CHAPTER 1

Reconstructing Kangxi

In the summer of 1708 the senior official and Hanlin academician Zhang Yushu traveled to Rehe as part of the imperial retinue during the emperor's first extended stay at his newly constructed traveling palace. Zhang recounted the journey in a short essay, "Record of Traveling at the Invitation of the Emperor," a portion of which describes two tours of the park-palace. Together with *Imperial Poems on the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat* (Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang shi), which combines views of the garden with imperially composed texts, Zhang's account is the most substantial description of the site to survive from the Kangxi period. As the emperor and his guests moved through the landscape, Zhang's attentive eye took in both the designed and natural environments. He paid particular attention to textual architectonics—the names and poetic couplets bestowed by Kangxi on the site's earliest structures to frame the visitor's encounters with the park's landscape through carefully planned, multivalent scenes. Visitors' interactions with the emperor are likewise described, revealing moments of remarkably personal connection within the broader scope of more formal, often ritualized exchanges between the emperor and his subjects.

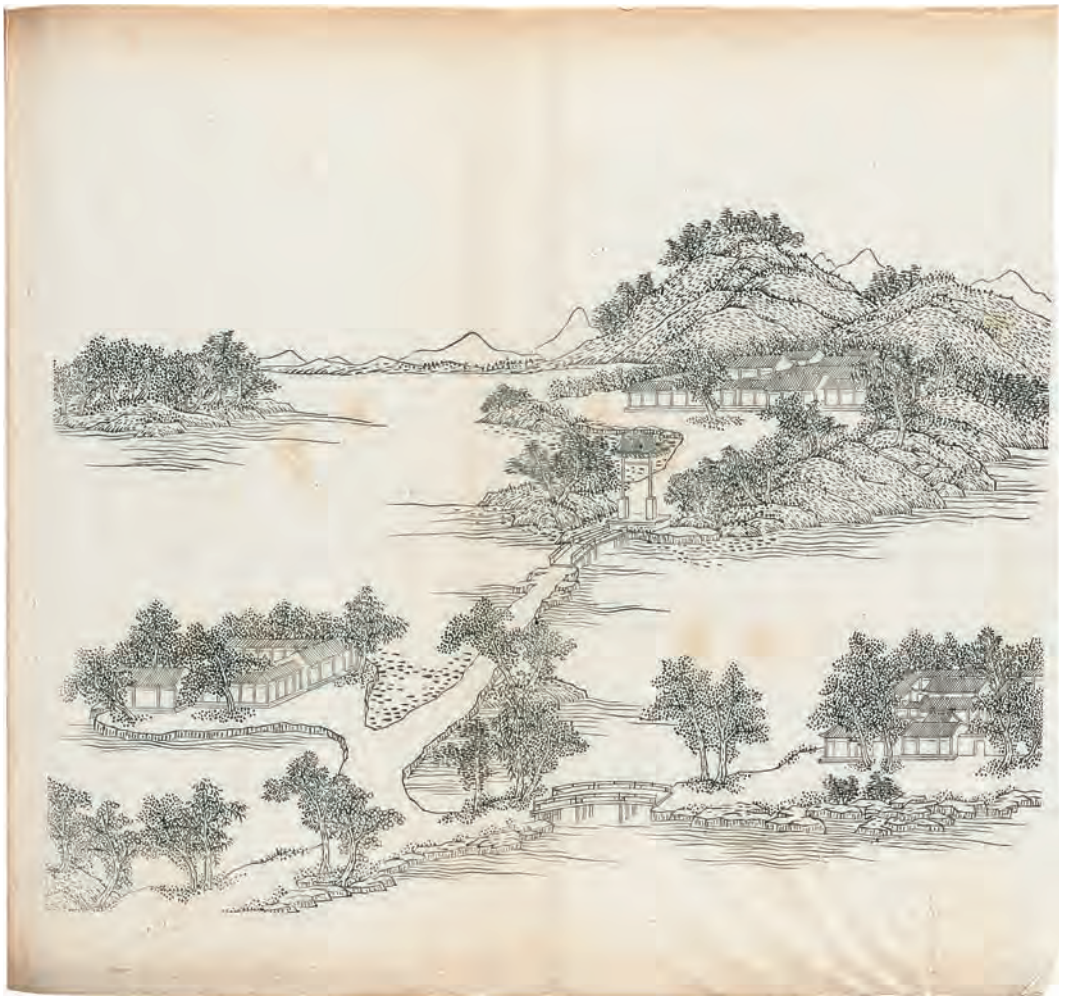
Read in concert with other textual sources, images, and the physical landscape itself, "Traveling at the Invitation of the Emperor" helps re-create a picture of the earliest iteration of the Mountain Estate under Kangxi—its conception, realization, and, perhaps most important, its operation as a material and rhetorical expression of imperial ideology encountered through experience of the site and its representations. Reconstructing the park-palace not simply as a static arrangement of structures but as a space defined by movement and experience reanimates the Mountain Estate from the perspective of its visitors while drawing on perceptual and embodied experience to inform an understanding of the site's earliest conception and design. The arrangement of halls, pavilions, and courtyards within the park's walls reflects the particularities of its topography and hydrology, the

FIGURE 1.1
Shen Yu et al., "*Lingzhi* Path on an Embankment to the Clouds," 1713, from Kangxi et al., *Imperial Poems*, scene 2. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

progressive extension of imperial presence in the landscape over time, and the logic of itineraries as the emperor and his guests enjoyed the marvelous scenery of their natural surroundings. In reconstructing the park in this manner, the landscape becomes mobilized as a source in its own right, a foundation from which to develop more conceptual understandings of landscape and ideology under Kangxi.

Inner and Outer Circuits

Although the court had established seasonal hunting camps in the region of Rehe as early as 1681, development of a permanent imperial complex in the valley began in earnest in August of 1702.[1] That summer, Kangxi stayed in Rehe for eighteen days, during which time he hosted a number of elites,



visited the surrounding countryside, and hunted.[2] Immediately following his departure from Rehe in late August, the emperor issued an edict to the Board of Works (Gongbu) directing surveyors to measure and stake out territory for a large complex. Officials also began to assemble workers and prepare materials, including recruiting corvée labor from Shandong and Zhili (roughly, modern Shandong and Hebei), harvesting wood from the Mulan Hunting Grounds (Mulan Weichang), identifying significant mountains and rocks at the site around which the complex would be designed, and constructing kilns.[3]

Beginning in early 1703, the Board of Works and the Imperial Household Department (Neiwufu) undertook these various assignments. Late that summer, Kangxi spent three days visiting the site, which was centered on a flood plain slightly north of Rehe Lower Camp (Rehe Xiaying), perhaps to inspect the planners' progress. The imperial landscape witnessed a considerable conceptual transformation that summer, even if the physical site remained relatively unaltered, as court documents assigned it a new name, Rehe Upper Camp (Rehe Shangying), which persisted throughout the first phase of development, until 1708.[4]

The focus during this period was on the central group of lakes and islands, the site of Kangxi's earliest public and private halls (map 1.1). Among the first tasks was dredging the original group of lakes and diverting a channel to feed the camp's water systems from the Wulie River, which entered the valley from the northeast and ran along the eastern side of the park. Earth excavated from the lakes formed the backbone of the area, the dyke known as *Lingzhi* Path on an Embankment to the Clouds (Zhijing Yundi; fig. 1.1) and the six central islands. The complex of buildings on the lakes' largest island, commonly known as Ruyi Island (Ruyizhou), including Un-Summerly Clear and Cool (Wushu Qingliang), Inviting the Breeze Lodge (Yanxun Shanguan), and Fragrant Waters and Beautiful Cliffs (Shuifang Yanxiu), comprised the first "palace" at Rehe.[5] As Zhang Yushu's description attests, their completion no later than 1708 permitted the emperor's first extended sojourn at Rehe that summer—forty-five days, as compared to seven to eighteen days in each of the previous five years.[6]

Beyond these several courtyards, determining precisely what architecture was erected during Kangxi's first phase of development, from 1703 to 1708, is more challenging. In his description of the park, Zhang Yushu names a series of buildings and other geographic features, including Pine Winds through Myriad Vales (Wanhe Songfeng), a compound just inside the main entrance to the park offering a commanding view north from atop a hill overlooking the park; the compounds of Ruyi, Encircling Jade (Huanbi), and Moonlight and the Sound of Rivers (Yuese Jiangsheng) Islands, which together formed the *lingzhi*-like landscape described by both Kangxi and Zhang; a cluster of halls and pavilions in the northeast

MAP 1.1
Major topographic and hydrological features of the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.


200m
N
Northwest Gate
(Xibeimen, by 1713)
Leading to
Good Fortune Gate
(Huidiji men, by 1713)
Cloudy Pine Gorge (Songyunxiao)
Half Moon Lake
(Banyuehu)
Wulie River (Wuliehe)
Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
(Wanshuyuan)
Pear Valley (Lishuyu)
Literary Ford Island
(Wenjindao)
Floating Cups
Pavilion Gate
(Liubeiting men,
by 1713)
Rehe Spring
(Rehequan)
Pine Forest Valley
(Songlinyu)
Pure Lotus Island
(Qingliandao)
Clear Lake
(Chenghu)
West Valley (Xiyu)
Inner Lake
(Neihu)
Gold Mountain Island
(Jinshandao)
Ruyi Island
(Ruyizhou)
Overlooking
Fragrance Island
(Linfangye dao)
Ruyi Lake (Ruyihu)
Resisting Complacency
Island
(Jiededao)
Hazelnut Glen (Zhenziyu)
Upper Lake (Shanghu)
Cool**
Moon*
Encircling Jade Island
(Huanbizhou)
Mirror Lake
(Jinghu)
Lingzhi Path on an
Embankment to the Clouds
(Zhijing Yundi)
Lower Lake
(Xiahu)
Perimeter Wall
Silver Lake
(Yinhu)
Literary Garden Island
(Wenyuandao)
Bishu Shanzhuang Gate
(Bishu Shanzhuang men, 1711)
Open-Minded and Composed Gate
(Tantan Dangdang men, by 1713)
Gathering Virtue Gate
(Dehuimen, 1751)
Limit of
historical
water data
Adhering to Principle Gate
(Lizhengmen, 1754)
*Moonlight and the Sound of Rivers Island
(Yuese Jiangsheng dao)
**Cool and Relaxing Mountain Station Island
(Qingshu Shanguan dao)

corner of Ruyi Lake containing a lotus pond and a pavilion for drinking and composing poetry (*liubeiting*) known as Scent of Lotuses by a Winding Stream (Qushui Hexiang); and a number of pavilions and halls situated along the lake shores and in the nearby mountains.

Comparison with the more extensive list of architecture that is commonly attributed to this phase of development raises several interesting questions (map 1.2). Drawing on a combination of the Qianlong-era *Imperial Gazetteer of Rehe* and uncited sources, Shanzhuang scholar Chen Baosen ascribes the majority of Kangxi-era construction to 1703–1708, including those sites mentioned by Zhang Yushu, the island temple known as Gold Mountain (Jinshan), and a Buddhist temple on Ruyi Island, Forest of the Law Temple (Falinsi); several scenic compounds on the islands of Inner Lake (Neihu); Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon (Lihua Banyue), a compound located a short distance up Pear Valley (Lishuyu) where the emperor's concubines lived when in Rehe; significant compounds at the north end of the park, one situated atop a cliff overlooking the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees (Wanshuyuan) and the other adjacent to the northeast sluice gate; a number of pavilions located deeper in the mountains; and various functional buildings scattered around the central lakes and the park's perimeter.[7] While no Kangxi-era sources survive that permit reliable, specific dating of these structures, chronological milestones such as Zhang Yushu's visit begin to give shape to the landscape in ways that allow reconstruction of both the site's early development and something of its design intentions.

Zhang Yushu's account of engagement with the park-palace speaks not only to the plan of the site in 1708 but also suggests ways in which movement and mobility are key to understanding its broader development under Kangxi. The itineraries traced by Zhang Yushu and his cohorts in 1708 followed established scenic routes to the northeast and northwest (*dongbei/xibei yilu shenggai*) of the park's central area (map 1.3). On neither occasion did the group stray far from the main lakes: on their first visit, the emperor and his guests remained entirely within the lakes; during the second, they walked as far north as the top of Inner Lake, entered only a short way into the mountains at Cloudy Pine Gorge (Songyunxia), and worked their way back south, passing the Temple of the Dragon King (Lingze Longwangmiao) along the way.

From both the perspective of a visitor's experience of the landscape and its overall scenic plan, the scope of the park in 1708 remained fairly limited and close to the main lakes, its architectural nodes linked by established itineraries or short side trips. Judging from the sites Zhang Yushu identified by name, his two routes traversed most of the architecturally developed portions of the park at the time. Of the "so-called Sixteen Scenes" (*suowei Shiliu Jing*) Zhang names, all were either on one of the two tour routes or

MAP 1.2
Architecture of the Rehe Traveling Palace described by Zhang Yushu ca. 1708, contrasted with other architecture known or believed to have existed at that time. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.


Structures
Noted by Zhang Yushu in 1708
Other Kangxi, Phase One (1703–1708)
Other Kangxi, Phase Uncertain (1703–1711)
150m
N
Cloudy Pine Gorge
Perimeter Wall (Extant)
Wulie River
Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon
Pear Valley
Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
Pine Forest Valley
Gold Mountain Island
Ruyi Island
Moon Boat with Cloud Sails
Forest of the Law Temple
Hazelnut Glen
Encircling Jade Island
Lingzhi Path on an Embankment to the Clouds
Moonlight and the Sound of Rivers Island
Pine Winds through Myriad Vales
Perimeter Wall (Approximate)

connected to them by short spurs of road or path. For instance, although the officials did not visit Southern Mountains Piled with Snow (Nanshan Jixue), it is only a short climb north of the entrance to Cloudy Pine Gorge (map 1.4). Similarly, Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon and Sunset at Hammer Peak (Chuifeng Luozhao) are both just west and uphill from the route leading south from Cloudy Pine Gorge past the Temple of the Dragon King.

MAP 1.3
Zhang Yushu's two itineraries: the "Northeastern Scenic Route," July 19, 1708, and the "Northwestern Scenic Route," August 14, 1708. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

The logic of this itinerary-based link may be extended to those structures and compounds dated by Chen Baosen to this first period of development that do not appear in Zhang Yushu's narrative. A number of these lay well beyond the reach of the tours' routes but may be connected, through both design and experience, to the central zone. Continuing north past Southern Mountains Piled with Snow, one first descends into a saddle where the garden compound Verdant Isle of Green Maples (Qingfeng Lüyu) is nestled before climbing again to one of the park's highest points, the site of Northern Post Linking Paired Peaks (Beizhen Shuangfeng). It is clear that at least by 1712 and the production of *Imperial Poems*—in which all three appear—the trio was understood as a group strung along a single route, as the depiction of each includes one of the other two (see figs. 5.15, 5.18, and 6.16, left, respectively). Continuing past Northern Post Linking Paired Peaks leads to the small Temple to the Mother of the Dipper (Doumuge). Its presence on this itinerary suggests that Verdant Isle of Green Maples may in part have served as a place to rest along the rather arduous uphill journey to the park's very northern end. Similarly, Clouds and Peaks on All Sides (Simian Yunshan), the westernmost structure built within the park walls during the Kangxi period, lies above Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon and the Temple of the Dragon King at the top of Pear Valley.

Although well beyond Zhang Yushu's perambulations, both in terms of distance and physical effort, these more distant sites are connected to the park's scenic core through the lived experience not of the garden's outside visitors but of its regular residents. Put differently, Verdant Isle of Green Maples, Temple to the Mother of the Dipper, Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon, and Clouds and Peaks on All Sides all lie on established itineraries for experiencing the park similar to those traveled by Zhang's cohorts of officials, yet reserved for the emperor and his household. Understanding these structures as linked by design features (a path) and experience (an itinerary) suggests first that they may all date to the same or similar periods, a notion borne out by later phases of construction in which Qianlong developed particular sections of the mountains along circuits. More significant, perhaps, it describes an overall plan for the site that may be conceived of as divided into inner and outer, or public and


Structures
Noted by Zhang Yushu in 1708
Other Kangxi, Phase One (1703–1708)
Other Kangxi, Phase Uncertain (1703–1711)
150m
N
Cloudy Pine Gorge
Perimeter Wall (Extant)
Wulie River
Garden of
Ten Thousand
Trees
Pear Valley
Temple of the
Dragon King
Pine Forest Valley
Northwestern Scenic Route
Aug 14, 1708
Northeastern
Scenic Route
Jul 19, 1708
Orioles Warbling
in the Tall Trees
Scent of
Lotuses by a
Winding Stream
A Sheet
of Cloud
Long
Bridge
Un-Summerly
Clear and Cool
Hazelnut Glen
Perimeter Wall (Approximate)

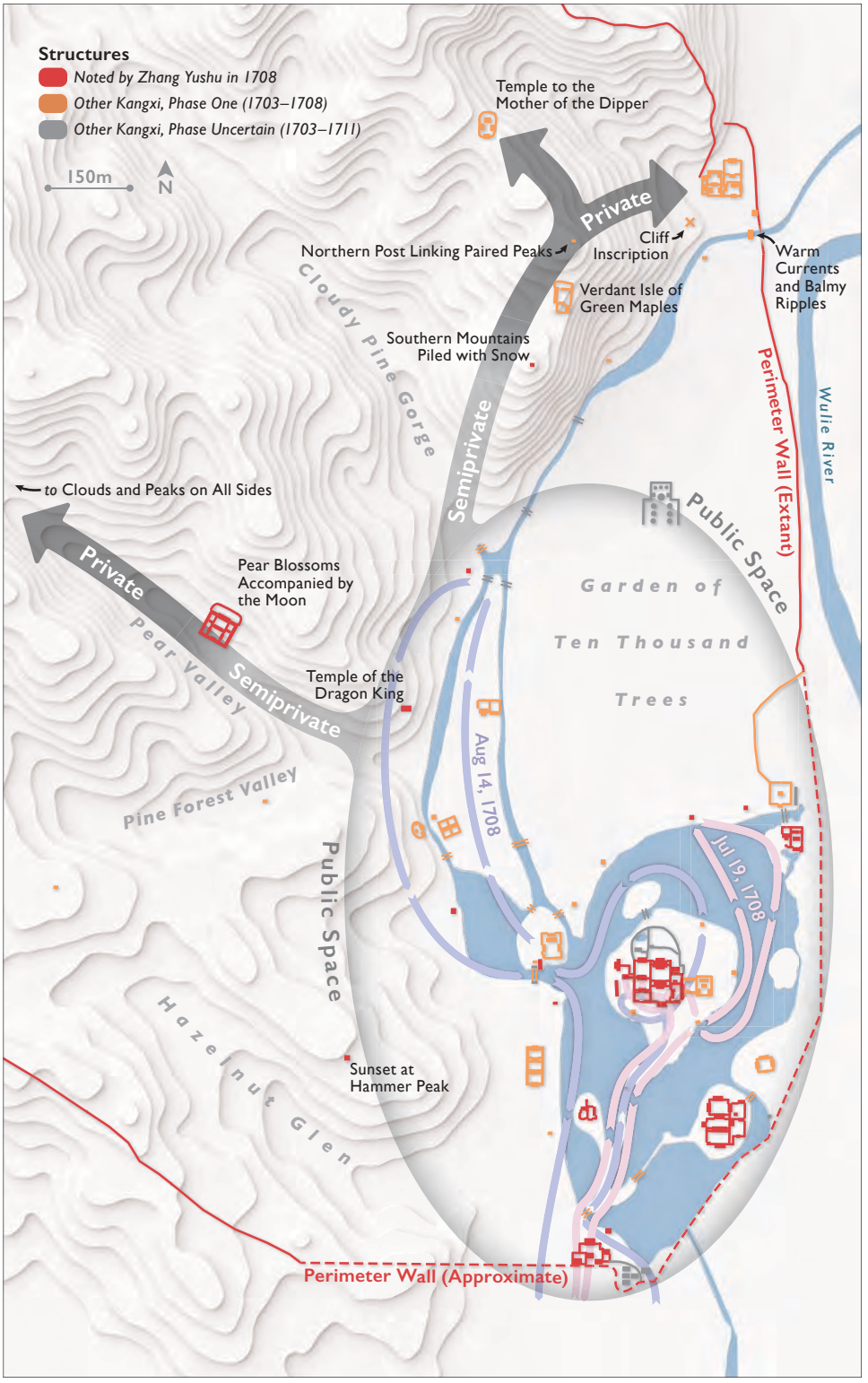
private, defined in part by topography and proximity to the center but also by access and degrees of familiarity or intimacy with the throne.

Another means for distinguishing inner and outer is found in the naming and appreciation of certain areas of the park, such as the cluster of gates, pavilions, and halls at the park's northeast corner, where the diverted Wulie River enters the precincts. Turning east from Northern Post Linking Paired Peaks, rather than northwest to the Temple to the Mother of the Dipper, leads one down a steep path to the northern extent of the park's plain where it meets the mountains; the area could also be reached through the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees or by boat up the narrow waterways running along the western edge of the valley floor. The scenic draw of this area was the sound and sight of the water as it passed through a sluice and into the park's lake system.[8] A hall stands atop the water gate, while a small pavilion sits beside the inlet (see fig. 6.20, right). Both offer views of not only the water but also a cliff opposite into which the characters *quanyuan shibi* 泉源石壁 ("Cliff at the Spring's Source") are carved in the emperor's calligraphy (see fig. 6.20, left). On the north side of the inlet stream, opposite the pavilion, is a larger compound that may have included a library and halls for relaxation.[9] In 1708, however, the scenic qualities of this area were not formally recognized within the park's naming: Warm Currents and Balmy Ripples (Nuanliu Xuanbo), the name eventually applied to the hall atop the northern water gate, is connected (in Zhang Yushu's account) to the small sluice gate in the northeast corner of Ruyi Lake that controlled the flow of Rehe Spring into the main lakes.[10] Nor does Zhang mention either the monumental example of the emperor's calligraphy nor the pavilion from which one would view it—the entire northern group lay outside the scope of a visitor's experience in 1708.[11]

MAP 1.4
Visualizing public and private zones in the design and use of the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat, ca. 1708. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

Like the itineraries that connected certain structures physically to the center, naming and scenic appreciation help to define a public center and private periphery. The shift in names and the incorporation of the northern zone into the public program of scenic sites through *Imperial Poems* may indicate a later date of construction for this group. At the same time, it may also reflect their existence in an outer, private zone that lay beyond the visitor's experience. Such divisions between inner and outer, and public and private, are central to domestic and imperial architecture, including homes, palaces, and city plans. In both the court and the capital, however, "inner" typically correlates to private and "outer" to public; in Rehe this formulation is reversed. Instead, in all cases "public" space is encountered first, while "private" zones lay architecturally or topographically beyond the center.

Outside shifts in naming, the most notable disjunction between Zhang Yushu's account and the more conventional dating of early architecture at the Mountain Estate occurs with one of the park's most iconic sites,


Structures
Noted by Zhang Yushu in 1708
Other Kangxi, Phase One (1703–1708)
Other Kangxi, Phase Uncertain (1703–1711)
150m
N
Temple to the Mother of the Dipper
Private
Cliff Inscription
Northern Post Linking Paired Peaks
Warm Currents and Balmy Ripples
Verdant Isle of Green Maples
Cloudy Pine Gorge
Southern Mountains Piled with Snow
Semiprivate
Perimeter Wall (Extant)
Wulie River
to Clouds and Peaks on All Sides
Public Space
Private
Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon
Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
Pear Valley
Semiprivate
Temple of the Dragon King
Aug 14, 1708
Jul 19, 1708
Pine Forest Valley
Public Space
Hazelnut Glen
Sunset at Hammer Peak
Perimeter Wall (Approximate)

the island temple of Gold Mountain. Featuring a three-story tower, the Pavilion of the Supreme God (Shangdige), atop a small artificial mountain (fig. 1.2), Gold Mountain was easily the most visible site in the Kangxi-era garden and perhaps the most dramatic. The complex re-created a syncretic island temple in the Yangzi River outside Nanjing (fig. 1.3), one of the "Three Mountains at the Entrance to the Capital" (Jingkou Sanshan).[12] The Gold Mountain complex plays an important role in various imaginings of the site, particularly in Kangxi's *Imperial Poems*, where it features twice: scene 18, "The Entire Sky Is Exuberant" (Tianyu Xianchang), and scene 32, "Clouds and Peaks in the Mirroring Water" (Jingshui Yuncen). In "The Entire Sky Is Exuberant," Kangxi writes as if at the top of the Pavilion of the Supreme God. From there, standing "near the boundary of heaven, he gains a panoramic, 'grand view' (*daguan*) of the entire Mountain Estate and observes with satisfaction that the world is in a perfect state of animation."[13]

Chen Baosen dates Gold Mountain to 1703, and the temple would have been on the route taken by Zhang Yushu and his fellow officials following their banquet; the visitors would certainly have passed it on their return from the floating cups pavilion, if not before. Yet Zhang makes no mention

FIGURE 1.2
Shen Yu et al., "The Entire Sky Is Exuberant," 1713, from Kangxi et al., *Imperial Poems*, scene 18. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College. The three-story Pavilion of the Supreme God stands at the summit of Gold Mountain Island.

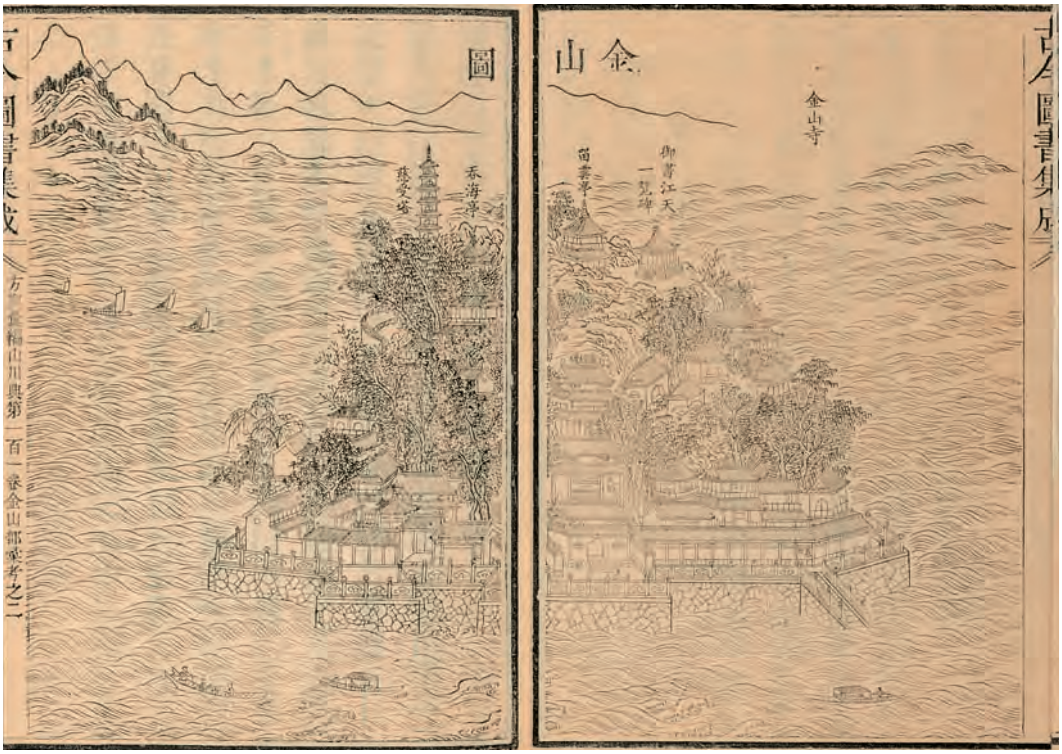


FIGURE 1.3
"Gold Mountain," from *Imperially Endorsed Complete Collection of Images and Writings from Antiquity to the Present*, 1700–1726. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

of it, a fact that is particularly surprising given that his hometown of Dantu, Jiangsu, lies roughly 10 kilometers from the original Jinshan temple upon which the emperor's was modeled.[14] It seems unlikely that this otherwise meticulous observer of the Rehe landscape would fail to note such a striking piece of architecture so closely tied to his native place. This strongly suggests that the Jinshan complex belongs to the second phase of Kangxi development between 1709 and 1711.

Together, these accounts make it possible to propose a new layout for the Mountain Estate circa 1708, at the conclusion of the first phase of building at the park (map 1.5). What emerges is a comparatively modest architectural plan focused on the park's most experientially striking areas—the central lakes, foothills of the mountains, and select elevated vantages offering views down into the Wulie valley and across the undulating mountains to the east. The patterns of development and naming during this period can perhaps be best understood by recognizing a division in the park's access and usage between inner and outer, or public and private, realms.[15] The inner circuits, which surround the central lakes and are roughly described in Zhang Yushu's accounts, offered elite visitors access to specific spaces associated with the emperor, including both official and private quarters, as well as select scenic spots nearby. Beyond this inner circuit, however,

was a landscape that appears to have been reserved for use by the emperor and his household. Some of these sites, such as those on the secondary islands of the central lakes, could be seen but perhaps not visited by guests; others lay out of sight but were nonetheless linked to the center by paths and itineraries. A number of these outer sites were also not part of the early commemorated scenery of the park, Zhang Yushu's "so-called Sixteen Scenes." Yet all this would change with the completion of construction within the Mountain Estate's walls in 1711 and the publication of *Imperial Poems* the following year. The private now became public through print, as the Sixteen Scenes expanded to thirty-six and no portion of the developed park lay clearly beyond the bounds of its printed experiences.

MAP 1.5
Architectural development at Rehe Upper Camp (subsequently Rehe Traveling Palace), 1703–1708. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

Lenticular Landscapes

Beginning in 1709, the imperial landscape at Rehe underwent a second major phase of development, which culminated in 1711 with the hanging of a gilt-bronze plaque above the newly constructed main gate of the park-palace. Displaying four characters in Kangxi's calligraphy, it bore the site's formal name: 避暑山莊 (Bishu Shanzhuang).[16] In addition to the halls and tower of Gold Mountain Island, this period brought two major architectural transformations to the landscape of the Mountain Estate. The first was the expansion of the park to the southeast and the dredging of two new "lakes"—Silver (Yinhu) and Mirror (Jinghu) Lakes—while the second was the construction of a far more substantial series of palace halls, the Palace of Righteousness (Zhenggong), to the south of the site's original entrance. These changes necessitated the expansion of the perimeter wall to the southeast as well, one of the last sections of the entire wall to be completed circa 1713 (map 1.6).

The momentous transition of 1711 was also marked by the composition of the emperor's "Record of the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat," a text that circulated in various manuscript versions while also serving as the preface for *Imperial Poems on the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat* in 1713. The publication of the *Imperial Poems*' thirty-six scenes in one sense altered the division between inner and outer that characterized the site's first phase, as the entire park's scenic itinerary became accessible to the virtual visitor, if not the emperor's actual guests. Along with the inscriptions affixed to the buildings themselves, the emperor's published texts describing the site extended the accessible landscape into new media, constructing meaning for its audiences through the interplay between its different forms. The architectural expansion of the site in the second phase capitalized on this interplay by focusing on sensory experience, physical movement, and visitors' imaginations to extend the landscape beyond its immediate physical and temporal bounds. The architectural means for


Structures
Kangxi, Phase One (1703–1708)
Kangxi, Phase Uncertain (1703–1711)
150m
N
Cliff Inscription
Cloudy Pine Gorge
Perimeter Wall (Extant)
Wulie River
Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
Pear Valley
Pine Forest Valley
Ruyi Island
Hazelnut Glen
Perimeter Wall (Approximate)

these perceptual inversions, including "borrowed views" (*jiejing*) and textual para-landscapes, were well-established in garden design. Yet their particular expression and effect at the Mountain Estate was shaped by the radically greater scale of the site compared with other premodern Chinese gardens, as well as by the transcendent imperial authority such scale reflected.

Symbolically as well as practically, the most significant addition to the park's architecture during this period was the Palace of Righteousness, which replaced the buildings on Ruyi Island as the formal halls of state and imperial residence (fig. 14).[17] The construction of a formal palace in Rehe signals the degree to which the Mountain Estate effectively served as the imperial seat of government during the emperor's time on tour.[18] It also underlined Confucian modes of governance as a substantial element within Kangxi's vision of the site, its regular arrangement and halls of reception

MAP 1.6
Architectural development of the southeast section of the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat, ca. 1708 and ca. 1713. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

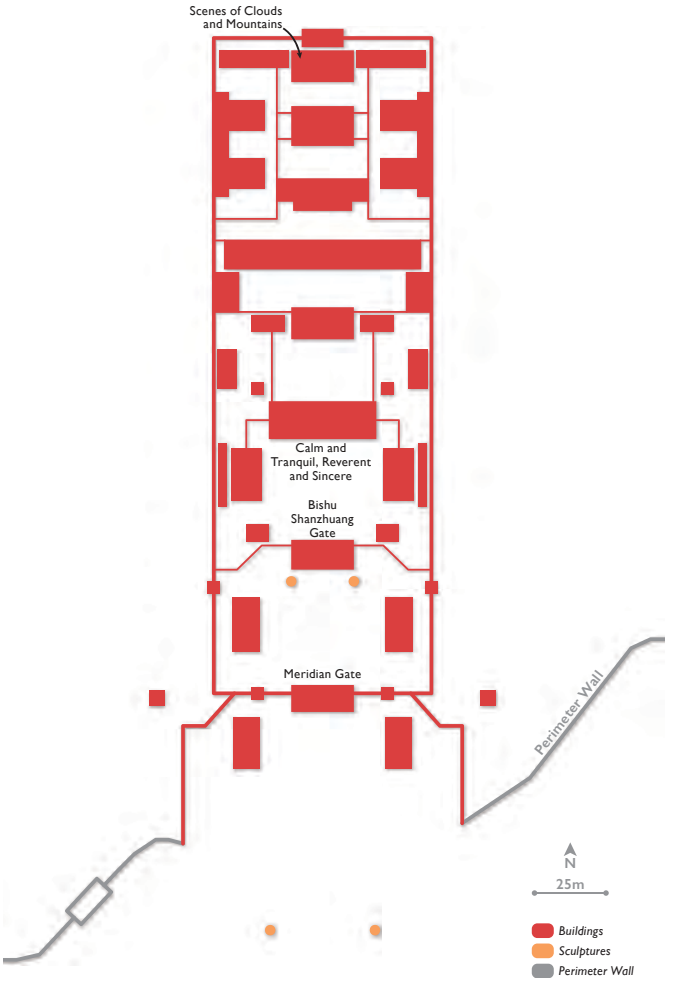
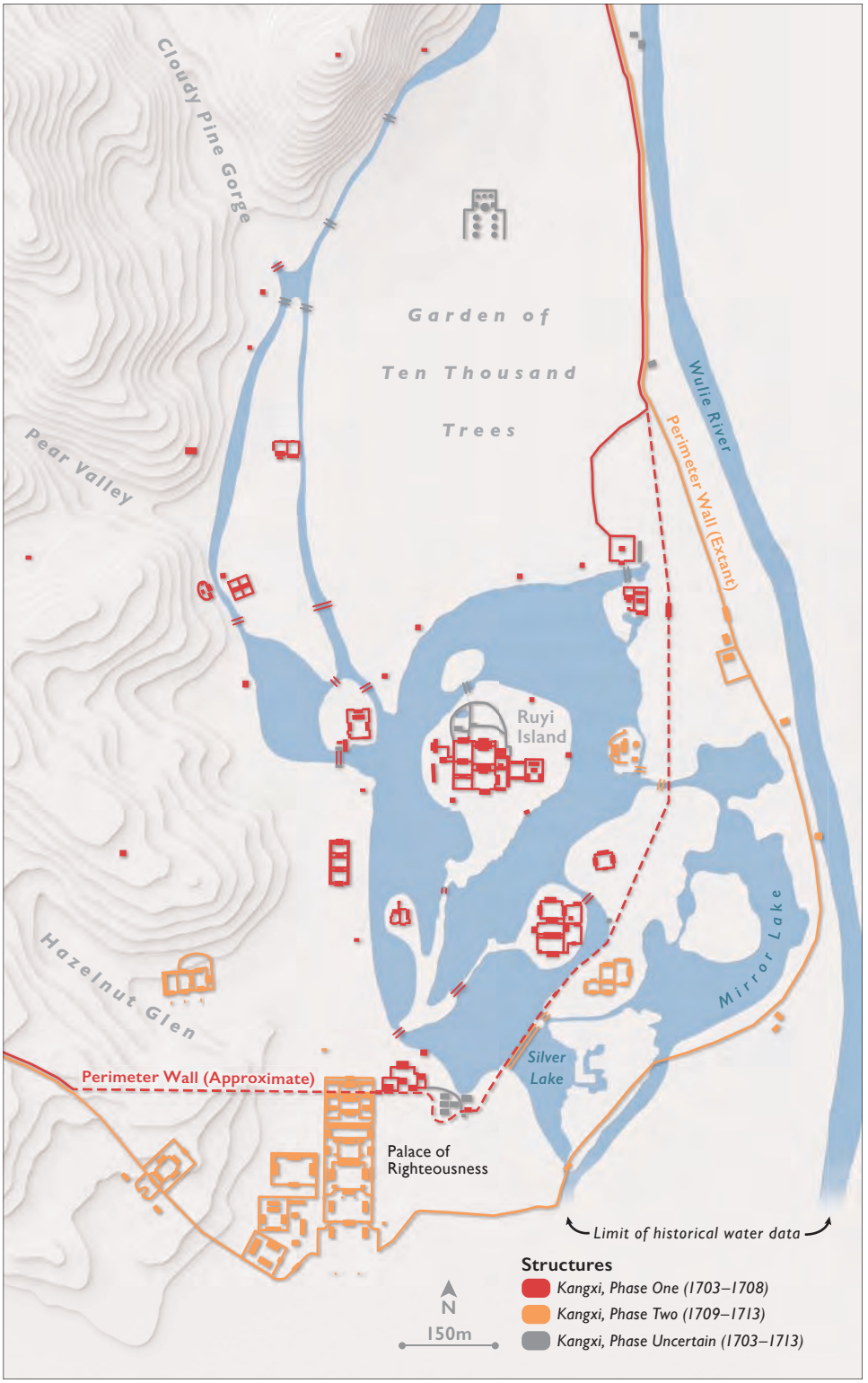


FIGURE 1.4
Plan of the Palace of Righteousness, ca. 1709–11. Drawing by Pen Sereypagna and Daniel P. Huffman.


Cloudy Pine Gorge
Garden of
Ten Thousand
Trees
Wulie River
Perimeter Wall (Extant)
Pear Valley
Ruyi
Island
Hazelnut Glen
Mirror Lake
Silver
Lake
Perimeter Wall (Approximate)
Palace of
Righteousness
Limit of historical water data
Structures
Kangxi, Phase One (1703–1708)
Kangxi, Phase Two (1709–1713)
Kangxi, Phase Uncertain (1703–1713)
N
150m

offering a clear counterpoint to the less rigidly structured landscape and activities that characterized touring the "rear garden" (*houyuan*).

The addition of an axial palace was unique among the mature imperial gardens of the Qing, such as the Garden of Perfect Brightness (Yuanmingyuan) or Pure Ripple Garden (Qingyiyuan; later Nourishing Harmony Garden, or Yiheyuan). It may have been characteristic of Kangxi's early constructions, however, specifically the Garden of Joyful Spring (Changchunyuan) in suburban Beijing (fig. 1.5). Like the Mountain Estate, the plan of the Garden of Joyful Spring centered on a series of interconnected lakes and interspersed islands. The palace, oriented north to south, led to a central island on which a further group of axially oriented buildings stood. Although the Palace of Righteousness had not yet been constructed when Zhang Yushu visited in 1708, his reference to the park as the "rear garden"—"rear" in relation to the front palace—refers to this well-established design for imperial gardens.[19]

In plan and structure Kangxi's Palace of Righteousness resembled a large mansion as much as it did either of the major Qing imperial palaces in Shengjing or Beijing. While Shengjing employed a tripartite division—with Banner, court, and residential divisions roughly side by side—the Mountain Estate's strict axiality more closely resembled that of the Forbidden City. It opened with a succession of gated forecourts leading to a series of official, semipublic halls and ultimately the imperial residence at the rear. Yet the Palace of Righteousness did not embody the same ritual organization or emphasis that characterizes the Beijing and Shengjing complexes. It comprised a single axis in which each courtyard progressed to the next, rather than the multiple lines of often nested courtyards found in the more elaborate palaces. The buildings themselves were similarly modest by comparison. The newly constructed throne room—Calm and Tranquil, Reverent and Sincere (Danbo Jingcheng), though grander than Un-Summerly Clear and Cool—was of an entirely different nature to its counterparts in Shenyang and Beijing, having neither their scale nor their lacquer and brightly glazed tiles.[20] Formulated by the emperor as a matter of imperial modesty and economy appropriate to a ruler concerned first and foremost with his people, the relatively reduced scale of the Palace of Righteousness also served to create a less formal environment.[21] Absent or reduced were the immediate visual and material cues of imperial majesty recognizable to courtiers, kinsmen, and others familiar with the more imposing palaces of the capitals.[22]

The mansion-like qualities of the Palace of Righteousness were reinforced by its relationship with the landscape beyond its walls. As in Beijing, the rear of the Rehe palace incorporated a small garden. Rather than being self-contained as with the Forbidden City's gardens, however, which were isolated from the city beyond the palace walls, the garden of the Palace of

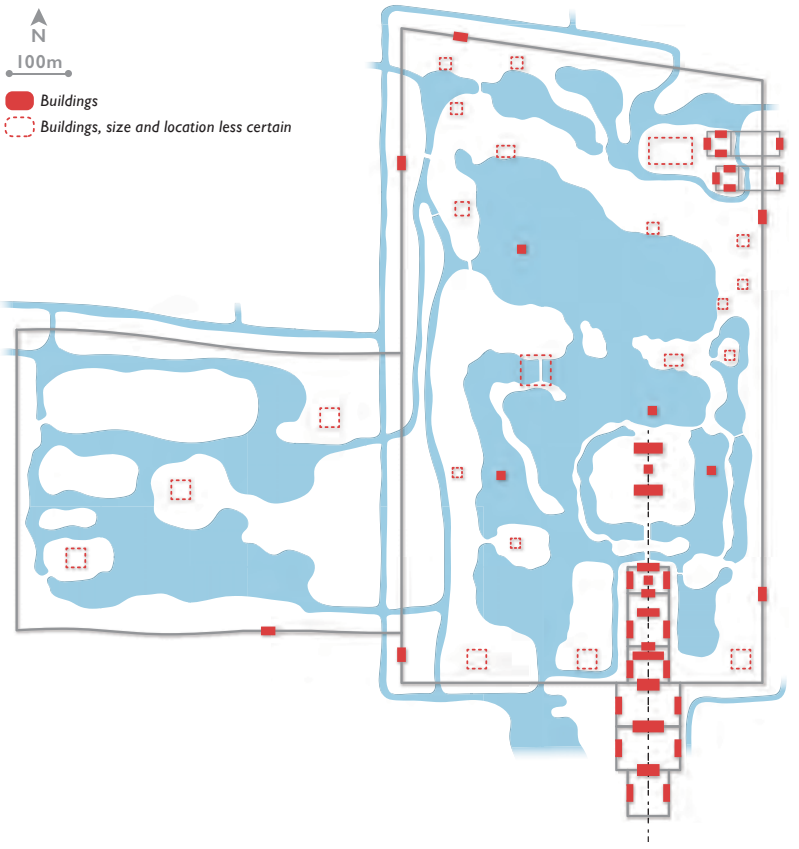


FIGURE 15
Plan of the Garden of Joyful Spring (early eighteenth century). Drawing by Pen Sereypagna, after Wang Juyuan, *Zhongguo gudai yuanlin shi*, I:425, fig. 9-42.

Righteousness incorporated a two-story hall, Scenes of Clouds and Mountains (Yunshan Shengdi; fig. 16, right). This offered a view out onto the park itself, connecting residence and garden in a manner akin to a private mansion. Ascending to the hall's upper gallery by means of an artificial rockery set in the garden's courtyard, the visitor gained an elevated vantage point looking north. Coupled with the sharp drop in elevation from rear of the palace to the lakes and valley floor, this view gave a sense that "the forested peaks and misty waters stretch without end," the world transformed into a "garden of a myriad acres."[23]

Such a manipulation of depth and space, in which the intervening foreground or middle ground is visually elided in order to join the viewer's own space and the distance into a single landscape, is an effect frequently employed in smaller garden spaces. In particular, it underpins the perspectival disjunction of the "borrowed view," in which the garden environment incorporates scenery from beyond its walls into a single sensory realm. Given the scale of the Rehe park-palace, however, seen from the heights of the site's southern promontory, the reality of the Mountain Estate as both bounded space and imperial precinct was momentarily suspended, the

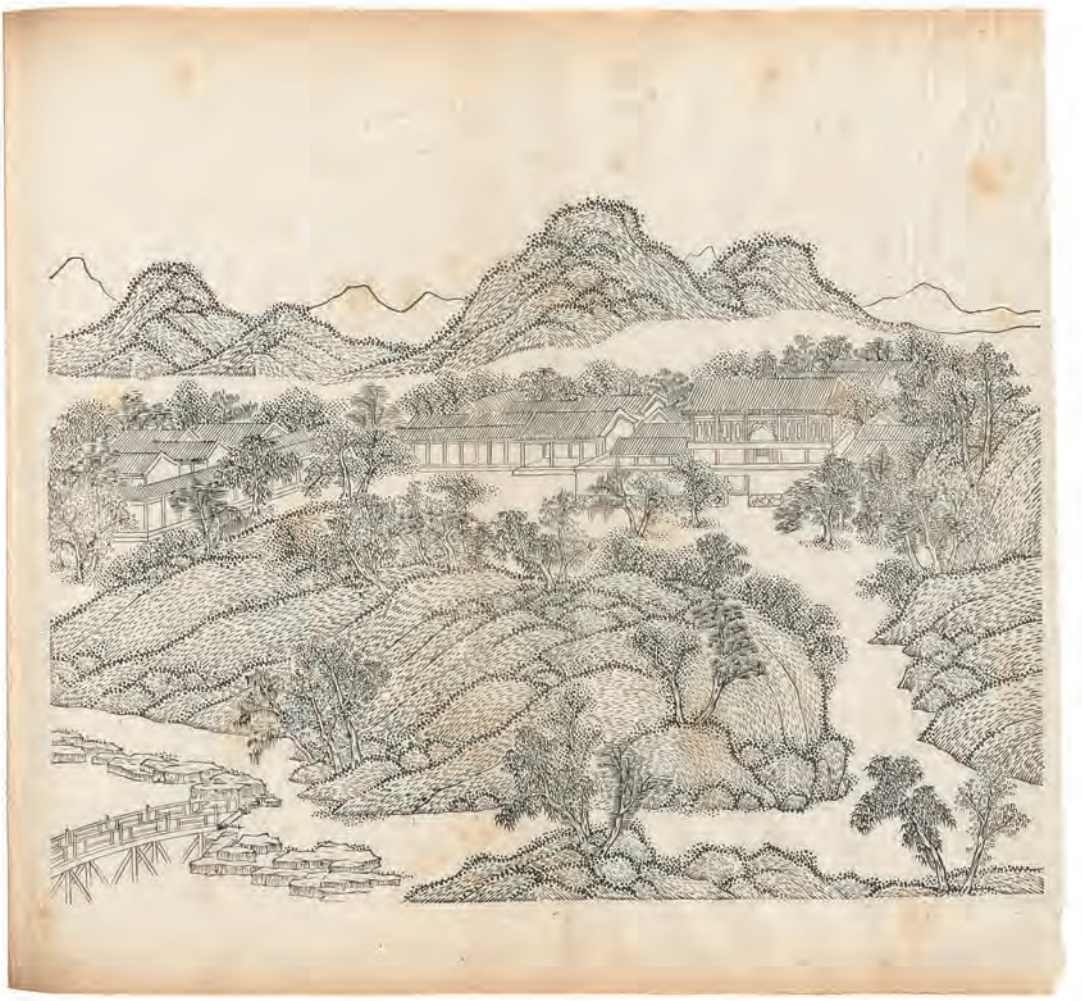
material and conceptual distinctions between garden and the world beyond elided, and the landscape lenticularly augmented to appear as the world itself. Rhetorically framing the space outside the Palace of Righteousness as the limitless world, instead of a delimited garden, had the inverse effect on the palace itself, as its relative smallness and function as portal onto something much larger became highlighted by comparison.

The expansion of the lakes that occurred during this same period similarly reflects ways in which the manipulation of movement and perception were integral to the intended experience of the Mountain Estate. Although true of many Chinese gardens, the tension in design and construction between the natural topography and human intervention is arguably greater at the Mountain Estate than in other, particularly riverine, garden contexts. Water was an abundant and readily available building element in low-lying Jiangnan gardens, which were often situated on islands or near the banks of the region's honeycomb-like delta of lakes and rivers. Naturally flowing water was typically diverted to feed the lake systems of private gardens, channeled in and back out again via sluice gates, ensuring that the water within the garden remained fresh and suitable for plants and fish. This basic technique was also used at the Mountain Estate, but it was only the start of a much more elaborate and carefully engineered system that ensured flowing water for both practical and aesthetic purposes throughout the park-palace's grounds.

The primary water system of the park-palace consists of a series of artificially constructed lakes dredged on the western edge of the valley's flood plain (see map 1.1). Fed by diverting the Wulie River through a sluice at the northeastern corner of the park, the current first flows south-southwest along the foot of the western mountains in a channel linking two small bodies of water.[24] To the north is what is now known as Half Moon Lake (Banyuehu), over which rises the imperially inscribed cliff marking the source of the park's waters. Further south, the stream divides to accommodate two islands and create Inner Lake, which Zhang Yushu crossed via the "Long Bridge." Below Inner Lake's second, smaller island, the waterway opens up into a large, round lake. In reality this is a single body of water separated by design and nomenclature into four areas; proceeding clockwise from the southwest, they include Ruyi Lake (Ruyihu), Clear Lake (Chenghu), Upper Lake (Shanghu), and Lower Lake (Xiahu).[25]

At the time of Zhang Yushu's visit to the park in 1708, this represented the extent of the site's central water system. A sluice gate in the park's southeastern corner served as the primary point of controlled drainage from the park (see map 1.6). This off-flow rejoined the Wulie River just southeast of the site, as it does today. From 1709 the site was expanded to encompass what are now Mirror and Silver Lakes. Although the reason for this expansion is not documented, it may have been grounded in hydro-

FIGURE 1.6
Shen Yu et al., "Scenes of Clouds and Mountains," 1713, from Kangxi et al., *Imperial Poems*, scene 8. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College.



logical as much as aesthetic concerns. The park's topography is such that water from the mountains and the northern plain, as well as from the lakes, flows to the southeast. This newly incorporated land thus sat between the original lakes and the Wulie River at the bottom of a large drainage area. As a result, Mirror and Silver Lakes may have originally been a practical concession to a swampy reality, a hypothesis further supported by the near absence of Kangxi-era architecture in this zone.

The lakes provided not only scenery and the opportunity for recreation, such as fishing and boating, but also a complement to the routes and itineraries found on land (map 1.7). The main and southeastern lakes are all navigable, and there was at least one boathouse on the central lakes during the Kangxi period, located on the small island at the mouth of Inner Lake.[26] A second boathouse located to the northeast near Rehe Spring may date

to this period as well.[27] In his *View of Rehe* (see fig. 4.1), Leng Mei depicts several boats tied at Ruyi Lake Pavilion, near the footbridge leading to the central islands. Moreover, based both on pictorial and physical evidence, numerous waterside pavilions and compounds had some provision for visiting via boat. Among the clearest are those on Gold Mountain Island, which could be approached by water from both the west, where a two-sided stair is built into the island's retaining wall (see fig. 12), and the north, where a small pavilion-covered pier extends. Similarly, the plan of Moonlight and the Sound of Rivers is properly oriented for an approach from the water, as the south-facing main gate directly faces a small landing; the now more familiar footbridge and path connecting the island to the main branch of the central embankment leads the visitor to the compound from an oblique angle. Waterside pavilions also doubled as landings, as is apparent at both Clear Ripples with Layers of Greenery (Chengbo Diecui) and Cherishing Munificence Pavilion (Hanrunting) on the north and southeast shores of Ruyi Island.[28] Other more modest landings, consisting of several flat rocks

MAP 1.7
Visualization of possible water routes during the Kangxi period (ca. 1703–1722). Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

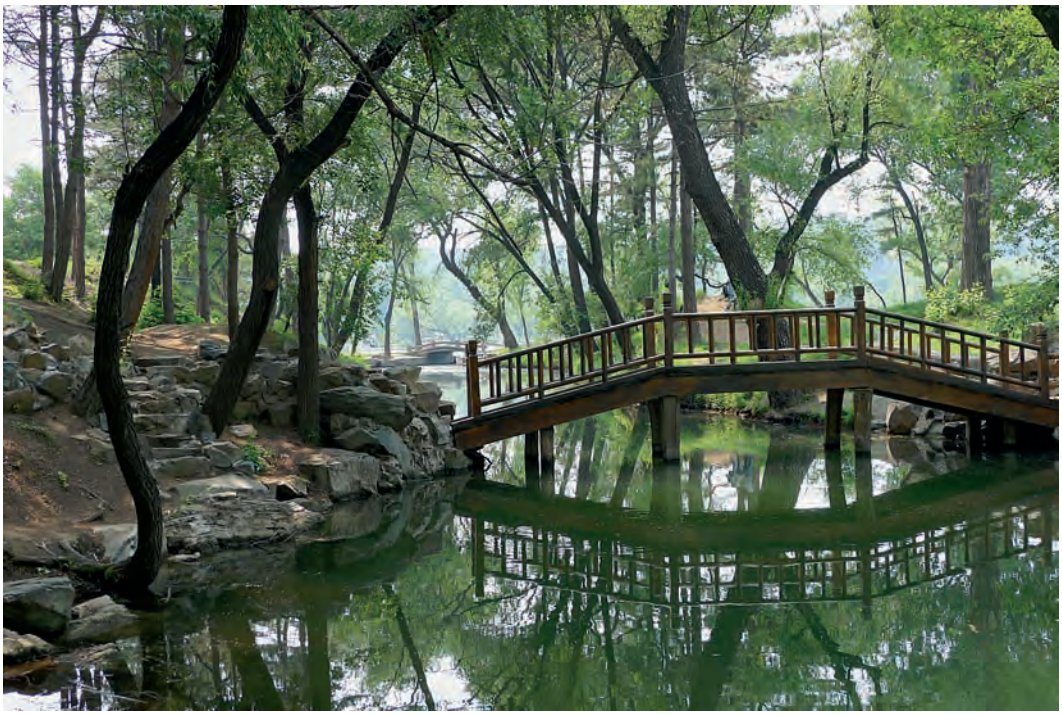


FIGURE 1.7
Waterway connecting Lower and Mirror Lakes. The steps on the left are a small boat landing. Photo by the author.

arranged at the water's edge, further extended the accessibility of the park from the water (fig. 1.7).[29]

Recognizing this water-oriented infrastructure renders the substantial potential for movement, travel, and vision by or from boats within the central area of the Mountain Estate apparent. In Zhang Yushu's narrative of his visits, he clearly describes this expanded field. During his first tour the assembled guests traveled by water several times (see map 1.3). Following their banquet in the imperial theater, A Sheet of Cloud (Yipianyun), they boarded boats from a nearby landing and rowed to a point on the lake's north shore shaded by a stand of mature trees, perhaps Orioles Warbling in the Tall Trees (Yingzhuan Qiaomu). After another short row, the group alighted near the Rehe hot spring, before boarding once more for a trip along the lake's edge and back to their original embarkation point. On this first visit the boat trips themselves were, in Zhang's description, primarily functional, intended to transport guests from one scenic spot to the next in the most direct manner possible. By contrast, on the occasion of Zhang's second visit, when the guests again boarded boats after their midday meal, travel by water granted access to a scenic experience unattainable from the shore. Leaving once more from Ruyi Island, the group floated past the northwestern boathouse toward the "Long Bridge." As the boats drifted

among the lotuses across separate portions of Inner and Ruyi Lakes, separated by an embankment, it appeared to Zhang as though they were a single group reflected in a mirror ("Pair of Lakes like Flanking Mirrors" [Shuanghu Jiajing]; see fig. 6.17, right). Here, boats functioned not just as a means for transport but also as a medium for engaging with landscape features and scenic experiences specifically designed to be appreciated from water level.

Recognizing the significance of being on and moving across the water to the design of the Mountain Estate augments, even inverts, the conventional framing of the landscape found in familiar sources. The beauties of water—its sound, its light, the fragrance and appearance of its flowers—figure prominently in both the emperor's *Imperial Poems* and Leng Mei's *View of Rehe*; they are presented, however, as experiences to be enjoyed largely from land. In many cases the architecture and landscape have been designed to elide the distinction between land and water, just as the view from Scenes of Clouds and Mountains merged the palace garden with the broader landscape. Pavilions that sit at water's edge, sometimes even extending out into the lake, offer a sense of floating on the water, as do those set on small islands. Moon Boat with Cloud Sails (Yunfan Yuefang; see fig. 6.14, right), a hall intended to look like a boat, sat directly on the eastern shore of Ruyi Island; looking out from its second-story gallery was intended to cause those inside to feel as though they were floating on the water.[30]

Beyond these perceptual tricks, the design of the landscape, the orientation of architecture, and the profusion of landings suggests how often boats were likely used by the park-palace's occupants and visitors. Not just a matter of practicality, they ought to be understood as integral to the illusion that the lakes sought to create. While in even the largest of private urban gardens a boat would have essentially served as a folly, at the Mountain Estate the scale of the landscape meant that its lakes lay somewhere between a private pond and a scenic site such as Hangzhou's West Lake, to which Zhang Yushu directly compared it. Extensive literature attests that travel by boat was central to the lives of the Southern elite, and many garden paintings clearly indicate riverside entrances.[31] The pleasures of boating, particularly on West Lake, are equally well described; a number of the Ten Scenes of West Lake, including "Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake" (Pinghu Qiuyue; see fig. 6.24), are centered on the experience of water.

Boating on the park's central lakes extends the lenticular illusion of the landscape, moving between enclosed, discrete space and a world without walls. Being on the water alters the visual experience of the landscape in ways that are exploited in the design of the Mountain Estate. Sitting in a small boat dictates a lowered point of view relative to that experienced while ambulatory, both because one is seated as opposed to standing and

because the level of the water is lower than that of the surrounding land. The illusion of looking in a mirror described by Zhang Yushu resulted from this vantage: not only was each group looking across a divide at the other, but they were relatively cut off from the world outside their immediate surroundings. This sense of isolation could also be used to create worlds within the park. When traversing the narrow waterways dividing one lake from another, as between Lower and Mirror Lakes (see fig. 1.7), the comparatively high ground and confined space through which the boat passes helps engender a sense of transition. This feeling of having passed into another realm is reinforced by the trees and hills of the intervening islands dividing the two lakes from one another, which from the water block any sensory connection between the spaces.

Like the interplay between garden and the broader world, here too the water helps extend the visitor's experience of their surroundings. Imaginative leaps between the space of the garden and that of another environment are common in Chinese garden design, requiring only that the visitor suspends awareness of their actual position. Such effects are often achieved through the spatial limitations of the enclosed urban site, so that artificial rockeries appear as towering mountains and small ponds as great seas, for example. In the Mountain Estate, however, limitations of scale are not generally available as vehicles for conceptual flights, as the expansive environment, so celebrated by Zhang Yushu and others, deprives the garden designer of the constrained spaces characteristic of smaller gardens. Instead, by invoking movement through larger landscapes and altering the visitor's point of view, boating on the lakes triggers these perceptual plays, thus compelling different bodily and visual experiences of the landscape than those enjoyed from land.

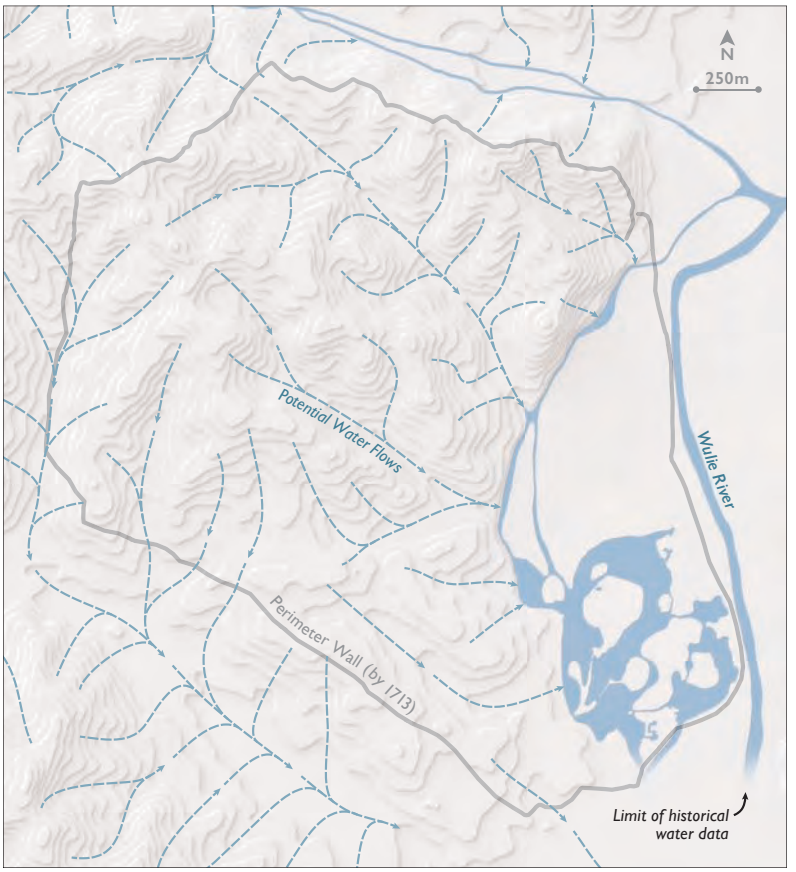
Engineering Nature

Although the Mountain Estate's most visible hydrological engineering lies on the valley floor, evidence of planning and intervention in the mountainous western portion of the park is also quite extensive. Beyond the natural accumulation of water from springs, rain, and seasonal runoff (map 1.8), stone-lined channels, artificial reservoirs, and other architectural accommodations to water bespeak the regular presence of more reliable and substantial flows as well as their engineered control for particular effects (map 1.9). The controlled flow of water not only contributed to focused scenic effects but also forged imaginative connections within and beyond the park's precincts to extend the landscape's design and experience beyond its strict physical parameters.

The plan of the western mountains' hydrology is now largely lost to architectural decay and arboreal regrowth, yet the design, naming, and

position of certain buildings and compounds helps reconstruct both its layout and its intended function in shaping experience of the landscape. For instance, several buildings situated above and along Hazelnut Glen (Zhenziyu) illustrate the careful control and supplementation of water that would have naturally descended the valley. Sitting atop the ridge where Hazelnut Glen and Pine Forest Valley (Songlinyu) meet, Source of the Waterfall Pavilion (Puyuanting) offers an expansive view east. Its eponymous "waterfall" coursed down Hazelnut Glen and past a pair of adjacent compounds, Sonorous Pines and Cranes (Songhe Qingyue; fig. 18), the residence Kangxi constructed for his mother, and Clear Sounds of a Spring in the Breeze (Fengquan Qingting).[32] The stream then continued downhill, passing Looking Out upon Deer Pavilion (Wangluting) before feeding eventually into Ruyi Lake. A number of decades later, Qianlong further exploited the stream's scenic qualities by constructing Jade Peak Temple (Bifengsi, 1764) astride it. The rear or upslope entrance to the temple, which takes the form of a large tower, is a water gate that channels

MAP 1.9
Examples of sites incorporating water as a scenic and architectural element at the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.



MAP 1.8
Major potential water flows in the western mountains of the Mountain Estate to Escape the Heat. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.


Cliff Inscription
Cloudy Pine Gorge
Southern Mountains Piled with Snow
Half Moon Lake
"Long River"?
Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon
Pear Valley
Temple of the Dragon King
Pine Forest Valley
Approximate Stream Path
Listening to the Waterfall Pavilion
Waterfall
Observing the Waterfall Pavilion
Sounds of a Spring Near and Far
Emerald Spring Cliff
Source of the Waterfall Pavilion
Inner Lake
Jade Peak Temple (1764)
Hazelnut Glen
Sonorous Pines and Cranes
Clear Sounds of a Spring in the Breeze
Looking Out upon Deer Pavilion
N
150m

the stream inside the compound where it winds through the landscaped grounds before exiting near the main gate.

While these watercourses would naturally have captured runoff from both rain and snowmelt, such sources would have been insufficient for any sustained flow. Largely forgotten today, springs were an important source of flowing water in the Mountain Estate, evidenced in part by the numerous poems that make reference to them.[33] One example appears to have formed the carefully engineered waterfall located near the top of Inner Lake. Now dry, it flowed from within an artificial rockery built into the face of a low bluff to create the appearance of a craggy cliff, atop which sits a small Buddhist temple, Emerald Spring Cliff (Yongcuiyan). Although presumably constituting the waterfall's primary source, this spring was supplemented by water gathered from the slope immediately above Emerald Spring Cliff. Evidence of a streambed and sluice gate at the rear of the

FIGURE 1.8
Shen Yu et al., "Sonorous Pines and Cranes," 1713, from Kangxi et al., *Imperial Poems*, scene 7. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College. Looking Out upon Deer Pavilion appears at the right edge of the composition.

FIGURE 1.9
Shen Yu et al., "Sounds of a Spring Near and Far," 1713, from Kangxi et al., *Imperial Poems*, scene 25. Woodblock print. Chinese Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

temple suggests an underground system channeling the flow from the hill behind the temple underneath the compound to openings in the rockery. The scene was designed to be viewed primarily from below and across the upper branch of Inner Lake, which passes by the cliff's base. There, two structures—Sounds of a Spring Near and Far (Yuanjin Quansheng; fig. 1.9) and a small island pavilion, Listening to the Waterfall Pavilion (Tingputing)—emphasize not only the site's aural qualities but also the water's supposed origins within the cliff.[34]

Not all parts of the network relied on such a presumably consistent water source as a spring, however. Archival documents also point to a number of artificial reservoirs constructed at strategic points that would have collected larger volumes of water.[35] Such a system suggests that at least

portions of the water system were not in constant flow, but rather that some scenes designed around water were actuated on command through controlled releases. This would allow the landscape to be fully realized whenever the emperor happened to be visiting a particular compound, while conserving water when sites were unoccupied.

The complexity of these systems is apparent not only from the architectural plan that reveals them but also from evidence of their failings. In one of the few documents to survive from the Kangxi era dealing with design and maintenance at the Mountain Estate, a lengthy memorial from late April 1718 describes the Imperial Household Department's extensive efforts to combat the silting up of the system.[36] A number of points proved particularly problematic, including the mouth of Cloudy Pine Gorge; four reservoirs in Pine Forest Valley; the area beneath Kangxi's cliff inscription; Pear Blossoms Accompanied by the Moon, in front of which flowed a stream that also fed a small pond in the compound's main courtyard; the northern channel of Cloud Falls (Yunpu), a name no longer extant at the site but which may refer to a large waterfall just north of Cloudy Pine Gorge that appears in Leng Mei's *View of Rehe* (see fig. 4.1); the "long river," most likely the waterway between Half Moon Lake and the entrance to Cloudy Pine Gorge; the river below the Temple of the Dragon King, a stretch of waterway just below Cloudy Pine Gorge that connects to Inner Lake; fourteen drainage gates along the western portion of the park-palace wall; the outer sluice gate at the northeastern entry to the site; and twelve different points in the water system feeding the floating cups pavilion, Scent of Lotuses by a Winding Stream. Moreover, there were problems with flooding along the road that led down Cloudy Pine Gorge from the park's northwestern gate.

Too little of the original hydrologic system survives to utilize this information meaningfully from an engineering perspective; some of the sites can no longer be specifically identified, and repeated filling and redredging of various parts of the rivers and lakes have fundamentally altered those structures. Yet the variety of sites described—inlets and outlets, reservoirs that acted as sources and the ornamental streams that flowed from them—indicates the intricacy of the network, its breadth across the entire park, and the degree to which water management was both a carefully controlled means for creating scenic elements within the landscape and a practical necessity for maintaining the physical integrity of the park.

Water also flowed through more imaginative dimensions, extending the hydrological system through naming, poetics, and images. For instance, Source of the Waterfall Pavilion and Listening to the Waterfall Pavilion are linked by name to a third—Observing the Waterfall Pavilion (Guanputing)—to suggest a watercourse that did not actually exist. The three are situated at roughly the top, middle, and base of Pine Forest Valley.

Despite their geographic and nominal relationship to one another, however, each draws its scenery from an entirely different watercourse. Source of the Waterfall Pavilion sits at the top of two streams—one flowing down Hazelnut Glen to connect with Jade Peak Temple and Sonorous Pines and Cranes, the other down Pine Forest Valley. Observing the Waterfall Pavilion sits beside the middle reaches of Pine Forest Valley, overlooking a current that drains into the bottom of Pear Valley. Finally, Listening to the Waterfall Pavilion refers to the spring emerging from Emerald Spring Cliff. Despite physically relating to distinct streams, the pavilions are linked by name to create an imagined progression between the three that exceeded the possibilities of the actual landscape.

Although the physical siting and design of architecture often indicates, by necessity, the presence of water, its reception and interpretation found outlets through more literary means. In *Imperial Poems*, text and image complemented one another to draw out the sensory and imaginative qualities of the water for the visitor. From Sounds of a Spring Near and Far, one can hear the "gushing and gurgling" of a distant spring, while "to the west" there is "a waterfall like the Milky Way splashing down, a crystalline curtain reflecting the cliffs." The winds blow the falling water like "a spray of pearls," and the scent of white lotuses in the ponds on either side combines with the sounds of springs to transport one to a distant hermitage evoked through reference to a poem by the Tang dynasty (618–907) poet Li Bo (701–762).[37] The accompanying image (see fig. 1.9) reinforces these ideas both through its illustration of the key landscape elements, including the waterfall and the lotus, and its composition, which emphasizes a sense of peaceful isolation, the encircling mountains embracing the compound while limiting visual access to a world beyond.

Although the depiction of water is less elaborate in "Sonorous Pines and Cranes" and "Clear Sounds of a Spring in the Breeze" (see fig. 1.8 for both structures), it still features prominently in the composition. Flowing in front of the two compounds, the stream is highlighted by a series of simple bridges that lead directly from the foreground banks to the gates of the halls. The viewer thus has no doubt as to what spring Kangxi is referring in his texts or to the significance of the water as an element in the experience of the spaces. In his preface to "Clear Sounds of a Spring in the Breeze," Kangxi describes the water in almost sublime terms: "A flowing spring gushes forth from between two peaks and is stroked by a light breeze. As it trickles down over the rocks, it sounds like zithers responding to the calls of cranes and rustling pines. The water's taste is sweet and fragrant, delighting the spirit and enhancing longevity."[38]

While the image focuses on the water as it passes before the compounds, Kangxi's preface takes the reader beyond the confines of the composition to the stream's source, a spring emerging "from between two peaks."

This extension of the landscape through words beyond what would be immediately visible in either the image or from the actual site is analogous to the imagined waterway created by the three "waterfall" pavilions. The emperor's poem draws in yet more distant spaces, evoking mythical and divine waters and distant peaks:

A Turquoise Pond, a palace with *lingzhi*,
    and the filial heart of Master Laocai.
A new spring gushes forth
    amidst nature's myriad chants.
I stand by a railing where fragrance surges
    as vapors from divine liquid rise,
Pointing out nearby South Mountain
    as clear sounds of music play.[39]

The poem describes Kangxi's thoughts as he contemplates the sounds of water in a moment of repose. The Turquoise Pond of Mount Kunlun, the Western paradise, the *lingzhi* fungus of the Han Emperor Ming, and the legendary Daoist Transcendent Master Laocai all represent wishes of longevity for the empress dowager, to whom the emperor has come to pay his respects. The spring is a symbol of regeneration, "nature's myriad chants" a sign that heaven and earth are in balance, and a reflection of dynastic renewal and sage rule. So, too, are the "clear sounds of music," which the emperor can hear as he points out "South Mountain," or the "southern peak" (*nanshan*). This is yet another reference to longevity: Kangxi recalls the Six Dynasties (220–589) poet Tao Yuanming (365?–427), who in a number of poems speaks of the sacred peak Mount Lu as *nanshan*, in what came to be understood as a reference to long life.[40] These are not simply auspicious invocations. Although it is not visible from Clear Sounds of a Spring in the Breeze because of intervening terrain, there is a "South Mountain" in the Mountain Estate as well, a ridge of peaks to the north that is surmounted by the pavilion Southern Mountains Piled with Snow. Here and throughout *Imperial Poems*, Kangxi links specific sites within the Mountain Estate to culturally significant landscapes, whether of the distant past, the poetic tradition, or religious belief, extending the park's landscape beyond the limitations of text, image, or individual experience.

The waters and peaks of the park-palace became one means by which the landscape was defined physically through design and engineering, and imaginatively through literary, sensory, and even mnemonic reference. By exploiting the possibilities and limits of what could be seen, and therefore known from a given vantage point, the park's design created imaginative connections between places both within and beyond its boundaries. Although largely absent from the Mountain Estate today—the mountains'

channels are dry and only the main lakes remain navigable, primarily by tourists in pedal-boats—water was once central to the itineraries and networks that shaped the experience of, and engagement with, the site. Thinking of the water in some sense as the contrasting "negative space" of the park's plan draws out unnoticed patterns and connections in the "positive space" of the architecture and its use, another way of seeing the site from a lenticular perspective.[41]

Coming to Court

The final phase of construction under Kangxi came to a close in 1713 with the completion of the perimeter wall and the dedication of two Buddhist establishments on the far side of the Wulie River, east of the Mountain Estate: the Temples of Universal Benevolence (Purensi) and Universal Charity (Pushansi).[42] It has been argued that Buddhism was central to the conception and design of the Mountain Estate during both the Kangxi and Qianlong periods, and that the two emperors shared a vision for the site as a mirror reflecting the empire and the Buddhist cosmos.[43] For human geographer Philippe Forêt, this singular vision for the site was in keeping with the fact that "the geography of the Qing empire during the eighteenth century was intimately intertwined with Tibetan Buddhism."[44] For others, the connection between the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors' Buddhistic plan is most clearly manifested through the so-called Eight Outer Temples (Waibamiao), the name now assigned to the monumental temples that ring the park to the north and east, of which Kangxi's temples of 1713 were the earliest exemplars.[45] Although all but two were constructed under Qianlong, as a group the outer temples have been held to demonstrate the explicit continuation of Kangxi's "temple policy," as "Qianlong had too much respect and veneration for his grandfather Kangxi to neglect his policies."[46]

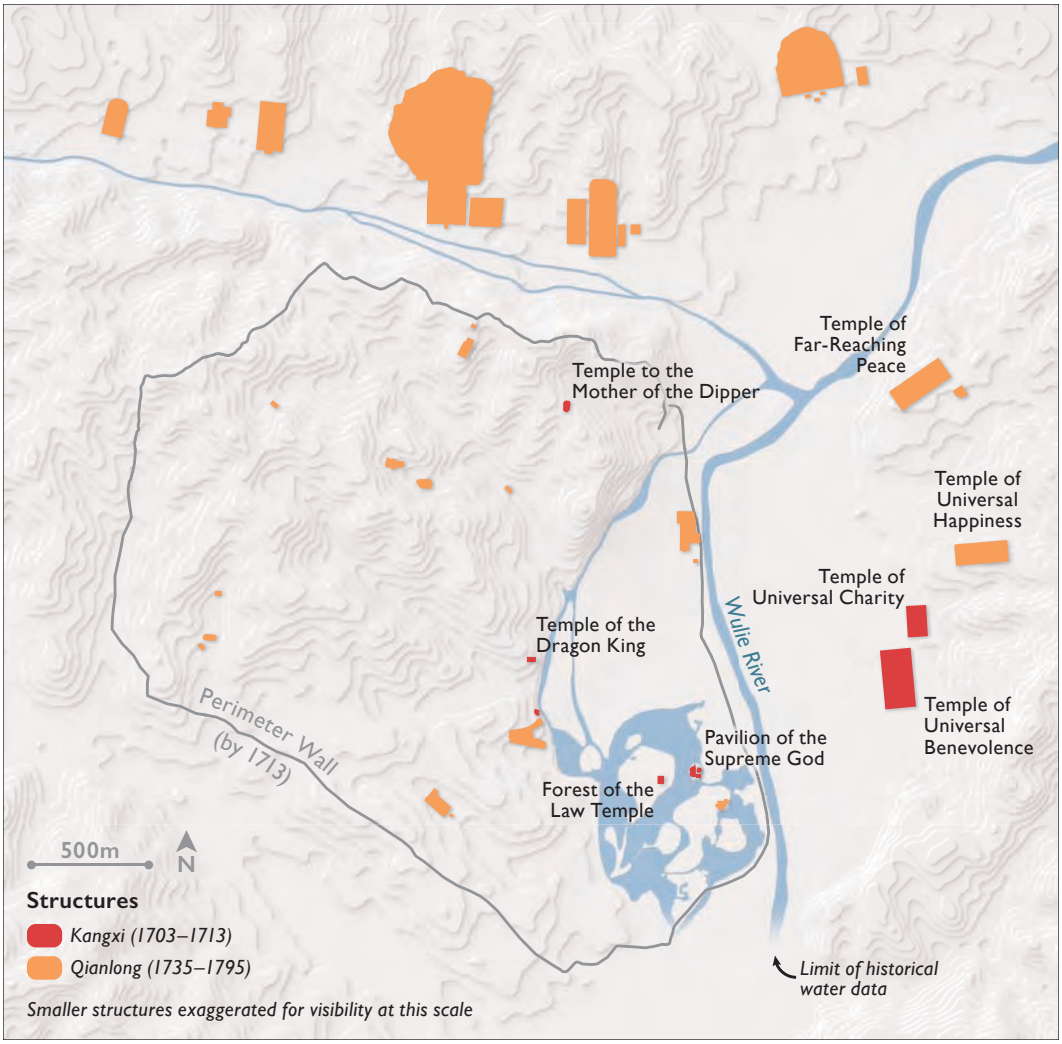
These and other interpretations of the Mountain Estate raise a number of concerns not only about the place of Buddhism in the early design of the Mountain Estate but also about the historiographic presumption of continuity between the two major reigns of the High Qing. First and foremost, they assume (or posit) that the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors shared a vision for the role of Buddhism in statecraft and imperial ideology.[47] Moreover, they are based primarily on the final state of the landscape in the late Qianlong period and on Qianlong sources, creating a sense of continuity in the expansion of the valley's Buddhist infrastructure that naturally is not present when viewed from a Kangxi perspective. Neither Kangxi-period sources nor the landscape that may be deduced from them support the thesis of a single or continuous design conception for the site centered on Buddhism. In many cases the structures central to these readings, such as

the outer temples and Gold Mountain Island, either did not exist during the Kangxi period or seem to have held very different meanings for Kangxi than those they acquired under his grandson.

A reexamination of religious architecture in the two periods calls these interpretations into question, suggesting in their stead a more varied range of meanings associated with temples and shrines under Kangxi while redirecting attention from abstracted symbolic formations to more practical intentions. Comparing religious establishments built under Kangxi and Qianlong illustrates the degree of transformation that occurred under the latter (map 1.10). Kangxi's temples within the park's walls were limited in number but broad in scope. They comprised the Buddhist Forest of the Law and Daoist Pavilion of the Supreme God; an altar to the Dragon King, a folk deity associated with water; and the Temple to the Mother of the Dipper, a Daoist goddess originally derived from Marici, a manifestation of the bodhisattva Guanyin.[48] By contrast, Qianlong's temples were far more numerous, including substantial installations in both the lower and high mountains as well as in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees. With the exception of two small folk altars, they were entirely Buddhist.[49]

Among the outer temples, Qianlong's investment again dwarfed that of Kangxi, as he established ten major Buddhist sites to his grandfather's two. Moreover, even a cursory glance indicates that their relationship to the Mountain Estate was quite different. While Kangxi's temples are aligned essentially north-south, as is normally true for Buddhist temples, nearly all of Qianlong's are instead oriented toward the park with two—the Temples of Universal Happiness (Pulesi) and Far-Reaching Peace (Anyuanmiao)—quite conspicuously so. At the least this points to an architectural dialogue between Buddhist architecture and the Mountain Estate under Qianlong that was not present during Kangxi, when the emperor used the establishment of temples in Rehe and throughout the region as a means for diplomatic patronage of his Inner Mongol allies. The visualization of the stages, degrees, and foci of development of religious architecture at the Mountain Estate makes clear that the two rulers were pursuing distinct agendas that demanded quite different scales of building.

This is not to say that Buddhist structures, however defined, were not significant elements within the park's built environment under Kangxi. The architectural landscape of the Mountain Estate during the Kangxi period bears out the notion that Buddhism was an integral part of the emperor's personal and political economy. Religious structures seem to have functioned primarily for personal devotion, as components within the court's broader strategy of Inner Asian relations, or as scenic evocations of famous landscapes, rather than as monuments within a holistic Buddhist design conception for the site. For instance, by the end of Kangxi construction in 1713, the park contained several halls and compounds dedicated to pri-



MAP 1.10
Religious structures built in Rehe (later Chengde) under Kangxi and Qianlong, ca. 1703–1780. Map by Daniel P. Huffman.

vate prayer and study, including Fragrant Waters and Beautiful Cliffs (the "Buddhist hall" mentioned by Zhang Yushu) and Forest of the Law Temple, adjacent to the park-palace's original imperial residence.

The immediate proximity of both to the emperor's most frequently visited spaces on Ruyi Island suggests their importance to his daily life, yet their presence within "public" circuits enabled these built spaces to simultaneously function as testament to particular aspects of imperial identity. Kangxi averred to be a practicing Buddhist, and the variety of temple forms and practices within and outside the walls of the park-palace represented by the Temples of the Forest of the Law, Universal Benevolence, and Universal Charity allowed this notion to be conveyed in distinct ways to different audiences. At the same time, meditation rooms and other

structures nominally related to Buddhist practice were common elements in many private gardens of China proper, even when they were not used in this manner. As such, some halls could also speak to the emperor's awareness of cultures of elite spaces, particularly Southern gardens and famous places. For instance, although the compound atop Emerald Spring Cliff may, by dint of its Buddhist altar, be considered a temple or shrine, no mention of it as such appears in extant sources. It was, however, a key compositional element in the experience of two sites nearby, Sounds of a Spring Near and Far and Listening to the Waterfall Pavilion, described earlier in this chapter (see fig. 1.9). Similarly, while Rehe's Gold Mountain and its main structure, the Pavilion of the Supreme God, may have held a periodic ritual function under Kangxi—again, the archival record is silent on this question, though the missionary Matteo Ripa associates the island with its Daoist "idol"—the entire complex appears to have been valued as much for its cultural and geographic associations and its scenic virtues as for any religious links.[50]

This emphasis on scenery reflects the importance of such sources as Kangxi's *Imperial Poems* in constructing the imperial rhetoric of the landscape. The absence of religious activities from these and more documentary sources, like the *Diaries of Activity and Repose*, does not mean that they did not occur, of course. It suggests, however, that Buddhism did not occupy a significant place in those rituals of state that predominate in the daily diaries, particularly the "coming to court" (*laichao*) of allies and tributaries that occupied much of the emperor's time in Rehe. Rather than extrapolating from the outer temples to focus on Buddhism in particular, the continued evolution of the Mountain Estate between 1709 and 1713 ought to be read more broadly to understand the maturation of its utilization as a center for state activity and Inner Asian diplomacy under Kangxi.

While the *Diaries of Activity and Repose* are generally silent on the type of activities recounted by Zhang Yushu, they are meticulous in chronicling the emperor's movements and the business of governance and diplomacy. From 1711 to 1717—the final years of Kangxi's rule for which the *Diaries* survive—the emperor spent between ninety-five and one hundred sixteen days in Rehe, primarily in two substantial blocks each year. The season beyond the passes opened with a stay of between eighty-three and ninety-four days at the Mountain Estate, sometimes interrupted by a brief trip to the nearby hot springs at Tangquan. The emperor then departed for Mulan Hunting Grounds, where he toured and hunted for thirty-five to forty-seven days, followed by an additional six to twenty-two days in Rehe before returning to Beijing. Most years concluded with an additional tour north in the eleventh and twelfth months, during which time the imperial party would generally stay two days in Rehe.[51]

The Mountain Estate was the principal seat of governance when Kangxi

toured the north. During the emperor's stays in Rehe, the *Diaries of Activity and Repose* record frequent, often daily audiences with officials to conduct affairs of state or bestow gifts upon them.[52] Such audiences are likely in addition to other more prosaic official activities that went unrecorded in the *Diaries*, including study with his tutors.[53] These audiences largely ceased during the late summer tours to Mulan, underlining the particular function of Rehe and the Mountain Estate as a secondary seat of government.[54] Even more frequent were visits from leaders across the Inner Mongolian Banners who came to court to perform rituals of obeisance to the emperor (*laichao* or *chaojin*). Central to these was *silai*, the unilateral giving from emperor to subject without expectation of material return that was integral to tributary relations with the court.[55]

At Rehe such gifts were wide-ranging, including livestock and meat (especially venison and fish), horses, melons and other fruit, fine furs and textiles, precious metals, and other refined goods.[56] Banqueting was also part of these visits, as were other pleasurable activities, such as touring the park and archery demonstrations.[57] In addition to many of these same gifts, court officials also occasionally received pieces of imperial calligraphy, paintings, books, or other more literary objects.[58] Like meat from the emperor's hunts, these gifts constituted performative demonstrations of cultural competency as much as objects of exchange. Access to imperial precincts through admission to the Mountain Estate and the giving of such gifts was intended to instill a sense of intimacy with the throne; collectively, these interactions constituted a more personal relationship that bound ruler and subject together.[59]

As a source, the *Diaries of Activity and Repose* is quite constrained in its accounts of imperial life at Rehe, generally chronicling in formulaic language the action (audience, visit, gift giving), the individuals present, and the objects given. When viewed against the landscape of the Mountain Estate as it emerges in this period, however, a richer understanding of the architectural program emerges. Although the park was a setting for imperial performance, and thus required a grandeur and richness befitting the emperor, much of that performance was oriented not around remote majesty and high ritual but on the staging of private life and rituals of intimacy and access: imperially led tours to the inner court, the giving of gifts, the sharing of meals, and the enjoyment of entertainments such as drama and archery. The expression of monumentality through modesty and reserve allowed the architecture to communicate imperial authority without overwhelming its capacity to foster more intimate connections.[60] At the center of these connections was not architecture per se but the landscape as a whole: passing into and through the park's precincts as well as being in and experiencing the designed environment with others, including the emperor. These priorities are reflected in the intimate spaces, a dramatic

or scenic siting, and an overall design that facilitated touring, all of which characterize early architectural development at the Mountain Estate.

Learning from Rehe

The relative dearth of Kangxi-era primary sources prevents definitive answers to many questions about the first decades of the Mountain Estate, including the precise sequence, detailed design, and original function of much of its earliest architecture. The Qianlong archive, though richer, is historically and historiographically problematic. Eliding change over time and creating a sense of continuity between Qianlong's Mountain Estate and that of his grandfather, it obscures the relationship between politics and space that help define both the site and emperorship under Kangxi.[61] Considering these circumstances, the limited body of Kangxi images and texts, together with the site itself, provide crucial if fragmentary evidence essential to recovering the now obscured early Rehe landscape. Visualizing such early formations provides a physical basis for understanding the landscape through which the Kangxi court sought to create meaning, thus facilitating exploration of possible pasts.

Reconstructing the Mountain Estate as it existed under Kangxi also establishes a foundation upon which other forms of the landscape—most notably, the pictorial, textual, and imaginative—may be activated. Although the physical site of the park-palace was in some sense primary, the various formations and iterations of the site intersected with and drew upon one another, a transmedial interplay of forms by which imperial ideology was constructed and conveyed through the landscape. Put differently, reconstructing the earliest architectural formations of the site paradoxically allows the buildings themselves to recede in significance, and with them the questions of archival and typological significance that often accompany such research.[62] What emerges in the literal and figurative spaces in between are ways of understanding the Mountain Estate through embodied, sensory, and imaginative dimensions of the landscape. While such experiences often originate in individual buildings or discreet scenes, they are activated and experienced through an interplay across architectural and environmental scales, nested within and extending beyond the walls of the park-palace. Through these spatial dialogues the design of the Mountain Estate produced a form of spatial lenticularity akin to the perspectival plays of private urban gardens, but without the scalar constraints found in those smaller landscapes. The Mountain Estate's plan thus created worlds within worlds and a garden without walls, a landscape extending beyond its physical and temporal confines to articulate and reflect a vision of Qing emperorship under Kangxi: interconnected, all-encompassing, and historically transcendent.

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