pp.18-22; Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, Woju Zheng Zhenduo juzhang fabiao tanhua yaoqiu zhuyi baohu guji wenwu jinlai you bushao guji wenwu zaoshou pohuai jiying zhizhi 我局郑振铎局长发表谈话要求注意保护古迹文物近来有不少古迹文物遭受破坏亟应制止 [The director Zheng Zhenduo of our bureau gave a speech requiring the protection of cultural relics as many of them were damaged recently], in *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao* 文物参考资料 [References of Cultural Relics], Z1(1950), pp.12-13.

²⁶² Lei Gao, "' Breaking and repairing": Conflicting values in the historic gardens of China' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2010), p.189.

²⁶³ Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 6th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.652.

²⁶⁴ Lei Gao, "' Breaking and repairing": Conflicting values in the historic gardens of China', p.178.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.29.

Plan of Social and Economic Development (*Guomin jingji he shehui fazhan wunian jihua* 国民经济和社会发展五年计划) was launched in 1953. Large-scale constructions of new infrastructure, factories and agricultural needs destroyed many ancient remains.

3.3.3 Destruction and rescue during the Cultural Revolution

The ten years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) were considered as one of the biggest threats to gardens in the twentieth century. A large number of examples of destruction were recorded and discussed by many researchers.²⁶⁶ This started with a movement against “feudalistic” culture by destroying the so-called ‘four olds (*sijiu* 四旧): old ideas, old culture, old manners and old customs. The movement was led by a large group of young people, mainly students, who were sponsored and encouraged by the ‘Cultural Revolution Groups (*Wenge xiaozu* 文革小组)’ within party committees.²⁶⁷ Being regarded as symbols of capitalism and “feudalism”, numerous historical gardens, temples and palaces were destroyed or badly damaged. As a result, rockwork in the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde and Beihai Park in Beijing was damaged to varying degrees.²⁶⁸ Apart from directly destroying ancient remains, the Cultural Revolution constrained garden historians and rockwork craftsmen and their works, which also obstructed the conservation of gardens and rockwork. Scholars, experts and craftsmen were punished and forced to change career. Liu Dunzhen, the garden historian who made great efforts in architectural conservation and led many restoration projects, including the Gazing Garden, encountered serious criticism. As recalled by his son Liu Xujie, Liu Dunzhen’s work on historic gardens was criticised as an attempt to ‘advocate the feudal class and its decayed side’.²⁶⁹ Although Liu died of cancer in 1968, his official memorial meeting was not held until 1979, when the Cultural Revolution had ended and his work was valued and appreciated again. Most scholars, including experts on gardens and rockwork, had been ‘*xiafang* 下放 [sent-down]’ to the countryside. Han Liangshun 韩良顺, the third generation of the ‘Rockwork Han’, and his family had also been *xiafang* to the countryside of northern Jiangsu, where he was required to work as a peasant and later a worker in a factory producing farm implements.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ Denise Y. Ho, ‘Revolutionizing antiquity: the Shanghai Cultural Bureaucracy in the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1968’, in *The China Quarterly*, 207(2011), pp.687-705.

²⁶⁷ Juliana Pennington Heaslet, ‘The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution’, *Asian Survey*, 12.12 (1972), pp.1032-1047.

²⁶⁸ Han Liangshun, *Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han*, p.15.

²⁶⁹ Yang Yongsheng, Liu Xujie, and Lin Zhu, *Five Masters of Chinese Architecture*, p.64.

²⁷⁰ Han Liangshun, *Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han*, p.15.

However, some measures and rules were released for the conservation work during this period only. In 1967, the ‘Guanyu baohu guojia caichan, jieyue naogeming de tonggao 关于保护国家财产、节约闹革命的通告 [Announcement of Protecting State Property and Revolting Frugally]’ was released by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, State Council and Central Military Commission. It probably came about because the destruction of ancient remains had exceeded original expectations. As Juliana Pennington Heaslet noted, ‘as a destructive force, the Red Guards were highly successful’.²⁷¹ The movement not only threatened the cultural heritage, but also railways and other infrastructure. Since the economic development was further affected, the activities of the Red Guards started to be reduced. In December 1966, the numbers of Red Guards were sharply curtailed and the support of free food and lodging was stopped.²⁷² In order to save heritage, Article 4 in the *Announcement* (1967) stated that ‘the management and protection of ancient relics and books should be strengthened; damage is not allowed’.²⁷³ More ‘Opinions (*Yijian* 意见)’ were announced later. Although these statements basically re-announced previous conservation principles, they led to a considerable reduction in the damage and destruction of cultural heritage.²⁷⁴ Cultural bureaus in local governments tried to follow those rules and even took risks to salvage and collect relics, especially movable antiques.²⁷⁵ The Red Guards were completely disbanded in 1968; the destruction of heritage slowed down, but the effect on, and punishment of, relevant professionals continued until the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976.

To sum up, the period from the 1950s to the 1970s was the starting point for the PRC’s legal system on heritage conservation. The principle ‘restoring the old as it was’ and the rating system for Historical and Cultural Sites was first set up and included in conservation policy; the former provided guidance for rockwork conservation practice and the latter ensured the protection of rockwork which had historic and cultural significance. The conservation practice was no longer restricted to the survey of gardens and rockwork; historic gardens and rockwork were repaired and restored during this period. As required by the policies, training courses were set up to cultivate professionals specialising in heritage conservation. Due to the poor economic conditions, the conservation process developed slowly; later, the Cultural Revolution even

²⁷¹ Juliana Pennington Heaslet, ‘The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution,’ p.1046.

²⁷² *Ibid*, p.1035.

²⁷³ Xie Chensheng 谢辰生, ‘Xinzhongguo wenwu baohu gongzuo 50 nian 新中国文物保护工作 50 年 [Five Decades of Cultural Relics Protection in the New China]’, in *Dangdai zhongguoshi yanjiu* 当代中国史研究 [Contemporary China History Studies], 3(2002), pp.61-70(p. 64).

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

²⁷⁵ Denise Y. Ho, ‘Revolutionizing antiquity: the Shanghai Cultural Bureaucracy in the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1968’, pp.687-705.

decelerated the development of heritage conservation as well as the economy. During the Cultural Revolution, existing conservation policies were not obeyed and some rockwork was further damaged during the movement to destroy the 'four olds'. These became the main issues for the restoration and protection of rockwork in this period.

3.4 Developing a conservation framework: 1980s onwards

3.4.1 The growing economy and international status

In earlier periods, conservation work in China developed slowly due to the inexplicitness of guidance, the poor economy and also the influence of the Cultural Revolution. It has been rapidly developed since the 1980s, affected by the changed political context and economic growth. In 1978, the central government launched the nation-wide economic reform programme, the '*Gaige kaifang* 改革开放 [reform and opening-up]', with a focus on opening up to foreign investment. In order to achieve this, it was essential to integrate into the international community and enhance the country's international status.

Affected by the new political goal, the attitude towards historic gardens and heritage dramatically changed during the economic reform, and therefore new policies were promulgated. Gardens were no longer associated with "feudalism" or capitalism of a wealthy class, but considered as a valuable resource to help recover national unity, gain status on the world stage and promote traditional culture. Having joined the International Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985 and established the Chinese National Committee for the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS China) in 1993, China successfully became part of the international community in the field of heritage conservation.²⁷⁶ The first article in the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics; hereafter the *Law* [1982]] also made a clear statement of this political view; the *Law* (1982) aimed at 'strengthening the protection of cultural relics, inheriting the splendid historical

²⁷⁶ Zhu Yujie, 'Cultural Effects of Authenticity: Contested Heritage Practices in China', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6 (2015), pp.594-608; Lei Gao, "' Breaking and repairing": Conflicting values in the historic gardens of China', p.189.

and cultural legacy of the Chinese nation, promoting scientific research and conducting education in patriotism and in the revolutionary tradition'.²⁷⁷

In addition to promoting patriotism and traditional culture, the restoration of gardens also helped to revive the economy by encouraging the development of tourism.²⁷⁸ Restored gardens were reopened to the public and became popular tourist spots for both domestic and foreign visitors. The development of tourism enhanced the revitalisation of the economy and, once economic development took off, more resources became available for garden conservation, with the restored gardens bringing in more profits. However, the large number of tourists brought both advantages and disadvantages for historic gardens and rockwork.

3.4.2 Conservation policies

With the new political context and increased attention to cultural relics, conservation policies developed further. Most currently-valid guidance was promulgated from the 1980s onwards, although there were slight revisions every few years.

In 1982, the central government issued the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics*. It is still the basis and valid core policy of antiquities conservation in China. Eight articles were created for the conservation of Historical and Cultural Sites, which should also be applied to historic rockwork. The key principle (*xiujiu rujiu*) conformed to earlier regulations, with more detailed requirements: 'the principle of keeping the cultural relics in their original state must be adhered to in their repair and maintenance', 'and [people] may not damage, rebuild, extend or dismantle them'.²⁷⁹ It also allows the use of historic sites as museums, cultural relic preservation institutes or tourist sites, but it requires these institutions to strictly observe the key principle and retain the sites in their original state.²⁸⁰ As well as strengthening existing regulations, the 1982 Law raises new requirements such as establishing individual records and files for each protected Historical and Cultural Site, and establishing a

²⁷⁷ *Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会 [National People's Congress], *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 1, in Zhongguo wang 中国网[China.org.cn] <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>> [accessed 27 Jul 2016].

²⁷⁸ Trevor H.B. Sofield, and Fung Mei Sarah Li, 'Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China', in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2 (1998), pp.362-392.

²⁷⁹ National People's Congress, *Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, articles 14, and 15.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, article 15.

control area around each site, in which modern buildings should not affect the historical and cultural value of the site.²⁸¹

Issuing the *Law* (1982) was a milestone for conservation practice in the 1980s. Later, when the government was working on the recognition of World Heritage Sites, international standards were adopted and followed. As a result, the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (*Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则; hereafter *China Principles* [2002]) was issued in 2002 with the help of international organisations; this is also known as the ‘China Charter’. It is an outcome of cooperation with the Getty Conservation Institute, the Australian Heritage Commission and ICOMOS International.²⁸² Ideas from *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* were studied and adopted. This is one of the key international guidance documents related to garden conservation, which was first promulgated at Burra in 1979, and is therefore known as the *Burra Charter*. As indicated in the title, the *Burra Charter’s* focus was to preserve the cultural significance of a place, which is explained as the ‘aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value’ that was ‘embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects’.²⁸³ Although the cultural significance was explained in terms of values, it is clearly set out that the conservation should ‘identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.’²⁸⁴

Both the *Law* (1982) and the *China Principles* (2002) define the values associated with cultural relics, and refer to historic, artistic and scientific values; the revised version of the latter also includes the social and cultural values,²⁸⁵ but with a stronger emphasis on values and the valued part. As stated in article twenty-one, ‘restoration should be based on those existing remains

²⁸¹ Ibid, articles 9 and 12.

²⁸² John H. Stubbs, and Robert G. Thomson, *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National Experiences and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p.83.

²⁸³ Australia ICOMOS Inc., *Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)*, 1979, revised 1999, p.2 (article 1) <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA-CHARTER-1999_charter-only.pdf> [accessed 29 Jul 2016]. As when the *China Principles* statement was first adopted in 2002, the valid version of the *Burra Charter* was the revision in 1999; so, contents of this version are quoted for discussion.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p.4 (article 5.1).

²⁸⁵ National People’s Congress Standing Committee (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui changwu weiyuanhui* 全国人民代表大会常务委员会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the Peoples Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, revised 2015, article 2, in *Zhongguo falu fagui xinxiu*, <<http://law.npc.gov.cn/FLFG/flfgByID.action?flfgID=34969516>> [accessed 20 August 2017]; ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2015 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2015), p.61(article 3).

with values'.²⁸⁶ In the latest version, which was adopted in 2015, Chinese heritage conservation is defined as a value-based theoretical system.²⁸⁷ In the article on restoration, it is stated that restoration should 'preserve the structure, components and vestiges and traces of periods judged to have value'.²⁸⁸ The emphasis on values, especially on social and cultural values, is considered to be a result of absorbing national and international conservation theories, research and practical experiences.²⁸⁹ Although the definitions of values are described in some guidance, the judging and assessment of values could be subjective and, therefore, problematic in conservation practice; the misjudgement of 'values' would lead to the loss of original characteristics. Ideally, the assessment should be 'as broad and imaginative as possible and look outside of the site itself'.²⁹⁰ This is difficult to achieve in reality. This has been pointed out in some research: as Kim Auston has written, some values can even conflict with each other.²⁹¹ According to the analysis of individual conservation practices in the following chapters, it is also clear that some characteristics of rockwork were valued and preserved by the conservation team and some were not recognized and therefore changed; the breadth of knowledge on rockwork would affect the recognition and assessment of values, and further affect the conservation of remains.

Although the emphasis on and attitudes towards values and valued structures need to be questioned, the *China Principles* (2002) have shown an improvement in conservation policies: earlier guidelines were further defined, and new ones were proposed. As with previous policies, the *China Principles* (2002) still insist on the key principle of retaining the original state (*bugaibian yuanzhuang* 不改变原状), or the historic condition (as phrased in the 2004 and 2015 versions).²⁹² In the commentary, the historic condition is explained in detail: when the

²⁸⁶ ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China] (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), p.7 (article 21).

²⁸⁷ Tong Mingkang 童明康, 'Xuyan 序言 [Forward]', in ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, revised 2015, p. 53.

²⁸⁸ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, revised 2015, p. 84 (article 27).

²⁸⁹ Tong Mingkang 童明康, 'Forward', in ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, revised 2015, p. 53.

²⁹⁰ Sarah Couch, 'Defining Significance and Developing a Conservation Philosophy', in *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. by Marion Harney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), pp.129- 139(p.131).

²⁹¹ Kim Auston, 'Values in Heritage Management: Conservation Plans and Beyond', in *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. by Marion Harney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p.175; Sarah Couch, 'Defining significance and developing a conservation philosophy', p.139.

²⁹² ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China] (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), p. 4(article 2); ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2004 (Los Angeles:

components or techniques from different periods have significance for the site, or when the damage was caused by important events or natural disasters and the remains have significance and research value, their condition should be preserved.²⁹³ The mention of ‘components or techniques from different periods’ is important for historic gardens, showing an awareness of the changes over time. For most gardens that had a long history, features might not be constructed in the same period, and the layout of the garden would change; components of a certain period might have different characteristics affected by the contemporaneous contexts, as in the case of rockwork. However, guidance to preserve those features and characteristics considered as having values might still be unclear unless all kinds of values could be indicated.

Compared with earlier regulations, the *China Principles* (2002) did include some practical guidelines for the first time, such as those on the conservation process and conservation measures. Since the adoption of this document, the process of all conservation practice is required to have six steps, as shown in the flow chart below (Fig. 3-7): in short, the research and assessment of the site comes prior to further measures; the conservation master plan should be determined by the assessment result. In order to implement the plan and preserve the site, conservation measures for various situations were proposed, including regular maintenance, physical protection and strengthening, along with minor and major restoration. The contents of each category are further defined and explained so as to specify the extent of the intervention;²⁹⁴ this is a way to ensure that the historic condition would be retained as much as possible.

The Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), p.60 (article 2); ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, revised 2015, p. 65 (article 9).

²⁹³ ICOMOS China, ‘Guanyu zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze ruogan zhongyao wenti de chanshu 关于《中国文物古迹保护准则》若干重要问题的陈述 [Commentary on the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China]’, in ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, pp.16-17 (Item 3.1).

²⁹⁴ COMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, pp.8-10 (articles 28-35).

Flow Chart of the Conservation Process

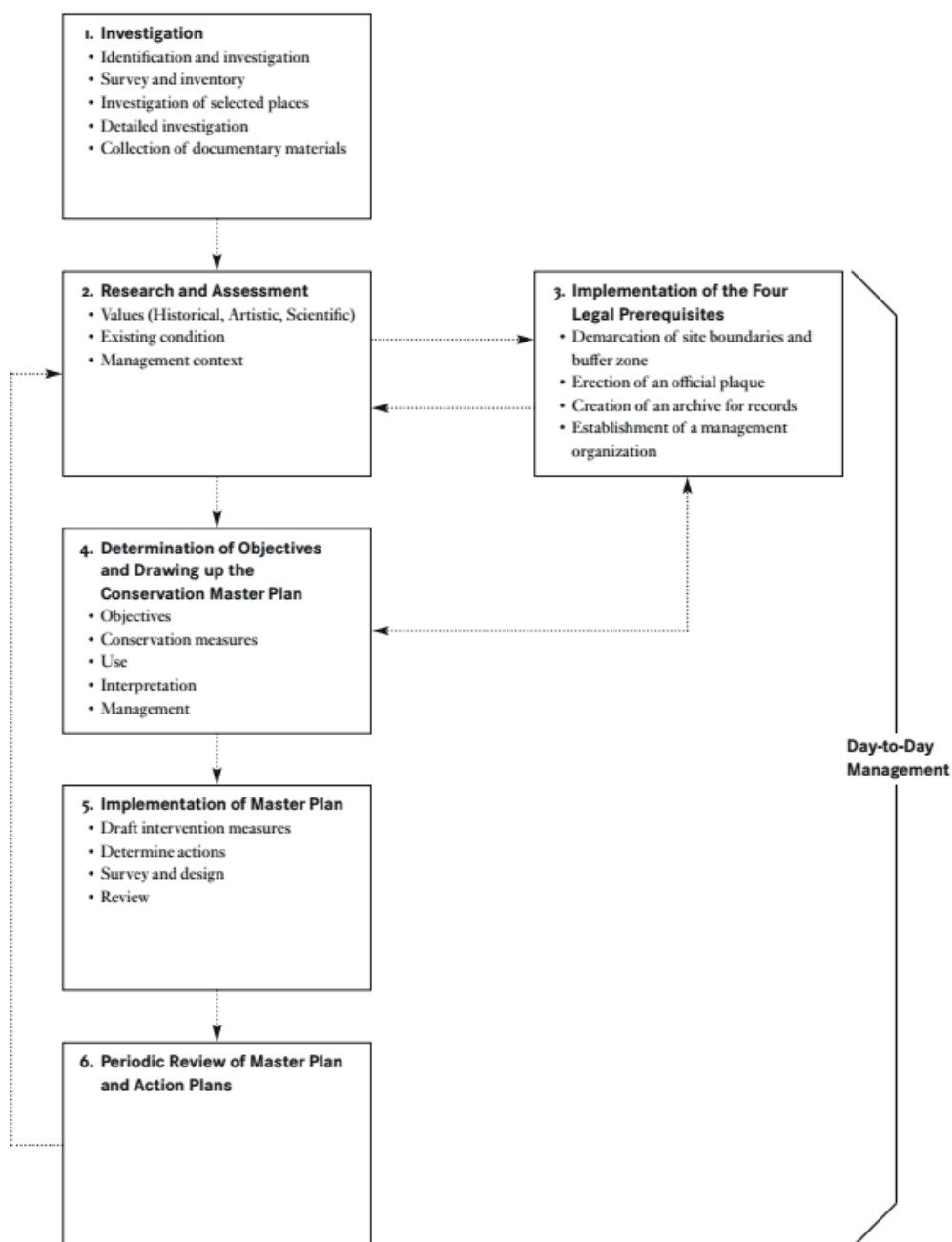


Figure 3-7. Flow chart of the conservation process; contents of the original Chinese chart are the same in the 2002 and 2004 versions, but the whole document was not translated until the 2004 version. (Source: ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, 2002, revised in 2004 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China] (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), p.77.)

Practical guidelines on conservation were drawn up, and they were enhanced and detailed in later revisions. However, the implementation of the guidelines seems to have been flexible. Unlike the *Burra Charter*, which was produced independently by the non-governmental organization Australia ICOMOS, the *China Principles*, although developed by ICOMOS China, needed the approval of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (*Guojia wenwuju* 国家文物局). The preface also states that the *Principles* were created based on the national heritage law and relevant policies. It, therefore, admits the dominant status of the government in the decision-making process. Article 18 in the original *China Principles* stated, ‘when a major development project of national importance is undertaken’, relocation can be allowed.²⁹⁵ It is clear that there is room for the government to affect conservation practice in certain situations. This is normally related to economic imperatives. Although this article was changed in the 2015 version, there are still descriptions giving rights to the government; for example, ‘moving a site to a new location is a rare intervention, subject to strict controls and special approval’.²⁹⁶ One of the improved conditions is the statement that ‘this type of intervention is not permitted merely to facilitate tourism or sight-seeing’.²⁹⁷

3.4.3 Practice and issues

In the case of rapid economic growth and the need to increase national strength, heritage conservation developed at a high speed, and the conservation of rockwork also benefited. The development is embodied in various aspects: increasing numbers of historic gardens have been nominated as Historical and Cultural Sites, the restoration and regeneration of historic gardens took place on a national scale and higher standards were set up for rockwork craftsmen.

After the issue of the *Law* (1982), local authorities quickly reacted; there was a new wave of garden conservation in the 1980s and early 1990s, in which many ancient rockworks were discovered and protected.²⁹⁸ The reaction may also have been affected by the increasing number of Historical and Cultural Sites and Cities at various levels. In order to protect the local culture as well as attract tourists, local authorities made efforts in the research and conservation of ancient sites located in their own jurisdictions and tried to get them nominated. Before 1982,

²⁹⁵ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2004, p.63 (article 18).

²⁹⁶ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2015, p.87 (article 29).

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 87 (article 29).

²⁹⁸ Wu Zhengzheng 吴铮争, and Zhao Rong 赵荣, ‘Guanyu lishi jianzhu de xiujiu rujiu—jianlun shanbei mingchangcheng baohu zhong de xiujiu rujiu 关于历史建筑的“修旧如旧”——兼论陕北明长城保护中的“修旧如旧” [Principle of Restoring the Old as Old in Historical Architectures: Taking the Great Wall of Ming Dynasty of the North of Shanxi as an Example]’, *Chengshi wenti* 城市问题 [Urban Problems], 2(2014), pp.36-40 (p.36).

fewer than 200 sites were nominated as Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level. Up to now, there have been seven batches and 4,296 sites listed as Historical and Cultural Sites at National Level. In 1985, China signed the UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. In 2016, China had fifty World Heritage Sites, ranking second only to Italy. Many gardens are included, such as those of the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, and the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde, and nine gardens in Suzhou.²⁹⁹ Under the protection of laws and regulations, historical gardens and their rockwork received formal treatment. According to the WHC (World Heritage Centre) nomination document of the Summer Palace, much research was done to ensure the restored structure retained its original style before and during its restoration; for example, the layout of hills and watercourses was kept.³⁰⁰

In the course of the development of garden conservation, national standards were set up for rockwork professionals. In the *Zhiye jineng gangwei biao zhun* 职业技能岗位标准 [National Standards for Occupations] which was first set in 1989, there was a section for technicians who work on the construction of classical buildings. The standards most relevant to rockwork craftsmen relate to '*shi gong* 石工 [stone craftsmen]'. 'Stone craftsmen' means craftsmen who build all kinds of stone structures, including rockwork as well as stone towers, walls and other architectural structures. The standards were altered and reissued in 2002. In the new standards, the national standard for '*jiashan gong* 假山工 [rockwork craftsmen]' was created. From that time, there have been three levels of qualification for professional rockwork craftsmen: junior, intermediate and senior. This national standard has been implemented; according to interviews with rockwork craftsmen, they received training based on this national standard.³⁰¹ Each of them is required to have certain specialised knowledge on the construction of rockwork. This shows that knowledge of rockwork construction is valued as a unique and special type of technique, which is significant in promoting its spread and dissemination. Although senior rockwork technicians are required to learn about historical rockwork in order to guide their work during conservation projects, the traditional techniques and genres that they can learn from the official textbook are limited.

²⁹⁹ Gao Lei, "' Breaking and repairing": Conflicting Values in the Historic Gardens of China', p.189.

³⁰⁰ UNESCO, 'World Heritage List Nomination of Cultural Property: China- The Summer Palace', 1998, WHC Nomination Documentation File No. 880, in UNESCO, <<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/880.pdf>> [accessed 29 Jul 2016].

³⁰¹ Interview with Zhang Weilong, see appendix 3.

With more available resources, gardens and rockwork suffered less damage; however, changes to the original appearance and historic condition still occurred. The restoration of historic gardens and their transformation into tourist spots, regarded as a way to demonstrate nationalism and boost the economic development, has become a trend from the 1980s onwards. Catering for the needs and aesthetic standards of tourists became the main task rather than restoring the unique historical and cultural significance of each site. Many historic gardens look similar and contain rockwork, water ponds and buildings in generic styles. The traces of modern design can also be found in the choosing of plants, the type of rocks, and the inclusion of modern buildings. Distinctive features and designs of individual historic gardens have often disappeared in modern restoration processes. This aspect is further discussed in the later case study chapters, in which the challenges and effects of the growing economy and tourism are investigated.

While rockwork in nominated gardens was well-protected, many of the others were ignored and rapidly became damaged. This was a frequent phenomenon in the 1980s, when the programme of economic reform had just been launched and the process of urbanization speeded up. In the case of rockwork conservation, rocks in some un-nominated historic gardens might be bought and used for the restoration of rockwork in gardens nominated as Historical and Cultural Sites. According to my interview with Zhang Weilong 张伟龙, a rockwork craftsman who participated in many conservation projects in the 1980s, the acquisition of old rocks was a common way, at least in Suzhou, to retain the original fabric.³⁰² As described by Zhang, many locals were happy to dismantle and sell the rocks in their gardens or courtyards, so as to make room for other purposes, such as a detached kitchen or utility room. Especially when a historic garden was shared by several user groups, the maintaining of garden features would be more difficult.

3.5 Conclusion

By exploring the development of the conservation of historic gardens and rockwork, it has been shown that the policy and practice of conservation has developed and changed in accordance with the contemporaneous understanding of conservation. There were traditional treatments of historic gardens, such as renovation, repair, and restoration. Many of these practices were referred to as *chongxiu*. The current concept of conservation did not appear until the early twentieth century, when policies and regulations were adopted to set a national standard for conservation practice and to preserve cultural relics. Since then, the basic conservation principle

³⁰² Interview with Zhang Weilong, see appendix 3.

has been to retain the original state of the relics, including the original fabric, appearance, techniques, etc. This is the principle that makes current conservation different from the tradition of *chongxiu*. As explored in section 3.1, the aim of *chongxiu* was not to retain the original state, but to continue an association with the original meanings and spirits of the site.

The development of garden and rockwork conservation from the twentieth century onwards can be divided into various stages affected by changes in policies and guidance. The first stage is the first half of the twentieth century, when the initial national guidance on conservation was adopted. In this stage, the awareness of protecting and repairing historic remains was formed. However, not many gardens could be repaired due to limited knowledge about them, the weak economic conditions and the chaos of war; therefore, the main practices were the surveying of ancient buildings and gardens, which helped to record their location and condition. The second stage is from the 1950s to the 1970s, when the basic principle of retaining the original appearance and state was adopted, and the system of Historic and Cultural Sites was created. In order to implement this principle, more guidelines were adopted: detailed records were required for any parts needing to be changed or dismantled; experts needed to be invited to guide conservation projects; special offices were set up to manage the historic sites. Guided by these rules, many detailed surveys were made of historic gardens and rockwork, and many of these were repaired or restored. The development was hampered by the Land Reform and Cultural Revolution, which triggered discontent against the traditional culture and wealthy landowners, many of whom were garden owners. The last stage is from the 1980s to the present. Affected by the new economic reform programme, the conservation of historic gardens and other relics was encouraged and rapidly developed. While the principle of retaining the original states was continued, more practical guidelines were drawn up for the actual conservation process and measures. Thus, other large-scale garden conservation projects took place during this period.

This is briefly the development of conservation policies and practices. Under their influence, how the historic rockwork has been conserved, and whether the original states have been retained are matters for investigation. Some answers will be found in the analysis of the following four individual case studies of sites which have been treated using different measures and show different states.

Chapter 4. Case study 1: A reconstruction of history – Qiao Garden

Chapter Two evidenced that there were distinctive trends in the creation of rockwork during different periods; each trend of rockwork has identical characteristics in terms of the appearance, structure, materials, construction techniques and so on. Chapter three investigated the conservation policies and the changes from the early twentieth century onwards. With the findings from these two chapters, the following chapters explore and analyse several different conservation projects in order to address the research questions of how the original appearance and state of each garden has been retained and how general practices follow conservation policies and procedures. After studying and exploring these cases, this thesis discusses the issues as well as the good practices revealed in the analysis, so that appropriate and valid suggestions can be provided for future improvement.

As stated in the methodology section, these 4 cases were selected for several reasons. First of all, they were constructed in different periods and have distinct characteristics. Second, different treatments were implemented during the conservation process, so that issues and good practices exposed in different conservation treatments could be revealed. Last but not least, relatively more material was obtained for these cases, thus enabling more in-depth and interesting case studies to be conducted.

This chapter is looking at the conservation of the Qiao Garden (*Qiao yuan* 乔园) in Taizhou, Jiangsu Province. It was originally established in the Wanli Period (1573-1620) of the Ming Dynasty. In the past centuries, its name has changed several times; the name Qiao Garden came from the last owner Qiao Songnian. Its long history makes it the oldest garden in north Jiangsu Province; for this reason, it was listed in 1982 as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at Provincial Level, and upgraded to the National Level in 2013. The Qiao Garden is especially known for its rockwork that has remained since the Ming Dynasty. Currently, this garden includes three parts. As shown in Figure 4-1, the historical remains are located in the middle (orange area); the reconstructed part is in the west (blue area) and the eastern part is the administrative area, which was not part of the garden historically (grey area). The latter was built during the recent restoration programme in 2006 that aimed to reconstruct features that were mentioned in historical records but no longer existed.

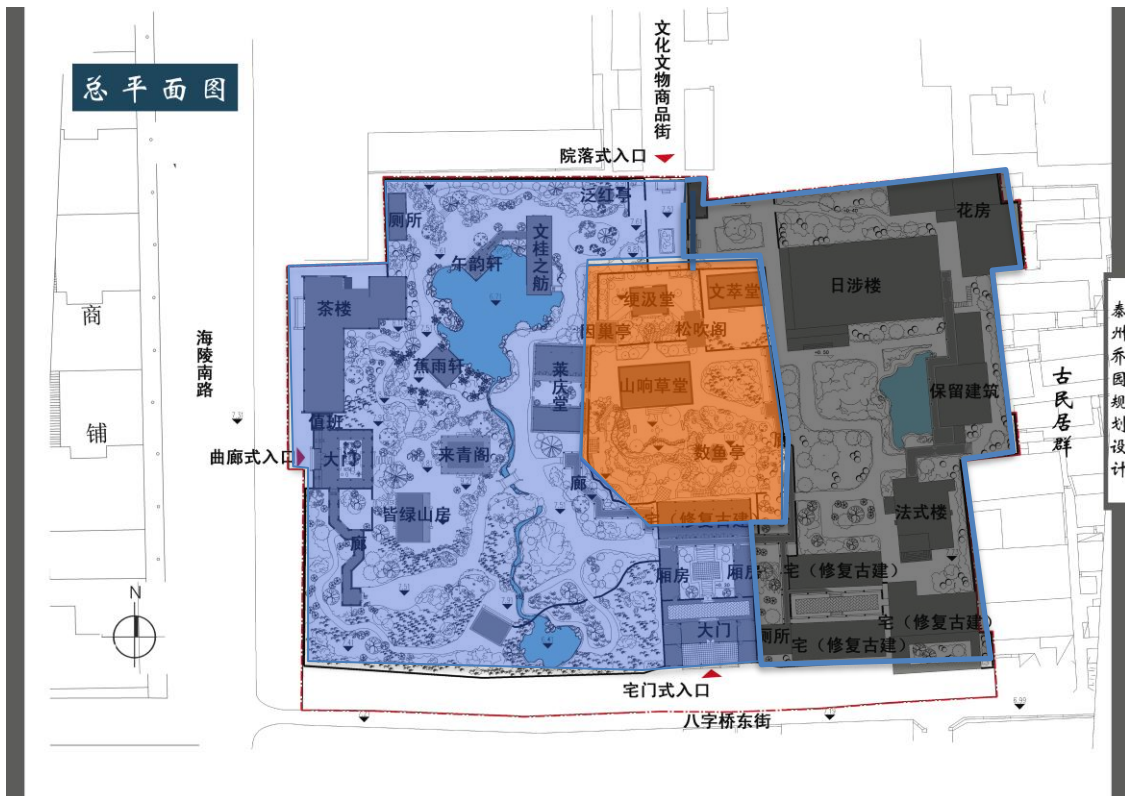


Figure 4-1. Master plan of the restoration and reconstruction of the Qiao Garden. Orange area: historic garden part; blue area: reconstructed garden part; grey area: administrative area. (Source: Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University (*Nanjing linye daxue linchan gongye shejiyuan* 南京林业大学林产工业设计院), 'Taizhou qiaoyuan huifu ji kuojian gongcheng guihua sheji 泰州乔园恢复及扩建工程规划设计 [The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Programme of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou]', 2006, held by Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局).)

The Qiao Garden was selected for the following reasons. First of all, the historical rockwork is the main feature of the garden, and exemplifies distinct rockwork characteristics of the late Ming period. Second, it is a quite recent conservation example which took place in the twenty-first century. Since the conservation of the Qiao Garden was started after the announcement of *China Principles*, choosing the garden as a case study can potentially demonstrate how the newest policies were implemented. In addition, the reconstruction of the disappeared elements, including rockwork, was the main approach applied, which is a common conservation approach in China; the analysis of this case can also reveal how this approach affected the retaining of the original appearance and states, whether in a positive or negative way. In addition, the Qiao garden also presents the advantage of offering a greater accessibility to first-hand records and materials than other examples surveyed.

4.1 History and development

4.1.1 The Daily Visit Garden

‘Every day I stroll in the garden for pleasure. There is a gate there, but it is always shut.’³⁰³

This verse comes from the rhapsody ‘Guiqulaixi Ci 归去来兮辞 [The Return]’, written by Tao Yuanming (365-427), which also inspired the original name of the Qiao Garden: ‘Daily Visit Garden (*Rishe yuan* 日涉园)’. Tao Yuanming, also known as Tao Qian, was a reclusive poet who escaped from his life as an official. He was appreciated as ‘an aloof recluse, a moral exemplar and a fascinating character’ that for long represented the hermit culture.³⁰⁴ The Return is also one of his works that describes the country life, and was created after Tao’s final resignation in 405.³⁰⁵ Countless later scholars highly praised Tao’s ideas and attitudes, and mentioned Tao or quoted his works in many ways. The eighth-century poet Wang Wei 王维 (699-759) borrowed the term ‘*qiongyang* 穷巷 [poor alley]’ from Tao’s poem on several occasions; it was a term Tao used to describe his secluded place, and Wang used the same term to indicate he also lived a thrifty life.³⁰⁶ Since the Song Dynasty (692-1279), a special literati form emerged, which is known as ‘*Hetao shi* 和陶诗 [Poems Harmonising with Tao’s [poems]]’. The rhymes and structures of Tao’s poems were imitated in Hetao shi; and Tao’s spirits were also praised in some of them. Poets like Su Shi 苏轼 (1037-1101), Hao Jin 郝经 (1223-1275) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) wrote many poems of this kind.³⁰⁷ Naming the garden ‘Daily Visit Garden’ is also a way to show the owner’s appreciation of Tao. At least three gardens in history were named the ‘Daily Visit Garden’. Apart from this one, there was one in Taicang 太仓 established by Yang Shangying 杨尚英 (ca. sixteenth century) and another one in Jiading 嘉定 established by *Juci shanren chenzi* 具茨山人陈子 (ca. sixteenth century).³⁰⁸ The garden was created by Chen Yingfang 陈

³⁰³ Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365-427), ‘Guiqulaixi Ci 归去来兮辞 [The Return]’, trans. by James Robert Hightower, in *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations Volume 1: from Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty*, ed. by John Minford & Joseph S.M. Lau, Vol. 1 (New York; Hong Kong: Columbia University Press; The Chinese University Press, 2000), pp.517-519.

³⁰⁴ Wendy Swartz, ‘Rewriting a Recluse: the Early Biographers’ Construction of Tao Yuanming’, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 26(2004), pp.77-97(p.77).

³⁰⁵ Tao Yuanming, ‘The Return’, trans. by James Robert Hightower, pp.517-519.

³⁰⁶ Liu Qinghai 刘青海, ‘Wang wei shige yu tao, xie de yuanyuan xintan 王维诗歌与陶、谢的渊源新探 [Poetry of Wang Wei and Exploration into His Connection with Tao and Xie]’, in *Qishi xuekan* 求是学刊 [Seeking Truth], 1 (2012), pp.125-132 (p.128).

³⁰⁷ Jin Fujing 金甫暲, *Su Shi hetaoshi kaolun* 苏轼和陶诗考论 [Discussion on Su Shi’s Poems Harmonising with Tao’s [poems]] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2013), pp.9-27.

³⁰⁸ Anon., ‘Loudong yuanlin zhi 娄东园林志 [The Gardens of Loudong]’, in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周(1918-2000) and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆(1919-2000), annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, p.100; Chen Suoyun 陈所蕴 (1543-1626), ‘Rishe yuanji 日涉园记 [Record of the Daily Visit Garden]’, in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen

应芳 (1534-1610), an official in the Wanli Period.³⁰⁹ After his retirement, Chen went back home and built his residence based on his grandfather's former property. Chen built the garden from scratch, then he spent the rest of his life in his garden. Chen used to serve in various departments in several provinces. Therefore borrowing the name of the garden from Tao Yuaming's verse was a way to hint at his own situation of returning home after serving as an official. But unlike Tao Yuanming, who chose to live a reclusive life as a farmer, Chen cared about the local people and tried to contribute to improve local conditions. While staying in Taizhou, he wrote the *Jingzhi Ji* 敬止集 [Collection of Admiration] (1595), a book recording the watercourse of rivers, topography, canal transportation and floods in Taizhou.³¹⁰ Chen also wrote one of the forewords of *Wanli Taizhou zhi* 万历泰州志 [Gazetteer of Taizhou in the Wanli Period].³¹¹ His other book, *Rishe yuan biji* 日涉园笔记 [Miscellanies of the Daily Visit Garden], was possibly one of the books completed after the garden was constructed, as it was named after the garden.

The exact date of the construction of Daily Visit Garden is unknown, but it was possibly built in the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century since this is the estimated period when Chen retired and returned to Taizhou. To be more specific, it might have been completed after 1604, as it was not mentioned in the remaining chapters of *Gazetteer of Taizhou in the Wanli Period*, in which the garden owner Chen Yingfang provided a foreword. In the early Ming Dynasty, fewer gardens were built yet the situation changed in the sixteenth century when the economy prospered again.³¹² The creation of gardens was popular again after the Jiajing Period (1522-1566), and, as a result, so were rockworks. For example, two thirds of the gardens recorded in Wang Shizhen's 王世贞 (1526-1590) essay *You Jinling zhuyuan ji* 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visiting the Gardens of Jinling] are described as containing rockwork; Jinling is today's Nanjing. Some were individual rocks displayed among plants, and some were artificial mountains with caves, ridges, pavilions or streams.

Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), II, pp.4-7.

³⁰⁹ Wu Wenxi 吴文锡 (1797-?), 'Zheyuan ji 蛰园记 [Record of Garden of Hiding]', published in Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), 'Taizhou qiaoyuan 泰州乔园 [Qiao Garden in Taizhou]', in *Wenbo tongxun* 文博通讯 [Journal of Relics and Museology], 16 (1977), pp. 9-13.

³¹⁰ Chen Yingfang 陈应芳 (1534-1610), *Jingzhi ji sanjuan* 敬止集三卷 [Collection of Admiration, Three Volumes], block printed in 1595, held by Taizhou Library (*Taizhou tushuguan* 泰州图书馆).

³¹¹ Li Cunxin 李存信, Huang You 黄佑, Zhang Wendou 章文斗, *Wanli Taizhou zhi* 万历泰州志 [Gazetteer of Taizhou in Wanli Period] (1604) (Taizhou: Xinhua shudian, 1963).

³¹² Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996).

Established during this period of rising popularity, the Daily Visit Garden also included an artificial mountain, which was examined and confirmed as a Ming Dynasty production.³¹³ Its rockwork contains a tunnel, a stream and two pavilions on the top; this structure is a typical ‘*xiadong shangtai* 下洞上台 [Caves beneath and platforms above]’ structure, which was the trend in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries according to the analysis in Chapter Two. However, hardly any detailed descriptions about this specific rockwork, when the garden was known as Daily Visit Garden, have been found to have existed.

4.1.2 Garden of Three Peaks

In the Kangxi Period (1662-1722), the garden belonged to the Tian family 田氏; in the following Yongzheng 雍正年间 (1723-1735), Qianlong 乾隆年间 (1736-1795), Jiaqing 嘉庆年间 (1796-1820) and Daoguang 道光年间 (1821-1850) periods, it was owned by another family, Gao Fengzhu 高凤翥 (1707-1771) and his offspring.³¹⁴ During the ownership of Gao, the garden name was changed to Garden of Three Peaks (*Sanfeng yuan* 三峰园). As the name indicated, there were three peak stones in it. Some recent publications believe that Gao Fengzhu was the one that placed three new peak stones in the garden and changed the name; those recent publications include the book of Ruan Yisan 阮仪三, an influential scholar specialised in the research of historic cities, and those articles officially posted on the website of the Qiao Garden and Taizhou Library (*Taizhou tushuguan* 泰州图书馆).³¹⁵ However, an old wooden inscribed board in the garden suggests a different argument. The name Garden of Three Peaks is engraved on it, with a short essay dated 1817 and written by the contemporaneous owner, Daizhan 岱瞻 (Fig.4-2). The author stated that he decided to change the name of the garden as he adored the three peak stones contained in it. As this essay is dated forty years after the death of Gao Fengzhu, he is probably not the inventor of the new name. In fact, the timing suggests that Daizhan is Gao Rongshi 高荣轼 (1745—1820), the third son of Gao Fengzhu, whose studio name

³¹³ Chen Congzhou 陈从周, ‘Taizhou qiaoyuan 泰州乔园 [Qiao Garden in Taizhou]’, in *Wenbo tongxun* 文博通讯 [Journal of Relics and Museology], 16 (November 1977), pp. 9-13. This article can also be found in Chen Congzhou 陈从周, *Yuanlin Tancong* 园林谈丛 [Discussions on Gardens] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp. 156-161.

³¹⁴ Wu Wenxi, ‘Record of the Garden of Hiding’, p.11.

³¹⁵ Anon., ‘Gaoshi yu sanfeng yuan 高氏与三峰园[The Gao Family and the Garden of Three Peaks]’, 2012, in the Qiao Garden of Taizhou (*Taizhou qiaoyuan* 泰州乔园), <http://www.tzqiaoyuan.com/Hva_Main/NewsView.asp?id=247&SortID=23>[accessed 8 May 2013]; Anon., ‘Taizhou qiaoyuan 泰州乔园 [Qiao Garden of Taizhou]’, in *Taizhou Library (Taizhou tushuguan* 泰州图书馆), 2014, <http://www.jstzlib.org.cn/whtz/msgj/201208/2012-08-30_4245.htm>[accessed 23 March 2017]; Ruan Yisan 阮仪三, Liu Tianhua 刘天华, Ruan Yongsan 阮湧三, and Ding Feng 丁枫, *Jiangnan Gudian Sijia Yuanlin* 江南古典私家园林 [Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan], ed. by Ruan Yisan 阮仪三 (Nanjing: Fenghua chuban chuanmei jituan, Yilin chubanshe, 2009), p.135.

was Daizhan. As mentioned in the essay, Daizhan always loved natural scenery and visited as many times as he could.³¹⁶ This small garden located on the south-east of his residence contained rockwork, a pond and lush and verdant plants. But when he inherited the garden, the buildings were old and naturally damaged, and he therefore repaired over ten of them. Although it is certain that the three peaks involved must have been brought to the garden before 1817, there is still no evidence of who first placed them and when it was.



Figure 4-2. The wooden inscribed board in the Qiao Garden, which is engraved with the character 三峰園 [Garden of Three Peaks] and an article by Daizhan 岱瞻. (Source: Qiao Garden, Taizhou.)

Descriptions of the three peaks and the Garden of Three Peaks exist on an old stone tablet which reveals the contemporaneous layout and appearance and survives in the garden today. Among the three articles inscribed on it, one was written by Mei Zengliang 梅曾亮 (1786-1856), an official and scholar. Mei named the essay, which is more like a rhapsody, ‘Sanfeng caotang ge 三峰草堂歌 [Song of the thatched cottage of three peaks; hereafter, the *Song*]’.³¹⁷ In the *Song*, Mei described the garden as having a thatched cottage in the centre. According to him, the thatched cottage was facing the rockwork on the south and named ‘Three Peaks’; a pond was located in between the cottage and the rockwork. Inside the rockwork, there was a cave; on the rockwork, there were possibly some tall and linear rocks that Mei described as looking like a ‘*hu* 笏’. A *hu* was the ceremonial tablet that officials would bring to meetings at court. At the back

³¹⁶ *Taizhou zhi daoguang* 泰州志 (道光) [Gazetteer of Taizhou in the Daoguang Period], in *Jiangsu fuxian zhiji* (50) 江苏府县志辑 (50) [Collections of Gazetteers of Prefectures and Counties of Jiangsu Province (no.50)], ed. by Xue Fei 薛飞 (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian shanghai faxing suo, 1991), p.2.

³¹⁷ Mei Zengliang 梅曾亮 (1786-1856), ‘Sanfeng caotang ge 三峰草堂歌 [Song of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks]’, inscribed on a stone tablet in the Qiao Garden.

of the cottage, there was a spring and a tower named Pine Wind (*Songfeng* 松风); and the Tower of Coming Green (*Laiqing ge* 来青阁) located to the west of the cottage. Additional elements that were mentioned in the *Song* cannot yet be located, such as the Pavilion of Counting Fish (*Shuyu ting* 数鱼亭), the Laiqing Hall (*Laiting tang* 莱庆堂) and an old pine tree. Based on Mei's description, the thatched cottage was the main building, with rockwork, watercourse and plants as the main garden features as they were repeatedly mentioned. The garden was possibly filled with dense greenery providing a lush and shady atmosphere, as Mei used many terms in the schematic field of the colour 'green', such as '*Zhonglü* 众绿 [all greens]', '*Qing mengmeng* 青濛濛 [misty green]', '*Bicao* 碧草 [dark green grass]', '*Lütian* 绿天 [green sky]'.

Mei's rather brief article described the atmosphere of the garden rather than the features in detail. According to a later owner Qiao Songnian 乔松年 (1815-1875), who inscribed Mei's article on the stone tablet, that is possibly because Mei had never been to the garden; the article was created based on paintings.³¹⁸ Even in the *Song*, Mei wrote 'painter created works here' in between the rockwork and the thatched house.³¹⁹ Thus, it is possible that Mei was writing based on the painter's work, which was not uncommon in ancient China. Some garden owners would require a detailed painting of the garden from an artist, and invite scholars or certain figures to write articles or poems for the garden. For example, Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711) wrote the '*Dongyuan ji* 东园记 [Record of East Garden]' in his last years based on the '*Dongyuan tu* 东园图 [Painting of East Garden]' provided by the garden owner.³²⁰

While the *Song* briefly introduces the appearance of the rockwork and the garden, Zhou Xiang 周庠 (ca. late eighteenth to nineteenth century) provides us with a more complete idea of the garden as he made four drawings accompanied by descriptions in 1825, which he named *Sanfengyuan simian jing tu* 三峰园四面景图 [Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks].³²¹ Zhou Xiang was a guest at the Garden of Three Peaks for three years (1824-1827) when he stayed in Taizhou and participated in creating the *Taizhouzhi daoguang* 泰州志 (道光)

³¹⁸ Qiao Songnian 乔松年 (1815-1875), '*Hou ge* 后歌 [Later Song]', 1868, inscribed on a stone tablet in the Qiao Garden.

³¹⁹ See the original sentence '山响草堂正相对，画师于此经营工', in Mei Zengliang, 'Song of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks'.

³²⁰ Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711), '*Dongyuan ji* 东园记 [Record of East Garden]', 1710, in Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱, '*Yuanjiang dongyuantu kao* 袁江《东园图》考 [Study of Yuan Jiang's Painting of East Garden]', in *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics], 11(1973), pp.70-72 (p.70).

³²¹ Zhou Xiang 周庠 (ca. late 18th – 19th century), '*Sanfengyuan simian jing tu* 三峰园四面景图 [Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks]', 1825, held by Taizhou Museum (*Taizhouzhi bowuguan* 泰州市博物馆).

[Gazetteer of Taizhou in the Daoguang Period].³²² The four images and descriptions were created for four sides of the garden, and centred on the thatched cottage. Conforming to the description about painters in Mei's *Song*, these might be the paintings that Mei had seen and on which he based the *Song*. Zhou's works provided detailed records of garden features and their locations, which helped us to further understand the information stated in Mei's article. It also makes it possible that Zhou Xiang's painting could be the basis of Mei's article. Later in the recent reconstruction project, these paintings and descriptions were considered as the main source. According to Zhou Xiang, the cottage was named the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains (*Shanxiang caotang* 山响草堂) rather than the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks, the name Mei Zengliang referred to in his essay. Other than the name, all of Mei's descriptions were verified in Zhou's paintings. Descriptions next to the paintings actually introduce every element. To the south, there were the rockwork and the pond. To the north, there were the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains, a spring, another rockwork, the Hall of Fetching Water (*Gengji tang* 羹汲堂), the Tower of Blowing Pines (*Songhui ge* 松吹阁) and the Pavilion for Emulating the Nest-Father (*Yinchoo ting* 因巢亭).³²³ To the east, there were the Pavilion of Counting Fish and a stone bridge over the pond. To the west, there were the Tower of Coming Green, Laiqing Hall, the Erfen Bamboo House (*Erfen zhuwu* 二分竹屋), bamboo groves, the Mountain House of Greens (*Jielü shanfang* 皆绿山房), Studio of Banana Trees and Rain (*Jiaoyu xuan* 蕉雨轩), Wengui Stone Boat (*Wengui zhi fang* 文桂之舫), the Charm of Noon Studio (*Wuyun xuan* 午韵轩) and Paths of Stone Forest (*Shilin biejin* 石林别径).³²⁴ Many of them were depicted in the painting, as shown from Figure 4-3 to Figure 4-6, except most buildings on the west. According to Zhou Xiang, they were not involved in the painting due to the distance; the lack of records on this part of the garden caused difficulties in the recent reconstruction project. On top of identifying the location of each element, Zhou Xiang, for the first time, uncovered the appearance of the main rockwork on the south and revealed the true meaning of the 'three peaks'. As shown in the paintings, the rockwork was a large artificial mountain mainly made of rocks, and linked the east and west parts of the garden. The 'three peaks' that the owner Daizhan adored were three erect and tall rocks displayed on the ridge, which seem like Bamboo Shoot Rocks (*Sun shi* 笋石); their shapes conformed to Mei Zengliang's description on the ceremonial tablet. While Mei mentioned that the rockwork contained a cave, Zhou provided further

³²² *Gazetteer of Taizhou in the Daoguang Period*, ed. by Xue Fei, p.2.

³²³ Hall of Fetching Water located next to a well, and that is possibly the origin of the name; Nest-Father (*Caofu* 巢父) was a legendary hermit who lived in trees. According to the painting, this is a two-storey building, where on the upper floor one can imagine oneself in a tree-house.

³²⁴ *Wengui* 文桂 is the name of a star, which is the star in charge of literary skills, exams and fame in Chinese legends.

information about it: the cave was named Cave of a Bag of Cloud (*Nangyun dong* 囊云洞), with an entrance at the ground level on the west; the footpath in the cave led to the Pavilion of Counting Fish on the upper level. The name probably came from the story of Emperor Huizong of Song (1082-1135). Described in *Qidong yeyu* 齐东野语 [Unofficial Records of East Qi], the emperor commissioned the collection of haze in suburban mountains and had it transported to his garden - Genyue - in order to create a misty atmosphere; haze was described as collected in large bags which were made of oil-soaked silk.³²⁵ Thus, the cave Nangyun indicates that it is a place where clouds came from to create a misty and mysterious atmosphere.



Figure 4-3. The south of the garden, which shows the rockwork, the three peaks and the square pavilion. Zhou Xiang 周庠 (ca. late eighteenth to nineteenth century), 'Sanfengyuan simian jing tu 三峰园四面景图 [Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks]', 1825. (Source: Taizhou Museum (*Taizhoushi bowuguan* 泰州市博物馆).

³²⁵ Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), 'Zengyun Gongyun 赠云贡云 [Tribute Cloud]', in *Qidong yeyu* 齐东野语 [Unofficial Records of East Qi], annotated by Zhang Maopeng 张茂鹏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p.117.

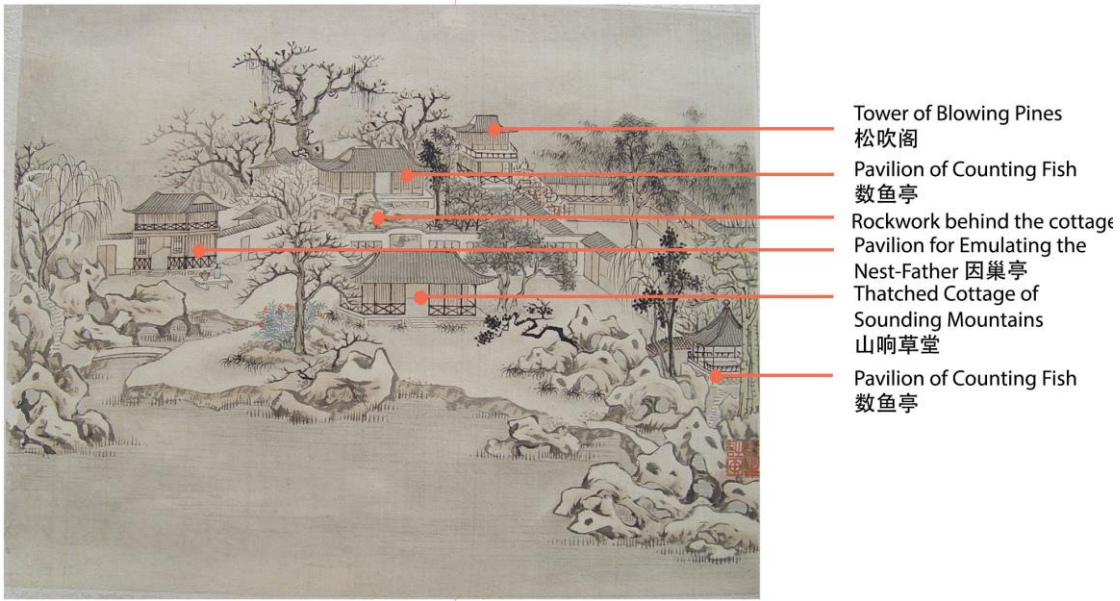


Figure 4-4. The north of the garden, which shows the main cottage and all the features on the north of it. Zhou Xiang, 'Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks', 1825. (Source: Taizhou Museum).

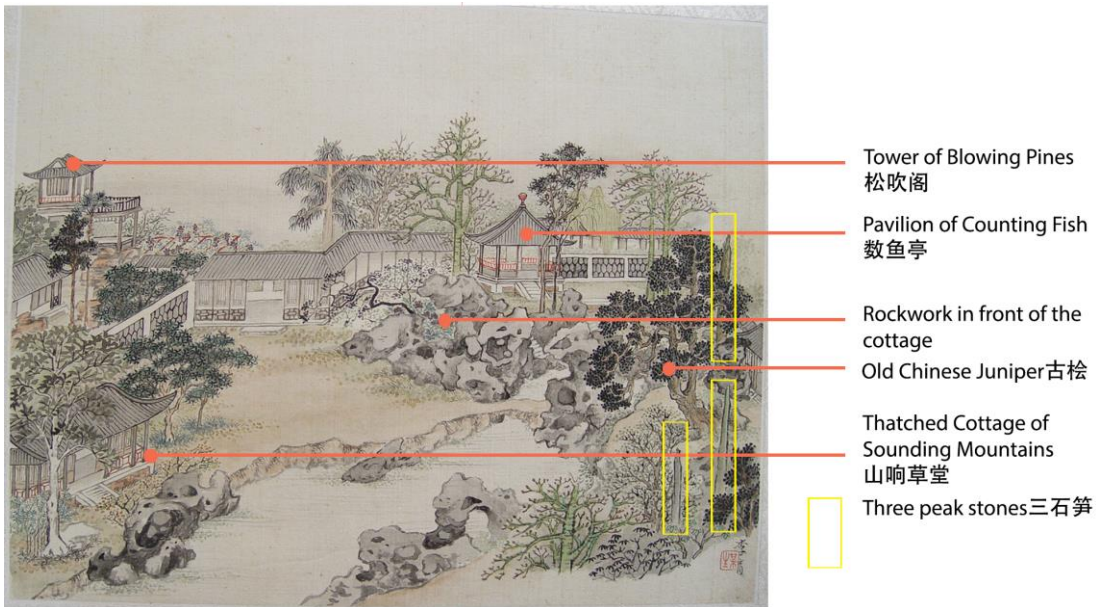


Figure 4-5. The east of the garden, which shows the pavilion on the east of the main rockwork, and some of the buildings on the north. Zhou Xiang, 'Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks', 1825. (Source: Taizhou Museum).

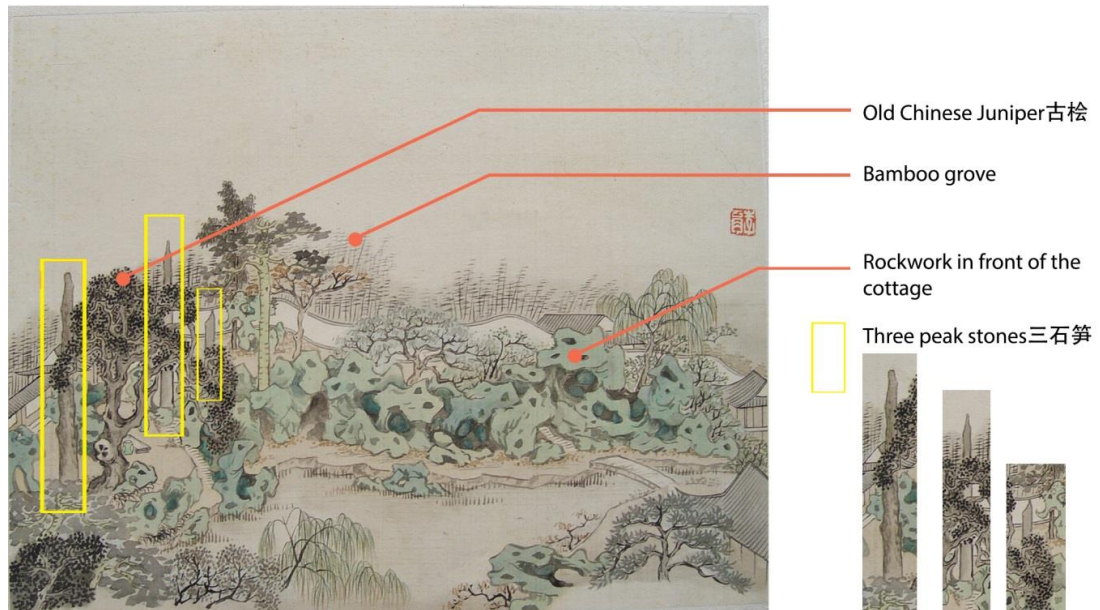


Figure 4-6. The west of the garden. This side actually had many buildings which were mentioned in Zhou Xiang's description, but they are not shown in the painting. They might be separated from the garden part, by a wall behind the rockwork as illustrated in the painting. Zhou Xiang, 'Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks', 1825. (Source: Taizhou Museum).

4.1.3 Garden of Hiding

After owning the garden for over a century, the Gao family sold it to an official, Wu Wenxi 吴文锡 (1797-?). In 1858, it was already neglected and dilapidated; but Wu believed it could be tidied up (*Shiduo* 拾掇), so he decided to buy it. He spent 3,600 *min* 缗 on buying the property, and 1,500 *min*, nearly half of the selling price, on renovation.³²⁶ It is very likely that much construction had to take place as the renovation was costly. Three months after the construction was completed, Wu wrote a garden record for his newly obtained garden, which he renamed as *Zhe yuan* 蛰园. In *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 [Kangxi Dictionary] and earlier books, the character *zhe* 蛰 has the meaning of *hide* 藏,³²⁷ so *Zhe yuan* is literally the Garden of Hiding. The name expressed Wu's feeling and pursuit of living in Taizhou. After resigned from the position in Sichuan province due to illness, Wu went back to the Jiangnan region and stayed at a rental house in Yangzhou. He was not pleased with the rental place, not only because the house was

³²⁶ *min* 缗 was a monetary unit in the Qing Dynasty, also known as *chuan* 串; it equalled a string of Chinese cash (*Tongqian* 铜钱), see in Wang Detai 王德泰, and Qiang Wenxue 强文学, 'Jiadao shiqi quanguo zhuqian shuliang de kaocha 嘉道时期全国铸钱数量的考察 [A Survey of the Amount of Money Struck during the Jiaqing and Daoguang Periods]', in *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 [China Numismatics], 2(2012), pp. 31-36 (p.31); Wu Wenxi, 'Record of Garden of Hiding', p.11.

³²⁷ Zhang Yushu 张玉书 (1642-1711), and Chen Tingjing 陈延敬 (1638-1712), *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 [Kangxi Dictionary], ed. by Compilation Office of the Great Chinese Dictionary (*Hanyu dacidian bianzuanchu* 汉语大词典编纂处) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2002), p.1070.

crude, but also due to the fact that ‘*xiaoren* 小人’ were around.³²⁸ In the Confucian society, *xiaoren*, which literally translates as ‘small person’, indicated the group of people who are opposite to *junzi* 君子, the gentleman. ‘*Junzi* understands the importance of morality [*yi* 义] and a *xiaoren* understands the importance of profitability [*li* 利]’.³²⁹ In the 1850s, the Taiping forces started the revolution in various locations in the nation; Yangzhou was engulfed during the rebellion.³³⁰ The chaotic situation and Taiping forces might be the *xiaoren* that Wu tried to avoid. Thus, when Wu obtained the garden and named it *Zhe*, he wanted to hide and stay in Taizhou in order to separate himself from *xiaoren* and the unfavourable political environment. This aim is also embodied in the names of buildings inside the garden, such as Forgetting the Ordinary World with One View (*Yilan wangchen* 一览忘尘), and Think with one Step Back (*Tuiyibu xiang* 退一步想).³³¹ The name of ‘*zhe*’, or hide, reflected the idea of a reclusive lifestyle, which also corresponds to the first owner Chen Yingfang’s pursuit when he established this garden.

Wu Wenxi’s ‘*Zheyuan ji* 蛰园记 [Record of the Garden of Hiding]’ documented features of this garden in his time, but the explanations of the orientation of each feature were rather brief and vague. This is possibly due to the fact that the garden was considered as a place for hiding and living a simple life rather than for enjoyment. As he had resigned due to illness while the country was in chaos, Wu felt ‘how dare I have springs and rocks for entertaining the mind’?³³²

As Wu’s record is not clear enough, it is hard to picture the layout of the whole garden. One thing that he stated clearly is that the residential complex was located on the west and the garden located on the east. Except for the thatched cottage, which retained the name the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks, all the buildings mentioned in this article were given new names that differed from earlier descriptions. According to the locations indicated in Wu’s record, some of them were possibly old buildings with new names or new constructions located on old spots. For example, the building behind the rockwork on the north of the garden used to be called the Hall of Fetching Water but this was changed to ‘Think with one Step Back’; the multi-layered building on the northeast used to be called the Tower of Blowing Pines and not The Place for Amusing the Eyesight (*Wanmu zhisuo* 玩目之所).³³³ In terms of rockwork, the

³²⁸ See the original sentence ‘小人近市也’ in Wu Wenxi, ‘Record of Garden of Hiding’, p.11.

³²⁹ Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.45.

³³⁰ Tobie Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

³³¹ Chen Congzhou, ‘Qiao Garden in Taizhou’, p.10.

³³² See the original sentence ‘奚敢以泉石为心性之娱焉’ in Wu Wenxi, ‘Record of Garden of Hiding’, p.11.

³³³ Wu Wenxi, ‘Record of Garden of Hiding’, p.11.

Garden of Hiding contained three units, while Zhou Xiang mentioned two and Mei Zengliang only mentioned one. The main rockwork on the south of the cottage was mentioned in all of these three sources. With the old and large Chinese Juniper surviving on the main rockwork, it is certain that this rockwork was a historic object. The rockwork on the north of the cottage was also described by Wu Wenxi as well as by Zhou Xiang. Wu provided further information about the materials: the main rockwork was made of Taihu Rocks, and the one on the north was made of Yellow Rocks. The rockwork that was only mentioned in Wu's record was an individual rock inlaid on the wall to the west of the cottage. It might be a Taihu Rock with a special shape, as it was described as '*Zhou shou tou* 绉透瘦 [corrugated, perforated and emaciated]' in the Record of Zhe Garden; but Wu did not mention its type as well as its name.³³⁴ As explored in Chapter Two (section 2.3.2), these were descriptions, and sometimes used as aesthetic criteria, for rocks with foraminate structure, that first suggested by Mi Fu (1051-1107), the eleventh century artist and stone connoisseur. As no other earlier information documented this rock on the wall, it could be a new feature that Wu created during the renovation of the garden.

4.1.4 Qiao Garden

Although the association with a reclusive lifestyle was shown by 'hiding' in the garden, Wu Wenxi still kept close relationships with other officials. This is similar to the behaviour of the first owner, Chen Yingfang; Chen associated his retiring and returning home with Tao Yuanming's poem about living a reclusive life, but he still wrote books and essays to help understand the geography in order to reduce flooding. After ten years living in the Garden of Hiding, Wu passed it to his friend, Qiao Songnian 乔松年 (1815-1875); since then, the garden has been known as the Qiao Garden. At that time, Qiao was the commissioner in charge of the Salt Distribution Commission of the Lianghuai Region (*Lianghuai yanyun shisi* 两淮盐运使司).³³⁵ It was an important position as the salt trading was one of the key financial revenues. After Yangzhou was captured by the Taiping forces, the Salt Distribution Commission was moved from Yangzhou to Taizhou, which is why Qiao Songnian came to Taizhou.

Corresponding to Mei Zengliang's *Song*, Qiao Songnian wrote the 'Hou ge 后歌 [Later Song]' and a postscript to it. All of these were inscribed in a stone tablet by Qiao, and displayed on the wall. Qiao did not mention any major change to the garden, except stating that new peonies

³³⁴ Ibid., p.11.

³³⁵ *Xuxiu Taizhou zhi* 续修泰州志 [Continuation of the Gazetteer of Taizhou] (1919), in *Jiangsu fuxian zhiji* (50) 江苏府县志辑 (50) [Collections of Gazetteers of Prefectures and Counties of Jiangsu Province (no.50)], ed. by Xue Fei 薛飞 (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian shanghai faxing suo, 1991), p.732.

would be planted to replace the wilted ones; it seems that most of the features from the Garden of Hiding remained.³³⁶ This assumption might be true when considering Qiao's age. When he obtained the garden in 1858, Qiao was over fifty. As he described, his 'old arms and legs were stiff'; all he needed was a small place where he could 'accommodate the knees and talk peacefully'.³³⁷ The term 'Accommodate the knees (*rongxi* 容膝)' also came from the poem 'The Return' of Tao Yuanming, in which Tao said 'I consider how easy it is to be content with a space as small as can only accommodate the knees'.³³⁸ This verse is right before the 'daily visit garden'. By quoting the term, Qiao corresponded to the origins of the garden, and also expressed an indifference to wealth and material possessions. In addition, it is possible that when Qiao received the garden, the size was reduced compared with the ownership of the Gao family; Qiao directly referred to it as '*xiaoyuan* 小园 [little garden]' in the *Later Song*.

The elements that remained in Qiao's little garden at least include those mentioned in his texts, such as bizarre rocks (*qishi* 奇石), a multi-storey building, tall studio, rockwork, three peaks, a hall, small pond, the pavilion on the rockwork and various plants. According to Qiao, the rockwork has a long and deep cave and high cliff, which seems to have kept the original appearance as it was not much different from earlier descriptions.

Among all the features, Qiao Songnian had a clear preference for the garden, which was neither the long history, nor the rockwork, but the dense vegetation and the shade they created. He had worked in various locations and served as a Salt Distribution Commissioner in Yangzhou where he visited many gardens, including the gardens of Yangzhou salt merchants which were full of delicate and expensive features. Many features in Yangzhou gardens were 'much better than this garden';³³⁹ compared with them, 'every hill and every gully [of the rockwork in this garden] was just normal'.³⁴⁰ Qiao criticised Mei Zengliang's *Song* for over exaggerating, because he believed that Mei had never been to the garden and wrote the essay only based on artistically created paintings. Nevertheless, even the splendid Yangzhou gardens lacked something according to Qiao's standard: in the postscript he wrote 'the only thing missing is dense plants, so the pond and terrace lacks the special charm (*yun* 韵)'.³⁴¹ In both texts, Qiao focused on

³³⁶ Qiao Songnian, 'Later Song', 1868.

³³⁷ See the original sentence '老来四肢如蚕僵, 但求容膝聊徜徉', in Qiao Songnian, 'Later Song'.

³³⁸ See the original sentence '审容膝之易安', in Tao Yuanming, 'The Return', trans. by James Robert Hightower, pp.517-519.

³³⁹ See the original sentence '远出斯园上', in Qiao Songnian 乔松年 (1815-1875), 'Houge houji 后歌后记 [Postscript of Later Song]', 1868, inscribed on a stone tablet in the Qiao Garden.

³⁴⁰ See the original sentence '一丘一壑亦寻常', in Qiao Songnian, 'Later Song'.

³⁴¹ See the original sentence '独无茂林右木, 遂使池台乏韵', in Qiao Songnian, 'Postscript of Later Song'.

describing the features that were decorated by plants. Although the large amount of plants was also indicated in earlier texts, Qiao, for the first time, highlighted it and regarded it as the element that made the garden and its rockwork special.

The ‘Sanfeng caotang tu 三峰草堂图 [Painting of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks]’ created by the late Qing artist Wu Yunlai 吴允徠 (ca. nineteenth century) and dated 1881 demonstrates the key features of the garden in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 4-7). Comparing with Zhou Xiang’s painting (Fig. 4-4) and other historical texts, the painting illustrates the north side of the garden. However, it looks different from Zhou Xiang’s painting of the north. There are five buildings in Zhou’s painting, but only three in Wu Yunlai’s. Judging from the location, the three should be the Thatched Cottage, the Pavilion of Counting Fish, and the Pavilion for Emulating the Nest-Father of the early nineteenth century. The appearances of all the features were depicted differently. For example, in Wu Yunlai’s drawing, the cottage was literally covered by a thatched roof, the pond seemed like a square pond with clear edges, the three peaks sit close to each other; but according to Zhou Xiang, the cottage was a normal building which has the same style as other buildings in the garden, the pond had natural and rough edges, and the three peaks were also located differently. It is not entirely certain whose painting is more accurate and closer to the contemporaneous layout and appearance. Even though they still delivered some useful information, Wu Yunlai’s painting in 1881 demonstrates a smaller garden with a wild and rustic style, which possibly reflected the condition of the Qiao Garden. Qiao took over the Garden of Hiding from Wu Wenxi and repaired the neglected garden and renovated it in three months; it is unlikely that Wu would turned it into a delicate garden within this short period. Even in Qiao’s postscript, the garden was ‘small and crude’.³⁴² On the contrary, Zhou Xiang’s painting (Figs. 4-3 to 4-6) illustrated a fine and well maintained garden, which conformed to the condition when the garden was owned by the Gao family, who occupied the garden for decades. The second generation Gao Rongshi repaired many buildings after he inherited the garden; and the painting was created after these repairs.

³⁴² See the original sentence ‘始知小园虽陋，而嘉木可誉’，in Qiao Songnian, ‘Postscript of Later Song’.



Figure 4-7. Wu Yunlai 吴允祿 (ca. nineteenth century), 'Sanfeng caotang tu 三峰草堂图 [Painting of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks]', 1881. (Source: Taizhou Museum.)

4.2 Characteristics of the rockwork

As explored in Chapter Three, the basic principle in Chinese conservation policies is retaining the original appearance and states. Thus, prior to the analysis and evaluation of the conservation project, it is important to first identify the characteristics of the remains.

Before the first phase of the conservation project in the twentieth century took place, the remnants of the Qiao Garden were surveyed by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), the garden historian who led the investigation and survey of many gardens, and Yu Weiguo 喻维国, the architectural historian. By that time, the Qiao Garden was used as the garden of a government-owned hotel, the Qiao Garden Hotel (*Qiaoyuan zhaodaisuo* 乔园招待所, and later called *Qiaoyuan binguan* 乔园宾馆). The survey findings, including texts and a survey map, were later published in a paper in 1977, which briefly introduced the history of the garden and revealed the contemporaneous appearance by providing a survey map, as shown in Figure 4-8.³⁴³ Based on this paper, many remaining features in the Qiao Garden conformed to the descriptions in historic sources. The large rockwork with three peaks was located to the south of the main hall; the rockwork with a stone step, which was made of Yellow Rocks, was located to the north of the main hall; an individual Taihu Rock was inlaid in the wall to the west of the large rockwork. Apart from rockwork, five buildings were found remaining on the site. According to Chen, they were historic buildings that were recorded in historic sources, except the Half

³⁴³ Chen Congzhou, 'Qiao Garden in Taizhou', pp. 9-13.

Pavilion, labelled 6 in Figure 4-8. Although the Pavilion of Counting Fish was destroyed, the ruins were still on the east of the large rockwork. The names of the buildings listed in the survey map conformed to those in Zhou Xiang's painting and description in 1825. But it is not clear whether the names had remained from the last private owner or had been given by Chen Congzhou himself after studying Zhou's painting; because all the names mentioned in Zhou's paintings were changed by Wu Wenxi after the renovation in 1858.

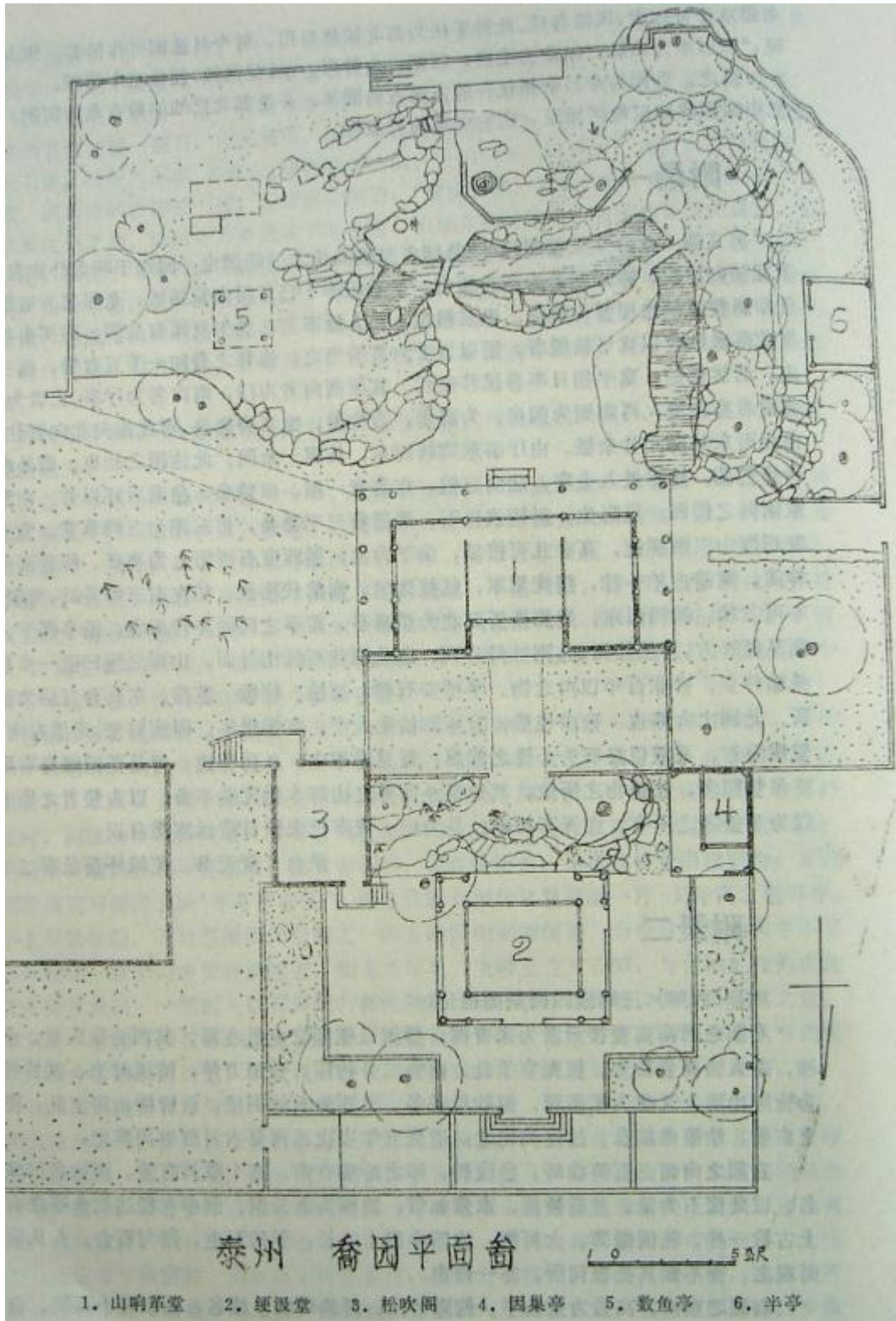


Figure 4-8. The survey map of the Qiao Garden, created by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Yu Weiguo 喻维国. List of labelled buildings: 1. Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains; 2. Hall of Fetching Water; 3. Tower of Blowing Pines; 4. Pavilion for Emulating the Nest-Father; 5. Pavilion of Counting Fish (ruins); 6. Half Pavilion. (Source: Chen Congzhou 陈从周, 'Taizhou Qiaoyuan 泰州乔园 [Qiao Garden in Taizhou]', in *Wenbo tongxun* 文博通讯 [Journal of Relics and Museology], 16 (November 1977), pp. 9-13(12).)

The rockwork on the south is the main feature of the garden and was preserved in a good state when Chen and Yu surveyed it.³⁴⁴ The existing part is the remains from the Ming Dynasty, which roughly conformed to earlier descriptions. It lies in the east-west direction, locates to the south of the cottage and adjacent to a stream. It has two levels, with a cave on the ground level, and an old Chinese Juniper, pavilion and three Bamboo Shoot Rocks on the upper level. Both the locations and the shapes of the three peaks accord with Zhou Xiang’s painting (Fig. 4-9, Fig. 4-3).



Figure 4-9. The middle part of the historic rockwork in the Qiao Garden. The red frames highlight the three Bamboo Shoot Rocks. (Source: author, 2013.)

As not many contemporaneous ones exist today, this well-preserved rockwork is an important heritage that revealed the appearance with typical characteristics of the late Ming rockwork; it also carries its own identity. These characteristics are embodied in its structure and materials.

First of all, it is a typical example of the structure ‘*xiadong shangtai*’, which was a common design in the late Ming Dynasty according to the discussion in Chapter Two (section 2.5). Since this structure was frequently included in many rockworks, it was criticized for a lack of uniqueness and artistic creation in later periods. Here in the Qiao Garden, the historical rockwork contains a narrow and long cave on the ground level and an open space on the upper level. It also contains a square pavilion on the east and a half pavilion on west; this arrangement is similar to other characteristics that Ji Cheng summarized for the late Ming rockwork: ‘pavilions to the east and

³⁴⁴ Chen Congzhou, ‘Qiao Garden in Taizhou’, p.10.

gazebos to the west'.³⁴⁵ But the squared pavilion was ruined when Chen surveyed it, and the half pavilion was considered to be a recent construction.

The second characteristic is the use of bricks in the cave. The brick walls and the main body of the rockwork were examined and mentioned as constructions from Ming according to Chen Congzhou's paper.³⁴⁶ Although the approach to the examination is not mentioned, the result could be correct; because the old juniper tree is still alive and living on the platform above the cave. Chen Congzhou considered the use of brick walls as a rare design; however, it might have been common rockwork in the late Ming Dynasty as can be found in other contemporaneous examples, such as the Gazing Garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园) and Jinpanli Garden (*Jinpanli yuan* 金盘李园). The long cave in the main rockwork of the Qiao Garden was named Nangyun Cave in Zhou Xiang's painting. As shown in Figure 4-10, the linear cave is made of brick walls with rocks covering the external surface. Some ancient bricks can still be seen on the façade, where covering rocks have fallen and are missing (Figs. 4-11 and 4-12); the internal surface of the walls was painted during the conservation process in 1979. The wall supported the whole rockwork: it shared the weight of the pavilion, allowing the construction of the cave and its safety. There are several possible reasons for using bricks for the construction of a cave. The brick walls could be used as the load-bearing structure. When the *xiadong shangtai* structure was in vogue in the late Ming Dynasty, the building techniques might be limited; so building a cave with brick walls could help support the rockwork and help distribute the weight of the pavilion above. This assumption also helps to explain why this type of cave is rare in existing historic rockworks, which were normally constructed in the Qing Dynasty when the building techniques had improved. Another possible reason for constructing brick caves is to save the amount of rocks, which can be related to the location of this garden or the economic capabilities of the first builder. Although located in the Jiangnan area, Taizhou is not a source of garden rocks, and rocks need to be transported from other places;³⁴⁷ so the supply of rocks for the construction of the rockwork in the Qiao Garden might have been limited.

³⁴⁵ Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuanye zhushi* 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens] (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988), p.206; Ji Cheng (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Hardie, Alison (New York: Better Link Press, 2012), p.104.

³⁴⁶ Chen Congzhou, 'Qiao Garden in Taizhou', p.10.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10.



Figure 4-10. (Left) Linear cave made of brick walls; the bottom part is made of Yellow Rocks. (Source: author, 2013.)

Figure 4-11. (Right) External surface of the cave, where the bricks are exposed. (Source: author, 2013.)

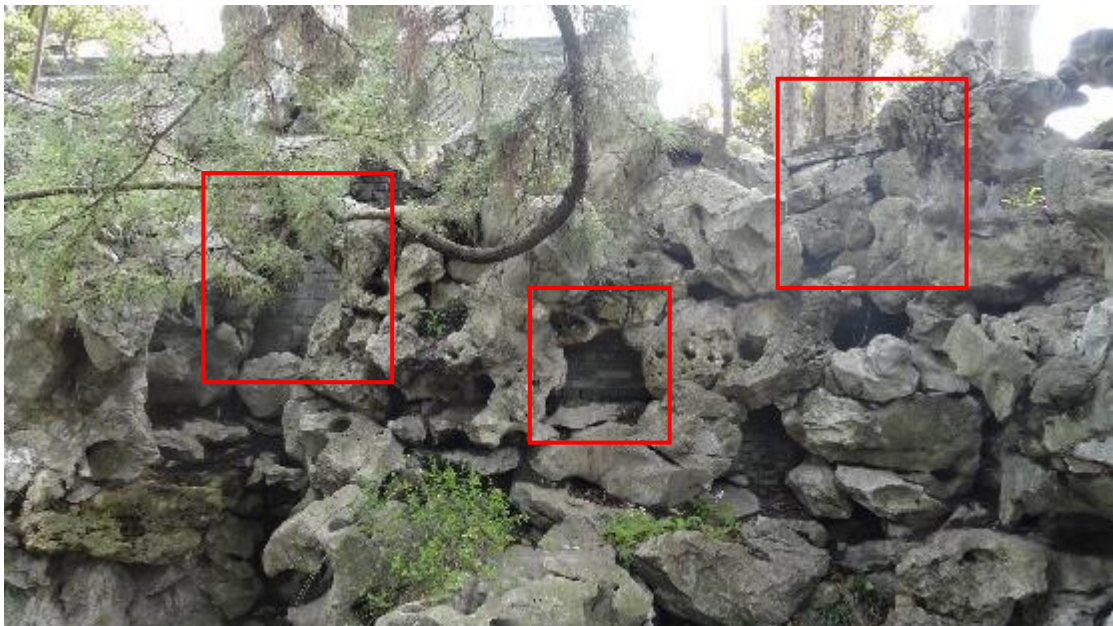


Figure 4-12. (Right) Façade of the rockwork, which shows the external surface of the cave in red frames. (Source: author, 2013.)

The mixed use of materials is another characteristic of the main rockwork in the Qiao Garden, which might also be caused by the lack of rocks. Most rockwork in Chinese gardens is made of one type of rock, while the peaks displayed on it can vary; for example, the Piling Up the Delicacy in the Forbidden City is made of Fangshan Rocks, with some Bamboo Shoot Rocks displayed on it as peaks (Fig. 2-4). In the case of the Qiao Garden, four different materials were used in constructing the main rockwork: Taihu Rocks, Yellow Rocks, Bamboo Shoot Rocks and bricks. Taihu Rocks used here are around 50cm long, or smaller. Larger ones would be displayed erect to imitate peaks, as shown in Figure 4-13. Taihu Rocks are the main materials covering the part at eye level and above, and the exterior of the rockwork; at the same time, Yellow Rocks are used at the bottom and under the stream, where they are not easy to see (Figs. 4-10 and 4-14). Bamboo Shoot Rocks formed the Three Peaks, a main feature of this rockwork. Bricks are used for the cave. The distribution of different materials, especially the use of Taihu Rocks as well as Yellow Rocks for the main body, indicated that the owner wanted to create a rockwork made of Taihu Rocks, even though the amount was insufficient; so he used various approaches to save the budget and material.



Figure 4-13. Larger Taihu Rocks are displayed erect on the historical rockwork of the Qiao Garden. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 4-14. Yellow Rocks were used under the stream and the embankment but covered by Taihu Rocks. Rocks in the red frame are Yellow Rocks. (Source: author, 2013.)

There are limited records about the state of the other two units of rockwork before conservation projects. According to the survey map shown in Figure 4-8, the rockwork made of Yellow Rocks on the north of the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains was much smaller size than the one on the south that was discussed above; the main feature of the northern rockwork is the stone steps that served as the entry stairs of the Hall of Fetching Water. The other unit, the individually displayed rock, was not depicted or located in the survey map; but Chen did mention it as a Taihu Rock inlaid in the wall, with no name provided.³⁴⁸ Chen believed it is the one mentioned in Wu Wenxi's garden record. But the current staff provided different information: the Taihu Rock on the wall was found on the ground next to the wall, and Chen suggested it should be inlaid in the wall (Fig. 4-15).³⁴⁹ Since no other record documented the discovery of this specific rock, it is hard to judge which expression is authentic; but both of their statements confirmed that this rock is a historic one found on-site. But the label displayed next to this rock today introduces it as 'Beauty Mirror Stone (*Meinü zhaojing shi* 美女照镜石);³⁵⁰ the label also mentions that it was named by Chen Congzhou.

³⁴⁸ Chen Congzhou, 'Qiao Garden in Taizhou', p.10.

³⁴⁹ Informal conversation with the administrative staff of the Qiao Garden, see appendix 2.

³⁵⁰ The English name 'Beauty Mirror Stone' is a translation provided on the label.



Figure 4-15. The individually displayed Taihu Rock in the Qiao Garden, which Chen Congzhou believed is a historic one mentioned in Wu Wenxi's garden record in the nineteenth century. (Source: author, 2013.)

Apart from rockworks themselves, the characteristics of surrounding features should also be explored because they would affect the context of the rockwork. By comparing the survey map with available historic sources about the layout of the garden, the location of the remaining features could be dated back to no later than the early nineteenth century; the layout basically conformed to Zhou Xiang's paintings dated 1825. But major changes are found in the water feature. The remaining water feature is a narrow and winding stream located along the north edge of the rockwork. In all available historic texts, it was always referred to as *chi* 池, which literally means pond.³⁵¹ Historic paintings also depicted it differently in terms of size and shape. In Zhou Xiang's paintings, it was depicted as a relatively large pond which occupied the majority of the land between the rockwork and the cottage (Fig. 4-4); in Wu Yunlai's painting, the pond was depicted in a square shape with fences around the edge (Fig. 4-7). It is possible that the artist had used his artistic and creative mind to modify and ornament the garden when producing the painting; as mentioned in section 4.1.4, Zhou and Wu's paintings of this garden

³⁵¹ Mei zengliang, 'Song of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks'; Qiao Songnian, 'Late Song'; Wu Wenxi, 'Record of Garden of Hiding'; Zhou Xiang, 'Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks'.

were depicted in very different styles. Nevertheless, the size of the water feature described in all available textual and pictorial records is similar, and larger than the remaining stream; thus, it is possible that the size of the old pond was reduced over the years.

Lush and old plants are another feature of the garden which forms a distinct context for the rockwork. In the early nineteenth century, when the garden was called the Garden of Three Peaks, various trees and flowers formed green scenery; trees included elm, cedar and juniper (*gui* 桧), flowers included peony and plum; other plants included bamboos and pomegranate.³⁵² Later, in the 1850s and 1860s, more species were mentioned, such as Chinese banana (*bajiao* 芭蕉) and palm trees; various vines were climbing on the rockwork.³⁵³ As explored in the previous section, Qiao Songnian considered the dense plants to be the most attractive and unique feature of this garden which formed a ‘special charm (*yun* 韵)’. During the survey in the twentieth century, the dense plants still existed as well as the old juniper and pines; Chinese bananas can be found around buildings; wintersweet (*lamei* 腊梅) and osmanthus (*gui* 桂) are planted in front of buildings and ophiopogon (*shudai cao* 书带草) were planted among the rocks.³⁵⁴ Among them, the juniper that was found on the main rockwork and next to the three peaks is an old specimen. It is listed as a Grade 1 (*Yiji* 一级) tree in the Urban Aged and Celebrated Trees of Jiangsu Province (*Jiangsusheng chengshi gushu mingmu* 江苏省城市古树名木), by the Jiangsu Provincial Construction Department (*Jiangsusheng jiansheting* 江苏省建设厅) in 2004. According to the current label, this Juniper is now officially stated as 400 years old. If the identification of its age is correct and valid, this specific tree is not only a historic feature, but can also evidence that the rockwork was constructed in the Wanli Period of Ming (1573-1620). Even if it is not correct, it would have to have been planted earlier than 1825; considering its current location, the species and the size of the tree, it is very likely the one depicted in the texts and paintings of Zhou Xiang.

4.3 Conservation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

The section above evaluates the historical and cultural value of the existing Qiao Garden and identifies three significant features of this garden: the Ming rockwork with representative structure and special materials, the layout retained from no later than 1825 and the peaceful atmosphere and the special charm created by the old trees and lush plants. The remaining part

³⁵² Zhou Xiang, ‘Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks’; Mei Zengliang, ‘Song of the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks’.

³⁵³ Wu Wenxi, ‘Record of Garden of Hiding’, p.11.

³⁵⁴ Chen Congzhou, ‘Qiao Garden in Taizhou’, p.10; Qiao Songnia, ‘Later Song’.

was briefly repaired in 1990; later in 2005, it was expanded towards the west with the aim of reconstructing the old features and restoring the whole garden. This section is going to investigate the principles and approaches that were applied in recent conservation practices and whether the above features were well preserved. We can then assess if the conservation practice is correct and appropriate.

4.3.1 The state and the context before conservation

After the People's Republic of China was established, the Qiao Garden was changed from a private-owned garden to a state-owned property. It was soon turned into a hotel, the Qiao Garden Hotel. The historical remains became an internal garden of the hotel, as indicated in the yellow area of Figure 4-16. Guest rooms, a dining hall, a bathroom and other functional buildings were constructed around the garden. The historical buildings were poorly maintained due to the inappropriate use.³⁵⁵ But there is one advantage of being a governmental hotel: the garden, especially the rockwork, survived the Cultural Revolution. According to a governmental document dated 1982, many other cultural relics in Jiangsu Province, even some Major Historical and Cultural Sites, were damaged or even destroyed.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Ruan Yisan, Liu Tianhua, Ruan Yongsan, and Ding Feng, *Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan*, p.139.

³⁵⁶ Jiangsu sheng renmin zhengfu 江苏省人民政府 [People's Government of Jiangsu], 'Guanyu chongxin gongbu Jiangsu sheng wenwu baohu danwei de tongzhi 关于重新公布江苏省文物保护单位的通告 [Notification of Restatement of the Major Historical and Cultural Sites of Jiangsu Province]', 1982.3.25. (Document no.: 苏政发 [1982]51 号).

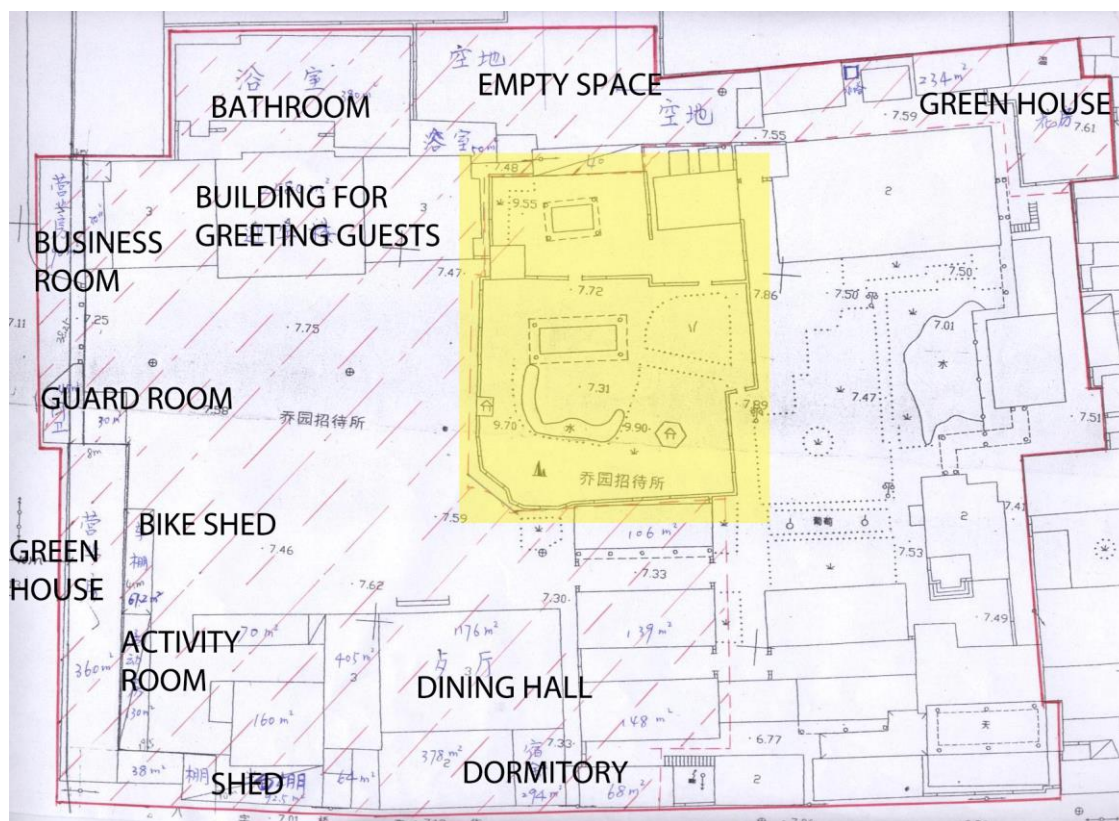


Figure 4-16. 'Qiaoyuan hongxian tu 乔园红线图 [Red-line Plan of the Qiao Garden]'. No date provided. The original plan indicated the area of the Qiao Garden Hotel (within solid red line), and the area planned to be renovated (covered by dashed line). The yellow area shows the remaining historic part. (Source: Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanshanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局), 2017).

After the Cultural Revolution, the economic reform and opening-up programme was launched, which brought spectacular changes to China and the conservation of cultural relics. As explored in Chapter Three (section 3.4.3), there was a new nation-wide wave of garden surveying and conservation being carried out.

Corresponding to the requirement of the central government, Jiangsu Province started the survey of cultural relics within the province in 1981 and published a new list of Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at Provincial Level in a governmental document announce in early 1982.³⁵⁷ The Qiao Garden was listed with the name 'Daily Visit Garden'. It was the only and first site in Taizhou city being protected at provincial level; the other cultural relic listed in the same year was a bronze bell of the Southern Tang Dynasty. According to this announcement, the management of Historical and Cultural Sites, including the establishment of buffer zones, the

³⁵⁷ People's Government of Jiangsu, 'Notification of Restatement of the Major Historical and Cultural Sites of Jiangsu Province', 1982.3.25.

protection of the sites and the establishment of archival files, was the responsibility of local government and under the supervision of the Jiangsu Committee for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Jiangsu sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 江苏省文物管理委员会). Later in 1986, the Taizhou government released a notification about Historical and Cultural Sites in Taizhou which stated that the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法; hereafter the *Law* [1982]) should be obeyed for the protection of listed sites; also for historical architectural sites, the user or occupier is responsible for the repair and protection.³⁵⁸

4.3.2 Conservation process

The survey was carried out and the new list of Historical and Cultural Sites was made immediate in 1982 after receiving relevant documents and notifications. However, the Qiao Garden did not receive proper treatment immediately, as required; it was in a poor condition during the period of being used by the hotel.

Until 1990, the Taizhou government launched the conservation project of the Qiao Garden. During the process, the historical rockwork on the south was strengthened by repointing some cracks, and the Cave of a Bag of Cloud was painted. Buildings were under major restoration. The Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains was restored through complete disassembly ('落架' 大修), which is a traditional approach of restoring wooden buildings;³⁵⁹ the Tower of Blowing Pines and Pavilion of Counting Fish were reconstructed.³⁶⁰ However, the reconstructed Pavilion of Counting Fish has a concrete structure, which does not conform to the style of other existing historical buildings in the Qiao Garden.³⁶¹ Due to the fact that limited records were kept by the Administration Office of the Qiao Garden and the competent authority, the Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlin lühua guanli ju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局), the information about the restoration in 1990 was not in detail.

³⁵⁸ People's Government of Taizhou (*Taizhoushi renmin zhengfu* 泰州市人民政府), 'Guanyu chongxin gongbu Taizhoushi wenwu baohu danwei de tongzhi 关于重新公布泰州市文物保护单位的通知 [Notification of Restatement of the Major Historical and Cultural Sites of Taizhou City]', 1986. (Document no.: 泰政发 [1986]94 号).

³⁵⁹ ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2015 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2015), p.45, 61(article 27).

³⁶⁰ Ruan Yisan, Liu Tianhua, Ruan Yongsan, and Ding Feng, *Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan*, p.139.

³⁶¹ 'Qiaoyuan huifu xiujian gongcheng qingkuang shuoming 乔园恢复修建工程情况说明 [Overview of the Restoration and Reconstruction of the Qiao Garden]', no date (approx. dated 2006), held by Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局).

In 2005, the Qiao Garden experienced another phase of conservation treatments, the major restoration and reconstruction, which formed its current layout and appearance. After being listed in the first batch of Famous Cities of Historical and Cultural Value of Jiangsu Province (*Jiangsu sheng lishi wenhua mingcheng* 江苏省历史文化名城) in 1995, Taizhou was required to retain the historical features and ensure consistency with their historical style.³⁶² The concept of Famous Cities was first created in the *Law (1982)* for ‘cities with an unusual wealth of cultural relics of high historical value and major revolutionary significance’.³⁶³ As a method of preserving the historical style and restoring the historical and cultural values, the previous modern hotel buildings in the Qiao Garden were demolished and this time the garden was expanded during the restoration.

The final proposal for the restoration and reconstruction of the Qiao Garden was approved in March 2006. The design and preparation works before the construction took place included the evaluation of proposals, the investigation of the historical sources and the production of master and detailed plans. In between April 2005 and March 2006, local government and relevant scholars and professionals participated in the discussion and evaluation of the proposal, and the proposal was modified several times after receiving suggestions.³⁶⁴ Among all the historical sources, the paintings and descriptions created by Zhou Xiang in 1825 were the most detailed; from the proposed plan, we can tell that Zhou Xiang’s works was chosen as the main source although they also reviewed Mei Zengliang and Qiao Songnian’s texts. The aim of this project was to ‘continue the original style of the Qiao Garden [in the expanded part]’ and ‘naturally link the expanded part [with the historical part]’, and also ‘combine tourism service, leisure facility and commercial functions’.³⁶⁵ In the final proposal, three principles were developed: protect the historical features and retain the cultural value; develop the expansion part by continue the

³⁶² Jiangsu sheng renmin zhengfu 江苏省人民政府 [People’s Government of Jiangsu], ‘Sheng zhengfu guanyu gongbu diyipi jiangsu sheng lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen he lishi wenhua baohu qu de tongzhi 省政府关于公布第一批江苏省历史文化名城名镇和历史文化保护区的通知 [Provincial Government’s Notification of Announcing the First Batch of Famous Cities, Towns and Districts of Historical and Cultural Value of Jiangsu Province]’, 1995.12.8. (Document no.: 苏政发 [1995]147 号).

³⁶³ National People’s Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 8, in *Zhongguo wang* 中国网[China.org.cn] <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>>[accessed 27 Jul 2016].

³⁶⁴ Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局), ‘Qiaoyuan gaikuojian gongcheng xiangmu jieshao 乔园改扩建工程项目简介 [Introduction of the Reconstruction and Expansion Program of the Qiao Garden]’, 2006.6.15, held by Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens.)

³⁶⁵ See the original sentence ‘力求恢复乔园的园林整体风格，将扩建部分与之自然巧接，浑然一体’，in Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University (*Nanjing linye daxue linchan gongye shejiyuan* 南京林业大学林产工业设计院), ‘Taizhou qiaoyuan huifu ji kuojian gongcheng guihua sheji 泰州乔园恢复及扩建工程规划设计 [The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Programme of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou]’, 2006, held by Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局).

historical value but not ‘blindly copying (*yawei mofang* 一味模仿)’ the historical garden culture and context; create social, environmental and economic benefit on the premise of protecting historical features.³⁶⁶ The protection of historical features and values is always the key principle of conservation policies, and the pursuit of tourist value is a new legal approach first promulgated in the *Law* (1982).³⁶⁷ However, not ‘blindly copying’ historical gardens was a rather vague and odd principle. It is further discussed in section 4.4.

The project includes two parts: minor restoration and reconstruction. The former means repairing the historical remains of the Qiao Garden, shown as the yellow area in Figure 4-16; the latter means demolish the hotel buildings to the west of the original garden and reconstruct features according to Zhou Xiang’s description (area covered by dashed lines in Figure 4-16). Figure 4-17 is the final design plan, which divides the garden into three parts. The historical garden part is now in the middle, and the layout did not change much compared with Figure 4-16. The west section is the reconstructed garden part, which has the watercourse in the middle and buildings around; dense plants and some rockwork were constructed in between buildings. The east part is developed as the administrative area, which was not part of the original garden. Although the west part was claimed as the reconstruction of a disappeared section of the original garden, the location of some reconstructed features does not match the historical sources. If Zhou Xiang’s description was trusted and used as the main evidence, Laiqing Hall should be on the west of the Tower of Coming Green. The Paths of Stone Forest should be on the west of the Charm of Noon Studio rather than the Studio of Banana Trees and Rain. The rockwork and watercourse were also not described in historical sources. The east part is occupied by administration offices.

³⁶⁶ Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University, ‘The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Program of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou’.

³⁶⁷ ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, 2002 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], revised 2004 (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), p. 4 (articles 2 and 4); National People’s Congress, *Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, article 15.

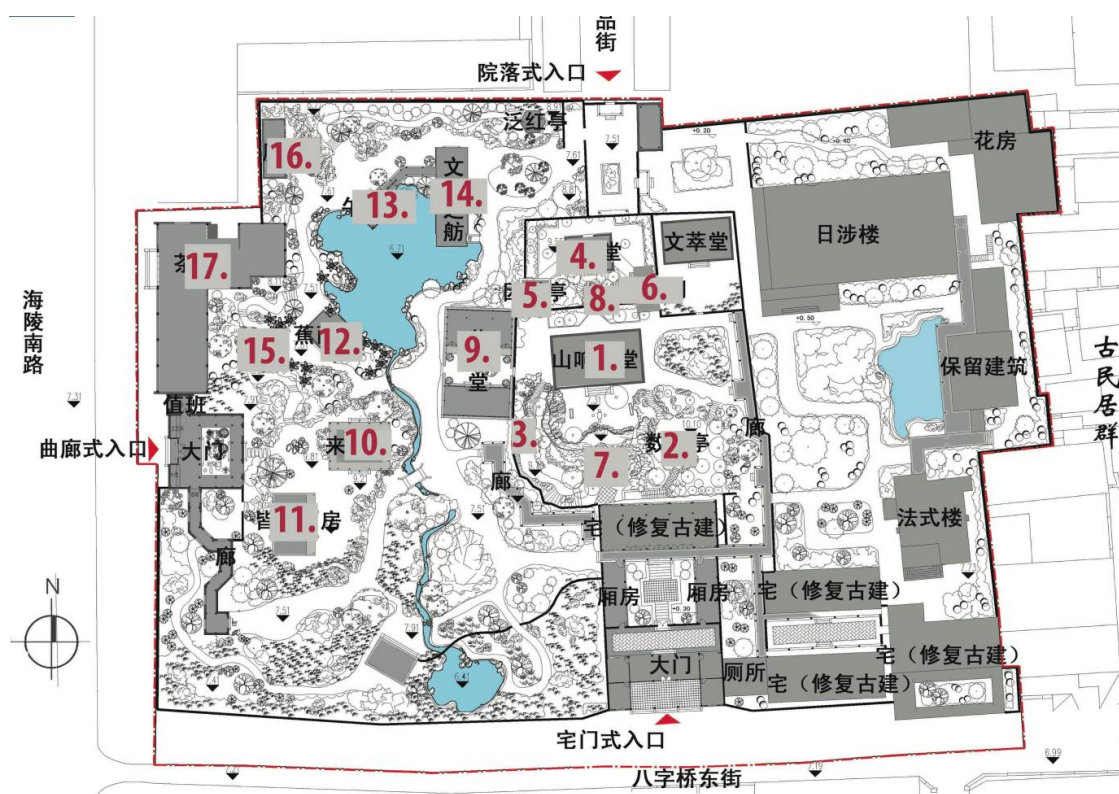


Figure 4-17. Master plan of the restoration and reconstruction of the Qiao Garden. List of labelled buildings: 1. Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains; 2. Pavilion of Counting Fish; 3. Half Pavilion; 4. Hall of Fetching Water; 5. Pavilion for Emulating the Nest-Father; 6. Tower of Blowing Pines; 7. Historical rockwork; 8. Reconstructed rockwork made of Yellow Rocks; 9. Laiqing Hall; 10. Tower of coming green; 11. Mountain House of Greens; 12. Studio of Banana Trees and Rain; 13. Charm of Noon Studio; 14. Wengui Stone Boat; 15. Paths of Stone Forest; 16. Toilet; 17. Tea house. (Source: Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University (*Nanjing linye daxue linchan gongye shejiyuan* 南京林业大学林产工业设计院), 'Taizhou qiaoyuan huifu ji kuojian gongcheng guihua sheji 泰州乔园恢复及扩建工程规划设计 [The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Programme of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou]', 2006, held by Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (*Taizhoushi yuanlinju* 泰州市园林绿化管理局).)

Since the well-preserved historic rockwork is the oldest structure in the Qiao Garden, it became a focus of the restoration and reconstruction project. The remaining rockwork on the south of the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains was not restored as it was in a good condition. But two pavilions on its top received treatment. Although the half pavilion was considered as a recent construction by Cheng Congzhou, it was retained, repaired and painted during this conservation phase. The Pavilion of Counting Fish, which was reconstructed in 1990 as a modern concrete structure, was reconstructed again in 2006 with a traditional wooden structure (Fig.4-13).³⁶⁸ For the rockwork made of Yellow Rock located in the north of the historic garden part, and at the entrance of the Hall of Fetching Water, a new section of rockwork was added. This

³⁶⁸ Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University, 'The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Program of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou'.

new section forms the obstructive scenery (*zhangjing* 障景), a type of feature that can be found in many historic gardens, and covers an old well (Fig.4-18). But this change is different from descriptions in historic sources; this change is further discussed in section 4.4. The Taihu Rock inlaid on the wall was not addressed this time, but several more individually displayed rocks were added in this part.



Figure 4-18. Reconstructed rockwork located on the south of Hall of Fetching Water. (Source: author, 2013.)

While the historical garden part is small and only contains two rock-dominated mountains and a few individual rocks, the reconstructed garden part on the west was dominated by rocks. As shown in Figure 4-19, which is a photo taken during the construction process; continuous rockwork almost surrounds every building, although it was not indicated in the design plan. According to the proposal, rockwork was designed to ‘avoid creating a spacious, monotonous and a wide-sweeping view [of the whole garden]’.³⁶⁹ The proposal also mentioned the creation of the miniature landscape by having the comparison between large rockwork and small space. Guided by the proposal, newly constructed rockwork is made of larger-size rocks. As shown in Figure 4-20, large pieces of rocks (approx. 1-1.5 metres long) are piled up beside a narrow footpath. In addition, this rockwork is connecting with the historical rockwork by linking to the

³⁶⁹ See the original sentence ‘为避免空旷，单调和一览无余’，in Forest Products Industry Design Institute of Nanjing Forestry University, ‘The Plan of the Reconstruction and Expansion Program of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou’.

south exit of the Cave of a Bag of Cloud; however, it creates a strong conflict of styles when comparing the design and the materials of these two rockworks (Figs. 4-9, 4-20).



Figure 4-19. The extended part under construction, which shows that a large quantity of rockwork was constructed around buildings. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 4-20. Newly constructed rockwork in the Qiao Garden. It contains many large-sized rocks, in contrast to the other historical rockwork in this garden (Source: author, 2013.).

For the design of the watercourse, the proposal aimed to have a narrow and zigzagging stream as the one in the historical part, and create two ponds on the north and south ends. The watercourse is linked with the Jade-belt River (*Yudai he* 玉带河) via a culvert; this river is a canal constructed around the Chongzhen period 崇祯年间 (1628-1644). But there was no historical record of ponds on the west side of the garden, although the narrow stream next to the historical rockwork was described as a pond in textual sources, and also depicted as a larger water feature in pictorial sources. According to the evaluation report provided by the Planning Bureau of Taizhou, the watercourse in the final design is already smaller than the one in the initial plan; and the link with the Jade-belt River is to connect the garden with other historical scenes.³⁷⁰

‘Follow the original arrangement of plants in the restoration and reconstruction process’ is the proposed principle of planting. The proposal summarised the characteristics and species of the original planting and aimed to apply them in the reconstructed part. But currently, there are more flowering plants such as Yulan magnolia (*Bai yulan* 白玉兰), Chinese crab-apple (*Haitang* 海棠), peach, peony and azalea, while in the historical part, tall trees like Chinese juniper (*Hui* 桧), pine and elm were the dominating species which cover the garden with their canopy and provide shade and the ‘special charm’.

4.4 Assessment and discussion of the conservation practice

Since the twentieth century, the Qiao Garden and its rockwork experienced two phases of conservation. The first phase took place in 1995, during which damaged features were repaired, and ruined buildings were reconstructed *in situ*; with limited existed records, the aim of conservation was not clear. The second phase started in 2005, which focused on the expansion of the garden and reconstructing the disappeared features on the west, as well as repairing the existing historic features. The aim of the second phase was claimed to continue the original style in the reconstructed section, and naturally link with the historic part. With the second phase of conservation, the authorities tried to make this historic garden profitable by enlarging and protecting it. Currently, this project successfully increased the number of tourists. When I was visiting the garden, many guided tours were also inside; according to the informal conversation

³⁷⁰ Taizhou Bureau of Planning (*Taizhoushi guihua ju* 泰州市规划局), ‘Taizhoushi xujianxing xiangxi guihua sheji fang’an shenghe yijian 泰州市修建性详细规划设计方案审核意见 [Evaluation Report on the Amended Proposal of Detailed Planning Program of Taizhou]’, 2005.5.19. (Document no.: [2005] 第 22 号).

with the administrative staff, the number of tourists, especially tour groups, has rapidly grown since the completion of the conservation and reconstruction project.³⁷¹ This project also contributed to the development of the city indirectly. When applying for the eligibility of National Famous Cities of Historical and Cultural Value, Qiao Garden was introduced as an important historical site, and its restoration and reconstruction was treated as a successful conservation practice undertaken by the municipal government.³⁷² The application was accepted and approved in 2013.³⁷³

Although the political goal was achieved, have the goals of the conservation project been achieved after all? It is essential to discuss if the original appearance and state have been retained.

In terms of the historic rockwork and surrounding contexts, most of the original characteristics were preserved and unchanged, including the structure, the material and the plants. For the main rockwork to the south, only the unstable structure was strengthened, despite some rocks on the façade having fallen and gone missing. Although one of the pavilions on the top of this rockwork was once reconstructed using the wrong material and structure during the first phase of conservation, it was reconstructed again later in the second phase so as to be consistent with other historic buildings in the garden.

The only major change was the newly-added section on the rockwork at the entrance of the Hall of Fetching Water, and on the north of the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains; the new section covers the old well and forms the obstructive scenery, which seems to be a change to the original appearance. The texts on Zhou Xiang's painting did describe this rockwork and the well, he wrote 'behind the hall [the Thatched Cottage of Sounding Mountains], there is a mountain; at the mountain foot, there is a spring, the water is sweet and potable; above the spring, there is the Hall of Fetching Water'.³⁷⁴ Considering the location, the spring is possibly the well. If so, the text indicates that it was accessible and was not covered by the rockwork. At

³⁷¹ Informal conversations with administrative staff, see appendix 2.

³⁷² People's Government of Taizhou (*Taizhoushi renmin zhengfu* 泰州市人民政府), 'Taizhoushi renmin zhengfu guanyu shenbao guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng de qingshi 泰州市人民政府关于申报国家历史文化名城的请示 [The Request of the People's Government of Taizhou for Applying the National Famous Cities of Historical and Cultural Value]', 2009.7.7 (Document no.: 泰政发[2009]112 号.)

³⁷³ State Council of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), 'Guowuyuan guanyu tongyi jiang Jiangsu sheng Taizhoushi liewei guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng de pifu 国务院关于同意将江苏省泰州市列为国家历史文化名城的批复 [State Council's Reply of Listing Taizhou City of Jiangsu Province as the National Famous City of Historical and Cultural Value]', 2013.2.10. (Document no.: 国函 [2013] 26 号.)

³⁷⁴ See the original sentence '堂后山，山下有泉，甘冽可饮', in Zhou Xiang, 'Paintings of the Four Sides of the Garden of Three Peaks'.

the same time, no other sources mentioned that the well was hidden by the rockwork. So far, no record has been found explaining the reason of making such a change during the conservation. It is possible that the authorities wanted to create a garden feature that met their understanding of historic gardens in general; because placing a rockwork at the gate and blocking the view of the garden inside the gate can be found in many other historic gardens. According to the informal conversation with a member of staff working in the Qiao Garden today, he was once told an explanation: the new section was added to improve the *fengshui* of the site. He was told that this specific well was considered as containing 'sha 煞', the inauspicious influences; therefore, a new section of rockwork was constructed to cover the well and stop the *sha*. Although this might just be a story that people made up, it is clear that this newly constructed part damaged the original appearance and state of this historic rockwork, regardless of the reason that caused it.

Although the majority of the original appearance and state are retained in the historic part of the Qiao Garden, the reconstructed section on the west failed to retain the original style of the garden, which was claimed as the aim of the conservation process in 2005. Both the rockwork and plants in the reconstructed part did not retain the same characteristics as the existing part, although the historical sources were collected and studied before making the conservation plan. In terms of rockwork, some of them contained caves, but none of them has the structure of *xiadong shangtai*. Also, the sizes of rocks in the extended part are larger than those in the historical part; the former are normally 40-60cm long while the latter are about one-metre long (Fig. 4-21). Modern machines, such as cranes and trucks, must have helped with transporting and piling larger pieces of rocks. Using large pieces of rocks is also a way to make the space and footpath look smaller, and achieve the goal of forming a miniature landscape that was mentioned in the conservation proposal. The selection of plants, which is different from the historical part as explored in the last paragraph of section 4.3.2, also failed to create the same atmosphere and, instead, created visual clutter.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁵ Ruan Yisan, Liu Tianhua, Ruan Yongsan, and Ding Feng, *Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan*, p.139.



Figure 4-21. The comparison of the size of rocks used in the historical rockwork (left) and the newly constructed rockwork (right). The red circles show the size of rocks used at the entrance of caves. (Source: author, 2013.)

All the issues have shown that rockwork in the historic part and the newly constructed part of the Qiao Garden present different styles and features. It is clear that the investigation on historic sources and the analysis on the characteristics of the remaining garden have not been thorough.

Apart from this, the lack of historic information on the reconstructed part is also an important cause. According to historical records like Zhou Xiang's painting and texts, there used to be more features to the west of the remaining part, and he mentioned the names of buildings in this part. However, the actual scope of the western section, and the location and appearance of each building are inexplicit, as they were not depicted in the painting; other features were not mentioned, except for a bamboo grove, a peony cluster and a footpath possibly among rocks. Since the available historical descriptions are vague, they can hardly be considered as reliable. Even though, they were still trusted and used as a base for the reconstruction in 2005; the reconstructed features did not conform to the only source that was used. As discussed in section

4.3.2, the locations of some reconstructed buildings are clearly different from the records, and some reconstructed features like most of the rockwork and pond were not even mentioned in historical records. Thus, it is necessary to discuss if the reconstruction of the disappeared section is appropriate and permitted by the regulations. The *Law* (1982) stated that the extending of cultural relics is not permitted, while the *China Principles* (2002, revised 2004) permitted reconstruction *in situ*, but only in the case when there exists reliable documentation, and after approval by an expert panel; the latter also clearly stated that historical features can only be constructed ‘based on textual verification of its historic condition’, in other words, based on ‘direct evidence’; and ‘conjectural reconstruction is not permitted’.³⁷⁶ In the case of the Qiao Garden, since the available historical descriptions are vague, they can hardly be considered as reliable. So, the reconstruction and extension of the garden did not really meet the requirements of the relevant policies.

The conservation principle of ‘not blindly copying the history’, which was stated in the second conservation phase, might also lead to these issues. This principle is vague and can be understood from both sides. On one hand, it can indicate that specific features and characteristics of this garden should be discovered, and the reconstructed part should not be created in a generic style. On the other hand, it can also be considered since innovations are accepted in the reconstruction, and the original style does not need to be followed. A vague guidance with an ambiguous meaning would not be able to guide the conservation and achieve the same goal.

On top of the issues that appeared in the repaired and reconstructed rockwork and other garden features, some problems are found in the archival process. The collection and storage of records are key issues. The administration office of the Qiao Garden did not collect any records and documents related to the conservation progress; the Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens possesses the design proposals of the recent restoration and reconstruction project; the Taizhou Bureau of Planning (*Taizhoushi guihua ju* 泰州市规划局) has the archive of some related governmental documents. Although all of them related to the conservation of one historical garden, the records are separately stored in different departments. Some of the documents, especially early ones, are missing. For example, no official record relating to the repair and restoration in 1990 has been found in any of the three departments. The limited information of

³⁷⁶ National People’s Congress, *Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, article 15; ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2004, p. 65 (article 33), 86 (commentary 13.3).

this programme came from the book *Jiangnan gudian sijia yuanlin* 江南古典私家园林 [Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan],³⁷⁷ which conformed to the information provided orally by the staff of the administration office.

³⁷⁷ Ruan Yisan, Liu Tianhua, Ruan Yongsan, and Ding Feng, *Historic Private Gardens in Jiangnan*.

Chapter 5. Case study 2: An overestimated example - Gazing Garden

The historic rockworks in the Gazing Garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园) were constructed in the same trend and have a similar style and structure to those in the Qiao Garden as they were constructed at similar dates. However, they were treated with different conservation approaches, and therefore these two case studies were chosen to reveal different issues. The Qiao Garden has been extended and contains reconstructed features, including rockworks. Although the historic rockwork was not changed, the main issue was that the rockworks located in the reconstructed area of the garden appeared in a style which is different from those in the historic parts. By contrast, during the conservation of the Gazing Garden, the historic rockworks have been modified; it was also extended, but the extension was considered as successful in retaining a consistent rockwork style between the old and new parts of the garden. One of the new rockworks, the 'Southern Hill (*Nan jiashan* 南假山)', was constructed in the 1960s and dubbed the 'best rockwork constructed after the establishment of the People's Republic of China'.³⁷⁸ Despite this reputation, the restoration of the Gazing Garden still presents issues since it has experienced three different phases of conservation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These three phases included some conservation approaches that are no longer considered appropriate according to current standards and would not meet modern conservation requirements. Furthermore, through some subpar conservation works, some of the historical and cultural values of the rockwork were lost. In this chapter the myth that the Gazing Garden is an exemplary model to copy, as it has long been hailed, will be disproved. The different conservation practices found in the Gazing Garden will be discussed in detail from a new angle.

The Gazing Garden is one of the few historical gardens remaining in Nanjing, the provincial capital city of Jiangsu Province. It is physically connected with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Museum (*Taiping tianguo bowuguan* 太平天国博物馆) on the west side. Both the sites of the Gazing Garden and the museum historically belonged to the same property: the former was indeed a garden part while the latter used to be the residential part. The residence and its

³⁷⁸ Zhang Lei 张蕾, Ruan Rong 袁蓉, and Cao Zhijun 曹志君, *Nanjing Zhanyuan shihua* 南京瞻园史话 [Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing] (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2008), p.32.

garden were always a major property in Nanjing, and used to be owned by noble families, then by local government and official departments.

5.1 History and development

Gazing Garden in Nanjing was originally established as a garden in the sixteenth century by Xu Pengju 徐鹏举 (?-1571). As the descendent of Xu Da 徐达 (1332-1385), the general who contributed to the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, Xu Pengju inherited the hereditary title of Weiguo Gong 魏国公 [Duke of Wei] and some of the family properties. Xu Pengju transformed a spare plot of land on the west of his residence into a garden. In consideration of the location, it was named the West Garden (*Xi pu* 西圃). According to later records, the garden was named the Gazing Garden in the Qing Dynasty, no later than the Kangxi period (1662-1722).³⁷⁹ In 1757, the Qianlong Emperor (1711-1799) visited the Gazing Garden during his second inspection tour to the South: the residence and garden were then occupied by the local government of Jiangning 江宁 (today's Nanjing). The emperor had the Ru Garden (*Ru yuan* 如园), a complex in the imperial Garden of Eternal Spring (*Changchun yuan* 长春园) modelling on the Gazing Garden.³⁸⁰ Since the emperor appreciated it to the point of reproducing it in his imperial garden, the garden gained much attention and a high reputation.

To document the garden as it was in the sixteenth century, only one source is available. It is the essay 'You Jinling zhuyuan ji 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visiting the Gardens of Jinling]' (Jinling is another name for today's Nanjing), in which the author Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590) documented gardens in Jinling. As a friend of the Duke of Wei, Wang visited several gardens of the Xu family. In his essay, Wang introduced the West Garden as well as another nine gardens of the Xu family.³⁸¹ Wang Shizhen was invited to the West Garden by its contemporaneous owner Xu Weizhi 徐维志 (? -1593), Xu Pengju's grandson. In the essay, Wang briefly described the layout of Xi Pu based on his visit. After entering the garden from the south entrance, a winding garden path led the way to the west, where there was probably a mound, as there were

³⁷⁹ Wu Jingzhi 吴敬志 (1701-1754), *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史 [The Scholars], trans. by Hsien-Yi Yang, and Gladys Yang, 3rd ed. (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 1973), pp.573-575; Huang Zhijuan 黄之隽 (1668-1748), Zhao Hong'en 赵弘恩 (ca. 18th century), *Qianlong Jiangnan tongzhi* 乾隆江南通志 [Complete Gazetteer of Jiangnan] (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2001), p.586; Yu Minzhong 于敏中 (1714-1780), *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考 [Collection of Chronicles of the Capital] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983), p.1390.

³⁸⁰ Yu Minzhong, *Collection of Chronicles of the Capital*, p.1390.

³⁸¹ Wang Shizhen 王世贞 (1526-1590), 'You Jinling zhuyuan ji 游金陵诸园记 [Record of Visiting the Gardens of Jinling]', in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周, and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.136-145.

‘stairs on high mountain ranges, and old and rare plants’.³⁸² There was a curving pond at the mountain foot. A large hall was located on the north of the mound, with an artificial rock mountain in front of it on the south; the beautiful pavilion on the top of the rockwork was high enough to view all the mountain ranges.

Wang also mentioned that when Xu Pengju created this garden, he collected materials from various locations, including rocks from Dongting, Wukang and Yushan. The first two were traditional materials for making rockwork in the Jiangnan area.³⁸³ However, as a friend of the contemporaneous owner, the Duke of Wei, Wang Shizhen was likely to exaggerate the features and his feelings about Xu’s gardens. The ten gardens of Xu were all stated to be celebrated and representative beautiful gardens of Nanjing. As regards Xi Pu, Wang mentioned that the rockwork was high and included ranges, rocks were imported from many different locations, and he described buildings as ‘impressively magnificent (*ji hongli* 极宏丽)’ and ‘particularly beautiful (*youli* 尤丽)’.³⁸⁴ As a garden of a noble family, it may have been more elaborate than the gardens of the literati,³⁸⁵ but it is hard to estimate to what extent Wang’s descriptions of the details were accurate. Wang Shizhen’s essay indicated that different types of rocks can be found in the garden, but did not specify how they were used.

A visualisation of the garden becomes possible through a Qing painting by Yuan Jiang 袁江 (1662-1735) which revealed the appearance of the Gazing Garden in an artistic way. As shown in Figure 5-1, Yuan Jiang’s ‘Zhan yuan tu 瞻园图 [Painting of the Gazing Garden]’ partially conformed to Wang Shizhen’s description of Xi Pu: the garden was centred on a pond; there were rockworks to the west and north of the pond, with pavilions on them. There was a grand hall and a terrace on the south, and a two-storey building to the north of the northern rockwork.³⁸⁶ The painting clearly shows the location of each feature, which could potentially solve some confusion from Wang Shizhen’s texts. But the details of these two sources are not matching: more pavilions are depicted on the rockwork by Yuan Jiang; the painting shows that the rockwork on the west was made of rocks, or at least covered by rocks, while Wang’s texts described it as a mound covered by many plants; the painting shows more buildings and

³⁸² Wang Shizhen, ‘Record of Visiting the Gardens of Jinling’, p.139.

³⁸³ Edward H. Schafer, *Tu Wan’s Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest: A Commentary and Synopsis* (Warren: Floating World Editions, 2005), pp.52-54, 97.

³⁸⁴ Wang Shizhen, ‘Record of Visiting the Gardens of Jinling’, p.139.

³⁸⁵ Craig Clunas, ‘Ideal and Reality in the Ming Garden’, in *The Authentic Garden: A Symposium on Gardens*, ed. by Leslie Tjon Sie Fat, and Erik de Jong (Leiden: Clusius Foundation, 1991), pp.197-207.

³⁸⁶ Considering the Chinese tradition of having buildings facing the south, the bottom of the painting might be the south and the top might be the north.

corridors to the west of the garden. In Yuan Jiang's painting, there is a wall and door embedded in the western rockwork facing the east, which is also not mentioned in Wang's texts: If accurate, this is an important detail that shows a typical structure of the sixteenth century. Considering that there was a brick cave in the historic rockwork of the Qiao Garden, it is possible that in the Gazing Garden this wall and door was the entrance of a cave in the western rockwork and used as a load-bearing structure. Although we need to be careful not to overstate the trustworthiness of both sources, the discrepancy may be attributed to changes that happened to the garden over the course of nearly a century.

Another early eighteenth-century source, the novel *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史 [The Scholars], also involves descriptions of the Gazing Garden. According to it, there was a bronze pavilion at the highest point of the whole garden; by burning a fire inside, the pavilion would be warm against the snowy weather in the winter.³⁸⁷ But it is not clear whether this pavilion was on top of the northern or the western rockwork.

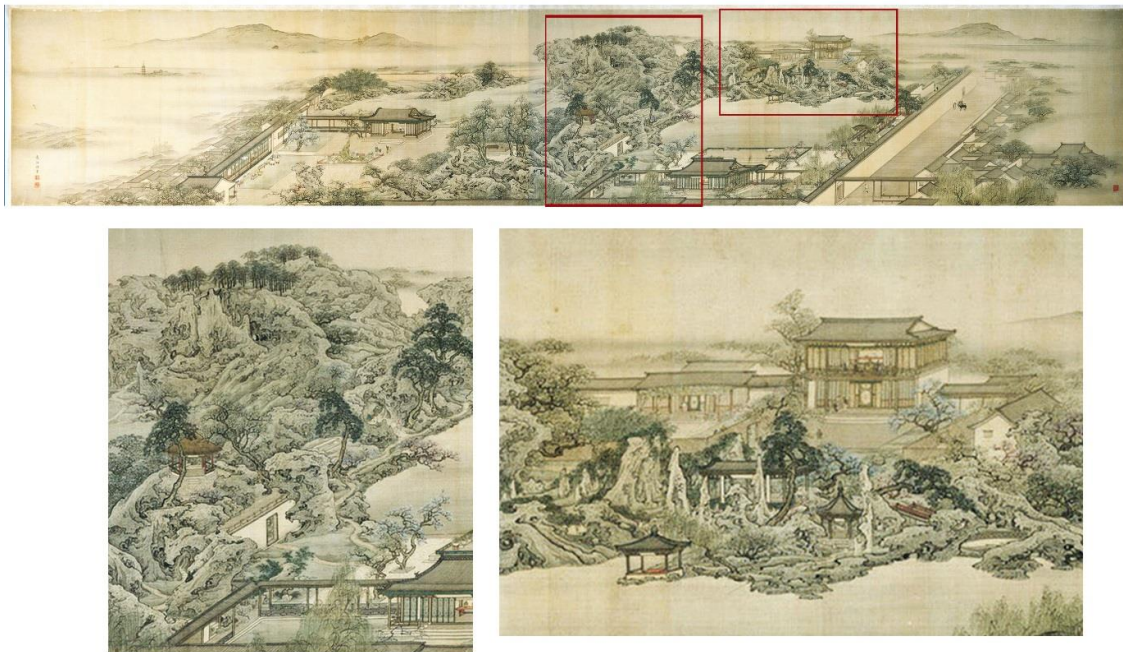


Figure 5-1. Part of the 'Zhan yuan tu 瞻园图 [Painting of the Gazing Garden]', by Yuan Jiang 袁江 (1662-1735). (Source: Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Museum (*Taiping tianguo lishi bowuguan* 太平天国历史博物馆).)

³⁸⁷ Wu Jingzhi, *The Scholars*, trans. by Hsien-Yi Yang, and Gladys Yang, pp.573-575.

By 1811, although the garden had been visited by the Qianlong emperor, it was recorded as being ‘*fei* 废 [neglected]’ in the local gazetteer while the residential buildings were used as offices of the local government.³⁸⁸ It is not clear how it was ‘neglected’. But it was a common condition of gardens in the Jiaqing period (1796-1820). When the earlier tradition of southern inspection tours stopped, the garden culture in the Jiangnan area, which had been flourishing, was affected. Not only the Gazing Garden, but also most of the gardens along the Baozhang River in Yangzhou became neglected.³⁸⁹ The latter used to be a key site that the Qianlong emperor visited during every southern tour.

Despite the garden being ‘neglected’, the rockwork seems to have survived. In the book *Jinling daizheng lu* 金陵待征录 [Corrective Record of Jinling], completed in 1844, the author Jin Ao 金鳌 (ca. 19th century) underlined that the Gazing Garden was known for its rocks. This book aimed to document places, people, and objects in Jinling, today’s Nanjing, in which many gardens were recorded, including the Gazing Garden.³⁹⁰ Jin Ao provided the most detailed information about the rockwork of this garden at that time. According to him, the garden had some fine rocks that were given names such as Pine Friend (*Yousong* 友松), Lean on the Cloud (*Yiyun* 倚云), Long Life (*Changsheng* 长生), Reach the Clouds (*Lingyun* 凌云) and Tired Man (*Juanren* 倦人). Under the rockwork, there were deep valleys and caves named Gathering of Auspiciousness (*Jixiang* 集祥), Sitting Tiger (*Fuhu* 伏虎), Goddess (*Xiangu* 仙姑), Three Apes (*Sanyuan* 三猿), Bright Connection (*Mingtong* 明通) and Low-lying Clouds (*Chuiyun* 垂云); the winding caves formed the deep and quiet atmosphere.³⁹¹ Since they are fully listed, the caves and fine rocks may have been key features of the garden in the early nineteenth century, when Jin Ao visited and recorded it. However, no clue is given about their location.

During the Taiping Rebellion, Nanjing became the capital of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (*Taiping tianguo* 太平天国). The former government office and the Gazing Garden were occupied by the leaders of the Taiping Army. Moreover, the garden was further damaged when Nanjing was conquered and taken back by the Qing forces in 1864.³⁹² The buildings and the

³⁸⁸ Lü Yanzhao 吕燕昭 (ca. 18th-19th century), and Yao Nai 姚鼐 (1731-1815), *Jiaqing xinxiu Jiangningfu zhi* 嘉庆新修江宁府志 [New Gazetteer of Jiangning in Jiaqing Period] (1811) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), p.91, 94.

³⁸⁹ Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), ‘Yangzhou huafanglu ba 扬州画舫录跋 [Postscript to Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou]’, in Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou] (1795), annotated by Zhou Guangpei 周光培 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guangling guji keyinshe, 1984), p.7.

³⁹⁰ Jin Ao 金鳌 (ca. 19th century), ‘Zi xu 自序 [Preface]’, in *Jinling daizheng lu* 金陵待征录 [Corrective Record of Jinling], 1844 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), p.3.

³⁹¹ Jin Ao, ‘Preface’, in *Corrective Record of Jinling*, p.56.

³⁹² Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.18.

garden were reconstructed and repaired after the destruction. Yet it is difficult to estimate how many features from the Ming Dynasty survived.

Records written by later owners provide much information. After the rebellion, the building complex and the garden continued to be used for the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning (*Jiangning buzheng sishu* 江宁布政司署), also known as the Regional Office of Jiangning (*Jiangning fansi yashu* 江宁藩司衙署). Following this, the Provincial Administration Commissioners of Jiangning (*Jiangning buzheng shi* 江宁布政使) maintained, repaired and modified the Gazing Garden. Records of four governors and their works exist, which help with the exploration of the changes. Two of them, Li Zongxi 李宗羲 (1818-1884) and Mei Qizhao 梅启照 (1826-1894), had ordered repairs of the Gazing Garden in the 1860s when they first started their job as commissioner. But the records of the efforts they made to restore the garden were mixed together in later records. A later governor, Huang Jianyuan 黄建筦 (ca. 19th – 20th century), recorded Mei as the first one that reconstructed the garden after the Rebellion,³⁹³ and the gazetteer completed in 1874 recorded that Mei was taking care of the Gazing Garden in 1868.³⁹⁴ In fact, Li took office in 1865 and continued at least until 1869, when he wrote the record ‘Jiangning buzhengshi shu chongjian ji 江宁布政使署重建记 [Record of the Reconstruction of the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning]’ of the office and its garden.³⁹⁵ According to Li, the record was created to ‘remind himself and warn the successor’ to spend more time for the local people rather than relaxing all the time in the garden.³⁹⁶ Thus, Mei might be the following governor that Li was warning. As the records mixed up Li with Mei, it is not possible to identify the features created by each of them respectively. But the historical resources did reveal the following changes to the rockwork in the garden in the late 1860s: since ‘old water and rocks’ remained, no new rockwork was constructed; the collapsed part of existing rockwork was repaired; the revetment was reconstructed; pavilions were added to the top of

³⁹³ Huang Jianyuan 黄建筦 (ca. 19th - 20th century), ‘Zhanyuan Ji 瞻园记 [Record of the Gazing Garden]’ (1904), in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2vols (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, p.156.

³⁹⁴ Mo Xiangzhi 莫祥芝 (1827-1890), *Tongzhi shangjiang liangxian zhi* 同治上江两县志 [Gazetteer of Two Counties in Shangjiang in Tongzhi Period] (1874) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), p.194.

³⁹⁵ Li Zongxi 李宗羲 (1818-1884), ‘Jiangning buzhengshi shu chongjian ji 江宁布政使署重建记 [Record of the Reconstruction of the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning]’ (1866), in *Yuan zong* 园综 [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, pp.158-159.

³⁹⁶ See the original sentence ‘既以自警，以谗来者’, in Li Zongxi, ‘Record of the Reconstruction of the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning’, in *Collection of Garden Records*, annotated by Zhao Houjun, pp.158-159.

the rockwork and beside the water; a Moon Platform (*Yue tai* 月台) and a stone bridge were constructed at unknown locations.³⁹⁷

In the 1900s, two other commissioners, Huang Jianyuan and Lijia Jichang 李佳继昌 (1852-1908), were recorded as taking care of the garden. Both of them mentioned that the garden was known for rocks throughout its history. But neither of them was recorded as having made any change to the rockwork, although they added some features on the rockwork and in the garden. Huang renovated the garden and constructed a thatched house 'Welcoming Green (*Yingcui* 迎翠)' on the western mound, replanted bamboos and built a pavilion named 'Green Villa (*Lüshu* 绿墅)'.³⁹⁸ Lijia added more plants to the garden.³⁹⁹ In addition, he mentioned that there were two ponds in front of and behind the hall; although no direct evidence shows that Lijia created the pond behind the hall, it was not mentioned in any earlier source.

Although Huang and Lijia might not have modified the rockworks, there were descriptions about the rockworks. To be more specific, Huang mentioned three individual rocks and three caves inside the rockwork with names: Pine Friend, Lean on the Cloud, Tired Man, Sitting Tiger, Three Apes, and Grand Rock (*Panshi* 盘石). There is room for argument about whether the features recorded by Huang still existed in his time. On one hand, as five out of six names he mentioned conformed to Jin Ao's description in 1844, it is possible that Huang was introducing historical features based on Jin Ao's book. On the other hand, he mentioned a cave named Grand Rock that was not present in Jin Ao's record. So, it could be a new name given to a cave that existed at Huang's time, which indicates that the rockwork mentioned still existed in his time.

Three of the four commissioners discussed the aim of repairing the Gazing Garden in their records for the garden. Similarly to the '*chongxiu*', which is discussed in Chapter 3, they were expressing their ideas and spirits while repairing and renovating the features. When he ordered the reconstruction of the garden, Li Zongxi intended to build strong structures without decorations such as carvings. Li tried to remind and warn later commissioners that, when using large buildings and engaging a large number of labourers for construction, officials should

³⁹⁷ Li Zongxi, 'Record of the Reconstruction of the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning', in *Collection of Garden Records*, annotated by Zhao Houjun, pp.158-159; Mo Xiangzhi, *Gazetteer of Two Counties in Shangjiang in the Tongzhi Period*, p.194.

³⁹⁸ Huang Jianyuan, 'Record of the Gazing Garden', in *Collection of Garden Records*, annotated by Zhao Houjun, p.156.

³⁹⁹ Lijia Jichang 李佳继昌 (1852-1908), 'Zhanyuan Ji 瞻园记 [Record of the Gazing Garden]' (1906), in *Yuan zong 园综* [Collection of Garden Records], ed. by Chen Congzhou 陈从周 and Jiang Qiting 蒋启霆, annotated by Zhao Houjun 赵厚均, 2 vols (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2011), I, p.157.

empathise with the people that lived in poor conditions.⁴⁰⁰ By contrary, in the early 1900s, when repairing the Gazing Garden, Huang and Lijia treated the garden as a reflection of history; features built and modified in different periods reminded them of the circumstances of each period.⁴⁰¹

Overall, some of the rockworks and ponds were originally created in the sixteenth century. There were mountain-shaped rockworks (one rock-dominant artificial mountain and one earth-dominant artificial mountain) as well as individually displayed rocks in the Gazing Garden. It gained a reputation after the visit of the Qianlong Emperor in the mid-eighteenth century.

The garden features recorded in sources of different periods are summarised in Table 3. By summarising and analysing this information, it is possible to conjecture the layout of the garden. A pond, which was created in the sixteenth century, was located in the centre of the garden. An earth-dominated rockwork was located to the west of the pond, and a rock-dominated rockwork was located to the north of the pond. There were several caves inside the rockworks; but it is unclear whether the caves were constructed in both mountain-shaped rockworks, or only in one. There were pavilions on both rockworks, but the number and location of pavilions have changed several times. Apart from the mountain-shaped rockworks, the Gazing Garden had several individually displayed rocks; each of them has a name. Their locations are unknown, and probably had been relocated in the past. The layout of the centre of the garden did not change much. The reason why it was able to survive is possibly because the Gazing Garden was always the attached garden of noble houses and governmental buildings.

Table 3. Summary of features in the Gazing Garden in records of different periods.

| Year/Period | Features |
|--------------------------|---|
| 16 th century | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A mound on the west; - A pond next to the mound; - A hall on the north; |

⁴⁰⁰ Li Zongxi, 'Record of the Reconstruction of the Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangning', in *Collection of Garden Records*, annotated by Zhao Houjun, pp.158-159.

⁴⁰¹ Huang Jianyuan, 'Record of the Gazing Garden', in *Collection of Garden Records*, annotated by Zhao Houjun, p.156.

| | |
|--|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A rock mountain to the south of the hall, with a pavilion on top; - Different types of rocks can be found in the garden. |
| Late 17 th – early 18 th century | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A pond in the middle; - A mountain-shaped rockwork on the north of the pond, with three pavilions on and besides it; - A mountain-shaped rockwork on the west of the pond, with a pavilion and terrace on the top, and a cave at the bottom; - A two-storey building and a corridor on the north of the northern rockwork; - A bronze pavilion on top of a rockwork; the location was not specified. - A hall, and an open terrace on the south of the pond; - A hall and some corridors on the west of the garden part. |
| 1844 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At least five individual rocks with specific names; their locations were not specified; - A valley in the rockwork; the location was not specified; - At least six caves in the rockwork, each of them had a name. |
| 1860s | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The pond in the middle was retained; - The rockwork on the north of the pond and the one on the west were retained; - Collapsed part of rockwork was repaired; |

| | |
|-------|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revetment was reconstructed; - A pavilion was constructed on the top of a rockwork; the location was not specified; - A pavilion was constructed beside the water; the location was not specified; - A Moon Platform and a stone bridge were constructed; - Two ponds, one in front of the hall and the other one behind. |
| 1910s | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The rockwork on the north and the one on the west were retained; - A thatched house and a pavilion were built; the former was on the western mound; - At least three individual rocks with specific names; the location was not specified; - At least three caves with specific names; the location was not specified - Plants were added, including bamboo. |

5.2 Characteristics of the rockwork

As explored in the previous section, there are available historical sources, including textual and pictorial materials, which record the features of the Gazing Garden. They help us to understand the development of the garden and its rockworks. Nevertheless, the historic information did not provide detailed and accurate descriptions. Therefore, surveys and records of the remaining features are needed and important in order to reveal information like the locations, structures and materials, which were not well-specified in the historical sources. With the analysis of historical sources and the survey results, the characteristics of the remaining rockwork could be revealed and learnt.

Thus, this section will explore the characteristics of the historic rockwork in the Gazing Garden by analysing the survey findings as well as historical sources.

In the 1930s, the Gazing Garden had been surveyed by the architect Tong Jun 童寯 (1900-1093). The records of this survey provide significant information about the remaining features of the garden before they were modified during the large-scale conservation projects which took place in the 1950s. Tong Jun surveyed no less than 75 gardens in the Jiangnan area in the 1930s, during which he produced survey maps or sketch maps for them, including the Gazing Garden.⁴⁰² By that time, Tong had finished the Masters course in architecture in the US, made site visits in Europe and started work in the firm Allied Architects (*Huagai jianzhushi shiwusuo* 华盖建筑师事务所) with two other alumni from the University of Pennsylvania. As shown in Figure 5-2, Tong's survey map recorded the layout of the garden and the location and shapes of each feature. With scales and a north arrow, it is much more accurate than all earlier sources.

According to the map and Tong Jun's description, the remains of the Gazing Garden were orientated along a north-south axis with two artificial mountains occupying nearly half of the land.⁴⁰³ A rock-dominated artificial mountain was located in the north with a pavilion on the top. To the south of it, there was a pond with winding edges and a rocky shore. To the west of the pond, there was an earth-dominated mountain with one pavilion and one platform on it; its waterside was covered by rocks. The largest building in the garden was the Hall of the Wonder of Quiet (*Jingmiao tang* 静妙堂) in the south of the garden with a north-facing terrace and a good view of the pond and the rockworks. There was a smaller pond on the south of the hall. Unlike the other one, the smaller pond had a geometrical fan shape. The two ponds were linked by a narrow stream on the west side. The survey map also shows a small courtyard to the east of the entire garden.

⁴⁰² Tong Jun 童寯 (1900-1093), *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 [Records of Jiangnan Gardens], 2nd edn (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984).

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.36-37.

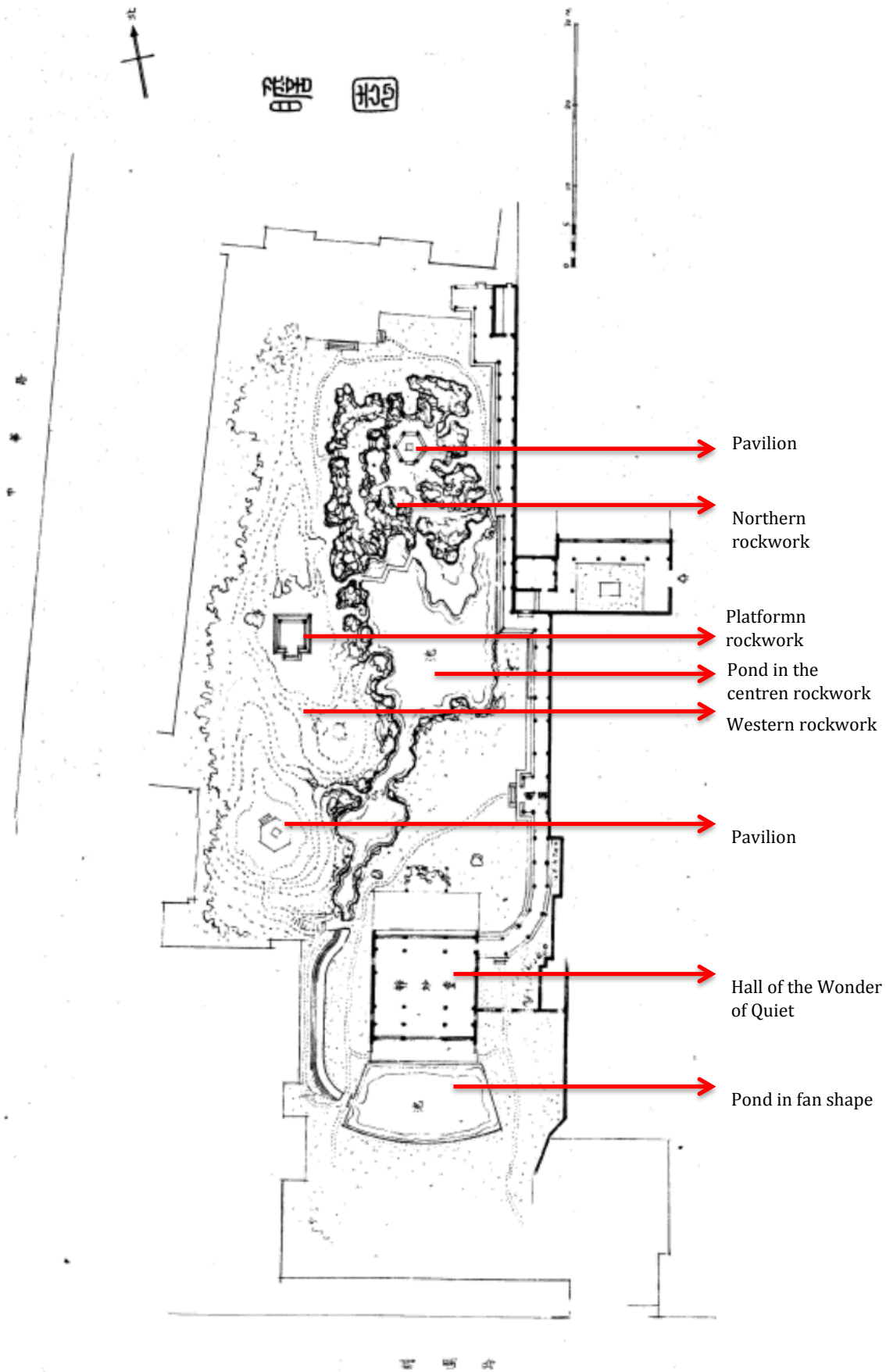


Figure 5-2. Survey map of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing, by Tong Jun. (Source: Tong Jun 童隽, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* 江南园林志 [Records of Jiangnan Gardens], 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984), volume of illustrations, no. 23.)

The information from the survey map not only reveals the layout of the garden in the early twentieth century, but also clears up some confusion caused by historical records. For example, it was not clear if the garden and its rockwork had been severely changed during the Taiping Rebellion. By comparing the survey map with Yuan Jiang's painting (Figs. 5-1, 5-2), we can ascertain that the basic layout of the garden did not change much over time. However, the number of architectural structures was greatly reduced. By the 1930s, there were only two pavilions, one hall and a long corridor in the north-south direction; but in the painting, there were more pavilions, a two-story house on the north, a corridor on the west of the Hall of the Wonder of Quiet, and another building complex on the west of the garden.

In terms of rockwork, Tong's work indicated that there were two artificial mountains: the northern rockwork was mainly made of rocks while the western rockwork was mainly made of earth, which conforms to the descriptions written by Wang Shizhen. Thus, these artificial mountains and the pond in the centre would be the same as those created no later than the sixteenth century when Wang visited it. The zigzag bridge in between the northern and western rockwork, the pavilion on the northern rockwork, and the platform were possibly built in the 1860s by Li Zongxi and Mei Qizhao, as these features were mentioned in contemporaneous texts. The platform shown in the survey map was possibly the Moon Platform mentioned in Li Zongxi's essay. In the Qing gardens, there were two types of Moon Platform: One of them is a garden feature normally located on rockwork, and the other the front verandah of a building, normally a grand hall or a palace.⁴⁰⁴ The one in Tong's survey map was probably the type associated with rockwork. The shape that Tong depicted is similar to other Moon Platforms of the Qing Dynasty: that of a squared stone platform with balustrade around. Figure 5-3 shows an example of a platform associated with rockwork in Wenjin Chamber (*Wenjin ge* 文津阁), Chengde Imperial Mountain Resort. Built in the 1770s, it has nearly the same layout as the Gazing Garden's, apart from the stone tablet in the middle. The Moon Platform in the Palace of Extending Happiness (*Yanfu gong* 延福宫) was also located on a rockwork, with 'twenty-two marble boards and balusters' around it.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ See the collections of *Neiwufu zouan* 内务府奏案 [Reports of Imperial Household Department to the Throne], held by The First Historical Archives of China (*Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan* 中国第一历史档案馆); Zhou Weiquan 周维权 (1927-2007), *Zhongguo gudian yuanlin shi* 中国古典园林史 [History of Chinese Classical Gardens] (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1990).

⁴⁰⁵ See the sentence '成砌月台一座，安砌旱白玉石栏板柱子二十二堂' in the report of the 24th day of the tenth month of the 19th year of the Qianlong reign, in *Reports of the Imperial Household Department to the Throne*, collected in The First Historical Archives of China.



Figure 5-3: The Moon Platform on the rockwork in Wenjin Chamber, Chengde Imperial Mountain Resort. It is a small stone platform placed on rockwork, which is quite different from the huge ancient platform that had been constructed from rammed earth. (Source: author, 2014.)

Although Tong Jun's survey map did not depict the ground level of the rockwork, he wrote in his book that there were seven caves under the rockworks.⁴⁰⁶ He did not mention if they were under one rockwork or both. According to my site survey in 2013, the caves are located in both the northern and western rockworks (Fig.5-4). As the caves are currently closed, it is not clear if they connect to each other; but in most other rockworks in Chinese gardens, caves do connect to each other. Thus, it is possible that the seven caves recorded by Tong Jun were seven entrances of caves rather than separate caves; and the names of caves recorded in Jin Ao and Huang Jianyuan's texts were possibly the name of each entrance. These caves are highly likely the same ones mentioned in the historical sources. It would have been very difficult technically to add caves to the structure after the fact: it would have required the reconstruction of the whole rockwork and there are no records of such extensive work having been undertaken during the garden's history.

The cave shown in the red frame of Figure 5-4 is located in the western hill, and is clearly constructed with bricks. It gives credit to the hypothesis on the structure of the western hill.

⁴⁰⁶ Tong Jun, *Records of Jiangnan Gardens*, p.36-37.

There is currently a brick structure involved in the caves' structure. Unlike the depictions on Qiu Ying's painting, it no longer contains the wall and door at the entrance of the cave, and only the narrow brick tunnel exists.



Figure 5-4. Entrance of caves in the northern and western rockwork in the Gazing Garden. (Source: author, 2013.)

Besides artificial mountains, individually displayed rocks survived in the Gazing Garden. Three individually displayed rocks were depicted in Tong's survey map. Two of them sit on either side of the north terrace of the Hall of the Wonder of Quiet, and the other one is located in the western hill next to the Moon Platform. In the accompanying text, Tong also mentioned that some Taihu Rocks were successively moved to nearby gardens after the Taiping Rebellion.⁴⁰⁷ Individually displayed rocks were also mentioned in the *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden], a collection of contemporaneous and historical records related to the Gazing Garden and completed in 1942. The book also mentioned that some of the rocks that used to belong to the garden were now found in other locations. Figure 5-5 shows the photos of historic rocks that the *Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden* records to have been relocated outside the garden.



Figure 5-5. Historic rocks in other sites that were considered as having formerly belonged to the Gazing Garden in the *Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden*. (Source: Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden], 1942, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).)

⁴⁰⁷ Tong Jun, *Records of Jiangnan Gardens*, p.37.

By exploring the historical remains of the Gazing Garden, this section helps to identify which structure or feature of a specific period has survived and remained. By analysing these together with the findings of historical records, we can further summarise the distinctive characteristics of the Gazing Garden and its rockworks.

Historically, the Gazing Garden was renowned for its rocks, including the artificial mountains as well as individual rocks.⁴⁰⁸ The two adjacent mountain-shaped rockworks carry distinctive characteristics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Having caves on the ground level and platforms and pavilions on the top, both of them clearly have the structure of '*xiadong shangtai*', a typical and popular structure of the rockworks of the time. Containing several entrances, each of which was given a name, the caves of these two rockworks were possibly a feature that was appreciated by its several owners and which made the Gazing Garden special. While the caves might have survived since the rockworks were built, the pavilions on the rockworks have been changed several times. The number and location of them were recorded differently in different historical sources.

One of the caves was built with bricks instead of rocks. This is a rare arrangement among existing historic rockworks, which was also not often recorded in historical sources. Nevertheless, most available and recorded examples are constructions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Another characteristic of the mountain-shaped rockworks is the rocky revetment. As can be seen from Tong's survey map, the pond in the centre has a zigzagging revetment with rocks, as a large portion of the revetment is part of the two rockworks. By contrast, the other pond located on the south has a smooth boundary (Fig.5-6). These two ponds were possibly constructed in different periods. The smaller pond on the south did not exist in Yuan Jiang's painting of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but was mentioned by Lijia Jichang in his garden record in 1906.

⁴⁰⁸ Jin Ao, 'Preface', in *Corrective Record of Jinling*, p.56.

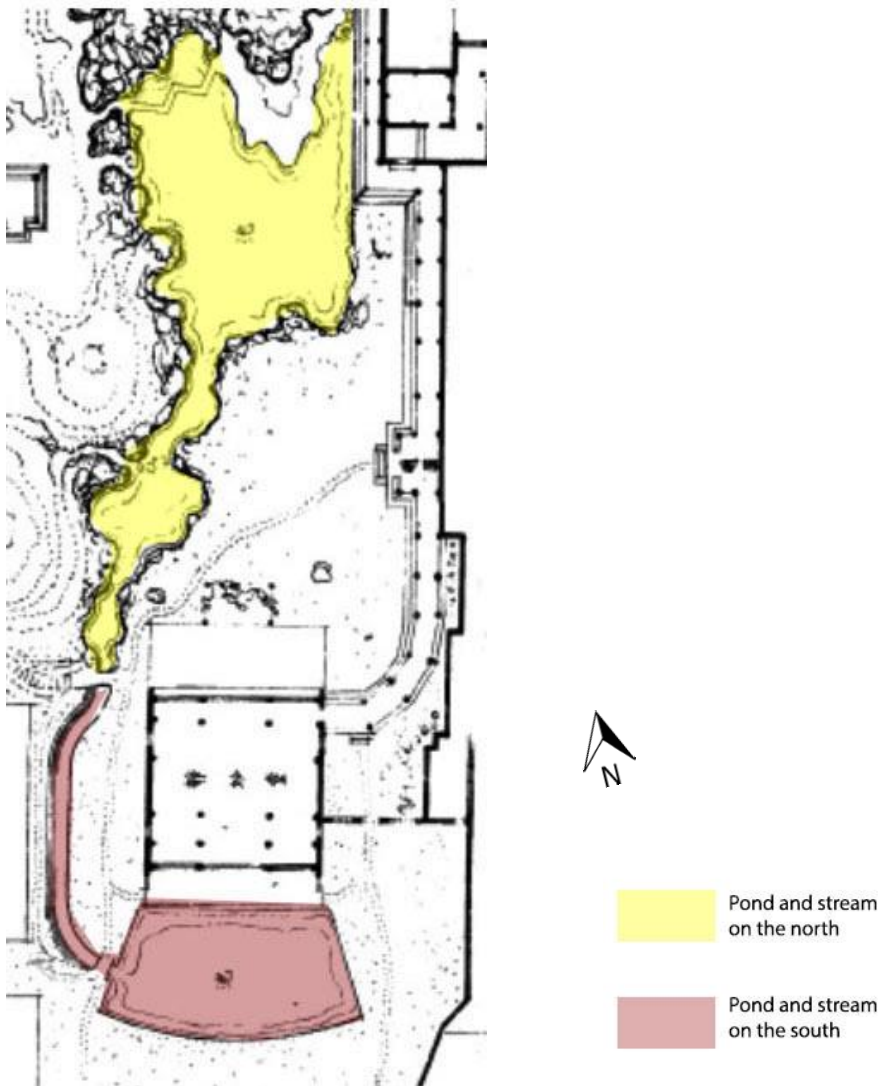


Figure 5-6: Two ponds in the Gazing Garden show in Tong Jun's survey map. (Source: Tong Jun, *Records of Jiangnan Gardens*, volume of illustrations, no.23.) North arrow added by thesis author.

5.3 Conservation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

The conservation of the Gazing Garden under national guidance, started from the late 1930s, after the chaos and fire of the Nanjing Massacre in 1937. From the 1930s to current times, three phases of conservation can be distinguished. This section explores the conservation approaches that have been applied to the garden and rockwork in each phase and their consequences. The first phase took place around 1940, with the repair of garden features as the main task. Secondly, from the 1960s to the 1980s, the garden went through a long-term conservation process, during which it was refurbished and renovated in order to be opened to the public: many changes in the garden date from this phase. Finally, ten years ago, the municipal government started another round of conservation, which included an extension of the garden towards the north.

One of the aims was to reconstruct the northern features as shown in Yuan Jiang's Painting of the Gazing Garden.

5.3.1 First phase of conservation, 1940s

As investigated in Chapter 3, the government of the Republican China issued several policies for the conservation of antiquities and cultural relics in the early twentieth century. These policies defined the types of historical sites and remains that should be protected, and briefly stated which department was in charge of the conservation and how the sites and remains should be protected and preserved. However, these policies were not implemented in the first phase of conservation of the Gazing Garden. When it was repaired and restored around 1940, the garden belonged to the Reorganised National Government of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua minguo guomin zhengfu* 中华民国国民政府), which was established under Japanese control after they conquered Nanjing in the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), and held control of Anhui province, Jiangsu province and the north of Zhejiang province, with its capital in Nanjing. Although the Reorganised National Government did not survive long, it was enough to set up a new Cultural Relics Custodian Commission (*Guwu baoguan weiyuanhui* 古物保管委员会) without adopting the conservation policies set under the Republic of China.

Between 1939 and 1945, the Gazing Garden and houses were used as offices of the Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会) of the Reorganised National Government. The Water Conservancy Commission repaired the garden as it was damaged during the Nanjing Massacre.⁴⁰⁹ Although the Reorganised National Government set up the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission and Gazing Garden was considered as a historical site, it can be said that the commission was not helpful in the protection and conservation of it and its rockworks. While the Water Conservancy Commission occupied the Gazing Garden, they collected relevant contemporaneous articles and historical materials and compiled the *Gazetteers of the Gazing Garden*, which is now kept in Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).⁴¹⁰ It is a significant source for understanding the state of the garden during this period.

It was the first commissioner (*Weiyuanzhang* 委员长) of the Water Conservancy Commission, Yang Shoumei 杨寿楣 (1877-1960) who initiated the conservation project. During his term of

⁴⁰⁹ Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, p.2, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

office, the construction of the Pavilion of Extending the Sunlight (*Yanhui ting* 延晖亭) on the western hill and the repair of the northern rockwork seem to have been two key tasks. The *Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden* includes one article written by Yang Shoumei for each feature.⁴¹¹ The article about rockwork is actually written for the rockwork craftsman Wang Junyong 王君湧 (ca.1880s-?). Yang Shoumei mentioned that the rockwork had already been modified and lost its original appearance but that the Nanjing Massacre further damaged it; when he took over the garden, the rockwork was ‘slanting to one side and collapsed’.⁴¹² Thus, at the age of 64, the rockwork craftsman Wang Junyong was recruited to restore it. Yang Shoumei spoke highly of Wang Junyong, mentioning his skill and the quality of the final products. As an experienced craftsman, Wang exemplified some approaches that are appropriate and those that should be avoided, such as the method of balancing the weight of rocks. Yang did not record these approaches in detail; he just specified that he believed these approaches made sense, and ‘conform to modern scientific principles’.⁴¹³ After being repaired and restored by Wang, the rockwork became ‘rugged and unfathomable’ and more ornamental than before: for example, numerous details and features can be seen while walking on the footpath of the rockwork.⁴¹⁴

The following commissioner of the Water Conservancy Commission, Zhu Xiang 诸翔 (also known as Zhu Qinglai 诸青来, 1880-?), also concerned himself with the conservation of the Gazing Garden and its rockwork. He first focused on the reconstruction of a pavilion on the northern hill and named it Wei Pavilion, since he discovered the base of a previous pavilion.⁴¹⁵ A schematic map of the garden was created by the Committee (Figure 5-7); although the layout of rockwork is not shown, it is clear there is a hexagonal pavilion on the northern hill and a rectangular one on the western hill. Apart from features inside the garden, Zhu was also concerned about rocks that were taken and moved outside. His focus on these rocks was possibly inspired by his friend, Wang Xishen 王西神 (1884-1942). Wang Xishen was an editor of *Xiaoshuo Yuebao* 小说月报 [Fiction Monthly] and once wrote an article about individual

⁴¹¹ Yang Shoumei 杨寿楣(1877-1960), ‘Yanhui ting ming 延晖亭铭 [Inscription for the Pavilion of Extending the Sunlight]’, in Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, pp.7-8, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆); Yang Shoumei 杨寿楣(1877-1960), ‘Ji shigong wang junyong 记石工王君湧 [On the Rockwork Craftsman Wang Junyong]’, in Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, pp.40-41, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

⁴¹² See the sentence ‘敬侧倾颓，危险益甚’, in Yang Shoumei, ‘On the Rockwork Craftsman Wang Junyong’, pp.40-41.

⁴¹³ See the sentence ‘有隐合近代科学之原理者’, in Yang Shoumei, ‘On the Rockwork Craftsman Wang Junyong’, pp. 40-41.

⁴¹⁴ See the sentence ‘輒嶙峋窗窻，几令人有山阴道上应接不暇之观’, in Yang Shoumei, ‘On the Rockwork Craftsman Wang Junyong’, pp.40-41.

⁴¹⁵ Water Conservancy Commission, *Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden*, p.2.

rocks of the Gazing Garden in which he mentioned the discovery of rocks that used to belong to the garden but had been relocated to other places. One such rock was stored in an antique shop, and another one was in Daquanfu Lane (*Daquanfu xiang* 大全福巷).⁴¹⁶

However, Wang's article was probably not completely trustworthy: He once wrote that a stone beam on the northern hill might be the 'Pine Stone (*Song shi* 松石)',⁴¹⁷ but he might have misunderstood the meaning of 'Pine Stone'. This term was first mentioned in a composition by the scholar, Yao Nai 姚鼐 (1731-1815). This composition is titled 'Zhanyuan songshige 瞻园松石歌 [The Song of Pine Stones in the Gazing Garden]', in which Yao actually wrote about the pine trees and rocks in a white colour (possibly Taihu Rocks) in the garden.⁴¹⁸ Thus, 'Pine Stone' is not the name of a single rock as Wang understood, but a term to describe all the pine trees and white-coloured rocks. Unlike Wang Xishen, Zhu Xiang made a deeper study of these rocks. By examining them carefully, he found that there was actually a group of three rocks in the Daquanfu Lane, and on one of them was engraved a poem which indicated the rock was in the Gazing Garden. As they were located near a puddle, local residents dumped waste around them. Considering their poor state, Zhu wrote letters to the mayor of Nanjing, Zhou Xuechang 周学昌 (1858-1952), and asked him to 'protect and preserve the historical remains'.⁴¹⁹ The letters exchanged between Zhu Xiang and the mayor were included in *Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden* (1942), and reveal the whole discussion about the protection of the rocks. During the process of protecting the individually displayed rocks, the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission did not play a leading role even though these rocks were recognized as cultural relics. The mayor appointed the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission to verify the identity of the rocks, and then appointed the Bureau of Public Works (*Gongwu ju* 工务局) to estimate the cost and find the cheapest solution. In the end, the Health Bureau (*Weisheng ju* 卫生局) was required to clean up

⁴¹⁶ Wang Xishen 王西神 (1884-1942), 'Zhanyuan baishi houji 瞻园拜石后记 [Postscript on Worshipping the Stone in the Gazing Garden]', in Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, pp.40-41, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.40-41.

⁴¹⁸ Yao Nai 姚鼐 (1731-1815), 'Zhanyuan songshige wei chendongpu fangbo zuo 瞻园松石歌为陈东浦方伯作 [The Song of Pine Stone in the Gazing Garden, for Provincial Administration Commissioner Chen Dongpu]', in Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, p.19, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

⁴¹⁹ See the sentence '自当加以爱护, 保存古迹', in Zhou Xuechang 周学昌, 'Baocun yuanshi yi 保存园石议 [Discussion on the Conservation of Garden Rocks]', in Water Conservancy Commission (*Shuili weiyuanhui* 水利委员会), *Zhanyuan zhi* 瞻园志 [Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden], 1942, p.43, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

the waste around the rocks, and the local community office was made responsible for the daily maintenance.⁴²⁰

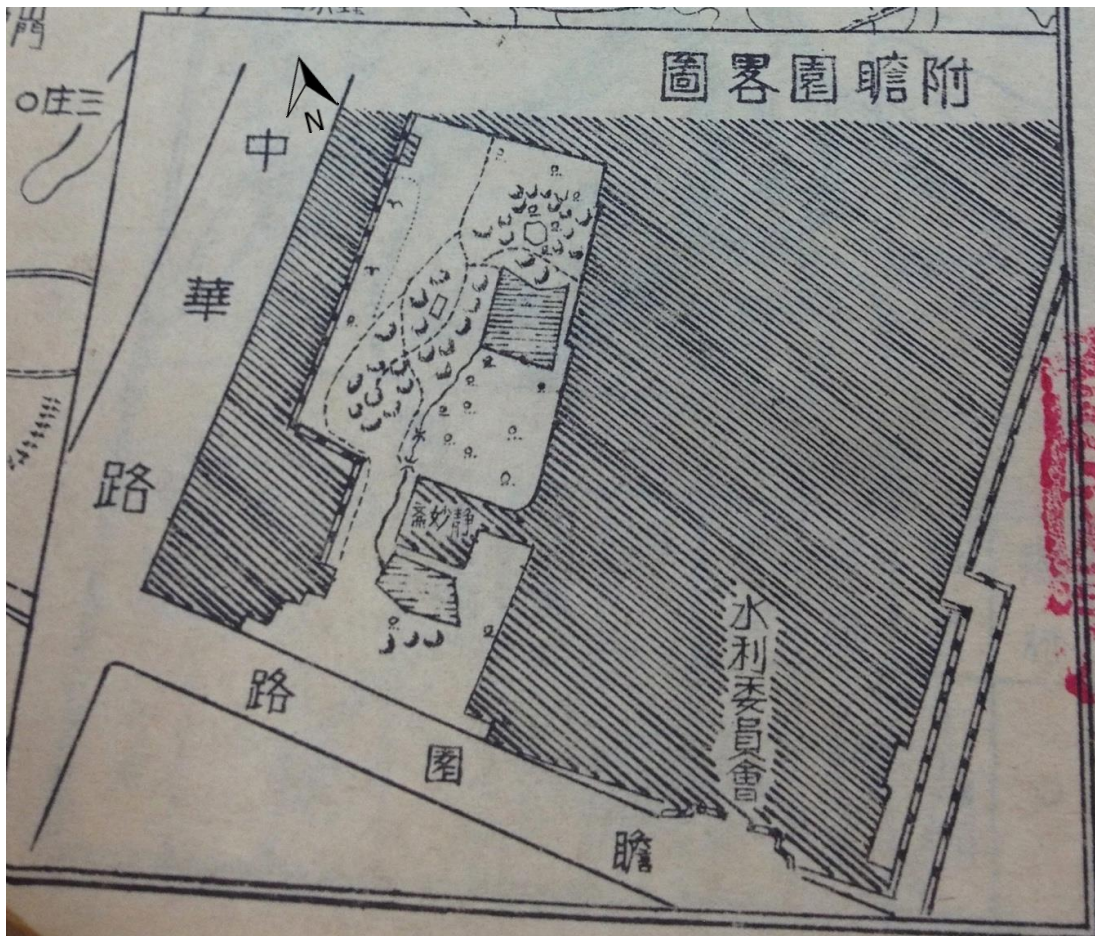


Figure 5-7. Schematic map of Water Conservancy Commission and the Gazing Garden, 1942. (Source: Water Conservancy Commission, *Gazetteer of the Gazing Garden*, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆). North arrow added by thesis author.

According to the treatment of the Gazing Garden and its rockwork, it seems that at this period the management of cultural relics was disordered. First of all, the Commission's definition of cultural relics was unclear: The commission was responsible for historical sites and the Gazing Garden was considered as one, yet only very few sites and building complexes were listed and required to be protected in the *Xingzhengyuan wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui niankan* 行政院文物保管委员会年刊 [Annals of the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission of Executive Yuan; hereafter, the *Annals*]. These include the Ming Xiaoling Mausoleum (*Ming xiaoling* 明孝陵, tomb of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty) and Purple Mountain Observatory (*Zijin shan*

⁴²⁰ Zhou Xuechang, 'Discussion on the Conservation of Garden Rocks', in Water Conservancy Commission, *Gazetteer in the Gazing Garden*, 1942, held by Nanjing Library (*Nanjingshi tushuguan* 南京市图书馆).

tianwentai 紫金山天文台).⁴²¹ The *Annals* also show that the commission mainly focused on antiques, especially the handover, checking and custody of library and museum collections with the Japanese authorities. Secondly, there was a lack of unified conservation principles. The *Annals* indicated that the principles and approaches applied varied with each case. Finally, their area of responsibility was unclear, which caused confusion and inefficiency in conservation practice. In the case of the Gazing Garden, the occupier had to write directly to the mayor about a conservation issue, the mayor also had to further delegate the task between various departments. The Cultural Relics Custodian Commission had only a supporting role for research purposes. Thus, the whole process of decision-making and conservation was complicated and inefficient.

5.3.2 Second phase of conservation, 1960s-1980s

The second phase of conservation took place after the establishment of the People's Republic of China and began in the 1950s; affected by the Cultural Revolution, it was not completed until the 1980s. The conservation practice of this phase renovated the whole garden and expanded it, which brought changes. As the main feature in the garden, rockwork was also repaired and modified. Even though this phase was recognised as a successful conservation project of historic gardens, and especially rockwork, it changed the appearance of the historic rockworks as well as the garden as a whole.

Although Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1897-1968), the leader of the conservation project, stated it was protected and restored because it was a well-known garden with cultural and historical values,⁴²² Gazing Garden actually received attention and was preserved thanks to the establishment of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Memorial (*Taiping tianguo jinianguan* 太平天国纪念馆), which is now known as Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Museum. As 1951 was the 100th anniversary of the Taiping Rebellion, many activities, such as exhibitions, were launched to celebrate the anniversary and commemorate the rebellion. The municipal government of

⁴²¹ *Xingzhengyuan wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui niankan* 行政院文物保管委员会年刊 [Annals of the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission of Executive Yuan], 1940, in *National Diet Library Digital Collections* (国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション) <<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1124981>>[accessed 16 June 2016]; *Xingzhengyuan wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui niankan* 行政院文物保管委员会年刊 [Annals of the Cultural Relics Custodian Commission of Executive Yuan], 1941, in *National Diet Library Digital Collections* (国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション) <<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1124986>>[accessed 16 June 2016].

⁴²² Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1897-1968), 'Nanjing zhanyuan de zhengzhi yu xiujian 南京瞻园的整治与修建 [The Renovation and Restoration in the Gazing Garden in Nanjing]' (1963), in *Liu Dunzhen quanji diwujuan* 刘敦桢全集第5卷 [Complete Collections of Liu Dunzhen, volume 5], ed. by Xu Shunfa 许顺法, Wang Lihui 王莉慧 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2007), p. 67.

Nanjing, as the capital of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, hosted the majority of the activities. The Nanjing government further applied to build a memorial to collect and exhibit relevant relics, which was approved by the Ministry of Culture, the responsible authority for cultural relics, in 1955. In the same year, the Gazing Garden was surveyed and chosen as the venue of the new Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Memorial, as it accommodated the leaders of the Taiping forces in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1955, Gazing Garden was surveyed by the local government; although it was in a poor condition after use by the Water Conservancy Commission of the Reorganised National Government and by the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (*Zhongtong ju* 中统局) of the Republic of China, the garden and the historic building complex to the east were evaluated so that they could be restored.⁴²³ By that time many modern buildings had been constructed in the garden and the residential area. As shown in Figure 5-8, behind the northern hill was a three-storey modern building. In the *Nanjing zhanyuan shihua* 南京瞻园史话 [Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing], it is also mentioned that the caves in the rockwork were used as cells to keep prisoners: weapons, instruments of torture and skeletons were found in caves and the pond when the garden was surveyed.⁴²⁴ The record of its use as a prison has not, however, been proved with certainty.



Figure 5-8. Photo of the historians' seminar on the 110th Anniversary of the Taiping Rebellion. (Source: Zhang Lei 张蕾, Ruan Rong 袁蓉, and Cao Zhijun 曹志君, *Nanjing Zhanyuan shihua* 南京瞻园史话 [Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing] (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2008), p.28.)

⁴²³ Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.27.

⁴²⁴ Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.25.

The conservation of the Gazing Garden was soon launched. A group of academics and professionals were recruited for this project in 1960, under the leadership of Liu Dunzhen. As a pioneer of Chinese garden studies, who had surveyed numerous Suzhou gardens in the 1950s, Liu was familiar with the historic gardens in the Jiangnan area. As the garden was to be part of the museum and opened to the public, the municipal government restored it with the following aims: to repair and preserve the ancient garden; develop it as a place for sightseeing and to use it as a place to promote traditional Chinese culture and as a showcase to foreign visitors.⁴²⁵ Attracting local and foreign tourists was emphasised as the key pursuit.

Liu and his team produced design plans after surveying the contemporaneous status as requested by the government. The team came to the conclusion that the northern rockworks, especially the rocky revetment, were well constructed, and believed that they were creations of the Ming Dynasty. During the survey, some lately constructed buildings in classical Chinese architecture style were found inside the Gazing Garden, such as a greenhouse, storage room and some other elements with classical features. There were also modern buildings surrounding the garden which destroyed its scenic atmosphere. The pond on the south was deemed to be of more recent construction because of its fan-shape.⁴²⁶ As a result, the team decided to replace the modern buildings inside the Gazing Garden in order to keep a consistent style across the garden. In the 1960s, Liu Dunzhen and his assistant Ye Juhua 叶菊华 created a master plan for the conservation of the Gazing Garden, as shown in Figure 5-9. It contains two parts, the historical part shown in the red frame and the extended part shown in the yellow frame. The conservation of the historical part took place in the 1960s, while the extended section was not constructed until the 1980s. With Liu Dunzhen's article, Ye Juhua's article and a recent book, we are now able to explore the intentions behind their design and their approaches for the restoration of the garden.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Ye Juhua 叶菊华, 'Nanjing zhanyuan 南京瞻园 [Gazing Garden in Nanjing]', in *Nanjing gongxueyuan xuebao* 南京工学院学报 [Journal of Nanjing Institute of Technology], 4(1980), pp. 1-22(p.1).

⁴²⁶ Liu Dunzhen, 'The Renovation and Restoration in the Gazing Garden in Nanjing', in *Complete Collections of Liu Dunzhen*, volume 5, pp.67-70 (p.67).

⁴²⁷ Liu Dunzhen 刘敦楨(1897-1968), 'Nanjing zhanyuan sheji zhuanji yanjiu xiaozu gongzuo dagang 南京瞻园设计专题研究小组工作大纲 [Working Outline of the Study Group of the Design in the Gazing Garden]' (1959), in *Liu Dunzhen quanji disjuan* 刘敦楨全集第4卷 [Complete Collections of Liu Dunzhen, volume 4], ed. by Wang Lihui 王莉慧 and Xu Shunfa 许顺法 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2007), pp. 237-238; Liu Dunzhen, 'The Renovation and Restoration in the Gazing Garden in Nanjing', in *Complete Collections of Liu Dunzhen*, volume 5, pp.67-70; Ye Juhua, 'Gazing Garden in Nanjing', in the *Journal of the Nanjing Institute of Technology*, pp. 1-22; Ye Juhua 叶菊华, *Liu Dunzhen Zhanyuan* 刘敦楨瞻园 [Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden] (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2013).

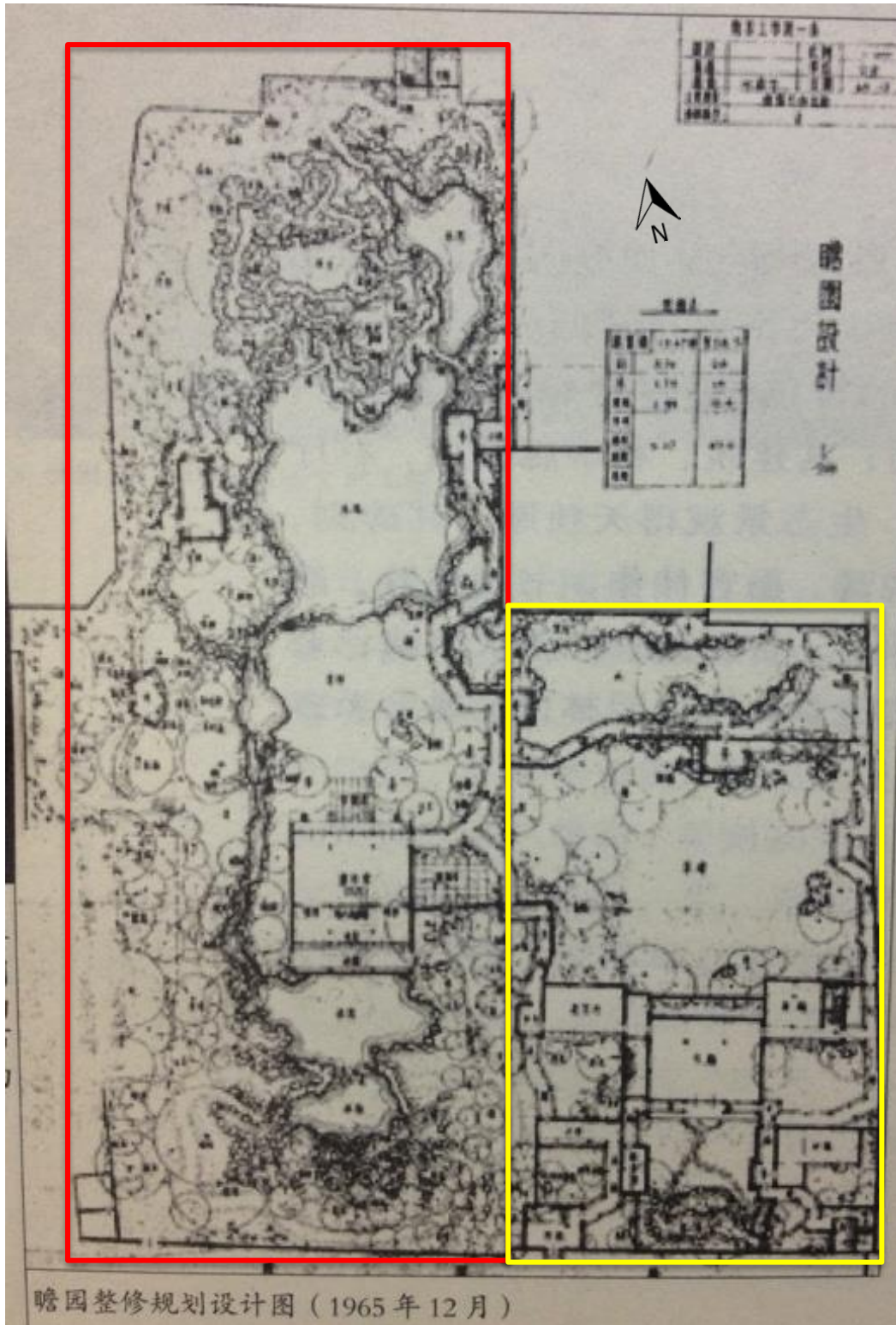


Figure 5-9. The master plan for the conservation of the Gazing Garden created by Liu Dunzhen and Ye Juhua in December 1965. The red frame shows the historical part of the garden, while the yellow frame shows the extended part. (Source: Zhang Lei, Yuan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Nanjing Zhanyuan Shihua* 南京瞻园史话 [Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing] (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2008), p. 36.) North arrow added by thesis author.

According to the historical sources explored in section 5.1, there were two sets of rockwork located in the north and west of the garden since the sixteenth century. By comparing the conservation plan for the historical part (Figure 5-10) with Tong Jun's survey map (Figure 5-2), the historical part was clearly modified during the conservation: the northern rockwork and western rockwork and the features on the top were repaired and modified, the pond on the south was modified and a new rockwork was constructed on the south.

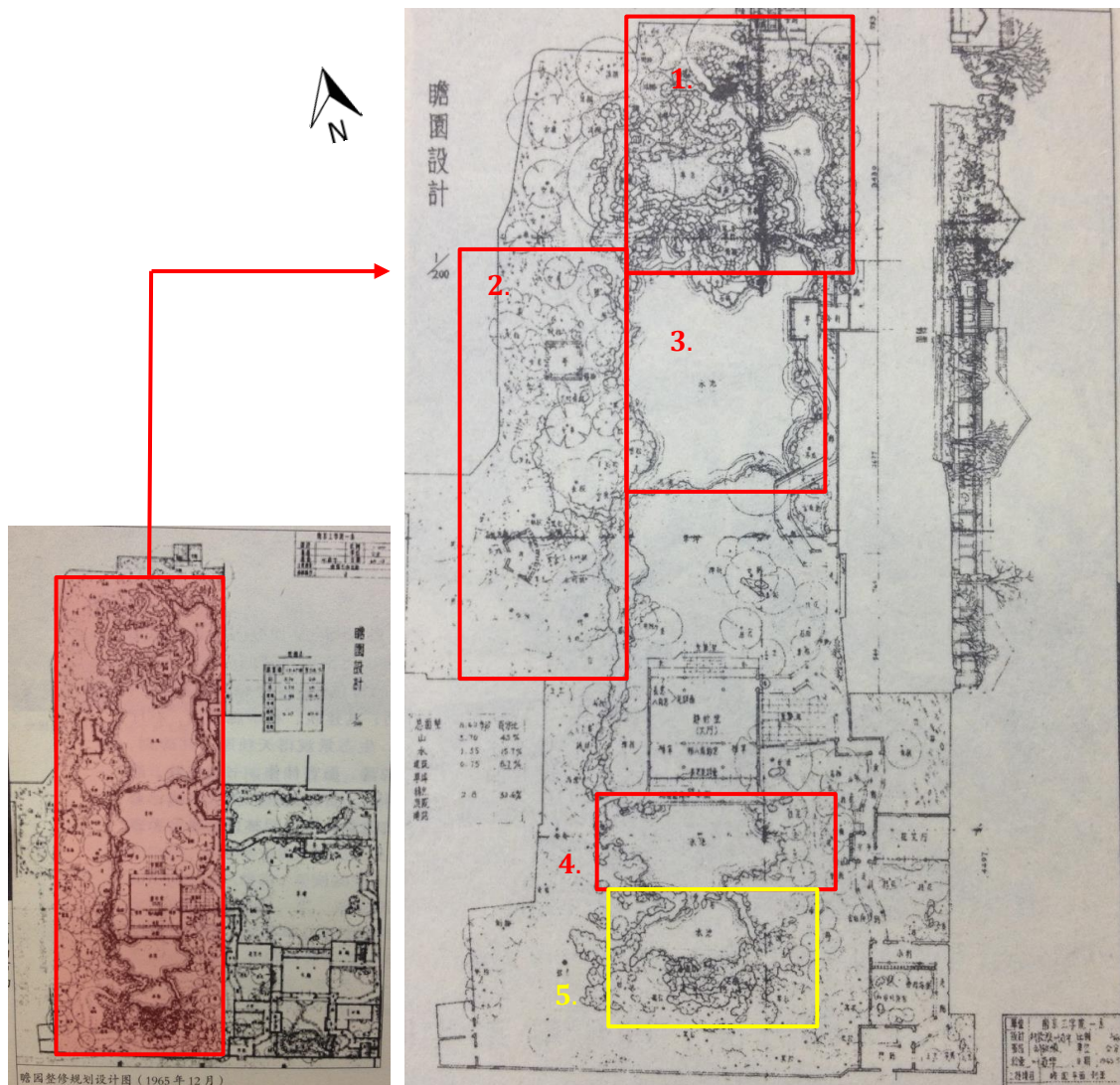


Figure 5-10. On the left is the plan for the conservation of the Gazing Garden, originally created by Liu Dunzhen and Ye Juhua in December 1965. On the right is the plan of the historical part only. The red frames show the historical features of the garden, including 1. Northern rockwork, 2. Western rockwork, 3. Central pond and 4. Southern pond. The yellow frame shows the newly constructed southern rockwork (labelled 5). (Source: Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p. 31, 36.) North arrow added by thesis author.

Before the 1960s' conservation took place, the northern rockwork had a pavilion on the top; there was a multi-storey modern building behind the rockwork (Figs. 5-8 and 5-11). As the pavilion was constructed in the early twentieth century and was deemed to be of a poor design, it was removed during the conservation. Although this pavilion was indeed created in the 1900s, historically there were other pavilions on the northern rockwork: neither Liu Dunzhen nor Ye Juhua mentioned this aspect in their articles and books. After the removal, the height of the northern rockwork was raised by adding a new section of rockwork on the top. At the same time, more trees were planted at the back. By increasing the height of this rockwork, Liu and his team intended to hide the multi-storey building behind. The photo taken in 2013 shows the northern rockwork's current appearance with the added section, although the multi-storey building behind was demolished in the mean time during the third phase of conservation (Figure 5-12). The caves had to be blocked up with bricks, as they started to collapse before conservation and the additional section greatly increased the weight of the rockwork.

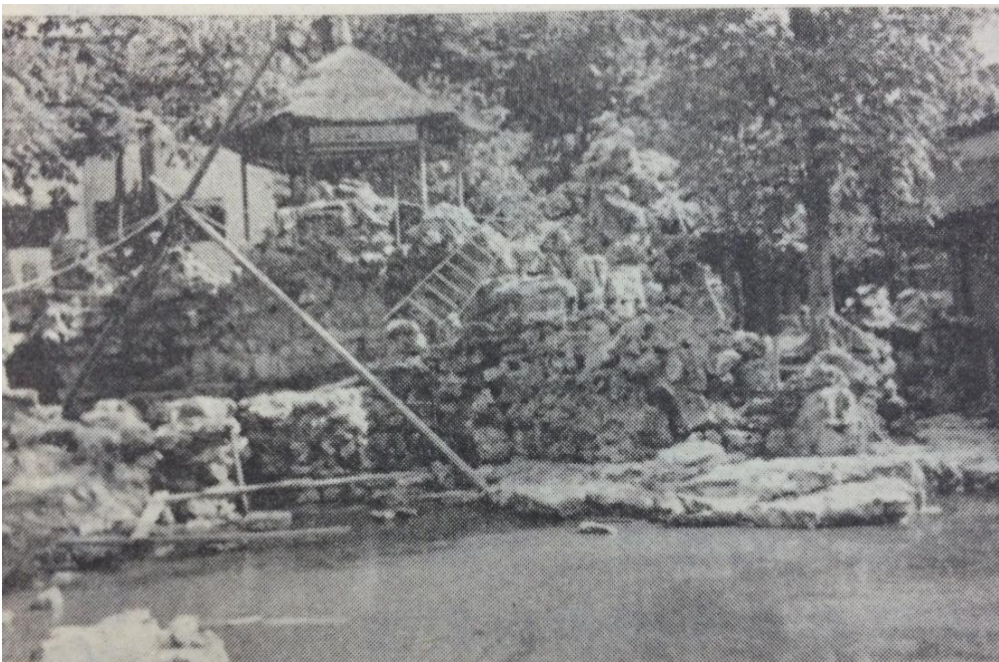


Figure 5-11. The northern rockwork of the Gazing Garden during the restoration in the 1960s; it is shown as it appeared before it was repaired, which involved a pavilion on the top. (Source: Zhang Lei, Yuan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.30.)



Figure 5-12. The northern rockwork of the Gazing Garden in 2013; showing this historical rockwork after renovation. (Source: author, 2013.)

For the earth-dominant rockwork on the west, Liu's team reconstructed a fan-shaped bronze pavilion to be placed on the top based on the description in the eighteenth-century novel, *The Scholars* (Figure 5-13). However, despite the questionable authenticity of the description in a novel, the location of the pavilion was not mentioned in *The Scholars* so it may not have been on the western rockwork. More earth was added and more trees were planted on the rockwork, with the aim of increasing the height and hiding buildings outside the garden.⁴²⁸ The caves beneath the western rockwork were also partially blocked up, and the entrance on the north side was left open; Liu's intention in leaving the cave entrance open is uncertain, but it did show the distinctive brick structure of the cave.

⁴²⁸ Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, p.53.



Figure 5-13. Photo of the western rockwork. The reconstructed fan-shape pavilion is marked within the red frame. (Source: author, 2013.)

The rockwork located in the south of the southern pond is a completely new feature created by Liu and his team: It was not a reconstruction of a historical rockwork, but a new one meant to enrich the features of the southern part and transform the geometrical shape of the pond. As shown in Figure 5-14, the southern rockwork was similar to the historical northern rockwork. They were both mainly made of Taihu Rocks with a small amount of earth, located next to water, and contained caves. Liu Dunzhen carefully selected a skilful rockwork craftsman to construct it under his close supervision. The rocks neatly connect to each other, joints in-between are nearly invisible. According to Liu's description, the shape and appearance of the southern hill are inspired from the paintings of Ma Yuan 马远 (1140-1225) and Huang Gongwang 黄公望 (1269-1354), two artists of the Song and Yuan Dynasties.⁴²⁹ Liu's assistant Ye Juhua also recalled that Liu carefully studied the Song and Yuan paintings when proposing the southern hill.⁴³⁰ Before the construction, Liu first created a model of the rockwork with some small and holey rocks to test the design.

⁴²⁹ Liu Dunzhen, 'Working Outline of the Study Group of the Design in the Gazing Garden', pp.237-238 (p.237).

⁴³⁰ Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, p.49.



Figure 5-14. The southern rockwork of the Gazing Garden in 2013. (Source: author, 2013.)

The restoration of the Gazing Garden stopped due to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). At that time, a garden was considered as part of ‘four olds (*Si jiu* 四旧)’: ‘the old ideas, old culture, old manners and old customs’. Liu Dunzhen was also criticised during the movement and died in 1968 from cancer before completing this project: his research on historical gardens was considered as an action of promoting the so-called ‘old culture’.⁴³¹ As explored in Chapter 3, the protection and conservation of cultural relics only restarted after the Cultural Revolution. In 1982, the Gazing Garden was listed as a Historical and Cultural Site of Jiangsu Province (*Jiangsu sheng zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 江苏省重点文物保护单位). Later, in 1985, the development of ‘The Scenic Belt of Confucius Temple and Qinhuai River (*Fuzi miao qinhuai he fengguangdai* 夫子庙秦淮河风光带)’ was launched; as one of the scenic spots along this belt, Gazing Garden received a fund of 2.5 million Chinese yuan from the National Tourism Administration (*Guojia luyou ju* 国家旅游局) in order to complete the conservation.⁴³² The 1985 conservation focused on the extension towards the east based on Liu Dunzhen’s earlier proposal (Fig. 5-15) and used the land in between the museum and the garden that formerly provided accommodation for the army.⁴³³ The design objectives in the extended part were to reduce the proportions of the buildings and enlarge the space for outdoor activities, and to link

⁴³¹ Yang Yongsheng 杨永生, Liu Xujie 刘叙杰, and Lin Zhu 林洙, *Jianzhu wu zongshi* 建筑五宗师 [Five Masters of Chinese Architecture] (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2005), p.64.

⁴³² Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.33.

⁴³³ Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, p.40.

features with corridors so that visitors could enjoy the garden in any weather.⁴³⁴ Thus, open spaces were created with a lawn, pond, and several courtyards. Just like the old Gazing Garden, where some individually-displayed rocks were included, in the extended part, there are many individually displayed rocks located at the edge of the lawn, in the corners of courtyards and next to corridors (Fig. 5-16). But no mountain-shaped rockworks were constructed in this section.

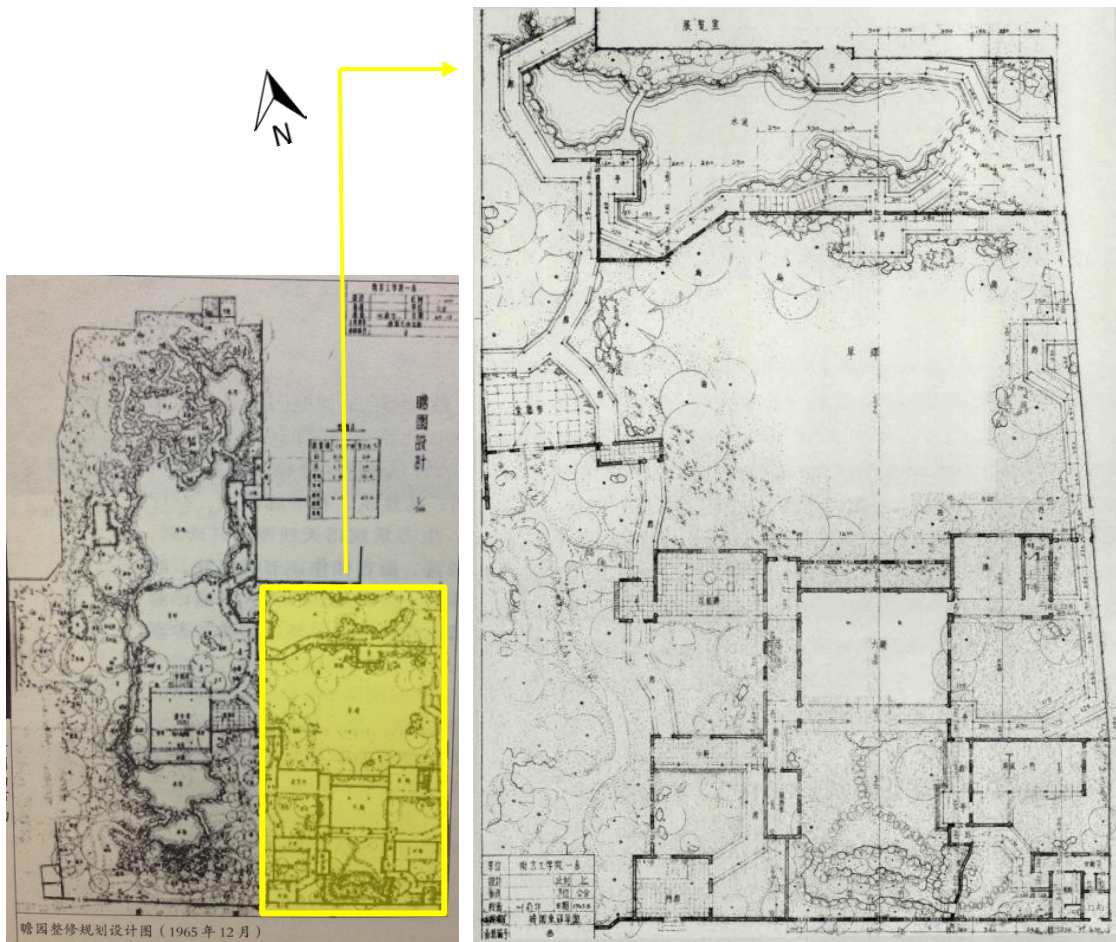


Figure 5-15. On the left is the plan for the conservation of the Gazing Garden, originally created by Liu Dunzhen and Ye Juhua in December 1965. On the right is the plan for the extended part only, reproduced by Ye Juhua in the 1980s. (Source: Zhang Lei, Yuan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p. 36; Ye Juhua 叶菊华, *Liu Dunzhen Zhanyuan 刘敦楨瞻园 [Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden]* (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2013), p.41.) North arrow added by thesis author.

⁴³⁴ Liu Dunzhen, 'The Renovation and Restoration in the Gazing Garden in Nanjing', in *Complete Collections of Liu Dunzhen*, volume 5, pp. 67-70 (p.68).



Figure 5-16: The lawn and individually displayed rocks in the extended part on the east. (Source: author, 2013.)

5.3.3 Third phase of conservation, 2009

In 2006, the status of the Gazing Garden was upgraded and listed as a Historical and Cultural Site at National Level (*Quanguo zhongdian wenwubaohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位). Before long, in 2007, it received 130 million Chinese yuan of new funding to start the third phase of conservation that focused on an extension towards the north (Fig.5-17). Ye Juhua was again invited to be the conservation leader, and stated the design objective as follows: to partially reconstruct the features of the Gazing Garden, to expand its size and improve its state, and to protect the historical parts of the garden.⁴³⁵ Ye aimed to create a ‘buffer zone’ between the garden and the rest of the city, in which she proposed classical features based on Yuan Jiang’s painting in order to keep the same style as the historical part.

⁴³⁵ Ye Juhua 叶菊华, ‘Qingxi zhanyuan wushinian Nanjing zhanyuan beikuo gongcheng guihua sheji 情系瞻园五十年南京瞻园北扩工程规划设计 [Fifty Years in the Gazing Garden: Designing and Planning of Northern Expansion Project in the Gazing Garden in Nanjing]’, in *Xiandai chengshi yanjiu* 现代城市研究 [Modern Urban Research], 6(2011), pp.84-90(p.85).

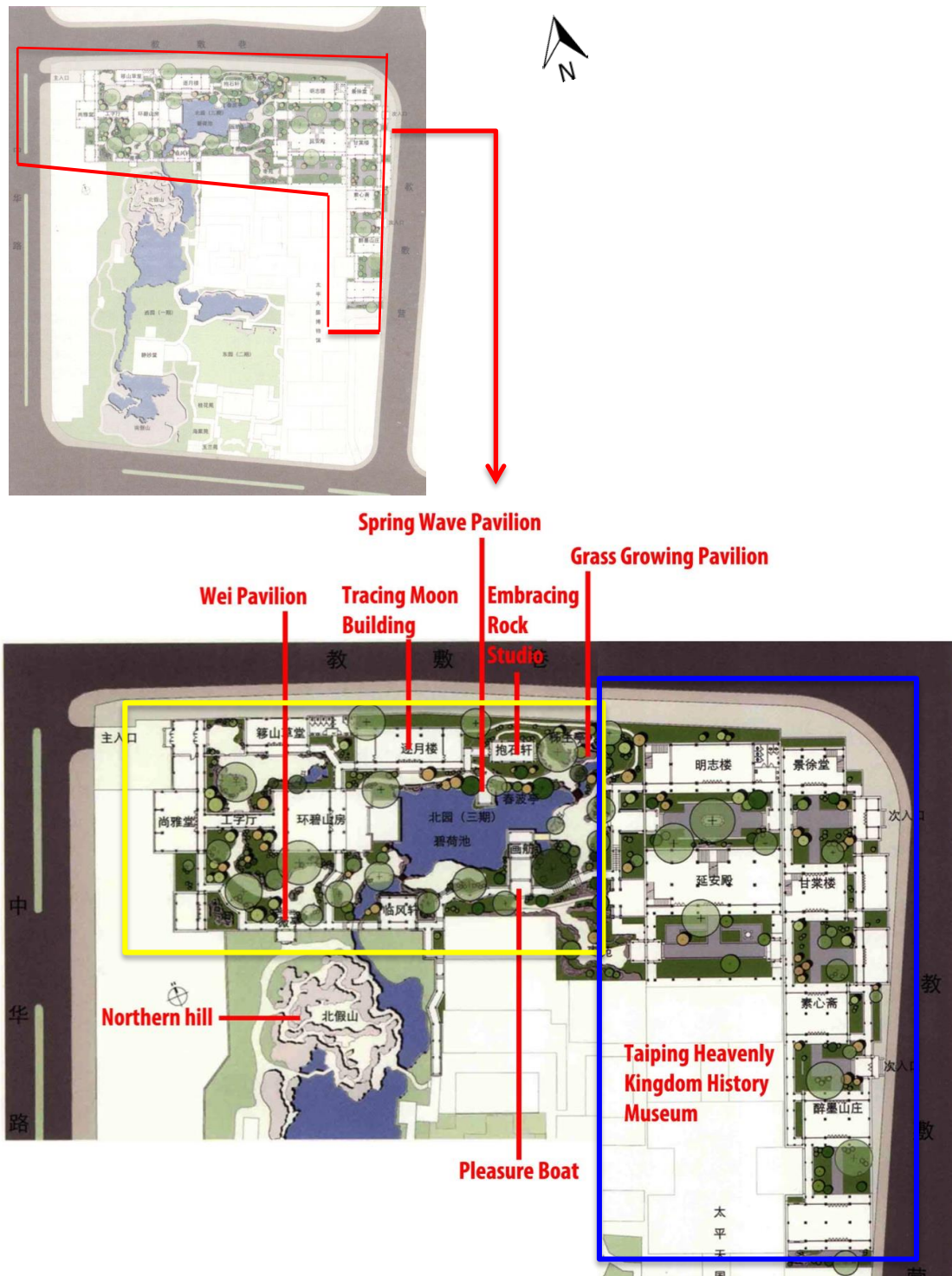


Figure 5-17. Design plan of the extended part on the north. (Source: Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, pp.96-97.) North arrow added by thesis author.

As shown in Figure 5-17, the new extension can be divided into two parts: the western section shown in the yellow frame, and the eastern section shown in the blue frame. The western section is the extension of the historical garden while the eastern section is an extension of the historical housing part, which is now the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Museum; therefore, the western section was designed as a garden and the eastern section involved buildings and courtyards lying on the extension of the axis line of the museum. Although the west section was intended to recreate features depicted in Yuan Jiang's painting, none of the new constructions are exactly like buildings from the painting. The Embracing Rock Studio (*Baoshi xuan* 抱石轩), the Spring Wave Pavilion (*Chunbo ting* 春波亭) and the Grass Growing Pavilion (*Tisheng ting* 稊生亭) in the western section were based on the three buildings that Yuan Jiang drew on the northern rockwork (Fig.5-18). In order to be consistent with the painting, the Embracing Rock Studio was built on the top of a new rockwork. Similar to other Ming Dynasty rockworks, it has a cave beneath the studio, made of walls and covered by rocks. The latter were roughly attached to the wall and large gaps can easily be found in between rocks, which makes them different from the historical rockworks in the Gazing Garden. The current Tracing Moon Building (*Zhuyue lou* 逐月楼) was a recreation of the two-storey building located behind the northern rockwork in the painting; it is now facing a pond while its prototype was facing a courtyard, as shown in Figure 5-19. The Wei Pavilion (*Wei ting* 薇亭) and Pleasure Boat (*Hua fang* 画舫) were clearly not depicted in the painting. The name 'Wei Pavilion' came from a pavilion that was built on the northern rockwork in 1942. The Pleasure Boat is a new type of building added to the Gazing Garden; according to the leading designer Ye Juhua, it was added and constructed for aesthetic reasons only.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, p.108.



Figure 5-18. On the left is Ye Juhua's design of the Embracing Rock Studio (*Baoshi xuan* 抱石轩), the Spring Wave Pavilion (*Chunbo ting* 春波亭) and the Grass Growing Pavilion (*Tisheng ting* 梯生亭). They were modelled on the buildings depicted in Yuan Jiang's Painting of the Gazing Garden, shown on the right. (Source: Ye Juhua, *Liu Dunzhen and Gazing Garden*, p.111; Yuan Jiang, 'Painting of the Gazing Garden'.)



Figure 5-19. On the left is the newly constructed Tracing Moon Building in the Gazing Garden. On the right is the Tracing Moon Building depicted in Yuan Jiang's Painting of the Gazing Garden. (Source: author, 2013; Yuan Jiang, 'Painting of the Gazing Garden'.)

5.4 Assessment and discussion of the conservation practice

By exploring the history and the remaining rockworks in the Gazing Garden, this chapter demonstrates that its historic rockworks have distinct characteristics of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, many of them have been modified during the conservation project starting from the twentieth century. Since the 1940s, the Gazing Garden experienced three phases of conservation. Due to the differences of contemporaneous conservation guidance, the approaches applied in each phase varied. In terms of rockwork, the first phase repaired the two mountain-shaped historical rockworks and their instigator was concerned about the state of individually displayed rocks. The second phase reinforced the historical rockworks that were weakened and modified them; additionally, a new rockwork was constructed inside the historical garden, and a new extended garden was added to the east of it. The third phase

focused on the expansion of the garden and therefore only new rockwork was constructed. Clearly, the conservation process caused changes to the Gazing Garden and its rockwork.

5.4.1 The lack of historical research and the loss of authenticity

The Venice Charter emphasises retaining the authenticity of a site, which is echoed in the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics] (hereafter *Law* [1982]) that requires keeping the site's historic state and that the process 'may not damage, rebuild, extend or dismantle them'.⁴³⁷ In the case of the Gazing Garden, it is, however, undeniable that during the conservation process, the historical garden and its rockworks were modified and new elements and expansions were added. Some of the modifications and the inconsistency of styles are caused by a lack of knowledge of the garden's history and a lack of analysis of the characteristics. On the northern rockwork, the decision to demolish the old pavilion, because it was considered a recent construction, and then replacing it with an additional rockwork is a striking mistake. Although the demolished pavilion had indeed been constructed in the early twentieth century, it was actually a reconstruction of an earlier structure, as historical records have shown the existence of pavilions on the northern hill in the past. The team must therefore have lacked the knowledge of rockwork trends in the Ming as well as a complete knowledge of the Gazing Garden's history. This also explains why when designing the southern rockwork, the paintings used were from the Yuan and Song Dynasties while the garden and its original rockworks were actually constructed in the Ming Dynasty: the newly constructed southern rockwork has no pavilions on the top, but this is a typical feature of the sixteenth-century creations in the Gazing Garden. Despite this, the southern hill was commended as 'a successful case of integrating theory with practice'.⁴³⁸

Furthermore, as a whole, the construction of the southern rockwork did not meet the requirement of conservation policies because it did not historically exist in the Gazing Garden. When the garden was extended towards the north in 2009, the design and conservation team stated that 'the historicity, authenticity and integrity in the restoring project are the core values

⁴³⁷ Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments Committee, *The Venice Charter (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites)*, 1964, in *ICOMOS* <https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf> [accessed 29 Jul 2016]; National People's Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 14 and 15, in *Zhongguo wang* 中国网 [China.org.cn] <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>> [accessed 27 Jul 2016].

⁴³⁸ Zhang Lei, Ruan Rong, and Cao Zhijun, *Historical Narratives of the Gazing Garden in Nanjing*, p.32.

in the design'.⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, the discussion in section 5.3.3 and Figures 5-18 and 5-19 show that the design did not conform to Yuan Jiang's painting and even added new elements such as the stone boat to the garden. The expansion of the garden on the east also involved new elements, such as the lawn, which is not only new in the Gazing Garden, but also rarely seen in most historical gardens in China.

5.4.2 The making of joints and patterns

The group of rock-dominant rockworks that were constructed in the north expansion part during the most recent conservation phase looks very different from the historically constructed northern rockwork. The issue is not a question of materials used: although Taihu Rocks are no longer available for rockwork making, the chosen material is similar enough to appear consistent with the historical rockwork. The issue lies in the way rocks were arranged: as shown in Figure 5-20, the rocks were attached to the wall with gaps being left in between therefore the wall can still be seen. Nevertheless, well-made joints can be found in the Gazing Garden. During the second phase of conservation, the southern rockwork was constructed in the 1960s. In this rockwork, the joints between rocks are nearly invisible, which makes the artificial traces less obvious.

Moreover, many of the rocks were not arranged in an appropriate order: traditionally, rocks would be arranged horizontally or vertically, and follow the veins of the rocks; and rocks with horizontal or vertical veins and patterns should not be mixed together in an irregular way.⁴⁴⁰ The integration of patterns in the main body of a rockwork would form a disorderly appearance. The short red lines in Figure 5-20 underline the patterns of the rockwork in the northern expansion part, where two types of patterns were mixed together irregularly. Earlier rockworks had been constructed with attention put on the traditional way to set rocks: in the northern rockwork, the rocks in the historical part were all arranged horizontally; rocks in the extended part on the top have been put standing in order to appear higher. The pattern within each part is consistent, although the patterns of the two parts are different from each other (Fig.5-21). The main section of the southern rockwork displays vertical veins, and only the stepping stones in water were put so as to lie horizontally. In both the northern and southern rockworks, the

⁴³⁹ Zhou Yan 周燕, Zhu Daoyu 朱道葵, 'Jianchi lishixing, zhenshixing yu wanzhengxing--yi huifu zhanyuan lishi fengmao kuojian gongcheng weili 坚持历史性, 真实性与完整性—以恢复瞻园历史风貌扩建工程为例 [The Expansion Project of Restoring Gazing Garden Historical Scene with Emphasis on Historicity, Authenticity and Integrity]', in *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 [Chinese Landscape Architecture], 3(2016), pp.11-15.

⁴⁴⁰ Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, '*Jiashan gongcheng* 假山工程 [Rockwork Engineering]', in *Yuanlin gongcheng* 园林工程 [Landscape Engineering], ed. by Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, Mao Peilin 毛培琳, Huang Qingxi 黄庆喜 and Liang Yiren 梁伊任 (Beijing: Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 1995), pp.201-232.

rocks have been connected in a certain order so that the entire rockwork would be consistent in patterns. Disregarding such an essential part of rockwork construction is a weakness found in the most recent expansion process of the Gazing Garden. This issue can only have arisen as a result of poor construction technique and quality as well as a lack of historical knowledge of the design and construction of rockwork.



Figure 5-20. Rockworks in the north expansion part. Red circles show the gaps between rocks, where the wall is exposed; red lines shows the patterns of rocks, which indicated that vertical and horizontal patterns are mixed together in an irregular way. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 5-21. The patterns of rocks of the southern rockwork (left) and northern rockwork (right); the patterns of a certain section or the main body of the rockwork are consistent. (Source: author, 2013.)

5.4.3 Maintenance issues

During the fieldwork in the Gazing Garden in 2013, it was noticed that the rockwork was not well maintained as required in the latest guidance *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China] (2002, revised in 2004; hereafter *China Principles* [2002, revised in 2004]): it required the site managers to ‘take timely action to eliminate potential threats and to prevent damage and deterioration’.⁴⁴¹ For example, the front side of rockwork was clean while the back side was neglected. Figure 5-22 shows that the back of the southern rockwork was used to store numerous redundant planting pots, threatening the growth of plants and the aesthetic integrity of the whole artificial hill. As the photo demonstrates, no plants are able to grow on the back except for large trees, and the earth is exposed. During maintenance, any damage found requires timely treatment, but this did not seem to be the case under the maintenance team in 2013.

⁴⁴¹ ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2004 (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), p.62 (article 17).



Figure 5-22. Redundant materials placed on the south side of the southern rockwork in the Gazing Garden. (Source: author, 2013.)

5.5. Conclusion

The history of the Gazing Garden can be reconstituted, and as demonstrated in section 5.1, enough details can be gathered. They indicate that the northern rockwork and western rockwork were first constructed in the sixteenth century. The sources show that there were changes throughout the garden's history, yet the basic layout and the main body of the rockwork were well retained until the conservation project started. During the conservation, despite the fact that historical records and materials were studied and used as the basis for construction, some of the historical significance and characteristics of the garden and the rockwork were lost. Historical features were modified in inconsistent ways and new features were added to the old site with little concern for the overall style and characteristics of the garden. However, the building of the extended part on the northern rockwork and the new southern rockwork were consistent with the historical remains, notably through using the same materials and a similar structure. Making changes to historical features and layouts is not allowed under current policy. The approach of restoring according to the ancient style is suitable for repairing ancient rockworks and constructing new ones in buffer zones between an ancient garden and contemporaneous buildings. Therefore, when examining the Gazing Garden, conservation experts should see a partially successful example, with parts that can be taken as a model and others that should be avoided.

Chapter 6. Case study 3: A selective use of historic sources - Mountain House of Sliced Stones

In the previous two case studies, the historic rockworks were in a relatively good condition when the conservation projects started. But both gardens were extended, and new rockworks were constructed based on insufficient or none historical evidences. The following two case studies are in a different situation: the historic rockworks were found severely damaged before the conservation took place. Therefore, their rockworks were restored during the conservation projects. Inappropriate measures taken in the restoration processes caused issues in the retention of the original appearance and state.

This chapter focuses on the Mountain House of Sliced Stones (*Pianshi shanfang* 片石山房; hereafter, the Mountain House). It is currently located in the southeast corner of the He Garden (*He yuan* 何园) in Yangzhou, as shown in Figure 6-1. The entire site is one of the Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at National Level. Originally, the He Garden and the Mountain House were two adjacent gardens established at different times and owned by different people. In the late Qing Dynasty, the owner of the He Garden purchased the Mountain House and combined these two gardens as one. Since both of them once belonged to Salt Distribution Commissioners (*Yanyun shi* 盐运史), they are currently valued as part of the historical heritage of salt trading, an important culture of Yangzhou.⁴⁴²

Being located at the junction of the Grand Canal with the Yangtze River, Yangzhou was the administrative centre of the salt monopoly; therefore, salt trading became a basic reason for Yangzhou's prosperity.⁴⁴³ As Yangzhou became the gathering place of salt merchants and relevant officials, the salt merchants' dwellings became a large, specific group among Yangzhou gardens. Being rich and having the ability to transport materials from various origins through the Grand Canal and Yangzi River, their gardens were more showy and elaborate. Constructing

⁴⁴² Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. (*Yangzhoushi jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan youxian gongsi* 扬州市建筑设计研究院有限公司), 'Dayunhe—Yangzhou yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou]', held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁴⁴³ Antonia Finnane, 'The Origins of Prejudice: the Malintegration of Subei in Late Imperial China', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2(1993), pp.211-238 (p.220).

gardens was a way of showing off and competing with other garden owners.⁴⁴⁴ These gardens reflect the city's history and its close relationship with the salt trade.

Among all these gardens, the Mountain House is known for its rockwork, the main feature in the complex. During the conservation process in the 1980s, Shitao, the famed artist in the early Qing Dynasty, was attributed as the rockwork craftsman of this particular rockwork.⁴⁴⁵ Therefore, the rockwork was restored and the damaged part was reconstructed based on the research on Shitao's mountain and water paintings. Since then, the rockwork in the Mountain House has been valued and promoted as the only surviving rockwork created by Shitao.⁴⁴⁶ However, the historical sources used to support this conclusion are insufficient, and this attribution is still under discussion today. Thus, this chapter investigates the reliability of the research findings and conclusions, and explores the influences they brought to the garden and its rockwork. The analysis of this case study aims to discuss how the historical studies benefit the conservation of rockwork and to discover the issues that could arise in the research stage of a conservation procedure.

⁴⁴⁴ Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), *Yangzhou yuanlin* 扬州园林 [Yangzhou Gardens] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp.3-4.

⁴⁴⁵ Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000), 'Yangzhou pianshishanfang—Shitao dieshan zuopin 扬州片石山房—石涛叠山作品 [The Mountain House of Sliced Stones- Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao]', in *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics], 2(1962), pp.18-20.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.18-20.

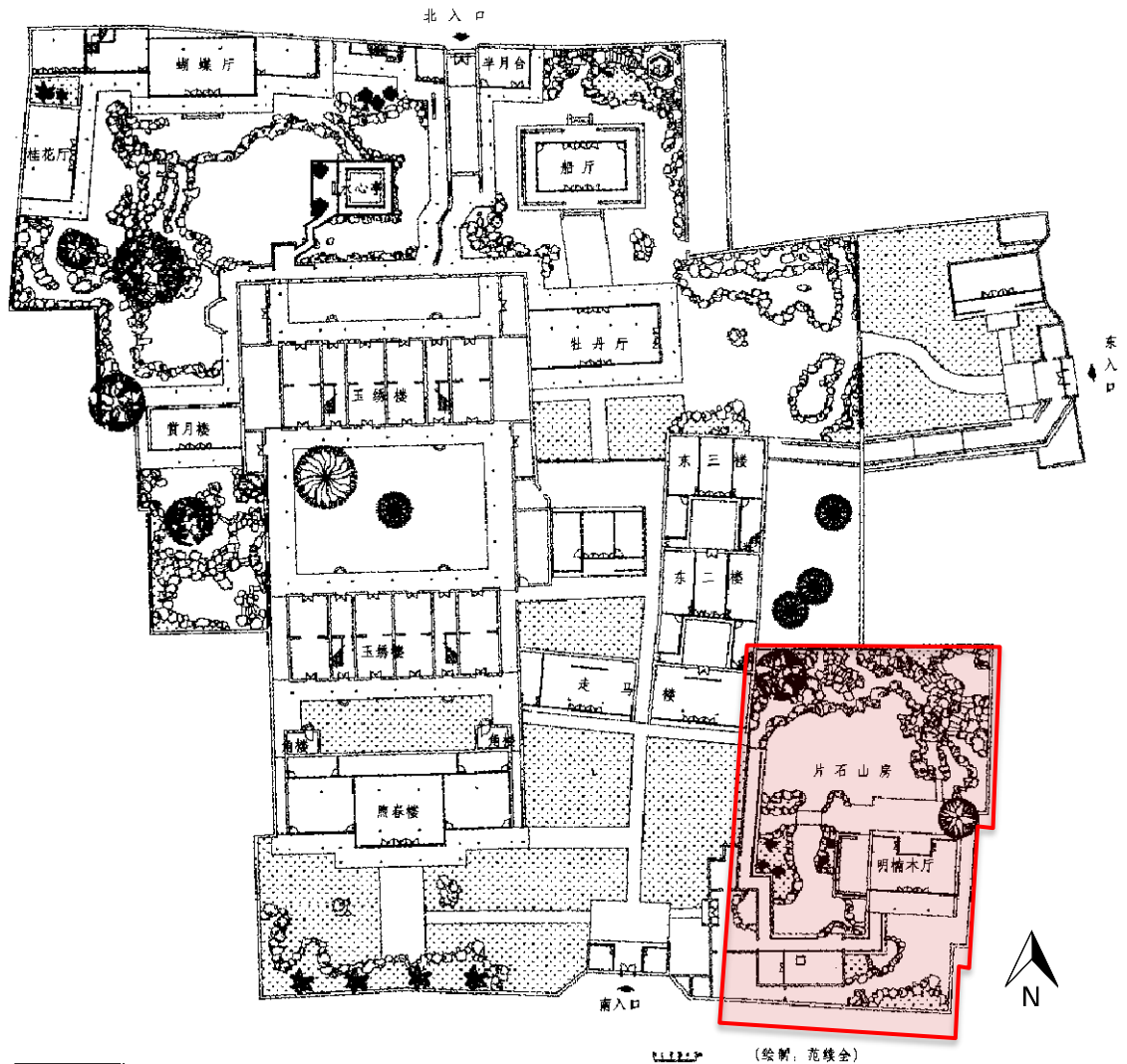


Figure 6-1. Plan of the He Garden, including the Mountain House; the Mountain House is shown in the red frame. (Source: Ji Lin 吉琳, Fan Xuquan 范续全, 'Yangzhou heyuan jianzhu tese qianxi-zhongxi hebi de jianzhu he weiyi quzhe de fudao huilang 扬州何园建筑特色浅析—中西合璧的建筑和逶迤曲折的复道回廊 [A Brief Discussion on the Characteristics of Buildings in the He Garden in Yangzhou—the Fusion of Chinese and Western Architecture and the Winding Covered Walkways]', in *Gujian yuanlin jishu 古建园林技术 [Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens]*, 3(2005), pp.25-29 (p.25).) North arrow added by thesis author.

6.1 History and development

6.1.1 Development of the Mountain House

In order to discover important information about the rockwork and its style, it is necessary to explore and analyse available historical sources. Although the Mountain House was recorded in some books, these records are not detailed, and not contemporaneous. Much information was missing, such as the construction date.

Available historical sources include the 1818 *Huajian xiaoyu* 花间笑语 [Talking and Laughing among Flowers], the 1838 *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from Lü Garden] and several local gazetteers.⁴⁴⁷ Among them, the earliest available source is *Jiaqing Jiangdu xian xuzhi* 嘉庆江都县续志 [Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period] printed in 1811. It is still unknown why this garden was not mentioned in contemporaneous gazetteers but recorded in the section of Historical Sites (*Guji* 古迹) of later gazetteers. They recorded that this garden was established by Wu Jialong 吴家龙 (ca. 18th century) and used as the dwelling of the Wu family.

As the construction date was not recorded, studying the first owner, Wu Jialong, became important. The *Qianlong chongxiu Jiangdu xianzhi* 乾隆重修江都县志 [Revised Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Qianlong Period] from 1743 documented Wu Jialong for his contribution to society. He moved to Jiangdu 江都 (today's Yangzhou) from Yixian 歙县 (which belongs to Anhui province today) in Huizhou 徽州. Wu was the Deputy Salt Distribution Commissioner (*Yanyun fushi* 盐运副使) at that time. In order to support the locals during a famine, he donated

⁴⁴⁷ Nianghua shizhe 酿花使者, *Huajian xiaoyu* 花间笑语 [Talking and Laughing among Flowers], printed in 1818. Stored in Liaoning library (辽宁图书馆). Cited in Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Nianghua shizhe huajian xiaoyu 酿花使者《花间笑语》[Nianghua shizhe's Talking and Laughing Among Flowers]', in *Xuelin manlu* 学林漫录 [Collections of Study Forest], vol.14 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1999), pp.194-200; Qian Yong 钱泳(1759-1844), *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from Lü Garden], 1838 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p.532; Ying Jiexiu 英杰修 (ca.19th century), and Yan Duanshu 晏端书 (1800-1882), *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi* 续纂扬州府志 [Extended Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture] (1874) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), p.300; Xie Yangeng 谢延庚 (ca.19th century), Liu Shouzeng 刘寿曾 (1838-1882), *Guangxu Jiangduxian xuzhi* 光绪江都县续志 [Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period] (1884), in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成江苏府县志辑 [Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu], vol.67 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), pp.1-330(p.193); Wang Fengyuan 王逢源 (ca. late 18th and early 19th century), and Li Baotai 李保泰 (ca. late 18th and early 19th century), *Jiaqing Jiangdu xian xuzhi* 嘉庆江都县续志 [Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period] (1811), in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成江苏府县志辑 [Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu], vol.66 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), pp.507-638(p.553).

a large amount of money in 1738 and 1742.⁴⁴⁸ He also helped to restore and reconstruct the Baolun Temple (*Baolun si* 宝轮寺) and Jinghui Garden (*Jinghui yuan* 静慧园) in Yangzhou, which was also documented in the books *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou].⁴⁴⁹ In gazetteers, the documentation of contemporaneous figures and things is relatively more accurate and more trustworthy than those in the past. Thus, the 1743 *Revised Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Qianlong Period* possibly provides correct information about Wu Jialong, as it was published only a few years after his donation. These descriptions show that Wu was active in the early Qianlong period (1736-1796), and had already accumulated a certain amount of wealth. Also, this source mentioned that Wu had a harmonious family and already had a son and grandson by 1743.⁴⁵⁰ It can be deduced that Wu Jialong was born in the Kangxi period (1661-1722), and probably started his career in the Kangxi period or Yongzheng period (1722-1735). The *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* provides another clue to the age he lived in. It mentions that Wu was the contemporary of Wang Yinggeng 汪应庚 (1680-1742), who also came from Yixian and was known for generosity and filial piety.⁴⁵¹ This source also indicates that Wu was active in the first half of the eighteenth century. But compared with the earlier gazetteer, the information on Wu Jialong in this book might be less accurate, as this book was written by the end of the eighteenth century. But considering both sources, the Mountain House was very likely established in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Although the exact construction date was not specified, the existing historical sources described some features of the garden. According to *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period* and *Talking and Laughing among Flowers*, there were various types of buildings in the garden, such as Butterfly Hall (*Hudie ting* 蝴蝶厅), *xuan* (轩, normally similar to a pavilion in gardens) and a waterside pavilion (水榭); but they were described differently in different sources. However, most sources mentioned a pond and a rockwork beside it in the Mountain House, which seem to be the only two features that consistently existed throughout the garden's history. Two of the sources mentioned the rockwork craftsman, but they referred to

⁴⁴⁸ Gao Shiyao 高士钥 (ca. late 18th and early 19th century), Wu Ge 五格 (ca. late 18th and early 19th century), and Huang Xiang 黄湘 (ca. late 18th and early 19th century), *Qianlong chongxiu jiangdu xianzhi* 乾隆重修江都县志 [Revised Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Qianlong Period] (1743), in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成江苏府县志辑 [Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu], vol.66 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), pp.1-506(p.288).

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. p.288.

⁴⁴⁹ Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817), *Yangzhou huafang lu* 扬州画舫录 [Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou] (1795), annotated by Zhou Guangpei 周光培 (Yangzhou: Yangzhou guangling guji keyinshe, 1984), p.174.

⁴⁵⁰ Gao Shiyao, Wu Ge, and Huang Xiang, *Revised Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Qianlong Period* (1743), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-506(p.288).

⁴⁵¹ Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.174.

different persons. Since the builder might affect the style of the rockwork, which is important information for the repair and reconstruction of rockwork, it is discussed in detail in section 6.1.2. Two other features that might have long existed are two pagoda trees. Several sources mentioned that the Mountain House has another name associated with the pagoda trees on site. *Talking and Laughing among Flowers* (1818) recorded the name Tea Garden of Two Pagoda Trees (*Shuanghuai chayuan* 双槐茶园), and the 1870 and 1880 gazetteers recorded it as the Garden of Two Pagoda Trees (*Shuanghuai yuan* 双槐园).⁴⁵² But none of them mentioned the actual location of these two trees.

In the early nineteenth century, the Mountain House was neglected under the ownership of Wu Zhifu 吴之黼 (ca. late 18th to early 19th century), Wu Jialong's grandson.⁴⁵³ The garden was then repaired after the Cantonese Wu Huimo 吴辉谟 (ca. 19th century) obtained it in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁵⁴ Unfortunately, no further record was found revealing how the garden was repaired.

The Mountain House of Sliced Stones was sold to He Weijian 何维键 (1835-1908) in 1883.⁴⁵⁵ His studio name Zhidao 芷舫 is better known. He was born into a wealthy family, as a *Zheng yipin* 正一品 (Rank 1a) position in the Qing court, the highest rank of Qing officials, was conferred on his father.⁴⁵⁶ He Zhidao also served in different positions in the government, including the Salt Distribution Commissioner (*Yanyun shi* 盐运使) in Yangzhou.

Before buying this small garden, He Zhidao had already bought the site on the north, and spent 13 years on its renovation. He named the renovated garden Jixiao Villa (*Jixiao shanzhuang* 寄啸山庄), which is often known as the He Garden. The two characters *ji* 寄 and *xiao* 啸 mean expanding and whistling respectively. They were picked up from the poet Tao Yuanming's 陶渊明 (365-427) 'Guiqulaixi ci 归去来兮辞 [The Return]': 'I lean on the south window and let my

⁴⁵² Nianhua shizhe, *Talking and Laughing Among Flowers*, cited in Cao Xun, 'Nianhua shizhe's Talking and Laughing Among Flowers', pp.194-200; Ying Jiexiu, and Yan Duanshu, *Extended Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture*, p.300; Xie Yangeng, Liu Shouzeng, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period* (1884), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-330(p.193).

⁴⁵³ Wang Fengyuan, and Li Baotai, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period*, in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.507-638(p.553).

⁴⁵⁴ Xie Yangeng, Liu Shouzeng, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period* (1884), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-330(p.193).

⁴⁵⁵ *Guangling quzhi* 广陵区志 [Gazetteer of Guangling District], ed. by Gazetteer Compilation Committee of Guangling District in Yangzhou (*Yangzhoushi guanglingqu difangzhi bianzhuan weiyuanhui* 扬州市广陵区地方志编纂委员会) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), p.225.

⁴⁵⁶ All governmental officials were categorised into nine ranks (*Jiu pin* 九品) in imperial China since the Jin Dynasty. In the Qing Dynasty, each rank was subdivided into two classes: the first class *Zheng* 正, and the second class *Cong* 从. The ranks were normally rendered as 1a, 1b, 2a, etc. The 1a (*Zheng yipin* 正一品) is the highest rank.

pride expand’; ‘climbing the east hill and whistling long’.⁴⁵⁷ It is the same poem that inspired the name of the Daily Visit Garden, one of the previous names of the Qiao Garden. Borrowing characters from ‘The Return’ reflected He Zhidao’s situation in the late nineteenth century. After establishing the dwelling in Yangzhou, He Zhidao resigned from the government post as an Intendant of the Han-Huang-De Circuit (*Hanhuangde daotai* 汉黄德道台), and started the life of retirement.⁴⁵⁸

The He family moved to Shanghai in the early twentieth century, and the whole garden was sold to Yin Rugeng 殷汝耕 (1883-1947) in the 1940s. Yin was a politician who led the puppet government in East Hebei for the Japanese army after resigning from the government of the Republic of China.⁴⁵⁹ Being considered as a traitor, Yin was arrested and executed after the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The garden was, therefore, taken by the government. It was then occupied by various groups, including schools, the army, research institutions and factories. Although most occupiers were asked to leave the He Garden soon after the Cultural Revolution, the Mountain House of Sliced Stones was still used by the No. 10 Research Institute (*Dishi yanjiusuo* 第十研究所) until 1985.

To sum up, the Mountain House was established by the official Wu Jialong. It was very possibly constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century, according to the analysis of historical sources. After Wu and his descendants, the garden changed hands several times. Among all the other owners, He Zhidao is the most noted one for combining the Jixiao Villa and the Mountain House. The entire property was then known as the He Garden. After the 1940s, the garden became a publicly owned property possessed by different groups, and was therefore modified and damaged.

6.1.2 A discussion on the rockwork craftsman

As concluded in Chapter Two, there were various trends of rockwork in different periods. The distinctive characteristics of a trend would be influenced by the design and building techniques of craftsmen as well as the contemporaneous aesthetic standards. For example, the craftsman Ge Yuliang 戈裕良 (1764-1830) was known for the construction approach ‘Hook and Connect Method (*Goudai fa* 钩带法)’ for building arched structures. This then became a typical

⁴⁵⁷ Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365-427), ‘Guiqulaixi ci 归去来兮辞 [The Return]’, trans. by James Robert Hightower, in *Classical Chinese literature: an anthology of translations*, ed. by Minford, John & Lau, Joseph S.M., Vol. 1 (New York; Hong Kong: Columbia University Press; The Chinese University Press, 2000), pp.517-519.

⁴⁵⁸ Han-Huang-De Circuit include the prefectures of Hanyang 汉阳, Huangzhou 黄州, and De’an 德安.

⁴⁵⁹ Philip S. Jowett, *The bitter peace: conflict in China 1928-37* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2017).

characteristic of Ge's work, which can be found in his existing rockworks in the Swallow Garden (*Yan yuan* 燕园) and Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (*Huanxiu shanzhuang* 环秀山庄). Thus, knowing the builder would benefit the identification and restoration of the characteristics of a rockwork, especially for damaged works like the one in the Mountain House which needed to be repaired and partially reconstructed. Unfortunately, due to their relatively lower social status, most craftsmen were not mentioned and recorded in historical sources. Some of the commonly-listed famous craftsmen are challenged by today's academics like Craig Clunas, who doubt if the famous ones were actually craftsmen.⁴⁶⁰ Indeed, very few rockworks created by 'famous craftsmen' are recorded or known to exist.

For this garden, the records of the rockwork craftsman are also inexplicit. Two figures were documented as its builders in historical texts, Shitao 石涛 (1642-1707) and Monk Mushan 牧山僧 (ca. 18th century). Thus, there are two groups holding different opinions about the actual craftsman. Shitao was an artist active in the Kangxi period and known for landscape painting. His painting theory was considered as an implementation of Taoist philosophy in arts, even though he lived the life of a Buddhist monk until 1696.⁴⁶¹ Shitao is actually his Buddhist name, while his original name is Zhu Ruoji 朱若极. Since his late forties, he had lengthy sojourns in Yangzhou, and eventually settled down there from 1697. Most of his existing paintings and poems were created during his stay in Yangzhou.⁴⁶² At that time, Yangzhou gathered a large group of literati and artists including Yuan Jiang 袁江 (1662-1735), the painter of the 'Zhan yuan tu 瞻园图 [Painting of the Gazing Garden]' Discussed in the previous chapter. The construction of gardens was also flourishing in the mid-Kangxi period, affected by the emperor's six inspection tours to Yangzhou.⁴⁶³ Later, the southern tours of the Qianlong Emperor (1711-1799) stimulated another wave of garden making.

In the 1838 book *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from the Lü Garden], the author Qian Yong 钱泳 (1759-1844) stated that the rockwork in the Mountain House 'was said to be Monk Shitao's *shoubi* (手笔)'.⁴⁶⁴ Shitao is then understood as the constructor of this rockwork by some scholars, led by the architectural and garden historian Chen Congzhou 陈从周(1918-

⁴⁶⁰ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), p.62-63.

⁴⁶¹ Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of Painting by Shih-T'ao: A Translation of Exposition of his Hua-P'u (Treatise on the Philosophy of Painting)* (The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton, 1978).

⁴⁶² Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁶³ Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China*, p.xvi.

⁴⁶⁴ See the sentence '相传为石涛和尚手笔', in Qian Yong, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, p.532

2000).⁴⁶⁵ After surveying the historical gardens and buildings in Yangzhou in the 1950s and early 1960s, Chen found out that the rockwork in the Mountain House is the oldest one in Yangzhou, and he believed that it is the only existing rockwork constructed by Shitao. Chen built up and defended this opinion for four reasons. Firstly, Chen considered that Qian Yong lived in the period not far from Shitao's; and also Qian's description about the layout of this garden is similar to the remains, so the information Qian provided was trusted by Chen. Second, Chen believed that Shitao was good at constructing rockwork. The source he relied on was the book *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* printed in 1795, in which Shitao was described as specialising in painting landscape and plants, and also skilled at constructing rockwork. The author Li Dou 李斗 (1749-1817) regarded Shitao as the creator of the rockwork in the Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks (*Wanshi yuan* 万石园); Li even considered this work as the best one among others in Yangzhou, and Zhang Nanyuan's (the leading rockwork craftsman in the seventeenth century) stone screen could only take the second place.⁴⁶⁶ The third reason, supporting Chen Congzhou's opinion, is the fact that Shitao lived in Yangzhou for a long time, which can be evidenced by many of his existing paintings and poems. Lastly, Chen believed the design of the rockwork in the Mountain House conformed to Shitao's painting theory. In *Kugua heshang huayulu* 苦瓜和尚语录 [Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon], Shitao wrote sections on the drawing of mountains and *cun* 皴, the textures of mountains created by brushstrokes.⁴⁶⁷ In other essays of Shitao, he commented on the painting of mountains. Chen considered the rockwork in this garden as an implementation of 'one peak can stand out and continuous mountains can be stopped by cliffs so as to create dramatic change'.⁴⁶⁸ Therefore, this work was highly praised by Chen, for being an implementation of painting theory in gardens as well as an outstanding piece of historical rockwork.⁴⁶⁹ Local scholars and authorities in Yangzhou completely agreed with Chen, and felt proud of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones and its rockwork. Recent official documents, such as the official website, the local gazetteers and later conservation proposals, all recorded it as a priceless heritage for being the only existing rockwork created by the artist Shitao. Recently, Xu Liang 徐亮 from the Administration Office of the He Garden (*Heyuan*

⁴⁶⁵ Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones- Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20.

⁴⁶⁶ Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.38.

⁴⁶⁷ Shitao 石涛 (1642-1707), *Kugua heshang huayulu* 苦瓜和尚语录 [Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon], annotated by Wu Danqing 吴丹青 (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou guji chubanshe, 2013), pp.149-173; also see, Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of Painting by Shih T'ao*, pp.125-128.

⁴⁶⁸ See the sentence '一峰突起, 连冈断壑, 变幻顷刻', in *Huaxue jicheng* 画学集成 [Collections of Painting Treatises], ed. by Ren Daobin 任道斌, and Wang Bomin 王伯敏 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2002), p.323.

⁴⁶⁹ Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones- Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20.

guanlichu 何园管理处), and Li Jinyu 李金宇 from Yangzhou Institute of Technology (*Yangzhou keji xueyuan* 扬州科技学院) published a new paper that further supported Chen Congzhou's opinion and contradicted the argument of the opposite group.⁴⁷⁰ However, there is room for discussion on the arguments of Chen and others, as will be discussed later in this section.

In the 1818 book *Talking and Laughing among Flowers*, Monk Mushan was mentioned as having created the rockwork in the Mountain House.⁴⁷¹ Thus, there is another group of scholars who believed Monk Mushan was the actual craftsman of this rockwork. Cao Xun 曹汛, who is also an architectural and garden historian, has written an informative paper to challenge those who considered Shitao as a rockwork craftsman. He also wrote another paper to explore *Talking and Laughing among Flowers* and its author Nianghua Shizhe 酿花使者.⁴⁷² In short, he provided four reasons to support his argument. First of all, Cao believed Shitao was already dead when the Mountain House was established. Based on records about the garden and its owner, Cao Xun concluded that the garden was constructed in the early years of the Qianlong period (1736-1796). Second, he was not convinced by the description about Shitao being good at constructing rockwork, which first came from Li Dou's *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*. Since the book was completed around 1795 and Shitao passed away in 1707, Li Dou was also not the contemporary of Shitao and so was possibly not delivering accurate information about Shitao. Another supporting argument was the identity of Nianghua Shizhe. He was proved to be the cousin of the garden's contemporaneous owner Wu Zhifu, and would know better about the garden as well as the rockwork craftsman. In *Talking and Laughing among Flowers*, the author Nianghua Shizhe mentioned that he had frequently visited Yangzhou for about fifty years and had visited his cousin Wu Zhifu.⁴⁷³ The last reason that made Cao Xun stick to his opinion was the existence of Monk Mushan. He found four figures named Mushan who were active in the Qianlong period, and finally focused on one. By comparing the period of activity, the capability and relationship with Yangzhou, Cao believed that Monk Mushan, the abbot of the Lotus Spirit Temple (*Lianxing*

⁴⁷⁰ Xu Liang 徐亮, and Li Jinyu 李金宇, 'Shitao dieshan zuopin de renjian gupin Yangzhou pianshi shanfang-jian yu Cao Xun xiansheng shang shitao yuyang qijian zaoyuan shishi 石涛叠山作品的'人间孤品'扬州片石山房—兼与曹汛先生商石涛寓扬期间造园史实 [The Unique Instance of Shitao's Rockwork, the Mountain House of Sliced Stones in Yangzhou—A Discussion with Mr. Cao Xun on the Historical Facts about Shitao's Garden Construction During his Stay in Yangzhou]', in *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 [Journal of Chinese Landscape Architecture], 8(2014), pp.116-119.

⁴⁷¹ Nianghua shizhe, *Talking and Laughing Among Flowers*, cited in Cao Xun, 'Nianghua shizhe's Talking and Laughing Among Flowers', pp.194-200.

⁴⁷² Cao Xun 曹汛, 'Shitao dieshan renjian gupin, yige anqian er cushu de yuanlin tonghua 石涛叠山"人间孤品", 一个娴浅而粗疏的园林童话 [The "Only Survivor" of Shitao's Rockwork]', in *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], 4 (2007), pp.94-102.

⁴⁷³ Nianghua shizhe, *Talking and Laughing Among Flowers*, cited in Cao Xun, 'Nianghua shizhe's Talking and Laughing Among Flowers', pp.194-200.

si 莲性寺) in Yangzhou, was the one mentioned by Nianghua Shizhe as constructing the rockwork in the Mountain House.

Both groups have various reasons to support their opinions, but some of their arguments are not strong and sound. Based on the analysis of the existing materials, this thesis would argue that the rockwork in the Mountain House was not constructed by Shitao, but may have been inspired by his paintings; and the Monk Mushan may not be the abbot of the Lotus Spirit Temple. The reasons are listed as follows.

Above all, when Qian Yong wrote that this rockwork ‘was said to be Monk Shitao’s *shoubi* [手笔]’ in *Random Jottings from the Lü Garden*,⁴⁷⁴ he might not indicate that Shitao constructed it. The term *shoubi* literally means hand brush. In the *Gudai hanyu cidian* 古代汉语词典 [The Ancient Chinese Dictionary], *shoubi* was interpreted as the letter or poem that was written in someone’s own hand; it also means the ostentation and extravagance from the late nineteenth century onwards.⁴⁷⁵ It is inappropriate to understand *shoubi* as ‘construction’, but reasonable to consider that Shitao created a painting for it or it was constructed based on his drawing. Although not mentioning the issue on understanding the term *shoubi*, Cao Xun pointed out two other cases of using *shoubi* in the same book by Qian Yong.⁴⁷⁶ In the section on gardens, Qian Yong mentioned that the Splendid Valley (*Xiu gu* 绣谷) in Suzhou ‘was said to be Wang Shigu’s (also known as Wang Hui 王翬, 1632-1717) *shoubi*’ and the Garden of Grace (*Hui yuan* 惠园) in Beijing ‘was said to be Li Liweng’s (Li Yu 李渔, 1610-1680) *shoubi*’.⁴⁷⁷ Based on Wang Hui’s and Li Yu’s poems, Cao Xun demonstrated that Wang Hui only created a painting for the Splendid Valley after its establishment, and Li Yu was invited to the Garden of Grace to write poems. Both of these examples evidenced that ‘*shoubi*’ in Qian Yong’s book means someone creating paintings or poems for a garden.

Secondly, Li Dou’s record about Shitao being good at constructing rockwork may not be sound and valid. In *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, Li Dou recorded the rockwork in the Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks (*Wanshi yuan* 万石园) as a spectacular work of Shitao. However, the descriptions in *Jiaqing chongxiu yangzhoufu zhi* 嘉庆重修扬州府志 [Revised Gazetteer of

⁴⁷⁴ See the original sentence ‘相传为石涛和尚手笔’, in Qian Yong, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, p.532.

⁴⁷⁵ *Gudai hanyu cidian* 古代汉语词典 [The Ancient Chinese Dictionary], ed. by *Gudai hanyu cidian bianxiezu* 古代汉语词典编写组 [Editing Group of the Ancient Chinese Dictionary] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003), p.1442.

⁴⁷⁶ Cao Xun, ‘The “Only Survivor” of Shitao’s Rockwork’, pp.94-102.

⁴⁷⁷ See the original sentence ‘相传为王石谷手笔也’ and ‘相传是园为国初李笠翁手笔’, in Qian Yong, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, p.525, 520.

Yangzhou Prefecture in the Jiaqing Period] and *Yangzhou baocheng cunzhi* 扬州堡城村志 [Gazetteer of Baocheng County in Yangzhou] recorded it differently. They mentioned that the rockwork in the Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks was constructed based on Shitao's painting, and that the craftsman Wang Tianyu 王天于 (1763-1795; sometimes recorded as Wang Tingyu 王庭余) built it.⁴⁷⁸ This work is also recorded in Wang's family records and known by his descendants, according to the interview with the craftsman Wang Luzhi 王鹿枝, a descendant of Wang Tianyu.⁴⁷⁹ In pre-modern China, most craftsmen had relatively lower social status.⁴⁸⁰ Rockwork would generally be regarded as an implementation of landscape painting theories, which were supposed to be beyond the understanding of lowly craftsmen. Therefore, designers were described as the builders, or the actual craftsmen were described as knowledgeable on painting. As Ji Cheng (1582-?) summarised in the seventeenth century book *Yuan ye* 园冶 [Craft of Gardens], 'Three-tenths of the work is the workmen's [craftsmen], seven-tenths is the master's';⁴⁸¹ the craftsmen were given fewer credits than the masters, by which he possibly meant the designer or 'master craftsman', just like Ji Cheng himself. A similar opinion can be found in the *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*. Its author, Li Dou, divided rockwork craftsmen into two groups: Zhang Lian 张涟 (1587-1671), Qiu Haoshi 仇好石 (ca.18th century) and Monk Dong 董道士 (ca. 18th century) were categorised as masters, while Wang Tianyu and Zhang Guotai 张国泰 (ca.18th century) were categorised as ordinary rockwork craftsmen.⁴⁸² Thus, it is not surprising that Li Dou would attribute the artist Shitao as the craftsman of the rockwork in the Mountain House.

Although Cao Xun's opinion about Shitao is more convincing and stronger, his assumption on the construction date of the Mountain House and the Monk Mushan is relatively weak. Cao argued that Shitao passed away before the garden was established, because he believed the

⁴⁷⁸ Akedanga 阿克当阿, *Jiaqing chongxiu yangzhoufu zhi* 嘉庆重修扬州府志 [Revised Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture in the Jiaqing Period] (1815), in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成江苏府县志辑 [Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu], vol.41 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), p.493; *Yangzhou baocheng cunzhi* 扬州堡城村志 [Gazetteer of Baocheng County in Yangzhou], ed. by People's Government of Suburban District in Yangzhou (*Yangzhou jiaoqu renmin zhengfu* 扬州郊区人民政府), CPPCC of Suburban District in Yangzhou (*Zhengxie Yangzhouzhi jiaoqu weiyuanhui* 政协扬州市郊区委员会), and Government of Pingshan County in Yangzhou (*Yangzhouzhi pingshanxiang renmin zhengfu* 扬州市平山乡人民政府) (Beijing: Haichao chubanshe, 2000), p.73.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Wang Luzhi, see appendix 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, p.62-63.

⁴⁸¹ Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Alison Hardie (New York: Better Link Press, 2012), p.41; See the sentence '三分匠七分主人' in Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuan ye zhushi* 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens] (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988), p.47;

⁴⁸² Li Dou, *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, annotated by Zhou Guangpei, p.39.

garden was established in the early Qianlong period (1735-1796) according to his 'historical research (*Shiyuan kaozheng* 史源考证)'; but the evidence and sources were not provided. As explored in section 7.1.1, the first owner of this garden, Wu Jialong accumulated a lot of wealth and already had grandsons by 1743.⁴⁸³ This information indicated that he was active at least in the Yongzheng period, so the garden and rockwork could be constructed before the Qianlong period. Also, when identifying the actual figure of Monk Mushan, Cao Xun considered the abbot in Lotus Spirit Temple as the one who constructed the rockwork in the Mountain House; because he was also in Yangzhou in the early Qianlong period, the period that Cao Xun assumed the garden was constructed. In fact, the description of abbot Mushan that Cao Xun relied on came from *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (1795), which was a book printed in the late Qianlong period, and the abbot was not described as capable of rockwork making. Over all, Monk Mushan is more likely to be the actual craftsman that constructed the rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, but he may not be the abbot of the Lotus Spirit Temple unless more information can be found.

6.2 Characteristics of the rockwork

As argued above, it is not sound and valid to consider Shitao as the constructor of the rockwork in the Mountain House. Thus, an objective exploration and analysis of this garden's characteristics, features and its rockwork becomes crucial for the conservation. Knowing the characteristics and features would benefit the repair and reconstruction of the damaged and destroyed parts.

In spite of the fact that no record was available to reveal the original appearance of the Mountain House and its rockwork when they were first built, available historical sources provide information about its appearance in later times. In the early nineteenth century, the garden was centred on a pond, with the Waterside Pavilion (*Shui xie* 水榭) on one side and the rockwork surrounding the other three sides.⁴⁸⁴ This information was recorded in both the 1811 *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period* and *Talking and Laughing among Flowers* of 1818. The former provides detailed descriptions about garden features: the pond was winding, the rockwork was made of lake rocks,⁴⁸⁵ and a large conifer (*Luohan song* 罗汉松, *Podocarpus*

⁴⁸³ Gao Shiyao, Wu Ge, and Huang Xiang, *Revised Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Qianlong Period* (1743), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-506(p.288).

⁴⁸⁴ Wang Fengyuan, and Li Baotai, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period*, in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.507-638(p.553).

⁴⁸⁵ Lake rock (*Hu shi* 湖石) can be referred to Taihu Rocks as well as other types of rocks which have similar appearance to Taihu Rocks and are also quarried from a lake.

macrophyllus) was growing on top of the tallest peak.⁴⁸⁶ The latter contained more information on the buildings, including both the existing and ruined ones: ‘It [the garden] had Pavilion of Listening to the Rain (*Tingyu xuan* 听雨轩), Studio of Wine Bottles (*Pinglei zhai* 瓶榭斋), Butterfly Hall, Plum Building (*Mei lou* 梅楼) and Waterside Pavilion; currently, only Pavilion of Listening to the Rain and Waterside Pavilion survive’.⁴⁸⁷ Since the *Talking and Laughing among Flowers* was written by the cousin of the Mountain House’s contemporaneous owner, it possibly provides correct information on the then-existing garden features. Later sources also mentioned that the Mountain House contained a pond and a rockwork, and two buildings; the rockwork was described as made of Taihu Rocks. If the information was true, the sources evidencing the pond and the rockwork inside the Mountain House could be dated back to no later than the 1810s, when the earliest available source was printed.

Among all historical sources, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden* contained a different description of the pond. It described the pond in a square shape, while the *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period* recorded the pond with a winding shape. Since no other texts mentioned the shape of the pond, it is not possible to verify which one was correct from historical sources.

Apart from exploring the historical sources, the investigation of the remaining parts is also essential for understanding and summarising the characteristics of the rockwork in the Mountain House. The surveys of the Mountain House conducted in the 1960s and 1980s by Chen Congzhou and Zhu Jiang 朱江 (before the major restoration) help to verify some historical information and reveal the appearance of garden features. According to Chen Congzhou and Zhu Jiang’s surveys, the rockwork recorded in all available historical sources remained and was located on the north side of the garden; an old Nanmu Hall (*Nanmu ting* 楠木厅) located on the south might be one of the two existing buildings mentioned in *Talking and Laughing among Flowers*.⁴⁸⁸ As shown in Figures 6-2 and 6-3, a small pond on the north-west side was found during Chen Congzhou’s survey. But during the digging *in-situ* in the 1980s, the foundation of the original pond was found, which verified the earlier description.⁴⁸⁹ The original pond was

⁴⁸⁶ Wang Fengyuan, and Li Baotai, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period*, in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.507-638(p.553).

⁴⁸⁷ Nianghua shizhe, *Talking and Laughing Among Flowers*, cited in Cao Xun, ‘Nianghua shizhe’s Talking and Laughing Among Flowers’, pp.194-200.

⁴⁸⁸ Nanmu Hall is a classic hall made of Nanmu (楠木), the wood of *Phoebe* and *Machilus*. This is a common type of building in Chinese gardens; within the He Garden, there are two Nanmu Halls, one of them is in Mountain House of Sliced Stones.

⁴⁸⁹ Wu Zhaozhao 吴肇钊 from Yangzhou Bureau of Landscape (*Yangzhoushi yuanlin guanliju* 扬州市园林管理局), ‘Shitao de renjianguben—pianshi shanfang yanjiu yu xiufu sheji 石涛的‘人间孤本’-片石山房研究与修复设计 [The

larger than the remaining one on the north-west of the Mountain House. It has two layers; the bottom layer has a winding shape with some Taihu Rocks on the edges, which was possibly the old embankment. The upper layer shows the shape of a square pond, with compact earth as an embankment. The discovery of the foundation explained the conflict between the historical texts; the two different descriptions of the pond can both be correct, as the shape of pond had been modified from winding to square. The modification possibly took place between the 1810s and 1830s, when the shape of the pond was recorded differently.⁴⁹⁰ The finding of the old pond conforms to the records that the pond was located between the rockwork and the Waterside Pavilion; the existing Nanmu Hall is, therefore, possibly the old Waterside Pavilion. On the remaining pond, there was a stone beam connecting the land and the stone steps which lead to the top of the rockwork. According to Chen Congzhou, only part of the stone beam remained when his survey took place.⁴⁹¹

Comparing the survey result with historical texts, it is clear that the remaining rockwork, the Nanmu Hall and the foundation of the pond conformed to historical descriptions and should be the features that existed, at least, since the 1810s, when the earliest existing record was printed. More information is needed to prove that these features were constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century when the Mountain House was established. According to Chen Congzhou's paper, which was published in February 1962, only a few historical features remained (Figs. 6-2, 6-3). The historical rockwork was damaged, and only the north-east and northwest corner parts survived, which also have many rocks collapsed and missing (Fig.6-4).

Unique Instance of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones]', November 1988, p.4., held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁴⁹⁰ Wang Fengyuan, and Li Baotai, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period*, in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.507-638(p.553); Qian Yong, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, p.532.

⁴⁹¹ Chen Congzhou 陈从周(1918-2000), 'Yangzhou yuanlin yu zhuzhai 扬州园林与住宅 [Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings]', in *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线 [Social Science Front], 3(1978), pp.207-223(p.210).

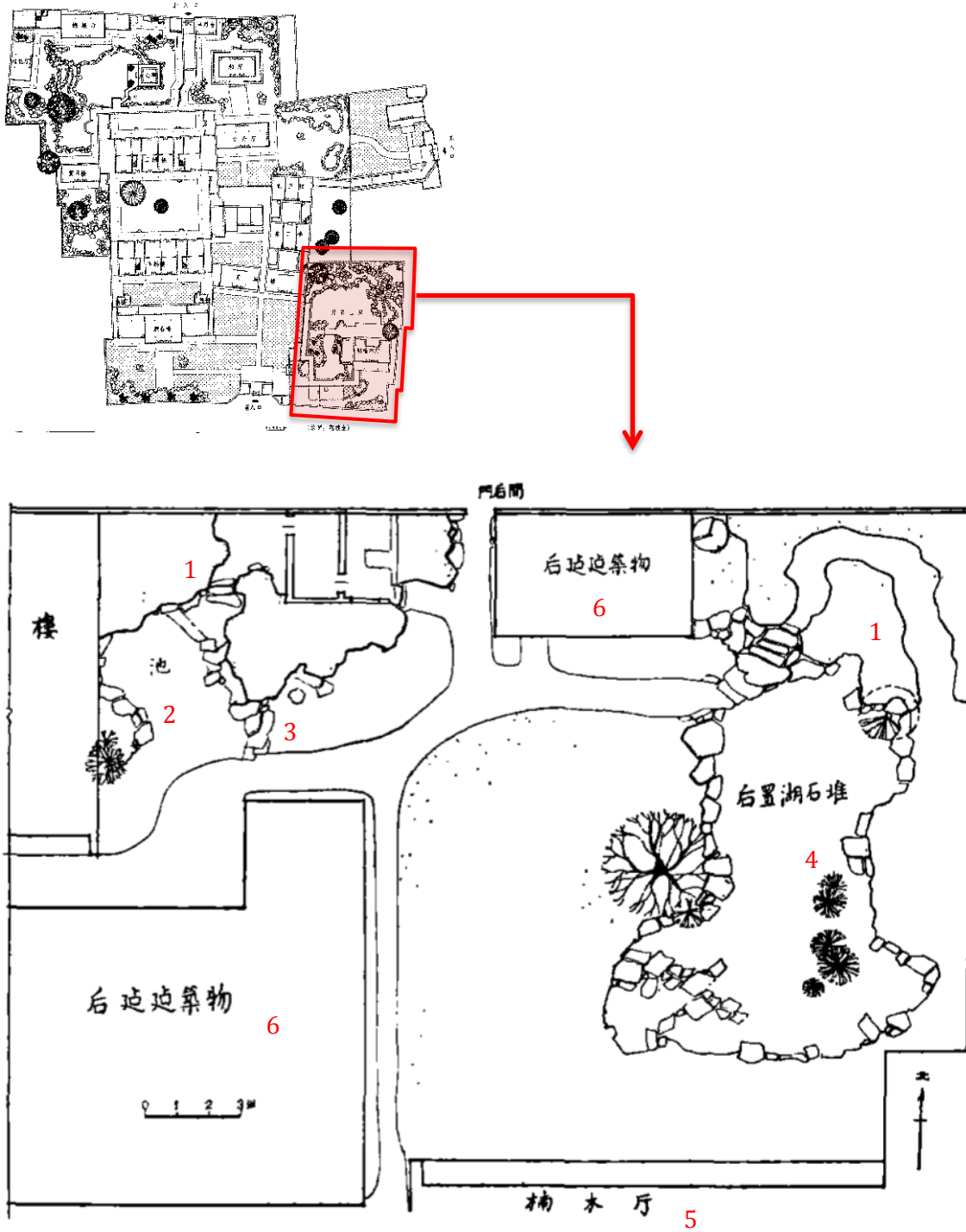


Figure 6-2. Survey plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones in the 1960s (ground level of the rockwork) which shows the north side of the garden and its rockwork before the regeneration. Features depicted in the plan include: 1. Remaining historic rockwork; 2. Remaining historic pond; 3. Possibly the stone beam; 4. Lately constructed rockwork; 5. Nanmu Hall; 6. Lately constructed building. (Source: Chen Congzhou 陈从周, 'Yangzhou pianshishanfang—Shitao dieshan zuopin 扬州片石山房—石涛叠山作品 [The Mountain House of Sliced Stones-Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao]', in *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics], 2(1962), pp.18-20 (p. 18).)

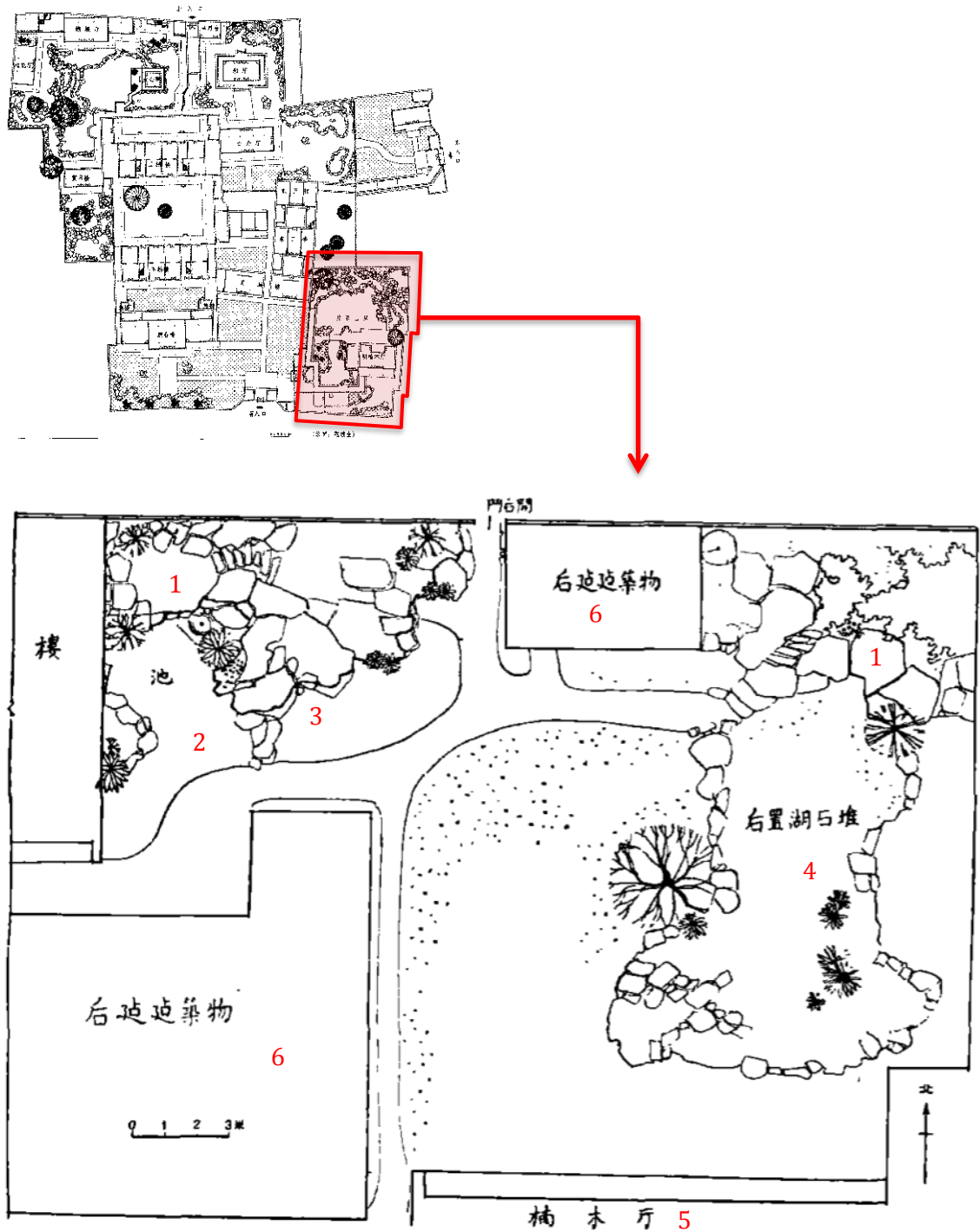


Figure 6-3. Survey plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones in the 1960s (upper level of the rockwork), which shows the layout of the garden and its rockwork before the regeneration. Features depicted in the plan include: 1. Remaining historic rockwork; 2. Remaining historic pond; 3. Possibly the stone beam; 4. Lately constructed rockwork; 5. Nanmu Hall; 6. Lately constructed building. (Source: Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones-Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20 (p. 19).)

The rockwork in the Mountain House is the key feature of the garden: not only because the garden was recorded as known for its rockwork, but also because it is located in the north across the pond from the Nanmu Hall; this layout shows it was designed as the focal point of the garden. While the historical sources briefly mentioned the location of the rockwork, and described it as ‘peculiar and precipitous’.⁴⁹² the survey findings provide much more detailed information. Located on the north side, the rockwork occupied the entire northern boundary of the Mountain House; more importantly, this particular rockwork is an example of ‘Precipitous Mountain (*Qiaobi shan* 峭壁山)’, which means the type of rockwork that was ‘built up against walls’.⁴⁹³ The earliest available definition of Precipitous Mountain came from Ji Cheng’s *Craft of Gardens*. The construction of Precipitous Mountains was often associated with painting. As Ji Cheng wrote, ‘the whitewashed surface acts as a paper and the rocks as the painting upon it’.⁴⁹⁴ Especially when seen through windows and doors, Precipitous Mountains would be framed and look more like a painting. The seventeenth century writer Li Yu named the integration of rockwork and window as Window of Painting (*Chifu chuang* 尺幅窗). For him, the Window of Painting turns the window into a painting, and turns the mountains or rockwork into mountains on a landscape painting.⁴⁹⁵ The rockwork in the Mountain House also formed a landscape painting with the wall behind and a pond in the front. Located opposite the rockwork across the pond, Nanmu Hall has an ideal view of this three-dimensional painting. The rockwork in the Mountain House is not the only existing Precipitous Mountain. Other examples can be found in the Half Acre Garden (*Banmu yuan* 半亩园) in Beijing and the courtyard in the Master of Nets Garden (*Wangshi yuan* 网师园) in Suzhou; they were constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Precipitous Mountains seem to be more welcomed in small gardens. As explored in Chapter Two, rockworks in Guangdong gardens in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which are generally formed with a small courtyard, were frequently created as a thin stone screen or cliff and attached to a wall.⁴⁹⁶

Historical sources from the early nineteenth century mentioned that the rockwork in the Mountain House has a main peak, which was as high as five to six *zhang* (approx. 19 metres).⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹² See original sentence ‘甚奇峭’, in Qian Yong, *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, p.532.

⁴⁹³ Ji Cheng, *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design*, trans. by Alison Hardie, p.107; See the sentence ‘三分匠七分主人’ in Ji Cheng, *The Annotated Craft of Gardens*, annotated by Chen Zhi, p.213.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680), *Xianqing Ouji* 闲情偶寄 [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling] (1671), annotated by Du Shuying 杜书瀛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007).

⁴⁹⁶ Liu Guanping 刘管平, *Lingnan yuanlin* 岭南园林 [Lingnan Gardens] (Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2013), p.122.

⁴⁹⁷ One *zhang* equalled 3.2 metre in the Qing context, according to Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 4th edn. (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp.555-556.

This is possibly an exaggeration of a peak, which can only indicate that the main peak was tall. The survey findings recorded in Chen Congzhou's and Zhu Jiang's papers show that the main peak is probably the tallest remaining peak located in the west of this rockwork (Figure 6-4).⁴⁹⁸ It is worth pointing out that the 'peak' here means the pointed summit of the rockwork, rather than an individually displayed rock. According to Chen Congzhou, the remaining tallest peak was just over three metres, and taller than the wall behind (Fig.6-4); the original peak could have been taller, but unlikely to be nineteen metres high. Chen Congzhou's sketch (Fig.6-4) also depicted that there were many obvious holes on the lower section of the existing main peak. According to the 'Wenwu diaochabiao 文物调查表 [Survey Form of Cultural Relics]' dated 1966, the same period as the sketch, these holes were not natural holes in each rock, but the gaps between rocks.⁴⁹⁹ As explored in Chapter Two, this characteristic can be found in many rockworks constructed in the mid-eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. It was a way to imitate the holes in fine Taihu Rocks. Since these gaps were found in the lower part, it might be an original characteristic of the rockwork when it was first established, unless the whole rockwork had been reconstructed during its history. This also confirmed the earlier conclusion that the rockwork in the Mountain House was possibly constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, these gaps were filled in during the conservation process.

⁴⁹⁸ Zhu Jiang 朱江, *Yangzhou yuanlin pinshanglu* 扬州园林品鉴录 [The Review of Yangzhou Gardens], 3rd edn (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2002), p.210; Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones-Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20 (p. 19).

⁴⁹⁹ Cai Shuzhuan 蔡述传 from *Jiangsusheng wenguanhui* 江苏省文管会 [Jiangsu Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics], 'Jiangsusheng Yangzhoushi wenwu diaochabiao(pianshi shanfang) 江苏省扬州市文物调查表(片石山房) [Survey Form of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (Mountain House of Sliced Stones)]', 18 February 1966, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

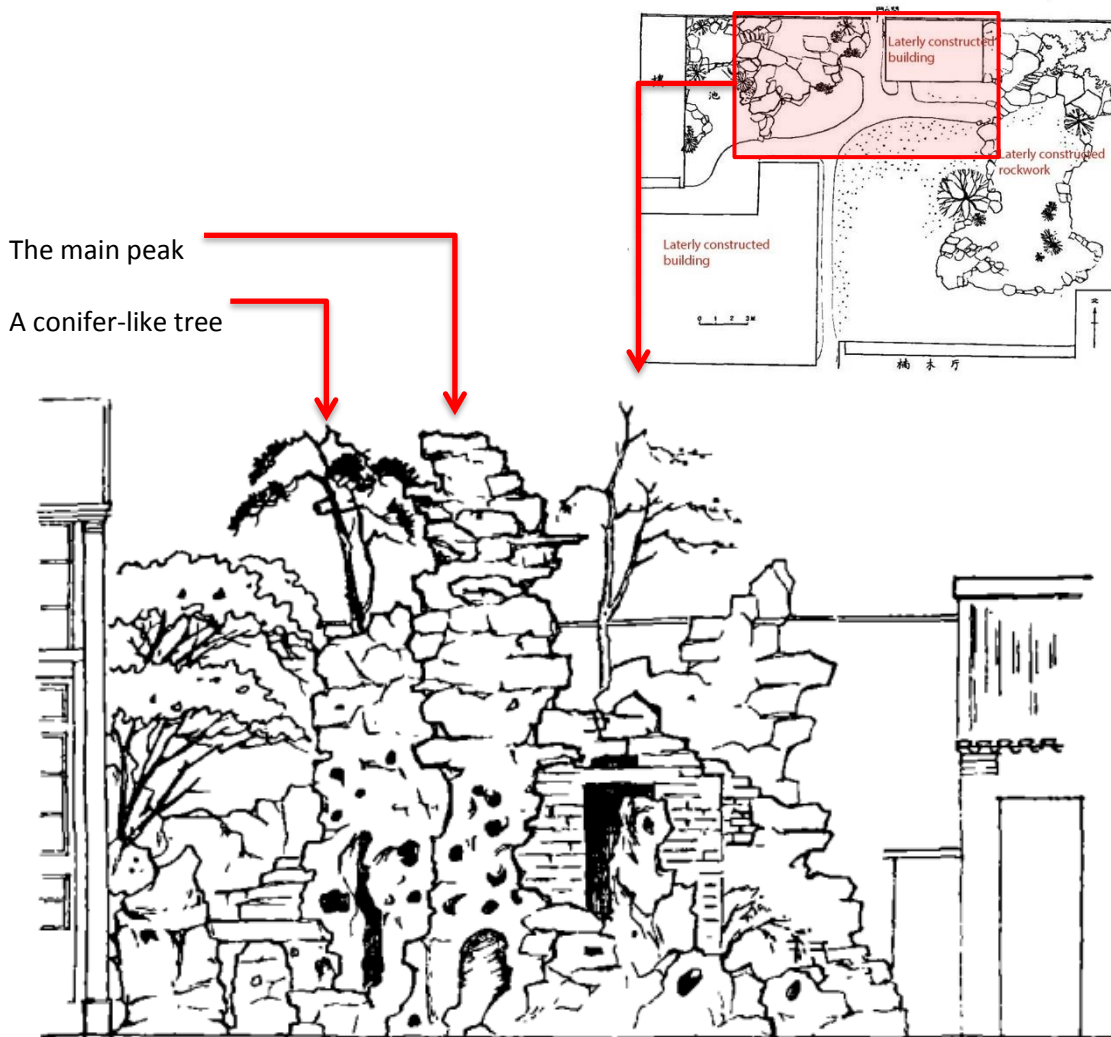


Figure 6-4. The sketch of the western part of the remaining rockwork in the Mountain House. It was drawn by Chen Congzhou in the 1960s, before the garden and rockwork were restored. (Source: Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones-Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20 (p. 19).)

The *Extended gazetteer of Jiangdu county in the Jiaqing period* (1811) also mentioned that a conifer was planted on the peak, which had a large trunk wide enough to be encircled by several people.⁵⁰⁰ Similar to the description on the height of the peak, the size of the tree trunk had possibly been exaggerated; but it is possible that there was an old tree on the main peak, which further indicates that the rockwork had existed for quite a long time by 1811. Among the trees depicted in his sketch during the survey in the 1960s, there was one conifer-like tree on the main peak, as shown in Figure 6-4; the 1966 'Survey Form of Cultural Relics' recorded it as a Lacebark

⁵⁰⁰ Wang Fengyuan, and Li Baotai, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Jiaqing Period*, in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.507-638(p.553).

Pine (白皮松, *Pinus bungeana*).⁵⁰¹ It is not clear if the tree was the old one mentioned in the 1811 gazetteer, as no other available sources mentioned the species of this particular tree on the main peak.

The entire rockwork in the Mountain House was associated with lions in the two gazetteers from the Guangxu period (1875-1908). It is described as ‘creating a painting of nine lions [with rockwork]’.⁵⁰² As discussed in Chapter Two, it is relatively more common for rockwork in southern China to be associated with animal shapes, especially a lion shape. For example, the garden Cave Heaven made of Rocks (*Juanshi dongtian* 卷石洞天) in Yangzhou contained the rockwork Mountain of Nine Lions (*Jiushi shan* 九狮山), the Jichang Garden (*Jichang yuan* 寄畅园) in Wuxi contained the rockwork Platform of Nine Lions (*Jiushi tai* 九狮台) and the Qinghui Garden (*Qinghui yuan* 清晖园) in Shunde contained the rockwork Three Lions Playing with a Ball (*Sanshi xiqiu* 三狮戏球). However, neither Chen Congzhou nor Zhu Jiang mentioned the remaining rockwork looking like lions before the conservation took place; their sketch and photos are also not clear enough to show the association with lions. There could be two possibilities to explain why the remaining rockwork no longer looked like lions. First, the descriptions could be a reflection of the authors’ imagination. Second, the rockwork might have been repaired and modified by the contemporaneous or earlier owners; indeed, the owner of the Mountain House in the later nineteenth century, Wu Huimo, had repaired and renovated the garden.⁵⁰³ But if the rockwork looked like lions when it was originally established, it would indicate that Shitao was not the craftsman involved because in the *Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon*, Shitao mentioned he would learn from peculiar peaks from real mountains and suggested depicting mountains with changeable structures and features.⁵⁰⁴ This is different from constructing zoomorphic rockwork.

None of the historical sources described the structure of the rockwork. But according to the remains, caves are an important characteristic of this rockwork. As illustrated in Figure 6-5, both the west and east side have caves: the east part has a narrow and winding cave, while the west part has a cave attached to the wall which was constructed with bricks. Although made of bricks,

⁵⁰¹ Cai Shuzhuan, ‘Survey Form of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (Mountain House of Sliced Stones)’, 18 February 1966.

⁵⁰² See the original sentence ‘嵌太湖石做九狮图’, in Ying Jiexiu, and Yan Duanshu, *Extended Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture*, p.300; Xie Yangeng, Liu Shouzeng, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period* (1884), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-330(p.193).

⁵⁰³ Xie Yangeng, Liu Shouzeng, *Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period* (1884), in *Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compilation of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu*, pp.1-330(p.193).

⁵⁰⁴ Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of Painting by Shih T’ao*, pp.126; also see, Shitao, *Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon*, annotated by Wu Danqing, pp.149-158.

the cave on the west part of the rockwork in the Mountain House is much different from those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The examples in the Qiao Garden and Gazing Garden are linear and winding, and have arched ceilings; the one in the Mountain House is more like two actual rooms connected together, as the internal space is cubic with a flat ceiling. Making caves with bricks is actually rare in rockwork construction from the Qing Dynasty, at least very rare in existing Qing gardens. The brick caves here might be constructed to support the tall and pointed peak, and the plants on the top. According to Chen Congzhou's sketch (Fig.6-4), the brick-constructed cave was exposed in the 1960s, as the rocks used to cover it dropped off and disappeared.

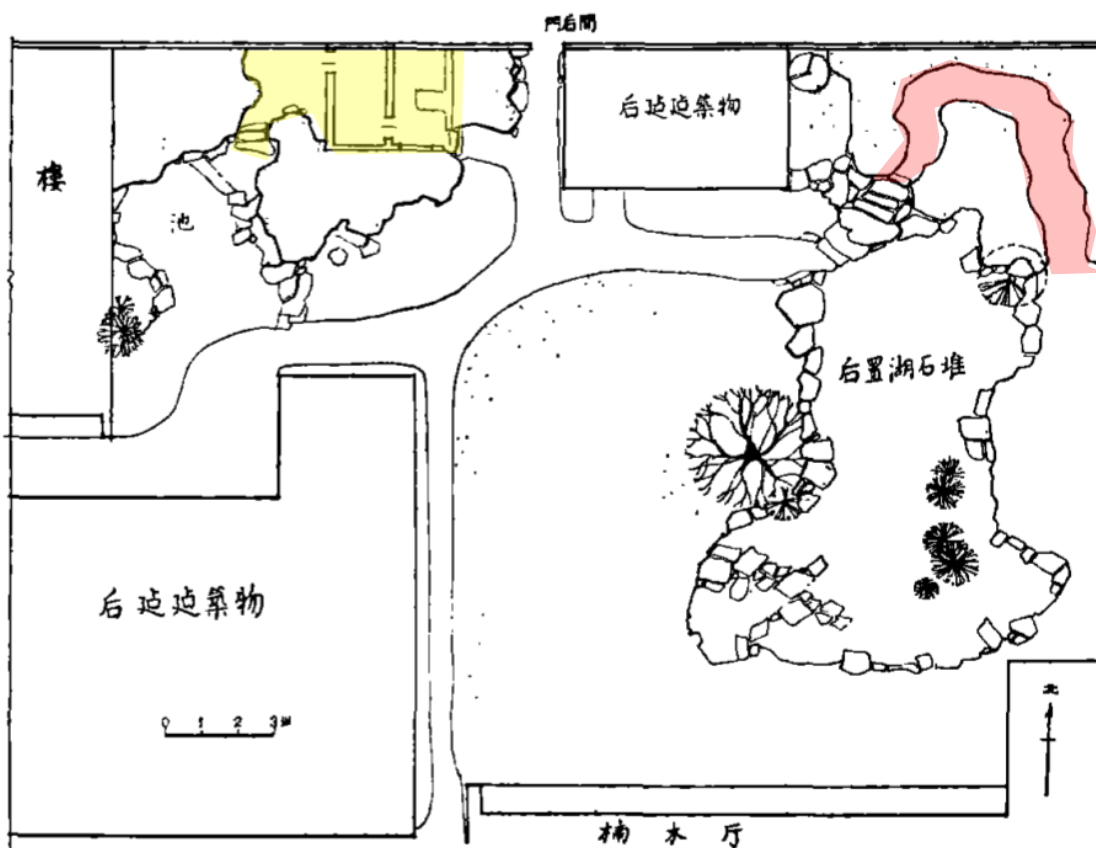


Figure 6-5. Caves in the remaining rockwork of the Mountain House. The rectangular cave made of rocks is shown in the yellow area and the winding cave made of rocks is shown in the red area. It was drawn by Chen Congzhou in the 1960s, before the garden and rockwork were restored. (Source: Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones-Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20 (p. 19).)

Overall, the exploration of the historical sources and the survey findings helped to reveal the changes to the garden, including the transformation of the pond, the loss of some garden features and the damage to the rockwork. Despite the damage and changes, part of the historical layout and some key features of the Mountain House still existed, such as the Nanmu

Hall, the pond and the rockwork which is also a Precipitous Mountain. Before the major conservation project took place in the 1980s, only part of the rockwork remained. The west section was relatively better preserved, as the main peak, the cave and the revetment existed. The lower part of the main peak was found to have a holey surface with gaps between the rocks, which was a typical characteristic of rockworks constructed in the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The east section had been recently extended and part of it had collapsed where a new building was constructed. Due to the fact that some parts of the rockwork were damaged and had disappeared, and the historical sources are not detailed enough, it is hard to recover the appearance of the whole rockwork, especially the vanished part. The pond adjacent to the rockwork was also transformed, and the size was dramatically reduced. But with the findings of digging *in-situ*, the historical edge of the pond was found which would make for the conservation works easier.

6.3 Conservation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

After the last garden owner Yin Rugeng was arrested in the 1940s, the He Garden was taken by the government. The garden was then occupied by various user groups, including schools, the army and research institutions. Afterwards, the Mountain House was separated from the rest of the He Garden, and therefore, later they were restored separately. In order to distinguish them, the rest of the He Garden is referred to as the Jixiao Villa in this section, as it was the original garden of He Zhidao when he gave it the name 'Jixiao Villa'. Being separated, the conservation of the Mountain House took place later than the Jixiao Villa. Although it was protected and repaired in the 1960s after Chen Congzhou's survey, the large-scale conservation treatment of the Mountain House started at the end of the 1980s. This process intended to bring the damaged features back to their original appearance. Since then, the garden has been restored and sometimes repaired. The most recent phase of conservation took place in the 2010s, when some collapsed features were repaired. During the entire conservation process, extensive discussions and research took place prior to the actual construction works. This section is going to explore the treatment that was taken for the conservation of the Mountain House, especially its rockwork. The findings can further help to evaluate the conservation procedures and approaches.

6.3.1 First phase of conservation, 1960s

In the early 1960s, the Mountain House was repaired; but the rockwork had been slightly modified during the process. Similar to most historical gardens, this garden was damaged and

changed in the mid-twentieth century, affected by the Second Sino-Japanese War and the change of ownership after the implementation of communism.⁵⁰⁵ As explored in Chapter Three, wide-ranging surveys of historical architecture and gardens took place across the country during the 1950s and 1960s, so as to record the condition and benefit the later conservation. Together with other gardens in Yangzhou, the Mountain House of Sliced Stones was surveyed.⁵⁰⁶ According to Chen Congzhou's survey, the layout was dramatically changed, old features were severely damaged and modern features were imposed upon this historical garden. Thus, the garden received treatment from the Construction Team of the Yangzhou Bureau of Municipal Construction (*Yangzhou shi chengjian ju gongchengdui* 扬州市城建局工程队) in 1962. During this process, the rockwork was repaired and reinforced. However, gaps between rocks, which were possibly a characteristic that conformed to the trend of the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were filled with rocks and concrete and joints between rocks were repointed with concrete.⁵⁰⁷ By applying modern materials and approaches, the original technique and appearance were changed.

After the simple treatment in 1962, the rockwork and building were reinforced and rescued from further collapse. However, the garden was still in a poor condition. According to the 'Survey Form of Cultural Relics' and the schematic map produced by the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhou shi wenguan hui* 扬州市文管会) in 1966, the Mountain House was occupied by the No.10 Research Institute.⁵⁰⁸ It was used as a courtyard, surrounded by the Institute's dormitory, clinic and kindergarten (Fig. 6-6). The garden wall on the north, to which the rockwork is attached, was opened in the middle and became the gate of the kindergarten behind. The Nanmu Hall was locked up and neglected. Apart from the condition, the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics also investigated the history and evaluated the condition of the site. Although aware of Chen Congzou's paper and argument, the Commission did not draw a clear conclusion on the identity of the rockwork craftsman. At that time, they only mentioned that Shitao might be the creator, based on the description in *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*; but the Commission also stated it was not certain as there were no reliable and valid sources. The only conclusion they drew was that the rockwork was well constructed and had aesthetic and historic values. In terms of the condition, the assessment

⁵⁰⁵ Janet Salaff, 'The Urban Communes and Anti-city Experiment in Communist China', in *The China Quarterly*, 29(1967), pp.82-110.

⁵⁰⁶ Chen Congzhou, 'The Mountain House of Sliced Stones- Rockwork Piled Up by Shitao', in *Cultural Relics*, 2(1962), pp.18-20; Zhu Jiang, *The Review of Yangzhou Gardens*, p. 210.

⁵⁰⁷ Cai Shuzhuan, 'Survey Form of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (Mountain House of Sliced Stones)', 18 February 1966.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

result shows that 'the original appearance of the rockwork has changed and reinstatement is impossible; it had lost its original aesthetic value'.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ See the original sentence '假山改变原貌，无法恢复。失去了原有艺术价值', in *Ibid.*

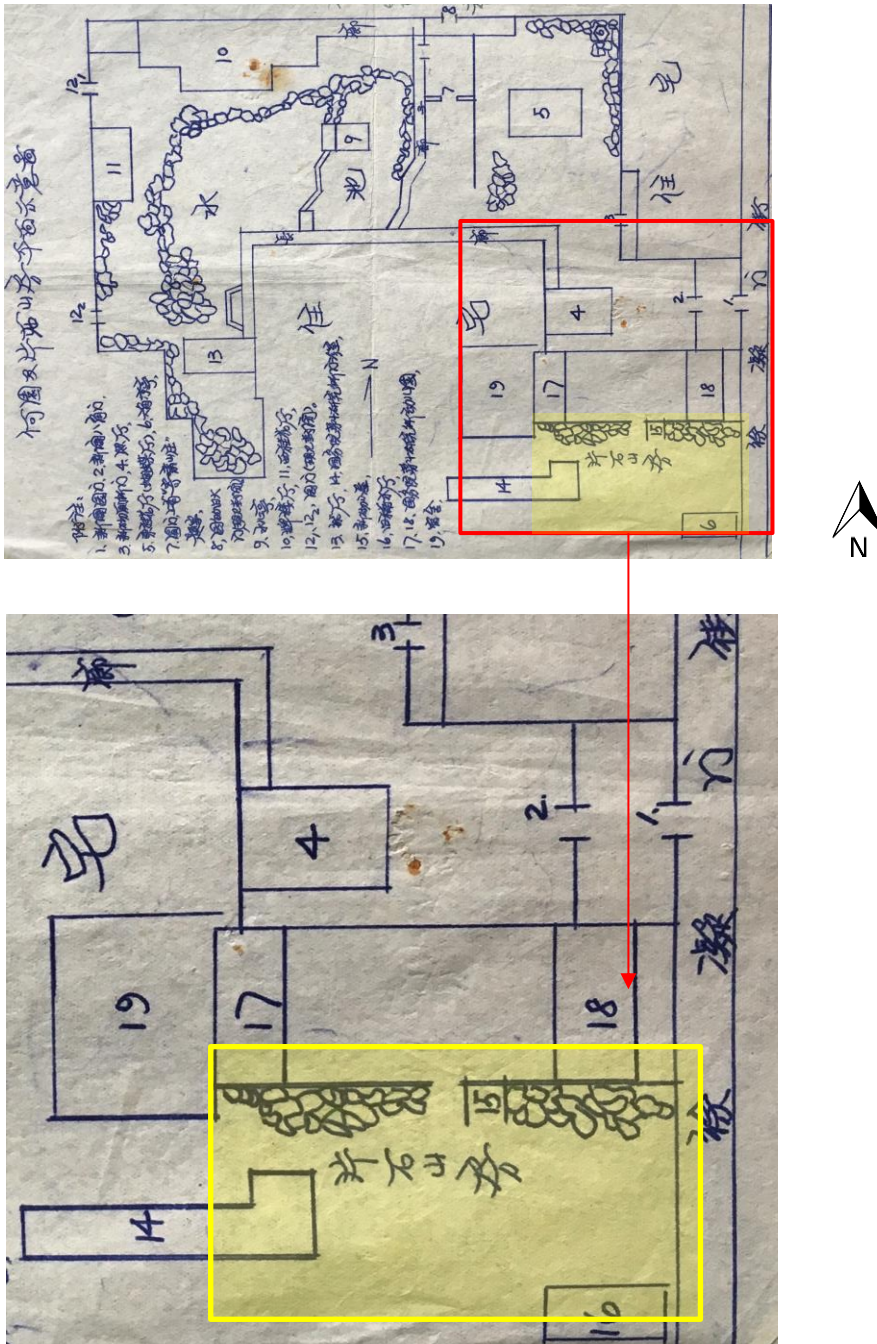


Figure 6-6. Schematic map of the Jixiao Villa and the Mountain House, 25 February 1966. The Mountain House area is marked with yellow colour, and the remaining area was belonging to Jixiao Villa. Numbered labels in the maps: 14. Clinic of the No.10 Research Institute; 15. Newly constructed cottage; 16. Old Nanmu Hall; 17 and 18. Kindergarten of the No.10 Research Institute; 19. Dormitory of the No.10 Research Institute. (Source: He yuan pianshi shanfang pingmian shiyu tu 何园片石山房平面示意图 [Schematic Map of the He Garden and the Mountain House of Sliced Stones], 25 February 1966, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban 扬州文物局文管办).) North arrow added by thesis author.

Later, during the Cultural Revolution, user groups in these two gardens changed; but they were still occupied by factories and institutes and poorly maintained.⁵¹⁰ When the Cultural Revolution ended, the conservation of the Jixiao Villa soon took place. Occupiers like the radio factory were moved out from the property, and the Landscape Management Division (*Yuanlin guanli chu* 园林管理处) restored and renovated the garden part. The Jixiao Villa was then opened to the public in 1979, and nominated as a Historical and Cultural Site Protected at Provincial Level (*Shengji wenwu baohu danwei* 省级文物保护单位) in 1982. Although the site was referred to as the He Garden in the records of Historical and Cultural Sites, it did not include the Mountain House until 1985.⁵¹¹

6.3.2 Second phase of conservation, 1980s

After the Mountain House and the old residential buildings were returned by the No.10 Research Institute, the Landscape Management Division of Yangzhou started to plan their restoration. The preparation and conservation lasted from 1985 to 1989. Once the restoration was completed in 1989, the Mountain House became included in the He Garden again, and opened to the public. The 1980's conservation was the largest scale conservation for this garden so far. In order to integrate the Mountain House into the renovated He Garden and open it to the public, this restoration project aimed to repair the damaged and neglected features and bring them back to life while retaining the original characteristics and style.⁵¹²

The procedure for the conservation of the Mountain House basically involved four steps: 1. Intentional plan; 2. Research and draft plan; 3. Discussion; 4. Final plan and conservation. When the intentional plan was made, the Landscape Management Division, the implementer of

⁵¹⁰ Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. (*Yangzhoushi jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan youxian gongsi* 扬州市建筑设计研究院有限公司), 'Disapian heyuan pianshishanfang quyu weixiu yu baohu zhengzhi gongcheng 第三篇 何园片石山房区域维修与保护整治工程 [Chapter Three the Repair and Conservation Project of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones in the He Garden]', in 'Dayunhe—Yangzhou yanze lishi yiji baohu gongcheng 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou]', held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵¹¹ Landscape Management Division of Yangzhou (*Yangzhoushi yuanlin guanlichu* 扬州市园林管理处), 'Jiangsusheng wenwu baohu danwei(he yuan) 江苏省文物保护单位(何园) [Registration Form of Historical and Cultural Site Protected at Provincial Level (He Garden)]', January 1982, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办); Landscape Management Division of Yangzhou (*Yangzhoushi yuanlin guanlichu* 扬州市园林管理处), 'Guanyu qingqiu pibo pianshishanfang xiufu jinfei de baogao 关于请求批拨片石山房修复经费的报告 [Report on Requesting Funding for the Restoration of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones]', 29th July 1985 (Document no.: 扬园(85)园字第 037 号), held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵¹² Landscape Management Division of Yangzhou, 'Report on Requesting Funding for the Restoration of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones', 29th July 1985.

the conservation project, valued the garden for its rockwork and the Nanmu Hall. The former was considered as designed and constructed by Shitao; he was even mentioned as a late Ming artist who once lived in this garden. The Nanmu Hall was also judged as a Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) creation. Due to the limited records available, it is not clear how the conclusion was drawn.⁵¹³ But it is likely the comments on the craftsman and the date of construction were only assumptions without valid historical evidence. For example, it is certain that Shitao was born in 1642 and active as an artist in the early Qing Dynasty; it is not reasonable to consider him as a Ming artist. Actually, the 1966 'Survey Form of Cultural Relics' created by Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics only recorded that the rockwork had aesthetic values and was possibly Shitao's work.⁵¹⁴ Apart from the assessment of values, the intentional plan also included the conservation principles, a rough conservation plan and the budget report. Retaining the original design style and restoring the original appearance was the principle, which conformed to the requirement of 'keeping the cultural relics in their original state [during their repair and maintenance]' in the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics* (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法; hereafter *Law* [1982]).⁵¹⁵ To be more specific, for the Mountain House, they planned to repair and renovate the Nanmu Hall, restore the historical rockwork, the pond and the waterside pavilion on the north side; the waterside pavilion targeted for restoration might be the half pavilion on the northwest side of the pond, where some ruins of a pavilion-like structure were found.⁵¹⁶ Reconstructed rockwork and structures, such as the covered walkways, the stone bridge, the half pavilion and plants, were planned for construction on the south side of the Nanmu Hall. As a brief and intentional plan, how the severely damaged rockwork would be restored to the original appearance was not explained despite it being considered as unable to be reinstated in the 1960s.

Based on the intentional plan, the conservation project was developed and moved on to the second stage. The second stage was led by Wu Zhaozhao 吴肇钊, the landscape architect from the Yangzhou Bureau of Landscape (*Yangzhoushi yuanlin guanliju* 扬州市园林管理局). It

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Cai Shuzhuan, 'Survey Form of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province (Mountain House of Sliced Stones)', 18 February 1966.

⁵¹⁵ National People's Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 14, in *Zhongguo wang* 中国网 [China.org.cn] <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>>[accessed 27 Jul 2016].

⁵¹⁶ Wu Zhaozhao, The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, p.4.

included the investigation and research into the history and condition of the site, and the creation of the conservation plan. By investigating historical sources, the basic layout of the garden and the style of the rockwork were revealed. It was concluded that the garden was centred on a pond, with rockwork to the north and Nanmu Hall to the south; the remaining peak on the west was the main peak and the rockwork was 'peculiar and precipitous' and 'exquisite'. These are similar to the findings earlier in this chapter.

According to Wu Zhaozhao, the investigation would help to identify the values of the garden and also reveal the original appearance and style. Based on his research, Wu concluded that Shitao constructed the rockwork in the Mountain House, which was therefore considered as the key value of this garden. Consequently, the restoration of the rockwork was based on Shitao's painting. The historical sources that had been investigated were similar to those studied in section 6.1. The only one that the conservation team did not consult was the *Talking and Laughing among Flowers*, the book recording the Monk Mushan as the builder of this rockwork. Based on *Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* and *Random Jottings from Lü Garden*, Wu assumed Shitao was the builder; the hypothesis was 'confirmed' later by the results of Wu's analysis. In order to verify the hypothesis and explore the possible features of the original rockwork, Shitao's painting and texts were studied during the second stage; the rockwork was then believed to accord with Shitao's works. The 'You huayangshan tu 游华阳山图 [Painting of Travelling in Huayang Mountain]' and 'Zhuoranlu tuzhou 卓然庐图轴 [Scroll of Outstanding Cottage]' were two of Shitao's paintings that had been taken to compare with the remaining rockwork. As we can see in the paintings, the mountains that Shitao depicted normally have a tall main peak (Fig. 6-7); this is also mentioned in his text: Shitao once commented that one peak should stand out from the continuous mountains.⁵¹⁷ According to the sketches of the remaining peak by Wu Zhaozhao (Fig.6-8) and Chen Congzhou (Fig.6-4), the rockwork in the Mountain House also has a tall main peak, which has a similar appearance to those in Shitao's landscape paintings. Since Shitao also mentioned emptiness and reality by stating 'there can also be inward vacancy and outward solidity', Wu believed the construction of caves inside rockwork was the implementation of this opinion.⁵¹⁸ However, this sentence is the description about brushwork rather than the structure of a mountain or rockwork. The outwardly solid brushwork, described

⁵¹⁷ See the sentence '一峰突起,连冈断壑,变幻顷刻', in *Collections of Painting Treatises*, p.323.

⁵¹⁸ See the sentence of '亦有内空而外实者', in Shitao, *Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon*, annotated by Wu Danqing, p.168 ; English translation from Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of Painting by Shih-T'ao*, p. 128.

by Shitao was common but reflected a lack of spiritual reality.⁵¹⁹ Shitao also mentioned that skilful artists would have inwardly real and outwardly transparent brushwork.⁵²⁰

The last similarity Wu found was the creation of a waterfall. In many of Shitao's landscape paintings, a waterfall can be found on the main peak (see red block in Fig.6-7); although there was clearly no waterfall on the remaining rockwork, Wu considered the stone steps as an attempt and alternative for a waterfall, which can also lead water and form a flow while raining (Fig.6-8). Based on these similarities, the hypothesis was considered as 'validated'; Shitao was therefore believed to be the craftsman of this rockwork. But the argument was not very convincing. Even if the remaining rockwork appeared similar to Shitao's painting, it can still be a construction inspired by the paintings; not enough evidence was listed to support the argument that Shitao actually participated in the construction process.

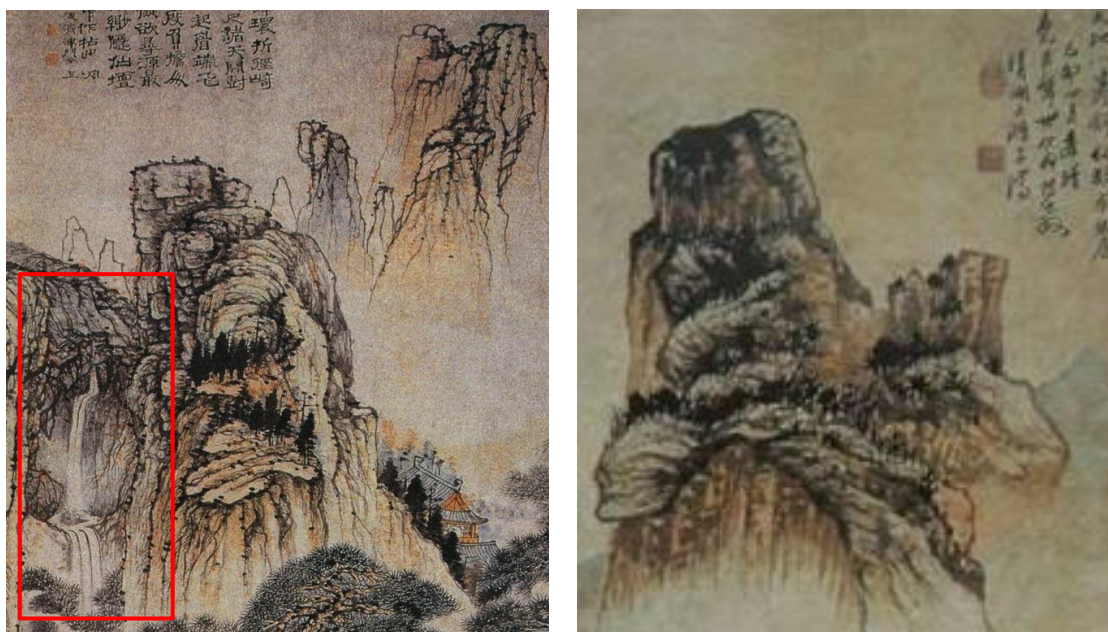


Figure 6-7. Left, part of the 'You huayangshan tu 游华阳山图 [Painting of Travelling in Huayang Mountain]', by Shitao, undated; a waterfall can be found within the red frame; right, part of the 'Zhuoranlu tuzhou 卓然庐图轴 [Scroll of Outstanding Cottage]', by Shitao, 1699. (Source: Shanghai Museum.)

⁵¹⁹ Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of painting by Shih-T'ao*, p.80.

⁵²⁰ See the sentence '善操运者·内实而外空', in Shitao, *Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon*, annotated by Wu Danqing, p.168; English translation from Earle J. Coleman, *Philosophy of painting by Shih-T'ao*, p. 128.



Figure 6-8. Sketch of the remaining peak on the rockwork of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, depicted by Wu Zhaozhao 吴肇钊. (Source: Wu Zhaozhao 吴肇钊, 'Shitao de renjianguben—pianshi shanfang yanjiu yu xiufu sheji 石涛的'人间孤本'-片石山房研究与修复设计 [The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones]', November 1988, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban 扬州文物局文管办).)

Based on his conclusion, Wu Zhaozhao further studied Shitao's paintings and texts to inspire the restoration work in order to reinstate the original style and characteristics. According to Shitao's texts in *Dialogue on Painting of the Monk Bitter Melon* and inscriptions on paintings, Wu learnt that mountain and water should be integrated with each other; when drawing mountains, there should be the main peak dominating the landscape, with some lower mountain ranges to the side and subordinate to the main peak; the *cun* (皴), or the textures of mountains, created by brushstrokes, should be in one direction. From the paintings, Wu summarised the common look of the stone steps, mountain range, embankment and stepping stones depicted by Shitao (Fig.6-9). The design of the restored garden and rockwork came out as a result. From Figure 6-10 to Figure 6-12, it is clear that the draft plan basically followed the intentional plan. The rockwork

was restored with the remaining peak as the dominant peak; the curved revetment with rocky shores and stepping stones were designed to integrate the rockwork and water. The disappeared pond was reconstructed and extended to the south. The half pavilion was reconstructed, and Nanmu Hall was renovated and new buildings were planned to be constructed.



Figure 6-9. The facsimile of stepping stones and embankment from Shitao's paintings, depicted by Wu Zhaozhao 吴肇钊. (Source: Wu Zhaozhao, 'The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones', held by the Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau.)

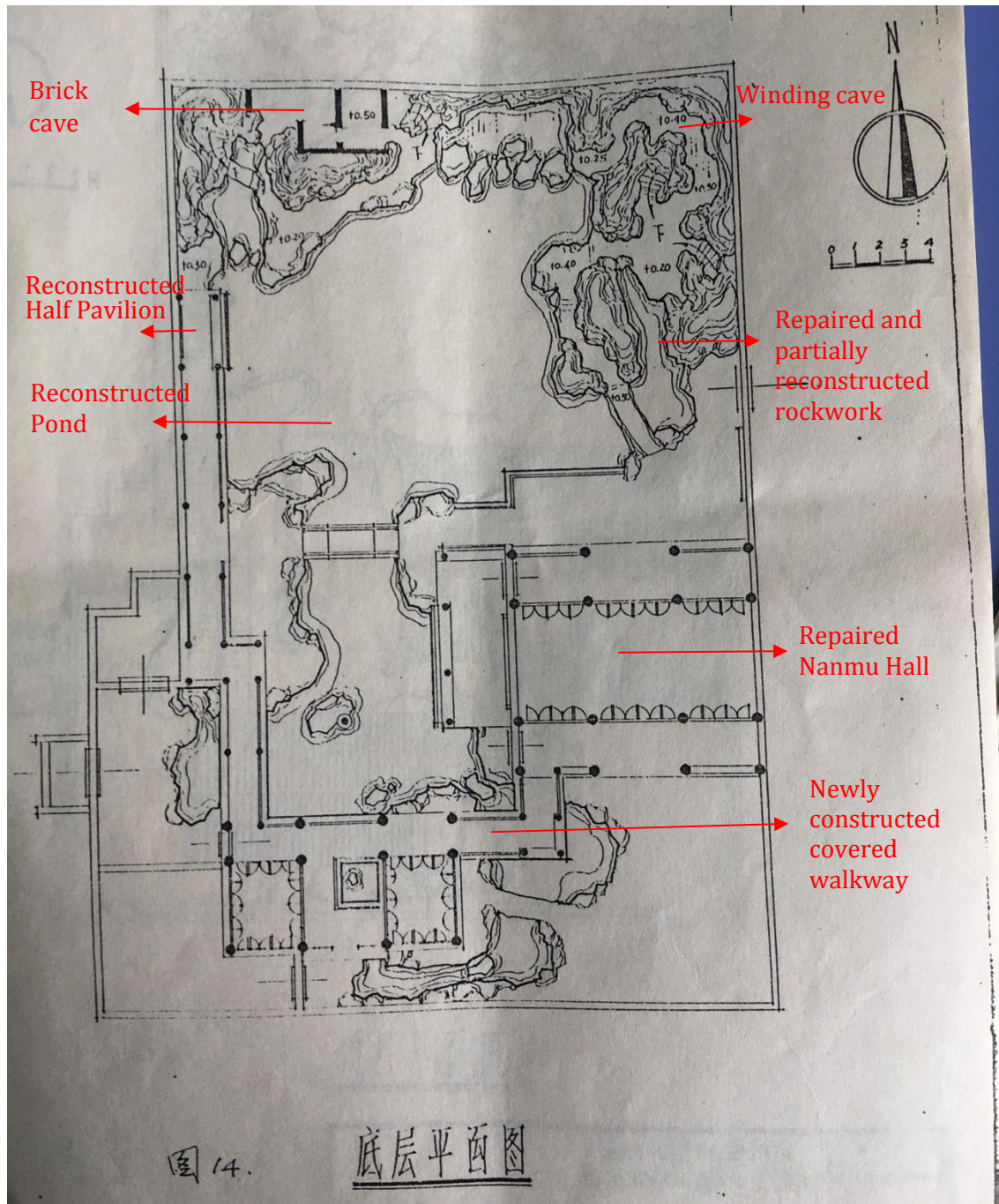


Figure 6-10. Draft restoration plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones (ground level). (Source: Wu Zhaozhao, 'The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones', held by the Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau.)



Figure 6-11. Draft restoration design of the northern part of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones. (Source: Wu Zhaozhao, 'The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones', held by the Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau.)

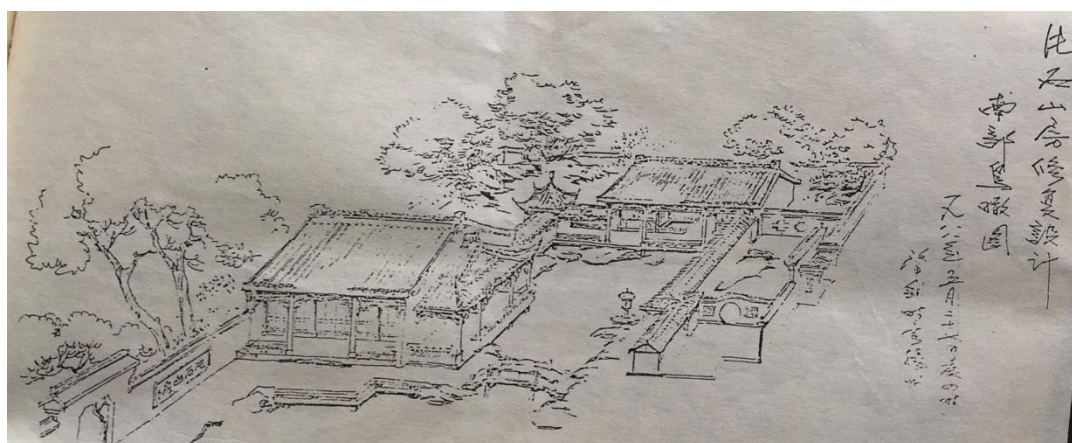


Figure 6-12. Draft restoration design of the southern part of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones. (Source: Wu Zhaozhao, 'The Unique Work of Shitao – the Research and Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones', held by the Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau.)

Before the construction took place, the draft conservation proposal and plan were reviewed: several discussion seminars were held, and several groups of academics, landscape architects and officials participated. According to the minutes of these seminars, most of the participants agreed with the conclusion of the second stage and believed the garden should be valued for the rockwork constructed by Shitao.⁵²¹ An official in Yangzhou even stated ‘Yangzhou should not deny that Shitao constructed the rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones’.⁵²² Only one of them, a landscape architect from the Landscape Research Institute of Nanjing (*Nanjing yuanlin keyansuo* 南京园林科研所), mentioned about Cao Xun and his disagreement on Shitao’s ability in rockwork construction; and he suggested discussions with Cao Xun before starting the restoration. However, it was not agreed by others; the final result also shows this suggestion was not taken.

While the research on the history and paintings was appreciated, most of the comments paid attention to the draft design itself. In terms of rockwork, there were both reasonable and inappropriate suggestions. Some of them emphasised the retention of original materials; they suggested continuing to use Taihu Rocks for the rockwork and sticky rice mortar for the brick caves. One of them mentioned that the local identity and the characteristics of Yangzhou gardens and rockwork should be retained, but no precise advice was provided. There was also attention paid to the authenticity of the conservation proposal. An official proposed checking the foundation of the remaining rockwork in order to confirm that the remaining western peak was the main and tallest peak. Technically speaking, the depth and size of the foundations are proportional to the rockwork; within one set of rockwork, the foundation under the largest and heaviest section would be deeper.⁵²³

Inappropriate suggestions can also be found in the minutes of seminars.⁵²⁴ One of them considered the brick caves to be lacking aesthetic values. But in fact, considering the location, it should be an original feature in this rockwork and it is likely to be constructed to support the structures above. Moreover, as argued in previous chapters, constructing caves with brick walls was common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and an important characteristic for

⁵²¹ ‘Pianshi shanfang xiufu fang’an taolun huiyi jiyao’ 片石山房“修复方案讨论会议纪要” [Collected Minutes of the Seminars on the Discussion of Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones], 1988-1989, held Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵²² See the original sentence “‘片石山房’是否系石涛的作品，扬州不应否定”，in *Ibid*.

⁵²³ Wang Jingtao 王劲韬, ‘Zhongguo huangjia yuanlin dieshan yanjiu 中国皇家园林叠山研究 [Study on Rockery of Chinese Imperial Gardens]’ (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Qinghua daxue, 2009), pp.186-193.

⁵²⁴ ‘Collected Minutes of the Seminars on the Discussion of Restoration Plan of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones’, 1988-1989.

rockworks of that period. Another comment made on the materials was about the size of rocks: Chen Congzhou stated that large-size rocks should be used for the restoration instead of small ones. Although the use of small-size rocks was indeed common in Yangzhou gardens, Chen Congzhou considered it a defect in Yangzhou rockwork. However, in some of his publications, he had actually explained that the use of small size rocks was related to the nature of the location of Yangzhou.⁵²⁵ Yangzhou is not a source of garden rocks, but the river traffic was flourishing as it is connected by the Grand Canal as well as the Yangtze River. So, people in the past were able to transport various types of rocks to Yangzhou, but the sizes were small due to the difficulties and the high cost of transportation. The Ge Garden (*Ge yuan* 个园) was a typical example of Yangzhou gardens, in which four types of rocks in small sizes were used for the creation of four sets of rockworks. Therefore, the small size rocks are a specific characteristic of Yangzhou rockwork, and they should not be considered a defect but a characteristic of the authentic fabric.

After the discussion seminars, the plan was further adjusted and developed, and the restoration and reconstruction finally took place in 1989. Figures 6-13 and 6-14 show the site before and after the treatment. The east side of rockwork had been restored and expanded; the winding cave inside was retained but the exterior structure and appearance were changed (Fig.6-13). The destroyed part in the middle was reconstructed, while the remaining peak was repaired with minor changes. (Fig.6-14). Although the final conservation proposal and plan were not found, we can still tell from the appearance of the restoration that some of the advice, both reasonable and inappropriate, was followed. As suggested, 540 tons of Taihu Rocks were obtained and used to retain consistency with the original material.⁵²⁶ But the sizes of the rocks incorporated in the new construction are much larger than the old ones, which was probably a result of Chen Congzhou's comments in the discussion. As shown in Figure 6-15, many of the new rocks are about one metre long or even longer; most of the old rocks, such as those in the main peak, are around half a metre long and many are even smaller.

⁵²⁵ Chen Congzhou, 'Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings', in *Social Science Front*, 3(1978), pp.207-223.

⁵²⁶ 'Pianshishanfang xiufu gongcheng gaisuan 片石山房修复工程概算 [Budgetary Estimates of the Restoration of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones]', undated, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).



Figure 6-13. The rockwork at the north east corner, before (left, taken in 1989) and after (right, taken in 2000) the restoration. (Source: Administration Office of He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处), 'Heyuan jianzhu Lülibiao (pianshi shanfang jiashan xiujian Lülibiao) 何园建筑履历表 (片石山房假山修建履历表) [Resume of Buildings in He Garden (Resume of the Conservation of the Rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones)]', held by the Administration Office of He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处).)

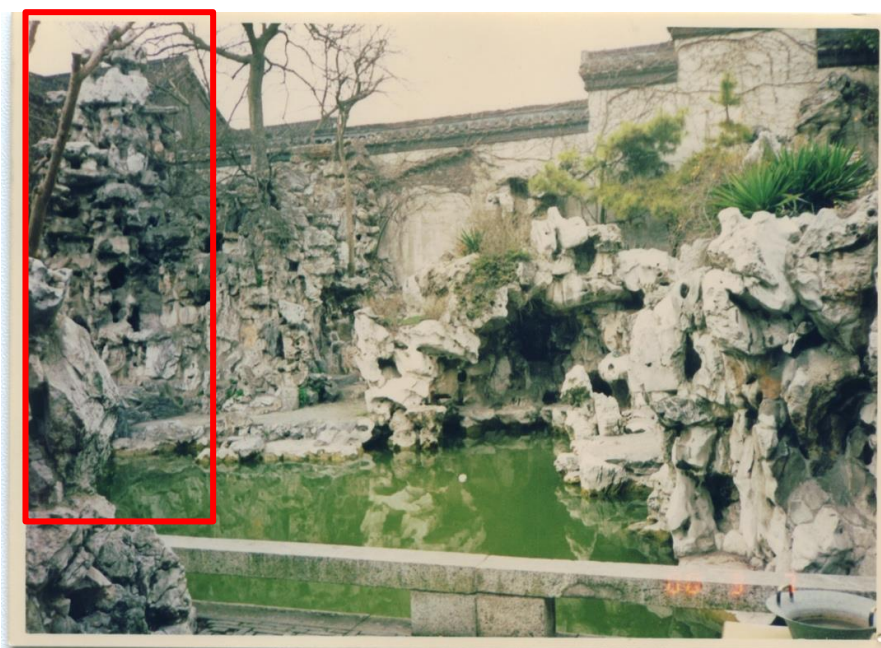


Figure 6-14. The north and northwest side of the restored rockwork, photo taken in 2000. The red frame shows the remaining peak. (Source: Administration Office of He Garden, 'Resume of Buildings in He Garden (Resume of the Conservation of the Rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones)', held by the Administration Office of He Garden)



Figure 6-15. Newly constructed rockwork added to the east side of the rockwork. Comparing them with the size of people working on site, it is clear that the rocks used for restoration are about one metre long or longer. Photo taken in 1989. (Source: Administration Office of He Garden, 'Resume of Buildings in He Garden (Resume of the Conservation of the Rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones)', held by the Administration Office of He Garden)

6.3.3 Third phase of conservation, 2010s

In the early twenty-first century, there was a wave of renovating and restoring historical sites and gardens in Yangzhou. This was directly affected by the world heritage application of China's Grand Canal, which was nominated as a World Heritage Site in 2014. The preparation for the application started in 2006, when the Grand Canal was relisted in the 'Tentative List of World Heritage Sites in China'. The State Ministry of Culture (*Wenhua bu* 文化部) and governments at all levels issued a series of policies to protect the Grand Canal.⁵²⁷ Among all the cities connected

⁵²⁷ Ministry of Culture of People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenhuabu* 中华人民共和国文化部), *Dayunhe yichan baohu guanli banfa* 大运河遗产保护管理办法 [Administrative Measures for the Protection of Grand Canal Heritage], 2012 (Document no.: 文化部令第 54 号); People's Government of Jiangsu (*Jiangsu sheng renmin zhengfu* 江苏省人民政府), 'Shengzhengfu guanyu jinyibu jiaqiang wenwu gongzuo de ruogan yijian' 省政府关于进一步加强文物工作的若干意见 [Provincial Government's Suggestions on Further Strengthening the Conservation of Cultural Relics], 2012 (Document no.: 苏政发〔2012〕54 号); People's Government of Jiangsu (*Jiangsu sheng renmin zhengfu* 江苏省人民政府), 'Shengzhengfu bangongting guanyu jiaqiang dayunhe (jiangsu duan) yichan baohu he guanli gongzuo de yijian' 省政府办公厅关于加大大运河(江苏段)遗产保护和管理工作的意见 [Provincial Government's Suggestions on Further Strengthening the Conservation and Management of the Grand Canal (Jiangsu Section)], 2013 (Document no.: 苏政发〔2013〕159 号); City Alliance for the Protection of the Grand Canal and the Nomination as a World Heritage Site (*Dayunhe baohu yu shenyi chengshi lianmeng* 大运河保护与申遗城市联盟), *Dayunhe baohu yu shenyi chengshi lianmeng guanyu dayunhe yichan de lianhe xieding* 大运河保护与申遗城市联盟关于保护大运河遗产的联合协定 [The Association Agreement on the Protection of Grand Canal, by City Alliance for the Protection of Grand Canal and the Nomination of World Heritage Site], 2012, in *Zhongguo*

by the canal, Yangzhou was selected as the representative and led the application work with the Joint Office for the Nomination of World Heritage Site of the Grand Canal (*Dayunhe lianhe shenyi bangongshi* 大运河联合申遗办公室) being located in Yangzhou. This was transformed into the Conservation and Management Office for the Grand Canal Cultural Heritage (*Dayunhe yichan baohu guanli bangongshi* 大运河遗产保护管理办公室) after the nomination.

During the preparation for application, not only was the canal itself well protected, but also the ‘associated historical remains and historical areas, and relevant landscape’.⁵²⁸ Salt trading was a key function of the Grand Canal in the past. Thus, within this context, the Mountain House and other sites in Yangzhou related to salt trading were considered as ‘associated heritage’ (*Bansheng lishi yicun* 伴生历史遗存). In order to protect them and improve the conservation state, the Yangzhou government launched the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of Salt Trading in Yangzhou (*Yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 盐业历史遗迹保护工程), as a part of the preparation for the application for World Heritage Site status for the Grand Canal. This project included the renovation and restoration of several salt merchants’ gardens, such as the He Garden and the Mountain House, the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, and the Ge Garden. The process of the project included the formulation of conservation principles, the assessment of values and conservation state, the formulation of conservation frameworks and approaches and the calculation of budgets.⁵²⁹

Receiving the new funding from the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou, the Mountain House was repaired in 2012. In the conservation proposal of this project, the Mountain House was still recognised and valued as the only surviving rockwork created by Shitao. Although benefiting the Mountain House in many ways, the repair brought a new issue to the historic rockwork which destroyed the style of the whole garden. Before the treatment took place, the rockwork had safety issues as some rocks were tottering as the jointing gap started to crack: possibly caused by the trees that were grown on the rockwork. During the conservation in the 1980s, some trees were added to the restored rockwork, as can be seen in Figures 6-13 and 6-14. Additionally, the south part of the rocky revetment inclined towards the pond; and the paint on the buildings was flaking. Therefore, these features received conservation treatments: Rockwork and the collapsed revetment were repaired and

dayunhe yichan jiance xinxi wang 中国大运河遗产检测信息网 [Information Website for Inspection of the Chinese Grand Canal Heritage]<http://www.grand-canal.org.cn/en/images/flfg/flfg_dfx_01.pdf> [accessed 9 Jul 2016].

⁵²⁸ See the original sentence ‘各类伴生历史遗存、历史街区村镇，以及相关的环境景观’，in Article 2, in Ministry of Culture of People’s Republic of China, *Administrative Measures for the Protection of Grand Canal Heritage*, 2012.

⁵²⁹ Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd., *The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou*.

reconstructed; many plants were removed, including the large hackberry tree on the west peak; buildings were repainted. During this process, however, modern traces were added to the garden, especially the repaired revetment on the southern side of the pond. Figures 6-16 and 6-17 illustrate the garden and rockwork after the conservation in 2012. As shown in Figure 6-17, an odd and geometrical concrete bank appears after the repair. Although some rocks are put on the concrete bank, the smooth surface on the vertical side is striking in this historical garden. Traditionally, the embankment of winding ponds and streams should be constructed with crude rocks and present a ragged surface, so as to imitate the natural bank of a watercourse. In the restoration proposal of the Mountain House in the 1980s, the southern revetment was designed as rocky and rugged while the deck has straight edges (Figs.6-10 and 6-12). Wu Zhaozhao also found illustrations of a rocky revetment depicted by Shitao when studying his paintings; and Figure 6-9 shows the examples that inspired Wu's design. Thus, it is clear that the repair process in the 2010s modified the works that had been done during the restoration process in the late 1980s. Most importantly, it contained concrete and inappropriate designs that changed the traditional style. Further arguments for the traditional revetment are included in the following section 6.4.



Figure 6-16. Current northwest side of the rockwork, where the rockwork has been repointed and large trees have been removed. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 6-17. Current east and south side of the garden, where the repaired and renovated revetment can be found. (Source: author, 2013.)

6.4 Assessment and discussion of the conservation practice

According to the investigation above, the Mountain House received conservation treatment in the early 1960s, late 1980s and early 2010s. In the 1960s, the remaining features, mainly the rockwork, were briefly repaired to prevent further damage and collapse. In the 1980s, the large-scale conservation project took place, during which the whole garden was restored in order to be opened to the public: remaining features were restored and partially reconstructed, modern structures were demolished and the classic style features were added and constructed. The recent conservation treatment was in 2012 when all the damaged parts were repaired.

During the conservation, several issues appeared which greatly influenced the retention of the original state and appearance. The attribution to Shitao should be discussed first, as it is the fundamental decision that determined the direction of conservation. During the seminars prior to the conservation treatment in the 1980s, the main focus of the discussion was about the identification of the rockwork craftsman. Between two possible figures, the attribution to the well-known artist Shitao was especially supported by local politicians and experts, and seems to have been encouraged by the greater attraction for tourists rather than by real historical evidence. The historical sources and opinions that attributed the garden to the Monk Mushan, the other possible craftsman, were ignored during the discussion. As a result, since the 1980s,

the rockwork in the Mountain House was defined and promoted as the unique surviving rockwork of Shitao, and he was also defined as a skilful rockwork craftsman.

Another issue is the misunderstanding and neglecting of historical characteristics, including the use of large-size rocks and the construction of a concrete revetment with a smooth finish. When part of the rockwork in the Mountain House was reconstructed, it was suggested to avoid using small-size rocks as in other Yangzhou gardens, and the small rocks were considered as defects. Current aesthetic standards were used for the judgment of historical works, and the historical trends, standards and preferences were not taken into consideration. The modification of the revetment in the 2010s' conservation is another example. Since the traditional form of revetment was neither studied nor received attention, the repaired revetment clearly carries modern traces and became different from other parts of the Mountain House. As explored in Chapter Two, there are two general types of revetment: the smooth and straight edges for ponds with geometrical forms, and the ragged surface with crude rocks for winding and zigzagging watercourses.

The first type was a common feature in the Ming Dynasty when square ponds were frequently designed and constructed in gardens.⁵³⁰ The Longevity Pond (*Changsheng chi* 长生池) in the middle of the Youfang Garden (*Youfang yuan* 友芳园) is an example. As shown in Figure 6-18, it was in a square shape, and contained edges with a smooth finish and hand rails. This trend was changed and out of favour after the seventeenth century, when the new trend appreciated rockworks with a more natural, less artificial, appearance. Since then, most ponds were surrounded by crude rocks so as to form a ragged surface as can be found in real watercourses. Both historical paintings and existing gardens from the Qing Dynasty reveal this appearance. According to the album *Yuan ming yuan sishi jing* 圆明园四十景 [Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan], the imperial garden was dominated by a watercourse and various types of rockwork; the watercourse was winding and decorated by crude rocks when the paintings were creating in 1744 (Fig.6-19). The existing revetment in the Master of Nets Garden (*Wangshi yuan* 网师园) is a clear example from the Qing Dynasty, where the rocks became a natural connection between the buildings and the pond. In the history of the Mountain House, the pond was originally of a winding shape with rocks on the borders, and later transformed to a square pond before destruction. During the conservation in the 1980s, the pond had been reconstructed with a

⁵³⁰ Gu Kai 顾凯, 'Zhongguo gudian yuanlinshi shang de fangchi xinshang: yi mingdai Jiangnan yuanlin weili 中国古典园林史上的方池欣赏:以明代江南园林为例 [Square Ponds in Classical Chinese Gardens: Taking Ming Jiangnan Gardens as Examples]', in *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], 3(2010), pp.44-51.

winding and rocky revetment. However, this reconstructed work was changed in the recent conservation treatment. The comparison of the revetments in the Master of Nets Garden and the Mountain House strikingly demonstrates the difference and, most importantly, evidences that the recently repaired revetment did not follow the traditional appearance of winding revetments (Fig.6-20).

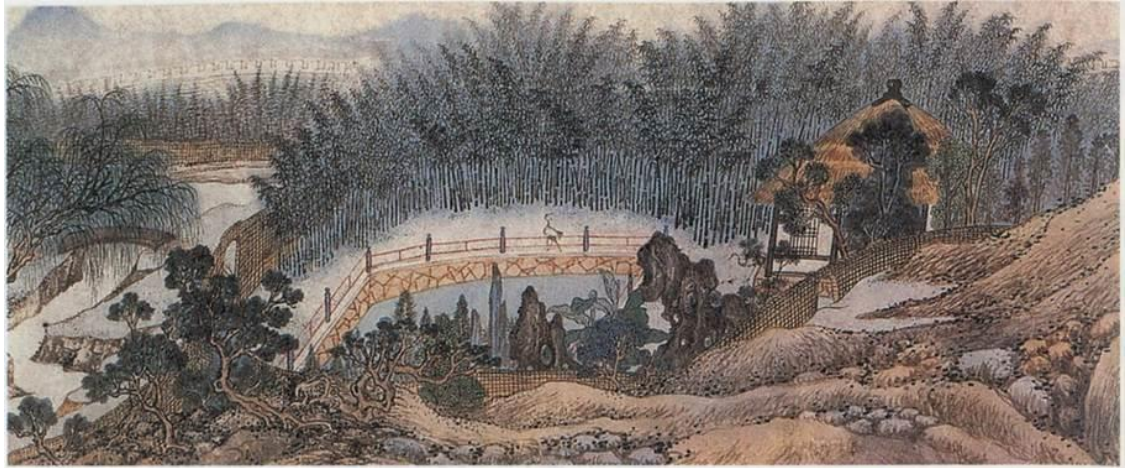


Figure 6-18. Sun Kehong 孙克弘 (ca.1532-1611), 'Changlin shiji tu 长林石几图 [The Stone Table Garden]' (part), 1572. This section of the painting shows that some bizarre rocks were displayed in rows in the Youfang Garden. (Source: Asian Art Museum in San Francisco.)

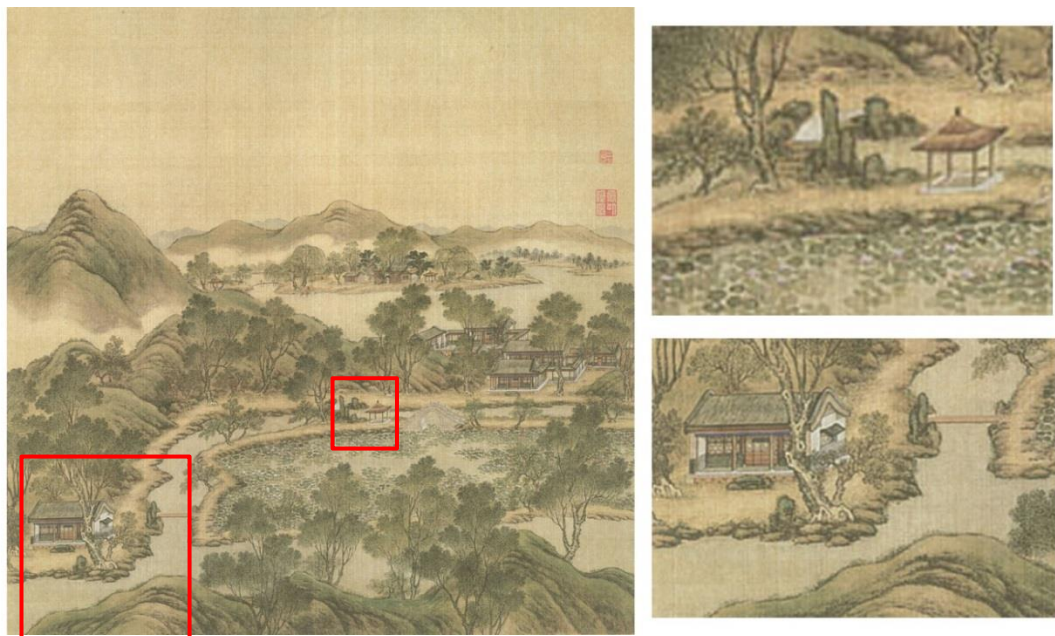


Figure 6-19. The painting of the scene of 'Duojiayun 多稼如云 [Crops as Beautiful as the Clouds]', in Shen Yuan 沈源 (1736-1795), and Tang Dai 唐岱 (1673-1752), *Yuan ming yuan sishi jing 圆明园四十景 [Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan]*, 1744 (Source: MIT Visualizing Cultures,

<http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/garden_perfect_brightness/gallery/pages/ymy1024_Duojia.htm>
[accessed 22 July 2016].)



Figure 6-20. Left, embankment in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, where the smooth surface of the concrete base is exposed. Right, embankment in the Master of Nets Garden (*Wangshi yuan* 网师园) in Suzhou; it is a historical embankment made of crude rocks. (Source: author, 2013.)

Although the issues are striking, which affected the decision-making stage and the direction of conservation are striking, there were some good aspects that can be learnt and generalised. The approach of studying and analysing Shitao's painting in the 1980s could be considered as good practice. While the attribution to Shitao was possibly encouraged by the benefit of marketing the Mountain House, Shitao's paintings were thoroughly studied. Through this process, the conservation team summarised the characteristics of the mountains he painted, and if the attribution to Shitao was correct, the research finding on the painting would be helpful and valid to reveal the possible features and characteristics of the damaged rockworks. The management of conservation records also involves some good practice: most conservation-related documents from the 1960s were archived. Since the 1960s, the Mountain House was managed and supervised by the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics, now named the Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau. Being under the control of the same department made it easier to collect all records. Although a few documents were not found in the fieldwork, it might also be possible that these documents had not been sent to the management department as required. Apart from the governmental office, the daily management sector, the Administration Office of He Garden (*Heyuan guanlichu* 何园管理处), has also set up an archive for the entire He Garden, including the Mountain House. They have kept records on the treatment of each garden feature since 2008. Although the records about the conservation process were well archived, neither office collected any historical data and materials to record the history of the Mountain House. Both the *Law* (1982, revised in 2003) and the *China Principles* (2000, revised in 2004), the applicable policies while the latest

conservation was prepared and in progress, required the archiving of relevant historical materials as well as maintenance and conservation records.⁵³¹ The commentary of the *China Principles* (2000, revised in 2004) specified five types of data that should be archived: compilations of historical documents, survey reports, files on conservation interventions and records on the inspection and management of the site.⁵³² In the case of the Mountain House, the compilations of historical documents have not been carried out.

6.5 Conclusion

During the conservation process, the rockwork in the Mountain House has been repaired and partially reconstructed. There were both adverse and beneficial practices for the retaining of the historical appearance. The most severe issue was the uncritical review of historical sources. The local politicians and experts, even today, have chosen to trust the sources which benefit their interests and help to advertise the garden. This issue indicates that the economic profits could have greatly influenced the conservation projects by leading them in a particular direction. In this case, the conservation team chose to reconstruct the features and characteristics that they believed to be important and valuable, rather than critically and objectively revealing the real characteristics which ought to be retained. With both bad and good practices, this case shows that the promoted values of a historic garden or rockwork might not be consistent with its real historic significance; nevertheless, even an unsuccessful or problematic conservation project should be thoroughly studied: issues could be avoided in future practices and good aspects should be learnt.

⁵³¹ State Council of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, revised 2003, article 11 (Document No.: 中华人民共和国国务院令 第 377 号); ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2004 (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2004), pp.76-78 (commentary 6.2).

⁵³² ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2004, pp.76-78 (commentary 6.2).

Chapter 7. Case study 4: A disappeared 'dry garden' - Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall

'Of all the moonlit nights in the world, two out of three are in Yangzhou.'⁵³³

This verse comes from the poem 'Yi yangzhou 忆扬州 [Recalling Yangzhou]', created by the Tang Dynasty poet Xu Ning 徐凝 (ca.8th-9th century). His descriptions praised the beauty of Yangzhou in a poetic way. This is the origin of the name Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall (*Erfen mingyu lou* 二分明月楼; hereafter the Bright Moon Hall), a small garden in Yangzhou.

This garden and another closely associated nineteenth century residence nearby are now collectively known as the Dwelling of the Salt Merchant Jia (*Jiashi yanshang zhuzhai* 贾氏盐商住宅). As one of the salt merchants' gardens, it also represents the salt trading culture in Yangzhou. The Jiangnan area became wealthy because of the rich resources of salt. Located at the junction of the Grand Canal with the Yangtze River, Yangzhou became an important spot for business and transport. It became the centre of salt trading and accommodated a large group of salt merchants from various origins. Thus, in 1962 the Bright Moon Hall itself was nominated as a Historical and Cultural Site Protected at Municipal Level (*Shiji wenwu baohu danwei* 市级文物保护单位). Recently, in 2013, the entire Dwelling of the Salt Merchant Jia was upgraded and nominated as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at National Level (*Quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位). However, the garden and its rockwork were still poorly maintained and severely damaged between the 1950s and the 1980s, and were inappropriately repaired and restored in the 1990s. As a result, its current features and layout show great differences compared with the original appearance.

Having major changes and limited historical records, there have been very few studies of the Bright Moon Hall. In most cases, it was mentioned in the discussion of Yangzhou gardens, and was described as a garden that used to have a strong identity. Although it is widely accepted that the appearance of this garden has greatly changed after the restoration, some scholars,

⁵³³ See the original sentence '天下三分明月夜, 三分无赖在扬州', in Xu Ning 徐凝 (ca.8th-9th century), 'Yi yangzhou 忆扬州 [Recalling Yangzhou]', in Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719), *Quan Tangshi* 全唐诗 [Complete Tang Poems] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), p. 5377; Xu Ning 徐凝 (ca.8th-9th century), 'Yi yangzhou 忆扬州 [Recalling Yangzhou]', trans. by Vibeke Børndahl, and Jette Ross, in Vibeke Børndahl, and Jette Ross, *Chinese Storytellers: Life and Art in the Yangzhou Tradition* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002), p.35.

such as Zhu Jiang 朱江, considered the current appearance 'still could be appreciated'.⁵³⁴ Some other scholars, such as Xie Mingyang 谢明洋 and Liu Xiaoming 刘晓明, found the protection and utilisation inappropriate. But Xie and Liu analysed the design of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall through its current features and layout, and only briefly mentioned the loss of values at the end of their paper.⁵³⁵ Thus, this chapter focuses on the conservation project for the garden, especially its rockwork, to reveal the issues arising in the process. By analysing the records obtained from relevant departments, it explores the changes to the garden and rockwork and further investigates the causes in order to advise future conservation works.

7.1 History and development

Existing historical information on the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall is very limited. So far, records of this garden are not found in any local gazetteers, poems and essays before the twentieth century.⁵³⁶ It is perhaps due to the garden's small size of around one-third of an acre, and the fact that it was not closely associated with well-known scholars, officials or celebrities. Therefore, it was not easy to attract enough attention in Yangzhou, a city with numerous historic gardens.

Fortunately, there is a little evidence to show it was constructed no later than early nineteenth century. The only record providing a precise date was an inscription carved on the curb stone of one of the two wells inside the garden. It says 'established by Yuan in the "apricot month" of the seventh year of Daoguang'.⁵³⁷ The 'apricot month' is an alternative name of the second lunar month, and the 'seventh year of [the reign of] Daoguang' is 1827. In accordance with this inscription, most researchers, including Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000) and Zhu Jiang 朱江, considered Yuan 员 as the first owner of the garden,⁵³⁸ which seems inadequate, as the

⁵³⁴ See the original sentence '似亦可观之矣', in Zhu Jiang 朱江, *Yangzhou yuanlin pinshanglu* 扬州园林品赏录 [The Review of Yangzhou Gardens], 3rd edn (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2002), p.224.

⁵³⁵ Xie Mingyang 谢明洋, Liu Xiaoming 刘晓明, 'Yangzhou erfen mingyuelou sheji lifa 扬州二分明月楼设计理法 [The Design Principle Study of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall in Yangzhou]', in *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 [Chinese Landscape Architecture], 12(2014), pp.113-116.

⁵³⁶ See Xie Yangeng 谢延庚 (ca.19th century), Liu Shouzheng 刘寿曾 (1838-1882), *Guangxu Jiangduxian xuzhi* 光绪江都县续志 [Extended Gazetteer of Jiangdu County in the Guangxu Period] (1884), in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng Jiangsu fuxianzhi ji* 中国地方志集成江苏府县志辑 [Collection of Chinese Gazetteers, Compiles of Gazetteers of Cities and Counties in Jiangsu], vol.67 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), pp.1-330; Ying Jiexiu 英杰修 (ca.19th century), and Yan Duanshu 晏端书 (1800-1882), *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi* 续纂扬州府志 [Extended Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture] (1874) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970).

⁵³⁷ Original sentence '道光七年杏月员置' can be seen on the curb stone of the well in the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall.

⁵³⁸ Chen Congzhou 陈从周(1918-2000), *Yangzhou yuanlin* 扬州园林 [Yangzhou Gardens] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2007); Zhu Jiang, *The Review of Yangzhou Gardens*.

inscription could be a record made for the construction of the well only. The garden might have been constructed earlier than the well. But this inscription could indicate that the garden was constructed no later than 1827. This well and the inscription still exist in the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall today. As shown in Figure 7-1, this historical well is currently used as a stand for a planting pot, so it is easily overlooked.

Another piece of physical evidence is the wooden board that used to hang on the main building of the garden. It carries the name of the garden, '二分明月楼 [Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall]'. It is the calligraphy of Qian Yong 钱泳 (1759-1844), a writer of the Qing Dynasty.⁵³⁹ On one hand, this may be a work that Qian wrote for the garden during his visits, as he had been to Yangzhou several times. On the other hand, it may also be a work that was created off-site, because Qian did not write poems for it or mention it in his books; for example, in *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from Lü Garden] printed in 1838, Qian recorded several gardens that he visited in Yangzhou, such as the Level with the Mountains Hall (*Pingshan tang* 平山堂), Garden of Nine Peaks (*Jiufeng yuan* 九峰园) and the Mountain House of Sliced Stones (*Pianshi shanfang* 片石山房), but excluded the Bright Moon Hall.⁵⁴⁰ In any case, the calligraphy work evidences that the garden was constructed and existed before Qian Yong's death in 1844. However, the wooden board disappeared in the late twentieth century, and the current one hanging on the building is a replica (Fig. 7-2). Since it is a reproduction, the name of Qian Yong is not engraved on the board.

⁵³⁹ Zhu Jiang, *The Review of Yangzhou Gardens*, p.223.

⁵⁴⁰ Qian Yong 钱泳 (1759-1844), *Lüyuan conghua* 履园丛话 [Random Jottings from Lü Garden] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p.532.



Figure 7-1. The historical well with engraved texts in the garden, and a planting pot is currently displayed above. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 7-2. The main building of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, with horizontal wooden boards that carries the garden name. It is a replica of the historical board engraved with Qian Yong's (1759-1844) calligraphy. (Source: author, 2013.)

Although the original owner is not certain, it is recorded that the garden was sold to a local salt merchant, Jia Songping 贾颂平 (1880-1944) in the Guangxu Period (1871-1908).⁵⁴¹ Jia had his own dwelling constructed to the south of it, on Dawu Lane (*Dawu xiang* 大武巷). A report dated 1984 recorded that these two sites were connected at that time.⁵⁴² The Bright Moon Hall is a property that Jia bought for his brother. After the brother passed away, it belonged to Jia Songping again. That is the reason that these two sites are currently bound up with each other and known as Dwelling of the Salt Merchant Jia, although they are not physically connected. The garden was sold again in 1948, to a businessman Xu Peiqing 徐佩卿 (ca.20th century).⁵⁴³ Although it still belonged to the Jia family until 1948, they had already moved to Shanghai in the 1930s, when the Japanese army entered Yangzhou. As the salt business was greatly affected by the Second Sino-Japanese War, Jia Songping went to Shanghai and started a financial business there.⁵⁴⁴

Later, the private ownership of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall ended. The garden and houses inside became collective properties. In between 1950s and early 1980s, the People's Commune movement spread across the whole country as an implementation of communism. With the aim to develop the industry rapidly, the nation tried to build a communist society and motivate its people to work efficiently. Thus, many properties became communal, including houses.⁵⁴⁵ The Bright Moon Hall was also shared with the collective units for accommodating various residents, factories and institutes. After 1958, only part of the Bright Moon Hall still belonged to Xu Peiqing. After 1966, the whole property was given to a commune's factory.⁵⁴⁶ By August 1983, there were in total sixteen families living in this garden.⁵⁴⁷ During the period of sharing, each user unit had added or modified buildings and features based on their own needs.

⁵⁴¹ 'Erfen mingyue lou qingkuang jianjie 二分明月楼情况简介 [Introduction of the House of the Two-thirds of Moon]', 26th October 1984, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵⁴² 'Introduction of the House of the Two-thirds of Moon', 26th October 1984.

⁵⁴³ 'Yangzhoushi wenwu baohu danwei qingkuang dengjibiao (erfen mingyue lou) 扬州市文物保护单位情况登记表 (二分明月楼) [Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou (the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall)]', 7th October 1981, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵⁴⁴ Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, pp.5-6.

⁵⁴⁵ Janet Salaff, 'The Urban Communes and Anti-city Experiment in Communist China', in *The China Quarterly*, 29(1967), pp.82-110.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou (the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall)', 7th October 1981.

⁵⁴⁷ Yangzhou Catering Company (*Yangzhoushi yinshi fuwu gongsi* 扬州市饮食服务公司), 'Guanyu yong jiti zijin goumai zhufang, qing yu pizhun jihua de baogao 关于用集体资金购买住房, 请予批准计划的报告 [The Request of Purchasing Residential Houses with Collective Funds]', 4th August 1983 (Document no.: (1983) 扬饮服 (基)字 03 号), held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

As a result, major changes took place in the garden, and especially to the rockwork: an important set of rockwork was completely destroyed. Not only the Bright Moon Hall, many other historical gardens were in the same situation at the time, such as the Mountain House in Yangzhou, Swallow Garden (*Yan yuan* 燕园) in Changshu and the Garden of Cultivation (*Yi pu* 艺圃) in Suzhou.

7.2 Characteristics of the rockwork

As a garden created no later than 1827, the Bright Moon Hall is valued for being a historical garden and a salt-merchant dwelling, which represents an important culture of Yangzhou. No pictorial records before the mid-twentieth century were found to reveal the appearance of this garden before it was severely damaged and modified; but, some textual descriptions were obtained from related authorities and publications. These records recorded the appearance of the Bright Moon Hall and its rockwork before the severe damage occurred from the 1960s to the 1980s. By 1958, the garden contained three two-storey buildings, a small hall, two sets of rockworks, two wells and four flowerbeds.

Among all the features, the two sets of rockwork were distinctive ones that made the Bright Moon House special. One of them was a cluster of small-sized rockworks, which formed a dry garden setting, the '*hanyuan shuizuo* 旱园水作 [dry garden constructed as water garden]'. The garden was therefore considered as a typical example of the *hanyuan Shuizuo*.⁵⁴⁸ It is a special approach in Chinese garden design, which followed the idea of creating a dry garden while encouraging an association with water features in various ways.⁵⁴⁹ In this garden, the arrangement of rockwork encouraged the association: the level of the central courtyard was lowered, and a group of rockworks made of Yellow Rocks were located disorderly. All of these rockworks were low, and were described as looking like '[miniature] islands floating in the water'.⁵⁵⁰ On the south of the courtyard, there was a low mound with some Yellow Rocks;⁵⁵¹ an open hall (*Simian ting* 四面厅) was constructed on the mound, which looked as if it was located on an island, as described by Chen Congzhou.⁵⁵² As a person who had been to the

⁵⁴⁸ Věna Hrdličková, 'The Culture of Yangzhou Residential Gardens', in *Lifestyle and entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. by Lucie B. Olivová, and Vibeke Børdahl (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2009), p.82; Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, pp.4, 16 and 17.

⁵⁴⁹ Věna Hrdličková, 'The Culture of Yangzhou Residential Gardens', p.82

⁵⁵⁰ 'Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou (the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall)', 7th October 1981.

⁵⁵¹ Informal conversation with administration staff of the Administration Office of He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处), which is also the administrative office of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, 2017, see appendix 2; Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, p.16.

⁵⁵² Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, p.16.

garden before the features were modified, Chen Congzhou 陈从周 (1918-2000) assessed it and considered it as a representative work of *hanyuan shuizuo*. A similar example is the Garden of Autumn Clouds (*Qiuxia pu* 秋霞圃) in Jiading (currently within metropolitan Shanghai), was evaluated as inferior to the Bright Moon Hall by Chen Congzhou. The former garden has an actual water body, so it is harder to create the sense of imaginary water.

Besides rockwork, *hanyuan shuizuo* can also be achieved via other features, such as buildings and pavements. For example, the He Garden (*He yuan* 何园) in Yangzhou has a Boat Hall (*Chuan ting* 船厅), which is not located near any waterbody. Although the Boat Hall was not constructed in a boat shape, the pavement on the ground was designed with wavy patterns to suggest water waves (Fig. 7-3). In some other dry garden settings, the building would be designed as a stone boat (*fang* 舫), a traditional building type, so as to encourage the association with water. The Boat with No Wave (*Bubo ting* 不波艇) in Tiger Hill (*Huqiu* 虎丘) and the Stone Column Boat (*Zhushi fang* 柱石舫) in the Garden of Five Peaks (*Wufeng yuan* 五峰园) in Suzhou can be taken as examples.



Figure 7-3. The Boat Hall (*Chuan ting* 船厅) and wavy patterns on the pavement in the He Garden (*He yuan* 何园), Yangzhou. (Source: author, 2013).

Ge shan 阁山 [Mountains beside Belvederes] is another type of rockwork found in the Bright Moon Hall. It is a traditional form of rockwork, which was first classified and introduced by Ji Cheng. In the early seventeenth century, he introduced ten general forms of rockwork and seven mountain features commonly involved in rockwork in his book *Yuan ye* 园冶 [Craft of Gardens]. According to Ji Cheng, *Ge shan* was the rockwork constructed on the flank of belvederes, which was used as a replacement for a staircase.⁵⁵³ Here in this garden, it is a rockwork located on the north side of the Building of Great Immortal (*Daxian lou* 大仙楼), now known as Building of Sunset Glow (*Xizhao lou* 夕照楼) (Fig. 7-4). It is also made of Yellow Rock, the same material used for the *Hanyuan shuizuo* settings in the middle of the garden. This rockwork is raised as tall as the Building of Great Immortal, and the stairs on the rockwork link the ground and first floors of the building. This *Ge shan* is the only connection between floors, no indoor staircases can be found in the building. Although this form was recorded in the early seventeenth century, it cannot prove that this garden was established by then. During the fieldwork, this form of rockwork was found in several gardens of other periods. One example is the Wonderland of Cloudy Mountains (*Yunshan shengdi* 云山胜地), a scene created in the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (*Chengde bishu shanzhuang* 承德避暑山庄) in 1710 with the rockwork located on the east end of the two-storey building as the only stairway between floors (Fig. 7-5). Other than having the rock stairs as the main feature, some other examples demonstrate different designs. Both the Mt. Autumn (*Qiu shan* 秋山) in the Ge Garden (*Ge yuan* 个园) and the rockwork next to the Reading Building (*Dushu lou* 读书楼) in the He Garden serve like a staircase and connect floors (Fig. 7-6); the former was constructed in 1818 and the latter was established in 1883. These two sets of rockwork are not just stairs, but larger and involve more features like caves, bridges, pavilions and more footpaths. They also played the role as a scene in these gardens, and this function can even be separated from the stairs.

⁵⁵³ Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Alison Hardie (New York: Better Link Press, 2012), p. 107; see Chinese text in Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuanye zhushi* 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens] (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988), p.211.



Figure 7-4. *Ge shan* 阁山 [Mountains beside Belvederes] in the Bright Moon Hall, which links the ground and first floor of the Building of Great Immortal (*Daxian lou*大仙楼), now known as Building of Sunset Glow (*Xizhao lou*夕照楼). (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 7-5. *Ge shan* in the scene Wonderland of Cloudy Mountains (*Yunshan shengdi*云山胜地) in the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (*Chengde bishu shanzhuang*承德避暑山庄). (Source: author, 2014.)



Figure 7-6. Rockwork that connects the floors of buildings in the He Garden (*He yuan* 何园) (left) and the Ge Garden (*Ge yuan* 个园) (right). (Source: author, 2013 and 2017.)

Rockworks were the key garden feature of the Bright Moon Hall and carry the significance of the garden, aesthetically, historically and culturally. Other than the rockworks, the main hall located in the north side of this garden also carried distinctive characteristics of Yangzhou buildings. Buildings in Yangzhou gardens are generally larger in size and occupy a wider area compared to those in other areas.⁵⁵⁴ Although the Bright Moon Hall is a small garden that only covers a quarter acre, the main hall in this garden has seven bays (Fig. 7-7).⁵⁵⁵ It is a typical design in Yangzhou. In some larger gardens in Yangzhou, large buildings and long covered walkways are common. For instance, both the Building of Embracing the Mountain (*Baoshan lou* 抱山楼) in the Ge Garden and Butterfly Hall (*Hudie ting* 蝴蝶厅) in the He Garden have seven bays, and the latter has a long covered walkway of about 1,500m. But in other cities in the Jiangnan region, large buildings are not common in gardens. In Suzhou, a city well-known for historic gardens, most buildings in gardens have a light and small structure: pavilions and small study studios are

⁵⁵⁴ Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, p.18.

⁵⁵⁵ Kaijian (开间) is the rectangular space between four columns, and is the bays in classic Chinese buildings. Detailed discussion see in Ronald G Knapp, *China's Old Dwellings* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), pp.21-27.

general types, and halls normally have three to five bays.⁵⁵⁶ For example, the main hall in Celestial Hall of Five Peaks (*Wufeng xianguan* 五峰仙馆) of the Lingering Garden (*Liu yuan* 留园) has five units and the Hall of Distant Fragrance (*Yuanxiang tang* 远香堂) of Humble Administrator's Garden (*Zhuozheng yuan* 拙政园), the largest existing historic garden in Suzhou, only has three bays.



Figure 7-7. The main hall in the Bright Moon Hall, which has seven bays. (Source: author, 2013.)

7.3 Conservation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Although nominated as Yangzhou's Historical and Cultural Site in the 1960s, the Bright Moon Hall has been poorly maintained and severely damaged. During the subsequent conservation project, the destroyed original features were replaced by completely new designs. As a result, the garden became different from its original appearance. This section explores the conservation approaches and outcomes, so as to discuss how the characteristics of the garden and its rockwork were treated during the conservation process, and what the causes of the loss of or the original appearance were.

⁵⁵⁶ Liu Tuo 刘托, Ma Quanbao 马全宝, and Feng Xiaodong 冯晓东, *Suzhou xiangshanbang jianzhu yingzao jiyi* 苏州香山帮建筑营造技艺 [Architecture Construction Techniques of Xiangshanbang in Suzhou] (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 2013), p.80.

7.3.1 Protective actions between the 1950s and the 1980s

In 1962, the government of Yangzhou nominated the Bright Moon Hall as a Historical and Cultural Site Protected at Municipal Level. Before it was nominated, it was treated the same way as most other old residential complexes: it received little proper treatment and one of its buildings was even dismantled and moved to another historical site, the Slender West Lake (*Shou xihu* 瘦西湖) during the renovation. In 1959, the whole country was celebrating the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Many new buildings were constructed and old sites were renovated. As a historically important scenic site in Yangzhou, the Slender West Lake and surrounding gardens were renovated. The main approach was to move ancient buildings in good conditions from a town to a lake area. One of them was the open hall named Osmanthus Hall (*Guihua ting* 桂花厅) originally located in the Bright Moon Hall.⁵⁵⁷ Before relocation, it stood on the mound in the middle of the garden, among the cluster of small rockworks; Chen suggested that it looked like a building placed on an island.⁵⁵⁸

The 'Wenwu guanli zanzheng tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics; hereafter, the *Temporary Regulations* (1961)]' issued in 1961 first required Historical and Cultural Site to be established at different levels. Included in the first batch of Historical and Cultural Sites of Yangzhou, the Bright Moon Hall was to be protected as required by *Temporary Regulations* (1961) and other contemporaneous conservation policies. As explored in Chapter Three, the key principle of the *Temporary Regulations* (1961) was to restore and retain the original appearance during conservation. It also required keeping textual and visual records when dismantling and modification were unavoidable.⁵⁵⁹

However, these rules were not followed in the case of the Bright Moon Hall. As the garden had been shared by many different user groups since the 1950s, many garden features and buildings were modified and replaced by new buildings. According to a 'Wenwu baohu danwei qingkuang dengjibiao 文物保护单位情况登记表 [Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites]' recorded in 1981, the cluster of small rockworks and the mound in the middle of the garden had been demolished, with only one set of rockwork on the east remaining; the

⁵⁵⁷ 'Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou (the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall)', 7th October 1981.

⁵⁵⁸ Chen Congzhou, *Yangzhou Gardens*, p.16.

⁵⁵⁹ State Council of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), 'Wenwu guanli zanzheng tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics]', in *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan gongbao* 中华人民共和国国务院公报 [Bulletin of the State Council of the People's Republic of China], 4 (1961), pp.76-79

interior decoration of Building of Great Immortal was severely damaged and dismantled, and the covered walkway was modified; bungalows, sheds and small factory buildings had recently been constructed in the garden.⁵⁶⁰ Apart from the textual records, an undated schematic map of the garden was found which possibly recorded the layout of the garden before the conservation took place. As shown in Figure 7-8, it demonstrated that two modern buildings were constructed in the middle of the courtyard, and only a cluster of four small rockworks and another set of rockwork were located in the south and east of the garden respectively.

⁵⁶⁰ 'Registration Form for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou (the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall)', 7th October 1981.

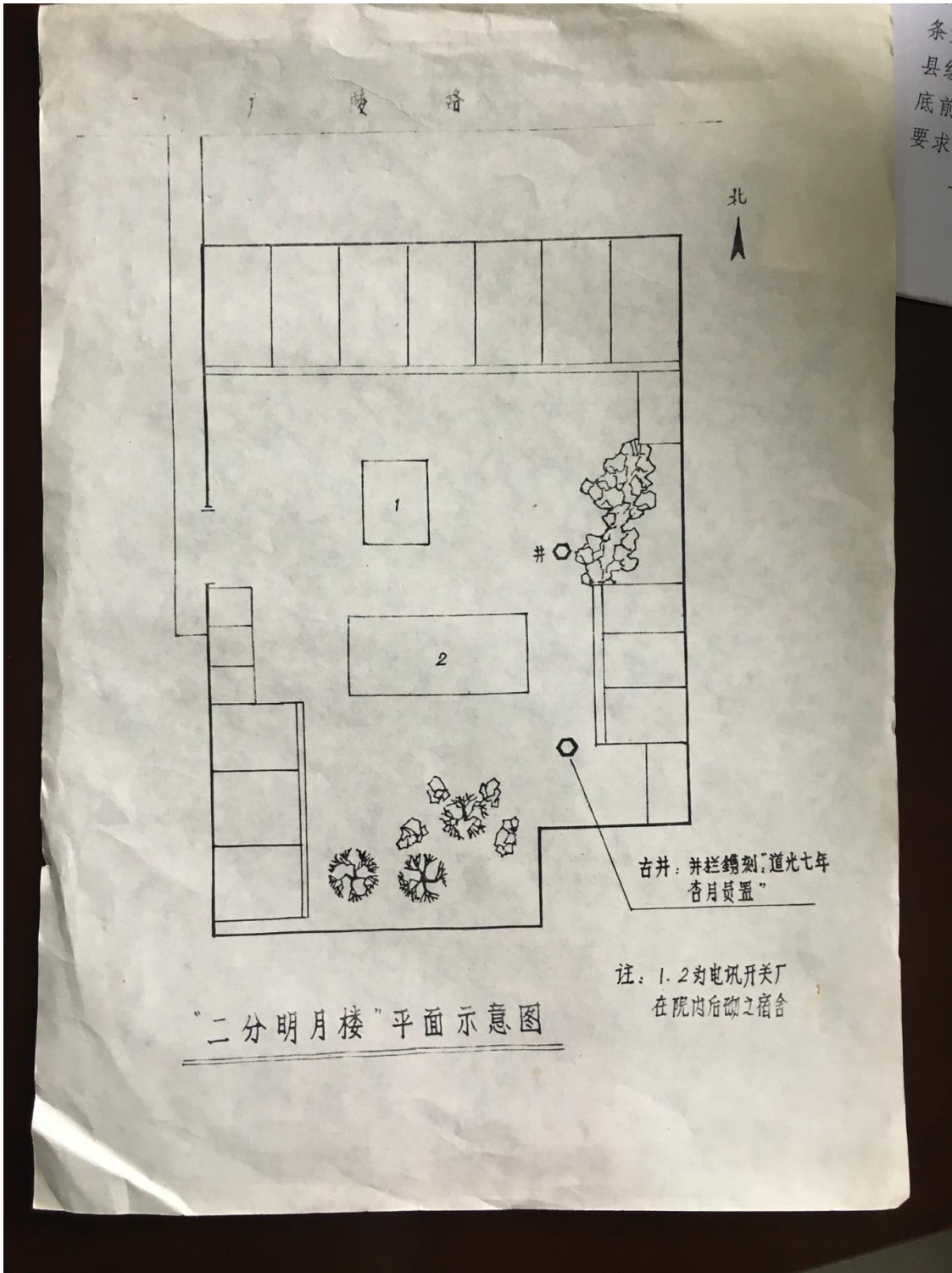


Figure 7-8. Schematic map of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, undated. (Source: Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办), 2017.)

The poor situation lasted until the early 1980s. After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government reacted rapidly to rescue cultural relics of all kinds. It was not only a sign of the recovering economy, but also considered as a way to promote patriotism and traditional culture. As well as other historic gardens, the Bright Moon Hall also received much attention and better care. In the early 1980s, the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 扬州市文物管理委员会), the department in charge of all Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou, conducted a survey of the Bright Moon Hall, so as to record its contemporaneous state and produced the above registration form and schematic map. After the poor state of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall became known, the Yangzhou government started to take measures for the protection of the garden. In 1981 and 1982, all user groups were asked to sign a contract about the protection of this garden with the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics. This contract required the users to take care of the garden and keep its original state. Modifications, dismantlement and new constructions were not permitted. They were also required to keep the site clean and safe.⁵⁶¹ After signing the contract, the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics did observe and supervise the daily maintenance of the garden.⁵⁶²

In 1982, Yangzhou was nominated as a Famous City of Historical and Cultural Value in China (*Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng* 国家历史文化名城) after the concept was first set up in the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics; hereafter *Law* [1982]]. Therefore, gardens in Yangzhou received much restricted treatment in terms of the maintenance and conservation. In order to protect the Bright Moon Hall and prevent further damage and modification, all user groups were asked to move out in 1984, and the whole garden was then used as a restaurant under the management of the Yangzhou Catering Company (*Yangzhoushi yinfu gongsi* 扬州市饮服公司).⁵⁶³ At the same time, the new owner was required to take the

⁵⁶¹ Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 扬州市文物管理委员会), 'Yangzhoushi wenwu baohu danwei baohu hetong 扬州市文物保护单位保护合同 [Contract of the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou]', 13th November 1981 (Document no.: 扬文管字第 07508 号); Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 扬州市文物管理委员会), Yangzhoushi wenwu baohu danwei baohu hetong 扬州市文物保护单位保护合同 [Contract of the Protection of Historical and Cultural Sites in Yangzhou], 9th January 1982 (Document no.: 扬文管字第 075 号), held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵⁶² 'Yangzhoushi gujianzhu fanghuo anquan jiancha qingkuang dengjibiao 扬州市古建筑防火安全检查情况登记表 [Registration Form for Fire Safety Check of Historical Buildings in Yangzhou]', 15th August 1981, held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

⁵⁶³ Yangzhou Catering Company, 'The Request of Purchasing Residential Houses with Collective Fund', 4th August 1983.

responsibility of protecting this garden and demolishing all the non-historical features and buildings.⁵⁶⁴ However, the Bright Moon Hall was not protected as required: some lately-constructed buildings were not demolished, inflammable products were not stored in safe places and the damage to historical features was not reported.⁵⁶⁵

7.3.2 Launch of the conservation project in 1991

Since the Bright Moon House was not well protected and maintained under the management of the restaurant, the garden was taken by the Yangzhou Bureau of Landscape (*Yangzhou shi yuanlin guanliju* 扬州市园林管理局) in the late 1980s. A conservation project was launched in 1991. After five years, the Bright Moon Hall was transformed into a public garden. But major changes were brought to the garden during the process. Unfortunately, the conservation proposal and other relevant records of this conservation project were unobtainable. Nevertheless, by comparing recent maps and photos with earlier textual and pictorial records, it is possible to reveal the changes made during the conservation project.

Figure 7-9 is a schematic survey map created in the late 2000s. It reveals the new layout after the conservation in 1991. Unlike the first two case studies, in which the disappeared features were reconstructed or referenced in new constructions, the destroyed original features in the Bright Moon Hall were replaced with new designs. By comparing the maps shown in Figures 7-8 and 7-9, it is clear that the cluster of four small rockworks and the two non-historical buildings in the middle of the courtyard were removed. Even though the design of *Hanyuan Shuizuo* was recognised as a distinctive characteristic of the Bright Moon Hall in earlier Registration Forms by the Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau, these small rockworks and the dry garden setting were not reconstructed. Instead, a pond, a small bridge and a fan-shape pavilion were constructed in the middle of the garden. Figures 7-10 and 7-11 show that the embankment of the new pond has a smooth curve made of concrete, and only a small section around the stone bridge was constructed with Yellow Rocks. According to the staff of the administration office, the fan-shape Pavilion of Singing beside Plum Stream (*Meixiyin xie* 梅溪吟榭) is located in the old spot of the

⁵⁶⁴ 'Introduction of the House of the Two-thirds of Moon', 26th October 1984.

⁵⁶⁵ Yangzhou Guangling Central Primary School (*Yangzhou guangling zhongxin xiaoxue* 扬州广陵中心小学), 'Baogao baogao [Report]', 28th February 1989; Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 扬州市文物管理委员会), 'Guanyu tongyi xiuli erfen mingyue lou weiqiang de pifu 关于同意修理'二分明月楼'危墙的批复 [The Agreement on Repairing the Collapsing Wall in the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall]', 3rd February 1989; Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics (*Yangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui* 扬州市文物管理委员会), 'Guanyu erfen mingyue lou guanli weixiu wenti de qingshi baogao 关于'二分明月楼'管理维修问题的请示报告 [The Request for the Repairing and Management Issues of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall]', 7th December 1988 (Document no.: 扬文管字(88)第 08 号), held by Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (*Yangzhou wenwuju wenguan ban* 扬州文物局文管办).

old Osmanthus Hall, which has been relocated in the Slender West Lake;⁵⁶⁶ but the new pavilion is a completely new design. The other set of rockwork, the *Ge shan* [Mountains beside Belvederes] on the north-east, was extended a little towards the south, so that it could be involved with the renovated building. Figure 7-12 shows the extended part of the *Ge shan*, which was constructed at the newly constructed doors.

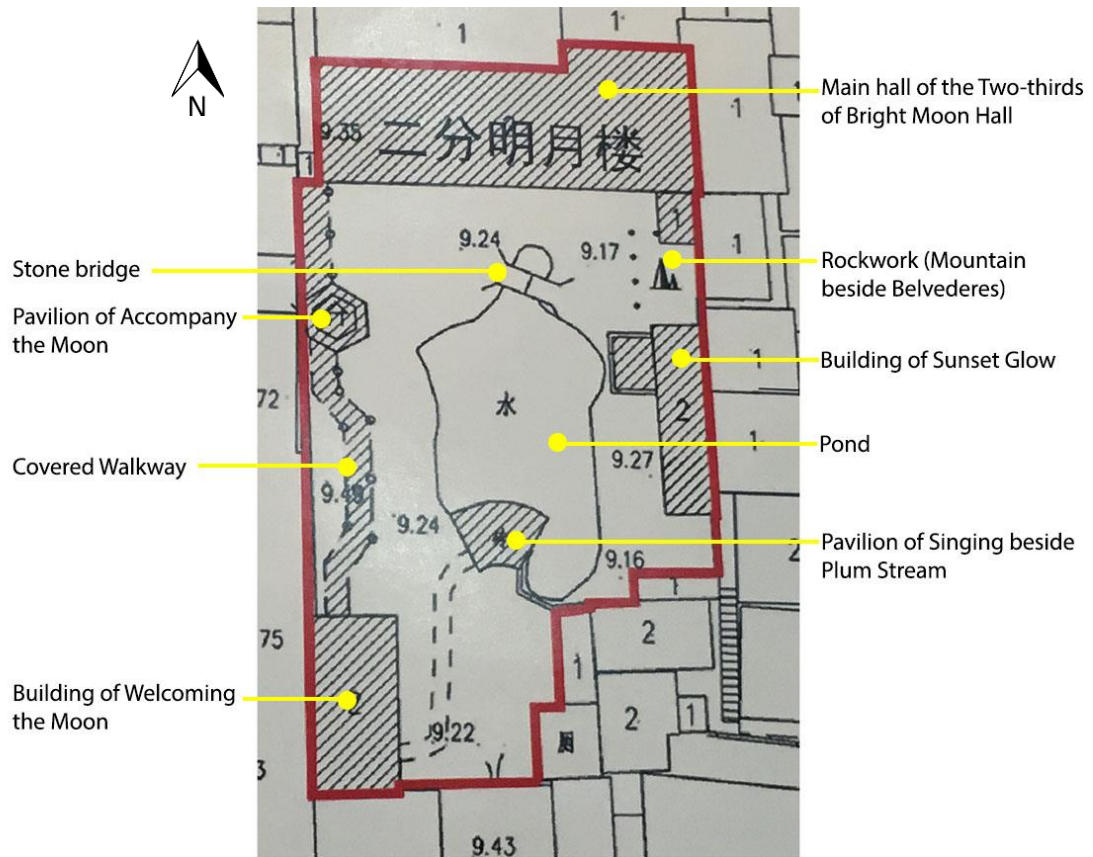


Figure 7-9. Schematic survey map of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall in the early 2010s. (Source: Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. (*Yangzhoushi jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan youxian gongsi* 扬州市建筑设计研究院有限公司), *Dayunhe—Yangzhou yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou], held by the Administration Office of He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处.) North arrow added by thesis author.

⁵⁶⁶ Informal conversation with administration staff of the Administration Office of the He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处), which is also the administrative office of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, 2017, see appendix 2.



Figure 7-10. South side of the pond and the fan-shape pavilion. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 7-11. North side of the pond and the moon-shaped stone bridge; they are in front of the main hall. (Source: author, 2017.)



Figure 7-12. The extended part of the south-east rockwork, the *Ge shan*. (Source: author, 2013.)

Besides the rockwork and the layout of the courtyard, historical buildings on the site also experienced major changes, except for the main hall which was just repaired and repainted as it was found in a good state. The Building of Great Immortal on the east was transformed into the current Building of Sunset Glow (Fig. 7-13). The rooms on the ground floor were replaced with open spaces with extended rockwork and Winding Rills (*Qushui liushang* 曲水流觞). The Winding Rills feature is a traditional garden feature consisting of stone rills, which was originally designed for a game with floating wine-cups. Winding Rills can also be found in other historic gardens, such as the Imperial Garden (*Yu huayuan* 御花园) in the Forbidden City. The map in Figure 7-9 shows that the northern part of the Building of Sunset Glow was extended towards the west. Indeed, it is a newly constructed wall which hides the entrance to the rock stairs, as shown in the red frame of Figure 7-13. On the west of the Bright Moon Hall, buildings were transformed into a covered walkway with a pavilion named Accompany the Moon (*Banyue* 伴月) in the middle (Fig. 7-14). The Building of the God of Fortune (*Caishen lou* 财神楼) on the south-west was renamed as the Building of Welcoming the Moon (*Yingyue lou* 迎月楼) (Fig. 7-15). Other than the change of name, it is not clear if this building has been modified during the conservation process.

Although not identified in the schematic survey map, two historical wells still exist today. One is located next to the foot of the rockwork, and the other one (which carries the historic inscription) is used as a plant stand (Fig. 7-1). In between them, a small fishpond was constructed during the conservation in 1991. With a crescent shape, it is a feature added to the garden to enhance the design concept of the moon by repeating the same crescent pattern (Fig. 7-16).



Figure 7-13. Current Building of Sunset Glow (*Xizhao lou* 夕照楼). The red frame shows the newly constructed wall. (Source: author, 2017.)



Figure 7-14. Current covered walkway and the Pavilion of Accompany the Moon (*Banyue* 伴月). (Source: author, 2017.)



Figure 7-15. Current Building of Welcoming the Moon (*Yingyue lou* 迎月楼). (Source: author, 2017.)



Figure 7-16. The newly constructed small fishpond, which was designed with a crescent-shape. Currently, water plants are grown inside. (Source: author, 2017.)

As can be seen from Figures 7-10 to 7-16, the conservation of this garden was closely associated with one element, the moon. It appears to have been inspired by the name of the Bright Moon Hall. Even though it is currently unknown if the original garden contained any features related to the shape of moon, the restored garden carries the crescent-shape on various features: the crescent windows on the waterside pavilion, the crescent-shaped stone bridge, the crescent-moon gate in the Building of Sunset Glow, and even a small crescent-shaped fishpond.

Up to 1991, the key conservation policy in China was still the *Law* (1982). Although it was amended in June, 1991, most of the rules remained the same, except for the penalty rules in Articles 30 and 31. In the *Law* (1982, amended in 1991), one chapter and nine articles were specifically set up for the protection of Historical and Cultural Sites. According to these rules, all of the historical complex and features within the sites were to be protected. During the repair, maintenance and relocation of historical features, the original appearance was to be retained; damage, modification and demolition were not permitted; the construction of new buildings and structures inside the buffer zone of a protected site were not to damage the style and atmosphere of the site.⁵⁶⁷ It is clear that contemporaneous rules aimed to preserve the original state, appearance and style of a historical site. However, these rules did not provide guidance for historic gardens which had recently lost their features and values, like the Bright Moon Hall, which was restored with a generic classical style but certainly with its original appearance and characteristics changed. In other words, the rules are clear about how to prevent further damage, but inexplicit for restoration and renovation of a site that had already been damaged, or even partially destroyed.

7.3.3 The 'Repair and Conservation Project', late 2000s and early 2010s

In the 2000s, the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou (*Yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 盐业历史遗迹保护工程) was launched, as a part of the preparation for the application of World Heritage Site status for the Grand Canal. Having once been a salt merchant's garden, the Bright Moon Hall was considered as part of the historical heritage of salt trading. Thus, a 'Repair and Conservation Project (*Weixiu he baohu zhengzhi gongcheng* 维修和保护整治工程)' for the Bright Moon Hall was launched. The proposal was described as being based on polices at national, provincial and municipal levels. It aimed to repair the garden, especially the buildings, and make sure the historical information and style

⁵⁶⁷ National People's Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, articles 9, 12, 14 and 15 <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>>[accessed 27 Jul 2016].

would be authentically and completely preserved and retained for the future. According to the proposal, the conservation principles included protection *in situ*, reduction of intervention, retention of keep the authentic appearance so as to protect the aesthetic value, protection of the relevant natural and cultural environment and prevention of disasters.⁵⁶⁸

Since protecting aesthetic values was required by the conservation principles, the conservation team assessed the values of the Bright Moon Hall. As summarised in the proposal, the main hall, the *Ge shan*, and the cluster of small rockworks which formed the dry garden setting were considered as features of value. However, the dry garden setting, or the design of *hanyuan shuizuo*, did not exist in the Bright Moon Hall when the garden was assessed. Moreover, no conservation treatment was recorded that had been done for both the vanished rockwork and the existing *Ge shan*, although they were evaluated as features containing values. Only the buildings were recorded as being restored: After investigating the state of the garden, the conservation team reported different degrees of damage to the walls, doors and windows and other wooden structures (Fig. 7-17). In view of these detected issues, the walls were repainted, and the pavements and wooden structures were replaced and repainted. The condition and conservation of rockworks were not mentioned, but the budget proposal included a cost of half a million Chinese yuan for the water and rockwork.⁵⁶⁹ It seems that either the investigation result included in the official document was not completed or the accuracy of the budget is questionable.

⁵⁶⁸ Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. (*Yangzhoushi jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan youxian gongsi* 扬州市建筑设计研究院有限公司), *Dayunhe—Yangzhou yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou], held by the Administration Office of He Garden (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处).

⁵⁶⁹ Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd., *The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou*.

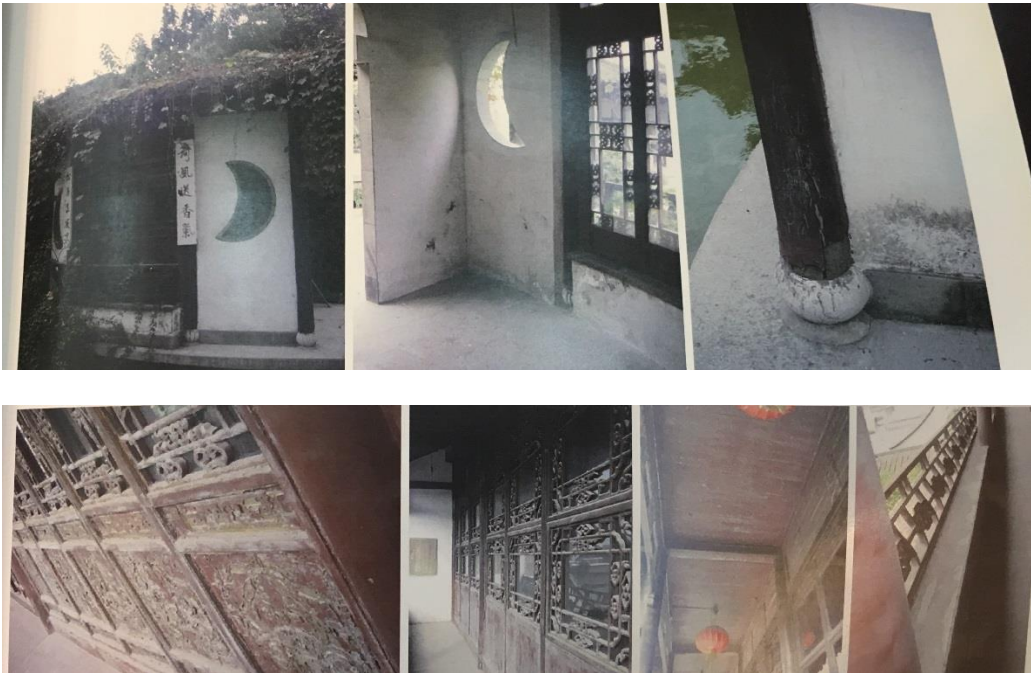


Figure 7-17. Damaged features in the garden during the investigation, *circa* late 2000s or early 2010s. (Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd., The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou, held by the Administration Office of He Garden, 2017.)

7.4 Assessment and discussion of the conservation practice

Although little historical record of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall was found, the last private owner and other witnesses revealed the features and layout of the garden in the early twentieth century. It is generally agreed that the dry garden setting, which was formed with a cluster of small rockworks in the middle of the garden, was one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Bright Moon Hall. This characteristic was already recognised when the garden was found and listed as a Historical and Cultural Site; but this did not prevent it from being damaged. Today, this characteristic and this set of rockwork no longer exist. The original 'dry garden' became a garden with a real waterscape. Apparently, the policy of protecting heritage sites was not obeyed although the contemporaneous rules required protecting the original state of a site. The following paragraphs summarise issues exposed during the conservation practices that eventually led to the change of original appearance and state.

The inappropriate restoration was another issue during the conservation process. While the original forms of the destroyed features were known, new features and layout were constructed as replacements. It not only affected the preservation of the original appearance and state, but

also changed the original design intention. By arranging a dry garden with rock clusters and mound, the creator of the garden chose an implicit way to express the design.⁵⁷⁰ Leaving room for imagination is a traditional method commonly applied in various kinds of art in China.⁵⁷¹ The blank spaces in paintings, the metaphors in poems, the hidden terminations of ponds and the dry garden settings are all considered as an expression of implicit beauty. Nevertheless, all of the hidden intentions are revealed and directly exposed to visitors after the conservation project in 1991. An actual pond was constructed and replaced the original cluster of small rockworks and the dry garden setting. In addition, the 'moon' in the name of the garden was directly presented in the new design: crescent-shapes were designed and put on many features, and most of the buildings were renamed with the character 月, which means moon (Fig. 7-18). All these are reminding the visitors that this is a garden about the moon, which leaves no room for imagination and implicit ideas.



Figure 7-18. Moon-shaped features created during the restoration in 1991. (Source: author, 2013 and 2017.)

⁵⁷⁰ Xie Mingyang, Liu Xiaoming, 'The Design Principle Study of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall in Yangzhou', pp.113-116 (p.114).

⁵⁷¹ Vera Schwartz, *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane Garden* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p.212; William Chambers (1723-1796), 'Of the Art of Laying Out Gardens among the Chinese', in *Ideas of Chinese Gardens: Western Accounts*, ed. by Bianca M. Rinaldi (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp.112-120 (p.118).

The lack of survey results and records should also be considered as an adverse impact. When seeking records of the original appearance of the Bright Moon Hall, only textual records were found, although different offices were visited.⁵⁷² They can only indicate the existence of each garden feature, but no precise information about the layout and appearance. For example, the description of the cluster of small rockworks did not show the actual number, size and height of each rockwork and how they were arranged. Thus, the lack of photos and survey plans presents difficulties for later restoration and reconstruction of damaged features, and especially the disappeared rockwork. It possibly affected the change of design during the restoration in 1991. Later, in the early 2000s, before the new phase of conservation started, a site survey was conducted and schematic survey maps were drawn. But, as shown in Figure 7-8, the schematic survey map only shows a rough layout, which is not enough for recording the state of the existing rockwork, the *Ge shan*. Thus, it is not clear about the structure and actual scope of the section remaining by then; even the stairs on the rockwork have not been depicted. Not being accurately recorded is a severe issue for most rockworks. As a feature with irregular shapes, rockwork is difficult to survey and depict on maps. Even on detailed survey maps, the shape of rockwork can be inconsistent and inaccurate. This issue is further discussed in Chapter Eight.

The lack of records further reflects issues in the policies and management of heritage sites. As explored in Chapter Three, local authorities were required to establish a special office to manage and supervise the conservation works according to guidance issued in 1951.⁵⁷³ The Yangzhou government did follow this guidance: they set up the Yangzhou Commission for the Administration of Cultural Relics in September 1954. Later, in 1982, the *Law (1982)* required individual records and files for each Historical and Cultural Site to be established.⁵⁷⁴ Thus, an individual file was set up for the Bright Moon Hall in the early 1980s. But since earlier guidance has no detailed requirements on recording the heritage sites, no pictorial records, such as photos and survey maps, were kept from the 1950s to the 1980s, although this garden was already nominated as a Historical and Cultural Site by then. Survey maps were drawn in the conservation project in 1991 and kept in today's Administration Office of Cultural Relics in the

⁵⁷² Different offices visited in Yangzhou are listed in appendix 1.

⁵⁷³ [Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Culture of the Central People's (*Zhongyang renmin zhengfu neiwubu, wenhuabu* 中央人民政府内务部, 文化部), 'Guanyu defang wenwu mingsheng guji de baohu guanli banfa 关于地方文物名胜古迹的保护管理办法 [Measures for the Conservation and Administration of Cultural Relics, Scenic Spots and Ancient Sites]', in *Jiangxi zhengbao* 江西政报 [Gazette of the People's Government of Jiangxi Province], Z2(1951), p.120.

⁵⁷⁴ National People's Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 9.

Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau. But there was no record about the conservation project in 1991 archived in this office. There are two possible causes: there might be no record made for the project, or the records might be stored in other places. The former is unlikely to be the case for this garden, as earlier records were found, such as the registration form for heritage sites. The latter is actually a common situation in China. According to the fieldwork of gardens in various cities, different records of one garden were commonly collected in different departments. Each department collected the documents that directly related to them, such as the documents they issued or approved. In most cases, there is no single department or office that has a complete collection of relevant documents for a historical garden. This affects the research of a garden as well as the management. Among the records of this garden, some of them are not dated, which is also a management issue. Those with no date lost the important value of a record, which is documenting the contemporaneous state of a site.

7.5 Conclusion

The Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall is a garden of the late Qing Dynasty. Although the exact construction date is unknown and it is possibly not a very old garden, it has distinctive features and characteristics, especially the cluster of small rockworks in the middle of the garden. They formed a typical and well-constructed example of using rockwork to achieve the dry garden setting *Hanyuan shuizuo*, which is normally achieved by involving a stone boat rather than rockworks.

The significance of these characteristics were recognised, and the Bright Moon Hall was therefore nominated as one of Yangzhou's Historical and Cultural Sites in 1962 and required to be protected. However, the distinctive characteristics and original appearance were not retained as required. By the 1980s, the rockworks inside the dry garden setting had been destroyed due to the poor management and maintenance of the Bright Moon Hall. In later conservation processes, the whole garden was restored, but the original design was replaced by a standardised and cliché-ed design.

This occurred for several reasons and the three main causes: First of all, the conservation policies were not successfully implemented during the conservation of the Bright Moon Hall. The requirements of retaining the original appearance and aesthetic values were not only required by national guidance, but also adopted as the conservation principles in the conservation project of the Bright Moon Hall. However, the original appearance was clearly lost. Second, insufficient records were made during the survey. The lack of records, especially accurate survey maps and

photos, increased the difficulties for later conservation. The third main cause is the influence of current aesthetic standards. When the garden was restored in 1991, the original design intention was completely changed; the new design was created based on the then current understanding of classical style gardens in general, such as creating a new pond as the central feature, and adding crescent-shaped features to show the association with the moon.

This case study demonstrates the problems that can arise when conservation and restoration are undertaken without adequate consideration of the historical structure and layout, and when conservation guidelines are ignored and record-keeping is inadequate or completely absent. In this case, the outcome has been that a distinctive garden type (*hanyuan shuizuo*) has been transformed into a generic 'classical' garden lacking the implicitness which is an important element in traditional garden aesthetics. As a result, a significant part of Yangzhou's garden heritage has been lost.

Chapter 8. Discussion on issues and good practices

In order to investigate the conservation process in depth, four conservation projects from the twentieth century onwards were considered. Because nation-wide policies were promulgated by that time, unified standards and requirements could be applied to the conservation of historic gardens and rockwork. Additionally, the policies and guidance required the conservation process to be recorded; therefore, more records and materials are available for the analysis and understanding of these conservation projects.

In the four selected cases, historic rockwork was treated using different approaches. The investigation shows that issues appeared in all of them, which indicates that all approaches need to be improved. In the Qiao Garden (*Qiao yuan* 乔园), vanished rockwork was reconstructed based on insufficient historical information, hence it has different characteristics from the historic rockwork. In the Gazing Garden (*Zhan yuan* 瞻园), the historic rockwork was modified during the conservation process, and new rockwork was constructed in the garden. During the restoration of the rockwork in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones (*Pianshi shanfang* 片石山房), historical sources were selectively used; therefore subjective judgments were made about the craftsman and the characteristics. In the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall (*Erfen mingyue lou* 二分明月楼), the historic rockwork was destroyed and had vanished due to poor protection; and the form and design of its rockwork and garden were completely changed during the reconstruction. These issues led to the change of original state and appearance, despite its retention being emphasised in currently valid conservation policies in China, i.e. the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics; hereafter *Law* (1982)] and *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China; hereafter *China Principles* (2002)].⁵⁷⁵

Although the four conservation projects were not successful in general, as the original appearance and historical significance of the rockwork were impaired, some steps in the whole conservation process played a positive role in the protection of historic rockwork.

⁵⁷⁵ National People's Congress (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui* 全国人民代表大会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, article 15, in *Zhongguo wang* 中国网 [China.org.cn] <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/environment/34304.htm>>[accessed 27 Jul 2016].

In order to provide appropriate and valid recommendations and further improve the conservation practice in the future, this chapter summarises and discusses the issues as well as the good practices identified in the fieldwork, especially in the selected four cases.

8.1 Issues identified in rockwork conservation

8.1.1 The retention of the original state and appearance

In order to explore how the original state and appearance has been retained, this thesis investigated how the characteristics of rockwork have been preserved. According to the case studies, many characteristics were poorly-retained, modified, or overlooked. This section summarises and discusses the issues that appeared in the retention of structures, forms, materials, joints, patterns and some other aspects, which eventually brought changes to historic rockwork.

8.1.1.1 The change of structure and form

The restoration treatment, no matter whether minor or major, has failed to retain the structure and form in some cases. Minor restorations mainly bring changes to the existing historic rockwork, as explored in the case of the Gazing Garden and the Mountain House of Sliced Stones. In the conservation of the Gazing Garden in the 1960s, the heights of the historic mountains on the north and west were increased; the reason for making such a change to historic remains was recorded as being to block the view of surrounding modern buildings, while the retention of the original characteristics was not a concern. This issue can be found not only in earlier practices, but also in recent projects. After the latest phase of conservation in 2012, the repaired revetment in the Mountain House of Sliced Stones carries an obvious modern trace by having a smooth, vertical surface made of concrete, which is different from the remaining historical revetment in the same garden as well as the traditional form. Comparing with minor restoration, major restoration, especially reconstruction, brings greater risk to the retention of structures and forms. Many rockworks in the extended or reconstructed section of historic gardens are newly constructed, based on little or no historical records. The failure in studying and referencing the remaining examples in the same garden led to the inconsistency of the structures and forms. For instance, the historic rockwork in the Qiao Garden and the Gazing Garden has a typical structure of 'xiadong shangtai' (caves at the bottom, and platforms or pavilions on the top) from the 16th century, but the newly constructed ones are not built with this structure.

8.1.1.2 The use of inappropriate materials

In most conservation projects, the type of rocks would not be changed to maintain consistency. However, the sizes of rocks in restored or reconstructed sections are found to be different from the original in some cases, which further led to the change in the overall appearance as well as the historical and cultural significance.

The size of rocks might not be an important factor that was carefully considered in the design when the rockwork was first built; it was also not mentioned in most garden records. Nevertheless, all kinds of information on rocks, including the size, type, and even price, could provide better understanding of the cultural and historical contexts; this information could possibly indicate the financial capacity of the garden owner, the source of rocks, or the market resources. In the Qiao Garden, for example, different materials were used in the construction of one unit of rockwork; and the sizes of rocks are relatively small. It indicates that the owner only obtained a limited number of rocks; this explained why the Taihu Rocks, which were more expensive than others, were only used on the facade of a certain section. Nevertheless, newly constructed rockwork in the same garden is made of larger-size rocks, which forms a completely different atmosphere from the historic part.

Sometimes, the size of rocks was noticed, but was unvalued. During the conservation process of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, it was realised that the rocks in the existing rockwork are in small sizes; it was also discovered that many rockworks in the Yangzhou region are made of small rocks. However, this characteristic was considered as having less aesthetic value; larger rocks were eventually used in restoring the damaged section. As a result, there is identifiable difference between the historic and restored parts of the same rockwork.

8.1.1.3 The change of joints

Issues appeared in the repointing process as well. Although this constitutes a small portion in the rockwork, the quality of repointing would also affect the retention of the original fabric and appearance; both its materials and techniques are important. As can be seen from most of the historic rockwork, the joints between rocks are narrow. Only in a few cases were gaps built between rocks, which look like little ‘window frames’, as can be seen in the Ge Garden (2-18) and the Garden of Fuzzy Boundary (*Xukuo yuan* 虚廓园) (8-1); the intention of creating these gaps was to mimic the natural holes in rocks, such as those in Taihu Rock. This design was mainly found in rockwork of the late Qing Dynasty, when large pieces of Taihu Rock with plenty of holes became rare and only small-sized ones could be obtained and afforded. Even in these cases, the

connected parts between rocks have narrow joints, and the mortar in between is not obvious from a distance. Traditionally, having narrow and less obvious joints was considered as a way to minimise traces of artificiality. Li Yu's *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶寄 [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling], recorded his aesthetic standard for rockwork, which is 'able to have no traces of the combination and connection of rocks, and looks no different from a real mountain from a distance'.⁵⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Li was also honest about the exaggeration by stating that he rarely found any rockwork that met this standard. Never-the-less, his description revealed that small joints are preferred and pursued. The rockwork in Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (*Huanxiu shanzhuang* 环秀山庄), an existing work of the late Qing craftsman Ge Yuliang 戈裕良, was known for its narrow, and even unnoticeable, joints (Fig. 8-2). However, in many conservation projects, the work of repointing was not carefully carried out. Just like the issue explored in the Gazing Garden; Chapter Five has illustrated the large joints between rocks in the newly constructed rockwork located in the extended part of this garden (Fig. 5-23). The Garden of Fuzzy Boundary, which is another garden visited during the fieldwork, has similar issues; poorly finished repointing on the historic rockwork leaves wide and striking joints filled with concrete, while the original mortar joints are less obvious (Figs. 8-3, 8-1).

⁵⁷⁶ See the original sentence '能无补掇穿凿之痕，遥望与真山无异者', Li Yu 李渔 (1610-1680), *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶寄 [Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling] (1671), annotated by Du Shuying 杜书瀛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), p.207.



Figure 8-1. Remaining historic rockwork in the Garden of Fuzzy Boundary. The circular frame shows the gaps that were intentionally created; the rectangular frame shows the original joints. Small gaps between rocks in the original historical rockwork in Garden of Fuzzy Boundary (*Xukuo yuan* 虚廓园), Changshu. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 8-2. The historic rockwork in Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (*Huanxiu shanzhuang* 环秀山庄) in Suzhou, which was constructed by Ge Yuliang and shows narrow joints between rocks, which are nearly invisible from a distance. (Source: author, 2013.)



Figure 8-3. Repaired historic rockwork in the Garden of Fuzzy Boundary (*Xukuo yuan* 虚廓园); the rectangular frame shows the wide joints left by the repointing process. (Source: author, 2013.)

8.1.1.4 The change of patterns

To have unified and neat patterns is another common requirement for rockwork in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties. The patterns of rocks should follow the veins of rocks; veins can be horizontal, vertical, narrow, or wide. In the seventeenth-century garden treatise *Yuan ye* 园冶 [The Craft of Gardens], Ji Cheng suggested arranging and connecting rocks based on the veins of rocks;⁵⁷⁷ in *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*, Li Yu mentioned that rocks with wider veins and narrow veins should be put together respectively. The artificial trace would be obvious if

⁵⁷⁷ Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Yuanye zhushi* 园冶注释 [The Annotated Craft of Gardens] (1631), annotated by Chen Zhi 陈植, 2nd edn. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1988), p.223; English translation in Ji Cheng 计成 (1582-?), *Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text on Garden Design* (1631), trans. by Alison Hardie, (New York: Better Link Press, 2012), p.112.

different patterns were created irregularly in the same rockwork; because in natural mountains, cracks on rocks would be formed in the same direction.⁵⁷⁸ Since the uniformity of patterns was continuously mentioned in historical sources, it is noticed and learned by current craftsman. Books like *Yuanlin gongcheng* 园林工程[Landscape Engineering], *Shanshi han dieshan jiyi* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han], and *Dieshi zaoshan de lilun yu jifa* 叠石造山的理论与技法 [Theories and Techniques of Piling Rocks and Creating Mountains], all mentioned that it is an important skill of constructing rockwork;⁵⁷⁹ the textbook for certified rockwork craftsmen, the *Jiashangong: zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhiye jineng gangwei biao zhun* 假山工：中华人民共和国职业技能岗位标准 [Rockwork Technician: Occupational Skill Standards by the Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China], required certified senior craftsman to have the knowledge of arranging the patterns of rockwork.⁵⁸⁰ Nevertheless, issues still appeared in conservation practice, such as the example explored in the case study of the Gazing Garden. As a Historical and Cultural Site Protected at National Level, the recently constructed rockwork in the extension of this garden shows a combination of horizontal and vertical patterns (Fig. 5-23).

8.1.2 Policy review

Currently, there is no nation-wide guidance specifically made for the conservation of rockwork as well as historic gardens. Additionally, the proposition and implementation of current guidance for heritage conservation in general contains issues that will be discussed below.

As one of the features within historic gardens, the conservation and protection of historic rockwork is under the guidance of policies related to cultural relics and heritage. In China, cultural heritage, including historic gardens, are defined by national laws and regulations and international charters as sites or places with values and significance.⁵⁸¹ Although the basic

⁵⁷⁸ Li Yu, *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*, annotated by Du Shuying, p.209.

⁵⁷⁹ Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, 'Jiashan gongcheng 假山工程 [Rockwork Engineering]', in *Yuanlin gongcheng* 园林工程 [Landscape Engineering], ed. by Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, Mao Peilin 毛培琳, Huang Qingxi 黄庆喜 and Liang Yiren 梁伊任 (Beijing: Zhongguo linye chubanshe, 1995), pp.201-232; Han Liangshun 韩良顺, *Shanshi han dieshan jiyi* 山石韩叠山技艺 [Rockwork Construction Techniques of Shanshi Han] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2010); Fang Hui 方惠, *Dieshi zaoshan de lilun yu jifa* 叠石造山的理论与技法 [Theories and Techniques of Piling Rocks and Creating Mountains] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2005).

⁵⁸⁰ Ministry of Construction of People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo jianshebu* 中华人民共和国建设部), *Jiashangong: zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhiye jineng gangwei biao zhun* 假山工：中华人民共和国职业技能岗位标准 [Rockwork Technician: Occupational Skill Standards by Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2002), p.3.

⁵⁸¹ National People's Congress Standing Committee (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui changwu weiyuanhui* 全国人民代表大会常务委员会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, revised 2015, in *Zhongguo falü faqi xinxi ku* 中国法律法规信息库 [Information Database of Chinese Legislation], <<http://law.npc.gov.cn/FLFG/flfgByID.action?flfgID=34969516>> [accessed 20 August 2017]; ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji*

conservation principle is to retain the original appearance and state, the protection of values is emphasised in current policies. The latest revision of *China Principles* (2002, revised 2015) is even described as a value-based theoretical system.⁵⁸² However, the definition of ‘values’ are changing over time. In the 1950s, the values of cultural relics were limited to historic values, and have been expanded to historic, aesthetic and scientific values since the 1960s.⁵⁸³ In the recently revised *China Principles* (2002, revised 2015), social and cultural values are added.⁵⁸⁴ In international guidance, values are also defined slightly differently: the *Burra Charter* divides them into aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual values,⁵⁸⁵ and the *Conservation Principles* of English Heritage classifies them into evidential value, historical value, aesthetic value and communal value.⁵⁸⁶ As can be seen from these different definitions of values, identification and judgement on ‘values’ can be very subjective and affected by the social contexts; the features that are valued in a certain period or by a certain group of people might not be valued in other situations.⁵⁸⁷ The misjudgement of ‘values’ would lead to the loss of original characteristics.

Thus, some characteristics were preserved after being valued, while some were overlooked in the practice and therefore damaged, or even lost. For example, the remaining rockwork in the Qiao Garden and the Gazing Garden were recognised and valued as a Ming Dynasty structure; but when the reconstructed section and extended section were built, little attention was paid to the typical ‘*xidong shangtai*’ structure of that period, as well as the shady atmosphere the

yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2015 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2015); Australia ICOMOS Inc., *Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)*, 1979, revised 1999, in *Australia ICOMOS* <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA-CHARTER-1999_charter-only.pdf> [accessed 29 Jul 2016]; Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments Committee, *The Venice Charter (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites)*, 1964, in *ICOMOS* <https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf> [accessed 29 Jul 2016].

⁵⁸² Tong Mingkang 童明康, ‘Foreword’, in ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2015, pp.53-57 (p.56).

⁵⁸³ Administration Council (*Zhengwu yuan* 政务院), ‘Guanyu baohu guwenwu jianzhu de zhishi 关于保护古文物建筑的指示 [Directive for the Conservation of Historical Cultural Relics and Buildings]’, in *Yunnan zhengbao* 云南政报 [Gazette of the People’s Government of Yunnan Province], 3 (1950), p.160; State Council of the People’s Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan* 中华人民共和国国务院), ‘Wenwu guanli zanxing tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics]’, in *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guowuyuan gongbao* 中华人民共和国国务院公报 [Bulletin of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China], 4 (1961), pp.76-79.

⁵⁸⁴ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2015, p.61 (article 3).

⁵⁸⁵ Australia ICOMOS Inc., *Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)*, 1979, revised 1999, article 1.

⁵⁸⁶ Conservation principles of English Heritage.

⁵⁸⁷ Kim Auston, ‘Values in Heritage Management: Conservation Plans and Beyond’, in *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. by Marion Harney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p.175; Sarah Couch, ‘Defining Significance and Developing a Conservation Philosophy’, in *Gardens and Landscapes in Historic Building Conservation*, ed. by Marion Harney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p.149.

dense plants created in the Qiao Garden. Consequently, these characteristics are not contained in the new sections; and the style of the new sections is not consistent with the original.

The flexible implementation of policies is another issue. According to the case studies explored, some of the conservation processes were not permitted by conservation policies. The inappropriate governmental intervention is possibly an important cause. The government is given great rights to affect the conservation projects. Current policies and guidance are revised with more details so as to restrict the conservation practice and protect the heritage as much as possible during the conservation process; however, there is always room for the exceptional case to violate the rules, according to the *Law and China Principles*. In the recently revised *China Principles* (2002, revised 2015), exceptional cases are defined as ‘major development projects of national importance’, which is always related to the economic imperatives and urban development demands.⁵⁸⁸ When approved by the government, certain conservation treatments would be permitted to apply, although they are not allowed in policies and guidance; such as the relocation of Osmanthus Hall in the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall and the extension of the Gazing Garden. Since the 1980s, when developing tourism became an important aim of protecting and restoring historic gardens, extending these gardens became a common approach; the extension of gardens, especially those small ones that belonged to private individuals, would provide enough space for the increasing number of tourists. Some of the extensions were claimed to be the restoration of vanished historical features, such as the west area in the Qiao Garden. In fact, extension is restricted by national policies, which should not be constructed without direct evidence like ‘textual verification of its historic condition’.⁵⁸⁹ The original state and appearance of the historical rockwork or the heritage site could easily be damaged by these treatments.

8.1.3 Influences of profits and aesthetic standards

Under the guidance of value-based policies, issues like the selective use of sources and inappropriate change of characteristics appeared, as explored in the four case studies. Apart from having insufficient historic knowledge on various trends and the characteristics of rockwork under each trend, these issues are also related to profits and up-to-date aesthetic standards.

⁵⁸⁸ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2015, p.93 (article 35).

⁵⁸⁹ National People’s Congress, *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, article 15; ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2004, p. 65 (article 33), 86 (commentary 13.3).

The former is normally related to the growth of tourism and urban development. Promoting cultural heritage has been considered as a way to promote culture since the 1980s, and the historical gardens were considered as tools to develop tourism and promote patriotism since the Reform and Opening-up. Meanwhile, the international guidance, such as the Florence Charter and Burra Charter also widely accepted that heritage can be appropriately or compatibly used.⁵⁹⁰ When the purpose of attracting tourists was put first, less attention was paid to conservation and historical authenticity. During the conservation of the Mountain House of Sliced Stones, most local officials and academics chose to believe that Shitao created this rockwork, because linking a well-known artist to the garden would bring more benefits to the garden as well as the city, compared with a craftsman with no record of famous work. In fact, academics like Craig Clunas and Cao Xun have already been questioning the authenticity of historical sources which listed artists as craftsmen or described craftsmen as ‘skilful at art’.⁵⁹¹ Both of them argued that very few original sources could be found to evidence the participation of these artists and scholars in the construction of some gardens and rockwork.

The integration of modern aesthetic standards also affects the retention of original values. Just as rockworks of different historical periods have their own characteristic styles, people nowadays also have their own aesthetic standards for gardens and rockwork. The current standards are influenced by the cultural context, surrounding environment and modern demands. However, the modern standards should not intervene in the conservation practice, otherwise the original state of the heritage would be affected and damaged. Again taking the Mountain House of Sliced Stones as an example, rocks in larger sizes were suggested for the reconstruction, as the use of small-sized rocks was considered as an abuse of a Yangzhou garden. But if small-sized rocks were commonly used in historical Yangzhou gardens, it might be an important regional characteristic that formed for a certain reason. It should not be judged by modern aesthetic views. This is similar to the opinion that considers rockwork of the late Qing Dynasty as being vulgar while those of the Ming Dynasty are elegant.⁵⁹² The former was

⁵⁹⁰ ICOMOS – IFLA International Committee for Historic Gardens, *Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981)*, adopted by ICOMOS in 1982, article 18-22, in *ICOMOS*

<https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/gardens_e.pdf>[accessed 29 Jul 2016]; Australia ICOMOS Inc., *Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)*, 1979, revised 1999, article 7.

⁵⁹¹ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), p.62-63; Cao Xun 曹汛, ‘Shitao dieshan renjian gupin, yige anqian er cushu de yuanlin tonghua 石涛叠山“人间孤品”，一个娴浅而粗疏的园林童话 [The “Only Survivor” of Shitao’s Rockwork]’, in *Jianzhushi 建筑师 [The Architect]*, 4 (2007), pp.94-102; Cao Xun 曹汛, ‘Zouchu wuqu, gei liyu yige dinglun 走出误区,给李渔一个定论 [Escape Misunderstandings, Give A Final Verdict for Li Yu]’, in *Jianzhushi 建筑师 [The Architect]*, 6(2007), pp.93-100.

⁵⁹² Wei Feiyu 魏菲宇, ‘Zhongguo yuanlin zhishi duoshan sheji lifalun 中国园林置石掇山设计理论论 [A Study on Theories and Methods of Placing Stones and Piling Hills in Chinese Landscape]’ (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Beijing linye daxue, 2009), p.17.

commonly recorded as having intricate structures, and sometimes imitating the shapes of animals. Many of the latter were recorded as having been created with the aim of imitating and reproducing the features of real mountains, such as level hillocks and gentle slopes; gardens of the Ming Dynasty were therefore considered as ‘refined scholar’s gardens’ embodying ‘natural harmony’, and even frequently considered as a model for restoration projects.⁵⁹³ These are actually the leading style of each period, which was preferred under the contemporaneous cultural contexts, and should all be valued and preserved during conservation. Extending historical gardens is another way of meeting modern requirements. The increasing numbers of tourists require larger spaces; however, most traditional Chinese gardens, especially those of private individuals, are formed with a series of small and confined spaces but produce visual richness and complexity.⁵⁹⁴ In order to accommodate the tourists and provide more features for their activities, gardens were extended, although some were claimed as reconstructions of missing features. In many extended parts, the design of newly-constructed garden features did not follow the characteristics and styles of the historical remains, but created a generic style of classical gardens based on current aesthetic standards.

8.1.4 Archive administration review

Documenting the state of historical gardens and rockworks before the conservation treatments took place and recording the conservation process are crucial for the protection of cultural relics. The archiving of documents is part of the heritage site management which is considered to be ‘fundamental to the conservation of heritage sites’.⁵⁹⁵ Since the 1960s, ‘Wenwu guanli zanxing tiaoli 文物管理暂行条例 [Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics]’ issued in 1961 required relevant offices to record historical sites with measurements, photographs and written records.⁵⁹⁶ By then, records were required for structures that had to be dismantled. Later, in 1982, the *Law* (1982) stated the requirement of establishing individual records for each protected Historical and Cultural Site.⁵⁹⁷

However, records are not very well archived as required. During the fieldwork in ten cities and twenty-six gardens, it was found that, currently, the records of a historical garden are archived

⁵⁹³ Tobie Meyer-Fong, ‘Civil War, Revolutionary Heritage, and the Chinese Garden’, in *Cross-Current, East Asian History and Culture Review*, 13 (2014), pp.75-98 (p.78).

⁵⁹⁴ Rong Yu, Michael J. Ostwald, and Ning Gu, ‘Parametrically Generating New Instances of Traditional Chinese Private Gardens that Replicate Selected Socio-spatial and Aesthetic Properties’, in *Nexus Network Journal Architecture and Mathematics*, 17(2015), pp.807-829.

⁵⁹⁵ ICOMOS China, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, 2002, revised 2015, p.20 (article 23) and p.78.

⁵⁹⁶ State Council, ‘Temporary Regulations for the Administration of Cultural Relics’, in *Bulletin of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China*, 4 (1961), pp.76-79.

⁵⁹⁷ National People’s Congress, *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, article 9.

in different governmental departments and offices, despite each garden having its own administration office. For most gardens, records since the twentieth century are collected in the Bureau of Garden and Landscape, Bureau of Cultural Relics, Bureau of Urban Planning or Urban Construction Archives, and municipal Archives, while historical records are found in local libraries, museums and gazetteer offices. Each government office only holds the documents issued by them or related to them. For example, the Bureau of Garden and Landscape and the Bureau of Urban Planning or Urban Construction Archives, normally have the proposal of each conservation project, depending on which bureau was in charge. Also, most departments mentioned that they only collected records and documents created after the department was established; they rarely investigate and archive relevant records before that. Since many of them were established in the 1980s, conservation records before that time were hard to find or access. Moreover, each department was barely aware what records are archived in other departments and offices. During the informal talk with staff in the administration office and relevant departments, I was told very often that they do not know what kind of records would be available or where to find them.⁵⁹⁸ Due to the lack of unified management, records were easily lost. When a new phase of conservation process starts in the future, the complete records would be difficult to collect, which would further affect the understanding of the history of the garden and the retention of the original state and appearance.

8.1.5 Insufficient records and inaccurate survey maps

Records of a garden and its rockwork include historic paintings, historic texts, photos, survey maps, and various forms of written records, such as relevant governmental documents and registration and recording forms. Apart from the archiving issue, the quality of some records was problematic.

In many cases, the records of the conservation process are incomplete, despite some might be lost due to archiving issues. The missing, inaccurate, or brief records would severely affect the conservation process later on when valid and sufficient information is needed. The conservation of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall is a typical example. The garden in the middle of the site was almost fully destroyed during the 1960s and 1970s, although it was nominated as a Historical and Cultural Site in 1962, and its rockwork was considered as a representative example of ‘*hanyuan shuizuo* 旱园水作 [dry garden constructed as a water garden]’ In the survey before destruction, limited information was recorded. Since only textual records were made, how the

⁵⁹⁸ See interview summary in appendix 2.

rocks were located and arranged to create the dry garden setting became unknown after the garden and its rockwork vanished. The lack of records also became an obstacle for the reconstruction and the retention of the original appearance.

Although some historic gardens were documented with both textual and visual records, their accuracy is a severe issue. There are significant problems in survey maps, especially for the depicting of garden features of irregular shape, like rockwork. Rockwork which has an anomalous shape on every single stone as well as the entire composition was one of the garden features that proved most difficult to survey. In addition to the intricate shapes, the complicated footpaths and the uneven heights of rockwork also increased the difficulty.

Most of the survey maps of historic gardens archived in relevant offices are schematic maps. As Figure 8-4 shows, the survey maps of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall and Mountain House of Sliced Stones only roughly depict the location of the features. In fact, this map was made during the survey prior to the recent conservation process in the 2010s; but with such a brief map, it is impossible to tell the shape, and even size, of the rockwork. Thus, it became difficult to recognise the change in the rockwork's layout and size caused by the subsequent conservation treatment.

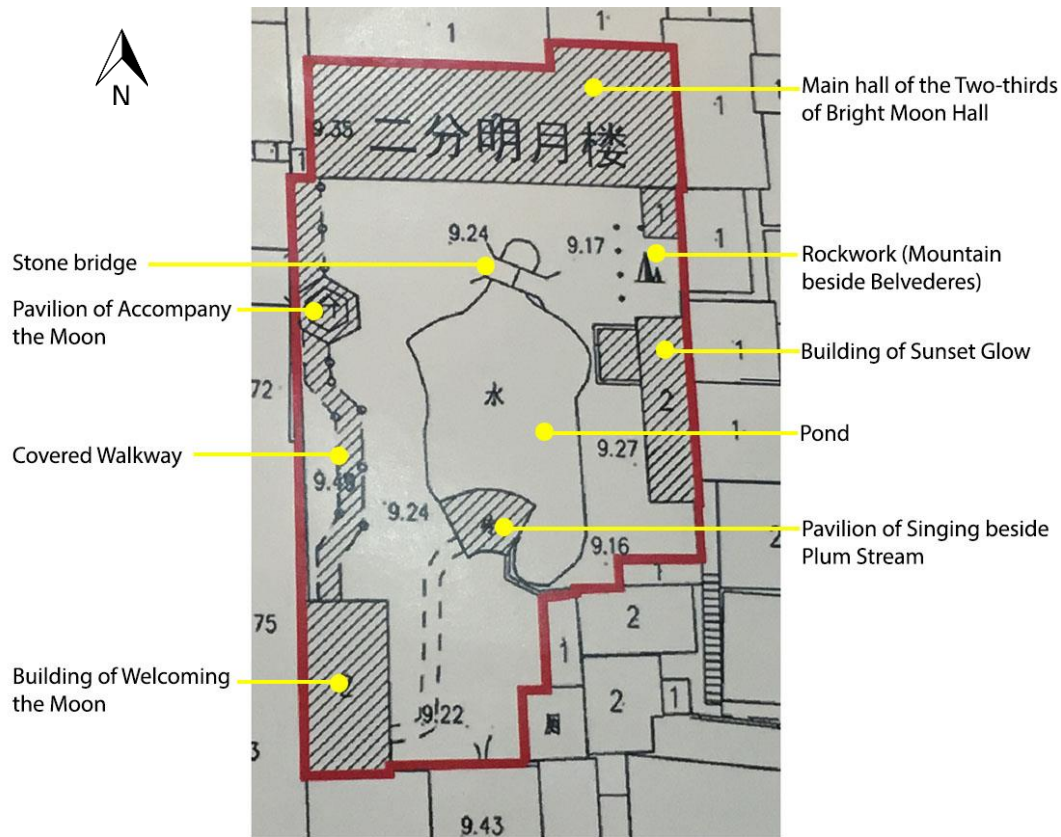


Figure 8-4. Schematic survey map of the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall in the early 2010s. (Source: Yangzhou Architecture Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. (*Yangzhoushi jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan youxian gongsi* 扬州市建筑设计研究院有限公司), *Dayunhe—Yangzhou yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou], held by Administration Office of He Garden (*Heyuan guanli chu* 何园管理处). North arrow added by thesis author.

While the officially archived survey maps are limited in number and provide undetailed information on the layout and size of rockwork, the survey maps created by academics normally provide richer information. As explored in Chapter One, academics like Tong Jun, Lu Sheng and Liu Dunzhen surveyed a large number of historical buildings and gardens; with their students and colleagues, careful measurements were taken. They were able to provide a detailed measurement of every element in the garden. Nevertheless, survey results of rockwork and other irregular garden features were still imprecise. Figures 8-5 and 8-6 are both survey maps of the same garden but created by different professors who were assisted by different groups of students. When comparing the rockwork depicted on these two maps, the differences in the shapes of the rockwork as well as the two ponds, as marked by the circular frames, can be recognised.

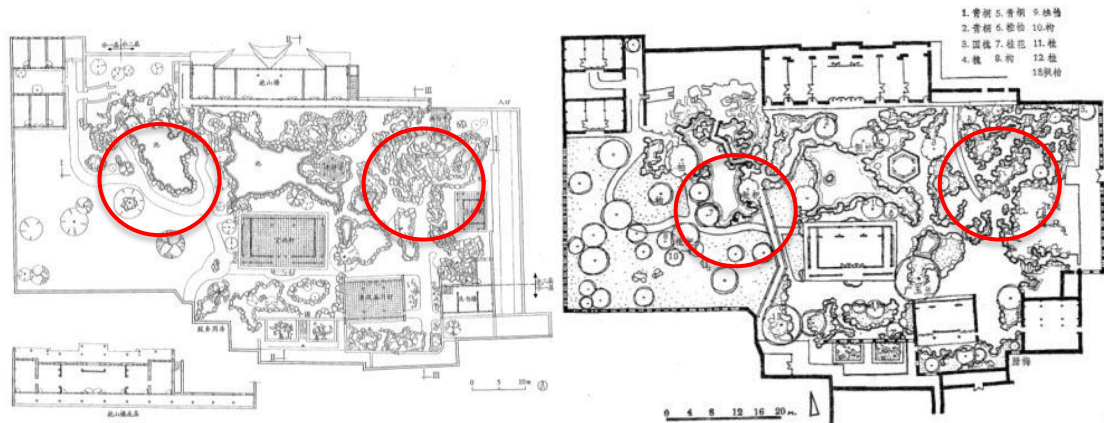


Figure 8-5. (left) Survey plan of Ge Garden, by Pan Guxi. (Source: Pan Guxi 潘谷西, *Jiangnan lijing yishu 江南理景艺术* [The Art of Landscaping in Jiangnan] (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2011), p.151.)

Figure 8-6. (right) Survey plan of Ge Garden, by Meng Zhaozhen. (Source: Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆祯, 'Jiashan Qianshi 假山浅识 [Introduction of Rockwork]', in *Meng zhaozhen wenji: fengjing yuanlin lilun yu shijian 孟兆祯文集: 风景园林理论与实践* [Proceedings of Meng Zhaozhen: Landscape Practice and Theory], ed. by Qi Qige 其其格 (Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 2011), p.12.)

The inaccuracy of maps is caused by the presentation style of rockwork in some cases. This can be seen by comparing Figure 8-7 with Figure 8-8, two survey maps of the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty produced by different research groups. Figure 8-7 depicts the rockwork and its changing valleys with contour lines, while Figure 8-8 hardly shows the location, shape and topography of the same rockwork. In some survey maps, the existence of rockwork was not even shown, as they only depicted the footpaths and overlooked the rocks. It is the same for the survey map shown as Figure 8-9, in which the rockwork located between the pond and the southernmost building is completely overlooked; but the footpaths on the rockwork are shown.

Apart from the differences in presentation, issues like the lack of date, scale and orientation can also be found in some survey maps, even in recent documents. Recently, the Suzhou Garden Archives (*Suzhou yuanlin dang'anguan 苏州园林档案馆*), helped the Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he lühua guanliju 苏州市园林和绿化管理局*) to produce and store 'edited gazetteers (*zhigao 志稿*)' for several gardens. The *Yipu zhi 艺圃志* [Gazetteer of Garden of Cultivation] published in 2014 involves a survey map of its current layout and state; although the features are depicted in detail, there is no information on the creation date, scale and north compass (Fig. 8-10). Some of the gazetteers totally lack any survey map, such as the

Wangshi yuan zhi 网师园志 [Gazetteer of Master-of-nets Garden] and the *Shizi lin zhi* 狮子林志 [Gazetteer of Shizi lin].⁵⁹⁹

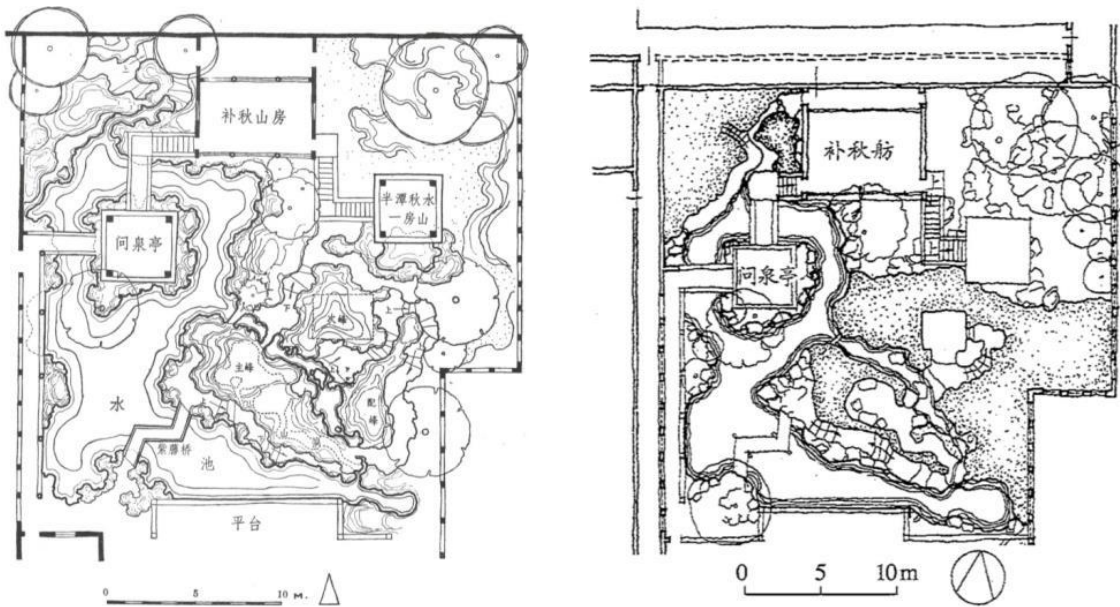


Figure 8-7. (left) Survey plan of Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty by Meng Zhaozhen, in which the rockwork was depicted with contour lines. (Source: Meng Zhaozhen, 'Introduction of Rockwork', p.10.)

Figure 8-8. (right) Survey plan of Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty by Pan Guxi, in which the rockwork was depicted with dots and looked like mounds. (Source: Pan Guxi, *The Art of Landscape in Jiangnan Area*, p. 181.)

⁵⁹⁹ *Wangshiyuan zhi* 网师园志 [Gazetteer of Master-of-nets Garden], ed. by Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he lühua guanliju* 苏州市园林和绿化管理局) (Shanghai: Wenhua chubanshe, 2014); *Shizilin zhi (chugao)* 狮子林志 (初稿) [Gazetteer of Shizilin(draft)], ed. by Editing Office for the Editing of Gazetteer of Shizilin, Suzhou Bureau of Gardens (*Suzhoushi yuanlin guanliju xiuzhi bangongshi shizilin bianxiezu* 苏州市园林管理局修志办公室狮子林编写组), 1986, held by Suzhou Garden Archives (*Suzhou yuanlin dang'anguan* 苏州园林档案馆). (Document no. 1.1-011).

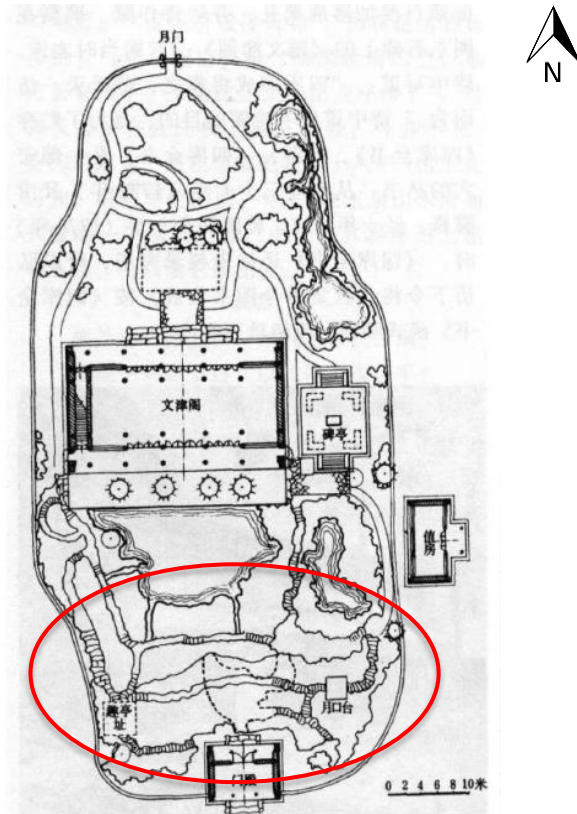


Figure 8-9. Survey map of Wenjin Chamber, drawn by Yang Tianzai in 1983, in which the main garden feature rockwork was not depicted except for the footpath on it. The north compass is added by the author of this thesis. (Source: Yang Tianzai 杨天在, 'Bishushanzhuang de wenjin ge 避暑山庄的文津阁 [Wenjin Chamber in The Mountain Resort]', in *Yuanmingyuan xuekan 圆明园学刊 [Journal of Yuanmingyuan]*, 2 (1983), pp.163-165 (p.164).) North arrow added by thesis author.



Figure 8-10. Survey map of restored Garden of Cultivation, no date provided. The north compass is added by the author of this thesis. (Source: *Yipu zhi 艺圃志 [Gazetteer of Garden of Cultivation]*, ed. by Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he lühua guanliju 苏州市园林和绿化管理局*) (Shanghai: Wenhua chubanshe, 2016).) North arrow added by thesis author.

The schematic way of making maps might be a tradition. Although the land surveying and mapping in China had a long history and reached a world-leading level in ancient times, many of them lack accurate information about their size, location and scale⁶⁰⁰. As shown in Figure 8-11, symbols were used to represent garden features including small rockwork, a pond, some plants and several buildings.

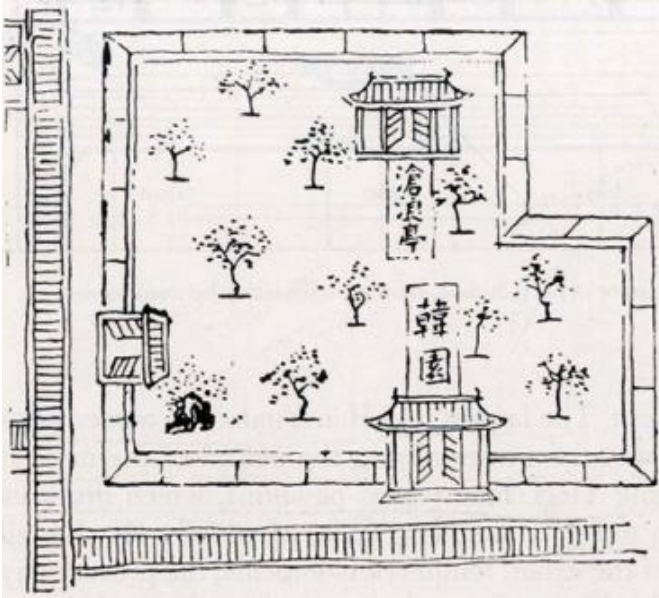


Figure 8-11. The Han Garden in the 'Pingjiang tu 平江图 [Map of Pingjiang]', today's Suzhou, carved in stone in 1229. The plan of the garden is very sketchy; although it shows some buildings; trees and a pond with small rockwork within the garden, the size and location are unclear. (Source: Suzhou Library, 2013.)

8.2 Good practices of rockwork conservation

Although many issues were found in the conservation projects studied in this thesis, some practices had positive effects on the retention of historic characteristics. These practices should be highlighted and discussed, so as to be learnt and implemented in future projects.

8.2.1 Historic research

According to the analysis of the four cases, there were changes in structure, material, joints, and other features of historic rockwork during the conservation process. Lacking thorough exploration, the analysis of the history of the garden and its rockwork is an important cause. Although not perfect, the historical research conducted during the conservation of the Mountain

⁶⁰⁰ Gu Liyuan 古丽圆, Jan Woudstra, Gu Xinren 古新仁, 'Sanwei shuzi jishu zai yuanlin cehuizhong de yingyong 三维数字技术在园林测绘中的应用——以假山测绘为例 [The Application of Digital 3D Technology in Garden Surveys – Rockwork as a Case Study]', in *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 [Architectural Journal], 2016, S1, pp.35-40.

House of Sliced Stones, especially the analysis of Shitao's paintings, has shown some good practices which could be generalised.

In this conservation project, the celebrated seventeenth-century artist Shitao was considered as the craftsman who constructed the Precipitous Mountain (*Qiaobi shan* 峭壁山) in the garden. This is very likely an arbitrary decision motivated by other interests. Nevertheless, after 'deciding' that Shitao was the craftsman, the conservation team collected and studied a large number of Shitao's paintings. By comparing various mountains depicted in these paintings, common characteristics were summarised, including the shape of the summit, the form of the revetment and the form and location of steps. By further comparing with the remaining rockwork, similar features were identified and then restored based on the summarised characteristics. With this approach, the damaged rockwork was restored and successfully carried the style of Shitao's paintings.

It is the comprehensive study of the features and characteristics of rockwork that ought to be learnt and spread to other conservation projects. This can help avoid being influenced by modern aesthetic standards as well as not transforming the rockwork into a generic style.

8.2.2 The making of joints

Although the constructing and repairing of joints is a frequently neglected topic, it became a common issue in rockwork conservation where there are some well pointed examples; good practice can be found in both the construction and reinforcement processes.

In the southern rockwork of the Gazing Garden, the rock mountain was well constructed in the 1960s with joints that were nearly invisible, which kept the style of the historic rock-dominant rockwork in the same garden. Although the joints were well made, the overall design of the southern rockwork did remain consistent with the historical rockworks. However, adding such a new rockwork in a historic garden violated the conservation guidance.

Among reinforcement projects, the recently repointed rockwork, the Swallow Valley (*yangu* 燕谷) in the Swallow Garden (*Yan yuan* 燕园) is an example demonstrating good practice. The conservation proposal obtained from the constructor, Suzhou Garden Development Company (*Suzhou yuanlin fazhan gufen youxiangongsi* 苏州园林发展股份有限公司), indicated that they were aware of the significance of traditional pointing materials and techniques. They proposed to use common pointing materials of the Qing Dynasty. At that time, lime, China wood oil (*tongyou* 桐油) and sticky rice were the main ingredients, and red iron oxide was used to form

the colour of Yellow Stones, which is the material of the Swallow Valley.⁶⁰¹ In terms of techniques, they aimed to have a neat and smooth finish, and leave room to form natural gaps instead of fully-filling the cracks. When I visited the site in 2017, the repointing had just finished. The result shows that the proposed techniques were implemented, as the repointed gaps are narrow. Currently, the colour is greyish white, but it will turn darker with time if red iron oxide was used as stated in the conservation proposal (Fig. 8-12).



Figure 8-12. Rockwork under reinforcement in Swallow Garden, in which the repointed gaps between rocks are nearly invisible. (Source: author, 2017.)

8.2.3 Specific rules on historic gardens and rockwork

Currently in China, there are no nation-wide regulations focusing on the conservation and protection of historic gardens, although there are regulations for gardens and landscape, such as *Chengshi yuanlin lühua guanli tiaoli* 城市园林绿化管理条例 [Regulations for the

⁶⁰¹ Suzhou Garden Development Company (*Suzhou yuanlin fazhan gufen youxiangongsi* 苏州园林发展股份有限公司), 'Changshu yanyuan tingyuan jiashan baoyang ji lühua tisheng fang'an' 常熟燕园庭院假山保养及绿化提升方案 [The Proposal for the Maintain of Rockwork and Development of Vegetation in the Swallow Garden in Changshu], 2017, held by Suzhou Garden Development Company (*Suzhou yuanlin fazhan gufen youxiangongsi* 苏州园林发展股份有限公司).

Management of Urban Landscapes] and *Fengjing mingshengqu tiaoli* 风景名胜区条例 [Regulations for Scenic Sites].

Nevertheless, in Suzhou, some municipal rules were formulated specifically for the protection of historic gardens within the city. Being referred to as a ‘garden city’ since the early 1980s and having nine gardens nominated as UNESCO sites, Suzhou pays much attention to historical gardens.⁶⁰² The *Suzhou yuanlin baohu he guanli tiaoli* 苏州园林保护和管理条例 [Regulations for the Protection and Management of Suzhou Garden] was promulgated and implemented in 1997. But after the implementation of this regulation, the number of historical gardens was still reducing and issues were appearing in conservation projects. Thus, the Suzhou government drafted a new regulation, the *Suzhou yuanlin fenlei baohu guanli banfa* 苏州园林分类保护管理办法 [Methods of Classification Protection and Management of Suzhou Gardens; hereafter, the *Methods* (2016)] in 2016.⁶⁰³ The draft *Methods* (2016) suggested specific treatments for different elements in gardens, including buildings, rockwork, furniture, inscription boards and plants. Although the descriptions in the draft are still very brief and blurred, and not enough to guide the actual process, it is still an improvement and should be encouraged. Apart from the management of gardens, Suzhou also promulgated guidelines on the archiving of records related to gardens: *Suzhou yuanlin zhuan ye dang'an yijiao jieshou banfa (shixing)* 苏州园林专业档案移交接收办法 (试行) [Measures for Transferring and Receiving Archives Specialising in Gardens (Trial Implementation); hereafter the *Trial Implementation* (2008)](2008).⁶⁰⁴ This *Trial Implementation* (2008) stipulated the requirements of managing all garden-related records in detail, and required the transfer of all archives to one office for unified management.

8.2.4 Special archives for historic gardens

All the cities visited during fieldwork have issues with the administration of archiving. Among them, Suzhou has a better system of archiving documents. It has a special department, the

⁶⁰² Gao Lei, ‘“ Breaking and Repairing”: Conflicting Values in the Historic Gardens of China’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2010), p.179.

⁶⁰³ Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he luhua guanliju* 苏州市园林和绿化管理局), *Suzhou yuanlin fenlei baohu guanli banfa (songshen gao)* 苏州园林分类保护管理办法 (送审稿) [Methods of Classification Protection and Management of Suzhou Gardens (draft submission)], 2016, in Suzhou Office of Legislative Affairs (*Suzhou fazhiban* 苏州法制办), <<http://www.szfzb.gov.cn/015/qlyginfodetail.html?rowguid=GF201606120001&type=4>> [accessed 29 August 2017].

⁶⁰⁴ Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuanlin he luhua guanliju* 苏州市园林和绿化管理局), *Suzhou yuanlin zhuan ye dang'an yijiao jieshou banfa (shixing)* 苏州园林专业档案移交接收办法(试行) [Measures on Transferring and Receiving Archives Specialising in Gardens (Trial Implementation)], 2008, document no. 苏园办[2008]3号, in *Suzhou Garden Archives (Suzhou yuanlin dang'anguan* 苏州园林档案馆), <<https://www.gardenly.com/index.php/yldag/detail/page/203/i/2.html>>[accessed 4 September 2017].

Suzhou Garden Archives, which was set up in 2000 and is responsible for collecting and archiving all types of records of gardens in Suzhou. As mentioned above, *Suzhou's Trial Implementation* (2008) required all other departments to transfer relevant archives to this new department. The Suzhou Garden Archives ought to receive, collect and keep five main groups of documents: historic materials, records of construction, reconstruction, expansion and conservation projects, records of urban landscape development, records of garden management and relevant research materials.⁶⁰⁵ Some of the archives collected in the Suzhou Garden Archives are accessible to the general public.

Each garden has an individual file as required by the *Law* (1982).⁶⁰⁶ It helps to summarise records of some gardens and publish edited gazetteers for each of them. The aim of creating the gazetteer is stated as for preserving the history, as they were aware of the fact that the records might scatter in different departments and become lost due to the restructuring of departments; therefore, the gazetteer is written for later generations to understand the history.⁶⁰⁷ The gazetteers written and published by this archive became the main public-access record, while the remaining records are not fully open to the public. However, the edited gazetteers are not a complete collection of records. As mentioned previously, some types of records are not included, such as the survey maps of different periods and conservation proposals, which are the evidence of what changes the garden has experienced. For rockwork, we would not be able to know its exact location, size, structure and form with only texts and photos.

8.2.5 Recording and surveying

Currently, most gardens are surveyed by traditional methods; but garden features in irregular shapes, such as rockwork, are not accurately measured. Despite their complicated shapes, some rockwork was large, or on a slope, or beside a pond, or built against buildings and walls; these situations increase the difficulty for not only the traditional methods, but also new methods like laser scanning and close-range photogrammetry.⁶⁰⁸ Thus, it is vital to introduce and try new

⁶⁰⁵ Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape, *Measures for Transferring and Receiving Archives Specialised in Gardens (Trial Implementation)*, part 2.

⁶⁰⁶ National People's Congress, *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*, 1982, articles 9, and 12.

⁶⁰⁷ Yi Xueling 衣学领, 'Xu 序 [Forward]', in *Yipu zhi 艺圃志 [Gazetteer of Garden of Cultivation]*, ed. by Suzhou Bureau of Garden and Landscape (*Suzhoushi yuannlin he lühua guanliju 苏州市园林和绿化管理局*) (Shanghai: Wenhua chubanshe, 2016).

⁶⁰⁸ Yu Mengzhe 喻梦哲, Lin Xi 林溪, 'Jiyu sanwei jiguang saomiao yu jinjing sheying celiang jishu de gudian yuannlin chishan bufen cehui fangfa tanxi 基于三维激光扫描与近景摄影测量技术的古典园林池山部分测绘方法探析 [Pilot Study on the Method of Surveying Ponds and Rockwork in Classical Gardens, based on the Technology of 3D Laser Scanning and Close-shot Photogrammetry]', in *Fengjing yuannlin 风景园林[Landscape Architecture]*, 2(2017), pp.117-122.

approaches. In this research, aerial photogrammetry is tested and applied. Aerial videos and photos were taken first with camera and drones; then, with the help of some software, collected visual materials were processed so as to generate a site map and 3D models. According to the result, this approach can improve the accuracy and solve the problems mentioned previously, despite some new issues being discovered.

During the fieldwork, four sites were permitted for starting the pilot studies with drones. They are the rockwork in the complex of Four Dvipas (*Sida buzhou* 四大部洲, also known as Fairyland of Sumeru [*xumi lingjing* 须弥灵境]) in the Summer Palace (*Yihe yuan* 颐和园), and the main rockwork in the Wenjin Chamber (*Wenjin ge* 文津阁) and the complex of Tower of Mist and Rain (*Yanyu lou* 烟雨楼) in the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (*Chengde bishu shanzhuang* 承德避暑山庄). This thesis takes the Four Dvipas as an example to discuss the result of the pilot studies in depth. It is a typical example that causes difficulties for current survey methods; it is large (about 70-metres long) and located on the slope of an earth mountain. A limited number of survey maps were conducted for this site, and currently available ones are very blurred on the rockwork (Fig. 8-13).

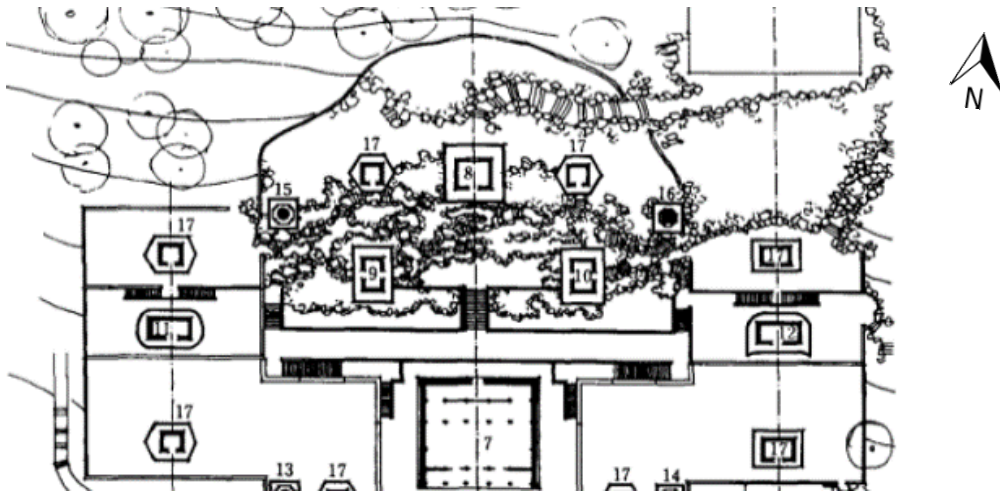


Figure 8-13. The survey map of Four Dvipas in the Summer Palace (part). (Source: School of Architecture Tsinghua University (*Qinghua daxue jianzhuxi* 清华大学建筑系), *Yiheyuan* 颐和园 [The Summer Palace] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2000), p.440.) North arrow added by thesis author.

This rockwork was filmed from the sky by a GoPro 3 carried by a drone. The drone started by flying low and close to the rockwork in order to film the details of rockwork; and ended up filming from a higher altitude, where the whole rockwork can be framed in the same shot. The width of buildings and roads on the levelled ground were measured separately with tapes and a laser distance meter, so as to form a scale for the survey map.

Information collected during the pilot study shows that images taken from low altitude flight would present different shapes, due to distortions of structures and the shade from buildings (Fig. 8-14). At the same time, these images provide more detailed information for features like the footpath and steps. Images taken from high altitude, on the other hand, show a direct and more accurate picture of the whole layout (Fig. 8-15). However, the footpaths on several sections are difficult to recognise. Thus, a hand-drawn map is created by tracing the high-altitude image and marking the footpath and steps by referencing images from low altitude. As show in Figure 8-16, the hand-drawn survey map created based on aerial photos provides clearer visual evidence of the location, shapes and footpaths of the rockwork.



Figure 8-14. Two aerial photos of the west side of the rockwork in the Four Dvipas, Summer Palace, taken from two angles. The red frames show the same section of rockwork filmed from different angles. (Source: author, 2014.) North arrow added by thesis author.



Figure 8-15. The top view image of the Four Dvipas generated from aerial photos. (Source: author, 2014.) North arrow added by thesis author.

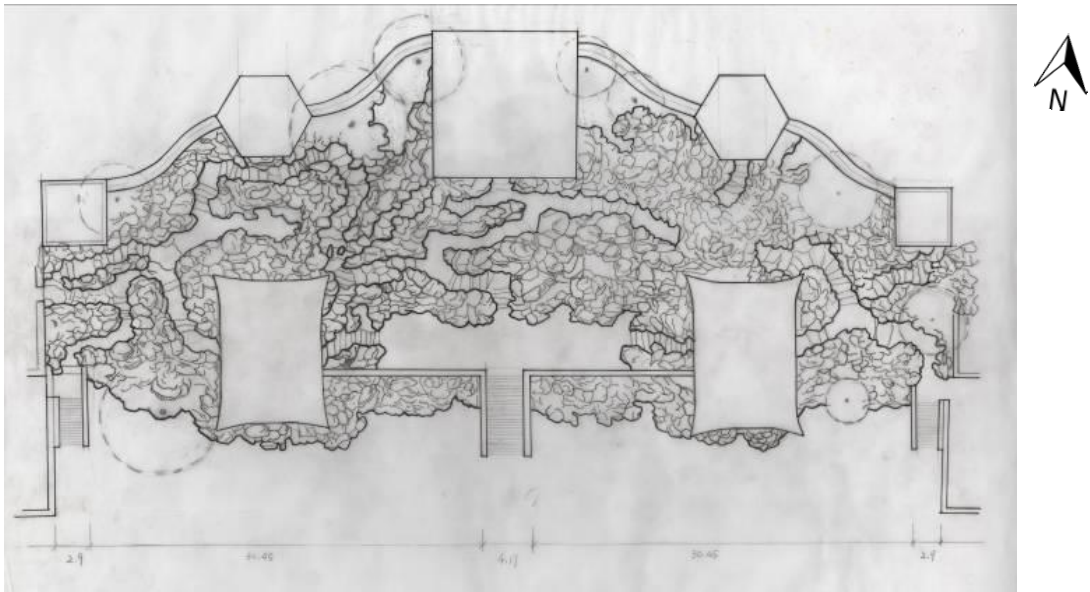


Figure 8-16. Hand-drawn survey map based on the top view image. (Source: author, 2014.) North arrow added by thesis author.

In order to reduce distortion and errors when creating the survey map manually and to make more use of the aerial photos, a 3D model was developed with the help of relevant software. Software such as Visual SFM,⁶⁰⁹ CMVS,⁶¹⁰ Meshlab, Autodesk 123D Catch and Pix4D were tried. By processing visual data from aerial videos, 3D models of the rockwork can be built and maps generated. The last two programs are easier to use, and able to provide a better result in terms of the accuracy of the shape and the colour. Figures 8-17 and 8-18 show the map and model generated by Autodesk 123D.

⁶⁰⁹ VisualSFM is a GUI application for 3D modelling, created by Changchang Wu.

⁶¹⁰ CMVS is software created by Yasutaka Furukawa.

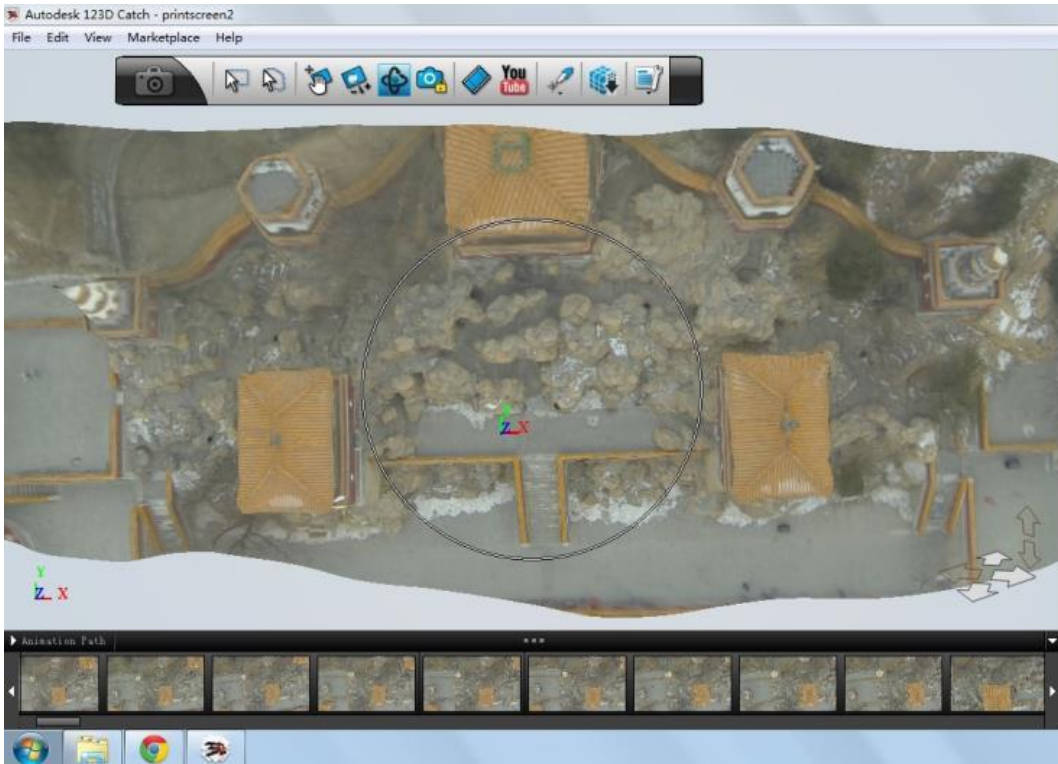


Figure 8-17. 3D model of the rockwork in The Four Dvipas, produced by Autodesk 123D Catch (bird view). (Source: author, 2014.)

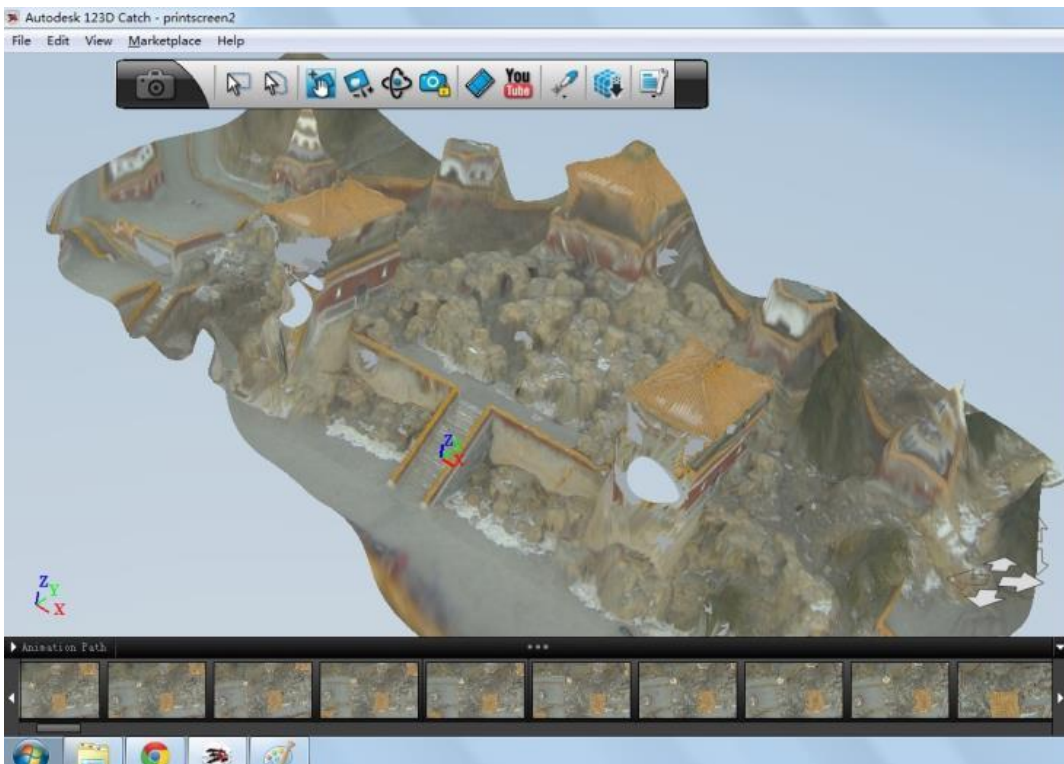


Figure 8-18. 3D model of the rockwork in the Four Dvipas in the Summer Palace, produced by Autodesk 123D Catch (perspective view). (Source: author, 2014.)

Comparing these two new maps with the old one (Fig. 8-13) made by traditional survey methods, the new ones are clearer, and able to show the actual boundary of the rockwork, the footpaths and even individual rocks. Thus, the photogrammetry is useful and applicable in the survey of historic gardens and rockwork since it can substantially increase the accuracy of survey maps, provide much direct information by producing 3D models and save much time during the survey both on- and off-site. The information the new maps provided benefits the management as well as further research into historical rockwork as well as other cultural heritage.⁶¹¹ Currently, it is suggested to develop 3D models and photogrammetry content for heritage surveying, recording and educational use.⁶¹²

Nevertheless, some other issues appeared in this pilot study, which need to be solved in future studies. While the map clearly shows the top view of the whole rockwork, some parts of the 3D model are missing (Fig. 8-18). This is due to the lack of detailed visual data collected for the elevation of every side. This issue can be solved if the rockwork was filmed from all angles, including the vertical sides. According to the pilot studies on various sites, vegetation, especially large trees, that is planted among or beside the rockwork is another challenge for creating an accurate map and 3D model. They would affect the detection of the real structure, and also hinder the movement of the drone. Additionally, the internal structure, like caves, was not shown in either the map or the model because the equipment used was not able to film and survey such small and dark voids. This is currently a major issue for photogrammetry surveying.⁶¹³ In order to solve all issues and provide a more accurate result, more techniques and equipment should be considered and tested.

8.3 Conclusion

The four case studies have evidenced that the original state and appearance of historic rockworks has been modified to various extents. This chapter discussed the changes of characteristics during the conservation process, such as the use of different materials and the change of joints and patterns. The changes are more pronounced among the so-called

⁶¹¹ Fabrizio Galeazzi, '3D Recording, Documentation and Management of Cultural Heritage', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(2017), pp.671-673.

⁶¹² John McCarthy, 'Multi-image Photogrammetry as A Practical Tool for Cultural Heritage Survey and Community Engagement', in *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 43(2014), pp.175-185; M. Ioannides, P. Chatzigrigoriou, V. Bokolas, V. Nikolakopoulou, and V. Athanasiou, 'Educational Use of 3D Models and Photogrammetry Content: the European Space Project for Cypriot UNESCO Monuments', in *Proceedings of Fourth International Conference on Remote Sensing and Geoinformation of the Environment*, ed. by K. Themistocleous, D.G. Hadjimitsis, S. Michaelides, G. Papadavid (Paphos: SPIE, 2016), pp.96880W-96880W.

⁶¹³ Yu Mengzhe, and Lin Xi, 'Pilot Study on the Method of Surveying Ponds and Rockwork in Classical Gardens, based on the Technology of 3D Laser Scanning and Close-shot Photogrammetry', pp.117-122.

'reconstructed' rockworks, many of which were built or 'reconstructed' with insufficient historical evidence: in some cases, even their structure and form would be different from existing rockworks in the same garden. Based on the discussion in this chapter, the changes were caused by various general issues, including:

- A lack of knowledge of contemporaneous aesthetic principles and how they have evolved over time.
- A lack of knowledge of the historic fabric, and the use of 'wrong' materials.
- A lack of understanding of historical techniques.
- Flexible interpretation and implementation of conservation guidelines.
- Pressure to provide an economic return and cater to current aesthetic standards.
- Insufficient documentation, recording and archiving.
- Rockwork surveys being ineffective, and mostly schematic.

Although general issues are summarised, there are some positive aspects identified in the case studies. Some projects include good practices in the exploration of historical characteristics, the understanding of historical techniques and the materials of joints. Some cities promulgated specific rules for the conservation of historic gardens and set up special archives for them. This project also tested a new method of surveying which helps to improve the accuracy of rockwork surveys.

Only with the discussion and summary of both bad and good practices, can specific suggestions be made that will improve current conservation and benefit the protection of historic rockwork. Suggestions corresponding to the identified issues and good examples are proposed in the following conclusion chapter.

Chapter 9. Recommendations and conclusion

In this thesis, through critical literature review and four case studies, the research focused on the conservation of historic rockwork, and demonstrated that many historic gardens have been transformed into generic versions during conservation; and the original appearance and state of historic rockwork have been damaged. I argue that the transformation caused to historic rockwork was due to the conservation team's ignorance of the historical characteristics, the significance of the rockwork.

The present research outlined the general significance of rockwork historically, and identified the trends of rockwork construction during each period, as a basis for understanding and investigating the characteristics of specific rockwork in individual gardens. In this thesis, the bad and good practices in current conservation processes were identified, so as to contribute recommendations for and rectify future practice. The two main research questions that guided this research were: How have the original appearance and state been retained? How to improve the conservation practice?

These questions were answered across the three parts of the thesis. First, the historical development of rockwork was demonstrated, and the trends of various periods were identified. Second, the national conservation policies and guidance were reviewed in order to understand the development of national concerns and conservation approaches for cultural heritage in China, including historic gardens. Using the findings of the previous two parts, the third part scrutinized the conservation of four gardens in detail. Through the four case studies, the researcher critically evaluated a range of conservation treatments that historic rockworks have received, and revealed several types of conservation issues.

This chapter reviews and analyses the significance of the three parts of the thesis, and draw conclusions for each of them respectively. Specific recommendations are then drawn from the present research to guide and improve current conservation practices.

9.1 Significance of summarising the typology of rockwork

After thoroughly demonstrating the changes in the history of rockwork in Chinese gardens, the present thesis offered an analysis of the development of rockwork and of the various trends of construction during different periods. According to the findings summarised in Table 2, there

are marked differences between the characteristics of the most popular rockwork for each period. For each construction trend, one or two out of the total of three forms (earth mountain, earth-rock mountain and individually displayed rocks) are more popular than others; and the aesthetic standards for each form vary in different periods. For example, scarcely any individually displayed rocks were mentioned and found in any records before the Tang Dynasty. On the contrary, during the Tang and Song Dynasties, individually displayed rocks became the most popular form of rockwork. Afterwards in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, the use of individual rocks was again reduced and earth-rock mountains were preferred.

Scrutinising the historical construction trends of rockwork helps the historian understand the characteristics of rockworks in each period, which is in turn beneficial for the work of conservators of historic rockwork. By comparing each surviving rockwork with the most popular trend during the period of its creation as recorded in historical source, it is in most cases possible to obtain a better understanding of a given rockwork's historical significance. Such comparison reveals the designer's intention behind each feature: for example, if the design followed contemporaneous construction trends, or if a given rockwork was an especially good representative example of a specific trend.

For example, the historic rockwork in the Qiao Garden and the Gazing Garden appear to conform with the popular construction trend during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of containing a '*xiadong shangtai* 下洞上台' (caves beneath and platforms above) structure; brick walls were involved as load-bearing walls in the caves, which was also a characteristic of this trend due to the undeveloped building techniques. According to historic sources, another of the case studies, the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall, used to contain a dry garden setting: it was one of the special features of gardens in Yangzhou at the time. As these examples show, by comparing each rockwork with the findings summarised in the typology, this research has made it possible to identify the historical significance of a given historic rockwork. Although there is always room for a finer analysis of features by period, the typology will bring invaluable help in conservation projects. Notably, this typology should allow conservation teams to avoid relying on their subjective judgment of what a so-called 'valued' rockwork and features should be: in the past such judgments led to some characteristics of historic rockworks to be ignored.

Although various trends existed in different periods, not all the rockwork and/or all of the characteristics would conform to the contemporaneous trend at the time of its creation. Additionally, when a new construction trend surfaced, the earlier trends would not necessarily

completely disappear, but instead overlap. Therefore, it is also essential to investigate the specific case and explore its own history. Identifying contemporaneous trends will be a helpful tool to deepen the conservators' understanding of the historical context of a particular garden and rockwork, yet the characteristics of a specific rockwork in itself should not be overlooked. It is only by combining the identification of contemporaneous construction trends and a given rockwork's history, that a rockwork's authentic appearance and significance can be revealed.

9.2 Significance of exploring conservation policies

Apart from the history of rockwork, in this thesis the national policies and guidance related to the conservation of rockwork were also reviewed. As a result, the different phases of emergence and development of national conservation guidance were identified. In China, a basic conservation principle of retaining the original appearance and state of a rockwork exists since the 1950s. Afterwards, with time further detailed principles and commentaries were promulgated to guide various aspects of rockwork conservation projects. Compared with the initial conservation guidance of the early twentieth century, the recently revised national policies such as those contained in the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the Peoples Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics] and *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China] provide much more practical suggestions when it comes to conservation approaches and procedures.⁶¹⁴

Nevertheless, according to the present research's in-depth analysis of four conservation projects, it appears that the implementation of conservation principles and guidance remains problematic to this day. In reality, past and current practices often did not meet the requirements stated in contemporaneous conservation policies. The conservation of rockwork was not necessarily improved proportionally with the increased focus on preserving the value of heritage during the conservation process. Evaluating the value of a rockwork is hardly a comprehensive and objective process: personal understanding, interests, and current cultural contexts constitute as

⁶¹⁴ National People's Congress Standing Committee (*Quanguo renmin dabiao dahui changwu weiyuanhui* 全国人民代表大会常务委员会), *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics], 1982, revised 2015, in *Zhongguo falü fagui xinxi ku* 中国法律法规信息库 [Information Database of Chinese Legislation] <<http://law.npc.gov.cn/FLFG/flfgByID.action?flfgID=34969516>> [accessed 20 August 2017]; ICOMOS China (*Guoji guji yizhi lishihui zhongguo guojia weiyuanhui* 国际古迹遗址理事会中国国家委员会), *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则 [Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China], 2002, revised 2015 (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2015).

many obstacles to a realistic analysis. Consequently, in several cases, the researcher found that the rockwork's features and characteristics were overlooked, and neither well protected nor restored, because these had not been determined to be part of a given rockwork's 'value'.

9.3 Significance of investigating specific conservation projects

During the span of the research, twenty-six surviving historic gardens were visited in mainland China. The accumulation of data from these gardens helped the researcher uncover general patterns in how rockwork was treated nationally. Four of these gardens with rockwork were chosen to be studied in depth: the case studies' conservation process was scrutinised in order to investigate how historic rockwork in gardens had been surveyed, recorded and restored. According to the exploration and analysis of the four case studies, it appeared that the conservation projects contained severe issues, despite a number of the case studies being generally considered as successful examples of conservation.

In the four case studies, it became clear that historic rockworks in many gardens were not restored and repaired to their original appearance and state. Instead, these rockworks were modified, and many of their original characteristics were not preserved. Such issue frequently appeared in the extended or 'reconstructed' part of historic gardens: the style and characteristics of many reconstructed or newly constructed rockworks were not consistent with the historic ones located in the same garden. This is a consequence caused by various factors; the lack of research and analysis on the rockwork itself and its contemporaneous trend is an important factor. As a result, many gardens lost their original characteristics and historical significance. More and more gardens were transformed to a generic style, which embodied the current understanding and aesthetic standards of historic gardens.

9.4 Recommendations

After compiling the analysis of bad and good practices identified in the case studies and summarised in Chapter Eight, the researcher offers the following recommendations for the future conservation of historic rockwork in China. When compared with the broad suggestions provided in previous research, the following specific recommendations should allow to effectively solve current conservation problems. They are not only beneficial for the conservation of rockwork, but also helpful for the conservation of historic gardens in general. The research methods and framework can also be applied to the research of other garden features and cultural relics.

9.4.1 Recommendations for the research stage:

Before the conservation of a particular rockwork begins, it is necessary to comprehensively explore the history and development of a given garden as well as a given rockwork contained within it. This stage implies a thorough research, aiming to uncover if possible when the given rockwork was constructed, who constructed it, when it was modified and who modified it, and what the changes were across time. Together with the knowledge of the contemporaneous trends, it would be helpful to confirm the construction date of the rockwork, and possibly the construction date of each part of the rockwork (if it had been modified in its history). Such a detailed research would certainly contribute to a finer understanding of the characteristics of the given rockwork, and the reasons why it contains these characteristics.

During the research stage, historical sources should be critically reviewed, and sources should be assessed before their information is taken as valid. Especially at times when different sources provide conflicting information, it is essential to explore the veracity and accuracy of each source; the judgment of sources should not be influenced by self-interest or economic interests, as it might result in an unauthentic conservation project.

9.4.2 Recommendations for the reinforcement, repair and restoration process:

First of all, the characteristics of rockwork should be identified based on the analysis of historical information and the observation of the remaining parts. Characteristics of the following aspects (but not limited to these aspects) should be identified and retained: the form of rockwork, its basic structure, main features, types of rocks, sizes of rocks, patterns of rocks, and the material and appearance of the joints.

When establishing a conservation plan, experts and professionals from a relevant field should be invited to undertake a review. It would be more efficient if the reviewers are not be limited to a pool of local experts, so as to avoid possible biases, but regional construction trends should still be respected. During the conservation process, a given rockwork's characteristics should not be judged by current aesthetic standards, but be preserved to ensure the retention of the original appearance and state of the rockwork.

9.4.3 Recommendations for training and education:

The study of a given garden and rockwork's history ought to be enhanced in the training and education of conservation-related professionals, such as rockwork craftsmen, landscape architects, etc. It would be essential to teach the development and the characteristics of garden

and rockwork construction trends. When aware of these changes throughout the history of gardens, professionals can then identify the distinctive characteristics of each rockwork and understand their historical significance. It is notably urgent that the current tendency to transform all historical gardens into a generic style comes to an end.

A theoretical and practical knowledge of recent and emerging technologies is another essential part of professionals' training. For example, by using the new survey and modelling methods, one can improve the effectiveness and accuracy of surveys of historic rockwork.

9.4.4 Recommendations for administration:

When recording a given historic rockwork, detailed information of various forms should be collected, including textual descriptions, visual sources and measured data. New survey techniques should be used when possible to improve the accuracy of survey maps. Methods such as aerial photogrammetry and laser scanning should be used when possible to generate accurate survey maps and models. As new technology emerges, new methods should be constantly explored and tested in future research.

In order to improve the archival administration, it would be most efficient for the government at the municipal level to appoint an existing office or set up a special office to collect and archive all types of records of cultural heritage within its territory. A complete index should be created to categories the records and to facilitate access to individual records. The archive would ideally be opened to relevant professionals and the public to benefit research on, and preservation of, national cultural heritage.

9.4.5 Recommendations for legislation:

The emphasis on 'values' in current conservation policies needs to be reduced. Instead of focusing on values and valued features, it would be better to record and protect all kinds of characteristics in order to retain the original appearance and state of the whole rockwork. If such is not possible, a thorough recording of the given rockwork before conservation should be established for the benefit of future researcher.

Special conservation guidance and regulations for historic gardens should be established. More practical, targeted and detailed rules should be provided in this guidance and the associated regulations.

9.5 Suggestions for future research

Although the current research offers suggestions to improve current conservation practices, there are definitely aspects of the history and conservation of rockwork that still need exploring in future research. The general trends of rockwork-making were explored and identified chronologically, but it would be useful to research in detail the regional styles of rockwork in the future. Each regional style might need to be studied individually at first: discussing various regional styles together could be very complicated because each regional style had also been affected by general trends of different periods.

The conservation projects studied in this thesis were chosen within a limited time, budget, and available first-hand sources. If previously unknown first-hand sources become accessible, future researcher would certainly be able to explore other cases and identify more conservation issues, so as to provide further recommendations for conservation practices.

9.6 Conclusion

Throughout the present research, it appeared that in the twentieth century, historic rockworks have been transformed into generic versions that looked similar to each other, and lost their individual characteristics. To remedy this situation, the thesis contained suggestions to contribute to current conservation practice based on the analysed conservation projects.

First of all, it explored the history of rockwork, and clearly identified seven trends to show the tendency of rockwork-making. The characteristics of each trend are also investigated and summarised. The subsequent analysis of legislation and guidelines shows that the conservation policies have continued to develop since the early twentieth century. Rules and principles become more and more detailed and well-explained. Nevertheless, the proposition and implementation were evidenced as problematic in the four case studies.

The research on the history of rockwork and the conservation policies in Chapter Two and Three provided useful background for the more practical case-studies in the following chapters. According to an in-depth analysis of the conservation of four historic gardens, it appears that even historic rockwork in Historical and Cultural Sites has been modified to various extents during conservation projects in the twentieth century. Even those projects that were regarded as models, failed to retain the original appearance and state of the historic rockwork. Issues were discovered in the case studies, as well as some good practices. Based on the analysis of the bad and good practices, recommendations are provided as set out above in section 9.4.

The most important observation to take away from the present thesis is that the condition of surviving historic rockwork and the related conservation practices should receive more attention, and most importantly, be improved. It is crucial to ensure that existing rockwork be preserved and remains unmodified in future conservation projects, without losing all its historic characteristics. The recommendations provided in this thesis are based on a comprehensive research into past conservation projects, and identifying past mistakes to avoid repeating them. It is hoped that the present research contributes to a more authentic conservation practice in the future.

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Appendix 1. Records of fieldwork

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------|---|--|
| Gazing Garden (<i>Zhan yuan</i> 瞻园) | April 2013 | Nanjing 南京 | Paintings, photos (old and new), survey maps of various periods, historic descriptions, conservation records of various phases. | Administration office of Gazing Garden, Nanjing Library. |
| Zhi Garden (<i>Zhi yuan</i> 之园) | April 2013 | Changshu 常熟 | Photos, historic descriptions. | Changshu Urban Construction Archives (<i>Changshu chengjian dang'anguan</i> 常熟城建档案馆) |
| Garden of Fuzzy Boundary (<i>Xukuo yuan</i> 虚廓园, also known as Zeng Garden in current Zeng-Zhao Garden 曾赵园内曾园) | April 2013; February 2017. | Changshu 常熟 | Photos (old and new), historic descriptions, latest conservation records (including proposal). | Administration office of Zeng-Zhao Garden, Changshu Urban Construction Archives, Suzhou Landscape Architecture Design Institute (<i>Suzhou yuanlin shejiyuan youxian gongsi</i> 苏州园林设计院有限公司, the implementer of the recent conservation project), Changshu Library. |
| Shuiwu Garden (<i>Shuiwu yuan</i> 水吾园, also known as the Zhao Garden in current Zeng-Zhao Garden 曾赵园内赵园) | April 2013; February 2017. | Changshu 常熟 | Photos (old and new), historic descriptions, latest conservation records (including proposal). | |

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| Swallow Garden (<i>Yan yuan</i> 燕园) | April 2013; February 2017. | Changshu 常熟 | Photos (old and new), historic descriptions, latest conservation records (including proposal). | Administration office of Swallow Garden, Changshu Urban Construction Archives, Suzhou Garden Development Company (<i>Suzhou yuannlin fazhan youxian gufen gongsi</i> 苏州园林发展股份有限公司, the implementer of the recent conservation project). |
| Ge Garden (<i>Ge yuan</i> 个园) | April 2013 | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions. | Administration office of Ge Garden. |
| The House of Two-thirds of Moon (<i>Er-fen mingyue lou</i> 二分明月楼) | April 2013; February 2017. | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), schematic survey maps of various periods, conservation records of various phases, recent reinforcement proposal. | Administration office of He Garden (it manages these three gardens), Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau (<i>Yangzhou shi wenwuju wenguanban</i> 扬州市文物局文管办), Yangzhou Urban Construction Archives (<i>Yangzhou chengjian dang'anguan</i> 扬州城建档案馆), Yangzhou library. |
| He Garden (<i>He yuan</i> 何园, also known as Jixiao Villa 寄啸山庄) | April 2013; February 2017. | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, recent reinforcement proposal. | |
| Mountain House of Sliced Stones (<i>Pianshi shanfang</i> 片石山房) | April 2013; February 2017. | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, conservation records of various phases (including proposal). | |

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|---|---|
| Little Pangu Garden (<i>Xiaopangu</i> 小盘谷) | April 2013 | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps. | Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau, Yangzhou Urban Construction Archives, Yangzhou library. |
| Slender West Lake (<i>Shou xi hu</i> 瘦西湖) | April 2013 | Yangzhou 扬州 | Photos (old and new), historic descriptions. | Administration Office of Cultural Relics in Yangzhou Cultural Relics Bureau, Yangzhou Urban Construction Archives, Yangzhou library. |
| Jichang Garden (<i>Jichang yuan</i> 寄畅园) | April 2013 | Wuxi 无锡 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic paintings. | Administration office of Jichang Garden, Wuxi Library, Wuxi Cultural Relics Bureau (<i>Wuxi shi wenwuju wenguanban</i> 无锡市文物局文管办). |
| Qiao Garden (<i>Qiao yuan</i> 乔园) | April 2013; February 2017. | Taizhou 泰州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic paintings, conservation records of various phases (including proposal) | Administration office of Qiao Garden, Taizhou Bureau of Landscape and Gardens (<i>Taizhou shi yuanlin guihua guanliju</i> 泰州市园林规划管理局), Planning Bureau of Taizhou (<i>Taizhou shi guihua ju</i> 泰州市规划局), Taizhou Library, Taizhou Museum. |
| Garden of Cultivation (<i>Yi pu</i> 艺圃) | April 2013; February 2017. | Suzhou 苏州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic paintings, conservation records. | Administration office of each garden, Suzhou Garden Archives (<i>Suzhou yuanlin dang'anguan</i> 苏州园林档案馆), Suzhou Garden Museum (<i>Suzhou yuanlin bowuguan</i> 苏州园林博物馆), Suzhou Garden Development Company. |

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|---|---------------|---------------|--|--|
| Lion Grove Garden (<i>Shizi lin</i> 狮子林) | April 2013 | Suzhou 苏州 | Photos (old and new), historic descriptions, historic paintings, brief conservation records of various phases. | Administration office of each garden, Suzhou Garden Archives (<i>Suzhou yuannlin dang'anguan</i> 苏州园林档案馆), Suzhou Garden Museum (<i>Suzhou yuannlin bowuguan</i> 苏州园林博物馆), Suzhou Garden Development Company |
| Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (<i>Huanxiu shanzhuang</i> 环秀山庄) | April 2013 | Suzhou 苏州 | Photos (old and new), historical descriptions, brief conservation records. | |
| Net Master's Garden (<i>Wangshi yuan</i> 网师园) | April 2013 | Suzhou 苏州 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, brief conservation records of various phases. | |
| Zhongshan Park (<i>Zhongshan gongyuan</i> 中山公园) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (new), brief conservation records. | Administration office of each garden, Capital Library of China (<i>Shoudu tushuguan</i> 首都图书馆). The First Historical Archives of China (<i>Diyi lishi dang'anguan</i> 第一历史档案馆). |
| Beihai Park (<i>Beihai gongyuan</i> 北海公园) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, brief conservation records. | |

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|---|---------------|---------------|--|--|
| Yuan Ming Yuan (圆明园) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic paintings, brief conservation records. | Administration office of each garden, Capital Library of China (<i>Shoudu tushuguan</i> 首都图书馆), The First Historical Archives of China (<i>Diyi lishi dang'anguan</i> 第一历史档案馆). |
| Prince Gong's Mansion (<i>Gongwang fu</i> 恭王府) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic design plans, brief conservation records. | |
| The Forbidden City (<i>Gu gong</i> 故宫) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (old and new), survey maps of various periods, historic descriptions, historic paintings, brief conservation records of various phases. | |
| The Summer Palace (<i>Yihe yuan</i> 颐和园) | February 2014 | Beijing 北京 | Photos (old and new), survey maps of various periods, historic descriptions, historic paintings, brief conservation records of various phases. | |
| Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (<i>Chengde bishu shanzhuang</i> 承德避暑山庄) | February 2014 | Chengde 承德 | Photos (old and new), survey maps, historic descriptions, historic paintings, brief conservation records. | Administration office of each garden, Chengde Library, The Relics Bureau of Chengde (<i>Chengde shi wenwuju</i> 承德市文物局), Chengde Urban Planning Bureau (<i>Chengde shi chengxiang guihua ju</i> 承德市城乡规划局). |

| Name of garden | Date of visit | Location | Data collected | Relevant organisations visited |
|--|---------------|------------|---|---|
| Putuo Zongcheng Temple (<i>Putao zongcheng zhimiao</i> 普陀宗乘之庙) | February 2014 | Chengde 承德 | Photos (old and new), schematic survey maps, historic descriptions. | Administration office of each garden, Chengde Library, The Relics Bureau of Chengde (<i>Chengde shi wenwuju</i> 承德市文物局), Chengde Urban Planning Bureau (<i>Chengde shi chengxiang guihuaaju</i> 承德市城乡规划局). |
| Half Cocoon Garden (<i>Banjian yuan</i> 半茧园) | March 2015 | Kunshan 昆山 | Photos (new), historic descriptions, brief conservation records. | First People's Hospital of Kunshan (<i>Kunshan shi diyi renmin yiyuan</i> 昆山市第一人民医院), the occupier of the Half Cocoon Garden), Kunshan Library, Relics Management Institution of Kunshan (<i>Kunshan shi wenwu guanlisuo</i> 昆山市文物管理所). |
| Ma'an Mountain (<i>Ma'an shan</i> 马鞍山) | March 2015 | Kunshan 昆山 | Photos (new), historic descriptions. | |
| Various rock markets and so called 'rock museums' in Suzhou, Anhui Province | March 2015 | Suzhou 宿州 | Photos (new), talks with the locals, rock dealers and customers, historic descriptions of the county, the mountain and its rocks. | Suzhou Library, Suzhou Museum, Archives Bureau of Yongqiao District of Suzhou (<i>Suzhou shi yongqiao qu dang'anju</i> 宿州市埇桥区档案局). |
| Rock digging sites in Lingbi County (<i>Lingbi xian</i> 灵璧县) of Suzhou, Anhui | March 2015 | Suzhou 宿州 | | |
| Qingyun Mountain (<i>Qingyun shan</i> 磬云山) in Lingbi, Suzhou | March 2015 | Suzhou 宿州 | | |

Appendix 2. Summary of interviews and informal conversations

2.1 Interviews (Please refer to Appendix 3 for the excerpts of interview transcriptions)

2.1.1 2013, Zhang Weilong 张伟龙, Rockwork craftsman from Suzhou Garden Development Co., Ltd. (*Suzhou yuanlin fazhan gufen youxian gongsi* 苏州园林发展股份有限公司).

Interview objectives:

To understand the issues encountered during the restoration from the perspective of a craftsman, for example, materials used and precautions taken during the restorative procedure, and the training of craftsman.

Responses:

Zhang made a number of examples of these issues with past projects. He also emphasised that meticulous preparations must be made to ensure that the restoration was accurate, for example, historical records must be carefully analysed, and information on the location and description of the ruins of the rockwork must be consolidated. He also emphasised the important role of professional craftsman and their skills in the restoration of rockwork.

2.1.2 2013, Xie Aihua 谢爱华, vice president of Suzhou Institute of Landscape and Architectural Design CO., Ltd. (*Suzhou yuanlin shejiyuan youxian gongsi* 苏州园林设计院有限公司).

Interview objectives:

To investigate the preservation of historical rockwork in the gardens of Suzhou. To investigate whether the construction of modern rockwork differs from their historical counterparts, if so, what is the difference.

Responses:

Xie thought that little has changed regarding the historic rockworks in the historic gardens of Suzhou, by comparison, many ruined buildings were reconstructed and some new ones were added during the conservation project. He also mentioned that rockworks in the modern

gardens differed from those in the classic gardens in terms of their sizes, materials, and functions.

2.1.3 2015, Wang Luzhi 王鹿枝, a rockwork craftsman whose family business dated back to the Qianlong period. He is nominated as the 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Inheritor of Yangzhou (Yangzhou shi feiwuzhi wenhua chuancheng ren 扬州市非物质文化遗产传承人)'.

Interview objectives:

To investigate whether he is of the same lineage as Wang TianYu. To investigate whether there is record of Wang TianYu constructing the Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks (*Wangshi yuan* 万石园). To investigate the inheritance of rockwork construction techniques within a rockwork craftsmen family.

Responses:

Wang confirmed he was of the same lineage as Wang TianYu. Family records proved that Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks was constructed by Wang TianYu, rather than Tao Shi. As a family that is famous for constructing rockworks, techniques were instructed orally by the elders of the family during construction. There were no written accounts of the techniques.

2.2 Informal conversations:

2.2.1 2013, Mr. Zhang from the Administration Office of the Swallow Garden, Changshu (Yanyuan guanlichu 燕园管理处, 常熟)

Interview objectives:

To investigate when did the major restoration to the historic rockwork in the garden take place. To investigate whether both rockworks are historic artifacts? Have they been modified during the conservation project? Are they scheduled for recent restoration? Is there any data or archived information on the rockworks before the conservation project took place? Where is such information kept? To investigate the procedure of daily maintenance of the rockworks.

Responses:

Both rockworks should be historic artifacts. Details of the restoration were not exact. There were

limited historical data on display in the garden, however, it mostly described the life of past owners. Mr. Zhang was uncertain about the archiving of other related historical data and records, and suggested to further contact the local Landscape Bureau, etc. Daily maintenance, now, include day-to-day inspections on defects and damages, for example if rocks began to fall off. Because the trees on the rockworks were still growing, their growth and the development of their roots were also taken into consideration of the maintenance of the rock-works.

2.2.2 2013, Mrs Liu from Changshu Urban Construction Archives (*Changshu chengjian dang'anguan* 常熟城建档案馆)

Interview objectives:

To investigate whether records on conservation of historic gardens in Changshu were available? Would there be records of rockwork conservation in the gardens? Is individual restoration project archived separately? Does this archive have records dated the early twentieth century or even before? Is the archive available to the general public?

Responses:

The Urban Construction Archives only kept records of projects on municipal infrastructures. There were a number of records on recent restoration and expansion on historic gardens, however, there might not be related record on rockwork restoration. The Urban Construction Archive only kept records since its establishment, any records prior to its establishment was unavailable. The records in the Archive was available to the general public. Records can be accessed with specific archive number, which can be identified on the website.

2.2.3 2013, Mr. Li from the Administration Office of the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty, Suzhou (*Huanxiushanzhuang guanlichu* 环秀山庄管理处, 苏州)

Interview objectives:

To investigate when did the major restoration to the historic rockworks in the garden take place? Have they been modified in any way? Are they scheduled for restoration? Is there any data or archived information on the constructions of the rockworks before the conservation project took place? Where is such information kept? To investigate the procedure of daily maintenance of rockworks.

Responses:

There was a major restoration that took place during the 1980s. Because the rockwork was in a good condition, there was almost no modification to their appearances. The Administration Office did not keep any records of the conservation project. It is suggested to check the Landscape Bureau. There was no major restoration scheduled for the rockworks in the garden. Only day-to-day inspection was required, along with trimming and replacing of plants. World Heritage Centre and Landscape Bureau would visit and inspect the rockwork thoroughly on schedule. Should the Administration Office discover any defects or damages to the rockworks, they must report directly to the higher officials, and await further arrangement for restorations by professionals. The Administration Office was required, under no circumstance, to mend defects or damages on the rock-works.

2.2.4 2014, Mrs. Chen from the Administration Office of the Summer Palace, Beijing (*Yiheyuan guanlichu* 颐和园管理处, 北京)

Interview objectives:

Request access to the temporarily closed Garden of Harmonious Interest for academic research.

To investigate conservation and maintenance recently carried out on the rockworks in the garden. Is there any data or archived information on the constructions of the rockworks before the conservation project took place? Where is such information kept?

Responses:

Garden of Harmonious Interest was temporarily closed and no public access was allowed. Only researchers from designated universities and institutes were allowed access to the garden. Research initiated by individuals, such as this project, was not granted access.

Information that can be accessed by the general public were already on display in the garden. Chen emphasised the Office would not provide any information to individuals and suggested the research to get in touch with other department (however, no specific names of any department were offered). The Administration Office declined to comment on schedules in relation to recent restoration or maintenance to the rockworks in the garden.

2.2.5 2015, Mr. Wang, Mr. Xu, etc., rock connoisseurs and rock dealers in Lingbi County, Suzhou

of Anhui Province (*Lingbixian* 灵璧县, 安徽宿州)

Interview objectives:

To investigate why Lingbi Rocks were highly valued in ancient times, but modern garden designs see less employment of the stones? To investigate the manufacturing of the Lingbi Rocks and which is the most popular type of Lingbi Rocks?

Responses:

Followed Wang and Xu to a number of rock markets and to the houses of 'rock farmers (*shinong* 石农)' selecting stones. They explained the differences in rocks that are produced in different parts of Lingbi County. They mentioned that most of the customers now buy rocks from the county to decorate their houses instead of keeping them in the gardens.

The stones were only produced in low quantity in the ancient times. Now, with the prevalence of trading of the stone and with the help of modern machinery, the stone is produced in ample abundance. Almost every household in the Lingbi County is involved in the trading of Lingbi Rocks. Whilst some of them take rock mining as full time jobs, others do it in their free time. Majority of the rocks are mined manually to prevent damage.

Specific shapes, for example rocks that resemble animals, are more popular than rocks with other shapes. Unprocessed rocks in close resemblance to animals often command a higher price than processed ones. It is a common practice amongst traders to process the rocks so that they appear more like animals to customers.

2.2.6 2017, Mr. Zhuang from the Administration Office of the Qiao Garden, Taizhou (*Qiaoyuan guanlichu* 乔园管理处, 泰州)

Interview objectives:

To investigate when did the last major restoration to the garden take place? To investigate when did the last major restoration to the historic rockwork take place? What was changed? To investigate whether the expansion of the garden influenced the amount of visitors to the garden? To investigate whether there is any data or archived information on the constructions of the rockworks before the conservation project took place? Where is such information kept?

Response:

A major restoration took place in 2006, and the western part of the garden was further expanded. After the expansion, the garden attracted more visitors. The garden now welcomes a constant flow of visitors from all over the country. Local institutes and companies would also organise trips to the garden.

The rockwork opposite the Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks dated back to the Ming Dynasty, but it suffered limited damage. The age of the rockwork was determined by Professor Chen Congzhou during the conservation in the 1980s. Nothing was modified except for reinforcement. During the conservation process, he discovered an old piece of rock was lying on the ground. He ordered a wall to be constructed and placed the rockwork in the wall. Professor Chen named the rock 'Beauty Mirror Stone (*Meinü zhaojing shi* 美女照镜石)' according to its shape.

The rockwork made of Yellow Rocks to the north of Thatched Cottage of Three Peaks was added during the conservation process. This added rockwork covered an old well underneath. It is told that the administrative staff of that time considered the well disturbed the *fengshui* (geomancy), and therefore decided to build a rockwork to cover the well.

There are historical writings, including poems, on display in the Qiao Garden. The original copies can be accessed in the Taizhou Library. Information on the conservation of the rockworks in the garden is not available at the Administration Office of the Qiao Garden, Landscape Bureau and Planning Bureau can be consulted.

2.2.7 2017, Mr. Xu from the Administration Office of the He Garden, Yangzhou (*He yuan guanlichu* 何园管理处, 扬州)

Interview objectives:

To investigate whether there have been modifications made to the Mountain House of Sliced Stones (hereafter the Mountain House) and the Two-thirds of Bright Moon Hall (hereafter the Bright Moon Hall) during their recent restoration? Have both garden significantly changed comparing to their original conditions? Is there any visual records of both garden before their major restoration? Where is such information kept? To investigate the procedure of daily maintenance of the rockworks.

Response:

The pool and rockwork in the Mountain House were restored in 1989, other structures were also restored at the beginning of the century. The rockworks in the western part of the garden were preserved relatively well, although part of the rockwork to the east was also preserved. A number of photographs showing the Mountain House before and after the restoration were available at the Administration Office. A painting by the descent of the He family was said to showcase the rockwork according to the painter's memory, its whereabouts was unknown. Based on his own opinion, Xu assumed the rockwork to be in the type of Precipitous Mountain, which were mostly mounted on walls. The profile of the rockwork became more protruded and he considered it less faithful compared to the original.

In the middle of the Bright Moon Hall, Mr. Xu recalled there was a man-made earth mountain with a building on its top. The building was later relocated to the Slender West Lake. At the location where the original building was, a fan-shaped pavilion was erected and named the Pavilion of Singing Plum Stream (Meixiyin xie 梅溪吟榭).

There are a few archived records in the Administration Office including a few photographs showing the Mountain House before the restoration. There is a brochure available: *Dayunhe shenyi—Yangzhou yanye lishi yiji baohu gongcheng* 大运河申遗—扬州盐业历史遗迹保护工程 [The Application for World Heritage for the Grand Canal—Proposal for the Conservation Project of the Historical Heritage of the Salt Trading in Yangzhou]. Other agencies or departments are suggested for further inquiries.

The daily maintenance now includes inspection and cleaning. When defects or damage are detected, the Administration Office would report directly to the higher officials, and await further arrangement for restorations by professionals. The Administration Offices keeps a number of brief records of recent conservation treatments.

2.2.8 2017, Mrs Zhang from the Garden of Cultivation, Suzhou (Yi pu guanlichu 艺圃管理处, 苏州)

Interview objectives:

To investigate when did the major restoration to the historic rockworks in the garden take place? Have they been modified in any way? Are they scheduled for restoration? Is there any data or archived information on the rockworks before the conservation project took place? Where is such information kept? To investigate the procedure of daily maintenance of the rockworks.

Response:

A major restoration to the historic rockwork was carried out in the 1980s. The pavilion by the lake is an ancient building, and restoration was made to a certain extent. The original condition and state of the rockworks is unclear. Mrs Zhang suggested to visit the Suzhou Garden Archives, there should be available information relates to the conservation project and its history. The daily maintenance now include scheduled inspection to defects and damages of the rockwork.

Appendix 3. Selected transcripts of interviews

Note: this part of the appendix includes excerpts from the transcriptions of three interviews. These excerpts contained information that cited in the main texts of this thesis. In the following excerpts, 'Q' refers to questions asked by the interviewer, and 'A' stands for answers given by the interviewees.

3.1 2013, Zhang Weilong 张伟龙, Rockwork craftsman from Suzhou Garden Development Co., Ltd. (*Suzhou yuanlin fazhan gufen youxian gongsi* 苏州园林发展股份有限公司). Zhang participated in and lately directed many rockwork conservation projects in Suzhou since the 1980s.

Q: In your opinion, what is the main issue in conservation projects?

A: The essential issue is the lack of historical records. Sometimes there is nearly no record. Photos are even less than textual records. It is hard to repair ancient rockwork, especially in Suzhou. No mistake is accepted, because the local people in Suzhou always keep their eyes on those precious heritages. I have a good example for you, which would explain what was the difficulty we faced. When I was working for the conservation of the Humble Administrator's Garden, we need to temporarily dismantle a small piece of rockwork and rebuilt them back after the pavement had been repaired. Before it was dismantled, I carefully measured the site, numbered each piece of rock, draw pictures and took lots of photos of that rockwork. I thought I would not rebuild them in a wrong way since I thought I knew the direction and position of each rock. But the rebuilt rockwork was criticised by the local citizens. They came to the park everyday so they realized that rockwork appeared differently. It took me a long time to find out the issue by comparing with old photos. Finally, I was able to correct it by changing the direction of a small and flat rock. This makes me bear in mind that conservation works need careful and detailed investigation, which includes take enough photos and make measurements. Always remember to take notes and number them in order to have accurate records. Because the general public is paying much attention on historic gardens and their features.

Q: That is true. Indeed, when more people concerning about the conservation, more mistakes can be found and avoided. At the same time, I'm sure it increases the pressure for the conservation team.

A: Yes, we were under high pressure. It is interesting; I mean in this case, such a little change on the position made a different rockwork.

Q: So during the restoration process, people would use the original rocks fell on the site to repair, but not new rocks?

A: Yes, almost no new rock would be used. Sometimes, it will need more replenishment, we have to use new rocks, but in a small amount. Those new rocks were chosen carefully. In the late twentieth century, many old gardens, buildings and courtyards were under demolition. So, we purchased old stones in old dwellings, and then use them to repair historic rockwork. Sometimes, we went to local residential houses which have old gardens. Many of them contained rockwork, especially individually displayed rocks. The locals were happy to sell us the rocks, as they would have more free land for new functional buildings, such as kitchen, etc.. If we have to use newly mined rocks, we will place them in the outdoor for two or three years before use, so that they would turn slightly older.

Q: For recent rockwork construction projects, is it required to hire professional rockwork craftsmen? Whether workers in general are accepted?

A: We are not hiring general workers. Speaking of the construction of rockwork, our company is almost the leader. We have many specialised rockwork craftsmen. There are some proper training programmes and certificates for rockwork craftsmen.

Q: Certificates?

A: Yes. There are five different certificates: junior craftsmen(*Chuji gong* 初级工), intermediate craftsmen (*Zhongji gong* 中级工), senior craftsmen (*Gaoji jiashan gong* 高级假山工), technician(*Jishi* 技师) and senior technician(*Gaoji jishi* 高级技师).

Q: That means there is a comprehensive professional standard?

A: It is quite clear. For example a Junior Craftsman should know how to arrange individually displayed rocks and construct some small-scale rockwork, such as the edges of planting bed. But juniors are not allowed to build large rockwork until they were trained and obtained higher certificates.

Original Chinese transcripts:

Q: 请问在修复过程中，碰到主要的问题是什么？

A: 很大的问题就是资料的缺乏，确实是没有资料。影像资料更少。事实上整修的话呢，就是用心去做的话，举个例子，就是这个问题。苏州真的是对于假山和一草一木都特别上心。有个很好的例子就是拙政园的修复项目。当时由于要修复地上的铺地，需要暂时拆掉一个很小的假山，再在铺地修复完后，把假山按原状建回去。在拆假山前，我很小心地测量了场地，给每块石头编号，画图，拍照。因为知道了每块石头的朝向和方位，我觉得原状重建肯定不会出错的。但重建之后还是被本地人批评了。他们每天都会来园林里面的，所以发现出它和以前不一样的地方。然后我花了很长之间拿之前的照片做对比，才决定调整一块很小很平的石头位置，最后把整体正确地修复了。这件事让我知道修复工作最重要的是，前期的资料调查一定要做好，包括照片和测量，一定要画好，编好号，一定要准确纪录。因为关注的人也比较多。

Q: 也的确，关注的人比较多也更容易发现出问题，这对维护工作肯定也增加了很大压力

A: 的确是，关注的人多压力很大，但这也确实是很奇怪的，就是稍微偏了一点点，堆出来的结果就完全不同了。

Q: 那也就是说，以前的假山的修复都是用它本身掉落下来的石头进行修补，几乎不用新的石头？

A: 对的，几乎不用新的石头，都是用原本的石头维护。有的呢也有添补，但是添补的量是很少很少的。添补的石头都是精挑细选的。因为以前苏州有很多老院子拆迁，我们就把那些石头收过来，然后就用那些旧石头去修补。我们也会去居民正在住的老院子买石头。当时很多院子里有一些假山或者石头的，我们去买，他们还很高兴的，觉得可以在院子里再搭一个厨房之类的功能房。最最起码，如果是用新石头，新石头采购过来最起码也是要在场地上放了两三年的，放旧一点。

Q: 对于现在新的假山工程，是需要专门的假山师傅还是一般的建筑工人就可以？

A: 不是普通工人。假山这一块的话，因为我们也是老单位了，像龙头企业。我们那时候的培养是很多的，所以当时技师协会培养出了一大批假山技师，也是以我们单位为技术骨干而培养出来的。从事假山建造的行业也认证。

Q: 资格认证？

A: 对，有初级工，中级工，高级工，技师，高级技师，一共五个等级。

Q: 那已经形成很明确的行业规范了？

A: 对的，有行业规范，比如初级工可能就会立峰啊，堆个花坛啊，逐步一级一级高上去，就有资格做大型假山，这就是不同的技师，有这么一套规范。

3.2 2013, Xie Aihua 谢爱华, vice president of Suzhou Institute of Landscape and Architectural Design CO., LTD (*Suzhou yuanlin shejiyuan youxian gongsi* 苏州园林设计院有限公司). This company have has led the conservation projects of many historic gardens and rockwork, as well as the construction of new rockworks.

Q: Amongst the rockworks in the historic gardens in Suzhou, which of these were modified severely during restorations? And which of these remained more faithful to their original conditions?

A: While almost all historic gardens in Suzhou have been restored to some extend, the rockworks mostly remained faithful. They were less modified during conservation projects in comparison to traditional wooden structures, which were more likely to be changed in terms of materials.

Q: Take the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (hereafter the Mountain House) as an example, many books described it to have been kept mostly faithful to its original conditions, is it true?

A: Our company was in charge of its restoration. In fact, much of it have been mended. Most of the buildings you see were restored and reconstructed. The rockworks, on the other hand, were mostly intact when we began the restoration procedure. It only suffered from minor defects, and were mended accordingly. The Mountain Villa is now mostly unpublicised to the public. In Suzhou, there was an annual membership card to access most historic garden in the city; but the Mountain Villa is excluded. It is a means of protection to both the Mountain Villa and visitors should they be allowed onto the premises. Its structure is considered hazardous by modern standards, for example, the stone bridge on the top of its rockwork lacked railings to prevent visitors from falling down. It would become extremely dangerous to allow admittance to large number of visitors. We must bear in mind that the garden was private property in the past. It was reasonable to make the rockwork appear relatively thrilling because not many people would go up to the top at the same time. Modern design regulations would forbid such design practices though, there are many more safety precautions to be implemented.

Q: What preparations are necessary before any conservation? Are historical facts considered important during the process?

A: It is imperative to go through as many historical information and resources as possible before the restoration begin. However, our efforts in restoring the relics to their original conditions are often limited by the lack of historical accounts.

Q: Are conservation projects documented and archived? Where are such records kept?

A: Most recent projects are documented, including preliminary research and conservation treatments. Information on projects carried out prior to the 1980s are very difficult to track down though.

Q: Would the construction of modern rockworks differ from that of the ancient rockworks? Are the rockworks designed by the landscape architects and then constructed by rockwork craftsmen? What exactly is different in terms of construction methods?

A: The landscape architects would only come up with a series of drawings to provide general guidelines in terms of the final design and visual effects. It all comes down to the rockwork craftsmen by the end. The craftsmen follow the old method of rockwork construction and rely on the weight of the rocks used to hold the final product in place. Most of the rocks used today are Yellow Rocks and Lake Rocks, the latter is more prevalent. The Lake Rocks used today are from variously places, such as the Anhui Province. It is no longer produced from Taihu Lake, although the Lake Rocks mostly stand for Taihu Rocks in ancient times. The selection of rocks, however, differs from the old method that required meticulous inspection of each rock. During modern construction, only peak rocks are carefully selected by the craftsmen, the rest of the rocks would come from professional rock suppliers that sell the rocks by tones. In some cases, artificial rocks are used instead of natural rocks. Artificial rocks are very light, and are employed in places suffers from load-bearing issues or places where large volume of rockwork is required. They can be found in plazas and themed parks, for example Suzhou Amusement Park (*Suzhou le yuan* 苏州乐园). Artificial rocks designed by computer software and produced as hollow objects with a concrete-on-steel-cage outer shell. They are often modelled after large rocks found in rivers, with rounded edges, they lack the holes that are characteristics to Lake Rocks.

Original Chinese transcripts:

Q: 苏州的古典园林中，有哪些假山是在修复中变动比较大的，哪些比较少呢？

A: 苏州的这些园子基本都是修过的。但是其中假山的变动相对少。相对传统木结构建筑,假山的保留情况比较好。

Q: 像环秀山庄,现在很多书都介绍说基本保持了原貌,是不是如实地记载呢?

A: 环秀山庄就是我们设计院做的修复,其实修复了很多。但主要是建筑,它们大都是修复后新建的。假山的变动的确很小,项目开始前,它大体保存完好,就是有很少的小石头掉落,然后把这些掉落的修补了一下。但是环秀山庄现在基本不怎么对外开放了。苏州有个园林年卡,居民可以凭年卡进入大部分的古典园林,但是环秀山庄就不包含在内,也不做大的宣传。这一个是要保护它的结构,第二个是要保护游客。它的结构比较险,在山顶还有石桥,没有扶手的。如果游客多了,上去很危险。以前可以把假山做的很险,毕竟就是私家园林,不会有很多人同时上去,一个人也可以安全地通过。现在的假山设计就不允许这么做了,需要考虑很多安全因素。

Q: 在修复前,会做的准备工作是什么?会重视历史资料么?

A: 古典园林修复肯定是要查阅历史资料的,会尽可能地去查找。但资料比较有限,不是很多。

Q: 修复项目的资料有存档么?保存在哪里呢?

A: 近期的修复项目的设计资料和前期查阅的资料基本都会保留,但以前的,比如八十年代的,就可能不好找了。

Q: 现代假山的建造会和古代有所不同么?是否是景观设计师做设计,然后再由工匠(rockwork craftsmen)叠呢?建造方法会有不同么?

A: 设计师会给出图纸,但那只是个大致的效果,主要还是靠师傅叠。一般还是跟古代做法差不多,靠自重,也还要师傅在现场相石。现在常用的石头是湖石和黄石,湖石多些,但都是安徽等外地调的石头,太湖已经不产石了。选石头的话,也不会像古代那样一块一块挑,除非是峰石(peak rocks)。一般的石头是不会去挖掘现场调石头,都有专门销售的人调大量石头,论吨卖。现在也有很多地方是用塑石(artificial rocks)的。塑石很轻。适用于承重不好和需要大体量山体的地方,比如苏州乐园这种主体游乐园,或者大广场上。塑石都是电脑建模,中间是空的,外面包一层水泥。它们的造型基本上都是类似大体块河石的样子,形状比较圆,不是像湖石那种有孔的。

3.3 2015, Wang Luzhi 王鹿枝, a rockwork craftsman and also one of the inheritors of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Yangzhou (*Yangzhoushi feiwuzhi wenhua chuanchengren* 扬州市非物质文化遗产传承人). He is the direct descent of Wang Tianyu (also known as Wang Tingyu), a famous rockwork craftsman during the era of Qianlong.

Q: Is Wang Tianyu 王天于, as mentioned in the Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou, an ancestor of yours? He is also known as Wang TingYu 王庭余 by other accounts, which one is more accurate?

A: Both names are referring to the same person, but the latter is correct in written form. His records can be found in our family tree. And according to our family records, he did construct the rockwork Garden of Ten-thousand Rocks in Yangzhou.

Q: Do you inherit your skills of rockwork craftsmanship from members of your family? I noticed that your grand father, Wang Zaiyun, and your father, Wang Helan, are rockwork craftsmen themselves.

A: Yes, that is correct. Our family have been rockwork craftsmen by trade since the Qing Dynasty. I was taught by both of my elders. There are many rockwork craftsmen in this family even now, including our heir.

Q: When I was reading the articles by Cai Qi from the Cultural Bureau, it was mentioned in his article that the method of rockwork construction was passed down via a pithy formula. Is this correct? The article documented the pithy formula as follow: '[the rockwork] should look like real mountains rather than fake one, should appear as a whole rather than fragments; peaks should be elegantly displayed; the patterns of rocks should be consistent with each other; real mountains become famous when appeared like a fake one, and the artificial mountains become interesting when appeared like a real one.'

A: Craftsmen in my family all learnt the construction skills from elders. The skills are passed down orally, and we learn when we were working with the elders. The skills are not recorded with texts. I did remember some sort of pithy formula, but because I was too young and could not recall the complete sentences. But this article does truthfully describe some of it.

Q: Would you base your work on historical facts when restoring rockworks? Do you make design drawings when building new ones?

A: We do consult historical documents and records when restoring historic rockworks. We always do our best to base our work on photographs and paintings of historic rockworks. In terms of the construction of new rockworks, we would have some design drawings. However, those are mostly used as an impression to inform us about the size and shape of the final rockwork in general. When it comes down to actual construction, we will have to rely on our personal experiences and judgment.

Original Chinese transcripts:

Q: 请问扬州画舫录里记载的王天于是不是您家族的先人？但有的书上也有记录为王庭余的，哪一个才是呢？

A: 两个名字其实是同一个人，但王庭余是正确的写法。他也是我们家的，族谱上有记载。家里保留的记录也是说以前扬州的万石园假山是他建的。

Q: 您的假山建造技巧是和家里人学的么？因为我了解到您的爷爷王再云和父亲王鹤兰也都是假山工匠。

A: 嗯，是的，我家从清代开始就一直都在做假山，我也是跟我父亲和爷爷学的。我家现在这一辈和下一辈，也还是有好几个继续做假山的。

Q: 我之前查阅到文化局蔡起老先生的文章，介绍了王再云先生向他介绍的叠山要诀，据说是家里传下来的口诀，是真的么？文章里记的是：‘宜真不宜假，宜整不宜碎，突出峰秀点，石纹（石形石色石理石性）仔细配，真山似假则名，假山似真则绝’。

A: 家里叠山的方法都是跟父辈学的，假山的工艺都是口传心教的，一起堆的时候就一边教。也没什么文字记录。我当时跟着学的时候很小，的确是有教一些口诀，但是年纪小，具体记得也不是特别仔细，但是和这个文章写的，大致上是差不多的。

Q: 修复假山的时候会根据历史依据么？那修建新假山的时候，会有设计图么？

A: 修复的时候都是会看历史资料的，如果有照片或者画的话，会尽量根据以前的样子去修。新建的假山，也会有设计图，但那是一个概念，就是大概要做成多大，什么形式。具体的建造，很多是依靠经验和自己的判断。