THE ASTOR CHINESE GARDEN COURT

A Reconstruction of Americans' Understanding of the Chinese Garden

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May 2021

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Master of Architectural History

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the Astor Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, interrogating how this "neo-historical garden" has transformed Americans' understanding of the Chinese Garden since its opening in 1981. Three interlocking moments and historical scales are covered in this study: the history of Astor Court's design and construction, the broader construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese examples in the United States, and the historiography of English-language accounts of the Chinese garden study. Applied methods in this study include archival research, video-based research, field research, historical analysis, material culture study, and case study.

Accordingly, this thesis underscores three pivot points catalyzed by the creation of the Astor Court as the first Ming-style Chinese garden installation in the United States. Firstly, the Astor Court has offered an unprecedented instance of creating an overseas Chinese garden from scratch. Secondly, the realization of Astor Court was a watershed moment in the construction of gardens in the US inspired by Chinese models; one that shifted from collecting fragments to a new interest, beginning in the early 1980s, in constructing cohesive replicas—the Simulacrum Era. Thirdly, the creation of Astor Court has provided a "tangible form" through which the American audience might better understand the Chinese Garden and associated foundational garden treatises. The Astor Court constructed a paradigmatic Ming-style Chinese Garden type that catalyzed a broader shift in the 1980s and 1990s US from generalized conceptions of the

Oriental Garden to closer documentary studies of the Chinese Garden, a shift that solidified the predominant focus on Ming gardens.

Keywords: Astor Court, Chinese Garden, Overseas Construction.

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Acknowledgments

I am indebted to many individuals and academic institutions for helping me to research and complete this thesis work in such an unprecedented moment of pandemics. Without either of their efforts, this thesis can't be complete and even possible.

I must first express appreciation to my thesis advisor, Professor Michael Lee, and two committee members, Professor Sheila Crane and Professor Shiqiao Li, for their constant patience, encouragement, and guidance throughout my thesis project, as well as the Master phase of my academic journey. I am grateful for their flexibility and responsiveness in the quarantine period when online meetings and virtual communications are always overwhelming. I am faithfully grateful for their instant and inspiring responses and feedbacks.

My thesis project would also have been impossible without three figures for their steadfast help in getting materials for my research when accessibility was becoming a great challenge for my thesis project, especially for archival research. Rebecca Coleman, the research librarian for the School of Architecture, has kindly and responsively helped me to get materials from libraries and other institutions during the quarantine period. Angela Salisbury, an assistant archivist of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has warmly guided me through the Met's digital collections, alleviating the problem of archival research when traveling was restricted. Cheng Chen, my unselfish roommate, has made a specific visit to the Astor Court at the Met during his New York trip, collecting numerous high-quality visual materials for my thesis study.

Additionally, I would like to acknowledge several names who have shared their time and wisdom to make me better understand various branches of knowledge I drew upon to complete my thesis study. They are Professor Elizabeth Meyer, Professor Andrew Johnston, Professor Jessica Sewell, Professor Yunsheng Huang, Professor Haiqing Li, Dr. Zhe Dong, Dijia Chen, Siyuan Liu, Huaixin Zhang, and Eager Zhang. Particularly, I would like to extend my thanks to Trecia Gunnoe from the UVa Writing Center and Dijia Chen for reading and rereading part of my draft, finding weaknesses in the text, and suggesting new avenues of adjustments.

My roommates Ziwei Shen and Cheng Chen have been unwaveringly patient and supportive, especially during the winter break of 2020 when I was conducting hard draft writings. Additionally, their furry friends in Charlottesville – Safari and Hoover- as well as my infant furry friend in Shanghai, Sassafras, have always been healing companions throughout the long-term quarantine period.

Last, and by no means least, I must reserve the most gratitude for my devoted parents, Xiaoping Jiang and Hong Shao, for always believing, supporting, and loving. They have also contributed to my thesis project by acquiring Chinese materials which are not available neither in the United States nor online. Without their dedications, I would never have the opportunity to witness the birth of my thesis project.

Introduction

In 1976, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met) purchased a magnificent collection of China's Ming-dynasty domestic furniture with the help of the Astor Foundation. It was also the time when the Museum was rededicating itself to Asian Art[1] and reinstalling "right" and "permanent" galleries for its growing Far Eastern collections following the Met's centennial.[2] Consequently, on June 18, 1981, the first reinstalled phase was open on the second floor of the Met's north wing with the dedication of the Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese paintings, the Ming Furniture Room, and the Astor Chinese Garden Court (Fig i.1).

Unlike the other two reinstalled galleries, the Astor Chinese Garden Court is identified as a piece of artwork by the Met rather than a gallery housing a portion of the Asian collections. Noting the Museum's long history of collecting period rooms, Maxwell Hearn, the Assistant Curator at that time, later argued that "creating a traditional courtyard and period room at the center of the Chinese galleries made perfect sense, as it would provide a cultural context for all

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1 "Broader political and cultural forces spurred the Museum to direct resources to its non-Western and contemporary collections … The Vietnam War, in turn, heightened awareness of cultures to the east. It was in this climate that the Museum rededicated itself to Asian Art." See Andrea Bayer and Laura D. Corey, *Making The Met, 1870–2020* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020), 193.

2 Philippe de Montebello, the director of the Museum at that time, noted that "it was then a matter that with those growing collections of creating the right galleries to house [the Chinese masterpieces]. Because different cultures demand a different form of installation. You can't just have the same everything to present the art of the world." See the videoed interview from *China: West Meets East at The Metropolitan Museum of Art* on YouTube. See also Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 58.

of the arts displayed in the adjacent spaces" (Fig i.2).[3] Philippe de Montebello, former director of the Museum, also describes the Astor Court as "a beautiful space for contemplation, [providing] an ideal and idyllic transition for the visitor, setting the stage for the better apprehension and appreciation of the Chinese paintings."[4]

* * *

Heavily influenced by the concurrent definitions and interpretations made by the Met's officials, the Astor Court has been mainly recognized as a cultural and artistic artifact since its realization. Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong's book, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1980), is the first and the only comprehensive English description of the Astor Court. Wen Fong, the Special Consultant for the Met's Far Eastern Affairs since 1971, has played a leading role in realizing the Astor Court and building the Museum's Asian Art collections. In the book, Fong and Murck introduce the Chinese Garden as part of Chinese high cultures in relation to classic Chinese paintings and literary works, and how the Astor Court has embodied and materialized Chinese Garden ideas. Later on, academic scholarship, newspaper reports, and articles, especially those written by art historians, have followed Fong and Murck's canon and widely described the Astor Court as an "eccentric aspect

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3 Maxwell K. Hearn, "Wen C. Fong and Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum," *Orientations* 37, no. 2 (March 2006), 126. Mr. Hearn also mentioned that "If you look at Chinese paintings, furniture is often depicted as being placed inside the gardens. This interaction between the indoor and outdoor is greatly valued by ancient Chinese, and is something that we intended to create with this garden." See Xu Zhao, "Artful Bliss in the Garden of Blankness," *China Daily Global*, June 5, 2019.

4 Audrey Topping, "A Chinese Garden Grows at the Met," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1981, sec. 6.

of Chinese art."[5] On August 18, 2012, the "Chinese Gardens: Pavilions, Studios, Retreats" exhibition was launched at the Met under the curation of Mike Hearn, "explor[ing] the rich interactions between pictorial and garden arts in China."[6] Hearn, now the Douglas Dillon Chairman of the Department of Asian Art, has worked with Fong since the 1970s and participated throughout the creation of Astor Court. According to the exhibition statement, the understanding of Astor Court as an exhibition object in terms of Chinese arts and a place for contemplation is still the mainstream after thirty years of its realization, at least for the art history field in the United States.

Elizabeth Hammer, an associate museum educator from the Met, underscores Astor Court as "the first authentic reconstruction of a Chinese garden in a North American museum" at the beginning of her book, *Nature within Walls*. However, most of her writings follow Fong and Murck's canonical descriptions, describing the Astor Court as a cultural artifact and a museum source for education. Therefore, the significance of Astor Court as a physical Chinese garden in the United States is not carefully examined in Hammer's work.[7]

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5 James Watt, the former chairman of the Department of Asian Art, once aruged in an interview that "[the Astor Court] gives you not just a garden but it gives you a very eccentric aspect of Chinese art." See *China: West Meets East at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed May 22, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=107&v=tQhqs1iFHDQ&feature=emb_logo.

6 See "Chinese Gardens," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 15, 2021, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2012/chinese-gardens.

7 See Elizabeth Hammer, *Nature within Walls: The Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Resource for Educators* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003). For the quotation, see Ibid., 2.

Besides the Met's affiliates and art historians, Han Li, an Associate Professor of Chinese at Rhodes College, has conducted several studies on the Astor Court, together with comparisons between the Astor Court and subsequent constructed Chinese gardens in the United States. In her writings, Li recognizes the Astor Court as an agency to present "Chinese-ness" in the United States.[8] In addition to Li, most Chinese publications and writings have also valued the diplomatic role of the Astor Court from a political perspective. Shaozong Liu's *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)* (1999) is probably the first one that entitles overseas realized Chinese gardens as "resident ambassadors."[9] The Astor Court is the first project included in Liu's edition, suggesting the creation of Astor Court as the start point of overseas Chinese garden construction. One year later, Weilin Gan, in collaboration with Zemin Wang, published another collection of overseas Chinese gardens in the book, *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas* (2000). The phrase "cultural envoy" in the title can be recognized as the synonyms of "resident ambassador." Similarly, the Astor Court is also the first project introduced in Gan and Wang's edition.[10] Both these two nicknames and published editions imply the diplomatic value of overseas Chinese gardens, and the historical significance

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8 For Han Li's research and publications, see Han Li, "Another World Lies Beyond: Three Chinese Gardens in the US," *Education About Asia* 22, no. 3 (Winter 2017): 13–18. See also Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 284–307, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

9 See Weilin Gan, "Foreword," in *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)*, ed. Shaozong Liu (China Architecture & Building Press, 1999).

10 See Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang, eds., *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas* (Chinese Architecture & Building Press, 2000).

of Astor Court as the start point of this garden diplomacy. However, none of these Chinese publications has ever discussed the realization influence of Astor Court on Americans' understanding of the Chinese Garden.

Fortunately, there are still a limited number of writings on the Astor Court conducted in the perspective of the garden and designed landscape study. Bianca Maria Rinaldi in her *The Chinese Garden: Garden Types for Contemporary Landscape Architecture* (2011) classifies the Astor Court as a "neo-historical garden" but with little explanation on her classification. Additionally, most discursive debates on the Astor Court are about its authenticity and construction compromises as an indoor installation. For instance, Jeffery Simpson in his 1982 article, *Garden Away from the Glow of Nature*, argues that the Astor Court "does not live, [but is] a didactic exercise." John Dixon Hunt, a renowned landscape historian, also criticizes the Astor Court as a "reinvented garden" and "something of an oddity."[11] Like Rinaldi's text, Hunt does not go into great detail in his explanations but only cites the Astor Court for exemplifying.

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This thesis study builds on Murck and Fong's cultural contextualization of the Astor Court to elucidate Hammer's argument of Astor Court as "the first reconstruction of a Chinese garden" and the wide recognition of Astor Court as a "cultural envoy" in the field of garden and designed

11 See John Dixon Hunt, "Twelve: Reinvented Gardens," in *The Making of Place: Modern and Contemporary Gardens* (London, UNITED KINGDOM: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2016), 234-5,

landscape study. In addition to Hunt's critique of the Astor Court as a "reinvented garden" and the lingering debate on the authenticity of Astor Court, this thesis aims to interrogate the historical role of Astor Court in transforming and reconstructing Americans' knowledge system of the Chinese Garden in the garden and designed landscape field since its 1981 opening.

Rather than studying the installation as part of Chinese high cultures, this thesis examines how the "Chinese-ness" has been materialized and presented throughout the realization process of Astor Court. Based on information recorded in Murck and Fong's *A Chinese Garden Court*, this study digs further into the realization history mainly through textual and visual records from the Met's Thomas J. Watson Library Digital Collections, articles from the New York Times Web Article Archive, and Gene Searchinger's on-site documentary *Ming Garden*. Chinese secondary-source materials also contribute to the trace of the realization history of Astor Court, such as Shaozong Liu's *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)* (1999) and Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang's *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas* (2000). Additionally, the field research method is conducted to collect real-time visual materials and to verify several collected information, such as the nutrition sponge for rotated pots.

To better clarify the historical significance of Astor Court through collected archival materials, this thesis study adopts the method of material cultural study to explore how values are created throughout the production, construction, and assembling processes of materials. Moreover, the historical significance of Astor Court is also studied through methods of historical analysis and case study. Paired with the examination of other gardens inspired by Chinese

models in the United States within a longer timeline, this thesis study situates the realization of Astor Court in the broader Chinese garden construction history to demonstrate its historical role through comparisons and to clarify how its realization has transformed Americans' knowledge system of the Chinese Garden at a particular historical moment.

This thesis study also explores the significance of realizing Astor Court in relation to the rapid development of Chinese garden study in the late 1980s and '90s United States. Supported by historiographical analysis, especially the English-translation and dissemination history of Chinese garden accounts as well as the emergence history of Chinese garden study at 1990s Dumbarton Oaks, this thesis aims to scrutinize potential connections between the realization of Astor Court and US studies of the Chinese Garden. Studied secondary sources partially include Osvald Sirén's *Gardens of China* (1949), Maggie Keswick's *The Chinese Garden* (1978), Alison Hardie's *Craft of Gardens* (1988), and *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature* (2020). Additionally, through a brief case study of Craig Clunas's works - who is famous for his material culture studies of the Ming Dynasty – as well as other scholarship at 1990s Dumbarton Oaks, this thesis clarifies latent connections between the Astor Court as a Ming-style Chinese garden and the US 1980s and '90s academic shift with the predominant focus on Ming gardens.

* * *

This first chapter demonstrates how garden materials, construction techniques, and assembling principles have embodied and materialized classical Chinese Garden ideas through the realization of Astor Court. In addition to woods, tiles, and rocks, three other typical Chinese garden materials – koi fish, calligraphy, and plants - are also highlighted in this chapter, suggesting the paradigmatic role and practical significance of creating the Astor Court in the United States from scratch.

Chapter two discusses the historical significance of Astor Court in the broader US construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese models, ranging from British colonial America to the most recently created National China Garden at the US Arboretum in 2016. By mapping most "Chinese" gardens realized in the United States, especially those before the Astor Court, this chapter divides examined gardens into three Eras with five basic criteria: designer(s); artisan(s); purpose; material origin; and realized garden structures, to imply the watershed role of Astor Court in unveiling a new Era of Chinese garden constructions in the United States.

Chapter three focuses on relationships between the realization of Astor Court and Americans' knowledge system of the Chinese Garden through the translation and dissemination history of foundational garden accounts. This chapter starts with the English-translation history of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*, the first Chinese theoretical treatise written by a practical garden designer, exploring contributions of the Astor Court to contemporary Americans' understandings of the Chinese Garden. Meanwhile, this chapter also studies the 1980s and '90s academic shift from generalized conceptions of the Oriental Garden to the Chinese Garden, examining how the

Astor Court has contributed to the following rapid development of US Chinese garden studies with the predominant focus on Ming gardens.

The Epilogue concludes the historical significance of realizing Astor Court in the 1980s United States as a paradigmatic Chinese Garden type for transforming Americans' knowledge system of the Chinese Garden. Additionally, the Epilogue also argues that the Astor Chinese Garden Court has provided the American audience a physical prototype to appreciate Chinese garden ideas without overseas travels, becoming a catalyst for the late 1980s and '90s academic shift from generalized conceptions of the Oriental Garden to closer documentary studies of the Chinese Garden.

Chapter One

Realization of the Astor Chinese Garden Court

The impulse which created the Astor Chinese Garden Court came from many different places – the perfect time, the right space, and steadfast efforts from protagonists. 1970 was the year when the Metropolitan Museum of Art celebrated its centennial with expansion groundwork for a more international, less Eurocentric perspective on the history of art, which is later marked as the Centennial Era.[12] Accordingly, Princeton professor Wen C. Fong was recruited to address the lacuna of Asian art, the weakest curatorial department in the Museum at that time.[13] Bolstered by Douglas Dillon's and Brooke Russell Astor's support, the Department has gradually become one of the world's most comprehensive presentations of Asian art since the 1970s,[14] acquiring important collections and opening new galleries with the evocative Astor Chinese Garden Court. The 1970s was also the time when "the American taste [was] tired of the machine and all its works, bored with steel and glass."[15]

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12 Laura D. Corey, "The Evolution of the Encyclopedic Museum," in *Making The Met, 1870–2020*, ed. Andrea Bayer and Laura D. Corey (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020), 193.

13 Maxwell K. Hearn, "Wen C. Fong and Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum," *Orientations* 37, no. 2 (March 2006), 124.

14 Ibid.

15 Henry Mitchell argued in his Smithsonian's article that "Beyond that, the time is ripe, the time is perfect, for a superbly executed Chinese garden in one of the world's major museums to give horizons and directions to an American taste that is tired of the machine and all its works, bored with steel and glass, and, God save us all, becoming fed up with fake wood, fake glass, fake everything." Henry Mitchell, "An Oriental Garden Grows, Elegantly in Mid-Manhattan," *Smithsonian* 12, no. 4 (July 1981), 66.

The idea of constructing the Astor Court first came from the Department's intention of having a period room for its Ming-dynasty Chinese furniture collection. The sponsor, Brooke Russell Astor, then recommended building a garden court based on her childhood experience in Peking's *Siheyuan* (literally meaning quadrangle in Chinese).[16] Wen Fong also suggested that the small gallery north of a light well illuminating the first-floor Egyptian galleries would be a perfect space. This recommendation was confirmed by Maxwell K. Hearn's following investigation,[17] and finally approved through the negotiation between the Museum and the Astor Foundation.[18]

In addition to Mrs. Vincent Astor, Douglas Dillon, Wen Fong, Maxwell K. Hearn, and other Museum affiliations' efforts, the realization of Astor Chinese Garden Court was indispensably associated with the normalization of China-US relations and the start of Chinese Economic Reform in the late 1970s, bringing intimate collaborations between the Chinese construction

16 Brooke Russell Astor is also known as Mrs. Vincent Astor. Her father, John H. Russell, Jr., was commanded the Marine Detachment at the American Legation from 1910 to 1913. Brooke Russell Astor was also the one who helped to purchase the magnificent collection of China's Ming-dynasty domestic furniture for the Met.

17 "…I took it upon myself to climb into the attic and peer into that light well. I came back and reported that the sky-lit space in front of the furniture room would make an ideal site for a garden, if only we could put in a second floor above the Egyptian galleries." See Maxwell K. Hearn, "Wen C. Fong and Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum," *Orientations* 37, no. 2 (March 2006), 126.

18 According to Maxwell Hearn, the director of the Met firstly rejected to renovate the space for the construction of a Chinese garden. Mrs. Astor consulted the expense and received an exaggerated number. Obviously, this overstated amount was provided to turn this initial proposal down. However, Mrs. Astor took a glance at the number and accepted it immediately. See An interview with Maxwell K. Hearn, interview by Fei Liu, February 6, 2018, https://www.douban.com/note/656352980/.

team and the aforementioned protagonists.[19] Also, it was this perfect timing that brought Wen Fong to China in Fall 1977 for the sake of an ideal garden installation after turning down Ming Cho Lee's proposal. During Wen's visit to gardens in Suzhou, the Late Spring Studio courtyard at the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets attracted his interest with its "appropriate size, harmonious proportions … utter simplicity … [and] the *yin-yang* principle of alternation"[20] (Fig 1.1). Also, the Met delegation happened to build connections with an institution whose expertise is classic garden restoration,[21] and they were willing and passionate about realizing a Chinese garden overseas in the Met.[22] From this point of view, the recommendation for a Chinese garden court was raised and progressed at the right time based on the available space and dedicated efforts from collaborated groups.

Then in Spring 1978, Wen Fong formally proposed the project of recreating a Chinese garden in the Met to China's Cultural Relics Bureau. The project was later assigned to the

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19 Mrs. Astor once mentioned that "It seems as if I have had the idea forever, but there was no way of getting China's cooperation because of the political situation. Then the doors opened." See Audrey Topping, "A Chinese Garden Grows at the Met," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1981, sec. 6.

20 Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, "The Astor Garden Court and Ming Room," in *Period Rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: H.N. Abrams, 1996), 299.

21 The history of classic garden restoration in Suzhou can trace back to June 1953 with the establishment of the Suzhou Garden Restoration Committee. Since the 1950s, this Committee has carried out numerous restoration works on renowned Suzhou gardens, such as the Lion Grove Garden, the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the Master of the Nets Garden. Though the Committee went through a dark period during the Cultural Revolution period, it was back to work in the mid-1970s on the restoration of the Hanshan Temple, Tiger Hill, etc. In 1981, its affiliated Garden Department was transformed into the Garden Administration Bureau, and the Restoration Committee was asked to restore at least one classic garden per year.

22 According to Maxwell Hearn, the institution owned a complete construction group with traditional techniques, including plant cultivation, rockery construction, woodworking, etc. In addition to their strong wills, they also collected a bunch of Taihu Rocks from demolished gardens, which could be applied as construction materials. See An interview with Maxwell K. Hearn, interview by Fei Liu, February 6, 2018, https://www.douban.com/note/656352980/. Accordingly, this institution shall be the restoration team of the Suzhou Garden Administration.

restoration team of the Suzhou Garden Administration by China's National Committee on Basic Construction. On November 11, 1978, the revised design and model brought by four Chinese experts to the Met were finally approved by the Museum's Trustees. The contract for realizing a Chinese garden court was signed by the end of the year between the Met and the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China.[23]

An exact full-scale prototype of the proposed Astor Court was built in Suzhou around May 1979, which remains today as the Suzhou East Park (Fig 1.2). The final examination was carried out in June by Mrs. Vincent Astor and other Met's staff members.[24] Four months later, at the end of October, all the prefabricated components were shipped to New York from Suzhou through Shanghai and Hong Kong (Fig 1.3).[25] After the arrival of the components in early December, twenty-seven skilled Chinese craftsmen from the Suzhou Garden Administration

23 According to Bin Ding's writings, the National Committee on Basic Construction assigned the project to the Suzhou Garden Administration on May 26, 1978. A particular project team was established on September 18, 1978. The contract was signed on December 12, 1978 with the agreement of building a full-scale prototype for final confirmation. See Bin Ding, "Mingxuan Jiqi Jianzao Yishi 明轩及其建造轶闻 [Ming Xuan and Its Anecdotes during Construction]," *Wen Hui Bao*, November 15, 2019. See also Richard F. Shepard, "Metropolitan to Get Chinese Garden Court and Ming Room," *The New York Times*, January 17, 1979, sec. B.

24 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 60-1.

25 Guofu Shen, *MingXuan: Zai Niuyue de Suzhou Tingyuan 明轩: 在纽约的苏州庭园 [Ming Xuan: A Suzhou Garden In New York]*. (Nanjing: Jiangsu Sheng Xinhua Shudian Faxing, 1980), 20.

arrived in New York on December 30, 1979. The assembling work of Astor Court began in early January 1980 and lasted for about five months (Fig 1.4).[26]

1.1 Construction Materials and Techniques

The Chinese group consisted of a director named Biaorong Zhang, four engineers, and twenty stoneworkers, tile workers, carpenters, and masons.[27] In addition to heavy preparatory construction, plastering, and painting, skilled Chinese craftsmen were responsible for putting numbered components together with traditional tools and techniques. The restoration team worked with old tools by choice, like "playing ancient music on original instruments."[28]

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There are four kinds of wood in the Astor Court: ginkgo; camphor; fir; and *nan* wood. The lattice and railings of the Ming Room façade are of ginkgo and camphor (Fig 1.5).[29] The lattice patterns are from China's classical garden manual *Yuan Ye* (1634), sharing the same design

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26 Though the realization of Astor Court was in May 1980, its official opening was delayed to June 1981 because the Douglas Dillon Galleries had to be constructed around three of its sides. See Audrey Topping, "A Chinese Garden Grows at the Met," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1981, sec. 6. For the complete realization timeline of the Astor Court, see Appendix I.

27 The rest two are translator Zhongwen Qu and master chef Quibiao Zhan. See Jane Geniesse, "At the Met, 27 Chinese Build Ming Garden and Good Will," *The New York Times*, January 27, 1980, sec. F.

28 Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

29 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 48.

language with furniture in the Ming Room.[30] The horizontal beams and some of the rafters are made of fir. The pillars, fifty in all (included those in the Ming Furniture Room), are of wood from the now-rare *nan* tree. The *nan* tree is a broadleaf evergreen of southwestern China, and its wood is impervious to insects.[31] In traditional Chinese architecture, the pillars not the walls, support the entire weight of the finished building (Fig 1.6). Accordingly, the alignment of each pillar was placed by Chinese craftsmen with extreme care through traditional tools and methods, including the plumb bob and wooden mallet (Fig 1.7).

Meanwhile, the realization of traditional wooden joints is one more crucial accomplishment achieved by Chinese craftsmen. Since for Chinese garden traditions, nothing would be written down in the engineering drawings about the wooden joints, only the craftsmen who worked with the joints would thoroughly understand the process and pass it down.[32] Therefore, the creation of Astor Court has provided the younger generation an opportunity to learn and acquire this legacy, keeping the traditional wooden language alive. It was also the first time that the restoration team had a chance to start from the ground up, exploring and practicing more construction techniques than previous restoration works. Accordingly, in addition to only being a museum period room,

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30 *Yuan Ye*, written by Ji Cheng, is the first work of theory written by an actual garden designer with practical experience in the creation of landscapes in China. The relationship between Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* and the Astor Court is further discussed in Chapter Three.

31 The rare *nan* wood has been used in only a handful of projects since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, including the Memorial Hall for Chairman Mao Zedong. See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 48 & 60.

32 See Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

the realization of Astor Court has offered the restoration team an opportunity to establish a significant paradigm and practical guidance for subsequent US Chinese garden construction that starts from scratch (Fig 1.8).

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Tile, with its bluish-gray color, is also one pivotal material for the realization of a Chinese garden court. All kinds of tiles used in the Astor Court, including the roof tile, drip tile, and terra-cotta floor tile, came from the reopening of an old imperial kiln outside Suzhou.[33] On each of the tiles used in the Astor Court, a seal reading "Newly made in the Suzhou Lumu imperial kiln in 1978" can be found on the back. Both the drip tiles and roof tiles are inscribed with Chinese calligraphy and imagery. The Chinese character *Shou* (long life, 壽) on the drip tiles and a peach on the roof tiles are symbols of longevity and immortality (Fig 1.9).

Craftsmen held floor tiles together with a mixture of finely ground lime, bamboo fiber, and tung oil. The corner tiles around the bases of *nan*-wood pillars were cut with a frame handsaw and sharpened by hand-filing. After two weeks for the cure of mortar, craftsmen then grounded the surface of floor tiles with a block of carborundum to impeccable smoothness.[34] Materials for

33 Firstly, the quality of tiles was not stable due to the lack of rice husks as traditional fuel. Consequently, the government authorized tens of thousands of kilograms of husks to guarantee the quality as great as the imperial one. See Weiren Zhang, "Suzhou Yuanlin Shoudu 'chukou' Zhuiyi 苏州园林首度出口追忆 [Recollections on the First 'Export' of Suzhou Garden]," *Modern Suzhou* 10 (2008), 18.

34 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 62.

the granite terrace, steps, and ramps were from Jinshan, Suzhou, and stone workers chipped every fine texturing line by hand with a sharp-edged hammer.[35]

To maintain the color palette of Astor Court, unlike large gardens in Suzhou, which employ a variety of yellow rocks in the space, the Astor Court only considered Taihu rocks for its rock compositions. Even the stepping stones in front of the half-pavilion are all constructed by Taihu rocks.[36] Guanghui Zhu, the rock expert, took great care in selecting and shaping rocks with his assistants for the color and texture match (Fig 1.10).[37] In addition to the shared color palette, the primary consideration of Taihu rocks for the Astor Court was to mark their "representational, symbolic and magical importance."[38] As noted in Searchinger's award-winning documentary, *Ming Garden*, "piling rocks to evoke memories of great mountains is a scaled art, like painting a scroller in three dimensions."[39]

Accordingly, at the south and west side of Astor Court, a rockery was constructed with three peaks, a "host" peak against the south wall flanked by two "guest" peaks stand to the right of the

35 Ibid. Also see Shaozong Liu, ed., *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)* (China Architecture & Building Press, 1999), 99.

36 See Fan Liang and Xiaoda Xiao, "Mingxuan: Niuyue Daduhui Bowuguan Shi Zhongguo Tingyuan 明轩：纽约大都会博物馆是中国庭院 [Ming Room: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum]," *Shijie Jianzhu 世界建筑 [World Architecture]*, no. 01 (1982), 52–53.

37 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 54-7.

38 Ibid., 52.

39 See Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

half-pavilion (Fig 1.11).[40] The first day when Zhu and his assistants put up the scaffolding to lift the first two Taihu rocks was remarked as an important day in Searchinger's documentary. Wooden tripods were used following the traditional method to shift the great rocks, each weighing a ton or so (Fig 1.12 – 1.14).[41] Further, the rockery group made numerous position adjustments of the central peak; they even ended the adjustment with a dismantling of the entire assemblage for a two-inch raise. The rockery was first bound with a glutinous rice and tung oil mix, and then strengthened by cement for durability and safety issues.[42]

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Benefiting from the construction of rockery in the Astor Court, the restoration team set up a water pond at the southwest corner of the courtyard, bringing motion and life to the Astor Court. The unyielding rock is always recognized as *yang* in Chinese cultural philosophy, and the soft flowing water is *yin*. When water flows over the rock, the rock and water can achieve a balance of *yang* and *yin*.[43] Meanwhile, the koi fish in the water pond is a common Chinese motif of good fortune – the koi fish is traditionally recognized as the symbol of abundance (Fig 1.15).[44]

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40 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 54-5.

41 Henry Mitchell, "An Oriental Garden Grows, Elegantly in Mid-Manhattan," *Smithsonian* 12, no. 4 (July 1981), 70.

42 Ibid., 56-7.

43 See Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

44 The pronunciation of "fish" is *Yu* in Chinese, which is the same pronunciation as the fourth character of the idiom *Nian Nian You Yu*, meaning "being abundance year after year."

In addition to the water pond, the restoration team also filled the rockery with a mixture of clay, soil, sand, and peat moss, providing flower beds for Chinese plants. Paul Bennett once describes the intimate relationship between plants and rockery as "Plants are used like brushstrokes of ink on a scroll – the faintest wisp against a blank background or a collection of rocks has far more power than bundles or bunches."[45]

Along edges and gaps of the rockery grows common mondo grass, and behind the central peak are banana trees (Fig 1.16).[46] Three large deciduous trees (one maple and two crape myrtles), bamboo, pomegranate, juniper, and black pine stand separately over the rockery and the Astor Court, completing the year-round planting. Meanwhile, potted seasonal flowers, such as azalea and chrysanthemum, are rotated manually as they come into bloom to color the flower beds and mimic the changing seasons within the thermostatic interior (Fig 1.17).[47] Considering the maintenance issue and seasonal experiences, plants behind the window openings are also

45 Paul Bennett, "Interpreting Tradition: A Chinese Garden in New York Astounds the Senses," *Landscape Architecture* 90, no. 4 (2000), 90.

46 The banana tree planted in a Chinese garden particular refers to *Musa basjoo*, known variously as Japanese banana. The cultivation of *Musa basjoo* in a Chinese garden is mainly for its leaves in terms of the whisper of wind and the tapping of raindrops. Additionally, there is a well-known cultural phrase in Chinese which can be translated as "Raindrops Falling on Banana Leaves" (雨打芭蕉, Yu Da Bajiao).

47 For instance, the Astor Court reopened on Thursday, April 22, 1982 with fresh plantings and a display of flowers in celebration of the coming of spring. See Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), "New Installation to Open in Metropolitan Museum's Douglas Dillon Galleries; Astor Garden Court Replanted for Spring Season" (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 1982), https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll12/id/7295

rotated pots but with nutrition sponges (Fig 1.18). Potted plants include quince, cherry, apricot, Chinese magnolia, camellia, peony, lotus, persimmon, etc.[48]

These certain plants were preferred not only for their beauty and easy maintenance, but primarily because of their ethical values and longstanding historical literary associations in China. For example, the nickname of the narrow-leafed mondo grass is bookmark grass (*shu dai cao*), and the pine, bamboo, and prunus (or quince) are known as the Three Friends of Winter (*suihan sanyou*) for their persistence in the hard climate.[49]

* * *

One more pivotal material in a classic Chinese garden is the calligraphy, which could set up an emotional tone for visitors before entering the space.[50] Over the moon gate at the south end of the courtyard, which is also the entrance to the Astor Court, the plaque reads "In Search of Quietude" (*Tan You*), resonating with the intention of making this Garden Court as "a beautiful space for contemplation."[51] Another plaque over the left doorway in front of the Ming Room is

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48 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 57.

49 Ibid.

50 Richard Strassberg recognizes the action of naming architectural and scenic spots in a garden (both conferring names and making the physical inscriptions) as a way to provide literary allusions and "set[s] the scene." See Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015): 298, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

51 Philippe de Montebello, former director of the Museum, describes the Astor Court as "a beautiful space for contemplation, [providing] an ideal and idyllic transition for the visitor, setting the stage for the better apprehension and appreciation of the Chinese paintings." Also, Mrs. Vincent Astor once mentioned that "I am hoping that if one

"Elegant Repose" (*Ya Shi*), and the plaque in the half-pavilion indicates its name as "Cold Spring Pavilion" (*Leng Quan Ting*) (Fig 1.19 - 1.21).

1.2 Plan and Design Principles

With the aforementioned typical Chinese garden materials and traditional construction techniques, the restoration team also introduced a number of representative garden structures in this quite small space - roughly 59 X 40 feet. The realized Astor Court exhibits a moon gate, a half-pavilion (*ban ting)*, a winding walkway/covered zig-zag corridor (*qu lang*), a main hall (*xuan*, also known as the *Ming Room*), a water pond/spring, and a rockery/artificial mountain (*jia shan*). Essential structures that constitute a classical Chinese garden are all included in the Astor Court based on its compressed plan (Fig 1.22).[52]

It is widely recognized that the plan of Astor Court is a replication of the Late Spring Studio courtyard at the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets in Suzhou. However, Weiren Zhang from the 1980 team later pointed out in an interview that the restoration team did not recognize the Late Spring Studio courtyard as the blueprint for their designs, and the Astor Court plan was

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can get that sense of peace in a place like Peking, one can get it in New York. See Audrey Topping, "A Chinese Garden Grows at the Met," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1981, sec. 6.

52 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980): 45. Also see Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 288, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

conducted according to the Museum space.[53] Moreover, Guxi Pan recently mentions in his memoir that a group of five professors from the Nanjing Institute of Technology (now the Southeast University) also designed a plan for the Astor Court project. According to Pan, the university team worked in the Late Spring Studio courtyard, and their conceptual drawings were finished on October 5, 1978, but received no feedback and updates after their submission.[54]

Accordingly, the realization history of Astor Court is far more complex than the mainstream narrative made by the Met through Murck and Fong's book *A Chinese Garden Court* (1980). I am not going to clarify what is exactly the "right" realization history (which is another thesis study project). No matter whether this courtyard is the blueprint for the Astor Court, the action of relating the Astor Court to a symbolic classic Chinese garden in Suzhou suggests a high level of appreciation and significance of the Met's reinstallation. In addition to several similar garden structures, the typical half-pavilion and the rockery, both the plan of Astor Court and the Late Spring Studio courtyard represent "harmonious proportions" and "utter simplicity" within a quite limited area following the *yin-yang* principle.[55] Therefore, the similar spatial structures and the

53 See Weiren Zhang, "Suzhou Yuanlin Shoudu 'chukou' Zhuiyi 苏州园林首度出口追忆 [Recollection on the First 'Export' of Suzhou Garden]," *Modern Suzhou* 10 (2008), 19.

54 The group of five includes Guxi Pan, Shunbao Du, Weizhong Yue, Juhua Ye, and Xujie Liu. For more details, see Haiqing Li and Yong Shan, eds., *Yi Yu Zhi Geng 一隅之耕 [The Cultivation of a Corner]* (China Architecture & Building Press, 2016), 86-91.

55 Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, "The Astor Garden Court and Ming Room," in *Period Rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: H.N. Abrams, 1996), 299.

shared features inevitably connect the reinstalled Astor Court and the symbolic Late Spring Studio courtyard together, constructing a widely accepted image for almost every protagonist.

* * *

Focusing back on the realized plan of Astor Court, the *yin-yang* principle is undoubtedly the main thread that fastens each typical garden structure together, "mak[ing] small space look large and interesting."[56]

The *yin-yang* principle is first demonstrated among materials and techniques. For instance, the placement of the Taihu rock embodies the *yin-yang* principle thoroughly – "[the rock is] placed to rise from [its] narrowest points: from the front – the south or *yang* side … from the back – the north or *yin* side."[57] The traditional wooden joinery is also a typical exemplification of the *yin-yang* principle, and the dialogue between the flowing water and piled rockery at the water pond follows the same principle.

Additionally, for the master plan of Astor Court, each typical garden structure never stands independently in the space. Rather, there is an orderly use of the *yin-yang* principle to achieve the complexity in this single enclosure and ensure that each structure could harmonious communicate with others:

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56 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 40.

57 Maggie Keswick, "An Introduction to Chinese Garden," in *The Authentic Garden: A Symposium on Gardens*, ed. L. Tjon Sie Fat and E. de Jong (Leiden, Netherlands: Clusius Foundation, 1991), 192.

> The basic approach lies in the proper juxtaposition of contrasting and complementary qualities in shapes, forms, colors, textures, and spaces, such as: large and small, high and low, open and closed, sparse and dense, void and solid, light and dark, straight and crooked, hard and soft, rough and fine, dynamic and static … the circle versus the rectangle; the small dark vestibule leading to the sunlit courtyard, which in turn leads to the dark main hall with its backlighted windows that suggest deeper spaces beyond; the symmetry of the main hall broken by the pillars of the walkway on one side; the straight line of the walkway interrupted by a jog from the wall; and the hard line of the architecture contrasted to the soft lines of rocks and plants.[58]

1.3 Conclusion

The Astor Chinese Garden Court officially opened on June 18, 1981, as one of the first phases of the Met's reinstallation of its Asian art collections in the Centennial Era. Collaborated and steadfast efforts from each protagonist were crucial to this realization. Further, the intimate and cross-cultural engagement of the restoration team of Suzhou Garden Administration has made the Astor Court more than an installation. With the realization of Astor Court, a new Chinese Garden type has been introduced to the United States through carefully pre-fabricated

58 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 40-1.

materials shipped from China, traditional construction techniques carried out by Chinese craftsmen, and a well-organized garden plan following the *yin-yang* principle.

Instead of lingering with what the "right" history looks like, the successful realization of Astor Court led by a Chinese garden restoration group offers an unprecedented instance of creating an overseas Chinese garden from scratch. Patrick Chassé, a landscape architect and historian, appreciates the realization of Astor Court due to "the newness of material and the crispness of new construction."[59]

Generally speaking, as the first Chinese garden installation realized both by imported Chinese materials and Chinese designers and craftsmen, the Astor Court is an unprecedented and even paradigmatic praxis for following Chinese garden construction in the United States.

59 Patrick Chassé, "Chinese Gardens Abroad. (Cover Story)," *Perspectives in Landscape Design* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2010), 3.

Chapter Two

A New Paradigmatic Chinese Garden Type

The realization of Astor Chinese Garden Court is recognized as "the first permanent cultural exchange between the United States and the People's Republic of China" by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[60] It is also commonly entitled "the first full-scale Chinese garden built outside of China."[61] Partially, as clarified in chapter one, the leading role of Astor Court results from its imported materials, precise techniques, and traditional design principles. Moving forward, chapter two underscores the historical significance of Astor Court by situating it within a broader construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese examples in the United States.

The broader history covered in this chapter dates back from British colonial America to the most recent National China Garden at the US Arboretum.[62] To better clarify transformations happening throughout this period, this chapter divides the broader garden construction history into three eras through two historic moments. One is the end of the American Civil War that brought rapid urbanization and industrialization developments and stimulated private garden constructions inspired by Chinese models in the United States. The other is the creation of Astor

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60 Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), "The Astor Court and the Douglas Dillon Galleries for Chinese Painting to Open at Metropolitan Museum on June 18" (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 1981), https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll12/id/6979/rec/2.

61 Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 286, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

62 According to the National China Garden Foundation, the foundation stone laying ceremony was carried out on October 28, 2016. The project is planned to complete in three years, but no up-to-date information could be found about whether the National China Garden has been completed or not.

Court which is widely recognized as "the first full-scale Chinese garden built outside of China."[63] Concerning the history of Astor Court's design and construction explored in chapter one, chapter two applies five criteria: designer(s), artisan(s), realization purpose, material origin, and realized garden structures to trace and concretize transformations between each subsequent two eras. According to features of each era, I name the three eras classified in this chapter as the Chinoiserie Era (before the 1860s), the Ornament and Structure Era (1860s-1970s), and the Simulacrum Era (after 1981).[64]

2.1 The Chinoiserie Era (from British colonial America to the 1860s)

63 Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 286, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

64 The classification of these three periods in Chapter Two is mainly inspired by Bo Zhang's study of 91 American designed landscapes and architectures. Based on more than 300 pieces of historical evidence, Zhang divided these cases into three periods according to two crucial wars - the American Civil War and WWII. These three periods are before 1860, from 1860 to 1945, and after 1945. The time 1860 is also recognized in the *History of Early American Landscape Design (HEALD)* project by the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, where the *HEALD* project ranges from British colonial America to the mid-19th century. For criteria applied in this thesis project, I have adjusted the period from 1945 to the 1970s mainly in terms of designer(s), material origin, and realized garden structures. Missingham's argument has also influenced my applied criteria. For Bo Zhang's works, see Bo Zhang and Ji Jin, "Shou Zhonguo Yingxiang De Meiguo Yuanlin He Jianzhu Minglu 受中国影响的美国园林和建筑名录 [American Designed Landscape and Architecture Influenced by Chinese Elements: A Comprehensive List]," *Chinese Landscape Architecture* 32, no. 04 (2016), 117–23. For the HEALD project, see "History of Early American Landscape Design," https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php/Home.or Therese O'Malley et al., *Keywords in American Landscape Design* (Washington; New haven: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 2010). For Missingham's argument, see Gregory Kenneth Missingham, "Japan 10±, China 1: A First Attempt at Explaining the Numerical Discrepancy between Japanese-Style Gardens Outside Japan and Chinese-Style Gardens Outside China," *Landscape Research* 32, no. 2 (April 2007), 119-20, https://doi.org/10.1080/01426390701231507. See also Appendix II for more information.

Americans' first understanding and appreciation of Chinese arts, including Chinese architecture and garden designs, were mainly from the British colony. Dawn Jacobson in her book *Chinoiserie* remarks that "the fashion for chinoiserie crossed the Atlantic surprisingly swiftly… [and] chinoiserie interior made a rapid appearance in the southern states" during the mid-eighteenth century.[65] Further, at that time, the colonials were not allowed to have direct contact with goods from China, making Chinese designs in porcelain, textiles, wallpapers, and pattern books the only sources for the British colonial America.[66] Consequently, Americans' understanding of Chinese architecture and garden designs was fully satisfied and strongly shaped by the existing European knowledge system known as Chinoiserie.[67]

In European Chinoiserie, architectural structures were often recognized as the only synonym for "garden," including the pagoda, pavilion, aviary, belvedere, alcove, bridge, etc.[68] For instance, William Paca, a signatory to the Declaration of Independence, created a Chinese-style bridge at his home in Annapolis, Maryland after his travels to England in 1761 (Fig 2.1).

Also, the wide prevalence of pattern books made the chinoiserie lattice pattern an iconic element in concurrent "Chinese" gardens, especially the involvement of Chinese lattice railings.

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65 Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 203-7.

66 "Chinese Influence on Early American Gardens," *Colonial & Early American Gardens* (blog), August 20, 2020, https://americangardenhistory.blogspot.com/2020/08/chinese-influence-on-early-american.html.

67 See Bo Zhang, "Zhongguo Dui Meiguo Jianzhu He Jingguan De Yingxiang Gaishu 中国对美国建筑和景观的影响概述(1860-1940) [Chinese Influences on Architectural and Landscape Design in the US: An Overview, 1860-1940]," *Architectural Journal*, no. 03 (2016), 11.

68 Greg Missingham, "Gifts over Garden Walls: On Chinese-Style Gardens and Garden Ideas Outside China," in *International Conference on Chinese Architectural History III* (Beijing, 2004).

According to Morrison, the Chinese railing began to appear in colonial architecture after 1750 as a Chippendale style and soon became a great success after the Revolution.[69]

Thomas Jefferson was the one who became interested in the lattice pattern and engaged the Chinese railing in his works as an embodiment of the cosmopolitan aesthetic that "Jefferson developed in his thinking about the landscapes of his plantation estates and their relationship to the rest of the world" (Fig 2.2).[70] Similarly, Jefferson's knowledge of Chinese architecture and his awareness of Chinese gardens were largely derived from his travels to Europe, as well as his studies of William Chambers's and Thomas Chippendale's masterpieces; Jefferson owned and displayed reproductions of both Chambers and Chippendale masterpieces at his studies.[71]

Generally speaking, the Chinoiserie Era was when the European idea of Chinoiserie dominated Americans' understanding of Chinese gardens, simplifying "Chinese gardens" as iconic Chinoiserie elements, such as the pagoda, bridge, and Chinese lattice railing. Almost none

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69 Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period*. (New York, 1952), 307 & 315.

70 See Jennifer Milam, "Jefferson's Interest in China and the Gongs of Monticello," in *Beyonce Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange between China and the West during the Late Qing Dynasty (1796-1911)*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (BRILL, 2018), 50. Chinese railings were constructed at the balcony and partially as a crown of the roof in Jefferson's works, including the Monticello, Poplar Forest, and Pavilions at the Lawn of University of Virginia.

71 According to Milam, Thomas Chippendale's 1754 *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director*, of which Jefferson owned a copy, contributed significantly to his lattice pattern designs. See Jennifer Milam, "Jefferson's Interest in China and the Gongs of Monticello," in *Beyonce Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange between China and the West during the Late Qing Dynasty (1796-1911)*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (BRILL, 2018), 68-9. Also, Mclaughlin mentions that "The greatest influence on the popularization of chinoiserie in England was Chamber's *Design of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils,* published in 1757. Jefferson owned a copy of this folio, and it influenced his Chinese railing designs." See Jack Mclaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (Macmillan, 1988).

of these architects and garden designers had ever traveled to China, not to mention an involved native Chinese. Consequently, European pattern books became one of the limited but pivotal references for Americans to realize a "Chinese garden" in the Chinoiserie Era.[72]

Therefore, it is not a coincidence that Patrick Chassé points out that "The fashion for Chinoiserie and the exotic ornamentation of architecture and gardens swept Europe and her colonies, leaving a trail of rockeries, pagodas, and tracery balustrades around the world."[73] Also, Therese O'Malley's writing for the "Chinese Manner" entry shall be a precise epitome of the Chinoiserie Era as "In gardens the Chinese manner was continued in decorative details and ornament however, filtered through pattern and garden books."[74]

2.2 The Ornament and Structure Era (1860s-1970s)

Two transformations that occurred in this period mainly contributed to the shift from the Chinoiserie Era to the Ornament and Structure Era – the changing China-US relations, as well as

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72 Therese O'Malley concludes through the "Chinese Manner" entry that "Many of the Chinese-style details in American gardens derived from books such as William Halfpenny's *New Designs for Chinese Temples, triumphal arches, garden seats, palings, etc*. (1750–52), *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste* (1755; written with his brother John), and *Chinese and Gothic architecture properly ornamented* (1752); William Chambers's *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (1757) and *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772); and Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentlemen and Cabinet-Maker's Director. . . in the Gothic, Chinese and Modern Taste* (1755). These were immensely popular in England and France and known in the colonies and early republic throughout the East Coast." See Therese O'Malley, "Chinese Manner," *History of Early American Landscape Design*, accessed October 15, 2020, https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php/Chinese_manner.

73 Patrick Chassé, "Chinese Gardens Abroad. (Cover Story)," *Perspectives in Landscape Design* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2010), 1.

74 Therese O'Malley, "Chinese Manner," *History of Early American Landscape Design*, accessed October 15, 2020, https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php/Chinese_manner.

the urbanization and industrialization of the United States. These great developments in the United States led to rapid constructions of Chinese garden structures – mainly pagodas and pavilions - not only in private gardens but also in most public spaces, including municipal parks, theaters, zoos, and theme parks. Meanwhile, benefiting from travels between the United States and China, various other garden structures – such as moon gates and screen walls - began to find their spaces in Americans' gardens.[75] Starting from the "Treaty of Wanghia" in 1844, American citizens were allowed to purchase Chinese books and bring back plants, furnishings, images, and first-hand impressions of both private and imperial Chinese gardens.[76] Additionally, the following modernized itinerary of the Grand Tour developed in the Republic of China period (1912–1949) even became "a regular indulgence for wealthy Europeans and Americans," bringing collectors, architects, and garden makers to a number of sites in North China.[77] The increasing accuracy of information in the Ornament and Structure Era somehow challenged and refined Americans' knowledge system constructed by the Europeans in the Chinoiserie Era.

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75 Bo Zhang and Ji Jin, "Shou Zhonguo Yingxiang De Meiguo Yuanlin He Jianzhu Minglu 受中国影响的美国园林和建筑名录 [American Designed Landscape and Architecture Influenced by Chinese Elements: A Comprehensive List]," *Chinese Landscape Architecture* 32, no. 04 (2016), 118.

76 See Patrick Chassé, "Chinese Gardens Abroad. (Cover Story)," *Perspectives in Landscape Design* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 1. Also see Bo Zhang, "Zhongguo Dui Meiguo Jianzhu He Jingguan De Yingxiang Gaishu 中国对美国建筑和景观的影响概述 (1860-1940) [Chinese Influences on Architectural and Landscape Design in the US: An Overview, 1860-1940]," *Architectural Journal*, no. 03 (2016), 11.

77 See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 10.

With increasing ease of transportation in this Era, wealthy Americans and collectors started to exhibit Chinese collections at their private estates. Architects and garden makers were commissioned at this period for the creation of a matched thematic space. Unlike the Chinoiserie Era, most architects or garden makers in this Era had visited China through the Grand Tour. Some of them even joined the Grand Tour after the client's commission to ensure a more authentic creation.[78] Pattern books prevalent in the Chinoiserie Era would never be consulted as the decisive source for Chinese garden designs but as optional available references.

Meanwhile, associated Chinese garden treatises were still a big gap for American architects and garden makers. It was not until 1949 when Osvald Sirén's masterpiece, *Gardens of China*, was translated into English, first "introducing Ji Cheng's magnum opus to academics and garden enthusiasts in Europe and North America."[79] Maggie Keswick's *The Chinese Garden*, which is recognized as the first English-language book for the general introduction of the Chinese Garden, came out even thirty years later in 1978.[80] Thus, experiences from the Grand Tour and collected

78 Craig Clunas mentioned a little bit about the influence of the Grand Tour in *Fruitful Sites* through the experience of an eminent American landscape architect, Fletcher Steele. Clunas writes that "The modernized itinerary of the Grand Tour … took Steele to a number of sites in North China, and provided him with material that he subsequently presented to his professional peers, in a lecture to the Boston Society of Landscape Architecture in 1946." See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 10.

79 Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* is the first work of theory written by an actual Chinese garden designer with practical experience in the creation of landscapes. For more significances of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*, see Alison Hardie, "The Dissemination and Influence of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* in Europe and North America," *Chinese Landscape Architecture* 28, no. 12 (2012), 46.

80 Chapter Three explores the translation and dissemination history of Chinese garden treatises in detail, tracing the complete English-translation history of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* in the United States, as well as its influences on the idea of "Chinese garden" and associated realizations.

miscellanea became the major reference for American architects and garden makers in the Ornament and Structure Era. No wonder Patrick Chassé would once write that "the effect in garden emulation was still well shy of authentic recreation [in the Ornament and Structure Era]. 'Chinese' gardens in the West from this period still tended to exhibit ornamental use of Chinese features and furnishings, rather than a true Chinese conceptual framework."[81]

The Chinese Maze Garden, Fu Dog Garden, and Avenue of the Chinese Musicians in today's Robert Allerton Park could be a partial epitome of this Era (Fig 2.3 – 2.5). The Robert Allerton Park in Monticello, Illinois used to be Robert Allerton's showplace estate. Robert Allerton and his adopted son, John Gregg, were designers of the Park. The Chinese Maze Garden was created in 1912, replicating the pattern from Allerton's favorite silk pajamas. Two marble goldfish were placed in the center of the Maze Garden in 1925 after Allerton's travel to Peking, but Allerton never used these goldfish as fountains following their original design intentions. In 1932, twenty-two ceramic Fu Dogs were displayed as the Fu Dog Garden. In 1977, twelve limestone "Chinese" musicians were created with Western appearances and named the Avenue of the Chinese Musicians.[82]

From this point of view, these so-called "Chinese" gardens were actually exhibition rooms for Allerton's Chinese collections. Though precious Chinese collections began to appear in

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81 Patrick Chassé, "Chinese Gardens Abroad. (Cover Story)," *Perspectives in Landscape Design* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2010), 1.

82 "The Gardens Map," Allerton Park & Retreat Center, accessed February 6, 2021, https://allerton.illinois.edu/the-gardens-map/.

Allerton's gardens, neither the geometric boxwood parterre nor the axial space with a centered avenue had a connection to the idea of a Chinese garden, not to mention the *yin-yang* principle. The marble goldfish, ceramic Fu Dogs, and limestone "Chinese" musicians were all displayed as garden ornaments following the Western design principles instead of the classical Chinese ideas.

Additionally, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden in Seal Harbor, Maine was the one designed for the Rockefeller Family to display their East Asian sculptures. Beatrix Farrand, an eminent American garden and landscape designer, created the garden from 1926 to 1930. Though Farrand had never traveled to Asia, her design is widely recognized as incorporating some of the strongest concepts of Eastern and Western traditions. According to Dennis Bracale's master thesis on the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden, "Farrand's greatest understanding of East Asian aesthetics would have come from reading books and from knowledge clients," such as the Rockefellers.[83] Additionally, the Ornament and Structure Era had offered Farrand increasing access to Chinese books and even site photographs, enabling her to design several Chinese-style structures – the moon gate, the bottle gate, and the Chinese wall – within the exhibitionary garden space.[84] Moreover, available construction materials were even transported from China to

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83 Dennis Bracale, "The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden: Chinese Heart of Acadia National Park" (Master Thesis, University of Virginia, 1998), 45.

84 Dennis Bracale concluded Farrand's methods used in the design of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden as the use of different experts, the use of photographs, consulting with the Rockefellers through drawing and redrawing of each feature, as well as the building of full-scale mock-ups of the walls and gates. Also, Bracale listed the Rockefellers' East Asian book collection in Appendix 8, which is more diverse and comprehensive compared to the Chinoiserie Era's list. For the Chinoiserie Era's list, see Footnote No. 14, or Therese O'Malley, "Chinese Manner," *HEALD*, accessed October 15, 2020, https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php/Chinese_manner. For Dennis

the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden. Tiles used for the decorative lintel of the moon gate came from the outer wall of the Forbidden City and a dismantled palace building. Once the sale rumor came out in the fall of 1928, the Rockefellers had the Japanese dealer Yamanaka purchase these tiles for their constructing garden (Fig 2.6).[85]

Dennis Bracale describes the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden as "one of the first serious attempts at creating a Chinese garden in the West."[86] Together with the aforementioned Robert Allerton Park, I would like to point out two features shared in the Ornament and Structure Era: one is the exhibition of Chinese collections and ornaments, and the other is the emergence of Chinese-style garden structures other than pagodas and pavilions. A small portion of realized gardens also adopted materials from China, such as the tiles used in the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden. However, this particular feature was still in a small range rather a typically shared one.

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In addition to the creation of thematic exhibition spaces for private Chinese collections, the realization of a Chinese garden at wealthy Americans' private estates was also an instrument for them to pursue and even understand the Chinese lifestyle, such as the Chinese Tea House at the

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Bracale's project, see Dennis Bracale, "The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden: Chinese Heart of Acadia National Park" (Master Thesis, University of Virginia, 1998).

85 Ibid., 66-7.

86 Ibid., 50.

Marble House in Newport, Rhode Island. Richard Hunt and Joseph Hunt's New York architectural firm designed the Tea House around 1916. Someone from the firm even made a particular Grand Tour to study and sketch Chinese pavilions for this commission,[87] which was impossible in the Chinoiserie Era.

Since many related original archives were lost, who built this Tea House and where construction materials came from remains unclear. However, according to the usage of ungalvanized nails, the appearance of carved patterns, the spatial proportions of the Tea House and its relationship with the adjacent *paifang* (a traditional style of Chinese gateway structure), I suggest that the Chinese Tea House at the Marble House has only mimicked the Chinese temple structure but with little consideration of material features and design principles in terms of Chines garden ideas (Fig 2.7). For instance, the *paifang* was placed on the top of the constructed pedestal but not the other side of the square in relation to the architectural building following the same spatial central axis.

Further, the small "Chinese Garden" added by Fletcher Steele to Mabel Choate's Naumkeag property in Stockbridge, MA is one more typical case in the Ornamental and Structure Era (Fig 2.8). Prior to construction, Steele traveled to China in 1934 to join the Grand Tour. Upon returning to Massachusetts, Steele started the Naumkeag's Chinese Garden project two years later and worked for almost twenty years until its final completion in 1955. In addition to the

87 Dudley Clendinen, "Teahouse Regains Its Glory," *The New York Times*, September 2, 1982, sec. Home & Garden, https://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/02/garden/teahouse-regains-its-glory.html.

temple and moon gate, Steele enclosed this courtyard through the Chinese wall with openwork panels and a screen wall at the entrance. Also, he planted a group of nine ginkgo trees, which are native to China, in the Naumkeag's Chinese Garden.[88] Though this Chinese Garden was described as "an undeniable American touch,"[89] according to the realized Chinese-style garden structures and the planting of ginkgo trees, in my opinion, Steele established a quite comprehensive understanding of Chinese gardens at almost the end of the Ornamental and Structure Era.[90]

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The last two decades of the Ornamental and Structure Era – 1960s and 1970s – have witnessed the influx of Chinese garden structures into Americans' gardens.[91] For example, a rockery was constructed in the Chinese Garden at Duke Gardens Foundation in 1958 as part of Doris Duke's exotic public-display gardens (Fig 2.9). Other typical structures, such as moon gate, moon bridge, pavilion, and koi fish pond, were also realized in Duke's gardens by the

88 See Nan Quick, "Grand Gardens of the Berkshire Hills: Fletcher Steele's Naumkeag, & Edith Wharton's The Mount," October 23, 2013, https://nanquick.com/2013/10/23/grand-gardens-of-the-berkshire-hills-fletcher-steeles-naumkeag-edith-whartons-the-mount/.

89 Amy Sutherland argues in the article that "Still, his garden has an undeniable American touch. Unlike a traditional Chinese garden, which looks inward, Steele's looks outward." See Amy Sutherland, "Living History: The Gardens at Naumkeag," *Preservation Magazine*, Spring 2016, https://savingplaces.org/stories/living-history-gardens-naumkeag.

90 Fletcher Steele even mentioned the *yin-yang* principle in his 1947's writings. See Fletcher Steele, "China Teaches: Ideas and Moods from the Landscape of the Celestial Empire," *Landscape Architecture* 37, no. 3 (April 1947), 88–93.

91 For details, see Appendix II.

landscape architect, Richard C. Tongg, who was born in an immigrant Chinese family.[92] However, none of the recorded information can indicate that there were materials imported from China, not to mention Chinese craftsmen and traditional construction techniques.[93]

In addition to Doris Duke's exotic garden in Somerville, New Jersey, most Chinese gardens realized during these two decades were on the west coast of the United States. These gardens included a variety of Chinese garden structures, such as moon bridges and Chinese pavilion in the Chinese garden at the Honolulu International Airport; Chinese gate (*pailou*) and Koi fish pond in the courtyard garden at the Oroville Chinese Temple in Oroville, California; and the Chinese hall (*xuan*) in the Chinese cultural garden at the Overfelt Park in in San Jose, California. All these gardens planted at least one native Chinese species. Those construction materials for the Chinese hall in the Chinese cultural garden at the Overfelt Park were even imported from China.[94]

However, Chinese gardens realized around the last twenty years of the Ornamental and Structure Era were all designed by American architects or landscape architects. Though some of them were from immigrant Chinese families, including Richard C. Tongg (Chinese Garden at

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92 To understand how Tongg's special intertwinement between his immigrant Chinese family and his Western educations has influenced his understanding and spatial interpretation of the Chinese Garden, it would be interesting to figure out if Tongg had access to sources of information on Chinese gardens that were not readily available to other American landscape architects at that time.

93 See Dorothy Loa McFadden, *Oriental Gardens in America: A Visitor's Guide* (Los Angeles: Douglas-West Publishers, c. 1976), 174-5.

94 For details, see Appendix II.

Duke Gardens Foundation) as well as Frank and Pauline Lowe (Chinese cultural garden at the Overfelt Park), all of them were born and educated in the United States under the influence of American cultures. Additionally, most construction materials were domestic and partially utilized local resources, with only a limited number of materials imported from China. Moreover, each realized garden structure was situated more like individual constructions rather a cohesive assemblage following the *yin-yang* principle. Therefore, even though the last two decades of the Ornamental and Structure Era seem to approach the paradigmatic type introduced by the Astor Court, there are still essential distinctions between these gardens and the Astor Court, especially the embodiment of *yin-yang* principle.

2.3 The Simulacrum Era (after 1981)

The China-US relations chilled significantly after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The national Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976 almost isolated China from the rest of the world. It was the 1978 Chinese Economic Reform that brought China back to the world stage. Also, it was the time that the Liaison Office of the PRC and the Metropolitan Museum of Art signed the construction contract of Astor Court. Thus, in addition to providing a contemplation space in the Met, the creation of Astor Court with its overseas collaborations was also a promising diplomatic strategy. Such interpretation of a realized Chinese garden as a cultural envoy had never occurred in the former Chinoiserie Era and the Ornament and Structure Era, not to mention the imported full-set construction materials from

China as well as Chinese garden designers and craftsmen. Therefore, since its completion in 1981, the Astor Court has offered not only a new paradigmatic garden type but also the starting point of constructing "new 'Classical Chinese' gardens" overseas.[95]

With the great success and practical experiences explored throughout the realization of Astor Court, the China's National Committee on Basic Construction suggested the establishment of the Landscape Architecture Company of China Construction Engineering Corporation (LAC, CCEC) in December 1980. It finally became the Landscape Architecture Corporation of China (LAC) after several reformations, directing a number of following Chinese garden constructions around the United States.[96] Many of these gardens were constructed as China's "cultural envoys" or "resident ambassadors,"[97] and sometimes also as a direct result of a "sister city" relationship with a Chinese municipality. These gardens include the Xi Hua Yuan started from the early 1990s (between Seattle and Chongqing), the Margaret Grigg Nanjing Friendship Chinese garden in 1996 (between St. Louis and Nanjing), and the *Lan Su Yuan* in 2000 (between Portland and Suzhou). Meanwhile, some Chinese gardens were created as a cultural asset for a

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95 "The creators of today's Chinese gardens in the United States use and shape history, memory, and imagination in the construction of new 'Classical Chinese' gardens. The term 'Classical Chinese garden' is used in this essay because that is how the sponsoring institutions identify these gardens." Carol Brash, "Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-First Century America: Cultivating the Past," *ASIANetwork Exchange* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2011), 18.

96 See "The Agenda of Landscape Architecture Corporation of China," in *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas*, ed. Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang (Chinese Architecture & Building Press, 2000), 258-275. Also see Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 294, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

97 See Weilin Gan, "Foreword (I)," in *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas*, ed. Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang (Chinese Architecture & Building Press, 2000).

local community of Chinese immigrants, such as the Chinese Scholar's Garden at the Botanical Garden of Staten Island.[98]

No matter what the construction intention is, almost every Chinese garden created in the United States during the Simulacrum Era follows the building and operation system developed in the realization process of Astor Court. Though subsequent materials are not as rare and precious as the Astor Court, this paradigmatic garden type developed by the Astor Court has never been replaced but modified since its completion in 1981.

Taking the Chinese Scholar's Garden as an example, this garden created at the Staten Island Botanic Garden in 1999 is the second Chinese garden but the first outdoor garden realized in New York, making up for the paucity of Astor Court as an indoor installation (Fig 2.10). Benefiting from the paradigmatic praxis of Astor Court and the subsequent institutionalizations in China, it was quite straightforward and clear for the Staten Island Botanic Garden to contact the Landscape Architecture Corporation of China (LAC) for creating a Chinese garden in 1985. Though the project stalled for a while due to "a bureaucratic morass and funding delays," once the design was completed and the funding was secured, thirty-five artisans were sent by the LAC to New York for onsite constructions.[99] Forty containers full of wood and rock were also

98 See Patrick Chassé, "Chinese Gardens Abroad. (Cover Story)," *Perspectives in Landscape Design* 25, no. 1 (WinRter 2010), 3-4.

99 See Paul Bennett, "Interpreting Tradition: A Chinese Garden in New York Astounds the Senses," *Landscape Architecture* 90, no. 4 (2000), 62 & 88.

shipped from China to New York as what happened during the Astor Court construction but more procedural and efficient. Like the Astor Court, most construction materials for the Chinese Scholar's Garden were pre-fabricated and adjusted onsite by hand or traditional tools, especially the stone paving and limestone outcropping.[100]

Meanwhile, the LAC team also worked closely with American landscape architect Cassandra Wilday to find as exact plant materials as possible. Noting the Astor Court as a thermostatic indoor environment, most plants are actually rotated pots with nutrition sponges. Therefore, the contemporary plant material database developed by the Astor Court is quite limited and even untypical. Accordingly, the realization of Chinese Scholar's Garden at the Staten Island Botanic Garden has accumulated a great deal of practical knowledge about plant species for creating a simulacrum Chinese garden in the New York climate zone. The LAC group and Wilday have also explored some solutions to ensure the survival of non-native Chinese plant species through the creation of microclimate or the stretch of plants' constitution.[101]

From this point of view, the Chinese Scholar's Garden at the Staten Island Botanic Garden is undoubtedly a physical and practical response to the Astor Court. Created by the same group with a similar building and operation system, the Chinese Scholar's Garden directly followed the

100 Ibid., 88.

101 Ibid., 89.

paradigmatic garden type developed by the Astor Court. The realization of Chinese Scholar's Garden also modified this unprecedented praxis through a different construction context, enriching the general practical knowledge system of realizing an overseas Chinese garden in the United States from scratch.

In addition to the Chinese Scholar's Garden, with more and more Chinese gardens created around the United States during the Simulacrum Era in various climate zones, especially the West Coast, the Chinese garden plant material database is growing larger and larger. Moreover, associated construction techniques have also been revised according to different situations. For example, the realization of *Liu Fang Yuan* (Garden of Flowing Fragrance) at The Huntington in 2008 has developed "hidden" structural steel rods above or below the Chinese classic all-wood structures to meet the local seismic codes.[102]

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Accordingly, I would like to argue that the paradigmatic Chinese garden type defined by the Astor Court is becoming more and more accessible with subsequent revamping and consolidations during the Simulacrum Era. Compared to the former Ornamental and Structure Era, there is an obvious shift from collecting fragments to a new interest in constructing cohesive replicas for the three-dimensional spatial experiences. In particular, the juxtaposition of the

102 See Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 301–303, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard created in the Ornamental and Structure Era and the Astor Court realized in the Simulacrum Era can exemplify this shift.

The Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard was created at the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1927 with almost the same intention as the Astor Court (Fig 2.11). Both these two garden courts were supported by a member of the Museum's board of trustees, who were passionate about Chinese arts and gardens. Also, both these two gardens are located next to the Asian Arts collections, aiming to create a serene space that's ripe for meditation and contemplation.

However, the Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard was designed by a well-known American architect, Bertram Goodhue, together with Richards and Thompson as garden designers in 1927. Though Bertram Goodhue has joined the Grand Tour, the lion-head fountain and fish pond surrounded by the Hawaiian lava rock in the Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard still suggest the common features of the Ornament and Structure Era, not to mention Goodhue's professional expertise in Gothic Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival designs. In addition to Asian collections from Anna Rice Cooke, the founder of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, almost every construction material was from local sources: no terra-cotta floor tiles were used but the Hawaiian lava rocks were placed yet not in traditional patterns illustrated in *Yuan Ye*; no wooden pillars were adopted but textured white plastered walls were erected; no rockeries were piled but sporadic fragments were situated yet not in harmonious relationships among rockeries, plants, and water. Additionally, the realization of this Chinese Courtyard was partially

intended for a beautiful garden in the local misty, rainy climate. However, this Courtyard in Honolulu, HI did not include any drip tile, which is always culturally placed at the roof edge in Chinese gardens to lead the flow of rain for a serene experience. Instead, the rain runs off the roof edge rather than slowly dripping in lines to play soothing sounds.

Noting the numerous differences between the Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard and the Astor Chinese Garden Court, it is obvious how decisive designers, artisans, materials, adopted design principles, and even built purposes are. Also, there is a pivotal shift from exhibiting collected fragments among Chinese-style garden structures to a new era, beginning in the early 1980s, of creating cohesive spatial replicas and cultural experiences. Therefore, the significance of Astor Court cannot be overemphasized throughout the broader construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese examples in the United States.

2.4 Conclusion

Most contemporary studies of overseas Chinese garden constructions focus on the recent thirty or forty years, which is exactly the Simulacrum Era. Also, almost every contemporary study highlights the fundamental significance of Astor Court in its writings.[103] However, this

103 Contemporary studies include Shaozong Liu's *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)* (1999), Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang's *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas* (2000), Carol Brash's *Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-First Century America: Cultivating the Past* (2011), Han Li's *From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-ness' in America* (2015), Lian Zhai's *Research on the Intercultural Communication of Overseas Chinese Garden Built Since 1978* (2016), Bo Zhang's *Chinese Influences on Architectural and Landscape Design in the US: An Overview, 1860-1940* (2016) and

chapter interrogates the historical value of Astor Court within a broader construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese models in the United States. According to case studies and comparisons among the three eras based on five criteria: designer(s); artisan(s); purpose; material origin; and realized garden structures – I argue that there are great variations between every two eras and each of them has its own typical features.

The Chinoiserie Era interpreted the Chinese garden ideas mainly as decorative details and garden ornaments according to European chinoiserie pattern and garden books. Benefiting from the increasing accuracy of information in the following Ornament and Structure Era, Chinese garden ideas, on the one hand, were materialized through displayed collections and ornaments in private gardens. While on the other hand, these ideas were also spatialized among Chinese-style garden structures, including pagodas and pavilions, as well as a limited number of temples, Chinese walls, screen walls, moon gates, Chinese gates (*pailou* or *paifang*), rockeries, etc. Meanwhile, easier transportations between China and the United States stimulated the emergence of Chinese indigenous materials in a limited number of created gardens. Though the inclusion of more garden structures and imported materials around the last two decades of the Ornament and Structure Era are likely to approach the next Simulacrum Era, there are still several essential

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American Designed Landscape and Architecture Influenced by Chinese Elements: A Comprehensive List (2016), as well as Han Li's *Another World Lies Beyond: Three Chinese Gardens in the US* (2017).

distinctions between these two eras, particularly the engagement of Chinese designers and artisans as well as the embodiment of classical techniques and the *yin-yang* principle.

While since the realization of Astor Court, the Simulacrum Era has introduced a new paradigmatic Chinese Garden type with the engagement of Chinese designers, artisans, imported materials, and traditional design principles. Gardens realized in the Simulacrum Era all care about the cohesive environment and cultural experience instead of exhibiting collected fragments. Further, this new paradigmatic Chinese Garden type has been continually realized and geographically modified with the institutionalized building and operation system originated from the Astor Court. One typical modification is the growing Chinese plant material database for various climate zones around the United States.

Accordingly, the realization of Astor Court is undoubtedly a watershed moment in the general construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese models in the United States. The paradigmatic Chinese Garden type introduced by the Astor Court is not only fundamental and unprecedented but also a revolution against the contemporary Chinese Garden knowledge system developed throughout the first two eras. The Simulacrum Era unveiled by the Astor Court has witnessed a shift from collecting fragments to a new interest in constructing cohesive environments and cultural experiences.

Chapter Three

Consolidating the Paradigmatic Chinese Garden Type

Chapter two exemplifies how the quantity and quality of available materials could contribute to the contemporary knowledge of Chinese garden designs in the United States, especially the two earlier eras. The Chinoiserie Era was a result of limited European pattern and garden books, and the Ornament and Structure Era was the co-effort from American travelers' accounts of the Grand Tour and those purchased garden books in Chinese. Though engagements of Chinese designers and artisans in the Simulacrum Era have unveiled a paradigmatic Chinese garden type in the United States, those available English bibliographic materials are still a pivotal conduit to transform Americans' understanding of the Chinese Garden. Accordingly, English translations of Chinese accounts and treatises have become crucial for Americans' knowledge of the Chinese Garden.

In addition to the construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese models in the United States examined in chapter two, chapter three explores the historical significance of Astor Court through the translation and dissemination history of Chinese garden accounts in the United States. This chapter also interrogates the potential contribution of Astor Court to the subsequent 1980s and '90s academic shift from generalized conceptions of the Oriental Garden to the

Chinese Garden through the emergence of Chinese garden study at 1990s Dumbarton Oaks with the predominant focus on Ming gardens.[104]

3.1 *Yuan Ye* and the Astor Chinese Garden Court

According to Fong and Murck's writings,[105] the construction of Astor Court has mainly referred to Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*, the first work of theory written by an actual garden designer with practical experience in the creation of gardens and designed landscapes.[106] The reference could be discerned directly from patterns of lattices, floors, balustrades, and openwork brick walls (Fig 3.1). Additionally, Alison Hardie, the first English translator of *Yuan Ye* in 1988 and the UK's

104 The term Oriental Garden is part of the notion of Orientalism, and J. J. Clarke once traces the term origin of Orientalism as its first appearance in France in the 1830s. The term Orientalism "has been employed since then in a variety of different ways: to refer to Oriental scholarship, to characterise a certain genre of romantic-fantasy literature, to describe a genre of painting, and most significantly in recent times— to mark out a certain kind of ideological purview of the East which was a product of Western imperialism." Accordingly, the term Oriental Garden has been commonly applied to describe a particular genre of garden arts from the Western identified orient areas. Further, Bianca Maria Rinaldi mentions that "The notion of China as a fabled Oriental country was to remain rooted in European culture for centuries, increased by the isolationist policy adopted by the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) in 1441 and the subsequent closure of China to foreign penetration." Therefore, the Western understanding of the Chinese Garden as part of the Oriental Garden has been widely accepted in the 19th and 20th century as a culture and also imperialism stereotype. For J. J. Clarke's work, see J. J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 7. For Rinaldi's clarification, see Bianca Maria Rinaldi, ed., *Ideas of Chinese Gardens: Western Accounts, 1300-1860*, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 3.

105 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, "The Astor Garden Court and Ming Room," in *Period Rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: H.N. Abrams, 1996). See also Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

106 Alison Hardie, "Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* (The Craft of Gardens) in its Social Setting," in *The Authentic Garden: A Symposium on Gardens*, ed. L. Tjon Sie Fat and E. de Jong (Leiden, Netherlands: Clusius Foundation, 1991), 207.

leading expert on Chinese garden history, demonstrates the relationship between overseas Chinese garden construction and Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*:

> The dissemination and influence of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* in Europe and North America is inseparable from knowledge of the history and culture of Chinese gardens among academics and garden enthusiasts on those continents … Another way in which the design principles of the *Yuan Ye* have exerted some influence in the West is through Chinese gardens and landscapes constructed in Western countries.[107]

Meanwhile, Carol Brash argues in her research that "[the new 'Classical Chinese' gardens] are most likely referring to the gardens of the style promoted in the *Yuan Ye*,"[108] alluding to the undeniable connections between the Astor Court and Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*. Through historiographical studies of the English-translation and dissemination history of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* in the United Stated, the following paragraphs highlight the historical significance of Astor Court in relation to the late 1980s and '90s Chinese garden studies in the United States.

3.2 English-translation History of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*

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107 Alison Hardie, "The Dissemination and Influence of Ji Cheng's Yuan Ye in Europe and North America," *Chinese Landscape Architecture* 28, no. 12 (2012), 46.

108 Brash focused on three gardens in her research, including the Pursuing Harmony Garden, Lan Su Chinese Garden, and Liu Fang Yuan-Huntington Library. The type of all the three gardens is named as "Classical Chinese garden" by the sponsoring institutions, which is also the one the Astor Court belongs to. See Carol Brash, "Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-First Century America: Cultivating the Past," *ASIANetwork Exchange* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2011), 17–29.

The garden treatise, *Yuan Ye*, was re-collected and republished in 1932 by Zhu Qiqian, founder of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (*yingzao xueshe*). The Society is the first research institute in China that focuses on the study of ancient Chinese architecture. Only four years later, Tong Jun briefly introduced this classic treatise in his article *Chinese Gardens: Especially in Kiangsu and Chekiang*.[109] His short introduction is now widely recognized as the first reference in English to *Yuan Ye*: "Garden Making became an organized knowledge and was dealt with in the treatise titled *Yuan Yeh*, published in about 1634, by Chi Ch'eng. In this unique book, he described the various branches of landscape architecture with illustrations, which form an interesting comparison with what we see today."[110]

This brief introduction is from the third chapter of Tong's article entitled "III: Chinese Gardens: Past and Present." This chapter consists of two sections: one is "A. Past," and the other is "B. Present." It might result from Tong's main purpose to introduce contemporary garden situations around the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces that he does not devote a large portion of his article to the "Past" section. The "Past" covers only about 5 pages, but the "Present" section includes 12 pages for texts and additional 12 pages for photos and engravings. Also, noting the

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109 Tong Jun is recognized as the first pioneer in the field of historical study of the Chinese Garden. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with the Master of Architecture degree in 1928, and finished one of his renowned works *Record of Jiangnan Gardens (Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi)* in 1937. This book is widely recognized as another masterpiece for Chinese garden study after Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*.

110 Jun Tong, "Chinese Gardens: Especially in Kiangsu and Chekiang," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* III, no. 3 (October 1936), 232. In this paragraph, Chi Ch'eng is the Wade–Giles system version of Ji Cheng, and *Yuan Yeh* is the one for *Yuan Ye*. Both Ji Cheng and *Yuan Ye* belong to the Hanyu Pinyin romanization system, which is currently used to teach Standard Mandarin Chinese, while the Wade–Giles system was widely used in the period of Tong's writings.

main audience of this Journal as overseas Chinese, it makes more sense why Tong introduces the contemporary situation of each garden rather than covering associated professional information. Meanwhile, considering the historical significance of *Yuan Ye*, Tong still leaves a specific space among the five-page "Past" section to share this recent discovery and the republication news with overseas Chinese and English readers (Fig 3.2). Additionally, it is worth mentioning that *Yuan Ye* is the only classic garden treatise mentioned in Tong's article.

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Swedish art historian, Osvald Sirén, was one of Tong's readers.[111] He traveled to China, Japan, and Korea between 1918 and 1935. During his voyages, he visited and photographed a large number of gardens in Beijing and Suzhou. Then he got a chance to collect his "preserved memories" and published them in Swedish as *Kinas trädgårdar och vad de betytt för 1700-talets Europa* (1948). One year later, the first part of his Swedish publication, "Trädgårdar i Kina," was translated by Mr. Donald Burton into English entitled *Gardens of China* (1949). This English version includes partial translations of *Yuan Ye*, and it is "the first to introduce Ji Cheng's magnum opus to academics and garden enthusiasts in Europe and North America."[112]

111 Tong's article is included in the bibliography of Sirén's book *Gardens of China* (1949).

112 Alison Hardie, "The Dissemination and Influence of Ji Cheng's Yuan Ye in Europe and North America," *Chinese Landscape Architecture* 28, no. 12 (2012), 46.

Sirén focused on Chinese sculpture and architecture studies during the 1920s and shifted to Chinese painting and poetry in the 1930s. His interests in the artistic and aesthetic values of Chinese arts can be exemplified in the "Foreword" of his book:

> Yet, considering our subject from the artist point of view, far more important are the extracts given in a number of the earlier chapters from *Yuan Yeh*, a treatise on gardening dating from the end of the Ming period. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the only work of its kind, and although its main function seems to be to serve as a practical guide for the laying out of gardens, it also contains aesthetic reflections and judgments that are calculated to give us some insight into the artistic aim and intimate experience of Nature that constituted the prerequisites for the activities of Chinese garden amateurs.[113]

The partial translations of *Yuan Ye* are mainly in the first chapter of Sirén's book, including the introductory paragraph entitled *Yuan Shuo (Discourse on Gardens)* and Chapter I as *Hsiang Ti (The Selection of a Suitable Site)*. One more excerpt from *Yuan Ye* in Sirén's book is *Hsuan Shih (The selection of Stones)* in "Chapter 2: Mountains and Waters." Accordingly, what Sirén interests and treasures most about *Yuan Ye* is its "general and poetic parts … not the technical parts."[114] Though he copies most of the pattern illustrations of balustrades, brick walls, door shapes, and paving paths from *Yuan Ye* into the fourth chapter of his book, he mentions nothing

113 Osvald Sirén, "Foreword," In *Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949), iv.

114 Alison Hardie, "Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* (The Craft of Gardens) in its Social Setting," in *The Authentic Garden: A Symposium on Gardens*, ed. L. Tjon Sie Fat and E. de Jong (Leiden, Netherlands: Clusius Foundation, 1991), 208.

about the practical instructions annotated adjacent to these illustrations (Fig 3.3).[115] Moreover, Sirén devotes a chapter entitled "Gardens in Literature and Painting" in the book, suggesting his interests in the Chinese painting and poetry.

In Alexander Soper's review for Sirén's *Gardens of China*, he criticizes "Sirén's erratic performance as a translator of Chinese" and points out that "Sirén's trouble is not so much that he knows too little Chinese, but that where too much care can hardly be taken he is careless." Meanwhile, in Sirén's book, he admits his "translation trouble" at the very first beginning: "This, in connection with a number of technical terms and references, has rendered translation exceedingly difficult, and it is thus in several places only tentative. It is presented as an attempt at interpretation rather than as a literary translation."[116]

Accordingly, in terms of Sirén's first translation for English readers and scholars, the process was much more subjective and the content was also quite limited, not to mention the final English version for a Chinese treatise was from a Swedish translated edition. Also, based on Sirén's interests and studies in Chinese arts, the functional aspect of *Yuan Ye* as a practical manual was still not emphasized for the English audience by the late 1940s.

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115. According to Minna Törmä, the Chinese text which Sirén used as a basis for his translation was an edition of 1932 published by the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (*yingzao xueshe*). See Minna Törmä, "Note," In *Enchanted by Lohans: Osvald Sirén's Journey into Chinese Art* (Hong Kong, HONG KONG: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 203.

116 Osvald Sirén, *Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949), 12.

However, it was also Sirén's book that provided English speakers with a glimpse of this classical garden treatise. The significance of Sirén's book was later highlighted by another renowned Chinese garden scholar, Maggie Keswick, who writes that "so little has been written on [Chinese gardens] in the almost thirty years since Sirén's classic *Gardens of China*." Accordingly, the aesthetic and artistic interpretation made by Sirén has dominated English readers' understanding of *Yuan Ye* as well as their knowledge system of Chinese garden designs and principles.

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Thirty years later, Maggie Keswick published her study on the Chinese gardens entitled *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* in 1978. Benefiting from her father's position as the Chairman of the Sino-British Trade Council, Keswick began her voyages to China in the early 1960s. She also gained access to many palaces and gardens in Beijing and Suzhou that had been difficult, or even sometimes impossible, to visit and study. From then on, she devoted herself to Chinese garden studies from the perspective of a garden designer and historian. Keswick has "hunt[ed] through" libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies (S.O.A.S) and the British Museum for study materials. Two major resources Keswick used as references are Tong's article and Sirén's *Gardens of China*. Additionally, Sirén's translations

from the *Yuan Ye* were consulted throughout Keswick's studies.[117] However, Keswick also mentioned that a number of friends have worked with her as translators during the process. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, this action can somehow alleviate the dominant influence Sirén's translation of *Yuan Ye* would cast on Keswick's Chinese garden studies.

According to the "Contents" of Keswick's book, her studies of the Chinese Garden is more about gardens – their historical developments, typical garden types, spatial elements – rather than only examining their artistic and aesthetic values (Fig 3.4). Keswick's husband - Charles Jencks, a famous American landscape architect and theorist - collaborated with her on several chapters. Also, Jencks wrote the last chapter of Keswick's book, "Meanings of the Chinese Garden."[118] Therefore, since its publication in 1978, the book has been widely recognized as the first English-language book for the general introduction of the Chinese Garden to a popular audience. Even today, Keswick's work is still considered as "the best general introduction, at least in the English language, to Chinese gardens."[119] In the recently published *The Dumbarton Oaks*

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117 See Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), 8. As for Tong's book of the 1930s, according to the bibliography, it shall be one of Tong's renowned works entitled *Record of Jiangnan Gardens (Jiangnan Yuanlin Zhi)*. The book was finished in 1937, but was published in the 1960s due to China's inner turmoil. Also, the aforementioned article *Chinese Gardens: Especially in Kiangsu and Chekiang* (1936) is also included in the bibliography.

118 Ibid.

119 Philip K. Hu, review of *Reviews of The Chinese Garden: History, Art, and Architecture; Gardens in China*., by Maggie Keswick and Peter Valder, *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 1 (2005), 155, https://doi.org/10.2307/25261824.

Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature (2020), Keswick's book is described as the "standard introduction [of the Chinese Garden] in English."[120]

Interestingly, Keswick does not include Sirén's translations of *Yuan Ye*, neither does she include her own translations in her book. Instead, she keeps mentioning ideas and principles from *Yuan Ye*, exemplifying these abstract and exotic concepts with associated Chinese gardens through photographs, sketches, garden plans, engravings, and Chinese landscape paintings (Fig 3.5). Almost every time Keswick writes about *Yuan Ye*, she always treats this treatise as a practical garden manual to follow its original function and written intention. For instance, her statements in *The Chinese Garden* include:

> "This particular garden seems to have been situated in the kind of area the *Yuan Yeh* finds ideal: among the trees in the mountains" (101); "Interestingly, this is the technique used by Chi Ch'eng, the seventeenth century author of the *Yuan Yeh* …" (105); "What, therefore, was the *Yuan Yeh* recommending to its readers when it described a rockery …" (114); "Roofs are not treated separately in the *Yuan Yeh* or any other Chinese book on gardens …" (122); "The *Yuan Yeh* again has a warning for the cultivated gentlemen" (138); "The *Yuan Yeh* classifies some sixty different [lattice] patterns" (141); "… for one of the instructions for rock design in the garden manual *Yuan Yeh* is that rock should …" (158).

120 Alison Hardie and Duncan M. Campbell, eds., *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature* (Harvard University Press, 2020), xxiii.

Accordingly, the functional aspect of *Yuan Ye* as a practical garden manual has started to enter the English readers' knowledge system. It is Keswick's book that extended the boundary of their understandings of the Chinese Garden defined by Sirén's 1949 work.

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By the 1980s, with Sirén's *Gardens of China* (1949) and Keswick's *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (1978), English readers gradually came to understand the aesthetic values embodied in Chinese garden designs and started to recognize both the artistic and practical features of *Yuan Ye*. However, its English version at that time was still the partial translations from Sirén's book, not to mention Sirén's interpretative translations and his "erratic performance as a translator of Chinese."

Therefore, following Keswick's suggestion, Alison Hardie carried out her literary translation of *Yuan Ye* with absolutely no knowledge of the Chinese Garden, but a way to keep up her classical Chinese knowledge. Hardie studied classical Chinese in her undergraduate and continued with a postgraduate year of language study in Peking in 1980, through which she also learned modern Chinese.[121] Her translation came out in 1988 entitled *the Craft of Gardens*.

For her translation, Hardie referred to two versions of *Yuan Ye*. One is the edition published by the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (*yingzao xueshe*) in 1932; the other is a

121 Alison Hardie, "The More I Learned, the More Interested I Got," interview by Anatole Tchikine, December 9, 2015, https://www.doaks.org/newsletter/the-more-i-learned-the-more-interested-i-got.

modern edition published in 1978 with the title *Notes on Yuan Ye (Yuan Ye Zhu Shi)* by Chen Zhi.[122] Hardie explains that "Chen Zhi's notes and translation into modern Chinese [were] of inestimable value to [her] understanding of the original text."[123]

Compared to Sirén's only reference to the original text, the consulting with one more version from the native-speaking garden expert thus guarantees the accuracy of Hardie's translation. Also, Hardie mentions her exact followings to the original text in addition to two additional headings for consistency.[124] In terms of word choices for the title, Hardie later explained in a symposium:

> In my translation, I rendered the original title of Ji Cheng's book, *Yuan Ye*, as *The Craft of Gardens*. *Yuan* means garden; *ye* is a word which is now used primarily to refer to metallurgy (*yejin*): it means smelting, so applied to gardens it must mean the technical process of creating a garden out of raw materials, hence my use of the word craft.[125]

According to her explanations and consulted materials, Hardie's translation is much more neutral and faithful to the original text and format than Sirén's translation. For example, she translates the instructional annotations adjacent to pattern illustrations, which are ignored by

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122 Chen was the contemporary of Tong, and also a pivotal garden historian who has annotated two key classic garden treatises: *Yuan Ye* and *Zhang Wu Zhi [Treatise on Superfluous Things]*.

123 Cheng Ji, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 10.

124 Ibid.

125 Alison Hardie, "Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* (The Craft of Gardens) in Its Social Setting," in *The Authentic Garden: A Symposium on Gardens*, ed. L. Tjon Sie Fat and E. de Jong (Leiden, Netherlands: Clusius Foundation, 1991), 207.

Sirén when including the pattern illustrations. Meanwhile, Hardie pairs associated photographs with pattern illustrations, continuing Keswick's visual approach and also demonstrating Keswick's strong influence on the first complete English translation of *Yuan Ye* (Fig 3.6).

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Since it was three years later than Keswick's work but seven years earlier than Hardie's translation, the realization of Astor Court has provided the American audience with a physical prototype to deeper understand Chinese garden ideas (Fig 3.7). Instead of self-imagination based on texts and visual materials, American readers could now foster a more direct and accurate understanding of the Chinese Garden with the help of Astor Court as a "tangible form."[126] Further, paired with the later publication of the first complete English version of *Yuan Ye*, the American audience can examine this physical prototype at the Met material by material, technique by technique, and even pattern by pattern. Therefore, the Americans' knowledge system of the Chinese Garden has been gradually transformed, and even solidified through those physical Chinese gardens created in the Simulacrum Era.

With more and more convenient access to Chinese gardens and related garden treatise, especially Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*, the American audience could understand the new paradigmatic

126 In Craig Clunas's *Fruitful Sites*, he argues that "['the Chinese garden'] has taken on tangible form in the creation of a number of 'authentic' Chinese gardens in recent years, including several associated with museums. From the National Palace Museum, Taipei, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York…" See Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 12.

garden type developed by the Astor Court more holistic and comprehensive. In addition, the growing knowledge system of the Chinese Garden has also contributed to the subsequent rapid development of Chinese garden studies in the 1980s and '90s United States. Reciprocally, this paradigmatic garden type was succeeded, amended, and solidified within this academic shift.

3.3 The New Phase after *The Craft of Gardens*

In the 1998 special issue of *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, the editor, Stanislaus Fung, starts with a statement in the "Foreword" as "the study of Chinese gardens has received a momentous boost of scholarly interest in the last decade."[127] Noting the date of Hardie's first complete English translation of *Yuan Ye* as 1988, the prosperous period articulated by Fung was right after Hardie's pulication. Additionally, 1998 was also the year when this Journal revised its name from *Journal of Garden History* to *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* to "take [its] dedication to a broadly-based garden history one step further."[128] Two special issues – the third Issue of 1998 for the study of Chinese gardens, and the combined third and fourth Issue of 1999 for the memory of Prof. Chen Zhi – exemplified this academic shift from generalized conceptions of the Oriental Garden to closer documentary studies of the Chinese Garden in the 1990s US. Meanwhile, the garden type

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127 Stanislaus Fung, "Foreword," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 3 (September 1998), 171, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.1998.10435544.

128 John Dixon Hunt, "Editorial," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 1 (March 1, 1998), 1, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.1998.10435527.

represented by the Astor Court and its typical Ming-style became a touchpoint and sometimes even a canon for Western scholars to explore their flourishing interest in the Chinese garden study.[129]

In addition to the explosion of interest in the Chinese garden study, Fung also points out two challenges faced by contemporary scholars in the "Foreword" of the third Issue (1998). One is the paucity of examined primary sources on Chinese gardens in Western publications; the other is the lack of a commonly recognized canon of 'important documents' among the diverse cited sources. Accordingly, *Yuan Ye* through its almost fifty-year journey in the Western context was almost and still the only available one for English readers and scholars at that time,[130] becoming "a 'canonical' text" in this "momentous boost ."[131] Therefore, in the third Issue of 1998, Fung brought together a number of scholars with diverse backgrounds not only for potential "new readings of Chinese sources such as *Yuan Ye*" but also to offer "a reference tool of first recourse for [the study] of Chinese garden history."[132] Also, scholarship included in the combined Issue

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129 In Bianca Maria Rindldi's book, she described this garden type as the neo-historical garden, which reconsidered the historical forms of Chinese Gardens outside China. The design philosophy of all these gardens is tinged with neo-historicism. See Bianca Maria Rinaldi, *The Chinese Garden: Garden Types for Contemporary Landscape Architecture* (Basel, New York: Birkhäuser, ActarBirkhäuserD, 2011), 109-114.

130 In Fung's *Guide to secondary sources on Chinese gardens* at the end of the third Issue of 1998, Hardie's *The Craft of Gardens* was the only English one directly related to garden study. Another English translated one was *Six Records of a Floating Life* (1983), which is the autobiography of a literati in the Qing dynasty. See Stanislaus Fung, "Guide to Secondary Sources on Chinese Gardens," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 3 (September 1, 1998), 283, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.1998.10435551.

131 Stanislaus Fung, "Foreword," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 3 (September 1998), 171, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.1998.10435544.

132 See *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 18, no. 3 (September 1998), 171 & 283.

of 1999 ranged from "the translation and annotation of texts in classical Chinese, to the diverse perspectives of cultural geography, comparative philosophy and the social history of art,"[133] delineating the diverse explorations of this nascent field of Chinese garden study.

Furthermore, with the collaboration of Michel Conan, the contemporary Director of Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Fung also organized a three-day-long workshop in 1999 at Dumbarton Oaks (Fig 3.8). The workshop discussed the possibility of "[creating a] vast anthology of not just Chinese texts about gardens, but critical essays and incredibly detailed annotations of the texts" for English readers to deeper understand the classic Chinese gardens.[134] Followed by three more workshops in the early 2000s and works conducted by three generations of editors,[135] this "most ambitious publication" of the Dumbarton Oaks *ex horto* Series eventually came out in 2020 entitled *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature*.[136]

The *Anthology* consists of almost 250 Chinese texts on gardens, both prose and poetry, translated by global scholars within the 750-page publication. Therefore, *Yuan Ye*, the first

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133 Stanislaus Fung, "Foreword," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 19, no. 3–4 (September 1999): 241, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.1999.10435575.

134 Alison Hardie, "The More I Learned, the More Interested I Got," interview by Anatole Tchikine, December 9, 2015, https://www.doaks.org/newsletter/the-more-i-learned-the-more-interested-i-got.

135 The three workshops include one in 2000 at Harvard University, the next in 2002 at Dumbarton Oaks, and the rest in 2003 at Harvard University, figuring out the general framework of this *Anthology*. The three editors are Stanislaus Fung, Duncan Campbell, and Alison Hardie.

136 John Beardsley, "Foreword," in *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature*, ed. Duncan M. Campbell and Alison Hardie (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2020), xvii.

complete English translated text on Chinese gardens in US, is no longer the only pivotal account for reference. Hardie, who is the original English translator of *Yuan Ye* and also the third editor of the *Anthology*, selects only two pieces from *Yuan Ye* for the 2020 publication. One is a partial translation of *Xuan Shi (Selection of Rocks)* in "Chapter 3: Rocks and Flora" beginning with an overall introduction of Ji Cheng and his classic account. The other is the translated *Author's Preface* from Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* in "Chapter 7: Gardens of the Mind."

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In addition to English translations of Chinese garden accounts, the dissemination and collection of Chinese garden treatises and ideas in the new phase are also quite vigorous, especially for scholars and students through various events. Around the United States, two academic institutions – Dumbarton Oaks (DO) and The Huntington - have played indispensable roles in developing their library collections to offer a robust foundation for the US Chinese garden study, especially the 1990s development fostered at DO.[137] DO, a leading research center of the garden and designed landscape studies, began to develop research on East Asian landscape

137 The time when the Huntington established its Chinese garden, Liu Fang Yuan, paired with the Center for East Asian Garden Studies is 2008, which is behind the late 1980s and '90s academic shift. Further, the last phase of construction of Liu Fang Yuan is completed in September 2020. Therefore, this Chapter does not clarify the detailed collection history of its Chinese garden accounts and associated developments at the Huntington.

cultures through their library collections from the mid-1990s. John Dixon Hunt later described this period as a "considerable" reach out to China and Chinese gardens.[138]

According to the *Annual Reports*,[139] the first shared discussion on the Chinese garden was conducted by Craig Clunas on the 1993-1994 Annual Symposium, "Nature and Ideology." Clunas, an art historian who is famous for his cultural studies of the Ming Dynasty, shared his research on the Symposium entitled "Nature and Ideology in the Oriental Garden: Western Writing on Chinese Gardens." Clunas demonstrated how gardens made by Europeans and Americans have become part of the great archive of Orientalism, in which the term *nature* is deployed.[140] Additionally, Clunas was also the first recorded fellow who launched a Chinese garden study at DO from 1991 to 1992 with his focus on the Wen Family's gardens.[141] Though there is no clear information whether Clunas had visited the Astor Court during his residence at DO, it is worth noting that the Chinese characters of the wood plaque that hangs in the Ming

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138 For this section, it would be more convinced if the library collection history of Chinese garden accounts at DO were clarified. The period that Hunt described is the tenure of Michael Conan. Conan became the Director of Studies in Landscape Architecture at DO in 1997. For Hunt's descriptions, see Oral History Interview with John Dixon Hunt, interview by Jeanne-Nicole Saint-Laurent, July 14, 2009, https://www.doaks.org/research/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/historical-records/oral-history-project/john-dixon-hunt.

139 "Annual Reports (1989-2001)" (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 42, https://www.doaks.org/about/annual-reports/1989-2001

140 See Craig Clunas, "Nature and Ideology in Western Descriptions of the Chinese Garden," in *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), 21–33.

141 "Annual Reports (1989-2001)" (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 176, https://www.doaks.org/about/annual-reports/1989-2001. The recorded title is "The Gardens of the Wen Family: Ownership, Depiction, and Description in Suzhou, 1500–1650." Also, Clunas's study at DO was later published as part of his renowned masterpiece, *Fruitful Sites*, in 1996.

Room are carved in the calligraphy of Wen Zhengming, a key member of the Wen's Family (Fig 3.9).[142] Thus, I assume that there are more or less connections between Clunas's cultural study of the Ming Dynasty and the Astor Court as the first tangible recreation of Ming-style Chinese garden outside China in the United States.

Then the 1996-1997 Annual Symposium, "Evolution and Perspectives of the Study of Garden History," which was conducted to remark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Studies in Landscape Architecture program at DO, paid partial attention to the Chinese Garden with Stanislaus Fung's article "Longing and Belonging in Chinese Garden History."[143] Fung's argument of a critical reading of Chinese garden historiography has been accepted as pivotal methods for Western scholars to question the true value of visual evidence and to avoid latent pitfalls.[144] From this point of view, the engagement of Fung's study of the Chinese Garden on the anniversary Symposium suggests DO's growing attention and interest in the East Asian Landscape, especially the Chinese garden study as an independent academic field. Accordingly, it makes more sense shortly after the anniversary Symposium, a DO roundtable discussion was launched, which is the aforementioned "Anthology of Chinese Texts about Gardens Translated

142 See Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 40.

143 "Annual Reports (1989-2001)" (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 74, https://www.doaks.org/about/annual-reports/1989-2001

144 See Michel Conan, "Introduction," in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michel Conan (Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), 15–16.

into English" panel in 1999. The Chinese Garden Texts Translation Group came out of the 1999 roundtable delivered *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature* in 2020.

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In addition to annual symposiums and roundtable discussions, other academic activities and studies at DO can also exemplify the emergence of Chinese garden study at DO. For instance, Martin Powers from the University of Michigan gave a public lecture in November 2000 with the title "The Poetics and Politics of Gesture in Chinese Gardens." This lecture is the first public lecture recorded in DO's *Annual Report* that is related to the field of Chinese garden study.[145]

Between 1999 and 2000, Victoria Siu launched her study at DO, focusing on the evolution of the Yuanming Yuan. Yuanming Yuan is reputed as the *Garden of Gardens* in its heyday as a Qing-style imperial garden complex but destroyed in 1860 during the Second Opium War. Additionally, Philip Hu, a Junior Fellow between 2000 and 2001, explored Mi Wanzhong's Gardens as social and cultural nodes in Late Ming Beijing.[146] Accordingly, this might be a coincidence, but it is critical to think about the large portion of studies at 1990s DO as Ming gardens (or late Ming gardens in particular) in relation to the Astor Court as a Ming-style garden installation. Thus, I strongly believe that the realization of Astor Court as the first "tangible

145 "Annual Reports (1989-2001)" (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 122, https://www.doaks.org/about/annual-reports/1989-2001

146 For Siu, see Ibid., 181. Siu's recorded title is "The Evolution of the Yuanming Yuan: Diverse Cultures in an Eighteenth-Century Chinese Imperial Garden." For Hu, see Ibid., 179. Hu's recorded title is "The Gardens of Mi Wanzhong (1570–1628) as Social and Cultural Nodes in Late Ming Beijing."

form" in the United States has indirectly but inevitably influenced the 1990s canon of US Chinese garden study, at least at DO in terms of its dominant focus on Ming gardens.

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Further, the Met - particularly the Department of Asian Art - has continued to interest in the knowledge about Chinese gardens and their close connections to Chinese high cultures. Maxwell Hearn, the chairman of the Department of Asian Art, curated the "Chinese Gardens: Pavilions, Studios, Retreats" exhibition at Met that opened on August 18, 2012. The exhibition features more than sixty paintings as well as other associated objects, "illustrat[ing] how garden imagery has remained an abiding source of artistic inspiration and invention."[147]

In the opening talk conducted by Hearn, his main interpretation of the Astor Court is an "intimate scaled courtyard [that] we [could] have the experience of wandering in the natural world."[148] Additionally, Hearn compared the designs and features of Astor Court with Wen Zhengming's album drawings, *Garden of the Inept Administrator,* in his talk.[149] In this album, Wen painted eight views of the Inept Administrator Garden (*Zhuozheng Yuan*), which is another well-known Ming garden masterpiece in Suzhou in addition to the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets. Therefore, I would like to argue that Hearn's comparison between the Astor Court

147 See "Chinese Gardens," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 15, 2021, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2012/chinese-gardens.

148 See *Chinese Gardens: Pavilions, Studios, Retreats*, accessed April 3, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GOtEv8Dx7w

149 For Hearn's comparison, see Ibid.

and Wen's album is one more exemplification of recognizing the Astor Court as a "tangible form" of Ming-style Chinese garden in the United States, continuing cultural studies of the Ming Dynasty and its garden art, a preference shared by Chinese garden scholars at the 1990s DO.

Moreover, the Met also offered a reimagined 16th-century (Ming dynasty) *kunqu* opera masterpiece, *The Peony Pavilion*, in the Astor Court under the direction of celebrated composer Tan Dun on November 30, 2012. Not only does the Astor Court provide a consistent spatial and cultural context for the performance, but this reimagined performance originated from the Ming dynasty also underscores the significance of Astor Court as a recreated Ming-style Chinese garden in the United States (Fig 3.10). Accordingly, I assume that it is reasonable to recognize the Astor Court as a catalyst for the emergence of Chinese garden study in the 1980s and 1990s United States with the predominant focus on Ming gardens.

3.4 Conclusion

With the exponential translated and disseminated Chinese texts on gardens, the English audience started to foster a more and more sophisticated knowledge system of the Chinese Garden. The American also became more and more familiar with the garden type developed by the Astor Court in the Simulacrum Era. Among the English-translation history of Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye*, the realization of Astor Court has provided the American audience a physical prototype to appreciate Ji Cheng's magnum opus and its associated cultural ideas, especially between Keswick's general introduction of the Chinese Garden and Hardie's first complete English

translation. The “tangible form” embodied in the Astor Court has offered convenient access for the American without global travels to transform and even reconstruct their understandings of translated Chinese garden accounts and associated garden ideas.

The late 1980s and ’90s have witnessed accumulating understandings of the Chinese Garden through collected Chinese accounts and English translations, as well as those realized Chinese gardens following the paradigmatic type of Astor Court. The field of Chines garden study was able to spread its voice for academic discussions and separate itself from generalized ideas of the Oriental Garden. Meanwhile, this academic shift has been indirectly yet inevitably influenced by the realization of Astor Court as a Ming-style Chinese garden to conduct predominant focus on Ming gardens. Therefore, I assert that the Astor Court has been a catalyst for this subsequent academic shift, recognizing this paradigmatic Chinese Garden type as a form distinct from earlier conceptions of the Oriental Garden prevalent in the garden and designed landscape discourse. Reciprocally, the growing US knowledge system of the Chinese Garden has gradually solidified this paradigmatic Chinese Garden type developed by the Astor Chinese Garden Court.

Epilogue

The significance of Astor Court has been discussed through a variety of materials since its realization in 1981. In one of Met's archival materials, the Astor Court is described as "the first permanent cultural exchange between the United States and the People's Republic of China."[150] Additionally, Elizabeth Hammer recognizes the Astor Court as "the first authentic reconstruction of a Chinese garden in a North American museum."[151] Han Li highlights this reinstallation as "the first full-scale Chinese garden built outside of China."[152] For Chinese, the Astor Court is always regarded as the synonym for "cultural envoy" or "resident ambassador," as well as the start of overseas Chinese garden construction.[153]

Accordingly, this thesis study aims to make up for the current paucity of understanding the Astor Court through the historical scope of garden and designed landscape study. Instead of lingering debates of its authenticity as a museum installation, this thesis argues that the Astor Chinese Garden Court has offered a practical and unprecedented instance of creating an overseas Chinese garden from scratch in the United States.

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150 Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), "The Astor Court and the Douglas Dillon Galleries for Chinese Painting to Open at Metropolitan Museum on June 18."

151 Elizabeth Hammer, *Nature within Walls: The Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Resource for Educators* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 2.

152 Han Li, "From the Astor Court to Liu Fang Yuan: Exhibiting 'Chinese-Ness' in America," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2015), 286, https://doi.org/10.1386/jcs.4.2.284_1.

153 See Weilin Gan, "Foreword (I)," in *Cultural Envoy: Chinese Gardens Built Overseas*, ed. Weilin Gan and Zemin Wang (Chinese Architecture & Building Press, 2000). See also Suning Zhou, "Gan Wei Renxian, Kai Zhongguo Yuanlin Chukou Zhi Xianhe 敢为人先，开中国园林出口之先河—记明轩主要设计者张慰人 [Zhang Weiren: Major Designer of Ming Xuan and Pioneer in Chinese Gardens Export]," *Yuanlin 园林 [Landscape Architecture]*, no. 09 (2018), 63.

Additionally, the reinstallation of Astor Court in the early 1980s has also unveiled a new era, one that shifted from collecting fragments to a new interest in constructing cohesive replicas — the Simulacrum Era. Compared to gardens created before the Astor Court, the Simulacrum Era features Chinese garden designers and artisans, imported materials and techniques, as well as classical Chinese garden ideas and design principles. These distinctions are all materialized and exemplified in the realization history of Astor Court, which could even be magnified once situating the Astor Court within the broader construction history of gardens inspired by Chinese models in the United States. Therefore, this thesis underscores the realization of Astor Court as a watershed moment, revolutionizing the contemporary Americans' understanding of the Chinese Garden and leading the Simulacrum Era with a cohesive and paradigmatic Chinese garden type.

Further, this thesis explores the historical role of Astor Court in relation to the English-translation and dissemination history of Chinese garden accounts. Applying Ji Cheng's *Yuan Ye* as a major reference for its realization, the Astor Court has provided the American audience a physical prototype to appreciate Chinese garden ideas without overseas travels, gradually transforming their knowledge of the Chinese Garden. Noting the subsequent institutionalization of US Chinese garden studies, this thesis argues the significance of Astor Court as a catalyst for the late 1980s and '90s academic shift from generalized conceptions of the Oriental Garden to closer documentary studies of the Chinese Garden with the predominant focus on Ming gardens.

The reassessment of Astor Court's historical role throughout this thesis study suggests that there is always another side of the widely told history. Sometimes there are even multiple untold

histories. Taking the Astor Court as an example, in addition to the field of art history and the lingering debate of authenticity in the garden and designed landscape discourse, this thesis aims to unearth and re-emphasize the historical significance of Astor Court in terms of Americans' knowledge of the Chinese Garden since the early 1980s. Accordingly, what is highlighted in this thesis study is also and still the tip of the iceberg. In addition to the historical significance of Astor Court as a paradigmatic Chinese Garden type for transforming Americans' knowledge system, I faithfully believe that there is more than one *history* left to be told in terms of the realization of Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Therefore, I would like to end my thesis writing with Faith Davis Ruffins's statement:

> One way to think about the past as being different from history is to see historical interpretation as a snapshot of the past. In a snapshot, the photographer records what he or she thinks is interesting or important about a given scene. By including certain elements and screening out others, the photographer creates a picture of a scene. But the total scene is always much larger and more complex than any photograph. So, too, the historical interpretation of the past is made out of selections of that past by people in the present in order to help them understand both the past and the present.[154]

154 Faith Davis Ruffins, "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1992), 509-510.

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Illustrations

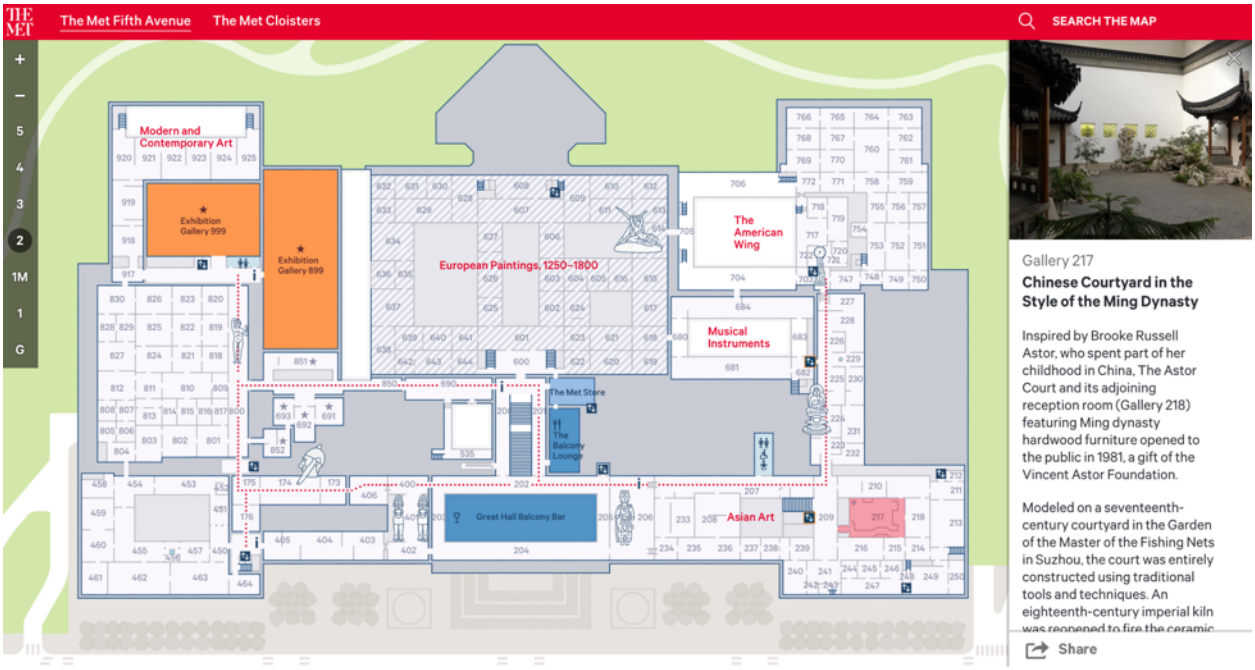


Fig i.1. Location of the Astor Court on the plan of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Astor Court, Gallery 217, is on the second floor of the Met's north wing together with the Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese paintings and the Ming Furniture Room (Gallery 218). Image screenshotted from the Met's website.

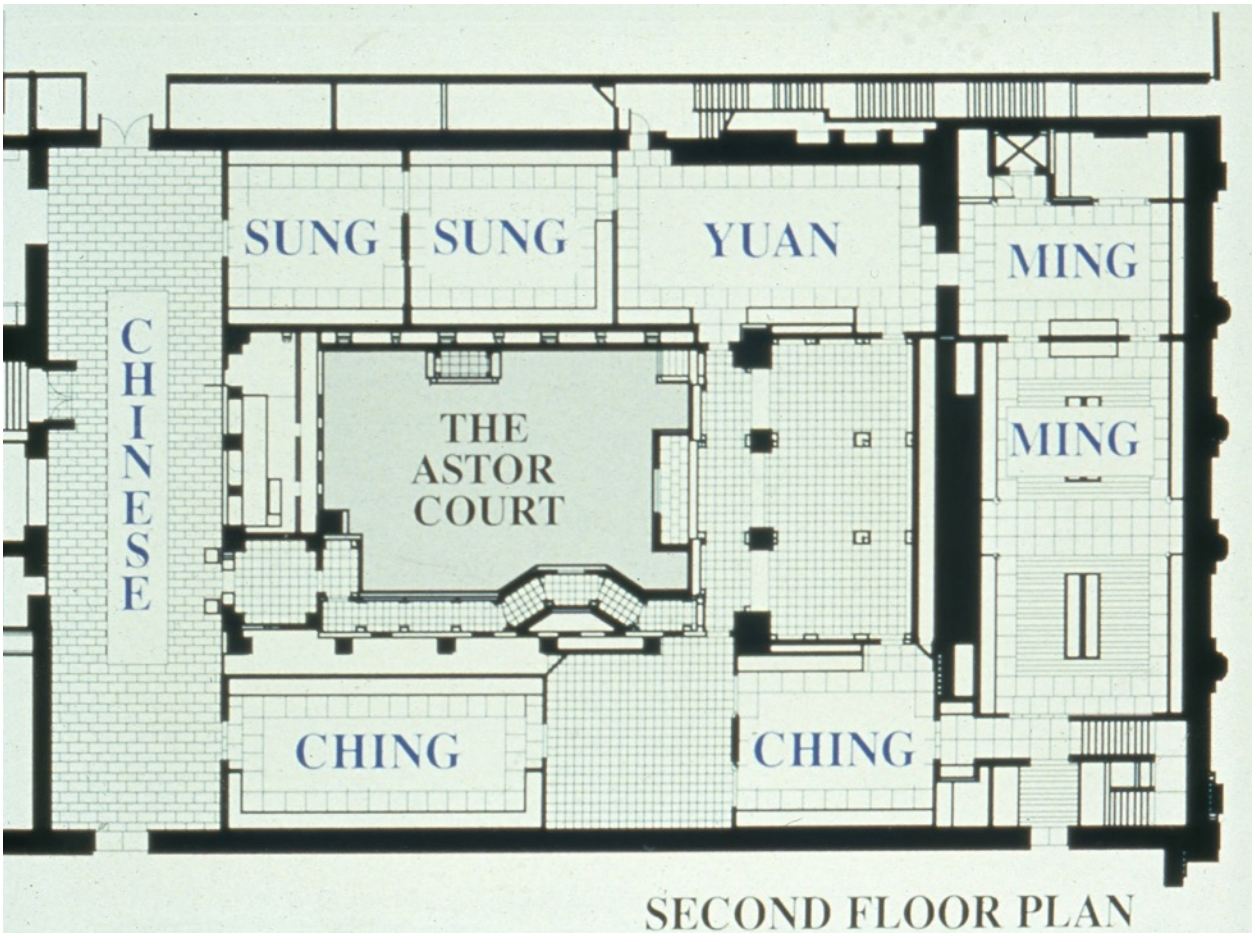


Fig i.2. Location of the Astor Court in relation to the Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese paintings and the Ming Furniture Room. As mentioned by Maxwell Hearn, the creation of a traditional courtyard and period room at the center of the Chinese galleries would provide a cultural context for all of the arts displayed in the adjacent spaces. Image: *Plan, Astor Court*, n. d., slides (photographs), 2 x 2 in., the Department of Asian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), accessed January 31, 2021, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll14/id/2713

Fig 1.1. The Late Spring Studio courtyard at the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets, Suzhou, China. Image from the Internet, accessed February 21, 2021.

Fig 1.2. The full-scale prototype of Astor Court in the Suzhou East Park, Suzhou, China. Image from Suning Zhou, "Gan Wei Renxian, Kai Zhongguo Yuanlin Chukou Zhi Xianhe 敢为人先，开中国园林出口之先河—记明轩主要设计者张慰人 [Zhang Weiren: Major Designer of Ming Xuan and Pioneer in Chinese Gardens Export]," *Yuanlin 园林 [Landscape Architecture]*, no. 09 (2018), 63.

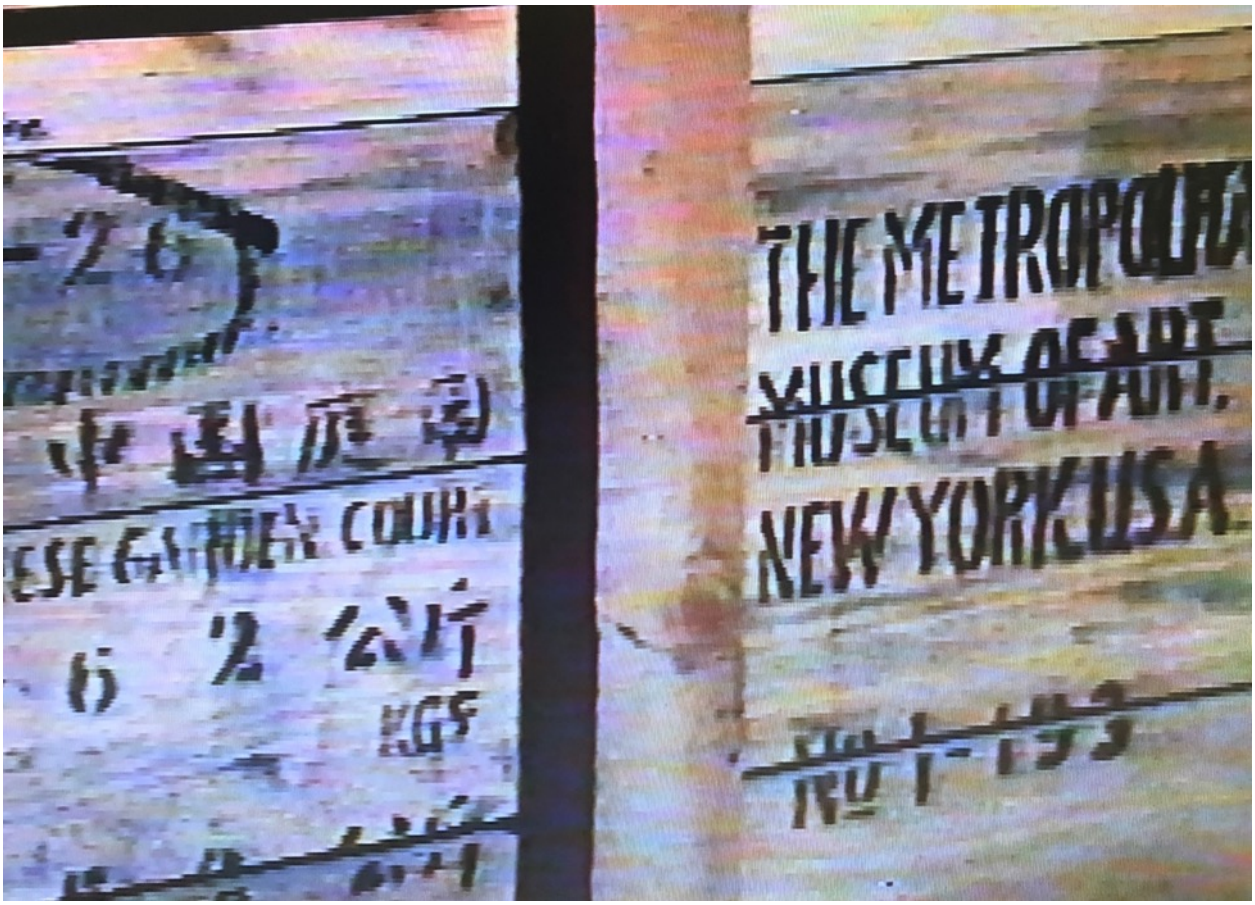


Fig 1.3. Prefabricated components shipped from Suzhou to New York. These boxed components were transported through Shanghai and Hong Kong, and arrived in early December 1979. Chinese characters in the image read "Chinese garden court, 62 KG (kilograms)." Image screenshotted from Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

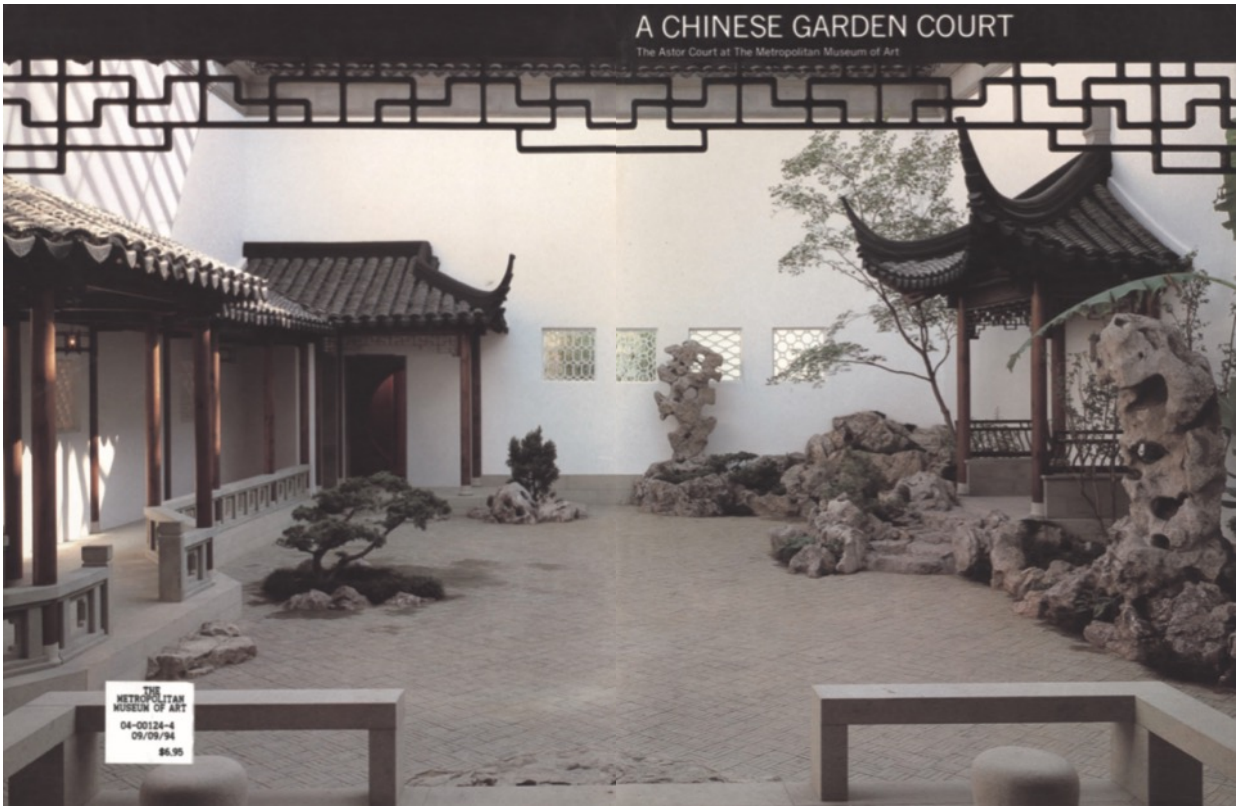


Fig 1.4. A view of the Astor Court from the Ming Furniture Room. Image combined by the author with sources from Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

Fig 1.5. The Ming Room façade. Photo taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

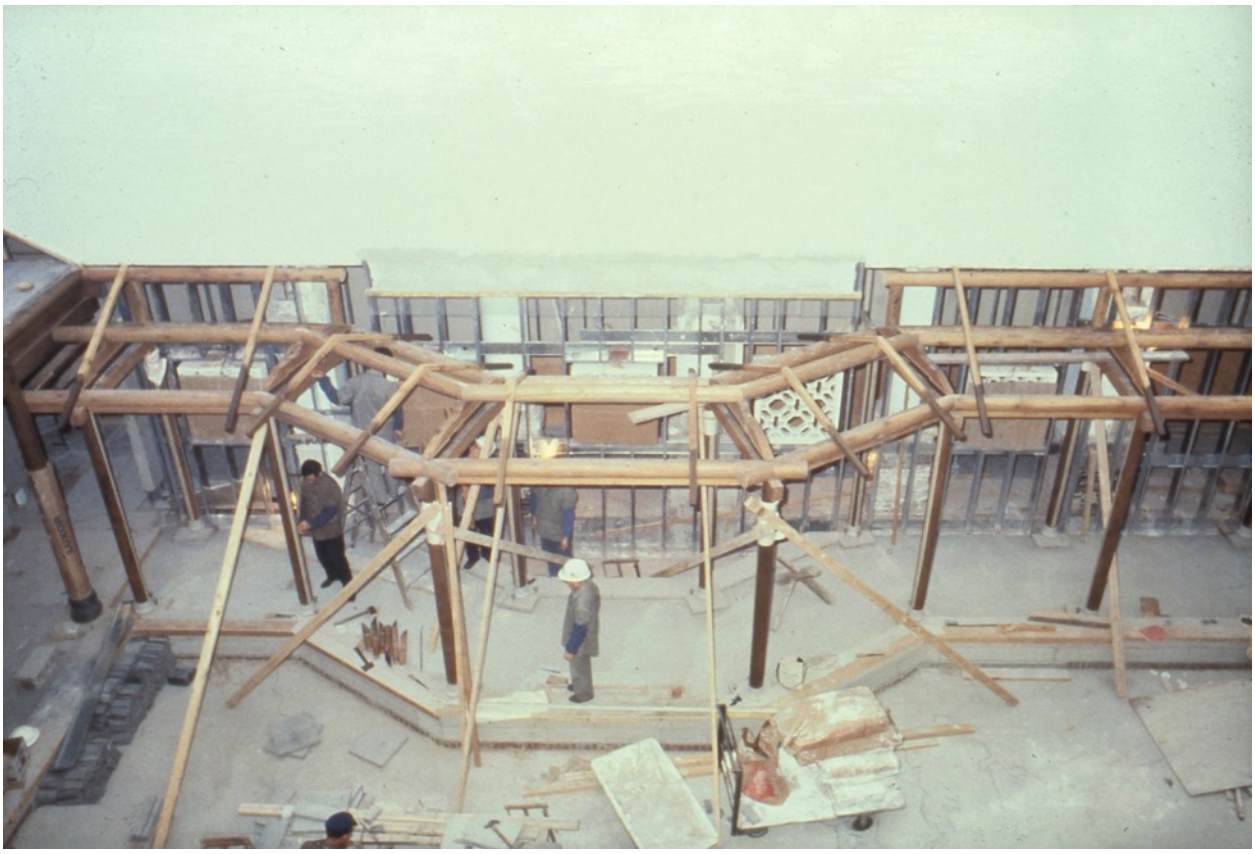


Fig 1.6. Pillar structures of the winding walkway/covered zig-zag corridor (*qu lang*) at Astor Court. In traditional Chinese architecture, the pillars not the walls, support the entire weight of the finished building. Image: *Astor Chinese Garden Court, construction, view 7*, March 10, 1980, slides (photographs), 2 x 2 in., the Department of Asian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), accessed January 31, 2021, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll14/id/2373

Fig 1.7. Wooden mallet used for the alignment of pillars. Image screenshotted from Gene Searchinger, *Ming Garden*, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

Fig 1.8. The construction site of Astor Court in January 1980. *Astor Chinese Garden Court, construction, view 1*, January 14, 1980, slides (photographs), 2 x 2 in., the Department of Asian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), accessed January 31, 2021, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll14/id/2370

Fig 1.9. Chinese character *Shou* on the drip tiles of Astor Court. The character *Shou* (long life, 壽) is one of Chinese typical symbols of longevity and immortality. Image from Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 46.

Fig 1.10. Workman shaped pieces of Taihu rock at the construction site. Image from Henry Mitchell, "An Oriental Garden Grows, Elegantly in Mid-Manhattan," *Smithsonian* 12, no. 4 (July 1981), 69.

Fig 1.11. The rockery with three peaks at the south and west side of Astor Court. From left to right are the “host” peak against the south wall and the two “guest” peaks stand to the right of the half-pavilion. Photo taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

Fig 1.12 – 1.14. Traditional methods of rockery construction. Wooden tripods were used following the traditional method to shift the great rocks, each weighing a ton or so. Images screenshotted from Gene Searchinger, Ming Garden, Video; VHS (Mass: Home Vision, 1983).

Fig 1.15. The koi fish in the water pond is a traditional Chinese symbol of abundance. Also, the flowing water on the top right is widely recognized as *yin* in terms of the unyielding rock as *yang*, creating the balance of *yin-yang* principle in Chinese traditions. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 21, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/HappygoldfishAstorCourt.jpg

Fig 1.16. Growing plants and banana trees along edges and gaps of the rockery. It seems that the original mondo grass has been replaced, and the banana trees are also replanted according to their heights and sizes. Photo taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

Fig 1.17. Blooming seasonal flowers in the rockery beds. *Astor Chinese Garden Court, detail 1*, May 1989, slides (photographs), 2 x 2 in., the Department of Asian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), accessed January 31, 2021, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll14/id/2454

Fig 1.18. The nutrition sponge for a rotated pot behind the window openings (openwork panels). Photo taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

Fig 1.19 - 1.21. Three plaques at the Astor Court. Images from left to right read “In Search of Quietude” (*Tan You*), “Elegant Repose” (*Ya Shi*), and “Cold Spring Pavilion” (*Leng Quan Ting*). However, for each single plaque, characters should be read from right to left according to Chinese traditions. The image of *Tan You* is from Wen Fong and Alfreda Murck, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 31. The rest two photos are taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

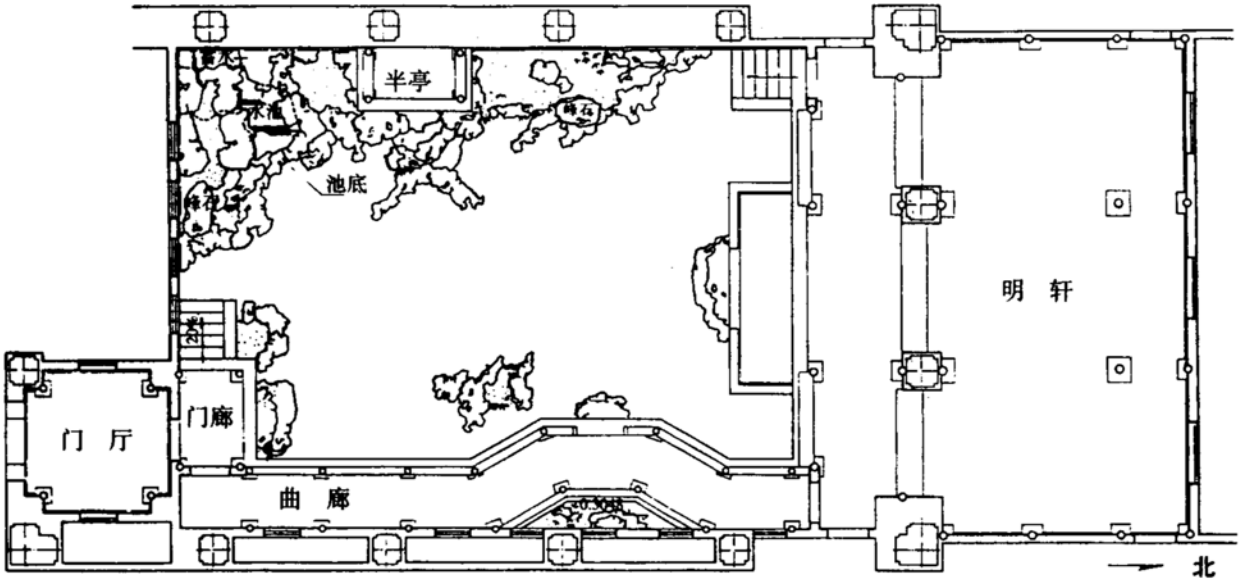


Fig 1.22. Plan of the Astor Court with the Ming Furniture Room on the right. Drawing from Shaozong Liu, ed., *A Collection of Excellent Works on Chinese Garden Design (Overseas Chapter)* (China Architecture & Building Press, 1999), 97.

Fig 2.1. Chinese-style bridge at William Paca's home in Annapolis, Maryland. Image: Manca, Joseph, 1956- (photographer). "William Paca House, Gardens, view of Chinese Bridge, detail." Department of Art History, Rice University: https://hdl.handle.net/1911/82374.

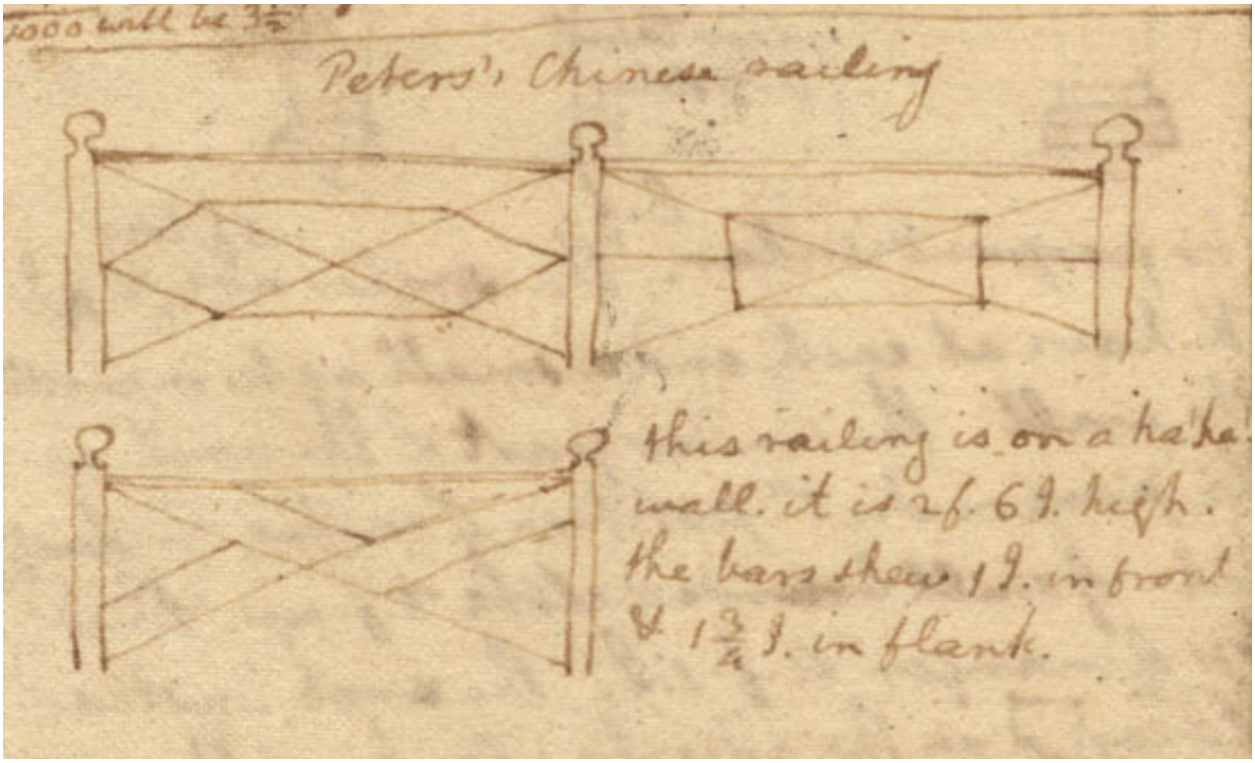


Fig 2.2. Thomas Jefferson's drawings of the Chinese lattice railing. Image: Jefferson, Thomas. "Philadelphia: stables, railing, and latch", 1 sheet, 2 pages, [probably 1778]. N249; K60. Dimensions: 11.6 cm x 14.4 cm (4-9/16" x 5-11/16"). Original manuscript from the Coolidge Collection of Thomas Jefferson Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Fig 2.3 - 2.5. Displayed Chinese ornaments in today's Robert Allerton Park. From left to right are the marble goldfish at the Chinese Maze Garden, the Fu dogs at the Fu Dog Garden, and the limestone "Chinese" musician at the Avenue of the Chinese Musicians. Also, it is clear to see the geometric boxwood parterre around the marble goldfish in the left image. Images all from "The Gardens Map," Allerton Park & Retreat Center, accessed February 6, 2021, https://allerton.illinois.edu/the-gardens-map/.

Fig 2.6. The moon gate at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden. According to Dennis Bracale, the tiles used for the decorative lintel of the moon gate came from the outer wall of the Forbidden City and a dismantled palace building. Image from Patrice Todisco, "The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden: Seal Harbor, Maine," *Landscape Notes* (blog), November 13, 2017, https://landscapenotes.com/2017/11/13/abby-aldrich-rockefeller-garden-seal-harbor-maine/.

Fig 2.7. The Chinese Tea House at the Marble House in Newport, RI. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 21, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/5d/Chineseteahouse.Newport.JPG/1280px-Chineseteahouse.Newport.JPG

Fig 2.8. The small “Chinese Garden” in Mabel Choate’s Naumkeag property, view from the screen wall. Image from Nan Quick, “Grand Gardens of the Berkshire Hills: Fletcher Steele’s Naumkeag, & Edith Wharton’s The Mount,” October 23, 2013, https://nanquick.com/2013/10/23/grand-gardens-of-the-berkshire-hills-fletcher-steeles-naumkeag-edith-whartons-the-mount/.

Fig 2.9. The Chinese Garden at Duke Gardens Foundation. The Garden was part of Doris Duke's exotic public-display gardens. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 19, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/33/The_Chinese_Garden_at_Duke_Gardens.jpg

Fig 2.10. A view of the Chinese Scholar's Garden at the Botanical Garden of Staten Island. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed December 8, 2020, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/8f/New_York_Chinese_Scholar%27s_Garden.JPG/1280px-New_York_Chinese_Scholar%27s_Garden.JPG

Fig 2.11. The Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard at the Honolulu Academy of Arts. Image from the Internet, accessed February 21, 2021.

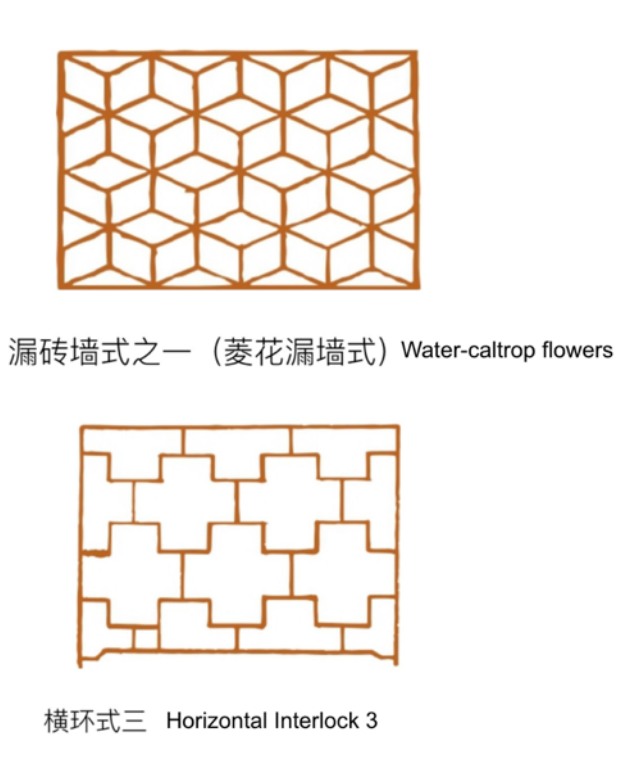
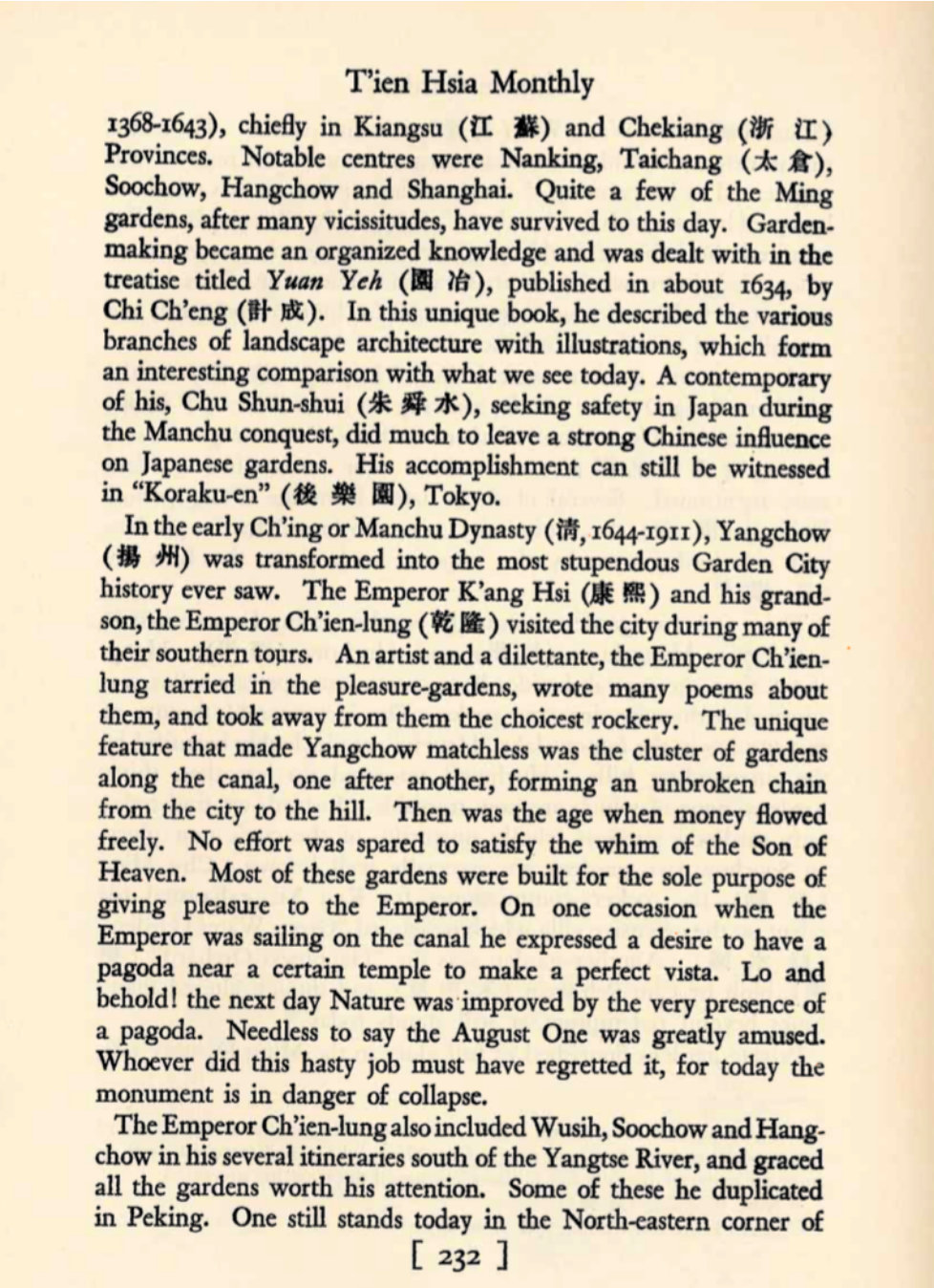


Fig 3.1. Similar openwork brick walls and balustrade patterns from *Yuan Ye* are found in the winding walkway of Astor Court. The left illustrations are from Cheng Ji, *Yuan Ye [The Craft of Gardens]*, ed. Yanchun Liu (Jiangsu Phoenix Literature and Art Publishing Ltd., 2015). The right image comes from Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 37. Both images are edited by the author.



T'ien Hsia Monthly

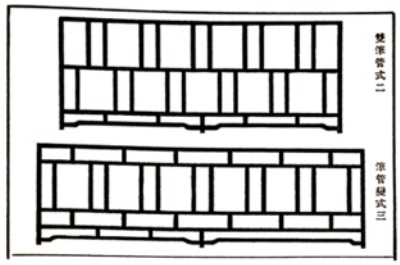
1368-1643), chiefly in Kiangsu (江 蘇) and Chekiang (浙 江) Provinces. Notable centres were Nanking, Taichang (太 倉), Soochow, Hangchow and Shanghai. Quite a few of the Ming gardens, after many vicissitudes, have survived to this day. Garden-making became an organized knowledge and was dealt with in the treatise titled *Yuan Yeh* (園 冶), published in about 1634, by Chi Ch'eng (計 成). In this unique book, he described the various branches of landscape architecture with illustrations, which form an interesting comparison with what we see today. A contemporary of his, Chu Shun-shui (朱 舜 水), seeking safety in Japan during the Manchu conquest, did much to leave a strong Chinese influence on Japanese gardens. His accomplishment can still be witnessed in "Koraku-en" (後 樂 園), Tokyo.

In the early Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty (清, 1644-1911), Yangchow (揚 州) was transformed into the most stupendous Garden City history ever saw. The Emperor K'ang Hsi (康 熙) and his grandson, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (乾 隆) visited the city during many of their southern tours. An artist and a dilettante, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung tarried in the pleasure-gardens, wrote many poems about them, and took away from them the choicest rockery. The unique feature that made Yangchow matchless was the cluster of gardens along the canal, one after another, forming an unbroken chain from the city to the hill. Then was the age when money flowed freely. No effort was spared to satisfy the whim of the Son of Heaven. Most of these gardens were built for the sole purpose of giving pleasure to the Emperor. On one occasion when the Emperor was sailing on the canal he expressed a desire to have a pagoda near a certain temple to make a perfect vista. Lo and behold! the next day Nature was improved by the very presence of a pagoda. Needless to say the August One was greatly amused. Whoever did this hasty job must have regretted it, for today the monument is in danger of collapse.

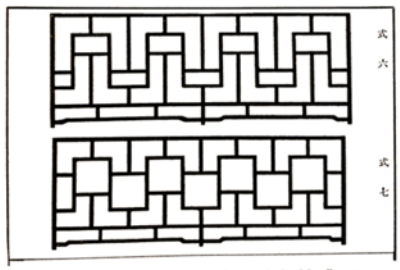
The Emperor Ch'ien-lung also included Wusih, Soochow and Hangchow in his several itineraries south of the Yangtse River, and graced all the gardens worth his attention. Some of these he duplicated in Peking. One still stands today in the North-eastern corner of

[232]

Fig 3.2. An excerpt from Tong Jun's *Chinese Gardens: Especially in Kiangsu and Chekiang*. *Yuan Ye* was introduced by Tong at the top of this page, starting from the fifth line. Image screenshotted from Jun Tong, "Chinese Gardens: Especially in Kiangsu and Chekiang," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* III, no. 3 (October 1936), 232.



Ornamental balustrades from *Yüan Yeh* representing the brush-handle pattern.



Ornamental balustrades representing variations on the brush-handle pattern.

45

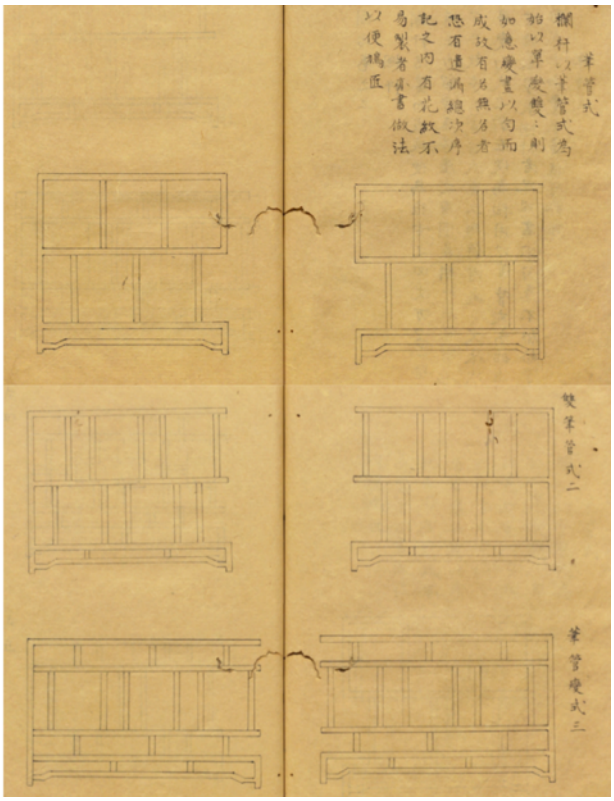
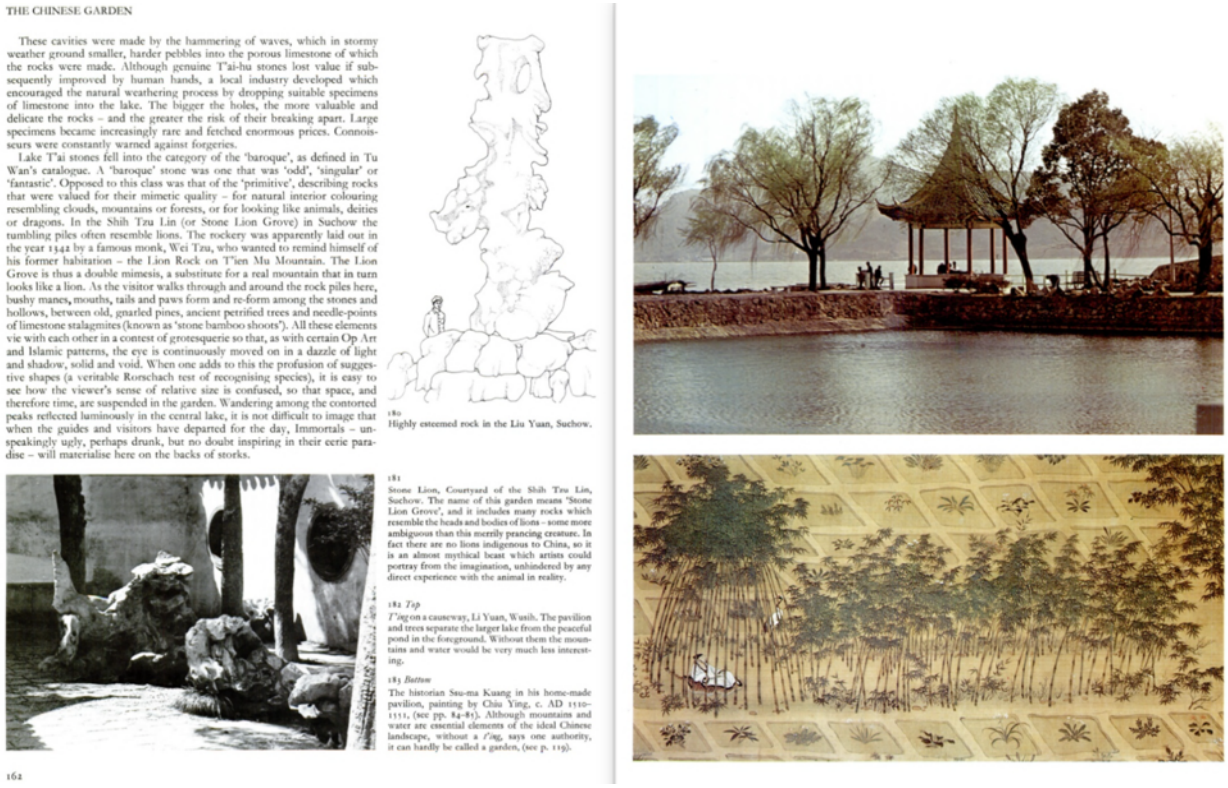


Fig 3.3. Content comparisons between Sirén's *Gardens of China* (1949) and the republished version of *Yuan Ye* (1932). Sirén did not include the practical instruction adjacent to the pattern illustration from the original text. Also, Sirén did not copy all the pattern illustrations. For example, the top right illustration was not included in Sirén's book, nor was the instruction. The left image is from Osvald Sirén, *Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949), 45. The right image is from Cheng Ji, *Yuan Ye [The Craft of Gardens]* (The Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture, 1932). Both images are edited by the author.

Contents

Fig 3.4. "Contents" from Keswick's *The Chinese Garden*. Image screenshotted from Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978).



THE CHINESE GARDEN

These cavities were made by the hammering of waves, which in stormy weather ground smaller, harder pebbles into the porous limestone of which the rocks were made. Although genuine T'ai-hu stones lost value if subsequently improved by human hands, a local industry developed which encouraged the natural weathering process by dropping suitable specimens of limestone into the lake. The bigger the holes, the more valuable and delicate the rocks – and the greater the risk of their breaking apart. Large specimens became increasingly rare and fetched enormous prices. Connoisseurs were constantly warned against forgeries.

Lake T'ai stones fell into the category of the 'baroque', as defined in Tu Wan's catalogue. A 'baroque' stone was one that was 'odd', 'singular' or 'fantastic'. Opposed to this class was that of the 'primitive', describing rocks that were valued for their mimetic quality – for natural interior colouring resembling clouds, mountains or forests, or for looking like animals, deities or dragons. In the Shih Tzu Lin (or Stone Lion Grove) in Suchow the tumbling piles often resemble lions. The rockery was apparently laid out in the year 1342 by a famous monk, Wei Tzu, who wanted to remind himself of his former habitation – the Lion Rock on T'ien Mu Mountain. The Lion Grove is thus a double mimesis, a substitute for a real mountain that in turn looks like a lion. As the visitor walks through and around the rock piles here, bushy manes, mouths, tails and paws form and re-form among the stones and hollows, between old, gnarled pines, ancient petrified trees and needle-points of limestone stalagmites (known as 'stone bamboo shoots'). All these elements vie with each other in a contest of grotesquerie so that, as with certain Op Art and Islamic patterns, the eye is continuously moved on in a dazzle of light and shadow, solid and void. When one adds to this the profusion of suggestive shapes (a veritable Rorschach test of recognising species), it is easy to see how the viewer's sense of relative size is confused, so that space, and therefore time, are suspended in the garden. Wandering among the contorted peaks reflected luminously in the central lake, it is not difficult to image that when the guides and visitors have departed for the day, Immortals – unspeakingly ugly, perhaps drunk, but no doubt inspiring in their eerie paradise – will materialise here on the backs of storks.

180
Highly esteemed rock in the Liu Yuan, Suchow.

181
Stone Lion, Courtyard of the Shih Tzu Lin, Suchow. The name of this garden means 'Stone Lion Grove', and it includes many rocks which resemble the heads and bodies of lions – some more ambiguous than this merrily prancing creature. In fact there are no lions indigenous to China, so it is an almost mythical beast which artists could portray from the imagination, unhindered by any direct experience with the animal in reality.

182 *Top*
T'ing on a causeway, Li Yuan, Wusih. The pavilion and trees separate the larger lake from the peaceful pond in the foreground. Without them the mountains and water would be very much less interesting.

183 *Bottom*
The historian Ssu-ma Kuang in his home-made pavilion, painting by Chiu Ying, c. AD 1510–1551, (see pp. 84–85). Although mountains and water are essential elements of the ideal Chinese landscape, without a *t'ing*, says one authority, it can hardly be called a garden, (see p. 119).

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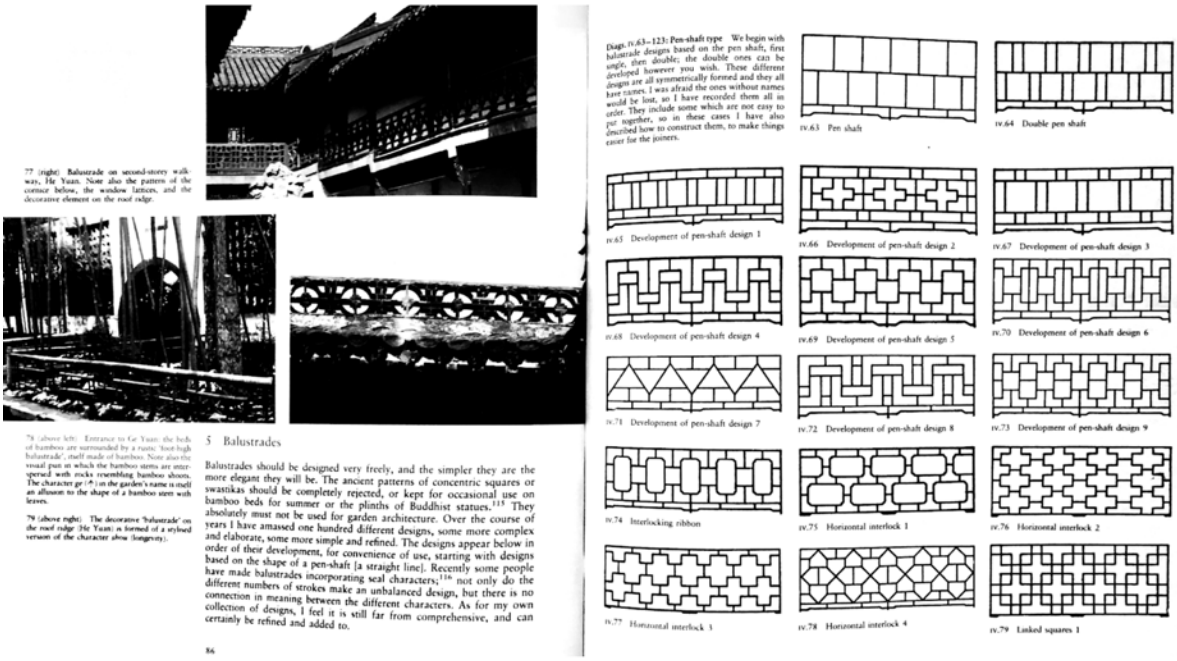
Fig 3.5. An excerpt from Keswick's publication. In these two pages, Keswick includes the photograph, sketch, and Chinese painting to support her writings on the associated Chinese garden ideas. Image from Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), 162-3.



77 (right). Balustrade on second-storey walkway, He Yuan. Note also the pattern of the cornice below, the window lattices, and the decorative element on the roof ridge.

78 (above left). Entrance to Ge Yuan: the beds of bamboo are surrounded by a rustic 'foot-high balustrade', itself made of bamboo. Note also the visual pun in which the bamboo stems are interspersed with rocks resembling bamboo shoots. The character ge (个) in the garden's name is itself an allusion to the shape of a bamboo stem with leaves.

79 (above right). The decorative 'balustrade' on the roof ridge (He Yuan) is formed of a stylised version of the character shou (longevity).

5 Balustrades

Balustrades should be designed very freely, and the simpler they are the more elegant they will be. The ancient patterns of concentric squares or swastikas should be completely rejected, or kept for occasional use on bamboo beds for summer or the plinths of Buddhist statues.[115] They absolutely must not be used for garden architecture. Over the course of years I have amassed one hundred different designs, some more complex and elaborate, some more simple and refined. The designs appear below in order of their development, for convenience of use, starting with designs based on the shape of a pen-shaft [a straight line]. Recently some people have made balustrades incorporating seal characters;[116] not only do the different numbers of strokes make an unbalanced design, but there is no connection in meaning between the different characters. As for my own collection of designs, I feel it is still far from comprehensive, and can certainly be refined and added to.

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Diags. IV.63–123: **Pen-shaft type** We begin with balustrade designs based on the pen shaft, first single, then double; the double ones can be developed however you wish. These different designs are all symmetrically formed and they all have names. I was afraid the ones without names would be lost, so I have recorded them all in order. They include some which are not easy to put together, so in these cases I have also described how to construct them, to make things easier for the joiners.

IV.63 Pen shaft

IV.64 Double pen shaft

IV.65 Development of pen-shaft design 1

IV.66 Development of pen-shaft design 2

IV.67 Development of pen-shaft design 3

IV.68 Development of pen-shaft design 4

IV.69 Development of pen-shaft design 5

IV.70 Development of pen-shaft design 6

IV.71 Development of pen-shaft design 7

IV.72 Development of pen-shaft design 8

IV.73 Development of pen-shaft design 9

IV.74 Interlocking ribbon

IV.75 Horizontal interlock 1

IV.76 Horizontal interlock 2

IV.77 Horizontal interlock 3

IV.78 Horizontal interlock 4

IV.79 Linked squares 1

Fig 3.6. An excerpt from Hardie's translation. These two pages almost follow the format of the original text, especially the ignored practical instruction in Sirén's book (see Fig 3.3). Photographs are included for a better understanding of the texts. Image from Cheng Ji, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie (Yale University Press, 1988), 86-87.

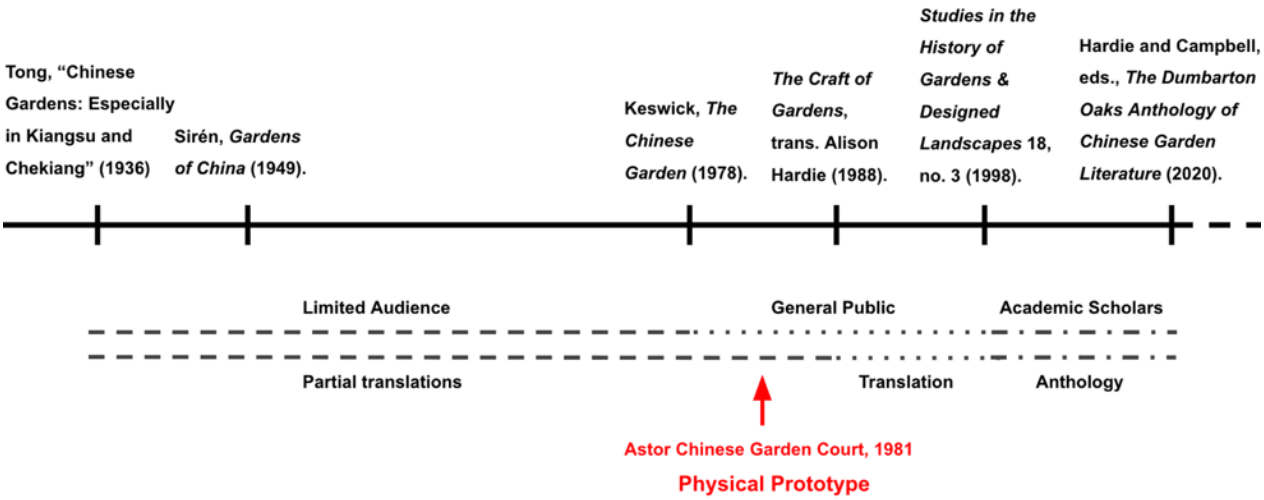

Fig 3.7. A rough translation timeline of *Yuan Ye* and its relationship with the Astor Court. This diagram situates the realization of Astor Court within the broader translation history of Chinese texts on gardens, with a focus on the English translation history of *Yuan Ye*. Diagram created by the author.

Roundtable Discussion

"Anthology of Chinese Texts about Gardens Translated into English"

Peter Bol, Harvard University
Michel Conan, Dumbarton Oaks
Stanislaus Fung, The University of New South Wales, Sydney
Marilyn Wong Gleysteen, Bethesda, Md.
Antoine Gournay, Musee Cernuschi, Paris
Ken Hammond, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces
Alison Hardie, Oxford University
James Hargett, University at Albany, State University of New York
Philip K. Hu, New York University
Lily Kecskes, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Washington, D.C.
Sheila Klos, Dumbarton Oaks
David R. Knechtges, University of Washington, Seattle
Victoria Siu, Dumbarton Oaks
Richard Strassberg, University of California, Los Angeles
Jan Stuart, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Washington, DC
Kenji Wako, Osaka University of Arts, Osaka, Japan
Stephen H. West, University of California, Berkeley
Yinong Xu, Oxford University
Pauline Yu, University of California, Los Angeles

Fig 3.8. List of participants in the 1999's roundtable discussion. Image from "Annual Reports (1989-2001)" (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 107, https://www.doaks.org/about/annual-reports/1989-2001.

Fig 3.9. The wood plaque in the Ming Room. The Chinese characters of this wood plaque are carved in the calligraphy of Wen Zhengming, a key member of the Wen's Family. Photo taken by Cheng Chen on January 11, 2021.

Fig 3.10. The reimagined *kunqu* opera performance in the Astor Court on November 30, 2012. Image from "Tan Dun | Peony Pavilion," accessed April 3, 2021, http://tandun.com/composition/peony-pavilion-2010/.

Appendix I: Realization timeline of the Astor Chinese Garden Court

1976	The Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met) purchased a magnificent collection of China's Ming-dynasty domestic furniture with the help of the Astor Foundation.
n.d.	The sponsor, Brooke Russell Astor, recommended building a garden court based on her childhood experience in Peking's Siheyuan (literally meaning quadrangle in Chinese).
Fall 1977	Wen Fong visited China with a delegation of American scholars for the sake of an ideal garden installation.
Spring 1978	Wen Fong formally proposed the project of recreating a Chinese garden in the Met to China's Cultural Relics Bureau.
February 1978	A set of drawings and a detailed site model were sent to the Cultural Relics Bureau. The model was made by Ming Cho Lee under the direction of Arthur Rosenblatt, the Museum's vice-president for architecture and planning. A. Perry Morgan prepared the drawings.
May 26, 1978	The project was assigned to the restoration team of the Suzhou Garden Administration by China's National Committee on Basic Construction.
June 1978	Wen Fong and Ming Cho Lee went to Suzhou and discussed the project with a panel of Chinese garden experts.
September 18, 1978	A particular project team was established on the Organization Meeting of the National Committee on Basic Construction held at the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets.
November 11, 1978	Revised design drawings and models were brought to the Met by four Chinese experts, including deputy director of the Suzhou Garden Administration Biaorong Zhang and deputy chief of the Planning and Construction Section Weiliang Tao.

December 12, 1978	The contract for realizing a Chinese garden court was signed by the end of the year between the Met and the Liaison Office of the PRC.
January 1979	Philippe de Montebello, the Museum's director, inspected the site for the full-scale prototype construction in Suzhou.
May 5, 1979	A full-scale prototype of the proposed Astor Court was built in Suzhou.
May 8, 1979	Arthur Rosenblatt, accompanied by architects Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo, inspected the finished one.
June 1979	Mrs. Vincent Astor and other Museum staff members visited the finished prototype and made final suggestions for changes in the choice of the Taihu rocks and other design details.
October 1979	All the prefabricated components were shipped to New York from Suzhou through Shanghai and Hong Kong in boxes.
December 1979	All the boxed components arrived in New York.
December 30, 1979	Twenty-seven skilled Chinese craftsmen from the Suzhou Garden Administration arrived in New York.
January 10, 1980	A warm ceremony was held, marking the start of the construction.
May 23, 1980	The construction of Astor Chinese Garden Court in Met finished.
June 18, 1981	The Astor Chinese Garden Court was open on the second floor of the Museum's north wing with the dedication of the Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese paintings and the Ming Furniture Room as the first reinstalled phase.
1983	An award-winning documentary, *Ming Garden*, came out with the narrative written and recorded by the Museum curator Alfreda Murck. The museum commissioned filmmaker Gene Searchinger and staff communications specialist Thomas Newman to record the construction process of Astor Court.

Appendix II: List of Chinese gardens built in the United States

Era	Names	Location	Built Year	Designer(s)	Artisan(s)	Built Purpose	Materials	Garden Structures
The Chinoiserie Era (from British colonial America to the 1860s)	Chinese-style bridge at William Paca's home	Annapolis, MD	1763-1765	William Paca	/	For William Paca's residence.	/	Chinese-style bridge
	Chinese railings at Monticello / Pavilions at the Lawn of University of Virginia	Charlottesville, VA	1772 / 1817	Thomas Jefferson	/	An embodiment of Jefferson's cosmopolitan aesthetics.	/	Chinese railings
The Ornament and Structure Era (1860s-1970s)	Chinese Tea House at the Marble House	Newport, RI	c. 1916	Richard Hunt, Joseph Hunt	/	For Alva Vanderbilt Belmont's residence.	/	Chinese temple, *Paifang*
	Avenue of the Chinese Musicians, Chinese Maze Garden, and Fu Dog Garden at Robert Allerton Park	Monticello, IL	1920 - Early 1930s	Robert Allerton, John G. Allerton	/	For Robert Allerton's showplace estate.	Ceramic Fu Dogs and limestone "Chinese" musicians were purchased from European and American art dealers; Two marble goldfishes at the Maze were purchased from Peking.	None
	Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Garden	Seal Harbor, ME	1926-1930	Beatrix Jones Farrand	/	For the displaying of East Asian sculptures and functioning as a cutting garden.	Tiles used for the decorative lintel of the moon gate were from the outer wall of the Forbidden City and a dismantled palace building.	Moon gate, Bottle gate, Chinese wall
	Joanna Lau Sullivan Chinese Courtyard at the Honolulu Academy of Arts	Honolulu, HI	1927	Bertram Goodhue (Architect), Richards and Thompson (Garden Designer)	/	For exhibitions and the creation of a serene space for contemplation.	Bamboo	Koi fish pond
	USC Pacific Asia Museum's courtyard	Pasadena, CA	1929	Marston, Van Pelt and Maybury Architecture Firm	Grace Nicholson	For exhibitions.	Plants (pine, bamboo, plum, and peony), Stone lions (Fu Dogs)	Zig-zag bridge, Koi fish pond
	Naumkeag's Chinese Garden	Stockbridge, MA	1936 - 1955	Fletcher Steele	/	For Joseph Hodges Choate's residence.	Nine ginkgo trees	Chinese temple, Moon gate, Screen wall, Chinese wall with openwork panels
	Chinese Garden at the grounds of the Society of the Four Arts	Palm Beach, FL	1938	Mrs. Lorenzo Woodhouse	/	A demonstration garden for local residents.	Antique Chinese sculptures from the Winter Palace Gardens in Peking, such as Fu Dogs	Moon gate, Chinese wall with openwork panels

	Chinese Garden in the Jungle Gardens	Avery Island, LA	1942	Owen Southwell, A. A. Hunt	/	For Edward Avery McIlhenny's private wildlife garden.	Camellias from China, Bamboo, A historic bronze Buddha	Chinese pavilion (*Ting*)
	Plum Pavilion at the International Peace Garden	Salt Lake City, UT	1953	William Louie	/	A representation of the harmonious relationship between China and West	Imported magnolia trees and citrus shrubs, Wooden plaque, Stone lions (Fu Dogs)	Chinese gate (*Pailou*), Pavilion
	Chinese Garden at Duke Gardens Foundation, Inc.	Somerville, NJ	1958	Richard C. Tongg	/	Doris Duke's exotic public-display garden	Camphor trees, Bamboo	Moon gate, Moon bridge, Rockery, Pavilion (*Ting*), Koi fish pond
	Chinese garden at the Honolulu International Airport	Honolulu, HI	1962	Richard C. Tongg	/	As part of the Cultural Gardens.	Pine, Bamboo	Moon bridges, Chinese pavilion (*Ting*), Koi fish pond
	Courtyard garden at the Oroville Chinese Temple	Oroville, CA	1968 (later addition)	Philip Choy, Mrs. Cabot (Margaret) Brown	/	A tranquil place for prayers within the religious complex.	Brick floors, Plants (pine, bamboo, plum, tallow trees, ginkgo, etc.)	Chinese gate (*Pailou*), Koi fish pond
	Chinese Courtyard Garden at Descanso Gardens	La Canada, CA	1970	Lawrence R. Moss	/	For the local multi-cultural community.	Plants (plum, peony, pine, chrysanthemum, bamboo, etc.)	Moon gate, Rockery
	Chinese cultural garden at the Overfelt Park	San Jose, CA	1971	(inspired by) Frank and Pauline Lowe	/	A tranquil place at the Overfelt Gardens Park.	Imported marble, bronze, and mahogany for the construction of Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall.	Chinese gate (*Pailou*), Hall (*Xuan*), Pavilion (*Ting*)
The Simulacrum Era (after 1981)	Astor Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York City, NY	1981	Restoration team of Suzhou Garden Administration	Restoration team of Suzhou Garden Administration	An exhibition object in terms of Chinese arts and a place for contemplation.	Almost every material was imported, including wood, tile, stone, plants, etc.	Moon gate, Half-pavilion (*Banting*), Winding walkway (*Qulang*), Hall (*Xuan*), Rockery, Koi fish pond, openwork panels
	Chinese Scholar Garden in the Oriental Garden of the Peabody Essex Museum	Salem, MA	1988	Peter L. Hornbeck	/	To exhibit the Museum's learning and embrace of other cultural traditions.	/	/
	Xi Hua Yuan (Seattle Chinese garden)	Seattle, WA	Early 1990s - 2011	Chongqing Design Institute of Garden and Parks	Craftsmen from Chongqing in cooperation with Seattle's professions.	A witness of sister city relationship with Chongqing.	Most materials were from Chongqing, including stone, timbers, and roof tiles.	Pavilions (*Ting*), Halls (*Xuan*), Pagoda, Rockeries, Water ponds, Bamboo grove.

	Pursuing Harmony Garden at the Minneapolis Institute of Art	Minneapolis, MN	1996	(relocated by) Curator Robert Jacobson	/	Providing contexts for the nearby Chinese furniture collections.	Rocks were purchased from other Jiangnan gardens to replace original missed ones, both for piled rockeries and groundings.	Rockeries
	The Margaret Grigg Nanjing Friendship Chinese garden	St. Louis, MO	1996	Yong Pan	(Five experts from) the Nanjing Municipal Bureau of Urban Parks and Open Space Administration	A showplace of extraordinary craftsmanship and a witness of sister city relationship with Nanjing.	All rocks were from China, and a number of plants were grown from seeds collected in China.	Moon gate, Pavilion (*Ting*), Marble moon bridge, Rockeries.
	Chinese Cup garden, Schnormeier Gardens	Gambier, OH	1996-1998	Bob Stovicek	/	The garden was built for Ted and Ann Schnormeier's private residence and is open for public viewing most weekends in June.	The five-sided and double-curved roof with copper shingles for the Pavilion was imported from Italy.	Moon gate, Pavilion (*Ting*).
	Chinese gardens at the Chinese Cultural Center	Phoenix, AZ	1998 (demolished in 2017)	/	Craftsmen from China (*Xiangshan Bang*)	Part of the retail complex.	/	Pavilion (*Ting*), Koi fish pond, Zig-zag bridge
	Chinese Scholar's Garden at the Botanical Garden of Staten Island	Staten Island, NY	1999	Landscape Architecture Company of China (LAC), New York architect Demetri Sarantitis + Wilday	LAC	To emphasize China's importance in the history of horticulture and to link to the heritage of Staten Island residents who had been engaged in the China Sea trade.	A ship containing about forty trucking containers full of wood and rock from China; Bamboo from Our Nursery of Summertown, Tennessee; Peony from Peony Heaven of Thomaston, CT.	Pavilions (*Ting*), Zig-zag bridges, Koi fish pond, Water ponds, Rockeries, Moon gates, Chinese wall with openwork panels, Chinese tea house, Winding walkway (*Qulang*)
	Tacoma Chinese Garden and Reconciliation Park	Tacoma, WA	Late 1990s-2015	J. A. Brennan Associates	/	A joint project of the City of Tacoma and the Chinese Reconciliation Project Foundation.	/	Pavilion (*Ting*), Moon bridge
	Lan Su Yuan (the Garden of Awakening Orchids)	Portland, OR	2000	Suzhou Institute of Landscape Architecture Design (SILAD)	SILAD, Robertson Merryman Barns Architectural firm	A witness of sister city relationship with Suzhou and a city park.	Most were shipped from Suzhou, especially the five hundred tons of stone. However, no plants were	Pavilions (*Ting*), Winding walkway (*Qulang*), Hall (*Xuan*), Rockeries, Water ponds

							brought from China due to import bans.	
	The Chinese garden in the riverside international Friendship gardens	Lacrosse, WI	2006	Riverside International Friendship Gardens Inc. and the city's Parks and Recreation Department	/	A witness of sister city relationship with Luoyang.	/	Moon gate, Water pond
	Liu Fang Yuan (Garden of Flowing Fragrance)	Huntington, San Marino, CA	2008-2020	American architects, Suzhou Garden Development Company, SILAD	SILAD	A place for physical relaxation and mental stimulation; Also a reference to collected literatures and arts.	Indigenous materials were all imported from China.	Moon bridges, Zig-zag bridges, Rockeries, Water ponds, Pavilions (*Ting*), Halls (*Xuan*), Chinese walls with openwork panels, Moon gates, Winding walkways (*Qulang*)
	Robert D. Ray Asian Gardens (Riverfront Gardens)	Des Moines, IA	2009	OPN Architects, Country Landscapes, Snyder & Associates, the Greater Des Moines Botanical Garden	/	To suggest the local multi-cultural community and to honor Robert D. Ray.	/	Zig-zag bridges, Pavilion (*Ting*), Water pond
	Cang Lang Yuan (Garden of Surging Waves)	Astoria, OR	2014	Suenn Ho	/	A legacy gift for the city of Astoria's bicentennial and a city park.	/	Moon gate, Pavilion (*Ting*)
	China's Garden at the US National Arboretum	Washington, D.C.	Start from 2016	Yangzhou Bureau of Forestry and Classical Garden Construction Group, Page Southerland Page, Inc.	/	A gift from the People's Republic of China to the United States	/	Pavilions (*Ting*), Halls (*Xuan*), Rockeries, Water ponds, Zig-zag bridges, Winding walkways (*Qulang*), etc.

* References for this List include, but are not limited to, Dorothy Loa McFadden's *Oriental Gardens in America: A Visitor's Guide* (1976), Carol Brash's "Classical Chinese Gardens in Twenty-first Century America: Cultivating the Past" (2011), Bo Zhang's "Shou Zhonguo Yingxiang De Meiguo Yuanlin He Jianzhu Minglu 受中国影响的美国园林和建筑名录 [American Designed Landscape and Architecture Influenced by Chinese Elements: A Comprehensive List]" (2016).