Archive of Power: The Qing Dynasty Imperial Garden-Palace at Rehe

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Abstract: The Manchu rulers needed to find ways to occupy, order, and govern their realm. Archiving—naming and categorizing relationships between people, places, and things—was a means to map and occupy empire. Archival projects such as the Qianlong emperor's *Siku quanshu* encyclopedia allowed the dynasty to claim possession of all under heaven by the naming and ordering of knowledge. Likewise, in the Manchu architectural typology of the imperial garden-palace, sites and peoples across the nation and the world were encompassed within the framework of empire.

This paper examines the architectural design of the Imperial Summer Villa (Bishu Shanzhuang) at Rehe as an act of archiving. After the early imperial southern tours, political and military attention switched to the north. The Summer Villa was constructed during the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns, as the first Manchu "garden-palace," a new architectural typology. Situated 180 kilometers northeast of Beijing, the site was partly selected for its salutary environs. The fear of smallpox was part of the cultural mindset of the times, and necessitated a relatively disease-free location where the Qing court could meet with their frontier allies.

At the Summer Villa, archiving is demonstrated in the symbolic layout of the garden-palace, and through the design of its component gardens and buildings. Additionally, it was through woodblock illustrations, poems, paintings, and maps that knowledge of the Villa was presented to a wide public audience in China and the West. It was through print and visual media that the Qing court was able to represent the Villa as an immortals' paradise. At the center of this paradise was the emperor's residence, and around him, like "spokes around a hub," were copied sites from around the country and beyond the borders.

Through the archival practice of gardening, architecture, collecting, and printing the emperors not only defined an order for the empire, but they also laid claim to the physical, religious, ethnic, and epistemological territories of their empire.

Keywords: Architecture, Bishu Shanzhuang, Qianlong Emperor, Imperial garden-palace, Archiving

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With the establishment of the Qing dynasty in 1644 the Manchu rulers needed to find ways to order and govern the many peoples in the far reaches of their realm. "Archiving"—naming and categorizing relationships between people, places, and things—was a means to order and occupy empire. Archival projects such as the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor's (r. 1736-1795) *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Comprehensive Library of the Four Treasuries*) allowed the dynasty to claim possession of all under heaven by the naming and ordering of knowledge. Likewise, in the Manchu architectural typology of the "imperial garden-palace" (*ligong xing huangjia yuanlin* 離宮型皇家園林)[1] places and peoples across the entire nation were encompassed within the framework of empire and presented to the public in textual and visual form.

The Western terms "archive" and "to archive" derive from the Greek *archeia*, meaning official records or government office, which in turn derives from *archē* and *archon*. *Archē* means "rule," "regulation," and "government"; *archon* designates the ruler. These denotations, as "collected books and documents" on the one hand, and as "to rule, regulate, and govern" on the other, might best be reflected in the Chinese character *dian* 典, meaning "rules" or "to regulate," which has both the sense of "archived books and documents" as in the binome *dianji* 典籍, and also the sense of "governing rules and regulations" as in the terms *dianzhi* 典制 and *dianzhang* 典章. The notion of archiving is also related to ordering and grouping similar items into categories or classifications (*lei* 類). Through classification in archives, boundaries are defined and hierarchic relationships can be established between categories. In the Song dynasty Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) in the "Collation and Proofreading" summary of his *Tong zhi* 通志 wrote, "When divided by classifications (*lei*), the branches of learning become self-evident" (*leili ji fen xueshu zi ming* 類例既分學術自明).[2] The ordering and arrangement of imperial garden-palaces in the Qing dynasty can be likened to archives, in that they clearly name and categorize relationships between people, places, and things.

In Qing imperial architecture the practice of archiving can be observed in the design of the Imperial Summer Villa (Bishu Shanzhuang 避暑山莊) (Figs.1, 2) at Rehe 熱河 (present-day Chengde 承德), Hebei Province, which was built from 1702 to 1792

1. This term may have been first coined in Zhou Weiquan 周維權, "Bishu Shanzhuang yu Yiheyuan" 避暑山莊與頤和園; reprinted in *Zhongguo jianzhu shi lunwen xuanji* 中國建築史論文選輯 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju 明文書局, 1983), vol. 2, p. 434.
2. Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tong zhi* 通志, in *Shi tong* 十通, 24 vols., *Guoxue jiben congshu* 國學基本叢書 ed. (Taipei: Xinxing shuju 新興書局, 1965), *juan* 71, p. 831.

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during the reigns of the Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1662-1722) and Qianlong emperors. Designed as both a place of government and a summer retreat from the heat, clamor, and disease of the capital city, the Summer Villa has sometimes been described as being divided functionally into the following areas: (1) formal palace halls at the front, followed by (2) a more informal imperial residence compound, and finally (3) a landscape garden precinct. This same design formula was followed at later imperial garden-palaces like the Yuanming Yuan 圓明園 outside Beijing. Granted, many imperial gardens and hunting parks had existed in earlier periods, but they were mostly attachments to existing palaces or temporary residences, not the chief residence or center of government during major periods of the year. It can be argued that the Rehe Summer Villa marks the beginning of a new Manchu architectural typology—that of imperial garden-palaces.

The Summer Villa, located about 180 kilometers northeast of Beijing, is the first imperial garden-palace, and the largest ever built.[3] Geographically, the Summer Villa lies in a river valley bordered by mountains on the west, north, and east. Inside the garden-palace walls the Villa can be divided into four zones: palace halls, lakes, plains, and mountains. Southernmost is the palace sector, with administrative and residential halls. When the Main Palace 正宮 complex was completed in 1711, the Kangxi emperor renamed the site, bestowing the title "Bishu Shanzhuang." On this occasion he also selected thirty-six scenic spots, and produced a poem and matching illustrations for each.[4] Behind the palace zone is a lake district (Figs. 3, 4), which prior to 1711 had served as the administrative and residential center. North of the lakes is a triangular

3. Distance as the crow flies calculated using Google Earth. Many sources cite a distance of 250 km between Beijing and Chengde, which may measure the actual travel distance on winding roads.
4. Kangxi emperor (Xuanye 玄曄), *Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* 御製避暑山莊三十六景詩 (朱墨套印本, Beijing: Wuyingdian 武英殿, 1712). The Chinese version included a preface dated 1712, and annotations to the poems by Kuixu 揆敘 (d. 1717) and others. The text and illustrations were printed in black ink with red ink for punctuation and boxes around titles in the annotations. On the Chinese-language Wuyingdian palace edition with woodblock illustrations in the East Asian Library, Princeton University (no. TD38/1515), see Frederick Mote, Hung-lam Chu, et al., *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book, Gest Library Journal* 2, no. 2 (1988), pp. 207, 211, 214. The Manchu version does not include annotations and was printed in black ink. The version in the library of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, has copperplate printed illustrations by Matteo Ripa. This represents the first use of this printing technique in China. Reproduced in Christophe Comentale, *Matteo Ripa, peintre-graveur-missionnaire à la Cour de Chine* ([Taipei]: Victor Chen, 1983), after p. 176. On Ripa's engraving and etching technique, see Basil Gray, "Lord Burlington and Father Ripa's Chinese Engravings," *The British Museum Quarterly* 22, no. 1-2 (1960), pp. 40-43.

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plain, with the Wanshu Yuan 萬樹園 elm orchard on the east and grasslands for riding horses on the west (Fig. 5). In the Qianlong period tent encampments were erected in the plains, and banquets, lantern displays, and horsemanship and martial contests were held for Mongol dignitaries.

These activities were sketched on site by Western artisans, then completed in the palace workshop as historical paintings, which were displayed in halls within the Summer Villa. Examples include the collaborative painting *Horsemanship* 馬術圖, executed in 1755 by Guiseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧; 1688-1766) and others;[5] and the painting *Qianlong Emperor Sho*oting *an Arrow* 乾隆射箭圖 (Fig. 6)[6] by Jean Denis Attiret (Wang Zhicheng 王致誠; 1702-1768). A third example, *Imperial Banquet in Wanshu Yuan Garden* 萬樹園賜宴圖 (Fig. 7),[7] depicts a tent encampment in the plains area and records a 1754 audience for, and bestowal of honors on, Mongol allies. The artist's signature on this painting is damaged, but archival records and Jesuit letters reveal that Attiret was present in 1754 to sketch this banquet scene. After his drawings were approved by the emperor, the finished painting was completed the following year by Attiret, Castiglione, and others, including Chinese painters. In *Qingdai gongting huihua* 清代宮廷繪畫 (*Paintings by the court artists of the Qing court*), this painting is listed as being made by an anonymous artist, but it is also noted that "from painting style and archival records, it can be known that Castiglione, Attiret, and a group of Chinese artists painted this work."[8] In a letter dated 17 October 1754, the Jesuit priest Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718-1793) attests Attiret's presence at the Villa in summer 1754 to witness the banquet and to produce sketches and portraits for imperial approval.[9] Beyond the palace halls, lakes, and plains zones, mountains and valleys occupy the remaining two-thirds of the garden-palace precinct. Already a major feature in garden-palace scenery during the Kangxi period, the mountain zone received even greater emphasis during the Qianlong period.

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5. *Qingdai gongting huihua* 清代宮廷繪畫, gen. ed. Nie Chongzheng 聶崇正, vol. 14 in the series *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin quanji* 故宮博物院藏文物珍品全集 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1996), no. 36, pp. 165-169.
6. *Qingdai gongting huihua*, no. 55, pp. 211-213. Kept in the Shuangsong Shuwu 雙松書屋 studio on Ruyi Islet 如意洲 at the Summer Villa.
7. *Qingdai gongting huihua, no*. 37, pp. 170-173. Kept in the Juane Shengjing Dian 卷阿勝境殿 hall at the Summer Villa.
8. *Qingdai gongting huihua*, p. 170.
9. For this letter, see "A Letter from a Jesuit Painter in Qianlong's Court at Chengde," trans. Deborah Sommer, in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. James Millward, et al. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 171-184. My appreciation to James Millward for bringing this letter to my attention.

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Following the death of the Kangxi emperor in 1722, construction at the Summer Villa only resumed in 1741, during the Qianlong period. After general restoration of the garden and expansion of the palace zone, in 1754 the Qianlong emperor selected an additional thirty-six scenic spots for which he produced imperial poems.[10] Along with the thirty-six spots earlier selected by the Kangxi emperor, the imperial selection now totaled seventy-two. The numbers thirty-six and seventy-two correspond to a subterranean network of immortal abodes believed to exist under heaven: thirty-six cave-heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) through which one might communicate with heaven, and seventy-two blessed-lands (*fudi* 福地) to invoke blessings to earth. Imperial poems and prefaces document this reading of the Summer Villa as a spiritual topography.[11] Possibly the earliest direct analogy by the Qianlong emperor between the Summer Villa and the cave-heavens is found in the commentary to his "Wushu qingliang" 無暑清涼 poem in his *Gonghe huangzu shengzu ren huangdi yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* 恭和皇祖聖祖仁皇帝御製避暑山莊三十六景詩 (1741).[12] Additionally, in the emperor's 1754 "Yongtianju" 永恬居 poem, he writes: "There already are the cave-heavens, which transmit the *yujian* jade Immortal inscriptions; Obtaining instruction from the blessed-lands, add on the *langshu* jade Daoist scriptures."[13] 已是洞天傳玉

10. Qianlong emperor (Hongli 弘曆), *Zai ti Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* 再題避暑山莊三十六景詩 (1754). Because I have not seen the original edition of this work, I am uncertain if illustrations were included with the poems for the thirty-six new scenic spots. Later, woodblock illustrations were included in the *Rehe zhi* 熱河志 gazetteer, compiled by He Shen et al. (preface dated to 1781). A set of painted album leaves in four fascicles with imperial inscriptions titled *Yuzhi ti Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi yi* 御製題避暑山莊三十六景詩意 was also made by Qian Weicheng 錢維城 (1720-1772). This album contained paintings of the Kangxi- an Qianlong-period scenic spots, and is listed in *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編 (1816), *Midian zhulin Shiqu boji sanbian* 秘殿珠林石渠寶笈三編 facsim. reprod. ed. (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 1969), pp. 4452-4453.
11. On the numerology surrounding the number seventy-two, see Wen Yiduo 聞一多, "Qishier" 七十二, in Wen Yiduo quanji 聞一多全集, 4 vols. (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian 開明書店, 1949), pp. 207-220. On cave-heavens and blessed-lands, see Rolf A. *Stein, The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 55-56; and Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art* (Champaign, Illinois: Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 111-112.
12. Reprinted in *Bishu Shanzhuang tu yong* 避暑山莊圖詠 ([Shijiazhuang 石家莊]: Hebei meishu chubanshe 河北美術出版社, 1984), "Wushu qingliang [gonghe]," p. 2a.
13. Qianlong emperor, "Yongtianju," cited in *Rehe zhi* 熱河志, comp. He Shen 和坤 et al. (120 *juan*), 6 vols., 1934 rev. ed. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe 文海出版社, 1966), *juan* 34, p. 11b. Also referred to by the emperor in his "Bishu Shanzhuang houxu" 避暑山莊後序 (dated to 1782), cited in *Rehe zhi* (1934), *juan* 25, p. 5a.

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簡，得教福地續琅書. In this poem the cave-heavens refer to the thirty-six scenic spots already erected during the Kangxi period, and the blessed-lands refer to the thirty-six more spots added by the Qianlong emperor.

In the Qianlong emperor's preface to the 1754 poems, the seventy-two blessed-lands are also linked to the seventy-two immortals recorded in certain versions of the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, a work attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (ca. 80-8 BCE) of the Han dynasty.[14] Such a symbolic conception of the garden-palace as spiritual topography was further developed with the construction of eleven Lamaist temples arranged in a radial fan to the north and east outside the garden-palace walls. Grouped into eight departments, these eleven temples came to be known as the Eight Outlying Temples (Waiba Miao 外八廟) (Fig. 10).[15] Two of these temples, Puren Si 溥仁寺 and Pushan Si 溥善寺, were constructed in a Chinese architectural style in 1713 as worship centers for visiting Mongol dignitaries on the occasion of the Kangxi emperor's sixtieth birthday. Following this precedent, between 1759 and 1780 the Qianlong emperor constructed nine additional Lamaist temples in a combination of Chinese and Tibetan styles as places of worship and residence for frontier allies. Many of the Qianlong-period temples were built with Chinese-styled forecourts and Tibetan-styled main precincts, and copied buildings belonging to subjugated frontier peoples, a practice whose origins went back as early as the Qin dynasty (Figs. 8, 9). The building of the temples can be said to have followed those earlier precedents. In overall plan the Summer Villa and the Outlying Temples have been viewed as a microcosm of the empire, with the frontier allies arranged in a subordinate position around the walled imperial garden-palace and the emperor at the symbolic center. This mapping of empire as political hierarchy derived from a Kangxi-period design symbology for the Summer Villa, which should be examined in relation to the scenic, military, political,

14. See Qianlong emperor, *Zai ti Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi xu* 再題避暑山莊三十六景詩序, in *Rehe zhi* (1934), *juan* 25, p. 4b. Many versions of the *Liexian zhuan*, including the one in the *Siku quanshu*, specify only seventy-one immortals. The Qianlong emperor's reference to seventy-two immortals may follow other versions or accounts of the work that record seventy-two. For example, the *Siku quanshu* abstract (*tiyao* 提要) for the *Liexian zhuan* records that the *Zhongxing shumu* 中興書目 (1178) Southern Song imperial library catalog and the *Xu Bowu zhi* 續博物志 (ca. 1150) by Li Shi 李石 (1108-1181) both noted that the work contained seventy-two immortals. See *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館, 1983-1986), vol. 1058, p. 488.

15. On the Eight Outlying Temples, see Anne Chayet, "Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions," in *New Qing Imperial History*, pp. 33-52; Anne Chayet, *Les Temples de Jehol et leurs Modèles Tibétains* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985).

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and salutary reasons behind the building of the garden-palace and to its unique location beyond the northern borders.

After the 1681 defeat of the Three Feudatories (*San fan* 三藩) rebellion in southern China, the Kangxi emperor turned his attention to northern defense questions. Established that same year were the Mulan 木蘭 hunting grounds. Imperial hunts doubled as military training exercises for the Manchu troops, and allowed the Qing government to meet and consolidate alliances with their frontier allies through a show of strength as well as diplomacy. Twenty frontier travel-palaces (*xinggong* 行宮) were built along the route from Beijing to the northern hunting grounds to serve as rest, meal, and overnight stops for the imperial entourage, which numbered over 30,000 even during the Kangxi period. The Rehe site was located halfway to the Mulan hunting grounds, and on his twenty-first northern tour in 1702 the Kangxi emperor personally surveyed the grounds for the Rehe *xinggong*.[16] According to Yuan Senpo 袁森坡, funding constraints prevented the construction of a major garden-palace complex at this site until after several military campaigns from 1685 to 1700. Another possible reason for building the garden-palace after 1702 may have been the emperor's increasing age. He was fifty in 1703 when he first stayed at the newly built Rehe *xinggong*. According to the Kangxi emperor's poem for one of his thirty-six scenic spots, "Zhijing yunti" 芝逕雲隄 (Figs. 3, 13), he selected the Rehe site,

> To escape the summer heat, …
> Moreover, [the area] was uninhabited, and there are no sun-dried bones,
> The grass and trees are luxuriant.
> There are no poisonous insects,
> The spring waters are excellent,
> And the people rarely become ill.[17]

This expressed appreciation of its salutary environs played a major role in the selection of the Rehe site, and may have influenced the actual design of the Summer Villa. We must remember that Kangxi's father, the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644-1661), had died of smallpox, and Kangxi's own survival of a bout with this deadly disease

16. Yuan Senpo 袁森坡, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong de youlai yu Chengde Bishu Shanzhuang de fazhan guocheng" 清代口外行宮的由來與承德避暑山莊的發展過程, *Qing shi luncong* 清史論叢 no. 2 (1980), p. 297.
17. Kangxi emperor, *Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* (1712), "Zhijing yunti."

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in his youth may have influenced his selection to succeed his father. As recorded in his poems, in his youth he had gone to the outskirts of Beijing to avoid the summer's scorching dry heat and smallpox contagion, and after 1681 he often traveled north away from Beijing to recuperate from illnesses.[18] The journey to the northern frontier was associated with a return to the Manchu lifestyle and homeland, and that may have added to the perception of a recuperative effect. Fear of smallpox was part of the social mindset of the times, and necessitated a relatively "uninhabited" disease-free location, far removed from crowded urban centers, for the Qing court's meetings with its frontier allies. Concern for keeping their allies free of infection is highlighted by the institution of two different times and places for court audiences for Mongol dignitaries. Those who had already suffered smallpox and were thereby immune (*shushen* 熟身) were ordered to court audiences in Beijing, whereas those who were still susceptible to the disease (*shengshen* 生身) were allowed to wait until the fall hunts, when they were commanded to audiences at the *xinggong*, including the Summer Villa.[19] A similar fear of infection from smallpox and measles may have motivated the location of the Eight Outlying Temples outside the perimeter walls of the Summer Villa to protect further visiting allies.

Military defense and alliances also figured substantially in the establishment of the Summer Villa. The Qianlong emperor described Kangxi's northern defense policy as one of replacing military force with a policy of "joining together the goals of the [peoples from] inside and outside the borders to achieve a governance of consolidation" (*he neiwai zhi xin, cheng gonggu zhi ye* 和內外之心，成鞏固之業).[20] In the "Zhijing yunti" poem the Kangxi emperor outlined a symbolic framework for the overall organization of the Summer Villa that reflected this ideal. Beginning in the central lake area, the Kangxi emperor "ordered the craftsmen to commence with the Zhijing Ti dike, [and the site is to] follow the mountains and accord with the rivers and lakes like the ordered spokes of a wheel (*rou fu qi* 揉輔齊)."[21] This symbolic representation of

18. Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," p. 288.
19. Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," p. 289. In correspondence with Frederick Mote, he notes that the Manchu fear of smallpox was legendary; they had a lower immunity level than the Chinese, who had practiced variolation for some centuries.
20. Qianlong emperor, *Bishu Shanzhuang baiyun shi xu* 避暑山莊百韻詩序, in Yang Tianzai 楊天在, *Bishu Shanzhuang beiwen shiyi* 避暑山莊碑文釋譯 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 1985), p. 108.
21. Kangxi emperor, *Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* (1712), "Zhijing yunti." The *locus classicus* of this phrase is the *Zhou li* 周禮; see *Zhou li zhushu* 周禮注疏, *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 ed., 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980), "Kao gong ji, Lun ren" 考工記・

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empire established a well-ordered and collected whole, with the emperor at the center and subordinate areas of the empire emanating around him like spokes around a hub. This defensive strategy is sometimes linked to a modern idealized interpretation of the maxim "Everywhere under heaven, there is no place that is not the territory of the sovereign" (*pu tian zhi xia, mo fei wang tu* 普天之下，莫非王土).[22]

In the Qianlong building period this symbolic layout was made explicit at the Summer Villa with the construction of numerous landscapes, gardens, buildings, and temples copied from specific sites from around the nation. Officials, usually a court painter and a surveyor, were dispatched to produce sketches, measured blueprints, and sometimes architectural models that could be used in building these replicas. Among numerous examples of interpretive copying inside the garden-palace walls, Qianlong-period officials were sent to produce survey drawings of the Lion's Grove (Shizi Lin 獅子林) in Suzhou (from which several imperial gardens were built at multiple locations, including Rehe), and the Summer Villa's Wenjin Ge 文津閣 library hall (Fig. 11) was based on the Tianyi Ge 天一閣 private library in Ningbo 寧波.[23] During his 1751 southern tour the Qianlong emperor admired the Liuhe Ta 六和塔 pagoda in Hangzhou 杭州 and the pagoda at Baoen Si 報恩寺 temple in Nanjing. After returning to the

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輪人, *juan* 39, pp. 908-909, wherein it describes the use of fire-dried wood as the ordered spokes of a wheel. Here, the reference is to the line "Thirty spokes unite in one hub; /It is precisely where there is nothing, that we find the usefulness of the wheel," in the *Daodejing* 道德經; see Robert G. Hendricks, trans., *Lao-zu Te-tao Ching* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), pp. 208-209.

22. For example, see Meng Zhaozhen 孟兆禎, *Bishu Shanzhuang yuanlin yishu* 避暑山莊園林藝術 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 1985), p. 20. The *locus classicus* of this line is the *Shi jing* 詩經 (*Book of Odes*), see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols. reprint ed. (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1985), "Bei shan" 北山, vol. 4, p. 360. Mencius 孟子 cautions that in its original context this line was made by an overworked officer questioning being left alone to his own devices to care for his parents, see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 352-353. The same line appears in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, 7th year of Duke Zhao 昭公 (traditionally dated to 534 BCE); see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pp. 611, 616.

James L. Hevia notes that in the eighteenth century the defense strategy emphasized the display of Qing power to awe and to subjugate the frontier peoples, while present-day Chinese interpretations tend to stress the harmony and unity of diverse ethnic groups. See his "Chengde Today," in New *Qing Imperial History*, pp. 209-215.

23. On copying the Lion's Grove, see Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," p. 309. On the Wenjin Ge library, see Cary Y. Liu, "The Ch'ing Dynasty Wen-yüan-ko Imperial Library: Architecture and the Ordering of Knowledge" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1997), pp. 26-31, 262; *Chengde gu jianzhu* 承德古建築, eds. Tianjin daxue jianzhuxi 天津大學建築系 and Chengde shi wenwuju 承德市文物局 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe 中國建築工業出版社, 1982), pp. 54, pls. 72-75, 176-177.

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north, he ordered a pagoda built at Yongyou Si 永佑寺 temple (located at the northeast end of the plains area of the Summer Villa; Fig. 12) to resemble the two southern pagodas.[24] And after the Qianlong emperor toured the sacred marchmount of Taishan 泰山, the artist Li Shizhuo李世倬 (1690-1770) was asked to paint *Duisongshan tu* 對松山圖, which may have served as the model for the Songyun Xia 松雲峽 gorge at Rehe.[25] Among the Eight Outlying Temples, Puning Si 普寧寺 temple was modeled after the Sanmoya Temple in Tibet, and the Putuo Zongsheng Miao 普陀宗乘廟 temple after the Potala Palace, both in Tibet (Figs. 8, 9).[26] Through these copying, actual buildings, localities, and peoples from across the nation were figuratively transferred to the Summer Villa, and the symbolic framework of "ordered spokes of a wheel" became an organizing principle in archiving: "naming and categorizing relationships between peoples, places, and things." A clear hierarchy was established, with the Qing ruler (the *archon*) at the symbolic center, the nation around him, and beyond the nation's borders an outlying ring of frontier peoples. In these ways the microcosm of the Summer Villa can be seen as an "embodied image" of the larger abstractions of both a spiritual topography and political landscape.[27] At the same time the person of a healthy emperor surrounded by his well-ordered Summer Villa provided a way by which to imagine and diagnose the larger abstract orders of cosmos and empire.[28]

An analogous archival hierarchy was established in the Qianlong period with the imperial compilation of the *Siku quanshu*, which represented the sum of knowledge bestowed from heaven—a symbol of the dynasty's legitimacy and ability to rule. This library archive was ordered according to the Four Classifications (*sibu* 四部) of knowledge, with Classics as the most important for governing, followed by the categories of History, Philosophy, and Literature in that order. Through such archival classification, a hierarchic structure of knowledge was established with the emperor at its core. In

24. See Zhou Weiquan, "Bishu Shanzhuang yu Yihe Yuan," p. 448; Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," p. 309; *Chengde gu jianzhu*, pp. 36-37, 54, pl. 77.
25. Meng Zhaozhen, *Bishu Shanzhuang yuanlin yishu*, p. 50.
26. Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," pp. 314-316; *Chengde gu jianzhu*, pp. 159-162, pls. 201-226, 333-375; pp. 166-168, pls. 251-285, 407-439.
27. On the concept of the "embodied image," see Cary Y. Liu, "Embodying Cosmic Patterns: Foundations of an Art of Calligraphy in China," *Oriental Art* 46, no. 5 (2000), pp. 2-9; Liu, "Chinese Architectural Aesthetics: Patterns of Living and Being between Past and Present," in Ronald G. Knapp and Kai-yin Lo eds., *House, Home, Family: Living and Being Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 139-159.
28. I am indebted to Jack Chen in correspondence of 11 November 2000 for drawing my attention to these synedochic relationships.

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the Siku library halls, each classification of books was stored at a distance from the emperor corresponding to its relative importance—in essence duplicating the model of spokes around a hub. In this way the *Siku quanshu* can be likened to a library archive of knowledge, the Summer Villa to an architectural archive of empire. It is not surprising that both archive projects came together with the building of the Wenjin Ge library hall at the Summer Villa to house a set of the *Siku quanshu*.

Similarly, at the Yuanming Yuan imperial garden-palace the Wenyuan Ge 文源閣 library hall was built to house another set of the *Siku quanshu*. Like the wheel model at the Summer Villa, the overall layout of the Yuanming Yuan was also organized around a symbolic framework; in this case the model of the empire as the Nine Divisions (*jiuzhou* 九洲). The number nine identified the site with the emperor: "Nine in the fifth place means: Flying dragon in the heavens" (*jiu wu fei long zai tian* 九五飛龍在天),[29] and the central arrangement of nine islands around a lake alluded to the Nine Divisions of all under heaven as outlined in the Great Plan (Hong fan 洪範) in the *Shu jing* 書經 (*Book of Documents*). This reference to the Nine Divisions was made explicit at the Yuanming Yuan with the naming of the south center island as "Jiuzhou qingyan" 九洲清晏 (Peace and Quietude in the Nine Divisions). Two other northern *Siku* library halls were built in imperial palaces: the Wenyuan Ge 文淵閣 hall in Beijing and the Wensu Ge 文溯閣 hall in Shenyang 瀋陽.

Symbolic frameworks at both the Summer Villa and the Yuanming Yuan garden-palaces—the "ordered spokes of a wheel" and Nine Divisions models, respectively—can be likened to the organizational structure of a bibliographic archive. They served as the bases for categorizing and ordering specific places and peoples in relation to the emperor and empire. In this context other imperial archival projects in the Qianlong period should also be examined in relation to the practice of archiving. Besides archival library projects such as the *Siku quanshu*, the Qianlong emperor's passion for classifying and recording the visual and material world extended to the compilation of numerous catalogs and compendia of ancient ritual vessels, inkstones, painting, and calligraphy. The *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鑑 (40 *juan*, plus 16 *juan* supplement), *Xiqing xujian jiabian* 西清續鑑甲編 (20 *juan*), and *Ningshou jiangu* 寧壽鑑古 (16 *juan*) catalogs were compilations of ancient bronze vessels. Ink-slabs were compiled in the

29. *Zhou yi zhengyi* 周易正義, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), "Qian" 乾, *juan* 1, p. 14 (continuous pagination); trans. in Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes* (German trans. 1924; Eng. trans. 1950), 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 9.

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Xiqing yan pu 西清硯譜 (25 *juan*), and painting and calligraphy in the *Midian zhulin* 秘殿珠林 (24 *juan*), *Shiqu baoji chubian* 石渠寶笈初編, and *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 catalogs. More than simple inventories of palace holdings, these catalogs outlined rudimentary taxonomies, which if studied further may reveal underlying symbolic frameworks intended to order the Qing world into archival structures.

Archival practice at the Rehe Summer Villa, moreover, extended beyond site organization and symbolic layout. A special feature of imperial garden-palaces was their close association with (or appropriation of) the traditional architectural typology of literati and imperial gardens, and with the textual and visual vehicles whereby they were transmitted to the populace, making for the aggrandizement of the owner. Although the symbolic layout of the garden-palaces themselves would have been known only to a limited audience of privileged officials and cognoscenti, the general public came to know the Summer Villa as it was *represented to* them in poems, stele inscriptions, travel guides, woodblock and copperplate prints, paintings, gazetteers, and maps—through an archive. One of the earliest visual representations of the Summer Villa is the painting *Bishu Shanzhuang tu* 避暑山莊圖 (Fig. 2) by the court artist Leng Mei 冷枚 (ca. 1677-1742 or after), which was executed sometime between 1708 and 1711.[30] Because this painting entered the imperial collection and was stored in the Yangxin Dian 養心殿 hall in the Beijing palaces, its viewing public was highly restricted.

A different situation existed with the imperial poems and accompanying illustrations for the two sets of thirty-six scenic spots selected, respectively, by the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. In 1711 the Kangxi emperor had selected thirty-six scenic spots. For each he wrote a preface and a poem, which were printed in 1712 in

30. *Shiqu baoji chubian* 石渠寶笈初編 (submitted in 1745), facsim. reprod. ed. (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1971), p. 676. This painting is dated to between 1708-1711 in Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xinggong," pp. 300-305. Alternatively, in Yang Boda 楊伯達, "Leng Mei ji qi 'Bishu Shanzhuang tu'" 冷枚及其避暑山莊圖, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, gen. no. 1 (1979), pp. 51-61, an argument is made that the appearance of deer and hoary pine trees in the scene indicates it was a birthday painting executed in 1713 to commemorate Kangxi's sixtieth birthday. The absence of the formal palace buildings of the Main Palace, however, seems to indicate a date prior to 1711. The painting is dated to 1708-1709 in *Chengde gu jianzhu*, p. 28.

The painting is titled *Bishu Shanzhuang tu* in the *Shiqu baoji*. Yuan Senpo and *Chengde gu jianzhu*, p. 23, fig. 1, title the painting *Rehe xinggong tu* 熱河行宮圖. Yuan Senpo uses this as evidence that the painting was executed before 1711 when the site was so named. One suspects there may have been a titleslip on this painting inscribed with this title, and the painting was possibly given a new title when it was catalogued in the *Shiqu baoji*.

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Chinese and Manchu language versions, accompanied either by woodblock illustrations (Fig. 13) for each scenic spot by Chinese artisans, or by copperplate engravings (Fig. 14) by Matteo Ripa (1682-1725).[31] As noted in an inscription found on the lower left of the woodblock illustration for the final scenic spot, "Shuiliu yunzai" 水流雲在, the original compositions for the illustrations were executed by the court painter Shen Yu 沈崳 (or 沈喻, act. 1710s-1740s). In the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, there is an album leaf of the scenic spot "Zhijing yunti" (Fig. 15) that may be one of the original painted compositions by Shen Yu.[32] These poems and recut illustrations were also reprinted in the 1726 imperial classified encyclopedia *Gu jin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成.[33]

When construction at the Summer Villa was resumed in 1741 by the Qianlong emperor, the earlier Kangxi woodblock illustrations were reprinted, with an additional poem for each scenic spot composed in matching prosody by the Qianlong emperor.[34] The new illustrations of each of the thirty-six scenic spots closely follow those of the 1712 woodblock edition; very slight differences might reflect accidental printing differences or possibly some retouching or cleaning of worn areas of the blocks.

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31. Kangxi emperor, *Yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* (1712). The Chinese version included a preface dated 1712, and annotations to the poems by Kuixu 揆敘 (d. 1717) and others. The text and illustrations were printed in black ink with red ink for punctuation and boxes around titles in the annotations. On the Chinese-language Wuyingdian palace edition with woodblock illustrations in the East Asian Library, Princeton University (no. TD38/1515), see Frederick Mote, Hung-lam Chu, et al., *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book, Gest Library Journal* 2, no. 2 (1988), pp. 207, 211, 214. The Manchu version does not include annotations and was printed in black ink. The version in the library of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, has copperplate printed illustrations by Matteo Ripa. This represents the first use of this printing technique in China. Reproduced in Christophe Comentale, *Matteo Ripa, peintre-graveur-missionnaire à la Cour de Chine* ([Taipei]: Victor Chen, 1983), after p. 176. On Ripa's engraving and etching technique, see Basil Gray, "Lord Burlington and Father Ripa's Chinese Engravings," *The British Museum Quarterly* 22, no. 1-2 (1960), pp. 40-43.
32. Wang Yaoting 王耀庭, "Shiba shiji gongting huihua" 十八世紀宮廷繪畫, *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 1, no. 11 (1983), pp. 88, 90, 95 fig. 9.1. Howard Rogers, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale: International Arts Council, 1988), pp. 184-185, reports that Leng Mei also painted an album of thirty-six scenes of the Summer Villa in 1713.
33. Chen Menglei 陳夢雷, et al., eds., *Gu jin tushu jicheng*, moveable-copper-type edition (1726), "Jingji huibian, Kaogong dian, Yuanyou bu" 經濟彙編，考工典，苑囿部 (Taipei: Wenxing shudian 文星書店, 1964), vol. 97, pp. 527-545. Sets of this classified encyclopedia were installed in each of the seven Siku library halls, including the Wenjin Ge hall at Rehe.
34. Qianlong emperor, *Gonghe huangzu shengzu ren huangdi yuzhi Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* 恭和皇祖聖祖仁皇帝御製避暑山莊三十六景詩, 2 *juan* (1741); reprinted in *Bishu Shanzhuang tu yong* 避暑山莊圖詠.

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In 1754 the Qianlong emperor selected an additional thirty-six scenic spots, for which imperial poems were composed. At sometime accompanying paintings by Qian Weicheng 錢維城 (1720-1772) and woodblock illustrations were produced.[35] Afterward the two sets of poems and illustrations were also privately printed and included in various editions of the Rehe gazetteers (Fig. 16). The poems, along with imperial records, colophons, stele inscriptions, and other written materials were also included in later travel guides and local histories. This archival transmission even extended beyond China's borders. Following Lord Macartney's (George Macartney; 1737-1806) 1793 audience with the Qianlong emperor at Rehe, written accounts and drawings of the Summer Villa (Figs. 9, 18) were circulated in England and became the source for William Wordsworth's (1770-1850) pastoral description of Rehe in his *Prelude*:

> Or Gehol's famous gardens, in a clime
> Chosen from widest empire, for delight
> Of the Tartatian dynasty composed
> (Beyond that mighty wall, not fabulous,
> China's stupendous mound) by patient skill
> Of myriads and boon Nature's lavish help...[36]

In Japan, following the *Gu jin tushu jicheng* version, the poems and illustrations of Kangxi's thirty-six scenic spots were recut and printed in 1923 (Fig. 17).[37] Other

35. Qianlong emperor (Hongli 弘曆), *Zai ti Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi* 再題避暑山莊三十六景詩 (1754). Because I have not seen the original edition of this work, I am uncertain if illustrations were included with the poems for the thirty-six new scenic spots. Later, woodblock illustrations were included in the *Rehe zhi* 熱河志 gazetteer, compiled by He Shen et al. (preface dated to 1781). A set of painted album leaves in four fascicles with imperial inscriptions titled *Yuzhi ti Bishu Shanzhuang sanshiliu jing shi yi* 御製題避暑山莊三十六景詩意 was also made by Qian Weicheng 錢維城 (1720-1772). This album contained paintings of the Kangxi- an Qianlong-period scenic spots, and is listed in *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編 (1816), *Midian zhulin Shiqu boji sanbian* 秘殿珠林石渠寶笈三編 facsim. reprod. ed. (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 1969), pp. 4452-4453.

36. William Wordsworth, *The Prelude: A Parallel Text*, edited by J.C. Maxwell (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), bk. 8, lns. 123-165, pp. 302, 304; lns. 77-110, pp. 303, 305. Wordsworth follows the description by Lord Macartney as cited in John Barrow, Travels in China (1804).

37. *Rehe sanshiliu jing shi tu* 熱河三十六景詩圖, ed. Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (Tokyo: Zuhon Sōkankai 圖本叢刊會, 1923).

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illustrated recensions of the Kangxi scenic spots were also printed and disseminated.

Large presentation map-paintings depicting the overall Summer Villa and showing some of the outlying temples were also produced. Resembling the small-scale maps found in the *Rehe zhi* 熱河志 local gazetteers (Fig. 19), such maps show the site from an aerial perspective and often have cartouche labels identifying individual buildings and scenic spots. Surviving examples of such map-paintings are found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [no. G7824.C517A3.1890.G8 Vault Shelf] and National Library of China 中國國家圖書館, Beijing [no. 074.45/(211.911)/1900-2]. The former, the *Complete Map of the Resort Palace at Rehe* (ca. 1875-1890?) horizontal scroll, was painted by Guan Nianci 管念慈 (d. 1909). It is ink and color on paper and is about 119 cm in height.[38] The latter is titled *Bishu Shanzhuang quantu* 避暑山莊全圖 (ca. 1900). This map is also ink and color on paper, with affixed red-paper cartouches, and measures 212.0 x 382.5 cm.[39] The impressive size of these map-paintings seems to indicate that they were meant for public viewing. They may have been intended to present the Summer Villa as sacred geography or even to serve as an icon substituting for worship at the actual site. An interesting comparison is to surviving large hand-colored woodblock prints of a Sino-Tibetan-Mongolian pictorial map of the mountain pilgrimage site of Wutaishan 五台山 in Shanxi Province.[40] About two meters wide, these panoramic maps were created by a Mongolian lama at the site's Cifu Si 慈福寺 monastery in 1846. These iconic panoramas served as both a historical record of the area's sacred geography and as an ethnic, imperial, and religious "declaration of the political primacy of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism, claiming Mongolian ethnic and sectarian identity over the mountain."[41] The large map-paintings of the Summer Villa may have been created for similar purposes—to declare the political and religious primacy of the Manchu rulers.

Through such published prints, as well as paintings and maps, knowledge of

38. Details reproduced in Chuimei Ho and Bennet Bronson, *Splendors of China's Forbidden City: The Glorious Reign of Emperor Qianlong* (New York: Merrell; Chicago: The Field Museum, 2004), p. 39 fig. 26, p. 131 fig, 149.

39. Reproduced in Philip K. Hu, comp. and ed., *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, 2000), cat. no. 56, pp. 204-207.

40. For a detailed analysis of the Wutaishan pictorial map as a complex mapping of ethnic hierarchy, imperial power, and sacred knowledge, see Wen-shing Chou, "Ineffable Paths: Mapping Wutaishan in Qing Dynasty China," *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007), pp. 108-129.

41. Rubin Museum of Art press release for the exhibition *Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain* (May 10 - October 16, 2007) (accessed on 10 May 2009: http://docs.rma2.org/press/wutaishan.pdf).

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the Summer Villa was presented to a wide public audience.[42] Although the garden-palace contained many more named and notable scenic spots and architectural sites, the Qing court's emphasis, through print and visual mediums, was to represent the Summer Villa as an immortals' paradise of thirty-six heavenly-caves and seventy-two blessed-lands. At the center of this salubrious, unmarred paradise was the emperor's residence, and around him, like the "ordered spokes of a wheel," were replicas of sites from around the nation and beyond the borders. From this perspective, we should re-examine the portraits of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors engaged in scholarly activities with books and writing materials. A common reading has been to see in such portrayals the Qing emperors' desire to emulate Han Chinese literati culture. I should like to propose a parallel or ancillary reading. In such portraits, the emperor can be seen as *archon*: progenitor, archivist, and ruler. Curiously, when portrayed in literary or scholarly pursuits, it seems the Kangxi emperor is often shown wearing informal Manchu robes, with horse-hoof sleeve cuffs and a central slit at the hemline, whereas the Qianlong emperor more frequently appears in Chinese costume and hairstyle, or in court attire (Figs. 20, 21).[43] It may be that in the Kangxi reign, the emperor's role as *archon* was forcefully being appropriated as a Manchu prerogative; whereas in the Qianlong period the practice of archiving was acknowledged as having Chinese origins.[44]

Through the archival practices of architecture, gardening, record keeping, collecting, and printing, the Qing emperors not only defined for the public an order for the empire, but also laid claim to the physical, religious, ethnic, and epistemological territories of their empire. Like the act of staking claim to territory with a flag, the act of archiving—by naming and ordering—laid claim to the far reaches of the empire. Discussing archival projects in nineteenth-century Britain, Thomas Richards in *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* writes: "An empire is partly a fiction…All the great historical empires…have had to come to terms with the problems of control at a distance…at least until the middle of the nineteenth century when…

42. Several Qianlong-period court paintings of scenes and activities in the Summer Villa are reproduced in *Qingdai gongting huihua, nos*. 36, 37, 55. The first two were displayed in the Juane Shengjing Dian 卷阿勝境殿 hall at the Summer Villa and had a limited audience.

43. For portraits of the Kangxi emperor pursuing scholarly arts in informal Manchu attire, see *Qingdai gongting huihua*, nos. 1, 4. For examples of the Qianlong emperor wearing Han Chinese costume and engaged in scholarly pursuits, see *Qingdai gongting huihua*, nos. 26, 45, 73.

44. The possibility of such a distinction in interpreting the portraits of the two emperors was first suggested to me by Frederick Mote in private correspondence of 20 March 2000. This comparison also indicates that there were differences between how archiving was practiced by the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors.

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people…began to think differently about what it meant to hold on to an empire. The narratives of the late nineteenth century are full of fantasies about empire united not by force but by information."[45] Not intending a comparison between eighteenth-century China and nineteenth-century Europe, or between East and West, I cite this passage to provide a better sense of what is meant by archiving an empire. Similar ideas are explored in recent studies on the "early modern" global shift in mapping knowledge, power, identity, and religion.[46] Whereas early modern mapping involved new visual and empirical techniques to order geography as ethnic, political, or sacred terrain, it may be argued that archiving was a parallel phenomenon, which relied instead on traditional intellectual frameworks and classificatory structures to order knowledge in new ways as a means to govern empire. What Richards describes is an archival mentality that shows strong similarities to the practice of archiving by the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. In an imperial edict dated to 7 February 1749, the Qianlong emperor initiated the first of several calls for the gathering of important books from across the nation. The edict begins: "I have searched the ancient ways and esteemed learning in order to assist in governing. Daily I diligently devote the time remaining after conducting state affairs to the study of books and documents (*dianxue* 典學)."[47] This edict reveals the Qing emperors' recognition of the importance of archival learning to the governing of the state, and this 1749 edict presages the later compilation, the *Siku quanshu*, which formed the core of the Qing imperial library archive.

45. Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993), p. 1.
46. See Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Wen-shing Chou, "Ineffable Paths." On defining "early modern," see Hostetler, pp. 1-3.
47. For the 7 Feb. [*gengzi* 庚子 (4th) day, 1st moon, 37th Qianlong year] edict, see *Da Qing Gaozong Chun huangdi shi lu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, in *Da Qing lichao shilu*大清歷朝實錄 [edition given by Hu Shi 胡適 to the Library of Princeton University] (Xinjing 新京: Da Manzhou diguo guowuyuan 大滿洲帝國國務院, 1937), *juan* 900, pp. 7b-9b; and *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, facsim. reprod. of 1795 palace edition in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, "Shengyu" 聖諭, *juan* 1, pp. 1a-2b [vol. 1, pp. 1-2]. The character *dian* can be read as a noun as meaning "books and documents," but can also be read as an adverb meaning "constantly"; i.e., "…to constantly study."

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