Castiglione and the Yuanming Yuan Collections

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The 300th anniversary of Giuseppe Castiglione offers a rare opportunity to examine the works of art which remain as a legacy of East-West cultural convergences during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), particularly those found in the Yuanming Yuan (Garden of Perfect Clarity, 圆明园). The burning and looting of this palace/garden complex, also known as the Old Summer Palace, by Franco-British troops under Lord Elgin and General de Montauban in 1860 confirmed the Chinese belief that foreigners were barbarians and, at the same time, enriched the West with many superior art objects.

This author's research toward completing a history of the Yuanming Yuan, which continues the work begun in the 1930's by her father, has led her to become interested in the restoration of these palaces planned by the Committee for Restoring the Yuanming Yuan. Discussing a subject as yet unaddressed by any publication, the unfinished monograph documents the dispersal of many art treasures from the Yuanming Yuan, which are now located in France, England and the United States. This research augments that of Chinese and international scholars who hope to recreate the appearance of the Yuanming Yuan before its destruction. The Committee has encouraged the gathering of data for the restoration, resulting in the research and publication of papers on historical and art historical aspects of the Yuanming Yuan. These projects have included the study of Jesuit contributions to the Chinese arts as well as the gathering of data in the West in order to analyze it in the light of recent archaeological and archival research in China.

The Yuanming Yuan was not a single building or a complex of the kind at Versailles, but thousands of magnificently furnished buildings in five major complexes and gardens. A British map of the entire Yuanming Yuan (Fig. 1), dated 1860, shows that, in its heyday under the reign of Emperor Qianlong (r. 1735-95), the Yuanming Yuan retreat could accommodate the Qing court not only in the summer but throughout the year. Two of these multiple buildings, the Audience Hall and the Ancestral Shrine, are shown in a painting (Fig. 2), which is number seventeen of a set depicting the forty designated Yuanming Yuan scenic views by court artists Shen Yuan (act. c. 1745) and Tang Dai (act. 1707-50). The Ancestral Shrine was perhaps one of the most spacious of all the numerous Buddhist and Daoist shrines in the complex, which is indicative of the filial responsibility that the emperor and the Chinese people expressed towards their ancestors. The immense temple is depicted among tall trees and hills, with numerous dependent halls, pavilions, arches and bridges, all of glazed tiles and painted wood. It is noteworthy that these court artists, who collaborated with Castiglione in the Imperial Academy of Painting, used relatively bright colours in the forty scenes, perhaps reflecting Western influence.

A woodcut (Fig. 3), depicting the same shrine, is also number seventeen of a set of the forty scenes, but the woodcuts are not servile or exact copies of the forty paintings. The artists, Sun Hu (act. c. 1745) and Shen Yuan, originally published the illustrations to accompany poems composed by the emperor. The poem describing the Ancestral Shrine reveals the richness of the building and its contents:

The temples in which the imperial ancestors' robes and crowns are kept have an ancient origin... Heaven has blessed our dynasty until today. From generation to generation all its descendants are in good order. Respectfully, we face our ancestors now in paradise... The shrine is full of vast reception halls. Porcelain roof dragons look at each other. The sleeping rooms are deep enough to contain all the phoenix tables necessary to serve feasts... Therefore we must come to worship them (the ancestors) the first and fifteenth of each month, and all princes must compare among themselves who comes first [to the shrine]. There are double services of the gold sacrificial instruments and vessels, and the flutes and lanterns are of white nephrite.' (Translated by the author)

One of three summer residences erected by the Manchu rulers, the Yuanming Yuan was situated about ten miles northwest of Beijing, south of the Great Wall and east of the Western Mountains. The Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1722) initiated the extensive work on the existing palaces and gardens northwest of the capital. The main palace gate built at that time was carved with characters written by Kangxi: 圆明园 Yuanming Yuan. Later, the entire area was enlarged and embellished by the Emperor Qianlong. The five sections of the Yuanming Yuan, from east to west, were the Changchun Yuan (Garden of the Long Spring, 长春园), Yuanming Yuan proper, Wanshou Shan (Imperial Longevity Hill, 万寿山), Yuquan Shan (Hill of the Jade Fountain, 玉泉山) and Xiang Shan (Fragrant Hills, 香山; also called the Hunting Park). An impetus for these extensions was the presence of certain Jesuits at court who were able to enhance the Yuanming Yuan with not only buildings and gardens, but also paintings and other works of art. Because only scattered ruins of the European Palaces remain, research into these dispersed paintings and works of art as well as pictorial and verbal accounts can help to 'reconstruct' the Yuanming Yuan, at least in book form.
Castiglione arrived in Beijing to find that Jesuit colleagues had already selected his Chinese name, Lang Shining. In retrospect, rarely has a Chinese name, meaning 'most gentle in nature and of great virtue', reflected the personality of its bearer so accurately.

For an artist as accomplished as Castiglione, he faced the difficulty of being obliged to paint under the direct supervision of the emperor, and the Emperor Qianlong in particular thought nothing of dictating changes, such as moving the position of a bird in a painting. For the most part, the European also had to give up painting in oils, which Qianlong, unlike his grandfather Kangxi, disliked. Also, he had to cultivate the calligraphic brush style which eventually earned him recognition from fellow court painters, although his flower and bird pictures still provoke criticism. On the other hand, his portraits and paintings of horses, as those in the portrait of Qianlong (Fig. 4), are recognized as masterpieces. The artist used very light shadowing on the face because of the Chinese dislike for shadows, but he was able to capture the inner vitality of Qianlong in the act of performing an official duty with great dignity. Any artist prevented from expressing his personality through his preferred style and media would appreciate the severity of Castiglione's trial. But far from letting this be a deterrent, Castiglione diligently developed an ability to adapt European pictorial techniques to Chinese media.

Compare a portrait of the mature Qianlong (Fig. 5) with one he executed twenty years earlier (Fig. 4) which was originally displayed in the Yuanming Yuan. The artist depicts the Emperor as serious, yet unmarked by care, as he was inaugurated at the age of twenty-one. These two portraits studied side by side illustrate the changes which may have prompted the Emperor to write in a poem that as a white-haired old man, he could barely recognize himself in the youthful portrait. (See Zhu Jiajin's article in this issue 'Castiglione's Tieluo Paintings', pp. 80-83.) The Emperor looked at this work only three times in his life—when the painting was finished, on his seventieth birthday and on the occasion of his abdication—so this reference to his youth, captured so well by the artist, is deeply poignant.

A touching friendship between Qianlong and Castiglione survived throughout the Jesuit's life. The emperor trusted him with the delicate task of depicting his empresses (Fig. 5) as well as the young emperor's eleven
The inscription carved on the box for Castiglione’s painting was, “In my heart there is the power to reign peacefully”. It is interesting to note that the newly arrived missionary Jean-Denis Attiret (1702-68) was advised to learn the art of depicting imperial consorts by painting concubines.

When Castiglione died at age seventy-eight in 1766, there seemed little to show for fifty-one years of service at the court, at least from Attiret’s point of view. What were a few bolts of silk and the rank of Mandarin compared with the sacrifice Castiglione had made, serving the emperors of a foreign country and religion? However, an imperial edict engraved on the stele marking Castiglione’s grave testifies to Qianlong’s esteem for the Jesuit and his contribution to the buildings and gardens of the
emperor's beloved Yuanming Yuan.

A few illustrations can provide an insight into the co-operative accomplishments of Chinese and Western artists in the Yuanming Yuan. Although focusing primarily on Castiglione as an artist and architect, this article will also discuss a few of the buildings, gardens and their embellishments, as well as the origin of dispersed materials, unrelated to Castiglione, from the Yuanming Yuan and now in Western collections. Three methods will be used to identify objects from the Yuanming Yuan, the first is simply through citation in a published source written by a specialist. The second is by mention in an auction catalogue or appearance in an illustrated journal which contains verbal or visual identification of that same object. A problem arises in the case of auction catalogues in which the seller is often anonymous and objects may be falsely identified as from the Yuanming Yuan in order to raise the price. However, if the seller can be identified as an officer involved in the 1860 incident who has written a published description, the origin of the item auctioned would be considered authentic. Lastly, in cases where an item is held in a museum or a private collection, the likelihood of accurate provenance is strong.

Under the early Qing emperors, East-West co-operative efforts resulted in the building of the baroque European Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan, giving rise to the design and production of gardens, buildings and objects by both European and Chinese craftsmen.

The largest and most elaborate building in this section was the Haiyan Tang (Palace of the Calm Sea, 海晏堂), built to house the hydraulic pumps for the fountains designed by the Jesuit Father Michel Benoist (1715-74).

Twelve fantastic figures with the heads of animals clad in human garb were arranged around the circular fountain, each of them assigned by Chinese cosmology to two hours of the horary cycle. They served as a clock by spouting, in turn, at two hour intervals, except at noon, when they all spouted together. In the autumn of 1867, the bronze head of the monkey (Fig. 6) and the boar from this set of twelve bronze figures were
painted the work *Storming the Camp at Gadan-Ola* in 1765, the engraving (Fig. 11) was executed for Qianlong in France under the direction of C.N. Cochin from 1769-74. This battle scene is one of a series of sixteen entitled *The Conquests of Qianlong*, most of the drawings for which were executed by Jesuits. The engraving shows the Chinese cavalry attacking and defeating the troops of Amursana, an eastern Mongol leader who had subdued his rival Dawaci with the emperor's military support, only to turn against his benefactor. The enemy army is depicted seeking safety in the mountain gorges, but escape is impossible because Chinese reserves are in the distance. Castiglione's consideration of Chinese sensibilities is evident in the lack of any dead or wounded Chinese in the depiction.

Castiglione, who was restricted by the emperor's directives, interested his patron in the European process of engraving on copper as a means of advertising his military achievements. The adoption of this medium allowed Castiglione, toward the end of his career, to express himself on a large scale, working with subject matter that required both landscapes and figures in motion. The general composition as well as the background landscape, however, are thoroughly Chinese while the subject matter and medium enabled Castiglione to use both Eastern and Western techniques.

Castiglione and Attiret died before the sixteen engravings were delivered to the emperor in 1775. Impressed with the results, Qianlong subsequently ordered similar engravings to commemorate his other major victories, commissioning the Chinese artists trained by the Jesuits to execute them. According to recent critics of Qing paintings, these less appreciated historical paintings and collaborative documentary scenes by Castiglione and Chinese court painters are equally deserving of admiration as his portraits and his paintings of horses.

Although only a few portraits attributed to Castiglione survive, numerous paintings of horses, some of them on a large scale, testify to his mastery of Chinese formulas in animal art. Specifically, he mastered the time-honoured Daoist tradition in which the artist so understands his subject that he can capture its essence. (See Tseng Yu's article, 'Castiglione: First Western Painter of Underwater Fish', in this issue for a counterargument, pp. 52-60.) In depicting *Ayuxi Assaulting the Rebels with a Lance* (Fig. 12) Castiglione easily caught the aggressive attitude of the rider astride his galloping steed; the accomplished baroque artist probably delighted in capturing such dramatic subject-matter. However, the artist chose to depict the horse to static perfection, down to the graceful loops of the slack reins. Portraying a galloping horse with all four feet off the ground was a method of depiction which Chinese painters had used consistently but Western painters had not yet developed. According to S. Reinach, in B. Laufer's *Christian Art in China*, this flying gallop, which was also used in the sixteen 'war' engravings executed in the West, became widespread in Europe due to the influence of Chinese models, beginning with a popular French engraving in 1794 and spreading to Germany where it was in frequent use by 1837. The Jesuit drawings then, may have been a vehicle for the
Sold at auction in New York. According to the auction catalogue, they were from the collection of Stuart Qianlong's court, described the baroque edifice as a building with ten casements on the facade. This building was also mentioned as having painted on glass. The art of painting on the back of a mirror glass was imported from Europe about the middle of the eighteenth century; this particular work was executed as one of a pair between 1803 and 1805 and was commissioned by an Englishman, Richard Hall (1764-1834) who eventually bequeathed it to his grandson, Armuyard John Hall. The question remains to be determined whether or not the glass painting on glass was imported from Europe. Although Castiglione planned and demonstrated East-West co-operation, an engraving (Fig. 7), of the Haiyan Tang recalls the violent circumstances of its destruction by Western forces in 1860. First published in "Illustration" on 22 December 1860, it is identified in Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors (Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, 1971) by Cécile and Michel Beurdeley as the "Pillage of the Yuanming Yuan" done after a sketch by an officer. But, looking closely at the scene, one notes a discrepancy with the title in the peaceful tone of the racially-mixed audience who stand, squat, ascend or descend Castiglione's magnificent staircase, rather than by the movement of four groups of swarming figures. A Chinese-style palace belonging to an uncle of the Qianlong emperor is illustrated in a painting (Fig. 8) of imposing size now owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The library catalogue gives neither the name of the artist nor the precise origin of the painting, but it was probably painted by a student of Castiglione and was sold at one of the numerous auctions of Yuanming Yuan art objects and was sold at one of the numerous auctions of Yuanming Yuan art objects in Paris and London following 1860 (Fig. 9). The painting shows a garden, a zigzag bridge, a large building connected with a long gallery walk, a Tchistian-style pagoda, and a pavilion on an artificial rocky hill which one can reach by means of steps and a cave. A painting on glass (Fig. 10) depicts the emperor receiving barbarians at the foot of the Wanshou Shan, in the Yuanming Yuan, and not, as identified by Beurdeley, at the palace gardens of the Empress Dowager Cixi. According to Achille Poussielque in "Voyage en Chine et Mongolie, the Maze was enclosed by means of walls on four sides. Outside these walls were tall trees, while inside them was a deep forest bordered by rocks, a Chinese touch according to Attoret. One entered the Maze by a bridge and had to choose the left or right side, but inevitably became lost on the Maze paths, between walls taller than a man. At the Old Summer Palace in Peking which was destroyed in 1860. It was painted by a Chinese artist, probably a pupil of Castiglione, who has been mentioned as having painted on glass. The art of painting on the back of a mirror glass was imported from Europe about the middle of the eighteenth century; this particular work was executed as one of a pair between 1803 and 1805 and was commissioned by an Englishman, Richard Hall (1764-1834) who eventually bequeathed it to his grandson, Armuyard John Hall. The question remains to be determined whether or not the glass originated from the imperial glass workshop, where the Jesuit Gabriel-
transmission of a striking Chinese motif to Europe. It is ironic that the Qianlong emperor was forced to turn to Europeans for the technology to construct the elaborate horological fountain and other water works in the Yuanming Yuan because in previous eras the Chinese had possessed their own engineering expertise. In the book *Heavenly Clockwork*, Joseph Needham et al. detail such scientific and engineering feats as a boat powered by automatons produced during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). By the time Jesuits arrived, few if any mechanical clocks remained in working order and the expertise to manufacture clocks had been forgotten, perhaps because the Ming rulers associated these mechanisms as products of their foreign predecessors. Therefore, the Europeans assumed the role of clockmakers at the Qing imperial court.

The Jesuits would have been in charge of regulating the seven-foot tall English clock in the form of an automated magician, which was sent to Qianlong as tribute in 1795 and housed in the European Palaces. It was originally one of a matched pair, although its mate was damaged irreparably when coolies carrying the gifts from Guangzhou to Beijing slipped on the ice. The richly gilded pair was made for £6000 by Jacques Droz, a leading European clockmaker. The clock consisted of a magician who could prophesize, a butterfly that could flutter and flowers that opened and closed, two canaries that sang and whistled while hopping from side to side, two crystal flutes that produced a tune while turning continuously, a star that changed six colours, and finally two mirrors with reliefs partially made of fine pearls that reflected all these movements activated either separately or together. These aspects were sketched in a plan that was originally in Van Braan Houckgeest's account of the Dutch East India Company's embassy to the emperor. It was Castiglione's colleagues who kept the mechanisms in good repair.

Innumerable objects of precious stone were seen at the Yuanming Yuan, according to eyewitness accounts of the 1860 incident. The French officer Count Herisson gave a vivid and concise account:

In the rooms of the empress, the walls of the closets of the secretaries are furnished from top to bottom with pigeonholes, in which, one above another, like files of lawyers' briefs, are red boxes of old Peking lacquer, wonderfully engraved in intaglio, in jade, in precious stones, tiny rings for female fingers, and huge ones of jade to be worn by men when they draw the strings of their bows. Boxes with ornaments not already mounted [mounted] materials to be transformed into jewels...unique specimens of transparent jade, rock crystal, milky jade, uncut diamonds...a regular bazaar—not one where everything is quoted at nineteen cents—but rather...19,000 francs. One of the boxes, on being opened, appeared to send out sparks and showers of light... (Translated by the author)

A good number of jade pieces originally in the Yuanming Yuan are now held in major museum collections. Among these is the *ruyi* sceptre at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 13). It is important both for its historical significance and for its artistic value. Herber Bishop describes the sceptre in his seminal work, *Investigations and Studies in Jade*:

...Color: white with greenish tint... A large sceptre of the usual form, carved out of single piece of jade of unusually pure and pellucid tint, in the form of a polyporous fungus... The handle is slightly engraved upon its surface with an inscription in inscribed script:

The inscription begins on the top with two large characters indicating it was made at the Imperial Manufactory and continues reading, 'With reverential vows for a succession of fertile years and that throughout the world, every
wish be fulfilled. Respectfully presented
by his servant Wu Ching, Director of
the Factory'. The museum catalogue
mentions that war was provoked with
Great Britain and France whose armies
then marched on Beijing, sacking the
Yuanming Yuan. This magnificent
ruyi sceptre was subsequently purchased
in Paris and, no doubt, it formed part
of the spoil.

The Walker Art Center in Min-
neapolis owns another example of jade
from the Yuanming Yuan, a huge jade
mountain (Fig. 14). This piece com-
memorates a literary club of the fourth
century. In an older catalogue for the
Museum, R.H. Adams described the
piece as such:

'...Blended greenish-white jade (nephrite)
showing a cool light celadon tone of
translucent quality, boldly carved into its
present form of a mountain, with peaks
and deep ravines. Sheltered nooks disclose
pavilions and habitations. Groups of small
figures appear, carved in full relief, on the
paths and ridges below, where a lily pond
is introduced. A cliff with broad, smooth
surface, bears a long inscription lightly
carved into its sides, and coloured
red. This text is known as the Lan Ting Xu
or Orchid Pavilion Essay composed by
Wang Xizhi (321-79), and ever since used
as a model of elegant calligraphy. At the
end of the inscription, copied by Qianlong,
and engraved in the jade directly from his
brush, are two small imperial seals and the
words 'copied by the Emperor Qianlong,
in the spring of the year 1784.'

Adams also states the piece is probably
the largest mass of sculptured jade
in existence. According to several
sources, it once occupied a prominent
place in the Yuanming Yuan.

The study of the Yuanming Yuan and
the cultural exchange of East and West
in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-
turies reveals interesting experiments in
artistic exchanges, particularly those of
Giuseppe Castiglione. The eventual
Papal opposition to Jesuit adapta-
tion to Chinese thought and culture
culminated in a symbolic act—the
withdrawal of Papal support for
the Jesuits in China. Years later,
the destruction and looting of the
Yuanming Yuan, where cultural under-
standing had triumphed for a time,
symbolized the complete breakdown of
that cultural understanding. In the
final analysis, Castiglione faced a
challenge similar to that facing the
Chinese artist today: the achievement
of a convincing and genuine synthesis
of traditional Chinese and modern
Western aesthetics. Ultimately, Cas-
tiglione and his fellow Jesuits tran-
sformed cultural barriers and succeeded
in a magnificent East-West co-operative
venture, best symbolized by the Yuan-
ming Yuan. The Jesuits, Chinese
artists and emperors who made this
venture possible warrant further study
simply because of the rarity of their
achievement: a joining of two cultures
based on a common understanding of
the nature of man and on the essential
character of Christian and Chinese
philosophies.

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Cover: Leaf from an album of flower paintings
By Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), Italian
Height 32.5 cm, width 28.5 cm
The Palace Museum, Beijing

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