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By

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Professor Patricia Berger, Chair
Professor Gregory Levine
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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the multiple contexts in which the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan (Garden of Perfect Brightness) imperial garden-palace of the multiethnic Qing dynasty (1644–1912) are reconstituted through acts of copying. I consider the Yuanming Yuan as a site that has always been in cross-cultural translation, not only in its construction—its most famous section was designed in Sino-Baroque style by Jesuit court artists—but also in its destruction, when Anglo-French troops looted and burned it during the Second Opium War in 1860, leaving behind the marble ruins of the Sino-Baroque European Palaces. The dissertation shifts away from the original site in Beijing towards the garden's reinterpretation and reconstitution in alternate spatial contexts from the early twentieth century to the present day. Because these reproductions are not exact copies, I consider them "translations," in that they translate the Yuanming Yuan into new spatial contexts of international diplomacy, domestic theme park, museum gallery, and digital space; furthermore, by reconstituting a Qing imperial space that was looted and burned during the Opium Wars, these "translations" also serve as a means to reproduce—and challenge—national identities, cultural heritage, and appropriations of the past.

The introduction establishes the Yuanming Yuan as a site of cross-cultural translation, a site of memory, and a site of fragmentation. Chapter one examines the architectural translation of the Haiyantang (Hall of Calm Seas) in the European Palaces (Xiyanglou) section of the Yuanming Yuan. In the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, Empress Dowager Cixi reconstructed a new Haiyantang in the Central Lake area of Beijing; I argue that the appropriation of the Yuanming Yuan's European Palace-style served to create a mediated space for renewed Qing diplomacy with international powers. Chapter two turns to the reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan as theme parks in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Hengdian and examines the parks' strategies of selective reproduction and conflation of Qing imperial spaces. I argue that the microcosmic nature of the original Yuanming Yuan made it a suitable site to replicate within theme park imaginaries of the national future. Chapter three traces the journey of the looted bronze zodiac animal heads from the Haiyantang and argues that their potency as symbols of Yuanming Yuan's looted objects comes from their physical form as decapitated heads. I further argue that the reinterpretation of the heads through acts of artistic creation and vandalism by contemporary artists and activists speak to present day concerns about cultural heritage, preservation practice, and national identities. The dissertation concludes with a meditation on the possibilities and limitations of digital reconstruction and preservation.

To my Seastar who always believed in me

And to all the neighborhood cats

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Acknowledgements

I write this in the midst of the COVID-19 global pandemic; as vaccination rates rise and cases drop in California, the possibility of a return to normal glimmers on the horizon. It has been a long fifteen months of isolation and social fragmentation, and so it is with the hope of healing and coming back together into wholeness that I thank all those who have shepherded me on this long journey.

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INTRODUCTION: THE YUANMING YUAN AS MONUMENTAL FRAGMENT

"The whole is the untrue." –Theodor Adorno[1]

"The fragment has a history." –William Tronzo[2]

Fragments of a History

To commemorate its re-opening in 2016, the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive (BAMPFA) commissioned Chinese contemporary artist, Qiu Zhijie 邱志杰 (1969–), to create the inaugural mural for the museum's new Art Wall, a 60 x 25 foot blank space intended to showcase a revolving roster of large-scale works by international artists.[3] Qiu responded with a monumental map of garden history and theory, visualizing concepts, aesthetics, and sites as a sweeping ink monochrome landscape of craggy peaks, mountain ranges, flowing rivers, and still lakes. Within *The World Garden* (*Shi jie hua yuan tu* 世界花園圖, 2016), he focuses primarily on Chinese garden history but situates it within the global history of gardens (Fig. I.1). Roadways and waterways cut across Qiu's conceptual landscape, creating a spatial-temporal flow from antiquity to modernity, as well as movement from East Asian gardens to Western ones. Each element—garden, river, path, mountain ridge—is labeled in Chinese and English, indicating not only the transnational nature of the work itself—a painting by a Chinese artist for the space of an American university museum—but also the very act of translation involved in the construction, transmission, and reception of garden forms and ideas across spatial and temporal boundaries.

The bottom edge of Qiu's landscape presents a timeline of Chinese garden history. From the bottom left corner arise the early concepts of "garden," corresponding more closely with the concept of "enclosure": *yuàn* 苑 and *yòu* 囿 (Fig. I.2). From there, the viewer visually follows a path that leads to famous imperial gardens of Chinese antiquity: the "Soul Terrace" (*lingtai* 靈臺) of the Zhou rulers as recorded in the Book of Poetry, the "Upper Forest Garden" (*Shanglin yuan* 上林苑) of Qin Shihuangdi, "Jian Zhang Palace" (*Jianzhang gong* 建章宮) next to the "Great Liquid Pool" (*Taiye chi* 太液池) of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, and the "Western Garden" (*Xi yuan* 西苑) of the Sui dynasty.[4] None of these sites are extant: They occupy space within Qiu's conceptual landscape not through a depiction of their physical form but only through the space occupied by the characters of their names.

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[1] Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 1978), 50, as quoted in Ian Balfour, "'The Whole is the Untrue:' On the Necessity of the Fragment (after Adorno)," in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. William Tronzo, 82–91 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 83, 89n2. Balfour has slightly altered Jephcott's translation, "The whole is the false."

[2] William Tronzo, "Introduction," in in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. William Tronzo, 114–129 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 6.

[3] "The Making of *The World Garden*," Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, https://bampfa.org/news/making-world-garden.

[4] For an overall history of the garden in China, see Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

The remote dwellings of Tang recluse poets, Du Fu (712–770) and Wang Wei (699–759), are situated far from the main road, nestled against the mountains. The main pathway winds past the towering peak of Song Huizong's "Gen Yue Imperial Garder" [sic] (*Genyue* 艮嶽).[5] The path, serving as both spatial guide and historic timeline, now takes the viewer to garden sites that are still extant. As extant sites, their space on the map is indicated not just by textual presence, but also through image. The entirety of Hangzhou's West Lake and its Ten Scenes has been transposed here in an aerial view (Fig. I.3).[6] As the viewer follows the path through the famous literati gardens of the Jiangnan region, they pass by the eponymous rock formations of Suzhou's Lion Grove Garden (*Shizilin* 獅子林), the central pond of the Master of the Nets Garden (*Wangshi yuan* 網師園) and the pavilions of the Humble Administrator's Garden (*Zhuozheng yuan* 拙政園).[7]

As the path leaves behind the literati gardens of Jiangnan, it moves into the space of imperial gardens around the northern capital of Beijing. The viewer is taken past the White Pagoda in Beihai (北海 North Sea) and the conjoined lakes of Zhongnan hai (中南海, Central-South Lakes). The "Summer Palace Garden" (*Yihe Yuan* 頤和園) is represented by its Seventeen-Arch Bridge (*Shiqikong qiao* 十七孔橋) and the Tower of the Buddha's Fragrance (*Foxiang ge* 佛香閣) (Fig. I.4).[8] Encircling mountains dotted with temples embrace the space of the Chengde Mountain Resort (*Chengde Bishu shanzhuang* 承德避暑山庄), where the inked Chinese characters and English words themselves substitute for the areas of palace, lake, and plain districts that in the actual garden have led scholars to argue for the microcosmic nature of Qing imperial garden-palaces.[9] Next to Chengde on Qiu's map is another microcosmic Qing imperial garden: The Yuanming Yuan 圓明園.

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[5] James M. Hargett, "Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng," *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988–89): 1–48.

[6] Hui-Shu Lee, *Exquisite Moments: West Lake and Southern Song Art* (New York: China Institute Gallery, 2001). I also conducted a site visit to Hangzhou's West Lake in June 2016.

[7] For the history and elements of design of the classical gardens of the Jiangnan region, see Liu Dunzhen, "The Traditional Gardens of Suzhou (*Su Zhou gu dian yuan lin*), an abridged translation by Frances Wood," *Garden History* 10, no. 2 (Autumn 1982): 108–141; Ji Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens* [*Yuan ye* 園冶, 1631], trans. Alison Hardie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Charles W. Moore, William J. Mitchell, and William Turnbull, Jr., *The Poetics of Gardens* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), 17–21. My thanks to the 2017 UNESCO-WHITRAP workshop in Suzhou for granting access to the gardens of Suzhou.

[8] Moore, et al., *Poetics of Gardens*, 93–97. I also toured the Yihe Yuan in 2014.

[9] Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Richard E. Strassberg and Stephen Whiteman, *Thirty-Six Views: The Kangxi Emperor's Mountain Estate in Poetry and Prints* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016); Stephen Whiteman, *Where Dragon Veins Meet: The Kangxi Emperor and His Estate at Chengde* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020). I also toured the Mountain Estate in 2014.

Although the Yuanming Yuan is contemporaneous with Chengde and served a similar function as an imperial space of administration and leisure, on Qiu's conceptual map, the artist has doubly separated it from the other Qing imperial spaces by locating the Yuanming Yuan on the other side of Chengde's mountains and across a river. Visually, the Yuanming Yuan is represented by what appear to be ruins in the classical tradition: a single, empty archway and isolated columns (Fig. I.5). A viewer who is unfamiliar with Qing garden history may understandably come away with the mistaken impression that this so-called "Garden of Reciprocal Enlightenment" (Qiu's own translation) is a garden out of Greco-Roman antiquity. After all, Qiu has located the Yuanming Yuan within a zone that is separated from the Qing demesnes. From the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan, the map mural leads to the broken fluted column and Ionic capital of "The Aesthetics of Involuntary Ruins" (*fei zi yuan de fei xu mei xue* 非自願的廢墟美學) and the hilltop villas of Roman Gardens, before transitioning towards medieval gardens and the history of gardens in Europe.

The marble archway and broken columns of the Yuanming Yuan are its most iconic and recognizable features in the present moment. They are architectural features that are not found in the other Qing garden spaces. The logo of the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park takes the three characters "圓明園" and arranges them to create the shape of the archway. Even the trash bins in the park are topped by white curved arches. Souvenirs further solidify the ruins as the representation of the Yuanming Yuan: Bookmarks are topped by the form of the archway and its pillars, erasers are shaped like truncated Ionic capitals, packages of postcards are embossed with the archway-shaped park logo set inside a larger stylized graphic of the same archway like an abbreviated *mise en abyme* (Fig. I.6). In isolation, the fragment appears whole: a single archway, a frame, a liminal boundary that invites one to look through and to step beyond. The ruin-fragment forms a synecdochical relationship with the lost whole.

A fragment is a thing that exists in itself but also refers to what is absent. In contrast to "pieces" of a thing, where all the pieces are present and can be assembled into a whole, "fragments" of a thing refer to the still-extant parts of a whole, but where parts are missing and reassembly no longer possible.[10] In some cases, a fragment can contain the whole, as in the case of fractals. Biological fragments, in the form of genetic codes, contain within each part all the information to replicate the whole.[11] But in other cases, the fragment can misrepresent.

The most recognizable architectural fragment of the Yuanming Yuan is the aforementioned marble archway. As a ruin, it gives the impression of a framed entryway or passage that delineates a spatial boundary between a now lost interior and exterior. That impression is wrong. The archway forms part of a larger scenic complex called the Great Fountains (*Dashuifa* 大水法), located in the sixty-five acre strip of land in the northwest corner of the Changchun Yuan 長春園 (Garden of Everlasting Spring) section of the larger Yuanming Yuan complex (fig. I.7). As recorded in a copperplate print of 1783–86, the Dashuifa was composed of a central pool within which stood a sculptural stag that has been brought to bay by ten sculptural hunting dogs; spouts of water shoot from the stag's antlers and the hounds' jaws. Behind the animal grouping,

[10] Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "The Fragment: Elements of a Definition," in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. William Tronzo, 114–129 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 119.
[11] Lichtenstein, "The Fragment," 124.

the archway frames, not an opening, but a wall panel where water cascades from the mouth of a lion's head and fills the pool below. The foreground is dominated by a pair of topiary towers, which are flanked by tall pyramid fountains set within large circular basins. The Great Fountains is but one scene among many in the section of the Yuanming Yuan known as the European Palaces (*Xiyanglou* 西洋樓), and the European Palaces form but a small part of the Yuanming Yuan as a whole.

Yuanming Yuan in Cross-Cultural Translation

The Yuanming Yuan is a Qing imperial garden-palace located about twelve kilometers northwest of the Forbidden City. In 1709, the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722) gifted the tract of land to Prince Yinzhen, the future Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–1735). When the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–1796) inherited the garden, he completed most of the construction in the Yuanming Yuan proper by 1744 and then expanded the overall complex by annexing the neighboring Changchun Yuan in 1749 and the Qichun Yuan (Garden of Variegated Spring) in 1772 (fig. I.8). The name "Yuanming Yuan" (Garden of Perfect Brightness) applies to both the original Yuanming Yuan proper, as well as the larger three-in-one garden complex (*Yuanming san yuan* 圓明三園). The entire site occupies about 3.4 square kilometers—similar to New York's Central Park—and measures a rough rectangle of about 2,415 meters by 1,890 meters.[12] It served multiple functions for the Qing court: a site of leisure, a site of administration, a site to received foreign embassies. Since the mid-eighteenth century, it has been the most famous Chinese garden known to a European audience and its transmittal to the West in image and text influenced the shift in landscape design away from formal geometry to imitation of nature. The most significant event in the garden's history, however, is its looting and burning by the Anglo-French at the close of the Second Opium War in 1860. In the decades that followed, it fell further into ruin. By the mid-twentieth century, most of its land had been claimed as agricultural farmland. In the early 1980s, its remaining ruins were a playground for young artists; soon after, the site was reclaimed as the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park and designated a site of national patriotic education.[13] In his history of the Yuanming Yuan, Geremie Barmé writes, "As a *Trümmerfeld*, or ruin-field, the Yuan Ming Yuan has reflected the waning fortunes of Chinese national inspirations; its decay and recent restoration have mirrored events writ large in the story of China this century."[14] The history of the Yuanming Yuan is a microcosm of the rise and fall of the Qing dynasty and the history of modern and contemporary China.[15]

In 1736, the Qianlong emperor commissioned court artists Tang Dai 唐岱, Lang Shining 郎世寧 (Giuseppe Castiglione), and Shen Yuan 沈源 to paint an overall view of the Yuanming Yuan; upon completion the panorama was pasted on the walls of the Qinghui Ge 清輝閣, a pavilion in the residential complex behind the Main Audience

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[12] Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 4–5.
[13] The history of the Yuanming Yuan is told in Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, and in Geremie R. Barmé, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness, A Life in Ruins," *China Heritage Quarterly*, no. 8 (December 2006): 111–158.
[14] Barmé, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness," 112.
[15] Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 1.

Hall of the Yuanming Yuan.[16] It is likely that this overall painting is the one recorded by British staff interpreter Robert Swinhoe (1836–77) in 1860, who recalled seeing "one extensive picture, representing the grounds of the Summer Palace."[17] This work is now lost and probably perished during the burning of the garden. The most significant surviving visual reference of the Yuanming Yuan before its destruction is the set of forty painted album leaves commissioned in 1738 and completed in 1747 by Tang Dai and Shen Yuan.[18] Each leaf of *The Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan* (Yuanming Yuan si shi jing 圓明園四十景) depicts a painted bird's eye view of an architectural complex within the Yuanming Yuan proper; the paintings are paired with Qianlong's poetry and the four-character names that he bestowed upon each site that draw connections to concepts of rulership, literary ideals, and poetic allusions (fig. I.9).[19]

The album format puts the forty scenes into a strict sequence but not one that necessarily follows a linear path through the garden. Nearly all scholars "walk" their readers through the Yuanming Yuan by following the order of the album leaves, but some note that the album effectively fragments the garden into a series of isolated views. Carroll Malone characterized the garden as a "collection of separate scenes with little or no relation to one another."[20] In his comparison of palace-cultures between Versailles and the Yuanming Yuan, Greg Thomas notes that "where Versailles's images are unitary views, Qianlong's album leaves are fragments constituting a kind of sequential panorama."[21] Each scene is shown in isolation from its neighbors; zigzagging bridges may lead off at the edges of the painting to suggest the route towards the next islet, but that next islet always lies just beyond the frame of the painting. Even when another scene would clearly be within eye view in physical reality, in the painted album, its presence would be effaced. For example, in scene three, "Jiuzhou qingyan 九

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[16] 乾隆元年十一月十五日 （如意館）沈源來說，太監毛團傳旨，著唐岱、郎世寧、沈源畫圓明園圖一副。欽此。於乾隆三年五月一日，唐岱將畫得圓明園圖一副持進，貼在清暉閣訖. First Historical Archives, *Yuanming Yuan* 圓明園 [YMYA: Yuanming Yuan Archives] (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1991), 2:1245, no. 171.

[17] Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1861), 285.

[18] YMYA, 2:1251, no. 182, 2:1310, no. 310.

[19] For descriptions of each scene, see Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1934); Hope Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness: The History of the Yuan Ming Yuan and of the Emperors who Lived There* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1950), 45–68; Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 24–50. The album was stored in the Fengsan wusi pavilion in the Jiuzhou qingyan complex in the Yuanming Yuan; it was looted by French Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dupin (1814–68) and is now in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9). For full page, full color reproductions, see the BnF website and see also Che Bing Chiu, *Yuanming Yuan: Le jardin de la Clarté parfaite* (Paris : Les Editions de l'Imprimeur, 2000), 181–225. For the history of the album's production, the biographies of the artists, and translations of the imperial poems, see John R. Finlay, "40 Views of the Yuanming Yuan:" Image and Ideology in a Qianlong Imperial Album of Poetry and Painting," PhD diss. Yale University, 2011.

[20] Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces*, 67.

[21] Greg M. Thomas, "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles: Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and European Palace Cultures," *Art History* 32, no. 1 (February 2009), 124.

州清晏" (Nine Continents Clear and Calm), the banks of the other islets surrounding the lake are depicted, but none of them are shown with buildings, so that even as the islets of scenes eight through eleven are technically present, their presence as one of the forty scenes is absent (fig. I.10). Furthermore, the artists have greatly exaggerated the size of the mountains so that they loom over the buildings and ring in the scene; mist fills the valleys between them obscuring what lies between the current scene and the distant mountains that must rise far beyond the garden walls.

In his study of the Bishu shanzhuang in Chengde, Philippe Forêt has argued that the imperial garden served as a microcosm of the Qing empire. Its palace district included a main audience hall as the seat of governance; its lake district copied scenes from Jiangnan gardens; the plains district and mountain district brought the grasslands and peaks of Mongolia and Tibet under the Qing domain, with architectural translations of Tibetan temples ringing the outer hills.[22] Through the visual and textual record of the Forty Scenes, scholars of the Yuanming Yuan also argue that it was designed as a microcosm of the empire. In his description of the architectural disposition of the garden, Young-tsu Wong begins with the first scene, Zhengda guangming 正大光明 (also known as the Main Audience Hall) (fig. I.11). He calls it a "replica" of the Taihedian 太和殿 (Hall of Supreme Harmony) in the Forbidden City and notes that it functioned as a site of administration.[23] It should be noted here that while the Zhengda guangming may replicate the function of the Taihedian, in physical form, it is not an exact replica of its counterpart in the Forbidden City. As shown in the album leaf, the Yuanming Yuan's Main Audience Hall is built on a single marble terrace and is a structure of seven bays, grey roof tiles, and a rolling mountain roof; the Taihedian, on the other hand, sits atop three marble terraces and is an eleven-bay structure with a double-eaved hip roof.

Behind the site of administration was the imperial residences constructed as nine interconnected isles surrounding the two-hundred-square-foot Rear Lake (*Houhu* 後湖). In name, the first of these isles, Jiuzhou qingyan 九洲清晏 (Nine Continents Clear and Calm), evokes the Classical reference in the Shujing 書經 where the known world is referred to as the "nine continents."[24] The textual referent was then manifested within the garden landscape through the construction of the nine isles. While the Jiuzhou qingyan expressed the concept of the realm in microcosm, other scenes within the Yuanming Yuan were based on specific sites that the Qianlong emperor saw and admired on his Southern Tours. The main tower of the Shangxia tianguang 上下天光 was inspired by the Yueyang Tower 岳陽樓 of Lake Dongting; the famous scenes around the West Lake 西湖 of Hangzhou and the literati gardens of Nanjing and Suzhou can also be found as references within the Yuanming Yuan.[25] Furthermore, the Yuanming Yuan included scenes that evoked literary gatherings, the lands of Daoist

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[22] Forêt, *Mapping Chengde*.
[23] Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 27.
[24] Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 28.
[25] Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 33, 41, 47, 55–56. Yuanming Yuan scholars use the term "replicate" loosely when describing the multiple references that the garden makes to specific sites outside of itself. The exact ways in which the Yuanming Yuan "replicates," "copies," "emulates," "evokes," or merely references deserve closer scrutiny in a future study.

immortals, agricultural abundance and rusticity, as well as sites of active religious practice, ancestor worship, and military drills.

The *Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan* album was housed within the Fengsan wusi 奉三無私 pavilion of the Jiuzhou qingyan complex and it was not circulated nor exhibited. Its images circulated, however, in the form of woodblock prints, painted copies, and copperplate engravings. Immediately after the completion of the painted album, the Qianlong emperor also commissioned a set of woodblock prints of the paintings from court artists Shen Yuan (ca. 1728–48) and Sun Hu 孫祜 (act. ca. 1728–45) (fig. I.12). By the 1780s, several copies of the woodcuts were in European collections; it is the copy from the collection of Swedish count Cark Fredrik Scheffer (1715–86) that formed the source of George-Louis Le Rouge's publication *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode* of 1786 (fig. I.13). There are also at least two painted volumes by unknown Chinese artists who have based their compositions closely on the woodcuts of the *Forty Scenes* but who have also been trained in European techniques of perspective and modelling (fig. I.14).[26]

Before the first images of the Yuanming Yuan reached an elite audience in Europe, the garden-palace was already known through the letters sent by the Jesuits, especially the one by Jean-Denis Attiret (1702–68). Written in 1743, published in 1749, and translated into English in 1752, his letter formed the foundation of European knowledge about the Yuanming Yuan and the design principles of Chinese gardens in general.[27] By the late eighteenth century, textual knowledge was supplemented by eyewitness accounts from members of the Macartney Embassy of 1793, the Titsingh Mission of 1795, and the North China Campaign of 1860 at the close of the Second Opium War.[28] As a site of cross-cultural encounter, the Yuanming Yuan served as a model: first, as a model to emulate, where its winding paths and imitation of nature offered an alternative landscape to the formal geometric garden, and then later, as a model of artificiality and unnatural contortions to avoid.[29]

The Jesuits characterized the Yuanming Yuan as the "Versailles of Peking," and Greg Thomas has argued for the similarities between the palace cultures of France and the Qing in the eighteenth century that made possible the "intercultural appropriation

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[26] John Finlay, "Henri Bertin and the Commerce in Images between France and China in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding, 79–94 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015).

[27] Jean-Denis Attiret, "A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Garden Near Pekin," translated by Sir Harry Beaumont [Joseph Spence] (London: Dodsley, 1752).

[28] The relevant sections about Chinese gardens, especially the Yuanming Yuan, can be found in the excerpts of the accounts by George Staunton (1737–1801), André Everard van Braam Houckgeest (1739–1801), John Barrow (1764–1848), Robert Swinhoe (1836–77), and Garnet Joseph Wolseley (1833–1913) published and translated in *Ideas of Chinese Gardens: Western Accounts, 1300–1860*, edited by Bianca Maria Rinaldi (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

[29] Bianca Maria Rinaldi, "Introduction," in *Ideas of Chinese Gardens: Western Accounts, 1300–1860*, edited by Bianca Maria Rinaldi, 1–46 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016; Erik Ringmar, "Malice in Wonderland: Dreams of the Orient and Destruction of the Palace of the Emperor of China," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 2 (2011): 273–97.

and translation" between the two societies.[30] Just as the French indulged in chinoiserie *dans les jardins anglo-chinois,* the Qianlong emperor also indulged in "Européennerie."[31] In 1747, after seeing a picture of a European spouting fountain, Qianlong ordered Jesuit missionaries Giuseppe Castiglione and Michel Benôit to construct the European Palaces (*Xiyanglou* 西洋樓) on a 750-meter long strip in the northeast corner of the Changchun Yuan.[32] The Sino-Baroque facades of white marble were topped with tiled curving Chinese roofs, so that when seen from afar, the buildings blended in with the rest of the gardenscape.[33] The Xieqiqu 諧奇趣 (Hall of Harmony and Delight) was the first building constructed and consisted of a central three-storey pavilion with two galleries that curved out on either side and led to smaller music pavilions. Behind the Xieqiqu, there was a maze built of carved bricks. The Haiyantang 海晏堂 (Hall of Calm Seas) was the largest structure of the European Palaces. Its western front faced the famous zodiac water-clock fountain; its central block was actually a water tank that supplied the nearby fountains. The waterworks of the Dashuifa 大水法 (Great Fountains) dominated the center of the European complex. The Yuanyingguan 遠瀛觀 (View of Distant Seas) stood on a hill behind the Dashuifa; its elaborately carved columns stand as ruins today (fig. I.15).[34]

In contrast to the painted album on silk of the *Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan*, the official visual record of the European Palaces would be in a representational mode that was also associated with the visual forms and medium of Europe: a set of twenty copperplate engravings. Régine Thiriez and Antoine Durand have argued that the prints, by presenting the European Palaces as a series of separate scenes, fragment the garden into "isolated landscapes," much like the *Forty Scenes* album (fig. I.16).[35] Kristina Kleutghen has traced the adoption of linear perspective in the arts of the Qing, including the use of linear perspective in the twenty copperplates by Manchu artist Yilantai 伊蘭泰.[36]

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[30] Greg M. Thomas, "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles: Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and European Palace Cultures," *Art History* 32, no.1 (February 2009): 115–143.
[31] Thomas, "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles," 115, 133.
[32] Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces Under the Ch'ing Dynasty* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1934), 139.
[33] Victoria M. Siu, "China and Europe Intertwined: A New View of the European Sector of the Chang Chun Yuan," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1999), 379.
[34] Maurice Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen: L'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jesuites* (Beijing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), 23–36; Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces*, 140–160; Danby, 99–109; Victoria M. Cha-Tsu Siu, *Gardens of a Chinese Emperor: Imperial Creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736–1796* (Lanham, MD: Lehigh University Press, 2013), 86–94.
[35] Antoine Durand and Regine Thiriez, "Engraving the Emperor of China's European Palaces," *Biblion: the bulletin of the New York Public Library* 1, no. 2 (1993): 99.
[36] Kristina Kleutghen, "From Science to Art: The Evolution of Linear Perspective in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Art," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West,* edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding, 173–189 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 184–186.

The European Palaces's building materials of marble, brick, and stone burnt less easily than their wooden Chinese counterparts and their haunting, hollowed shells captured the attention of Western photographers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In *Barbarian Lens*, Régine Thiriez has tracked down photographs of the ruins from the 1870s to the 1920s, allowing her to show that the destruction of the Western Buildings did not happen all at once in the fire of 1860, but that they slowly deteriorated over many decades of neglect and removal of their materials. Her work is as much about the lives of the photographers, particularly Ernst Ohlmer, Thomas Child, and Théophile Piry, and the early state of photography in Beijing, as it is about the photos' documentation of the site's deterioration.[37] These photographs, particularly the earliest ones by Ernst Ohlmer in 1873, are of primary importance to scholars trying to reconstruct the original visage of the Western Buildings (fig. I.17).[38]

All these visual surrogates of the Yuanming Yuan—*Forty Scenes* album, twenty copperplate prints of the European Palaces, photographs of its ruins—have all been essential in the scholarly recovery of this garden in fragments. Extensive research has been done on the physical disposition of the Yuanming Yuan, its reproduction of the Qing empire in microcosm, and its role as site of cross-cultural encounter and exchange. As discussed in the following section, the reconstitution of the Yuanming Yuan's physical ruins continues to be a matter of debate. This dissertation shifts away from the original site in Beijing towards the garden's reinterpretation and reconstitution in alternate spatial contexts from the early twentieth century to the present day. Because these reproductions are not exact copies, I consider them "translations." As acts of translation, each project reinterprets the Yuanming Yuan and creates new readings out of its fragments. I also use "translation" to mean a movement from one site to another. In the context of religious practice, the translation of a saint's relic is the act of moving it from one place to another; in the case of the Yuanming Yuan, I examine how the forms of its architectural fragments and cultural relics are shifted into new spatial contexts. Furthermore, by reconstituting a Qing imperial space that was looted and burned during the Opium Wars, these "translations" also serve as a means to reproduce—and challenge—imperial and national identities, cultural heritage, and appropriations of the past.

In chapter one, "Negotiating Architecture: Empress Dowager Cixi's Hall of Calm Seas and the Space of Diplomacy," I examine the earliest example of an architectural translation of a Yuanming Yuan building. In the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, Empress Dowager Cixi rebuilt the burned down Yiluandian 儀鑾殿 as the Haiyantang 海宴堂 (Hall of Calm Seas) in Zhongnan Hai 中南海 (Central-South Lake) in 1904. Cixi's Haiyantang resurrected the architectural form of the first Haiyantang in the Yuanming Yuan's European Palace section, even including a set of zodiac animal sculptures. This chapter uses photograph and archival records to argue that the 1904 Haiyantang

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[37] Régine Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens: Western Photographers of the Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces* (Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1998).

[38] Beijing World Art Museum 中华世纪坛世界艺术馆 and Qin Feng Studio 秦风老照片馆 , *Disturbed Dreams in the Ruins of the Garden: Ernst Ohlmer and Historical Images of Yuanming Yuan* 残園驚夢: 奥尔末与圆明园历史影像 (Guilin 桂林市: Guangxi Normal University Press 广西师范大学出版社, 2010).

adopted "Yuanming Yuan-style"—that is, the cross-cultural style of the Sino-Baroque European Palaces—to create a hybrid space that simultaneously referred to past Qing political power, as well as presenting a mediated space between East and West as a site for Cixi to hold audience with the wives of foreign ministers.

National Ruins, Memory, and Reconstruction

In late September 1979, the National Art Gallery in Beijing was preparing an exhibition to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the chronicles of contemporary Chinese art history, the official exhibition is noteworthy as the location for the disruptive and unauthorized *Stars* 星星 exhibition. Young avant-garde artists commandeered the area outside the museum, hanging their own artworks upon the fence.[39] Among the works were two small oil paintings by Huang Rui 黄锐 (b. 1952), depicting the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan (fig. I.18, I.19). As discussed by art historian Wu Hung, the paired paintings draw upon the rhetoric of ruins as material symbols of destruction and rebirth in order to express the young artist's sense that the tumultuous days of the Cultural Revolution were over: The desolate, fragmented columns of the Yuanyingguan have been transformed into bodies—strong, resilient, supporting each other, with heads close in intimacy or lifted high to gaze hopefully into the future.[40]

In the early 1980s, the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan served as a space of unfettered play for the young avant-garde, who clambered upon its stone fragments and recited poetry among broken columns (fig. I.20). In the aftermath of the broken promises of the Cultural Revolution, the ruins resonated with their sense of social alienation and fragmentation, but also served as a space for communal gathering and healing.[41]

The hand of state authority, however, soon reasserted itself over the Yuanming Yuan and the site was officially declared the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park and a site of patriotic education in 1983.[42] Huang Rui's paintings had conceptualized the ruins as transformative symbols of a liberal post-Mao China. As a Ruins Park, however, ruins looked not forward, but back: They became official witnesses to the looting and burning of the imperial garden by Anglo-French troops in the Second Opium War, a key event in China's "century of national humiliation"; the burning of the Yuanming Yuan rang the death knell for the Qing dynasty and marked the birth of modern China-the-nation-state from its ashes.

To the adherents of romantic ruins, the gradual restoration of the Yuanming Yuan as a public park and patriotic education site was yet another form of ruination. In his history of the Yuanming Yuan as a "life in ruins," Barmé borrows the words of ruin doyenne Rose Macauley and characterizes the restoration of the 1980s as subjecting the

[39] Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California, Press, 2012), 209.
[40] Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 189–191.
[41] Wu, *A Story of Ruins*, 195.
[42] Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 191.

garden to the "destroying hand of the ruin-clearers" and transforming the site "into a scene of antiquarian interest and political statement."[43]

By the 1980s, the burning and looting of the Yuanming Yuan had passed out of living memory and the form and purpose of the Yuanming Yuan ruins came under contestation. As Pierre Nora has argued, memory "remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived…. Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects."[44] Andreas Huyssen also notes that a "society's collective memory is no less contingent, no less unstable, its shape by no means permanent, always subject to subtle and not so subtle reconstruction…. [I]n the case of modern societies in particular, it is shaped by such public sites of memory as the museum, the memorial, the monument."[45] As a site of patriotic education, the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park serves as a public site of memory—but what exactly are visitors supposed to remember? Or feel? In material, physical form, the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park is largely reclaimed greenways and waterways; its most prominent architectural survivals are the marble ruins of the European Palaces.

Should the Yuanming Yuan always be a ruin-field? Advocates of preserving ruins-as-ruins invoke their aesthetic allure, while also emphasizing their significance as material lessons in national humiliation. Writing to the *Guangming Daily* in 1988, Ye Tingfang 葉廷芳, professor of German at Beijing University, asserted that "ruins are also a type of beauty" (*fei xu ye shi yi zhong mei* 廢墟也是一種美).[46] He would reiterate this point in 1995 in the *People's Daily*, where he also invoked Riegl's age-value and argued that any renovation work must preserve the look of age (*xiu jiu ru jiu* 修舊如舊). He criticized the restoration done to other historic monuments in China, where the old and the new cannot be differentiated, and he deplored the creation of so-called "fake antiques" (*jia gu dong* 假古董). He recalls his personal emotional response to walking among the ruins as a form of history lesson and condemns the commodification of the Ruins Park that has "turned the important ruins that symbolize our nation's shame into a cash tree" (*ba xiang zheng guo chi de zhong yao wen wu yi ji, dang zuo sheng cai be xi de yao qian shu* 把象征国耻的重要文物遗迹，当作生财不息的摇钱树！) He concludes with the assertion "beauty cannot be repeated" (*mei shi bu ke chong fu de* 美是不可重复的) and that the Yuanming Yuan ruins should be preserved as the "crime scene where Western invaders committed a towering crime" (*xi fang qin lue zhe fan xia tao tian zui xing de yi ge chang suo* 西方侵略者犯下滔天罪行的一个场所) and stand as an "eternal monument to

[43] Barmé, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness," 143, quoting Rose Macauley, *Pleasure of Ruins*, 404.

[44] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 8–9.

[45] Andreas Huyssen, "Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 6, no. 2 (January 1993): 249.

[46] Ye Tingfang, "Fei xu ye shi yi zhong mei 廢墟也是一種美" (1988), in *Yuanming Yuan chong jian da zhen bian*, 101.

the Chinese people's national humiliation" (*Zhong hua min zu guo chi de yong heng ji nian bei* 中华民族国耻的永恒纪念碑).[47]

On the other hand, should the rest of the Yuanming Yuan be rebuilt? For proponents of restoration, the current prominence of the ruins of the European Palaces is the key reason for restoring the rest of the Yuanming Yuan. As Wang Daocheng 王道成, professor of Qing history at People's University, points out, the European Palaces only occupied a small proportion of the overall garden and are not representative of the garden as a whole; when the Yuanming Yuan was praised as the "garden of gardens," its admirers were referring to its landscape design of earth, water, and wooden pavilions, not the Sino-Baroque buildings.[48] Wang is concerned that the ruins, in the absence of other Chinese-style structures, distorts the memory of the Yuanming Yuan as a whole.[49]

Norman Kutcher's article, "China's Palace of Memory" (2003) summarizes the issues at stake in the restoration debates. The central issue involves the contested status of the Yuanming Yuan and how it should be remembered by Chinese citizens of the present and future. Leaving the garden as ruins points towards never forgetting national humiliation; on the other hand, the ruins themselves give no sense of the accomplishments of landscape design of the Qing—now naturalized as part of Chinese history, not a villainized foreign dynasty—before Western imperialism. As Kutcher lays out, the debate is not only about how to remember China's past, but also about how the respective mode of remembrance reveals a divide between those who have cultivated an appreciation for the aesthetic of ruin—and thus advocate conservation only—and those who argue for traditional Chinese practice of restoring old buildings.[50] This divide is not presented in solely aesthetic terms, but invokes notions of cultural progress and keeping in step with international conventions of heritage preservation.

In her study of post-Mao Beijing, Anne-Marie Broudehoux argues that the Beijing municipal government repackaged the site of the Yuanming Yuan as a historical commodity. By investing it as a cultural heritage site standing as a symbol of the consequences of foreign imperialism, the city erased the lived history of the communities who lived on its grounds during the twentieth century.[51] In her review of the restoration debate, she argues that both sides attempt to manipulate history by

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[47] Ye Tingfang, "Mei shi bu kechong fu de: Yuanming Yuan yi zhi qian de tan xi 美是不可重复的—圆明园遗址前的叹息" (1995), in *Yuanming Yuan chong jian da zhen bian*, 99–101. For age-value vs. newness-value, see Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development," in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, edited by Nicholas Stanley Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, 69–83 (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1996), 73–75, 80–82.

[48] Wang Daocheng, "Bao hu zheng xiu zai chuang hui huang 保护整修 再创辉煌" (1999), in *Yuanming Yuan chong jian da zhen bian*, 121–128.

[49] I can also confirm that in casual conversation about this research, I was often met with comments along the lines of "The Yuanming Yuan? That's the European one, right?"

[50] Norman Kutcher, "China's Palace of Memory," *The Wilson Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 32, 35.

[51] Anne-Marie Broudehoux, *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 45-46.

choosing to freeze the site at an arbitrary historical moment. Haiyan Lee also revisits the restoration debate to demonstrate the Yuanming Yuan's status as a highly charged symbolic site. In "The Ruins of the Yuanming Yuan: Or, How to Enjoy a National Wound," Lee examines how documentaries shown within the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park present and interpret the site and also how the site is presented in literary prose. He argues that the Ruins Park should be viewed as a "heterotopia of multiple emplacements" that serves as "a spatial metaphor of contemporary China and a schooling ground for the art of socialist neoliberal citizenship."[52] In other words, the Yuanming Yuan is a model for contemporary Chinese citizens.

In chapter two, "From Ruins to Theme Park: The Scale of Memory and Reconstructing the Yuanming Yuan" I examine the reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan as miniature model and monumental theme park. I trace the circular path that the Yuanming Yuan has taken from Qing imperial proto-theme park to actual reconstruction as theme parks in China beginning in the late 1980s. By reconstructing off-site, the theme parks have enacted a "translation": spatially, shifting away from the original site to a different location, as well as reinterpreting the form for a new audience and landscape context. I borrow the term "modelscape" from the work of Yael Padan, who applies that term to her studies of architectural models of Israel, which "represent collective pasts, as well as visions of the future."[53] I argue that the Yuanming Yuan's microcosmic nature makes it the ideal model for a "modelscape" that attempts to replicate the forms of the past for the purpose of projecting an idealized historical past into the space of the national future. I will look specifically at the park of Splendid China in Shenzhen, the New Yuanming Palace in Zhuhai, and the New Yuanming Yuan complex in Hengdian.

Fragmented Bodies, Bodies of Loot

In her work on the fragment, Linda Nochlin opens with a meditation on Henry Fuseli's red ink drawing, *The Artist Overwhelmed by the Grandeur of Antique Ruins* (1778–79). The artist sits on a block of stone, his body hunched over in despair, as he covers his face with one hand while the other arm stretches out to caress the top of a monumental, fragmented foot (fig. I.21). Behind the foot, another bodily sculptural fragment rests: a monumental hand pointing upwards in a gesture of imperial authority. In Nochlin's reading of this work, the artist is not merely grieving his own creative limitations in the face of past genius. The artist is "mourning a terrible loss, a lost state of felicity and totality."[54] For Nochlin, the state of modernity is expressed in the fragment; modernity is "figured as irrevocable loss, poignant regret for lost totality, a vanished wholeness."[55] The bodily fragment dominates in her history of modernity: the decapitated heads of the French Revolution, the dismembered bodies of Gericault, the cropped bodies of Degas' ballerinas.

Granted, the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan are architectural fragments and not the sculptural fragments of bodily forms. Yet, it is often personified as having a voice that

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[52] Haiyan Lee, "The Ruins of Yuanmingyuan: Or, How to Enjoy a National Wound," *Modern China* 35 (2009):155.

[53] Yael Padan, *Modelscapes of Nationalism: Collective Memories and Future Visions* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 57.

[54] Linda Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 8.

[55] Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces*, 7.

emits out of a broken body. The historical fiction film, *The Burning of the Yuanming Yuan* 火烧圆明园 (1983, dir. Li Han-hsiang 李翰祥), centers the broken columns of the Yuanyinguan 遠瀛觀 (Hall of Viewing Distant Seas) in its closing shot (fig. I.22). The columns are lit from behind by a ghostly cold blue light; orange flames continue to burn at their feet and clouds of billowing soot waft across them like a burial shroud. Over this somber frame, the solemn voice of the narrator intones, "The ruins of the Yuanming Yuan lie unchanging year after year; it has no voice, but anyone can still hear its angry cries before Heaven." The fragment speaks. In his study of the reconstitution and reimagining of Classical sculptural fragments excavated during the Renaissance, Leonard Barkan invokes the literary trope of prospopoeia, where "the fiction of an apostrophe to an absent, deceased, or voiceless entity…posits the possibility of the latter's reply and confers upon it the power of speech. Voice assumes mouth, eye, and finally face."[56] From the absent or the incomplete, a body is thus reconstituted.

In his discussion of the fragment, Barkan also opens with Fuseli's mourning artist, but turns his scholarly attention to the Renaissance excavation of literal sculptural pieces of Classical antiquity "in which art itself appears to be born as a set of fragments."[57] Even those works that emerge from the ground in one piece can be considered a fragment that has been removed from its proper context, such as works that were brought to Rome as the spoils of war and reused in monuments of conquest (hence *spolia*). Their alienation from their place of origin becomes a double alienation when excavated centuries later.[58] Works that are physically whole can also "become fragments if they brandish an identity without fully revealing it."[59] Is the sculpture of a reclining woman Cleopatra, Ariadne, or a sleeping nymph?[60] Barkan argues that all responses to fragments can be considered "activit[ies] of reconstruction," whether that be collecting and displaying fragments, imagining the past from its ruins, assigning identities to unnamed sculptures, making fragments legible through restoration, or even deliberately not reconstructing so that the "arena of possibilities" is transferred "from the material realm to the imagination."[61]

It is estimated that about 1.5 million objects were looted from the Yuanming Yuan in 1860.[62] The scholarly literature on Yuanming Yuan loot addresses the subsequent circulation, collection, display, and translation of the looted objects into the cultural context of Europe; as looted objects appear on the art market, they subsequently address pressing questions about the fate of looted art and their potential repatriation in our present moment of reckoning about the legacy of colonial extraction. Each looted object is thus a physical fragment from the larger Yuanming Yuan complex, as well as in themselves being subject to acts of translation and transformative reconstruction.

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[56] Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), xxiv.
[57] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 120.
[58] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 129.
[59] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 124.
[60] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 233–36, fig. 4.7.
[61] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 209.
[62] Louise Tythacott, "The Yuanmingyuan and Its Objects," in *Collecting and Displaying China's "Summer Palace" in the West: The Yuanming Yuan in Britain and France*, edited by Louise Tythacott, 3–24 (London: Routledge, 2018), 3.

In the immediate aftermath of the looting, General Sir James Hope Grant invoked British prize law and commanded his men to turn over the looted objects for auction. James Hevia has argued that the subsequent auction transformed the disorder of looting into the legal distribution of private property and instilled renewed discipline within the ranks.[63] As the looted porcelains, jades, bronzes, and objects of Qing imperial authority were displayed, sold, and collected, they accrued additional layers of signification: symbols of British military superiority, the humiliation of the Qing emperor, exotic curiosities "from the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China."[64] Greg Thomas has also traced the multiple acts of intercultural translation involved in the looting of the Yuanming Yuan and the reconfigured display of Qing imperial objects Europe, especially in Empress Eugenie's Musée chinois at Fontainebleau, which he characterizes as the "largest single fragment" of the Yuanming Yuan's material culture (fig. I.23).[65]

The looting of the Yuanming Yuan was the first of several waves of the removal of cultural heritage objects and artworks from China. Beijing was looted once more during the Boxer Rebellion of 1898–1900. In the early twentieth century, Paul Pelliot and Aurel Stein removed many of the manuscripts and scrolls from the Buddhist caves at Dunhuang; Langdon Warner would later remove painted frescoes from the cave walls in the name of preservation for academic study.[66] In some cases, like Dunhuang cave paintings, looted objects maintain a connection to the site of their exact removal. For portable artworks, however, the exact moment and site of their removal is often obfuscated by the looters themselves or lost over the course of changing hands on the art market. In twentieth-century Chinese history, the loss of Qing imperial treasures forms a key component of the "century of national humiliation" that stretches from the Opium Wars to the War Against Japanese Aggression. In popular histories, the distinct episodes of looting are collapsed back to the singular moment of the looting of the

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[63] James Hevia, "Looting Beijing: 1860, 1900," in *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, edited by Lydia Liu, 192–213 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 196; see also James Hevia, "Loot's Fate: The Economy of Plunder and the Moral Life of Objects 'From the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China,'" *History and Anthropology* 6, no. 4 (1994): 319–345.

[64] Hevia, "Looting Beijing," 198; Katrina Hill, "Collecting on Campaign: British Soldiers in China during the Opium Wars," *Journal of the History of Collections* 25, no. 2 (2013): 227–252; Louise Tythacott, "Trophies of War: Representing 'Summer Palace' Loot in Military Museums in the UK," *Museum & Society* 13, no. 4 (November 2015): 469–488.

[65] Greg M. Thomas, "The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2008): http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/autumn08/93-the-looting-of-yuanming-and-the-translation-of-chinese-art-in-europe; and his chapter "Yuanmingyuan on Display: Ornamental Aesthetics at the Musée Chinois," in *Collecting and Displaying China's "Summer Palace" in the West: The Yuanming Yuan in Britain and France*, edited by Louise Tythacott, 149–67 (London: Routledge, 2018), 149. See the other contributor essays in the edited volume for further examples of the ways in which the objects and images of the Yuanming Yuan collected, displayed, and impacted aesthetic designs and taxonomic schemes.

[66] Hevia, "Looting Beijing," 199–200; Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 94–95.

Yuanming Yuan, so that artworks that were *not* directly taken from the Yuanming Yuan in 1860 are mistakenly claimed to have been looted from there. The most prominent example is the handscroll *Admonitions of the Court Instructress*, attributed to the painter Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406), which was acquired by the British Museum in 1903 for £25 (fig. I.24). The museum subsequently held a major exhibition for it in 1910, heralded it as a masterpiece of Chinese brush painting, and commissioned replicas to be published for scholars and collectors.[67] In China, however, the *Admonitions* scroll became an example of a piece of priceless Chinese artistic heritage looted from the Yuanming Yuan.[68] Several histories of the Yuanming Yuan's rise and fall, both popular and scholarly, repeat a similar provenance.[69] The modern myth of the *Admonition* scroll's provenance persisted until Zhang Hongxing traced mentions of the scroll through the Qing imperial archives. Zhang concluded that the scroll was stored in the Forbidden City and that there is no record of its transfer to the Yuanming Yuan nor a record of being looted in 1860. Based on the records at the British Museum, the museum acquired the scroll from a Captain Clarence A. K. Johnson who was stationed in Beijing in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion.[70]

By following the "biography" or "social life" of specific looted objects, scholars have demonstrated how looted objects participate in the "activities of reconstruction" as outlined by Barkan above.[71] For example, Nick Pearce has traced the history of the so-called "Skull of Confucius" exhibited in London in the Great Exhibition of 1862, where it was labelled as having been "taken from the Summer Palace of the Emperor by one of Fane's cavalry." Pearce shows how a ritual *kapala* of Tibetan Buddhism was looted during the same China campaign of 1860, but probably taken from the neighboring site of the Heisi (Black Temple) Lama Temple rather than the Yuanming itself.[72] The

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[67] Shane McCausland, *First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting: The Admonitions Scroll* (New York: George Braziller, Publishers, 2003), 119.

[68] Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, "Wei da de yi shu chuan tong 伟大的艺术传统," in *Zheng Zhenduo mei shu wen ji* 郑振铎美术文集, edited by Zhang Qiang 张蔷, 81–87 (Beijing: Ren min mei shu chu ban she, 1951), 87.

[69] Yao Tongzhen 姚同珍, "Yuanming Yuan de hui mie ji qi xian zhuang 圆明园的毁灭及其现状," in *Yuanming Yuan de guo qu, xian zai he wei lai* 圆明园的过去、现在和未来, 11–15 (Beijing: Qing hua da xue jian zhu gong cheng xi, 1979), 13; Wong, *A Paradise Lost*, 159. The historical movie, *Huo shao Yuanming Yuan* 火烧圆明园 (1983, dir. Li Han-Hsiang), includes a scene of the British prize auction where the *Admonitions* scroll is sold for a pitiable sum of £1.

[70] Zhang Hongxing, "The Nineteenth-Century Provenance of the *Admonitions* Scroll: A Hypothesis," in: *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, edited by Shane McCausland, 277–287 (London: British Museum Press, 2003).

[71] Arjun Appardurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things*, edited by Arjun Appardurai, 3–63 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," 64–91, in the same volume.

[72] Nick Pearce, "From Relic to Relic: A Brief History of the Skull of Confucius," *Journal of the History of Collections* 26, no. 2 (2014): 215.

kapala—both a literal bodily fragment but also now a looted object fragmented from its ritual site and function—was then given a new celebrity identity as the skull of Confucius; by 1859, its ritual mountings had been removed and it was reinterpreted as an anonymous craniological specimen.[73]

While the "skull of Confucius" is now an anonymous ethnological specimen in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, the most prominent representatives of Yuanming Yuan loot at present are a set of sculptural heads that have decidedly retained their individual identities and their association with the looted garden-palace. The bronze zodiac animal heads from the clock fountain of the west side of the Haiyantang (Hall of Calm Seas) in the European Palaces began appearing at auction in the 1980s where they were viewed as imperial curiosities; by the 2000s, however, each subsequent auction appearance sparked renewed controversies over the fate of looted objects, repatriation, and their value as objects of Chinese—not Qing—cultural heritage.

In chapter three, "Traumatic Bodies: The Case of the Zodiac Heads, Their Contemporary "Translations," and the Contestations of Cultural Heritage," I argue that the potency of the Yuanming Yuan zodiac sculptures comes not only from their status as looted objects but arises from their material form as decapitated heads. As bodily fragments, the sculptures serve as metonymic substitutes for the history of violence against Chinese sovereignty, bodies, and heritage; the heads not only enfold the violence of the Opium Wars, but also embody later historical moments of trauma. I then address contemporary sculptural reinterpretations of the heads by artist-activist Ai Weiwei, molten-bronze artist Zhu Bingren 朱炳仁, and superstar Jackie Chan. Because these are not exact copies, I consider these acts of artistic reproduction as acts of translation. I argue that as "translations," the new heads never occupy neutral space, but occupy multivalent spatial arenas, so that site specificity modulates the message of their bodily forms. The new heads not only address the reproduction ("translation") of physical form, but more significantly, address the reproduction of—and challenges to—national identities, heritage practices, and global justice.

I conclude with "Digital Surface, Digital Fragment," which examines the project of the Tsinghua Heritage Institute for Digitization's project of reconstructing the entirety of the Yuanming Yuan in digital space. I consider how digital reconstruction sidesteps the thorny issue of physical on-site reconstruction and opens up the possibility capturing the Yuanming Yuan's physical changes over its two and a half centuries. I address the possibilities and limitations of an academic project to digitally rebuilt the Yuanming Yuan. I consider how archival records may document all the spaces in the imperial garden where Castiglione's paintings were installed, yet they cannot convey what those illusory spaces actually looked like; yet, Qing court practices of copying may have preserved the visage of Yuanming Yuan interiors in other imperial spaces, allowing their resurrection in the digital age. But ultimately, I meditate on the permanence of a virtual reconstruction that is always at risk of being lost through the ephemerality of shifting technological situations.

Finally, the tragic fire of Notre Dame de Paris in April 2019 offers an unexpected epilogue, "Fire at Notre Dame and the Long Shadow of the Yuanming Yuan." As Parisians watched firefighters battle the flames engulfing the cathedral roof and spire,

[73] Pearce, "From Relic to Relic," 218–19.

sympathies poured in from around the world. The Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park also issued a statement of support; at the same time, the statement drew a parallel between the Notre Dame conflagration and the burning of the Yuanming Yuan by the Anglo-French nearly one hundred and sixty years ago. Chinese netizens also expressed *schadenfreude* of a French monument in flames and reveled in a sense of ironic historical justice. This epilogue demonstrates the continued impact of the Yuanming Yuan's destruction on discussions of cultural heritage loss and preservation within the public sphere and shows how the tensions between preservation and restoration, national and global identities, and cultural heritage rights and human rights continue to be contested.

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We begin with a fire.

NEGOTIATING ARCHITECTURE:
EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI'S HALL OF CALM SEAS AND THE SPACE OF DIPLOMACY

"Up to that time all the buildings in the Palace Grounds were typically Chinese but this new Audience Hall was to be more or less on the foreign plan and up to date in every respect…. [I]t was decided to name it Hai Yen Tang."

– Princess Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City* (1911)[1]

"Why should such an architectural monstrosity be allowed in the midst of the exquisite Chinese buildings? The answer is 'A woman's whim,' and the woman again is no other than Tzu Hsi."

– Juliet Bredon, *Peking* (1920)[2]

Introduction: A Fire in the Winter Palace

On 20 April 1901, Count von Waldersee (1832–1904), Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in China, sent a dispatch to the Kaiser "in regard to the fire that took place in the Winter Palace in the night of April 17."[3] As head of the Allied Forces, also known as the Eight Powers Expeditionary Force (Ch. *ba guo lian jun* 八国联军)—composed of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, the United States, and Japan—Waldersee was tasked with suppressing the anti-foreign Boxer Rebellion and breaking the siege on the foreign legations in Beijing. The allied troops had successfully marched into Beijing in August 1900 and penetrated into the heart of the Forbidden City. Waldersee set up his general headquarters in the so-called "Winter Palace" or "Sea Palaces," that is, the area of three interconnected lakes just to the west of the Forbidden City, known as Beihai 北海 ("North Lake") and Zhonghai 中南海 ("Central-South Lakes").

As James Hevia has documented, the Allied occupation of Beijing was marked by the symbolic violence of penetration into the imperial capital, as well as the literal violence of looting and public displays of capital punishment.[4] Within the narrative of China's "century of national humiliation," the suppression of the Boxers and subsequent looting of Qing imperial treasures places the Allied occupation of 1900–1901 as a sequel to the looting and burning of the Yuanming Yuan by the Anglo-French in 1860. And once again, a building is on fire.

In the evening of 17 April 1901, Waldersee was jolted out of bed by the clamor of the fire alarm. As he wrote in his dispatch, the alarm was sounded when one of his men "noticed high flames bursting forth from the two windows of the pantry adjoining my dining-room and being blown into the direction of the main building."[5] The fire swept

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[1] Princess Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1911), 371, 372.
[2] Juliet Bredon, *Peking: A Historical and Intimate Description of Its Chief Places of Interest, with Maps, Plans, and Illustrations* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1920), 88.
[3] Alfred von Waldersee, *A Field-Marshal's Memoirs: From the Diary, Correspondence, and Reminiscences of Alfred, Count von Waldersee*, ed. and trans. Frederic Whyte (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978 [1924]), 263.
[4] James L. Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 195–240.
[5] Waldersee, *A Field-Marshal's Memoirs*, 263.

through the highly flammable old buildings so that "within a few minutes it had attacked the entire system of straw-matting and woodwork of the sun-blinds. In a few minutes more all the six principal houses and my own dwelling were in flames…. From the very start it had been out of the question to save the building or even to rescue the things in it."[6] Waldersee did manage to rescue his clothes and underwear, and he escaped the burning building by jumping out a window.

An investigation afterwards quickly determined that this was no dramatic act of arson, but simply a kitchen accident: "I instituted a thorough-going enquiry at once into the cause of the fire and have satisfied myself that there was no question of incendiarism on the part of the Chinese. All the evidence seems to show that it originated with the iron stove in the pantry."[7]

On its face, this minor conflagration is a dramatic anecdote from the history of the Allied occupation of Beijing, but ultimately of little seeming importance. But atop the ashes and ruins of this fire, the Empress Dowager Cixi would construct the first copy of a Yuanming Yuan building, the Haiyantang, or Hall of Calm Seas from the European Palaces. This chapter uses photographs and archival records to argue that the new Haiyantang built in Zhonghai in 1904 purposefully resurrects Yuanming Yuan's "European Palace-style"—that is, the cross-cultural style of the Sino-Baroque European Palaces—to create a cross-cultural space that simultaneously sought to recover (reproduce?) Qing political power of the past, as well as project a space for present and future engagements with the rest of the international community. I will first examine the architectural structure and style of the Zhonghai Haiyantang and argue that it presented a mediated space between East and West. I will then trace the usage of the site as a space of gendered diplomacy where Cixi held audiences with the women of the diplomatic corps and situate Cixi's architectural project within her larger project of disseminating and controlling her image.

The New Haiyantang in Zhonghai 中南海海晏堂

What did Cixi construct to replace the burned down structures after she returned to Beijing in the aftermath of the Boxer troubles? Some of her female companions commented upon the new construction, in particular, remarking upon its stylistic departure from the Chinese-style constructions of the Forbidden City. In her published memoir, Princess Der Ling recounts visiting the burned site with Cixi and hearing the empress dowager's plan to:

> build another Audience Hall on the same site, as the present Audience Hall was too small to accommodate the foreign guests when they paid their respects at New Year…. Up to that time all the buildings in the Palace Grounds were typically Chinese but this new Audience Hall was to be more or less on the foreign plan and up to date in every respect…. The next thing was to find a name for the new building and after serious and mature consideration it was decided to name it Hai Yen Tang (Sea Coast Audience Hall) [Der Ling's translation] …. It had already been decided that this Audience Hall was to be furnished throughout in

[6] Ibid., 264.
[7] Ibid.

> foreign style, with the exception of the throne, which, of course, retained its Manchu appearance.[8]

American painter Katherine Carl, who had been summoned to court to paint Cixi's portrait for the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, expressed her private reservations about the chosen style of the project. She recalls visiting the site with the imperial retinue:

> Another day, she [Cixi] and the Emperor were inspecting the new buildings which were being erected to replace those burned during the occupation of Peking by the Allies, when Count von Waldersee had his headquarters in the Sea Palace. Splendid buildings were being erected on the site of those burned….. One of these new halls was to be used for the entertainment of foreigners, when they are invited to the Palace, and many concessions had been made to foreign ideas in its construction. Let us hope it may not lose its Chinese character! I am sure the foreigners will regret this innovation and would prefer the typical Chinese interior, even though it be less suited to the exigencies of a modern reception.[9]

What does a "foreign" style mean in this context? Der Ling's account gives us the name for this structure that replaced the one that burned: "Hai Yen Tang," or in today's pinyin, Haiyantang 海晏堂, a resurrection of the original Haiyantang (Hall of Calm Seas) in the Yuanming Yuan. Although recent architectural histories of China have begun to address the cross-cultural results of Sino-Western architecture in the early twentieth century, the Zhonghai Haiyantang is largely glossed over; furthermore, it is rarely, if ever, mentioned in histories of the Yuanming Yuan. In his history of Sino-Western architecture in modern China, Yang Bingde primarily addresses the architecture in treaty ports and foreign concession zones, such as Shanghai and Tianjin; even in discussions of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan and the use of neoclassic elements in official buildings of the late Qing, the Zhonghai Haiyantang is not addressed.[10]

The Zhonghai Haiyantang's scarcity in the academic literature is likely due to its physical absence—it was dismantled in 1964. Even before then, its location in the Central-South Lakes sector of Beijing meant that it was nearly always a site of restricted access, whether during the Qing, Republic, or PRC regimes. Fortunately, photographs of the building façade survive, as well as floorplan and elevation drawings in the Lei family archives held in the National Library. Qing archival documents in the First Historical Archives also provide textual documentation for the building's construction and function.[11]

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[8] Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, 370–71.

[9] Katherine A. Carl, *With the Empress Dowager of China* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906), 289.

[10] Yang Bingde 杨秉德. 中国近代中西建筑文化交融史 Zhongguo jin dai Zhong xi jian zhu wen hua jiao rong shi = The combination history of Sino-West architectural culture in modern times of China (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 2002).

[11] At the time of this dissertation's field research, the National Library in Beijing was in the process of digitizing the relevant plans and drawings and therefore not allowing

A black and white photograph dating to the early twentieth century in the collection of the Palace Museum shows the walled gate into the Zhonghai Haiyantang (Fig. 1.1).[12] Rockeries line both sides of the path that leads through the gate. The arched gateway is flanked by columns and above it rises a highly ornamented pediment carved with scrolling foliage, sweeping garlands, and decorative urns set at the corners. Beyond the top of the walled gate, the tops of the hipped and tiled roofs of the Zhonghai Haiyantang reveal themselves. The columned and arched form of the Zhonghai Haiyangtang gate, as well as its pattern of carved foliage greatly resembles, although is not an exact copy, of the gate to the Flower Maze in the Yuanming Yuan, as depicted in the copperplate prints (Fig. 1.2).

Past the walled gate, the Zhonghai Haiyantang rises as a two-story building of white stone and marble constructed in imitation of the Haiyantang in the Yuanming Yuan (Figs 1.3 and 1.4). The clearest surviving photograph of the exterior façade of the Zhonghai Haiyantang is a 1912 autochrome taken by Stéphane Passet in the collection of the Musée Albert Kahn.[13] The three-bay central block of the building fills the photograph's frame; the two adjoining side halls are outside the frame. A wooden plank bridge crosses over a fountain and leads directly into the first-floor entrance and audience hall. The placard above the doorway gives the name of the building: Haiyantang 海晏堂. Paired couplets frame either side of the first-floor entry and the casement window directly above it but are not clear enough to read. Columns stand on either side of the entryway and are repeated on the second story. The florid crabapple motif draws the eye to the ornamented pediments; decorative urns add rhythmic punctuations to the roofline. Large windows fill nearly all the wall space between the columns of the entryway and the quoined corners of the building.

The Zhonghai Haiyantang also features sculptures of zodiac figures arrayed in two rows along the front pool. Made of cast bronze, the sculptures have animal heads atop robed human bodies, similar to their counterparts in the Yuanming Yuan. These figures, however, are not, strictly speaking, fountain heads—they do not spout water from their mouths. Instead, their hands held up electric lamps that lit up in accordance to the hours of the day. So although the new fountain was no longer built as a water clock, it continued to follow its predecessor as a daily timekeeping device, but updated with the electric technologies of the twentieth century.[14]

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access by foreign scholars. This chapter has, therefore, relied upon the available plans and drawings already published in earlier scholarship.

[12] Reproduced in Dan Jixiang 单霁翔, ed., *Gu gong cang ying: Xi yang jing li de huang jia jian zhu= The Photographic Collection of the Palace Museum: Imperial Buildings Through Western Camera* (Beijing: Gu gong chu ban she, 2014), 252–53.

[13] For the history and catalog of the Musée Albert Khan's collection of photographs of China, see Musée Albert Kahn, *Chine, 1909–1934: Catalogue des photographies et des sequences filmées du musée Albert-Khan*, 2 vols. (Boulogne-Billancourt: Le Musée, 2001). Passet's autochromes of the Zhonghai Haiyantang are inventory numbers A584, A588, A589.

[14] Dan Jixiang 单霁翔, ed., *Gu gong cang ying: Xi yang jing li de huang jia jian zhu= The Photographic Collection of the Palace Museum: Imperial Buildings Through Western Camera* (Beijing: Gu gong chu ban she, 2014), 254.

When the Yuanming Yuan was looted and burned in 1860, Cixi was an imperial consort to the Xianfeng emperor, and she fled with him to Chengde during that moment of crisis. Recovering the Yuanming Yuan would be a goal for Cixi for the rest of her life. As Ying-cheng Peng has argued, Cixi used projects of architectural restoration as exercises of political power and assertions of her identity. In her case study of Cixi's 1873–74 reconstruction of the Tiandi yijia chun ("Spring Palace" 天地一家春) complex within the former Qichun Yuan section of the larger Yuanming Yuan, Peng argues that Cixi's "creation and decoration of space can be read as a self-portrait," one in which she not only asserted her superior position over her counterpart, dowager empress Ci'an, but also asserted her Buddhist religious identity *and* her feminine identity.[15]

In their study of the structure of the Zhonghai Haiyantang, Zuo Tu and Wang Wei uncovered earlier, unrealized plans for a Haiyantang building that was initially intended to be built in the Jilingyou (集灵囿) garden to the northwest of Zhongnan hai. They date the plans, which are held in the National Library, to around 1887–1900. The authors hypothesize, therefore, that in the aftermath of the incomplete restoration of the Yuanming Yuan in 1873–74, Cixi continued to harbor wishes for replicating aspects of the Yuanming Yuan in the Zhongnan hai area.[16]

The extant plan[17] of the Jilingyou-version of the Haiyantang reveals the ways in which the new design departed from the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang, while also replicating enough formal elements to make the relationship between copy and original legible, without being an exact replication (Fig. 1.5). The design note appended to the plan indicated that the building's central block should "imitate the style of the façade of the Haiyantang" (*jin ni fang zhao Haiyantang zheng mian shi yang* 謹擬仿照海晏堂正面式樣); an elevation drawing[18] of the unrealized Jilingyou Haiyantang bears close similarity to the western façade of the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang as depicted in the copperplate print by Yi Lantai (Fig. 1.6). Zuo Tu and Wang Wei thus suggest that the design for the Jilingyou Haiyantang was made after the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang was already in ruins, and therefore, the print was used as reference and not the original structure itself.[19] The Jilingyou plan and elevation drawing also show that the proposed reconstruction also include a zodiac fountain (Ch. *shi er shu xiang shui fa chi* 十二屬相水法池) flanked by curving staircases that lead into the elevated first story; in comparison the stairways on the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang led directly to a second-story entrance. The elongated central section of the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang was a large

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[15] Ying-chen Peng, "A Palace of Her Own: Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) and the Reconstruction of the Wanchun Yuan," *Nan Nü* 14 (2012): 47. For more on the short-lived restoration of the Yuanming Yuan in 1873–74, see Emily Mokros, "Reconstructing the Imperial Retreat: Politics, Communications, and the Yuanming Yuan under the Tongzhi Emperor, 1873–4," *Late Imperial China* 33, no. 2 (December 2012): 76–111.

[16] Zuo Tu and Wang Wei, "Hai yang tang si ti 海晏堂四题," in *Zhong guo jin dai jian zhu yan jiu yu bao hu (san): 2002 nian Zhong guo jian zhu shi guo ji yan tao hui lun wen ji= Anthology of 2002 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture*, ed. Zhang Fuhe, 307–320 (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2003), 309–10.

[17] Ibid., 308, fig. 1.

[18] Ibid., 312, fig. 4.

[19] Ibid., 311–312.

water storage tank named the "Tin Sea" (Ch. *Xi hai* 錫海); in the Jilingyou version, that entire central section is excised and replaced by a horizontal rectangular pool (Ch. *shui chi* 水池) towards the back of the building, where there is another set of steps (Ch. *ta duo* 踏跺). Two small, octagonal fountains (Ch. *shui fa chi* 水法池) flank the central block; in the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang, two octagonal fountains stand on either side of the central Tin Sea section of the building, for a total of four octagonal fountains. The Jilingyou Haiyantang was thus planned as an abbreviated quotation of its Yuanming Yuan predecessor; conceptually, the original Haiyantang was disassembled into recognizable modular parts that could be rearranged in a new architectural translation and still maintain legibility: curving front staircase, zodiac fountain, central architectural block in a Sino-Baroque style, rectangular water storage, back staircase, and smaller octagonal fountains to the side.

The Jilingyou Haiyantang was never constructed. But the accidental fire that burned through the Yiluandian 儀鑾殿 (Hall of Imperial Pomp), which served as Count Waldersee's headquarters during the Boxer campaign, provided another opportunity to rebuild a piece of the Yuanming Yuan. Located on the western shore of the Central Lake in the West Garden area (*Xi yuan* 西苑), the Yiluandian complex had been restored in 1888 to serve as Cixi's residence in the city, especially during the winter season (earning the Lakes region of Beijing the designation of "Winter Palace" in Western accounts of the time).[20] Oriented along a traditional north-south axis, the Yiluandian complex was centered on the five-bay Yiluandian, which was accompanied by four side halls, each also of five-bays. A nineteen-bay-long rear hall sat at the back of the complex.[21] After the Yiluandian complex burned down, the new Haiyantang was built on top of its general floorplan.[22] It is possible that Cixi recognized the historic repetition between the foreign occupation and deliberate burning of the Yuanming Yuan and the foreign occupation and burning of the Yiluandian, however accidental that later fire was, and chose her new design accordingly.

On the 13th day of the 9th month of the 28th year of Guangxu (14 October 1902), the empress dowager Cixi issued the order for the construction of the new "Western-style" (*yang shi* 洋式) complex in the Central Lake:

> 懿旨海內新建田字洋樓一座，今移在北邊改建大洋樓一座…院內四角添蓋值房四座，每座三間，隨洋式點墜….海宴堂移在南邊建蓋三層，頭層高臺點墜山石，高臺上面建蓋洋樓二層。[23]
>
> By the empress's decree, there is to be built a new 田-shaped Western-style building in the Central Lake; now shift construction of the Western-style building to the north side…In the four corners of the courtyard, add

[20] Lin Keguang, "Cong Yilluandian dao Jurentang," in *Jing hua shi ji lan sheng* 京華史記攬勝, ed. Wang Daocheng, Lin Keguang, Tong Xun, 68–79 (Anhui: Huang shan chu ban she, 2008), 72.
[21] Lin, "Cong Yiluandian dao Jurentang," 70.
[22] Ibid., 76.
[23] First Historical Archives, *Qing dai Zhong nan hai dang an*, vol. 29 (Beijing: Xiyuan chu ban she, 2004), 12. Henceforth referred to as ZNHA.

four side halls, each three bays, and ornament in the Western style…Shift construction of the Haiyantang to the south side and built it in three stories, with rockeries set on the platform of the first story and construct two more stories upon it.

The Zhonghai Haiyantang, built over the former Yiluandian, was an even more abbreviated quotation than the unrealized Jilingyou version. The name, façade, and zodiac fountain are sufficient to create the linkage to the Yuanming Yuan's Haiyantang. The already abbreviated rectangular pool and octagonal fountains in the Jilingyou plans are now completely excised. The new Haiyantang was built over the former Yiluandian, with accompanying side halls that replaced the Yiluandian's side halls; the former nineteen-bay rear hall was replaced by a thirteen-bay rear hall named the Fang'eguan 仿俄館 (Fig. 1.7).

The basic specifications for the Zhonghai Haiyantang complex were as follows:

海宴堂洋式樓一座，三間。 各面闊一丈八尺，中進深三丈六尺….兩山拐角洋式樓二座，每座四間…. 仿俄館洋式樓一座，十三間。內中十一間各面闊一丈。[24]

Western-style Haiyantang building, three bays. Each with a width of one *zhang* and eight *chi*, and a depth of three *zhang* and six *chi*…. Two side wings in Western-style, each four bays…. Western-style Fang'eguan building, thirteen bays. The eleven inner bays each with a width of one *zhang*.[25]

In her study of Qing architectural copies at Chengde, Anne Chayet has shown that such architectural "replicas" were far from exact copies. Rather, they reference enough distinctive elements of the originals' facades to forge the connection between original and copy, but at a fundamental structural level, they largely follow the conventions of Chinese architecture.[26] Although the exterior surface façade of the Haiyantang appears to have load-bearing stone walls, the floorplans and the archival specifications indicate that the interior structure of the building follow the conventions of the Chinese post-and-beam architecture, where the columns support the weight of the building (Fig. 1.8).[27] The specifications in the archival records also dictate the use of pine wood for the primary wooden framework of the columns and beams and they specify the use of "fir wood for the rafters and roofing panels" (大木俱用松木，椽子望板用杉木).[28] The wooden framework was then concealed within a "skin" of brick and

[24] ZNHA, vol. 29, 134, 142, 165.
[25] One *zhang* is the equivalent of 3.33 meters; ten *chi* make up one *zhang*.
[26] Anne Chayet, "Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions," in New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde, ed. James A. Millward, et al. (London: Routledge, 2004), 34–52; Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 19, 182–183.
[27] Zuo and Wang, "Haiyantang si ti," 315.
[28] ZNHA, vol. 29, 136.

marble.[29] The architecture itself thus mediated between an interior structural body of Chinese form and an exterior façade that presented a Westernized "face."

The material manifestation of "Western-style" / *yang shi* (洋式) largely occurred at the level of surface materiality. In particular, the Zhonghai Haiyantang complex was replete with doors and windows of glass: glass doors (洋式玻璃門), glass arched windows (洋式玻璃券窗), glass windows (洋式玻璃窗), louvered windows (洋式風窗).[30] Stéphane Passet's photograph of 1912 shows the interior of the audience hall and it reveals that the furnishing and arrangement was in conformity with other Qing imperial spaces (Fig. 1.9): The throne is set on a raised central platform that is reached from three sets of short steps; the throne is flanked by peacock feather fans and framed by a five-panel screen behind. The panels of the screen appear to be mirrored plate glass. Crystal chandeliers hang from the ceiling and clocks are displayed in glass cases on hardwood stands.[31]

In his study of the modern architectural history of Beijing from the late Qing to the Republican era, Zhang Fuhe identifies a late Qing style that he calls, "European Palace-style" (Ch. *xi yang lou shi* 西洋樓式), that is, the particular style of the Yuanming Yuan's European Palaces (*Xi yang lou*) as applied in the late Qing. In this "European Palace style," native craftspeople continued to build using traditional structures and techniques but adopted Western architectural forms like arched doorways and windows, classical columns, molding, and surface ornament. Zhang explicitly rejects the earlier usage of "Yuanming Yuan-style" (圓明園式) in reference to this architectural eclecticism, because "Yuanming Yuan style" incorrectly suggests that the entire Yuanming Yuan was like the European Palaces.[32] Within this "European Palace style," he identifies Cixi's marble boat in the Yiheyuan as the first manifestation of "European Palace style" as well as the Zhonghai Haiyantang.[33]

Most studies of foreign influence on modern Chinese architecture begin by addressing the architecture of the treaty ports, legation buildings, and missionary churches, and then address the contributions of the first generation of Chinese architecture students who received training abroad and returned to China in the 1920s to incorporate international Beaux Arts into the grammar of Chinese architecture.[34] The

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[29] Zuo and Wang, "Haiyantang si ti," 317; Zhang Fuhe, *Beijing jin dai jian zhu shi=The Modern Architectural History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s* (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 21.

[30] ZNHA, vol. 29, 137.

[31] Princess Der Ling claimed that her mother ordered the furnishings from a Paris firm as a gift to Cixi; Zuo Tu and Wang Wei have dismissed Der Ling's claim as highly improbable and argue that craftsmen in the late Qing would have been perfectly able to handle *yangshi* ornamental surface carving. Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, 372–73; Zuo and Wang, "Haiyangtang si ti," 318–19.

[32] Zhang, *Beijing jin dai jian zhu shi*, 15.

[33] Zhang also includes the Wagon Lits Hotel, which was designed by the English firm Davies & Thomas, the front gate of the 農事試驗場 Experimental Farm (1906), and the facades of Beijing commercial buildings in the early twentieth century; ibid., 16–34.

[34] Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002; Jeffrey W. Cody et al., *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

Zhonghai Haiyantang largely falls through the cracks in these analyses of architectural translation. The First Generation architects, particularly Liang Sicheng, had recognized the translatability between Beaux Arts principles and the palace architecture of the Forbidden City. Both architectural "vocabularies" relied on "grand symmetry, bold and often intricate exterior design details, emphasis on a frontal presence that could include the use of the dramatic roof and side towers, centrality of the most important space, and frequency of interior domes."[35] Delin Lai has also demonstrated that architectural translations were already in practice before being articulated by the First Generation. In his study of earlier architectural translations, he pointed to examples of marble balusters becoming marble sumeru platforms, colonnades become corridors, triumphal arches become pailou gates, and bell towers become pagodas.[36] Xiaoqian Wang has also argued for the translatability of Baroque ornamentation onto Chinese architecture: "there is some commonness between traditional Chinese architecture and the Baroque. The former is good at making upward curving eaves and corners to show moving trends similar to the baroque's dynamics. The former's rich and diversified details and the latter's rhetorical carvings share a similarity, which can make them form a natural combination. Local patterns such as tablets, *queti*, balusters, festoons, hanging lotus, clouds, etc. are incorporated easily in Baroque's architectural modeling."[37]

I would like to suggest that in the last years of the Qing, the Yuanming Yuan "European Palace style" was adopted by Cixi for the Zhonghai Haiyantang because it enacted multiple series of architectural translations and mediations. The Haiyantang in the Yuanming was already a translation of Baroque and Rococo forms into a Qing imperial garden-palace. The revival of Yuanming Yuan "European Palace style" in the imperial spaces of late Qing Beijing was likely a response to the increased visual presence of Western architecture in the foreign legation quarters that were being rebuilt after the Boxer siege. Furthermore, at the same time, civic buildings around the world were adopting the architectural vocabulary of international Beaux Arts, an eclectic style that itself amalgamated the forms from Rome and Greece through the Baroque and Neoclassical. The Yuanming Yuan's Sino-Baroque "European Palace style" may have been the late Qing's attempt to engage with the eclecticism of international Beaux Arts, while maintaining a strong connection to their own imperial past.

Audience Hall for Receiving the Women of the Diplomatic Corps

What's in a name? The original Haiyantang / Hall of Calm Seas 海晏堂 in the Yuanming Yuan derived its name from the phrase "The seas are calm and the river is clear" (*hai yan he qing* 海晏河清), meaning that the world is at peace. Architectural

[35] Nancy Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 324.
[36] Delin Lai, "Translated Architecture and the Notion of Architectural Translatability in Modern China/L'Architettura tradotta e la nozione di traducibilità architettonica nella Cina moderna," in *The Influence of Western Architecture in China*, 30–37, ed. Nilda Valentin (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2017), 30.
[37] Xiaoqian Wang, "Folk Wisdom in the Integration of Chinese and Western Architecture in Early Modern China/Saggezza popolare nell'integrazione della architettura cinese e occidentale nella prima China moderna," in *The Influence of Western Architecture in China*, 46–53, ed. Nilda Valentin (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2017), 51–52.

historians Zuo Tu and Wang Wei hypothesized that empress dowager Cixi chose the Yuanming Yuan's Haiyantang as the focus of architectural reproduction because of a fixation on the idea of world peace.[38] In the aftermath of two opium wars, the first Sino-Japanese War, and the Boxer Rebellion, it makes sense that Cixi would choose the Haiyantang instead of the other buildings of the European Palaces.

It should be noted, however, that there is inconsistency in the writing of the middle character for the new Haiyantang constructed in Zhonghai. The signboard over the building, as documented in Passet's photograph of 1912, clearly writes the name of the building as "海晏堂," where the "*yan*" character is the same one as used at Yuanming Yuan, meaning "calm" or "peace." In Chinese-language scholarship, authors have persisted in referring to the Yuanming Yuan Haiyantang and the Zhonghai Haiyantang with that same character. However, in the Qing imperial archives relating to Zhonghai, the middle character is recorded as "宴" also pronounced "*yan,*" but carrying the meaning of "banquet" or "feast." Perhaps this is a simple orthographic error or perhaps the characters were treated interchangeably, but given the penchant in Qing court art for rebuses and wordplay, I would like to suggest that the slippage is intentional and directed towards the function of the new Haiyantang. As a space intended for the reception of members of the foreign diplomatic corps, it would appear auspiciously appropriate that the name of the new hall simultaneously evoked its predecessor's wishes of world peace and professed its current function as a hall for hosting diplomats who have come from over the seas.

The Qing imperial archives record the following audiences held at the Zhonghai Haiyantang. All the audiences were relatively short affairs where Cixi met with the wives of the foreign ministers, as well as the other women of the diplomatic corps.

(1) On Monday, 13 March 1905, at the Haiyantang, German minister Alfons von Mumm (1859–1924) leads the wives of the foreign diplomats in an audience with the empress dowager and the emperor. The attendance list recorded the participants in the following order: wife of Carlo Baroli, the Italian minister (served 1904–07); wife of Don Manuel de Carcer y Salamanca, Spanish minister; wife of Gabriel D'Almeida Sanctos, Portuguese minister; wife of Arthur von Rosthorn, Austrian minister; as well as the wives of various attachés, secretaries, translators and medical officers from the legations of the Americans, Germans, British, Russians, Japanese, French, Mexicans, Italians, and Austrians.[39]

(2) On the morning of 1 April 1905, American minister Edwin Conger (1843–1907) and his wife Sarah Pike Conger (1843–1932) have a final audience with Cixi and the Guangxu emperor in the Haiyantang before the Congers depart Beijing to take up Edwin's new posting in Mexico. At the meeting, Cixi gifts Sarah Conger a portrait photograph of herself, a medal of the Order of the Double Dragon, four rolls of satin, and various boxes of foodstuffs.[40]

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[38] Zuo and Wang, "Haiyantang si ti," 313.

[39] First Historical Archives, *Qing dai Zhong nan hai dang an*, vol. 21 (Beijing: Xiyuan chu ban she, 2004), 240–47. Henceforth referred to as ZNHA.

[40] ZNHA, vol. 21, 248–257. Sarah Conger cultivated a friendship with Cixi and championed the dowager empress in the face of opprobrium after the Qing court's failed handling of the Boxer situation. See Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China: With Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1909), 352.

(3) On Wednesday, 28 March 1906, at the Haiyantang, the Empress Dowager and the emperor received an audience of the wives of foreign diplomats who are led by German minister Mumm. The attendance list recorded the following participants, in order: Wife of Japanese minister Uchida Kōsai (1865–1936), wife of Italian minister Baroli, wife of Spanish minister de Carcer [with the appended note, "未到," not in attendance], wife of American minister Rockhill, wife of Russian minister Dmitry Pokotilov, wife of Portuguese minister d'Almeida, wife of Austrian minister Rosthorn, wife of Belgian minister Edmund de Prelle de la Nieppe, along with their translators, various attachés, and their wives.[41]
(4) On Thursday, 29 March 1906, at the Haiyantang, the Empress Dowager and the emperor received the wife and daughter of Robert Hart (1875–1911) of the Customs Office.[42]
(5) On Friday, 26 April 1907, at the Haiyantang, the Empress Dowager and the emperor received an audience of the wives of the foreign diplomats, who were led by the Netherlands Minister in Peking Jonkheer Adolph Jacobus van Citters. In attendance was the wife of American minister Rockhill, wife of Russian minister Pokotilov, wife of British minister John Newell Jordan, wife of Italian deputy minister Don Livio Borghese, wife of First Secretary of the Japanese Legation Abe Moritarō, along with their attachés, attachés' wives, translators, translators' wives.[43]

Cixi passed away in 1908, but her successor to the title of dowager empress, Longyu, would use the Haiyantang as a site of diplomatic audience at least once more: On Tuesday, 18 April 1911, at the Haiyantang, the Empress Dowager [Longyu] received an audience of the wives of the foreign diplomats led by [Lady Annie] Jordon, the wife of the British Minister [John Newall] Jordon. In attendance was the wife of the Russian minister [I. J.] Korostovetz, the wife of the Japanese minister Ijuin Hikakichi [未到 not in attendance], the wife of the Netherlands minister Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blokland, the wife of American minister William J. Calhoun, the wife of Mexican deputy minister Pablo Herrera de Huerta, the wife of Austrian deputy minister Wilhelm Ritter von Storck, the younger sister of Italian deputy minister Giuseppe Brambilla, the wife of Danish chargé d'affaires Comte P. Ahlefedt-Lauvring, wife of French chargé d'affaires Francois Georges Picot, the younger sister of Belgian chargé d'affaires Prelle, and the wife of German second attaché.[44] This was probably that last Qing event held in the Zhonghai Haiyantang; not long after, an explosion in Hankou on 9 October 1911 triggered the beginning of the 1911 Xinhai Revolution and on 12 February 1912, the empress dowager Longyu abdicated on behalf of child-emperor Puyi.

By receiving the women of the diplomatic corps in the Zhonghai Haiyantang, Cixi followed the practice of her Qing imperial predecessors of hosting allied emissaries in spatial surroundings that corresponded to their home environs. When the Qianlong emperor received his Mongol allies, he did so on the plains of the Wanshuyuan (Garden of Ten Thousand Trees) in the imperial retreat at Chengde, where he pitched yurt tents.

[41] ZNHA, vol. 21, 282–291.
[42] ZNHA, vol. 21, 292.
[43] ZNHA, vol. 21, 364–370.
[44] ZNHA, vol. 21, 410–416.

In 1771, when Qianlong welcomed the return of the Torghut Mongols, he feted them at the Putuozhongchengmiao, a temple constructed as a replica of the Dalai Lama's Potala Palace. In preparing to receive the Panchen Lama, Qianlong ordered the construction of the Xumifushou temple, which was modeled on the Panchen Lama's home monastery of Tashilunpo.[45] Although the main audience hall of the Yuanming Yuan was used by Qianlong to stage diplomatic encounters with European embassies, the European Palaces never had that particular function. Cixi, however, co-opted the form of the Yuanming Yuan's European Palaces to set the scene for renewed relations between the Qing imperium and the representatives of Europe and America; by doing so, she continued the practices of the High Qing period, and perhaps she also hoped that she could reproduce its successes.

Photograph of the Zhonghai Haiyantang as Gift to Sarah Conger

Cixi held an audience for the women of the diplomatic corps for the first time on 13 December 1898.[46] Sarah Pike Conger, wife to the American minister, Edwin Conger, was in attendance, and she left with a favorable impression of the much-maligned Cixi: "[The empress dowager] was bright and happy and her face glowed with good will. There was no trace of cruelty to be seen. In simple expressions she welcomed us, and her actions were full of freedom and warmth."[47] During her time in China, Conger remained a staunch defender of Cixi and the two developed a personal and diplomatic friendship. Conger's date book, now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, records the many gifts that Cixi bestowed upon the Conger household during their diplomatic tenure.[48] Although Cixi met with the women of the foreign legations many times, she only took a group photograph with the women of the American legation. In this photograph, Sarah Conger has the unique honor of not only standing directly next to Cixi but also holding her left hand in her own (fig. 1.10).[49]

The Congers retired to the sunny climes of Pasadena, California, where Sarah continued her correspondence with her friends and acquaintances in China. On 20 March 1906, she wrote to the Princess Shun to express her thanks for a package that came all the way from Beijing: "May I, through you, extend my most cordial greetings, and loving gratitude to Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager of China, for so kindly remembering me in sending across the seas these beautiful palace pictures…. These precious gifts add still more value to the already long list which I highly prize."[50]

What are these "beautiful palace pictures"? The Qing imperial archives tersely record:

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[45] Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 14–15, 180–81.
[46] Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China: With Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1909), 39–40.
[47] Conger, *Letters from China*, 41–42.
[48] The datebook (MFA Boston, acc. no. 1991.219) covers the period 31 August 1902 to 30 June 1904.
[49] The National Museum of Asian Art (formerly the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery) of the Smithsonian Institute holds about seventy glass plate negatives of the photographs taken of Cixi in 1903–1904. See David Hogge, "The Empress Dowager and the Camera: Photographing Cixi, 1903–1904," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/empress_dowager/index.html.
[50] Conger, *Letters from China*, 366.

> 光緒三十一年十一月十三日，皇太后賞美國使臣康格之妻，海宴堂像片一件，仿俄館像片一件.
>
> On 9 December 1905, the empress dowager bestows upon Mrs. Conger, the wife of the American minister: One photograph of the Haiyantang and one photograph of the Fang'e'guan.[51]

Unfortunately, these two photographs do not appear to be extant; they are not included in the Conger collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which otherwise holds the paintings, portrait photographs, and medals gifted by Cixi to the Congers during their last audience. Nonetheless, the archival record and Sarah Conger's letter attest to, first of all, the existence of the photographs. Second, they document at least one instance, if not the first instance, where Cixi has made a gift of photographs of imperial architecture. Third, these are specifically images of new imperial architecture constructed under Cixi's supervision and specifically the architectural space within which she received Sarah Conger and the other women of the diplomatic corps in her effort to repair relations after the Boxer Rebellion. And finally, the record attests that Cixi expended the effort to have the photographs mailed across the Pacific to the Congers' residence in Pasadena, where perhaps it was hoped that the presence of the Zhonghai Haiyantang's image would be sufficient to mediate across a vast geographic distance and reaffirm the close ties between Cixi and the Congers, and thus between the Qing and the United States.

Cixi's international image badly needed rehabilitation in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion. The cover of *Le Rire* from 14 July 1900, offers one example of the intensely negative and lurid image of Cixi in the Euro-American imagination during the height of the Boxer Rebellion (fig. 1.11). The cover illustration invokes the visual tropes of Oriental despotism: Cixi is depicted as a haggard old woman, whose face droops down in a deep frown that reveals beast-like fangs. An opulently colored robe drapes over her, but its patterns roil in nauseated confusion, while tattered feathers protrude from her court hat. She holds a folding fan in one claw-like hand, while the other hand tightly grips a bloody dagger. Behind her, the naked bodies of men and women are trussed up and impaled like an obscene skewer. Her eyes are closed, and her small spectacles have slipped down her nose—she shown as blind to the world but wrapped in dissolute decadence and perpetrator of torture and cruelty.

Recent scholarship has closely examined Cixi's use of portrait painting and portrait photography as a means to reassert control over her image and disseminate the rehabilitated image of herself along diplomatic channels.[52] Cheng-hua Wang has traced the visibility of Cixi's image through the portraits that circulated in public space, including her oil portrait of 1904 by the American painter Katherine Carl, which was exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair.[53] Ying-chen Peng has examined Cixi's embrace of photography to argue that she simultaneously utilized the conventions of traditional

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[51] First Historical Archives, *Qing dai Zhong nan hai dang an*, vol. 21 (Beijing: Xiyuan chu ban she), 268.
[52] Li Yuhang and Harriet T. Zundorfer, "Rethinking Empress Dowager Cixi through the Production of Art," *Nan Nü* 14 (2012): 1–20.
[53] Cheng-hua Wang, "'Going Public': Portraits of the Empress Dowager Cixi, Circa 1904," *Nan Nü* 14 (2012): 119–176.

imperial portraiture to solidify her political authority while also adopting poses that emphasized her gender and religious identity.[54]

The portrait photograph received by Sarah Conger at her last audience with Cixi is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1991.134) (fig. 1.12). In it, Cixi sits upon a hardwood cushioned throne under a banner reading "Long Live the Contemporary Sage Mother Empress Dowager of the Great Qing Empire" (Ch. *Da Qing guo dang jin sheng mu huang tai hou wan sui wan sui wan wan sui* 大清國當今聖母皇太后萬歲萬歲萬萬歲). A painted peacock folding screen fills the space behind her; peacock fans and bowls of fruit flank her on either side. Following the conventions of imperial portraiture, she sits in the central frontal position. But rather than wearing her official robes of state and official court hat, she is dressed in a wisteria-pattered summer robe, floral headdress, and holds a fan in her right hand. By gifting a photograph of her image to Sarah Conger, Cixi was following the "diplomatic etiquette" of the Western diplomatic world, as well as furthering ties of personal friendship.[55]

It is within this context of photographic image circulation that I situate the now-lost photograph of the Zhonghai Haiyantang and Fang'e'guan. Similar to how Cixi strategically circulated the images of her physical visage, she was also beginning to circulate the images of her new architectural buildings that mediated her desire for peaceful relations between the Qing and the rest of the world. In addition to her physical face, she circulated her new architectural "face" as a continuing token of friendship.

Conclusion

In the last days of the Qing dynasty, Empress Dowager Longyu received Yuan Shikai at the Zhonghai Haiyantang, where the military commander urged her to abdicate on behalf of child-emperor Puyi. The building's location in the Central-South Lakes made it a suitable site for continued use as a site for governance in the early days of the Republic of China (ROC). In 1912, it was where provisional president Yuan Shikai received Sun Yatsen. In 1913, the name was changed to Jurentang 居仁堂 (Hall of Residing Benevolence) and used as office and reception space for Yuan Shikai. The newly renamed Jurentang was also the site of Yuan's failed bid to restore the monarchy with himself as emperor. Subsequent presidents of the ROC used the Jurentang as their personal residence.[56]

Although Cixi may have hoped that the new Haiyantang (now Jurentang) would have mediated between a Qing past and a renewed Qing future, during the early years of the Republic, the building occupied an uneasy space in the lineage of Chinese architecture. To the eyes of Western observers, it lacked the obvious signifiers of Chinese architecture and was furthermore tainted by association with Cixi, who continued to bear the brunt of animosity over the Boxer situation and the collapse of the Qing. In her personal account of Old Peking, Juliet Bredon recounts passing through the

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[54] Ying-chen Peng, "Lingering between Tradition and Innovation: Photographic Portraits of Empress Dowager Cixi," *Ars Orientalis* 43 (2013): 157–174. See also, Ying-chen Peng, "Empresses and Qing Court Politics," in *Empresses of China's Forbidden City, 1644–1912*, ed. Daisy Yiyou Wang and Jan Stuart, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 128–141.

[55] Peng, "Lingering between Tradition and Innovation," 139.

[56] Lin, "Cong Yiluandian dao Jurentang," 78.

"foreign-style building in which the Chief Executive and his family used to live," and she disparagingly describes it as an "architectural monstrosity" and a "house of ugliness."[57] Arlington and Lewisohn's guidebook of 1935 to the former capital city also panned the style of the Jurentang by asserting that the building was "in the worst possible taste."[58] After the central government moved to Nanjing, the Central Lakes was converted to a public park in 1928 and the Jurentang served briefly as the national library. But the Jurentang would soon fall out of the public eye; in 1934, it was closed to the public and converted to the field headquarters of the Beiyang military.[59] After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, it continued to be used as government offices until its deteriorating condition led to its dismantlement in 1964.[60]

The Yuanming Yuan's "European Palace-style" had seemed suitable for architectural translation into a Beaux-Arts inflected international civic style of the late Qing and early twentieth century. But by the mid-1960s, the development of Sino-Western national architecture turned toward the more severe lines and solid blocks of Soviet architecture. The flourishes of the Baroque and High Qing imperial style could no longer serve as the architectural "face" of the People's Republic.

[57] Bredon, *Peking*, 88.
[58] L. C. Arlington and William Lewisohn, *In Search of Old Peking* [1935] (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1967), 100.
[59] Lin, "Cong Yiluan dian dao Jurentang," 79.
[60] Zhang Baochang 张宝昌 and Zhang Shixian 张实贤, "Sui li shi yuan qu de Zhong nan hai Ju ren tang 随历史远去的中南海居仁堂," *Bai nian chao* 百年潮 no. 10 (2011): 56.

FROM RUINS TO THEME PARK:
THE SCALE OF MEMORY AND RECONSTRUCTING THE YUANMING YUAN

圆明园遗址要保护好，地不要拔出去，以后有条件，可以修复.
"The Yuanming Yuan ruins must be protected; its land cannot be parceled out. When future circumstances allow, we can restore it." ~Zhou Enlai (1950)[1]

我，一个农民，希望通过建造横店圆明新园，长一长中国人的志气，扬一扬中国的国威，我错在哪里呢？
"I, a peasant, hope that by building the Hengdian New Yuanming Yuan I might grow the aspirations of the Chinese people and raise the national prestige of China. What is wrong with that? ~Xu Wenrong (2011)[2]

Introduction

In 2006, septuagenarian Xu Wenrong 徐文荣, the peasant-turned-billionaire founder of the Hengdian Group, announced an ambitious new project: a complete and full-scale reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan as the latest addition to the Hengdian World Studios complex (Ch. *Hengdian yingshi cheng* 横店影视城).[3] Located in the rural outskirts of Zhejiang province, about three hundred kilometers southwest of Shanghai and about one hundred kilometers south of Hangzhou, the modest city of Hengdian is known for being the "Hollywood of the East." Its transformation into the largest film set in the world began in 1996, when Xu Wenrong built nineteenth-century street scenes for the historic film epic, *The Opium War* (Ch. *Yapian zhanzhen* 鸦片战争, dir. Xie Jin, 1997). Since, then, the number of sets has multiplied; like Universal Studios Hollywood, the sets also function as theme parks and each one takes separate ticketed entry for tourists seeking to relive the magic of a particular film or television series. The history and landscape of China is replicated as full-scale microcosms on eight thousand acres and includes: The palace of the Qin emperor (Ch. *Qin wang gong* 秦王宫), the Northern Song capital (Ch. *Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河图), the Forbidden City (Ch. *Ming Qing gong yuan* 明清宫苑), streetscapes of nineteenth-century Guangzhou and Hong Kong (Ch. *Guangzhou jie • Xianggang jie* 广州街•香港街), as well as Daoist and Buddhist temples and Ming-Qing vernacular architecture (fig. 2.1).[4]

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[1] Quoted in "Bao hu, zheng xiu ji li yong Yuanming Yuan yi zhi chang yi shu 保护、整修及利用圆明圆遗址倡议书" in *Yuanming Yuan chong jian da zhen bian* [Great Debate on Yuanming Yuan Reconstruction], edited by Wang Daocheng and Duan Yuhong (Hangzhou: Zhejiang gu ji chu ban she, 2007), 3.

[2] Xu Wenrong, *Xu Wenrong kou shu—feng yu ren sheng* 徐文荣口述—风雨人生, edited by Sun Shiyan (Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju, 2011), 340.

[3] Xu, *Xu Wenrong kou shu*, 305.

[4] Hengdian World Studios, *Dream Come True* (Ch. *Meng xiang cheng zhen* 梦想成真) (Hengdian: Hengdian World Studios), 11. It may be of interest to note that the theme park of the "Southern Song Capital" is not based on architectural plans for historic Bianfeng, but is an architectural simulacrum of the *Spring Festival on a River* (Ch.

Among a plenitude of architectural simulacrums, the addition of yet another late imperial garden-palace should have been of little note. It would not even be the first project that reconstructs the Yuanming Yuan in a theme park context, as will be discussed below. Yet the project was quickly greeted with skepticism about not only its cost and scope, but about whether it was even appropriate to reconstruct the Yuanming Yuan in its entirety at 1:1 scale. Architectural historian Guo Daiheng noted that it was "impossible to completely and authentically reconstruct" the Yuanming Yuan, and that even if it could be done, "it would be nothing more than a reproduction of a Qing garden, a forgery."[5]

In this chapter, I look specifically at the reproduction of the Yuanming Yuan at miniature and monumental scale within the context of theme park landscapes. As off-site reconstructions, the theme parks have enacted a "translation": In terms of Cartesian geography, they have moved away from the original site in Beijing to different geographic locations within China, as well as moving into different spatial contexts of the theme park landscape. I borrow the term "modelscape" from the work of architectural historian Yael Padan, who applies that term to her studies of miniature and monumental architectural models of Israel and the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Padan argues that modelscapes "represent collective pasts, as well as visions of the future."[6] I argue that it is the Yuanming Yuan's very nature as a microcosm of the Qing empire—a geography whose borders continue to be claimed by the People's Republic of China—that makes it the ideal reference for a "modelscape" that attempts to replicate the imperial past for the purpose of projecting it into the national future.

First, I review the characteristics of a theme park and the manner in which those characteristics manifest themselves in the classical example of Disneyland and in other theme park landscapes that structure themselves around the idea of nationhood. Then, I assess the claims of Yuanming Yuan as a proto-theme park and trace the circular lineage of the Yuanming Yuan as themed landscape to its contemporary resurrections within overt theme parks. I will discuss three parks: the miniature Yuanming Yuan section in Splendid China, Shenzhen; the New Yuanming Palace in Zhuhai; and the multi-park complex of New Yuanming Yuan and New Changchun Yuan in Hengdian World Studios. Each theme park will be discussed in relation to the selection of scenes reproduced, the scale of reproduction, site layout, performance narratives (if applicable), and the relationship between the park and its urban surroundings.

Defining "Theme Park"

What is a theme park? What sets it apart from other types of constructed landscapes? In his introduction to *Theme Park Landscapes*, Terence Young characterizes themed landscapes as 1) promoting a sense of nostalgia for the past, in contrast to modern life;

Qingming shanghe tu 清明上河圖) handscroll painting by Zhang Zeduan in the Beijing Palace Museum collection.

[5] 想要百分之百、原汁原味地复建是不可能的…即使能够重建整个圆明圆，也绝非历史上真实的圆明圆，他只不过是清代园林建筑的一个仿制品，一件赝品. Liu Xiaoyang, "Guo Daiheng: 'Ta bu guo shi jian yan pin,'" *People's Daily* 人民日报 (1 Dec 2006), retrieved from *Renmin wang* 人民网 (http://paper.people.com.cn/hqrw/html/2006-12/01/content_12107303.htm), accessed 20 Apr 2016.

[6] Yael Padan, *Modelscapes of Nationalism: Collective Memories and Future Visions* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 57.

2) containing performance and performers, from automatons to actual representatives of the peoples on display, particularly in ethnographic parks; 3) sites of mass consumerism; 4) sites of pilgrimage to alleviate modern anxieties and promote a soothing myth of progress; 5) often having nationalism, either overt or covert, as a common theme; 6) being spatially bounded so that the park is set off from the ordinary world and the visitor must undergo a journey to get there; and 7) exhibiting a timeless quality.[7]

Although Young does not explicitly cite the pioneering study of Disneyland by semiotician Louis Marin, we can see how his list of attributes is derived from the many studies of Disneyland as the quintessential theme park. As Marin argues, Disneyland is comprised of several themed zones, which when analyzed as a cohesive whole, present a meta-narrative of the American nation. Main Street USA serves as the central pivot around which the rest of the park radiates.[8] Disneyland's Main Street presents an experience of small-town nostalgia that repackages consumption as inherent to the entertainment value of the park experience. The west side of the park, including the zones of Frontierland and Adventureland, presents a sanitized view of America's westward expansion and the taming of foreign lands. In the park's eastern quadrant, Tomorrowland offers a comforting vision of the future that promotes technological advancement—often sponsored by corporations whose products are on display—without challenging the social norms of the day. The park is populated by automatons who perform the narrative of each attraction, including fuzzy creatures wishing you a "Zip-ah-dee-doo-dah day," miniature animatronics singing the utopic anthem of "It's a small world after all," and a full-scale Abraham Lincoln to authoritatively present the story of the nation. Park staff is co-opted into being part of the performance; as "cast members," they are charged to preserve the illusion that Disneyland is truly the "Happiest Place on Earth." To distinguish itself as a "place" distinct from the surrounding landscape of Anaheim, CA, Disneyland is a bounded site, using layers of liminal zones—freeways, parking lots, shuttles, ticket booths and park gates—to distance its park space from the outside world. When you are inside the park, the outside world falls away.[9]

The escapism of Disneyland was exported to China first in 2005 with the opening of Hong Kong Disneyland and most recently with the unveiling of Shanghai

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[7] Terence Young, "Grounding the Myth—Theme Park Landscapes in an Era of Commerce and Nationalism," in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley, 1-10 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002.

[8] Louis Marin, *Utopics: Spatial Play* [*Utopiques: Jeux d'espaces*, 1973], translated by Robert A. Vollrath (New Jersey, Humanities Press, 1984), 239–257.

[9] The literature on Disneyland is extensive, and includes the theoretical works of Louis Marin, "Utopic Degeneration: Disneyland," *Utopics: Spatial Play*, trans. Robert A. Vollrath, 239–257 (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1984) [originally published as *Utopiques: Jeux d'espaces*, 1973]; Umberto Eco, "Travels in Hyperreality" (1975) in *Travels in Hyperreality,* trans. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1986); Jean Baudrillard, "The Precession of Simulacra" (1981) in *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser, 1–42 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1994), 12–14. For an extended overview of the multiple approaches to Disneyland, see Alan Bryman, *Disney and His Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 1995). I also cite my personal experience as an Angeleno who has visited the Anaheim park more times than I can count.

Disney Resort in 2016.[10] But the possibility of theme parks as both urban escapism and a pedagogical landscape of national heritage and nationalism was already recognized by developers in China in the post-Mao era. Splendid China opened in Shenzhen in 1989 as the "World's Largest Miniature Scenic Spot," and in 1994, built an expansion to include a miniaturized Yuanming Yuan imperial garden.[11] Splendid China will be discussed below, but first, I will address the ways in which the original Yuanming Yuan fits into the lineage of themed landscapes.

Theme Parks and National Identity

Disneyland might be the most well-known theme park, but it is not the only one, nor is it the first one, that presents a sanitized version of the national narrative through constructed landscapes. In 1891, Arthur Hazelius founded Skansen, a theme park in Stockholm that showcased Swedish folk culture to forge a sense of Swedish national identity during a period of social upheaval.[12] The collection of buildings presents a typology of pre-industrial Swedish vernacular architecture and includes architectural representatives from each province.[13] Located only a few miles outside of the actual capital, Skansen condenses the Swedish landscape into the bounds of the park, while simultaneously presenting a participatory built environment in which visitors engage in pedagogical play to reinforce a sense of shared Swedish cultural heritage.

Skansen reconstructed vernacular buildings at full-scale and populated them with live performers in period costume. At the other end of the literal scale, Bekanscot is credited as the oldest original model village; sitting on one-and-a-half acres in Buckinghamshire, England, Bekanscot was built in the 1920s by Roland Collingham (1881–1961) as a private amusement. Built mostly at 1:12 scale, Bekanscot depicted rural England in its present time, albeit a then-present that was likely on the verge of disappearance when it opened to the public on 4 August 1929. Its continued popularity lies in its depiction of an unchanged England: "Stuck in a 1930s time warp, see England how it used to be, and discover a wonderful little world tucked away from the hustle and bustle of everyday life."[14] At Bekanscot, the visitor has a bird's eye view of the picturesque English countryside where trains run without polluting and coal mines co-exist with Arts and Crafts houses.

Three years before Disneyland opened its gates, Madurodam opened its miniature doors in the Netherlands in 1952. Directly inspired by Bekanscot, Madurodam does not just present typological representatives of Dutch architecture, but directly replicates its famous structures and landmarks at 1:25 scale, such as the Kinderdikj windmills and the Rijksmuseum, so that the visitor can "discover Holland in

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[10] "Disney Parks and Resorts," https://dpep.disney.com/parks-and-resorts, accessed 8 Mar 2019.
[11] Ma Chi Man, *Shenzhen "Splendid China" Miniature Scenic Spot* (Hong Kong: China Travel Service, 1989).
[12] Michel Conan, "The Fiddler's Indecorous Nostalgia," In *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley, 91–117 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 96.
[13] Conan, "The Fiddler's Indecorous Nostalgia," 93.
[14] Bekanscot official website, https://www.bekonscot.co.uk (Accessed September 29, 2019).

one hour."[15] Madurodam differs from its English predecessor in two key ways: Bekanscot presents typological examples of English rural architecture and suspends the passage of time to the 1930s. Madurodam, on the other hand, replicates specific famous sites across the Netherlands and also allows for the passage of time. The miniature figures that populate the park change their outfits to match the seasons; in addition to the cyclical rhythm of the seasons, the park is constantly updated to keep up with the flow of linear time and reflect the changes in the national built landscape, such as the airport and its fleet of miniature passenger jets. Park visitors are encouraged to emulate the miniature figures at work and play: After admiring the historic windmills, the visitor can direct bursts of air at miniature wind farms and generate wind power; after following a historic ship of the Dutch East India Company on its journey out of Amsterdam towards Japan, the visitor can direct activity at a miniature modern port where cargo ships unload stacked shipping containers.[16] As a site of play and pedagogy, Madurodam not only presents an all-encompassing view of the country's built heritage, but also a vision of its technological present and participation in the global economy that is in continuity with—not a break from—its historic past.

Several state-owned theme parks take Madurodam as their model. Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park) opened in the 1970s and condenses the geography of Indonesia into representative full-scale display pavilions. Mini Israel opened in 2002 with the slogan, "See it all—small." Its miniature structures at 1:25 scale replicates sites in contemporary Israel but places them within a spatial layout of the Star of David. As Yael Padan argues, the intentionally artificial design of the park boundaries allows the park to avoid problematic political and geographic realities while also stamping "a political statement of Jewish-Zionist domination" into the landscape.[17] Miniaturk opened in Istanbul in 2003 to exhibit 1:25 scale models of Turkey's built heritage; Ipek Tüeli has argued that Miniaturk creates "a national image in miniature" and serves as a site for "modeling citizenship" where "histories and geographies [are brought] together without apparent hierarchy or conflict."[18]

The above examples allow us to identify the key factors when analyzing the relationship between the theme park's depiction of nation and the nation itself: 1) Does the park include natural geographies or just architecture? 2) Are the built structures representative types or replicas of specific structures? 3) What is the scale of reproduction? Full-scale or miniature? 4) Is time frozen? Or is the park updated to reflect contemporary changes? 5) Are visitors passive observers or active participants? (Though I suppose one could argue that the very act of paying admission, moving through the park space, and visually taking in an idealized national space makes visitors active participants in re-inscribing the national body and re-enacting national mythmaking.)

Before addressing China's most famous miniature theme park, Splendid China, I will consider the claims of the Yuanming Yuan itself as a "proto-theme park."

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[15] Madurodam official website, https://www.madurodam.nl/en/the-park/holland-in-an-hour, accessed September 30, 2019.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Padan, *Modelscapes of Nationalism*, 131. For more on the replication of Jerusalem as theme park, see also Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 189–232.
[18] Ipek Tüeli, "Modeling Citizenship in Turkey's Miniature Park," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 17, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 64, 67.

Yuanming Yuan as Proto-Theme Park

Scholars writing about modern theme parks in China have characterized the Yuanming Yuan as a "kind of imperial theme park."[19] Political scientist Erik Ringmar has explicitly compared the Yuanming Yuan with Disneyland, identifying the following similarities: dislocation, idealization, model-building, and thematization.[20] He notes that the Yuanming Yuan was a large constructed and bounded space that included scenes replicated from around the Qing empire "and the world: temples from Mongolia and Tibet, a hamlet and a river scene from Hunan, gardens like the ones Qianlong had seen when he visited Suzhou and Hangzhou, and a set of European-style palaces…. Yuanmingyuan even had a faithful replica of a regular Chinese street filled with shops, stalls, hawkers, customers, and beggars."[21] As discussed in the introduction, the gardens-within-garden layout of the Yuanming Yuan created distinct zones of activity: handling state affairs at Zhengda guangming 正大光明 and Qinzheng qinxian 勤政親賢, retiring to the imperial residences at Jiuzhou qingyan 九洲清晏, sacrificing to the ancestors at Hongci yonghu 鴻慈永護, enjoying literary delights at Huifang shuyuan 彙芳書院, and educating young princes at Dongtian shenchu 洞天深處. There are also sites that create scenes of rusticity, fantasy, agriculture and commerce, as well as scenes that hearken to famous sites visited by the Qianlong emperor during his Southern Tours. Most famously, the northeast corner of the garden contains Sino-Baroque buildings and fountains designed by Jesuits working in the Qing court.

Furthermore, scholars of modern theme parks in China characterize the parks as spaces of disguised consumption, which serve to transform the domestic visitors from good socialist subjects to good capitalist consumers. This leads them to point to the Yuanming Yuan's "Shopping Street" (Ch. *Maimai jie* 买卖街) as a defining feature of its theme park nature.[22] Similar to how the imperial garden had areas of agriculture, it also created a scene of urban commerce for the enjoyment of the emperor and his consorts. Eunuchs played the part of merchants, shop owners, and even pickpockets, as the imperial retinue play-acted at buying and selling. This aspect of performance is another feature that has encouraged modern commentators to identify the Yuanming Yuan as a proto-theme park.[23]

However, landscape and garden historian Edward Harwood cautions against mistaking parallel characteristics with actual similarities. In his study of eighteenth-century landscape gardens, he proposes a clear line of formal descent from those gardens to the modern theme park but argues that the parallels shared by the two types of spaces actually mark key differences. For instance, Stourhead and Disneyland are

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[19] Thomas J. Campanella, *Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 260.

[20] Erik Ringmar, "Imperial Vertigo and the Themed Experience: Yuanmingyuan and Disneyland Compared," *Human Geographies* 7.1 (2013): 5–19.

[21] Ringmar, "Imperial Vertigo and the Themed Experience," 11.

[22] Hai Ren, "The Landscape of Power: Imagineering Consumer Behavior at China's Theme Parks," in *The Themed Space: Locating Culture, Nation, and Self*, ed. Scott A. Lukas, 97–112 (New York: Lexington Books, 2007), 99.

[23] Nick Stanley, "Chinese Theme Parks and National Identity," in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and* Variations, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley, 269–289 (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 271–72.

both spaces visited by the public, but access to the landscape garden in the eighteenth century was limited to a handful of the monied elite, whereas Disneyland is open to masses of American and international tourists.[24] Both spaces feature built structures that reference distant places and times, but the classical and gothic follies in the landscape garden establish continuity between the present and the past, whereas Disneyland creates a nostalgic past to soothe anxieties about the present.[25] Likewise, the Yuanming Yuan's structure of themed spaces, including spaces of commerce and performance, bear superficial similarities to modern theme parks, but function as very different types of space. As Victoria Siu has shown in her study of the Qianlong emperor's movement and activity through his garden, the themed spaces of the Yuanming Yuan were not sites of mere escapism; rather, seemingly leisure activities were loaded with ritual significance and imperial portent—feeding goldfish was akin to feeding the empire.[26] So the Yuanming Yuan is not a theme park *per se*; yet, I would argue that it clearly falls within the genealogy of themed landscapes.

From Yuanming Yuan to Its Theme Parks: The Circular Genealogy of Themed Landscapes

Volume twelve of George-Louis Le Rouge's *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode* opens with an unrealized design by Italian landscape designer and theorist Francesco Bettini (c. 1737–c. 1815) (fig. 2.2a). Bettini had travelled through Italy, France, and England, and had worked with Le Rouge as a surveyor; he contributed many of the drawings in *Détail des nouveaux jardins*.[27] His original design in volume twelve, "Projet d'un jardin anglo-français-chinois," is laid out around a central chateau (fig. 2.2b). Rather than a layout where the primary residence delineates a front garden and a back garden, Bettini's plan is radial and four different gardens extend from the chateau's four sides.

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[24] In comparison, it is worth noting that the private gardens of the Ming dynasty, although rhetorically presented by their owners as spaces of sequestered scholarly retreat, were in reality, open to not only the owner's social circle, but also "to those of the respectable classes who could afford to tip the doorkeeper." See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites" Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 94.

[25] Edward Harwood, "Rhetoric, Authenticity, and Reception: The Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden, the Modern Theme Park, and Their Audiences," in *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley, 49–68 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002.

[26] Victoria Siu, *Gardens of a Chinese Emperor: Imperial Creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736–1796* (Lehigh University Press, 2013), 18–20. The legibility of efficacious metaphorical performance can be seen in other forms of Qing art as well. For examples of how bird-and-flower designs functioned as legible rebuses that not only conveyed auspicious wishes but "assured the prosperity of their owners," see Jessica Rawson, "Ornament as System: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Design," *The Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1239 (June 2006): 389. For an example of rebuses embedded within the Qing imperial landscape, see Stephen Whiteman's discussion of Bishu shanzhuang in Chengde: Whiteman, *Where Dragon Veins Meet: The Kangxi Emperor and His Estate at Rehe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 114–123.

[27] David L. Hays, "Francesco Bettini and the Pedagogy of Garden Design in Late Eighteenth-Century France," in *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art*, edited by John Dixon Hunt and Michel Conan, 93–120 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

A grand avenue leads past the formal French-Italian garden which connects with the chateau's west façade and formal entrance. The chateau's north façade faces a Chinese garden; the east façade faces an English garden; the south façade faces an artificial lake ringed by scenes of rusticity. Insets (keyed to the plan with the letters ABCD) show that the exterior elevation of each side of the chateau was designed to match the style of the garden section towards which it faced and into which it offered entry (fig. 2.2c). A symmetrical Palladian front (façade A) with columns and pediment faces the geometric parterres of the French-Italian garden; a watery rock grotto (façade B) leads towards the artificial waterway; a flat-roofed Georgian manse (façade C) opens onto the English garden's grassy expanse; and finally, a façade of chinoiserie pavilions (façade D) provides entry to the Chinese garden and "Isle of Japan."

Bettini's design is but one of many "jardin Anglo-chinois" in the multiple volumes of Le Rouge's *Détail*. The other prints, however, either depict isolated chinoiserie follies, such as the Chinese House at Monville or are given the conflated appellation "anglo-chinois" for their overall layout of serpentine paths and winding streams.[28] Bettini's plan, on the other hand, distinguishes between the "English" section of the garden and the "Chinese." Furthermore, his Chinese section is dominated by a large, irregular, artificial lake around which he situates pavilions and pagodas along its shoreline or on islets extending into the main body of water. This manner of laying out the Chinese garden has less in common with the prints of the other Anglo-Chinese gardens and more in common with the copperplate prints of the Yuanming Yuan or the Summer Retreat for Beating the Heat (Ch. *Bishu shanzhuan* 避暑山莊)—another Qing imperial garden-palace microcosm located in Chengde—published as subsequent volumes of *Détail* (fig. 2.3).

Bettini's textual description of his "Projet d'un jardin anglo-francais-chinois" is limited to a list of the scenes of interest and a single block of text that ostensibly describes a Chinese garden:

> Les Chinois font dans leurs jardins des hoie-ta, ou habitations sous l'eau, ce sont des sallons, cabinets, leurs murailles sont incrustées de coquillages, branches de corail, plantes marines. Les divinités inferieure de l'humide élément sont placées dans des niches, des compartiments de jaspe, d'agate, de madreporeau forment le plancher, le plafond composé de glaces, admet la lumiére au travers de l'eau qui le courvre; ces glaces sont jointes avec solidité et resistent à la pesanteur du fluide qui presse leur Surface; on observe à travers le crystal du plafond l'agitation de l'eau, le passage des navires, les jeux des oiseaux aquatiques, et des poissons dorés qui nagent au dessus de spectateur, les mandarins en font des retraites voluptueuses
>
> The Chinese make water pagodas in their gardens, or houses under water, they are salons, cabinets, their walls are encrusted with shells, branches of coral, marine plants. The lower divinities of the humid element are placed in niches, compartments of jasper, agate, mother-of-pearl form the floor, the ceiling composed of glass, admits the light through the water which

[28] Georges-Louis Le Rouge, *Detail des noveaux jardins à la mode* (Paris: Le rouge, 1786). Getty Research Institute, 88-B1922.

> runs through it; these glass windows are solidly joined and resist the gravity of the fluid pressing their surface; Through the crystal of the ceiling you can observe the agitation of the water, the passing of the ships, the games of the aquatic birds, and the golden fish that swim above the spectator, the mandarins make them voluptuous retreats.[29]

The text presents a vision of an underworld fantasy that the illustrated design cannot show. Bettini has excerpted this text, with minor changes, from the French translation of Sir William Chambers' *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772).[30] In doing so, Bettini demonstrates his familiarity with Chambers' work, but also draws upon the authority of Chambers to lend authenticity to his own design for a *jardin chinois*. Although Chambers' *Dissertation* was ridiculed by his English rivals who accused him of an overactive imagination, he nonetheless had the distinction of having firsthand experience of China during his earlier career as supercargo for the Swedish East India Company. Furthermore, Chambers supplements his description of Chinese gardens by drawing upon descriptions of the Yuanming Yuan sent back to Europe by Jesuit missionaries working in the Qing court.[31]

Bettini's unrealized "Projet" is thus appended by a text that drew upon descriptions of the Yuanming Yuan, as well as by the prints of the imperial gardens that informed its design. Furthermore, its use of the chateau as a central pivot into the

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[29] This literal English translation is my own.

[30] The original English passage by Chambers is as follows: "But far the most extraordinary, as well as the most pleasing of their aquatic constructions, are the Hoie-ta, or submerged habitations, consisting of many galleries, cabinets, and spacious halls, built entirely under water; their walls are decorated with beautiful shells, corals, and sea-plants of all sorts, formed into many singular shapes, and sunk into various irregular recesses; in which are placed, in due order, Fung-shang, God of the Winds; Bong-hoy, Monarch of the Sea; Shu-kong, King of the Waters; with all the inferior powers of the deep. The pavements are laid in compartments of jasper, agat[e], and madrepores [mother-of-pearl] of Hay-nang, of many extraordinary kinds: the ceilings are entirely of glass, which admits light through the medium of the water, that rises several feet above the summits of these structures; the glass is of various colours, very strong; and the different pieces, artfully joined, to resist the pressure of the fluid with which they are loaded…[I] is singularly entertaining, in the intervals of pleasure, to observe, through the crystal ceilings, the agitation of the waters, the passage of vessels, and sports of the fowl and fishes, that swim over the spectator's heads." Sir William Chambers, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: Printed by W. Griffin, 1773), 73–74. For the French translation of the passage, see Chambers, *Dissertation sur les jardinage de l'Orient* (Londres: chez G. Griffin et al, 1773), 56–57.

[31] Garden historians have long recognized Chambers' use of Pere Jean-Denis Attiret's 1743 letter on the grandeur of the Yuanming Yuan, "A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens Near Pekin," but are divided on how to interpret Chambers' characterization of Chinese gardens as separated into zones of "enchantment," "pleasure," and "terror." See R.C. Bald, "Sir William Chambers and the Chinese Garden," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 11, no. 3 (June 1950): 292; David L. Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123; and Yu Liu, "The Real vs the Imaginary: Sir William Chambers on the Chinese Garden," *The European Legacy* (2018): 1–18.

different themed landscapes of the garden would find its fullest expression in the layout of Disneyland Park centered on Main Street USA.

What is the lineage here? Ideas about the irregularity of Chinese gardens, in contrast to the strict geometry of continental gardens, began entering England in the late seventeenth century. William Temple and Joseph Addison both present China as an alternative gardening model; the fullest expression of Chinese garden as potential model would be Chambers' *Dissertation*.[32] The so-called Chinese garden, or rather, the Yuanming Yuan as translated into Europe as textual description and printed image, thus informed the development of the English landscape garden, which in France, was so closely associated with Chinese gardens, that the French referred to this style as *jardins anglo-chinois*. Garden historians have also argued that eighteenth-century landscape gardens are precedents to the modern day theme park, even if they were not, strictly speaking, theme parks in and of themselves.[33] So the resurrection of the Qing imperial-palace of the Yuanming Yuan as a theme park, brings its own lineage back full circle.

Splendid China: Nation as Modelscape

Splendid China (Ch. *Jin xiu Zhonghua* 锦绣中华) opened in 1989 in the special economic zone of Shenzhen, located on the tip of the Chinese mainland across from Hong Kong. It was the brainchild of Ma Chi Man, the general manager of China Travel Service Hong Kong Limited, who was inspired by a trip to Madurodam "Lillputian Land" in the Netherlands in 1985.[34] The goal was to model the nation's famous historic sites in miniature for the purpose of promoting a vision of a coherent national landscape in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution's iconoclasm. The park's promotional booklet makes the claim that the "eighty scenic spots and historical sites…are arranged scientifically according to the location of China's real scenic places."[35] The brightly illustrated park map reinforces the relation between park landscape and national landscape by distorting the ground plan of the park into a rough outline of the borders of modern China, even to the point of depicting Hainan and Taiwan as actual islands disengaged from the rest of the park (fig. 2.4). The illustrated brochure map reveals rough spatial correspondence between theme park miniatures and national geography: the Great Wall runs along the north; the vernacular dwellings of the Hakka people are in the south; the Potala Palace sits in the west, outside the Great Wall; the classical gardens of Hangzhou and Suzhou are to the southeast. The Forbidden City is placed near the center, sacrificing geographic fidelity—it should be in the northeast—for political centrality. Upon entering the park, the visitor is led along an imagined route that condenses disparate Buddhist cave sites—Dunhuang, Longmen, Yungang,

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[32] For excerpts of Temple and Addison, see John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden (1620–1820)* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), 96–99, 142–143. See Yu Liu, "The Importance of the Chinese Connection: The Origin of the English Garden," *Eighteenth Century Life* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 70–98.
[33] Richard Quintance, "Toward Distinguishing among Theme Park Publics: William Chambers's Landscape Theory vs. His Kew Practice" and Heath Schenker, "Pleasure Gardens, Theme Parks, and the Picturesque," both published in *Theme Park Landscapes.*
[34] Ma Chi Man, *Shenzhen Splendid China Miniature Scenic Spot* (China Travel Service (Holdings) Hong Kong Limited, 1989), 3.
[35] Ibid., 5.

Leshan—into a fictional Silk Road that leads from the western peripheries into the other historic sites of China.[36]

As a "modelscape," Splendid China erases sensitive socio-political tensions of the modern People's Republic of China. Sites in Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Taiwan are all enfolded into the park boundaries and populated with miniature ceramic figurines of colorfully dressed ethnic minorities performing folk celebrations. Within the park, all the sites occupy the same space-time, thus smoothing over historical discontinuities so that China-the-nation appears as a coherent unit from the time of the First Emperor of China's terracotta army to the last emperor's New Summer Palace, and even reaches back into the geologic past of natural mountain formations by its inclusion of famous sites of natural geography. The Sun Yatsen Mausoleum is the only twentieth-century structure replicated in Splendid China. As the resting place of the Father of the Nation, its inclusion within the park allows for the transition from dynastic empire to nation-state, but no further. The upheavals of the twentieth century are erased. Within the park, Tiananmen Square hosts an imperial wedding procession, not student protestors; the Three Gorges remains a pristine natural landscape, not a hydroelectric dam.[37]

Splendid China: Yuanming Yuan Miniature

In 1994, Splendid China expanded to include an area for a miniature Yuanming Yuan on the eastern side of the park (fig. 2.5). Compared with the other replicated scenes, the Yuanming Yuan section is the largest in the park in terms of both square footage and scale of replication.[38] The path into that section leads away from the other scenes, so that when the Yuanming Yuan structures come into view, the rest of the park has fallen out of sight. The visitor is led between two sets of ruins, built at almost life-scale (4:5 scale): the ruins of the Dashuifa arch and the broken pillars of the Yuanyingguan, both from the European Palaces section of the Yuanming Yuan and its most widely reproduced and recognizable features (figs. 2.6–8). Unlike the rest of the theme park, historic time reasserts itself here. The replicated ruins mark the time as the present—this is what the Yuanming Yuan is now. An audio recording playing from the base of the ruins narrates how the Anglo-French troops burned and looted the site during the Second Opium War in 1860.[39] In form and scale, the ruins instantiate the identity of the Yuanming Yuan as fundamentally linked to its destruction and decay.

A few steps further, and the nostalgic time of the past reasserts itself, where scenes from the Yuanming Yuan are laid out in 1:8 scale, nearly twice as large as the 1:15 scale used in most of the architectural scenes of the park. The miniature Yuanming

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[36] The author completed a site visit to Splendid China in summer 2016.

[37] Campanella, *Concrete Dragon*, 255; Ann Anagnost, The Nationscape: Movement in the Field of the Vision," *Positions* 1, no. 3 (1993): 585–606.

[38] The total area of Splendid China is 30 hectares; the area for the miniature Yuanming Yuan occupies about 1/15th of the entire park. See Ma Chi Man, *Shenzhen Splendid China Miniature Scenic Spot*, 5, 22.

[39] There is an alternate possibility for how to interpret the temporal location of the ruins. Popular histories of the Yuanming Yuan's destruction often skip its slow decay in the twentieth century, so that images of the ruins as they stand today are interpreted as the condition of the garden in the immediate aftermath of the burning. So it is possible that the ruins in the theme park were intended to transport the visitor back to 1860. Both interpretations require the separation of the Yuanming Yuan section from the rest of the nostalgic timelessness of the rest of Splendid China.

Yuan dwarfs its analogous Qing imperial sites in Splendid China, such as the Forbidden City, the New Summer Palace (Ch. *Yihe Yuan* 颐和园), and the Summer Retreat for Beating the Heat (Ch. *Bishushanzhuang* 避暑山庄). These other Qing imperial garden-palaces were replicated in whole, shrunk down to 1:15 their original size. The visitor is not allowed physical entry into their spaces—one must gaze upon the site as a whole from outside the city moats of the imperial palace, from beyond the crenellated garden walls of the Summer Retreat, from the far side of miniaturized Kunming Lake.[40] The individual buildings within the palace and other gardens are not given their own explanatory plaques, but, as in the rest of the park, labeled with one general bilingual sign imparting basic information. For example, the single information plaque for the New Summer Palace miniature states:

> 颐和园 （北京）
>
> 我国名园之一。原为清代行宫花园。始建于乾隆十五年，后被英法联军所毁，光绪十四年慈禧挪用海军经费重建。全园由万寿山、昆明湖等组成，占地约 290 公顷，记有个式宫殿园林建筑 3000 余间。
>
> The Summer Palace (Beijing)
>
> Among the best gardens in china, the Summer Palace was first built in 1750 as a royal garden. Later it was destroyed by the Anglo French joint forces. 1888 saw its reconstruction by the Empress Dowager Cixi with the fund misappropriated from the navy. Consisting of the Longevity Hill and the Qunming Lake, it covers 290 hectares on which over 3,000 various palatial or garden buildings are spread. [exact transcription of plaque.]

Although the written label mentions historic destruction by the Anglo-French, that violence is effaced from the miniature—just as it is largely effaced from the Yihe Yuan itself. Furthermore, the site may have "3,000 various palatial or garden buildings" but none of those structures, such as the Buddha's Fragrance Tower (Ch. *Foxiang Ge* 佛香阁) that tops Longevity Hill and the Seventeen-Arch Bridge (Ch. *Shiqikong Qiao* 十七孔桥) that crosses Kunming Lake, receive their own explanatory plaques, and the visitor must look upon them at a distance.

In contrast, the miniature Yuanming Yuan section accommodates visitor movement through it and offers explanatory plaques by each key scene; by building at a larger scale (1:8), this section provides more space to maneuver a human body, but more significantly, it allows visitors to walk through it by manipulating the spatial integrity of the original site, selectively reproducing certain scenes, and omitting others (fig. 2.9). In condensing the space of the Beijing Yuanming Yuan into the miniature version, the park has nonetheless preserved aspects of the original layout: the European Palaces are still grouped together and laid out along one rectangular strip of land; the islets of the Nine Continents complex still circle a body of water; key scenes are still located around the shores of a much-shrunken Sea of Fortune (fig. 2.10).

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[40] Publicity photos in the Splendid China handbook show that visitors were once allowed onto the grounds of the mini-Forbidden City; during a site visit in summer 2016, the author found that low hedges and "No entering" signs now keep visitors off the old footpath into the mini-palace.

The path leading through the 4:5 scale replica ruins of the Archway and Columns takes the visitor to the horizontal strip of land with the European Palaces, where only the largest building complexes are reproduced. The Maze (Ch. *Wanhua zhen* 万花阵) is encountered first, where miniature ceramic palace women attempt to reach the center. The Xieqiqu 谐奇趣 is next, complete with functioning fountains and figures listening from the balcony. The internal spatial relationship between the structures of the Great Fountains (Ch. *Dashuifa* 大水法), the Throne (Ch. *Guanshuifa* 观水法), and the Observatory of Distant Seas (Ch. *Yuanyignguan* 远瀛观) is preserved, as is their spatial position at the center of the European Palaces complex (fig. 2.11). On the other hand, the Hall of Calm Seas (Ch. *Haiyantang* 海晏堂), which also occupies a central position between the Xieqiqu and Great Fountains in Beijing, here, is placed at the end of the row. The smaller structures of the European Palaces are omitted entirely: The Reservoir (Ch. *Xushuilou* 蓄水楼), Belvedere (Ch. *Fangwaiguan* 方外观), Aviary (Ch. *Yangquelou* 养雀楼), Bamboo Pavilion (Ch. *Zhuting* 竹亭), Perspective Hill (Ch. *Xianfashan* 线法山), Square Lake (Ch. *Fanghe* 方河), or Perspective Drawings (Ch. *Xianfahua* 线法画) have all been excised.

As an architectural cluster, all nine islets of the Nine Continents complex are reproduced and situated in the same spatial relationship they have in Beijing, as nine islets around the Rear Lake: Jiuzhou qingyan 九洲清晏, Louyue kaiyun 鏤月開雲, Tianran tuhua 天然圖畫, Bitong shuyuan 碧桐書院, Ciyun puhu 慈雲普護, Shangxia tianguang 上下天光, Xinghua chunguan 杏花春館, Tantan dangdang 坦坦蕩蕩, Rugu hanjin 茹古含今. As the architectural core of the original Yuanming Yuan and the location of the emperor's sleeping quarters, the Nine Continents complex was significant enough to preserve as a coherent miniature grouping.

The remaining scenes were likely chosen to demonstrate the variety of architecture within the Yuanming Yuan as well as each scene's thematic associations. Thus, there are the following: the formal architectural complex of the Ancestral Temple (Hongci yong hu 鴻慈永祜); the fantastical realm of the immortals at the Square Pot (Fanghu shengjing 方壺勝景); the mid-lake fairy islands of Pengdao yao tai 蓬島瑤台; the low-lying rustic stretch of Jiexiu shanfang 接秀山房; the pavilion bridge of Jiajing minqin 夾鏡鳴琴 in honor of poet Li Bai; the seven-arched bridge of Quyuan fenghe 曲院風荷; and the swastika-shaped house of Wanfang anhe 萬方安和.

The Beijing Yuanming Yuan was already a site of nested microcosms. The entire complex was a microcosm of the Qing empire; the Nine Continents—in form and name—referenced the classical concept of the known world; the Square Pot took a Daoist slant to the concept of containing heaven and earth in a pot. Splendid China continues the series of nested microcosms. The condensed imperial microcosm of the Yuanming Yuan is but one part of the larger national microcosm. Unlike the enforced boundaries of Disneyland, the outside world is never entirely shut out from Splendid China miniature theme park. The high-rise buildings of Shenzhen tower over the entire park, as if the city held the nation—and its seemingly timeless and historic past—in its embrace (fig. 2.12).[41]

[41] Ann Anagnost, "The Nationscape: Movement in the Field of the Vision," *Positions* 1, no. 3 (1993): 587.

What does adding the miniature Yuanming Yuan *do* for Splendid China when the theme park already had representatives of Qing imperial gardens in the form of the Summer Retreat and the New Summer Palace? Of all the sites replicated in Splendid China, the Yuanming Yuan was the only site that in its present-day form was not extant but in ruins. The replicated ruined Archway and Columns resists the reproduction of an ahistorical past but insists upon the remembrance of their moment of ruination by foreign imperialists. The miniature Yuanming Yuan was added to Splendid China in 1994, the same year that the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park in Beijing was granted the status of a national patriotic education base.[42] Reconstructing the original Yuanming Yuan may remain impossible but reconstructing it as miniature in a Shenzhen theme park was possible. The Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen modeled the promise of a renewed Chinese nation, one recovered from the humiliation of the Yuanming Yuan's destruction.

New Yuanming Palace: Zhuhai

In Splendid China, the Yuanming Yuan was one scene among many. In February 1997, Shenzhen's neighboring city, Zhuhai 珠海, opened the New Yuanming Palace 圓明新園 to the public, which reconstructed the Yuanming Yuan at 1:1 scale on 148 acres. The year 1997 also marked the return of Hong Kong to China after the island was ceded to the British at the conclusion of the First Opium War, inaugurating China's "Century of Humiliation." The burning and looting of the Yuanming Yuan in the Second Opium War marked the second major moment of national humiliation.[43] The opening of the Zhuhai park during the Spring Festival Celebration of 1997 was specifically timed to also coincide with the year of Hong Kong's return.[44] The project, initiated by Zhuhai's mayor, enlisted the design services of architectural historian Guo Daiheng 郭黛姮. Although she would later criticize the Hengdian 1:1 scale theme park reproduction as a "fake" a decade later, she described the New Yuanming Palace in Zhuhai as "not only supplying an additional tourist spot, but also giving comfort to the spiritual hurt suffered by the nation's people at the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan."[45]

Although individual structures were built at full-scale, the Zhuhai park was similar to Splendid China in the sense that it also selectively replicated scenes and rearranged them according to the topographic landscape at Zhuhai, not according to the garden's original spatial layout (fig. 2.13). The Zhuhai park is structured around a large artificial lake, where the scenes from the Yuanming Yuan are arranged around it. The park labels the lake as the Yuanming Yuan's Sea of Fortune (Ch. *Fuhai* 福海), but it functionally collapses the multiple lakes of the Yuanming Yuan into one water feature. The main axis of the park is formed by the Main Audience Hall and the Nine

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[42] Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 52.

[43] Ibid., 52–53.

[44] Guo Daiheng, 郭黛姮, "New Yuanming Palace in Zhuhai and Yuanmingyuan Palace" [Zhuhai yuanming xin yuan yu yuanming yuan 珠海圆明新园与圆明园], 建筑史论文集 (Treatises on History of Architecture), no. 11 (November 1999): 283.

[45] 它的建成不仅是增添了一处新的旅游点，而且使昔日圆明园被毁给国人带来的心灵创伤得以慰藉. Ibid, 262.

Continents on the south end, the island of Pengdao yaotai in the center of the lake, and the Square Pot at the far end.

In her article about her design choices for the Zhuhai park, Guo Daiheng stated that a different layout was necessary to accommodate the space of the park, its topography, and the needs of tourists. With those considerations in mind, she did not attempt to replicate the Yuanming Yuan in whole; in fact, she asserts that the new park is "not a copy or model, but a new garden designed according to the thinking of typology" (新园并非圆明园的副本或模型， 而是以类型学的思想设计的一座新园).[46] By considering the scenes within the Yuanming as "types," rather than unique architectural constructions, Guo has the freedom to create Yuanming Yuan-esque scenes.

The Main Audience Hall, as depicted in the *Forty Scenes* painting album, is a five-bay building with a single-eaved, grey-tiled roof (fig. 2.14). Its counterpart in the Zhuhai theme park, on the other hand, has been elevated in status to a seven-bay structure with a double-eaved and golden-tiled roof (fig. 2.15). The nine distinct isles of the Nine Continents complex have been condensed to nine halls upon one isle. The three interconnected islands of Pengdao yaotai in the center of the Sea of Fortune are reduced to one island. The four arms of the Swastika House still extend over the water, but rather than a complete building, it takes the form of an open-air marble terrace (figs. 16, 17). The Market Street is transformed to a site of actual commerce where tourists exchange real money to buy snacks and souvenirs, rather than playacting.

The long strip of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan is truncated to a single plaza in the park's southwest corner, where the Hall of Calm Seas faces the Great Fountains and the Observatory of Distant Seas (figs. 18–21). The most famous fragments of the European Palaces—the zodiac fountain, the ruins of the archway, and the broken columns—have been reconstituted. The Maze is set apart from this grouping and situated in the park's northwest corner; its low brick walls have been changed to tall hedges, and its layout has been changed from a rectangular maze to a spiral one.

Close comparison of the architectural details of Zhuhai's European Palaces against its visual referents in the copperplate prints by Manchu court artist Yi Lantai 伊蘭泰 in the 1780s and against the photographs of its ruined facades by amateur German photographer Ernst Ohlmer a century later, reveals that the Zhuhai constructions take the prints as their primary reference, not the photographs nor the actual architectural fragments from the original site. To some extent then, the Zhuhai park is not a reconstitution of the Yuanming Yuan-as-site, but rather a physical manifestation of the Yuanming Yuan-as-album and Yuanming Yuan-as-print. The fragmented viewing experience of the painting album and the separate sheets of the copperplate print series encourages seeing the Yuanming Yuan as a set of disassociated scenes. If the garden conceptually exists as a set of fragmented scenes, then the scenes are reducible to a set of modular motifs that can be freely rearranged.

In embracing the Yuanming Yuan-as-type, the Zhuhai park allowed itself to copy architecture that was never in the Yuanming Yuan itself. The back of the theme park is bounded by a crenellated Great Wall; the rear exit to the park resembles the arched opening of the Juyong Gate 居庸關. More prominently, the theme park's open-air theater needed to be large enough to seat a five-thousand-member audience. To solve the design problem, Guo borrowed from the Tibetan-style Xiangyanzongyin 香严

[46] Ibid., 262

宗印 temple in the other Qing imperial garden-palace, the New Summer Palace (Ch. *Yihe Yuan*) (fig. 2.22).[47] The microcosmic character of the Yuanming Yuan as the Qing empire in miniature gives its modern-day reproductions the free rein to incorporate additional scenes.

Diluting the Yuanming Yuan through Performance

The performances within the park only loosely connect to the overall theme of the "Yuanming Yuan." Visitors are encouraged to embark on "The Emperor's Southern Tour" (Ch. *Huangdi xia Jiangnan* 皇帝下江南), ostensibly accompanying the Qianlong emperor on one of his six imperial processions through the Jiangnan region. Visitors board a small covered boat and sit on benches facing a platform stage occupied by the costumed performers in the guise of the emperor, eunuchs, palace women, and musicians. As the watercraft makes its way across the Sea of Fortune (Ch. *Fuhai* 福海) towards the single island of *Pengdao Yaotai* 蓬島瑶台, young female performers entertain the audience with short dances. On the limited space of the boat's stage, these dances mostly consist of swaying and turning in place while waving their hands and handkerchiefs to the rhythm of the music. When the boat arrives at the central island, the 'emperor' enacts an unspecified offering to an unspecified deity. On the return journey, the eunuch emcee co-opts audience members into the performance—they play games against each other in a 'marriage competition' to 'win' the hand of a young palace lady. Overall, there is little in the boat ride and performances that directly relates to the historic Yuanming Yuan or to specific activities of the Qing imperial house. The connection is through a series of loose associations that dilute the specificity of the Yuanming Yuan to a generalized ahistorical Chinese dynastic 'flavor.'

A larger stage performance takes place each afternoon: "Dreaming of the Yuanming Yuan" (Ch. *Meng hui Yuanming Yuan* 梦回圆明园). The show opens with lines of text appearing on the digital screen forming the stage's backdrop:

> 序幕　圆明遗恨
> 当我们提起古印度，会想起那洁白的泰姬陵；当我们提起古埃及，会想起。。。金字塔。巴特侬神庙的雕像述说着古希腊的历史沧桑；幼发拉底河畔的空中花园是古巴比伦梦幻的天堂。当我们想起有着五千年灿烂文化的中国，不能不想起被全世界所仰慕的万园之园——圆明园。
>
> Prologue: Eternal Regret of the Yuanming Yuan
> When we speak of ancient India, we think of the pure whiteness of the Taj Mahal; when we recall ancient Egypt, we think…of the pyramids. The sculptures of the Parthenon tell of the historical vicissitudes of ancient Greece; the Hanging Garden by the banks of the Euphrates was the imagined heaven of Babylon. When we think of the five thousand years of China's glorious culture, we cannot help but think of the world-renowned Garden-of-Gardens: the Yuanming Yuan.[48]

The show's opening lines operate within a series of parallel constructions: a monument testifies to the greatness of an "ancient" civilization divorced from historical realities of

[47] Ibid, 278
[48] Translation is my own.

political turnovers, dynastic change, and nation-statehood. The Yuanming Yuan, a garden-palace that only came into being in the eighteenth century under the very last imperial dynasty, is made as venerable as two of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World; a garden-palace constructed as a site of power for the Manchu ruling house of the Qing is also made to broadly represent all of Chinese civilization. But why the Taj Mahal, the pyramids, the Parthenon, and the Hanging Gardens? The choice of comparative monuments echoes the Yuanming Yuan's own loss of material physicality. The Taj Mahal recalls a site of white marble, complete and unbroken; the pyramids still stand tall, but crumble at the edges; the Parthenon invokes ruination by the Elgin family; and the Hanging Gardens not only shifts us from contemplation of stone architecture to living landscape, but finally also conducts a shift from monumental presence—however ruined—to complete ephemerality. The Parthenon still stands, so Greece still exists; the Hanging Gardens are no more, and thus Babylon is unrecoverable. Within the logic of this performance's prologue, therefore, the Yuanming Yuan not only testifies to five thousand years of Chinese history, but the continuation of China's five-thousand-year history is also dependent on the Yuanming Yuan's continued existence, however fragmented.

The prologue concludes by shifting from the vagaries of antique temporality to the historical specificity of a singular date: "On October 18, 1860, Anglo-French invaders broke into the Yuanming Yuan, burning, killing, pillaging, and looting. The Garden-of-Gardens, which the Qing dynasty built for over a hundred and fifty years, was reduced to ruins over three days and three nights What eternal regret never to be forgotten by the generations!" At this point, costumed performers appear on stage in the guise of the British and French soldiers. As they fire their weapons and carry off palace women—including an audience participant—the screen behind them reinforces the on-stage action by playing reenactments of the defeat of palace guards, the chasing of palace maids, and soldiers smashing and looting. As performers leave the stage, the on-screen image pulls back to reveal a bird's eye view of the entire garden in flames. The scene then shifts to a digital rendering of the Yuanming Yuan's iconic ruined archway covered in snow. White-clothed performers appear on stage to perform an interpretative dance conveying a sense of tragedy and lamentation (fig. 2.23). On screen, a young girl crawls through the snow and then turns toward the audience, reaching out a hand and crying out, "Mama!" In this interpretative re-telling of the Yuanming Yuan's destruction, it is not the emperor who suffers, but the unnamed child, that is, future generations.

As this moment, the main part of the show begins: On screen, time turns backwards as stone blocks fly back towards the ruined archway—rebuilding it—and the title *Meng hui Yuanming Yuan* appears across the reconstituted garden. The episodic performance that follows takes place in various imperial spaces of the Qing dynasty, but is unanchored from any specific historical moment or specific emperor's reign. The digital backdrop supplies the settings: the throne room of the Hall of Supreme Harmony (Ch. *Taihedian* 太和殿) in the Forbidden City; the Imperial Garden (Ch. *Yuhuayuan* 御花园), also in the Forbidden City; and the Hall of Calm Seas (Ch. *Haiyantang* 海晏堂) zodiac fountain in the European Palace section of the Yuanming Yuan. Each episode of the show consists of colorfully attired actors performing short, synchronized group dances, interspersed with interactive interludes that involve audience participants. The narrative interludes include scenes of the—unnamed, and

thus generic—emperor choosing a consort and receiving tribute. The last scene of the show is the actor-emperor inspecting the procession of tribute gifts.

Outside of the opening prologue, the *Menghui Yuanming Yuan* show performs nothing of substance about the Yuanming Yuan itself or its history. The palace scenes take place within a 'no-time,' where Qing court life is rendered as a picturesque fantasy. The Yuanming Yuan becomes a synecdoche for all Qing imperial spaces, as the show shifts from the Yuanming itself to spaces within the Forbidden City. The frame that opened the show—the burning and looting of the garden—never comes back to close it: The "dream" of the Yuanming Yuan ends at the procession of tribute; in other words, it ends at the height of Qing power, when the myriad nations appear in supplication.

Porous Boundaries between Theme Park and City

The long-term financial success of the Zhuhai park was limited, although its early years were successful. From 1997 to 2012, the park admitted 15 million tourists and earned just a little over one billion RMB. But by 2012, admission had slowed to a trickle and the New Yuanming Palace Co. Ltd. eliminated ticketed entry, made admission free, and transitioned the theme park into a "cultural leisure park" (Ch. *wenhua xiuxian gongyuan* 文化休闲公园).[49] The goal was to transform the built environment from a theme park into a diversified leisure and commercial zone with restaurants, teahouses, and shops. A site visit in 2016 revealed a park in transition: The boundaries of the theme park were now completely porous with the surrounding cityscape; rather than one ticketed point of entry, there were multiple places where one could freely enter and exit, including a path towards the back of the park that led straight into a hike up the local mountain. The park's reproduction of the Sino-Baroque Hall of Calm Seas operated as a seafood banquet hall (fig. 2.24). The Zhuhai New Yuanming Palace had been built to recover the original Yuanming Yuan from its ruined state; to forestall its own ruin, the Zhuhai park is attempting to transform into a different type of themed space by diluting the theme of "Yuanming Yuan" into a setting for an urban park.

Scholars have noted how "theming" has burst beyond the theme park walls to infiltrate into everyday life in the form of themed living communities and themed shopping centers.[50] So perhaps it is appropriate that as the towers of Shenzhen form the boundaries of Splendid China's miniature world, in Zhuhai, it is the city itself that penetrates the walls of the theme park so that the theme park of Yuanming Yuan is gradually changed into a Yuanming Yuan-themed shopping center and community space.

Hengdian New Yuanming Palace and the Provocation of 1:1 Scale Reconstruction

The partial and rearranged reconstruction at 1:1 scale in Zhuhai in 1997 did not provoke public concerns that the theme park version would threaten the memory of the original

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[49] He Yezhou 何叶舟, "珠海圆明新圆转型免费公园," 《羊城晚报》, October 17, 2012, A21.

[50] For examples of theming in domestic living, see Marc Treib, "Theme Park, Themed Living: The Case of Huis Ten Bosch [Japan]," in *Theme Park Landscapes*, 213–234, and Bianca Bosker, *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013); for examples of nature-as-theme in commercial settings, see John Beardsley, "Kiss Nature Goodbye," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 10 (http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/10/kiss-nature-goodbye).

site. But less than a decade later in 2006, the Hengdian proposal to reconstruct the Yuanming Yuan in its totality at 1:1 scale sparked a debate about the value of replication and the memory of a cultural heritage site.

Xu Wenrong, founder of the Hengdian Group, proposed the project as a means of sidestepping the debate about whether to preserve the original Yuanming Yuan as ruins or to reconstruct it. By building a new Yuanming Yuan in Hengdian, he argued, the ruins of the Beijing Yuanming Yuan can continue to symbolize the fall of the Qing dynasty and China's subsequent century of humiliation. The Hengdian reconstruction, on the other hand, can not only present a vision of the accomplishments of Qing landscape architecture, but also demonstrate that contemporary China possesses the economic, technological, and material resources to undertake the reconstruction of an entire Qing garden complex at the cost of twenty billion RMB (about $3.15 billion USD).[51]

His plan was supported by professor of Qing history at Renmin University, Wang Daocheng, who argued that not only would the Hengdian reconstruction recapture the splendor of the Yuanming Yuan before its burning and looting in 1860, but the reconstruction would also symbolize the Chinese nation's revitalization and reassert the Chinese people's potential for great achievements. Anticipating criticism that the Hengdian reconstruction would be no more than a "fake antique" (Ch. *jia gudong* 假古董), Wang pointed out that Chinese art history was replete with copies of famous paintings and calligraphy, implying that the extension into architectural copies was in continuity with traditional artistic practice.[52] Curiously, he does not refer to the Qing dynasty's own practice of architectural copying, or what art historian Patricia Berger has characterized as the "editing or translation of prior works of art from one idiom to another" as a strategy of "intervening in the historical past to manipulate the outcome of contemporaneous events."[53]

Critics of the project expressed doubts about the value of constructing a full-scale replica. Professor of urban planning at Tongji University, Ruan Yisan, commented, "The Yuanming Yuan already died in the fires of the Eight Powers Expeditionary Force; the remaining ruins are a witness to history. Therefore, no matter where you reconstruct it, there will be little value."[54] Others disparaged the idea of a reconstructed Yuanming Yuan as nothing more than a "spiritless forgery" and "crass commercialization" with an

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[51] Xu Wenrong, *Xu Wenrong kou shu*, 305–341; Ding Rensong 丁仁松 and Wei Huabing 魏华兵, "Hengdian jiang chou 200 yi yuan chongjian Yuanming Yuan yuxian 146 nian qian huihuang" [横店将筹 200 亿元重建圆明园 欲现 146 年前辉煌], in *Yuanming Yuan chongjian da zhengbian* 圆明园重建大争辩, edited by Wang Daocheng 王道成 (Hangzhou: Zhejian guji chubanshe, 2007), 273–275.

[52] "Kaocha Hengdian Yuanming Xin Yuan xiangmu zuotan hui fayan shiyao" [考察横店圆明新园项目座谈会发言摘要], in *Yuanming Yuan chongjian*, 271.

[53] Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 127.

[54] Li Yang 李扬, " Zhejiang Hengdian jihua chouzi 200 yi yuan chongjian Yuanming Yuan yinfa zhenlun" [浙江横店计划筹资 200 亿元重建圆明园引发争论], in *Yuanming Yuan chongjian*, 276–277. Note that Ruan, like many others, mistakenly attributes the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan to the Eight Powers Expeditionary Force that suppressed the Boxer Rebellion in 1901, and not to the Anglo-French troops of 1860.

exorbitant price tag that may not stand the test of time.[55] In a televised forum to debate the merit of full-scale reconstruction in Hengdian, several audience members took the criticism one step further and expressed concerns that the replica would directly endanger the memory of the original by enacting a historical "betrayal": "Forgetting history is a betrayal; changing history is a betrayal as well…Only as ruins can the Yuanming Yuan express its history."[56] In short, critics of the project worried that a reconstruction would be "crass," but they also worried that a full-scale, complete reconstruction would enact a form of identity theft and erasure of the original site, even when constructed hundreds of miles away.

Hengdian: Monumental Miniature

How did the Hengdian Group reassure its critics that they were not going to build a "fake antique" that would threaten the memory of the original? By showcasing a miniature model (fig. 2.25): The model is located in one of the Hengdian theme park complexes: The Folk Residence Exhibition Museum (est. 2008).[57] Like the other Hengdian parks, the Folk Residence Museum is simultaneously a film set and a theme park, but it differs in one key aspect: Instead of building copies of Ming-Qing vernacular architecture, it has moved actual vernacular residences from the Ming, Qing, and Republic eras on site, laying claim to architectural authenticity as well as laying claim to cultural heritage preservation. It is within this setting of architectural authenticity that the model for the New Yuanming Yuan resides.

The Hengdian Yuanming Yuan model measures fifty-three by forty meters, occupies 2,120 square meters, and is built at a 1:50 scale. In size, it dwarfs the earlier miniature model of the Yuanming Yuan located within the original site of the Ruins Park in Beijing, which only measures nineteen by fourteen meters and was constructed at the smaller 1:150 scale. Although the model is technically a miniature, I would argue that it actually operates on the principles of monumentality—a monumental miniature. Unlike the "miniature" as theorized by Susan Stewart, this Yuanming Yuan model cannot be encompassed by the body—it cannot be held between clasped hands as a cherished object to be worn close to the heart.[58] The model astounds with its size: Its entirety cannot be seen at ground level; the eye must be elevated to the second-story balcony to be able to encompass its entirety. But the body is always kept at a distance, pushed to the model's perimeter—the viewer may pay homage through circumambulation, but they are not allowed to penetrate the interior. Even when seen from above, the eye strains to locate the most familiar individual structures.

Pedagogically, the model communicates the spatial layout of the Yuanming Yuan—the relationship between waterways, land, and building complexes. The viewer gets a general sense of the density of the site, the variety of building types within it. They realize that the European Palaces comprise such a slender strip of the garden that

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[55] Xi Xuchu 溪旭初, "Wu fa zai zao the Yuanming Yuan" [无法再造的圆明园], in *Yuanming Yuan chongjian*, 278–79.

[56] Qilu TV Station 齐鲁电视台台, "Gai bu gai ling jian Yuanming Yuan" ［该不该另建圆明园], in *Yuanming Yuan chongjian*, 338.

[57] The author conducted a site visit to the Hengdian World Studios complex in summer 2016.

[58] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 61, 69.

they barely even see them. The model intends to create a sense of wonder at the sheer size and complexity of the original garden; even shrunken down, it still takes up the entire exhibition hall. The text panel that introduces the model reminds the viewer that the actual Yuanming Yuan has been reduced to a field of rubble （一片废墟 *yi pian fei xu*）.

The model reassures in its presentation of wholeness and attention to detail. It soothes the worry of critics who fear that there is not enough information to rebuild the Yuanming Yuan nor the technical skill to do it. But the model shows each structure, each tree, even each streetlamp meticulously rendered and placed (fig. 2.26). Here, the streetlamps—themselves ornamented with mini Chinese roofs—support the model's argument that it is simultaneously presenting something of the past—the original Yuanming Yuan—as well as a vision of the future—that is, the presentation model points towards the 1:1 scale reconstruction as theme park. The model assuages: Look, it says, besides the addition of unobtrusive streetlamps to guide the way of visitors, no changes have been made—we have built the model, so we have proven that we do know what the Yuanming Yuan looked like, down to the last column. As representation of the past, the model presents a claim towards shared cultural heritage; as a representation of the future, the model presents a vision of potential cultural achievements.

Hengdian: New Yuanming Palace

The critics who were concerned that the Hengdian project to reconstruct the Yuanming Yuan in its entirety at 1:1 scale can now rest assured that the theme park reconstruction will not be likely to create slippage between the theme park and the original historic site. A site visit to the newly opened tourist attraction reveals a disjuncture between the model-as-promised and the site-as-built. Rather than one park occupying a continuous swathe of space, the Hengdian New Yuanming Palace is split into four separate, non-adjacent, ticketed parks (figs. 2.27, 2.28). On the one hand, this reflects the Yuanming Yuan's own division of three-gardens-in-one (Ch. Yuanming san yuan 圆明三园); however, the original garden's tripartite division still occupied adjacent spaces with movement between each possible.[59] From my own site visits, as well as from the site maps shown here, one sees that the layout of the individual parks also does not correspond to the layout of the originals. Similar to the rearrangement of scenes in the Zhuhai park, the Hengdian parks have also completely rearranged the placement of scenes in relation to topography and their relation to each other, as if each scene existed separately and could be endlessly shuffled into new configurations.

The Hengdian New Yuanming Palace situates the palace gate and the Main Audience Hall (Ch. *Zhengda guangming* 正大光明) as the first scenes the visitor

[59] The Hengdian parks are the New Yuanming Palace 圆明新园, the New Chángchunyuan 新长春园, the New Qichunyuan 新绮春园, and the New Chàngchunyuan 新畅春园. Note that the fourth Hengdian Yuanming Yuan garden theme park is actually a purported reconstruction of the Kangxi-era Garden of Joyful Spring, which is not part of the Yuanming Yuan. Each of the Hengdian reconstructions is additionally themed around the seasons, necessitating the addition of a fourth park. The New Yuanming Palace is also named the "Spring Garden," the New Chángchunyuan is also named the "Summer Garden," and so on.

encounters, just as one would encounter those first in the Beijing Yuanming Yuan. But the spatial resemblance ends there. The layout of the Hengdian park is roughly divided into two sections for a total of forty-five established scenes: the front section is comprised of buildings that sit at the foot of an artificial mountain; the back section is centered around an irregular artificial lake.[60] Each scene is named and numbered, and although most of the park's numbered scenes correspond to the *Forty Scenes* of Qianlong's painted album, nine of the Forty are not represented in the park at all, including the Swastika House (Ch. *Wanfang anhe* 萬方安和). In some cases, the Hengdian park has included known sites in the Yuanming Yuan, but ones not explicitly named as one of the Forty Scenes, or has split up one of the Forty Scenes into two scenes. (See Appendix One for full chart of correspondences.)

Similar to the Zhuhai park's inclusion of scenes that were never present in the Yuanming Yuan, the Hengdian New Yuanming Palace has also burst the bounds of the original. The large artificial mountain is now a scene titled the "Flower Orchard" (Ch. *Huaguo yuan* 花果园). The park also added a giant waterfall and boasts that it is the largest man-made waterfall in the nation at one hundred and fifty meters wide and thirty meters tall.

One of the most conspicuous sites in the Hengdian New Yuanming Palace is a multi-story pagoda set atop a hill, thus creating a vantage point from which the visitor can see the entirety of the new park laid out before their eyes (fig. 2.29). The park has named it after one of the Forty Scenes: Xifeng xiuse 西峰秀色 (fig. 2.30). However, the original Xifeng xiuse did not include a towering pagoda on a hill; in fact, there is no architectural resemblance between the two. Furthermore, the Hengdian park named the pagoda "Tower of Buddha's Fragrance" (Ch. *Foxiang ge* 佛香阁), directly borrowing the name from the tower in the New Summer Palace (Ch. *Yihe Yuan* 颐和园), to which it bears some superficial resemblance. The microcosmic logic of the Yuanming Yuan once again allows its theme park version to borrow sites outside of its original walls and re-situate them within the new walls of the theme park.

Hengdian: *Yuanming Yuan Dream Story* Night Laser Show

A visit to Hengdian's New Yuanming Yuan concludes with the *Yuanming Yuan Dream Story* (Ch. Meng huan Yuanming 夢幻圓明) nighttime show. The show's format consists of laser projections onto screens of water and fog, as well as choreographed bursts of fire, light, and water effects. The narrative of the show removes the Yuanming Yuan from any grounding in historical reality and transports the garden into the realm of vague fantastical antiquity. What follows is the script of the show, as published in the booklet for park tour guides:

> 斗转星移、天地轮回、月沉日浮间，在世间的东方，出现了一座赛过瑶池的仙境，她就是万园之园——圆明圆。
>
> As the stars travel across the sky, as heaven and earth turn, and the moon and sun rise and set, there appeared in the east a fairy realm that

[60] The mountain was probably formed from the earth displaced by the creation of the lake.

surpassed the Jade Lake [of the Queen Mother of the West on Mount Kunlun]. She is the Garden of Gardens—Yuanming Yuan.

传说龙帝巡游东方至圆明园，龙颜大悦，流连忘返。但花神告诉龙帝，圆明园的奇花开了九百九十九年，即将枯萎。一旦鲜花颓败，春天将永远消失。只有找到分布在天、涯、海、角的四种奇花，才能让万花常开，艳春常在。于是龙帝传令龙子，去遍寻天涯海角，找到"天之火魂"、"涯之冰心"、"海之晶莲"，"角之魔菊"四种奇花，完成万花永盛之使命。

It is said that the Dragon Emperor travelled eastwards until he arrived at the Yuanming Yuan, with which he was greatly pleased. He lingered and could not bear to leave. But the Flower God said to the Dragon Emperor that the rare flower of the Yuanming Yuan had bloomed for nine hundred and ninety-nine years and would soon wither. Once the bloom decays, springtime would forever be lost. Only by finding the four mystical flowers scattered in the realms of sky, shore, sea, and cliff can the myriad flowers be kept in bloom and springtime be evermore. Thus, the Dragon Emperor commanded his son to search the four corners of the earth until he found the "Fire Soul of the Sky," "the "Icy Heart of the Shore," "the "Crystal Lotus of the Sea," and the "Magic Chrysanthemum of the Cliffs" in order to fulfill the mission of keeping the myriad flowers forever in bloom.

龙子受命而行，在寻找四种奇花的第一站，龙子获得火凤凰（天之火神的守护者）的爱情，顺利得到了天之火魂。此后，龙子和凤仙九死一生，不仅采齐了四种奇花，还生了九个儿子。龙子回家，圆明园却以毁于魔鬼之手。花神告诉龙子和凤仙，它们采集的奇花留住了万花之灵、万花之骨、以及滋养花木的血脉和永远的芳香，只要勤劳和谐，春天还会回来。于是，在龙凤的带领下，遍寻天下奇花异草，一个无与伦比的圆明新园诞生了。

The Dragon Prince received his orders and departed. On the first stop, he received the love of the Fire Phoenix, the Protector of the Fire Soul of the Sky, and successfully acquired the Fire Soul of the Sky. Afterwards, the Dragon Prince and the Phoenix Fairy survived many hazards together, and not only found the four mystical flowers, but also had nine sons together. But when the Dragon Prince returned home, the Yuanming Yuan had already been destroyed at the hands of demons. The Flower God told the Dragon Prince and the Phoenix Fairy that the mystical flowers they gathered preserved the spirit and bone of the myriad flowers, as well as the arteries to nourish them and their everlasting fragrance. As long as they remained diligent and harmonious, springtime will return. Therefore, under the guidance of the Dragon Prince and Phoenix Fairy, and the [effects] of the mystical flowers and rare grasses, a peerless New Yuanming Yuan was born.

> 龙帝再次巡游，见此情此景，大悦道：“我圆明新园如此美丽，还望天上人间万般珍惜、辛勤守护。从此春天常驻此园，百姓安居乐业，朕今日赐其名‘春苑’”。
>
> The Dragon Emperor once more went on a journey, and seeing this scene, rejoiced, saying, “How lovely is my Yuanming Yuan, that heaven and earth utterly cherish it, and diligently protect it. From now on, springtime will lodge forever in this garden, where the people live and work in peace and contentment. Today, I bestow upon it the name “Spring Garden.”
>
> 从此，又回到了一个灿烂明朗，非常辉煌、美轮美奂的天上人间。
>
> From now on, we return once more to a splendid, brilliant, extraordinary, glorious, magnificent, and beautiful heaven and earth.[61]

While the visitor moved through Hengdian's New Yuanming Yuan park, the informational plaques placed before each building securely tied the contemporary architectural translation to its historic referent. The show, on the other hand, unmoors the Yuanming Yuan from Qing dynastic history and transports this eighteenth-century garden into the Chinese mythical past, where even within the temporal space of a fantasy past, the garden is already ancient and has bloomed for "nine hundred ninety-nine years." The quest narrative allows the park to showcase the various elemental effects of water and fire, but also performs the moralizing function of informing the audience that preservation of the Yuanming Yuan requires resources and efforts from all across the land. Like the historic Yuanming Yuan, this fantastical Yuanming Yuan is also destroyed, but unlike its referent, this one is restored as the "Spring Garden."

Not coincidentally, the Hengdian New Yuanming Yuan carries a second name: "The Spring Garden" (Ch. *Chun Yuan* 春苑). The four Hengdian parks that collectively form the new Yuanming Yuan 新圆明园 / Chángchun Yuan 新长春园 / Qichun Yuan 新绮春园 / Chàngchun Yuan 畅春园 complex were all given alternative names themed around the seasons. The conclusion of the *Yuanming Yuan Dream Story*, therefore, sets up its own theme park as the physical manifestation of the resurrected Yuanming Yuan.

Hengdian: New Changchun Yuan

The Hengdian parks' claim to wholeness, however, goes beyond the replication of each scene at monumental scale. The Yuanming Yuan itself included the construction of buildings in a cross-cultural foreign style: the European Palaces in the northeast strip of the Chángchun Yuan. In Hengdian, the New Changchun Yuan also includes these structures, basing them off the series of copperplate engravings. The park, however, does not limit itself to architectural copies of scenes in the Yuanming Yuan; nor does its expansion into non-Yuanming Yuan architecture limit itself to other Qing imperial structures as at Zhuhai. The original Yuanming Yuan's own inclusion of a themed section of "European Palaces" opened the door for the Hengdian park to expand upon

[61] English translation is my own. Chinese text published in *Yuanming xin yuan: daoyao tong ce* [圆明新园：导游通册] (Hengdian: Zhejiang Hengdian Yuanming xinyuan youxian gongsi, n.d.), 135.

that very theme and include structures that were never part of the original and never part of the Qing imperial demesne. Along the theme park's northeast corner—to the visitor, the back of the park—one encounters strangely familiar structures whose signboards present them as typological representatives of an undefined national architecture, rather than identifying their specific architectural referents: a "Russian church" modelled on St. Basil's Cathedral in Moscow, a "German Triumphal Arch" based on the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, a "French Palace of the Arts" that resembles the Paris Opera, a neo-gothic "American manor," an "Austrian Palace of Art," an "Italian aristocratic manor" in the manner of the Villa Rotonda in Vicenza, an "English Aristocratic Manor," and a "Japanese Temple (figs. 2.31–38)."

The reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan as a whole-and-complete site, that is, not in ruins, creates a valorizing narrative in which the destruction of the Opium Wars never took place or are erased. The additional foreign buildings—of which there are exactly eight—correspond exactly to the eight nations that participated in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Although the Boxer Rebellion is a separate event from the Second Opium War and the burning of the Yuanming Yuan in 1860, the two events are often conflated in the popular imagination. So, in addition to reconstructing a Yuanming Yuan that never burned down, the Hengdian park also presents a vision of an ever expanding Yuanming Yuan—one that continues to enfold the rest of the world into its walls.

In his book, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, Christopher Wood noted that replicas of the Holy Sepulchre in Germany "might look very different from a replica in another town. It mattered more that the replica looked different from all the run-of-the-mill basilical churches in its own proximity, than that it looked like other replicas of the Holy Sepulchre, or even like the Holy Sepulchre itself."[62] He argued that these replicas treated the original Holy Sepulchre as a "type," rather than an exact plan to be copied down to the last detail. In the theme park reconstructions of the Yuanming Yuan, the Yuanming Yuan itself has been diluted to a "type," where its replicas only need to share in enough similarities to be recognizable as "Yuanming Yuan" and not any other garden or palace. The Yuanming Yuan itself has become a theme.

Epilogue: Garden as Model in the Museum of Chinese Garden Landscape and Architecture

The condensation of monumental replicas of international architectural representatives within the single space of the Hengdian park recalls the precedent to modern theme parks: The World's Fairs. Here we come to our last Yuanming Yuan model: a monumental miniature displayed at the Shanghai World Expo of 2010 (fig. 2.39).[63] Sculpted out of precious woods and precious stones, this eighteen-by-fourteen-meter square model at 1:150 scale was a labor of love for Mr. Kan Sanxi 阚三喜(1949–), an artist from Shanghai who has been granted the title of "intangible cultural heritage practitioner" for his achievements in traditional woodcarving. Why display a model of the Yuanming Yuan at this particular temporary site? The model was displayed at an

[62] Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 45.

[63] CCTV documentary episode "Ling long gong yuan" (玲珑宫苑) in the fourth season of *Tan suo fa xian: Shou yi* (探索发现：手艺), aired 22 June 2014.

expo whose theme was "Better City, Better Life" (城市，让生活更美好), inside the World Trade Center Association pavilion, whose own sub-theme focused on "green living" and "peace and stability through trade" (透过贸易促进和平与稳定).[64] As a "modelscape," the Yuanming Yuan miniature offers a pivot between preserving the past and advancing the future: It offers the hope that the city of the future preserves cultural heritage, both as physical sites and as intangible practices; it suggests that the spatial model of the Chinese garden offers an alternative mode of urban planning;[65] and finally, that as a model of a Qing imperial garden that was itself constructed during an age of globalism when all the world sought trade with China, it legitimizes the pavilion's theme of a future dependent upon global trade.

The model is now displayed in the lobby of the Museum of Chinese Garden and Landscape Architecture located in the Garden Expo Park in the Fengtai District of Beijing. Operating under the theme "Chinese Gardens, Ideal Homes," the museum has created typological Chinese gardens within it as pedagogical model rooms to demonstrate regional differences in garden design. The model of the Yuanming Yuan, the "Garden of Gardens," anchors the entrance of the museum about gardens; behind it, a garden rock from the actual Yuanming Yuan anchors the model—the relic legitimizes the model and the model gives form to the fragmented relic (fig. 40).[66]

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[64] *Expo 2010 Shanghai China Official Album* (中国 2010 年上海世博会官方图册) (Shanghai: Dong fang chu ban zhong xin, 2010), 5, 78; "'五一'到世博会看巨型立雕圆明园，《科技日报》, 30 Apr 2010.

[65] The Chinese garden as a model for landscape design can be traced back to 17th-century English treatises that promote Chinese garden design as an alternative to the geometry of continental gardens. For application of Chinese garden design principles to contemporary landscape architecture and urban planning, see Bianca Rinaldi, *The Chinese Garden: Garden Types for Contemporary Landscape Architecture* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2012).

[66] The author conducted a site visit to the Museum of Chinese Garden and Landscape Architecture in summer 2017.The museum also includes Mr. Kan's sculptural interpretation of the Spring Festival on a River (*Qingming shanghe tu*) handscroll; the urban landscape of the Spring Festival scroll has also been realized as full-scale theme park landscapes in Hengdian World Studios and elsewhere. It is another composition that has become a recognizable compositional theme.

TRAUMATIC BODIES: THE CASE OF THE ZODIAC HEADS, THEIR CONTEMPORARY "TRANSLATIONS," AND THE CONTESTATIONS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

"The twelve bronze zodiac animal heads…have high artistic value. They are also witnesses to modern China's history of humiliation, they bring together the exceptional national feeling and historical memory of the Chinese people, and they have particular historical value."
~Wall text in the National Museum of China[1]

"The rabbit and rat bronzes from the Old Summer Palace are not Chinese culture, and they have no artistic value. Patriotism is not a love of the Aisin Gioro family name, and twelve playthings manufactured in the West are not the quintessence of Chinese culture."
~Ai Weiwei (2009)[2]

Introduction

On December 28, 2015, the National Palace Museum in Taiwan celebrated the opening of its Southern Branch in Chiayi. During the opening ceremony, Taiwan president Ma Ying-jeou and Hong Kong superstar Jackie Chan unveiled the movie star's donation to the new museum: twelve bronze heads of the Chinese zodiac, installed atop columns in the museum's central courtyard. Two days later, on December 30, two Taiwanese student activists upended cans of red paint over two of the heads and spray-painted "cultural united front" (Ch. *wenhua tongzhan* 文化統戰) down the front of the concrete pedestal, transforming the sculptural installation into an impromptu stele of protest (fig. 3.1).[3] They publicly posted the photographic evidence of their vandalism to Facebook, alongside a statement denouncing the new museum's betrayal of its founding principles and its complicity in the subordination of native Taiwanese culture to the cultural imperialism of Mainland China.[4]

Why did the student activists target a set of zodiac head sculptures for their act of political protest against warming Cross-Strait relations? How are the forms of the zodiac animals related to contestations over the cultural heritage of Taiwan vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China? Because the sculptures installed in the central courtyard of the Chiayi branch of the National Palace Museum were not simply in the form of

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[1] Object label for "Copper Mouse Head and Rabbit Head" in "Return of National Treasures" (国宝回归) section in an exhibition on new acquisitions, National Museum of China. Author saw this exhibition in August 2017.

[2] Ai Weiwei, *Ai Weiwei's Blog: Writings, Interviews, and Digital Rants, 2006–2009*, edited and translated by Lee Ambrozy (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2011), 208. Ai's original Chinese-language blog posts were censored and deleted by PRC authorities in 2009. Ambrozy's English translation remains the most complete record of Ai's posts. The above quote is from the blog post "My Regards to Your Mother," February 27, 2009.

[3] "Taiwan Statues Donated by Jackie Chan Defaced with Anti-China Graffiti," *The Guardian*, 31 December 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/31/taiwan-statues-donated-by-jackie-chan-defaced-with-anti-china-graffiti, accessed March 1, 2016.

[4] I have the screenshot of the public Facebook post and I am withholding the names of the students involved.

generic zodiac animals but were copies of the looted zodiac head sculptures from the Yuanming Yuan (fig. 3.2). To understand this act of vandalism, I return to the circumstances of the Yuanming Yuan's looting and destruction, the dispersal of these looted heads, their reappearance on the auction market, and the negotiation of their value as Chinese cultural heritage in contemporary cultural heritage discourse.

The first section of this chapter will answer the question of "Why these heads? What is it about this particular set of heads, more so than any other object looted from the Yuanming Yuan, that has inspired such controversy over the fate of objects looted from China?" I argue that it is in their sculptural form as fragmented bodies, specifically as decapitated heads, that they derive their efficacy as substitute bodies that continuously revive the trauma of national humiliation in national memory. In the second part, I will then address the ways in which the saga of the zodiac heads does not end with their repatriation, but continues through its multivalent sculptural reproductions, where contemporary artists like Ai Weiwei have given the heads new physical form and revived them for new audiences. Since these reproductions are not exact copies, I argue that these acts of artistic reproduction should be considered acts of translation. As "translations," the new heads move the conversation about cultural heritage into site-specific contexts and give voice to questions about heritage, identity, traditions, and even global justice. These acts of "translation" can elevate the originals, satirize them, or even inspire acts of vandalism.

Heavenly Bodies to Fountainheads

Yilantai's copperplate print of the west façade of the Hall of Calm Seas (Ch. *Haiyantang* 海晏堂) shows a fan-shaped fountain with zodiac animals arrayed on either side in alternating order (fig. 3.3). The right side includes the rat, tiger, dragon, horse, monkey, and pig; the left side includes the ox, rabbit, snake, ram, rooster, and dog.[5] The print clearly reveals that the fountain sculptures were not merely heads but also had bodies. The anthropomorphic figures with animal heads and robed, luohan-like bodies sit upon pedestals and face the center of the fountain. The stream of water shooting from the mouth of the horse reveals their function as fountainheads. The fountain operated as a giant water clock: every two hours, a different animal would spout water and all twelve would operate in unison at noon.[6]

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[5] There is some visual ambiguity as to whether the last zodiac figures are a pig on the right and a dog on the left or vice versa. If the standard order of the zodiac animals is respected, as well as the pattern of alternating animals in their installation, then it should be the dog on the right and the pig on the left. However, the figure on the right has a more flattened, pig-like snout, and thus I have decided to identify it as the pig. It is unclear whether this is an error on the part of the plate engraver, the artist, or the craftsmen installing the fountain. Considering that the site itself is in ruins and the sculptures dispersed, we may never know.

[6] For descriptions of the fountains in the European Palaces of the Yuanming Yuan, see: Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1934); Maurice Adams, *Yuen Ming Yuen l'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anceins Jesuites au XVIIIe Siècle* (Peiping: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936); Hope Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness: The History of the Yuan Ming Yuan and of the Emperors Who Lived There* (London: William & Norgate, 1950); Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "A Pluridisciplinary Research on Castiglione and the

The representation of the zodiac as figures with animal heads and human bodies dates back at least to the Sui dynasty in the seventh century, although examples of zoocephalic non-zodiac figures dates back even further. Tomb excavations have found earthenware and stoneware glazed calendrical figurines comprising complete duodenary sets. Judy Ho, art historian of medieval China, has suggested that the entombment of these figures with the deceased during the medieval period served to create a cosmic diagram that situated the deceased at the sacred center.[7] She further suggests that the popularity of the hybrid form attested to a belief in the power of transformation and the fluidity between human and animal that operated alongside—and outside of—established Buddhist and Daoist practice.[8] By the Ming and Qing dynasties, zoocephalic zodiac figures had moved outside the tomb setting and were well established as a set of decorative motifs in jade or stone.[9]

In the Yuanming Yuan's European Palaces, the animal-headed zodiac figures are transformed in medium, scale, and function from their predecessors. Instead of the ceramics of tomb figures, these garden figures are cast bronze; instead of the small-scale decorative sets that fit comfortably in the hand, these fountain heads are large enough to be held in a full embrace. As key components of a water clock, they continue to be associated with cyclical time and the movement of the heavens, but as fountain heads that spout water in the mode of European fountains, they are unique in their performance of their timekeeping. The Yuanming Yuan's bronze zodiac animals are not alone as bronze animal fountains in the European Palaces. The fountain in front of Xieqiqu 谐奇趣 (Pavilion of Harmonious Delight) features an assortment of aquatic animals like geese and crayfish; the pool in front of Dashuifa 大水法 (Great Fountains) features a scene of hunting dogs and an antlered stag. All these creatures also spout streams of water from their mouths, beaks, and antlers. The zodiac heads, however, remain distinct from these other animal fountain heads in their function as timekeepers, in their configuration as a complete and known set of twelve specific animals, and lastly, in their survival—albeit as an incomplete set—into the present day.

A set of small jade zodiac sculptures dating to the late eighteenth or nineteenth century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (and an identical set in the Palace Museum, Beijing) may be based on the Yuanming Yuan zodiacs.[10] Like their counterparts in

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Emperor Ch'ien-lung's European Palaces," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 24, nos. 4 (Sept–Oct 1989): 1–12 and no. 5 (Nov–Dec 1985): 1–16 [published in two parts]; Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 59–65; Victoria M. Siu, *Gardens of a Chinese Emperor: Imperial Creations of the Qianlong Era, 1736–1796* (Lehigh University Press, 2013), 86–94.

[7] Judy Chungwa Ho, "Representing the Twelve Calendrical Animals as Beastly, Human, and Hybrid Beings in Medieval China," in *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture,* edited by Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang, 95–136 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 113–114.

[8] Ibid., 123.

[9] Paola Dematte, "Circle of Animals / Zodiac Heads and the Twelve-Animal Cycle in China," in *Ai Weiwei: Circle of Animals*, ed. Susan Delson, 132–145 (New York: Prestel, 2011), 138, 141.

[10] I thank Pat Berger for bringing these jades to my attention as likely Yuanming Yuan copies. The Met's object webpage presents them as examples of Qing decorative arts and does not associate them with the Yuanming Yuan, see "Twelve Animals of the

Yilantai's copperplate engraving, each jade figure is a robed, seated figure with zodiac animal head; the jades also hold the same attributes and are seated in similar postures as their counterparts on the engraving, thus making a convincing case that the fountain heads of the Haiyantang had been translated in scale and medium into jade miniatures (Fig. 3.4). As three-dimensional sculptures, the jades show a side of the zodiac sculptures that the engraving does not: the view from behind. Each jade figure not only bears the head of its zodiac animal but its tail as well! Granted, the jades may not be exact copies of the sculptural forms of their counterparts in the Yuanming Yuan, but they at least present the possibility that the Yuanming Yuan's sculptural fountainheads may have had tails.

The survival of the zodiac heads as sculptural fragments that are not only fragments from the larger fountain complex, but also fragments from their own missing bodies, has actually resulted in confusion in the scholarship, where the most basic information about the material of the bodies remains ambiguous. Are the bodies of the bronze heads also bronze? Or were the bodies stone? Maurice Adam described the fountain as having "twelve bronze statues with human bodies and animal heads."[11] Victoria Siu also states that the statues were entirely of bronze: "twelve bronze statues with animal heads and human bodies."[12] Young-tsu Wong ambiguously described the sculptures as "twelve bronze animal heads…with human bodies," leaving the exact material of the bodies unstated.[13] Rosemary Scott has clearly stated, however, that "the bodies were human, clothed and carved in stone, but the bronze heads were cast as meticulously formed animals."[14] The wall label for the head of the Rat and Rabbit in the National Museum of China also stated that the sculptures originally had "bodies of stone." In the absence of a clear description in the Qing archives and in the absence of the material testimony of the bodies themselves, which are no longer extant, the answer of whether the bodies were also of bronze or if they were of stone will never be satisfactorily answered. The zodiac animals' fragmentation of form has also resulted in the lacuna of knowledge about them.

Violent Justifications: Human Rights, Cultural Heritage Rights, and International Law

The Second Opium War concluded with the looting and burning of the Yuanming Yuan, and presumably, the moment when the zodiac figures lost their heads. The opium wars were fought to force the Qing empire to acquiesce to the Western-

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Chinese Zodiac" object record, *The Met* collection website, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/42102. The same jade sculptures are published in the exhibition catalog for Ai Weiwei's *Circle of Animals* and also only discussed as examples of zodiac animals in the decorative arts and without relating them to the Yuanming Yuan; see Paola Dematte, "Circle of Animals / Zodiac Heads," 138–39, fig. 52.

[11] Maurice Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen: L'oeuvre architecturale des anciens Jesuites au XIIIe siècle* (Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), 31.

[12] Siu, *Gardens of a Chinese Emperor*, 90.

[13] Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 63–64.

[14] Rosemary Scott, "Lot 677 and 678: The Bronze Heads from the Chinese Emperor's Summer Palace," Christie's Paris *Yuanming Yuan* Yves St. Laurent sale, 25 February 2009.

established liberal ideals of free market exchange, freedom of movement though the interior, and compliance with international, that is Western, practices of diplomacy. The Treaty of Tianjin officially ended the war in 1858, but complications in its ratification sent a combined force of Anglo-French troops, under the command of Lord Elgin, marching towards Beijing to force ratification.[15]

When they encamped at the Yuanming Yuan on 7 October 1860, the troops saw that the emperor and his retinue had already fled. Days of looting followed. On Oct 18, Elgin ordered the garden to be destroyed by fire. The destruction of a site long known as a center of artistic and cultural achievement was greeted with ambivalence in Europe. Victor Hugo, who was already invested in the salvage of French cultural heritage and national identity, wrote:

> There was, in a corner of the world, a wonder of the world; this wonder was called the Summer Palace….People spoke of the Parthenon in Greece, the pyramids in Egypt, the Coliseum in Rome, Notre-Dame in Paris, the Summer Palace in the Orient….This wonder has disappeared. One day two bandits entered the Summer Palace. One plundered, the other burned…. What was done to the Parthenon was done to the Summer Palace, more thoroughly and better, so that nothing of it should be left…. We Europeans are the civilized ones, and for us, the Chinese are the barbarians. This is what civilization has done to barbarism.[16]

Regarding the distinction between so-called civilization and so-called barbarism, Hugo wrote in the tones of bitter irony and with the goal of revealing the hypocrisy of his European compatriots. Elgin, in justification of his actions, claimed that it was the Chinese who were the barbarians by failing to abide by international standards of wartime conduct and treatment of captives. As the Anglo-French troops neared Beijing, thirty-nine negotiators and soldiers had been seized after a negotiating session in September. By the time they were returned, on October 9, the Anglo-French forces were already stationed at the Yuanming Yuan. Of the captured, only eighteen came back alive, and the living testified to the conditions of their captivity.[17] Henry Loch, one of the captives, attested to the rough handling of their bodies by their captors, the "intolerable agony" of being bound and jostled in the prisoner cart, of barely being fed,

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[15] For the history of the Second Opium War and how it changed the international world order, see J. W. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the* Arrow *War (1856–1860) in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); James Hevia, *English Lessons*: *The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 29–74; Erik Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism: The European Destruction of the Palace of the Emperor of China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[16] Victor Hugo, "The Chinese Expedition: Victor Hugo on the Sack of the Summer Palace," Fondation Napoleon website, https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/articles/the-chinese-expedition-victor-hugo-on-the-sack-of-the-summer-palace/.

[17] Wong, *Paradise Lost*, 146; Hevia, *English Lessons*, 47–48, 103–105; Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism*, 67–68, 78.

and of being physically beaten, shackled, and suffering "terrible torture."[18] In Loch's recounting of the experiences of the other captives, gristly details emerge of being bound so tightly that they could barely move, of putrefaction setting into open wounds, and of the bodies of the dead returned in an unrecognizable state.[19]

In the subsequent narratives, accounts, memoirs, and published letters of the China Campaign, the British officers emphasize several key points to justify the burning of the Yuanming Yuan: the "barbarity" of treatment of the captives; the "crime" and "violation of law" of that treatment; the Yuanming Yuan as the site upon which those criminal actions against the bodies of their compatriots occurred; and that the subsequent destruction of the Yuanming Yuan, which while regrettable in itself, was entirely justifiable as an act of retribution and extrajudicial justice.

Robert Swinhoe (1836–1877), consular officer and interpreter, claimed that "as, therefore, the Summer Palace was the place where the barbarous cruelties first began, and as these were committed at the Emperor's special instigation, it was forthwith determined to level his sinning Majesty's rural retreat to the ground."[20] In a dispatch dated October 25, Elgin justified his decision:

> I came to the conclusion that the destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen was the least objectionable of the several courses open to me, unless I could have reconciled it to my sense of duty to suffer the crime which had been committed to pass practically unavenged…. To this place he brought our hapless countrymen, in order that they might undergo their severest tortures within its precincts…. As almost all the valuables had already been taken from the palace, the army would go there, not to pillage, but to mark, by a solemn act of retribution, the horror and indignation with which we were inspired by the perpetration of a great crime.[21]

General Grant echoed Elgin's decision in a letter to their superiors:

> I have the honour to state that my reasons for wishing to destroy the palace of Yuan-min-yuan are—first, because it was in that place that the prisoners were treated with such barbarity, being bound hand and foot together for three days, with nothing to eat or drink; and secondly, because the English nation will not be satisfied unless more lasting marks of our sense of the barbarous manner in which they have violated the laws of nations be inflicted on the Chinese government…. The destruction is a blow aimed entirely at the Chinese government, by whom, and not by the people, have these atrocities been committed; and it is a blow that will be

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[18] Henry Brougham Loch, *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860*, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1900 [1869]), 98–104, 112.
[19] Loch, *Personal Narratives*, 162–63.
[20] Robert Swinhoe (1836–1877), *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860; containing personal experiences of Chinese character and of the moral and social condition of the country, together with a description of the interior of Pekin* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861), 326.
[21] James Bruce Elgin, Earl of (1811–1863) and Walrond, Theodore, ed., *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin, Governor of Jamaica, Governor-General of Canada, Envoy to China, Viceroy of India* (London: John Murray, 1872), 366.

> felt most severely by the Chinese government, whilst on the score of humanity there can be no objection urged against it…. I could not but grieve at the destruction of so much ancient grandeur, and felt that it was an uncivilised proceeding; but I believed it to be necessary as a future warning to the Chinese against the murder of European envoys, and the violation of the laws of nations.[22]

In a letter to his wife on October 27, Sir Harry Parkes explained to her that "considering that Yuen Ming Yuen was the scene of the atrocities committed on our countrymen, I consider that it was the proper one of the two [the other being Beijing] to make a monumental ruin of."[23] His biographer, Stanley Lane-Poole, offered further commentary: "From an artistic point of view it was an act of vandalism; from that of sound policy it was statesmanlike."[24]

Two questions arise from these accounts: First, was the Yuanming Yuan the actual site where the captives were held and where they suffered? And second, exactly which "laws of nations" was violated?

Although Parkes claimed that the Yuanming Yuan was the "scene of the atrocities," his personal account of his captivity does not place himself within the garden. Loch's personal account also does not place himself as a captive within the Yuanming Yuan; his recorded depositions of the Sikh captives Jawalla Sing and Bughel Sing also do not identify the Yuanming Yuan as the site of their captivity.[25] Yet several eyewitness accounts, including those of Parkes and Loch, claim that the other group of prisoners were detained there, as attested in the accounts above. Regarding this claim made in British accounts, scholars have largely dismissed it as fabrication or misconception, an assessment with which I am inclined to agree, though I do think the claim is worth pointing out rather than ignoring. Qing historian Wang Kaixi has further investigated this claim and has found no evidence that the captives were at Yuanming Yuan; rather, Wang demonstrates that the captives were taken to prisons in the Board of Punishments in Beijing and then to various district jails.[26]

In the justifications provided for the burning of the Yuanming Yuan, Elgin and his compatriots invoked the rhetoric of human rights violations in the treatment of the bodies of the captives, even if they did not specifically use the term "human rights." But in their characterization of the sufferings of the captives as "atrocities," "crimes," and a violation of the "laws of nations," they clearly expressed ideas about acceptable conduct in wartime conflict and the acceptable treatment of captive bodies. In his examination of European military campaigns into China in the nineteenth century, Erik Ringmar has summarized the laws of "civilized warfare" as follows: "In civilized wars…soldiers

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[22] James Hope Grant (1808–1875), *Incidents in the China War of 1860, compiled from the private journals of General Sir Hope Grant*, ed. Henry Knollys (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1875), 203, 204, 205.
[23] Stanley Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901), 251.
[24] Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes*, 250.
[25] Loch, *Personal Narrative*, 161–165.
[26] Wang Kaixi 王开玺, "Ying Fa bei fu zhe Yuanming Yuan shou nue zhi si kao miu" (英法被俘者圆明园受虐致死考谬), *Yuanming Yuan xue kan* 16, http://www.iqh.net.cn/info.asp?column_id=10654.

fight only other soldiers….[I]t is against the laws of civilized warfare to take them hostage or to torture them….Under no circumstances is looting or wanton destruction of private property allowed….Similarly it is not permissible to…destroy buildings of national or historical importance."[27] It is important to note, however, that all of these international legal standards of conduct were not codified until *after* the events of 1860. So although Elgin invoked sentiments and ideologies that were already current in Europe, they were largely uncodified at the international level. It would not be until 1864 that major European states met in Geneva to codify the treatment of wounded soldiers; it would not be until 1899 that the first Hague Conference was held. In present-day heritage discourse, cultural heritage rights are argued to be human rights; yet the case of the Yuanming Yuan is an example of the rhetoric of human rights being mobilized and weaponized as justification for the destruction of a site of historical and cultural significance.

As Ringmar has argued, what was destroyed was not just the physical landscape, but the fantastical aura of the Yuanming Yuan, and along with it, Qing imperial authority.[28] Elgin extended the logic of extraterritoriality beyond the confines of the treaty ports into the very heart of the Qing imperium, and thus acted as judge, jury, and executioner. By erasing the Qing's empire-in-microcosm, he laid the foundation for a new international system to arise in its place.

In the writing of modern Chinese history, however, the looting and burning of the Yuanming Yuan came to be viewed as an insult against the Chinese *people* and the Chinese *nation*, to be remembered as "national humiliation" during China's "Century of Humiliations," stretching from the First Opium War to the Second World War.

It is within this discourse of national humiliation that the author of a 1931 article in the *Journal of the Chinese Architecture Society* describes the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan as "vandalism": "Destroyed by Western vandalism [西洋番达主義], this is a great loss to Chinese culture [中国文化], and it is the first of that which our fellow countrymen must never forget [国人所当永矢弗谖]…. Since the time of Sino-Western encounter and exchange, Western vandalism has brought disaster upon China, of which this campaign [the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan] was the first and greatest."[29]

Of interest is that "vandalism" is used here in an untranslated form, printed into the text as English, pointing to its origins as an imported foreign concept (fig. 3.5). By using "vandalism," the author constructs the act itself as something foreign, as something that simply did not happen in the Sinosphere until the Westerners arrived. By characterizing the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan as "vandalism," the author implicitly hearkens to the association of the term in the sacking of Rome by the Vandals, drawing historic parallels between a centuries-old civilization whose decline is hastened by the invasion of foreign barbarians.[30]

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[27] Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism*, 99.

[28] Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism*, 157.

[29] Xiang Da 向達, "Yuanming Yuan yi wu wen xian zhi zhan lan" (圓明園遺物文獻之展覽), *Zhong guo ying zao xue she hui kan* 2, no. 1 (April 1931): 1, 6.

[30] The term "vandalism" or *vandalisme* arose during the iconoclasm of the French Revolution.

Where "vandalism" does appear in a Chinese rendering in this article, it is technically a transliteration, where it is put into Chinese pronunciation: 番達 fan-da. But the transliteration can be read as a hidden pun as well: the character for "fan" can mean "foreigner," and the character for "da" can mean "to arrive," and thus "vandalism" is defined as what happens when foreigners arrive.

Our 1931 author also calls out the international community for inconsistent application of their own principles. After all, he points out, "when Germany invaded Belgium in 1914 and bombed the Leuven Library, this act was condemned by all nations."[31] Where, he asks, is the outrage at the vandalism of the Yuanming Yuan, whose loss is surely just as great if not greater? And writing in 1931, the same year as the Athens Conference that called for the preservation of historic sites, he is likely aware of the frustrating contradiction in the rhetoric of historic preservation and the actions visited upon China.

WHY THESE HEADS? FRAGMENTED BODIES

The ruins of the Yuanming Yuan have featured in the national humiliation narrative since the early twentieth century. In the post-Mao period, the zodiac heads star in that conversation as it pertains to recovery of looted cultural heritage relics. Between 1860 and 2000, however, they have almost no history—they were forgotten. The bronze heads do not reappear until the late 1980s.

On the Auction Block

By tracing the trajectory of the heads since the 1980s, we can identify the changing factors that transformed them from curiosities to multi-million-dollar stars of China's repatriation efforts.

The first two heads to emerge from obscurity were the Monkey and the Pig as Lot 134 and Lot 135 in Sotheby's New York auction of "Fine Chinese Decorative Works of Art" on October 9 and 10, 1987 (fig. 3.6). According to the catalog, the heads were from the collection of Stuart Blaine and Robert Booth, and furthermore, the heads had been exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1980–1981.[32]

The museum's *Annual Report* and exhibition records for that period, however, make no mention of the heads nor were the heads included in China-related exhibitions of that year.[33] When reached for comment, the curators of the Met's Asian art departments confirmed that the heads were not included in any of their shows that year and that they did not recall ever coming into contact with the two zodiac heads.[34] Further communication with former Sotheby's Chinese art department experts revealed that the heads were most likely never exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum, although they were physically left in the museum offices by the collector in the hopes that the museum was interested in acquisition. According to Lark Mason, who was working for Sotheby's New York in 1987, Blaine and Booth approached Sotheby's as consigners for a private New York collector in early to mid-1987. They were not at liberty to reveal the

[31] Xiang, "Yuanming Yuan yi wu," 10.
[32] Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Decorative Works of Art*, auction cat. (New York: Sotheby's, 9–10 October 1987), unpaginated, lots 134–135.
[33] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980–81).
[34] Alfreda Murck, email communication with author, January 14–16, 2018.

name of their client, nor did they have information about the heads' provenance prior to its then-owner. They did say that they had previously been in contact with Clare Le Corbeiller (1931–2003), the curator of European decorative arts at the Met, in whose care the heads had been left for research and potential acquisition. The heads never passed through the museum's Department of Far Eastern Art, and in any case, the museum declined to acquire the Monkey and the Pig. As Mason recalls, the Met's rationale for declining the heads had nothing to do with their provenance as objects looted from the Yuanming Yuan. Although Corbeiller found them interesting as decorative items and curiosities, she ultimately decided that the two heads were not exhibition-worthy because they were, firstly, part of a fragmentary set, and secondly, objects that were neither fully western nor fully Chinese, and therefore occupied an uncomfortable nebulous space between the carefully demarcated lines of the Met's curatorial departments.[35]

With no museum acquisition in sight, the heads went on the auction block and far exceeded their estimates of $60,000–$80,000. Sotheby's sold the Pig to a private American collector for $104,500 and sold the Monkey for $165,000 to Taiwanese collector and dealer Cai Zhennan, the founder of the antique dealership My Humble House (Ch. *Hanshe* 寒舍) in Taipei and who also identified with the monkey as his personal zodiac sign.[36]

In June 1989, My Humble House acquired three more heads at a Sotheby's London sale of "Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art": the Ox for £148,500 ($240,570 USD), the Tiger for £137,500 ($222,750 USD), and the Horse for £181,500 ($294,030 USD) (figs. 3.7–3.9).[37] At this point, four heads were in a Taiwanese collection. My Humble House would make one hundred full-scale replicas of the Monkey head in bronze to sell as collectors' items (fig. 3.10).[38] It does not appear that the dealer made replicas of the other heads in his possession and he soon put the Tiger back up for auction at Christie's Swire in October 1991 where it sold for $429,000 USD.[39] In 1995, J. Kugel Antiquaires offered the rat and rabbit heads for purchase to the Asian export art department of the Peabody Essex Museum; the museum declined.[40]

In the spring of 2000, the Monkey, Ox, and Tiger returned to the auction block in back-to-back sales by Christie's and Sotheby's Hong Kong (figs. 3.11, 3.12).[41] The sales from 1987 to 1991 had proceeded quietly, but in 2000 Hong Kong, that would not be the case. The Chinese government and pro-Beijing groups lobbied to have the sales halted. Protestors stormed the Sotheby's salesroom at the Island Shangri-La Hotel, ironically

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[35] Lark Mason, email communication with author, January 19, 2018.
[36] Mee-Seen Loong, email communication with author, January 16, 2018.
[37] Sotheby's London, *Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art*, auction cat. (London: Sotheby's, June 13, 1989), 40–45 (lots 68–70).
[38] Full page ad in *Orientations,* July 1991; personal communication with Mee-Seen Loong.
[39] Christie's Swire Hong Kong, *Important Chinese Ceramics, Jades, and Works of Art*, auction cat. (Hong Kong: Christie's Swire, October 1–2, 1991), 430–431 (lot 1680).
[40] J. Kugel Antiquaires to Peabody Essex Museum, fax communication of 15 March 1995, Asian export art curatorial files, Peabody Essex Museum.
[41] Christie's Hong Kong, *The Imperial Sale: Yuanmingyuan* (Hong Kong: Christie's, April 30, 2000), 35–38 (lots 516–517); Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art* (Hong Kong: Christie's, May 2, 2000), 202–203 (lot 749).

located by the hotel restaurant called the "Summer Palace."[42] The sales went ahead. Rather than resorting to legal action, the Chinese state recovered the three heads (Monkey, Ox, Tiger) by delegating the Poly Art Group—a spin-off of the People's Liberation Army—to win them back at auction. Exceeding all estimates, the Poly Art Group successfully acquired the heads back by spending about one million dollars *each* on the Ox and Monkey, and nearly two million on the Tiger.[43] Rather than relying upon diplomatic pressure or military posturing, the Chinese state recovered the heads by outspending its rival bidders.

As an example in the intersection between patriotism, repatriation, and strategic business dealing, in 2003, the "Gambling King of Macao," Stanley Ho, purchased the Pig from a private collector in New York for $770,000 and donated it to the Poly Art Museum (fig. 3.13).[44] In October 2007, Sotheby's Hong Kong featured the Horse head as the centerpiece of its special sale, "Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity" (fig. 3.14).[45] To avoid the public outcry of the 2000 auctions in Hong Kong, Sotheby ultimately facilitated the acquisition of the Horse head by Stanley Ho as a private transaction between him and the consigner. Ho thus acquired the Horse, estimated at HK$60 million (US$7.7million) for $8.9 million USD and expressed his intention to donate the Horse head back to the nation. The Ministry of Cultural Relics lauded his "patriotic act" and presumably Mr. Ho's business ventures, now that Macao itself had been repatriated to China in 1999, also benefited from his "patriotism."[46]

Following Ho's acquisition of the Horse head, it was exhibited in Sotheby's Hong Kong Autumn Sales Preview in the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre so that the public could "appreciate this national treasure."[47] The State Administration of Cultural Heritage for the PRC lauded Ho for his "patriotic act" and celebrated the Horse head's "home-coming."[48] But the "home" that the Horse would return to would not be the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park nor the Poly Art Museum, where its Ox, Tiger, Monkey, and Pig brethren were displayed. Following its exhibition in Sotheby's Hong Kong rooms, the Horse was subsequently displayed in the lobby of Ho's newest Macao

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[42] Mee-Seen Loong, email communication with author, January 16, 2018.
[43] Magnus Fiskesjö, "Politics of Cultural Heritage," in *Reclaiming Chinese Society: The New Social Activism*, ed. You-tien Hsing and Ching Kwan Lee, 225–245 (New York: Routledge, 2010), 228; Souren Melikian and International Herald Tribune, "Auction Houses Add Insult to Injury," *New York Times*, 6 May 2000, http://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/06/style/auction-houses-add-insult-to-injury.html.
[44] Fiskesjö, "Politics of Cultural Heritage," 227–228.
[45] Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity*, auction cat. (Hong Kong: Sotheby's, October 9, 2007).
[46] Audrey Wang, *Chinese Antiquities: An Introduction to the Art Market* (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries in association with Sotheby's Institute of Art, 2012), 25.
[47] Sotheby's Hong Kong press release, "Dr. Stanley Ho Donates to China the Bronze Horse Head of the Summer Palace Purchased at Sotheby's Hong Kong," September 2007.
[48] Ibid.

endeavor, the Hotel Grand Lisboa.[49] Coincidentally, in the months prior to Ho's acquisition of the Horse head, his casino empire in Macao was facing fierce competition from Las Vegas developers while also fending off allegations of illegal business operations with ties to criminal activity.[50] Although there are no explicit links between Ho's intervention in the art market and his navigation of precarious business and legal situations, it is not difficult to see how national praise as a "patriot" may have served to smooth out other difficulties. Additionally, although Chinese state media trumpeted the "homecoming" of the Horse, its actual location on public display within a private property within the special administrative region of Macao brings up the question of where "home" is for repatriated objects. On the one hand, the Horse is not back at the Yuanming Yuan nor is it in the collection of a state museum or institution; on Macao, it resides just barely within the borders of the nation-state that claims it as its cultural heritage.[51] On the other hand, if "China is not a country but an idea which was reformulated in the twentieth century to fit with the hegemonic world nation-state system" where all artifacts from within its current borders are "recast as 'national cultural heritage,'" then the Horse's spatial distance from the Yuanming Yuan does not matter.[52] If anything, its presence within the Grand Lisboa also serves to anchor the periphery SARs—whose existence carries the threat of national fragmentation—to the state as centered in Beijing.

In 2009, the rat and rabbit head came up at a Christie's Paris auction from the estate of Yves Saint-Laurent (fig. 3.15, 3.16).[53] The Chinese government lodged a protest and demanded their repatriation; a group of Chinese lawyers also attempted to halt the sale but they were refused by the French courts. Sino-French tensions were already high due to President Sarkozy's criticism of China's human rights violations in Tibet.[54] The international drama reached a climax when Xiamen-based businessman and collector, Cai Mingchao, won the bid at a staggering $18 million USD for each head, but then

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[49] Ibid.; "6910 wan gang yuan song 'tong ma shou' hui guo" (6910 万港元送‘铜马首’回国), *Beijing ribao*, 21 Sept 2007.

[50] David Barboza, "It's a Brawl. China's Gamblers are the Prize," *The New York Times*, 25 March 2007, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/25/business/yourmoney/25macao.html.

[51] The continued display of the Horse head in Macao from 2007 to 2020 appears to be little known in the scholarship. Lillian M. Li has stated that it is in the Capital Museum, Beijing in her essay "The Garden of Perfect Brightness—3: Destruction, Looting, and Memory (1860-present)," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/garden_perfect_brightness_03/ymy3_essay04.html; Annetta Fotopoulos claimed that the Horse joined the Pig in the Poly Art Museum, see her article "Understanding the Zodiac Saga in China: World Cultural Heritage, National Humiliation, and Evolving Narratives," *Modern China* 41, no. 6 (2015): 605.

[52] Fiskesjö, "Politics of Cultural Heritage," 225.

[53] Christiane de Nicolay-Mazery, *The Yves Saint Laurent Pierre Bergé Collection: The Sale of the Century* (Christie's Flammarion, 2009), lots 677 and 678. According to Christie's, the Rat and Rabbit were previously in the collection of Spanish muralist Jose Maria Sert y Badia, then in the Pomereu Collection, before being acquired by Galerie J. Kugel, from whom Saint Laurent and Bergé presumably acquired the heads.

[54] Wang, *Chinese Antiquities*, 26.

refused to pay, casting himself as a patriot and claiming that the heads were illegally removed from China, and thus should be repatriated.[55] Instead, the heads remained with Pierre Bergé, the partner of Yves Saint-Laurent, who then stated that he would return the heads when China addresses human rights violations in Tibet. In another demonstration of the intersection between cultural heritage, global politics, and economy, French luxury business magnate, Francoise-Henri Pinault, who had acquired the rat and rabbit after the failed Christie's auction in 2009, donated the heads back to China during a diplomatic trip to broaden trade relations between the two countries in 2013.[56]

In November 2019, during the 70th anniversary year of the founding of the PRC, Stanley Ho officially presented the Horse head to the National Museum of China and the Ministry of Culture.[57] Ho passed away in May 2020, and the global Covid-19 pandemic delayed additional action until late November 2020 when the Horse was transferred to the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park where it was displayed in the newly renovated Wenshu ting of the Zhenjue Si to mark the 160th anniversary of the burning of the Yuanming Yuan.[58]

Interlude: Imagined Affinities in the Auction Catalogs

In the 1987 and 1989 Sotheby's catalogs, the zodiac heads were but a few objects among many, all grouped under the recurring sales of "Fine Chinese Decorative Works of Art" and "Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art." In the Christie's Hong Kong sale of 30 April 2000, however, the inclusion of the Monkey head and Ox head was sufficient to create a special sale title, "The Imperial Sale—Yuanmingyuan." The catalog opened with an introductory essay by Rosemary E. Scott, "Stately Pleasure Parks—Yuanmingyuan," which served to center the Yuanming Yuan in Qing court production, spanning the artistic contributions of the Jesuits to Empress Dowager Cixi's pursuit of the lost opulence of the Yuanming Yuan. The Monkey (Lot 516) and the Ox (Lot 517) are granted their own fold-out pages, indicating their elevated status within the auction lots. The sale name and introductory essay implies that the majority of objects within the catalog pages share the Yuanming Yuan provenance; however, only the Monkey, Ox, and Castiglione's hanging scroll painting, *Autumn Cries on the Artemisia Plain* (Lot 518) carry clear provenance from the Yuanming Yuan. The majority of the other objects are Qianlong-period ceramics, cloisonné, and other decorative arts; in other words, objects that are Qing imperial objects, but not proven to come specifically from the imperial garden-palace. By grouping the objects with the zodiac heads—whose

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[55] Wang, *Chinese Antiquities*, 26.

[56] Edward Wong and Steven Erlanger, "Frenchman Will Return to China Prized Bronze Artifacts Looted in 19th Century," *New York Times*, 26 April 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/27/world/europe/frenchman-will-return-to-china-prized-bronze-artifacts-looted-in-19th-century.html.

[57] Wang Kaihao, "Chinese Zodiac Statue Heads Home," *China Daily*, 14 November 2019, www.chinadaily.com.cn/global/2019-11/14/content_37522787.htm.

[58] The Paper 澎湃新闻, "160 年终回故里！马首铜像回归圆明园首度展出 Repatriated bronze horse head exhibited in Yuanmingyuan," YouTube video, 30 November 2020, https://youtu.be/N4VTKOHB2l4.

Yuanming Yuan provenance is unquestionable—the catalog creates an affinity between the works that was not previously present and thus projects the aura of the Yuanming Yuan over the other portable objects.

The Sotheby's Hong Kong sale of October 9, 2007 fully capitalized on the presence of the Horse head (Lot 1321: "An Exceptionally Rare and Magnificent Bronze Horse Head Made for the Zodiac Fountain of the Summer Palace) to anchor its special sale theme, "Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity." The catalog design never lets the buyer forget the association between object and site. The catalog cover is a detail of the copperplate print of the Haiyantang focused in on the depiction of the horse head in the zodiac fountain (fig. 3.17). The prominent position of the Horse in the sale is created by positioning it as the very first lot and supporting its significance with two catalog essays, "Revisiting History: The Lost Treasures of the Yuanmingyuan" and "The Imperial Bronze Head of a Horse from the Zodiac Fountain in the Yuanmingyuan." The catalog interior is generously interspersed with glossy black-and-white photographs of the ruins of the European Palaces; individual lots are accompanied by quotes from the Anglo-French expedition members describing similar objects seen during their occupation and looting of the Yuanming Yuan.

The majority of objects offered for sale by Sotheby's Hong Kong in the Yuanmingyuan sale of 2007 include the line "Removed from the Yuanmingyuan, Beijing, 1860" as part of their provenance history. As argued by Nick Pearce, however, the designation "From the Yuanming Yuan" was appended to many items in the aftermath of 1860 to give them an air of distinction. Pearce noted that it was near impossible to prove the factuality of such a designation.[59] The catalog's use of eyewitness quotations thus creates an artificial link between an unspecified object seen by a soldier in the Yuanming yuan and the specific lot under sale, as if to say that the sale object *was exactly the same* as the one beheld in 1860. For example, Lot 1328 "A Very Unusual Large Jadeite Embellished Gilt-bronze Ruyi Sceptre" of the Qianlong period is paired with a quote from General Grant: "The French general told me that he had found two joës [ruyis] or staves of office, made of gold and green-jade-stone, one of which he would give me as a present to Queen Victoria, the other he intended for the Emperor Napoleon."[60] It is unclear whether the scepters under discussion ever made it into the respective imperial collections; what is clear, is that Lot 1328 is not one of them, having come from "Various Properties."[61]

The scepter is followed by Lot 1329, a squat gold ewer with a straight spout and wooden handle set at ninety degrees from the spout, similar to that of a chocolate pot. It is paired with a quote that addresses a different, but better-known, ewer, which also has a different form that the lot on offer (fig. 3.18). General Grant is quoted again: "The prize committee secured a beautiful gold jug, from which the Emperor of China used to pour rose-water upon his delicate hands, and this they presented to me in a very handsome manner."[62] The "gold jug" described by Grant is a known and identified object that was indeed given to Grant by his troops; in 1884, his widow presented it to

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[59] Nick Pearce, "From the Summer Palace 1860: Provenance and Politics," in *Collecting and Displaying China's 'Summer Palace' in the West*, edited by Louise Tythacott, 38–50 (New York: Routledge, 2018), 41.
[60] Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity*, Sale of October 9, 2007, Lot 1328, pg. 64–67.
[61] Ibid., 66.
[62] Ibid., Lot 1329, pg., 68–73.

the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (now the National Museums Scotland), where it is still on display today (fig. 3.19). The Hope Grant Ewer (acc. no. NMS A.1884.54) has a gold pear-shaped body with a long tapering neck and round foot. A slender spout emerges from the mouth of a beast; both the spout and the S-curved handle connect to the neck. The body is chased with plantain leaves encircling the neck and lotus flower panels on each side.[63] The Hope Grant Ewer and Lot 1329 share superficial similarities in material and function as pouring vessels of the High Qing court, but otherwise share a tenuous relationship. Their affinity is created within the pages of the auction catalog, which projects the unassailable provenance of a known object upon the shoulders of another.

Why These Heads? National Humiliation and Recovery of Cultural Heritage

The zodiac animal heads have served as case studies in the scholarship on the repatriation of cultural relics in contemporary China. Richard Kraus has argued that repatriation operates at the intersection of art, politics, and the economy; he characterizes the zodiac heads as objects that are valued as "national treasures for political, not aesthetic reasons."[64] Therefore, demands for repatriation are strategies to bolster political legitimacy and to exercise clout in the field of global politics. In addressing the specific case of the zodiac heads, Kraus suggests that the heads have attracted attention because they are "easily recognizable by the artistically unsophisticated," that their materiality evokes the "monumentality of bronze," and that the heads are portable objects that could be put on display and tour the country in traveling exhibitions.[65] Magnus Fiskesjö has similarly drawn upon the case study of the zodiac heads to argue that repatriation efforts are one form of international competition where China-as-nation-state competes against nation-states in the fields of "civilizational antiquity" and "unbroken antiquity."[66] He does not address the question of why the zodiac heads have taken preeminence over other objects looted from the Yuanming Yuan.

Annetta Fotopoulos has tackled the exact question of "Why Zodiacs" from the perspective of cultural anthropology; she asks, "What about these pseudo-European statues enable them to become the centerpiece of a campaign for the repatriation of Chinese cultural heritage?" and argues that the zodiacs are situated "within a history of shifting values" that closely associates them "to the development of two intersecting discourses, national humiliation and world cultural heritage."[67] The destruction of the Yuanming Yuan has been a part of the narrative of national humiliation since the early twentieth century when it was first evoked by reformers like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. Zheng Wang has traced the construction of "national humiliation" as a key thread in the formation of a historical memory of an officially approved national

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[63] For a full discussion of the Hope Grant Ewer, see Kevin McLoughlin, "'Rose-water Upon His Delicate Hands': Imperial and Imperialist Readings of the Hope Grant Ewer," in *Collecting and Displaying China's "Summer Palace" in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France*, edited by Louise Tythacott, 99–119 (New York: Routledge, 2018).
[64] Kraus, "The Politics of Art Repatriation," 206.
[65] Kraus, "The Politics of Art Repatriation," 206–07.
[66] Fiskesjö, "Politics of Cultural Heritage," 225.
[67] Annetta Fotopoulos, "Understanding the Zodiac Saga in China: World Cultural Heritage, National Humiliation, and Evolving Narratives," *Modern China* 41, no. 6 (2015): 603.

narrative.[68] That discourse had quieted during the decades of Mao's China, but in the post-Tiananmen Square period, the narrative was revived to bolster nationalism among the youth who had no living memory of the actual events of national humiliation. Concurrently, the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park was formally established in the early 1980s and opened to the public in 1988. In 1994, the park was designated a Patriotic Education Base; it was also a site of celebration in 1997 with the repatriation of Hong Kong.[69] By the mid-1990s, the ruins of the European Palaces had been cleaned up, and its ruins came to be metonymic with the Yuanming Yuan as a whole—the logo of the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park takes the form of the ruined archway of the Great Fountains in the European Palaces.

Fotopoulos has offered a few suggestions for "why zodiacs, as opposed to other objects looted from China by foreigners?" and for the question of why the zodiac heads suddenly mattered in the year 2000. First, she argues, the heads are immediately identifiable as objects from the Yuanming Yuan; second, and similarly to Kraus, she points out that the bronzes are also immediately legible and relatable as zodiac animals, even to audiences who know little about the Yuanming Yuan. As the timing of the prominence, she notes that although the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park opened in 1988, excavation of the European Palaces was not completed until 1992 and, therefore, the most well-known images of the ruins were not disseminated until the late 1990s. Furthermore, the earlier auction at Christie's London in 1989 was overshadowed by the Tiananmen Square massacre that had occurred days earlier, so the media had more pressing matters to cover than the sale of bronzes in London. By the time of the sales in April and May of 2000 in Hong Kong, the repatriation of the former British colony of Hong Kong itself in 1997 was still cause for celebration and thoughts towards the repatriation of other lost lands/objects from the Opium Wars. Finally, Fotopoulos notes that China ratified UNESCO's World Heritage Convention in 1985 and subsequently started using the rhetoric of "cultural heritage" more prominently in Yuanming Yuan-related materials.[70]

Why These *Heads*? Decapitated Bodies and the Visualization of Colonial Violence

To the above insights, I would like to further propose some answers to the question of "why these zodiac heads?" As noted above, the Metropolitan Museum of Art declined to acquire the heads of the Monkey and Pig when offered to the department of European decorative art, not the department of Far Eastern art, in 1980–81. At the time, the Far Eastern art wing in the Met had just completed the installation of Astor Court, a replica of a garden courtyard from the Ming-dynasty Master of the Fishing Nets Garden in Suzhou. Concurrently, the museum also installed the Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese painting, a collection in which the curators emphasized the calligraphic brushwork of the paintings, most of which dated to no later than the seventeenth

[68] Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
[69] Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation*, 52–53; William A. Callahan, *China: The Pessoptimist Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 88.
[70] Fotopoulos, "Understanding the Zodiac Saga," 621–24.

century.[71] In the 1980s, the scholarship on the arts of China had not yet begun to seriously examine the cross-cultural art of the Qing court.

The re-emergence of the heads and subsequent protests in Hong Kong in 2000 coincided with a shift in academic discourse within the field of Sinology that provided a framework in which to position the heads. The old assimilation theory of the Manchu Qing dynasty had argued that the Manchu emperors succeeded in their dynastic rule by becoming culturally Han Chinese. Instead, New Qing history addressed the Qing as a multiethnic and cross-cultural conquest empire; art historians of China also addressed the Jesuit-produced artwork of the Qing in the context of cross-cultural interaction and translation, rather than as curiosities that were neither Chinese nor European and thus belonged to no legitimate art historical lineage. Cross-cultural art of the Qing court was now worthy of serious study. The zodiac heads now possessed a celebrated lineage to both the Qianlong emperor and to Giuseppe Castiglione, the most prominent Jesuit artist of the court. Of all the objects looted from the Yuanming Yuan, the zodiac heads can claim the most esteemed individuals of the Qing court as their makers, not the anonymous craftsmen of porcelain and jade.

And unlike porcelain, which was mass-produced, highly mobile, and adorned every Qing imperial space, the zodiac heads have more than just an association with the European Palaces of the Yuanming Yuan. Unlike the other known looted objects from the Yuanming Yuan, the zodiac heads are inextricably rooted to the exact position of the Hall of Calm Seas within the European Palaces, which themselves are metonymic of the Yuanming Yuan as a whole. Furthermore, unlike the other bronze animal fountain heads in the garden, as zodiac animals, the heads are indeed immediately recognizable and familiar. But of particular significance in the consideration of them as focal objects in repatriation efforts, is the fact that the zodiac forms a quantifiable *closed* set: There are exactly twelve animals and they are Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Ram, Monkey, Rooster, Dog, Pig. As a known sequence, each gap in the set is a glaring absence. Because it is a familiar set, we know exactly which ones remain missing: Dragon, Snake, Ram, Rooster, and Dog. The lost objects have *individual* identities.

Previous scholarship has treated the zodiac heads as case studies and have begun to offer answers to the question of "why these zodiac heads," but they largely address the bronzes through their identities as recognizable zodiac animal sculptures that are unquestionably from the Yuanming Yuan. I propose to address the question by considering the form of the bronzes themselves, that is, specifically as *heads*. Although no records say exactly how the heads were removed, their particular form as heads bereft of bodies creates an imagined moment of decapitation, an imagined moment of deliberate bodily fragmentation. As Regina Janes has argued, decapitation is distinguished from other forms of ending life because it is a deliberate, cultural act laden with symbolic meaning; heads carry our social and individual identities.[72] She identifies five types of traditional, authorized beheadings. The ancestral venerated head is removed or recovered after death to be revered as a relic that conveys power to the lineage. The trophy head is a sign of victory taken on the battlefield that trumpets the head-taker's martial prowess. The sacrificial head is taken ritually to sustain the

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[71] Metropolitan Museum *Annual Report*, 33; Wen Fong and Maxwell K. Hearn, "Silent Poetry: Paintings in the Douglas Dillon Galleries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 39, no. 3 (Winter 1981/82).

[72] Regina Janes, *Losing Our Heads: Beheadings in Literature and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 2, 4.

community or the state. The presentation head is taken by a subordinate and offered to another to secure that person's power and to signal the end of the power struggle. Finally, the formal execution head asserts the instatement of justice.[73]

Decapitated heads rarely feature in the arts of the Qing. The most notable example is a presentation head from a set of copperplate engravings commissioned by the Qianlong emperor in 1764 to commemorate his victory over the Zunghar and Uigher tribes in Xinjiang during his military campaigns of 1755 to 1759.[74] In the fourteenth print of the set, *Presentation of Captives from the Pacification of the Uighers* (*Pingding huibu xianfu* 平定回部獻俘), Qing military officials kneel before the Meridian Gate of Beijing and formally present the decapitated head of Khoja Jihān to Qianlong, thus signaling the end of the Jinchuan campaign.[75] The physical head itself, however, remains out of view and its presence is inferred by the bulging sack lifted up in victorious presentation (Fig. 3.20).

As sculptural heads, the zodiac bronzes move through several of Janes' classifications. At the moment of their imagined decapitation during the occupation and looting of the Yuanming Yuan, they are trophy heads won on the field of battle. Carried back to Europe, they are presentation heads offered by the returning military to proclaim the victory over the Qing. As heads, the zodiac animals also resemble formal execution heads that remind all who see them of the imposition of foreign imperialism disguised as justice. After all, Elgin ordered the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan as an act of retributive justice. Before the heads appeared on the auction block, it can be

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[73] Janes, *Losing Our Heads*, 14.

[74] The sixteen prints of the *Pingding Zhunga'er Huibu desheng tu* 平定準噶爾回部得勝圖 (Victory in the Pacification of Dzungars and Uighers, also known as the "Battle Prints") were designed by Jesuit court artists Jean-Denis Attiret (1702–68), Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), Giovanni Damasceno (d. 1781) and Ignatius Sichelbart (1707–80), who based the prints on the earlier wall paintings that they and other court artists had completed earlier. The designs were sent to France where the plates were engraved and printed under the direction of French foreign minister Henri-Léonard-Jean-Baptiste Bertin (1720–92) and Royal Academician Charles-Nicolas Cochin II (1715–90). Similar to how prints of the Yuanming Yuan and the Bishushanzhuang circulated in Europe as copies, the Battle Prints were also reproduced as reduced size copies by Isidore-Stanislaus-Henri Helman (1743–ca. 1809) who published them as *Suite des seize estampes representant les conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine, avec leurs explication* (1785). For the production history of the Qianlong battle prints, see National Palace Museum, "銅板記功 / Documenting Military Achievements in Copperplate Prints," in 神筆丹青：郎世寧來華三百年特展/*Portrayals from a Brush Divine: A Special Exhibition on the Tricentennial of Giuseppe Castiglione's Arrival in China*, exh. cat. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2015), 240–307. For the Sino-French cross-cultural translation of the prints, see Richard E. Strassberg, "War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes," in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marcia Reed and Paola Dematté, 89–137 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007): 96–103, cat. 28–29, 198–203.

[75] Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 207, 291.

imagined that Elgin put them on the metaphorical executioner's block.[76] As heads repatriated to China and claimed as "national cultural heritage," they enter a new chapter in their biography as an ancestral, venerated head.

The actual movements of the heads between their installation and their reappearance in the twentieth century, however, are unknown. The description in Sotheby's New York catalog of 1987 for the sale of the Monkey and Pig claimed that the hydraulics for the water clock fountain could not be maintained after the death of Pere Benoit in 1780 and that the fountain was disassembled in the nineteenth century and placed in storage. Lark Mason has also hypothesized that the heads were already disassembled and in storage by 1860 and possibly were taken from the garden at a later date. Fotopoulos notes that the above suggestion is an unproven hypothesis, but she also notes that this counter-narrative to violent decapitation is never suggested in modern Chinese sources.[77] Regardless of the historical reality, the forms of the zodiac sculptures today are the forms of heads that have been separated from their bodies.

In the collective memory of Chinese citizens today, the penetration and looting of the Yuanming Yuan by the Anglo-French in 1860 is often conflated with the penetration and looting of the Forbidden City by the Eight Powers Expeditionary Force in 1900 to put down the Boxer Rebellion. The foreign occupation of the Forbidden City was punctuated by public executions of suspected Boxer rebels—their beheaded bodies and displayed heads served as silent witnesses to the imposition of foreign justice and civilizing violence.[78] Images of fallen Chinese bodies, imprisoned bodies, subjugated bodies, and decapitated heads circulated in photo albums published of the China campaign (fig. 3.21).[79] Late-Qing intellectuals would seize upon the imagery of the brutalized Chinese body to call for urgently needed reform, often couched in the terms of a strengthened national body.

In his personal accounts, Lu Xun attributes his political awakening to seeing a lantern slide of an execution via decapitation. As an aspiring medical student studying abroad in Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, Lu Xun recalls sitting through a post-lecture slide show of the Japanese war effort when "I suddenly came face to face with many Chinese on the mainland…. In the center of the group there was one who was bound while many others stood around him. They were all strong in physique but callous in appearance. According to the commentary, the one who was bound was a spy who had worked for the Russians and was just about to have his head cut off by the Japanese military as a warning to others, while the people standing around him had come to watch the spectacle."[80] For Lu Xun, the visual power of imminent

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[76] The heads are cast separately from their bodies and can be slotted into place at the neck. The removal of the heads from the bodies would have been a relatively simple matter of lifting the heads off, whether in an act of looting or in earlier disassembly and would not have involved actual chopping. But once removed and existing as bodiless heads, they take on the form of decapitated heads.

[77] Fotopoulos, "Understanding the Zodiac Saga," 613–14.

[78] Hevia, *English Lessons*, 2, 189, 226, 229, 280.

[79] For example, see the photographic compilation [*Views from the Iltis in China*] in the Getty Research Institute Special Collections, 2003.R.2. The album was compiled by a sailor on the German gunboat *Iltis* in the 1910s and includes several photographs of executions and decapitated heads.

[80] Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 17.

decapitation—and thus bodily fragmentation—struck him to his core and motivated him to turn towards literature as a means to strengthen the national spirit and prevent the fragmentation of the nation.

In his study of the visual rhetoric of national humiliation in contemporary China, William Callahan has argued that "memories of the literal mutilation of Chinese bodies during the Century of Humiliation" have created a "politics of bodily mutilation" that continues to be "seared onto public consciousness" through the dissemination of historic photographs.[81] Callahan focuses particularly on the publication of images documenting the worst abuses of the Nanjing Massacre. In addition to print publications, the 1990s also saw the wide dissemination of such images on the internet. Callahan points out, therefore, that the visual imagery of the national humiliation narrative draws heavily on the "gendered images of beheaded men and raped women."[82] The visual discourse of beheading thus runs through the entire "Century of Humiliation" from the Boxer executions to the Second World War and easily enfolds the Yuanming Yuan zodiac heads into those moments of historic decapitation.

The narrative of national humiliation continues to conflate distinct historical moments into one singular moment of the "Century of Humiliation." At the National Museum of China, the display that opens the permanent exhibition, "Road of Rejuvenation," draws equivalences between foreign aggression, looted object bodies, and despoiled Chinese bodies (fig. 3.22). The repatriated Rat and Rabbit head occupy cases directly under photographs of Japanese soldiers beheading Chinese soldiers during the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894, as well as under photographs of the Eight Powers soldiers seated upon the dragon throne after marching into Beijing during the quelling of the Boxer Rebellion (fig. 3.23). The zodiac heads thus serve as physical manifestations of a mutilated national body.

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The zodiac heads remain a broken, fragmented set. The whereabouts of the remaining five heads are unknown, assuming they are still extant. Therefore, it is only in acts of reproduction that the fragmented set can be made whole again. In the following section, I want to address three examples of zodiac head reproduction. The examples I want to address are not exact copies—to use a biological metaphor, they are not 'cloned substitutes.' The fecundity of the original heads as a 'parent' set has created multiple sets of 'offspring,' who share characteristics with their progenitors, but speak in their own voice. To put it a different way, the sculptural reproductions of the zodiac heads are acts of translation; they not only fill in the lacunae of the missing heads through acts of artistic creation, but also imbue the heads with additional layers of meaning that address contemporary concerns about the contested status of cultural heritage in the twenty-first century.

TRANSLATING AND REVIVING

The controversy of the 2009 Christie's auction sparked three near-simultaneous projects: Bronze artist Zhu Bingren's *The Soul of the Yuanming Yuan*, artist-activist-provocateur Ai Weiwei's *Circle of Animals*, and martial art superstar Jackie Chan's *Chinese Zodiac* movie and accompanying sculptural set.

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[81] Callahan, *China: The Pessoptimist Nation*, 163.
[82] Ibid., 166.

Zhu Bingren's *Soul of the Yuanming Yuan*

When the inventor of "molten bronze" (Ch. *rong tong* 熔铜) sculpture, Zhu Bingren 朱炳仁 (1944–), heard the news of the Christie's Yves Saint Laurent auction, he wrote a letter to Pierre Bergé, requesting the return of the heads. In return, he offered to use his craftsmanship in bronze-work to make two new heads for Bergé, who never responded.[83] Zhu, therefore, used his characteristic "molten bronze" technique to create the five missing heads of the dragon, snake, ram, rooster, and dog in a sculptural set called *The Soul of the Yuanming Yuan* (Ch. *Yuanming Yuan zhi hun* 圆明园之魂) (fig. 3.24). In an interview with CCTV, he says that since the five heads are still missing, he imagines that they were lost in the burning of the garden, and if so, his technique can portray their melted forms, frozen in an expression of "suffering cries" (Ch. *tong ku de na han* 痛苦的呐喊) and embodying "national suffering" (Ch. *min zu de ku nan* 民族的苦难).[84] The documentary characterizes this sculptural set as an example of Zhu Bingren's engagement with issues of Chinese cultural heritage and repatriation.

The only visual referents for the lost zodiac heads are their images in the eighteenth-century copperplate engravings of the European Palaces and in the miniature jade copies, neither of which provide enough detail for accurate reproduction of the original heads' appearance. Zhu's signature technique, which eschews mold-based casting in favor of freely pouring molten bronze into spontaneous shapes and then shaping the cooled metal, avoids the need for exact replication (fig. 3.25, 3.26). The gnarled and pitted forms of the bronze heads derive their evocative power from their state of abstraction. Instead of presenting the smooth, unbroken surface of a cast-bronze, the molten-bronze heads not only evoke the ravages of fire, but also evoke the forms of hollowed-out, decomposing skulls. The zodiac heads are transformed from ornamental fountainheads to bodies of decayed flesh and bone, barely identifiable. The zodiac heads are thus transformed from inanimate objects to physical bodies, capable of life, and consequently, subject to death and dying as bodies of a wounded nation.

Zhu's bronzework is closely tied with his participation in the preservation of Chinese cultural heritage. In the 1980s, he resurrected his family's bronze workshop, which had been shuttered from the 1950s through the Cultural Revolution.[85] He innovated new ways to work with bronze and copper, from oxidizing the surface to bring out the appearance of gold, to using bronze as construction material.[86] In 2014, the Cultural Ministry granted him the title "inheritor and transmitter of the intangible

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[83] *Liu xing wu xian* 流行无限, episode "Zhong guo tong diao yi shu da shi Zhu Bingren" (中國銅雕藝術大師 朱炳仁), CCTV documentary, http://zhubingren.artron.net/news_detail_614093.

[84] Ibid.

[85] "Shou yi II: Jin tong huan cai" (手艺 II—金铜焕彩), episode of *Tan suo fa xian* (探索 发现), CCTV documentary, episode airdate 21 June 2012, http://zhubingren.artron.net/news_detail_613462.

[86] Ibid.

cultural heritage of bronze art."[87] His works of melted bronze argue for innovation and originality in the preservation of China's bronze-making tradition. His unorthodox reconstruction of the Leifeng Pagoda in 2002 rebuilt the pagoda with a skeleton of steel and ornamented with copper and bronze in imitation of traditional architectural elements of wood and brick (fig. 3.27).[88] Zhu justified his work by emphasizing the significance of the Leifeng pagoda as the most prominent historical pagoda in China; what would be the point, he asks, of restoring it to look just like all the other thousands of pagodas in the country?[89] His restoration presents a new mode of cultural heritage preservation: not mere conservation of existing material, not even restoration to an ideal form of the *past*, but a transformative restoration that projects the heritage site into the *future* as a testament of innovation within tradition.

Ai Weiwei's *Circle of Animals/Zodiac Heads*

The works of artist-activist Ai Weiwei have engaged and questioned the value of Chinese cultural heritage: he has painted over Neolithic pottery, dropped a Han dynasty vase, transformed Ming furniture into nonfunctional forms. In a blog post from 2009, Ai lambasted the Chinese media attention given to the Rat and Rabbit head. He condemned corrupt Chinese officials for expressing concern over the bronze heads when they pay no attention to the schoolchildren who died in the Sichuan earthquake of 2008. He denied the cultural value of the heads and called out the hypocrisy of cultural heritage discourse in contemporary China: "The recent media hubbub over the rabbit and rat bronzes is just a big deal over nothing…. The rabbit and rat bronzes from the Old Summer Palace are not Chinese culture, and they have no artistic value. Patriotism is not a love of the Aisin Gioro family name, and twelve playthings manufactured in the West are not the quintessence of Chinese culture…. Over the first few decades of a New China, in the name of the revolution and during the Cultural Revolution, across the entire nation and in Tibet, you destroyed countless cultural relics."[90]

At the time of the Christie's auction, Ai Weiwei was already in discussions with Larry Warsh of AW Asia to create a work of public sculpture.[91] The controversy over the heads inspired his monumental sculptural project, *Circle of Animals: Bronze Series*, which reproduced the Yuanming Yuan zodiac heads as monumental bronzes.[92]

As an act of artistic translation, Ai Weiwei's *Circle of Animals* cannot truly be referred to as "copies" or "replicas." In general, it does follow the original forms of the zodiac heads and their material as bronze sculpture. But the heads have been enlarged to a monumental scale, measuring about four to five feet across, and each head is

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[87] "Ji guo jia ji fei wu zhi wen hua yi chan 'tong diao ji yi' wei yi chuan cheng ren Zhu Bingren" (记国家级非物质文化遗产 '铜雕技艺' 唯一传承人朱炳仁), *Zhong guo wen hua bao* 中国文化报, 23 December 2014, http://www.ihchina.cn/15/14982.html.

[88] Author visited the reconstructed Leifeng Pagoda in summer 2016; see also Li Chunyou 李春友 ed., *Leifeng ta chong jian ji* 雷峰塔重建记 (Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she, 2008).

[89] *Boss Town* (Bo shi tang 波士堂), TV documentary, episode airdate 20 January 2013.

[90] Ai Weiwei, *Blog*, 207–08.

[91] Taliesin Thomas, personal communication with author, 2 November 2015.

[92] Susan Delson, ed., *Ai Weiwei: Circle of Animals*, exh. cat. (New York: Prestel, 2011);

mounted on a thin column of bronze so that the heads are ten feet high and loom over the viewer. To make a complete set, Ai and his team of artists extrapolated the appearance of the five missing animals, injecting their own artistic creativity into a project of reproduction. Ai's version also does not quite retain the original function of the zodiac heads as fountainheads. The monumental animals cannot possibly be mistaken for the originals.

As heads mounted on thin pillars of bronze, the sculptures present a question of representation. The exhibition catalog describes the columns as jets of water buoying up the heads in a "spirit of playfulness," referencing their original position as fountainheads and their new role as accessible public sculpture (fig. 3.28).[93] The *New York Times* art reviewer sees a suggestion of "an abstracted lotus stem and leaves," again drawing a connection to water and fountains.[94] Seen in another light, however, the columns gain a sinister cast (fig. 3.29). Their knobbed and gnarled striations suggest not so much a jet of water, but tall stakes slowly dripping with congealed blood from the beheaded animals in a grisly re-creation of a scene from *Lord of the Flies*, where the impaled head of a pig symbolizes the breakdown of social order. Is this then a condemnation of the looting of the Yuanming Yuan, despite Ai's disavowal of their heritage value? As Frederick Green has noted, "the CCP's appropriation of the zodiacs' symbolism for its own purposes has been so thorough that Ai's wishes to question its discourse of humiliation and to expose the media hype the auctions have created…often goes unnoticed;" English-language media coverage largely commented on the *Bronze* heads as monumental copies of the looted heads from the Yuanming Yuan.[95] Or is this a skewering of the supposed value of the heads as national cultural heritage, where the enlarged size of the *Bronze* series and the gilt of the *Gold* series refers to their inflated value? Or are they just playful animals? As sculptures that are associated with—but not tethered to—the physical ruins of the Yuanming Yuan, Ai Weiwei's *Circle of Animals* opens up to multiple interpretative and narrative possibilities.

In 2011, *Circle of Animals* embarked on an international tour; the timing coincided with Ai's arrest and detainment in Beijng, so that as the multiple sets of heads moved around the world, they served as mobile substitute bodies for Ai Weiwei.[96] Created as public sculpture, the monumental heads were nevertheless not tied to any one site, but their sheer physicality emphasized their occupation of any given space. Each installation venue allowed the heads to thus address and confront different concerns. Rather than list out all the exhibition venues, I will address a few examples to explore the multivocality of Ai Weiwei's animal heads project. The display of sculptures by an internationally renowned artist certainly engages in the global art theater of exhibitions that bring prestige to their respective venues, but the form of the sculptures as giant heads on stakes in the visage of looted goods can also serve to critique the very institutions that celebrate them.

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[93] Susan Delson, "Introduction: Headlong into History," in *Ai Weiwei: Circle of Animals*, ed. Susan Delson, 12–19 (New York: Prestel, 2011), 17.
[94] Roberta Smith, "12 Heads Do the Talking for a Silenced Artist," *New York Times*, 4 May 2011.
[95] Frederick H. Green, "The Twelve Chinese Zodiacs: Ai Weiwei, Jackie Chan and the Aesthetics, Politics, and Economics of Revisiting a National Wound," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 70, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 50.
[96] There are six sets of the monumental bronze heads, plus two artist's proofs.

Arranged in front of Somerset House in London—the home of the British Admiralty in 1860—the sculptures create a parody of Yuanming Yuan loot on display, as if they were trophy heads proudly displayed in a perverse celebration of British victory in the Second Opium War (fig. 3.30).

Arrayed in front of the Fountain of Freedom of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, the heads question American complicity in imperialist politics (fig. 3.31).[97] In the summer heat, however, school children splash in the water, paying the heads little heed, denying their referent to an agonized past of imperialist encounter and national humiliation, rather relegating them to a curious backdrop.

Standing in the courtyard of encyclopedic art museums, such as the Cleveland Museum of Art, they simultaneously celebrate a famous contemporary artist's new creation, while also pointing towards the potentially questionable provenance and acquisition of Asian art collections in Western institutions (fig. 3.32). The zodiac's bodiless heads point towards the headless bodies and disembodied heads of Buddhist sculpture, chipped away from cave temples in the name of academic study. *Circle of Animals* is thus also in conversation with another Ai Weiwei art series that addresses looted objects. In *Feet* (2005), Ai has collected the broken feet and stone pedestals of Chinese Buddhist sculptures from the fourth to sixth centuries; the dismembered stone feet call attention to the missing bodies, many of which stand feetless inside museum collections (fig. 3.33).

At the National Museum of Wildlife Art, in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, the zoological aspect of the sculptures is emphasized; from cultural heritage of objects, the sculptures shift to a conversation about conservation of the natural world (fig. 3.34). The larger-than-life sculptures hearken to the extinct megafauna of previous geological ages, offering a warning against the calamitous consequences of climate change, as well as the decimation of American wildlife as the US expanded westwards.

In front of Chicago's Adler Planetarium, the heads revert to their identity as zodiac animals tracking the movement of the heavens and the cyclical passage of time (fig. 3.35). During the installation in September 2014, the Adler covered the heads with white cloths to express solidarity with the silencing of Ai Weiwei and his house arrest.[98] The muzzled and blinded animals thus called attention to the violation of their maker's rights to free speech and free movement.

After receiving his passport back in 2015, Ai was finally able to personally unveil the zodiac heads when they were exhibited at the National Gallery of Prague (fig. 3.36). There, he explicitly associated his zodiac heads to his other artworks that call attention to the Syrian refugee crisis by wrapping each head in the same protective gold

[97] Originally intended as a temporary exhibition, the sculptural set at Princeton is now part of the university's Art Museum collection and is now installed on a different part of the campus. Although not directly related to Ai Weiwei's sculptural installation, in summer 2020, the university stripped Woodrow Wilson's name from the building after students demanded a reckoning over Wilson's legacy of racism.

[98] Benjamin Sutton, "Ai Weiwei's Zodiac Heads Kept Under Wraps in Chicago," *Artnet*, 17 September 2014, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/ai-weiweis-zodiac-heads-kept-under-wraps-in-chicago-105409.

foil used by the Syrian refugees as emergency blankets.[99] Whereas refugees use the foil blankets to protect their bodies, the animal heads have no bodies to protect. The gold foil smothers the head, erasing each animal's individual identity, transforming them into anonymous golden lumps—is this a warning against the danger of relegating refugees from individuals to just a mass of unidentifiable, anonymous bodies? Now that Ai Weiwei has his passport back, the animals are no longer *his* substitute body, but substitute migrant bodies—like migrants, the animals are in constant motion crossing borders on their World Tour, but their presence is greeted with celebration and adulation, a welcome that refugees dream of receiving.

Controversy at the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum

To conclude, let us return to Taiwan and Jackie Chan's vandalized zodiac heads. Ever since the Hong Kong auctions in 2000, Jackie Chan has been vocal about his support of repatriation for looted Chinese artifacts. His response in the aftermath of the 2009 Christie's auction was to produce and star in a movie: *Chinese Zodiac* (fig. 3.37). The movie is set in the present, and Chan plays an Indiana Jones-like adventurer who has been hired by an amoral French auction house to find the missing zodiac heads. It turns out the auction house had the lost Dragon head the whole time but enraged that student activists have successfully convinced the public to not bid on looted artifacts, the auction house threatens to destroy the head instead. The movie ends with Chan's character skydiving into the mouth of an active volcano, saving the Dragon at the last moment. The heads made as movie props have a second lease on life as Jackie Chan has made additional copies to raise awareness of the zodiac heads as lost cultural relics. Sets have been gifted to the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park, the Asia Civilizations Museum in Singapore, but it is in Taiwan—in the courtyard of the South Branch of the National Palace Museum—that they have received the most attention.[100]

We saw how Ai Weiwei criticized the original zodiac heads for being "not Chinese." In this case, Jackie Chan's reproduction heads were seen as "too Chinese." The public statement of the student activists, as posted on Facebook, is translated as follows (translation is my own):

反抗中華文化侵略，龍馬潑漆行動

Resist Chinese cultural invasion, movement to throw paint on dragon and horse

作為一個台灣人，絕不接受文化侵略與殖民，不做文化上的中國人！

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[99] "Bronze at the National Gallery in Prague," *Art Daily*, https://artdaily.cc/news/85111/Ai-Weiwei-s-Circle-of-Animals-Zodiac-Heads--Bronze-at-the-National-Gallery-in-Prague.

[100] Lisabel Ting, "Jackie Chan's Replicas of Historic Zodiac Sculptures on Show in Singapore," *The Straits Times*, 31 January 2015, http://www.straitstimes.com/lifestyle/arts/jackie-chans-replicas-of-historic-zodiac-sculptures-on-show-in-singapore; Cui Qiaolin 崔巧琳, "成龙把 '圆明园兽首' 搬进鸟巢" ("Chenglong ba 'Yuanming Yuan shoushou' ban jin niaochao"), 网易 News, 15 October 2012, http://ent.163.com/12/1015/07/8DREMA9300032DGD.html; "Jackie Chan props donated to Summer Palace," *China Daily*, 31 October 2012, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/xinhua/2012-10-31/content_7394065.html.

As Taiwanese, we must not accept cultural invasion and colonization, we will not be culturally Chinese!

故宮南院本創立目的在於連結台灣本土，教育台灣人亞洲多元文化，與台北故宮做出區隔。
The original goal of founding the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum was to connect the native people of Taiwan, to educate Taiwanese on the cultural diversity of Asia, and to create some separation from the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

如今卻屏棄初衷接受中國政協會委員成龍捐贈象徵著中國被侵略的十二獸首作為永久公共展示，一方面也藉由鎮館台灣來宣揚台灣與中華文化的連結，深刻「少了中華文化，台灣還剩什麼？」的文化清洗。
Today, however, it has abandoned its original intentions by accepting the donation from Jackie Chan, a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, of twelve animal heads that symbolize the invasion of China as a permanent public exhibition. One the one hand, the local museum is used to promote the connection between Taiwan and Chinese culture, that is, cultural cleansing as expressed by "Without Chinese culture, what is left of Taiwan?"

對台灣人來說，這是莫大的侮辱以及剝削，是站在大中國本位的立場去侵蝕台灣本土文化，台灣人若不反抗，就等著成為「文化上的中國人」甚至更加深成為「堂堂正正的中國人」。
To the Taiwanese people, this [the zodiac heads] is an insult and exploitation; this is based upon the position of China as the standard to erode native Taiwanese culture. If the Taiwanese people do not resist, then we will become "culturally Chinese," and even become "proper Chinese."

故宮南院作為一個立基與嘉義的文化據點，而嘉義更作為一個 228 中國學習台灣的重要歷史象徵之一，竟然展出如此羞辱台灣人的贋品，這無疑是殖民者驕傲的展現統戰成效。
The Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum is a foothold built upon Chiayi culture, and Chiayi is one important historical symbol of the 228 Incident. To suddenly exhibit such fakes that are insulting to Taiwanese people—this is undoubtedly the colonists' proud result of the development of the "united front."

反之，如果今天展出的是象徵台灣本土文化的藝品（ex. 黑熊、藍鵲、獼猴…), 我們一定誓死捍衛到底。
On the other hand, if they had exhibited artworks representing Taiwan's native culture (e.g. the Formosan black bear (*Ursus thibetanus formosanus*), the Taiwan blue magpie (*Urocissa caerulea)*, the Formosan rock macaque (*Macaca cyclopis*), etc.), we would definitely pledge ourselves to defend them to the end.

> 我們現在做的只不過是身為台灣人做基本的反抗，作為一個保護台灣文化主體為理念奮鬥目標的台灣人最勇敢捍衛的尊嚴。
> What we are doing now is only the most basic form of resistance as a native-born Taiwanese; [we have] the honor of being Taiwanese whose goal is to protect the principal part of Taiwanese culture.
>
> P.S. 一個中國人送的電影道具都可以氣憤成這樣，真希望你們能用同樣憤慨來捍衛花蓮漢本遺跡，啊我忘了 你們都是文化中國人吼？
> P.S. [If] the movie props donated by a Chinese movie star can arouse us [to these heights], then I wish that you all can bring that same sense of indignation to defend the Blihun remains [Neolithic site with human remains] in Hualian. Ah, but I forgot, are you all culturally Chinese?

The two student activists saw the imposition of these icons in the central space of the new museum as a form of cultural imperialism. After all, they argued, the Southern Branch was constructed as a counterpoint to the National Palace Museum in Taipei, whose founding in 1925 allocated the treasures of the Qing imperial house to the body politic of Nationalist China. When the Nationalist government fled to Taiwan in 1949, they moved the collection of the National Palace Museum with them; the museum collection serves as political legitimizer of the Nationalist government on Taiwan as the true inheritors of the Chinese state.[101] In recent years, however, the political atmosphere in Taiwan has shifted away from the Nationalist Party to the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), whose adherents argue for a uniquely Taiwan identity set apart from ties to mainland Chinese identity.[102] The Southern Branch was thus constructed to appease the DPP as a pan-Asian museum whose mission is to connect the cultural exchanges between the Far East, Central Asia, and India, as well as highlighting the indigenous and native cultures of Taiwan.[103] In the museum's initial introduction to the zodiac head sculptural installation, the heads' connection to the Yuanming Yuan is omitted. Instead, the museum presented the twelve animals of the zodiac as a cultural tradition shared across Asia, and therefore, the sculptures' presence would help communicate the institutional mission of "respecting cultural relics and protecting the universal value of humanity's cultural heritage."[104]

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[101] Cheng-hua Wang, "The Qing Imperial Collection, Circa 1905–25: National Humiliation, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibition Culture," in *Reinventing the Past*: *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010), 320–341; Jeannette Shambaugh Elliot with David Shambaugh, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 108–109.

[102] Ketty W. Chen, "Island Sunrise: The Sunflower Movement and Taiwan's Democracy in Transition," in *Taiwan in Dynamic Transition: Nation Building and Democratization*, edited by Ryan Dunch, Ashley Esarey, and Thomas B. Gold, 121–37 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020).

[103] Elliot, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures*, 109; Feng Mingzhu 馮明珠 ed., *Gugong Nanyuan shenggai* 故宮南院勝概 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2016), 6–10.

[104] Feng, *Gugong Nanyuan shenggai*, 39.

Objects and images, however, are rarely neutral representatives of cultural heritage. In particular, art of the Qing imperium in relation to Taiwan often testifies to a history of conquest from the mainland. In addition to commissioning copperplate prints to commemorate the completion of the Yuanming Yuan's European Palaces and the military victory over the Dzungars in Xinjiang, the Qianlong emperor also utilized the copperplate medium to celebrate another of his Ten Great Campaigns: A set of twelve prints commemorates the campaign against Taiwan to quell the Liu Shuangwen Rebellion of 1787–1788.[105] The victory was also marked by an imperial stele erected in Chiayi in 1788.[106] In its presentation of local history, the Southern Branch of the NPM includes the permanent exhibition, "A Moving History of People and Place in Chiayi" (*Chiayi wen shi zhan* 嘉義文史展). Although the history of Chiayi is covered from the earliest days of human settlement, the exhibit opens with a Qing ritual object: the right-turning white conch shell given to military commander Fukang'an (d. 1796) to ensure the fleet's safe crossing of the Taiwan Strait to quell Lin Shuangwen Rebellion.[107]

Immediately after the official unveiling of the sculptural reproductions, the Taiwanese newspaper *Liberty Times* (Ch. *Ziyou shibao*) ran an article criticizing the zodiac head donation on two fronts: First, that as a world-class museum, what was the National Palace Museum doing accepting reproductions, and even going so far as to headline the article "Even fakes are accepted" (*lian yanpin ye shou* 連贋品也收). Second, and more importantly, how could the museum not see that this was a ploy by Mainland China to wage cultural warfare against Taiwan?[108] It is likely that this article inspired the act of vandalism by our student activists who were participants in the 2014 Sunflower Revolution, which protested Ma Ying-jeou's policies that strengthened political and economic ties between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Vandalizing Jackie Chan's animal heads is a continuation of the sentiments expressed in the Sunflower protests. The red-drenched heads pillory the president, while simultaneously evoking the bloodied heads of protestors asserting their national identity as Taiwanese in the face of growing rapprochement with China.

Wordplay comes back in our discussion of "Why these heads? Why not other objects?" In Chinese, "animal heads" is pronounced "獸首 shòu-shou." Taiwanese commentators picked up on its homophonic relationship to another phrase, also

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[105] A compilation of all the prints from the Ten Great Campaigns, including comparisons across different editions, can be found at http://www.battle-of-qurman.com.cn/e/hist.htm.

[106] Biographical entry "Lin, Shuang-Wen," National Tsing Hua University, https://www.ee.nthu.edu.tw/~sdyang/BioInfo/Bio_Lin_SW.htm.

[107] "Chiayi wen shi zhan," permanent exhibition, Southern Branch of the Palace Museum website, https://south.npm.gov.tw/ExhibitionsDetailC003110.aspx?Cond=d2a3cf4a-838e-4174-a7c5-4042f8dc1df7&appname=Exhibition3112&State=0.

[108] Yang Yuanting 楊媛婷, Lin Yizhang 林宜樟, Zhang Xiaomiao 張筱笛, "Lian yanpin ye shou…Gugong Nanyuan zhan 'tongzhan' shoushou 連贋品也收…故宮南院「統戰」獸首," *Ziyou shibao* 自由時報, 29 December 2015, https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/944528. In response, the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum published a press release on 4 January 2016 to clarify that the heads were "reproductions" (*fangpin* 仿品) and not "fakes" (*yanpin* 贋品).

pronounced "授首 shòu-shou," but meaning "to surrender, to be killed," and most tellingly, "to be decapitated," used historically in reference to subduing rebels and robbers. "To accept" is also "收受 shou-shòu," and so you have a chain of homophonic equivalences where "to accept animal heads" is "to accept decapitation." The linguistic pun is reinforced by the physical form of the zodiac animals as *heads*, mounted for display in the public space.

Together, President Ma and Mr. Chan, whose Chinese names include the characters for "horse" and "dragon," had hoped that their combined presence would invoke the idiom "the spirit of the dragon and the horse," generally used to describe an old person who is still full of life, or in this case, an ancient nation or a museum of ancient artifacts that still has vitality. So when the *Liberty Times* article derided the zodiac installation by calling it "peeling paint" (落漆 *luoqi*), a local colloquialism meaning a loss of face, the student activists instantiated all the puns by literally throwing paint over the heads of the dragon and horse (fig. 3.38, 3.39).[109]

Physically, the vandalism did little damage: The paint was easily removed.[110] But the discussions that followed from the vandalism ultimately led the South Branch to issue a statement in September 2016 that they were deinstalling the heads from the courtyard and that the space would be used for the display of local art.[111] So here we have a case where an act of vandalism—reversible, non-permanent vandalism—resulted in the erasure of a controversial sculptural set from the space of a national museum, precisely to remind said museum of its intended audience.

[109] Yang et al., "Lian yanpin ye shou."
[110] Stacy Hsu, "Two Charged after Museum Protest," *Taipei Times*, 1 January 2016, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/print/2016/01/01/2003636150.
[111] Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum, " Gugong Nanyuan shier shengxiao queding chaichu 故宫南院十二生肖獸首 確定拆除," press release, 22 September 2016; Zhang Rui, "Taipei Museum to Axe Jackie Chan's Zodiac Replicas," China.org.cn, 23 September 2016, http://www.china.org.cn/arts/2016-09/23/content_39359831.htm.

CONCLUSION: Digital Surfaces and Digital Fragments

"In the past, the most authoritative graphic sources for the Yuanming Yuan were the Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan *(1744) and the* Copperplate Prints of the European Palaces, *but now, through the digitized reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan, we can discover a number of its never-before-seen views.*[1]

– Guo Daiheng, professor of architecture, Tsinghua University

"Ceci n'est pas une pipe."[2]

– Diane Favro on digital reconstructions

In the summers of 2014 and 2016, I participated in an international workshop on digital technologies and practices for cultural heritage preservation. The CIPA-ICOMOS-ISPRS Summer School was a major programming component of the 3rd International Symposium on Cultural Heritage Conservation and Digitization (CHCD) (Beijing, 1–5 September 2014, conference theme: "Transl@ting Lost Heritage into Our Time" [sic]) and the 4th CHCD symposium (Beijing, 8–9 August 2016, conference theme: "Revive: Heritage Coming Back to Life).[3] Both iterations of the workshop used the ruins of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan as our objects of study on which to test out non-destructive technologies of documentation and digital 3-D visualization.

Multiple new technologies are now available to archeologists, architectural historians, and art historians for the documentation, analysis, and interpretation of the past. These include, but are not limited to, ground-penetrating radar (GPR), LiDAR (light detection and ranging) remote sensing, drone imagery, 3-D laser scanning, photogrammetry, geo-reference software, historic building information modeling (HBIM), mapping technologies, and animation that can narrate changes over time.[4]

The workshop split participants into small groups. Some of the groups learned how to use ground-penetrating radar to determine the location of pipes below ground; others sent up drones to capture aerial photography of the site. My group learned two methods for creating three-dimensional models: photogrammetry and 3-D laser scanning. For the exercise in photogrammetry, we chose a marble block that used to form a corner pilaster from the Xieqiqu but was now lying on the ground as a large marble fragment.

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[1] Guo Daiheng, *Shu zi zai xian Yuanming Yuan* 数字再现圆明园, ed. Guo Daiheng and He Yan (Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju, 2012), preface [unpaginated].

[2] Diane Favro, "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato* (If Not True, It is Well Conceived," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 3 (September 2012): 273. She is referencing the surrealist painting, *The Treachery of Images* (1929), by René Magritte (1898–1967).

[3] I would like to acknowledge the invaluable guidance of my workshop leaders, Alexandra Harrer and Christian Ouimet in 2014, and Mario Santana and Yan Yaning in 2016. CIPA: International Committee for Documentation of Cultural Heritage; ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites; ISPRS: International Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing.

[4] Caroline Bruzelius, "Digital Technologies and New Evidence in Architectural History," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 76, no. 4 (December 2017), 436.

Photogrammetry is a low-cost method of creating a digital three-dimensional model. It requires no special equipment beyond a decent digital camera and the software to process the photos. The photographer takes a series of overlapping photos around the object, while keeping a fixed distance and angle between the camera and the object. The photographs are then uploaded to a photogrammetry software, such as PhotoScan.[5] The software then proceeds to 1) align the photos to determine the relation between the photographic plane and the object, 2) build a dense point cloud that identifies the external surface topography of the object, and 3) build a mesh that reconstructs an impermeable 'skin' for the object. At this point, the surface of the object model appears as a homogenous gray surface under uniform lighting. Now the software can 4) build texture by using the original photographs to reconstruct the surface appearance of the object. During these processes, the user can input measurements for scale, remove "noise" that comes from extraneous data like stray blades of grass under the marble block, and determine the degree of resolution or quality. The model can then be exported into other file formats.

The actual fragment from the Xieqiqu would be too heavy to move with ease; its digital surrogate, however, fits within the computer screen and has no weight, no density, no mass. It can be grabbed and shifted and rotated with a click of the mouse and digital building blocks can be shuffled around in digital anastylosis (Fig. C.1).

In 2014, the ruins of the European Palaces were not entirely fenced off yet; our workshop group could walk right up to the monumental fragments on the ground. By 2016, the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park administration had added raised walkways and additional fencing to keep visitors off the ruins. But photogrammetry can also be used to make models of larger structures as well. Instead of an individual block, our group leader directed us to take photographs of the fountain on the north side of the Xieqiqu and to take photographs of the entire standing archway from the Dashuifa (Fig. C.2). To then render an effective 3-D model from these two examples, however, requires isolating them from their surroundings. The modeler literally selects and erases all extraneous data points of the literal ground to create a model that floats, weightless, in digital space. The digital model is *all* surface.

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The models created during the CIPA-ICOMOS-ISPRS Summer School workshop were reality based; that is, modelled entirely on the extant remnants of the Yuanming Yuan. Even if we successfully created 3-D digital models of every remaining fragment in the park, however, there are not nearly enough surviving physical fragments left for a complete reality-based reconstruction.

In 2009, the Tsinghua Urban Planning and Design Institute 清华城市规划设计研究院 (THUPDI) launched the first project of its Re-Relic (Ch. *Zai xian yi chan* 再现遗产) initiative: "Re-Yuanmingyuan" (再现圆明园), the digital reconstruction of the entire Yuanming Yuan.[6] A virtual reconstruction sidesteps the thorniest conundrums of

[5] Agisoft PhotoScan is now Agisoft Metashape and should not be confused with Google PhotoScan.

[6] He Yan, "Zai xian Yuanming Yuan de shi ji / Practice in Re-Yuanmingyuan," *Shu zi hua shi ye xia de Yuanming Yuan: Yan jiu yu bao hu guoji lun tan lun wen ji / Yuanmingyuan*

heritage reconstruction projects: There is no risk of overwriting the original site and potentially destroying archeological evidence. The question of preservation as ruins or full reconstruction is sidestepped. The original site in Beijing can continue to be excavated and studied; the preservation of its ruins can continue to stand as reminders of the Second Opium War. The theme park projects were also off-site reconstructions, but, as reconstructions in physical space, they still needed to account for local topographies and limitations in the area of land available, as well as sourcing of raw materials. Virtual space can stretch infinitely; its raw materials are intangible bits of code that only need to *look* like wood, tile, and marble when seen through a computer screen. Virtual space also allows for multiple temporalities; the reconstructor no longer needs to decide on a specific point in the past on which to base the reconstruction. This temporal flexibility in which the same structure can be virtually rebuilt in its Yongzheng-era, Qianlong-era, Jiaqing-era, post-1860, and present-day forms has led the Re-Relic team to characterize their project as not merely 3-D, but 4-D.[7]

In contrast to a virtual reconstruction based fully on extant architecture, the Re-Yuanmingyuan project is a full virtual reconstruction that is based only partially on extant fragments and depends heavily on interpretation of available external evidence. The full project of Re-Yuanmingyuan, therefore, involves not only the creation of a complete 3-D digital model and the dissemination of that model to the public, but also the creation of a digital database in which to aggregate the collected research materials.[8] By 2010, the project team had completed the "4-D" reconstruction of twenty-two scenic areas, totaling fifty-five "temporal-spatial units" (*shi kong dan yuan* 时空单元), using the GIS platform, CityMaker.[9]

The Re-Relic team built a virtual Yuanming Yuan by relying on a variety of available sources, documenting the process, and assessing the degree of certainty of the virtual reconstruction. For example, the virtual reconstruction of the Tantan dangdang

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from Digital Perspectives: Selected Proceedings of the International Symposium on Research and Conservation (Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju, 2011), 17.
The Re-Yuanmingyuan project is still ongoing, but appears to have been spun off into, first, the Tsinghua Heritage Institute for Digitization 清城睿现 (THID, est. 2013), and currently, the Beijing Re-Yuanmingyuan Co., Ltd. 北京数字圆明园科技文化有限公司.

[7] He Yan, "Zai xian Yuanming Yuan de shi ji," 18.

[8] Liang Wei, "'Shu zi Yuanming Yuan', wen hua yi chan shu zi hua zai xian de shi ji tan suo / Digital Yuanmingyuan, Practical Exploration on Digitizing Reproduction of Cultural Heritages," *Shu zi hua shi ye xia de Yuanming Yuan: Yan jiu yu bao hu guoji lun tan lun wen ji / Yuanmingyuan from Digital Perspectives: Selected Proceedings of the International Symposium on Research and Conservation* (Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju, 2011), 13.

[9] Zhu Jie, Huang Haifeng, Wang Tingting, Zhang Jinging, "Ji yu CityMaker de Yuanming Yuan xu ni fu yuan yan jiu yu shi ji / Study and Practice on Virtual Restoration of Yuanmingyuan Based on CityMaker," *Shu zi hua shi ye xia de Yuanming Yuan: Yan jiu yu bao hu guoji lun tan lun wen ji / Yuanmingyuan from Digital Perspectives: Selected Proceedings of the International Symposium on Research and Conservation* (Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju, 2011), 32–43. CityMaker is a software produced by the company GVI Tech.

(坦坦蕩蕩 Magnanimous and Open-Hearted) scene will illustrate how the project of attempted full reconstruction relies on extant fragments, visual and textual documents about the site itself, and analogous examples from surviving Qing imperial architecture. The Tantan dangdang is one of the isles that comprise the Nine Continents area and is located to its southwest. Its primary feature is a large rectangular stone pond filled with goldfish, giving it its colloquial name, Goldfish Pond 金魚池. In 2004, excavations revealed the stone foundation of the pond and its surrounding buildings, which all matched the layout as depicted in the *Forty Scenes* album leaf. The surviving foundations and site surveys allowed the Re-Relic team to build up a ground plan. The architecture constructed over the ground plan was then based on the site as depicted in its album leaf in the *Forty Scenes*. Surviving ground plans from the Lei Family Archives document the addition and removal of bridges, side halls, and viewing platforms over the years, allowing the division of the virtual reconstruction into five temporal units: early Qianlong, mid-Qianlong, mid-Daoguang, late-Daoguang-early-Xianfeng, and present-day ruins.[10]

The ruins of the Bilan bridge (碧瀾橋 Jade Waves Bridge), a marble, single-arch rainbow bridge, were also extant. Its surviving pieces, especially its marble banister, were scanned by a 3-D laser scanner, enabling the creation of accurate digital models of each piece. By being able to manipulate each piece in digital space, the modeler could reassemble the available pieces as a digital anastylosis and determine the exact shape of its arch. The bridge reconstruction received the team's highest degree of certainty rating for the Tantan Dangdang scene: Ninety-five percent.[11] One-hundred percent certainty still remains out of reach.

The Re-Yuanmingyuan app for tablets and smartphones is a highly curated and guided experience that does not allow for free exploration by the user. The home screen is a map of the Yuanming Yuan with markers set over the scenes that have been digitally reconstructed (Fig. C.3).[12] Selecting a scene on the map or side navigation bar opens a short video clip that presents a slideshow, with musical accompaniment, of the digitally reconstructed scene from above in a bird's eye view. When the video clip ends, the user is shown a secondary menu screen of the reconstructed scene itself, also from a bird's eye view, and can then choose to view specific buildings (Fig. C.4). The digital visage of the specific buildings and pavilions are only available from preset viewing angles and almost exclusively only show the structures from the outside. Audio narration accompanies each reconstructed scene and presents one to two sentences of information about the location of the structure and the types of activities that occurred within it. In the lower right corner of the screen there is a chronological wheel that allows the user to select a different time period in order to see how the scene changed over the years (Fig. C.5). Based on the availability of information, not all time periods are available for each scene.

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[10] Guo and He, *Shu zi zai xian Yuanming Yuan*, 209–218.
[11] Ibid., 236–241.
[12] In my version of the app, downloaded in 2014, the available scenes were: Zhengda guangming. Jiuzhou qingyan, Louyue kaiyun, Tianran tuhua, Bitong shuyuan, Ciyun puhu, Shangxia tianguang, Xinghua chunguan, Tantan Dangdang, Rugu hanjin, and Hanjingtang.

Within the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park, QR code markers have been installed, so that app users may scan the code with their device to open the corresponding reconstructed scene on their screens. They may allow the app to access their device's camera, so that they may view the reconstruction against the current state of the ruins. The app uses the device's motion sensors, so that as the user stands in place, they can rotate their bodies—and the screens in front of them—to get a 360-degree view in augmented reality. The virtual reconstruction, however, does not allow further interaction. At preselected points, the user may access a rotational view, but cannot approach the structures.

Each scene within the virtual Yuanming Yuan is functionally an isolated isle. The user cannot virtually "walk" from one building to another, much less "walk" from one scene to another. Movement between locales requires a return to the home screen and the site map; that is, effectively zooming out to a god's eye view, zooming back in to each scene's bird's eye view, and then the eye is virtually teleported into specific spots for either a static elevation view or a rooted-in-place rotational view. Like the *Forty Scenes* painting album, upon which the reconstruction heavily relies, the virtual Yuanming Yuan is devoid of people. In the absence of interactions or activities, the app user experiences the virtual translation as a series of isolated views of building exteriors. The passage of time within this virtual space is expressed through the chronological wheel that allows selection of a different time period, so that the same building can be seen at different moments in time. In this way, however, the user does not see the site progress through time; rather, the user sees a particular *slice* of time. The virtual Yuanming Yuan is experienced as a series of visual fragments seen within the surface of a handheld screen.

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The virtual Tantan dangdang (Goldfish Pond) scene includes the only full reconstruction of an interior space: the theatre inside the Half-Acre Garden Hall (Banmu yuan 半亩园). The app user can explore this space as an augmented reality experience, where the device screen acts like a window into the past and shifts the view as the user moves and rotates their body in space (Fig. C.6). As the user turns, they see the bamboo lattice room divider with round moon gate to one side; in front of them is the performance stage in the form of a square pavilion with gold-tiled pyramidal hipped roof. Looking upwards reveals the trompe l'oeil painting of purple wisteria hanging from a bamboo trellis. According to the project team's documentation of their process, they were able to ascertain the floor plan from surviving documents in the Lei Family Archives.[13] But floor plans do not reveal the pattern of latticework, the design of the carpeting, and especially not the painting scheme. So how can restorers know what the interior of the Banmuyuan looked like?

In this case, the Qianlong emperor's practice of replicating paintings and spaces came to the aid of present-day restorers. In 2001, the World Monuments Fund and the Palace Museum began a project to restore the Qianlong Garden in the Forbidden City. Within that retirement garden, there is the Juanqinzhai (Studio of Exhaustion from Diligent Service 倦勤斋, or more simply, the Lodge of Retirement), a space for theatrical

[13] Guo and He, eds., *Shu zi zai xian Yuanming Yuan*, 233–34.

performances with a notable trompe l'oeil wisteria ceiling still extant (Fig. C.7).[14] From here, it is possible to trace a sequence of copying: In 1774, the eunuch Hu Shijie passed down a decree that commanded the court artist Wang Youxue 王幼学 to paint the Juanqinzhai in emulation of the Derixin chamber (Virtue Renewed Daily 德日新) in the Jingshengzhai (Studio of Esteemed Excellence 敬胜斋) of the Jianfugong (Palace of Established Happiness 建福宫).[15] Alas, the Jianfugong in the Forbidden City, which was built by Qianlong in 1742, burned down in 1923 in an accidental fire; it has also been the subject of restoration between the Palace Museum and China Heritage Fund since 1998.[16] So what did the painted mural in the Jingshengzhai of the Jianfugong look like? The Neiwufu archives note that in 1742, Guiseppe Castigione was commanded to paint a wisteria trellis in the Jingshengzhai as a copy of the *tieluo* pasted silk in the Banmuyuan of the Yuanming Yuan.[17] Therefore, when it came to creating the virtual reconstruction of the interior of the Banmuyuan, the Re-Relic team primarily based their design on the extant and restored space of the Juanqinzhai.[18] The survival of the copy enabled the restoration of the original.

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The wisteria trellis painted on the ceiling of the Banmuyuan is only one of many painted surfaces in the Yuanming Yuan. Surviving textual documentation in the Neiwufu Zaobanchu archives provides an inventory of the works commissioned from the court artists of the Ruyiguan. In the absence of surviving "backup copies," however, the textual record is a record of irrecoverable loss. It records the dates of commissions, the names of artists, the subjects of their paintings, and the location where their works were installed, but remain insufficient in themselves to allow for a complete restoration of painted interiors.

Instead, the textual record offers tantalizing glimpses of the lost *oeuvres* of noted court artists, like Castiglione, whose works adorned the various surfaces of the Yuanming Yuan. For example:

> 【乾隆四年】三月十七日太監胡世傑傳旨: 慎修思永樂天和玻璃窗戶一扇著郎世寧畫花鳥橫披畫一張。再，五福堂亦畫橫披花鳥畫一張。

[14] The restoration of the Juanqinzhai is documented in Nancy Berliner, ed., *Juanqinzhai: In the Qianlong Garden, The Forbidden City, Beijing* (London: Scala, 2008). For an account of the restoration of the Qianlong Garden, see Nancy Berliner, *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Peabody Essex Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2010).
[15] Nie Chongzheng, "Ji Gugong Juanqin zhai tiandinghua, quanjinghua," translated into English as "Ceiling and Wall Murals in the Lodge of Retirement" in May Holdsworth, *The Palace of Established Happiness: Restoring a Garden in the Forbidden City* (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2008), 195.
[16] Holdsworth, *The Palace of Established Happiness*, 9.
[17] Nie, "Ceiling and Wall Murals," 195; Berliner, *The Emperor's Private Paradise*, 78.
[18] Guo and He, *Shu zi zai xian Yuanming Yuan*, 234.

> On the 17th day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of Qianlong, the eunuch Hu Shijie conveyed the order that Lang Shining [Castiglione] is to paint bird-and-flower horizontal paintings for the glass windows of Letianhe in the Shengxiu siyong. Then he is to also complete one bird-and-flower painting in the Wufutang of the Shengxiusiyong.[19]
>
> 【乾隆四年五月】本月十二日太監毛團傳旨：奉三無思寶座後隔扇六扇上象牙蓆二面透畫，著郎世寧起稿呈覽。
>
> On the 12th day of the 5th month of the 4th year of Qianlong, the eunuch Mao Tuan conveyed the order that Lang Shining [Castiglione] is to create drafts for paintings on the ivory mats on the six-panel screen behind the throne in the Fengsan wusi.[20]
>
> 【乾隆十二年】六月二十日太監胡世傑傳旨：長春園八角亭俟蓋完時著郎世寧起稿畫通景連柱畫。
>
> On the 20th day of the 6th month of the 12th year of Qianlong, the eunuch Hu Shijie conveyed the order that when the Octagon Pavilions in the Changchun Yuan are completed Lang Shining [Castiglione] and the other artists are to create a draft for perspectival paintings [for them].[21]

Castiglione was called upon to provide drafts for many other perspectival paintings that would have extended the literal spaces within the Yuanming Yuan into spaces of painted illusion. The records note his involvement in drafting perspectival paintings for the Siyongzhai 思永齋 theater stage in the Changchun Yuan 長春園,[22] the Hanjintang 含經堂 in the Changchun Yuan,[23] and the interiors of the Xieqiqu and Haiyantang European Palace in the Changchun Yuan.[24] Other than recording the genre (perspectival painting 通景畫), however, the textual record here does not record the subject matter. Other perspectival paintings by Castiglione and other court artists survive in Qing imperial spaces, so it would be possible for a virtual reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan to "copy-and-paste" a copy or pastiche of an extant work into the digital copy as a placeholder or indicator of the prior existence of another similar work. The interior surfaces of the Yuanming Yuan will always remain irrecoverable.

Full reconstruction will always remain out of reach.

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[19] First Historical Archives, *Yuanming Yuan*, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1991), 1269, no. 225. Henceforth referred to as YMYA.
[20] YMYA, vol. 2, 1270, no. 227.
[21] YMYA, vol. 2, 1316, no. 322.
[22] YMYA, vol. 2, 1319, no. 329.
[23] Ibid., 1319, no. 330.
[24] Ibid., 1330, no. 356, 1383, no. 479.

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Best practices for digital and virtual cultural heritage projects are laid out in the London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage (2009) and the Principles of Seville: International Principles of Virtual Archeology (2012).[25] The long-term preservation of digital projects has been a concern within the cultural heritage field, where the long-term survival and accessibility of digital data and its products are dependent upon a digital ecosystem of compatible servers, software, and hardware.[26]

In 2014, I installed Re-Relic's Yuanmingyuan app on my 4th generation iPad from 2012. At the time of writing this conclusion, the app is no longer listed in the Apple App Store; it is impossible for me to add the application to my newer smartphones or tablets. Although my app store profile lists every app that I have ever downloaded, the Re-Relic Yuanmingyuan app is conspicuous in its complete absence from my digital record.[27] While my old iPad continues to run, the digital Yuanming Yuan remains accessible to me. Its longevity, however, is now tied directly to the ever-diminishing life of a piece of hardware that is considered so outdated by its parent company that it no longer receives operating system updates and it is already incompatible with the majority of recent apps designed for newer models. My digital Yuanming Yuan app is effectively stranded on an island of old technology.

Or is it? According to newspaper reports, Re-Relic's digital Yuanming Yuan app appears to be functional and accessible to users in China.[28] So perhaps the isolation of my personal copy of the app is a casualty of ongoing struggles among app developers, platform-specific storefronts, and government regulators over licenses and permissions. Maybe I need to acquire a smartphone made by a Chinese company, access an Android-based app store, or be connected to an internet provider outside the United States in order to enjoy the Yuanming Yuan as a virtual reconstruction. The Re-Yuanmingyuan project temporarily resolved the ongoing debate over whether or not to reconstruct the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan in Beijing. The project translated the work of architectural recovery into the space of the digital and virtual, where, theoretically, the site could be visited by anyone with internet access. As my own example has demonstrated, however, the virtual hardly frees us from national borders and the digital access points that are regulated. Computer-based digital heritage projects can nonetheless be siloed into separate digital ecosystems.

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[25] Hugh Denard, "Implementing Best Practices in Cultural Heritage Visualisation: The London Charter," in *Good Practice in Archeological Diagnostics: Non-invasive Survey of Complex Archeological Sites*, ed. Cristina Corsi, Božidar Saldpšak, Frank Vermeulen (New York: Springer, 2013), 255–268; Victor Manuel López-Menchero Bendicho, "International Guidelines for Virtual Archeology: The Seville Principles," in the same volume, 269–283.

[26] Daniel Pletinckx, "Preservation of Virtual Reconstructions," in *Good Practice in Archeological Diagnostics: Non-invasive Survey of Complex Archeological Sites*, ed. Cristina Corsi, Božidar Saldpšak, Frank Vermeulen (New York: Springer, 2013), 309–314.

[27] And I paid $19.99 for it too!

[28] Steven Ribet, "Beijing's Old Summer Palace: Computer Modelling Brings Back to Life Imperial Garden Destroyed by British and French Troops," *South China Morning Post*, 14 January 2019, https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2181613/beijings-old-summer-palace-computer-modelling.

The app was one public-facing product of Re-Relic. In 2010, the project also launched its website, www.Re-Relic.com, which also hosted interactive virtual models and disseminated the research results from the project group's study of the history and architecture of the Yuanming Yuan. At the time of this writing, the Re-Relic website is also defunct. As architectural historian Diane Favro has noted, "digital offspring" lead precarious lives that "need to be constantly nurtured…. Browser updates, the bankruptcy of a software company, and hardware obsolescence can all disrupt the life of an online digital representation."[29] The digital Yuanming Yuan aims to reconstitute ruins into wholeness within the amorphous realm of virtual space, but as it shifts between various modes of output and moves between different dissemination platforms, the digital Yuanming Yuan remains unstable and ephemeral.

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But the fragment endures.

[29] Favro, ""*Se non è vero, è ben trovato,*" 275.

EPILOGUE: NOTRE DAME AND THE LONG SHADOW OF THE YUANMING YUAN

In 2010, on the 150th anniversary of the looting and burning of the Yuanming Yuan, a bronze bust of Victor Hugo was unveiled on the ruined site of the European Palaces. Beside it, a stone book lies open, its pages engraved with excerpts from Hugo's famous letter condemning the Yuanming Yuan's destruction. For Hugo, the Yuanming Yuan was not merely an eighteenth-century Qing imperial garden; his letter directly establishes equivalency between the Yuanming Yuan and the Parthenon of ancient Greece: "What was done to the Parthenon was done to the Summer Palace, more thoroughly and better, so that nothing of it should be left."[1] Hugo refers to the removal of the frieze, metopes, and pediment sculptures from the Parthenon by Thomas Bruce (1766–1841), the seventh earl of Elgin, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was not just the parallel act of looting that Hugo refers to, however, but also the unstated parallel that Bruce's son, James Bruce (1811–1863), the eighth earl of Elgin, ordered the destruction of another monument on the other side of the world half a century later. The parallel with the Parthenon, the quintessential monument of classical Greece, also serves to construct the Yuanming Yuan as the quintessential representative of its respective civilization. Hugo situates the Yuanming Yuan among a distinguished pantheon of world monuments: "the Parthenon in Greece, the Pyramids in Egypt, the Coliseum in Rome, Notre-Dame in Paris, the Summer Palace [Yuanming Yuan] in the Orient."[2] By doing so, he forged an equivalent relationship between the Yuanming Yuan and the other wonders of the ancient and medieval world, all of which were monumental representatives of their civilizations. He thus untethers the Yuanming Yuan from its temporal specificity as a relatively recent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century garden-palace and projects it back into antiquity.

On Monday, April 15, 2019, Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris caught fire. Parisians watched in horror as flames engulfed the cathedral roof and spire, collapsing them into the transept.[3] Sympathies poured in from around the world at the tragic accident, including a statement released by the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park:

文明不能承受之殇
Culture Should Not Suffer an Early Demise[4]

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[1] Victor Hugo, "The Chinese Expedition: Victor Hugo on the Sack of the Summer Palace," Fondation Napoleon website, https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/articles/the-chinese-expedition-victor-hugo-on-the-sack-of-the-summer-palace/.

[2] Hugo, "The Chinese Expedition."

[3] Adam Nossiter and Aurellen Breeden, "Fire Mauls Beloved Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris," *New York Times*, 15 April 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/15/world/europe/notre-dame-fire.html.

[4] The full text of the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park's statement was quoted in the *People's Daily*, which also reported on netizens' response to the statement. People's Daily 人民日报, "巴黎圣母院大火后，圆明园官方发声！网友：大国风范！" (Bali Shengmuyuan da huo hou, Yuanming Yuan guan fang fa sheng! Wang you: da guo feng fan!) *Renming ribao* WeChat account (https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/BaMmNLuMTYoHV8ullUV2Ow), accessed 23 April 2019.

衷心祈愿文物都能够远离灾难，代代传承。
[We] sincerely hope that all cultural relics will avoid disaster and be passed down to future generations.

2019年4月16日，北京时间0点，法国著名建筑巴黎圣母院突发大火，火势熊熊。
On April 16, 2019, at midnight Beijing time, France's famous Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris suddenly caught fire, blazing intensely.

159年前，英法联军抢劫并火烧圆明园后，谴责最深的是个法国人，而这个人就是《巴黎圣母院》的作者维克多·雨果。
One hundred and fifty-nine years ago, after the Anglo-French troops looted and burned the Yuanming Yuan, it was a Frenchman who most strongly condemned them. That man was the author of *Notre Dame de Paris*, Victor Hugo.

雨果说：有一天有两个强盗闯进了圆明园，一个打劫，一个放火……他们一个叫英吉利，一个叫法兰西……
Hugo wrote, "One day, two bandits entered the Summer Palace. One plundered, the other burned...One is called England, the other called France…"

而现在，因雨果名著而闻名天下的巴黎圣母院也遭受了烈焰之苦。
But now it is Notre Dame Cathedral, made famous by Hugo, that has suffered fire.

这场大火让人不自觉想到中国文化曾经历的磨难，曾经那场烧了三天三夜的大火，万园之园留下的灰烬，是中国历史耻辱柱上最疼的一根钉子。
This fire cannot help but lead people to recall the tribulations endured by Chinese culture: that great fire that burned for three days and three nights, the ashes left by the Garden-of-Gardens, that most painful nail within the pillar of Chinese history's humiliation.

这一刻的中国人，怎能不想起，背负了一百多年圆明园烧毁的心灵创伤，何其艰难、何其罔然，可惜圣母院，可惜圆明园，文化不应该这样毁灭，更不应该人为践踏。
How can the Chinese people of today, who have borne the trauma of Yuanming Yuan's burning for more than a hundred years—how difficult, how disappointing—how can they not pity Notre Dame? Pity Yuanming Yuan? Culture should not be so destroyed, and even more so should not be trampled underfoot by human action.

文物的损毁、消失不仅带走了文物本身，更带走了文物所承载的千年文明。
The destruction of cultural relics not only results in the loss of the relic itself, but the loss of the relic's testament to millennia of civilization.

一场文化之殇，带来世人对于文物保护的警醒与重视，文明是脆弱又坚韧的。
This one instance of cultural loss raises our awareness and calls us to value the protection of cultural heritage, because civilization is both fragile and strong.

我们能够做到的就是尽力守护它，尽量延缓它的消逝，传承它的精神。
What we can do is to protect [our heritage], delay its disappearance, and pass down its spirit.

每件文物都是文化的象征，每座博物馆都是人类文明的宝库。
Every cultural relic is a symbol of culture; every museum is the treasure house of human civilization.

衷心祈愿文物都能够远离灾难，代代传承。
With a sad heart, we hope that all culture will avoid disaster and be passed down to future generations.

In a demonstration of the persistence of cultural memory of the Yuanming Yuan's destruction among Chinese people many generations removed from the actual historic event, Chinese netizens were quick to revel in the *schadenfreude* of a French monument in flames. As reported by the *People's Daily*, commentators on Weibo (a web platform similar to Twitter) expressed sympathy towards Notre Dame, while also asserting that Yuanming Yuan's loss was the greater tragedy: "Showing sympathy for Notre Dame Cathedral is merely showing sympathy and nothing more, but Yuanming Yuan is an eternal hurt that persists into the present for every Chinese person," [5] and "Certainly, both are a great loss to humanity, but the two are different: Notre Dame Cathedral *caught* on fire and is a cultural natural disaster, an accident of history; the Yuanming Yuan, however, was *set* on fire and was the destruction of culture, a disgrace of history!"[6] China watcher site *What's On Weibo* also noted the online reactions, such as "Notre Dame Cathedral is burnt! Quasimodo has been turned to a crisp; Esmeralda is gone; Hugo wept! What a pity! What a pity! What a pity! . . . Thinking again of our Yuanming Yuan. . . I will dismiss it from my mind… Well, alright! Let the world shed some tears in memory of our Yuanming Yuan! Compared to it, Notre Dame is but a

[5] As quoted in People's Daily 人民日报, "巴黎圣母院大火后，圆明园官方发声！网友：大国风范！" (Bali Shengmuyuan da huo hou, Yuanming Yuan guan fang fa sheng! Wang you: da guo feng fan!) *Renming ribao* WeChat account (https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/BaMmNLuMTYoHV8ullUV2Ow), accessed 23 April 2019.
[6] Ibid.

single courtyard….[ellipses in original][7] and "I have visited the ruins of Yuan Ming Yuan. Therefore, from the perspective of architecture and culture, I feel that the destruction of the Notre Dame of Paris is really a loss from all mankind. But from the perspective of our nation, I feel that the French got what they deserve to see this kind of history go up in smoke."[8]

Other commentators offered rebukes of these retaliatory attitudes and called for a distinction between perpetrators and allies, historic villains and present-day victims. Author Zeng Pengyu wrote on his Weibo account, "Many people say they do not sympathize with the French. I just want to say that historical buildings are innocent: it's only people who are guilty. Also, when the Yuan Ming Yuan was burned down by the British and French allied forces, the French writer Victor Hugo condemned it. This is recorded in many documents. Born in China today, we should be confident and objective."[9] Yan Feng, a professor at Fudan University, also posted, "The Notre Dame cathedral was constructed in 1163, the Yuan Ming Yuan was destroyed in 1860. The people who burned the Yuan Ming Yuan were not the people who built the Notre Dame of Paris. They were separated by 700 years. The French feudal separatists were in no way French according to modern-day standards. Every injustice has its perpetrator and every debt its debtor, why should you let the Notre Dame bear the responsibility of burning down the Yuan Ming Yuan?"[10] Although the burning of Yuanming Yuan and the fire at Notre Dame are separated by more than a century and a half, the historical irony of a French monument going up in flames was an easy target for Chinese netizens, for whom the cultural trauma—if not the actual psychological trauma—of Yuanming Yuan was still alive.

The decision to restore Notre Dame was a matter of limited debate. The fire was a construction accident—the cause of ruination was too mundane; it lacked the searing trauma of a violent attack that gives ruins their evocative power in building national narratives. To leave Notre Dame in its damaged form would only be an admission of political, economic, and engineering failure. Of course Notre Dame would be restored—at its moment of incineration, it was a fully functioning religious space, tourist site, symbol of national identity, and an active visual and auditory presence in the Parisian urban landscape.

What was a matter of some debate, however, was the form in which to restore it. Two days after the fire, French prime minister Édourard Philippe announced an international competition to replace the roof and fallen steeple with a new design, opening the possibility of using contemporary materials and techniques. A few days later, designs poured in from artists and architects. Some were fantastical, like Mathieu Lehanneur's three hundred-foot golden carbon-fiber flame to replace the neo-Gothic steeple designed by French restoration architect Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879). Many others turned to contemporary materials of glass, steel, and light. Studio NAS proposed a glass greenhouse in the roof, simultaneously arguing for Notre

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[7] As quoted in Manya Koetse, "After Notre Dame Blaze, Chinese Netizens Remember How the French Burned Down the Old Summer Palace," *What's On Weibo* (https://www.whatsonweibo.com/after-notre-dame-blaze-chinese-netizens-remember-how-the-french-burned-down-the-old-summer-palace/), accessed 16 April, 2019

[8] Ibid; English translation is Koetse's.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Dame as a public space—not just a site of Catholic religious ritual—and as a green space within the larger urban landscape.[11] The cathedral's original roof frame, now destroyed, was colloquially known as "the forest" for its massive oak beams; some of the wood is estimated to have been felled in the twelfth century from trees that were already hundreds of years old.[12] Following its destruction in the fire, experts expressed doubts about the possibility of even reconstructing the roof in its original timber form, because primary forests with trees of the appropriate age and size were greatly diminished from deforestation.[13] The design by Studio NAS—and other similar greenhouse designs—confronted the issue of environmental damage by substituting the hewn beams of the medieval "forest" with the unfurling leaves of a living forest. By *not* attempting to replicate the past, the contemporary designs implicitly suggest the difficulty, perhaps even the sheer impossibility, of recovering historical materiality. Their proposals suggested, rather, rehabilitating Notre Dame Cathedral so that the fire's destructive force is transformed into a creative opportunity to renew the potential spaces of Parisian urban life and update the city's skyline with a twenty-first century addition.

On the other end of the debate were those who advocated for a restoration that rebuilds the cathedral as it appeared immediately before the fire.[14] At issue was not simply a contention between aesthetics, but tension between the cathedral's physical rehabilitation as a local Parisian and nationalized French monument versus a monument with global stakeholders. In response to the international architectural competition, Marine Le Pen, the divisive leader of the far-right National Gathering Party, had tweeted #TOUCHEPASÀNOTREDAME (#Don'tTouchNotreDame).[15] If Notre Dame Cathedral belongs primarily to the French people, then would an international competition betray that principle? Would a "star-chitect" designed spire be a monument to an individualized ego that—*quelle horreur!*—might not even be French?

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[11] Aurelien Breeden, "France Debates How to Rebuild Notre-Dame, Weighing History and Modernity," *The New York Times*, 18 April 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/18/world/europe/france-notre-dame-reconstruction.html, accessed 14 May 2019; Alex Marshall, "Glass, Golden Flames or a Beam of Light: What Should Replace Notre-Dame's Spire?" *The New York Times* (10 May 2019) (https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/10/arts/design/notre-dame-spire-designs.html), accessed 14 May 2019.

[12] "The frame," *Notre-Dame de Paris* official website (https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/la-cathedrale/architecture/la-charpente/), accessed 13 August 2019.

[13] Katherine Dunn, "A Challenge of Rebuilding Notre Dame: The Forests That Supplied Its Wood Are All But Gone," *Fortune* (April 16, 2019) (https://fortune.com/2019/04/16/notre-dame-after-fire-rebuild/), accessed August 13, 2019.

[14] There is no "original" Notre Dame, at least not in the sense of a stable form; like any old monument, it has always been subject to additions, subtractions, renovations. Hugo decried its Baroque transformation and the vandalism it faced during the French Revolution; in his nineteenth-century restoration of Notre Dame, Viollet-le-Duc famously interpreted Gothic design principles through the lens of contemporary materials and methods.

[15] Breedeen, "France Debates How to Rebuild Notre Dame"

The contemporary design proposals will remain in the realm of imagined, but unrealized, possibilities. The exact final form of Notre Dame's restoration continues to be negotiated but in all likelihood will reproduce the cathedral as it was before the fire. In July 2019, the French senate voted to approve a bill that would restore the cathedral to its "last known visual state before the disaster;" in the final version of the bill adopted by the French assembly, that wording had been removed, but a commitment was made to "preserve the historic, artistic and architectural history of the monument."[16] A year after the conflagration, the roof and spire are being rebuilt not only in the same form, but also using the same methods of traditional timber construction that are preserved in France as an intangible heritage practice.[17]

In the days after the cathedral caught fire, millions of dollars were pledged by wealthy elites—more than $960 million—to put towards the cathedral's restoration. The sudden flood of available funding, however, drew criticism from other quarters and heightened the sense of social tension already exacerbated by the ongoing protests over social inequity within France and also in the United States. Social reformers heavily criticized the international elite for pouring money into the cathedral, but not into resolving social inequities.[18] Social media also noted the disparate response between the influx of aid promised to Notre Dame and the trickle of support received by Black churches in Louisiana that had been burned down as targets of hate crimes. Fortunately, the international attention on Notre Dame and the subsequent discussion over *which* cultural sites and *whose* communities deserve support resulted in renewed efforts to secure funding for Black churches in the US South. Online fundraising through the website GoFundMe ultimately secured more than $1.8 million for rebuilding churches and communities.[19]

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In his letter, Victor Hugo created an imagined connection between Yuanming Yuan and Notre Dame; when Notre Dame caught fire a century and a half after the Yuanming Yuan was set aflame, the two sites appeared to share parallel histories once more. The inflammatory statements posted on social media by internet commentators in China indicate that first, web forums are not sites to find reasoned discussion, but also that the burning of the Yuanming Yuan as a key event in the "century of humiliation" was far from forgotten and that within collective national memory, the ruins of the Yuanming

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[16] Francesco Bandarin, "It's official: the new Notre Dame will look like the old Notre Dame," *The Art Newspaper* (August 2, 2019) (https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/it-s-official-the-new-notre-dame-will-look-like-the-old-notre-dame), accessed August 6, 2019.

[17] Francesco Bandarin, "Where we are now with the restoration of Notre Dame after rejection of modern architectural gestures," *The Art Newspaper*, 22 July 2020, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/where-we-are-now-with-the-restoration-of-notre-dame-after-the-rejection-of-modern-architectural-gestures.

[18] Liz Alderman and Steven Erlanger, "As Rich Lavish Cash on Notre-Dame, Many Ask: What About the Needy?" *The New York Times*, 17 April 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/world/europe/yellow-vest-notre-dame-fire-donations.html, accessed May 20, 2019.

[19] Karen Zraick and Niraj Chokshi, "Black Churches Destroyed by Arson See Spike in Donations After Notre-Dame Fire," *The New York Times*, 16 April 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/16/us/black-church-fires-donation.html, accessed May 20, 2019.

Yuan continue to smolder. The case of Notre Dame also highlights the ways in which the debates over preservation and restoration of damaged cultural sites continue to be negotiated: the relation between material form and historical memory; the intentionality (or lack thereof) of destruction and how the circumstances of destruction guide the negotiations of preservation; the balance between multiple stakeholders of a site that holds different resonances to different audiences; and the contestations over which sites we choose to celebrate—and thus insist upon preserving—and which sites we choose to overlook.

FIGURES

Fig. I.1. Qiu Zhijie (1969–), *The World Garden*世界花園圖 (2016). 60 x 25 feet, wall mural. Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive.

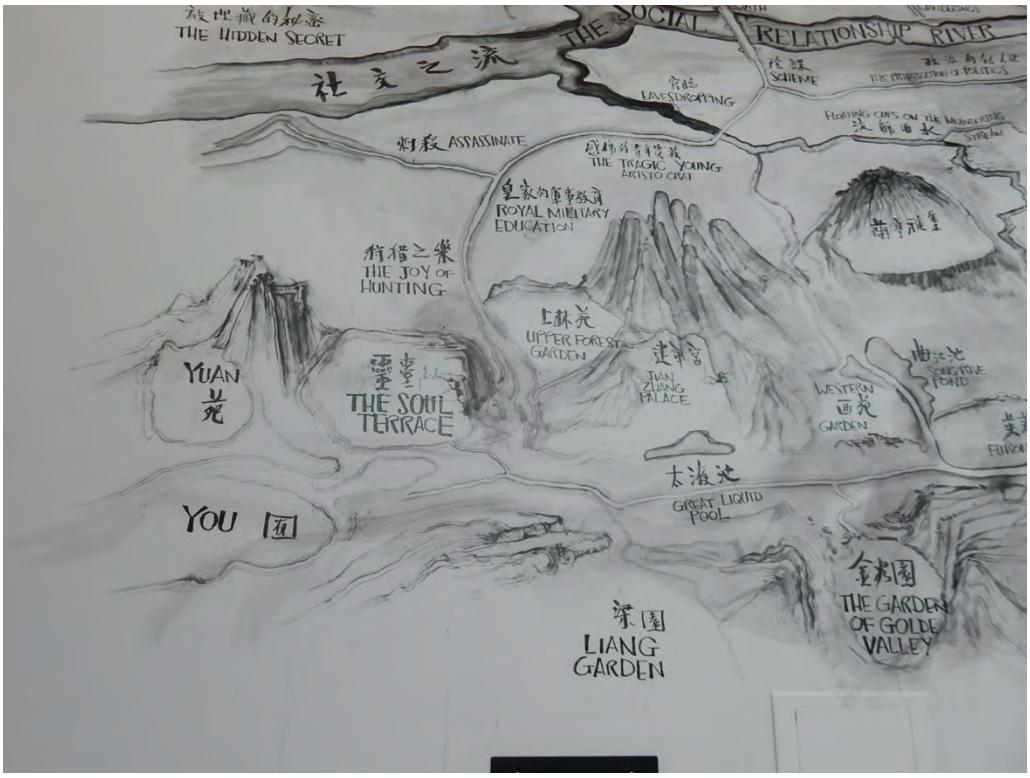


Fig. I.2. Qiu Zhijie (1969–), *The World Garden*世界花園圖 (2016). Detail of *yuan* and *you*.

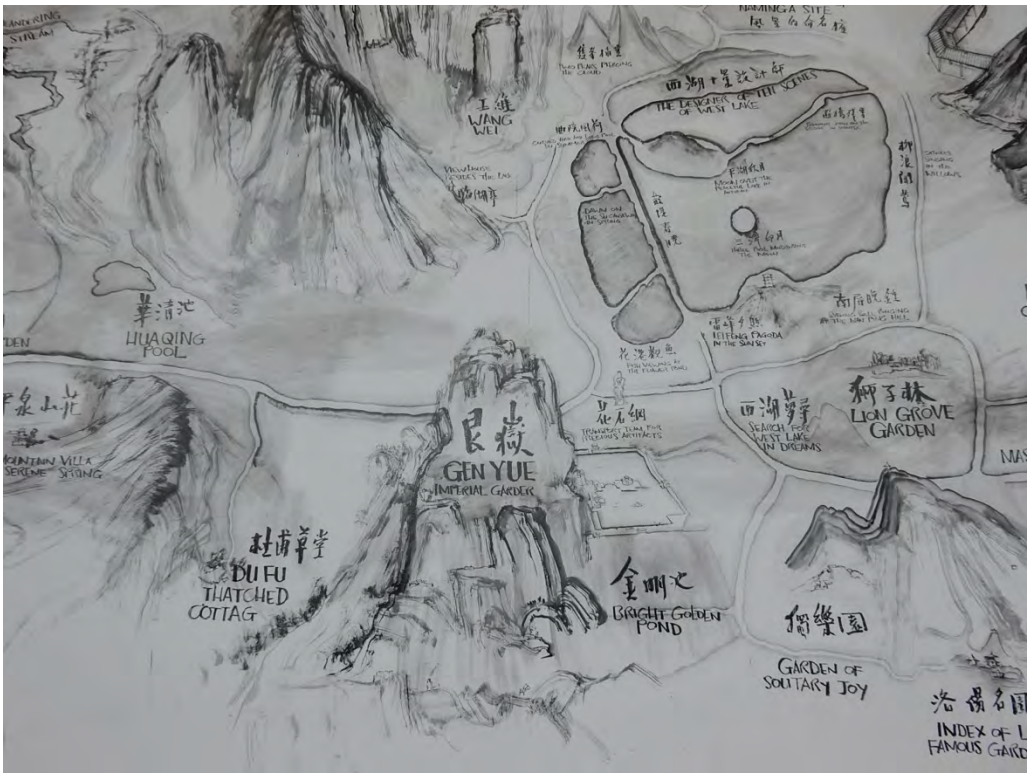


Fig. I.3. Qiu Zhijie (1969–), *The World Garden*世界花園圖 (2016). Detail of Genyue, West Lake of Hangzhou, and the Lion's Grove Garden.

Fig. I.4. Qiu Zhijie (1969–), *The World Garden*世界花園圖 (2016). Detail of Qing imperial gardens.

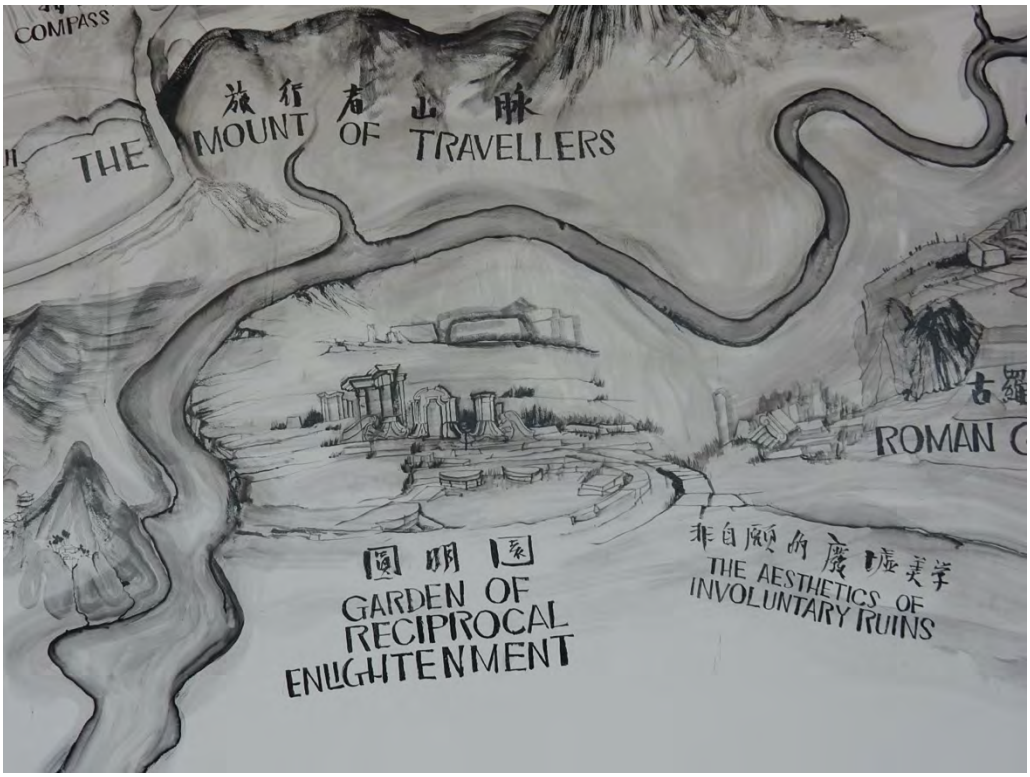


Fig. I.5. Qiu Zhijie (1969–), *The World Garden*世界花園圖 (2016). Detail of the Yuanming Yuan.

Fig. I.6. Yuanming Yuan-branded souvenirs. Collection of author. Photo by author.

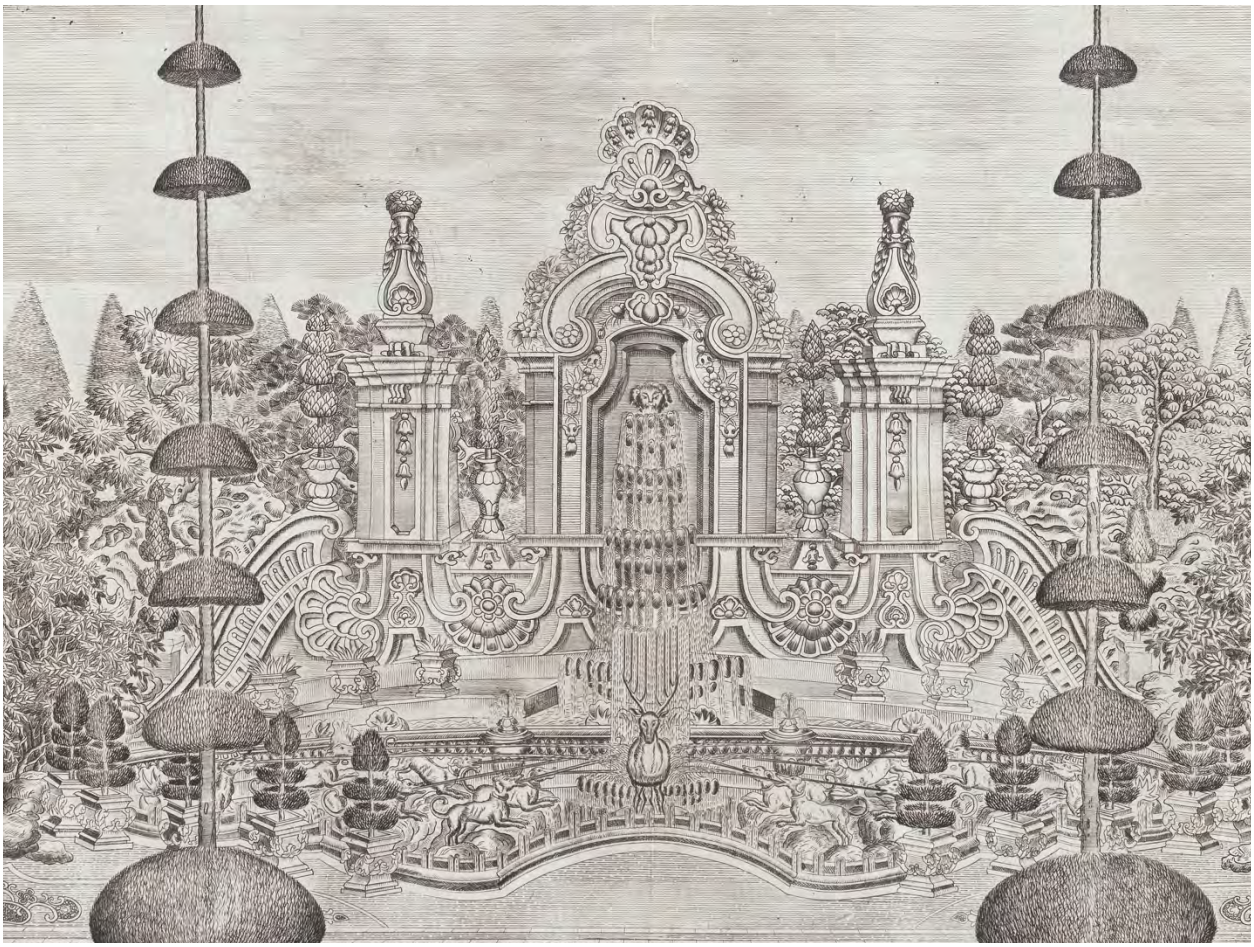


Fig. I.7. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Dashuifa zhengmian*大水法正面 (Front View of Great Fountains), detail of print no. 15 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

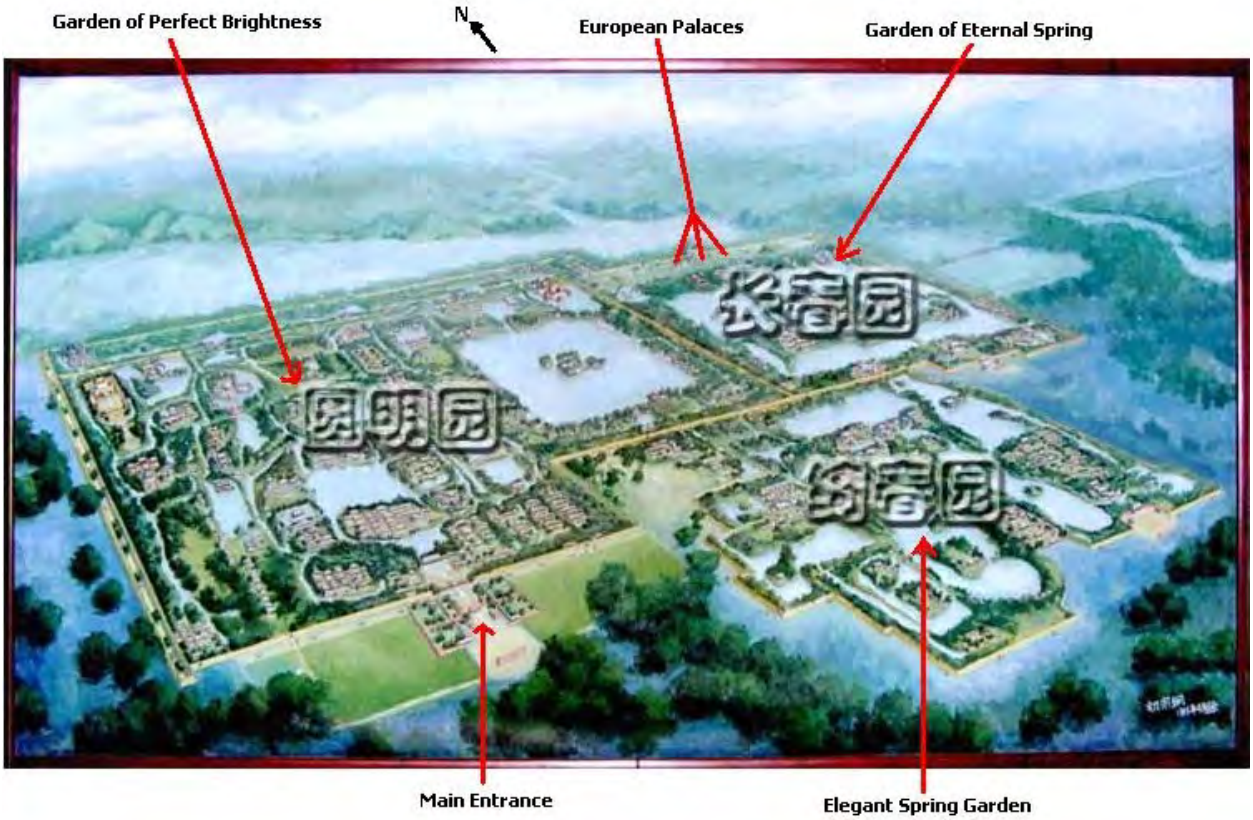


Fig. I.8. Bird's eye view of the Yuanming Yuan, Changchun Yuan, and Qichun Yuan. Wiki Commons, CC-BY-SA 3.0.

Fig. I.9. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), Qinzheng qinxian勤政親賢 (Diligent and Talented Government), ink and colors on silk, 82.5 x 148.5 cm. (spread). With poem by the Qianlong emperor and calligraphy by Wang Youdun. Leaf no. 2 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

Fig. I.10. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), *Jiuzhou qingyan*九洲清晏 (Nine Continents Clear and Calm), ink and colors on silk. Leaf no. 3 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

Fig. I.11. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), *Zhengda guangming*正大光明 (Upright and Just, also Main Audience Hall), ink and colors on silk, 82.5 x 148.5 cm. (spread). With poem by the Qianlong emperor and calligraphy by Wang Youdun. Leaf no. 1 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

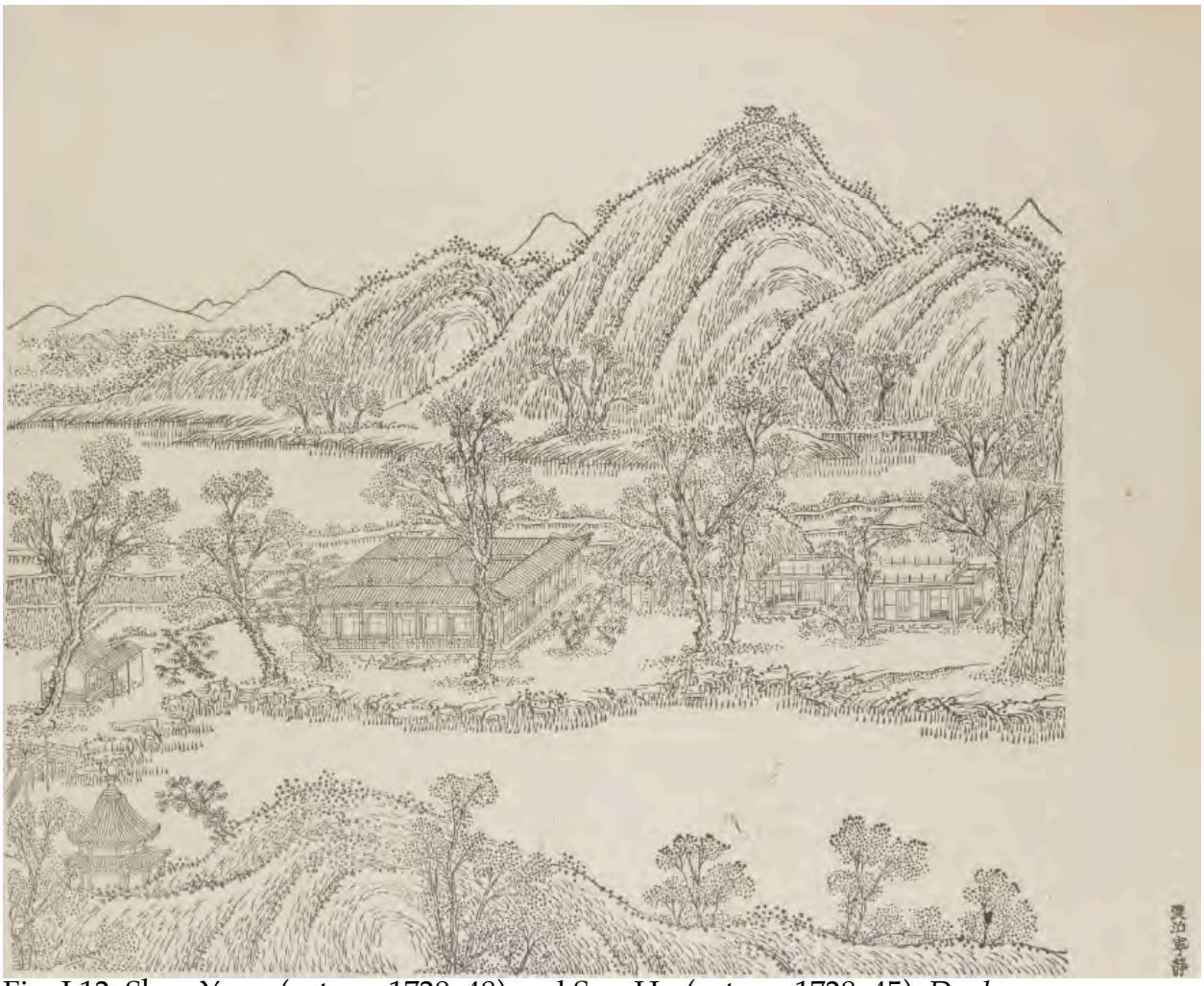


Fig. I.12. Shen Yuan (act. ca. 1728–48) and Sun Hu (act. ca. 1728–45), *Danbo ningjing*澹泊寧靜 (Simple Life in Quietude), 1745. Engraving, 31.5 x 39.1 cm. After leaf no. 20 of *Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE PET FOL-OE-21 (C).

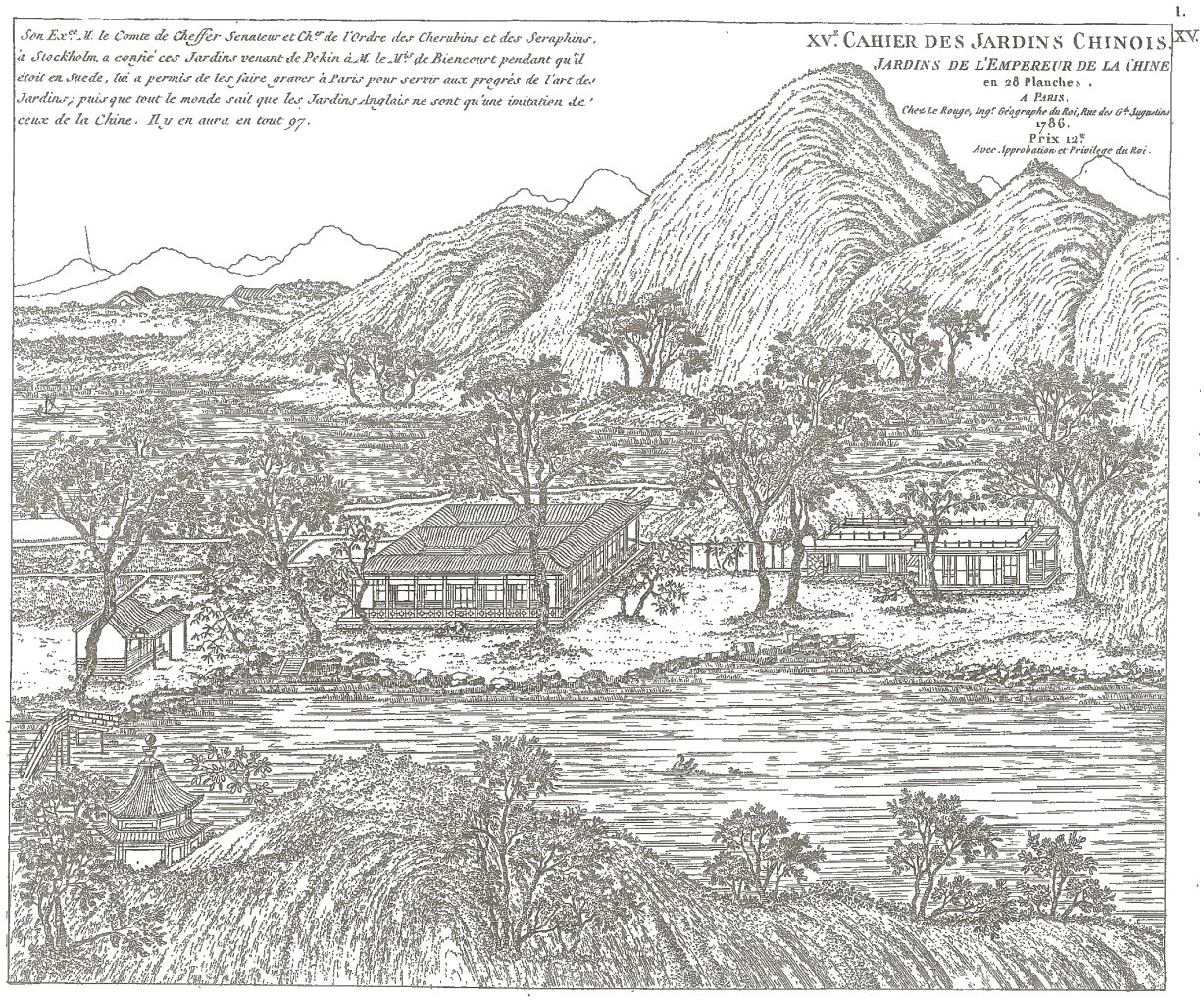


Fig. I.13. Georges-Louis Le Rouge (ca. 1712–ca. 1796), *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode* (Paris: Le Rouge, 1786), cahier XV, pl. 1. Etching, 26.4 x 31.4 cm. After no. 20, *Danbo ningjing*, of *Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan*. Getty Research Institute.

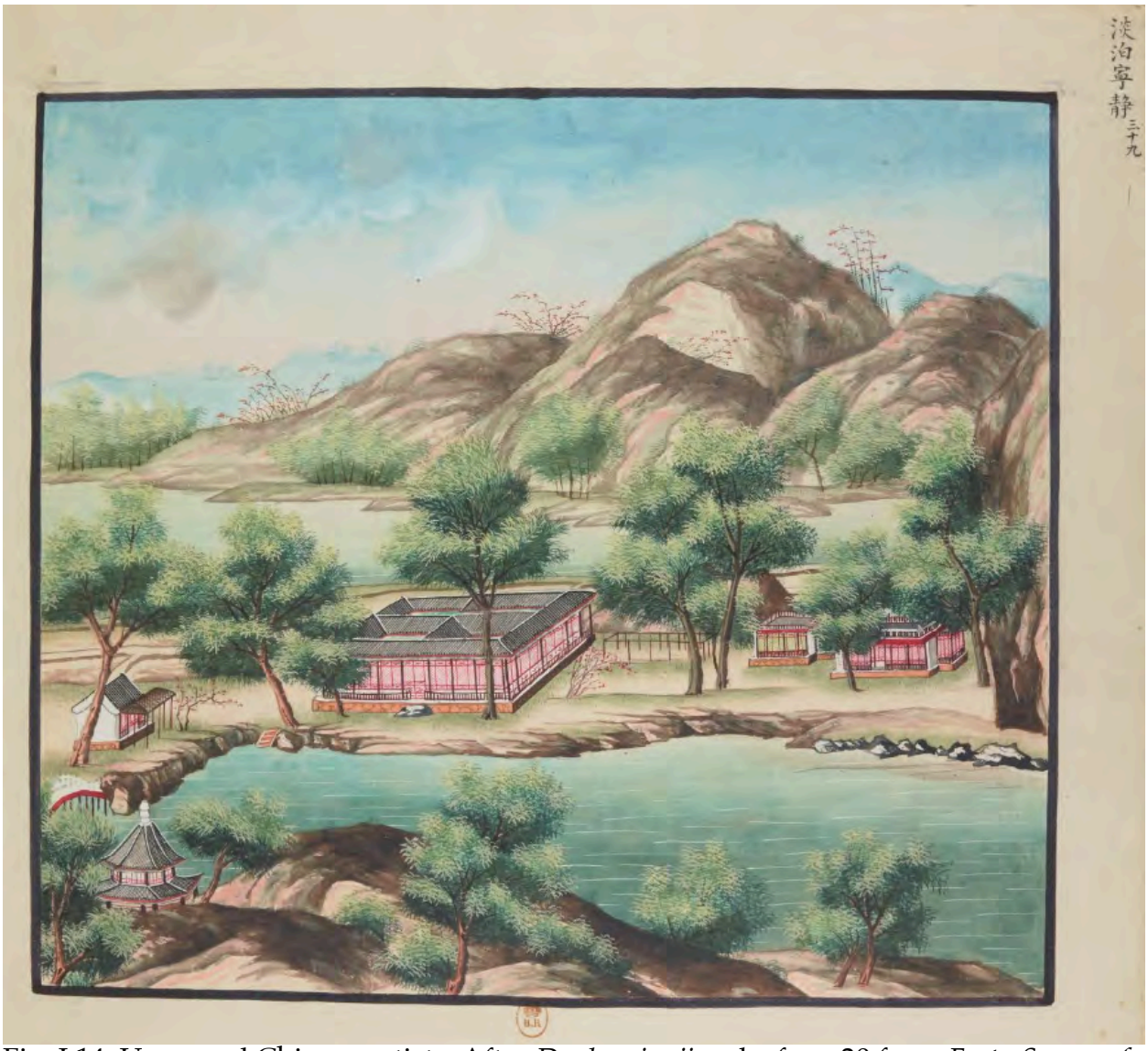


Fig. I.14. Unnamed Chinese artists. After *Danbo ningjing*, leaf no. 20 from *Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan*. Painting no. 39 from the album *Haitien, Maison de plaisance de l'Empereur de la Chine*, late 18th century. Ink and watercolor on paper, about 31.4 x 34.6 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE PET FOL-OE-21.

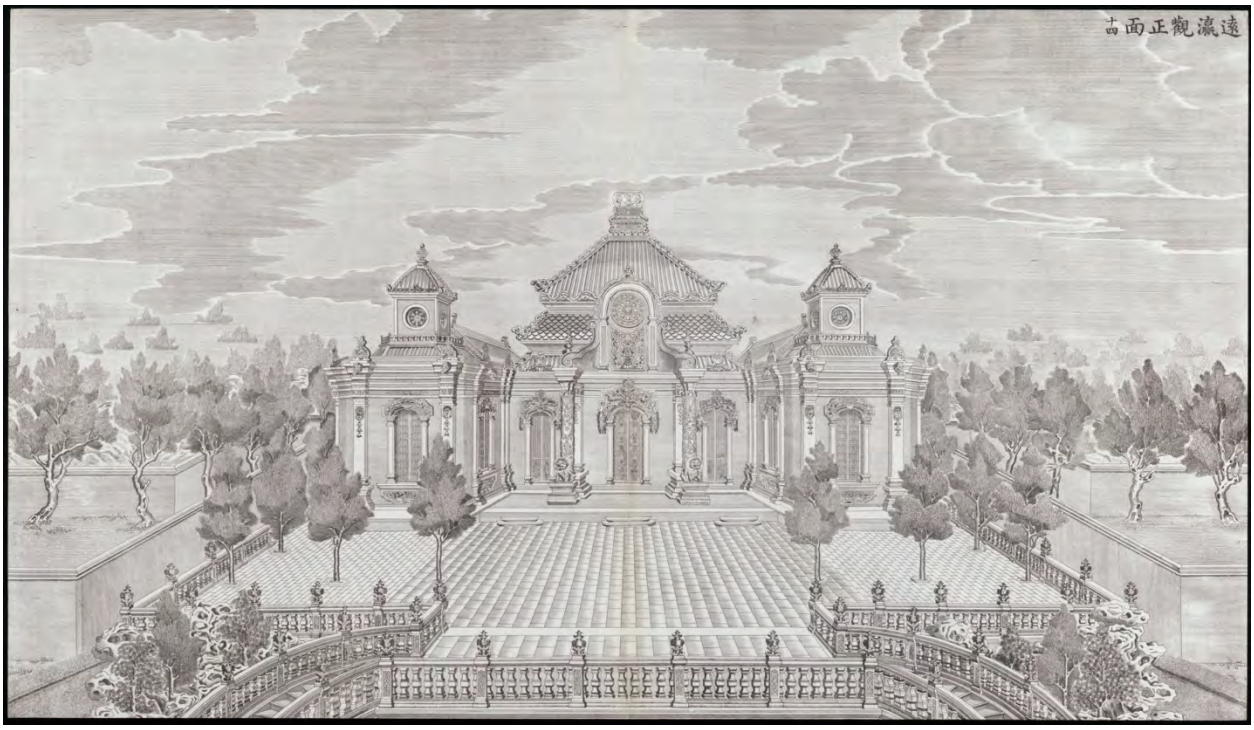


Fig. I.15. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Yuanyingguan zheng mian*遠瀛觀正面 (Front View of View of Distant Seas), print no. 14 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

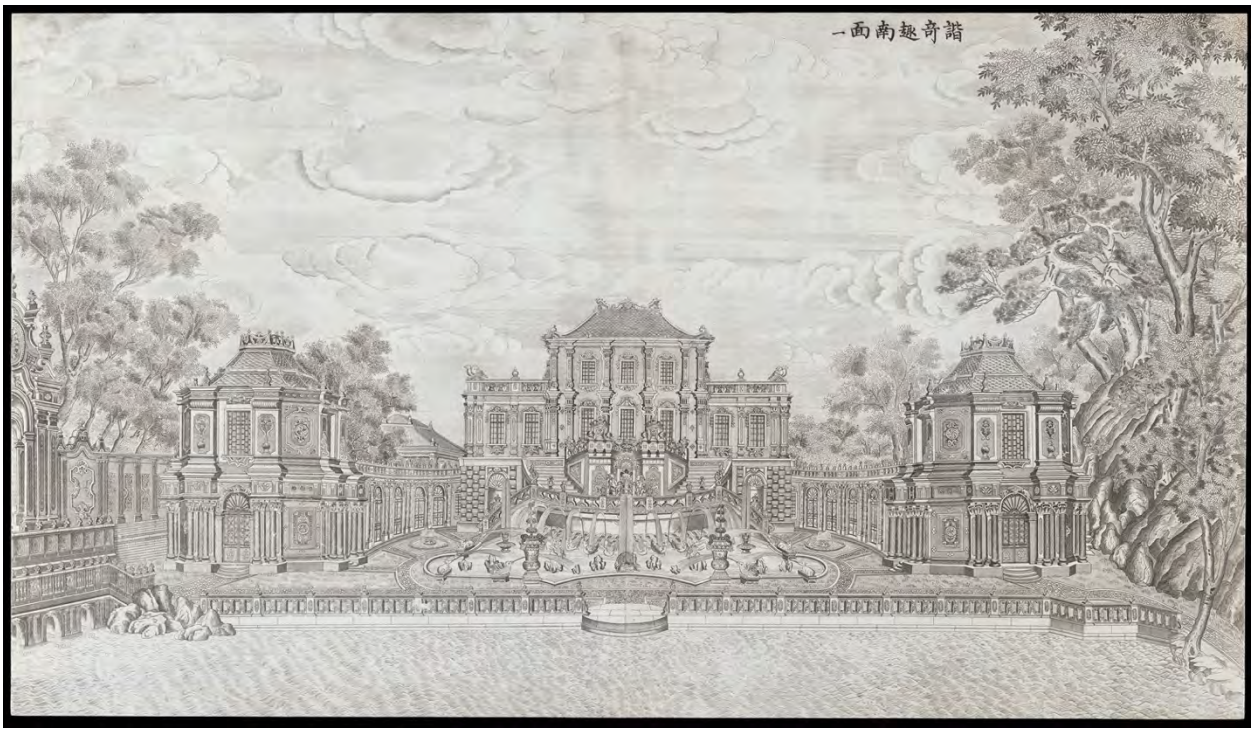


Fig. I.16. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Xieqiqu nan mian*諧奇趣南面 (South Facade of Hall of Harmony and Delight), print no. 1 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

Fig. I.17. Ernst Ohlmer (1847–1927), Photograph of ruins of the Yuanyingguan, 1873.

Fig. I.18. Huang Rui (1952–), *Yuanmingyuan: Last Testament*, 1979, oil on canvas.

Fig. I.19. Huang Rui (1952–), *Yuanming Yuan: Rebirth* 圓明園新生, 1979, oil on canvas, 57.7 x 72.3 cm framed. Hong Kong, M+ Sigg Collection, 2012.3.

Fig. I.20. Stars artists, including Huang Rui and Ma Desheng, on the ruins of the Haiyantang in the Yuanming Yuan, 1981. From *Huang Rui: The Stars Period, 1977–1984* (Hong Kong: Hong ya chu ban you xian gong si, 2012), 299.

Fig. I.21. Henry Fuseli (1741–1825), *The Artist Overwhelmed by the Grandeur of Antique Ruins*, 1778–79.

Fig. I.22. Closing frame from *The Burning of the Yuanming Yuan,* 1983.

Fig. I.23. Musée chinois at Fontainebleau. Photo (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau) / Gérard Blot.

Fig. 1.1. Entrance gate to the Zhonghai Haiyantang. From Dan Jixiang 单霁翔, ed., *Gu gong cang ying: Xi yang jing li de huang jia jian zhu= The Photographic Collection of the Palace Museum: Imperial Buildings Through Western Camera* (Beijing: Gu gong chu ban she, 2014), 252–53.

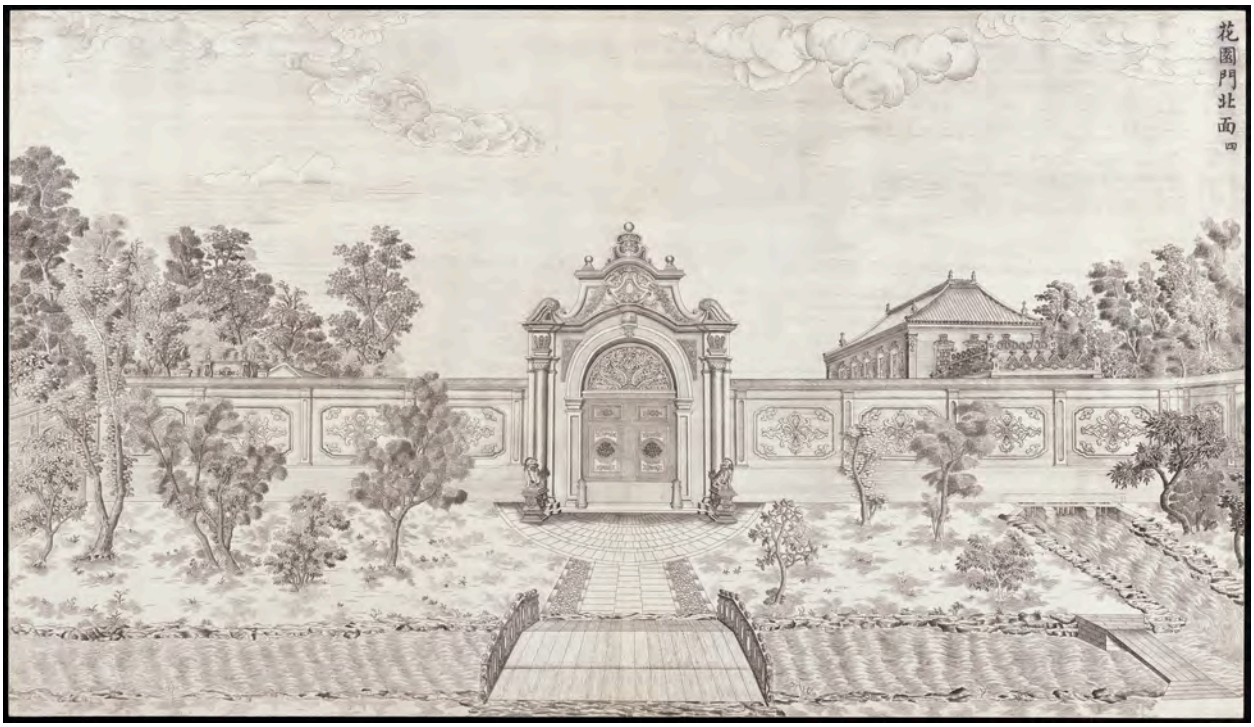


Fig. 1.2. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Hua yuan men bei mian* 花園門北面 (North façade of gate into the Maze), print no. 4 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

Fig. 1.3. Stéphane Passet (1875–1941), exterior of the Zhonghai Haiyantang, 3 July 1912. Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm. Musée Albert Khan, A584.

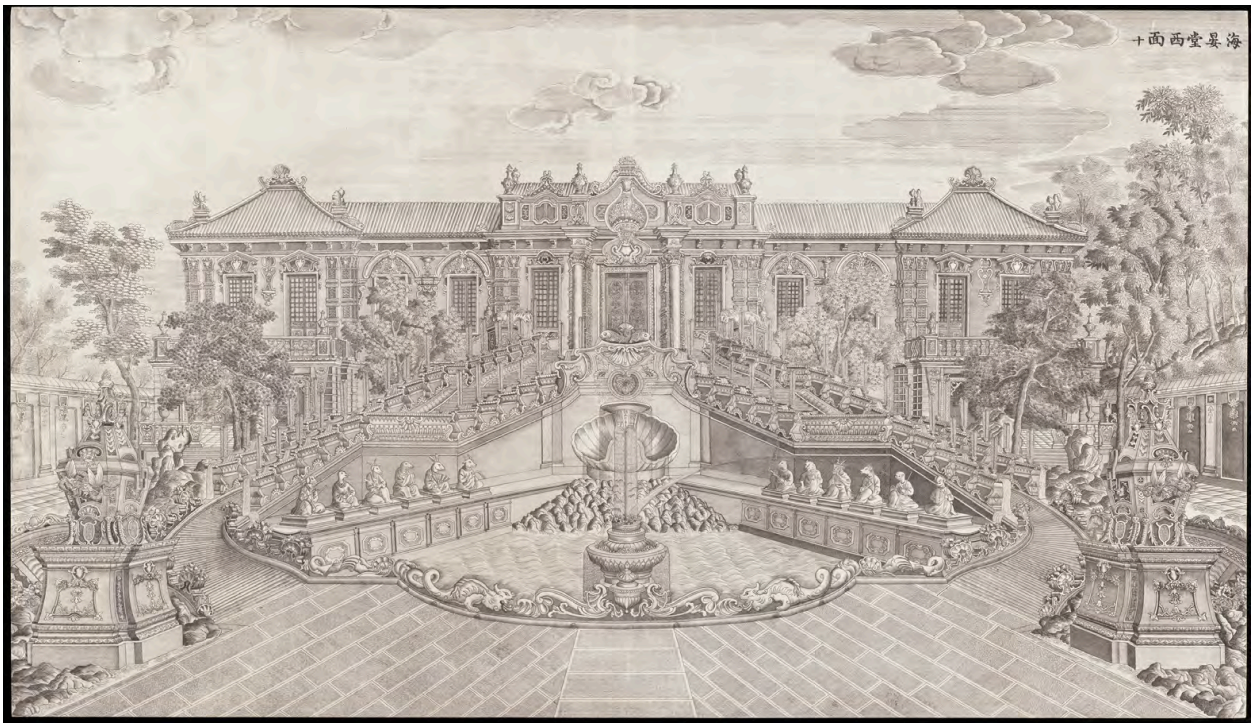


Fig. 1.4. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Haiyantang xi mian* 海晏堂西面 (Western façade of the Hall of Calm Seas), print no. 10 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

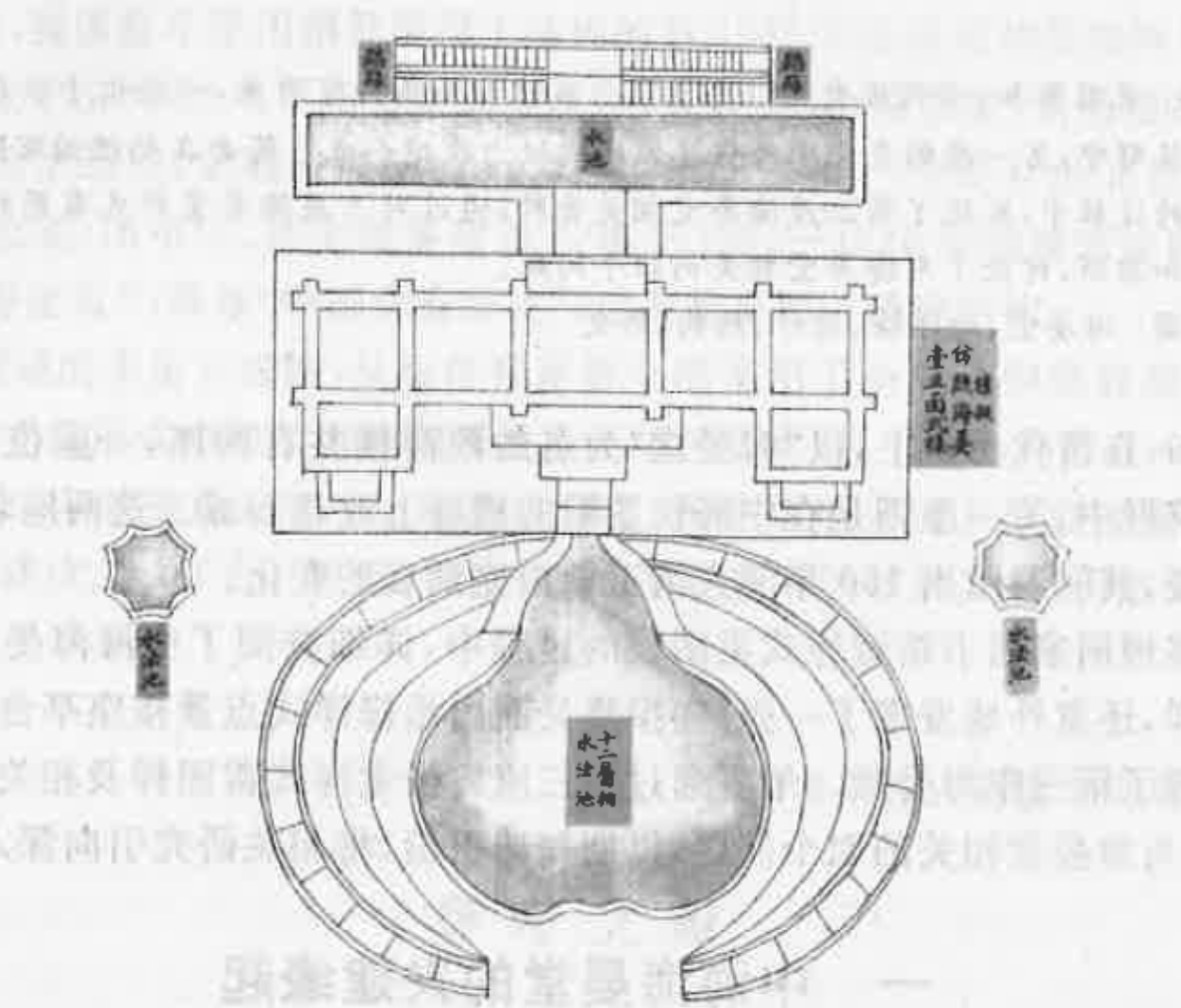
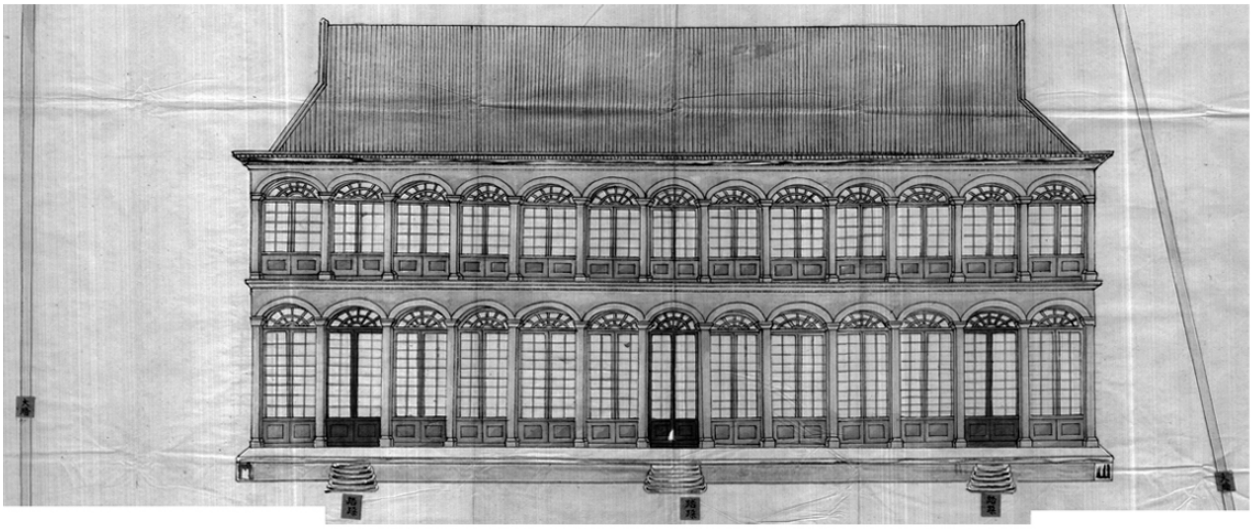


Fig. 1.5. Plan of the Jilingyou Haiyantang, about 1887–1900. From Zuo Tu and Wang Wei, "Hai yang tang si ti 海晏堂四题," in *Zhong guo jin dai jian zhu yan jiu yu bao hu (san): 2002 nian Zhong guo jian zhu shi guo ji yan tao hui lun wen ji= Anthology of 2002 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture*, ed. Zhang Fuhe, 307–320 (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2003), 308, fig. 1.

Fig. 1.6. Elevation drawing of the Zhonghai Haiyantang. From Zuo Tu and Wang Wei, "Hai yang tang si ti 海晏堂四题," in *Zhong guo jin dai jian zhu yan jiu yu bao hu (san): 2002 nian Zhong guo jian zhu shi guo ji yan tao hui lun wen ji= Anthology of 2002 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture*, ed. Zhang Fuhe, 307–320 (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2003), 312, fig. 4.



1 ［西苑中海海晏堂仿俄馆洋式楼立样］（国348-1125）

Fig. 1.7. Elevation drawing of the Fang'eguan. National Library, Beijing, 348-1125. Image courtesy of Professor Zhang Wei 张伟.

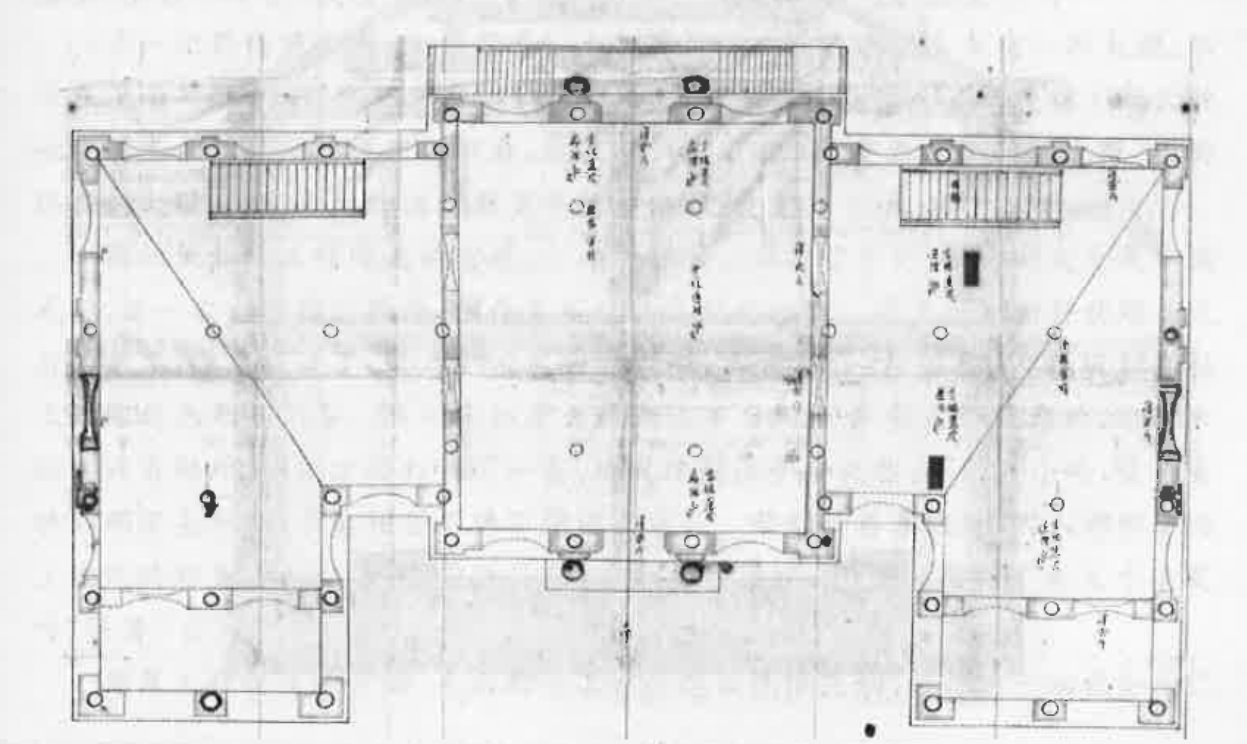


Fig. 1.8. Floor plan of Zhonghai Haiyantang. From Zuo and Wang, "Hai yang tang si ti," fig. 10.

Fig. 1.9. Stéphane Passet (1875–1941), interior of the Zhonghai Haiyantang, 3 July 1912. Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm. Musée Albert Khan, A589.

Fig. 1.10. Yu Xunling (1874–1943), photograph of Empress Dowager Cixi, Sarah Pike Conger, and other women of the American legation in the Leshou tang in the Yihe Yuan, 1903–05. Print from glass plate negative, 24.1 x 17.8 cm. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, FSA A.13 SC-GR-249.

Fig. 1.11. Charles Lucien Léandre (1862–1934), caricature of Empress Dowager Cixi on the cover of *Le Rire* 6, no. 297, 14 July 1900.

Fig. 1.12. Yu Xunling (1874–1943), *Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager of China*, about 1903. Hand-colored silver gelatin print, 23.1 x 17.2 cm. Museum of Fine Art, Boston, 1991.134.

Fig. 2.1. The multiple theme parks / movie sets within the Hengdian World Studios complex

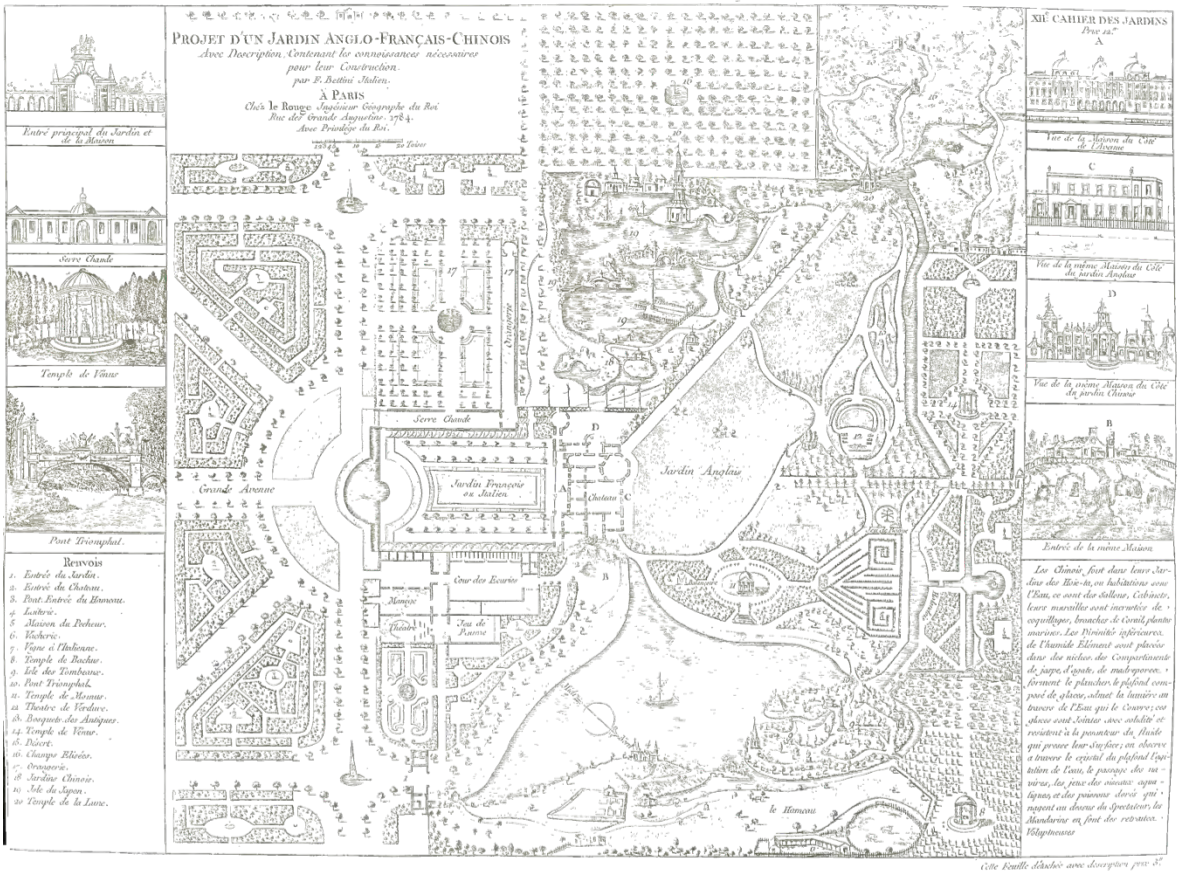


Fig. 2.2a. Francesco Bettini (ca. 1735–1805), "Projet d'un jardin Anglo-Français-Chinois: Avec Description Contenant les connoissances pour leur Construction," 1784. Engraving. From Georges-Louis Le Rouge (ca. 1712–ca. 1792), *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode* (Details of Fashionable New Gardens), cahier 12, pl. 1. Getty Research Institute, 88-B1922.

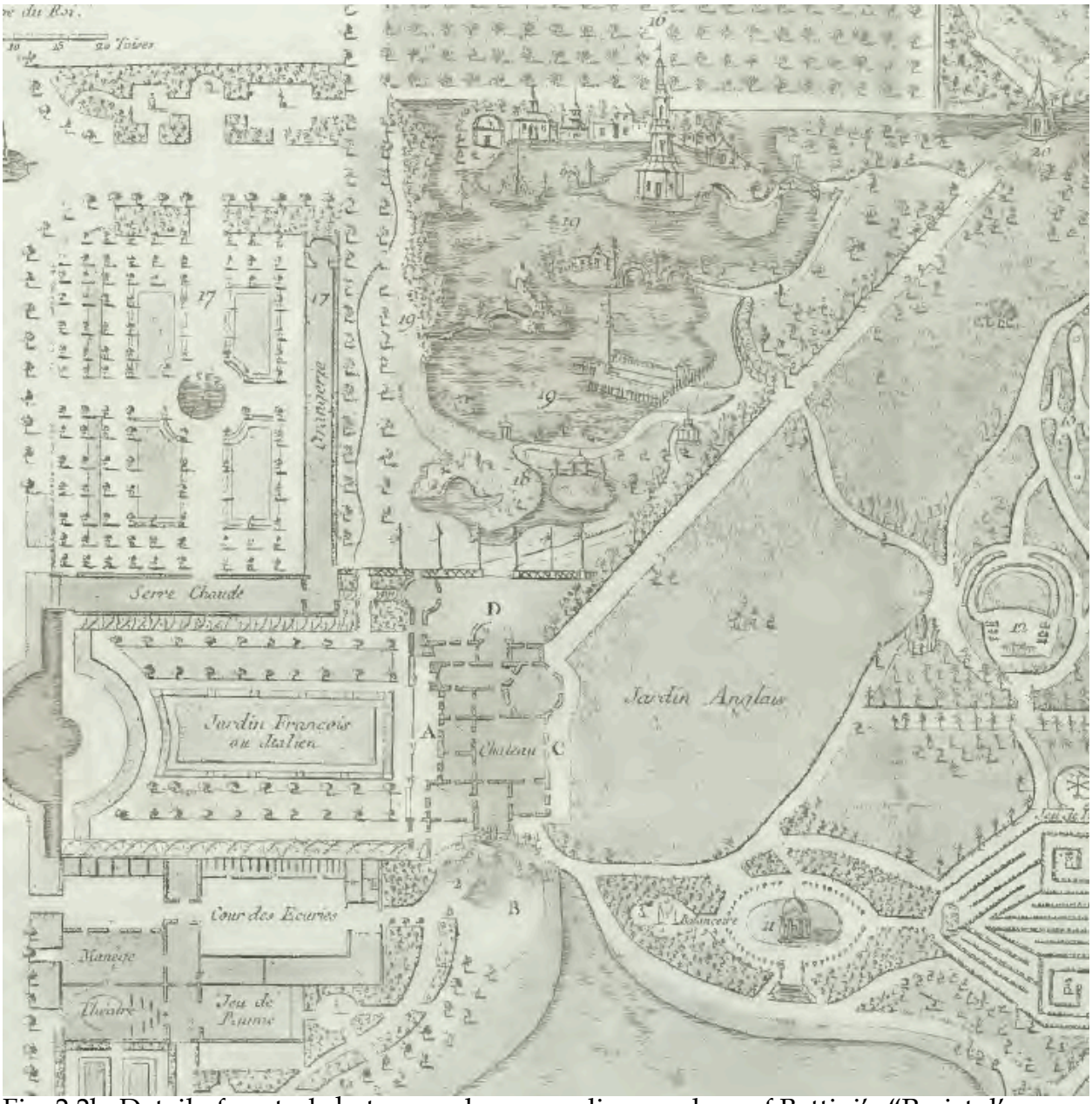


Fig. 2.2b. Detail of central chateau and surrounding gardens of Bettini's "Projet d'un jardin."

Fig. 2.2c. Detail of insets from Bettini's "Projet d'un jardin."

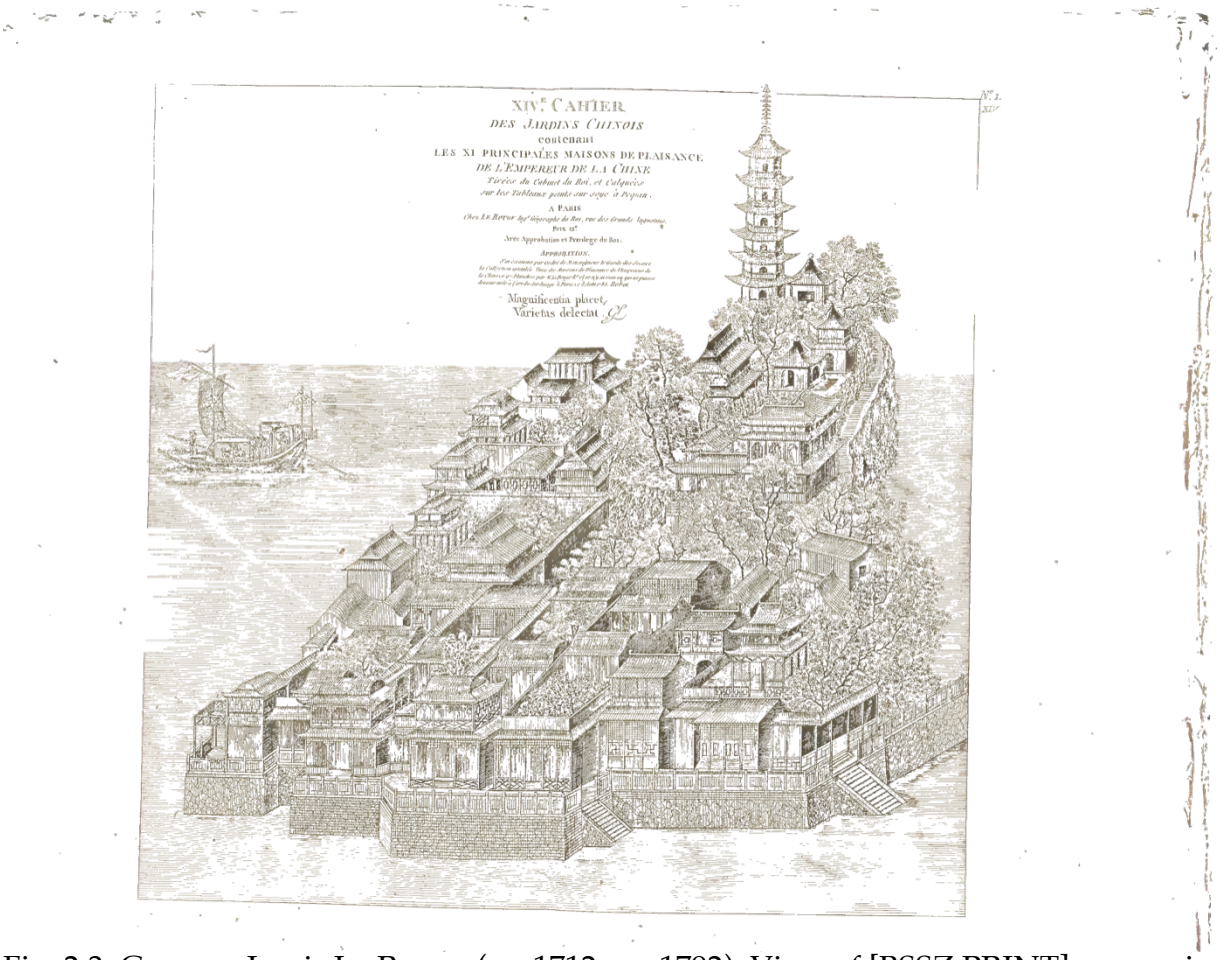


Fig. 2.3. Georges-Louis Le Rouge (ca. 1712–ca. 1792), View of [BSSZ PRINT], engraving. From Le Rouge, *Détail des nouveaux jardins à la mode* (Details of Fashionable New Gardens), cahier 14, *Cahier des jardins chinois contenant les XI principals maisons de plaisance de l'empereur de la Chine* (Paris: Le Rouge, 1786), pl. 1. Getty Research Institute, 88-B1922.

Fig. 2.4. Illustrated park map of Splendid China theme park. From Ma Chi Man, *Shenzhen "Splendid China" Miniature Scenic Spot* (Hong Kong: China Travel Service, 1989), 122–23.

Fig. 2.5. Detail of Yuanming Yuan section of Splendid China park map

Fig. 2.6. Path approaching Yuanming Yuan section in Splendid China. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.7. Replica of ruined pillars of the Yuanyingguan at 4:5 scale in Splendid China. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.8. Replica of ruins of the Dashuifa at 4:5 scale in Splendid China. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.9. Miniature of Jiuzhou qingyan at 1:8 scale in Splendid China. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.10. Correlation of scenes between original Yuanming Yuan and its miniature in Splendid China.

Fig. 2.11. Miniature Dashuifa and European Palaces in Splendid China. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.12. Miniature Yuanming Yuan in Splendid China with high rises of Shenzhen in background. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.13. Bird's eye view illustrated park map of Zhuhai's New Yuanming Palace theme park.

Fig. 2.14. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), *Zhengda guangming*正大光明 (Upright and Just, also Main Audience Hall), ink and colors on silk, 62.3 63 cm. Leaf no. 1 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

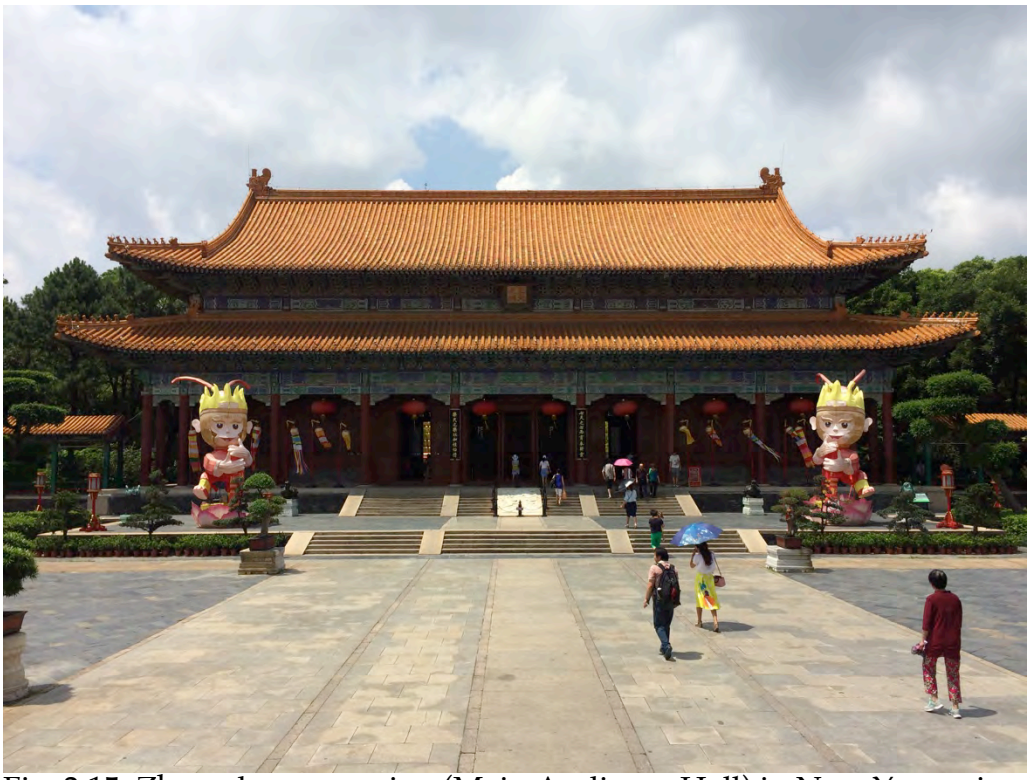


Fig. 2.15. Zhengda guangming (Main Audience Hall) in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.16. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), *Wanfang anhe*萬方安和 (Peace and Harmony Everywhere, or, Swastika House), ink and colors on silk, 63.5 x 64.7 cm. Leaf no. 13 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

Fig. 2.17. Wanfang anhe in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

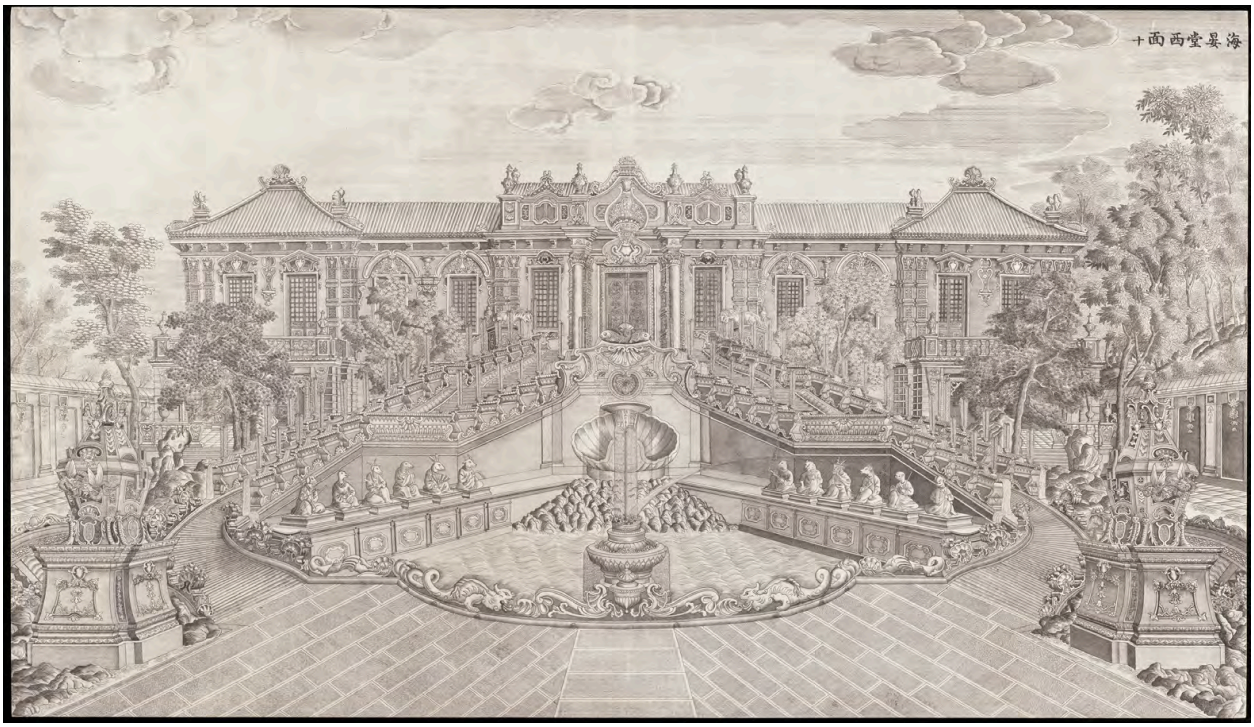


Fig. 2.18. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Haiyantang xi mian* 海晏堂西面 (Western façade of the Hall of Calm Seas), print no. 10 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.


Fig. 2.19. Haiyantang in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.20. Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Dashuifa zheng mian* (Front view of the Grand Fountains), print no. 15 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

Fig. 2.21. Dashuifa in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.22. Open-air theatre in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.23. Performance of *Menghui Yuanming Yuan* in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.24. Seafood restaurant in Haiyantang in New Yuanming Palace, Zhuhai. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.25. Miniature model of the Yuanming Yuan in the Folk Residence Exhibition Museum, Hengdian World Studios. Photo by author.


Fig. 2.26. Detail view of miniature model. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.27. Map of New Yuanming Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.28. Map of New Changchunyuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.29. Xifeng xiuse in New Yuanming Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.30. Tang Dai (1673–ca. 1752) and Shen Yuan (act. 18th c.), *Xifeng xiuse* 西風秀色 (Elegant Color of the Western Peaks), ink and colors on silk, 63.6 x 64.3 cm. Leaf no. 27 from album *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing* (Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan), 1744. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FT 6-B-9.

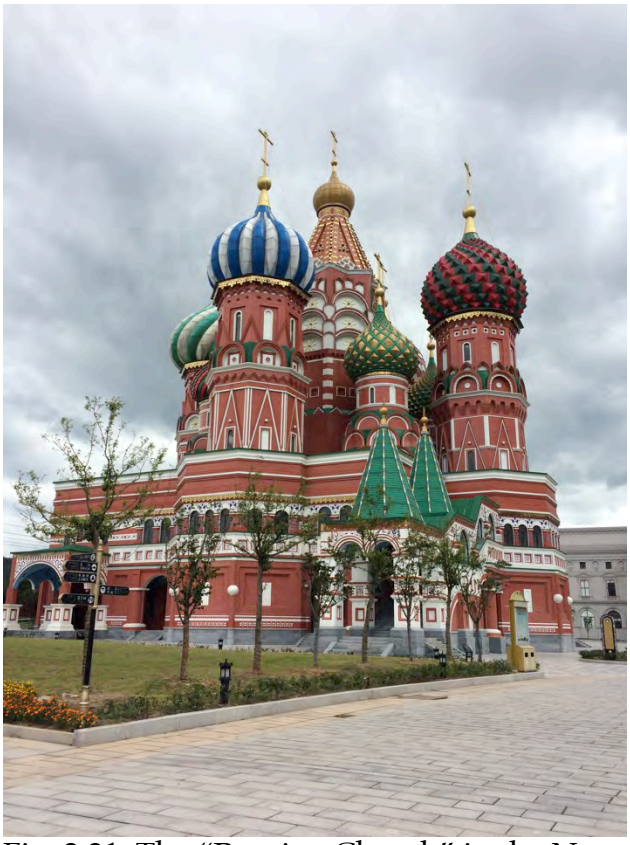


Fig. 2.31. The “Russian Church” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.32. The “German Triumphal Arch” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.33. The “French Palace of the Arts” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.34. The “American Manor” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.35. The “Austrian Palace of Art” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.36. The “Italian Aristocratic Manor” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.


Fig. 2.37. The “English Aristocratic Manor” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.38. The “Japanese Temple” in the New Chángchun Yuan, Hengdian. Photo by author.

Fig. 2.39. Kan Sanxi (1949–), Model of the Yuanming Yuan, about 2010. Wood and semi-precious stone, 18 x 14 meters. Museum of Chinese Garden and Landscape Architecture, Beijing.

Fig. 2.40. Detail of miniature Yuanming Yuan model and fragment of stone from the original Yuanming Yuan.

Fig. 3.1 Public social media post by student activists who vandalized the zodiac head installation in the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum. (Names and faces redacted).

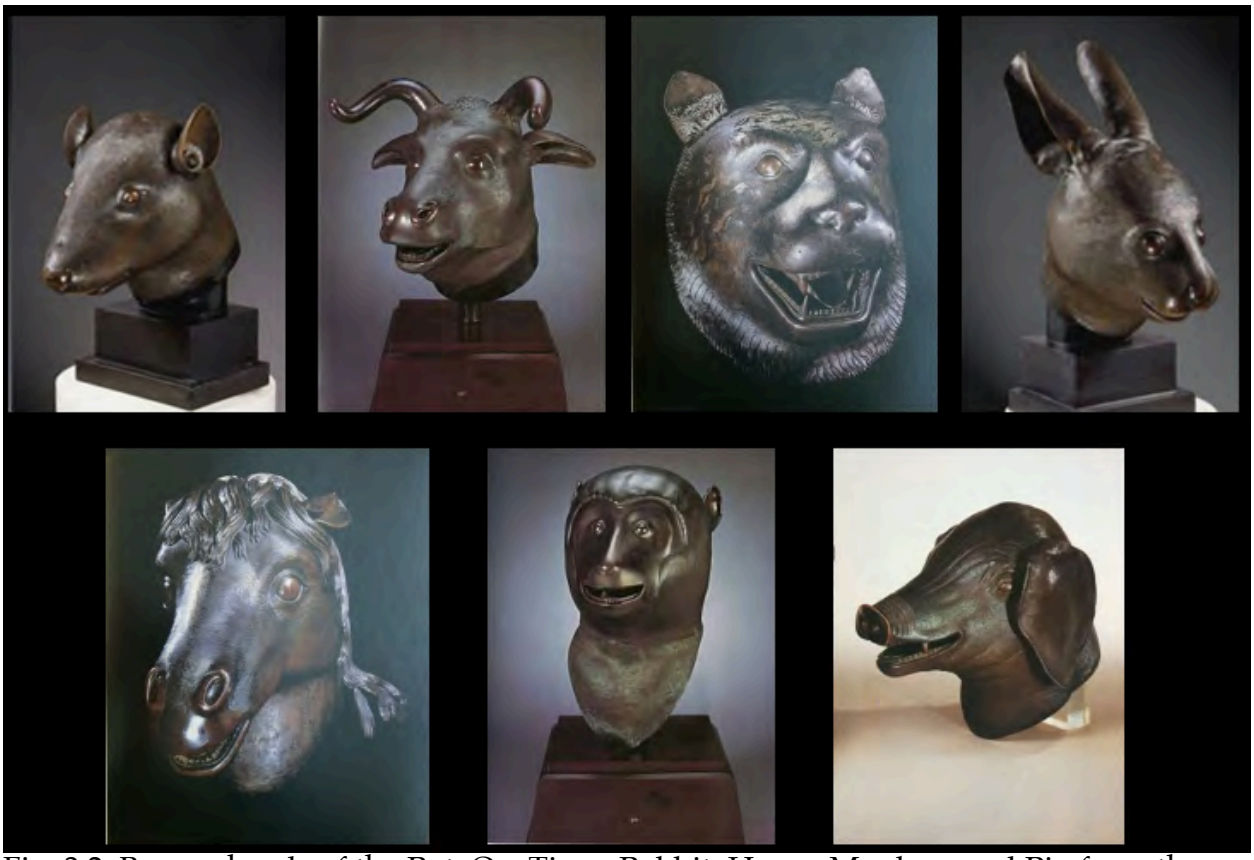


Fig. 3.2. Bronze heads of the Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Horse, Monkey, and Pig from the Haiyantang in the Yuanming Yuan.

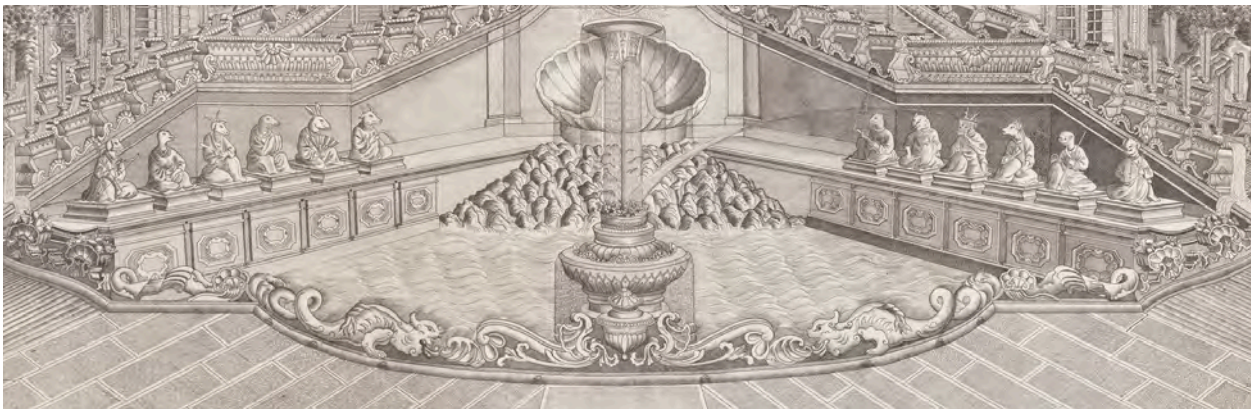


Fig. 3.3. Detail of zodiac fountain. From Yi Lantai (fl. 1749–86), *Haiyantang xi mian* 海晏堂西面 (Western façade of the Hall of Calm Seas), print no. 10 from suite of twenty engravings of the European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, 1783–86. 50 x 87.5 cm. Getty Research Institute, 86-B26695.

Fig. 3.4. Twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac, 18th–19th century. Nephrite jade, each 5.7 x 4.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Heber R. Bishop, 1902. Acc. no. 02.18.730a–l.

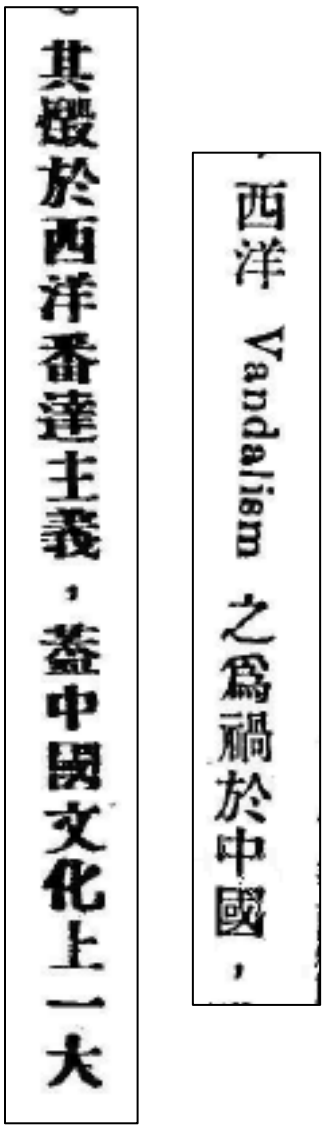


Fig. 3.5. Use of "vandalism" and "*fanda zhuyi*" in Xiang Da 向達, "Yuanming Yuan yi wu wen xian zhi zhan lan" (圓明園遺物文獻之展覽), *Zhong guo ying zao xue she hui kan* 2, no. 1 (April 1931), 1, 6.

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The incredible arrangement of gears, pulleys, and jacks required constant attention and with the death of the designer in 1780 the clock ceased to function. During the 19th century the fountain was disassembled and placed in storage. In 1860, hostilities erupted between the European trading partners and the Chinese. The Imperial complex was attacked. The Summer Palace fell to British and French troops in September and a supposed sketch drawn at the scene and reproduced as an engraving in the French journal, *L'Illustration* on December 22, 1860, shows the horological fountain just prior to its destruction as part of the systematic burning of the complex. It is likely that the heads made their way to Paris at this time, where they may have been auctioned at the Hotel Drouot, during the numerous "Palais d'Eté" sales held between 1861 and 1863. Three other heads are known to exist and are in private collections.

$60,000–80,000

Fig. 3.6. Monkey (Lot 134) and Pig (Lot 135) in Sotheby's New York, "Fine Chinese Decorative Works of Art" auction on October 9 and 10, 1987.

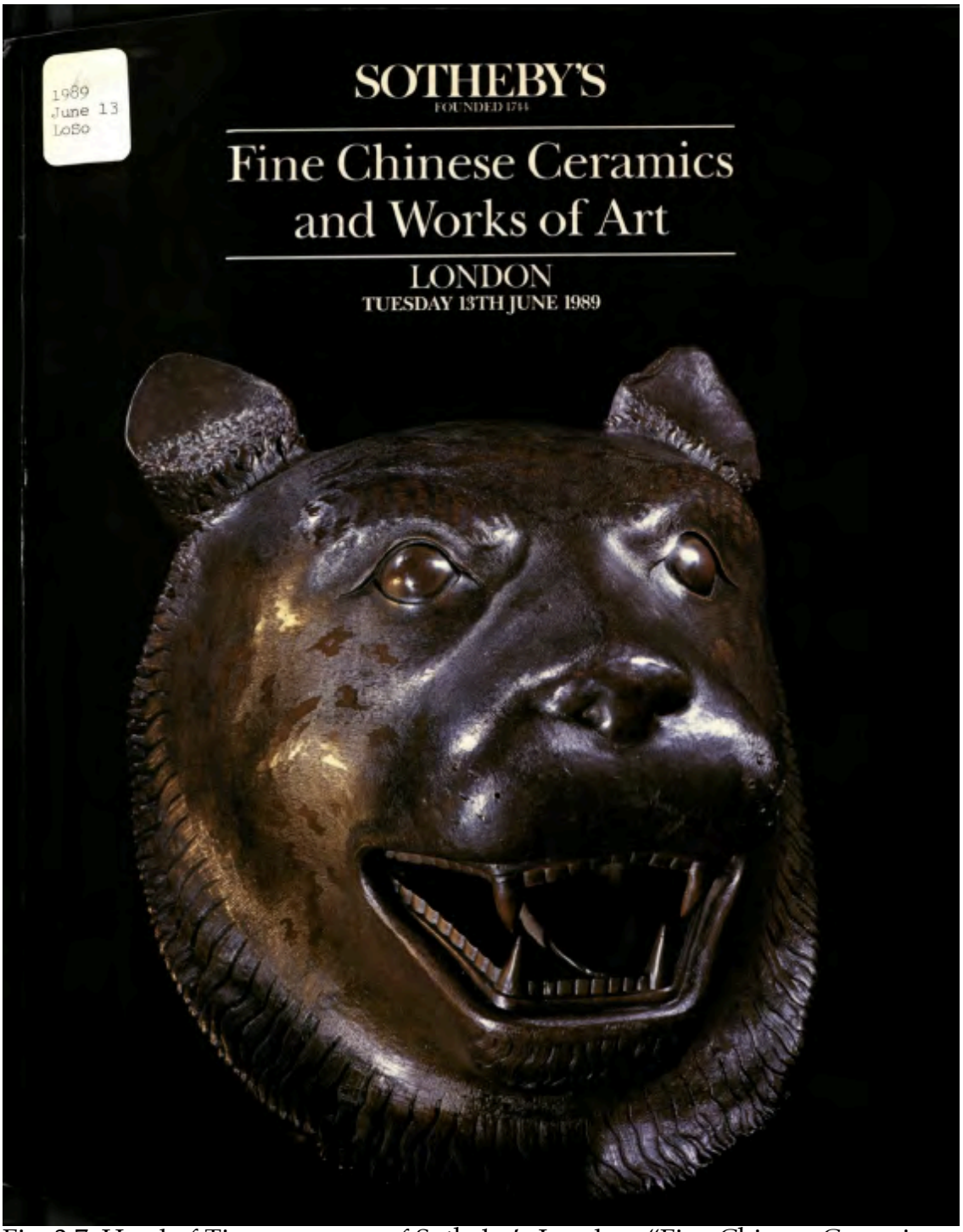

Fig. 3.7. Head of Tiger on cover of Sotheby's London, "Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art," auc. cat., 13 June 1989.

Fig. 3.8. Head of Horse in Sotheby's London, "Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art," auc. cat., 13 June 1989.

Fig. 3.9. Head of Ox in Sotheby's London, "Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art," auc. cat., 13 June 1989.

Fig. 3.10. Full page ad by My Humble House in *Orientations,* July 1991.

Fig. 3.11. Heads of Monkey and Ox in Christie's Hong Kong, *The Imperial Sale: Yuanmingyuan* auc. cat. (Hong Kong: Christie's, 30 April 2000), 35–38 (lots 516–517).

749 An important bronze zodiac Tiger's Head Qing Dynasty, Qianlong period

From the Yuanmingyuan, the old Summer Palace outside Beijing, originally forming part of a water clock commissioned by the Qianlong emperor, designed by the French astronomer Father Michel Benoist (1715-1774), and constructed between 1747 and 1759

Sold in our London rooms, 13th June 1989, lot 68

This sculpture is one of twelve bronze heads of zodiac animals which formed part of a clepsydra, or water clock, outside the Hayanxuning (Hall of the Calm Sea), the largest of the European-style palaces in the Yuanmingyuan compound, the old Summer Palace outside Beijing. The twelve bronze animals, all represented with human bodies, dressed in long robes and seated on square plinths, were placed around a pool in two groups of six, flanking a large shell above rockwork. Representing the twelve double-hours of the day, they were designed to spout water for two hours each at their designated time, the tiger having its turn between three and five o'clock in the morning, and all of them spouting in unison at noon. No other comparable fountain has ever been constructed and no related group of animals has ever been made.

The Qianlong emperor, having seen pictures of contemporary Western palaces, was so fascinated with their monumental baroque stone buildings, their fountains and other decorative water works, and their formal arrangement of plants, that he decided to have a European style palace built at his summer residence outside Beijing. In 1747 he asked the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione, one of the resident artists at court, whether one of the European missionaries present there were capable of constructing a Western-style fountain as he had seen in paintings. Father Michel Benoist, a French mathematician and astronomer with some knowledge of hydraulics, who had arrived in China in 1744, thereupon made a model which so delighted the emperor, that he commissioned Castiglione and Benoist with the design of a palace in the European style within the Yuanmingyuan precinct.

The fountain with its Chinese zodiac animals represented one of the few overtly Chinese touches within the predominately Western architecture and ornamentation of the 'Versailles at Peking', although the representation of the animals is also Western in style. The fountain was reputedly particularly admired by the emperor. But its elaborate hydraulic machinery, which apparently had caused Benoist great difficulty and anxiety, was already out of order by 1786. The whole palace precinct fell into disuse with the end of the Qianlong emperor's reign and was in a state of neglect in the 19th century. The fountain was completely destroyed when the Yuanmingyuan was looted and burned down by British and French troops in October 1860. It is possible that the animals' heads were taken to Paris at that time and included in one of the 'Palais d'Eté' (Summer Palace) sales, which took place at Hôtel Drouot between 1861 and 1863. At least four other heads from this fountain are known to be preserved, the monkey and the boar, sold in our New York rooms, 9th October, 1987, lots 154 and 155, and the horse and the ox, sold in our London rooms, 13th June, 1989, lots 69 and 70.

For the history of the European palaces at the Yuanmingyuan see also C. and M. Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione. A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors*, Rutland, 1972; Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens (ed.), *Le Yuanmingyuan, deux siècles de palais européens du XVIIIe siècle à la cour de Chine*, Paris, 1987; and Michele Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, 'The Emperor Qianlong's European Palaces', *Orientations*, November 1988, pp.61-71.

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Fig. 3.13. Head of Pig

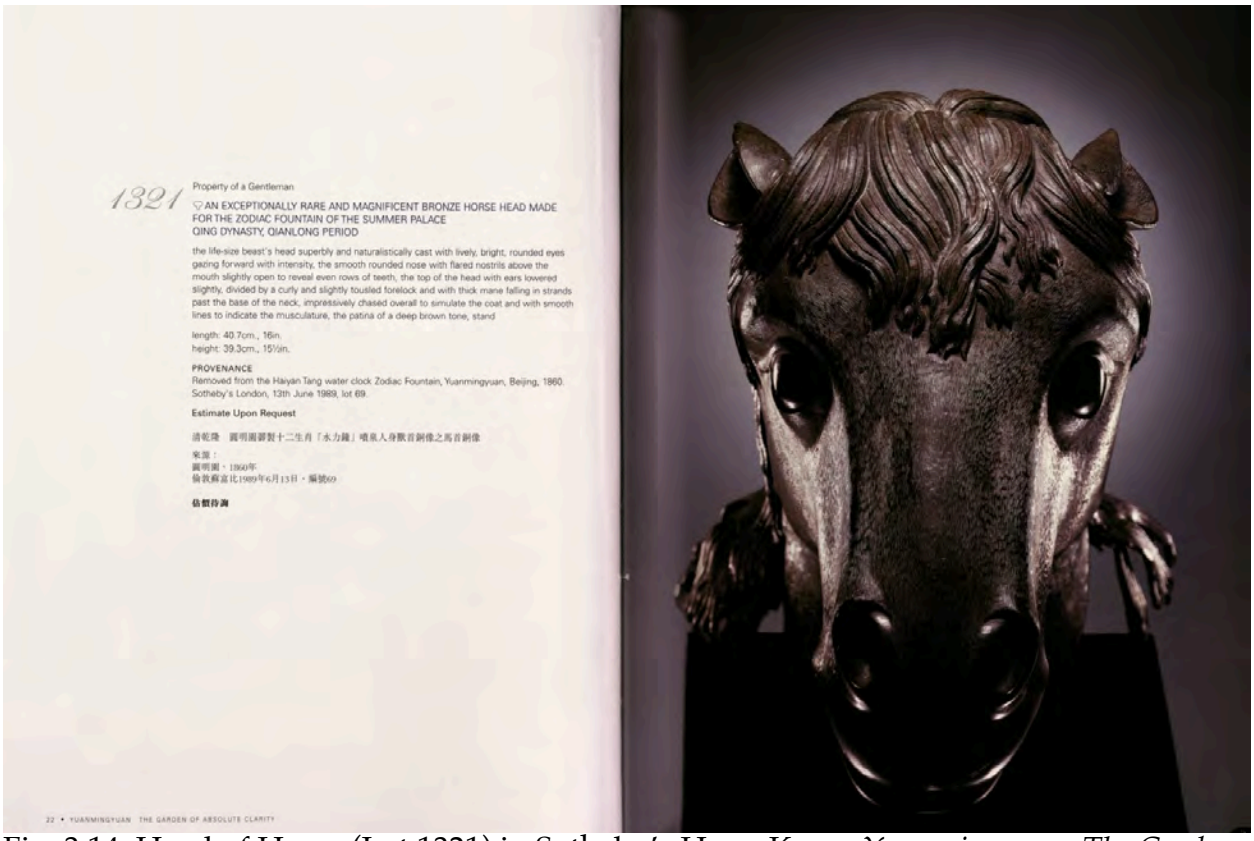

Fig. 3.14. Head of Horse (Lot 1321) in Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity*, auction cat. (Hong Kong: Sotheby's, 9 October 2007).

Fig. 3.15. Auction floor of Christie's YSL sale. Photo courtesy John Finlay.

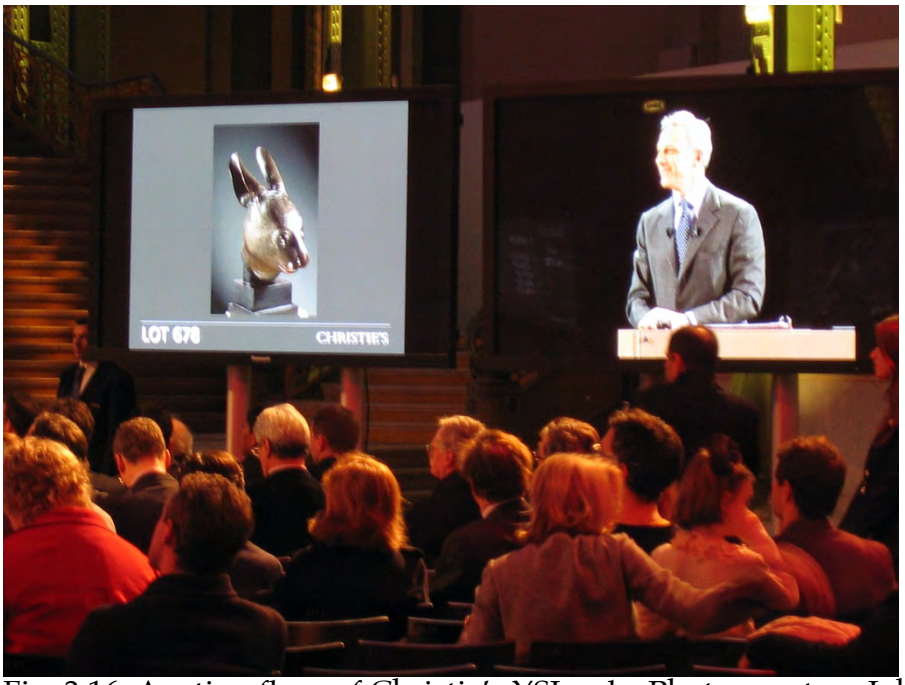

Fig. 3.16. Auction floor of Christie's YSL sale. Photo courtesy John Finlay.

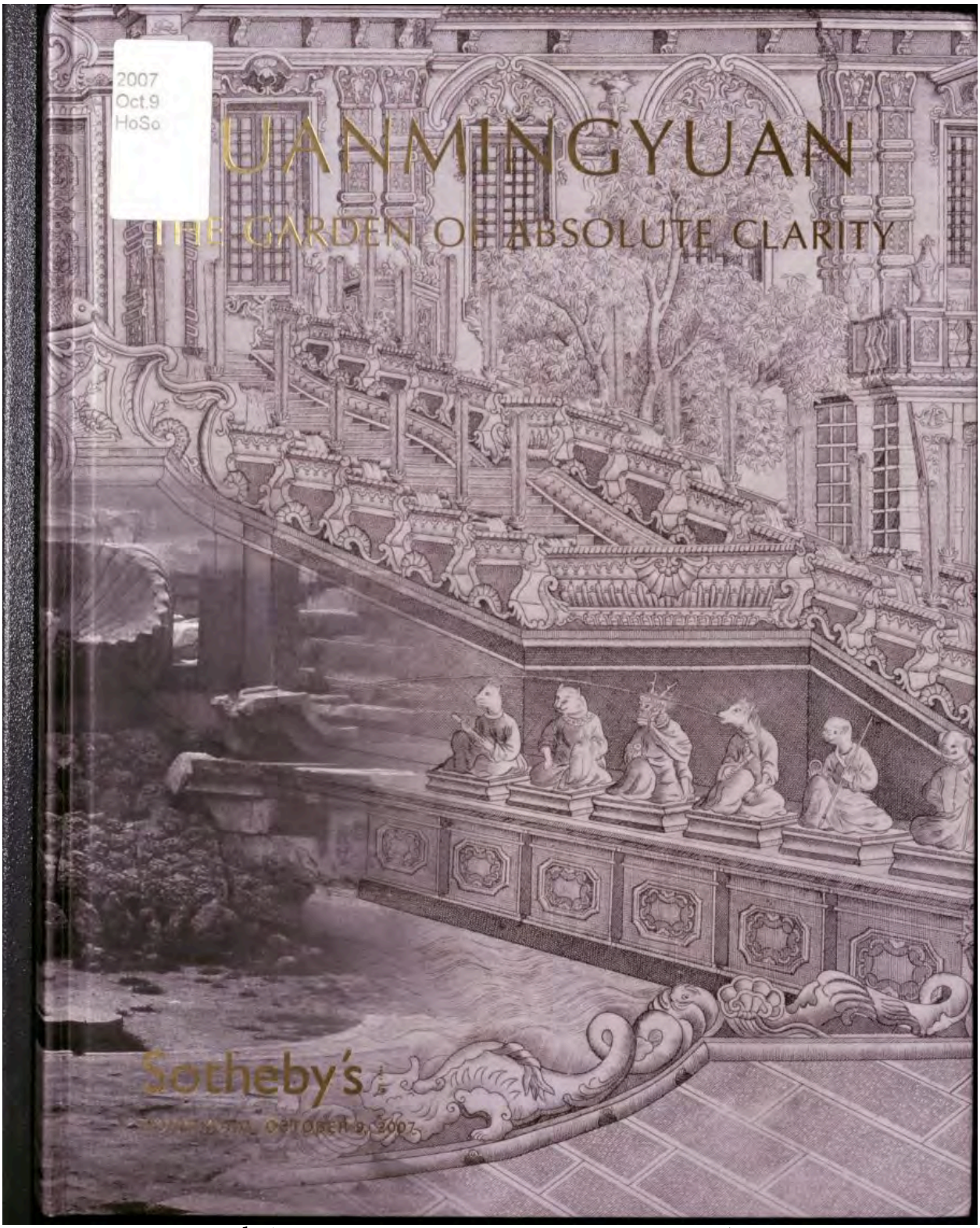

Fig. 3.17. Cover of Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity*, auction cat. (Hong Kong: Sotheby's, 9 October 2007).

Fig. 3.18. Spread of Lot 1329 in Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Yuanmingyuan: The Garden of Absolute Clarity*, auction cat. (Hong Kong: Sotheby's, 9 October 2007).

Fig. 3.19. “Hope Grant” ewer, 1852. Gold. National Museums Scotland, NMS A.1884.54.

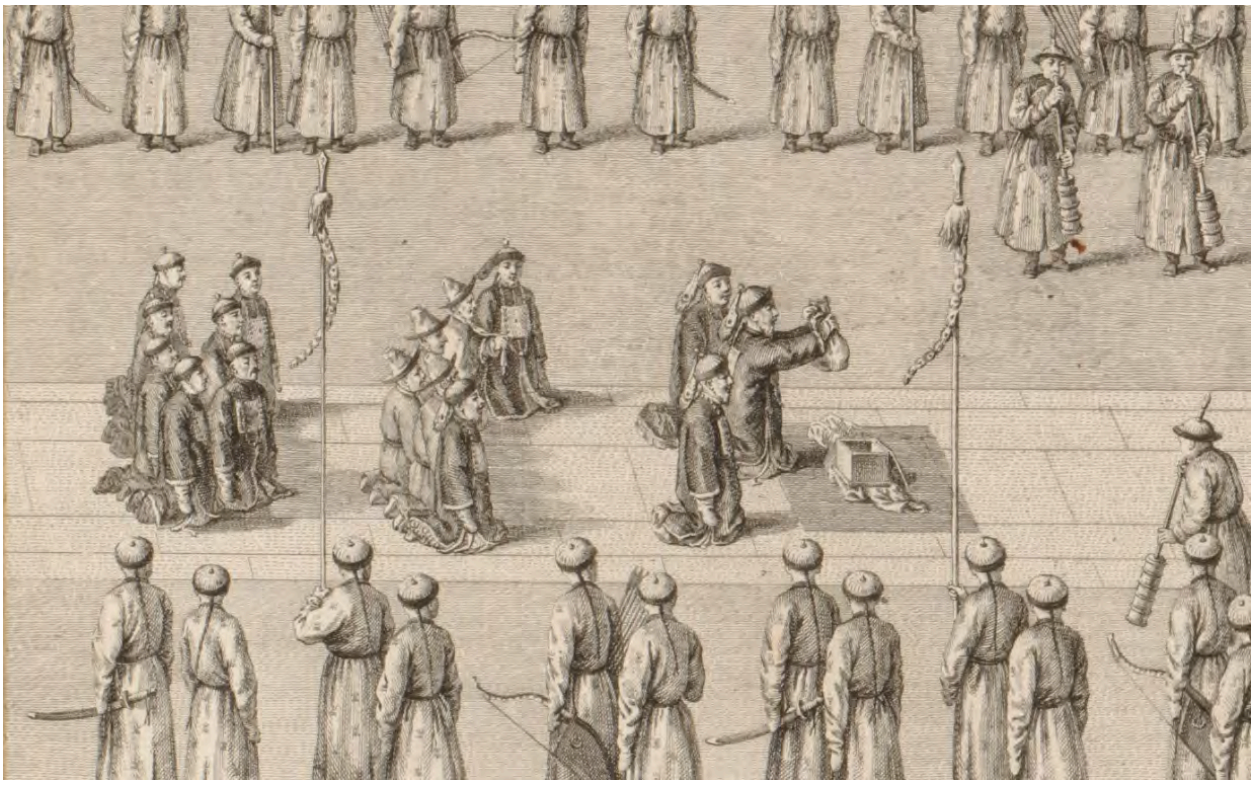

Fig. 3.20. Detail from *Ping ding Hui bu xian fu* 平定回部獻俘 (*Presentation of Captives from the Pacification of the Uighers)*, print no. 14 from series *Pingding Zhunga'er Huibu desheng tu* 平定準噶爾回部得勝圖 (*Victory in the Pacification of Dzungars and Uighers*), 51 x 87 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, The A. W. Ellenberger, Sr., Endowment Fund 1998.103.14.

Fig. 3.21. Photograph of execution by decapitation in *Views from the Iltis in China* in the Getty Research Institute Special Collections, 2003.R.2.

Fig. 3.22. Photographs on display in the "Road to Rejuvenation" permanent exhibition in the National Museum of China. Photo by author.

Fig. 3.23. Heads of Rat and Rabbit in the "Road to Rejuvenation" permanent exhibition in the National Museum of China. Photo by author.

Fig. 3.24. Zhu Bingren, *Soul of the Yuanming Yuan* sculptural installation in 798 Art Zone, Beijing. Photo by author.

Fig. 3.25. Zhu Bingren, Head of the Chicken, from sculptural set *Soul of the Yuanming Yuan*. Photo by author.

Fig. 3.26. Zhu Bingren, Head of the Ram, from sculptural set *Soul of the Yuanming Yuan*. Photo by author.

Fig. 3.27. Reconstructed Leifeng Pagoda, Hangzhou.

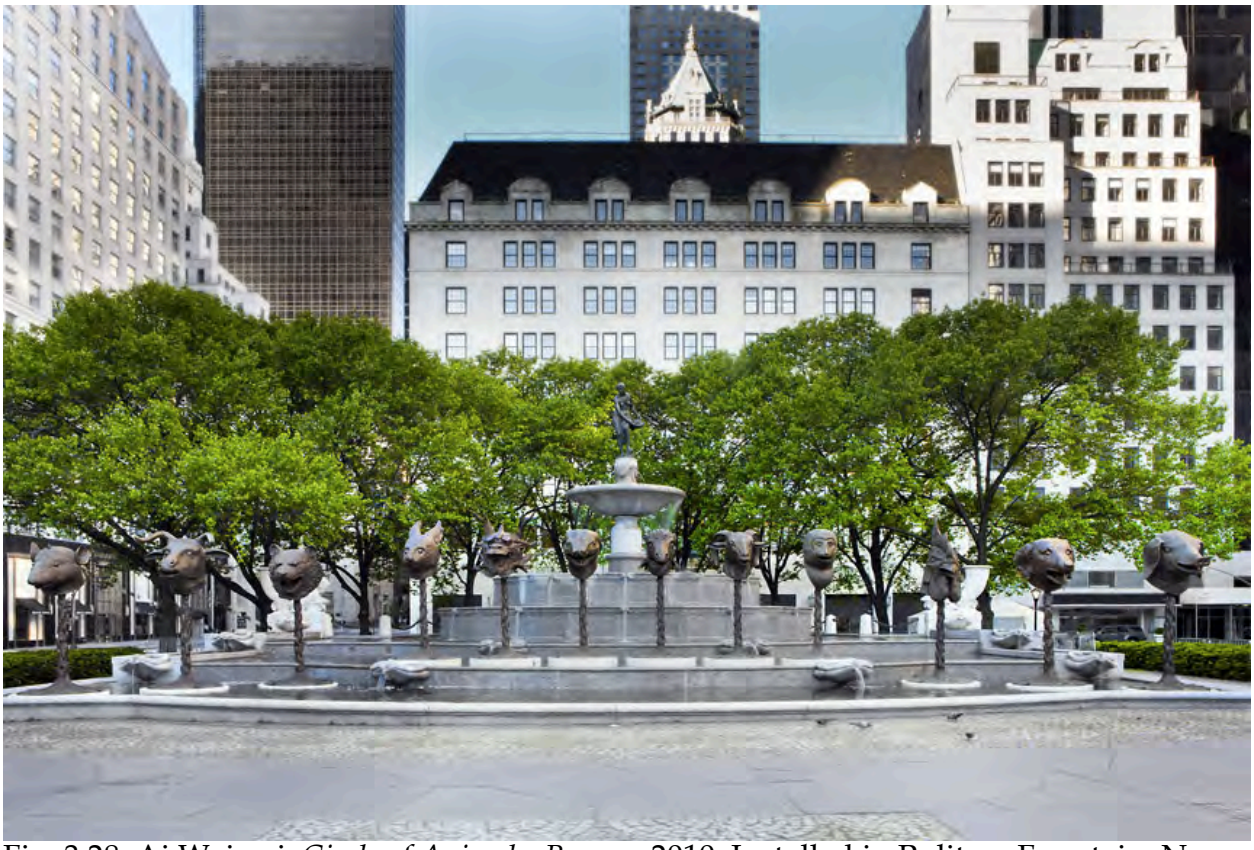

Fig. 3.28. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed in Pulitzer Fountain, New York City.

Fig. 3.29. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed in Pulitzer Fountain, New York City.

Fig. 3.30. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed at Somerset House, London.

Fig. 3.31. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed in front of the Fountain of Freedom at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

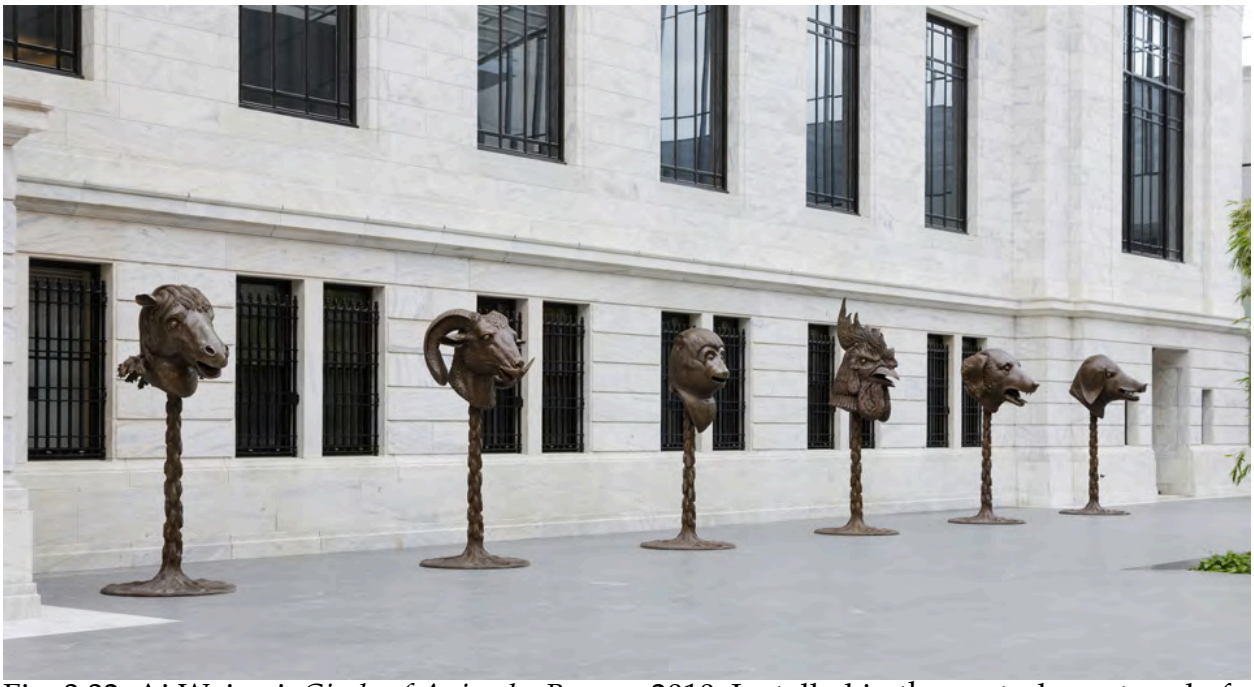

Fig. 3.32. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed in the central courtyard of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

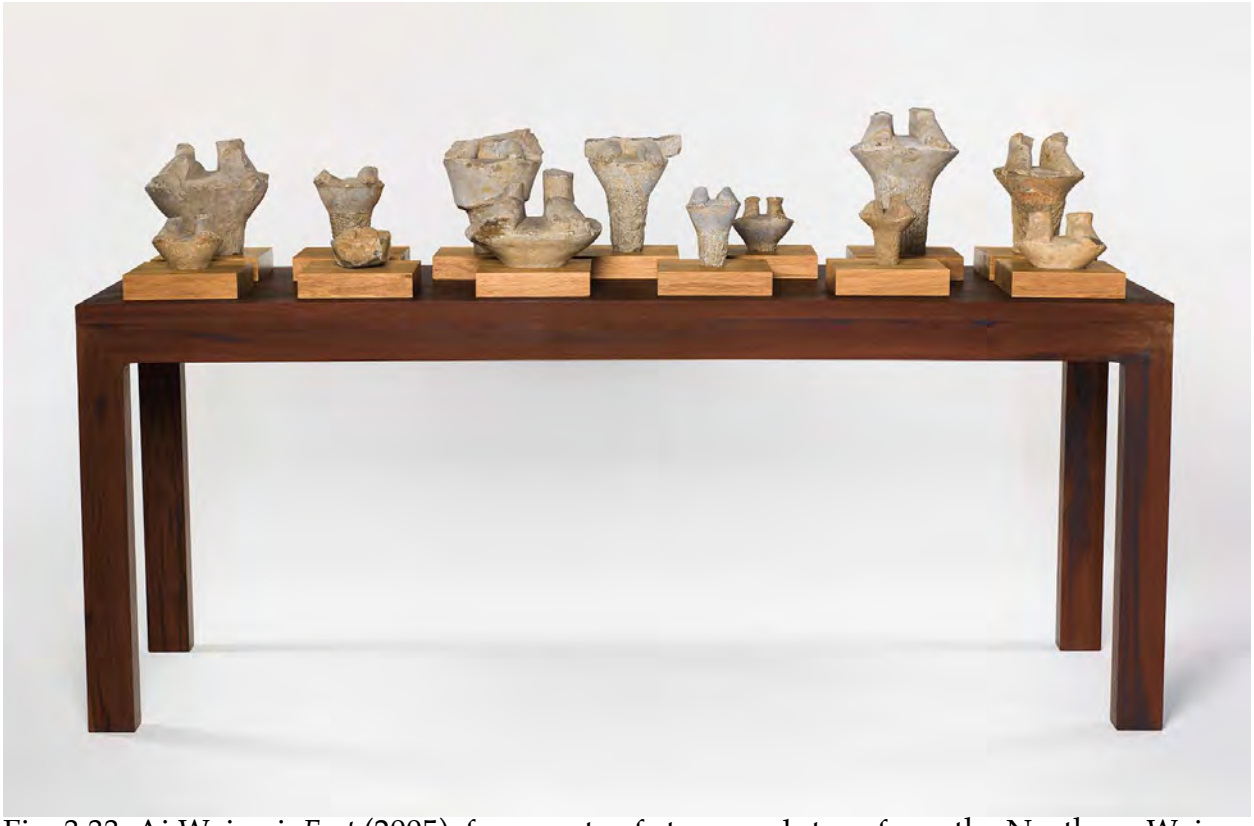

Fig. 3.33. Ai Weiwei, *Feet* (2005), fragments of stone sculpture from the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535) and Northern Qi dynasty (550-577), with individual wooden plinths and wooden table. Purchased 2006. Queensland Government's Gallery of Modern Art, 2006.013a-aa.

Fig. 3.34. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed at the National Museum of Wildlife Art, Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

Fig. 3.35. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed at the Adler Planetarium, Chicago.

Fig. 3.36. Ai Weiwei, *Circle of Animals: Bronze*, 2010. Installed at the National Gallery of Prague.

Fig. 3.37. Movie poster for *Shier shengxiao* (*Chinese Zodiac*) (2012).


Fig. 3.38. Vandalized head of the Horse in the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum, Chiayi.

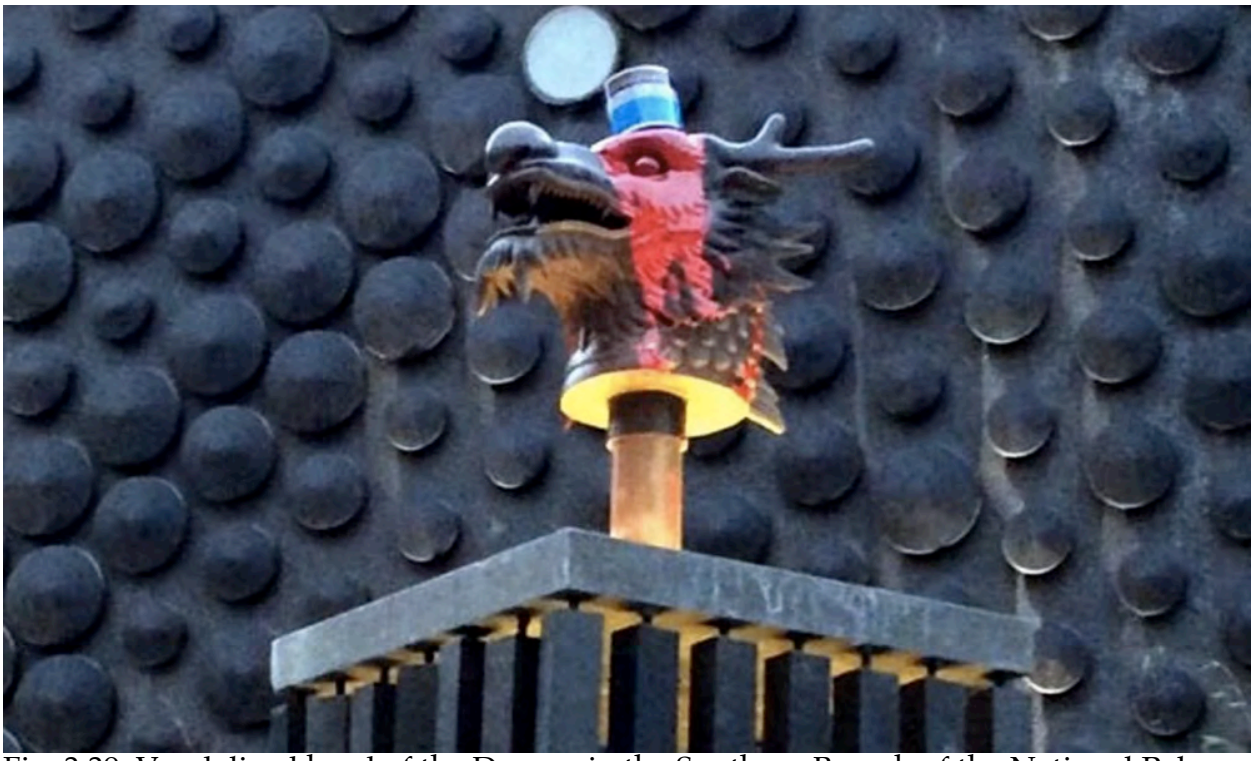

Fig. 3.39. Vandalized head of the Dragon in the Southern Branch of the National Palace Museum, Chiayi.

Fig. C.1. Photogrammetic 3D models of fragments from Xieqiqu overlaid on photograph by Ernst Ohlmer.

Fig. C.2. Photogrammetric 3D Model of fountain on north side of Xieqiqu

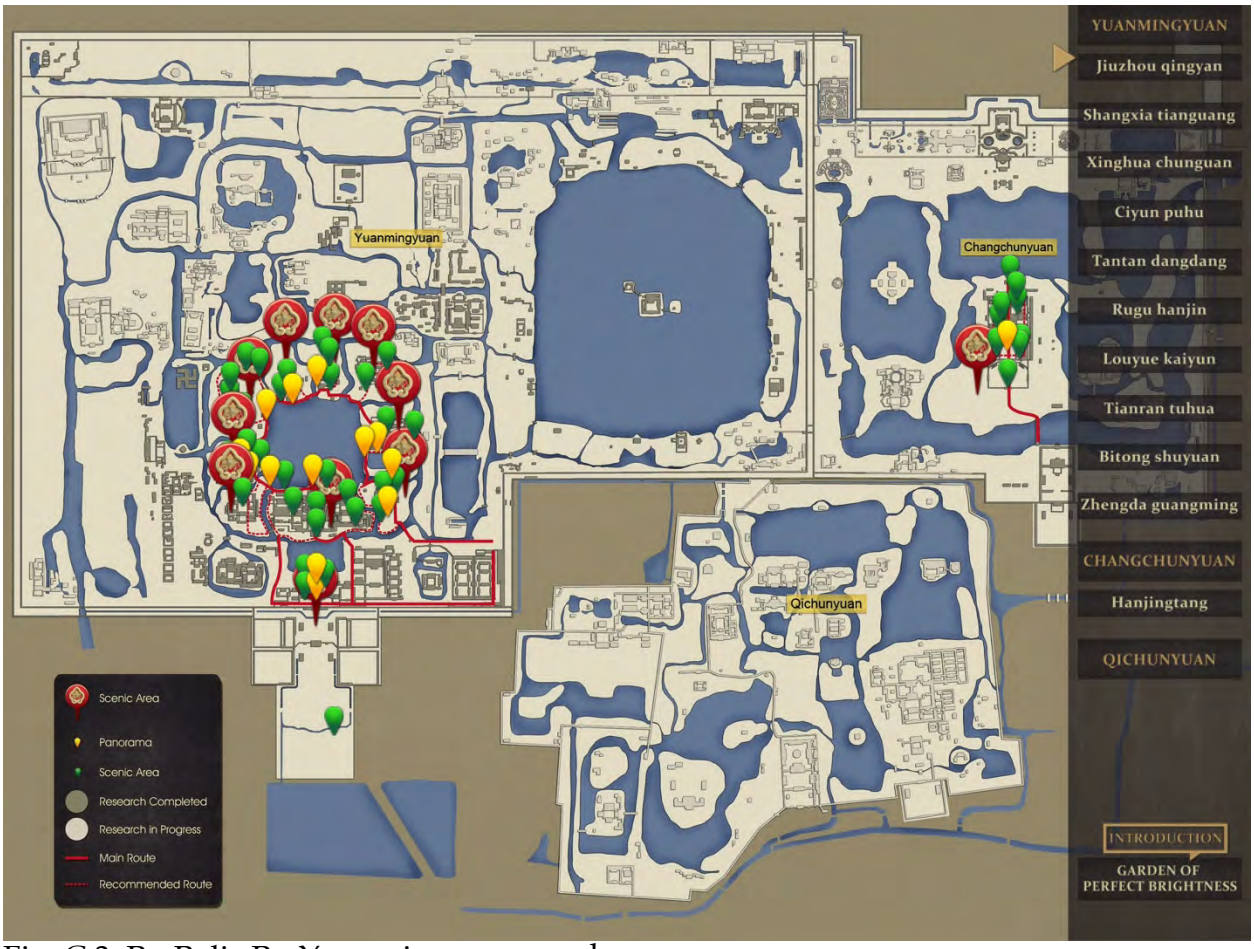

Fig. C.3. Re-Relic Re-Yuanmingyuan app homescreen

Fig. C.4. Re-Yuanmingyuan virtual interface for Tantan Dangdang

Fig. C.5. Virtual model of Guangfeng jiyue pavilion in Tantan Dangdang during the mid-Qianlong period. Chronology wheel with period options in lower right.

Fig. C.6. Virtual 360 degree rotational view of Banmutang theatre in Tantan Dangdang.

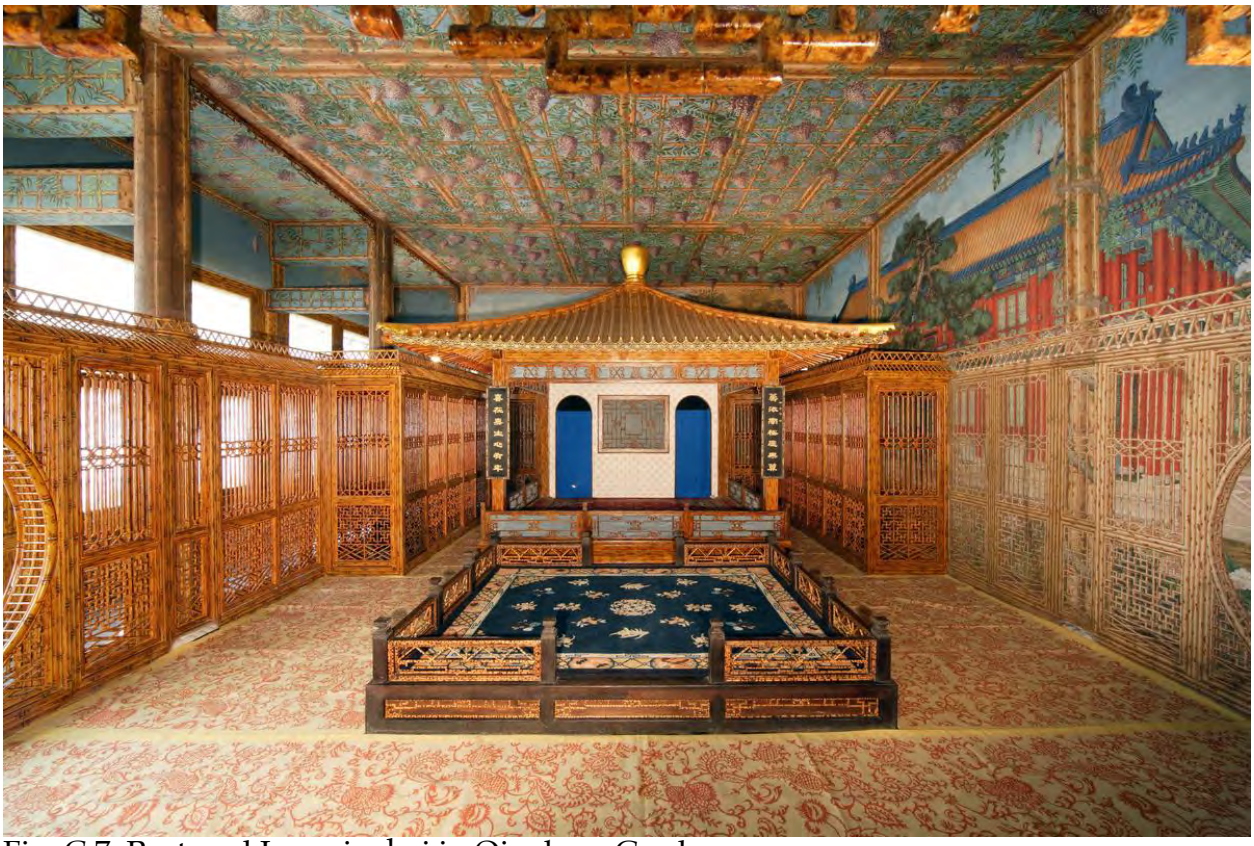

Fig. C.7. Restored Juanqinzhai in Qianlong Garden.

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Appendix

Comparison of Scenes across Yuanming Yuan Theme Parks

Scene #	Title (Ch.)	pinyin	Splendid China	Zhuhai	Hengdian
	大宮門	Dagong men		Yes	Yes
1	正大光明	Zhengda guangming		Yes	Yes
2	勤政親賢	Qinzheng qinxian			Yes
3	九州清宴	Jiuzhou qingyan	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	鏤月開雲	Louyue kaiyun	Yes		Yes
5	天然圖畫	Tianran tuhua	Yes		Yes
6	碧桐書院	Bitong shuyuan	Yes		
7	慈雲普護	Ciyun puhu	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	上下天光	Shangxia tianguang	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	杏花春館	Xinghua chunguan	Yes		Yes
10	坦坦蕩蕩	Tantan dangdang	Yes		Yes
11	茹古涵今	Rugu hanjin	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	長春仙館	Changchun xianguan			
13	萬方安和	Wanfang anhe	Yes	Yes	
14	武陵春色	Wuling chunse		Yes	Yes
15	山高水長	Shangao shuichang			Yes
16	月地雲居	Yuedi yunju			Yes
17	鴻慈永祜	Hongci yonghu	Yes		Yes
18	彙芳書院	Huifang shuyuan		Yes	Yes
19	日天琳宇	Ritian linyu			
20	澹泊寧靜	Danbo ningjing			Yes
21	映水蘭香	Yingshui lanxiang			
22	水木明瑟	Shuimu mingse			Yes
23	濂溪樂處	Lianxi lechu		Yes	Yes
24	多稼如雲	Duojia ruyun			
25	魚躍鳶飛	Yuyue yuanfei			
26	北遠山村	Beiyuan shancun		Yes	

27	西峰秀色	Xifeng xiuse			Yes; pagoda on hilltop
28	四宜書屋	Siyi shuwu			
29	方壺勝景	Fanghu shengjing	Yes	Yes	Yes
30	澡身浴德	Zaoshen yude			Yes
31	平湖秋月	Pinghu qiuyue		Yes	Yes
32	蓬島瑤臺	Pengdao yaotai	Yes	Yes	Yes
33	接秀山房	Jiexiu shanfang	Yes		Yes
34	別有洞天	Bieyou dongtian			Yes
35	夾鏡鳴琴	Jiajing mingqin	Yes	Yes	Yes
36	涵虛朗鑒	Hanxu langjian		Yes	Yes
37	廓然大公	Kuoran dagong			Yes
38	坐石臨流	Zuoshi linliu			Yes
39	麴院風荷	Quyuan fenghe	Yes	Yes	Yes
40	洞天深處	Dongtian shenchu			Yes
European Palaces	**西洋樓**	**Xiyang Lou**	**Splendid China**	**Zhuhai**	**Hengdian**
	諧奇趣	Xieqiqu	Yes		Yes
	萬華陣	Wanhuazhen	Yes	Yes	Yes
	蓄水樓	Xushuilou			
	花園門	Huayuan men			
	養雀樓	Yangque Lou			
	方外觀	Fangwaiguan			Yes
	竹亭	Zhuting			Yes
	海晏堂	Haiyantang	Yes	Yes	Yes
	遠瀛觀	Yuanyingguan	Yes in miniature AND as full-size ruin of columns	Yes	Yes

	大水法	Dashuifa	Yes in miniature AND full-size ruin of archway	Yes	Yes
	觀水法	Guanshuifa	Yes		Yes
	綫法山門(西）	Xianfashan men (west)			
	綫法山	Xianfashan			
	綫法山門(東)	Xianfashan men (east)			Yes
	方河	Fanghe			Yes
	線法畫	Xianfahua			
Eternal Spring Garden	**長春園**	**Changchun Yuan**			
	含今堂	Hanjin Tang			Yes
	獅子林	Shizi Lin			Yes
	法慧寺	Fahuisi			Yes
	海岳開襟	Haiyue kaijin			Yes