An Examination of Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media,
Its Influence on Landscape Ideology, Aesthetics and
Relationship to Landscape Experience

by

Wei Feng

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Landscape
University of Sheffield
United Kingdom

September 2005
Abstract:

In landscape history, visual media have played and are still playing very important roles in landscape design. Visual media work not only as tools in analysis, decision making and design presentation in landscape design process, but also more importantly as paradigms which influence landscape ideology and aesthetics. In contemporary landscape design and education, visual media has been gradually separated from profound landscape experience, especially via perspective-based drawing. The need to rethink perspective-based visual media, and some new insights on landscape experience became the context and motivation of this research.

Through the study of three important visual media in pre-modern China landscape history (before the 20th century): map, landscape painting, and visual illustrations in prints, I attempt to highlight the influence of these visual media on Chinese landscape ideology, aesthetics and the development of landscape design profession. The strong connection between these pre-modern visual media and landscape experience is a central issue of this research. Via an exploration of spatiality, temporality and bodily experience in these pre-modern visual media, I aim to link pre-modern visual media and landscape experience to contemporary landscape theoretical discourse. Finally, through a comparative study on engaged seeing in Chinese pre-modern visual media and journey in landscape experience, I attempt to identify the performative feature of them and potential of connecting visual media and landscape experience.
Acknowledgements:

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Catherine Dee for her support for the improvements on this thesis. I am also grateful to Prof. Stanislaus Fung for providing me with the material of *The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade*, and for his suggestions on my researches in general. Some other friends such as Mark Lawrenson, Lynn Tok, Jeffery Wang, and Lucy Zhong also gave me their helps in various ways.

Finally, I like to thank my wife Karen and my parents, who always support me and are there for me.
List of Contents:

Abstract I
Acknowledgements II
List of Contents III
List of Plates VII
Introduction 1

1. Visual Media's Position in Landscape Ideology, Aesthetics and Design 4
2. The Disconnection between Perspective-based Visual Media and Landscape Experience 11
3. The Context of This Research: The Contemporary Perspectives on Landscape Experience and Visual Media 15
4. Significance of the Study on Pre-modern Chinese Visual Media and Landscape Experience 18
5. Structure of Content 23

Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design 28
1.1 The Germination of the Map in Ancient China 31
1.2 Quantitative Features in Ancient Chinese Maps 39
1.3 Qualitative Features in Ancient Chinese Maps 54
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th Century

2.1 The Emergence of Landscape Painting and Rise of Landscape Aesthetics from the 5th Century to the 9th Century in China
   2.1.1 The Background: the Change of Social Status of Scholar Class
   2.1.2 The Status of Early Landscape Painting

2.2 The Maturation of Language and Aesthetics in Landscape Painting from the 10th to the 17th Century
   2.2.1 Background
   2.2.2 The Development and Decline of Realistic Landscape Painting
   2.2.3 The Development of Expressionist Tendency in Landscape Painting and Its Influence on Landscape Aesthetics

2.3 The Pluralism of Landscape Painting from the 14th to the 15th Century

Chapter Three: Landscape in Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

3.1 The Background of Garden Mania in Jiang Nan Area from the 15th Century

3.2 The Influence of Visual Illustration in Light Literature and Drama Scripts on the Spread of Garden Aesthetics and Ideology

3.3 Visual Illustrations in Garden Design Manuals

Chapter Four: Spatiality and Temporality in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media

4.1 Rethinking on Spatiality and Temporality in Perspective-base Landscape Visual Media
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1 The Relation between Space, Time and Experience</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2 The Dominance of Spatiality and the Ignorance of Temporality</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Perspective-based Drawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Spatiality and Temporality in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 The In-separablebility between Space and Time in Ancient China</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 The Space and Time Interwoven in Chinese Ancient Narrative</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape Drawing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3 The Spatial and Temporal Construction in Expressionist Landscape</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five: Bodily Experience, Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media and</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 The Absence of the Body in Contemporary Landscape Design and Visual</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 The Significance of Returning to the Body in Landscape Design</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Bodily Experience in Chinese Ancient Maps</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Bodily Experience in Chinese Pre-modern Landscape Painting</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Pre-modern China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 The Dichotomy between the Subject and the Object in Western Ideology</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Spiritual Resonance in Chinese Pre-modern Aesthetics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Engaging Seeing in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Journey in Chinese Traditional Landscapes and Gardens</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Journey in a Virtual Garden: a Fusion between Experiences in Visual</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and Landscape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion: 267

Appendix: 271

References: 273
List of Plates:

Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

Plate 1-1: Some Pictographic Chinese Characters Related to Build Environment 32
Plate 1-2: Neolithic Rock-curving Image of Village in Yunan Cangyuan, 33
Plate 1-3: Inner Mongolia, Mandela Mountain Rock-curving Drawing 33
Plate 1-4: Peng Lai Presenting a Map to Cheng Wang 37
Plate 1-5: Jin Ke Assassinating the Emperor Qin 37
Plate 1-6: Southern Shangcha Area Map 37
Plate 1-7: Southern Shangcha Military Configuration Map 38
Plate 1-8: The Drypoint Map of Zhong Shan Emperor Cemetery 40
Plate 1-9: The Reconstructive Drawing of Zhong Shan Emperor Cemetery 40
Plate 1-10: The Situation of Tai Bao's Site Selection and Survey in the Zhou Period 42
Plate 1-11: The Picture of Ancient Altimeter in The Principles in Military 43
Plate 1-12: The Picture of Ancient Level Bottle Device in The Principles in Military 43
Plate 1-13: The Picture of Ancient Distance Measurement Vehicle in The General Principles in Mathematics 43
Plate 1-14: Projection Theory in Pei Xiu's Map-making Principles 46
Plate 1-15: Yu Di Zong Tu, 广舆图之舆地总图 46
Plate 1-16: Restored Profile of Ming Tang in Southern Suburb of Chang'an City 50
Plate 1-17: Survey Drawing of Yang Shi Lei 52
Plate 1-18: Design Drawing of Yang Shi Lei 52
Plate 1-19: Design Drawing of Yang Shi Lei 53
Plate 1-20: Design Drawing of Yang Shi Lei 53
Plate 1-21: Ideal Layout of Capital City in Zhou Li 55
Plate 1-22: Arnheim's Comparison between Egyptian Drawing and Perspective Drawing 55
Plate 1-23: Part of the Sailing Charts of Zheng He, 郑和航海图 58
Plate 1-24: Detail of the Sailing Charts of Zheng He, 郑和航海图 58
Plate 1-25: Map of Lu Guo, 鲁国之图 59
Plate 1-26: City Gate of Ping Yao City 60
Plate 1-27: City Wall of Ping Yao City 60
Plate 1-28: City Tower of Ping Yao City 60
Plate 1-29: Market Rock-curving 61
Plate 1-30: Ancient Chinese Cosmos Pattern 62
Plate 1-31: Ancient Chinese Ethnocentric Spatial Pattern 63
Plate 1-32: The Ancient Chinese World-wide Map 64
Plate 1-33: The World Wide Map in Brief of Geometry by Cheng, Baier 64
Plate 1-34: The Typical Layout of Beijing Traditional Residential Housing 65
Plate 1-35: The Aerial Photo of Tian Tan 67
Plate 1-36: Qi Nian Pavilion of Tian Tan 67
Plate 1-37: The Round Podium 67
Plate 1-38: Map of Xingqing Palace of the Tang Dynasty 68
Plate 1-39: Master Plan of Xi Yue Temple 68
Plate 1-40: The Difference of Viewer or Drawer's Position in Centripetal and Sequential Spatial Pattern Maps 69
Plate 1-41: Courtyard, Rock-curving 69
Plate 1-42: The Separation of Spatial Depth from Picture Plane 70
Plate 1-43: Wo Long Valley 70

Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th Century

Plate 2-1: Copy of Gu, Kaizhi (顾恺之，东晋，the 4th century)'s Loyal
Ladies and Humane and Intelligent Saints

Plate 2-2: Copy of Gu, Kaizhi (顧恺之，東晉，the 4th century)'s Loyal Ladies and Humane and Intelligent Saints

Plate 2-3: Fresco in Dun Huang Grotto

Plate 2-4: Fresco in Dun Huang Grotto

Plate 2-5: Zhan, Ziqian (展子虔，550-617), Journey in Spring

Plate 2-6: Li, Zhaodao (李昭道, About the 7th century to the 8th century), Ming Emperor's Journey in Shu

Plate 2-7: Copy after Wang, Wei (王維，701-761)'s The Wang Chuan Villa

Plate 2-8: Copy after Wang, Wei (王維，701-761)'s Jiang Shan Xue Ji, River and Mountain in Snow

Plate 2-9: Anonym, 1127-1279, Jin Ping Pond Champion

Plate 2-10: Zhang, Zeduan (張擇端, 1119-1125), Parts of Qing Ming Shang He Tu

Plate 2-11: Zhang, Zeduan (張擇端, 1119-1125), Parts of Qing Ming Shang He Tu

Plate 2-12: Zhang, Zeduan (張擇端, 1119-1125), Parts of Qing Ming Shang He Tu

Plate 2-13: Fan, Kuan, (范寬, 950-1027), Journey in Brookes and Mountains

Plate 2-14: Ju, Ran (巨然, from the end of the 10th century to the early 11th century), Dense Forest

Plate 2-15: Ju, Ran (巨然, from the end of the 10th century to the early 11th century), Seeking Road in Autumn Mountain

Plate 2-16: Dong, Yuan (董源, 907-960), Waiting a boat in a Mountain Pass in Summer

Plate 2-17: Guan, Tong (關仝, 896-960), Travelling in Guan Mountain

Plate 2-18: Zhao, Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322), Shui Cun Tu

Plate 2-19: Zhao, Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322), Xiu Shi Su Lin Tu
Plate 2-20: Ni, Zan (倪瓒, 1301-1374), Six Gentlemen (六君子图)

Plate 2-21: Ni, Zan (倪瓒, 1301-1374), Fisher Village and Autumn Fog (渔庄秋霁图)

Plate 2-22: Huang, Gongwang (黄公望 1269-1354), Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains (富春山居图)

Chapter Three: Landscape in Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-1: Zhao, Fu (赵黻, about the 12th to 13th century), Mountains and Rivers in Ten Thousands Miles (万里江山图)

Plate 3-2: Non (无款, about the 12th to 13th century), Autumn River and Foggy Lake (秋江呂泊图)

Plate 3-3: Li, Dong, (李东, about the 12th to 13th century), Selling Fish by the Snowy River (雪江卖鱼图)

Plate 3-4: Anon (无款, about the 12th to 13th century), Silk and Weaving Work (丝纶图)

Plate 3-5: Plan of Net Master Garden (网师园)

Plate 3-6: Net Master Garden (网师园)

Plate 3-7: Net Master Garden (网师园)

Plate 3-8: Lu, Zhi (陆治, 1496-1576), Part of Hidden Living and Enjoying the Everyday (幽居乐事图册)

Plate 3-9: Ju, Jie (居节, the Ming Dynasty), A Small Pavilion in Pine Forrest (万松小筑图)

Plate 3-10: Lu, Shidao (陆师道, 1517-?), Exuberant Tree and Green Forest (乔柯翠林图轴)

Plate 3-11: Lu, Zhi, (陆治, 1496-1576), Gathering in the Midnight (元夜燕集图)

Plate 3-12: Wen, Zhengming, (文徵明, 1470-1559), Eastern Garden (东园图卷)

Plate 3-13: Qiu, Ying (仇英, 1498—1552) Part of Figure and Story (人物故事图卷)

Plate 3-14: Qiu, Ying (仇英, 1498—1552) Part of Figure and Story
Plate 3-15: You, Qiu (尤求，the Ming Dynasty), Appreciating Ancient Painting (品古图轴)

Plate 3-16: Qian, Gu (钱谷，1508-1578), Detail of Playing Chess in Pavilion (竹亭对棋图轴)

Plate 3-17: Illustration of Bei Xi Xiang Ji (北西厢记)

Plate 3-18: Illustration of Bei Xi Xiang Ji (北西厢记)

Plate 3-19: The Wood-block picture in The Fiction of the Golden Bell

Plate 3-20: The Wood-block Picture from a Collection of Zaju Plays (杂剧选集)

Plate 3-21: Chen, Hongshou, Wood-blocking picture, Elegant Party (雅聚)

Plate 3-22: The Window Pattern is Yuan Ye

Plate 3-23: The Pavement Pattern in Yuan Ye

Plate 3-24: Geomantic Points, in The Pictorial Compendium of the Three Powers (三才图绘)

Plate 3-25: Auspicious and Inauspicious Configurations of Landscape, Woodblock Print, from The Classic of Lu Ban (鲁班经)

Plate 3-26: The Visual Illustration about How to Enframe a Scene through Window, in Li Yu (李渔, 1611-1680)'s Xian Qing Ou Ji (闲情偶寄，Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling)

Plate 3-27: The Visual Illustration about How to Use Painting to Imitate Window, in Li Yu (李渔, 1611-1680)'s Xian Qing Ou Ji (闲情偶寄，Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling)

Plate 3-28 Visual Illustration about How to Paint a Bush in Li -Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)

Plate 3-29: Visual Illustration about How to Assemble Animal Elements in Landscape Painting in Li Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)

Plate 3-30: The Picturesque Boat in Li Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)

Plate 3-31: The Opening in Shi Zi Lin Garden (狮子林)

Plate 3-32: The Opening in Lingering Garden (留园)
Plate 4- 20: Application of Misty Distance, Lu, Riwei
Plate 4- 21: Anonymous, Northern Song Dynasty, 960-1126, Mountain, Clear Day, and Bleak Temple (晴峦萧寺图)
Plate 4- 22: Anonymous, Jin Dynasty, the 11th-12th Century, Multiple Brookes in Fog (重溪烟霭图)
Plate 4- 23: Wu, Yuanzhi (武元直), Jin Dynasty, the 11th-12th century, Red Cliff (赤壁图)

Chapter Five: Bodily Experience, Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media and Landscape

Plate 5- 1: Da Vinci's Drawing of the Human Body
Plate 5- 2: Upright Human Body, Space and Time
Plate 5- 3: Nei Jing Tu (内经图)
Plate 5- 4: Qi as Vital Energy Running Through the Landscape
Plate 5- 5: Ideal Points (site) in Feng Shui to Congregate Qi
Plate 5- 5: Ideal Points (site) in Feng Shui
Plate 5- 7: Chinese Ancient Drawing on Human Viscera
Plate 5- 8: Chinese Ancient Drawing of Facial Features
Plate 5- 9: Hua Xia Yi Tong Tu (华夏一统图)
Plate 5- 10: Chinese Ancient Map
Plate 5- 11: Ruan, Gao (阮浩, 907-960), Angles in Garden (仙女宫苑图)
Plate 5- 12: Huang, Gongwang (黄公望，1269—1354), Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains (富春山居图)
Plate 5- 13: Ma lin, (马麟, the Southern Song Dynasty), Listening to the Wind Through Pine Tree Quietly (静听松风图)
Plate 5- 14: Anonym, the Southern Song Dynasty, Burning Joss Sticks in Bamboo Forest (竹林焚香图)
Plate 5- 15: Qiu Ying (仇英, 1498-1552), Returning Fisherman, one of his "Eight Views of Xiao Xiang" (潇湘八景图)
Plate 5- 16: Zhu Da (朱耷,1616-1705), Landscape
Plate 5- 17: Zhu Da (朱耷,1616-1705), Landscape Sketch
Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape in Pre-modern China

Plate 6-1: Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509), Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan 248
Plate 6-2: Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509), Appreciating Potted Chrysanthemum Ethereally (瓶菊賞圖卷) 248
Plate 6-3: View the Washing Tassel (濯繩亭) Pavilion from the “Moon Arriving and Wind Coming Pavilion” (風來月到亭) 260
Plate 6-4: The Connection between Spots by Paths, Corridor and Bridges in Wang Shi Garden 260
Plate 6-5: The Corridor in Zhuo Zheng Yuan Garden 261
Plate 6-6: The Bridge in Zhuo Zheng Yuan Garden 261
Plate 6-7: The Corridor in Zhuo Zheng Yuan Garden 261
Plate 6-8: The Dominance of Journey in Motion in Zhuo Zheng Garden 262
Plate 6-9: Temporal Process of Reading the Picture in The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图) 263
Plate 6-10: The Collage of Different Viewpoints and Experiences in The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图) 263
Plate 6-11: The Mapping between Engaged Seeing in Picture and Journey in "Virtual" Garden in The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图) 266
Introduction

Landscape architectural drawing – a textual medium which is secondary to the actual landscape - can never be simply and alone a case of reflection and analysis; it is more fundamentally an eidetic and generative activity, one where the drawing acts as a producing agent or ideational catalyst (Corner, 1992: 243).

Tracing the word back, “landscape” comes from the old English term “landskip”. Amongst others, Corner (1999a) proposes that “landscape” refers to a “view”, “picture” and “representation”, as in the later selectively framed representations of the 17th century Dutch landscape paintings, rather than the physical habitat or environment as used in contemporary landscape architecture. If we review the origin of the concept Yuan (園, garden) in Chinese language, we find that it was subject matter in certain type of literature and painting (Clunas, 1996). In ancient China, also the concept of landscape “Shan Shui” (山 水, literally mountain and water) came from a certain style of painting, rather than from built environmental design. This phenomenon reveals that the concept of landscape or garden in some cultures was not a thing transcendentally existing, but a way to look, describe and draw in various media (Clunas, 1996). In this sense, media for landscape is not a passive “representation”, but an active process of gestating, defining and developing the concept of landscape in history.

When the modern concept of “landscape” became a combination of art and science to improve the quality of public living environments since Olmsted’s and others foundation of landscape architecture in the 19th century, a strong connection between the concept “landscape” and visual media continued as obvious and unquestionable. The concept of landscape can be thought to come
from the processes of “drawing/looking” (sometimes discourse/reading). For Daniels and Cosgrove (1988: 1), a landscape is “a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings... They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces- in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water and vegetation on the ground. A landscape park is more palpable but not more real, nor less imaginary, than a landscape painting or poem. Indeed the meanings of verbal, visual and built landscape have a complex interwoven history.” Since the strong connection to the concept “landscape”, visual media have an unshakable role in landscape profession and research.

Recently, the dominance of perspective-based drawing in landscape architecture, architecture and urban design, and the “drawing board mode” in landscape education have been challenged (Corner, 1992, Fraser and Henmi, 1994). The Euclidian, homogeneous and static spatiality hidden in perspective-based visual media has resulted in the separation between perspective-based drawing and profound landscape experience (Corner, 1992, Fraser and Henmi, 1994).

Motivated by this problem existing in landscape architecture practice and education, this research focuses on two issues. The first is the influence visual media had on pre-modern Chinese landscape aesthetics, profession and ideology. The second is the ways in which visual media were closely linked to landscape experience, and what we can understand of landscape experience through these visual media of pre-modern China. To begin this study, this introduction has five sections. The first section aims to highlight the crucial position of visual media in landscape aesthetics, ideology and design. The second section points to the disconnection between perspective-based drawings and landscape experience as the most critical problems in landscape research, practice and education. The third section focuses on the context of this research, including new developments of contemporary understanding of landscape experience as an impetus of this
research and some points to the problems in cross-cultural understanding about landscape experience and visual media. The fourth section of this introduction aims to highlight the significance of this research for contemporary landscape design and research. Finally the fifth section gives a brief overview of the whole content of this research.

Before further expanding this introduction, the concept of "pre-modern" as it is used in this study needs to be defined and clarified. Firstly, pre-modern in this research refers to a certain period in Chinese history, which spans from the Neolithic period to the end of the 19th century, before "western" and modernist ideology was transplanted and developed in China. Although mutual communication with other cultures never stopped in China, the period before the 19th century still witnessed the development and maturity of Chinese traditional culture without overwhelming interposition of the western culture. Secondly, the concept "pre-modern" has its significance in ideological development of epistemology and ontology. This aspect of the definition of "pre-modern" is rooted in the Gier's insights on premodernism, modernism and postmodernism. According to Gier (2000), modernism is a world-wide process described as a movement from mythos to logos. The features of the modern era can be characterized as the dominance of atomistic ontology, the belief in science, technology and a mechanistic cosmology. Modern philosophy generally separates the outer from the inner, the subject and the object. By contrast, the pre-modern vision of the world can be thought of as holistic, in which, the human self is an integral part of the whole world and cosmos (Gier, 2000).

In Chinese landscape architectural history, under the endeavour of the first of generation practitioners and educators of modern architecture and landscape architecture, such as Liang Sicheng (梁思成, 1901-1972) and Liu Dunzhen (刘敦桢, 1897-1968), the western concept of architecture was transplanted to China at
the beginning of the 20th century. Western educational systems and methods were introduced into universities at this time (Pan, 2001). In most universities, landscape architecture was treated as a sub-discipline of architecture. Since that time, traditional landscape consciousness and experience was gradually replaced by western landscape architectural theory and aesthetics. Western built environmental design aesthetics and theory became the main part of education, and perspective-based visual media also became the main part of professional visual media.

More precisely, in my research, I use “pre-modern” to refer to the period when traditional landscape aesthetics and experience has not been replaced by the western modern ideology. The following section of this introduction is an exploration of the crucial position of visual media in contemporary landscape ideology, aesthetics and design profession in general, and the reasons why it is critical to research visual media.

1. Visual Media's Position in Landscape Ideology, Aesthetics and Design

In landscape history, many landscapes and gardens have become abandoned. For landscape historians, visual media, such as the maps, paintings, and drawings are important evidences and materials to investigate these historic landscapes, which no longer exist. The use of visual media, such as landscape paintings, maps, and photos, as evidence for the study of historical landscape, has become a tradition and widely accepted methodology in landscape history studies. In Chinese context, in Osvald Siren's influential work Gardens of China (Siren, 1949) and Keswick's The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture (Keswick, 1986), we find the examination of landscape painting is one of the important methodologies. At the same time, visual media, such as landscape paintings, also nurtured landscape
aesthetics. Both Siren (1949) and Keswick (1986) agree that historically, appreciation of landscape and landscape painting were reciprocal motivation and aspiration of the other. Fully understanding the beauty in landscape aroused the inspiration of landscape painting, while education in landscape painting guided people's way to look at and discover the beauty of landscape. The "painter's eye" becomes the necessary condition of a successful landscape aesthetics (Clifford, 1962). Landscape is the 'real' three-dimension painting, while painting is a two-dimension landscape (Shen, 1992).

Another reason that paintings were consistently connected to landscape is that in a certain long period of Chinese history, professional theory in garden and landscape design did not come into being, until the 17th century. Prior to this period, landscape painting theory can be thought of as forming a substitute for landscape design theory. For examples, some key words in Chinese landscape aesthetics, such as "yi (意, intention) and Xiang" (象, image) came from painting theory. Even after the 17th century, the construction of garden or landscape theory still can not be isolated from landscape painting theory. Most of the ancient garden designers or theorists in China had a profound fine art background or painting experience. As Ji Cheng (计成, 1582-?), a garden theorist in the Ming dynasty) mentions in the preface of his work Yuan Ye (园冶, Craft of Gardening) that in his early years, he spent many years copying the famous landscape paintings of Guan Tong (关仝, 890-960, artist in the Wudai Dynasty) and Jing Hao (荆浩, about 850-923, landscape artist in the Tang Dynasty). Inspired by their paintings, he continued to travel around until his middle age (《园冶·自序》中说: “不依少以绘名, 性好搜奇, 最喜关仝、荆浩笔意, 每宗之。游燕及楚, 中岁归吴, 柝居润州。) (Ji and Zhao, 2003). He identifies these experiences to emphasize their influence on his garden design theory. In Yuanye, Ji Cheng often used "hua yi" (画意, picturesque intention) to assess whether a landscape is successfully designed. Another famous mountain-maker in the Ming dynasty
Zhang Nanyang (张南阳, about the 16th century) became very famous when he was still a teenager for his genius in painting. When he engaged himself in mountain making in gardens, Zhang Nanyang applied the landscape painting theories about mountain and texture of stones in landscape design, and developed a high reputation in Jiang Nan area (江南) (Zhou, 1990).

In Chinese landscape historical studies, the discourse of landscape history has often to be carried out on the basis of visual media. Most landscape history is the history of landscape painting, and most of landscape theories took their shape in art theory.

Not only in Chinese context, but also in other cultures, visual media such as ancient map and traditional landscape painting played a very important role in landscape history studies. Apart from visual media's position in landscape historic studies due to its influence on landscape aesthetics and theory, in most of the design professions, such as landscape architecture, architecture, and urban design, visual media has been the most important device in design process.

Firstly, visual media, such as various drawings, are essential tools in design profession. Design seems a process of transforming one set of visual media, for example the site survey maps, into another set of visual media, such as design drawings and the construction documents. It is not surprising to find that landscape architects produce and manipulate visual media which represent landscape, rather than landscape itself.

A sight-seer might use photo to record what impressed him during a trip. An artist might make some sketches or paintings to grasp the beautiful scene and colour of the landscape. A poet might make a short poem which reveals his feeling, memory and imagination aroused by the landscape before him. Although there are many different media available, it is most likely for us to choose those media which is
most effective and efficacious. In landscape design research, the utility and instrumentality of visual media has attracted both researchers’ and designers’ attention.

Galle (1999) has summarized approaches to design process which have oversimplified the complexity of it, such as seeing design simply as problem solving, information processing, decision making, or pattern recognition. He argues that designing itself is the production of a design representation. According to Oxman (2000), visual media are proposed as a class of computational media which can contribute to design by supporting the cognitive processes of the designer. Among basic assumptions that underlie the development of visual media is that designers share common forms of design knowledge that can be formalized, represented, and exploited interactively by the designer. For Coyne, Park and Wiszniewski (2002: 280), visual media serve as “signs, as indicators, more accurately, implicated in a sign situation; and functions in a wider sign system”.

Secondly, visual media, such as drawings, defined the status of design as an intellectual production, which is independent to manual “making” or “building”. The application of professional visual media was the starting point of design as a profession and discipline. As Hill (2003: 165) points out, “the term design comes from the Italian ‘disegno’, meaning drawing”. In the 16th century, Giorgio Vasari established the first academy of art, and also established the idea that the designer need to be trained in drawing (Hill, 2003). In this sense, designing started from drawing and drawing was a mean to envision and test ideas once building became a separate function. The crucial role of visual media in the emergence of design professions can be clearly seen in Renaissance period, when architects started to separate from builders and became a new profession. As Catherine Wilkinson mentions, after Vasari (and others)’s art and design theory, disegno was the foundation of the liberal status of the practice of art, without which it would not
have been possible to distinguish the artist and designer from the craftsman (see Hill, 2003: 167).

Harvey (1972) points to the role of drawing played in the process of emergence of architecture as a profession in Europe before the Renaissance. Before the Renaissance, there was no profession of architects, and building processes were directed by a head mason who worked on the scaffold or by clerics who practiced design as a sideline. These directors had good knowledge about building crafts, usually in masonry or carpentry. In long term apprenticeships of specialized training, they were educated in various building skills. In a final year of training, they also needed to learn some skill of drawing, which was mainly concerned with mastering and memorizing the problems in practical geometry involved in setting-out arch and vault voussoirs, tracery, and proportional design (Harvey, 1972). Around 1500, the role of drawing shifted. Design became a process focused on schematic and developmental operations with study drawings as its principle tool. Drawing, as a tool altered the relation of the tool-user to the work. Almost in one stroke, "design became separated from the physical act of construction by its emphasis on manipulating graphic symbols, or representations" (Herbert, 1993: 26). Since then, the application of specific visual media (especially drawing) supported the emergence of design professions and divergence between designing and making, unselfconscious craft and self-conscious professions. This process has a deep influence on contemporary design professions.

Thirdly, visual media provide designers with a new site to explore the "immaterial" level of built environment. Visual media such as drawings are considered as a device to elucidate "form". Forty writes: 'There is in "form" an inherent ambiguity, between its meaning "shape" on the one hand, and on the other "idea" or essence: one describes the property of things as they are known
to the senses, the other as they are known to the mind' (Forty, 2000, p. 149). Forty maintains that influenced by the concept idea is superior to matter, Renaissance artists argued that through visual media, artistic idea could be formulated and directly represented and "an artwork can depict an otherwise unknowable idea" (Forty, 2000, p. 31). Visual media, such as drawing and diagram, are established on abstraction to certain extend. The abstraction makes visual media more closed to concept and idea, and gradually separated from material matters. This is also a way in which professional visual media defined design as an intellectual activity rather than manual labour (Hill, 2003).

The attitude of treating "visual media" as a tool or instrument was widely accepted for a long time. Based on this, the assessment of how successfully visual media function in design processes rely on how precise it could be, in other word, how transparent it is. However, we could say no matter how visual media are used in landscape studies and design, they are never transparent. They selectively reveal the researchers and designers' attention and conceal other irrelevant information. All visual media have their own bias, preference, cultures, economies, and even personal drives. They are always partial (Rattenbury, 2002).

Coyne, Park and Wiszniewski (2002: 270) use Heidegger's metaphor of a bridge crossing river to elucidate their phenomenological thinking about visual media in design process:

While the empiricist's priorities may focus on span, load bearing capacity, and so on, phenomenological disclosure first considers how: "with the banks, the bridge brings to the stream the one and the other expanse of landscape lying behind them. It brings stream and bank and land into each other's neighbourhood. The bridge gathers the earth as landscape around the stream."
Through this metaphor, Coyne asserts that media discloses by "revealing and concealing". At the same time, it may also conceal something that was hitherto present: the distance between the banks, certain views down the river, the force of the water, the danger of the crossing (Coyne et al., 2002).

The device [media] discloses and introduces new practices, new terms and metaphors. By being introduced as something new, it acts as catalyst or inhibitor, provides narrative focus, and operates as sign. In turn, through each disclosure by introducing, there is a provocation that brings us closer to the concepts of negation and difference (Coyne et al., 2002: 270).

To answer the question of what kind of position visual media (often drawing) have in built environmental design, Iain Fraser and Rod Henmi have given us a vivid and appropriate metaphor: drawing is simultaneously opaque and translucent. They describe a drawing as being like "a filter between the drawer and viewer, drawer and object, between ideas conceived and their two-dimensional manifestation. A scrim [theatrical screen] and a drawing both prevent as well as allow view, asserting their presence with varying authority and in different ways. When the back light turns on, the scrim disappears. In a similar way, drawings dissolve and open a world of rich possibilities" (Fraser and Henmi, 1994: 3).

These insights present the role of visual media in design process as a crucial and central issue in design theory and philosophy research. Thanks to these discourses, the status and problems of contemporary design media, such as projection, and perspective drawings need to be rethought. The relationship between visual media and landscape experience is one of the most important topics in this rethinking.
2. The Disconnection between Perspective-based Visual Media and Landscape Experience

Profound landscape experience provides information, material and viewpoints for image making. The relationship between visual media and landscape experience is often close and integral. Landscape experience is not merely metaphysical and abstract, but embodied and concrete. Visual media potentially disclose and corroborate the landscape experience, and on the other hand, they are not only passive evidence, but also an active impetus in the development of landscape experience.

In *Representation and Landscape: Drawing and Making in the Landscape Medium* (1992), Corner summarizes some of the problematic tendencies in the application of contemporary visual media, or in his word, the "misuses of drawing". All these problematic tendencies are strongly connected to the discordant relation between visual media and profound landscape experience:

*The first misuse occurs when emphasis is placed on the drawing itself, as the drawing is the artistic and prized artefact. In this camp, the seductive qualities of drawing promote a detached and personal preoccupation with it, whereupon the drawing is over-privileged as an art form unto itself... The second misuse of drawing is a reaction against the former. This party is suspicious of any meaning a drawing may hold beyond that of the strictly instrumental. Consequently, the potential richness of drawing is suppressed through a reductive and overly technical practice... and the misunderstanding about anterior, prevenient function of the drawing- its generative role....* (Corner, 1992: 263).

The possible loss of visual media's generative role was the result of a separation
Introduction

between visual media and profound landscape experience. The connection between visual media and landscape experience is the impetus to encourage the development of visual media as a generative and conceiving element in landscape design. Porter (1979) suggests that the "graphic technique and communication skills" preached in schoolbooks as "drawing-board style" are not related or have lost their relation to any visual experience. Porter (1979) strongly opposes the "drawing-board style", in which drawings appear highly seductive to the unwitting student because, in presenting an easily imitated and superficial formula, they "short-circuit" any profound experience. With the wide acceptance of "drawing-board style" drawing in design education, it is more likely for students to adopt graphic languages of design which are more concerned with technique than with any experiential understanding of space. Without good guidance, these students could be push into a convention by an "inert" force, and forget their vivid raw consciousness and experience about landscape.

Unlike the attention to the instrumentality and utility of visual media in landscape design, visual media's connection with landscape experience has been relatively ignored. Visual media can be considered as not only an outward visualization and externalization, but also an interpretation. In Fraser and Henmi's word, visual media "reveal[s] an author's proclivities and offer evidence not only of what one chooses to draw, but also through the manner of drawings, the nuances of how one sees a scene. Each drawing offers clue to the perceptions of its maker, a document as particular and revealing as a signature" (Fraser and Henmi, 1994: 83). All the applications of visual media, drawing, painting, sketching, and even taking photographs are not passive. All activities are processes of experience, which combine evaluating, judging and understanding. When an artist paints a landscape, or a landscape architect try to grasp the sense of place by his sketches, their experiences are extended out and come across the landscape being represented. The act of drawing is an interaction based on people's experience, or
further, the act of drawing itself is a kind of experience.

At the first glance, the influence of visual media on experience paradigm is connected to two different research approaches. One of these is scientific exploration on the effectiveness and efficaciousness of media, while the other is characterised by cultural and ideological explorations on the role of visual media in the evolution of the ideas of landscape. It might be helpful to understand the relationship between these two approaches by reviewing a long-standing debate about the relationship between instrumentality and paradigm as characterised by "Dao" (道, paradigm) and "Qi" (器, instrumentality) in Chinese traditional philosophy.

Since it was established in Yi Zhuan (易传, a book finished during the B.C. 21st century to B.C. 221), the dichotomy between Dao and Qi has been a fundamental issue in Chinese traditional philosophy. In Yi Zhuan, Dao is abstract, theoretical, metaphysical, and has a high status, while Qi is concrete, practical, non-metaphysical, and has a lower status (易传: 形而上者谓之道, 形而下者谓之器). Apparently, this dichotomy encouraged Chinese ancient philosophers to seek the inherent nature of things, rather than any superficial phenomenon and enjoy the pleasure of abstract thinking and debate. To some extent, it also brewed the emergence of rational thinking in Chinese traditional ideology. Nevertheless, rethinking the relationship between Dao and Qi has never stopped, and some philosophers such as Wang Chuanshan (王船山, 1619-1692, a Chinese ideologist and philosopher) have given us a viewpoint different to his precursors. Wang Chuanshan was trying to break down the dichotomy between Dao and Qi. In his view, concerns about Dao and Qi should not focus on the question of which one of them is superior. Both Dao and Qi, metaphysic and non-metaphysic are different ways the world presents itself in our consciousness, absent or present, invisible or visible (形而上者隐也, 形而下者显也; 形而上者显也, 形而下者隐也).
Dao is a transferring process from present and visible aspects of being to absent and invisible aspects; while Qi is from invisible and absent aspects to present and visible aspects of being (Deng, 2004). In this sense, visual media for landscape architects have two dimensions of significance, one of which is the visible present instrumentality to be used and manipulated, while on the other hand, other is the invisible experiential paradigms.

Bearing in mind the inherent connection between visual media and experience, we may find that the separation between them in our landscape design and education is the most crucial problem before us. This separation seriously restricts the ability of visual media to encourage our creativity and poetic production. Dominant projection and perspective-based drawing to some extent result in absence of landscape experience (Fraser and Henmi, 1994).

James Corner reminds us of these problems often in his writing. For example, he wrote, "Drawing is perhaps all and everything that landscape architects do. Only in rare and special circumstances do they actually build; instead, landscape architects draw...drawing harbours a much greater capacity for imaginative thought than is currently practiced" (Corner, 1992: 64). In our landscape design and education, drawings rarely are understood and used as vehicles for creative thinking, as they are usually taught as "graphic techniques and communications skills rather than as ways of conceiving ideas... many designers fail to recognized that drawing is more powerfully an activity of seeing and projecting" (Corner, 1993: 65).

As instruments and experiential paradigm, visual media can not only reveal but also influence designers' epistemology and ontology. In studies of visual media, we might propose that, sometimes visual media embodies experiences, which are influenced by landscape culture and ideology. It could be said that the
over-reductionist and experimental mode of research ignore the particularity, multiplicity and individuality of experience. Just as in anatomy, we might know how every part of the human body is assembled physically, but still have no idea about where various feelings and thoughts come from.

The disconnection between contemporary visual media and experience calls for a refusion of them. In the next section, I attempt to review some contemporary perspectives on landscape experience and visual media as a part of the context for my research.

3. The Context of This Research: Contemporary Perspectives on Landscape Experience and Visual Media

For Husserl, the isolation between the Object and the Subject arose through the autonomous instrumentality of modern science, which reduces nature to a mathematical manifold (Husserl, 1970). Merleau-Ponty (1962: 159) took the notion that scientific knowledge "cannot be closed in on itself, that it is always an approximate knowledge, and that it consists in clarifying a pre-scientific world the analysis of which will never be finished". At the beginning of his other important essay Eye and Mind he wrote:

*Science manipulates things and gives up living in them. It makes its own limited models of things; operating upon these indices or variables to effect whatever transformations are permitted by their definition, it comes face to face with the real world only at rare intervals. Science is and always has been that admirably active, ingenious, and bold way of thinking whose fundamental bias is to treat everything as though it were an object-in-general- as though it meant nothing to us and yet was predestined for our own use* (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 159).
Some other philosophers and landscape architects also suggest that dominant western environmental design is quite often determined by economic and scientific issues. Human experience has played a deficient role in the development of these professions, such as urban planning, architecture, and landscape architecture (Seamon, 1993). Some argue that a sense of place and "dwelling" needs to return as a concern for practitioners and researchers (Casey, 1993, Norberg-Schulz, 1971). Some researchers like Catherine Howett argue that the built environment establishes how we see, understand and live in the world (Howett, 1993). Howett suggests that landscape architecture has often ignored human experience by reducing the landscape to a set of views that satisfy various aesthetic and visual design criteria. By summarizing the history of the "scenographic" approach to landscape architecture, Howett calls for a comprehensive perspective and understanding of landscape as the places we are invited to experience, more intimately, more physically, than is possible when convention "scenographic" values are enforced (Howett, 1993). She also suggests that it might be useful to consider landscape design as a living process rather than a static product. In this way, the designer might be able to create a more holistic environmental experience that would incorporate other senses besides sight and give people the opportunity to participate with landscapes more thoroughly, particularly in terms of bodily and emotional encounters (Howett, 1993).

Encouraged by the interests of researches in landscape experience, some new issues and themes have been raised during the last thirty years, such as landscape and memory (Birksted, 2000), landscape and time (Tuan, 1977), landscape and motion (Conan, 2003). These new approaches have aimed to associate landscape and human’s consciousness, and challenge static, linear, and object-in-general approaches. These new themes have begun to focus on the way landscape is presented or represented.
As James Corner (1992: 243) maintained, "A Central characteristic of the often ambiguous term "landscape" is that it is first a schema, a representation, a way of seeing the external world, and, based on one's point of view, such schemata vary significantly... Landscapes are thus the inevitable result of cultural interpretation and the accumulation of representational sediments over time; they are thereby made distinct from "wildernesses" as they are constructed or layered". Landscape is not simply "an ameliorative or restorative practice, but is more precisely a figurative and representational art, providing culture with a sense of existential orientation through the construction of a built symbolic environment" (Corner, 1992: 244). Inspired by artists' creative activities, Corner (1992: 243) argues that the interaction between designer and media is a process of "engagement", during which "there occurs a spontaneity of feeling and expression arising both from a reactive response to the medium and from an imaginative source deep within... the body and the imaginal are joined, inextricably involved with one another in a concentrated and creative, yet unselfconscious, unity". This experiential approach to landscape design is noticeably different to those approaches which treat design activity as a “problem-solving” process.

The goals of contemporary studies of visual media are not only to improve design efficiency and effectiveness, but also to encourage disclosure and discovery of the complexity of landscape. The possibilities of invention expand as knowledge of the medium expands. Form, phenomena, temporal and spatial narrative, ecological process, technology, cultural meaning and context surface to become ingredients of landscape redefined (Horrigan, 1996). Advocating a break with formal rules, linear narrative, pictorialization and the suspension or freezing of space and time, these perspectives on visual media encourage us to break away from formalism, historicism, and modernism (Horrigan, 1996).

As mentioned above, through their close connection to construction activity and
visual perception, projection and perspective-based drawing became (at least until recently) the most dominant visual media in our design processes. The dominance of projection and perspective drawing inevitably provoked the dominance of certain landscape experience. Space and time, and body and movement are perhaps some of the most central issues in rethinking landscape experience. Landscape drawings and paintings are both restricted and influenced by image-making technology, and are also determined by the way humans experience a landscape.

As an important part of context, the emergence and prevalence of digital visual media nowadays in landscape architecture also call for the exploration on the relationship between visual media and landscape experience. Animation and Virtual Reality technology will change not only the way designers present and express their idea by providing them with the realistic computer-generated images, but also the way they think landscape through visual media. Narrative and interactive characteristics of computer-generated animation and Virtual Reality will break through static non-temporal, homogeneous restrictions of perspective-based visual media and bring our understanding of visual media into a new level. Studies on pre-modern visual media and rethinking perspective-based visual media are the necessary part of prospect on potential of future visual media.

4. Significance of the Study of Pre-modern Chinese Visual Media and Landscape Experience

When landscape architecture as a discipline and profession, which had grown up in the western context, was introduced into China at the first half of the 20th century, its contrast to pre-modern landscape ideologies resulted in a dilemma. Firstly, traditional Chinese landscape ideology was denied the opportunity to develop. Based on pre-modern experience, consciousness and Feng Shui theory,
traditional Chinese landscape ideology was not established as a scientific theory. Along with the return of many designers, researchers, and educators from America and Europe since the beginning of the 20th century, modern architecture came into being in China. Several architectural departments and faculties were established in Chinese universities, such as the Southeast University and the Tsinghua University at the beginning of the 20th century. Nearly ninety years afterward, landscape was annexed to modern architecture education and practice systems which were dominated by ideas from universities in America (since many the first generation of architects in China graduated from universities in America, including Liang Sicheng, Yang Tingbao, Tong Jun) or the Bauhaus modernist education system. Since then, our discourses on landscape and garden have been established on the basis of modernist design language and methodologies.

Visual media took a very crucial role in this transformation. In the first half of the 20th century, some forerunners such as Liang Sicheng, (梁思成, 1901-1972, Chinese architectural educationalist and historian) Liu Dunzhen (刘敦桢, 1897-1968, Chinese architectural educationalist and historian) began to survey, measure and record Chinese ancient buildings and gardens using systematic modern visual media, including projection, perspective and photography. This work is very significant in Chinese landscape history, not only because it provided many researches afterward with precious data and material on these disappearing buildings and landscapes, but also it laid a bed stone of modernist exploration and attitudes towards traditional landscape. In these kinds of explorations and researches, traditional landscapes are like static specimens under the microscope. Traditional design and construction activity vanished with the arrival of modernity in landscape architecture in China.

On the other hand, the particularity of Chinese traditional landscape aesthetic and experience made and makes it difficult to be entirely assimilated into western
lacks knowledge of Chinese landscape aesthetics. If we briefly review the understanding of Chinese landscape aesthetics of western scholars, we find this gap between the different landscape ideologies of each culture. In the early 19th century, Chinese landscapes, especially gardens, were thought of by western scholars as the embodiment of a “grotesque and monstrous” taste. Some authors expressed their dislike of Chinese gardens in straightforward terms (Clunas, 1997). At the same time, others, such as Steele in the 1930s, took a strong interest in Chinese gardens. For Steele, the Chinese garden was the sanctuary of the introvert. He insisted that his purpose was not to research about China, but to use “China as an illustration for his propaganda for certain ideas and moods of gardens and garden designers” (Clunas, 1997: 10). Until now, the understanding of Chinese landscape aesthetics has already been transformed from “dislike” to “know”, and even “appreciation”.

As part of a rethinking of dominant dualisms in western mindset, Chinese institutional, irrational and holistic ideology as “other” to European ideology was re-introduced into western ideological and cultural horizons. The establishment of a valid cross-cultural mutual understanding became possible. The correlative, non-dualistic, and non-linear thinking in Chinese pre-modern ideology has attracted many researchers’ attention. Since Heidegger, a phenomenological approach to Chinese pre-modern ideology has been one of the most important attempts to establish mutual communication (Zhang, 1995).

Nevertheless, Clunas (1997) still raised a potential problem in understanding Chinese landscape aesthetics. If we recognize that Chinese landscape aesthetics was strongly linked to the concept of “nature” in culture, then the understanding of nature will definitely influence landscape ideology. As Clunas (1997: 12) identifies, “Chinese garden is an expression of artistic ideas and conceptions that have emerged from an intimate feeling for Nature, the Chinese garden has retained a more intimate contact with untrammeled nature”. Nature and
landscape consciousness in Chinese landscape history was an issue which constantly changed and shifted. Chinese landscape experience and aesthetics is not a fixed general idea, but a more embodied and concrete consciousness in different periods of time and areas, and is strongly connected with the evolution of "self-being", especially of the scholar class. The diversity and evolution of the concept of nature and landscape consciousness in Chinese landscape history are very likely to be ignored by western researchers. "Chinese landscape style" and "Chinese landscape aesthetic" are also likely to be treated as a "timeless" concept by mistake. These problems inevitably prevent us from valid cross-culture studies. It also becomes a part of the motivation of this research to clarify these problems.

Gebser (1986) characterizes the evolution of human's consciousness into three stages: pre-perspective, perspective, and aperspectival, which perhaps could be seen to correspond with pre-modern, modern, and post-modern periods. Perspective, as a way to draw, look at and think through space, also characterises a distinct ontology and epistemology of certain periods. Before consciousness and attitudes of perspective came into being, holistic, intuitive and irrational thinking was dominant, and can be characterized as "pre-perspective". With the development of perspective theory during the Renaissance in Europe, which encouraged the pursuits of the three-dimensionality of space, spatiality and temporality in human consciousness became separated into different concepts. Perspectival knowledge and technique and the separation between spatiality and temporality are one of the most significant features of the perspective epoch. In perspective epoch after Renaissance, positivistic ideology and rational thinking developed rapidly. The dichotomy between the subjective and objective, body and mind became dominant. Even if in the last century, when perspective as an art representation and design media were challenged, its ideological and philosophical support still had a deep influence on contemporary ideology. Rethinking projection and perspective-based drawing and their hegemony on
landscape architecture is inevitably closely connected to rethinking its epistemological support.

Gebser (1986) points out that the understanding of pre-perspective and perspective epoch point to an "aperspectival" epoch, in which new consciousness will come into being. The concept of an aperspectival epoch is not only supported by the results of modern physics, but also by developments in the visual arts and literature, where the incorporation of time as a fourth dimension into previously spatial conceptions has formed the initial basis for manifesting the "new" (Gebser, 1986)\(^1\). Gebser (1986) emphasizes that "aperspectival" is not to be thought of as merely the opposite or negation of "perspectival"; the antithesis of "perspectival" is "unperspectival." An aperspectival approach and attitude "expresses a process of liberation from the exclusive validity of perspectival and unperspectival, as well as pre-perspectival limitations."\(^2\) A perspectival world-view accepts that a given object can be viewed from a number of locations by various observers, with many possible interpretations. An aperspectival world-view increases the universe of all possible points of view to include the changing perspective of individuals over time. The aperspectival world, therefore, can be seen from any point, by any observer, not only at the present moment, but also at any past or future point as well.

Apparently, as Gebser (1986) alleged, we are situated in rethinking perspectival, positivist, and modernist attitudes' dominance in our ideology. Re-evaluating pre-modern and pre-perspective ideology is very helpful. This is the significance of this research. By reviewing pre-modern visual media's close connection to landscape experience, I attempt to encourage a rethinking of the status of

\(^1\) Original text, Please see http://www.integraleweltsicht.de/Gebser-Texte/gebser-texte_u_g-englisch.htm accessed in 15-02-2005

\(^2\) Original text, Please see http://www.integraleweltsicht.de/Gebser-Texte/gebser-texte_u_g-englisch.htm accessed in 15-02-2005
contemporary design media, and the prospects for an aperspectival visual media.

5. Structure of Content

In this section of the introduction, I summarise the main content and structure of my research. The whole thesis is organised in two parts. The first part, which includes the first three chapters, is an historical exploration of three of the most influential media on Chinese pre-modern landscape ideology, aesthetics and the evolution of landscape design. Here, by “historical exploration”, I mean an exploration of these visual media in historical context: their emergence, development and maturation, and their influence on landscape design at that time. The second part, including the final three chapters, is a theoretical exploration of the close connection between these pre-modern visual media and landscape experience and what they reveal about the nature of landscape experience. Here, by “theoretical exploration” I mean an exploration in contemporary context, which does not emphasize “historical facts”, but the significance to our contemporary landscape discourse.

Chapter one focuses on ancient maps and the kinds of landscape experience they reveal to us. Firstly, their germination in ancient China was closely linked to the function of ancient drawing. Ancient maps underwent a transition from a religious device as a means to validate self-existence into a media having practical usage to record environment. In this circumstance, ancient maps disclose the way ancient Chinese perceived and mentally constructed landscape. By categorizing the approaches of ancient maps to landscape into two groups: quantitative and qualitative, I attempt to examine these two approaches to built environment in ancient China. One is based on the mathematics and geometric theory and attempts to convey quantitative features of landscape, distance, size, dimension, and scale. On the other hand, qualitative maps are more concerned about
qualitative features, such as spatial structures, patterns and relationships.

In the second chapter, traditional landscape painting will be explored as another kind of visual media with deep influence on Chinese landscape ideology and aesthetics. In the development of Chinese traditional landscape painting, scholar artists opposed realism, the emergence and application of perspective theory, and insisted that landscape painting was a form of self-expression. The connection between intention and landscape scenes became one of the most important criterions and accordingly became one of the most significant principles in landscape aesthetics.

Chapter three explores the influence of the visual illustration in prints on landscape aesthetics and design profession. It encouraged the emergence of garden design as a profession, and brought landscape aesthetics into everyday life of common people. The widespread use and circulation of prints played an important role in garden mania and the development of garden design profession after the 17th century.

These first three chapters of the research establish a basis to further explore the relationship between visual media and landscape experience in ancient China. These three visual media emerged at different times in Chinese history, and made their different impressions on landscape ideology, aesthetics and experience. In previous Chinese landscape history researches, landscape painting has been the sole visual media fully concerned. Nevertheless, the other two media have equivalent importance in Chinese landscape history.

Following the first part, the second part of my research will be expanded according to several key themes of landscape experience. The fourth chapter focuses on one of the most important epistemological issues of experience: space and time. As Gebser (1986) mentioned, after the Renaissance, human civilization
went into a perspectival epoch, in which spatiality became the most important category in experience. Accordingly, built environment design became the art of space. Temporality lost its position in the discourse of experience and visual media. Perspective-based visual media achieved a high sense of space by casting away temporal elements of experience. After some influential researchers' endeavour, such as Bergson (1922, 2001), Tuan (1974, 1977), Corner (1992, 1999a) and Casey (1993, 2002), temporality came back as one of the most important concepts of experience. In recognition of temporality and its position in experience, by reviewing Chinese pre-modern visual media, I attempt to reveal the importance of temporality in landscape experience and the in-separability of space and time.

The fifth chapter focuses on the ontological issue of experience: the body and bodily experience. In the dichotomy between objective and subjective, inside and outside, the body's position in landscape experience has become absent. Phenomenological philosophers, such as Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, point to the body's crucial position in experience. Some recent researchers, such as Leder (1990), and Turner (1996) have examined the phenomenon of the absence of the body in contemporary ideology, and its cultural significance. The development of all kinds of technology sets our bodies free from labour and tiredness, and ensures our bodies are not often disclosed to nature. We seem to do our best to transcend the limits of the body to a "decorporealized existence" (Leder, 1990). At the same time, the arousal of interest in the body is the inevitable outcomes of long term ideological evolution of western industrial society (Turner, 1996). In my research, I used bodily experience as a thread to review Chinese pre-modern visual media. In ancient maps, we can find a body-centre experience mode was often imprinted. At the same time, the body also was used as both a microcosm and an isomorphism of landscape in pre-modern map-making. In another words, ancient people liked to structure landscape as a body, and to understand landscape based
on their knowledge of own bodies. In pre-modern Chinese landscape painting, we can also find that bodily spontaneity deeply influenced Chinese aesthetics theory. In landscape painting, the spontaneous, improvisational, and bodily experience and encounter with landscape became a significant feature. In these visual media, we might realize that landscape experience is a corporealized, and embodied existence.

In the sixth chapter, firstly, I will identify the dominance of the dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity in landscape experience and aesthetics studies. The dichotomy between subjective and objective is deeply rooted in the belief in visual observation and conceptual articulation in western ideology. By reviewing Chinese pre-modern visual media, especially landscape painting and wood-block pictures, we may find that spiritual resonance in Chinese traditional aesthetics refuse the existence of the dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity. The concept of “engaged seeing” in Chinese pre-modern visual media and “journey” in landscape experience are the most distinct examples of intuitive, reciprocal, and performative engagement which break down the boundary between the Subject and the Object in experience. As Wu Guangming points out, journey is a performative activity as “peripatetic and ambiguous, thinking 'driving' itself 'around'” (see Fung, 2000: 130), and landscape experience is a process that “the locus of the dynamic peripatetic I (a demonstrative) is evoked by the situation, where the I is situated. And the I begin to tell a story, by confirming what is the case” (see Fung, 2000: 245). At the end of this chapter, by examining a 16th-century horizontal wood-block handscroll of a Chinese garden: The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图), I attempt to find out the mapping between “engaged seeing” in this picture, and the “journey in stillness and motion” in this “virtual” garden.

In summary, the second part of the research provides a cross-culture comparative
exploration on philosophical approaches to landscape experience, and brings Chinese pre-modern visual media studies back to contemporary landscape philosophical and theoretical discussion.

Finally, I would like to explain the format of names of Chinese artists and landscape researchers in this thesis. In order to make it easy to check the Chinese literature, I follow the Chinese way to put the surname first and the first name second. Also, after the main body of the thesis, there is attached an English version of Chinese history chronicle at the end so that readers can have a big picture of the period of each dynasty in Chinese history.
Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

The map is a visual medium which has been and is still widely used in geography, built environmental design, and even in everyday life. When travelling in an unacquainted city, we rely on maps to locate ourselves and find our way. Maps help us to mentally construct the city. Architects, urban designers and landscape architects use maps and survey drawing as the visual materials in design processes and even as two-dimensional "substitutes" for the real environment. At the beginning of the design process, through field trip and survey, designers aim to relate the information in map and survey drawing to real landscape elements in site. After clarifying all the relevant information on the map, designers usually start to analysis landscape elements, relation, and pattern, based on these visual media. When the concept and idea is constructed, many proposal drawings, such as master plan, plans, sections, and even detail drawings are made on the basis of maps and survey drawings in various scales, which provided designers with topological, spatial and other relevant information. Generally, maps and survey drawings are still necessary devices in design processes.

Contemporary scientific cartography provided us with the methods of projecting the surface of the earth onto two-dimensional picture plane (holographic map being an exception), with predetermined scale, orientation system or other routines (Schlihtmann, 1985). According to Campbell (2001), a map has several important characteristics, such as using graphic symbols to represent features of environment. Different from other images, such as aerial photos, most maps are not "realistic", but abstract, full of many symbols to represent abstract features of
landscape, both visible features, such as mountains, rivers, or habitats, and invisible features, such as administrative boundaries, population density, or climate. Briefly, maps have their own specialised abstract graphic language.

The maps and survey drawings which contemporary designers use are usually provided by cartographers and surveyors, and generally thought to be very precise, indisputable and authoritative. So, is the map a precise visual media which truly projects the environment? Is it an "uninventive" and "unimaginative" mirror of the world? Many contemporary geographers, anthropologists and landscape researchers have brought forward their opinions (Corner, 1999b, Corner and MacLean, 1996, Cosgrove, 1999, Ge, 1998, Ge, 2000). In James Corner's (1999b: 213) words; "Mapping is a fantastic cultural project, creating and building the world as much as measuring and describing it". Maps reveal the significant features of the self-image in the culture in which they belong (Smith, 1998). At the same time, map-making is not only a process of drawing and measuring visible or invisible landscape features, but is a series of processes, such as visualising, conceptualising, recording, representing and creating spaces graphically (Cosgrove, 1999). We could say it is both inventive and imaginative. We might say that the map reveals not only the features of a landscape, but also reveals some inherent natures of ourselves, such as how we perceive, experience and mentally construct landscape. In this sense, it is merely an illusion that maps project the world onto paper as precisely and simply as a mirror copy. Our ontological presence is unavoidably deeply rooted in the process of mapping, and maps (Corner and MacLean, 1996).

Whilst we have relied on maps in built environmental design and research for a long time, the maps themselves, as cultural and inventive visual media, have only attracted the attention of researchers and designers in recent several decades. In China, although ancient maps were largely used in landscape and urban history
study, how these maps themselves influenced the built environmental design is still a little researched area. Questions about the relationship between the ancient maps and landscape experience still remain unanswered.

In this part of my research, the ancient map is presented as one of the most important visual media in Chinese landscape history. In the first section, the general status of early maps in China will be explored. The germination of the ancient map was strongly linked to the increasing importance of drawing in administration and design. In ancient China, some maps have "quantitative" features, such as grids, scales and the application of geometry, which improved the efficiency and preciseness of administration and design process. These quantitative features of maps and their roles in built environmental design will be explored in the second section. On the other hand, there still exist some "qualitative" features in the ancient Chinese maps, which we can see in a large portion of the ancient maps in museums and ancient publications. In these "qualitative" features, precise quantitative details and characteristics of landscape are ignored, while the configuration, orientation, and relative relationship of each landscape element are strongly emphasized. The "qualitative" features of the ancient Chinese map will be explored in the third section of this chapter.

In my research, more precisely, "quantitative" and "qualitative" are not two categories of maps, but two approaches to experience, mentally construct and describe environment. In this sense, we could say that they are not representation or realistic depiction, but more like a schema which reflects the perception pattern of ancient Chinese. Through reviewing some examples of ancient maps, I attempt to link ancient maps, landscape experience, and the development of early built environmental design in China.
1.1 The Germination of the Map in Ancient China

The Columbia Encyclopaedia (The Columbia Encyclopaedia: map, 2001) identifies that “cartography, or mapmaking, antedates even the art of writing. Diagrams of areas familiar to them were made by Marshall Islanders, Eskimo, Native Americans, and many other preliterate peoples.” In the Chinese context, the question as to whether maps came into being earlier than writing characters remains questionable. It is generally accepted that Chinese pictograph character came from ancient drawings, or we might say that there existed a long period, when drawing and writing were one thing. Therefore in early ancient China, the boundary between writing characters and drawings was quite obscure.

Some Chinese ancient legends attribute the invention of drawing and writing characters to an officer called Cang Jie (倉頡) under a great emperor Huang Di (黃帝), who conquered territories of many minorities and started to shape the dominant culture in Neolithic age China. In order to help the emperor Huang Di to control minorities and their culture, Cang Jie kept seeking a sign system to blazon forth the mercy and benignity of the emperor Huang Di and to pacify “uncivilized” minorities (Zheng, 1985). By observing the astronomical phenomena and geological profile of mountains and rivers, and scrutinizing texture of animals and vegetations, Cang Jie invented a simple system of signs “wen” (文, literally text and grain) to signify the cosmos and everything on the earth (Zheng, 1985). Apparently, it seems incredible that a certain man could invent drawings or texts so dramatically, but these legends suggest that the pictographic characters came into being as a specific kind of drawings. More strictly, this “wen” is both visual and linguistic. From the ancient Chinese pictograph characters, we can find that characters have a graphic nature. For example, You (園, garden) is a picture of an area full of plants and surrounded by a wall; Su (宿, lodge) is a pattern with a person crouching on the mat; Gong (宮,
palace) is an image of a building with pitched roof; and Jia (家, home) is profile of a house with a livestock in it (Liu, 1984) [plate 1-1]. Even people from different areas and cultures can start to read and write these pictograph characters quite easily. The graphic nature of ancient characters makes them easily understood and to be distributed widely. Briefly, the pictographic character is one member of the family of ancient drawings.


In The Columbia Encyclopaedia (The Columbia Encyclopaedia: map, 2001), a map is defined as a “conventionalized representation of spatial phenomena on a plane surface... maps are selective and may be prepared to show various quantitative and qualitative facts, including boundaries, physical features, patterns, and distribution. Each point on such a map corresponds to a geographical position.” According to this definition, maps are made to record and represent spatial phenomena, such as landscape, habitat, or even the cosmos.

In excavated Chinese Neolithic drawings, we find some “map-like” drawings. Plate 1-2 is an example, which might depict an event of a triumphant return from a battle or a hunt (Li, 1997). In this drawing, the circle shape in the centre of this image could be a moat, fence or circular road around the village. Several roads approach to the centre of village. In the centre of the village, there are some buildings and livestock (Li, 1997). The profile of all the buildings inclined centripetally. In Plate 1-3, another ancient rock curving drawings about a habitat, the big tent in the centre of picture quite likely was the place where necromancer or leader lived, which is surrounded by many smaller tents (Gai, 1995).
The reason I identify these drawings as "map-like" is because although these drawings have some information about landscape and environment, which may be dominant in the whole picture, these pictures were still mainly used to describe a scene and event, not purposive graphic description and representation of environment. According to the studies of archaeologists (Gai, 1995, Li, 1997),
these drawings were not made only for visual pleasure or as records. These rock curving drawings have distinct religious function and are relevant to certain religious rites. If so, these images were not made for transmitting or accumulating information or knowledge, but for establishing a link between God and human. Therefore, they can not be exactly categorized into maps, according to our contemporary definition of map.

The map, as visual media used purely to describe, represent, and visualize geographic, landscape and built environmental information as we mean it today came into being along with the gradual change of role of images in transmitting and communicating information. The earliest discourse we can see today about the function of transmitting and communicating information in Chinese historical literature is the chapter Xici Zhuan (系辞传) in Zhou Yi. (周易, about the 11th century B.C., a compilation of many sages’ speech in China)

*The book can not carry all we want to say, what we said can not carry what we think. Does that mean we can not see the sages’ thought? Not really, these sages elucidate their thought through visual images.* [My translation]

《系辞传》：书不尽言，言不尽意。然则，圣人之意，其不可见乎，子曰：圣人立象以尽意。1

From this paragraph, we can find out that Chinese ancient ideologists, to some extent, had doubts about the linguistic expression of thought and recognized the importance of intuitive understanding through visual images. In this mindset, visual thinking and visual media became very crucial in communication. In

---

Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

General Recordation (通志), Zheng Qiao (郑樵, 1103-1162, Chinese ancient historian) emphasized the difference between text and image in communication.

*Image is simple and plain, while literature is profound and complicated. We make an image in order to simplify the meaning, while we make a literary description in order to enrich the meaning. Ancient scholars liked to put images on the left page and literature on the right page of a book, so that we can extract the profile from images and the truth from the literature.* [My translation]

Zheng Qiao's discourse about “image is simple and plain, while literature is profound and complicated” and “we can extract the profile from images and the truth from the literature” seems to over-simplify the function of images and overlook the potential of images in communication, therefore still remains questionable. Nevertheless, Zheng Qiao still put an emphasis on importance of images in communication since its direct and intuitive characteristics, compared to the indirect and rational characteristics of literary description (Liu, 1992).

The acknowledgement of the importance of images in communication suggests the subtle shift of roles which drawings played in ancient China. As early as the Xi Zhou (西周, the 11th century B.C. to 771 B.C.) period in China, there already existed some literal recordation about the wide use of maps in administrative and

---

design activities, such as urban planning and architectural design (Liu and Zhou, 1996). According to Chinese ancient literature Zhou Li (周礼, B.C.770- 476, a book compiled about the social system and regulation of the Zhou dynasty, B.C. 11th century to B.C. 771), there were fourteen kinds of positions in government making maps or using maps as necessary instrument in daily administration (Liu and Zhou, 1996). The most often used maps are architectural master plans, city maps, water conservancy working maps and mausoleum planning maps (Liu and Zhou, 1996). The design and planning of city, palace, and mausoleums of the royal family was the most crucial issue for an ancient empire. Without them, the empire could be thought illegitimate (Pan, 2001). Also, the activity of presenting a map to emperor usually was supposed to be a gesture of pledging allegiance, since the map recorded much important information about the territory. In Shang Shu (尚书, before the 2nd B.C., the first historical chronicle in Chinese history), there was a recordation of the presenting of a map. An officer named Peng Lai (伴来) offered a map to help the emperor Cheng Wang (成王) to locate the site of Luo Yang (洛阳) city (《尚书·洛诰》记载：伴来，以图及献卜。) (Gu, 1995) [Plate 1-4]. Also, in the legend of Jin Ke (荆轲) who tried to assassinate the emperor Qin (秦王), Jin Ke pretended to present map in order to get close to and assassinate the emperor Qin, since presenting map was a friendly and obedient gesture, which was unlikely to raise the emperor’s suspicion [Plate 1-5].

Chinese ancient maps varied in terms of purposes, methods of drawing, and graphic languages. Plates 1-6 and 1-7 are ancient maps excavated by archaeologists in tombs of the Han period (汉, B.C. 206- 220 A.D.) in southern China. In plate 1-6, rivers are strongly emphasized by dark colour, and mountains, roads and towns are also represented in detail. The plate 1-7 focused on military areas, positions of garrisons, and fortresses. Different colours were used to distinguish the different military territories. Both these two maps were made in several decades before B.C. 168, but their graphic languages are not same, as they
fulfilled different purposes.


Plate 1- 5: Jin Ke Assassinating the Emperor Qin, A.D 151, Rubbing Stone Engraving, the Wuliang Shrine, Shandong.

Plate 1- 6: Southern Shangcha Area Map, Before B.C 168, Colour on Silk, Ht: 96cm, Wd: 96cm, Hu Nan Provincial Museum. 国深平防区地形图，亦称长沙国南部地形图，湖南长沙市东郊马王堆三号汉墓
Here, I do not attempt a detailed categorization of these ancient maps according to different uses. Instead, in order to explore the link between ancient maps and landscape experience, I like to point out the quantitative and qualitative approaches to landscape in these maps. The concepts of quantitative and qualitative here are not only map-making methods or technology, but also two different ways to understand, experience, and describe landscape. Quantitative map-making was influenced by mathematics and geometry theory, through which, ancient human tried to grasp and transmit quantitative features of landscape, such as distance, angle and area. The mathematical and geometrical preciseness is the most important criterion to evaluate them. In this broad sense, the ancient quantitative drawing making laid a cornerstone for the architectural, landscape, and urban design drawings of later periods, and became the most privileged instrument in built environmental design profession. On the other hand, in those
ancient qualitative maps, quantitative features of landscape were usually ignored. Some qualitative features, such as the comparative spatial relationship, configuration and layout of various landscape elements, are more concerned. These qualitative maps distinctly reflect a landscape perception pattern, mental construction of landscape of ancient human. The lack of mathematic and geometric quantitative preciseness of these maps does not mean they are less useful. On the contrary, from the ancient maps we can see today, the qualitative maps were widely used and transmitted. The following two sections are going to explore these two categories of ancient Chinese maps individually and their influence on built environmental design.

1.2 Quantitative Features in Ancient Chinese Maps

A drypoint map, Zhao Yu Tu (兆域图), roughly twenty-three centuries old was excavated by archaeologists in China in 1970s. It is supposed to be the earliest existing map in China (Pan, 2001) [Plate 1-8]. This map is a planning drawing for a feudal royal family cemetery in about the 3rd century B.C. Plate 1-9 is a reconstructive illustration based on the original map. In the centre of this map, the five mausoleums of king, queen, and other three wives of king were arranged in an orderly way. At the same time, the major buildings, such as palaces and pavilions, walls and gates were marked and annotated clearly by textual description (Yang, 1987). After a long period attempting to decode the ancient textual description on the map, archaeologists agreed that this map is a drawing made for design purposes. There exist thirty textual notations and thirty-eight numeral notations to indicate the distance and dimension between different elements in this map (Yang, 1987). Also there are many similarities between contemporary built environmental design drawing making and Zhao Yu Tu, for example, the use of lines in different weights to indicate the profiles of different
buildings, the use of notations on dimension and functions of each building. Quite
amazingly, this drawing was precisely made at the scale of 1:500 (Pan, 2001, Yang,
1987). This precious drawing shows us that as early as two thousands three
hundreds years ago some maps already began to have quantitative features and be
used in built environmental design.

Plate 1- 8: The Drypoint Map of Zhong Shan Emperor Cemetery. 中山王兆域图。See Yang, Hongxun
Archaeology (Ed, Yang, H.), Cultural Relic Press, Beijing.

Plate 1- 9: The Reconstructive Drawing of Zhong Shan Emperor Cemetery. 中山王兆域复原图。
Collected Papers of Architectural Archaeology (Ed, Yang, H.), Cultural Relic Press, Beijing.

In ancient Chinese built environmental design, quantitative features of maps and
design drawings were developed through certain needs. The most important one is
the requirement of social institution: Li Zhi (礼制, social and moral institution).
Having its root in ancient religion, through a long time development, Li Zhi
already permeated the ideological and social administrative system. In daily life, social and moral institutions controlled and ran the country, as Li (1989) mentioned, as an unwritten law in ancient China. The institution compPELLingly standardized individual activities, speeches, and even costumes in order to achieve certain collective stability. From a servant up to emperor, every individual had a certain status, responsibilities and rights. As the essence of Confucianism (the dominant ideology on institution and morality in ancient China), social institution ignored the individuality and established a "beyond-individuality" regulation (Li, 1989). For the ancient Chinese, built environmental design was not only an activity to meet the practical satisfaction of human, but also the embodiment of social, moral and religious institution as well. The institutional needs resulted in the control and regulation of size, scale and dimensions of city, landscape and buildings (Hou, 1997). The institutional function of city, landscape and buildings became the social background of the wide application of quantitative drawing in built environmental design.

At the same time, mathematics and geometry also made the development of quantitative map-making possible. In Wei Jin Southern and Northern period (魏晋南北朝, 220-598), although the whole country underwent many wars and much turbulence, the ideology, culture and art were stimulated more than ever. The metaphysical exploration in ideology aroused the interests in mathematics in the intellectuals. Liu Hui (刘徽, 225-275), Zu Chongzhi (祖冲之, 420-500)’s contributions on mathematics and geometry seems very outstanding in that period (Needham, 1971).

A quantitative map is the outcome of precise site survey and measuring processes, which provide design and planning with necessary quantitative information. According to early ancient literature Zhou Li, site survey and measuring were a necessary step in most of the important urban planning and architectural design at
that time (Ge, 1998). In these surveys, apart from qualitative features of site, such as climate, hydrological and geological status, some quantitative topological measurement about distance and gradient were carried out as well. Plate 1-10 is an illustration depicting the situation of a site survey in the Zhou period. From this picture, we can see that some instruments were used. Reviewing ancient literature, we can find out that there were mainly four kinds of devices commonly used in site survey and measuring: the altometer (the device to measure the height), the level bottle (the device to observe whether the ground of site is horizontal), the distance scale (the device to measure the distance), and the compass (the device used to measure orientation).

Plate 1-10: The Situation of Tai Bao’s Site Selection and Survey in the Zhou Period, 太保相宅图, Drawn After Literal Scripture and Visual Illustrations, 1900, Compiled and Edited by Qing Government.

Plate 1-12: The Picture of Ancient Level Bottle Device in *The Principles in Military* (《武经总要》, A Book about Military Knowledge and Strategy Compiled at the End of the 10th Century).

Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

The plate 1-11 shows us the application of altometer (a visual illustration from *The Principles in Military*, 宋武經總要, a book about military knowledge and strategy compiled at the end of the 10th century) in ancient China, which is quite similar to the theodolite we use today. Surveyors locate the scale at the position to be measured, observe through a frame (similar to the small mounted telescope in theodolite nowadays) and read the mark on the scale. Plate 1-12 is an illustration of Chinese ancient level bottle from *The Principles in Military* (宋武經總要), which is a level bottle device. Surveyors get to know whether the site is horizontally even through observing the three level bottles and two plummets on the device. Plate 1-13 is an illustration of Chinese ancient distance measurement vehicle in *The General Principles in Mathematics*, (唐算法綱宗, by Cheng, Dawei, 程大位, 1533-1606) by which surveyors placed a rope with units between two points to be measured and acquired the distance between them by reading the scale on the rope.

These survey devices made it possible for surveyors to transform landscape into a mathematic and geometric space. Through the process of measuring and survey, landscape space begins to be separated from intuitive experience and developed into a mathematic, abstract and indirect perception.

In *Liu Hui’s* (劉徽, about 225-275) work *Calculation Scripts on Island* (海岛算经), he elucidated nine geometrical and mathematical propositions about survey and measuring, such as how to measure the height of an island isolated in sea (望海岛), the height of the tree on the top of the hill (望松), the size of a city (望邑), the depth of a valley (望谷), the height of a tower (望楼), the width of a river (望波口), the depth of a lake (望清渊), the area of a lake (望津) and how to measure a city from the top of the hill (臨邑). In these propositions, *Liu Hui* relied on some simple devices as mentioned above, and used geometrical formulas to solve these practical problems.
Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

Pei Xiu (裴秀, 223-271), Liu Hui’s contemporary and another ancient Chinese influential geographer, developed the first systematic quantitative map-making theory in Chinese history. Pei Xiu is a very important figure in Chinese map-making history. After many year experience of map-making, he summarized six principles in precise map-making: *Fen Lu* (分率, the principle of using various scale in different maps), *Zhun Wang* (准望, a principle of orientation and spatial relation amongst location), *Dao Li* (道里, the principle of measuring the distance of road between two location), *Gao Xia* (高下, the principle of calculating comparative height), *Fang Xie* (方邪, the principle of gradient), *Yu Zhi* (迂直, the principle of measuring sloping or hilly site). In the six principles, Pei Xiu proposed a map-making theory similar to Western projection drawing (Cao, 1983). Plate 1-14 might be helpful to understand his projection theory. The first illustration is about the vertical projection. As Pei Xiu identifies, in a map, any points higher than ground, such as top of a hill, should be represented as its projection on the ground plane, i.e. cartographers need to project points in various level into a two-dimensional plane. The other two illustrations are about horizontal projection, i.e. cartographers need to indicate the linear distance between two points in order to simplify the map (Cao, 1983). Apart from these theories and methods, another important graphic device often used in Chinese map-making is the grid, which is called *Ji Li Hua Fang* (计里画方) in ancient literature (Cao, 1983). The grid in ancient maps is very helpful in locating landscape elements, calculating area and distance, just like the longitude and latitude grid we use today (Cao, 1983). Plate 1-15 is an example of application of a grid much later, *Yu Di Zong Tu* (广舆图之舆地总图, 1500-1600, by Luo Hongxian, 罗洪先). At the right bottom corner of this nation-wide map, there is a notation: every grid is five hundred *li* (里, Chinese ancient distance unit, about 500 meter) square. In such large scale map, the application of grid also can help to achieve certain degree of preciseness.
From these ancient maps and map-making theories, we can find out, briefly, that these geographers and mathematicians treated the landscape as a plane, and the map as the two dimension projection of the three dimensional landscape. Every crucial landscape elements, such as mountains, rivers and cities should be comparatively precisely and abstractly projected onto map. Briefly, this group of maps present a geometric approach to landscape. In the process of quantitative map-making, the activity of measuring could be said to reduce the profound and poetic landscape into abstract mathematic and geometric attributes, such as distance, coordination value, and angle. Corner (Corner and MacLean, 1996: 18) summarize the nature of measuring as “Measure as quantum refers to perhaps the
most obvious usage of the term: its numerical, dimensional, and quantitative function. In this sense, measure is the unit as well as the vehicle by which a particular reality is given a mathematical structure." This quantitative approach to landscape might enhance the efficiency of built environmental design, but it still might be questionable, especially its influence on landscape experience. Corner (Corner and MacLean, 1996: 17) pointed out this issue acutely:

It is perhaps paradoxical that the initial rambling and sifting through an immense, open-ended landscape would lead us to something as precise and determinate as measure. But, as we hope to argue, the determinations that are enabled by measure are themselves slippery and fictional, often veiling (or even denying) the fact that life—in its innate richness, diversity, and freedom—is predicated upon certain degrees of error, chance, and indeterminacy.

The challenge on quantitative approach into built environment and its denial of profound landscape experience, such as Corner (1996) and Hoffman (1994) identifying, revealed several problems of quantitative approach. The first problem is about the relationship between temporality in experience and quantitative approach based on geometric theory. As Hoffman mentioned in the introduction of his work Architecture Studio (Hoffman, 1994), many activities of measuring in history were seeking the unchanged and static spatial attributes of built environment through ignoring the temporality, and it almost became the pre-condition of all the measuring. Since nearly all the built environmental design professions were constructed on the basis of static geometry, temporality of our experience accordingly has been ignored as well. Another problem of quantitative approaches to landscape is the absence of the body. Hoffman (1994) maintains that with the development of technology, the activity of measuring became to rely on the "indirect instrument" more and more. In this situation, designers' body
become separated with the built environment gradually. In his work, Hoffman (1994) raises the questions about what significance the loss of "body's knowledge" has in our contemporary design. In an exploration about landscape experience, I would like to broaden my horizon into broadly quantitative drawings, not only maps.

The cogent instrumentality of quantitative drawings in built environmental design not only made them a dominant visual media in contemporary design processes, but also conceals and lets us forget that the numerical and quantitative approach to landscape can not be separated from the poetic and meaningful construction of landscape.

As mentioned above, in ancient China, the most important impetus of application of quantitative drawings was the requirement of establishing a link between institution and built environment design. In Chinese history, morality and institution were two folded concepts, which included outside activity criterion- Li (礼, rites), and inside status- Yue (乐, harmony) (Li, 1989). In the most influential ideology in early China, Confucianism, morality is the most basic and central issue. It is also a hub to establish harmonious relationship between nature and man, man and man, man and god (Li, 1989). Confucius said, "One who really loves humanity will not place anything above it. One who really hates inhumanity will practice humanity in such a way that inhumanity will have no chance to affect him" [my translation, the original text is cited from Analects 论语, 4: 6]. As Li (1989) points out, the outside rites and inside harmony can not be separated. Yue comes into being through practice of Li (rites), and rites are the manifestation and expression of Yue. In the reciprocity between rites and harmony, the Chinese specific practical rationality (different to western rationality), spontaneity, and sociality were developed, and perfect personality was achieved (Li, 1989).
The application of quantitative drawings in built environmental design ensured the layout of city meeting the institutional requirements, which reinforces class boundaries and social groups (Keswick, 1986). About the 5th century, the *Northern Wei* dynasty (北魏, 439-534) government was planning to move their capital city to *Luo Yang* (洛阳). The Emperor *Xiao Wen* (孝文帝) thought the weather of the old capital city *Ping Cheng* (平城) was too cold. Of course, the weather was not the main issue. The royal family of the *Northern Wei* dynasty was a minority race in ancient China. In order to control the whole nation, they needed to know and understand the culture of majority race: the *Han* (汉). The planning of this new capital city, for the government, was an opportunity to show their inclination to the *Han* culture. Basically, the government preferred to plan the new capital city in the *Han* people’s way (Guo, 1997). In order to learn how *Han* people plan a capital city, the government sent *Jiang Shaoyou* (蒋少游) as diplomatic missionary to *Jian Kang* city (建康, the capital city of the Southern Qi, 南齐, nowadays Nanjing city, 南京). During his stay in *Jian Kang*, Jiang mapped the layout of the city secretly and took the maps back to the *Northern Wei* government as a reference of urban design (Guo, 1997, Wu, 1988). Not only the large scale urban maps, *Jiang* also measured and made some drawings of *Luo Yang* (洛阳)'s relic of *Tai Ji* (太极) palace and even successfully restored the drawings as a three-dimensional model as the reference to the architectural design of the central building of the *Northern Wei* capital city. In this example, the significance of measuring and quantitative drawing making is not merely to enhance the accuracy and efficiency of design and construction, but to make sure the capital city was designed and constructed appropriately in term of institution. An appropriate capital city planning could consolidate the validity and legitimacy of the government.

The development of quantitative drawing in urban planning and architectural design came to a peak period during the *Tang* dynasty (唐代, 618-907). It seems
that the application of quantitative drawing as construction devices had already become a custom and official requirement in some important projects, mainly for the buildings which belonged to royal family and government at that time (Pan, 2001). The redesign and rebuilding of Ming Tang（明堂, Bright Hall, a ritual building for royal family in ancient China）in the Sui dynasty (隋代, 581-618) was a good example of the application of quantitative drawing. The construction of Ming Tang, as the most important building in which the emperor processed a religious rite, presented sacrifice and communicated with God, and became the biggest architectural design event at that time [plate 1-16]. Ming Tang was a sacred landscape to sacrifice and worship God, without which, a nation can not be a nation, and a capital city can not be capital city. In the 6th century, many historians, officers and master builders were gathered to review the historical literature and drawings to work out the proper way to redesign. Yu Wenkai (宇文愷), as the experience senior officer taking charge of urban planning and architectural design activities in the Sui dynasty, was assigned to make a proposal of Ming Tang to the emperor. In his biography, he illustrated his idea for Ming Tang with a precise 1:12 scaled drawing and a wooden model. Comparing it to some other drawings of the ancient Ming Tang in his work (明堂图议), Yu Wenkai tried to prove the historical validity and legitimacy and "built-after" effects of this building (Pan, 2001).


50
Unfortunately, we can not see these drawings and models mentioned above since they no longer exist, but there still exist some examples of quantitative drawings in built environmental design much later, which can give us a detail picture of how the designers in ancient China used quantitative maps and other drawings. In the Qing (清代, 1644-1911) dynasty, the design and construction of government projects had to be supervised by some specific departments like the Home Office in United Kingdom nowadays. Under these departments, there were many experts and craftsmen to make drawings and models. The most famous of them were from the Lei family. That is the reason this family was called Yang Shi Lei (樣式雷) (Yang Shi in ancient Chinese means design drawing and models). In Wang’s research on the Yang Shi Lei drawings and design of royal cemetery in the Qing dynasty (Wang, 1990, 1992), we can glimpse the role of these drawing in the whole design and construction process during that time.

According to Wang’s (1990, 1992) studies, every design and construction of royal family cemetery started from the site and location selection. The draftsman accompanied by the Feng Shui master took in charge of site survey, and they needed to make the Feng Shui morphology drawings of the site in order to provide design process with the basic information. According to the will of the emperor, draftsman should carry through the measuring and survey on the existing royal mausoleums in the preceding dynasties as the reference for new design. When the location was decided by the emperor, the designers would develop some design proposals according to the map of the site, and draftsman carried through the drawings to visualize these proposals. After several rounds of modifications, the draftsman developed construction drawing section. A whole set of systematic construction drawings, including master plan, architectural plans, elevations and many details drawings, along with the textural description would be made into several copies, which needed to be dispatched to the officers involved and all the sub-contractors. During the process of component production and construction on
site, any modification was visualized in construction drawings immediately, until the whole construction was finished, including interior design process (Wang, 1990, 1992).

Plate 1-17: Survey Drawing of Yang Shi Lei, see Wang, Qiheng (1990), Studies on Cemetery Construction and Yang Shi Lei Drawings in the Qing Dynasty, Beijing, Chinese Traditional Architecture and Garden Research Committee.

Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

Plate 1- 19: Design Drawing of Yang Shi Lei, see Wang, Qiheng (1990), Studies on Cemetery Construction and Yang Shi Lei Drawings in the Qing Dynasty, Beijing, Chinese Traditional Architecture and Garden Research Committee

Plate 1- 20: Design Drawing of Yang Shi Lei, see Wang, Qiheng (1990), Studies on Cemetery Construction and Yang Shi Lei Drawings in the Qing Dynasty, Beijing, Chinese Traditional Architecture and Garden Research Committee
From these remained drawings of *Yang Shi Lei*, [plate1-17, 18, 19, 20] we can see that those draftsmen had already started to use lines in different type and colour to make these drawings explicit according to various intentions. For example, in a master plan, the black lines refer to the topography, while the red lines refer to the boundary and profiles of building. In some detail drawings, the pink lines refer to the earth material, while the grey lines refer to the brick material and the brown lines refers to the stone material (Wang, 1990). At the same time, different scales of structural grid, legend and notation made it clear and explicit for designers and contractors. As Wang (1990) figures out, the achievement of *Yang Shi Lei* drawings will refresh our understanding of ancient architectural drawings in Chinese history.

From the maps in the Chinese Neolithic era until the construction drawings of *Lei* family, we can see the development of quantitative drawings and its influence on planning and architectural design. Although most of draftsmen used basic projection and axonometric drawings as the main methods, and lacked skills in representing spatial depth, the high skill of drawing-making that was still capable of surprising us. Whilst the architectural design and planning profited from the maturity of quantitative drawings, it could be suggested that the landscape profession were largely improved by some other tendency of visual media: qualitative maps, which influenced and nurtured some other media, such as landscape painting and printing in ancient China, until the perspective theory was introduced from Europe by missionaries in the Qing dynasty. In the next section, qualitative maps will be explored as a different approach to landscape in early ancient China.

### 1.3 Qualitative Features in Ancient Chinese Maps

In the last section, the development of quantitative features of ancient Chinese
maps and accordingly a quantitative approach to measuring and describing landscape based on mathematical and geometric thinking, which supported the evolution of the built environmental design professions in ancient China was reviewed. In this section, I attempt to explore some qualitative features of ancient Chinese maps and the landscape perception they disclose. Map is a selective device, and the qualitative features in maps are closely linked to landscape perception, understanding, experience, and mental construction. The lack of quantitative accuracy did not make qualitative maps less useful, on the contrary, if we review the existing ancient Chinese maps, we might find out that qualitative features of maps played an even more important and comprehensive role in landscape ideology.


Plate 1-21 is a map of the ideal city layout of a capital city, which appeared in an ancient book Zhou Li (周礼·考工记, B.C. 770-467). According to literary
Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

explanations with the illustration, an ideal city should be surrounded by nine *Li* (里 Chinese distance unit) long walls on each side, with three gates on each wall. There should be nine south-north roads and nine east-west streets inside... the palace in front, while the market at back; ancestor’s temple on the left and the state altar on the right... (匠人背国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九维，经涂九轨，左祖右社，前朝后市，市朝一夫) (He, 1985). In this centripetal image, apart from several simple lines indicating the layout of walls and roads, all the buildings are declined outwards. This layout might remind us of the Egyptian drawings mentioned in Arnheim’s work, *Art and Visual Perception* (Arnheim, 1956) [Plate 1-22]. When Arnheim compares Egyptian drawing to perspective drawing, he suggests an essential difference between these two methods of representation. As Arnheim (1956) mentioned, an ancient Egyptian artist might say, in the perspective drawing, the square pool is distorted; the equidistant plants are represented in gradual-changing distance. The perspective draftsman might say it is impossible to have such viewpoint as the ancient Egyptian drawing suggests. For most of us, who were educated with projection and perspective drawing theory, this drawing might look very confusing at the first glance, although some architects and landscape architects did and do still develop drawings in this way. The essential difference between these two drawings is what the aim of the representation is in these drawings? As Arnheim (1956) summarized briefly, is it what things looks like or what things are? When Arnheim examined the drawings of Egypt and Babylon’s ancient people, he figures out that they draw to suggest actual properties of the subject: the squareness of an actual square shape, the circularity of an actual circle. Comparing ancient people and children’s drawings, as Arnheim said, the perspective drawing “makes things look right by doing them wrong” (Arnheim, 1956: 115). In this point, the ancient people probably have no sophisticated skill to represent three-dimension space, but they insisted the accordance between drawing and their instinctive, intuitive experience. In this
sense, these ancient images are not only visual representation, but also perception and mental construction of spaces surround them. The perception and mental construction can not be separated into different graphic elements by any projection and perspective rules.

Just because the inherent link between the visual language of ancient qualitative map and intuitive perception, it made possible that we can study landscape perception and experience through these visual media. The first question I like to raise is what did the ancient Chinese usually put into the qualitative maps?

Plate 1-23, 24 are detailed parts of the copy of The Sailing Charts of Zheng He (郑和航海图) in the 17th century. At the order of the emperor Ming Cheng Zu (明成祖, 1360-1424), Zheng He leaded a vast fleet set sail from Su Zhou (苏州). The purpose of this voyage was both diplomatic and commercial. In diplomatic aspects, the emperor tried to establish relations with other countries. Commercially, this voyage also could expand trade relationship of the Ming dynasty. In this voyage, Zheng He took charge of a vast fleet of 62 ships manned by more than 27,800 men, including sailors, clerks, interpreters, officers and soldiers, artisans, medical men and meteorologists. The fleet sailed across the South China Sea, and reached Java and Sri Lanka. In plate 1-23, we can see that apart from the route of voyage, mountains, cities and some landmark buildings were also depicted. We can imagine that, in such a voyage map, the most important function of it is to indicate some distinct landmark to indicate the position of fleet. In plate 1-24, we can see many bridges illustrated in this map. Like mountains, and building, bridges also are the most outstanding landmark to indicate the route. In Zheng He's sailing map, those landscape elements which can help the fleet locate were illustrated. The whole map is a linear collage of many pictures of various landmarks seen by fleet along the route of their expedition. As mentioned in last section, the quantitative maps focused on the spatial
Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

c characteristics of environment. Therefore, temporality and movement were quite often ignored. In some qualitative maps like Zheng He's navigate map, the temporality and movement were fully suggested as very important elements in landscape experience.

Plate 1-23: Part of the Sailing Charts of Zheng He, Zhenghe Tu, 1405-1421, See The Recordation of Weaponry, by Yuan, Maoyi, in the 17th Century

Plate 1-24: Detail of the Sailing Charts of Zheng He, Zhenghe Tu, 1405-1421, See The Recordation of Weaponry, by Yuan, Maoyi, in the 17th Century
Apparently, the landscape elements in *The Sailing Charts of Zheng He* were chosen for specific purpose: sailing, then what about the city map? Plate 1-25 was a city map, which was quite common one in Chinese ancient local chorographical publication. In this map, the whole city is enclosed by mountains and rivers. Inside of the city, several elements were emphasized, such as roads, city gates, temples and temple of Confucius (the local places to worship Confucius, usually used for cultural public education), government buildings, and so on. In the layout of the ideal capital city in *Zhou Li* [plate 1-21], we also can see that these similar elements in urban landscape were emphasized. If one takes a trip in those Chinese cities still preserved in ancient layout, such as *Ping Yao* (平遥) in *Shan Xi* （山西）province (initially constructed in 1370), we can find that those elements works as the most important visual features [plate 1-26, 1-27, 1-28].
Chapter One: The Map in Ancient Chinese Environmental Design

Plate 1-26: City Gate of Ping Yao City (Constructed in the Ming Dynasty 1370)

Plate 1-27: City Wall of Ping Yao City (Constructed in the Ming Dynasty 1370).

Plate 1-28: City Tower of Ping Yao City (Constructed in the Ming Dynasty 1370).
Nevertheless, the visual prominence of those elements is not the only reason why they always appeared in ancient local chorographical maps. The mental prominence of these elements also is an important reason. For the ancient Chinese, the city was made up of these elements. Without these edge, entrances, exits, and heart function, a city is not a city (He, 1985). In this sense, the city map is not only a representation of what the city already is, but also of what a city should be. Both the visual and mental prominence of these elements overlapped in map, which resulted in them being the main objects in a map.

The examination of these two maps might suggest an answer to the question of what the ancient Chinese usually put into the qualitative maps: the landscape elements they saw, perceive and were mentally aware of. Apart from the landscape elements in ancient people’s awareness, ancient maps can also tell us about the spatial pattern in which ancient people mentally construct space. In Chinese ancient maps, centripetal and sequential patterns are some of the most important spatial patterns.

Plate 1-29 is an ancient map of a market in city. In this map, we can see all the kiosks were arranged in orderly lines, and there is an administrative building, a two-storied tower with drum and bell to report time. Comparing it to plate 1-2.16, 21, we find some similarity amongst them: centripetal spatial layout. This centripetal landscape pattern did not merely appear in maps, but also in many
actual landscapes. From many ancient landscape relics, such as stone-henge, Ming Tang, we can find similar centripetal landscape patterns. The centripetal pattern is a dichotomised pattern: with centre and periphery. Firstly, this centripetal pattern suggests a “perception” circle. With their body in the centre of experience, humans extend their perception outward. When moving, bodies carry a human’s perception around. It is not difficult to understand that, at the very beginning of the emergence of consciousness, self and others were defined and separated. Through studying Chinese ancient myths, Tuan (1977) visualized the cosmic pattern in ancient Chinese culture. In this pattern [plate 1-30], man was put in the centre, and surrounded by four seasons and orientation. The body-centred experience pattern also can be seen in cultures other than Chinese. This experience pattern is relevant to egocentric consciousness, which Tuan (1974) believes is the common trait in ancient consciousness. Body as “self” and objects around body as “others” were separated in individual consciousness. Tuan (1974) points out, “Since consciousness lies in the individual, an egocentric structuring the world is inescapable; and the fact that self-consciousness enables a person to view himself as an object among objects does not negate the ultimate seating of that view in an individual, egocentrism is the habit of ordering the world so that its components diminish rapidly in value away from self... egocentrism is a fantasy that manages to survive the challenges of daily experience” (Tuan, 1974: 30).

When a group of people shared a common world and cosmological view, the individual egocentrism could be expanded into “ethnocentrism”. The difference between “we and they”, real people and people less real, home ground and alien territory in ideology and culture began to come into being. As Tuan put it, “We are at the centre” and “human beings lose human attributes in proportion as they are removed from the centre” (Tuan, 1974: 31). Landscape construction was hardly an individual activity, but more an embodiment of collective identity in Chinese history. In this sense, most of landscapes, especially the sacred landscapes were the embodiment of ethnocentrism. Apparently, ethnocentrism is not the antonym to egocentrism. Contrarily it is the inevitable result of, aggrandizement and expansion of egocentrism. So there is no contradiction between egocentric experience pattern and ethnocentric experience pattern. They are quite similar. In this ethnocentric cosmic pattern, “us, our nation, and ethic”, as collective “self”, was again put in the centre position, with all the other cultures and countries dispersing in the periphery [plate 1-31]. This ethnocentric concept was quite clearly expressed in some ancient Chinese world-wide maps [Plate 1-32].
Influenced by the ethnocentric ideology, the ancient Chinese thought themselves as the central part of the world. China (中国) also was named as "central kingdom" (中国), "under heaven" (天下), and "within four seas" (四海之内) (Tuan, 1974). Starting from the centre and ending at the edge, the world was separated into several zones: imperial centre, royal domains, feudal princes, pacification zone, allied barbarians zone, and cultureless savagery zone [plate 1-31] (Tuan, 1974).

When Italian missionary Mateus Ricci (利玛窦) arrived in China in 1583, he brought a copy of European world wide map published in Rome, which attracted the attention of the Qing royal family. According to the request of government, Ricci redrew this map, brought China from the edge into comparative central area
of the map and published it. This map became the first one quite similar to contemporary world wide map in Chinese history [plate 1-33] (Yang, 2004). The projection theory which this map used undermined the world pattern in Chinese ideology, but still was accepted. Probably, at that time, Chinese people already knew they are not the centre of the world geographically; nevertheless, it did not change their belief on the central position in cultural and ideological horizon (Yang, 2004).

These maps may not be very precise quantitatively, but they distinctly reveal the egocentric or ethnocentric experience pattern of ancient human, which can be seen as the very basic pattern of human experience.

Sequential spatial pattern can also be seen as the development, extension and combination of centripetal spatial pattern. In landscape and cities, axis and sequential path were emphasized in spatial layout to visualize the hierarchy and order (Pan, 2001). Along with the axis and path, several centripetal nodes are connected together. Through marching along the path, people can undergo the emotional change brought by the comparison amongst nodes. This spatial sequence pattern was largely used in ancient Chinese landscape design. For

example, plate 1-34 is a picture of typical residential unit in Beijing (北京), from which, we can see the centripetal spatial layout. The courtyard is the central spatial elements surrounded by houses. At the same time, there is also strong sequential spatial suggestion in this layout. Starting from the entrance courtyard to the service courtyard, the spaces become more and more private.

Another example of centripetal and sequential spatial pattern is Tian Tan (天坛, The Altar to Worship Sky and Heaven, see plate 1-35). Tian Tan is the existent sacred landscape, which is most close to Ming Tang’s layout in historical recordation. Constructed in 1420, Tian Tan was the sacred landscape to worship and sacrifice heaven in the Ming and Qing dynasty, which institutionally was supposed to be at the top of the hierarchy in sacred landscape. It’s area is three times larger than the Forbidden City (紫禁城, the habitat of emperor and the location of royal administration). The north end of bounding wall is circular and represents heaven; the south part is rectangular, which represents the ground (Pan, 2001). The whole landscape has four parts: Round Podium (圜丘, the altar to worship Heaven, see plate 1-37), the Qi Nian pavilion (祈年殿, the building to worship agriculture foison, see plate 1-36), the fasting palace (斋宫, the palace where the emperor fasted), and the service area, such as Holy Musical department (神乐署), and Sacrifice Department (牺牲所). The Round Podium and Qi Nian Pavilion are the main nodes in this landscape. The distance between them is four hundreds meters, so that they became the centre in certain area and did not interfere with each other. Along the central path of Tian Tan, many cypresses were planted to define the central link between different nodes. In the rite of worship heaven, the emperor marches from south end northward, stops at each node, and processes certain rites. This spatial sequence represented a process from mundane world into a holy world, a process of purifying and tranquilizing. The path on the middle axis was raised higher and higher, in order to render an atmosphere in which through marching along the path, the emperor get closer and closer to the
heaven (Pan, 2001). Although the landscape technology and aesthetics had undergone a great change from the early ancient sacred landscape to Tian Tan constructed in the 15th century, the impact centripetal and sequential spatial patterns produced remains still intensive.

Plate 1-35: The Aerial Photo of Tian Tan, see The Collected Edition of Chinese Art, (1998), People's Publication of China, Beijing


With the development of sequential spatial pattern in Chinese ancient landscape ideology, the map also was adapted to represent this pattern. What is the difference between a map depicting a centripetal spatial pattern and a map depicting a sequential spatial pattern? The most important difference in these two kinds of spatial pattern is the change of the position of viewer. In plate 1-21, we
can find out that this map suggest the viewer was situated in the centre of the city, and look around, therefore all the city gates declined outward. In plate 1-38 and 1-39, the typical sequential spatial pattern maps, the position of viewers seem be pushed to front end of the spatial axis. The viewer is not in the centre, but at the one end of map (ie. in these two maps, at the front gate of building group), therefore, all the buildings decline in one direction, rather than in four directions [plate 1-40].

If we say that pushing viewer outside of the central position in these maps such as plate 1-38 and 1-39 could help to construct a sequential spatial pattern, then the oblique drawing could be seen as another option. Plate 1-41 is a rock-curving picture in the Han dynasty, in which the sequential spatial layout of several
courtyards was represented in oblique drawing. Through separating the picture depth dimension with the picture plane, the spatial depth was strongly emphasized [plate 1-42]. Arnheim (1956) also noticed the widely use of oblique drawing in early art history and in children’s drawings. Apart from these oblique drawings are easy to be draw and be understood, Arnheim also pointed out viewer is put into the same spatial frame as the pictorial space in these drawings. In this sense, the pictorial space seems like the extension of the space where the viewer is located. Through the unity of picture space and viewer’s space, the spatial consistency to some extent is achieved. For viewer, the picture space seems a comparatively steady and static. This spatial consistency can be seen as the first step to acquire spatiality in visual media.

Plate 1- 40: The Difference of Viewer or Drawer’s Position in Centripetal and Sequential Spatial Pattern Maps.

Plate 1- 41: Courtyard, 25-220, Rock-Curving, Height 116.5cm, Width 78.5cm, Qufu County Cultural Relic Committee, Shandong.
The drawing 1-43 is more like axonometric drawings, which is a parallel projection technique used to create pictorial drawings of objects by rotating the object on an axis relative to a projection plane to create a pictorial view. In these drawings, since the rotation of object in pictorial space, all the faces of objects were distorted and foreshortened. Therefore, the relationship between viewer and pictorial space has subtly changed. Different to oblique drawing, axonometric drawings exclude viewers outside of pictorial space. The main facade of buildings did not remain their integrality and veracity.

From the centripetal maps, oblique drawings to the axonometric drawings, we can find out that with the development of sequential spatial pattern in landscape design, the representation of spatial depth in two-dimensional media also became
the central issue in visual media. The central position of viewer was moved to the end of spatial sequence, or even pushed outside of the spatial frame in axonometric drawings. The maps or drawings changed from a "viewer-centred" picture space into an "object-centred" picture space. This tendency of pursuing the objectivity and integrality of space very likely has encouraged the emergence of systematic perspective theory in China, as it happened in Europe. But since the emergence of landscape painting and its predominance in landscape experience and aesthetics later on, the tendency of pursuing objectivity and integrality of space stepped back. Chinese ancient landscape experience and aesthetics failed to become the congener of Europe landscape experience and aesthetics and became a unique approach to landscape. In the following chapter, landscape painting and its influence on Chinese ancient landscape aesthetics will be explored.
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th Century

As discussed in the last chapter, the quantitative approach to landscape cultivated quantitative visual media, such as the survey drawings and design drawings of Yang Shi Lei’s family in the Qing dynasty (1664-1911) in ancient China. At the same time, the qualitative approach to landscape encouraged a multiplicity of experience and perception to be embodied in visual media, which was ultimately developed into landscape painting. As Shi (1992) suggests, there existed some relationship between early landscape paintings and early qualitative maps.

In Chinese landscape history, landscape painting has been in general the most influential visual media, especially on landscape aesthetics. When landscape became a theme and genre of art, landscape aesthetics underwent a big change. New perspectives and attitudes toward landscape were developed. The independency of landscape painting and landscape consciousness can be clearly seen in Chinese history from the 5th century to the 9th century. Later landscape as art genre and consciousness, for the pre-modern Chinese, became the agency of self-understanding and self-discovery. Throughout Chinese landscape painting history, the question of “how to paint and understand landscape” was always closely related to the question of “how to understand ourselves” and “how to achieve a certain self-being”. So, in this sense, the development of landscape aesthetics and consciousness is also a social interaction, especially for the scholar class, who played a very important role in Chinese traditional ideology.

Soon after its independence as a genre, landscape painting became the most
important category in Chinese ancient art, even beyond portrait painting. The development of landscape painting theory laid a bed rock for landscape aesthetics and design. Since there was a lack of specific theory and discourse on landscape aesthetics and “how to design a landscape” before the 17th century in China, to large extend, landscape painting theory became a substitute for it. In more than one thousands year’s evolution of landscape painting, some conflicts explicitly revealed the dialectical process between “orthodoxy and individualism; the past as inspiration and the past as burden; stability and change; demands of society and the demands of the self; objective study and inner illumination; representation and expression; craftsmanship and spontaneity; universal and particular statement” (Sullivan, 1979: 145). What these paintings depicted is nature, but the nature is not absolute “out-there”, but also a cultural projection. In Chinese landscape history, landscape painting was more often the agency of self-being, individuality or spontaneity. The scholar class, as the advocator and establisher of landscape aesthetics, had a very crucial role in this development, and inevitably became the centre of our discourse about nature and landscape.

As discussed in the last chapter, human’s ontological presence is deeply rooted in map-making. In this sense, maps were not “uninventive” and “unimaginative”. For landscape painting, the ontological presence was even more distinct. Many ancient maps still exist today, but only a few cartographers are known. This is not because the social status of cartographers was lower than artists, but because cartographers’ identity was always hidden behind the normative, standard graphic language of maps. A map was usually an embodiment of “collective” landscape perception and ideology. On the other hand, landscape painting was more “individual”. This difference resulted in a difference in my writing and research strategy in this chapter. The status of authors of landscape painting, especially Chinese ancient scholar class will be paid much more attention than cartographers in the last chapter. The changes of their social and ideological status become a
main thread through the whole chapter.

This chapter includes three sections, in the first of which, the emergence of landscape painting as cultural negotiation and self-discovery of the scholar class will be explored. This characteristic of early landscape painting determined that it is an expressionistic visual media rather than a realistic one. In the second section, the maturation of landscape painting language from the 10th century to the 15th century will be examined. In this period, Chinese traditional landscape painting gradually took into shape in terms of graphic language and landscape experience. The final section in this chapter will focus on the pluralism of landscape painting and landscape aesthetics after the 15th century in ancient China.

2.1 The Emergence of Landscape Painting and Rise of Landscape Aesthetics from the 5th Century to the 9th Century in China

2.1.1 The Background: the Change of Social Status of the Scholar Class

The period from the 5th century to the 9th century covers three dynasties in Chinese history, which might be categorized as the early medieval period in China: the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty (魏晋南北朝, from the 3rd century to the 6th century), the Sui dynasty (隋朝, 581-618) and the Tang dynasty (唐朝, 618-907). In terms of economy and politics, the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty was full of turbulence. After nearly one hundred years of war, the economic system of the whole country was devastated. The population at the beginning of the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty period dropped to 5.37 million, only one tenth of the nation-wide population (about 50 million) at the end
of the *Han* dynasty (about 220 AD) (Needham, 1962). After several decades of rehabilitation and immigration, the economy had a chance to recover. At the same time as social turbulence, cultural ideology on the other hand appeared more prosperous and diverse than ever (Feng, 1934). In feudal Europe, the whole economic system was disintegrating. The cities and manors were two different and separate systems, and each city and manor were individual economic units. So generally there only existed local economy in Europe in the feudal period, rather than an integral nation-wide economic system. In contrast, Chinese central government always integrated cities and villages into the whole national economic system. This is one of the distinctive differences between Chinese and European feudalism (Fu, 1980). Along with the highly central feudal administration system in central government, the economy, politics, law, religion, and ethics were united under Confucian ideology. Obedience and loyalty were supposed to be the main virtue. Disparagement of social status and classes was strictly prohibited (Fu, 1980). In this context, any individual intention had to be subjected to the collective will. The scholars, by which I mean a whole class, rather than individuals, at that time, faced an ambivalent situation, since they had mastered cultural and ideological authority, but had no social status.

According to Zhou’s chronology of Chinese landscape history, this period is the infancy and development age for landscape (Zhou, 1990). Basically, the development of landscape aesthetics during this period heralded the maturation of landscape theory afterward. In landscape history, we need to pay attention to three phenomenons in this period. Although they look like isolated phenomenon, actually they were strongly connected and have had deep influence on landscape ideology and culture. The three phenomenons are the evolution of landscape aesthetics; the independence of landscape painting as art; and the social status change of the scholar as a class. Of these three, the social status change of the scholar as social class was the root of the others. In *Xun Zi* (荀子, a Chinese
ancient ideologist, B.C 310-237)'s work *Chen Dao* (臣道, the principles for being an officer), the scholar class was described as a class obeying the truth, rather than royalty. Nevertheless, the scholars in Chinese history always shuttled between power and truth. Before the *Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty*, most scholars depended on giving aristocrats and bureaucrats advice for living. Although they had contributed much to government and had very crucial parts in decision-making in political life, generally they were still dependent on aristocrats and bureaucrats politically and financially, and had no political rights at all (Wang, 1990). After the *Qin* (秦, B.C. 221-206) and the *Han* (汉, B.C. 206- A.D. 202) dynasty, they had opportunities to take part in ruling the country, although this was uncommon. Their dominant status in culture and ideology and their absence in political and social status situated them in a dilemma. During the *Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty* period, this negative emotion of the scholar class was pushed to the extreme. The scholars expressed their dissatisfaction towards the central government through liberation of personalities. Gastronomy, reclusive culture, and art became their retreats in true-life (Jin, 2002). *Wu Wei* (无为, inaction) in Daoist ideology was the embodiment of this retreating attitude.

The situation of the scholar class gave Daoism a chance to take root in their ideology. Different to Confucianism's advocacy of humaneness, humanity, benevolence, goodness and virtue, Daoism brought forward a more fundamental and universal principle: Dao (道, way), which both controls and transcends all the multiplicity and contradictions of the world. Humans should live according to and in the harmony with Dao. This epistemology requires a passive, calm, non-striving and inactive attitude and life style. The landscape became an ideal retreat nature from humanity. We can find such kind of attitudes in *Dao De Jing* (道德经, about 260 B.C. The Scripture of Way and Virtue, one of the canonical manuscript of Daoism by *Lao Zi*, 老子), the elementary literature of Daoism philosophy. It mentioned that nature is everlasting because it does not have a Self
and the person who regards the World as the Self is able to control the World. In the conflict between human self and outside world, Daoism introduced nature as the reconciling concept between them (Zhan, 1982). "He who loves the World as the Self is able to nurture the World, the World is shaped by Dao; It cannot be shaped by Self. If one tries to shape it, one damages it; If one tries to possess it, one loses it". In Daoist attitude, Zi ran (自然, nature) was not only a wild landscape, but also a "self-suchness", a status of self-being. This status is not static, but constantly moving to a state of harmony and balance. When being is situated in nature, and has a Wu Wei (无为, inactive, "let it be") attitude, human is capable of getting away from the conflict with outside world. Joseph Needham (1962) refer Wu Wei as refraining from activity contrary to nature, justifying this understanding with a quotation from the Zhuang Zi (庄子, another Daoist ideologist, B.C. 369- B.C. 286): "Inaction does not mean doing nothing and keeping silent. Let everything be allowed to do what it naturally does, so that its nature will be satisfied." If one refrains from acting contrary to nature, or from going against the grain of things, one is in harmony with the Dao and thus one's actions will be successful. This is the meaning of Lao Zi's seemingly so puzzling words, "By inaction everything can be done." Self and outside world coexist and act reciprocally in nature. The teaching of Lao Zi helped the scholar class from the 3rd century to the 9th century to accept "reality" and diminish self-desire. He said, "Be bent, and you will remain straight; be vacant, and you will remain full; be worn, and you will remain new." Nevertheless, we have to realize

---

that the retreating of self consciousness encouraged by Daoism does not mean to abandon or negate, but means the recreation and recognition of self-consciousness in a new understanding. Through the re-creating of self consciousness, the scholar class from the 3rd century to the 9th century rethought and relocated themselves in "harmony" in relation to the world.

In this context, nature became the opposite concept to sociality, and encouraged the emergence of individuality against social obedience. Landscape aesthetics and landscape painting were inevitably brought about by this "reclusive" attitude (Zhou, 1990). Travelling through wild land, wandering on the footpaths in clifftop mountains, making paintings, composing poems, and playing musical instruments, the scholars indulged themselves in natural landscape and left earthborn desire behind. Individualism became a vogue amongst the scholars.

After many years wars in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty, China was reunified in A.D. 589 by the short-lived Sui (隋) dynasty. Conflicts occurred several times between the scholar class and royal ruling in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty period, until the Tang dynastic (618-907) the re-location of scholar class in social system (Chen, 2001). Weakened by costly and disastrous military campaigns against Korea in the early 7th century, the dynasty disintegrated through a combination of popular revolts, disloyalty, and assassination. After the Sui dynasty, the Tang (唐, 618-907) dynasty was supposed to be a peak time in Chinese history and civilization. The Tang period was the golden age of literature and art, partly because it witnessed the maturation and wide spread of Buddhism and Daoism. Also, the civil service examinations (科举制度) were established. Through a time consuming procedure, the most knowledgeable and talented scholars were chosen to be the members of central and local government. Another reason of widely accepting the scholars into government and administrative group could be that the rulers were aware that the
over dependence on powerful aristocratic families and warlords would have destabilized their reign (Wang, 1990). Compared to the aristocratic families and warlords, scholar officers had no autonomous territorial or functional power base, so accordingly had less threat to royal rulers. As it turned out, these scholar-officials acquired status in their local communities, family ties, and shared values that connected them to the imperial court (Chen, 2001, Fu, 1980). Apparently, the relocation and stabilizing of the scholar class by the Tang central government became the turning point of their social status (Chen, 2001). The Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty period provoked and supported the development of self-consciousness achievement of the scholar class. Although in later periods in Chinese history, the scholar class regained the recognition of central government, and attached themselves to the development of political administration, this reclusive, free, inactive, and retreating attitude was already integrated into the identity of the scholar class. Along with their dominant position in culture and art, the attitude permeated into a large proportion of Chinese ideology, and of course landscape aesthetics all through Chinese history. Understanding the reclusive culture and attitude of the scholar class is a necessary part of understanding Chinese landscape. We can not merely regard the awakening of landscape consciousness and aesthetics as the outcomes of the reclusive attitude. More precisely, through liberating their personalities in travelling and appreciating natural landscape, the scholar class achieved and found their self-being.

In early Chinese history, especially before the 5th century, portraiture was the privileged art style to embody and visualize the authority of sociality and morality. The main theme of portrait painting was saints as the examples of perfect loyalty and humanity [plate 2-1, 2-2]. At the same time, portrait painting was also widely used in religious painting, especially in Buddhist art. The main content of these religious paintings was presentation of Buddhist stories and teaching [Plate 2-3,
Plate 2-1: Copy of Gu Kaizhi (顾恺之，东晋, the 4th century)’s Loyal Ladies and Humane and Intelligent Saints (列女仁智图卷), in the Song Dynasty (the 10th century to the 13th century), Colour and Ink, silk painting, Height: 25.8cm, Width 407.3cm, Forbidden City Museum.

Plate 2-2: Copy of Gu Kaizhi (顾恺之，东晋, the 4th century)’s Loyal Ladies and Humane and Intelligent Saints (列女仁智图卷), in the Song Dynasty (the 10th century to the 13th century), Colour and Ink, silk painting, Height: 25.8cm, Width 407.3cm, Forbidden City Museum.
The relatively late emergence of landscape painting embodied the desire to enhance the social status of scholars. The admiring of natural beauty in landscape for the scholars in that period in China apparently had the deep impress of their desire for self-acknowledgement. As Powers (1998: 1) suggests, "any attempts to understand landscape must begin with this tension between nature and human
conventions." In this sense, landscape painting, as a new-born art style became a site for negotiating cultural hegemony. Powers suggests that "by offering a space undominated by aristocratic insignia, landscape enables an appeal to universal values binding different classes" (Powers, 1998: 1).

As the agency and embodiment of nature, landscape for the scholar class was an ideal kingdom of retreat. Without any disturbance of mundane affairs and desires, the scholars were able to enjoy a purified and peaceful life. Tao Yuanming (陶渊明, 365-427, Chinese ancient poet)’s poem "The Homecoming" expressed his willingness to be in harmony with nature after retirement from the government, which became the classic cannon of landscape poems in Chinese history.

Homeward bound! Fields and garden at home are growing wild; how should I not return? Of my own accord I have forced my soul to serve as the slave of my body; to what end, then, further torment and care?--The boat rocks in the light breeze; the wind plays in my fluttering robe... Now my eyes light upon my door and the ridge of the roof, exultingly I hasten forward... The paths are over-grown, but the pine tree and my chrysanthemums are as of yore...

To ramble in my garden is my daily joy; its stillness is guarded by a constantly closed gate... The evening mist rises lingeringly out of the valleys; tired birds find their way home. The shadows float out and soon they have disappeared; leaning with my hand against my solitary pine I still linger. [Translated by Siren] (see Siren, 1949)
The role of landscape in the nurture of personality and self-realization is by no means merely a Chinese cultural phenomenon. Kenneth Clark mentioned Petrarch as the first man in West to “express the emotion on which the existence of landscape painting so largely depends; the desire to escape from the turmoil of the cities into the peace of the countryside” (Sullivan, 1979: 27).

Also, as Sullivan suggests, landscape was not just a symbol of Dao’s retreating attitude, but also the very “substance of Dao itself” (Sullivan, 1979: 27). The scholars liked to compare plants to their personalities such as bamboo as symbol of righteousness, chrysanthemum as symbol of loftiness, plum blossom as symbol of diligence, and orchid as elegance. Through devoting themselves into landscape, the scholars released their individuality and selfhood from the status of dependency of vassals and government.

Looking back at the Chinese history after the 9th century, it became apparent that the negotiation of cultural hegemony embodied in landscape painting was achieved, and had a deep and lasting influence on Chinese culture and ideology. Even many the emperors loved to be treated as one of the scholars, and were attracted by landscape painting and Dao philosophy. For example, the emperor Song Hui Zong (宋徽宗, 1082-1135) addicted himself to artistic activities such as calligraphy, landscape paintings and gardening so much that he was seen as an artistic genius but a failed emperor after he died. The reclusive attitude of the scholar was mainly influenced by Daoist ideology, but also some parts of Buddhism as well. Many wealthy people converted to the new religion to leave their gardens, on their deaths, to Buddhist monasteries, in order thus to assure themselves of privileges in another world (Siren, 1949).
Apart from landscape painting and poetry, many private villas and manors were constructed by the scholars close to "nature" since the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty. According to Zhou (1990), this period is the start point of private villas and manors in Chinese landscape history. Xie Lingyun's (謝灵运, 385-443, an aristocrat, estate-owner, and poet) Shan Ju (山居, Habitat in Mountain) was one of the most famous scholar villa and manors at that time, and also his prose Shan Ju Fu (山居赋, A Prose of Living in the Hills) gave us an explicit example of the scholar's new understanding of nature landscape. After getting tired of conflict of factional forces in government, he retired and moved into his villa. In his prose, he reviewed several famous retired figures earlier in Chinese history to express his intention to go back to "nature". He still continued a reclusive attitude. Situated in a landscape retreat, Xie expresses his attitude about inaction and self-restrain. "The tapir drinks from the Yellow River, but only enough for a bellyful" (Guo, 1961: 24). Xie adds that if one can reduces one's concern with oneself and diminish one's desires, then it suffices one just to exist.

During the Tang dynasty (618-907), with the improvement of the social status of the scholars, the construction of gardens rapidly developed. Scholar politicians began to put their reflection about the universe and themselves into garden design, which made the garden not only a place with practical and religious usage, but a "pure" aesthetic object. The purpose of landscape design in these scholar private gardens is visual pleasure, poetic intention, self nurture and expression of reclusive attitude of the scholars (Zhou, 1990). Bai Juyi (白居易, 772-846, Chinese ancient poet) was one of the very active practitioners of garden design and he also contributed many poems and prose which recorded his ideas in garden design. Bai is the exponential of the "mountain and forest in cities" (城市山林). Different from Xie's large scale suburban villa, Bai appreciated the private garden
in the cities which were quite convenient for him to shuttle between the mundane world and reclusive Shangrila.⁵ The private garden in urban areas could be used as an imitation and miniature substitute of the natural landscape. From Bai's poetry, we can see he made many descriptions about bamboo and pond, which are two main important landscape elements in his garden.

_On the Pond (1) by Bai Juyi_

_Two monks sit facing, playing chess on the mountain,_
_The bamboo shadow on the board is dark and clear._
_Not a person sees the bamboo's shadow,_
_One sometimes hears the pieces being moved._

山僧对棋坐，局上竹阴清。映竹无人见，时闻下子声。

_On the Pond (2)_

_A little child paddles a little boat,_
_Drifting about, and picking white lotuses._
_He does not know how to hide his tracks,_
_And duckweed’s opened up along his path._

小娃撑小艇，偷采白莲回。不解藏踪迹，浮萍一道开。

Although Bai's design of gardens might be quite different to Xie's villa, his narrative style of landscape prose and poetry still is quite consistent with Xie's prose. People's presence, an action, and instant response between landscape and figure became the main pattern of these literatures. Then what about the status of

⁵人间有闲地，何必隐林丘。唐·白居易《赠武丘》
landscape painting during this period? In the next section, the characteristics of landscape painting will be explored.

2.1.2 The Status of Early Landscape Painting

Most landscape paintings from the 5th century to the 9th century do not exist any longer, since the short life of the material: paper. *You Chun Tu* (游春图, image on journey in spring, Plate 2-5) was the earliest landscape painting as far as we know. *Zhan Ziqian* (展子虔, 550-617, Chinese ancient artist), the artist who made this painting, was good in both portrait, architectural, and landscape painting. The painting depicts the scene of a journey in landscape. People and horses travelling through the mountains are very small, while the mountain occupies a large portion of painting. If we look closely at this painting, we discover that the skill in representing landscape still is naive and unsophisticated, compared to later landscape paintings. However it renders a vivid atmosphere of journeying in natural landscape in spring.

![Plate 2-5: Zhan, Ziqian (展子虔, 550-617), Journey in Spring (游春图), Ink and colour on silk, Height: 43cm, Width: 80.5cm, Forbidden City Museum.](image-url)
After Zhan Ziqian, Li Sixun (李思训, 651-716) and Li Zhaodao (李昭道, 651-718) were two very important father and son landscape artists during the Tang dynasty (618-907), since they started the “blue and green” style landscape painting. In their landscape paintings, they used blue and green colour with ink to represent plants, mountain and water. *Ming Emperor’s Journey in Shu* (明皇幸蜀图, see plate 2-6) is the only one work left of Li Zhaodao. Plate 2-6 is a copy of this painting in the Song dynasty (960-1279), which depicted the scene of the Ming Emperor going through the valley in Shu. The mountain is the main portion of painting, and in this painting, Li Zhaodao started to use different brush stroke to represent the different profile and texture of the rocks.

Strictly, for Zhan Ziqian, Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao, landscape is more like a decoration in painting. All of them practised in portrait, architectural and landscape painting. Landscape was for them still functioning as a setting for
narratives. What those landscape artists concentrated on and contributed to was the skill of landscape painting, rather than the emotion aroused by it. Different to them, Wang Wei (王維, 701-761, Chinese ancient poet, scholar and artist) was supposed to be the forerunner who made landscape a philosophical and attitude statement. Landscape painting for him was merely an amateur hobby. Skill in painting was not what he was striving for. His contribution to landscape painting was poetic intention infused in landscape. As Su Shi (苏轼, 1037-1101, Chinese ancient poet and scholar) later praised, we can see poetry in Wang Wei's landscape painting, and see image from Wang Wei's poetry. Wang Wei drew the attentions of later landscape artists from the realistic representation of landscape into a poetic expression of themselves. Landscape painting, poetry and philosophical thinking gained many reputations to Wang Wei, and made him the father of scholar painting. Unfortunately, we only can see several copies of Wang Wei's landscape painting, which are too different in style to convince us they revealed original status of Wang Wei's painting [plate 2-7, 2-8]. Wang Wei was also an outstanding practitioner in private garden design. His Wang Chuan Villa was supposed to be the forerunner of private garden (Zhou, 1990). He is thought to have made several landscape paintings and poems to depict this landscape.

The clear moon lit up all the country. In the night I went up Hua-tzu hill, and the waters of Wang Chuan were rippling up and down with the moon. Distant lights in the cold hill were coming and going beyond the woods. The barking of winter dogs in the deep lanes sounded like leopards...all this is not far off, and then you can surely come and wander about with me? If it were not for your natural genius, I would of course not impose anything so inessential on you. But it holds deep interest. No urgency. This goes to you by a Hillman. No more now. [Translated by Chang Yin-nan and Lewis C. Walmsley, see (Wang, 1959: 141)]
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th century

Plate 2-7: Copy after Wang, Wei (王维, 701-761)'s The Wang Chuan Villa (辋川图), Hand scroll

Plate 2-8: Copy after Wang, Wei (王维, 701-761)'s Jiang Shan Xue Ji, River and Mountain in Snow (江山雪霁图), Hand scroll, left.
From this short paragraph, we can see Wang Wei connected the Mang Chuan’s landscape with his personal feeling and emotion. For Wang Wei, landscape was an agency to evoke an essence of man himself and his inner heart, rather than merely being an “other thing”. Also, landscape was an agency of self-expression and self-intention, rather than merely a realistic representation of actual landscape. Landscape painting was what artists see through the eyes of the soul. The influence of Wang Wei’s scholar painting was largely inherited and developed by the scholars in the Song dynasty (960-1279). We will explore his contribution and influence in more detail later.

Another main development in landscape painting is the emergence of broken ink skill. Wang Wei was credited with the first artist’s urge for spontaneous and improvisational “broken-ink” landscape painting. Unfortunately, there are no surviving Wang Wei’s paintings. Although there is a few paintings attribute to him, their style and skill seems incommensurate to the high appraise Wang Wei got. Another artist younger than Wang Wei, Zhang Zao (张躁) was a practitioner of broken-ink landscape painting. He often made landscape painting with worn-out bushes, by smearing the ink with his bare hands and through improvisational development of the composition of landscape according to the shape of the ink on paper. When asked where he had learned this skill, he answered, "outwardly, nature has been my teacher, but inwardly I follow the springs of inspiration in my heart (外师造化，中得心源) (Li, 2002). Fu Tsai used to record his witness of Zhang Zao making a landscape painting. Before painting, Zhang Zao strode into the room, sat down on the floor with his legs spread out, took a deep breath, and then his inspiration began to pour out. “Those present were startled as if lightning were shooting across the heavens or a whirlwind sweeping up into the sky. Ravaging and pulling, spreading in all directions, the ink seemed to be spitting from his flying brush. He clapped his hands with a cracking sound. Dividing and drawing together, suddenly strange shapes were born. When he had finished, there
stood pine trees, scaly and riven, crags steep and precipitous, clear water and turbulent clouds. He threw his brush, got up, and looked about him in very direction. It seemed as if the sky had cleared after a storm, to reveal the true essence of the thousand things" (Sullivan, 1979: 48). For Zhang Zao, what he bore in mind was not the physical profile, but an essence of landscape. Sullivan (1979) judges that Zhang Zao's art has become a fully expressive art.

Here, we can see two approaches to landscape painting in the Tang dynasty (618-907), one focused on the skill to represent every detail of landscape, the other abandoning landscape detail and going for "romantic" self-expression. The differences between these two schools in landscape resulted in the debate about realism and expressionism in the Song dynasty (960-1279). The romantic approach to landscape became dominant in the scholar class later and to some extend fluctuated with the dominance of morality in aesthetics. We can clearly see this tendency from Ying Zhuan's letter to his friends: Having an easygoing journey by the lake; reciting and composing under the spring tender willow, making a decoration with spring flowers to match my jade articles, snapping leaves to overshadow the bright sunshine; shooting the bird above the sky and angling the fish in deep pond... how pleased I am! Even Confucius and Chu Ren are just so so (逍遙陂塘之上，吟咏巃柳之下，结春芳以崇佩，折芳华以磐日，弋下高云之鸟，饵出深渊之鱼，...何其乐哉。虽仲尼忘味于虞韶，楚人流逝于京台，无以过也。《与从弟苗君胄书》，《文选》卷四十二) [my translation]. Much literature and poetry remains as evidence of their appreciation of the beauty of natural landscape, and also within the gardens and designed landscapes of the scholars. Shi Chong (石崇，249～300，Chinese ancient Scholar officer)'s Golden Valley Garden (金谷园), Wang Xizhi (王義之，321—379, Chinese ancient calligraphy artist)'s Orchid Pavilion (兰亭) were the most well known of private scholar gardens. The scholars strolled about and amused themselves in these gardens. Composing poems, making landscape painting and appreciating
landscape became a favourite amusement. In landscape, the scholars found a retreat from the mundane world, to evoke personality, and seek harbour and home to escape from their disappointments in political career.

When Ban Gu (班固, 32-92, Chinese ancient historian) described sacred and royal landscape, he said, those landscapes symbolize heaven and earth, the orderly and the oriented (其宫室也，体象乎天地，经纬乎阴阳，据坤灵之正位，仿太紫之圆方). Contrarily, when Sun Tong (孙统, about the 4th century, Chinese ancient Scholar) composed poems in “Orchid Pavilion”, he was pleased by “seeking the wandering path in remote landscape, letting goblet flow with running water, gazing at the leaves falling down in the breeze, and yowling joyfully in deep valley” (寻幽人踪。回沼激中迹，疏竹间修桐。因流转轻筇，冷风飘落松。时禽吟长涧，万籁吹连峰。孙统，兰亭诗之二，先秦汉魏晋南北朝 晋诗，卷十三) [my translation]. If those designers of sacred landscapes hoped to construct a landscape explicitly different from chaotic nature and to symbolize the abstract schema of their experience, the scholars liked to conceal human traces and retreat from overwhelming natural beauty through manpower. The scholar’s approaches to landscape provided us with a landscape aesthetics which was dominant in private garden, different to aesthetics of sacred landscape.

Another big step in landscape painting during this period is the establishment of landscape aesthetic theory. Some theories and discourses about landscape painting still remains to give us chance to study. Zong Bing, (宗炳, 375-443, Chinese ancient art critic and artist) a Buddhist artist, left his work introduction for landscape painting to us as the earliest landscape painting theoretical discourse. At the beginning of his introduction, Zong Bing describes how the holy saints understood Dao (the order of the cosmos) and use it to deal with practical issues in everyday life, while virtuous people get a spiritual pleasure from natural landscape (宗炳，画山水序，圣人含道应物，贤者澄怀味象, my translation). If
we see his first sentence about Dao and practical life as a statement about philosophy and everyday life, then the sentence about landscape and spiritual pleasure is an aesthetic issue. Later in this introduction, Zong Bing develops his aesthetic statement further. When appreciating a real landscape or landscape painting, people should suspend breathing (calm down and concentrate), fix attention and relax their bodies. Every pleasure in appreciating landscape and painting relies on inner reflection (*%, 9iU7KFj-, ii `E' ii, TJ, +4111Ii, my translation). For Zong Bing, the pleasure which comes with landscape aesthetics could be physical, psychological and philosophical.

Another landscape artist at the same time as Zong Bing, Wang Wei (different to Wang Wei, 王维, 701-761, 王微, 415—453, Chinese ancient artist) used this description in his work Discourse on Painting: “looking at the floating clouds in an autumn sky, my spirit flies above; When facing a spring breeze, my thoughts move easily” (王微, 观画, 望秋云, 神飞扬, 临春风, 思浩荡 my translation). Wang Wei's personal expression bears the same essence as Zong Bing's aesthetics theory. Different to sacred landscape, in which landscape was an embodiment of ethics and morality, here, landscape was a place to let the Scholars and artists relax themselves, find their spiritual resonance with nature, reflect inside, and be themselves.

Based on these contributions to aesthetics, a traditional Chinese painting emphasizes "yi jing"(意境), the conveyance of ideas and ambience. For example, a painter who had visited and admired the mountains and the four seas would first structure a mental picture of the ideas and feelings he wish to communicate before setting them down in ink. Thus, a Chinese landscape painting will never be an exact duplicate of Nature's handiwork. A Chinese painting is not like a photograph, but a fusion of spiritual and natural influences expressed through the medium of water and ink. Therefore, whether it's a mountain, tree, lake, or house, to the
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th Century

painter, any portion of these objects can be used as the subject of a painting. The painter can even combine elements of different scenes of different times into one picture if his spirit so guides him. The importance of the conveyance of ideas and ambience was fully stressed through the development of landscape painting and aesthetics afterward, especially during the debate between realistic tendency and expressionistic tendency in the Song dynasty (960-1279).

2.2 The Maturation of Language and Aesthetics in Landscape Painting from the 10th to the 17th Century

2.2.1 Background

After the long time union of China in the Tang dynasty, the whole country fell into parts again in the Five Dynasties (907-960). The Five dynasties is named for the five successive short-lived dynasties and the ten dominant kingdoms that existed after the fall of the Tang dynasty (907) and before establishment of the Song dynasty (960). An imbalance in development of economy and culture in different regions of China developed. Characterized by anarchy and national disunity, the period is one of the bleakest in Chinese history.

In 960, the whole of China was reunited again in the Song Dynasty (960-1279). The founder of the Song dynasty was a warlord who fully knew the danger of separated local regime by warlords. In order to alleviate the threat from local warlords, the ruler of the Song dynasty started to build an effective centralized bureaucracy staffed with civilian scholar-officials. Regional military governors and their supporters were replaced by centrally appointed officials. This system of civilian rule led to a greater concentration of power in the emperor and his palace bureaucracy than had been achieved in the previous dynasties. The Song dynasty is notable for the development of cities not only for administrative purposes but
also as centres of trade, industry, and maritime commerce. The landed scholar-officials, sometimes collectively referred to as the gentry, lived in the provincial centres alongside the shopkeepers, artisans, and merchants. A new group of wealthy commoners—the mercantile class—arose as printing and education spread, private trade grew, and a market economy began to link the coastal provinces and the interior. Landholding and government employment were no longer the only means of gaining wealth and prestige. The Song dynasty (宋, 960-1279) saw the peak time in Chinese ancient feudalistic period both in economy and culture. In the economic horizon, the rise of urbanization and handicraft industry were outstanding changes. In some big cities, such as Dong Jing (东京, nowadays Kai Feng city,开封) and Lin An city (临安, nowadays Hang Zhou City, 杭州), the curfew regulation was abandoned, and barriers between districts in the city was broken down. Many markets became much busier, especially the unofficial markets and business was accepted legally (Pan, 2001).

Briefly, in the Song dynasty, accompanying the rise of privately owned business, the whole structure and profile of cities underwent a big change into a more commercial, urbanized, and open form. On the other hand, in the cultural horizon, because the intellectual class had gained a higher social status than ever, science, art and culture made big progress, and achieved a peak time in Chinese history (Pan, 2001).

Culturally, the Song refined many of the developments of the previous centuries. Included in these refinements were not only the Tang ideal of the “universal man”, who combined the qualities of scholar, poet, painter, and statesman, but also historical writings, painting, calligraphy, and hard-glazed porcelain. Gradually, from the local officers up to the prime minister, most of the administrative officers came from the scholar class. The scholar class gained a greater respect from the royal court. At the end of the Southern Song dynasty (the second half of the Song dynasty, 1126-1279), the royal family alleged that they offered a generous
treatment to the intellectual class during their reign. Some scholars confessed as well that the Song dynasty treated them better than ever (Wang, 1990). At the same time, the royal family enjoyed art, and literature, and aimed to share the same interests with the scholar class. Several of the emperors were excellent artists and scholars themselves (Wang, 1990). In education, the royal family established a national academy system, which encouraged a wide range of cultural pursuits and the development of knowledge nationally. In the ideological horizon, the Song scholars sought answers to a wide range of philosophical and political questions in the Confucian Classics. This renewed interest in the Confucian ideals and society of ancient times coincided with the decline of Buddhism, which the Chinese regarded as foreign and offering few practical guidelines for the solution of political and other mundane problems.

2.2.2 The Development and Decline of Realistic Landscape Painting

After a long term probation in the Tang dynasty, landscape painting language had already started to take shape (Sullivan, 1979). The Song dynasty witnessed a peak time for landscape painting. From the setting of visual narrative to purely an independent aesthetic subject, landscape had undergone a big change. At the same time, this period was a boom time for science in Chinese history. During this period, ornamental visual elements in landscape painting were about to be discarded, and some more personal experience was effused into landscape painting (The Collected Edition of Chinese Fine Art, 1998). Nevertheless, unlike Renaissance Europe where perspective theory was invented and discovered as a symptom of advance of rational and scientific thinking, China did not become the cradle land of optic physics and "realistic" art. The emergence of landscape painting was closely connected to the scholar class, who had control of aesthetic and ideology. In this section, I attempt to explore the decline of realism and rise of Xie Yi (写意, literally means depicting an intention and idea) tendency in
landscape painting from the 10th to the 17th century, and their relation to the maturity and development of self-consciousness of the scholar class. During a process of opposing “realistic” landscape painting, the scholars advocated a spontaneous, intentional and expressionistic tendency in landscape painting, from which a new landscape aesthetic and experience was encouraged and brewed. If we say, in narrative landscape painting in the Tang dynasty, landscape was treated as scene of narrative, during this period, the beauty of landscape rested with in the scene and intention embedded in it by artists and viewers. These ideas on landscape experience and aesthetics largely influenced the Yi Jing (意境, intention and scene) in landscape theory after the 17th century.

As early as 956, the first official fine art academy in China history was established. The artists in the fine art academy were members of government and could get a salary as administrative officers (The Collected Edition of Chinese Fine Art, 1998). The responsibility of these artists was to make art-works for the royal family, including paintings for the decoration of palaces and royal temples. Every week, the artists gathered to discuss the difficulties they had met during art-production and to seek solutions. The biggest fine art academy appeared in the Song dynasty. The establishment of Hua Yuan (画院, Fine art academy) in the Song dynasty was one of the most important events in Chinese art history (Wang, 2000). Through examinations, the best civilian artists were chosen to make painting specifically for the royal family. To some extent, the skill of the fine art academy was supposed to be the best of all. Zhao Jie (赵佶, 1082-1136, one of the Song emperors) was in charge of this academy himself, from which we can see the high recognition of the academy from the court. The whole academy had different departments according to the theme of art, such as figure portrait, landscape, bird and flower, architectural illustration, and Buddhist and Daoist paintings (Wang, 2000). Generally, the artists working in the academy had no free choice about their art style. Meeting the taste of the royal family was the basic requirements for
the artists. The whole style of the academy was to be “xing si” and “fa du” (形似”和“法度”, realistic and conventional standardization) (Wang, 2000). From several paintings which survive, we can see they have a high achievement in “realistic” art. At the same time, great skill in detailed depiction became the central issue in these art domains. The emperor Zhao Jie established fine art subjects in the Imperial College (the highest educational administration in feudal China) to improve the level of fine art.

*The Champion of Boating Game in Jin Ming Lake* (金明池夺标图) was one of few painting made by the fine art academy which still survive (plate 2-9). It depict the scene of a boating game in Jin Ming lake of capital city *Bian Jing* (汴京, now Kai Feng city, 开封). The buildings, pavilions, corridors and docks around lake were delicately painted. The decoration on the dragon boat is still discernable. On the left side and bottom side of this painting, many people are shown gathered outside of wall and expecting a glimpse of the dragon boat game. There are more than one thousand people in this painting and most of them are different and vivid, even in such a tiny scale. *Qing Ming Shang He Tu* (清明上河图, 1119-1125, Plate 2-10, 2-11, 2-12 is another precious example of realistic painting of the royal fine art academy still remaining. Its author, *Zhang Zeduan* (张择端, 1085-1145) was an excellent professional artist in academy at his time, especially good at painting buildings, boat, vehicle, bridge, and scenes of city life. This hand scroll as wide as 528 cm, covers the scene from the central part of *Bian Jing* city, the market, the city gate area, docks, and even suburb area.

---

6 See Wang Mengduan (the Ming dynasty)'s *The Recordation of Painting and Calligraphy Practice*. 

98
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th century

Plate 2-9: Anonym, 1127-1279, Jin Ping Pond Champion (今明池夺标图), Ink and colour on silk, Height: 28.5cm, Width: 28.6cm, Tianjin Art Museum.

Plate 2-10: Zhang, Zeduan (张 择端, 1119-1125), Parts of Qing Ming Shang He Tu (清明上河图), Ink and colour on silk, Height: 24.8cm, Width: 528.7cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.
Apart from the support of realistic style from royal court, the realistic tendency also had its ideological background. Joseph Needham (1962) points out, "whenever one follows up any specific piece of scientific or technological history in Chinese literature, it is always at the Song dynasty that one finds the major focal point" (Sullivan, 1979: 70). The rise of scientific knowledge seems akin to the Renaissance European passion for "truth". By rethinking and developing previous Confucian philosophy, the thinkers in the Song dynasty launched metaphysical explorations. Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200, a Chinese ancient philosopher) proposed the crucial concept "li" (理, the patterned regularity of existence) into metaphysic, which cooperated with Qi in previous ideology to
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 3rd Century to the 17th century

In his thought, *li* is an abstract, immaterial universal principle, and *qi* is a substance of which all material things are made. Whereas *qi* may change and dissolve, *li*, the underlying law of the myriad things, remains constant and indestructible. Zhu Xi further identifies the *li* in humankind with human nature, which is essentially the same for all people. The phenomenon of particular differences can be attributed to the varying proportions and densities of the *qi* found among individuals. Thus, those who receive a *qi* that is turbid will find their original nature obscured and should cleanse their nature to restore its purity. Purity can be achieved by extending one's knowledge of the *li* in each individual object. When, after much sustained effort, one has investigated and comprehended the universal *li* or natural law inherent in all animate and inanimate objects, one becomes a sage. Apparently, Zhu Xi encouraged a static "object in general" attitude different to previous philosophers. Sullivan (1979) mentioned, the concentrated and intensive investigation of things, with complete sincerity, was one of the characteristics of Zhu Xi’s principle philosophy. This attitude was "not scientific in the western sense, but it did involve a serious concern with one's experience of the world at all levels, which is undoubtedly reflected in Song painting" (Sullivan, 1979: 79).

Nevertheless, the passion of objective truth did not result in the dominance of scientific and positive attitude in art. Even Shen Kuo (沈括, 1033-1097, Chinese art critic and scientist), as a famous scientist, opposed the realistic tendency. He criticizes Li Cheng for putting too much attention on perspective in drawing, which stops the eye of the soul from flying freely. Needham (1964: 311) points

---

7Original text is "李成画山上亭馆及楼塔之类，皆仰画飞动，其说以谓自下望上，如人平地望塔楼间，见其根须。此论非也。大都山水之法，盖以大观小，如人观假山耳。若画真山之法，以下视上，只合见一重山，岂可重重悉见，兼不应见其溪谷间事。又如屋舍，亦不应见其庭及后巷中事。若人在东立，则山水便合是远境；人在西立，则山东却合是远境。似此如何成画？李时益不知以大观小之法。其间折高、折远，自有妙理，岂在饮露角（《梦溪笔谈》卷十六, see Meng Xi Bi Tan Vol 16)".
out that these Chinese ideologists “were groping after an Einsteinian world picture without having laid the foundations of Newtonian one.” Zhu Xi’s “object in general” thoughts also were challenged afterward. Opposed to the li (law) school is the xin (心, mind) school of Neo-Confucianism. The chief exponent of the xin school was Wang Yangming (王阳明, 1472-1529, Chinese ancient thinker) who taught the unity of knowledge and practice. His major proposition was that “from the mind, neither law nor object” exists. In the mind, he asserts, are embodied all the laws of nature, and nothing exists without the mind. One’s supreme effort should be to develop “the intuitive knowledge” of the mind, not through the study or investigation of natural law, but through intense thought and calm meditation. Different to Descartes’ trust on rational thinking’s importance on seeking truth, a Chinese ideologist like Wang Yangming believes that human’s intuition is even more effective in the process of knowing. Wang Yangming’s concept of mind is direct, intuitional mind, while Descartes’ concept of mind is agency of rational thinking. Sullivan (1979) believes that this adjusting of Chinese ideology is a result of reconciliation between chaotic and new rational thinking. He says, “If observation could not be reconciled with the world view, then one must cease to observe; for the synthetic world view was the better view, making for unity and social harmony, whereas analysis was divisive. If the artist’s observation—of the variation in, shall we say, the texture of individual rocks or the bark of individual trees—did not match the schemata he was developing to represent rocks or bark, then it was the schemata that must be preserved” (Sullivan, 1979: 72).

Briefly, we can summarize the challenge to the “realistic” landscape painting and aesthetics during this period into a simple question: “Does the principle of landscape rest in the outside landscape, or in the intentions of artists and viewers?” According to the bifurcation in attitude towards this question, landscape paintings in this period can be separated into realism and expressionism. Here it is important to clarify that realistic landscape artists also confessed the importance
of intention as well. But when they focused on the detailed realistic representation of landscape, they were inclined to ignore the mapping between intention and landscape pattern, rather than discover spontaneity in intention of expression. In the following sections, I attempt to explore the development of the expressionist tendency in Chinese ancient landscape painting, and its influence on landscape aesthetics.

2.2.3 The Development of Expressionist Tendency in Landscape Painting and Its Influence on Landscape Aesthetics

In Chinese art history, Jing Hao (荆浩) was credited with being the first to establish a systematic landscape painting theory in his book Bi Fa Ji (笔法记, An Account of Brush Work). Throughout Chinese landscape art history, most of the influential landscape art critics and theorists were not professional artists, but member of the intellectual class, who treated landscape painting as a in-separateable sister art of poetry and calligraphy. Jing Hao was also so. The text of Bi Fa Ji disclosed its author as a maverick (Powers, 1998). The rhetorical manner of Bi Fa Ji was not an official and orthodox type. But ironically, reviewing the history of landscape art, the book’s unorthodox and maverick manners actually became the dominant attitude. In his book, Bi Fa Ji, Jing Hao summarized the answer to the question what are the most important aspects which make a good landscape painting, or what kind of landscape painting is good, into three criteria, and key words. wu (物, substance and object), xiang (象, figure and image) and shi (势, disposition).

Since you like to paint clouds and trees, mountains and streams, it is necessary to understand the origins of each substance (wu) and its significant figure (xiang). When a tree grows, it does so according to its received nature. A pine tree in growing may curve but will never become crooked or
perverse...From the time it is a sapling onward it is naturally upright, it developing heart will not bent/ bow. Its disposition (shi) is thus solitary (du) and tall (gao) (Powers, 1998: 6).

For contemporary readers, wu (substance) and xiang (figure) are not hard to understand. From a representational viewpoint, wu can be understood as object out there, while xiang means the visual image to object. Powers proposes that xiang is not only a visual representation, but a concept with social and cultural content (Powers, 1998). The natural solitary attribute of the pine tree also is related to independence. The visual quality of uprightness also can suggest the virtue of unbending integrity (Powers, 1998). Although we can understand and interpret the duality of wu and xiang in a representational mindset, the concept of shi still seems obscure for us. For Jing Hao, the concept of shi is far more important than the other two. Shi in art theory in China often refers to gesture or posture (Powers, 1998). So it could be understood as the principle of visual configuration, how to organize the layout and disposition of whole landscape on paper. Powers put it further very clearly: the concept of shi is related to an “awareness of the demonstrative power of the human body”. “By reading an objects disposition as gesture, an artist or viewer could ascribe to inanimate objects the expressive powers of the body” (Powers, 1998: 7). Powers cited some paragraphs in Jing Hao’s Bi Fa Ji to show the application of the concept of shi: “its disposition (shi) is tall/ noble and inaccessible/ aloof, yet the joints bend in dignified salute”. Jing Hao apparently established an aesthetics theory on landscape in his book. Landscape is not only to be seen for visual pleasure, but to be encountered. In this sense, landscape is ourselves, and ourselves is landscape. Landscape is a scene full of intention. Since Jing Hao, the intention in landscape aesthetics continued to be treated as a central issue in landscape painting.

We lived in a dynamic world, in which the objective and subjective in experience
are changing and moving. In perspective drawing, both objects seen and viewers are fixed at a certain position, which for Chinese landscape artists is not important. They focused on the dynamic trend and relation amongst these elements. In Jing Hao (荆浩)'s theory, shi (势) is the dynamic trend and relation, between objects and objects (the configuration and disposition), between objects and viewer (resonance and sympathy). If we have a close look at Fan Kuan’s (范宽, 950-1027) work Journey in Brookes and Mountain [plate 2-13], we can find that the far part of the mountain and cliff, and the near part of tree trunk and rock are view from different viewpoint, one of which is high and far, another is low and close. But the different spaces are mixed together and achieved a shi. Shi, here is a co-existence and mutual conversion between different space, such as from near to far, from low to high. Along with the conversion, the eye of soul was able to journey into landscape. On the other hand, shi also is the shifts between different emotion and feelings aroused by different scenes.

Su Shi (苏轼, a scholar in the Song dynasty, 1037-1101) was credited as the first person to identify the bifurcation between scholar amateur style and court professional style. He suggested that appreciating scholar painting was like getting a panorama of all the horses in the world; we can easily grasp the intention. But watching the professional artists’ (who focused on workmanship and craft in painting) painting was like taking a glance at the horsewhip, manger, and some hairs of a horse, there was nothing beyond the workmanship. To Su Shi, several inches of this kind of painting was boring enough, on the contrary, the scholar’s painting had the highest quality (“观士人画，如阅天下马，取其意气所到。乃若画工，往往只取鞍策皮毛槽枥刍秣，无一点俊发，看数尺许便倦。汉杰真士人画也。”《东坡题跋·跋宋汉杰画》Su Shi’s introduction on master pieces of the Song and Han period). By appraising the achievement in paintings of Wang Wei (a scholar in the Tang dynasty), Su Shi expressed the difference between scholar painting and craftsman painting: Mo Jie (摩诘, another name of Wang Wei)’s
achievement is outside of painting, and beyond the painting (“吴生虽绝妙，犹以画工论。摩诘得之于象外，有如仙焉谢龙樊。” 风翔八观. 王维吴道子画. On Wang Wei’ and Wu Dao Zi’s paintings). When reciting Wang Wei’s poems, you can find the picturesque nature in his poems, on the other hand, when appreciating Wang Wei’s landscape painting, you can understand the poetic nature in his painting (“味摩诘之诗，诗中有画。观摩诘之画，画中有诗。” 书摩诘《蓝田烟雨图》，兰田烟雨图）. If we are absorbed in the realistic aspects in art, our insight is as superficial as a child’s (“论画以形似，见与儿童邻。赋诗必此诗，定非知诗人。诗画本一律，天工与清新。边鸾雀写生，赵昌花传神。何如此两幅，疏澹含精均。谁言一点红，解寄无边春。” 书繇陵王主簿所画折枝二首). Su Shi refuses to meet other people’s taste in his painting. He mentioned, “My intention is my painting. I am writing without any intention to be chosen into government, and I am painting, without any intention to make a living from it. My writing is supposed to express my feeling, and my painting is supposed to fit my intention” [作画要适吾意，能文而不求举，善画而不求售，文以达吾心，画以适吾意 my translation] (Wang, 2000). From this discourse of Su Shi, we can see that he treated painting as an expression of self-being, which can not be and should not be controlled by others.

For ancient scholars, landscape painting was supposed to “cooperate” with poetry and literature to achieve sentiments outside of realism. Poetry in landscape painting and picturesqueness in poetry became the best appraisal for a scholar art. Wu (1983) summarized the characteristics of Chinese scholar painting as below: Sententiousness, which means using few strokes as possible to express a grand scene and complicate experience; Elegance, without any mundane imprint; Clumsy, without any flaunt of skill and flamboyance decoration; Purity and Improvisatory, without any sophistication.

The rise of scholar painting pushed the anti-realistic attitude of Chinese aesthetics
to the extreme. The Debate between Shen (神 inner, invisible and abstract spirit) and xing (形, outside, visible and realistic attribute) was a most drastic and influential one. Apparently, the scholars won this debate. Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) expressed his mockery for xing. He characterised that xing as inferior workmanship. With some training, most artists can achieve the realistic likeness to some extent, but invisible, inherent elegance is very difficult to find. Xing, the visible realistic profile can be measured and scaled, but the sentiment in a painter’s heart can not be measured and scaled. Only when you forget about the xing, are you capable of getting Shen. The painter’s attention on the objects of painting was moved to the subject of art activity: the painter himself.

Another scholar Shen Kuo (沈括, 1033-1097) put Shen (神, spirit) as the criterion of aesthetic assessment. For many other art critics, landscape painting was categorized into four levels: divine, magic, marvellous, skillful. The divine and magic are the top two levels which can only be achieved by fully understanding the inner, invisible spirit of landscape and syncretizing it with magnificent and elegant personality of artists. The skillful was supposed to be the inferior class of aesthetics (Keswick, 1986).

The rise of scholar amateur expressionistic style was not the only change of evaluation in art aesthetics, but also the whole layout and details of landscape painting afterwards. For example, the stroke became a very important element in landscape painting. The beauty of a landscape painting did not only rely on their visual likeness to the physical landscape, but also the tension and relaxation of lines, and strokes, brief pleasure between strokes. The imprint of man’s hand was not a negative aspect in landscape painting, which inevitably encouraged the

---

8 欧阳修明确表示对形似之轻视, 认为形似是粗工的技艺, 而萧条淡泊这类精神状态是难于绘出的: “萧条淡泊, 此难画之意, 画者得之, 观者未必识也。故飞走迟速, 意远之物易见, 而闲和严峻, 趣远之心难形, 若乃高下向背, 远近重叠, 此画工之易耳, 非精鉴之事也。”《欧阳集书画谱》
spontaneity and improvisation in art. The process of painting was more like dancing; the trace of the body visualized on the paper became the spiritual union of landscape and painters. On the other hand, the affiliation between landscape painting and poetry refused the tendency of realism, and pushed landscape painting into a totally different art from western realistic art. At the same time, there appeared a fashion to juxtapose landscape painting and landscape poetry. In this juxtaposition, what the painter saw, what the painter thought, how the painter moved, were all visualized in the painting. Since the wide influence of scholar's expressionist approach to landscape, even the court professional artist began to emphasize their personal intention in their landscape painting.

Usually, landscape painting in the Song dynasty is believed to have higher achievement than that of the Tang dynasty, "the infancy period of landscape painting", since the scholar landscape painting became mature with the stabilization of social and ideological status of the scholar class in China. Artists from different areas of China, such as Ju Ran (巨然) [plate 2-14, 2-15] and Dong Yuan (董源, ?-962) [plate 2-16] from the down stream area of Chang Jiang River (长江), Huang Quan (黄筌, ?-965) from the south-western area, and Guan Hong (关仝, 896-960) [plate 2-17] and Fan Kuan (范宽, 950-1027) from the north-western area. Through long term practice and exploration, they mastered particular skill to paint landscape in their region. The profiles, texture and brush stroke from each region are all different. For a viewer, the difference between these different styles is not only difference of skill, but also difference in regional landscape and characters of these artists. In this sense, landscape painting becomes a mixture of various skills, tastes, landscape features and personalities.

Through the diversity in landscape painting during the Song dynasty, landscape aesthetics was preliminarily established. The intellectual artists and critics insist the encountering of the subjective, such as artists and viewers, and the objective,
such as the visual attribute of landscape. The communication between the subjective and objective changed and transformed the status of artists and viewers themselves.

Plate 2-13: Fan, Kuan, (范宽, 950-1027), Journey in Brookes and Mountains (溪山行旅图), Ink on Silk, Height: 206.3 cm, Width: 103.3cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum.

Plate 2-13: Fan, Kuan, (范宽, 950-1027), Journey in Brookes and Mountains (溪山行旅图), Ink on Silk, Height: 206.3 cm, Width: 103.3cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum.
Plate 2-14: Ju, Ran (巨然, from the end of the 10th century to the early 11th century), Dense Forest (层岩丛树图), Ink on silk, Height: 144.1cm, Width: 55.4cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum.

Plate 2-15: Ju, Ran (巨然, from the end of the 10th century to the early 11th century), Seeking Road in Autumn Mountain (秋山寻路图), Hanging Scroll, Height: 156.2cm, Width: 77.2cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum
Chapter Two: Landscape Painting and Landscape Aesthetics in China from the 5th Century to the 17th Century

Plate 2-16: Dong, Yuan (董源. 907-960), Waiting a boat in a Mountain Pass in Summer (夏山待渡圖卷), Ink on silk, Height: 50cm, Width: 320cm, Liao Ning Museum.

Plate 2-17: Guan, Tong (關仝. 896-960), Travelling in Guan Mountain (關山行旅圖), Ink on silk, Height: 44.4cm, Width: 56.8cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum.
2.3 The Pluralism of Landscape Painting from the 14th to the 15th Century

The period from the mid 14th century to the 15th century witnessed a dramatic change in China, both in ideological and political arenas. By the mid-13th century, the Mongols had subjugated north China, Korea, and the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia and even some parts of Europe. With the resources of his vast empire, Kublai Khan (忽必烈, 1215-1294), a grandson of Genghis Khan (成吉思汗 1167-1227), the supreme leader of all Mongol tribes, began his drive against the Southern Song. Even before the extinction of the Song dynasty, Kublai Khan had established the first alien dynasty to rule all China: the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368).

In nearly a century after that, the Mongols, who were living in nomadic and tribal life in north desert area to China, took control of the main part of China. For an alien ethnic administration, Chinese culture and ideology became a more stubborn countercheck than a rampart or a moat. In order to maintain their reign, the Mongolian government monopolized most of the important central and regional posts in government. The Mongols also preferred to employ non-Chinese from other parts of the Mongol domain--Central Asia, the Middle East, and even Europe--in those positions for which no Mongol could be found. Chinese were more often employed in non-Chinese regions of the empire. The social status of the scholars and Chinese native culture and art was destabilized after its relative stability since the Tang dynasty. Even Chinese people were discriminated as the lowest class in the biggest empire in Chinese history. Notoriously, the Mongols imposed a four class system on China that divided the population into four separate ethnic groups. These had a descending order of privilege and were to become the cause of much contention. The Mongols placed themselves first, then Western and Central Asians who were known as Semu. The next were the Han, who were the people of Northern China and conquered in 1234. These included
Chinese and Qidan, Jin and others. The final group and of the lowest order were the Nan, the people who had been ruled by the Southern Song and brought into the new Mongol Empire in 1279. The class distinctions were not too rigidly enforced but they did have implications when it came to privileges, appointments and taxation.

Nevertheless, similar to what happened in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern dynasty, the self-consciousness of scholars and their artistic activity did not die down. On the contrary, it remained in an unabated status or even underwent a revival in the tough period. Landscape, once again became the retreat and spiritual refuge for the scholars. Without the responsibility and obligation to government, the scholars had to devote themselves to artistic activity. Without the government support, the National Fine Art Academy was dismissed, and professional artists quitted from the art horizon. Scholar painting became the dominant style.

Reviewing painting during this period, the "archaic" style was very popular. Sullivan analyses the motivation for the restoration of the spirit of nostalgia: "For the scholars, the present was bleak, the future held no hope, only the past could be contemplated with any pleasure, not the immediate past, of course, for the southern Song had been weak and decadent. They looked much further back, to the days when China had been free and strong, and felt that it was their task to rediscover and uphold the ancient virtues" (Sullivan, 1979: 93).

Zhao Mengfu (赵孟頫, 1254 --1322), one of the offspring of the Song royal family, mentioned: "The most precious quality in a painting is the spirit of antiquity, if it is not present, the work is not worth much, even though it is skilfully done. Nowadays, people who paint with a fine brush in a delicate manner and lay on strong and brilliant colours consider themselves skilful painters. They are absolutely ignorance of the fact that the work in which the spirit of antiquity is
wanting are full of faults and not worth looking at. My paintings may seem to be quite simply and carelessly done, but true connoisseurs will realize that they are very close to the old models and may therefore be considered good. This is told for real connoisseurs and not for ignoramuses" (Siren, 1958: 19) [plate 2-18, 19].

Ni Zan, (倪瓚, 1301-1374), another influential artist in the Yuan, largely developed the detached and effortless style. His painting ranges very limited landscapes, with the comely and lonely trees in the foreground and river or mountains behind. His painting conveyed a kind of indifference toward landscape, rather than intensive love. His disengaged style of painting was a symbol of emotional alienation from a hateful world. His paintings are not "flat" statements without any individual expression in them. The visual lack of expression becomes the expression. For him, landscape painting became a purely personal expression, a retreat from reality. He mentioned, "I always applied few slipshod sketches to do a landscape painting, not in purpose of representing landscape, but for purely self-entertainment (仆之所谓画者，不过逸笔草草，不求形似，聊以自娱耳。) (Guo, 1981: 186) [plate 2-20, 21].

Other Yuan painters seem to abandon or reject Ni Tsan's alienated landscapes and move toward a fuller and richer, more tactile painting, although these paintings contain something which is not quite "right"-something distorted, something mysterious, and in this way, they are still rejecting the Song style. Why do they reject the Song landscape style? Because the Song landscape painting is the painting of a world characterized by unity between the human being and the cosmos. The Yuan dynasty does not believe that this unity exists. Huang Gongwang's (黃公望 1269-1354) Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains, (富春山居图, plate 2-22) shows some influence of the monumental style but not used to create the sense of monumentality in the landscape, more a musical device in his case; some areas of complexity and other areas that are almost barren; a sense of
“writing” the painting rather than painting it.

From the landscape painting during the 14th century to the 15th century, we can find the late scholar landscape painting underwent a subtle change towards pluralism, which could be seen as the maturation of scholar’s self-consciousness and landscape painting language. Nevertheless, the pluralism also could be seen as a sign of the collapse of scholar landscape painting. With the development of the economy, especially the capitalistic economy after the 15th century, the scholar classes began to blend into other social class, such as the merchantmen and landowner class. The strong self consciousness of scholar class became blurring. The popularity of light literature and drama was rapidly developed and became another influential media in ideological evolution of culture. In the following chapter, the publication of light literature, drama and garden design manual and its influence on landscape ideology will be explored.
Plate 2-20: Ni, Zan (倪瓚，1301-1374). Six Gentlemen (六君子图), Ink on Paper, Height: 61.9cm, Width: 33.3cm, Shanghai Museum.

Plate 2-22: Huang, Gongwang (1269-1354), Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains, Ink and Colour on Paper, Height: 33cm, Width: 636.9cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum.
Chapter Three: Landscape in Printing the Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

As mentioned in the last chapter, through long term evolution, under the advocacy and impulse of the scholar class, landscape as the medium and incarnation of the concept of nature, was used to impel the development and maturation of self-being of the scholar class. On the other hand, the coalescence between subjective intention aroused by landscape and scene as a meaningful space strongly influenced landscape aesthetics afterward. Philosophical insight and exploration on the relationship between nature and self was brewed in the discourse and debate on landscape painting. Comparing to the flourish in landscape aesthetic exploration through landscape painting, landscape design theory before the 17th century seemed mute.

In landscape paintings before the 15th century, some artists took pleasure in depicting the large scale sublime landscape [plate 3-1, 3-2], while some others preferred to make small scenes, such as the huts and pavilion as theme of their paintings [plate 3-3, 3-4]. Siren (1949) describes these motifs of studies of pavilions or hermits' huts under shady trees situated on mountain terraces or deep ravines as having certain garden-like character. To be more precise, these pavilions and hermits' huts are not gardens, but the transition of an aesthetic tendency from large scale landscape to more intimate small scale private garden. In the titles of the paintings mentioned above, artists used words such as "mountain, river, forests, or dwelling in hilly landscape", much more often than the word "garden". Garden was still relatively rare in landscape painting. At the same time, theoretical discourse of garden design hardly appeared in literary and
visual materials either. Then, the phenomenon of the absence of garden in visual media and literatures were changed in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).

Plate 3-1: Zhao, Fu (赵黻, about the 12th to 13th century), Mountains and Rivers in Ten Thousands Miles (万里江山图). Ink on paper, Height: 45.1cm, Width: 992.5cm, The Forbidden City Museum, Beijing.

Plate 3-2: nong (无款, about the 12th to 13th century), Autumn River and Foggy Lake (秋江晓泊图). Ink and colour on silk, Height: 23.7cm, Width: 24.3cm, The Forbidden City Museum, Beijing.
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-3: Li, Dong, (李东, about the 12th to 13th century), Selling Fish by the Snowy River (雪江卖鱼图), Ink and Colour on Silk, Height: 23.6cm, Width: 25.2cm, The Forbidden City Museum, Beijing (故宫博物院)

Plate 3-4: Anon (无款, about the 12th to 13th century), Silk and Weaving Work (丝绸图), Ink and Colour on Silk, Height: 83.2cm, Width: 37.5cm, The Forbidden City Museum, Beijing (故宫博物院)
In the *Ming* dynasty, there appeared garden mania in *Jiang Nan* (江南, the catchments area of Yangtze River). Firstly, the social status of the scholar class, which was the main proponent of landscape aesthetics, underwent some change. In the middle of the *Ming* dynasty, the scholar class began to commingle with merchants and the landlord class. These groups of people provided the intellectual and financial resources to the garden mania in *Jiang Nan*. The improving economic situation was also an impetus to the garden mania. Pursuit of both a reclusive and convenient lifestyle by scholar class made them choose sites in urban areas to develop their private garden.

During the garden mania period, garden design became a profession, and professional and theoretical discourse started to take shape, which took advantage of the landscape painting theory before and established a systematic theoretical discourse (Jin, 2000, Zhou, 1990). Both the practice and theory of garden design underwent an unparalleled prosperity in Chinese history. Most of the gardens we see today regarded as “Chinese classic garden” by western scholars were created in the *Ming* and the *Qing* dynasties. The thousands of private gardens which survive today are good evidence of the prosperity of garden design and construction of those times.

In landscape paintings, apart from continuing the tradition of depicting natural mountains and rivers in picture, some artists brought the private garden into their pictures, as an accessible and miniature landscape. Also in the *Ming* period, wood-block printing appeared as a very powerful tool of information reproduction and transmission, which impelled changes in ideology. After landscape painting, printing became the most important media in landscape design. Unlike landscape painting, a “high-minded” art for scholars, printed images in fiction and drama scripts brought the garden into popular culture and common people's life. At the same time, the application of visual illustrations in books also enabled the garden
designers to deliver and transmit their technology and knowledge through publication. As Clunas (1997) borrowed Eisenstein's discourse on printing's influence on European cultural development, when he talks about the situation of printing in China during the *Ming* period:

*The fact that identical images, maps and diagrams could be viewed simultaneously by scattered readers constituted a kind of communication revolution in itself, that the printed book made possible new forms of interplay between letter, numbers and pictures... is perhaps even more significant than the changes undergone by picture, number or letter alone, and "printing encouraged forms of combinatory activity which were social as well as intellectual. It changed relationships between men of learning as well as between systems of ideas* (Clunas, 1997: 31).

In this chapter, by reviewing some visual media, such as wood-block printing, which followed landscape painting and became the influential visual media, and some theoretical and professional writing on garden designs in the *Ming* dynasty, I attempt to explore the relationship between visual media, especially visual illustration in printing and its influence on the emergence of garden design profession. Also through the lens of visual media, I examine the changes that occurred in landscape design, aesthetics and ideology from the 15th century to the 17th century.

The first section of this chapter is a discourse about the economic and ideological background of the rising interest on garden design during the 15th to the 17th century, including the subtle change of the scholar class and their contribution to garden mania in the *Jiang Nan* area. The second section is an exploration of the influence of visual illustration in light literature and drama scripts on the spread of garden aesthetics and ideology in *Jiang Nan* area during the 15th to the 17th
In the third sections, the status of visual illustrations in garden design manuals which appeared around the 17th century will be explored.

3.1 The Background of Garden Mania in the Jiang Nan Area from the 15th Century

After the decline of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) controlled by Mongol emperors, one of the leaders of civilian rebellion, Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋, 1328-1398) established the Ming dynasty. After the Mongol government and army were driven out to Outer Mongolia from the main part of Chinese territory, China was ruled by the Han (汉, the majority of Chinese race) people again. Through nearly a century of the Mongol reign, the economy was nearly destroyed, through the indifference to agricultural and handicraft industrial economy by the nomadic Mongol royal family. Zhu Yuanzhang, who was a farmer before engaging in rebellion, fully recognized the importance of economic system for a country. So the first several decades of the beginning of the Ming dynasty witnessed the reconstruction and recovery of a national economic system (Pan, 2001).

During the recovery of the national economy, the mid and late period of the Ming dynasty (from the 16th to the 17th century) witnessed a rapid population growth, since the improvement of agricultural production enhanced the food supply nation-wide. The rise of urbanization in the mid and late Ming became the phenomenon impelled by economic development. At the same time, many lands were annexed by the landlord class, and consequently, a large portion of the peasantry became free labour, which began to swarm into urban area and work as the craftsmen for new-born industry, especially the handicraft industry. In the fifteen century until the sixteen century, a crude capitalistic industry and commerce took shape in some areas (Huang, 1985). The regional difference through out the whole country resulted an the imbalance in economy and culture
development. Some big commercial cities appeared as hubs of production and trade. In this context, many big cities such as Nanjing (南京), Suzhou (苏州) and Hangzhou (杭州) already shaped certain commercial and economic pattern quite similar to capitalistic urban places. Jiangnan (江南) became the area where the economy and urbanization were highly advanced (Yu, 1987).

In Chinese landscape history, in this background, the mid and late Ming witnessed garden mania in the Jiangnan area. A large amount of private gardens were constructed in this period. At the beginning of the 20th century, although some private gardens had already been abandoned and disused, there were still one hundreds and seventy gardens remaining in the Jiangnan area (Lou, 2003). The high quality of design and construction skills that these gardens indicate that they had already achieved the peak of garden history (Zhou, 1990). In cities like Suzhou (苏州) and Yangzhou (扬州), there appeared large numbers of craftsmen, designers and even garden theorists. The level of the design and construction of the Jiangnan private garden was so high that when the Qing (清) royal family built the royal garden in Beijing (北京), they chose many craftsmen from Jiangnan area, and even copied some private gardens into their royal garden (Pan, 2001). Most of these private gardens in Jiangnan area are situated in urban area, rather than suburb area. Many of them have survived to the present day and are open to the public, such as the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Garden of Cultivation in the Ming dynasty, the Garden for Lingering In, the Coupling Garden, the Garden of Harmony, the Zigzag Garden and the Listening to Maple Garden in the Qing dynasty. The Humble Administrator's Garden and the Garden for Lingering In, noted for their artistic perfection and individual characteristics, are known as China's four most famous gardens along with the Summer Palace in Beijing and the Imperial Mountain Resort in Chengde (承德). After garden mania in the Ming period, cities like Suzhou and Yangzhou were credited as "garden cities" (Pan, 2001).
If we seek the reason of this garden mania, we can find that the mixture of identity amongst scholars, merchantmen and craftsmen supplied the advocators and practitioners; printing impelled the development of popular culture, and the garden, as the popular place for recreation and socialization was highly demanded by civilians in the city.

As mentioned in the last chapter, the rise of landscape aesthetics in China was closely linked to the evolution of self-awareness of the scholar class, who were usually artists, poets, and sometimes civil officers in government. Since their dominance in ideology and culture in Chinese history, their perspectives on landscape became the main contents of landscape aesthetics. In the mid and late Ming period, the self-awareness of the scholar class underwent some slight changes. Before the initial stage of capitalism in the Ming dynasty, the scholar class was a group of people who despised merchants and money, in the pursuit of truth and virtue. In the mid and late Ming period, the boundary between scholar, merchantman and landlord became obscured.

This change has three background and reasons, the first of which is the phenomenon of preserving wealth in civilian society. As Wei Xi (魏禧, 1624-1681, a litterateur in the Qing dynasty) mentioned, a priority in the late Ming period was to protect wealth in civilian society, since one rich civilian could feed hundreds of poor people (大抵当今治道, 惟宜以保富民为急务, 盖一富民能养千百贫民, 则是所守约而所施甚博也, 魏禧, 《日录杂说》, Wei Xi, Ri Lu Za Shuo, Vol 12, p14). The accumulation of wealth in civilian society apparently could alleviate the burden of the government in natural disasters and unexpected famine. Tracing back to the government guild policy in the second half of the Ming dynasty, the rich merchants and landlords were well protected and encouraged (Huang, 1985). Most retired scholar officers during that time also became the conduits in the process of preserving and accumulating wealth. Apart from the wealth
accumulation of the scholar class, another reason for the mixture between scholars, merchantmen and landlord is the corrupt vogue of buying a position in government. The children of merchant families could get a position through attending the examination as scholars, or donating a certain amount of money to get a position in government (Yu, 1987). Gradually a mixture appeared between the scholar class and merchantman in government. The thought “good merchants are not in the shade of great scholars” (良贾何负于闳儒) was quite popular at the time (Yu, 1987). Through self-edification, merchants felt more self-confident in culture and art and also could have their voice in ideology (Yu, 1987). On the other hand, some scholars also liked to communicate and make friends with “good” merchants, and even took part in giving advice or making decision in trade business. Some famous scholars and artists in the Ming period, such as Wen Zhengming (文徵明, 1470–1559) and Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427–1509), had close friendship and relationship to the local merchants. On the other hand, the intermarriage between scholars and merchantmen also resulted in the mixture between these two groups of people (Yu, 1987).

When we talk about garden mania appearing in the Jiang Nan area (江南) in the late Ming period, the mixture of scholars and merchantmen became the most active practitioners and advocators. Retreating from the tacky and secular world, scholars began to adapt themselves to accept their current status. Wang Ji (王畿, 1498–1583, a philosopher) maintained that “everyone should be satisfied with their current status, and acquire the understanding of Xue (学, knowledge and truth) through everyday life and work. people should not change their everyday life since the Dao (道, truth, the way) just rest in it” (王畿：《龙溪王先生全集》卷 7《书太平九龙会籍》。明代儒佛道的合流及其世俗化，陈宝良，如王畿就主张即业成学："人人各安其分，即业以成学，不迁业以废学，而道在其中", see Collection of Long Xi Wang’s Essays, Vol.7). Another scholar Li Zhi (李贽, 1527-1605, a Philosopher) insists that all the trivialities in everyday life, such as
dressing and having a dinner, are the truth and way to understand the world (袁宗道：《白苏斋类集》卷22《杂说类》，引李贽《答邓石阳书》。李贽认为："穿衣吃饭，即是人伦物理。See Yuan Chongdao, Bai Su Zhai Collection, Vol 22).

Yuan Huang (袁黄，1536-？，a Philosopher) made it very straight and plain, the work and commercial activity also are approaches to achieve truth (袁黄：《训儿俗语》第五《修业》，袁黄则强调业中求道，而且将"治生产业"亦视作求道之业。See, Yuan Huang Xun Er Su Yu, Vol 5). Apparently, these scholars did not only accept the validity of both having a retreating life and working in the government as the scholar-officers did, but also the validity of both having a retreating life and being a merchant at the same time. For any one who can self-restrain, it should be no problem to have fortune and fame.

Along with the change of self-awareness of the scholar class, correspondingly, landscape ideology as an agency and bearer of self-awareness for the scholar class unavoidably changed as well. As mentioned in the last chapter, in the Song and the Yuan dynasty, landscape was used as a retreat, refuge and comfort to the unsatisfied emotion of scholar class. In the late Ming period, landscape, especially the private garden became the place for recreation and socialization. Then, after such a long convention of enjoying natural landscape, either bodily or spiritually, through landscape painting of scholars, why did they now need a private garden as a miniature nature around their properties? Although some scholars, especially European scholars such as Clunas (1996) explores the economic value and impetus of garden mania in the Ming dynasty, with the economic value of the private garden, the social usage of garden seems more significant. Most of those scholar private gardens were constructed in conveniently accessible location for social gathering and so on. The entertainment and socialization function is one of the most important impetuses of the development of private garden (Smith, 1992).

From several remaining gardens, such as the Net Master Garden (网师园), we can
find that there are two connected parts in the garden, one of which is orderly and residential part, full of buildings, and the other part is a place of less practical function, for pleasure and recreation [plate 3-5, 3-6, 3-7]. The garden serves as an accessoriable extension part of the residential area. The pavilions were ideally positioned to take advantage of breezes off the central pond in the summer and surrounded by plantings of aromatic flowers and herbs. Some wealthier families liked to treat their friends and colleagues in their garden. If they were poets, scholars or artists, they were likely to appreciate and discuss painting, calligraphy and literature together. As the place to entertain guests and recreation, the status of the garden unavoidably revealed the taste of its host.

In the mid and late Ming, there were still many landscape painting which followed the Song and Yuan tradition of depicting natural landscape [plate 3-8, 3-9, 3-10]. Some of these paintings reveal the change of attitude of the scholar class. For example, the title of plate 3-8, Hidden Living and Enjoying the Everyday (仙居乐事图册) is apparently evidence of the late Ming's scholar's insight about retreating and the satisfaction of everyday life. From these paintings, we can observe that the mountains and other natural landscape retreat from the main portion of painting into a background, and the habitat and figure in the close shot start to occupied the larger portion of the picture. The figure was treated not only as the decoration of landscape, but a key point or even essence of whole picture. In the transmission between here and there, now and then, reality and dream, the everyday life and current status became more important than ever. Although before this period, private gardens had already become the theme of some landscape painting, the private gardens had remained only a decoration of big scale natural landscape. In the Ming landscape painting, private gardens as the everyday life habitat became primary [plate 3-11, 3-12]. In these paintings, the artists depicted not only the layout of the garden, but also entertainment and recreation activity [plate 3-13, 3-14, 3-15, 3-16]. In these paintings, scenes of
chess-playing, drinking, reciting poems, and making comments on ancient painting show us the situation of social life of scholars and merchants.


Plate 3-6: Net Master Garden (网师园)
Plate 3-7: Net Master Garden (网师园)

Plate 3-8: Lu, Zhi (陆治, 1496-1576), Part of Hidden Living and Enjoying the Everyday (幽居乐事图册), Ink and Colour on Silk, Height 29.2cm, Width: 51.7cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-9: Ju, Jie (the Ming Dynasty), A Small Pavilion in Pine Forest (万松小筑图), Ink on Paper, Height: 16.5cm, Shanghai Museum, left.

Plate 3-10: Lu, Shidao (陆师道, 1517-?), Exuberant Tree and Green Forest (乔柯翠林图), Ink and Colour on Silk, Height: 174.8, Width: 98.2cm, Shanghai Museum, right

Plate 3-11: Lu, Zhi, (陆治, 1496-1576), Gathering in the Midnight (元夜燕集图), Colour and Ink on Paper, Height: 28cm, Width: 118.4cm, Shanghai Museum
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-13: Qiu, Ying (仇英, 1498-1552) Part of Figure and Story (人物故事图卷), Colour on Silk, Height: 41.1cm, Width: 33.8cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.

Plate 3-14: Qiu, Ying (仇英, 1498-1552) Part of Figure and Story (人物故事图卷), Colour on Silk, Height: 41.1cm, Width: 33.8cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.

Plate 3-12: Wen, Zhengming, (文征明, 1470-1559), Eastern Garden (东园图卷), Colour on Paper, Height: 30.2cm, Width: 126.4cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.
Plate 3-15: You, Qiu (仇英, the Ming Dynasty), Appreciating Ancient Painting (品古图轴), Ink on Paper, 
Height: 93.1cm, Width: 36.1cm, Chinese Forbidden Museum

Plate 3-16: Qian, Gu (钱谷, 1508-1578), Detail of Playing Chess in Pavilion (竹亭对棋图轴), Ink and Colour on Paper, Height: 62.1cm, Width: 32.3cm, Liaoning Museum
3.2 The Influence of Visual Illustration in Light Literature and Drama Scripts on the Spread of Garden Aesthetics and Ideology

In the mid and late Ming period, literature and drama became the latest consumables with the development of citizen-consciousness. Publication inevitably rapidly developed to meet the large needs of literature and drama entertainment. Here, we need pay attention to visual illustrations in this printing and its role in garden mania in the Jiang Nan area.

In order to establish the national library, the Ming government asked local governments to do their best to collect and store historical publications. At the same time, after annihilating the Yuan government, the Ming government established the Wen Yuan Ge (Wen Yuan Ge, the Ming imperial library) in Nan Jing (南京) to make the biggest publication collection and restoration in Chinese history. After several generations’ efforts, the amount of books in the imperial library went up to one million. The government’s recognition of publication collections to some extent influenced the common people. An atmosphere of private book-collection in the Ming dynasty was largely encouraged. At that time, only in the province of Zhe Jiang (浙江), there existed over eighty private libraries to collect various publication (Wang, 1961). Both the official and civilian ethos of book collection encouraged the development of publication and printing.

Innovations in paper manufacture made paper cheaper, and the Ming period is characterized by the explicit growth of printers throughout the empire. During the entire Ming period, the reigns of the Jia Jing (嘉靖) emperor (1522-1566) and the Wan li (万历) emperor (1572-1619) were the most active periods in literary publishing (Fang, 1996).

Wood-block printing and overprint technology came to maturity in the 15th century. The wood-block printing to a large extent enhanced the speed of carving
and printing, while over printing technology made colour printing possible. 

*Huizhou*(徽州), *Fujian*(福建), *Hangzhou*(杭州) and *Wuxing*(吴兴) rapidly grew up as the central publication cities in China. Textual publication in China came into maturity in the *Song* dynasty, while wood-block and overprint technologies influenced the progress in visual illustration making, which became the most important impetus for the comprehensive spread of publication (*The Collected Edition of Chinese Fine Art*, 1998).

Apart from the re-publication and re-printing of historical literature, a large amount of light literature, such as fiction, and drama scripts was welcomed by common people. The economic expansion created a middle class of merchants and even labourers with more money to spare on recreational activities. Standards of living increased throughout China, but particularly in the *Jiang Nan* area.

The most important literary form invented in the *Ming* period was the vernacular novel, which was written in vernacular rather than Classical Chinese. The first novels in the *Ming* dynasty were simple collections of manuscript stories that storytellers collected for their own use. Eventually, however, these stories were collated by more educated literary artists and took the form of long novels. Before the *Ming* dynasty, literature and literary style had become moribund, fossilized by the insistence of scholars on a rigid style and adherence to the Chinese classics. The vital and dynamic literary activity, however, occurred at the fringes of literary respectability: in popular literary forms such as drama, the novel and the short story (*Deng*, 2003). Before the *Ming* dynasty, poems and prose were the dominant literal style for scholars. Compared to folktales and folklore, poems and prose were supposed to be more elegant and lofty. Therefore, usually scholars scorned to engage themselves with popular literature production. Along with the popular tendency of scholar class and the developing requirement for recreational and popular reading for the ordinary people, some scholars started to take part in the
popular writings. So the Ming period was a time of great ferment and change in Chinese literature (Deng, 2003). Attitudes about the novel amongst Confucian scholars were divided; some declared that it was vulgar, while others advocated the development of new literary forms to fit the times (Deng, 2003). Many scholars felt that there was nothing more to accomplish in standard Chinese literature or philosophy; it was this group of highly literary and educated men who developed the long novel into an art form. Written in plain and common language, the long novel dealt with philosophical, religious and social issues, while remaining humorous and filled with adventure (Deng, 2003). In what we call "Four Classic Masterpiece of Novel" nowadays in China, three of them were finished in the Ming dynasty, from which we can see the massive burgeoning of popular writings at this time.

One of the publishers in the Ming period mentions the popularity of visual illustration plus light literature. "These large character editions offer a combination of narrative and pictures, so that one may amuse his mind when his staying in a hotel, travelling in a boat, wandering around, or sitting idle" (Clunas, 1997: 36).

The novel and drama with gardens as a scene and background inevitably encouraged the rise of interests in garden design and guided the tendency towards appreciating gardens. For example, in Hong Lou Meng (The Dream of the Red Chamber), Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹, 1715-1763, the author of Hong Long Meng) expressed his strong interests in garden design, and used a long portion of text to describe the process of construction of Da Guan Yuan (大观园, Broad Vista Garden). Chapter seventeen gives us some details of this splendid garden:

---

1 Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, Paper and Printing, p 263, The Illustrations are reproduced in toto in Fang Zhimin, ed. Ming kan xi xiangji quan tu (Shanghai, 1983), see (Clunas, 1997: 36)
"Gentlemen," Chia Cheng observed, as he turned his head round and smiled, "please look at this spot. What name is it fit to give it?" When the company heard his remark, some maintained that the two words "Heaped verdure" should be written; and others upheld that the device should be "Embroidered Hill." ... After listening to the suggestions, Chia Cheng forthwith turned his head round and bade Pao-yü think of some motto. "I've often heard," Pao-yü replied, "that writers of old opine that it's better to quote an old saying than to compose a new one; and that an old engraving excels in every respect an engraving of the present day. What's more, this place doesn't constitute the main hill or the chief feature of the scenery, and is really no site where any inscription should be put, as it no more than constitutes the first step in the inspection of the landscape. Won't it be well to employ the exact text of an old writer consisting of 'a tortuous path leading to a secluded (nook). 'This line of past days would, if inscribed, be, in fact, liberal to boot. 

Apparently, in this paragraph, Cao Xueqin expressed his insight about naming to make sense of garden spaces. Along with the popularization of these kinds of novel and drama, the whole level and interest of garden design surely would be stimulated.

In Hang Zhou, and Su Zhou, the financial and economical centres of the Jiang Nan area, also the most advanced place for private garden design and construction, many masters of printing came into being and were very active in the publishing field. For example, Xiang Nanzhou (项南洲) made one of the most popular novels Xi Xiang Ji (西厢记, Romance of the Western Bower) [plate 3-17, 3-18]. The main theme of this play is the love between a young scholar named Zhang Gong

---

2 English translation of The Dream of the Red Chamber, please see http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/chinese/f1LM/caohome.html accessed in 12-03-2005
(张生) and Cui Yingying (崔莺莺), nineteen-year-old daughter of former Prime Minister Cui. This play is divided into five acts and twenty scenes. The plate 3-18 is the scene where hero and heroine meet with each other at the beginning of the story, and plate 3-17 is the scene where the heroine meets with the hero at the gate of garden at her home.

Plate 3-17: Illustration of Bei Xi Xiang Ji (北西厢记), 1616, Woodblock Printing, Height: 18.7cm, Width: 13.5cm

Plate 3-18: Illustration of Bei Xi Xiang Ji (北西厢记), 1616, Woodblock Printing, Height: 18.7cm, Width: 13.5cm
Plate 3-19: The Wood-block picture in The Fiction of the Golden Bell

Plate 3-20: The Wood-block Picture from a Collection of Zaju Plays (杂剧选集)
The elegant style and vivid depiction of story render the atmosphere and emotion of figures in the novel very well. In these novels and dramas, the private garden always was the scene where the story happened [plate 3-19, 3-20], and consequently, with the popularization of the novel, the private gardens also became a fashion in everyday life. Some scholar artist, such as Chen Hongshou (陈洪绶, 1598-1652, an artist in the Ming dynasty) were also credited as successful wood-block printing artists. Influenced by the narrative function of visual illustration in novels and drama scripts, his works often depict scenes of entertainment and recreation activity in private gardens (Wang, 1961). Plate 3-21 is a wood-block painting by Chen Hongshou about the scholars gathering and entertainment. As both artist and artisan famous in the world of painting in later 16th and early 17th centuries, Chen Hongshou’s reputations shows us “a sign of a rise not only in the status of the artisan, but also of the rise of the illustrated book to an object of elite concern” (Clunas, 1997: 39). Also, images of gardens, as the settings for novels and dramas, pushed the private garden into the public interests, rather than it remaining merely the privileged interest of the scholar class.

If we say the landscape painting in the Song and the Yuan dynasty was the visual media which bore the stimulation of landscape consciousness, printing in the mid
and the late Ming period brought landscape aesthetics into common people’s life and popular culture. Printing, as a commercial production of images “has engendered rather than merely reflected political, social and cultural meanings” (Bryson, 1983: xv). The enormous amount of images about gardens in circulation through printing media inevitably brought landscape aesthetics to a wider audience, and the format of romantic story plus elegant images strengthened the development of private garden as lifestyle, or even fashion. If we may say that landscape painting was still the enjoyment of small elite groups, the visual illustration of novel and drama can be regarded as “visual economy” (Clunas, 1997). Apart from spreading the garden into popular culture, another important influence of printing was that it made possible the design manual and theoretical writings about gardens.

3.3 Visual Illustrations in Garden Design Manuals

When Peter Walker talks about the practice of landscape architects in America after World War Two, he uses the word “invisible” to describe the status of landscape architects and their works (Walker and Simo, 1994). When we review the Chinese landscape history before the Ming dynasty, we might find out the status of garden designers and constructors was even more “invisible”. Although as early as in the Song Dynasty (960-1279), there was literal recordation about professional garden constructors, the discourse about garden design practitioners was still quite rare (Zhou, 1990). Although many scholars enjoyed doing garden design, they were still not professional, since they did this only for their own pleasure. Before the Ming dynasty, many garden crafts such as building mountains were ancestrally continued in some family garden constructors. In the historical literature before the late Ming period, we can find few literatures dealing with gardeners and builders specifically, from which we can say their social status was very low. In the mid and late Ming dynasty, craftsmen began to appeared in
various literatures. For example, in *Tian Rucheng* (田汝成, 1503-1557)’s *Xi Hu You Lan Zhi* (西湖游览记, The Note on Journey in the Western Lake), he recorded that the *Lu* family specialized in building mountain in *Hang Zhou*, and were able to building any patterns of stone, which vividly represented the natural mountain, valley and ravine in garden (杭州陆氏，堆垛峰峦，攒折洞壑，绝有天巧，号陆叠山。) (Zhou, 1990: 166). Family craftsmen were still the main human resources in the beginning of the *Ming* period.

In enhancing their own culture and education, some gardeners and builders were also capable of making painting and even composing a prose and poem. Like the builders in medieval Europe, these experienced and educated builders became part of garden designers. *Zhang Nanyuan* (张南垣, 1587-?) was one of these masters. Being active in *Jiang Nan* area, *Zhang Nanyuan* was credited with both building stones and design. *Dai Mingshi* (戴名世) recorded that Zhang learnt how to make landscape painting after *Ni Yunlin* and *Huang Zijiu*. His paintings were so good that many merchantmen from everywhere in *Jiang Nan* area tried to buy his work at a high price. He also always had very clever ideas in garden design. A stone, a tree, a pavilion and a pond, under his simple direction by gestures, became an elegant garden. After designing and constructing many gardens in Southeast area in *Jiang Nan*, he became famous through his masterly works. Some officers in local government and local scholars respected him and treated him as a friend (Zhou, 1990). *Zhang* can be considered as an example of garden designer coming from a “craftsman’s” roots.

Apart from some builders transforming into designers, some scholars also actively took part in the garden design activity and became garden designers. *Ji Cheng* (计成, 1582-?) was one of the most important garden design theorists in the history. Born in 1582, *Ji Cheng* was famous for his painting when he was still a child. As mentioned in the preface of his garden design theory work, *Yuan Ye* (园冶, The
Craft of the Garden), when having settled down in Chang Shu (江蘇 a city in Jiang Nan area), he still continued his hobby on garden design, until his talent was widely spread and he became the professional designer (Ji and Zhao, 2003). The background of landscape painting and abundant experience on garden construction became the necessary requirement of this new-born profession.

As activities such as garden construction and design can be traced back far earlier than the 16th century, then why is the late Ming period still thought of as the milestone where the garden design became a new profession? The separation between designers and craftsmen apparently is one of the reasons. The second reason, also the most important one, is the emergence of systematic garden design theory. As mentioned above, before the emergence of garden design profession and theory, landscape paintings theory worked as the substitute of landscape theory. Since the inferior social status of craftsmen and gardeners, and higher position of scholars in culture and art field, the ideology of scholars still occupied the dominance in landscape theory and aesthetics. The specific skill and technology of garden construction was continued in some families patrimonially, while the scholars or owners played the role of designers. Even in the Yuan Ye (園冶，The Crafts of Garden), Ji Cheng still mentioned the seventy percent of the credit of a good garden should belong to the owners and the other thirty percents belongs to craftsmen (Ji and Zhao, 2003). That is true. As the place to socialize, the garden always is a very explicit embodiment of an owners' taste. When garden construction is finished, it has nothing to do with the craftsmen any more. The amelioration of garden, collection of good stones, plants and art work, and even the couplets, name, title, and poems involved in garden, these all need the attention and concerns of owners. In Hong Lou Meng, a large portion of paragraph was used to describe how the scholars in the Jia family used their knowledge and scholarship to create poetic essence of the Da Guan Yuan garden. The process of construction is hardly mentioned. The author tells us of the importance of the
intelligence of the owners on garden in *Chia Chen* (賈政, a figure in this novel)'s word:

*Such a wide landscape, with so many pavilions and arbors, will, without one character in the way of a motto, albeit it may abound with flowers, willows, rockeries, and streams, nevertheless in no way be able to show off its points of beauty to advantage.*

Of course, not every owner, especially those merchants, were educated well enough to be capable of these works, so that it often remained as the designer's responsibility to take care of this. *Ji Cheng*’s *Yuan Ye* can be regarded as the first example of professional writings, a book to tell people how to design a private garden.

In term of the whole structure and the language pattern of the book, it is unlikely that it is merely a "do it yourself" manual. The whole book consists of three parts, the first of which is on construction, including discourse on garden, site selections, building base, building construction, and decoration. In this part, *Ji Cheng* points out the basic principles of plan design: keeping the positive potentials of the site, such as maturing plants, arranging the main buildings and accessorial facilities according to various topologies; manipulating the visual relationship amongst buildings and landscapes; how to construct and design different types of buildings and so on. The second part of *Yuan Ye* is about details of balusters and railings. In this part, *Ji Cheng* focused on the design of various balusters and railings according to the function and visual potential of buildings. The third part is about some other details about windows, wall and podium, pavement, mountains form, stone selection and borrowing view. Apart from many experience on detail design,

---

3 English translation of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, please see [http://eText.lib.virginia.edu/chinese/TILM/CAOHOME.html](http://eText.lib.virginia.edu/chinese/TILM/CAOHOME.html) accessed in 12-03-2005
Ji Cheng raised his aesthetic attitude on "borrowing views" in garden design, which made this book more than just a book about craftsmanship. In this book, there are nearly two hundreds and thirty five visual illustrations about many details in garden design and construction. To understand a book as such needs certain experience in garden design and construction, even some aesthetics background. Apparently, this book was not written to the normal craftsmen or clients without any garden experience. It is a reference book and guideline for garden designers. Full of Ji Cheng's personal experience, this book covered the technological information and aesthetics perspective, which made up the basic requirements of a designer.

Plate 3- 22: The Window Pattern is Yuan Ye
Here, I am more concerned about the interaction between language structure and visual illustrations in this book. When Ji Cheng tried to elucidate some details, such as balustrade, pavement or window, he naturally used images as the visual illustrations [plate 3-22, 3-23]. These illustrations and those chapters for the first time not only separated the whole process of garden design and construction into several stages from master planning to detail, but also reduced a holistic landscape into various categories: buildings, mountains, water, balustrade, pavement and window. In this sense, the construction of landscape consciousness is not intuitive and holistic any more, but systematic and reductive. Clunas (1996: 128) also identifies Yuan Ye as the first systematic theoretical writing about Chinese garden. He mentioned, “Its value lies above all in the fact that it is systematic, something on which great stress is laid... here 'systematic' is such a pervasive word that it is tempting to translate it as discourse.” A theoretical discourse needs concepts and structure. The systematic feature of Yuan Ye made it an important early professional discourse of garden design, which was different to those previous discursive styles of note or prose about garden. The professional discourse is supposed to be widely exercisable, and have a comparatively fixed style and format, while the discursive style of writing is personal and informal. At the same time, the transformation from a landscape as whole into different components and elements were the symptom of modernity and professionalization. The emergence
of these categories pushed landscape as a pre-modern combination of scene and intention into various knowledge and concepts. Apparently because of the close connection between construction and these drawings, the visual illustrations provided explicit and plain visual reference to the pattern of pavement and railings in garden. At the same time, the categorized and reduced style of the visual illustration and language also improved the division between different types of work, such as designer, woodworker, gardener, and mason. Different workers doing their jobs according to the different chapters of a professional manual undoubtedly could enhance the efficiency of garden design and construction. The wide spread of these professional design manuals inevitably standardized the garden design profession.

Visual illustrations in Yuan Ye are straightforward footnotes about detail design, rather than pictures with aesthetic perspectives. The application of this kind of descriptive visual illustrations appeared widely in many technological literatures. For example, in The Pictorial Compendium of the Three Powers (三才图经, a visual encyclopaedia published in the Ming dynasty, about the mid of 16th century), there were many visual illustrations about Feng Shui theory [plate 3-24]. With the help of visual illustration, the abstract concept of Xue (穴, points) became a vivid visual profile. Plate 3-25 is another Feng Shui visual illustration in Lu Ban Jing (鲁班经, a technique handbook about building construction in the Ming dynasty). The complicated theory and methodology of Feng Shui became plain visual information which could be read by any one.

Wen Zhengheng (文震亨, the 16th-17th century)'s Chang Wu Zhi (长物志, Treatise on Superfluous Thing), is also an example of mutual reference of visual illustration and categorized discourse. The chapters involved with garden design were separated into four parts: building, vegetation, water and stone, and bird and fish. Different to Ji Cheng, and Li Yu, Wen Zhengheng put more emphasis on
vegetation and animals in garden design. He listed forty two kinds of vegetations commonly used in garden design, the characteristics of them, and the method to cultivate and maintain them. Also in fish and birds, he listed six kinds of bird and one kind of fish which could be easily used in garden design. A crude concept of ecology was shown in this book (Zhou, 1990).

Plate 3-24: Geomantic Points, in The Pictorial Compendium of the Three Poors (三才图绘), in the Mid of the 16th Century

Plate 3-25: Auspicious and Inauspicious Configurations of Landscape, Woodblock Print, from The Classic of Lu Bian (鲁班经), Contained in the Complete Book of the Geomancy of Dwelling and the Creation of Happiness (相宅造屋全书)
This type of professional writing, combining visual presentation and construction methods became the dominant pattern of professional writing. Since an attitude against the standardization in landscape design prevailed, this type of visualization and writing has not appeared in garden and landscape design before the 16th century. Under the requirement of professionalization, eventually garden design also found its way into modernity.

Li Yu (李渔, 1611-1680)’s Xian Qing Ou Ji (闲情偶寄, Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling) is a famous example of garden writing in the Ming dynasty. As a scholar skilled in landscape painting, poetry, drama, fiction, and gardening, Li Yu was a romantic figure in Chinese landscape history. His work, Xian Qing Ou Ji, comprises discourse on poetry, drama, curios and gardening. For Li Yu, all these are laudable hobbies of a scholar, especially gardening. In his book, the fourth chapter is his descriptions of garden design, including buildings, windows and railings, wall, and literal decorations, such as stele and couplet in garden design. Li Yu points out that the tricks of imitating natural landscape into garden were senseless and tiresome. The garden should and would unavoidably be impressed by the owner’s tastes and sentiment. Elegance and refined ambience were the most important issue in garden design (Li, 2000). Arguing against extravagant and vulgar decoration and self-display, Li Yu advocated naturalness and minimalism. Less is more is also Li Yu’s motto.

The usage of visual illustrations by Li Yu is quite different to Ji Cheng. The most interesting visual illustrations Li Yu made are the design of windows. How to frame a view with windows and holes in walls to make a poetic scene, how to connect two spaces by windows and holes [plate 3-26, 3-27]. Li Yu’s illustrations show his sophisticated designs about correspondence between view and poetic intentions. They did not tell readers how the object looks, but how to look at them. In this sense, these illustrations are incarnation of Li Yu’s design philosophy and
experience theory (Li, 2000). Plate 3-26 is a pattern of plum blossom window. Li Yu suggests if designers put some plum blossom trees outside of window, viewers had the poetic picture of plum blossom. The window is frame, while the white wall is the paper. For Li Yu, the view enframed by the window is just like a picture.

Plate 3-26: The Visual Illustration about How to Enframe a Scene through Window, in Li Yu (李渔, 1611-1680)'s Xian Qing Ou Ji (闲情偶寄, Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling)
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 13th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-28 Visual Illustration about How to Paint a Bush in Li Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)

Plate 3-29: Visual Illustration about How to Assemble Animal Elements in Landscape Painting in Li Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)
This method was apparently influenced by his own work, *Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden* (芥子园画谱) [plate 3-28, 29], which was a collection of illustrative plates about how to make a landscape painting. In this work, *Li Yu* analysed the detail of landscape painting by previous masters, such as the skill of representing a tree, a mountain, and a river. In these segments of landscape painting, *Li Yu* points out how to assemble them as a successful landscape painting. This method of disassembling detail study and re-assembling suggests to *Li Yu* a segmental and assemblage means to compose a garden. The window and hole, just like the segments of landscape painting, through viewers' meandering and lingering, makes up a consecutive poetic three-dimensional painting in garden. *Li Yu* not only mentioned the picture-like window, but also the movie-like boat [plate 3-30]. He mentioned sitting in a boat, looking outside of window, the fog and forest, the temple and pagoda, the view of mountain and lake, all looks like a natural picture to him. The picture changes constantly along with the movement of boat; they are changed and transformed. Spending one day in the boat, he can enjoy thousands of beautiful landscape paintings. All these paintings were absorbed into the window of the boat (Li, 2000).

In the remaining gardens of the *Ming* and *Qing* period, we can find that windows and holes are often intentionally used as frames to define and emphasize the scene [plate 3-31, 3-32, 3-33, 3-34, 3-35]. In the garden design professional discourses, window and openings, the separation between indoor and outdoor spaces are the key issue which concerned theorists. The shape and style of windows and holes in Chinese the *Ming* and *Qing* gardens were comparatively complicated and sophisticated [plate 3-36, 3-37, 3-38].
Plate 3-30: The Picturesque Boat in Li Yu (1611-1680)'s Visual Illustrations of Jie Zi Garden (芥子园画谱)

Plate 3-31: The Opening in Shi Zi Lin Garden (狮子林)
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-32: The Opening in Lingering Garden (留園)

Plate 3-33: The Opening in Yi Pu Garden (藝圃)
Chapter Three: Landscape in the Printing Age: Visual Illustration and Garden Design in China from the 15th to the 17th Century

Plate 3-34: Opening in Net Master Garden

Plate 3-35: Opening in Shou Xi Hu Garden
Plate 3-36: The Examples of Window Pattern in Jiang Nan Garden

Plate 3-37: The Patterns of Openings in Jiang Nan Garden
The discourse about window and landscape is not strange for western scholars. Rene Margritte used to points out: “In front of a window seen from inside a room, I placed a painting representing exactly that portion of the landscape covered by the painting. Thus the tree in the picture hid the tree behind it, outside the room. For the spectator, it was both inside the room within the painting and outside in the real landscape. This is how we see the world. We see it outside of ourselves, and at the same time we only have a representation of it in ourselves” [See Wind + Eye: Adjusting Windows by David Leatherbarrow and Mohsen Mostafavi].

From this paragraph, we can see western theorists also see window as an element to guide and control the view of landscape by viewers and agree that window has reciprocating functions. At the same time, same as Li Šu, they also consider vantage points change as time passes. However, Li Šu’s fan shaped window experiences a multitude of different views, constantly changing. The multiple views in this case are created by the movement of the barge and "the wind sways

---

4 http://www.utexas.edu/architecture/center/center9/leatherbarrow.html accessed in 12 03 05
the barge, and the waves rock it". Li Yu’s moving window is not only a sequential combination of pictures, but also a collage of poetic intentions without boundary. This might be the difference between western and eastern moving window. If the movie had been invented in Li Yu’s age, he might use the movie as visual illustration about design theory, rather than vantage images.

When exploring the drawing and design in Italian Renaissance, Mark Wigley (1999) mentioned:

Vasari . . . drew a frame around each of his drawings, a frame that signified their elevation to the status of unique works of art by masking the edges of the sheet of paper and thereby liberating the image from the material world . . . Yet the architectural drawings in the collection are not framed (with the one exception of a design by Palladio that receives the lightest frame possible). While this is understandable in terms of the potential confusion of the architecture of the frame with the architecture that it frames, the result is that the edges of the paper supporting architectural drawings are exposed. The drawings were never fully liberated from the material world (Wigley, 1999, p. 21).

Li Yu’s use window as painting and painting as window blurred the boundary between immaterial visual media and material world. When a painting was treated as a window, Li Yu encourage took visual media back to material world; and when a window was treated as the frame of a painting, Li Yu encouraged viewers to see the landscape in immaterial eyes. We might say that by doing so Li Yu reduced the status of painting as art, but we also can say that by doing so Li Yu promoted the status of material and concrete landscape as art.

The difference between Li Yu’s and Ji Cheng’s visual illustration is the purpose. Ji Cheng made pictures to tell craftsmen the pattern of elements, while Li Yu used
his pictures to tell designers how to organize the scenes and tell visitors how to experience them. If we say Ji Cheng's picture is like a contemporary design drawing which dematerialize material landscape into abstract graphic elements and conceptual categories, Li Yu's pictures are more like a visualization to deliver and visualize designer's aesthetic concepts and blur the boundary between immaterial concept and material landscape.

If we review some main influences on garden design of printing and visual illustrations in books in mid and the late Ming period, we can summarize them as follows. Firstly, printing brought the popularization of garden aesthetics into everyday life of civilians. Since then, garden aesthetics was not only the privilege of the scholars and the elite. Secondly, wide application of visual illustrations made systematic discourse widespread and categorized detail design possible. Without these literatures and visual illustration, we probably could not understand how the mid and late Ming's garden designers worked. Also, thirdly, the application of visual illustration encouraged garden designers and theorists like Li Yu to develop and communicate their insight on landscape experience. Since then, drawings have occupied a dominant position in design process.

In the first three chapters, the evolution of three key visual media was reviewed. They appeared and matured in certain period during Chinese landscape history. These visual media not only improved the development of efficiency of design, but also pushed the development of landscape ideology, aesthetics and experience. This review of the development of visual media also is a review of Chinese landscape history.

As mentioned in the introduction, the key issue of contemporary design visual media lies in their separation to profound landscape experience. The second part of this research will focus on the relationship between Chinese pre-modern visual
media and landscape experience. What do these visual media reveal about landscape experience? What can we learn from these pre-modern visual media and experience? These questions will be explored next.
Chapter Four: Spatiality and Temporality in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media

In the first part of this research (the first three chapters), three important visual media which strongly influenced the development of landscape aesthetics, ideology and profession in pre-modern China were examined: map, landscape painting and visual illustration in publication. These visual media were not simply instruments or tools in built environmental design. Their appearance and evolution in a specific time had great influence and significance in landscape design in ancient China. However, recognition of this historical significance is not enough. Another important issue in this research is the relationship between these pre-modern visual media and landscape experience. This issue is a key to bring the research about pre-modern visual media into a contemporary theoretical and aesthetic discussion of landscape design. How were these visual media linked to landscape experience? What kind of significance the studies on these pre-modern visual media have in our contemporary context? How can we examine these visual media in order to improve our contemporary thinking on landscape experience?

Tuan (1977: 8) mentioned "experience is a cover-all term for the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality." Recent researches have made significant development on our understanding of experience (Birksted, 2000, Casey, 1993, Conan, 2003, Tilley, 1994). These researches propose landscape experience as a holistic concept, which is linked to both ontology and epistemology. In epistemology, spatiality and temporality in landscape experience has been re-examined (Casey, 1993, Conan, 2003, Corner, 1992, 1974, Tuan,
1977). In ontology, the body as an agent through which we engage ourselves in space and time has attracted some researchers' attention (Conan, 2003, Leder, 1990, Tilley, 1994, Tuan, 1974, 1977). At the same time, the dichotomy between the Subject and Object, inside and outside has been challenged. In this mindset, spatiality and temporality, and bodily experience become the main issues in this part of my research. By reviewing Chinese pre-modern visual media, I attempt to point out the temporal and bodily features of landscape experience in these images.

This chapter will focus on spatiality and temporality of landscape experience revealed in Chinese pre-modern visual media. The first section of this chapter will rethink the status of spatiality and temporality in our contemporary perspective-based visual media. I attempt to highlight the dominance of spatiality and the loss of temporality in these visual media. In the second section, by reviewing the Chinese pre-modern visual media, I attempt to point out the importance of temporality in landscape experience and how these visual media revealed the temporality in landscape experience.

4.1 Rethinking Spatiality and Temporality in Perspective-based Landscape Visual Media

4.1.1 The Relation between Space, Time and Experience

As mentioned above, spatiality and temporality are epistemological issues, based on which, we establish and extend our knowledge about the world. What is the relationship between spatiality, temporality and experience? Scientists and philosophers have presented different approaches to this question.

An early approach treated space and time as objective existence outside of our
experience. Probably we can trace this approach back to Newton's "absolute space and time". Absolute space, in its own nature, without relation to anything external, remains always similar and immovable. On the other hand, absolute, true, and mathematical time, of itself, and from its own nature, flows equably without relation to anything external (Rynasiewicz, 2004). For Newton, space is "the sensorium of God", by which God was able to "know the place (whereabouts) of anything in the universe" (Rynasiewicz, 2004). Relative space is the changeable or measurable parts of absolute space. We perceive certain objects by locating their position in absolute space, and usually take the space as fixed and static. Absolute time is sequential, unchangeable and continued (Swartz, 2001). Objective space and time are irrelevant to human' experience, and free from human agency. No matter whether humans realize it or not, space and time are always there, irrelevant to individual and cultural difference.

Leibniz used to challenge Newton's theory of space and time in the opposite direction, as follows.

_These gentlemen maintain ... that space is a real absolute being. But this involves them in great difficulties; for such a being must need be eternal and infinite. Hence some have believed it to be God himself, or, one of his attributes, his immensity. But since space consists of parts, it is not a thing which can belong to God... As for my own opinion, I have said more than once, that I hold space to be something merely relative, as time is; that I hold it to be an order of coexistences, as time is an order of successions, for space denotes, in terms of possibility, an order of things which exist at the same time, considered as existing together ([5]. Third paper) (Parkinson, 1973: 25-6)."

Trying to develop the metaphysics of Newton and Leibniz, Kant proposed his important theory about space and time. For Kant, space is not an attribute of any
object in itself, but a projection of human reason, in another word, it is an "appearance" (things as they only appear to be in human reason) arbitrarily imposed by human, not substance (things in themselves).

"The transcendental conception of phenomena in space is a critical admonition, that, in general, nothing which is intuited in space is a thing in itself, and that space is not a form which belongs as a property to things; but that objects are quite unknown to us in themselves, and what we call outward objects, are nothing else but mere representations of our sensibility, whose form is space, but whose real correlate, the thing in itself, is not known by means of these representations, nor ever can be, but respecting which, in experience, no inquiry is ever made" (Kant, 1781).

In this sense, when I walk in a garden from entrance to pavilion, the distance can not be determined prior to that point in time when I finish walking and stop at the pavilion. The colour of the tree leaves can not be determined as green prior to the moment I set my eyes on them. For Kant, time is not an attribute of any object in itself either. Time is just the forms of intuition in us, since its lapse only can be realized inside of ourselves, while space is the forms of intuition of the outside world. Kant proposes that space and time do not really exist outside of us but are "forms of intuition." The space is real and absolute in our experience when it present before us, while they are nothing in themselves when they are absent from us. Both space and time are only forms of perception and can not be imagined or visualized as absolute wholes. At the same time, Kant suspects the geometry theories since they are self-evident. In his opinion, these axioms are synthetic at the first beginning; in another word, they are a priori to our experience. Nevertheless Kant still accepts the validity of Euclidean geometry, since it

---

depends on our “pure intuition” of space (Kant, 1781). It is almost impossible to argue the issue of space and time again with Kant, since he put space and time as extreme concepts of pure form, do not need to and can not be proved. Although his theory was attacked continually by philosophers later, especially Henri Bergson, Kant is still a very important philosopher who attempted to fill the gap between conceptual, rational thinking and intuitive, experiential thinking. In his discourse about space and time as forms of “intuition”, he brought spatiality and temporality back to discourse about experience.

In this sense, space and time are not merely a “physical” issue, the way to structure knowledge, but also a “meta-physical” issue, the way to understand and experience the world.

4.1.2 The Dominance of Spatiality and the Absence of Temporality in Perspective-based Drawing

The second issue we need to pay attention to is the status of spatiality and temporality in contemporary built environmental design, especially in visual media. Lessing (1969) used to categorize art into two groups: music and poetry were supposed to be arts of time, since they are unfolded in front of audience by a temporal sequence; landscape, architecture and painting were supposed to be arts of space, since they are usually presented before us as a complex of volume, colour and many other visible elements at the first glance, or in one word, simultaneously. Usually, the word “space” is used more often than “time” in built environmental design. Landscape designers and architects usually ponder upon the scale of the volume and space. The question of “how the space of landscape and building could be designed to meet people’s physical, psychological and aesthetic needs” seems to have become the lasting issue for landscape architects and architects. With visual media such as projection and perspective drawing, we
are very likely look at and think about built environment in a "spatialized" way, and believe that spatiality is most important characteristic and even spirit of the built environment.

Not only in the design practice, had spatiality become the most central issue, but also in theoretical discourse (Zhang, 2002). As early as 1940s, built environmental design history was treated as the history of conceptualizing space (such as Giedion, 1941). Gradually, "space" has become one of the most generally used and emptiest words in our language. Refusing any attempts to be captured, the concept of space still remains diverse for us. The history of modern built environment actually became a history of our understanding of space. Following Heidegger, Christian Norberg-Schulz (1971) tried to approach space in five ways, pragmatic space, perceptual space, existential space, cognitive space, and abstract space. In cultural studies, Lefebvre (1991) significantly expanded our horizon on space: absolute space, abstract space, capitalistic space, socialistic space, cultural space, dominant space, masculine space, feminine space, material space, and so on. From these works mentioned above, we can find out although it still is dominant in our ideological discourse, spatiality is undergoing some changes.

The dominance of spatiality in built environmental design, to some extent, is the result of a conspiracy between modernist epistemology, metaphysics and visual media, of which perspective-based drawing is the most outstanding example. Perspective-based drawings to some extent influenced our epistemology on spatiality.

As Victor Burgin (1991: 13) states:

"Some two thousand years after Euclid, Brunelleschi conceives of this same cone (cone of vision) as intersected by a plane surface - the picture plane. By means of this model, something of the pre-modern world view passes into the
Copernican universe - a universe which is no longer geocentric, but which is nevertheless homocentric and egocentric. A basic principle of Euclidean geometry is that space extends infinitely in three dimensions. The effect of monocular perspective, however, is to maintain the idea that this space does nevertheless have a centre - the observer. By degrees the sovereign gaze is transferred from god to Man".

In the Renaissance, methods for drawing linear perspectives were developed, allowing artists to accurately depict scenes viewed from a particular viewpoint. When we draw, we are taking a real-world, virtual, or imaginary 3D scene (as viewed from a particular point) and mapping it onto a 2D plane: a canvas or sheet of paper. Each line or shape in the 3D scene corresponds to a line or shape in the 2D perspective drawing. It is as if we have a powerful movie projector in front of the scene, and a giant film screen (picture plane) behind the scene. The beams of light come out from the film projector, shine through the scene, and cast shadows on the picture plane. Objects close to the projector have large shadows, and objects close to the picture plane have shadows closer the size of the objects themselves. The image projected onto the screen in this manner is a perspective image. It shows the scene as viewed from the position of the projector. This viewing position is called the "eye point," "station point," "camera point."

In Dürer's block print [plate 4-1, 4-2], the artist located the key points on the image by a thread connecting the points on the object and a virtual viewpoint. When the thread go through the two-dimension media (paper or screen), the artist can trace the profile of the object represented. These threads connected the object, viewpoint, and the two dimensional media, and suggest the projection nature of perspective. As an artist proficiently mastering the knowledge of mathematics and geometry, Dürer did not intent only to depict the scene of studio by these block print, but also to explore the how descriptive geometry was applied in the process.
of projecting three-dimensional space onto a two-dimensional media. In a word, the process of projection is supposed to describe “space”.


Then, what experiential node does perspective-based drawings of this kind suggests to us? Panofsky (1991: 31) suggests that:

“In a sense, perspective transforms psychophysiological space into
mathematical space. It negates the differences between front and back, between right and left, between bodies and intervening space ("empty" space), so that the sum of all the parts of space and all its contents are absorbed into a single "quantum continuum". It forgets that we see not with a single fixed eye but with two constantly moving eyes, resulting in spheroidal field of vision. It takes no account of the enormous difference between the psychologically conditioned "visual image" through which the visible world is brought to our consciousness, and the mechanically conditioned "retinal image" which paints itself upon our physical eye.

For Burgin (1991), these features symbolized the modernity of spatiality. From Dürer's block print pictures about perspective appliance that Renaissance artists used, we can find the space they represented and observed is quite like the specimen of an organism under the biologists' telescope; space became an object without a viewer's interposition. Apparently perspective drawing is an embodiment of Descartes rational insight on "seeing". Descartes used the model of camera obscura to explain the process of "seeing", and this explanation remained the principal model and metaphor for vision until the late 18th century (Levin, 1993). In his optic treatise, Descartes wrote: "Now, when you have seen this picture in the eye of a dead animal, and considered its causes, you cannot doubt that a quite similar picture is formed in the eye of a living person" (Nelson, 2000: 45). From the retina, the pictures are said to pass onto the brain. Thus it is the brain and the soul, not the eye, which produce cognition (Cottingham et al., 1988). Through the camera obscura, Descartes established a dichotomy between eye and soul, inside and outside, the Subject and the Object. By the model of camera obscura, Descartes suggests that in front of the retina, there exist an outside and objective space, and behind the retina, there is an inside and subjective soul.
In this mindset, perspective drawings not only put spatiality in the central position in our experience, but also suggest a way to “see” and “project” it. Compared to spatiality, temporality still remains mute both in design practice and theoretical discourse. In perspective-based drawings, temporality is sacrificed in order to achieve a sense of space. Although the widely used shadow in architectural and landscape drawing to some extent suggests the interposition of temporality, it is used mainly to achieve a vivid three-dimensional depth in picture [plate 4-3]. The absence of temporality was not an accidental phenomenon in perspective drawing, but a symbol of temporality’s position secondary to spatiality in our epistemology in some period.

Plate 4-3: The Application of Shadow on Architectural Illustration, Andrea Pozzo, (1707), Rules and Examples of Perspective for Painters and Architects, London.

In his work *Confessions*, St Augustine (AD 354-430) mentioned: “In our conversation, no word is more familiarly used or more easily recognized than "time". We certainly understand what is meant by the word both when we use it
ourselves and when we hear it used by others. What, then, is time? I know well enough what it is, provided that nobody asks me; but if I am asked what it is and try to explain, I am baffled.\(^2\) (Augustine, 1954). Aristotle is one of the precursors who probed into the mysterious relation between space and time. He maintained that space is infinity, which potentially can be divided, and time also can be divided infinity and potentially extendable. For Aristotle, time is a measurement of motion, which can be regarded as the change of position of objects in certain space. Time is so closely connected to events such that it is best understood as the event-less intervals between events. Such intervals can be conceived as smaller or larger. Aristotle however did not look at time as a continuum within which events take place at certain intervals (Tarrie and Chimuka, 2003). This concept of "interval" resulted in some paradoxes, such as a person has no chance to catch up with the slowly crawling tortoise before him, no matter how fast he runs, or a speedy flying dart in the air is static rather than moving. In Aristotle's viewpoint, space is a primary concept, while time is secondary concept, which is measurement, order and sequential complex of many different static spaces or moments. Time indistinctly has become the supplementary concepts of space. In this sense, human's visual experience can be thought of as a series of static photographs. If arranged in the proper sequence, the series of static photographs can represent our total experience. Under this ontology, it is quite likely for people to ask "where is time?", since our concept of time is composed by space in static moments and becomes a dependent concept used to explain and measure movement.

Aristotle's concept of "interval" calls to mind the influential work of Gordon Cullen: Townscape. In this book (Cullen, 1961), Cullen emphasizes that urban

design is an integral art, in which buildings, plants, rivers, and traffic are organized together organically. When we live in it or travel through it, the significance of town space is much more important than that of any individual building. These successive visual experiences a town space gives us are named “serial vision” by Cullen. Cullen emphasizes the importance of visual experience in motion in town space research and design, which is the most critical insight of this book, and he tried to challenge the dominant use of single and static image as representation in landscape, architectural and urban design. When people are moving through town space, the assembled masses and forms of open space are integral and inseparable, so Cullen attempts to raise our awareness of experience through his serial vision.

In the beginning of this book several images are juxtaposed. One of them is the master plan of an open space, on which marked the route of the beholder across an open space. The others images are sketches in perspective of certain points on the route, which tell us what is presented visually to the traveller at these points [plate 4-4]. The juxtapositions of these images are supposed to work together, and by these images, Cullen try to represent the experience of wandering in a real open space. The duration of experience is reduced to a series of static moments, in which, there exists an individual space system. Serial vision can be thought of as a practice of Aristotle's theory of "intervals". Compared to single perspective drawings, Cullen proposed a way to represent time and motion. However, as with Aristotle's theory of "intervals", Cullen's serial vision also is problematic, since he also treats time as a combination of several static pictures. Landscape experience can not be simply reduced to serial vision and temporality is not only a secondary concept to spatiality. Time is continuous and can not be separated. The speed and intensity and complexity of experience can not be visualized in Cullen's serial vision.

From perspective drawing Durer's block printings show us to Cullen's serial vision, we can see temporality in experience were absent or misread. Perspective drawings show us a static image without temporal dimension, and serial vision suggests time is a simple serial composition of image of static moments. In the following section, by reviewing space and time in Chinese pre-modern visual media, I attempt to point out the importance of temporality in landscape experience, and the way Chinese pre-modern visual media revealed it.
4.2 Spatiality and Temporality in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media

4.2.1 The In-separateablity of Space and Time in Ancient Chinese Ideology

Gebser (1986) points out that pre-perspectival structure characterizes space as a closed system. For pre-perspectival man, the sky is a dome with heaven as its crown. The world, also, is a bounded space. The sea surrounds earth and hell lays crouched beneath it. This constitutes the whole of the pre-perspectival universe: heaven and hell, earth and sea, and nothing else. From this "celestial cavern"---glorious as it might appear to the religious mentality---man can never escape. In pre-perspectival epochs, dependent three-dimensional spatiality has not come into being. Space and time were intermingled together to form a world schema. Tuan (1977) gave us the visualization of spatial-temporal system in ancient China [plate 4-5]. In this picture, certain time (seasons) always correspond to certain spatial orientation: south to summer, east to spring, west to autumn, and north to winter. The un-separateablity between spatiality and temporality in human consciousness is a very typical feature of the pre-perspectival era. In Chinese ancient mindset, universe (宇宙) is a combination of Yu (宇), which means past and future; and Zhou (宙), which means spatial orientation: east, west, north, south, up and down. We can find an in-separateablity between spatiality and temporality in some Chinese ancient drawings.

The plate 4-6 is a Feng Shui schema recorded in Zang Shu (葬书, The Burial Book 276-324), a principle book about "Feng Shui" the traditional Chinese landscape design methodology and philosophy. According to this pattern, the ideal habitat and landscape has "azure (blue) dragon crooking to the left, white Tiger
squatting to the right, red bird flying at the front and black tortoise bending at the back", which means that the potentially ideal site should be embraced by rolling hills, backed by stretching mountains, welcomed by screening hills in the front, and greeted with flowing water at the foot. We can easily find the similarity between plate 4-5 ancient Chinese cosmos pattern and this Feng Shui schema. These two drawings were constructed upon the same world-view and cosmos-view.


In Feng Shui schema, the concepts in every category are related and intertwined into a mutual system. Spatiality (orientations) and temporality (seasons) are strongly connected with each other to form a holistic frame.

In an ancient book Li Ji (礼记, shaped up before the second century B.C. a book full of record of remote ancient customs and ritual), we find a discourse about the mapping between spatiality and temporality in Feng Shui schema. Li Ji is a book full of basic principles concerning the relationship between human and cosmos,
which became an authoritative literature in Chinese culture. In the section named *Qing yang* (青阳) in *Li Ji*, the periodicity of the sun has been treated as the measurement of all cosmos. Same to some other ancient cultures, ancient Chinese people defined the alternation of four seasons according to the change of sun orbit, and defined the alternation of day and night according to the sunrise and sunset in a day. Through the natural phenomenon of sun, ancient Chinese people established a pattern of cosmos: the sun in spring and the rising sun became the symbol of east, and matched the green colour which implied the neonatal life, named *Qing yang* (青阳, the green sun); the sun in summer and the mid-day sun became the symbol of south, matched the red colour, called *Zhu ming* (朱明, the red sun); The sun in autumn and the setting sun became the symbol of the west, matched the white colour, named *Xi hao* (西照, the western sun); the sun in winter and the sun sinking under the ground at night became the symbol of north, matched the black colour, named *Xuan ming* (玄冥, black sun). At the same time, apart from the combination of season, orientation and colour, *Qing yang*, *Zhu ming*, *Xi hao* and *Xuan ming* were the embodiment of different abstract feeling and gods. The animals in Feng Shui schema protect and enclose the ideal site and the posture of them suggests the forms and morphology of mountains surrounding the habitat site. So in the Feng Shui schema, spatial, temporal, morphological and emotional elements are combined together.

This description in *Li Ji* suggests that space and time are mutual-defined and inseparated in ancient Chinese people's experience. Many other ancient cultures also share these characteristics in understanding of spatiality and temporality in epistemology. As Gebser (1986) points out, these features were commonly shared by pre-perspective period in human culture. Then, how the in-separability of spatiality and temporality is revealed in Chinese pre-modern landscape visual media? It will be explored in the following section.
4.2.2 Space and Time Interwoven in Chinese Ancient Narrative

Landscape Drawing

As mentioned in the chapter one, ancient Chinese maps underwent an evolution from centripetal spatial pattern to sequential spatial pattern, from two-dimensional representation, parallel drawing, to axonometric drawing. Three-dimensional spatial construction was developed. At the same time, in some maps, such as Zheng He’s navigation map [plate 1-23, 1-24], time still is the important thread to link space and depict a journey. In another influential visual media, landscape painting, the profound landscape experience intertwining spatiality and temporality was fully revealed. As mentioned in chapter two, early landscape paintings have a strong narrative function. Therefore the space and time became the necessary device to enhance the narrative.

Plate 4-7: Processions of a Han Official, A.D. 160s-170s, Drawing, Wall Painting, Huo Lin Ke Er
The wall painting *Processions of a Han Official* [plate 4-7] shows us the initial status of visual narrative in China. In this painting about 160 A.D. both space boundary and temporal progress were not clearly defined. During the Han Dynasty, since enhanced needs of narrative in visual media, the obscurity of spatiality and temporality gradually underwent a change. The juxtaposition of several unitary spaces was applied to enhance the narrative. Like parallelism in prose and poems, the juxtaposition of multiple spaces suggests, generates inherent links amongst these spaces. Juxtaposition could be simultaneous, representing different scenes at the same time, such as plate 4-8. This picture is a wall painting from the 7th to 9th century. In each part of the juxtaposed paintings, a lady and her maid are represented. The same configuration and layout was repeated in each part. As we shall see, in juxtaposition paintings, space was increasingly well defined into several units.

Plate 4-8: Six ladies' Maid, the Tang Dynasty, Wall Painting, see The Collection Edition of Chinese Fine Art, (1998), Beijing: People's Publication of China

On the other hand, juxtaposition also could be sequential, suggesting events happening one following another. In both kinds of juxtapositions, temporality already infiltrates through narration. Simultaneity is a specific status of temporality. The juxtaposition of scenes will inevitably result in the emergence of temporality. In sequential juxtaposition, the sequence of motion and narrative was revealed [plate 4-9]. Compared to simultaneous juxtaposition, sequential juxtaposition could be used as a more efficient device to depict the motion and several sequential moments, such as before/after. Humphry Repton, the British landscape architect and architect, used to use before/after flaps to present his idea [plate 4-10]. This visual media apparently still continues in use in contemporary landscape design. The two images are time bound sequential. One of them is the existing landscape, while the other/overlay is the profile of proposal. From these flap images, viewers can easily concentrate on how different they are, how “after” improves the environmental quality of “before”. As a visual narrative device, juxtaposition provided more temporality than merely rendering sunshine and shadow on a single scene.

Although juxtaposition to some extend enhances narrative, it is still comparatively problematic in dealing with the visual experience. Tufté (1997: 138) figured out the problem of visual juxtaposition: "sequences of still images suffer the obvious loss of the experience of the passage of time, the loss of the rates and rhythms of actual motion." Bergson (1922, 2001) also points out the unjuxtaposable nature of our experience. All the moments of our experience permeate one another and of which the succession in duration has nothing in common with juxtaposition in homogeneous space. Our feeling and emotion, ease and tension in everyday experience can not be intercepted piece by piece. The boundary between the scenes in juxtaposition restricts the mutual infiltration amongst different moment and scenes, and the equal size and importance of different unitary scene suggest a combination of fragments of homogeneous space. With the boundary between scenes being broken down, and spaces being collaged, temporality start to be montaged and different moment of experience start to permeate each other. Plate 4-11 is a wall painting of the 6th to 7th century discovered in Dun Huang (敦煌). In this image, six space units are linked together, each of them having individual themes. These six space units work together like six scenes in a play. Nevertheless, without knowing the content and background of the Buddhist story depicted by this painting, we can not fully understand how these space units are linked, sequentially or simultaneously.

Plate 4-11: Narrative Image in Dun Huang Wall-painting, (581-618) Wall Painting Cave 302
Gu Kaizhi's (345-406) *Luo Shen Fu* (洛神赋, The Goddess of the Lo River) [plate 4-12, 4-13] is an example of the early narrative landscape painting, which start to break the boundary amongst scenes, and put them into one complete picture. The theme of this painting (*luo shen fu*) was drawn from the article, *Luoshen Appraisal*, written by Cao Zhi, son of the Wei Emperor Cao Cao. This painting follows the journey of a young scholar from right to left as he meets the water angle, who tries to tempt him under the water, and his regret when he doesn't follow her. The artist has not distinguished the foreground from the background, seems to be more concerned with finding ways to link the events in the story or separate them as necessary. Gu emphasized his subjects' expressions, with the stones, mountains and trees having an ornamental purpose. From the meeting, communication until separation between Luo Shen and Cao Zhi, this hand scroll which is as long as several meters covered many scenes of this story. In these narrative paintings, events became the main object to be represented, rather than spaces, so spatial and temporal dimension of events are interwoven together to enhance narrative.

Compared to *Luo Shen Fu*, the author of *Journey to Shu* developed the landscape as a three-dimensional device to enhance the efficiency of narrative. The landscape is much more developed in spatial depth. In the entire painting [plate 4-14], it is possible to see that depth is created by having the mountains arranged diagonally across the picture-this creates an artificial pathway or corridor of space which does suggest depth and distance.

Both in *Luo Shen Fu* and *Journey to Shu*, the figure, such as Cao Zhi, Luo Shen, and the Ming emperor appear several times in the pictures. This suggests that the painting is not a simultaneous narrative, but a sequential narrative. Different scenes happening in different times were collaged in a single picture, without boundary between them. From right to left, top to bottom, the painting and
narrative unfold. Without the boundary, viewers are free to view the painting back and forth, and control the rhythm of reading the narrative depending on their emotional response. This feature is parallel with the actual experience of time, in which “back and forth”, “memory and imagination” were connected and intertwined mutually.

We might say all pictoral narrative is necessarily spatial, whether viewers scan them from left to right, from bottom to top, or in diagonal direction. These narrative paintings suggested an attitude to treat space as a setting of a plot, rather than an object. The understanding of landscape as a setting in a narrative painting suggests a different attitude toward landscape to perspective drawing. As Christopher Tilley mentioned in *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, “when a story becomes sedimented into the landscape, the story and the place dialectically help to construct and reproduce each other. Places help to recall stories that are associated with them, and places exist (as named locales) by virtue of their emplotment in a narrative” (Tilley, 1994: 33). In these narrative paintings, multiple spaces suggest the temporal sequences of motion, or space replaces time as a sequential dimension. The experience in each space unit was a fragment, all of which were connected to achieve a meaningful story. A prose and novel unfold sequentially. The reader starts with the beginning of a book and follows one sentence after the other until the end. Narrative paintings attract viewers’ attention from one part to another, from one space cell to another, from one setting to another. Landscape artists might define and suggest the temporal sequence of narrative, and viewers also can re-interpret the progress when their attention moves upon the painting.

At the same time, if we treat landscape as a setting and scene, it is not merely a physical space any more. Landscape became a series of chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by figures in painting. An event is the
transition from one state to another state (Bal, 1985). With its narrative functions, landscape became a place, with temporal elements, human's activity and events.

Plate 4-12: Detail of Copy of the Goddess of the Lo River, by Gu Kaizhi, 345-406, Colour on Paper, Height: 51.2cm, Width: 1152cm, The Forbidden City Museum

Plate 4-13: Detail of Copy of the Goddess of the Lo River, by Gu Kaizhi, 345-406, Colour on Paper, Height: 51.2cm, Width: 1152cm, The Forbidden City Museum
4.2.3 The Spatial and Temporal Construction in Expressionist Landscape Painting

The expressionistic approach of landscape painting resulted in the emphasis and recognition of intention in landscape aesthetics. As mentioned in the last section, up until the Tang dynasty (618-907), landscape artists commonly treated landscape as the setting of a narrative. In order to improve the efficiency of narrative, those artists applied simultaneous and sequential temporal montage to link and organize multiple spaces. After the Tang dynasty, when the narrative function of landscape painting faded away and landscape became a pure aesthetic objective, the scene is not necessarily a setting or background of events and story.
any longer. The disengagement between landscape space and narrative does not mean that landscape became a meaningless object. The arrangement of landscape elements in painting was also the establishment and organization of intention. When the viewer appreciated a landscape painting, what mattered was not merely how it looked and how real it is, but how successful it is in inspiring viewer's spiritual resonance. The harmonious mapping of landscape patterns and intentions became the principle of landscape aesthetics. Apparently, perspective theory provided artists with a realistic visual device, but it also limited the free-play and engagement between landscape and viewers. In the chapter two, the ideological context of expressionist landscape painting was reviewed, especially in its historical and aesthetic context. In this part, I attempt to explore how the landscape painters during this period mapped landscape space and subjective intention in landscape painting. Since the change of attitude from landscape as a scene of narrative to landscape as a scene to express intention, the way to construct landscape and the relationship between spatiality and temporality has been changed.

Although space in the Tang period's landscape narrative painting is not static and timeless painting since space was part of temporal narrative, it still is a physical concept. The difference between two spaces might be the spatial location or temporal sequence. Space is still intentionless. In landscape painting in the Song and Yuan period (from the 10th century to the 14th century), space was treated as a carrier of intention. When some contemporary scholars compared the difference between European perspective theory, and Chinese landscape theory, they might focus on some difference between vanishing points and view points. For example in Linear Perspective in Chinese Painting (March, 1931), March points to that the shifting viewpoint is a main characteristics of Chinese painting, and which also is different to European perspective drawing. This concept of shifting viewpoint might remind us of Cubist art. "Cubists felt that perspective didn't truthfully
represent the world because a single viewpoint only gave one side of things. Picasso and Braque were not interested in the superficial appearance of objects. They wanted to reveal many aspects at once and encompass a whole experience. Braque once said that it was 'necessary to draw three figures in order to portray every physical aspect of a woman. Cubism's solution was to show multiple viewpoints simultaneously.'

Apart from this, some other contemporary scholars summarized Chinese landscape painting as discursive perspective painting (Chen, 1958, Wang, 1981). Both Chen and Wang propose that Chinese landscape painting does not have a single vanishing point. The multiple vanishing points make Chinese landscape painting seems "discursive" and make Chinese ancient artist be able to grasp the scene in different space and time into one picture.

The problems of these approaches to Chinese landscape painting are several. The first is that these approaches try to explain Chinese landscape painting within a European perspective system. The application of concepts such as vanishing points and viewpoints were imposed on Chinese landscape painting. Chinese landscape painters hardly depict any specific real landscape. What they painted is not a real landscape, but an "impression" of landscape in mind. These mental images could be mixed irrationally and intuitively. In this sense, the explanation of Chinese landscape painting according to western perspective theory has missed the point.

Another problem of these approaches is that they reduce Chinese landscape painting to representation of physical space. More precisely, Chinese landscape painting is not only a spatial construction, but a creation of intention. Intentions

can not be fitted into perspective theory, a theory about visual illusion. Space and intention mapping allows the viewer entry to multiple imaginative entrances of a landscape of the spirit where s/he can meditatively move or sit.

As Leonard Shlain (1991: 161) puts it: "Eastern artists never developed on their own the kind of perspective that was sacrosanct in the West, which, like the philosophy of Descartes and Kant, splits the passive viewer off from the objective world and places him outside looking in (or, as in the case of Kant, inside looking out). But while they did not invent linear perspective, the ancient Chinese landscape painters did develop a coherent scheme to organize space. Instead of establishing a point of view somewhere off and in front of the canvas, as in the West, the central point was within, inside the landscape. Their landscapes do not tell us where the beholder stands in relation to the view depicted. This subtle shift creates within the mind of the viewer more of a connectedness to the objects within the work. The Chinese landscape painter assumed that the beholder along with the artist himself, was in the landscape, not looking at it from the outside."

Through reading the ancient literature about Chinese landscape, we find an explanation of Chinese landscape painting according to western perspective theory might be brought about by Guo Xi's (郭熙, 1023-1085, a Chinese ancient artist and art theorist) theory of three distances in landscape painting. In Lin Quan Gao Zhi (林泉高致), based on his observation and more importantly on landscape painting convention, Guo Xi summarized three distances, in other word, three viewpoints. The first one is high distance (高遠), which means looking up at a mountain from below (for example see plate 4-15). Mainly used in painting on high mountains, the high distance can give prominence to the precipitous gesture of cliff, stimulating a feeling of the sublime. The second one is deep distance (深遠), which means looking out from the front of a mountain and to see other
mountains behind it (for example see plate 4-16). *Fei Hanyuan* (費漢源, art critic in the *Qing* dynasty) proposed that deep distance is the most difficult one in three
distances, since it needs to vividly visualize foggy spatial depth in paper,
especially when painting many overlapping mountains and stretching out. The
third one is flat or level distance (平遠), which seems to be looking down from a
high vantage point at a landscape stretching away into the distance (for example
see plate 4-17). Often used in painting on plain landscape and waterfront
landscape, it focuses on how to represent the broad and expanded landscape,
rather than a vertical high and abruptation of cliff.

The three distances theory appears as a guide about how to grasp spatial attributes
of landscape, such as vertical height, depth and broadness. Nevertheless, if we put
this discourse into context, we may find out that it is not a description about
perspective theory, but a summary of experience of preceding landscape artists.
The three distances are three modes of intention creation which are closely
connected to landscape experience. Vertically high cliff always arouses feeling of
the sublime and awesomeness. Depth could inspire mystery and uncertainty. The
broadness of landscape could call up the feeling of placidity and easiness. These
three kinds of intentions permeated landscape painting in the *Song* dynasty and
later.

---

4 清代費漢源在《山水面式》中說，深遠是“于山后四處染出峰巒重疊載層者是也。三遠惟深遠為難，
要使人望之莫窮其際，不知其為几千里也”。
Plate 4-15: Application of High Distance, see WANG, BOMIN (1981) The Perspective in Chinese Landscape Painting, Tianjin, Tianjin People's Fine Art Press.

Plate 4-17: Application of Level Distance, Gong, Banqian (龚千, The Qing Dynasty), Pavilion on the Brook (溪亭)

Plate 4-18: Application of Broad Distance, Guo, Xi (郭熙, the Song dynasty), Deep Valley (幽谷图)
Plate 4-19: Application of Misty Distance, Anon, (the Song dynasty) Sending Off a Boat in Brook Full of Plum Flower (梅溪放亭图)

Plate 4-20: Application of Misty Distance, Lu, Riwei (陆日为, the Qing dynasty), Old Trunks and Morning Fog (古木晓烟)
When Han Zhuo (韓拙, 1095-1125) developed Guo’s three distances into six distances, the point became more explicit. In Shan Shui Chun Quan Ji (山水純全集, the pure collection of landscape painting), Han Zhuo complemented three more distances after Guo and made it six distances. They include broad distance (闊遠), generally a wide stretch of water with a shore in the foreground and a spacious sweep to distant mountains (for example see plate 4-18); misty distance (迷遠), thick mists and fogs that interrupt streams and plains (for example see plate 4-19 and 20), and cause them to disappear; and obscure distance (幽遠), scenery that becomes obliterated in vagueness and mistiness. We can see the broad distance is still quite similar to Guo’s level distance, while misty and obscure distance are far from spatial attribute, but a feeling and effect of landscape. The atmosphere, fog and vapour also were concerned as landscape elements to create intention. Neither Guo Xi’s three distances nor Han Zhuo’s six distances are entirely the results of direct observation of landscape, but from observation of landscape painting. Therefore they came from an intuitive landscape painting convention, not the rational visual observation. If we review Chinese ancient landscape paintings which still remain, unsurprisingly, we find few paintings strictly and exactly obeying Guo’s three distances theory literally. Almost all of them are combinations of two or even more of them. When landscape painting becomes an expression of intention, rather than representation of a space, our discussion on temporality and spatiality needs to be extended to experiential concepts rather than physical concepts of space and time. In terms of experiential space and time, I attempt to use some examples to point out that both Chinese traditional expressionist landscape painting and poetry focused on the shift between experiential space and time, and intention: journey.

How can we understand this visual combination of different viewpoints, and even more important, different intentions? Here, I want to cite a poem of Wang Wei as a literal example of the mapping between intention and scene.
South Hill

By Wang Wei

A light boat sets off from the southern hill, The north is hard to reach across the vastness. On the other bank, I look for my home, It cannot be recognised so far off.

The poet was travelling from southern hill (here) to northern hill (there across the vastness) by boat. When he crossed the river and looked back, home (there) became strange and unfamiliar. In this poem, the poet travelled physically from home to another place, and through this experience, his sentiment was changed from certainty and resilience into uncertainty and grief.

Here is another poem, Meng, Haoran (孟浩然)’s Yellow Crane Tower, which characterizes aspects of spatial construction.

Yellow Crane Tower

By Cui Hao

The yellow crane has long since gone away with on old friend, All that here remains is the yellow crane tower. The yellow crane once gone does not return, White clouds drift slowly for a thousand years. The river is clear in Hanyang by the trees, And fragrant grass grows thick on Parrot isle. In this dusk, I don’t know where my homeland lies, The river's mist-covered waters bring me sorrow.

In the first half of this poem, it was temporal elapse that brought about the poet’s
sentiment. Different from a physical journal from here to there, the poet start his journey from now (the loneliness and emptiness) back to before (joy and accompanies). In the second half, poet began to use the spatial shift, in which, the two places *Hanyang* and *Parrot isle* actually are not so close that poet can see them both at the same time. The far distance did not stop poet's free journey. To some extend the Chinese ancient landscape painting is like these poems, linking different spaces and times together to let intention and sentiments freely shuttle amongst them.

Then, here, a question might be raised: what is the difference between journey and movement? Firstly, movement mainly is about the spatial change of position in a temporal sequence, while journey could be both physical and spiritual. Even if a body remains still, our soul also can journey in different intentions and imaginations. Secondly, the word movement suggest a change in homogeneous spaces, while journey suggest a shift in heterogeneous places. Casey (1993) suggests that the journey is a divergent and heterotopic spatiality- in contrast with the 'compars', a homogeneous and metrically determinate space. Further, Casey cites Deleuze and Guattari's discourse on smooth space to clarify the heterogeneous characteristic of journey.

*The Dispars, which is also called smooth space, is described thus: smooth space is precisely the space of the smallest deviation: therefore it has no homogeneity, except between infinitely proximate points, and the linking of proximities is effected independently of any determined path. It is a space of contact, of small tactile or manual actions of contact, rather than a visual space like Euclid's striated space... a field, a heterogeneous smooth space, is wedded to a very particular type of multiplicity: non-metric, acentered, rhizomatic multiplicities which occupy space without counting it and which can only be explored by legwork [and heart work] (Deleuze and Guattari,
1987), see (Casey, 1993: 275).

So what is the most important difference between Chinese landscape painting and perspective drawing? Why did Su Shi give Wang Wei the assessment that “from his poems, we can find out the picturesque nature in his poems, on the other hand, when appreciating Wang Wei’s landscape painting, we can understand the poetic nature in his painting”[my translation]? All these are because landscape painting shares the common aesthetic features to let viewers or readers put themselves into a journey. In this sense, the saying “poetic emotion and picturesque intention” (诗情画意, means a high artistic level) is real appropriate. Here I attempt to explore the journey amongst intention in landscape painting via several examples.


“诗情画意, 诗中有画, 画中有诗也,” (诗情画意, 诗中有画, 画中有诗也)
Plate 4-22: Anonymous, Jin Dynasty, the 11th-12th Century, Multiple Brookes in Fog (重溪烟霭图), Ink on Silk, Height: 28.2cm, Width: 242.cm, Chinese Forbidden City,

Plate 4-23: Wu, Yuanzhi (武元直), Jin Dynasty, the 11th-12th century, Red Cliff (赤壁图), Ink on Paper, Height: 50.8cm, Width: 136.4cm, Tai Bei Forbidden City Museum
Clear Day, and Bleak Temple and Journey in Brookes and Mountains (清徹庵寺图, plate 4-21) is typical of a vertical landscape painting, in which, vertical cliff occupied large portion of painting, and trunk and rocks are inclined in the bottom of painting. When viewers unfold the painting from the bottom, the first thing which jumps into vision is the disorder of knobby trunk and rock. As the viewpoint moves up, through mysterious fog, his eye will be attracted by the sublime cliff. From bottom to top, viewers undergo a journey from here and now, to a sublime, breathtaking dreamland. We can see the two parts of the painting do not share the same perspective vanishing point and viewpoint, and the void atmosphere between them make a smooth transit from one to another. Both these two paintings seem like the collage of views of looking up to mountain and looking down to the landscape nearby. Multiple Brookes in Fog (重溪烟霭图, plate 4-22) and Red Cliff (赤壁图, plate 4-23) are two horizontal paintings, which are supposed to be viewed from left to right. Like the vertical hang scroll, the horizontal hand scroll is a collage of several different viewpoints, looking up and looking down. When the hand scroll is unfolded, the scenes are linked and rhythmized as a poem.

The debate between realism and expressionism launched by the scholar amateur artists actually focused on the expression of intention and emphasized the importance of intention in landscape painting. For example, they advocate juxtaposition between poem and painting. The function of poems in painting is to clarify the intention resting on landscape and the shifts amongst them. The emphasis on intention resulted in the diversity of pictorial composition and collapse of monumental landscape painting. Multiplicity of intention inevitably resulted in multiplicity of viewpoint, and spatial and temporal construction.

In this section, the spatial and temporal construction in Chinese pre-modern visual media, especially landscape painting has been reviewed. In most of the landscape
painting in this part of my research, both narrative landscape painting and expressionistic landscape painting, time always penetrates the pictures together with spatial elements. If we try to reveal profound landscape experience through visual media, time is a very important element.

Chinese ancient artists were attracted by the temporal experience expressed by poetry and music. Accordingly, they pursued a rhythmized spatial consciousness, which is dynamic and changing along with the time elapse, rather than a static one (Zong, 1987: 11). Some recent researchers recognized the significance of time in landscape experience. Tuan points to time's significance in landscape experience (Tuan, 1977: 118):

*The experience of space and time is largely subconscious. We have a sense of space because we can move and of time, because, as biological beings, we undergo recurrent phases of tension and ease. When we stretch our limbs we experience space and time simultaneously-space as the sphere of freedom from physical constraint and time as duration in which tension is followed by ease.*

Time is important in our landscape experience. However, "time" here is experiential time, or duration, rather than physical time. Bergson's discourse on duration might help us on analysis the characteristics of experiential time. In *Time and Free Will* (Bergson, 1992), Bergson criticizes the concept of space and time of Kant. He argues that Kant established a gap between phenomenon and substance, which seems impossible to close for Kant. Duration, for Bergson is continuity of progress and heterogeneity, and no two moments are identical in a conscious being (Bergson, 1992: 164). Time is real, and our experience is temporal, Bergson (1992) maintains, and this simple sentence means any physical axioms make no sense for us, since they can not reach the essence of real time. Real time here does
not refer to physical time, which we used to measure movement, such as second, hour, day or year. Physical time is a synthetic concept which is not necessarily relevant to our experience. As Bergson mentions that there are two possible concepts of time, one of which is a pure time in our experience, "duration" named by Bergson, while the other is depend on the concept of space (Bergson, 1922). Firstly, Bergson admits the existence of the material world. Physical time and space are measurable, since they are homogeneous, but duration is not time. For him, every moment of a certain time are homogeneous like a series of part of a thread, which can be seen as a quantitative multiplicity, but duration is qualitative multiplicity, which is heterogeneous. The difference between qualitative and quantitative multiplicity become the central issue in Bergson's theory, and is critical and necessary step to understand why Cullen’s serial vision is not sufficient to reveal the temporal experience of human. On the other hand, Chinese traditional landscape paintings are good examples to understand the qualitative multiplicity of landscape experience.

Then what characteristics does this experiential time or duration has? In Bergson's work *Time and Free Will* (Bergson, 2001), he raises two good examples to help us understand the difference between quantitative and qualitative multiplicity. When we look at a flock of sheep, what we notice is that they all look alike. In that sense, they are homogeneous. Nevertheless, we still can enumerate the sheep, because each sheep is spatially separated from or juxtaposed to the others. Therefore quantitative multiplicity is homogeneous and spatial. We can also name a certain sheep No.25, because we can use a symbol to represent it. On the other hand, qualitative multiplicity is heterogeneous and temporal. Duration is a kind of qualitative multiplicity. Its heterogeneous nature determined that duration can not be simply juxtaposition (spatially). The example of qualitative multiplicity Bergson gave to us is the change from a certain feeling to another, in which case, the different feeling can not be juxtaposed, and measured. They are continuous
with one another; one interpenetrates another. Human duration is our experience, and essentially temporal, an irreversible, and of course can not be represented in symbols. Another characteristic of duration is mobility and freedom. Thanks to Bergson's insight, we are able to escape from the trap of space and time, and have a chance to rethink our understanding of visual media and landscape experience. In several periods in Chinese history, some visual media were developed into diverse into quantitative and qualitative tendency (see Chapter one). However qualitative visual media could be developed to reveal profound landscape experience. Bergson's discourse on qualitative duration can give us some clues on this phenomenon.

In this chapter, firstly spatiality and temporality in our contemporary built environmental design, of which perspective and projection drawings are still dominant visual media, was rethought. Encouraged by these visual media, space was fully emphasized, while time has been ignored. By reviewing some Chinese pre-modern visual media, especially landscape painting, the significance of temporality in landscape experience and visual media was explored. Also in the final section, some researcher's insights on temporality and experience highlighted some key features of experiential temporality. The recognition of temporality could help us to understand pre-modern visual media and experience. At the same time, it could encourage various visual media to be used to achieve the complex landscape narrative, which engage temporal and cultural layers of landscape (Horrigan, 1996). In the following chapter, an ontological and related issue, bodily experience in Chinese pre-modern visual media will be explored.
Chapter Five: Bodily Experience, Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media and Landscape

In the last chapter, I reviewed the spatiality and temporality in Chinese pre-modern visual media. In this chapter, bodily experience in Chinese pre-modern visual media and landscape will be explored, as crucial issue in ontology: an understanding of ourselves. The concept of body varies in different spheres, such as medicine, anatomy, physics, psychology, culture and philosophy. Sometimes, the concepts of body of these different spheres might be overlapping. To some extend, the concept of the body is still evolving along with the development of ontology. It is deeply rooted in our consciousness and refuses to be reduced into a strict definition. In this research, the body is key issue to establish a new understanding on Chinese pre-modern visual media and landscape experience through “aperspective” eyes.

This chapter includes four sections. In the first section, the absence of the body in contemporary landscape design and visual media will be identified as a problem. Some philosophers and landscape researchers’ contribution to this issue will highlight the significance of exploration of bodily experience in contemporary cultural and landscape researches, such as Casey (1993), Griffin (1988), Leder (1990), Merleau-Ponty (1962), Tilley (1994), Tuan (1977) and Turner (1996). At the same time other researchers, such as Corner (1992) and Hoffman (1994), link and rethink bodily experience, contemporary design thinking and visual media. The significance of a return to the body in landscape design and general cultural background will be explored in the second section. In the third and fourth sections, by reviewing Chinese pre-modern visual media, especially maps and landscape
paintings, I attempt to explore the strong connection between these visual media and bodily experience, which might be helpful to encourage the "return of the body" in our contemporary landscape design and visual media.

5.1 The Absence of the Body in Contemporary Landscape Design and Visual Media

Since the 17th century, with the development of anatomy and science, the body was regarded as a material object, "whose anatomical and functional properties can be characterized according to general scientific law" (Leder, 1990: 5). Different to other material, the body is an organic material frame of man, which means the body is composed of living cells and extra-cellular materials and organized into tissues, organs, and systems. Juxtaposed to a material perspective of the body, for Descartes, the body is a philosophical issue. Descartes began his discussion of the body as an assertion of the mind and soul into the physical world. For him, the mind is co-extensive with an extended body even though it has itself no real extension in the sense of occupying a place and excluding other things from it (Cottingham et al., 1988). Through the metaphor of gravity, Descartes tried to format the relation between body and mind. As gravity is able to exert its force on all objects in the world, the soul is also able to work on the body like gravity does on objects (Cottingham et al., 1988). In Cartesian mindset, self-existence and the physical being are restricted by the existence and limits of body. The motto "I think therefore I am" simply articulates the mind is what I am, while body is "other". Humans are able to achieve truth because of the intellectual mind, rather than body. The ontological dichotomy "mind vs. body" is closely connected to the epistemological dichotomy between "the Subject and the Object". Descartes’ insights on the body treated body as an outside material carrier of mind.
Challenging Descartes, phenomenological philosophers, such as Husserl and Merleau-Ponty brought the body back to a central position in human's experience, or more broadly, existence. By the term "Leib", or "lived body", Husserl distinguishes one's body as one experiences it "from the inside", from one's body as it is experienced "from the outside", "Leib" from "Körper", one's body as an existence from an inanimate object of detached observation. Husserl concentrates on the lived body to the exclusion of almost any reference to the physical body (Leder, 1990). The lived body means not only the felt body, the subjective space of bodily sensations, but comprises my pre-reflective experience as a whole, insofar as it is mediated by the body, by its senses and limbs. I act through my body, perceive and exist through it, without explicitly reflecting on it. Hence lived bodiliness means my relation to the world as mediated and lived by the body, or my embodied being-in-the-world. The corporeal body, on the other hand, is the anatomical object of physiology and medicine which can be observed, grasped and even manipulated - an object, however, which through its peculiarity of being owned by a person enters a complex relation to the subjective "lived-body". After Husserl, Phenomenological perspectives on the body became influential in philosophy. Merleau-Ponty was one of the most important philosophers contributing to the subject body. He focused on our experience of our own body and its significance in our activities. Resisting the traditional Cartesian dichotomy of mind and body and any "disembodied" perspectives on body, Merleau-Ponty figures out:

...I am not in front of my body, I am in it, or rather I am it. [...] If we can still speak of interpretation in relation to the perception of one's own body, we shall have to say that it interprets itself (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 150).

The body is neither in the mental realm nor in the mechanical-physical realm. Rather, my body make it possible for me to engage in the world. Apparently
phenomenological perspectives on the body refuse the dicotomy between body and mind in Cartesian mindset. In a phenomenological mindset, the body is sensori-motor of our experience. (Leder, 1990)

Landscape experience is incarnated bodily experience. When I wander in a garden, my feet carry me from here, the place where I was, to there, the place I want to be; my eyesight reaches towards the scenes, the profile of elegant plants and mountain in the background; my ears grasped the sound of steams flowing and raindrops tapping on the tree leaves; my nose sniffs the diffuse faint scent of plants. My skin can feel the roughness of rocks, the tenderness of leaves, and the coolness of breeze. My body is the central site of my experience in the garden. All of the senses, visual, haptic, aural and olfactory are mixed together and integrated through my body. With the movement of my body, the landscape unfolds and wraps me. Through my body, I can respond to the landscape. The pleasure of landscape makes me feel relaxed and calm. Novelty in landscape fills my body with tension and excitement; a vapid landscape makes my body tired and bored. Through my body, I am able to have an intimate interaction with landscape. As Christopher Tilley (1994: 10) identifies:

*The world and the subject reflect and flow into each other through the body that provides the living bond with the world. Notions of “object” and “subject”, “nature” and “consciousness” are dialectically related moments of a totality which is constituted through the being of the body in the world. It is the manner in which a subjective attitude comes to both know and express itself. Perceptual consciousness is not just a matter of thought about the world, but stems from bodily presence and bodily orientation in relation to it, bodily awareness.*

Nevertheless, for a long period, the body is absent from landscape design practice.
and theoretical discourse. The important position of the body in experience and its being ignored so often is a paradox, which began to attract the attentions of philosophers. As Leder (1990: 1) mentioned, while body is the “most abiding and inescapable presence in our lives, it is also essentially characterized by absence”.

Firstly the absence of the idea of the body in our landscape design practice and theoretical discourse has its root in ideas of perception. In perception, the absence of the body in the process of “seeing” was explored well by Merleau-Ponty. As he mentioned, “my body as given to me by sight is broken at the height of shoulders and terminates in a tactile-muscular object” (Merleau-Ponty, 1963: 213). We can shift our point of view to get all round view of an external object, but we can not get a whole view of our own bodies, since they come with us when we move. Merleau-Ponty figures out that “to be situated within a certain point of view necessarily involves not seeing that point of view itself” (Merleau-Ponty, 1963: 217). Therefore, our own bodies always refuse to be a part of the external world to be gazed upon by us. The absence of the body happened not only in the process of “gazing”, but also more comprehensively in everyday life. We seem to ignore the existence of our bodies. When walking on the street, my mind wanders somewhere else and does not realize the ceaseless movement of my legs. At this moment of writing, I am using my fingers to type letters into computer, without any thought about how to move and manipulate my fingers. All I am concerned with is the meaning behind the language and the way to express them. At the same time when a sentence comes into my mind, the sentence already jumps out on the screen through my fingers. When our bodies function well, we can hardly feel the existence of our bodies. Only in some certain cases, their dysfunction and the pains they bring can clearly make the recognition of the existence of our bodies. In these cases, “we experience the body as the very absence of a desired or ordinary state, and as a force that stands opposed to the self” (Leder, 1990: 4).
Apart from in experience and perception, the body has also been absent in theoretical discourse in landscape. For painters and sculptors, the process of art-making is a personal and bodily engagement with material or medium. Touching and working on the raw material encourages and arouses the intuitive creativity of artists. As James Corner mentioned, "during the time of engagement there occurs a spontaneity of feeling and expression arising both from a reactive response to the medium and from an imaginative source deep within. Here, the body and the imaginal are joined, inextricably involved with one another in a concentrated and creative, yet unselfconscious, unity. Making itself is a dialogue, a perceptive conversation between the medium and the imagination that cannot be intellectualized or thought of as external to experience" (Corner, 1992: 250). On the other hand, in landscape design process, designers seem already to be separated from the bodily engagement of landscape itself, which could be thought as one of the symptoms of modernity of landscape architecture. If we borrow the Cartesian dichotomy between mind and body, landscape architects like minds, think about, but not do and make landscape, while constructors and builders, like the body, make landscape, but not think about it. Therefore, creative access to the actual landscape is therefore remote and indirect, masked by a two-dimensional screen (Corner, 1992: 251).

When talking about ways of measuring landscape, James Corner observes the body's absence in modern landscape architecture again. He identifies that one of the most important characteristics of traditional measure was its development through the relationship of the human body to physical activities and materials. Traditional units of measure therefore derived from the interrelationship of labour, body, and site (Corner, 1992: 265). Although we still continue to use some of these bodily units, such as the foot, in general length units were increasingly defined by measuring instrument which had no relation to specific parts of the body. Consequently, with modernity "the measure developed into a radically
autonomous practice, related not to the phenomenal and interactive world but to things as solitary and inert objects." "This splitting of the objective from the subjective established, for the first time, a detached distance between the human and phenomenal worlds, enabling humankind to assume a position of supremacy and mastery over nature" (Corner, 1992: 260).

Apart from the development of philosophical perspectives on body, the cultural significance of body became apparent with the approach of the so called "post-modern" era. Leder (1990) suggests modern Western society is typified by a certain "disembodied" style of life. More precisely, disembodied life style accompanied the modernity, which has permeated the global, East and West. Contemporary technology has been used to oppose natural effects on our bodies. Smoothness and high speed became a theme of contemporary technology to alleviate the friction between body and outside world. Shock absorbers installed in various mobile vehicles can make us unaware of the vibration resulted in by high speed travelling. Lifts and elevators enable us to resist the effects of gravity on our bodies. Heat is preserved in buildings and air conditioners prevent us from being disturbed by changing temperatures. The development of all kinds of technology sets our bodies free from labour and tiredness. We seems to do our best to transcend the limits of the body to a "decorporealized existence" (Leder, 1990: 3). In a more general context, the awakening of interest in the body is the inevitable outcome of a long term ideological evolvement of western industrial society (Turner, 1996). The body symbolized popular consumption's challenge to traditional puritanical orthodox ideology. In the so-called post-modern era, the post-modern spirit can be seen as an "embodied" ideology, which rendered a clear comparison to the "unembodied" classical transcendental ideal (Griffin, 1988).
5.2 The Significance of Returning to the Body in Landscape Design

With a rethinking of modernity, the absence of the body has been realized in cultural ideology and some specific fields like landscape, architecture, and human geography. Even in everyday life, a rising interests of bodily experience and engagement such as physical exercise, craft-work and so on manifested an attitude of “return to body” (Leder, 1990: 3). In this general background, especially in the light of phenomenology, landscape studies have already started their “return to body”.

When I worked in the landscape and architectural department of Chinese National Fine Art Academy, I used “bodily experience in the contemporary Shanghai city” as a theme in studio project. Surprisingly, the theme attracted much interest from the students in my department and others, such as graphic design and multimedia design departments. Thankfully, the teaching administrative group agreed that this studio can be free from the strict quantitative assessment system, since it is very difficult to make a quantitative and “objective” assessment of bodily, direct, and even personal experience. Their enthusiasm showed me the rising interest in bodily experience in many disciplines, and on the other hand, their curiosity exposed the long time ignorance in bodily experience in our design education. In the discussion section, we reviewed the change in relation between our bodies and the Shanghai city in recent ten years. Ms. Sun, one of the students, told us her story. Every day, she needed to traverse an open space in the city to go to university. With different shoes, high-heel or sports trainers, she could subtly feel and hear the different touch with pedestrian, lawn and concrete road. This activity of “going through” became a part of her everyday bodily experience of a certain landscape in the city. Based on this idea, she handed in a work in which, she
recorded the surface of certain open space in Shanghai which she traversed on video camera. In this video, she recorded the material of pedestrian, the movement of her feet, and also the sounds of her walking. She said the process of "go through" provided her with a different viewpoint and approach to landscape, compared to the landscape design knowledge she learned before. Landscape is not only to be gazed, but also touched, gone through and dwelt in.

Returning to the body has its crucial significance in contemporary landscape design. Firstly, the body's presence in landscape improved the exploration of "sense of place" in landscape, architecture, and human geography. It is the body that makes space a place. Place is security, and experiential, while space is freedom, and conceptual (Tuan, 1977).

Places are centres of felt value where biological needs, such as those for food, water, rest, and procreation, are satisfied, at the same time, places are centres of human experience (Tuan, 1977). For some nonhuman animals and primal humans, the sense of place was very crucial. As Mumford (1946) mentioned, humans always fluctuated between desires to settle down and to migrate. Placelessness, disorientation, and desolation are usually the emotions and feelings aroused by lack of sense of place. On the other hand, freedom and "getting out of place" are still another side of human desire. The development of the central nervous system, bipedalism and upright posture formed human as mobile animal and made human to be able to move around (Casey, 1993: 12). In this sense, the concept of place is more cogent than space in our exploration in experience. Nesbitt identifies that "Place offers a way to resist the relativism in modern theories of history through the engagement of the body and its verification of the particular qualities of a site" (Nesbitt, 1996: 49). Place is body-involved while space is a concept out of the bodily experience. As Casey (1993: 45) contends the convergence of attention to body and to experienced place is not coincidental, but mutual and closely
connected. It is the body that lets place come into being, and it is the body that marks our places in the world. The body is a captive and natural subject, which make sense of place (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Christopher Tilley (1994) summarizes the dichotomy between space (science or abstract) and place (humanized or meaning laden) which is related to the dichotomy between container/ medium; decentred/ centred; geometry/ context; surface/ densities; universal/ specific; objective/subjective; substantial/ relational; totalized/ detotalized; external/internal; system/ strategy; neutral/empowered; coherence/ contradiction; atemporal/ temporal; abstract space/ human space; materialist rational/ idealist, irrational. At the same time, disembodied and embodied also is a dichotomy related to the dichotomy of space and place.

A second significance of returning to body in landscape design is that bodily experience encourages our re-understanding on humans' intuitive experience. Landscape experience and aesthetics are intuitive knowledge, different to logical reasoning. The philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941) saw intuition as the pursuit of "prime reality" and perceived an artist's intuition as the ability of an artist to place himself within an object so as to coincide with what is unique in that object and consequently inexpressible (Westcott, 1968). Dewey also points out that "reasoning is a phase of the generic function of bringing about a new relationship between organisms and the conditions of life, and like other phases of the function is controlled by need, desire and progressive satisfaction" (Dewey, 1987: 106). At the same time, he observes that intuition precedes conception and goes deeper (Dewey, 1987). These attitudes to bodily experience inevitably resulted in the change of paradigms and methodology in landscape research.

In this background, the body has become a very crucial issue in the process of seeking experiential, cultural and philosophical meaning of landscape and architecture. By examining some cities in Western civilization at their most
pivotal moments in history, and the way people lived in them, Richard Sennett (1996) traces the evolvement of the attitudes to concepts such as space, burial, sanctuary and planning from the viewpoint of human body. He provides new approaches into the interaction between the human body and the spaces of the city it inhabits, evoking the sounds, smells and bustles throughout the centuries. Apart from the historical exploration about city and body, there are some other "personal" experiments about the body and city, body and material, body and activity, body and motion. In Cranbrook architecture studio, Hoffman and his students use their bodies to "do" something, rather than merely think and look about it (Hoffman, 1994). Design, measurement and construction through the body is a main feature of their work, or more exactly, performance. From these works, we can see the body's presence in architectural and landscape design will inevitably transform these professions.

Briefly, the recognition of the absence of the body in landscape design, and rising attitude of "returning to the body" in contemporary ideology and landscape thinking form the background and motivation of this chapter, on bodily experience in Chinese pre-modern visual media and landscape. In the following sections, by reviewing some Chinese pre-modern visual media, especially maps and landscape paintings, I attempt to highlight the strong connection between bodily experience and pre-modern visual media.

5.3 Bodily Experience in Chinese Ancient Maps

To begin this exploration of bodily experience in Chinese ancient maps, I would like to compare two images. The first one is the map of an ideal capital city in Chinese ancient literature Zhou Li [plate 1-21] (in chapter one). In order to understand this picture, I need to highlight the literary description next to this picture in this book again. "an ideal city should be surrounded by nine Li (里
Chinese distance unit) long wall each sides, with three gates on each wall. There should be nine south-north roads and nine east-west streets inside... the palace in front, while the market at back; ancestor's temple on the left and the state altar on the right...” (匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九维，经涂九轨，左祖右社，前朝后市，市朝一夫, my translation) (He, 1985). This paragraph used the body orientation such as left, right, front and back to format space. Space is unfolded around human body in front-back and right-left axes. The body became the first reference point of the space and time.

Through comparing these centripetal image and Da Vinci’s drawing of the human body [plate 5-1], we can find out the different attitude on human’s body. For Da Vinci, the human body is treated as a visible object which is observed and measured as any physical object. Through this image, Da Vinci sought mathematic dimensions of body, which helped him to establish a quantitative relationship between space and body. The Chinese ancient map suggests that body is located in the centre of the city and surrounded by the city. The use of body orientations, such as left, right, front and back, suggests body is an invisible origin point of a space system. Body-orientated space system [plate 5-2] is different to Cartesian spatial coordination system. In Cartesian spatial coordination system,
the elements in space have no difference apart from the difference of position. In body-orientated spatial system, space was not homogeneous, but linked to human’s feeling and emotion. In Chinese ancient ideology, left side belongs to Yang (alive world, bright side, positive and happiness), while the right side belongs to Yin (dead world, dark side, negative and sadness). At the same time, upside refers to lofty, respect, worship and honour, while downside refers to humbleness and depreciation. In myths in many cultures, ancient human tried to establish an integral structure to understand the world, and the body-oriented spatial system was very crucial to establish this structure.

Some scholars used conscious space to explain the body-oriented space. As early as the end of the 19th century, Titchener (1898) mentioned psychological space which is quite different to physical space. While physical space, with which we directly and indirectly interact, appears perfectly three-dimensional, absolute, unified, symmetric, and Euclidean, psychological space differs from the physical space in many important aspects. Psychological space is often distorted, relative, asymmetric, hierarchical, and segmented. Psychological space only exists in human’s consciousness and experience, including visual space and touch space, which surrounds and wraps us. Physical space is only human’s mathematical
thoughts. The former one is concrete, tangible, given, separated and heterogeneous, while the later one is abstract, tectonic, homogenous and linked to other concepts. In physical space, the human's body have no position. On the other hand, in psychological space, the human's body is the centre and the units of measurement. Via a centralised position of the body, the ancient human try to establish a frame work of the world, and prove the validity of human's being. Accordingly, the concept of location is replaced by the concept of place, which hints at the strong connection between space and the things in it. The quality of these things determines the difference of places. Visual media in ancient China revealed a topological psychological spatiality, rather than a visual physical spatiality.

As Tuan (1977) points out, the body's position at the centre of cosmos ordered by the cardinal points was one feature of ancient people's experience. Another feature of experience constructed on bodily consciousness is that ancient people were very likely to take the human body to be a microcosm, an isomorphism of landscape. In other words, ancient people liked to structure landscape as a body, and to understand landscape based on their knowledge of own bodies (Tuan, 1977), and vice versa. In this sense, the body is a micro-landscape, and landscape is macro-body, in terms of structure, feature and evolution.

In the chapter On Spirit (精精神) of Huai Nan Zi (淮南子, a corpus completed from B.C. 179 to B.C. 122), the relation between body and cosmos was mentioned as below:

*Head is just like sky and heaven, while the foot is just like ground and earth. Cosmos has four seasons, five elements, nine jie (劍), three hundred and sixty six day. Body has four limbs, five organs and nine apertures and three hundreds and sixty six joints. Cosmos have various weathers, such as wind,*
rain, cold, and hot, while human have various emotions: happiness and sadness. Our gallbladder works as clouds in the sky; our lung works as atmosphere, our livers works as wind, and kidney works as rain, while spleen works as thunder. Our body and cosmos are mutual referential. [my translation]

This approaches to the world based on the understanding of body was also distinctly revealed in ancient Chinese drawings. There is a painting called Nei Jing Tu (内经图) [plate 5-3] preserved in Bai Yun Guan (白云观) temple in Bei Jing (北京). This picture is a metaphoric description about the principles of human body. The anonymous author mixed the image of body with the image of landscape. The literal description on this picture is obscure and hard to understand, but generally it is an introduction about the organic system of body based on landscape pattern. This picture is very rare in ancient China, in term of such an obvious link between body and landscape. But the metaphor between body and landscape permeated Chinese pre-modern landscape design, especially Feng shui. For example, we can find out that Feng Shui landscape design philosophy shared the same key word and concept with Chinese traditional medicinal knowledge about human body, such as points (穴), vessel (经脉) and qi (气, breath and lived energy).
In Chinese medical understanding of the body, there are three hundreds and sixty acu-points in the body which corresponds to the number of days in a year. In traditional Chinese medical thought the needling of acu-points has been regarded
as definitely the most important kind of treatment along with herbal therapy. These points vary according to the name, location, category, and function of individual points, as well as the technique of piercing, including the depth, angle, body position, time interval, time of the day etc. Vessel is the term for the twelve main ducts in the body ascribed to the twelve inner organs and a multiple function naming the eight extra channels, the blood vessels, and the pulse. Qi is a kind of vapour which is supposed to carry breath and various nutrients throughout the human body, and which guarantees and nurtures the balance of Yin (阴) and Yang (阳). Vessels in the body carry the Qi running through the points of body. The smooth and unhindered circulation of Qi through vessel and points determines the harmony and health of human body.


This theoretical system of body was also widely applied in landscape design. In Feng Shui theory, Qi is an invisible lived energy of landscape, which could run through landscape in forms of rain and wind [plate 5-4]. A landscape which can not gather and retain Qi is not suitable to be habitat. All the purposes of Feng shui operations are about how to select a site (point) which was surrounded and connected by proper vessel and ducts to guide the lived energy to run through [plate 5-5] (Yu, 1998). Qi system in Feng shui as a holistic function of total phenomenon which encounters human experience, which can not be reduced to any individual analytic scientific categories, such as energy, material, radiation, etc.

According to the Burial book, Qi disperses with wind and accumulates by water.
Ideally, a suitable landscape should have Azure Dragon crooking to the left, White Tiger squatting to the right, Red Bird flying at the front, a Black Tortoise bending at the back. The point (site) should be peaceful, spacious and be enclosed by other landscape elements, such as mountains and rivers. There should exist some space big enough to breath. The vessel mountains should be continuing and integrated, undulating and far stretching, while the river should be curvilinear and meandering (plate 5-6).

In this theoretical system, the landscape works as a body with commodious point (site), continuous and integrated vessel, and fluent active Qi. Based on the understanding of body, Chinese ancient people established landscape morphology. Without much ecological and scientific knowledge, this landscape morphology to some extend seems irrational, but it definitely is a distinct example of how ancient people understand landscape through their own body.

In his paper about Chinese ancient image of viscera, Shigehisa (2000) mentioned that there seem to have been distinct similarity between Chinese ancient drawings [plate 5-7, 5-8] on human’s body and ancient maps [plate 5-9, 5-10]. He suggests that ancient Chinese artists might have been trying to portray a body and viscera in the geographical map way and Chinese medicine was “shaped above all by the logic of cartography” (Shigehisa, 2000: 36). The Chinese ancient way of seeing body was strongly influenced by Chinese ancient cartographic attitude (Shigehisa, 2000). After reviewing some Chinese ancient Feng Shui theory, we might find out that this is a two-way influence. The ancient attitude on body also influenced the way to draw a map and to portray a landscape.

From a review of the ancient visual media and literature about body and landscape, we can summarize that bodily experience was deeply rooted in landscape experience and visual media. The two most distinct approaches are the
applications of body-orientated spatial system and the attitude of treating landscape as a macro-body. In another Chinese pre-modern visual media, landscape painting, we can find another approaches to landscape based on bodily experience, which will be explored in following section.


5.4 Bodily Experience in Chinese Pre-modern Landscape Painting

As mentioned in chapter two, in the paintings before the Tang dynasty (618-907), landscape was firstly treated as a background to portraiture. Human portraits as agency of morality and institution occupied an important position in images for a long time. From Zhan Ziqian (展子虔) 's Journey in Spring [plate 2-5], landscape began to exceed figures and become the main subject of painting. During the early period of landscape, there was a transit period from portraiture to pure landscape painting. Angles in Garden by Ruan Gao (907-960), is an example of this transition, which depicted the scene of several fairies playing in a garden. It is a mixture of portrait and landscape [plate 5-11]. Angles in the painting were more like artists themselves, handing a book to read, or gazing upon a painting, or playing a musical instrument desultorily. This work seems like a painting with mythological theme, but in fact intentionally reflects the self-consciousness of the scholar class.

Plate 5-11: Ruan, Gao (阮曜, 907-960), Angles in Garden (仙女宫苑图), Ink and colour on silk, Height: 42.7cm, Width: 177.2cm, Chinese Forbidden City Museum.
Gradually in the Tang Dynasty, landscape painting became entirely independent from portrait painting and panoramic landscape became the main theme. From the Tang dynasty to the Song dynasty (960-1279), there are two main popular formats of panoramic landscape painting: hand scroll and hanging scroll. Hand scroll landscape painting was supposed to be unfolded and appreciated horizontally, from left to right, while hanging scrolls usually were hung on the wall and appreciated vertically, from bottom to top. The hand scroll was usually used to depict horizontal landscape elements, such as river, lake and smooth sky line, such as Wang Gongwang (1269-1354)'s Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains [plate 5-12] and hanging scrolls were mainly used to depict vertical cliffs and so on, such as Wang Wei (701-761)'s Jiang Shan Xue Ji Tu [plate 2-8]. In these panoramic landscape paintings, mountains and rivers occupy a large a portion of picture. People in front of the landscape are incidental.

Nevertheless figures in landscape painting did not entirely disappeared during the Song dynasty. Although panoramic landscape was still quite dominant in landscape painting, some smaller scale and detailed depiction of the co-existence of people and landscape still existed. Some of these paintings did not clearly show the identity of the figures in painting. They could be anybody, and in most situations, represent the status of artists themselves.

In some paintings, such as Listening to the Wind through Pine Trees Quietly by Ma Lin in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) [plate 5-13] and Burning Joss Sticks in the Bamboo Forest from about the same period [plate 5-14], the figures in the middle of the image are composed in a relaxed and contemplating posture. Zong Bing(宗炳, 375-443), as an artist and critic, used to mentioned when he was too sick to travel through the real landscape, that he could journey through the landscape painting hung beside his bed. Since then, the "recumbent journey" (卧游) became another word meaning the activity of appreciating landscape painting.
Apparently, the figures in these two paintings mentioned above are not decoration in these paintings, but a vehicle of the artists themselves to let them journey into landscape.
Along with the scholars' emphasis on self presence in landscape, some of them also emphasize the body's spontaneity in landscape painting. Should an artist hide his body's trace in fine and delicate lines and colour to achieved a realistic exquisite landscape painting or should artists exposed their body's trace through loose, improvisational, free and spontaneous strokes in landscape painting? Should landscape painting be a "photographic" representation of landscape, or be a kind of subjective expression of self-being? Should artists insist in representing landscape truthfully to keep landscape as it is, or expose themselves into
landscape to achieve a new meaning of landscape? Should landscape be with me (有我) or without me (无我)? These questions haunted artists and became the most important issue in Chinese art and landscape history. The “without me attitude” emphasized the “realistic imitation” of landscape, which encourage the pursuit of high skill and visual likeness in landscape painting. The “with me” attitude insists that the beauty of landscape should reveal the body’s presence, subjective interposition and spontaneity of artists and viewers in landscape painting.

The Chinese ancient artist *Guo Xi* (郭熙, 1023-1085) used to insist that artists should be there, in the landscape, to grasp the essence of the landscape in person. (益身而取之，则山水之度见矣。《林泉高致. 山水列》) Nevertheless, there was no convention of painting on site for Chinese landscape artists. After travelling many landscapes, artists kept memories and images in mind. When they started to paint a landscape, they would recombine these mental images instantly and improvisatorially. These landscape paintings are a succession of unspecified time and space. In this painting, the memory became the temporal dimension of landscape painting. The feature of this unspecificity denies the realism and becomes inclined to poetic impressionism and expressionism. Sullivan (1979: 14) uses an example of a poem to explain this unspecificity in Chinese landscape painting. This is a poem from the Song poet *Chin Kuan*, translated literally, word by word as “Mist dusk wine-banner slant, only lean railing exhaust-eye”. If we want to translate it into English, we have to put tense, number, even subject and verb as well. “A tavern’s banner aslant in the misty dusk, I can only lean on the railings and gaze afar” (Sullivan, 1979: 14).

As a result of this unspecificity, the preciseness of painting was far less important in Chinese landscape painting. In *Xie He* (谢赫, about 500 A.D)’s *Gu hua pin lu* (古画品录, classified record of ancient painters), *Xie He* sets up six principles in
art: spirit consonance and life movement; the structural strength in the use of brush; fidelity to the object; correct colour; proper placing and disposition; and the transmission of ancient masters by copying. The vitality of landscape, and subjective consonance was far more important than fidelity and preciseness in representation. These six laws laid a corner stone for Chinese landscape painting and landscape aesthetics and put spiritual consonance in a first and crucial position.

How is a spiritual consonance achieved? Zhuang Zi (庄子, Chinese major ideologist in Taoism, B.C 369- B.C. 286) gave us his answer: through the body’s spontaneity. Unlike Descartes’ dichotomy between body and mind, Zhuang Zi emphasized the importance of bodily spontaneity in a knowing process. In his work Zhuang Zi, Zhuang Zi describes a fable about a cook Ding, who knows how to cut up an ox without effort and without his knife ever getting blunt. He knows the way to do it. Dance-like and in perfect rhythm he cuts between the joints, goes with the natural makeup of the carcass, and forgets about himself (Zhuang Zi, Ch.3) (Wenzel, 2003). The cook Ding becomes so familiar with the ox and his knife through continually training his body, at the same time as developing a specific unity of mind and body. He does not need to think, just act. He can trust his body, or this unity of mind and body, to do the thinking for him. His body and the object he is dealing with are both material object. Therefore, he can train his body to develop a specific unity of mind and body, which fits the kind of objects he is dealing with (Wenzel, 2003). Through this fable, Zhuang Zi did not focus on the importance of skill, but tried to break down the separation between mind and body. For Zhuang Zi, the spontaneous and intuitive features of bodily experience, or in Merleau-Ponty’s word: the body’s engagement of the object, are not inferior to intellectual and rational thinking in approaching phenomena. Zhuang Zi’s insight on bodily spontaneity deeply influenced Chinese aesthetics theory. In landscape painting, the spontaneous, improvisational, and bodily experience and
encounter with landscape became the pleasure, and the vehicle which connect mind and body.

For Daoists such as Zhuang Zi, spontaneity is an effective way to achieve creativity. In Mill’s writing about Nature (Mill, 1904), he defines the spontaneous order of nature as depending on the properties of elementary forces, or of the elementary substances and their compounds. For Mill, spontaneity refers to the mechanistic movements of all things in nature, including human instinct, and is put in direct contrast to voluntary action of human being. In Chinese language, spontaneity (自发, 自觉, 自然) has slightly a different perspective. Firstly, spontaneity refers to a status of “self-active”, zi ran (自然). Zi (self) plus ran (so/such) not only refers to the status of nature (自然), but also the status of a human’s body. In spontaneity, there is no dichotomy between free will and mechanic of outside world, but a reciprocal and harmonious interaction between nature and a human’s subject status, which is supposed to be the highest pleasure in art.

The emergence of flung-ink landscape painting could be seen as the embodiment of bodily spontaneity in landscape painting making [plate 5-15]. Wang Mo (王墨, ?-825) is supposed to be the precursor in flung-ink landscape painting. It was said that he always made landscape painting after he got himself drunk. Flinging ink onto paper, he used brushwork spontaneously to form mountain, clouds, tree and water according to shade and dryness of ink. As James Corner (1999a: 160) mentioned, the flung-ink painting emphasizes a generative process of seeing and creating, rather than the final product. In the state of drunkenness, Wang Mo relaxed his body and drew in the instinct of his body, and retreated from the control of rational and intellectual thinking. The body was engaged with ink, brush, and paper spontaneously.
The body's spontaneity in landscape painting, until the 19th century, was used to challenge the realistic tendency of landscape painting and indicate the independent personality of the members of scholar class. In the 17th century, the tendency of improvisational, spontaneous and performative broken-ink landscape painting developed into an extreme, abstract landscape painting. The representation of landscape was overtaken by personal and subjective statement through the body. Zhu Da (朱耷, 1616-1705) and Shi Tao (石涛 1641-1710) were two of the most outstanding landscape artists at that time. His landscape painting was not only abstract and elusive, but also wild, anti-conventional, individualistic and avant-garde. Shi Tao was strongly influenced by Buddhist and Taoist metaphysics, and expressed his insights into landscape painting in his work Record of a Discourse on Art (画语录): "in great antiquity there were no methods; the great state of natural simplicity had not been broken up... one stroke in a painting includes everything, extending even beyond the sphere of phenomena, and of the works beyond the number of brush and ink marks there is non which does not find its beginning and end in it. It is there awaiting the man who can grasp it." Shi Tao continued, "by one spontaneous movement of hand, mountains, rivers, human beings, birds, animals, plants... will assume form according to their characteristics; they will be drawn as if alive, and their meaning will be revealed." From Zhu Da [plate 5-16, 5-17] and Shi Tao's works [plate 5-18], we can find that they rarely paint a specific landscape, but focus more on the pleasure of strokes and abstract forms which appeared on paper. The body's movement became the theme of landscape painting, through which they achieved the spiritual consonance with landscape [plate 5-19]. In these cases, like the cook Ding in Zhuang Zi's fable, artists achieved a freedom of body, a unity of body and mind, subject and object, inside and outside.

In the "with me" attitude, landscape painting was supposed to achieve self-being. In Chinese art history, the "with-me" attitude gradually took an influential
position in landscape aesthetics and art theory, and accordingly became a dominant attitude in art history. Through debate between the "with me" and "without me" attitudes, the supporters of "with me" attitude, the scholar class, also achieved their self-being, which included the maturity of their collective identity, recognition as culture elite, and success in social status.

Plate 5-15: Qiu Ying (仇英, 1498-1552), Returning Fisherman, one of his "Eight Views of Xiao Xiang" (潇湘八景图), Hand scroll, Ink on Paper, Height: 30.6cm. Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Tokyo.

Plate 5-16: Zhu Da (朱耷, 1616-1705), Landscape, Hanging Scroll, Ink on paper Height: 159cm, Shokokuji, Kyoto, Japan. [left]

Plate 5-17: Zhu Da (朱耷, 1616-1705), Landscape Sketch, Album Leaf Ink on paper, Height: 31.7cm, Sumitomo Collection, Kyoto, Japan.
In “with me” landscape painting, the imprint of man’s hand was not a negative aspect in landscape painting, which inevitably encouraged the spontaneity and improvisation in art. The process of painting was more like dancing; the trace of
the body visualized on the paper became the spiritual union of landscape and painters. In Chinese art history, body’s spontaneity in landscape painting became the very important elements in aesthetics.

As mentioned in the last section, from Chinese ancient maps we can see that bodily experience is used to mentally construct and format landscape. In this section, we also identify bodily experience’s influence on landscape aesthetics. From these various levels, bodily experience permeated landscape consciousness and ideology. The recognition of the body’s importance in landscape experience and aesthetics might encourage the return of the body in contemporary landscape design and research. Following the rethink on spatiality, temporality and bodily experience in Chinese pre-modern visual media, the next chapter will focus on the link between engaged seeing in visual media, and journey in landscape Chinese pre-modern era. Through this exploration, I attempt to discuss the potential of re-fusion between the experience in visual media and real landscape.
Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape in Pre-modern China

In the introduction, I identified the relationship between visual media and design profession. Firstly, various visual media are used in design process as tools to clarify idea, such as diagram, plan and perspective drawings. In this sense, designers work through visual media, rather than actual built environment; secondly, visual media such as drawing defined the status design as an intellectual activity; thirdly, visual media reveal the “immaterial” level of built environment, and accordingly become the “intermediate” and blur the boundary between idea and material built environment. In this chapter, my concern is the connection between experiences of visual media to experience of landscape, in order to “re-fuse” them.

Hill (2003) suggests that the experience of visual media and landscape are different. “The artwork in the gallery is primarily experienced in a state of contemplation, which encourages an empathetic relationship between the viewer and the viewed” (Hill, 2003: 171). Quoting Walter Benjamin’s word “art demands concentration from the spectator”, Hill (2003: 171) identifies the concentration as a quality of contemplation. The status of concentration suggests a connection between the viewer and the viewed and also suggests a comparative “isolation” of visual media from material world. “The contemplation of art is primarily a form of visual awareness of a single object by a single viewer, in which sound, smell and touch are as far as possible eradicated” (Hill, 2003: 171). In this process, any viewer’s interposition, such as touch, can undermine the status of art work as an art.
Comparatively, landscape experience is different. It is tactile. Viewers or users’ interposition is very crucial part of the experience. “In a dialectical engagement of the body with the physical environment, the user is product, producer and appropriator of space, moving in reaction to the city and projecting bodily movements onto the city” (Hill, 2003: 173).

Once, I went to a Chinese traditional garden (Lion Forest Garden, 石子林) with a group of students to do a site survey. This garden is credited as a classical one for its successful and complicated mountain building. The purpose of this survey is to teach students how to survey and make drawing about an actual landscape. In another words, how to “draw” a landscape or how to transfer the properties of a landscape into the properties of drawing. After finishing their survey, this group of students, who were already bored by drawing, started to play hide and seek in this huge and labyrinthine mountain. Watching aside, I suddenly realized that during this hide and seek game, this group of students were rapidly seizing the basic principles of how this mountain was formed, even more than a garden historian. The game of hide and seek brought this group of students into an engagement to landscape. Their playing with the mountain retrieved some properties of landscape, which can not be grasped through drawing, especially those properties which arise from the interaction of user.

Although both the visual media and landscape are material, the way to contemplate visual media seems more “immaterial” than tactile experience of physical environment. Nevertheless, some artists and critics still connect the experience of visual media and the experience of landscape, for example, Zong Bing’s discourse on “contemplating a landscape painting is a journey”. The experiences of visual media and landscape are not exactly same, but they are analogous. Ignorance of the difference between them is problematic. But as long as the difference is clarified, the exploration on the connection between them will
be very helpful for both understanding of visual media and landscape experience. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the analogous feature between experience of visual media and physical landscape in pre-modern China context.

Rooted in ancient Greek culture, a desire for rational examination to access the truth of the world lies deep in Western ideology. Visual observation and conceptual articulation became the fertile ground for binary opposition in ideology. In contemporary discourse on landscape experience, the binary opposition between the Subject and the Object is still dominant, though challenged by many scholars. Lothian (1999) reviewed two dominant paradigms in landscape aesthetics (objectivism and subjectivism) and their philosophical background, when he explored the question “is landscape quality inherent in the landscape or in the eye of the beholder?”

The objectivist or physical paradigm is the conventional view that the quality of the landscape is an intrinsic attribute of the physical landscape, just as landform, water bodies and hue are physical qualities. By contrast the subjectivist or psychological paradigm considers landscape quality as solely a human construct, based on the interpretation of what is perceived through the memories, associations, imagination and any symbolism it evokes (Lothian, 1999: 178).

In Chinese traditional ideology, the binary opposition between the Subject and the Object never came into being. Such aesthetic proposition as spiritual resonance in aesthetics suggests a dynamic reciprocal engagement between the Subject and the Object, the viewer and the viewed. The meaning of a painting does not arise from the process of visual observation and conceptual articulation. Through reviewing some traditional discourses on journey in landscape, especially in traditional scholar private gardens, we might find out that the concept of journey is also a
performative concept, which is "peripatetic and ambiguous, thinking 'driving' itself 'around'; at each step the scene changes and develops ... The locus of the dynamic peripatetic I (a demonstrative) is evoked by the situation, where the I is situated. And the I begins to tell a story, by confirming what is the case" (see Fung, 2000: 245). In Chinese traditional aesthetic discourse, the understanding of experience does not rely on visual observation and conceptual articulation, and accordingly does not rely on the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object either, which is the by-product of the process of visual observation and conceptual articulation in western ideological context. Chinese traditional aesthetics encourages discursive, instant and reciprocal engagement between the Subject and the Object, the viewer and the viewed, especially at an intuitive level.

Rethinking this dichotomy between the Subject and the Object, inside and outside in landscape experience and visual media became the main motivation of this research, and its main significance to contemporary landscape theoretical exploration.

This process of reconnecting visual media and landscape experience is a two-way process. One part of this process is the re-reading of pre-modern visual media to interpret the intuitional landscape experience dominant in pre-modern China. The other process is the re-examination on traditional landscape experience, to reassess the validity of pre-modern visual media in embodying landscape experience.

Therefore, this chapter includes four sections. The first of which identifies the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object as one of the features of historic western attitude on experience, brought about by the belief on visual observation and the desire on for conceptual articulation. On the other hand, spiritual resonance played a crucial role in Chinese traditional understanding of experience,
which blurred the boundary between the Subject and the Object. The second section focuses on exploration on the engaged seeing in visual media in Chinese pre-modern context. The contemplation in Chinese pre-modern visual media is a cultural and social engagement between the viewer and the viewed. The third section examines the engagement in landscape experience in Chinese pre-modern context, through some literature review and case studies of traditional garden. Finally, in the forth section, I attempt to connect the engaged seeing of visual media and journey in landscape through a visual analysis on a virtual garden: the Garden of the Hall Encircled by Jade. This connection attempts to discover how some properties of Chinese pre-modern visual media were used to reveal the properties of landscape experience, such as temporal dimension of experience and motion, which might be absent in perspective-based drawing.

6.1 The Dichotomy between the Subject and the Object in Western Ideology and Spiritual Resonance in Chinese Pre-modern Aesthetics

In Lothian's (1999) exploration of the subjective vs. the objective landscape aesthetics, he states:

*The objectivist paradigm can be summarised as viewing beauty in the physical scene in front of one's eyes while the subjectivist paradigm judges beauty from the interpretation by the mind behind the eyes* (Lothian, 1999: 179).

In this paragraph, Lothian identifies a visual observation mode in landscape aesthetics and experience. Seeing is a very important way of knowing. The establishment of the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object approaches to landscape experience and aesthetics is deeply rooted in the Cartesian exploration
on ocular seeing. Based on a technical experiment, Descartes defined some characteristics of visual observation. For Lothian (1999), Descartes established a separation between "the Subject and the Object", "inside and outside", and contributed ultimately to the emergence of the subjectivist view of aesthetic quality. "Instead of seeing aesthetic quality as an inherent quality of a physical object such as a landscape, the distinction of mind and nature paved the way for humans to appreciate the role of their own" (Lothian, 1999: 180). During his ocular experiment, Descartes treated the human eye as an optic instrument, which can be separated from the human body and mind. According to Nelson (2000), this audacious assumption resulted in the disembodiment and lack of human agency in the progress of "seeing". It is not difficult for us to find out the "objective" motivation behinds Descartes' exploration on sight.

How, then does a meaning and message arise from an artwork when we see a picture? How do we experience a picture? Through the long term development of aesthetics and philosophy, researchers have tried to analyse this process through conceptual articulation, which relies on abstract thinking and reduction.

In the Greek era, all the arts, such as painting, sculpture, music and dance were supposed to be mimetic. When Plato talked about the art, he proposed a mirror metaphor to support mimetic theory:

*The quickest way [to be an artist] is to carry a mirror with you everywhere; you will then quickly make the sun and things in the heavens, the earth as quickly, yourself and other living creatures, manufactured articles and everything. – Plato, Republic*

1 See the internet version, http://oll.libertyfund.org/Txts/Plato0204/Dialogues/111M1s/0131-03_P102_Republic.html, accessed
For Plato, in the process of experience, there is a direct connection between a picture and the object it presents, which in this case is visual likeness. The picture is a copy and imitation of actual objects. Visual likeness reminds the viewer of the object which is absent. Precise shape, form and texture can stimulate aesthetic responses and pleasure in the viewer. Landscape artists reconstruct the scene and make us feel like we are standing outside of the landscape and are looking it through a transparent window. In this mindset, landscape painting is merely an external referent of a real landscape. The beauty of landscape painting relies in the beauty of landscape and the viewer is merely a passive recipient of the message.

Kant believed that aesthetic experience involved reception by the mind (the noumenal world) of an imaginative representation of the phenomenal world (Lothian, 1999). In this sense, Kant developed a representation mode in experience and aesthetics. The mind is not concerned with the object per se but with the mind's representation of the object. Nelson Goodman argued convincingly that resemblance is an abortive criterion to a successful representation, since resemblance is a symmetrical and reflecting relationship; while representation is not (Goodman, 1968). Bechtel (1998: 299) has proposed some essentials of a modern theory of representation: "There are ... three interrelated components in a representational story: what is represented, the representation, and the user of the representation".  

Z: System Using Y → Y: Representation → X: Thing Represented

While some psychologists and philosophers are still re-interpreting how representation theory works in aesthetic experience, the strong influence of representation theory on western ideology has made its impression on landscape
studies. For example, in research about representational validity of landscape visualizations (such as Daniel and Meitner, 2001), Daniel and Meitner suggest that representational validity is a very crucial criterion in assessing visual media. In recent decades, representation has become a key word in studies of design media, especially visual media. Those insights on representation criticized the over-simplification of visual likeness and imitation theory in aesthetics. In this sense, representation is considered as an intermediate between subject and object, which invites subjective interpretation of aesthetic experience.

But the representational approach to aesthetics is also problematic. Does every piece of artwork have to stand for some specific things in the world? What if it does not? Sometimes, we can experience an abstract feeling such as happiness and sadness from a dancer’s performance, or we can feel angry in response to vigorous strokes in some abstract paintings. The absence of “objects” in abstract art encapsulates the breakdown of the relationship of representation. Some of the essential tenets of representation theory are lost in this sense. Foucault (1973) points out that by saying that an image “looks like” reality, one assumes the ontological superiority of the latter. With similitude, however, the objective "referent" is gone; things and images are "more or less like one another without any of them being able to claim the privileged status of model for the rest" (Foucault, 1973: 10).

From Plato’s visual likeness, Kant’s representation, until Foucault’s similitude, all these conceptual articulations about experience of art have an overtone of dichotomy between the subject and the object, no matter what kind of relationship is there between them, direct and unmediated, or indirect and mediated. The Subject and the Object are two ends of one process, interdependent, but external to each other.
French philosopher Merleau-Ponty is key figure in the evolution of visual perception in its philosophical dimension. Merleau-Ponty turned the issue of the eye into one of the "body", and the issue of "looking" into one of "engaging", which we can regard as a big step from a visual observation paradigm to an experiential paradigm. If we regard the Cartesian attitude is "seeing the world", Merleau-Ponty's stand point is "in the world".

*Vision is already inhabited by a meaning which gives it a function in the spectacle of the world and in our existence. The pure quale would be given to us only if the world were a spectacle and one's own body a mechanism with which some impartial mind made itself acquainted. Sense experience, on the other hand, invests the quality with vital value, grasping it first in its meaning for us, for that heavy mass which is our body, whence it comes about that it always involves a reference to the body. The problem is to understand these strange relationships which are woven between the parts of the landscape, or between it and me as an incarnate subject, and through which an object perceived can concentrate in itself a whole scene or become the imagio of a whole segment of life. Sense experience is that vital communication with the world which makes it present as a familiar setting of our life (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 52-53).*

The problem of experience or perception, for Merleau-Ponty, exceeds the psychological horizon and reaches an ontological horizon. Merleau-Ponty's insight has had a deep influence on phenomenological approaches to visual media, ideology and design philosophy. Here what is most interesting in this discussion is that it established a platform for understanding and interpreting "engaged seeing" for us.

With the key word "experience" being widely used today, the dichotomy between
"objectivism and subjectivism" needs to be reformed. Like other arts, such as painting, music, dancing and poetry, landscape aesthetics come into being through a process of engagement, experience and enjoyment, which can not be easily reduced into a combination of stimulators, recipients and parameters. The reduction of experience came from the idea of "in addition to seeing, knowledge must be articulated". In Aristotle's view, language is not merely a medium to construct knowledge, but a rule to follow. Knowledge must be organized and examined in language, and can embody human intelligence and rational thinking. When we try to articulate experience, something is gained, but at the same time, something is lost.

In the Chinese context, this way of knowing the world by "visual observation and conceptual articulation" did not have such validity as in western culture. Spiritual resonance was accepted as the primary and valid way to know the world. Early Chinese ideologists, such as Lao Zi (老子), express their suspicion of rational elucidation in language. As Lao Zi said, "He who knows does not speak; he who speaks does not know" (Graham, 1989). Thus, in place of the insistence on "straightline" clarity and distinctiveness in logic, the ancient Chinese mind prefers to circumnavigate an issue, tossing out subtle hints that permit only a careful listener to surmise where the unspoken core of the question lies in aesthetics (Bragt and Nishitani, 1982). Language and the activity of "saying" here mean the process of elucidating though concept, judgment, rational and logical media of thought. On the other hand, in Chinese traditional mindset, experience is considered as a reciprocal, pre-linguistic, non-logical and performative process, or in another words, "unsayable" process. This process of landscape experience is a highly intensified interaction between person and landscape, through which equilibrium between inside and outside is restored and self-being is achieved. For Zhuang Zi (庄子) this interaction is understood in terms of "gan ying" (感应 arousal and response). Different to causality, it allows and encourages more free
The reason Zhuang Zi has had such a deep influence on art and aesthetics is not because he established any systematic knowledge or philosophy, but his poetic "spiritual resonance" is expressed in many allegorical stories. "The pleasure of fish" is one of his most cogent stories on aesthetic experience. At the end of the Chapter "Qiushui (秋水, autumn water)" by Zhuang Zi, is the following phrase.

One day, Zhuangzi and Huizi were taking a walk along the river.
Zhuangzi: Fish are swimming placidly near the surface of the water. That must be their pleasure.
Huizi: You are not a fish. How do you know if it is their pleasure or not?
Zhuangzi: You are not me. How do you know if I know about their pleasure or not?
Huizi: I am not you. So, I don't know about you. And you are not a fish either. Therefore, you won't know about them as well. My logic is perfect, I think.

Zhuangzi: Let's return to the root of our argument. When you asked me "How do you know if it is their pleasure or not?", you already knew if I knew about their pleasure or not, and you dared ask me such a question didn't you? I got to know it by the side of bridge.

庄子与惠子游于濠梁之上。庄子曰："鲦鱼出游从容，是鱼之乐也。"惠子曰："子非鱼，安知鱼之乐？"庄子曰："子非我，安知我不知鱼之乐？"惠子曰："我非子，固不知之矣；子固非鱼也，子之不知鱼之乐，全矣。"庄子曰："请循其本。子曰汝安知鱼之乐云者，既已知吾知之而问我，我知之濠上也。"
dichotomy between the Subject and the Object as two different ways to approach things, in which Zhuang Zi believes in spiritual resonance, and Hui Zi insists on another. The first round of this argument ended with success to Hui Zi. He used logic to prove that Zhuang Zi would not know the fish's pleasure since he (as the Subject) is not one of fish (the Object). Hui Zi's idea suggests that there exists an unsurpassable gap between the Subject and the Object. When Zhuang Zi realizes the difference between their starting points, he proposed that the truth of knowing the pleasure of fish can not be deduced by the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object, but by being "present" in the scene. Presence makes it possible for him to experience as a fish, and also makes it possible to blur the boundary between the Subject and the Object. This experience is instant, pre-logical, and spontaneous, transcending any positivistic deduction and conceptual articulation.

Comparing the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object in western aesthetics and spiritual resonance in Chinese traditional aesthetic, we can find that spiritual resonance encourage a porous, instant and dynamic engagement in experience. For Zhuang Zi, spiritual resonance is more cogent and appropriate to approach aesthetic experience. In order to seek essence of the world, this kind of pure-self conscious experiencing breaks down and dissolves the boundary between the Subject and the Object, the known and unknown. In the processes of landscape experience and using visual media, spontaneity and pre-reflex thinking plays a crucial role. Bearing this in mind, I attempt to explore the engaging seeing in Chinese pre-modern visual media in the next section.

6.2 Engaging Seeing in Chinese Pre-modern Visual Media

In the Genealogy of Morals, Nietzsche expressed his suspicion of "an eye that no living being can imagine, an eye required to have no direction, to abrogate its active and interpretive powers." He immediately followed this attack by asserting
that all seeing is essentially perspective, and so is all knowing. The more emotions we allow to speak on a given matter, and the more different eyes we can use in order to view a given spectacle, the more complete will be our conceptualization of it, and the greater our “objectivity” (Levin, 1993). John Dewey’s (1987) insight into and exploration of experience also reminds us of the deficiency of Cartesian visual observation in experience. For Dewey, experience firstly is inseparable engagement between us and environment, in which thinking, feeling, doing, and perceiving are intertwined. Experience is a spontaneous organization of perception and intention. From this starting point, human beings are not “abstract” Subject which have to bridge to others and environment, but are essentially tied to their environment. “Seeing” is a process of engagement. Lacan’s term “gazing”, is involuntary engagement in a visual discourse, which is culturally and socially mediated. There is no pure and transparent relationship between the Subject and the Object. Norman Bryson (1988: 91) describes the Gaze as requiring a collective submission of the “retinal experience to the socially agreed description(s) of an intelligible world.”

From the previous chapters about visual media, especially Chinese ancient landscape paintings, and some key researches, such as Clunas’s work Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China, we can establish some differences between Chinese traditional “engaged seeing” and Cartesian “ocular seeing”.

In his work Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China (Clunas, 1997), Clunas explores the status of visuality in the Ming period in China, in which the discourse of “ways of looking” during the Ming period helps us to understand the specific multiple histories of looking during this period, or even the whole pre-modern era in China. In his discourse, Clunas challenges Peter Wagner’s (1995) attitude of “construction of a trans-historical eye”, “for the eye of the beholder is not a given constant; it is the product of institutional settings and social forces constituting
that which Bourdieu labels the habitus, it is by historicizing the categories of thinking and perceiving in the observer’s experience, not by dehistoricizing them in the construction of a transhistorical eye, that we can arrive at an adequate understanding of understanding\textsuperscript{2} (see Clunas, 1997: 111). Clunas emphasizes the multiplicity of ways of looking through exploring various ways of looking in the Ming China, especially Guan (观, gazing) and Du (读, reading). For Clunas, every act of viewing is also an act of social interaction, in other words, a performative concept. Ming scholars despised “unprofessional” looking. Their expert appreciation of painting was an activity depending on well educated eyes. The exploration of two ways of looking, Guan (gazing) and Du (reading), give us the approaches to understand visuality in the Ming period.

In some of the Ming period writings, the expert gaze at a picture is “guan”, which has an overtone of “contemplation”. It is both a process of thoughtful observation or study, and meditation on spiritual matters, especially as a form of devotion. As Clunas (1997: 117) identifies: “the act of guan, contemplation, is therefore for Ming elite theorists the performative part of visuality, beyond the merely physiological. It brings with it connotations of spiritual practice that link it to the written religious traditions of Buddhism and Daoism, as well as to active forms of the religious life which were of ancient origins, but which were infused with new vitality in the late Ming.”

For example, if we tried to appreciate properly Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509)'s painting Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan [plate 6-1], firstly, we need to carefully study the elegant strokes of artists and compare them to the frantic brush work of Shi Tao or Zhu Da [for example plate 5-16, 17, 18]. Different emotions will be aroused by the different ways of drawings. Secondly, we also need to have some

\textsuperscript{2} Peter Wagner, Reading Iconotexts: from swift to the French revolution (London, 1995) p 171
knowledge of Ni Zan’s style [for example plate 2-20, 21], and consider the
difference between Shen Zhou and Ni Zan. We need to understand where Shen
Zhou inherited an approach from Ni Zan, and how he developed it. Proper guan
needs spiritual resonance, knowledge and experience in art. Apparently, this way
of looking could not be achieved by an uneducated “vulgar” person. Such an
approach to painting in traditional aesthetics was influenced by Taoist and
Buddhist theory. Clunas cites French scholar Isabelle Robinet’s understanding of
guan as insight meditation. She described it as “the active, conscious introspection
of one’s own body and mind,” that “can not be conceived in western terms as some
sort of intellectual or moral introspection, but must be understood in a very
concrete way...to represent is not simple to evoke but also to create”3 (see Clunas,
1997: 118).

Apart from Guan, Clunas (1997) also highlights Du (读, reading) as another
significant way of looking and the act of engaging visually in the Ming dynasty.
The notion of du hua, (读画) “reading a painting” may seem “strikingly modern in
an age when under the impact of methodologies derived from literary studies it is
common to refer to a picture as a text, the presence of written inscriptions on so
many Chinese pictures may make this identification even stronger, as may the
numerous statements on the common origins of writing and picturing current in
the Ming” (Clunas, 1997: 119). As mentioned in the last chapter, as early as the
Song dynasty, some scholars put textual elements like poetry into landscape
painting to clarify the intention carried in landscape scenes. This tendency was
developed further in Ming China.

---

3 Robinet, Taoist insight meditation, p196, Isabelle Robinet, Taosit meditation: the Mao-shan tradition of
great purity, trans. Julian F. Pas and Norman J Girardot, Foreword Norman J Girardot, New afterword Isabelle
Robinet, SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture (Albany, 1993) pp 60, p 29
Plate 6-1: Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509), Landscape in the Style of Ni Zan, dated 1484, Ink on Paper, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.

Plate 6-2: Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509), Appreciating Potted Chrysanthemum Ethereally (盆菊幽赏图卷), Ink on Paper, Height: 23.4cm, Width: 86cm, Liaoning Museum.

For example, in the left corner of Shen Zhou’s painting Appreciating Potted Chrysanthemum Ethereally [plate 6-2], there are inscription by Shen Zhou himself. “When are these chrysanthemums going to bloom? They need the hastening of the Creator. The guests are sitting together, drinking wine and surveying the scene. There are servants helping to pour water, and keep jade in mouth to let guests to
guess [probably an ancient game, noted by author]. The west wind sends here the message of frost, but for us, the fragrance of chrysanthemums comes first” (“菊儿时开，须凭造化催，调元人在座，对景酒盈杯。渗水劳童洗，含英邀客猜，西风肃霜信，先生有香来）. Along with the picture of several scholars drinking wine in the pavilion in a garden, the poems show their leisurely and carefree mood: even though the winter is coming, the scholars still relaxed and enjoyed the coming fragrance of chrysanthemums. No matter how the life of secular society and the outside world is going, the mood and attitude of scholars still remains up-pressed and carefree. Appreciating this picture includes a process of reading a poem. With full understanding of the poems, readers are able to understand the scenes of the events and the intention of artists.

Differing from the act of gazing, reading is a sequential motion of and scanning with eyes. Clunas (1997: 119) describes the features of du as such: “The idea of du, reading, above all implies a subject whose vision is moving, scanning the characters of a text or the surface of a picture. Importance was attached not to the legibility of the image but to the act of moving the eye across the surface, particularly of the hand scroll as it is sequentially made visible in the act of unrolling, the presence of duration in Ming ideas of visuality is important here, the idea that pictures could not by their physical nature be taken in all at once.” He also points out the difference between guan (gazing) and du (reading): “By contrast guan is a subject whose vision is fixed, who may penetrate deeper, see more or see further into something, rather than across it.” In this sense, gazing was static, and reading was moving. Gazing can be thought of as an extension of feeling and thinking while the eyes and body are static, while reading is the unfolding of intention through the body and eye’s movement. Stillness and motion are two different kinds of interaction between heart and body, and engagement between body and picture. If we have study closely Chinese traditional garden aesthetics theory, we become aware that these two ways of looking are also two
ways to experience landscape, in stillness and in motion.

Clunas’s study has shown us that the process of “seeing” is not a trans-historical and trans-cultural concept. It can vary in different times and cultures. More importantly, we might say that the “engaged seeing” in traditional Chinese mindset is a performative concept, which suggests an active engagement between subject and object and bodily experience through visual media. Different to ocular mode, through a reciprocal engagement between the Subject and the Object during performative activity, the Subject and the Object, body and mind, space and time, motion and performance, narrative and events are intertwined together and become a lifelike experience. These features of “engaged seeing” have attracted some western theorists’ attention, as they have rethought Cartesian “ocular seeing” and the dichotomy between the Subject and Object in experience.

After this exploration of experience of visual media: engagement between the viewer and the viewed, in the next section, I attempt to explore experience in actual landscape: journey as an engagement between the body and landscape.

6.3 Journey in Chinese Traditional Landscapes and Gardens

From the exploration above, we find that Chinese ancient ideologists presented spiritual resonance as a valid way to approach and experience the outside world. In this mindset, we are landscape, and landscape is ourselves. The Subject and the Object in experience is interconvertible, and the boundary between them is blurred. This kind of experience is not established on visual observation and conceptual articulation, but on intuition, and has no place for dichotomy between the Subject and the Object. Then, what about the experience in a real landscape?

In the beginning of introduction of his Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion, Conan (2003) describes the absence of thinking about motion in
landscape design. Motion is very important in travelling through a garden. Nevertheless, studies on movement in landscape still remain comparatively rare. Under the influence of phenomenology, we could say that the body’s movement is absolute engagement of our body in the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

In landscape studies, recognition of the body’s movement is very significant in several aspects. Firstly, the body’s movement inevitably reconstructs understanding about space and time. Henri Bergson remarked: “We think of motion as if it were made of stillness, and when we look at it, we reconstruct it with the help of moments of stillness. Motion for us comprises one position and then a new one, and so on indefinitely” (Conan, 2003: 1). This misunderstanding of the body’s movement has perhaps been intensified by the means of travel in contemporary tourism. Carrying cameras, sightseers rush from place to place. When stopping at some famous scenes or landscapes, they like to take photos. Several years later, when they review the album of photo they took during the tour, the succession of many static views will be combined together as memory. Apparently, the wide use of photography as medium has perhaps strengthened the misunderstanding of body’s movement. In landscape design, the dominance of perspective and projection drawing resulted in the absence of temporality of landscape, accordingly, without the sense of time, experience is not experience any more, just a picture, while movement is not movement any more, just some linear succession of static space. As mentioned in the introduction, the separation between design media and profound experience became a noticeable problem in landscape design. Any change in perspectives on movement in psychology and philosophy will result in a change in landscape design, ideology and epistemology.

Secondly, if we recognize that movement is the way in which the body engage with the outside world, so exploration of movement inevitably covers both the
Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape in Pre-modern China

Object and the Subject. Movement is not only about physical motion, but also psychological and experiential phenomenon. Tension and relaxation during motion are closely connected to our experience. Kundera's "Slowness" expounds the contemporary thinking about movement and speed (Kundera, 1997). Apart from its significance in literature, Kundera shows us a meditation on contemporary lifestyle, the secret bond between speed and memory, the connection between our era's desire to forget and the way we have given ourselves over to the demon of speed. For Kundera, speed is a form of ecstasy that technology has given us, and the pleasure of slowness has disappeared. Sitting in a Chinese scholar garden, we can come to know the difference between these classic traditional gardens and public open space in a busy city. It is not only the difference in spatial layout and construction detail, but also the difference between the states of our body roused by these landscapes. In different kinds of landscapes, our body's movements and experience are different. The ways we embrace and encounter landscape are different. Conan's suspicion and criticism of Kevin Lynch's cognitive methodology is a noteworthy example. Supporting David Seamon, Conan (2003: 9) argues that:

*Cognition plays only a partial role in everyday spatial behaviour, many of our movements involve a prereflexive knowledge of the body, and this bodily knowledge is not a structure separate from the cognitive structure of spatial behaviour but works in frequent reciprocity with it.*

For Conan, our everyday movements are prereflexive and involve a prereflexive knowledge of the body. In many situations, for example, when a Chinese traditional scholar took a journey in his own garden, his experience was not entirely a process of identifying objects or events, seeking a goal, thinking and deciding as Kevin Lynch (1960) suggested, but a more prereflexive and discursive bodily engagement with landscape. As Conan (2003) identifies, gardens offer the
owners themselves a small worlds in their own right, offering the possibility of shifting away from the boredom of the everyday world. The difference between motion in Chinese scholar private garden and that in contemporary city space as those Kevin Lynch studied is that people’s motions. Experiences are diverse, and can not be reduced into a certain mode. This is also why the study of movement in gardens may help us to learn something about the deeper life of consciousness that underlies perceptual activities.

In order to differentiate the physical side and experiential side of motion, I borrow the word “journey” to replace the word “motion” or “movement”. For Chinese artists, journey suggest the aesthetic status of movement, rather than merely the change of physical position. In Chinese ideology, journey is a performative concept, including the action, intention, events and status of self-being. Various types of journeys suggest various attitudes and ways to encounter landscape. Both stillness and motion are journey. In Chinese ideology, movement and stillness are concepts involved with attitudes, aesthetics, self-being, experience and encountering with objects. This difference between them resulted in the different construction of landscape experience.

Professor Chen Congzhou is an important landscape researcher who has contributed to discourses on movement and stillness in Chinese traditional landscape design. In his work, Shuo yuan (说园, discourse on garden) (Chen, 1984), Chen introduced the Jing guan (静观, viewing in repose) and Dong guan (动观, viewing in motion) into traditional landscape experience. He writes:

In gardens there is a distinction between viewing in repose and viewing in motion. This must be the first and foremost consideration in the design of gardens. Viewing in repose means that visitors are offered many vantage points where they might linger; viewing in motion means that there should be
fairly long touring routes. Considering these two together, in smaller gardens viewing in repose should be dominant; view in motion is subsidiary in them. Courtyard gardens are chiefly devoted to viewing in repose. In larger gardens, viewing in motion is predominant; viewing in repose is subsidiary in them.

[translated by Stanislaus Fung] (see Fung, 2003: 243)

In this paragraph, Profession Chen mainly discusses how to compose or design the landscape with landscape experience and the viewer’s movement in mind. This connection between landscape experience and landscape layout is nothing new for an experienced western landscape architect. It seems like a tip to make gardens of different sizes enjoyable and stimulating. Many researchers share the same perspective as this on Chen’s discourse. But Fung (2003) expresses his dissention with this perspective and starts to explore the different cultural and aesthetic attitudes hidden behind viewing in repose and viewing in motion. Here, I try to expand this exploration more comprehensively, rather than focusing on the literature in the Ming dynasty. More exactly, I will propose that stillness and motion are two types of journey, rather than “views”. They are not two concepts in opposition, but two ways to achieve encounters with landscape.

Zhuang Zi regards stillness (静) as proper way to experience void and Dao. Firstly stillness is a state of meditation of the body. As Zhuang Zi mentioned, by contemplating in still and void states, we can communicate with the entire universe (以虚静推于天地，达于万物”《天道》). In this contemplation, we can forget our body, our intelligence, our being and all the visible differences between ourselves and other things, and the invisible Dao will emerge (“堕肢体，黜聪明，离形去知，同于大通，此未坐忘”《大宗师》). This contemplation in stillness and emptiness helps us to go into an unintentional, carefree and unconscious state. In social life, this attitude is reclusive, but in the aesthetic horizon, this is pure experience. In this state, the body is relaxed and entirely open to landscape, and
sensors became active. The boundary between landscape and “me” is broken, consequently we became a part of the landscape to understand and experience it. The ultimate harmony between landscape and human is achieved.

In his other work, Chen complements his discourse on viewing in repose and viewing in motion. He suggests that motion and stillness are basically understood correlatively. Where there is motion there must be stillness; where there is stillness there must be motion; and in garden scenery, stillness is lodged in motion and motion arises from stillness... for example, as one sits in repose in a pavilion, the hanging clouds and flowing waters, birds flying and flowers falling, are all in motion (Fung, 2003: 244). It is the body that stays still and it is the spirit which is active and subtle. Viewing in repose means that not only the static state of body, but also the relaxed and carefree state of spirit. In Yuan ye (园冶, craft on garden), the author Ji Cheng (计成) make it very clear in his language pattern. In the section on spring, he mentioned: “extending to the utmost one’s gaze upon a sublime field, distant peaks from an encircling screen. Halls are open so that congenial air wafts over oneself, before the door, spring waters flow into a marsh” (Fung, 2000: 131). This is a good example of journey in repose. It is not only the way landscape unfolds in front us, but also our state in encountering landscape.

As Chen (1984) mentioned, where there is stillness there will be motion. Motion is a different way to achieve a beyond-consciousness to stillness. For Chinese artists, motion is passion’s outpouring and pleasure. In Chinese ideology, the journey is not only a physical movement of body, but also of self-being state of Xiao yao (逍遥), as Zhuang zi mentioned. The term Xiao yao suggests a easygoing, carefree and pleasurable state. Xiao Yao You (逍遥游, journey as Xiao yao), means something like "carefree meandering." The term "meandering" seems especially appropriate, since it evokes the image of a river which takes the path of least
resistance and does not rush or confront. Its avoidance of resistance causes it to take a roundabout route, yet it ultimately arrives at its destination, the sea. As previously described, the butterfly is also a creature which meanders, at least in this sense. The syntax of the sentence seems extremely straightforward: it says that the consequence, or outcome of wuwei (无为, let it be) is xiaoyao. Therefore it seems reasonable to understand wuwei (无为) as a kind of "carefree meandering", effortlessly navigating the contours of inevitability while arriving inevitably at one's destination. It is not necessarily purposeless—but its purpose is perhaps accomplished indirectly. Apparently this attitude seems quite passive, negative and retreating in social life. Nevertheless, it has distinct significance in aesthetics. In this context, "journey" is a way to achieve Dao, the unutterable ontological nature, different to logos. In the engagement between the Subject and the Object, any concepts used to clarify and elucidate rationally this process, such as time, space, subjective, objective, substance, and void are abandoned.

The shifts between scenes and the change of self-being permeate traditional landscape theory. Both stillness and motion are performative concepts. When Fung (2000) made a close study of the last chapter, "Borrowing View", in Ji Cheng's Crafts of Garden, he identifies hidden performative thinking underneath. As Fung (2000) mentions, landscape experience in Crafts in Garden is a process of performing and undergoing "a shuttling between scene, self, action, scene and self in the reading of this passage, between here-and-now and there-and-then." This shuttling also was expressed in landscape painting [such as plate 4-21, 22]. As I mentioned in Chapter four, when viewing these paintings from bottom to top, viewers undergo a journey from here and now, to a sublime, breathtaking dreamland. This kind of performative thinking brings concrete temporality and embodied experience back to our landscape theory discourse. "Life is a living through, an embodying through undergoing? The emphasis is on the concrete time of lived experience and not on an abstract sense of temporal regularity" (Fung,
Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape in Premodern China

2000).

After exploration on journey in aesthetic and philosophical level, through a comparative case study of *Wang Shi Yuan* garden (网师园, the garden of the master of nets), and *Zhuo Zheng garden* (拙政园, the garden of the unsuccessful politician) I would like to analyse the physical journey, both in stillness and motion, in a real Chinese traditional garden.

*Wang Shi Yuan* garden (网师园, the garden of the master of nets), which was constructed initially in the *South Song* dynasty (1127-1279) by a retired officer, *Shi Zhengzhi* (史正志) and named as the garden of the master of nets in the *Qing* dynasty (清乾隆, the 18th century). The name of the garden reflected the owner's intention to retire and became a reclusive fisher man. This garden was a middle size private garden, about 0.4 hectares large, including the living area. In the centre of the garden was a pond, with buildings and corridors around. There are several locations where the designer intentionally designed to view in stillness and repose. The "*moon arriving and wind coming pavilion*" (风来月到亭) is the one of them; a building over the pond. When the viewer stops here, they can experience a view of the other three side of the pond. Although the body of the visitors can stay in stillness and repose here, the title of this building "*moon arriving and wind coming pavilion*" suggests a dynamic experience in which scene, self and action are intertwined together. To the north of the pond, the *washing tassel* (濯缨亭) pavilion have a closed visual dialogue with the "*moon arriving and wind coming pavilion*" [plate 6-3]. The title of this pavilion came from the famous aphorism in *Mengzi*, if the water is lucid, I will use it to wash my tassel (the decoration on a hat); if the water is feculent, I will use it to wash my feet (《孟子·离娄上》: 有孺子歌曰：'沧浪之水清兮，可以濯我缨；沧浪之水浊兮，可以濯我足' ). The overtone of this aphorism is whether a person can stay in chastity depends on his self, and not on environment. A gentleman should be able to establish his own moral sense and judgement independent to the other people's influence. Through
this title and landscape scene, a contemplation on self-discipline is suggested. These two spots of journey in stillness and repose are not only places to have an ocular seeing, but an engaged experience. Through relaxation of the body, the dynamic feature of landscape, and self-contemplation are aroused and encouraged. In this garden, nearly all the buildings around the pond have seating balusters to let people take a rest and gaze upon the reflection of the buildings in the water. All the spots of journey in stillness and repose are connected by wandering paths and corridors and bridges. Through the motion of the body from here to there, scenes change and narrative unfolds; at the same time, visitors go through a journey of contemplations and reflections.

Zhuo Zheng garden (拙政园, the garden of the unsuccessful politician) is a good example of a garden dominated by journey in motion. Built initially in the early Ming dynasty, the garden of the unsuccessful politician was owned by retired officer Wang Xianchen (王献臣). From the name of this garden, we can see that the owner had become bored with the complicated life of a politician, and intended to have a peaceful life in his private garden. The garden was a comparatively large private garden, covering an area of 4.1 ha. The large pond is divided into several parts, each building in the different parts has a title suggesting the theme of the area. Compared to the garden of the master of nets, the paths between stopping places are comparatively long [plate 6-4, 6-5, 6-6]. Travelling through these bridges and corridors, different parts of the garden unfold in front of us, and different themes link to each other just like a poem. As Chen (1984) suggests, this garden has to be travelled in motion to experience such a dynamic narrative. In many gardens, the path and corridor were used as serial elements to link, guide and bypass. Usually, the link is widely applied not merely because it make the garden looks interesting, more complicated or bigger, but to break down the sense of destination and provide a pre-reflexive and discursive pattern of motion.
In this section, through literature review and case studies on actual Chinese traditional gardens, I identified two ways of engaging body, mind and landscape. These seem quite similar to "engaging seeing" in visual media, with engagement amongst, eye, mind and visual media. The similarity between them makes it possible to deliver the properties of landscape experience in visual media. In the next section, through an analysis on The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade, I attempt to suggest a connection between the experience of visual media and of landscape.

6.4 Journey in a Virtual Garden: a Fusion between Experiences in Visual Media and Landscape

At the end of this chapter, I would like to use a 16th-century horizontal handscroll of a Chinese garden: The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图) as an example to identify the connection between journey in motion and stillness in landscape, and guan and du in the seeing of this drawing. Based on exploration above on the "engaged seeing" and "journey in stillness and motion" in last several sections, the examination of The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade characterize the both the "engaged seeing" and "journey in stillness and motion" are activities in which space, time, event, self, scene and narrative are intertwined together. These features of this drawing suggest a performative approach to landscape experience and visual media and a breaking down of the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object in landscape aesthetics.

---

4 This picture was published in 1981 by Beijing (北京): Renmin meishu chuban she (人民美术出版社). We also can see the electric version on http://www.doaks.org/, thanks to Professor Peter K. Bol of the East Asian Languages and Civilizations Department, Harvard University.
Chapter Six: Engaged Seeing in Visual Media and Journey in Landscape in Pre-modern China

Plate 6-3: View the Washing Tassel (濯缨亭) Pavilion from the “Moon Arriving and Wind Coming Pavilion” (风来月到亭)

Plate 6-4: The Connection between Spots by Paths, Corridor and Bridges in Wang Shi Garden

Plate 6-6: The Bridge in Zhuo Zheng Yuan Garden, see The Collected Edition of Chinese Fine Art, 1998, Beijing, People's publication of China

Plate 6-7: The Corridor in Zhuo Zheng Yuan Garden, see The Collected Edition of Chinese Fine Art, 1998, Beijing, People's publication of China
The Illustrations of the “Garden Scenes of the Hall Encircled by Jade” is a handscroll, 24 cm high and 14.7 m long, which depict the whole profile of garden of the “Hall Encircled by Jade” (环翠堂). It is supposed to be the longest continuous printed illustration ever produced.

The length of this handscroll makes it very difficult to see the picture as a whole. At the same time, this garden can not be experienced from a certain fixed viewpoint as a whole. Just like the viewers of the picture can read this handscroll back and forth as they like, the garden also can unfold and enfold along the
viewers' motion. Accordingly, there is a strong mapping between "reading" this
drawing from right to left and a "journey" through this garden, both of which are a
temporal experience [for example see plate 6-9]. Temporality is strongly
emphasized in the process of "reading" the drawing, rather than absent in spatial
construction.

At the same time, this picture has many scenes collaged and combined together
whose scales might be different. The collage amongst these scenes with totally
different scale suggests the combination amongst feeling aroused by landscape
with different emotions and intensities. For example, at the left end of this picture
(see plate 6-10), the close-up view of an intimate detailed private garden was
collaged with a distant view of a large scale natural landscape. This is a good
example of "borrowing view" in Ji Cheng's Crafts on Garden. "Here and there,
now and then" are connected mutually.

Plate 6-9: Temporal Process of Reading the Picture in The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall
Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图)

Plate 6-10: The Collage of Different Viewpoints and Experiences in The Illustrations of the Gardens of
the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图)
What in this picture most interests me is its mapping between "engaged seeing" in the process of appreciating this picture, both guan (观, gaze in contemplation) and du (读, reading and scanning), and the process of journey in this "virtual" garden, both in stillness and motion. As mentioned above, this picture is too long to be viewed as a whole, so the artist divided this picture into several parts. In most parts, there are some spots which need to be gazed in contemplation. Most of these spots also suggest a journey in stillness in a "virtual" garden. At the same time, there are some links amongst these focuses which suggest quick scanning as a proper way to read it. These links also are paths connecting the spots in the "virtual" garden, in which journey in motion is the usual way to experience it [see plate 6-11]. Most of these links are not direct, but have zigzag or sinuous shape. The rhythm of "engaged seeing the picture" suggests the rhythm of physical and spiritual "journey" in this "virtual" garden.

These features of The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade (Huancui tang yuanjing tu, 环翠堂园景图) identify that it is a performative visual media, rather than a merely representation of an existing garden. It allows for the interactive temporal engagement and bodily response to visual media, which also is the nature of landscape experience.

We need to notice that The Illustrations of the Gardens of the Hall Encircled by Jade is a wood-block painting, and it is not an exact design-purpose drawing. So it can visualize the features of landscape experience as possible as it can, and does not need to compromise to construction. In experiential dimension, this painting is analogous to landscape. The interposition of viewer is the same important in the painting as in a garden. The space this painting depicted is a user's or lived space in which the users and viewers play the main roles in experience, rather than conceived space, in Lefebvre's term, in which dominated by designers. In the design drawings appeared during the Ming period (such as 3-22, 23, 24, 25), the
concept of projection appeared. As Hill mentioned, “this conceived space is thought by those who make use of it to be true, despite the fact – or perhaps because of the fact – that it is geometrical: because it is a medium of objects, an object in itself, and a locus of the objectification of plans” (Hill, 2003: 172). Lefebvre identified the difference between user’s space and conceived space as such “The user’s space is lived – not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say subjective” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 362). In this sense, learning from other visual media than design drawings, such as fine art, movie, even photograph may help landscape architect see landscape with a user’s eye and experience the lived space.

Through the exploration on contemplation on the analogous characteristic between engaged seeing in visual media and journey in landscape experience, we can find the connection between them could help us to discover the potential of visual media as the catalyzer of creativity. This possible potential is the ultimate goal of this research.
Plate 6-11: The Mapping between Engaged Seeing in Picture and Journey in "Virtual" Gardens in the Illustrations of the 《Esen of the Yuanying Garden (Huancai tang yuanying tu, 万花堂园景图)
Conclusion:

After examination of three visual media which strongly influenced landscape ideology, aesthetics and the design profession in pre-modern China, exploration on several issues about visual media’s connection to landscape experience: space and time, bodily experience, and a comparative study of engaged seeing in visual media and journey in landscape in pre-modern China, this thesis comes to its end. Nevertheless, the exploration on visual media and landscape experience will be in the central position of landscape studies for a long period, and my research is only at a very early stage. Therefore, this conclusion is more like a summary of the findings and significance of this research, and more importantly the prospects for future studies, rather than a closed and final statement.

In the first part of this research, the historical study of Chinese pre-modern visual media and their influence in Chinese landscape history, I focused on three kinds of visual media, ancient maps, landscape paintings, and visual illustrations in printing, which have made their impression on Chinese traditional landscape ideology, aesthetics, and design practice. In this part, I proposed that these visual media were not only passive instruments which were utilized to describe and “project” landscape according to various purposes, but more importantly, but also cover many levels of meanings, such as thought pattern, viewpoints, and attitudes intertwined with epistemology and ontology in landscape experience. The emergence and development of these visual media in various periods in Chinese landscape history reflects the development of landscape ideology, aesthetics, and design thinking. The exploration of visual media and its influence provides us with an opportunity to re-examining Chinese landscape history in a new way.

The second part of this research was primarily an exploration of the question
"how do pre-modern Chinese visual media reveal landscape experience?" Drawing on many recent criticisms of perspective-based drawing’s dominance in our contemporary design practice and on the "drawing board mode teaching" in landscape education, especially the separation between perspective-based drawing and landscape experience (Corner, 1992, Fraser and Henmi, 1994), this part of my research attempted to discover the close connection between Chinese pre-modern visual media and landscape experience, which is both spatial and temporal, embodied and without the dichotomy between the Subject and the Object. Firstly, through this exploration, I attempted to stimulate a rethinking of the relationship between contemporary visual media and landscape experience and some efforts to discover the potential of visual media to enhance creativity in landscape design and education, in which aspect, Horrigan (1996), Corner (1996) and Hoffman (1994) already contributed their insights and experimental works.

At the same time, by connecting Chinese traditional theory and contemporary world-wide discourse on landscape aesthetic and experience in this research, I have attempt to establish an efficient mutual understanding between landscape experiences in different cultures, and disclose the contemporary significance of studies on pre-modern landscape experience and visual media. If we borrow Gebser’s (1986) word, we can say that this research is a re-examination of "pre-perspective" visual media, landscape ideology and aesthetics through "aperspective" eyes, and attempts to understand the "aperspective" mindset through reviewing the features of "pre-perspective" visual media and the landscape experience.

At the same time, in this conclusion, I would like to point out several limitations of this research. Firstly, in this research, due to the lack of material and evidence, some other important media in landscape design were mentioned little, such as the use of 3D models in design. Secondly, we have to realize that visual media in
European landscape architecture and art also is evolving and developing. From the medieval maps, landscape painting, Impressionism, Cubism until instrument art also have their influence on understanding of visual media. In this research, Chinese pre-modern visual media were treated as the main objective of the examination. Comparatively; the development of Western visual media apart from perspective-based drawing has not been mentioned much. Thirdly, since key concepts such as performativity are still quite new in landscape researches, the connection between Chinese traditional landscape aesthetics and performative features of landscape experience also need to be reinforced as studies on performativity develop.

At the end of this conclusion, several prospects on possible and potential approaches to expand the exploration of visual media and landscape experience need to be pointed out. Firstly, although in this research, I mentioned some examples of the application of visual media in built environmental design after the Ming dynasty, such as Yang Shi Lei family’s drawing in the Qing dynasty and visual illustrations in garden design manuals about the 17th century, the direct application of visual media in design and construction before this period still remains obscure. These visual media started to define landscape design as an independent profession after the Ming period, but what is the situation before that? Did designers and constructors work in a process “without-drawing”? If so, what is the difference between “drawing-based” and “non-drawing-based” design process? If not, what kind of drawings did those ancient designers use? This exploration could help us to understand the principle difference between pre-modern and contemporary design thinking. Secondly, the development of digital visual media, film, animation and Virtual Reality technology will challenge the dominance of perspective-based drawing in landscape architecture. What kind of influence will these new visual media have in landscape architecture, and what kind of relationship is there between them and landscape experience will emerge?
Conclusion

How can they be used to enhance the creativity of landscape design and reveal the narrative dimension of landscape? At the same time, some contemporary public media such as TV, film, digital photography, publication and internet also enhance the prevalence and transmission of landscape aesthetics and value. How will and have these media influenced contemporary understanding of landscape? For example, digital photography makes photograph-making more popular and easier than traditional photography, and makes the visual diary possible. These encourage an informal, narrative and temporal-sequential way to record everyday life. The emergence of the visual diary will reveal the change of role of landscape in contemporary everyday life. The internet makes it easier to transmit, copy and share these images about landscape. To some extent, image of landscape have become more important in the process of knowing a landscape than the landscape itself. Generally, it could be possible that the criticism and ideology of landscape will become the criticism and ideology of “images of landscape”. All these questions need to be answered and explored since the importance of visual media in landscape architecture probably become more crucial and important than ever.

I hope this research can become a helpful part of these explorations on visual media and landscape architecture in general. Finally, thanks for your patience to read this thesis, and any comments and suggestions to continue the debate are welcomed.
Appendix 1: Chinese History Chronicle:

Xia Dynasty (夏): 2000 - 1500 BC
Shang Dynasty (商): 1700 - 1027 BC
Zhou Dynasty (周): 1027-221 BC
Qin Dynasty (秦): 221-207
Han Dynasty (汉): 206 BC - 220 AD
Three Kingdoms Dynasty (三国): A.D. 220-280:
Western Jin Dynasty (西晋): A.D. 265-316:
Eastern Jin Dynasty (东晋): A.D. 317-420
Southern and Northern Dynasty (南北朝): A.D. 420-588
Sui Dynasty (隋): 589-617 AD
Tang Dynasty (唐): 618-907 AD
Song Dynasty (宋): 960 AD
Yuan Dynasty (元): A.D. 1279-1368
Ming Dynasty (明): A.D. 1368-1644
Qing Dynasty (清): A.D. 1644-1911
Republic of China (in mainland China，中华民国): A.D. 1911-1949
People's Republic of China （中华人民共和国）: A.D. 1949-
Appendix 2: Chinese Map:
Reference:

A


B


BERGSON, HENRI (1922) *Duration and Simultaneity: Bergson and the Einsteinian Universe*, Manchester, Clinamen Press Ltd.


C


COYNE, RICHARD, PARK, HOON & WISZNIEWSKI, DORIAN (2002)


D


F


FENG, YOULAN (冯友兰) (1934) The History of Chinese Philosophy (中

FOUCAULT, MICHEL (1973) *This is Not a Pipe*, Berkeley, University of California.


G


GUO, QINGFAN (郭庆凡) (1961) *Zhuangzi jishi* (庄子集释 The Zhuangzi, with collected explanations), Beijing, Zhonghua Press.


H


J

K

**KANT, IMMANUEL (1781)** *The Critique of Pure Reason.*


**KESWICK, MAGGIE (1986)** *Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture,*

London, John Wiley & Sons Inc.

**KUNDERA, MILAN (1997)** *Slowness,* New York, Happer Collins Publisher Inc.

---

**L**


**LI, HONGFU** (1997) *The Rock Curving Art in Pacific Area* (太平洋岩曲艺术), Shanghai (上海), Shanghai Culture Press (上海文化出版社).


**LI, YU** (2000) *Xian Qing Ou Ji* (闲情偶寄, Casual Expressions of Idle...
Feeling), Shanghai (上海), Shanghai Classic Publish House (上海古籍出版社).


M

MARCH, BENJAMIN (1931) Linear Perspective in Chinese Painting. dans Eastern Art, 3, 130-144.


MERLEAU-PONTY, MAURICE (1964) The Primacy of Perception, and Other
Essays on Phenomenological Psychology. Evanston (Ill.), Northwestern University Press.


http://www.lancs.ac.uk/users/philosophy/texts/mill_on.htm


N


O

P


R


S


SEAMON, DAVID (Ed.) (1993) *Dwelling, Seeing and Designing: Toward a
Phenomenology of Person and World, Albany, SUNY Press.


SHEN, FUXU (沈福煦) (1992) On Wandering about Garden and Landscape （风景园林徜徉录）, Shanghai (上海), Tongji University Press（同济大学出版社）.


T


W

WALKER, PETER & SIMO, MELANIE (1994) *Invisible gardens: The Search*


WANG, BOMIN (王伯敏) (2000) Chinese Art History (中国美术史), Beijing (北京), San Lian Press (三联出版社).

WANG, QIHENG (王其亨) (1990) Studies on Cemetery Construction and Yang Shi Lei Drawings in Qing Dynasty (清代寝陵建筑工程样式的整理研究), Chinese Traditional Architecture and Garden Research Committee (中国传统建筑和园林研究会), Beijing (北京).

WANG, QIHENG (王其亨) (Ed.) (1992) Studies on Feng Shui Theory (风水理论研究), Tianjin (天津), Tianjin University Press (天津大学出版社).

WANG, WEI (1959) Poems by Wang Wei, Tokyo, Tuttle.

WANG, YI (王毅) (1990) Landscape and Chinese Culture (园林和中国文化), Shanghai (上海), Shanghai People's Press (上海人民出版社).


9-34.


Y


YANG, HONGXUN (杨鸿勋) (1994) *On Jiangnan Garden* (江南园林论), Shanghai (上海), Shanghai People's Press (上海人民出版社).

