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Making a Spectacle:

The Golden Pavilion at the 1933-1934 Chicago

World's Fair

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Making a Spectacle:

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

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This thesis traces the making and exhibiting of the Golden Pavilion at Chicago World's Fair from 1933 to 1934. It first explores how this cross-cultural replica was perceived during the different stages of its existence, from the dynastic regime of Qing China to the 1927-1935 Sino-Swedish Expedition, and to the Chicago World's Fair. It points out that the Golden Pavilion was a spectacle created to satisfy the Western fascination about Chinese culture. It also argues that, the Golden Pavilion, originally an architectural symbol for the centralized power of Qing China, attested to the conflict between the Chinese Nationalism and the Western Colonialism, as well as the commercialization of non-western cultures. This study concludes that the Golden Pavilion perceived as a simulacrum, a lesser copy of its powerful original, exemplified an imaginary China which was based on fragmentized and illusionary materials. This condition prevented the pavilion from being valued by the Western museums and it was thus shut out in the later shaping of Chinese images in the West.

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Introduction

From 27 May to 12 November 1933, Chicago hosted a World's Fair with the theme "A Century of Progress" to celebrate the city's centennial, with the second season from 26 May to 31 October 1934. According to the statistics of both two seasons, 48,769,000 people visited the exposition recognized as a successful World's Fair making a profit even during the Great Depression.¹ During the 1933 season alone, more than 1,698,000 people visited a dazzling temple hall named the Bendix Lama Temple in the official guidebook.² The traditional Chinese-style building with a shining copper-shingled roof gilded with gold leaf and grand red pillars stood out brightly against the blue sky. It has been called the Golden Pavilion more often than its official name because of its gorgeous golden appearance (Fig.1). Various Lamaistic cult-objects decorated the inner space of temple, creating an exotic and mysterious atmosphere. The Golden Pavilion, a spectacle at the Chicago World's Fair from 1933 to 1934, was one of the most attractive spots at the fair. However, after being erected in the United States for almost ten years, it was dismantled into pieces and changed its ownership for several times. But the replica has never been reconstructed again.

Who directed the collecting project of the Golden Pavilion? Why was it made in the form of a replica? Why has it never been rebuilt again? What was its prototype? How did

¹ According to the statistics in John E. Findling ed., *History Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1990, pp.379; pp.273.

² Claude Pike. ed., *The Chicago Daily News Almanac and Yearbook for 1934*, Chicago: The Chicago Daily News Co., 1934, pp.42.

its identities change with the change of contexts? How was the replica understood in different contexts?

This thesis attempts to trace the searching, collecting, duplicating and erecting process of the temple replica. I want to point out that the Golden Pavilion is a spectacle of Chinese Lama temple, made for the western society, directed by the western knowledge system and required to satisfy the western hallucination of Chinese architecture. Through setting the replica back to its changing contexts from the centralized rule of the Qing Court to the 1927-1935 Sino-Swedish Expedition, and then to the Chicago World's Fair, I try to investigate the three different identities of the replica—an architectural symbol of the centralized regime of the Qing Dynasty, the witness to the conflict between the Chinese Nationalism and the Western Colonialism during the Republic of China, and a commercial spectacle at the fair. Through examining the three different identities, I argue that the Golden Pavilion, a simulacrum and heterotopia, presents the Chinese symbols transmitted from its metaphysical matrix and keeps participating in the shaping of the Chinese image in the Western World.

In Chapter One, I will try to restore both its architectural exterior and interior decorations through examining the architectural parts and art pieces. By revealing the differences between the replica and its archetype and doing iconographic and contextual analysis, this chapter will point out that this replica was not only a presentation of hybrid artistic style but also a reflection of the cultural and political context during the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China. I will explore the Golden Pavilion in its original context of the ethnical and cultural fusion under the centralized rule of the Qing Dynasty

and the chaotic and complicated situation of art and craft in the Republic of China.

In Chapter Two, I will first show that the collecting plan was changed from collecting the real architecture to making replicas. I want to examine the searching process of the Golden Pavilion in the context of the Sino-Swedish Expedition. I will point out the changes in the choosing process of the replica prototype and the nature of the conqueror lying behind the choice. Through exploring the reasons for choosing Wanfa Guiyi Hall as the prototype, I will show that Hedin and Montell had different preferences for Chinese architectural style and Lamaistic architectural style. But by sharing the same moral defense and emotional self-satisfaction, they believed that their duplicating object was from a decadent civilization and full of traces of the vanished prosperity.

In Chapter Three, I will demonstrate that Montell had chosen different pieces for Chicago and Stockholm. Through investigating the collections for the two cities, I will show the differences between art collections and scientific collections, and analyze the reasons why Montell gave up his preference for the Tibetan-style art and architecture. In addition, I will reveal the modes of presentation of both the architectural exterior and the interior collection of the replica. Moreover, I will trace the preceding and visionary prototype of the replica and reveal the reasons for choosing the Chinese-style art and architecture. I will also elucidate the changing process of the replica's contexts and identities and point out that the illegible Chinese symbols of the Golden Pavilion were underscored in the context of the world's fair to make Western hallucination possible.

In Chapter Four, I want to relate the changing identities of the Golden Pavilion to Jean Baudrillard's theory of the "Orders of Simulacra" in order to point out that the

replica also changed from a counterfeit to a production, then to a simulacrum in accordance with the changes of its contexts. As a simulacrum in the context of the commercial society, the fragmentized and illusionary metaphysical matrix of the replica, the palace described by Marco Polo, overwhelming the physical one, was only another simulacrum among the endless simulation of Chinese symbols. In addition, using Foucault's concept of "heterotopia," I want to point out that the replica's features as a heterotopia impeded it from being valued by western museum system.

Chapter 1: Building A Chinese Lama Temple at the Chicago World's Fair

Based on a general impression given in the introduction, that of the grandeur and popularity of the Golden Pavilion, this chapter will march further into the replica to restore both its architectural exterior and interior decorations through examining the architectural parts and art pieces. By revealing the differences between the replica and its archetype and doing iconographic and contextual analysis, this chapter will point out that this replica was not only a presentation of hybrid artistic style but also a reflection of the cultural and political context from the Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China.

The Golden Pavilion with a double-eaved hip roof was two stories tall and five bays wide. The shining roof was decorated with a finial in the shape of Tibetan vajra-bell and a set of seven roof animals including a dragon, a phoenix, a mythical lion, a lion, a heavenly horse, an auspicious seahorse, and a courageous goat-bull, sitting in a line along each ridge of the roof near the corners. Each side of the square pavilion had four six-crosspieced doors with cross-hatched lattice or four sill windows. Both the timber-frame structure and gilt copper-shingled roof stood on the square stone platform with steps in the middle. On the ground floor, a cloister, circling around the main architecture, comprised of twenty-eight red round columns made of Chinese *Pinus koraiensis*, with unified height of 5.3 meters and diameter of 45.5 centimeters. The elaborately carved or painted columns, lintels, beams and purlins had different kinds of bright-colored pattern-ornaments.

The interior space of the Golden Pavilion was decorated with hundreds of Lamaistic articles evoking a strongly Lamaistic atmosphere (Fig.2). The stone altar holding the central figure was the largest one of all the decorations, and occupied the striking center of the inner space. The central figure, a stature of Avalokitesvara, displays Dhyana mudra (the gesture of meditation) with his left hand and Karana mudra (the gesture of warding off evil) with his right hand (Fig.3). The Avalokitesvara stared at the viewers serenely with a slight smile on his face. Generally, the carving technique of the statue represents the combination of both Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist sculptural traditions. The painstakingly carved boat-shaped halo and the fluent drapery folds indicate typical decorative style of Chinese Buddhist art, reminding us of some of the early Chinese Buddhist statues, like the stone Buddha triad in the Palace Museum, dated 542. At the back of the Avalokitesvara sculpture, three pieces of Thangkas were hung on the red screen, among which the largest one above the Avalokitesvara sculpture was an embroidered silk banner with mysterious and unique details (Fig.4).

There were also some comparatively small objects and images surrounding the bottom of the central figure on the stone altar. A pair of seven-storied square Pagoda stood by the two sides of the stone altar. Gösta Montell, the curator of the exhibition and the author of the introduction, highly recommended the fascinating details of these two pagodas. The Pagoda includes 56 small niches with a little Buddha placed inside of each niche and 42 cornices with a small brass bell hung on each cornice. Moreover, Montell emphasized the prototypes of these two pagodas and their same arrangement in the original Golden Pavillion at Jehol. However, when Hedin and Montell visited the original

site, the two pagodas flanking the central screen were the typical Tibetan-style stupas, while the Chinese style pagodas were placed in front of the central platform. On the one hand, Montell might have already recognized the obvious differences in their shapes, but he could find only the Chinese-style pagodas of such a large size in antique shops in Beijing at that time, on the other hand, Montell's choice might have reflected his preference for the Chinese Lamaistic art style, especially the hybrid Lamaistic art style of Qing Dynasty.

Two bronze images of Gautama Buddha, seated on a pedestal and surrounded by the ritual objects, were placed on the side of each Pagoda. In front of the stone altar were a red-lacquered rectangular table in the rear row and five red-lacquered circular tables in the front row. There were four lines of different Lamaistic symbols and ritual objects on the rectangular table. The display of eight Water Bowl offerings was in the first line. Four silver bowls, one silver butter lamp and three silver bowls were placed in sequence from right to left. In Tibetan Buddhist tradition, it is common to set seven bowls on altar to hold seven offerings, such as water, flower and incense. Sometimes one instrument representing music is added into the seven offerings to become eight offerings, and a candle in the bowl representing light is often substituted for a butter lamp.³ Gradually, the simplified display with only empty bowls symbolizing the original offerings in them has become more and more popular. In the second line, a pair of candlesticks and a pair of flower vases flanked an incense burner (Fig.5). Montell titled this set of sacrifices “Wu

³ About “Seven Water Bowl Offerings,” see Robert Beer. *Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publication, 2003, pp.56-58.

Gong” (five sacrifices), which in fact is the “Wu Gong” of the Chinese religious practice rather than the typical “Wu Gong” in Tibetan Buddhism. The Lamaistic “Wu Gong” refers to the “Five Attributes of Sensory Enjoyment” including a mirror for sight; a lute, cymbals, or gongs for sound; a burning incense or a perfume-laden conch for smell; fruit for taste; a silk cloth for touch.⁴ In this case, obviously, Montell preferred the Chinese “Wu Gong” rather than the Lamaistic one. In the third row stood up the “Eight Stupas” with relics or Sacred Scriptures. The line most close to the stone altar were the “Ba-Bao,” the “Eight Auspicious Symbols” including the parasols, a pair of Golden Fishes, a right-turning conch shell, a lotus, a treasure vase, a wheel, a endless or glorious knot and a victory banner. Another set of Chinese “Wu Gong” made of cloisonné was placed on the red-lacquered circular tables.

The central figure on the altar and the sacrificial objects around it constructed the sacrificial space in the pavilion, which is the core of Lamaistic worship space and represents the display of Lamaistic routine. Directly in front of the central part was the space for Lamaistic rites where there were four long prayer benches covered with prayer rugs of interlacing patterns. Some ritual objects and sacred scriptures were placed on two long red-lacquered prayer tables by the side of two middle benches, such as a Gabala, the bowl of human skull with a cover and stand of metal; a Mandala, a metal plate for offering; a thunderbolt, a bronze bell, a three-bladed dagger with gold metal handle and a drum, made of two human skulls joined together and covered with skins (Fig.6). In order to simulate the real Lamaistic rites, sometimes the committee of the world’s fair invited a

⁴ *ibid*, pp.27-29.

local Chinese, sitting on the bench, wearing the Lamaistic Jiasha (Mantles) and holding a string of prayer beads, to play the role of Lamaistic payer.

Between the part for Lamaistic rites and the entrance doors, a Laughing Buddha facing towards the doors and a throne facing towards the central figure were placed separately on the two sides of a screen. The Laughing Buddha, made of a whole piece of wood and covered with red gold lacquer, was set on a chair of the same material carved with interlacing pattern of dragons and clouds (Fig.7). It is said that the set of the throne and screen with glorious ornaments belonged to the High Priest, the Great Lama in Yonghe Temple (Fig.8). Montell bought them together with the Laughing Buddha and the large Temple Bell from an antique shop in Beijing.⁵ The large temple bell made of green bronze, hung in a wooden frame, stood to the right of the Laughing Buddha (Fig.9). Montell dated the bell to the Ming Dynasty.⁶ To the left side of the Laughing Buddha stood a temple drum, also, hung in a frame. Moving towards wall C along wall D, viewers could observe a group of Tsongkhapa images and Thangkas (Fig.10).

The aisle between the red partition behind the central figure and the wall C was like a miniature image gallery, exhibiting delicate images of different gods and goddesses, dimensions and materials. Among them, there was a group of images of Avalokitesvara and his guardians, standing in the middle of a set of three altars (Fig.11). The image of

⁵ Sven Anders Hedin, Donald Burton, Gösta Montell, Birger Bohlin, Gerhard Bexell, Folke Bergman, and Sino-Swedish Expedition. *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927-1935*. Göteborg, Stockholm: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1944 Vol IV, pp. 409.

⁶ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 16.

Avalokitesvara owns many arms, each holding a different symbol. This group of images represents strong Chinese sculptural style.

All the four walls were decorated with beautiful Thangkas and banners. One of the Thangkas has been housed in Jacques Marchais Museum so far, titled Vajradhara with Consort (Fig.12). It is possible that this Thangka once belonged to Yonghe Temple in Beijing, representing the typical painting style of imperial Thangka painters of Qing court.⁷ Besides the Thangkas and banners, there were ritual robes and masks hung on wall A (Fig.13). Moreover, in the corner between wall A and wall D, some instruments were displayed, such as a pair of horns, a pair of cymbals, a trumpet made of human bone, a dragon-pattern drum, a pair of copper trumpets, a sea-shell horn with metal ornament and fringe, as well as a ten-foot-long copper trumpet in three parts (Fig.14).

In addition, when viewers looked up towards the ceilings, they would see a complicated three-layered caisson, with a square outer layer, multiple octagons in the middle, and a nearly circular plate carved with dragons and cloud patterns at the top layer (Fig.15). This intricate ceiling structure was popularly used in the imperial architectures of Qing Dynasty. Beneath the ceiling, there were panels depicting stories of Buddha and Lamaistic masters, gorgeously painted brackets, beams and purlins (Fig.16).

It is the first complete Lama Temple with many different kinds of accessories ever to be displayed in the United States. The media at that time eagerly reported the news

⁷ Barbara Lipton and Nima Dorjee Ragnubs. *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 90-91.

regarding the building and exhibiting process of the Golden Pavilion. Even before the temple firstly debuted in the November of 1932 as a preview,⁸ several newspapers had begun to introduce the Golden Pavilion as one of the most attractive spots in the fair.⁹ Besides the guidebook for the temple,¹⁰ Sven Hedin, the leader of the temple collecting project, also published his book *Jehol, City of Emperors* in January 1933, which presented his deep exploration of Jehol from where the temple came.¹¹ Both the media and the construction team highlighted the accurate copy of the original site and the Lamaistic identity of this temple replica.

Admittedly, the Golden Pavilion was a facsimile copy of the Wanfa Guiyi Hall of Jehol.¹² At least, it has been the first and the most accurate Lamaistic architectural replica presented in the Western world at that time in explicit pursuit of likeness. However, manual duplication, especially a transcultural one is a mutable progress that never

⁸ John E. Findling. *Chicago's Great World's Fairs*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1994, pp.118-119; A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Series XI: Exhibits Department, Box 12, Folder 11-134.

“Exhibits - Foreign - Correspondence, April 1930 - February 1933” November 10, 1932

⁹ For example, see “Chinese Will Erect Temple At World,” *New York Times*. March 9, 1932, pp.6; Sven Hedin, “China Sends The Holy Golden Pavilion,” *New York Times*. August 7, 1932, pp6, 14.

¹⁰ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932.

¹¹ Sven Anders Hedin. *Jehol, City of Emperors*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1933.

¹² Wanfa Guiyi means all rituals lead to a cosmic unity. Because of its gilt-brass roof, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall had been called the Golden Pavilion by Chinese people, before Hedin introduced the name to the United States.

guarantees the result of identical images. Examined in detail, neither the architectural exterior nor the interior decoration of the Golden Pavilion was exactly the same as the original hall at Jehol.

In fact, the prototype of the duplication project, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall is only part of the architectural complex of Putuo Zongcheng Temple. The Wanfa Guiyi Hall is a sutra pavilion enclosed by the top three stories of a seven-storied Tibetan blockhouse, which means that the interior Wanfa Guiyi Hall together with the exterior red “wrap” and the white platform holding the red blockhouse form an entire architectural complex. Except the golden roof, the hall is actually hidden inside the red blockhouse, if seen from outside. The Putuo Zongcheng Temple was established from 1761 to 1771 during the reign of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty. It was dedicated to the 60th birthday of the emperor and the 80th birthday of his mother Empress Dowager Chongqing. The Putuo Zongcheng temple is located at the northern hills of the famous Jehol Mountain Resort (nowadays Chengde), following the natural topography, with the size of twenty-two thousand square meters. The whole temple complex imitates the Potala of Tibet according to the requirement of Emperor Qianlong. Even though the two temples are not completely the same, the Potala of Jehol copies the main structure of the Potala of Tibet—the combination of the white and red Tibetan blockhouse and the traditional Chinese architecture. Sun Dazhang has pointed out that the Putuo Zongcheng Temple is one of the exemplars creating architecture of unique magnificence through mingling the Tibetan

architectural and art forms and the Han architecture and craftsmanship.¹³ However, separated from the surrounding blockhouse, the hidden Wanfa Guiyi Hall is a typical Chinese pavilion per se, specifically, a Qing style pavilion constructed under strict engineering regulations.¹⁴ In this situation, the manner of keeping only the inner pavilion structure made the replica lose the most unique and exquisite characteristics of the original design—the mixture of the Tibetan exterior and the Chinese interior. Meanwhile, the change in the structure directly resulted in a weakening of the visual contrast given by the glittering roof and the dark lower part shaded by the exterior blockhouse, as well as the gloomy, mysterious and solemn atmosphere in both outer and inner space of the hall. Nevertheless, some decorative details of the pavilion, popularly applied to the imperial architecture of the Qing Dynasty, still indicate the Lamaistic influence on it, such as the vajra-bell finial, gilt-brass tiles and the panels painted with Lamaistic deities and masters.

Qing rulers sponsored Shamanism to legitimize the Manchus and Aisin Gioto lineage, while supported the development of Lamaism, especially Dge lugs pa (“Yellow Hat”) sect, to solidify the Mongol-Manchu coalition and bring Tibetans completely into

¹³ Nancy S. Steinhardt ed. *Chinese Architecture*. New Heaven: Yale University and New World Press. 2002, pp.323.

¹⁴ Liang Sicheng has mentioned that temples in Jehol were built mainly according to the *Gongcheng Zuofa Zeli*, an engineering regulation of Qing Dynasty, but at the same time they adopted the Tibetan blockhouse style, a unique characteristic of these temples, which had never occurred before Ming Dynasty. Liang may focus on the architectural tendency in the areas of Han Chinese habitants, since in Tibet and Mongolia some Lamaistic temples have borrowed Chinese architectural elements before Ming Dynasty. See Liang Sicheng, *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Complete works of Liang Sicheng), Beijing: China Building Industry Press, 2001. Vol. 4, pp.197. And for the *Gongcheng Zuofa Zeli*, see *Liang Sicheng quanji*. Vol.6.

Manchu rule. At the same time, as the Manchu rulers were ruling vast territories of Han Chinese, the Qing Dynasty witnessed an open and diverse religious panorama blending the Lamaistic, Shamanic, Chinese Buddhist, Confucianist, Daoist and other popular religious traditions.¹⁵ The Putuo Zongcheng Temple is a representative architecture representing the hybrid architectural and decorative style of Qing Dynasty and reflecting the ambition of the Manchu rulers in terms of centralization in ethnicity and religion. This kind of Qing imperial Lamaistic architecture is much more refined and splendid than the primitive and common Lamaistic architecture in Tibet and Mongolia at that time. With the patronage of Qing Court, imperial-style Lamaistic temples were constructed around Northern China including Tibet and Mongolia, which brought the Chinese-Lamaistic style temples to a climax.

It is noteworthy that the Golden Pavilion at the Chicago World's Fair and its prototype also have other differences. For instance, some details of the pavilion were changed according to the modern architectural principles. Glasses were added into the lattice windows between the two layers of roofs. Even though glasses had been used commonly in the imperial architecture of the Qing Dynasty, and it was recorded that another building in the Putuo Zongcheng Temple adopted painted glasses, the Wanfa

¹⁵ For the discussions about the various forms of religious activity of the Qing Dynasty, see Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001, Chapter 7; Richard J. Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and traditional Chinese culture*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 2015, Chapter 7.

Guiyi Hall did not have glasses.¹⁶ Moreover, some waterproof, lighting, heating and blower facilities were also added into the hall.¹⁷ Archaeological Trust of Chicago, the titular donor of the temple, once complained that the heating devices adopted by the committee would damage the wooden materials and the interior articles. What was more, they even wired the temple for electric lighting in order to light the interior objects, which further destroyed the original dark and mysterious atmosphere of a Lamaistic temple.¹⁸ Besides, the dragon ceiling, one of the most fascinating parts of the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, was changed and carved in a comparatively rough and exaggerated way. Compared with the original three-dimensional dragon body and the delicate varnished surface, the ceiling in the Golden Pavilion seems flatten and coarse. (Fig.17, 18) Additionally, the beautiful ball-shape xuanyuan mirror, hung beneath the center of the ceiling in the original site, was left out in the Golden Pavilion. Perhaps these changes also resulted from meeting the requirements of a modern spectacle at a commercial exposition.¹⁹ Furthermore, the color of the ornaments on the lintels, brackets and beams might have been changed a lot, as

¹⁶ First Historical Archives of China ed., *Yuanmingyuan Qingdai Dangan Shiliao* (Archive Documents on the Summer Palace of Qing Dynasty), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991. pp.1457.

¹⁷ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932. pp. 14-15.

¹⁸ A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Series XI: Exhibits Department, Box 12, Folder 11-134. "Exhibits - Foreign - Correspondence, April 1930 - February 1933" July 6, 1932

¹⁹ A collection in the Chinese-American Museum of Chicago includes two tickets of the Golden Pavilion. About the museum, see <http://www.ccamuseum.org> (accessed on November 28, 2015).

some of them were painted by workers in Chicago who might have omitted some colors in order to cut down the cost of pigments.²⁰ Though these changes in detail influenced the perfect presentation of the Golden Pavilion, they did not change its general image as a Qing-style Lamaistic sutra hall.

Different from the Chinese-style architectural exterior, the interior decoration of the pavilion was set to restore the common display in the Lamaistic temples (Fig.19). At least, Montell tried to dispose every object in the right position according to what he had seen in the Lamaistic temples around Northern China including both the imperial temples and ordinary temples. Images, ritual objects and Thangkas are always placed in accordance with the requirements of Lamaistic rituals and devotional events held in the temples, presenting the narrative and interrelationship based on the Lamaistic ritual process. The traditional setting in the Lamaistic sutra halls is derived from the representation of the Lamaistic spiritual symbol Mandala, a perfect model of the universe. The ritual objects and images enclose the central figure, which forms a pattern of concentric squares like the three-dimensional representation of the Mandala diagram. Thus, the arrangement in the Golden Pavilion showed Montell's intention to present the delicacy of Lamaistic objects, the process of Lamaistic rites implied by the objects and the metonymy for Mandala. Bearing no resemblance to the dominant Chinese style of the architectural exterior, the interior decorations indicate more Lamaistic features excluding

²⁰ A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Series XI: Exhibits Department, Box 12, Folder 11-134.

“Exhibits - Foreign - Correspondence, April 1930 - February 1933” August 4, 1932

the original motif of celebrating the Manchu rulers' birthday and eulogizing the empire's unity. However, owing to the lack of accessible resources and systematic knowledge, Montell mixed up some Mahayana Buddhist objects with the Tibetan Buddhist ones in the exhibition.

The decoration details in the Wanfa Guiyi Hall showed blessings to Emperor Qianlong and his mother, such as the fascinating embroidered Thangka of Amitayus Buddha dedicated to Empress Dowager Chongqing, the rosewood stupas carved with ten thousand different types of the Chinese character *shou* (birthday or longevity) for Emperor Qianlong and the throne specially made for the Eighth Dalai Lama to show the emperor's reverence for Lamaism. In this case, the objects in the hall were set as the representation of the imperial authority, whose function was to construct a public space for the meeting of the emperor and minor ethnic representatives rather than a place for practicing Lamaism. Though, to Montell, the most ideal method was to move all the interior decorations of Wanfa Guiyi Hall directly to Chicago, he was prohibited to do so. Also, it was not easy to find antiquities of such a high quality in Beijing's antique shops then, let alone to a foreigner. Moreover, at that time, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall had already become a messy "store-room for the other treasures of the monasteries."²¹ What Montell used to substitute the specially handmade objects for the royal family were the objects collected from both the Lamaistic temples and the antique shops, which blended the craft of Ming Dynasty, Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, and broke the boundary between folk art and imperial art.

²¹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp.334.

For instance, the eye-catching polychrome Thangka shows strong Chinese painting techniques. The faces of two human figures and the textures shaping the rocks indicate the painting style of Qing Dynasty. Besides, since Montell recorded that this Thangka was one of “the two embroidered images of gods which were used in religious processions or as decorations in Imperial Temples,” it probably dated from Qing Dynasty. The main god or goddess wears a five-skull crown (though we can only see four skulls in this Thangka) on its head, a human-skin cloak on its shoulder and a vajra coat on its chest. It is noteworthy that it may wear a skirt or strip decorated with 卐 swastika patterns. This right-facing 卐 pattern emphasizes the Lamaistic origin of this Thangka. Since Tibetan religions Bon and Lamaism both use swastika to decorate objects and garments, the different directions of the swastika symbolizes different religions. In the Tibetan area, the right-facing 卐 is commonly used in Lamaism, while the left-facing 卐 is frequently used in Bon. The god or goddess, with three eyes on its face, is stepping at a face-up human lying on the lotus seat. The god holds upwards a damaru (hand-drum) in its right hand and a thighbone trumpet or a lasso in its left hand. The composition of this Thangka seems confusing and out of tradition. The scene of stepping on humans, demons or other deities is always depicted in the Thangka of Yamāntaka, Cakrasamvara, Kālacakravajra, Mahākāla and other deities in Tibetan Buddhism. However, they are commonly depicted as stepping on more than one human being or demon. Even though they are stepping on only one Ganesha, the posture is with a pair of their feet rather than single foot. Also, The upward flowing hair, the dancing posture with bending and lifting right leg, as well as one figure lying on its back atop the lotus seat, together remind us of

some female images in Tibetan Buddhism, such as Vajrayogini or Machig Labdrön. However, this Thangka still lacks some important elements, such as the Khatvanga and the sun disc. Even though Machig Ladrön is always depicted as holding a damaru in her right hand, she has rarely been seen as wearing a human-skin and using cloud cluster as background. Especially, it is hard to regard the things in the left hand of the god/goddess in this Thangka as a bell. In addition, the elements of damaru and lasso have frequently been related to Mahākāla. One can easily find a damaru and a lasso in the Thangka of six-armed Mahākāla, but for the two-armed or four-armed Mahākāla, damaru and lasso are not typical symbolic elements in its hands. In fact, the Thangka of Mahākāla in black-robe, auctioned by Beijing Council in 2014, is the only two-armed Mahākāla Thangka with damaru and lasso which has ever been found.²² (Fig.20)

Moreover, the Laughing Buddha image in this pavilion is a typically Chinese Buddhist Maitreya with obese belly and baldhead, which belongs to the Mahayana, specifically, the Chinese Buddhist system, rather than the Lamaism. In the Chinese Buddhist tradition, the Laughing Buddha, also called Budai is always regarded as the same with the Maitreya. But the image of the Chinese Buddhist Maitreya and the Tibetan Buddhist Maitreya were quite different, especially after Five Dynasty (97-960 CE). Lamaistic cult has never worshiped the Budai.

In addition, the wooden Tsongkhapa sculpture in the right part of the pavilion

²² See Beijing Council's official website <http://www.council.com.cn/PaiMaiJieGuo/pmwp.php?ppcd=art0042023914&pzid=PZ2022662> accessed on November 26, 2015.

presents obvious non-lamaistic carving style. This sculpture is not a large-scale one. The statue depicts Tsongkhapa with his right hand holding a lotus in discussion mudra. His left hand might be in the gesture of meditation with a missing begging bowl, or in the gesture of blessing. The small face, delicate lips, slim figure, detailed ornaments and realistic draperies of this statue are not usual in the Lamaistic motif of Tsongkhapa. It is presumably that the maker of the statue is a Chinese artisan, since this statue embodies typical Chinese sculptural tradition that can be traced to Tang Dynasty and exemplified by some Japanese and Korean wooden sculptures. Yet the mature carving and shaping silks and the weakening of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Nepalese style indicate that this statue could not be produced earlier than late Qing Dynasty. This exquisite sculpture, showing high-level carving skills, stereoscopy and golden ratio, met the taste of modern western viewers then.

In conclusion, the temple replica at the Chicago World's Fair was not only a comprehensive presentation of intriguing architectural and manual craftsmanship of Chinese and Lamaistic art from Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China, but also a visual representation of Lamaistic cult and spiritual experience, involving the ritual process, the teaching lineage and the mandala. The juxtaposition of objects of different styles and time periods reflected the curator's limitation of resource and knowledge on the one hand and Qing's patronage to the Lamaism for the purpose of solidifying the centralized regime on the other hand. Considering Montell's collecting practice within the context of the Republic of China, we may find that such kind of complexity, diversity and inclusivity of the replica was immanent in the turbulent situation of Chinese society at

that time rather than made deliberately by the curating and constructing team. When the Chinese society was in the transition from the last feudal dynasty to the modern China under construction, the old culture, like a sponge absorbing all kinds of cultural resources, still showed its power in many different fields, while the new culture, enlightened by the western culture, had not developed into its mature form yet. Neither the intellectual elites nor the mass had thorough and active perception and understanding towards multi-cultural heritage and identity.

Obviously, the Golden pavilion at Chicago World's Fair was not used to show the modernity and progress of China. The replica presented a Lamaistic spectacle embedded in the political and cultural context of Qing Dynasty, yet inevitably reflected the disordered coexistence of multiple cultures and the inadequate regulation of antiques during the Republic of China. Among the pavilions sponsored by the states and corporations from the Western World that competed with each other in the aspects of modern design concept and advanced scientific technology, pavilions of the non-western countries were expected to make use of their cultural characteristics as attractions. In fact, the non-western cultural characteristics were defined by the Western World as the opposite sides of what were acclaimed at the fair and chased by the Western pavilion sponsors. Exhibiting the unknown or unfamiliar styles of architectures and artworks was regarded as an approach to satisfying viewers' curiosity and offering exotic experience. The Golden pavilion perfectly provided the American viewers, at least most of the viewers, with visual experience beyond their ken. The Lamaistic artworks from a mysterious land and the grand architecture from a once prosperous epoch totally met the

standards of an appealing fair attraction. More than three million visitors once stepped into this spectacle and saw the exhibition, among whom some might have brought home brochures, incenses and other souvenirs sold in the pavilion, but few of them would keep paying attention to the fate of this pavilion, since too many ephemeral visual spectacles appeared and disappeared rapidly in the flow of history.

Chapter 2: Searching For A Lamaistic Temple

In the previous chapter, I explored the Golden Pavilion in its original context of the ethnical and cultural fusion under the centralized rule of the Qing Dynasty and the chaotic and complicated situation of art and craft in the Republic of China. This chapter will first show that the collecting plan was changed from collecting the real architecture to making replicas. The goal of this chapter is to examine the searching process of the Golden Pavilion in the context of the Sino-Swedish Expedition. I will analyze some changes in the choosing process of the replica prototype and the nature of the conqueror lying behind the choice.

Sponsored by American industrialist Vincent Bendix, led by Swedish explorer Sven Hedin and executed by Gösta Montell, the collecting practice of the Golden Pavilion presented Americans with a replica of a Qing imperial sutra hall equipped with delicate Lamaistic artifacts.

Sven Hedin was an explorer trained as a geographer, and he had made trips and journeys of exploration in Asia between 1885 and 1909.²³ In February 1927, when the Sino-Swedish Expedition firstly began, no one knew that it would bring a temple to America. Its main aim was to find an airline between Berlin and Peking-Shanghai. However, scientific fieldwork, “especially in geology, archaeology, meteorology, topography, zoology, botany and physical anthropology” was its real purpose.²⁴ At first,

²³ Sven Anders Hedin, Donald Burton, Gösta Montell, Birger Bohlin, Gerhard Bexell, Folke Bergman, and Sino-Swedish Expedition. *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927-1935*. Göteborg, Stockholm: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1944 Vol I, pp.XII.

²⁴ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol I, pp.XIV.

the ethnographical research was a subordinate item included in the catalogue of Geology to record the temples, Lamaistic ecclesiastical art, Mongolian songs and music, interpretations of Sakian, Uighur and other ancient manuscripts found by the team.²⁵ Though Hedin had no intended collecting practice before 1929, he did pay attention to lama architectures and cult-objects during his journey, which could be testified by his records about what he had seen in different temples and his simple analysis of them.²⁶

When the expedition ran out of money in the summer of 1929, Hedin found Bendix and proposed to find two Lamaistic temples equipped with ethnographical accessories, one for Chicago and the other one for Stockholm. Hedin recorded that his plan of choosing the Lamaistic temples as the target was related to his former exploration experience in Tibet.²⁷ But considering the route and the sponsorship of the expedition as well as the nationalistic atmosphere at that time in China, we might find other reasons. The route of the expedition was across the vast land of Northwestern China. At that time, the main religion of the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Chinese dwelling along the northwestern frontier between China and Mongolia was Lamaism. The Lamaistic temples could be encountered easily, which provided convenience for the expedition team to find their ideal temples during their expedition. Also, It was a good opportunity to visit the local races and study their culture during the expedition, as many different ethnic minorities was living in the northwestern part of China then. Moreover, besides Bendix's sponsorship, Hedin also received money from some Swedish institutes, such as the

²⁵ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol I, pp.XIV

²⁶ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol I, pp.125

²⁷ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp. 61-62.

Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. The executive collector Gösta Montell also needed to collect ethnographical articles for other institutes, such as the Gothenburg Museum.²⁸ They both kept good relationship with the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, and even regarded it as the ideal home for all their collections.

In addition, after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, modern Chinese nationalism was one of the crucial ideological driving forces in China. With the boost of the New Culture Movement (1915-1921), the awareness of protecting the country's cultural heritage reached a climax in Chinese academia. Scholars kept denouncing and halting all kinds of plundering and smuggling activities regarding Chinese antiquities, and they were alert to antique trade conducted by foreigners. Before the Sino-Swedish Expedition, foreign—Euro-American, Japanese and Soviet—research groups all had transferred Chinese antiques out of China illegally under the guise of archaeological researches. Thus, all the researches in the title of “Archaeology” organized by foreigners should receive most strict examinations by Chinese government. However, at first, unfamiliar with the concept “Ethnography” rooted in the game of colonists from which China was always excluded, Chinese academia was not able to discern the longing for Chinese antiques hiding behind it. In this sense, the ambivalence of “Ethnography” led Chinese people to believe that the ethnographical collection would contain only the ordinary articles and no precious treasures like artworks. The research on Lamaism, a religion originally belonging to the ethnic minorities, can be appropriately covered by the range of ethnographical research. We will talk further about the artworks and the ethnographical

²⁸ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 351.

collections in the collecting practice of the expedition in the following parts.

Thus, Hedin's plan emphasized that the identity of the ideal temples was a Lamaistic temple, the method was to move the original architecture to Chicago and Stockholm directly, and all the actions were executed in the name of Ethnographical researches. Hedin felt optimistic about achieving his goal because Haslund, one of the expedition members, had acquired a temple-yurt from the Qara-shahr (Qarasheher) Torguts' leader Sengtsen Gegen as a gift to the Swedish King Gustaf.²⁹ It is still housed in the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm now. Encouraged by the success of his colleague, Hedin was convinced by the cliché that China, or in a broad range, Asian, was a heaven of cheaper and valuable antiques. In order to complete the task of finding the lama temples for Bendix, Hedin found Montell, a young Swedish ethnographer. He used to be an assistant to the famous Swedish archeologist and anthropologist, Erland Nordenskiöld in Gothenburg, who focused on the ethnography of South America. At that time, Montell only had expedition experience inside Europe.³⁰ He thought himself was unprepared for the expedition, as this emergent appointment did not allow him to learn enough about China before he came to the unfamiliar land.³¹ Montell's inexperience in language and background knowledge impeded him from going further in his researches. But he did play the most important role in the practice of collecting the Golden Pavilion. As the general leader of the whole expedition, Hedin could not devote enough time and energy into the collecting practice. In addition, though exercising the right to make final

²⁹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol II, pp.57.

³⁰ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 329.

³¹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 330.

decisions, Hedin was aware of his own interest and training in Geology, Physics and Zoology, and he allowed Montell to use his own wisdom yet controlled the direction of the collecting process.

Essentially, Hedin's plan of collecting Lama temples for Bendix was a strategy for funding to support the expedition. Accordingly, the temples should be regarded as valuable ones by Bendix and the presumed Western viewers. In Montell and Hedin's mind, the absent viewers, the judges of the temples' value, had been set before they actually started to search the temple. Thus the collecting practice was treated as a way to meet the pre-setting aesthetic taste of the Western viewers, in which the value of the temples would increase.

By examining the selecting process of the lama temples, we can find that, according to the changing situations, Montell and Hedin changed their methods of increasing the temple's value. The temple of Jehol was not their initial choice, because before arriving in Jehol, they had encountered other temples meeting their needs but not for sale. One of them was the temple-yurts of Deva Gung. Hedin was impressed by the tasteful furnishings in the temple-yurts and the family history witnessed by the movable architecture.³² (Fig.21, 22) The cult-objects of the temple were like the family collection, kept and renewed from their ancestors through the generations. It is noteworthy that these cult-objects displayed in the temple are beyond the classification of religious objects or daily necessities. The aristocratic family members got together and held Lamaistic rituals in the temple everyday. In this way, the Lamaistic practice was one of the daily routines

³² *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol II, pp. 115.

of the family. Accordingly, religiosity and rituality embedded in the collection of cult-objects penetrate into believers' daily lives. Additionally, the stories behind the objects are always what really attract the viewers and increase the value of the objects. Searching for the attracting stories attached to the architecture is as important as searching for the perfect architecture, since the stories serve as a link between the inanimate architecture and the humanity. Hedin and Montell insisted upon the strategy of looking for the storied architecture all the time.

They were also interested in the main hall of Boro-tologoin-sume in Chakhar, a temple hall also built in Qing Dynasty but earlier than the Wanfa Guiyi Hall.

Hedin recorded as follow:

It is built in the Chinese style with a tastefully arched tile-roof on which are the wheel of doctrine and the two gazelle figures. The main hall, Choksum-dugun, boasted forty-eight magnificent, round, red-lacquered pillars, elegantly carved with winding dragons . . . Boro-tologoin-sume was the temple that appealed most strongly to us for our purpose. It was something of this sort that I had had in mind to give the Christian public in Europe and America an idea of Lamaistic temple architecture and Lamaistic cults.³³

The temple, built in 1721, is preserved now in the Plain and Bordered White Banner, Inner Mongolia, China. Even though it has been repaired several times, we can still try to trace its original appearance through what it looks like now (Fig. 23). Actually, the Boro-tologoin-sume is an architectural complex, containing nine pavilions. The appearance of the main hall is designed as the common Chinese style with double-eaved hip-and-gable roof. Lamaistic sutra halls in Tibet are always built in the style of Du Gang adopting the shape of traditional Tibetan blockhouse, which are larger than Chinese sutra halls and can contain more people. In the Qing Dynasty, many imperial-sponsored lama temples

³³ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol II, pp.78-79.

blending the elements of Tibetan blockhouse were regarded as using Dugang Fashi (method). Actually, similar to the “unwrapped” Golden Pavilion at Chicago World’s Fair, we can hardly find Dugang Fashi from the general architectural exterior of the main hall in the Boro-tologoin-sume. What’s more, the roof and the façade of this hall indicate a transforming form from Ming-style to Qing-style.

The whole space inside the hall is a connected and towering one without interlayer between the two different stories. The size of the first floor is larger than the second floor. The outside cloisters on the second floor were built around the central empty space. So the layout of the temple looks like two concentric squares reminding us of the similar layout inside the Golden Pavilion that symbolized the mandala. It is the special spatial structure with the huge and protruding flying-eaves that make the whole architecture have a strong light and shade contrast, providing Hedin with impressive experience in the temple:

Wherever one placed oneself in the hall of the main temple, the forty-eight pillars presented a wonderful perspective with their gaudy colors and their striking, subdued lighting. The light from the main entrance fell upon them in such a way that they stood out in relief against the dark background around the altar-table. The side-walls, with their paintings of holy men, lay in darkness, and the ceiling disappeared in a mysterious gloom. A stingily mystic atmosphere prevailed within.³⁴

In fact, what Hedin attempted to present to the western viewers was a kind of exotic and mystic visual effect, which could be achieved through the cooperation of the complicated interior layout and the architectural design. To Hedin, the divisions of architectural style—the Chinese, the Mongolian, the Tibetan and the Sino-Tibetan—was not important. Considering both the main hall in the Boro-tologoin-sume and the Golden

³⁴ *ibid.*

Pavilion of Chicago, we can find that the ideal Lamaistic temple to Hedin should have dominant Chinese architectural characteristics rather than the more primitive and essential Tibetan and Mongolian elements like blockhouse or yurt. The complicated structural design and layout is not only the best way to convey exoticism and mysticism but also the ideal embodiment of the former glory of a decayed empire.

Also, at that time, Tibetan style was the mainstream of lama temples in Tibet, while the Sino-Tibetan or Sino-Mongolian style was common in Mongolian districts. The route of searching the ideal temple hardly overstepped the range of Peking, Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia, which means that the expedition team was able to see Chinese architectural elements on the lama temples frequently. The flourish of the Sino-Tibetan lama temples in the Qing Dynasty was in accordance with the thriving state of Lamaism promoted by the Qing Court. Even though with the withering of Lamaism since the late Qing period, the large-scale construction of lama temples stopped, it left behind a lot of Sino-Tibetan lama temples for the Republic of China. In addition, in the aspect of visual attraction, the exterior of both the Tibetan and Mongolian blockhouses were decorated far less than the Chinese architecture. In contrary to the simplicity of Tibetan and Mongolian architectural style, the exquisite ornaments of flying-eaves, painted brackets and red pillars, showing the complexity and luxury, satisfied western viewers' fascination with the previous prosperity of a decadent civilization.³⁵

Nevertheless, all the ideal lama temples were not for sale. The main reason was that

³⁵ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932. pp. 38.

according to both the Lamaistic belief and the tradition of the local people, they were unable to sell any shrines and even some Buddhist images and paintings. But there are always people who cannot evade the seduction of money. At that time, the unsettled political and economical situation resulted in the devastating fall of the Chinese currency, which increased the attraction of foreign currency and made their purchases in lower price.³⁶

When Montell and his assistant were in the Khadain-sume, he was besieged by some Mongols selling all kinds of things. They finally bought a lot of things into their collections, among which were some alluring religious articles.³⁷ In contrary to the people who demanded money, the upper classes of local people always held their belief firmly and refused to sell religious objects, but they were willing to sell non-religious objects. Sometimes wealthy ladies preferred to donate their own money to gain merit and selling their treasures was one of the approaches, especially during pilgrimage.³⁸ Montell purchased a whole yurt together with parts of its interior accessories with the help of a rich Mongolian man.³⁹

Besides, as mentioned before, with the growing awareness of the need to protect antiquities of Chinese people, Hedin and Montell were barely able to get permission to transfer any original temples or large images out of China. The 1927-1935 Sino-Swedish Expedition was the first collaborative scientific research in Chinese history participated by both foreign and Chinese researchers. It also has been the first time that Chinese

³⁶ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 350.

³⁷ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol IV, pp.342

³⁸ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol IV, pp.379.

³⁹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Vol IV, pp.354.

government exercised its right to protect antiquities and signed *Foedus aequum* with foreign explorers. When all the things were still in negotiation, the proposal of expedition had encountered huge obstructions from Chinese academia. Moreover, during the period of expedition, Chinese government established the Central Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities in 1928 and enacted the Law on the Preservation of Ancient Objects in 1930. Montell was prohibited by the police authorities when he tried to send a large Buddhist image out of China in 1932. However, Hedin asked Liu Fu, a professor of Peking University for help, and finally got more than one image from him, which was beyond Hedin and Montell's expectation. But it has been a mystery of why Liu Fu, one of the main opponents to the expedition, helped Hedin to find and send a Buddhist image out of China.⁴⁰ At that time, the temples offered for sale were in really bad condition, such as the Bayandiliger sume. Even though they had found many large volumes of Lamaistic canon Kangyur in the temple, Montell thought that it lacked "every trace of the pomp and atmosphere which we required."⁴¹ Such need for the trace of old-time glory testified Montell's obsession with the past oriental civilization and worry about its current situation. Actually, the nostalgia and melancholy of the lost splendor and the worry of the present circumstance could be attributed to a kind of logic of colonist heroism.

Since the second half of the 19 century, European explorers had started turning their interest to the vast land of Northwestern China. The turbulent political environment of

⁴⁰ Johansson, Perry. *Saluting the Yellow Emperor: A Case of Swedish Sinography*. BRILL, 2012. pp.71, 95.

⁴¹ Sven Anders Hedin, Donald Burton, Gösta Montell, Birger Bohlin, Gerhard Bexell, Folke Bergman, and Sino-Swedish Expedition. *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927-1935*. Göteborg, Stockholm: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1944 Vol IV, pp.342.

China provided explorers with opportunities to visit and even take away beautiful things that they once could only learn from the books written by their predecessors, such as Marco Polo. Hedin, like many of his contemporaries, was born with the craving for adventure in his blood. The sparsely populated Northwestern China is an ideal destination for adventures through which Hedin was able to satisfy his curiosity for the exotic culture and bring himself the reputation of a brave and legendary hero. When he first came back from Xinjiang and Tibet, he received warm welcome from the Swedish royal family and academia. The mysterious oriental land always made his hero stories more attractive, which gave him encouragement to go on his adventures. He repeatedly looked back on Marco Polo's records during his expedition, comparing what he saw with what he read in the records, and felt like that he was becoming another legend.⁴² Moreover, Marco Polo's description of the Palace of the Great Kaan might be one of the models in Hedin's mind as the representative of the Oriental architecture, which will be discussed in the following parts.⁴³

In contrast, Montell was aware of his identity as an ethnographer rather than a romantic hero. He treated the expedition in a more rational and realistic way. But both Hedin and Montell used the word "decay" in their records to describe the cultures of the land that they explored over and over again. They both embraced the stereotype that China was a country full of decadency. Meanwhile, they regarded themselves as representatives of the advanced civilization, who had the responsibility to save the old

⁴² *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.180.

⁴³ Regarding the description by Marco Polo, see Marco Polo. (translated by Henry Yule, revised by Henri Cordier, edited by Morris Rossabi) *Travels of Marco Polo*, New York: Sterling Signature, 2012, pp. 209-211.

and decadent culture:

Especially did I plan to gather all available material connected with Lamaism, of whose religious rites I had seen so many colorful examples in the course of my Tibetan travels. Like so many other old institutions, this religion was in process of decay and would soon be a thong of the past, at least in Outer Mongolia. The same might presently be the case in Inner Mongolia; and it was therefore desirable to assemble a complete collection of Lamaistic cult-objects and if possible a whole temple.⁴⁴

Montell also expressed similar ideas that if they had chances they should send all the decadent temples to Europe or U.S.A to ensure that they would be well preserved.⁴⁵ They were holding the belief that only the western advanced technology and ideas could save the treasures and the old civilization from the hands of the uncivilized people. Such logic was rooted in the European colonist tradition and gave their collecting practice not only moral defense but also emotional self-satisfaction. The emotional self-satisfaction also includes the control of the knowledge about the unfamiliar and mysterious land. When the explorations by western collectors were not limited to the curiosity of exotic scenes, they needed to preserve more physical materials to construct exotic culture in their own way, a kind of one-way construction that deprives the expression of the people who are the original protagonists of the culture but defined as the other. Carrington once pointed out that in the early twentieth century when several European missions carried out Lamaistic utensils, they were longing for knowledge rather economical benefit.⁴⁶ Thirty years later, the Swedish expedition still set its first goal as acquiring knowledge, emphasizing that Oriental culture was a conquerable and controllable object.

⁴⁴ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.61-62.

⁴⁵ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp.352

⁴⁶ Michael Carrington. "Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves: The Looting of Monasteries During the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet." *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 01 (2003): pp.81–109.

The emotional self-satisfaction was another valuable characteristic through which they intended to increase the value of the temple and the whole expedition. By this way, exhibiting their struggle of protecting the decadent civilization simultaneously means that showing the “delicate decadency”—the delicate architecture or artwork records both the traces of former prosperity and the process of decadency—to all the western viewers. Meanwhile, they conveyed the moral defense and emotional self-satisfaction to the audiences through the collections. In this case, the authenticity of the collections became more important. Because only the original and real things can testify the flowing time and the buried history. A replica, with its brand new appearance, would no doubt influence viewers’ perception of the decadency. So Hedin and Montell wrote two books to remind the audience of the temple’s history and fading glory, which we will talk in the following part.

Furthermore, since the early twentieth century, Asia had become the new battlefield of western countries’ collecting practices. Archaeological teams, scientific projects and museums from different countries competed with each other regarding the quantity and quality of their collections, as well as the accumulation of the knowledge with respect to the mysterious land. The more objects they collected, the more evidence of acquiring knowledge they would have for further study. Especially, they thought that acquiring more intact collections meant that they had mastered more complete knowledge system. It is notable that the ideal method to send temples to America was not duplicating but moving the original temple there. People who brought their own country the best collection would become the nationwide heroes. Actually, whenever Hedin and Montell

encountered high-quality objects, they always hoped to put them in the Ethnographic museum in Stockholm, but finally they ran out of the money deposited by Bendix, and did not acquire a temple for Stockholm as they did for Chicago.

When Hedin and Montell finally knew that it was impossible for them to transfer any original temple out of China, they began considering the method of making replicas. The change from relocation to reproduction also changed their standards of choosing the suitable temples. First, he gave up the Mongolian architecture type-yurt. Yurt is easily dismantled and taken away. But the portability was not that important in making replicas. The appearance of Mongolian yurt was always in monotonous color and with simple decorations, which means that it could not provide as strong visual effect as stationary architecture made of wood and stone. Second, Montell started to worry about the possibility of making the replica. Once Montell encountered a unique temple *Toi-lanain-sume*, but he did not end up choosing it as the prototype because it was too large and the structure was too complicated to be copied.⁴⁷ Moreover, as we have talked about Montell's identity as an ethnographer, he did consider in the perspective of ethnography, which was different from Hedin. Montell preferred temples in Tibetan style rather than any other style. Even though the proposal of using the Golden Pavilion as the prototype of replica first came from Montell, in his opinion, the more ideal one was the smaller temple of the Wang of Durbet, since he thought that the Tibetan style "seemed in all respects to be more in keeping with the whole character of Lamaism."⁴⁸ He also complained that the *Bayandiliger sume*, one of the temples offered for sale, was

⁴⁷ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp.420.

⁴⁸ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 424.

“decidedly Chinese.”⁴⁹ Montell wanted to copy the temple of Durbet Wang for Stockholm, his hometown and the ideal place for all his collections, though finally due to the lack of funding, they put the dream “in the box”.

It is noteworthy that Montell emphasized that the Tibetan style lama temple kept the most original characteristics of Lamaistic tradition. It is indeed that the earliest lama temples adopted the architectural style of Tibetan blockhouse. But with the widely broadcast of Lamaism and the interaction among Tibetan culture and cultures surrounding it, different kinds of lama temples gradually sprung up. Especially, during the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu rulers executed the policy of uniting and placating Tibetans and Mongols. They sponsored and encouraged the construction of lama temples, and most of the lama temples built at that period adopted the Sino-Tibetan style with the Dugang Fashi. Most of the lama temples that Montell encountered during his searching process were built in such background, including the Golden Pavilion of Jehol. Yet the temple of Durbet Wang that he preferred is in typical Tibetan-style. Thus what Montell really wanted was the depoliticized and purified lama temples. As an ethnographer, Montell was interested in the study of ethnic minorities and embraced the independence and primitivity of these races, while he regarded Han Chinese as the settlers and conquerors to these quite primitive people. His preference for the primitivity was related to his experience, education and identity and was rooted in the colonist tradition of viewing the world through cultural and social evolutionism. Accordingly, he thought that the Lamaism, a quite primitive religion, was interfered by the Chinese culture, a former

⁴⁹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 324.

advanced civilization. From his perspective, only the advanced western society could study Lamaistic knowledge systematically and protect its cultural heritage. So when his Chinese colleagues left the expedition in 1930, he felt released and took the opportunity to study and collect independently. The freedom essentially means that the Swedish, German and Danish members were not monitored by the Chinese members any more. Meanwhile it also reflected Montell's ambition of establishing his own Asian collections with the "advanced" western taste.⁵⁰ As the expedition comprised Chinese, Swedish, German and Danish members, they always worked for their own country and put the benefits of their own country at the first place. This expedition could be regarded as a battlefield of national benefit and nationalism. Chinese member Huang Wenbi and Chinese leader Xu Xusheng were both in charge of collecting archeological materials for China, such as ceramic pieces, Buddhist sculptures and stone steles. Huang and Xu clearly understood their identity as supervisor from China to prevent foreign members from taking antiques out of China without purchase and permission.⁵¹ Huang had reported illegal antiquity acquisitions of foreign members several times, which resulted in a tense relationship between foreign members, including Hedin, and him. Huang was a scholar in the transforming period between China's old and new culture. He received traditional Chinese literati education but had to face the strong impact from western culture. On the one hand Huang admitted the advance of western science, especially in geography and archeology, on the other hand he hated westerners' looting activities in

⁵⁰ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 340.

⁵¹ About Huang Wenbi's experience during the expedition, see Huang Wenbi. (edited by Huang Lie) *Huang Wenbi Mengxin Kaocha Riji 1927-1930* (The researching dairy of Huang Wenbi in Mongolia and Xinjiang), Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 1990.

China, especially when he found that foreign explorers had plundered almost every archaeological sites he visited with the expedition. Regarding himself as a Chinese warrior who had to win the war of protecting antiques, Huang was the Chinese member who was the most sensitive and had the most intense reaction to all the suspected smuggling behaviors.

In fact, there should have been overlaps between Huang and Xu's collections and collections of Montell and Folke Bergman, an archaeologist famous for his discoveries of Xiaohu Tomb complex and Juyan bamboo strips of Han dynasty during this expedition. But Montell never learned any knowledge regarding Chinese culture and language from his Chinese colleagues, even though he did not know any Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan or Sanskrit language. His attitude once again testified that his method of acquiring exotic knowledge was guided by Eurocentrism and ignored the protagonists of the culture. The expedition had its translators, and when Montell did independent tasks, he always got his own assistants. Professor Ferdinand Dierich Lessing who came from Berlin, together with his daughter helped Montell and Hedin to find and translate some materials. At that time, Lessing focused on East Asian ethnography and religious history, specifically, the study of YongHe Palace.⁵² In 1935, He went to head the Department of Oriental languages at the University of California at Berkeley and became influential scholar in the Lamasitic study in the United States.

As discussed above, the Golden Pavilion was like a quid pro quo for the funding for the Sino-Swedish expedition. The collecting process of the Golden Pavilion can be tied to

⁵² *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 354.

the double contexts of the thoughts of the national revival during the Republic of China and the tide of collecting Chinese antiquities controlled by westerners. In this situation, Hedin and Montell's compromise of forgoing the transfer of the architecture on the original site indicated the awakening of Chinese people regarding protecting antiques and predicted the change in the choice of the duplication prototype. During the process of searching for the ideal prototype, Hedin and Montell separately represented two different attitudes towards collecting Chinese antiquities at that time. Hedin held the romantic and heroic fascination with Chinese architectures and artworks, underscoring the visual attraction and the exotic atmosphere of the collection. On the contrary, Montell insisted to treat the collection as the evidence for scientific researches and focused on its function and symbolization. Thus these two attitudes resulted in their different choices of the replica prototype: Hedin preferred the Qing-style Lamaistic temple, while Montell preferred the Tibetan-style one. These two attitudes also implied two sources of the oriental collections in the museums around the western world in the phase of establishing non-western collection—the ornamental and exotic artworks as the souvenirs or trophies of explorers and adventurers and the ordinary-looking artworks full of information as the specimens of archeologists and ethnographers. However, considering the analysis in the previous chapter, we can find that Montell changed his choice of the replica prototype during the process of searching for the lama temple. The change of Montell's choice from the Tibetan style to the Chinese-style reflected the advantage of the Chinese-style architecture in conveying the striking visual effect and strong exotic atmosphere favored by the western viewers. In this case, the process of choosing the prototype for duplication

also touched upon the more important aspect of the evaluation of oriental artworks by the western society. The visual effect and the narrative presented by the object is not the unknown for the western viewers but the known. The forms, the colors, the symbols and even the details of the oriental art are passively chosen to meet the presumed evaluation system, in which the fixed paradigms of mysterious oriental emblems tied to the past glory of the decadent civilization successfully cater to the Western hallucination towards the Orient. Thus the hallucination is also the mirror-image of the ambitious conquest of the oriental culture by the West blended with the heroic and Eurocentric moral defense and self-satisfaction. Constructing the superior image of the Western world as the center of impelling human beings' progress has been the essence of world's fairs since the erection of the crystal palace in 1851.

Chapter 3: Duplicating and Erecting A Chinese Lama Temple

In Chapter Two, I presented the process of selecting the prototype of the Golden Pavilion. In this chapter, I want to explore the process of choosing different pieces for the different collections for two cities. Following the previous analysis, I will reveal the modes of presentation of both the architectural exterior and the interior collection of the replica, and I will trace the preceding and visionary prototype shaping the preference for the Chinese-style art and architecture. In addition, I will elucidate the changing process of the replica's contexts and identities and point out that the illegible Chinese symbols of the Golden Pavilion were underscored in the context of the world's fair to make western hallucination possible.

In the foregoing discussion, we pointed out that Montell changed his mind in the searching process of the replica prototype and finally chose the Wanfa Guiyi Hall as the prototype. However, he wanted to copy the temple of Durbet Wang for Stockholm and even started to ask the architect to make plans and models, which means that he had a different attitude towards the collections for Chicago and for Stockholm. Actually, before Hedin and Montell made the final decision of what temple could be exported for Chicago, they had collected separate things for Chicago and Stockholm. Montell's collection for Stockholm consisted of Lamaistic ritual objects such as masks, robes, thangkas and statues, as well as ethnographical specimen, such as scripts, daily articles and tools. This large collection contained some delicate and high-quality artifacts that were attributed to artworks such as some Lamaistic cult objects. As the means to showing this excellent collection to the audience in their homeland, Montell and Hedin prepared

the “Exhibition of the Ethnographical Collections” to exhibit Montell’s collection from Mongolia and North China, as well as Hummel’s collection from Tebbu.

On January 5th 1932, the successful exhibition was opened in Liljevalch’s Art Gallery, Stockholm.⁵³ The large collection could not be transported from China to Sweden in one time. Montell continually sent new items from China to supplement the collection until he left China in the November of 1932.⁵⁴ Even though the collection for Chicago was much smaller than that for Stockholm, it also took several trips for it to be fully established. It is noteworthy that Hedin also organized a series of lectures to introduce this exhibition and all kinds of the collections that the Sino-Swedish Expedition team gained for Sweden, which confirmed the educational function of the collection for Stockholm. Titled “Ethnographical Exhibition”, this exhibition showed not only objects but also photographs. Like the architectural replica, these photographs were also the substitutes for what were unable to be experienced by the audience on the spot.

However, if examined through the results of duplication, the Golden Pavilion with interior accessories was more like a representation of the original hall, or even a creation, while the ethnographical photographs serving as scientific evidence indicated fewer differences from the reality. In this sense, the replica project was similar to the sketch from life, which manually copies from the prototype in pursuit of likeness yet permanently has differences. Susan Sontag once contrasted painting with photography in *On Photography* and asserted that the mass reproduction and the enormous scope of

⁵³ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.183-184; Volume IV, pp. 429.

⁵⁴ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 448.

photography democratize and equalize the experience.⁵⁵ Contrarily, the manual reproduction and the limited scope of the replica project imply the construction of authority. To the western audience, the authority means that the replica distances the audience in the same way that artworks have canonized themselves in the era before camera being invented, while to the culture creating the prototype, it means the western participation and intervention into the cultural history. This issue is more fully treated in the following parts.

One month after the exhibition at Stockholm, Hedin and Montell arrived at Bendix's home in Chicago to discuss the issue of erecting the temple. By then, most of their collection for Chicago and the architectural parts of the replica had arrived in Chicago with them. Soon an exhibition was arranged by Bendix in his magnificent Potter Palmer House to present Montell's collection. This was also an exhibition that received high praise from the audience, and indeed promoted the temple's final erection at the World's Fair.⁵⁶ While the exhibition at Stockholm was open to the public, the exhibition at Chicago was only open to Bendix's friends including some members from the board of the World's Fair.⁵⁷ Montell's collection for Chicago comprised only objects that could be defined as artworks, excluding ethnographical objects with ordinary appearance. Hedin described them with "beauty, magnificence and extraordinarily solid quality."⁵⁸ These qualities could be regarded as the standards of collections for Chicago, and also the

⁵⁵ See "In Plato's Cave" and "The Image-World" in Susan Sontag, *On Photography*. New York: Picador, 2001.

⁵⁶ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.184.

⁵⁷ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 430.

⁵⁸ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.184.

standards of artworks from Hedin and Montells' perspective. Although neither ethnographers nor art historians can draw a clear boundary between ethnographical objects and artworks, Montell applied his own standards to differentiate the two. To Montell, a valuable ethnographical specimen was the object that could record their researching process and became evidence. For example, with the help of his assistant, Monell visited different craftsmen to study their craftsmanship. He communicated with them and recorded their craftsmanship through photographs, sketches and texts. He also collected characteristic tools and semi-manufactured articles.⁵⁹ Such records, tools and semi-manufactured articles were all valuable ethnographical specimens, because they were the agencies keeping Montell's observation and experience.

However, these specimens were hardly displayed as artworks, as their common appearance or uncompleted state could provide no aesthetic experience. Furthermore, Montell chose the artworks with more details for Chicago for the sake of achieving the best visual effect. For instance, Montell acquired at least four TsongKhapa sculptures during the expedition. He selected a delicate one with more details for the Chicago collection, while sent others to Stockholm, which are now housed in the Museum of Ethnography at Stockholm. One of them was among the six statues found by Hedin and Montell in an abandoned temple of Epikhalkha on November 1929 (Fig.24). The Tsongkhapa statue depicts him with his hands in the teaching mudra, holding the bottom of two long-stemmed lotus flowers. He wears the traditional pandit or pansha hat worn by Buddhist scholars in India, as well as Tibetan monk robes. Besides the Tsongkhapa

⁵⁹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 351

statue, others are a four-handed Avalokiteṣvara, a Mañjuṣri, a Vajrapāṇi, a Green Tārā and a White Tārā. They were all made of copper alloy and hammered in the repoussé manner. It was not easy for Montell and Hedin to get such tall and heavy sculptures back to Sweden, but they were among Montell's most-liked list. It is possible that Montell was attracted by their typical Lamaistic style. Marilyn Rhie once addressed the Vajrapāṇi piece, and she pointed out that "this image, and the others from this set, can be taken as indicative of the Mongolian school around 1700 (Fig.25)."⁶⁰

However, as mentioned in the Chapter One, the Tsongkhapa sculpture in the Golden Pavilion indicated typical Chinese-style wooden craftsmanship. The delicacy, elegance, softness of Chinese sculptural style was also observed in other sculptures sent to Chicago, including a gilded bronze Buddha (Fig.26), a group of Avalokiteśvara and a Laughing Buddha. In the previous discussion, we have emphasized the advantage of the Chinese architectural style with respect to presenting the anticipated visual effect and exotic atmosphere to the western viewers. The collection of artworks for Chicago demonstrated the obvious preference for Chinese sculptural style in terms of increasing its attraction. When Montell found the Qing-style Lamaistic sutra hall to be the replica prototype, he was unaware of where to erect the replica. However, when he kept sending items to his collection for Chicago, he had been sure that this collection would be displayed in the temple replica. As such, to some extent, the collection for Chicago was expected to be the part of a commercial spectacle. What Montell chose for the Chicago World's Fair were

⁶⁰ Marilyn M. Rhie and Robert A. F. Thurman, *Saluting Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet*, New York: Harry N Abrams, 1996, pp.273; *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 339; *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.81

always images with realistic proportion, fluent carving lines, intricate ornaments and lustrous appearance, more acceptable to the western viewers including Montell and Hedin. It is noteworthy that the motif of Lamaistic master Tsongkhapa has been rarely depicted with the feminine face and slim body, which remind us of some famous renaissance sculptures. On the contrary, when Tibetan and Mongolian artisans dealt with the Tsongkhapa motif, they always defined his image as an old monk with obviously male face and round body. Generally, compared with the images sent to Chicago, the images gained in Mongolia and other ethnic minority districts of China were comparatively flat, aboriginal, rough and lacking enough luster. They were not able to meet the classic western sculptural aesthetics and become eye-catching items at the World's Fair.

Montell's different attitudes towards the collection for Chicago and Stockholm demonstrated that as an ethnographer, he preferred the collection with research and education functions for Stockholm but had to deal in the first place with visual attraction when he was establishing the collection for Chicago. His evaluation standards stemmed from his cultural and educational background. As discussed before, Montell and Hedin recognized as prominent among purposes the control of the exotic knowledge that came through reconstructing the knowledge system in their own way. At the same time, through using the inherent western taste and perception to differentiate the beautiful exotic artworks from the mediocre ones, the reconstruction of aesthetics with respect to the oriental art was also included in the reconstruction of the knowledge system. In this case, adding new pieces into the collection means adding new items into the category of

qualified oriental artworks. Hedin and Montell were among a large group of founders who reconstructed the knowledge and aesthetics system of the oriental art in the western society through collecting practices during the early twentieth century. In fact, such collecting practices could be regarded as collecting oriental symbols decorated in accordance with western knowledge and aesthetics system.

When Montell and Hedin reached an agreement that the Wanfa Guiyi Hall was the most suitable prototype for Chicago replica and they were confirmed that the replica was dedicated to the Chicago World's Fair, their definition of this project has been changed from transferring a Lamaistic temple to reproducing a Chinese lama temple. As discussed before, the Chinese symbols and characteristics were highlighted during the whole process of duplication, erection and exhibition. In the aspect of architectural style, the main part of the Golden Pavilion was the typical Chinese style with some details and decorations in Tibetan style. The square temple hall was originally one part of the Putuo Zongcheng Temple complex and surrounded by a square three-storied red building in the method of Tibetan Dugang.⁶¹ Yet the ultimate result of copying the inner hall emphasized its Chinese characteristics through stripping its mysterious Tibetan wrap.⁶² As the original Wanfa Guiyi Hall is hidden in the red blockhouse, the main entrances of the light are the windows on the upper part of the walls. The special architectural structure gives the interior space strong contrast of light and shade, resulting in a solemn and mysterious atmosphere. Separated from the red building, the interior temple lost the

⁶¹ Some scholars thought it was a four-storied building when it was first completed, see Yang Xu. "Rehe Putuo Zongchengzhimiao Qianlongchao Jianzhu Yuanzhuang Kao." *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankang* 165, no. 01 (2013): pp. 49.

⁶² *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.129.

original unique design and lighting effect. Moreover, lighted by the electric lighting system and glasses, the vibrant shiners such as red pillars and gilded images were not as eye-catching as it should be in the original dim environment. The mandatory interference of western advanced technology changed the interior space. News media were still broadcasting the mysterious atmosphere of the temple, unaware that their technological civilization was removing the crafts and wisdom of a old civilization.

Also, as discussed before, the absent but presumed viewer of the replica was the public in the western society. Undoubtedly, the absent viewers for this collecting practice were more acquainted with Chinese architectural and art style.

Indeed, since the late seventeenth century, it has been a fashion for some European upper class members to decorate their gardens with small Chinese buildings, generally in the forms of pavilion and pagoda.⁶³ Such fashion associated with European Chinoiserie taste, witnessed many Chinese architectures mixed with European style being erected in the gardens of royal families and aristocrats throughout the lands of Europe. One of them was the Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm in Sweden, built in 1753, combining the European Rococo with the Chinese architectural style (Fig.27). Although Hedin and Montell were familiar with the Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm, it seems difficult to associate the Wanfa Guiyi Hall with it, as its bizarre structure and flamboyant colors are the typical characteristics of the European Rococo style. Nevertheless, by further examination of its exterior design, we might find that the different parts of this building symbolize some typical Chinese architectural characteristics, such as the stupa-shaped

⁶³ Here the word “pavilion” specifically means a kind of Chinese architectural type called “ting” with four, six or eight-corniced hip roof, four supporting pillars and stone base.

finials, the lofty and upward-corniced roof, the ornaments along the edges of the roof, the gold-gilt decorations, the lattice doors and windows and the red pillars. These transformed Chinese architectural symbols have been involved in the shaping of some Swedish imagination of Chinese architecture. Furthermore, such imagination can be traced to the influence of the well-known *Travels of Marco Polo*. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hedin was encouraged and inspired by Marco Polo's *Travels of Marco Polo*. He was among the generations of Europeans who started their curiosity, imagination and fascination towards China through this book. The Palace of the Great Khan was described by Marco Polo as a sumptuous and splendid architectural complex with lofty and shining roof, gold-gilt walls, varnished round pillars and colorfully painted panels.⁶⁴ These symbols have been brought into the western imagination towards Chinese architecture and passed down through generations with the substantial influence of the book. In this case, the Golden Pavilion was a perfect Chinese structure containing all the symbols described by Marco Polo and met the western imagination towards Chinese architecture.

Thus when Montell wrote the introduction of the temple replica, he called it Chinese Lama temple, which was accurate and also emphasized the double-identity of the temple

⁶⁴ According to the notes in the *Travels of Marco Polo*, the Palace of the Great Kaan might be one part of the old Forbidden City, see Chinese edition *Travels of Marco Polo*, translated by Feng Chengjun, Shanghai: Century Publishing Group of Shanghai, 2001, pp. 204-206. Though some scholars still question the authenticity of this book, it is no doubt that the wide and deep influence of this book has helped western readers to form their fascination with Chinese architecture.

replica: a Lamaistic temple as well as a Chinese temple.⁶⁵ In fact, such double-identity means the combination of Chinese symbols that are familiar to the western viewers and the Lamaistic symbols that are unfamiliar to the western viewers. Concerning erecting a spectacle in the commercial society, its identity into which fused the known and the unknown, the conquered and the unconquered, the truth and the vision increased both the aesthetic and commercial value of it. Hedin and Montell deliberately stressed the double-identity of the Golden pavilion through highlighting its Chinese symbols on the architectural exterior, while restoring the Lamaistic symbols in the interior space. As discussed in the Chapter One and Two, the artworks decorating the Golden Pavilion presented a mixed style. Although taking account of the visual attraction, Montell collected some delicate Lamaistic pieces of Chinese craftsmanship and mistook several Chinese symbols for Lamaistic ones, the complete Lamaistic cult objects and the meaningful Lamaistic layout demonstrated his clear intention to restore a Lamaistic space within the replica.

In Chapter Two, we have regarded the stories behind the objects as one of the approaches to increasing the attraction and value of them. Besides the double-identity of the replica appealing to the viewers, the story behind the original site was also used as a stunt to attract viewers. The Putuo Zongcheng Temple was built to celebrate the birthdays of the emperor and the dowager. As the main pavilion of the temple complex, Wanfa Guiyi Hall was always the place of Dharma assembly. When the construction project of

⁶⁵ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell. *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932.

the Putuo Zongcheng Temple was finished in 1771, Emperor Qianlong held a grand Dharma assembly recoded by the court artist in the famous painting *Screen of Wanfa Guiyi Hall* (Fig.28). The Dharma assembly also celebrated the return of Mongolian subgroup Torghut. At that time, they were threaten by the Tsarist Russia and led by their leader Ubashi Khan to submit to the Qing Court. The plaque placed highly between the two layers of roofs, with the text “Wanfa Guiyi” in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan four languages, reminds us of the history of the multiethnic conflict and fusion under Qing’s centralized rule (Fig.29). It once again manifested that the Wanfa Guiyi Hall was a symbolic building standing for both the achievement of multicultural interaction and the control over peripheral minorities in the Qing Dynasty.

To present the story together with the replica, Hedin and Montell published two books. One was *Jehol, City of Emperors* published by Sven Hedin, first in Swedish in 1931, and then in English in 1933.⁶⁶ This book records all the explorations of Jehol by Hedin, in which he presents the cultural heritage and history of the city showing the past glory of this important imperial territory. It is noteworthy that serving as the location of the secondary capital and the imperial summer residence of the Manchu rulers, Jehol was also a geographical symbol of the Qing culture. Accordingly, the book cooperated with the Qing-style architecture at the fair to present the viewers with a more complete context of the replica prototype. The other one was *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol*, written by both Hedin and Montell in 1932.⁶⁷ This is a special guidebook for the temple

⁶⁶ Sven Anders Hedin. *Jehol Kejsarstaden*, Stockholm, 1931; Sven Anders Hedin. *Jehol, City of Emperors*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1933.

⁶⁷ Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition*

replica at the Chicago World's Fair. It introduces the expedition, the temple and interior collection, and the Lamaistic ritual and tradition. As mentioned in Chapter One, fair goers could buy these books easily in the Golden Pavilion, which led to a more comprehensive understanding of the multiple identities and contexts of this replica. As such, these books emphasized the educational function of this temple replica, meanwhile publicized the merit of saving the endangered architecture and the culture of the decadent civilization.

When Hedin visited the Wanfa Guiyi Hall on May 1930, the temple was not as glorious as it had used to be, but it was in a better condition than other shabby temples. Hedin repeated his worry that the old architectures was decaying and disappearing throughout China, so he regarded his activities as saving cultural heritage for China. He thought that he saved the Wanfa Guiyi Hall for future Chinese archaeologists and artists in case it became shabbier and irreversibly destroyed. Then they would be welcome to go to Chicago to see their own cultural heritage.⁶⁸ Ironically, the Golden pavilion has been dissembled and packed in the boxes, while the Wanfa Guiyi Hall still stands in its original site and shines again after careful maintenance and conservation. At that time, Hedin's activities of duplicating and collecting antiquities should be elucidated in twofold. On the one hand, it was the fact that the successive years of domestic and international warfare, the corruption and nonfeasance in the bureaucratic system and the lack of knowledge and technology support led the administration and conservation of

of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932.

⁶⁸ *History of the Expedition in Asia, Volume II, pp.189.*

cultural heritage into a dilemma. After the establishment of the Republic of China, Chinese academia had been trying to construct the Chinese Archaeology as a modern discipline basing on Chinese traditional Epigraphy. Collecting antiquities was the fundamental necessity of archaeological researches, meanwhile deep researches would promote the development of the conservation of antiquities. It is no doubt that the expedition and their replica project further stimulated Chinese academia's exertion in the conservation of antiquities and provided fieldwork and training opportunities to Chinese scholars. On the other hand, it was the strong resistance and strict surveillance from the Chinese people that stopped Hedin from moving the original Wanfa Guiyi Hall or other temples abroad. Otherwise, there would have been an open space in the middle of the red building. People who indeed care about the cultural heritage will never think about moving such an important building and destroying its original scenery, and they understand that the long transportation is dangerous to the fragile timber structure.

In the discussion in Chapter Two, I have argued that the western explorers spontaneously provided themselves with moral defense and emotional satisfaction regarding their collecting practices during the expedition. However, through analyzing the contributions of the Chinese in process of duplication and erection of this temple replica, we might further find that their role as the saver of the decaying civilization was questionable. It was the Chinese architect Liang Weihua who finally executed the reproduction project together with hundreds of Chinese artisans. On the last day of July in 1930, Liang Weihua signed the contract with Hedin, and started to lead the replica project in Beijing. Liang was an experienced architect and had participated in the

construction of the National Library and Biology Research Institute in Peking.⁶⁹ He did on-the-spot researches and measurements with Hedin and Montell at the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, as well as made the delicate plans and miniature models. Besides the hard work of Liang, many artisans also contributed their great talent and energy into the construction of the temple replica, though whose names have disappeared in the flow of history, such as an older Chinese painter recorded by Hedin:

He moved an altar-table to the open door to have a good light; and there he sat all day until sunset, copying the patterns on the carved and painted beams, and the square panels on the ceiling, to say nothing of the many Lohan-pictures. He was always friendly and jovial, and peered waggishly from behind his big spectacles when one went to look at his fine, cleverly executed sketches. Except for an occasional pull at his long pipe he worked unceasingly, putting all his heart and soul into the copying.⁷⁰

Chinese artisans had made all the architectural parts requiring fine workmanship before they were packed and sent to Chicago. Then the American contractor R.J. Sipchen Company assembled the parts and accessories of the temple according to Liang's plans and introductions, with the help of a Chinese-born American architect, Guo Yuanxi, serving as the interpreter. But the engineering company still needed Chinese painters to do meticulous painting work. As such, they invited Shun Huating and Chang Pingchen

⁶⁹ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp. 96; Volume IV, pp. 424; Wang Shiyu, "Fangjian Rehe putuo zongcheng si songjing ting ji," *Zhongguo yingzao xuehui huikan* 2, no. 2, September, 1931, pp. 1–20. Some articles and documentaries mistake Liang Weihua for Liang Sicheng. According to the chronicle of Liang Sicheng's life, when Liang Weihua went to sketched the patterns and structure of the Wanfa Guiyi Hall in Jehol and led the replica project in Beijing from the May of 1930 to 1932, Liang Sicheng was never recorded to have been to Jehol, but he might have heard about the replica or even have seen it in Beijing. There is no direct evidence to support this assumption. For the chronicle of Liang Sicheng's life, see Liang Sicheng, *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Complete works of Liang Sicheng), Beijing: China Building Industry Press, 2001. Vol. 9, pp.102.

⁷⁰ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.142.

from China to Chicago. When the workers with different cultural backgrounds were working together, the problem of communication unsurprisingly occurred. They always held different opinions about methods of construction and decoration. Essentially, this conflict of opinions implied the conflict between the modern architectural methods and the traditional Chinese architectural craftsmanship.⁷¹

When Hedin, Bendix, the contractor company and the committee of Chicago World's fair finally signed the building contract on May 20, 1932,⁷² the temple almost lost its connection with Hedin and Bendix, equally, the Sino-Swedish Expedition. Montell went back to Sweden in the November of 1932, while Hedin kept focusing on his scientific expedition in China, but the expedition did not collect art pieces thereafter.⁷³ Though the temple replica was not made for the world's fair,⁷⁴ its acceptance by the world's fair indicated that it had satisfied the standards of a qualified architecture at the fair. The close fit between the replica and the world's fair revealed that the mode of presentation of the replica was what the world's fair needed for the Chinese architecture. In the previous discussion, I have argued that the replica was an amalgamation of some Chinese architectural symbols involved in the Western hallucination towards the Chinese

⁷¹ Actually, Guo Yuanxi played the role more than the interpreter, he did "quite a little of the decorating himself." See A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Series XI: Exhibits Department, Box 12, Folder 11-134. "Exhibits - Foreign - Correspondence, April 1930 - February 1933" August 26, 1932.

⁷² A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Series XI: Exhibits Department, Box 11, Folder 11-128. "Foreign Participation- Memos, March - June 1932" May 24, 1932.

⁷³ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume IV, pp. 448

⁷⁴ Before Hedin and Montell signed the building contract, they had imagined setting this replica in one of the parks in Chicago. See *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp. 142

architecture and culture, or even the oriental culture. Such hallucination has continued and accumulated over time through permeating the western intellectual systems. In this case, associated with western hallucination towards Chinese architecture, the collectively shared mode of presentation of the Chinese architecture was based on the widely accepted Chinese architectural symbols.

The administration committee of Chicago World's Fair took in charge of the construction project of the temple. The committee only contacted Bendix for more construction fee, and they made all the decisions about the replica like inviting Chinese painters, calculating the budget, hiring lecturers and selling souvenirs. The rules and customs of running a tourist spot in the commercial society enabled them to handle every situation, except the work of building and decorating. Fortunately, Liang and Montell had already made detailed plans and specifications about the architecture and its interior display. When the building project almost finished on November 15, 1932, Georg Söderbom, the Swedish missionary and former assistant of Montell, arrived in Chicago to become the supervisor of the furnishing work and arranged all the articles according to Montell's exhibition instruction.⁷⁵ He was the only one in the constructing team who had once visited the desolate temples in North China and had seen the real sutra halls of the ethnic minorities. The reproduction makes a former imperial sutra hall become a commercial spectacle, from a serene and private mountaintop abandoned by time to a crowded and public lakeshore in the modern society.

In conclusion, the different standards of the collection for Chicago and Stockholm

⁷⁵ *History of the Expedition in Asia*, Volume II, pp.192.

showed the distinctions and blurred area between the Art collection and the scientific collection. Juxtaposing the discussions in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, we will find that the architectural exterior of the replica, stripped its Tibetan “coat”, presented a concept of Lamaistic sutra hall composed of the Chinese architectural symbols, whereas the interior collection applied Chinese craftsmanship to the presentation of symbols of Lamaistic practice and metaphysics. As such, the architectural exterior and the interior objects constructed a conceptual and spiritual Lamaistic space through cunningly highlighting the Chinese aesthetic symbols. Furthermore, these Chinese aesthetic symbols are tied to two sources: one is the Western classic aesthetics, generalized from and rooted in the mainstream of the western art history and deeply influencing the art from late Qing period to the Republic of China, the other is the visionary palace in *Travels of Marco Polo*, serving as a matrix to keep participating in the hallucination of Chinese culture.

Essentially, this transcultural project was a process of making a spectacle guided by the western ideology but carried out by the Chinese. Although Hedin and Montell attempted to restore the original context through introducing the city where the prototype was located and the Lamaistic ritual and historical background, the contexts and the identities of the replica kept shifting irreversibly in the process of transferring. The prototype of the replica was built in the context of the ethnic conflict and fusion under Qing’s centralized regime. It was also a copy of the Potala Palace of Tibet serving as the landmark architecture of Tibet and the sacred sites of Lamaism. Thus, in its original context, the replica was a copy of an architecture symbolizing the centralized feudal

monarchy and the interaction between the Qing culture and the Lamaism. Yet considering the time of the collecting and duplicating practice, we might find that the replica was like a kaleidoscope through which we can see a turbulent situation of the Republic of China blending the thoughts of National Rejuvenation and the tide of collecting Chinese antiques by westerners. When the replica was erected in the Chicago World's Fair, its context was linked with a grand showcase in the western commercial society, in which the private treasure of the emperor became an open spectacle of the public. By commercialized and cross-contextualized treatment, the former identities of this replica had been gradually faded into transparency, while the Chinese symbols illegible for the Western audience were emphasized, which located the replica in a stereotyped hallucination.

Chapter 4: Floating Space: Spectacle in the Network

This thesis is a cross-contextual study of the Golden Pavilion at the Chicago World's Fair. The question, as raised in the introduction, is to ask how the cross-cultural replica was understood in different contexts. Before answering this question, I have tried to restore the architectural exterior and the interior decorations of the replica at the fair. In this restoration, I have pointed out that this replica was not only a showcase of superb architectural and manual craftsmanship of Chinese and Lamaistic art from Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China, but also a symbolic representation of Lamaistic ritual and teachings, as well as a reflection of the turbulent domestic and international situation during the Republic of China. Through comparing the replica with its prototype, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, I have emphasized that the architectural exterior of the replica, stripped its Tibetan "coat", presented a concept of Lamaistic sutra hall composed of the Chinese architectural symbols, whereas the interior collection applied Chinese craftsmanship to the presentation of the symbols of Lamaistic practice and metaphysics. As such, the architectural exterior and the interior objects constructed a conceptual and spiritual Lamaistic space through cunningly highlighting the Chinese aesthetic symbols.

To answer the question of how the cross-cultural replica was understood in different contexts, I have traced the whole process of finding, duplicating, building and showing the Golden Pavilion, in which the change of the contexts can be understood. The process of searching for the ideal prototype reflected the standards of evaluation of oriental artworks by the western society. The Oriental artworks are passively chosen to meet the presumed evaluation system in which the fixed paradigms of mysterious oriental

emblems tied to the vanished glory of the decadent civilization successfully cater to the Western hallucination towards the Orient. The hallucination is also the mirror-image of the ambitious conquest of the oriental culture by the West blended with the heroic and Eurocentric moral defense and self-satisfaction. Furthermore, I have argued that the hallucination is tied to two sources: one is the Western classic aesthetics, generalized from and rooted in the mainstream of the western art history and deeply influencing the art from late Qing period to the Republic of China, the other is the visionary palace in *Travels of Marco Polo*, serving as a matrix to keep participating in the hallucination of Chinese culture.

The changes of the replica's identities indicated that it was understood differently in different contexts. In its original context, the replica was the copy of a temple hall symbolizing the centralized feudal monarchy and the interaction between the Qing culture and the Lamaism. When the replica was erected in the Chicago World's Fair, its context was linked with a grand showcase in the western commercial society, in which the private treasure of the emperor became an open spectacle of the public. By commercialized and cross-contextualized treatment, the former identities of this replica had been gradually faded into transparency, while the Chinese symbols illegible for the Western audience were emphasized, which located the replica in a stereotyped hallucination.

In this chapter, I want to relate the changing identities of the Golden Pavilion to Jean Baudrillard's theory of the "Orders of Simulacra" in order to point out that the replica changed from a counterfeit to a production, then to a simulacrum in accordance with the

change of its contexts. As a simulacrum in the context of the commercial society, the fragmented and illusionary metaphysical matrix of the replica, the palace described by Marco Polo, overwhelming the physical one, was only another simulacrum among the endless simulation of Chinese symbols. In addition, using Foucault's concept of "heterotopia," I want to point out that the replica's features as a space of heterotopia impeded it from being valued by western museum system.

"Orders of Simulacra" classified the concept of simulacra into three categories according to its characteristics in different historical period: counterfeit, production and simulation.⁷⁶ As underlined in previous chapters, the Chinese manual craftsmanship of both the Golden Pavilion and its interior art pieces had been acclaimed as one of its great attractions. The emphasis on the likeness of the Golden Pavilion to its prototype demonstrated its nature as a counterfeit, which reminds us of the analogy between the replica and painting in Chapter Three. However, when the identity of the Golden Pavilion changed to a commercial spectacle at the fair, the replica entered into a context of industrial and commercial society. Even though the duplication method of the Golden Pavilion was irrelevant to the mechanical reproduction, it could be regarded as the production, since Hedin exchanged it for funding and the audience exchange money for experience within it. Besides, the special background of the world's fair, receiving great attention, made the image of the Golden Pavilion broadcast more widely than some products of mass reproduction. Nevertheless, it seems that the Golden Pavilion was

⁷⁶ For the theory of "Orders of Simulacra," see "The Order of Simulacra" in Jean Baudrillard, Iain Hamilton Grant translate, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2004. pp. 50-84.

hardly tied to the concept of “simulation,” as simulation is located in the context of the mass media like print, television and Internet. But considering the previous analysis of the symbolized matrix of the Golden Pavilion drawn from the construction of a hallucination towards China, we might find that the replica had two prototypes, a physical one and a metaphysical one. When the Golden Pavilion was set into the context of commercial society, its physical prototype, the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, has been gradually forgotten, while its metaphysical prototype, the visionary palace in *Travels of Marco Polo*, has been highlighted.

As Baudrillard pointed out in “The Precession of Simulacra,” “Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal.”⁷⁷ With respect to the Golden Pavilion, its preceding matrix is a symbol-dominated hallucination rather than a reality, which might be another simulacrum of other matrix. In this situation, the simulation of the matrix of Chinese symbols has been a process of endless citation.

The cross-cultural simulation, guided by the laws of Capitalism, was expected to meet the commercial, cultural, political, educational, moral and emotional needs of the viewers, which revealed the social relationship of the western commercial society at that time. Guy Debord once pointed out in his *Society of Spectacle* that “the spectacle is not a collection of images but a social relation among people mediated by images.”⁷⁸ In the foregoing discussion, the Golden Pavilion, serving as an inclusive projection of

⁷⁷ “The Precession of Simulacra” in Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, New York: Semiotext, 1983. pp. 3.

⁷⁸ Guy Debord. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black & Red, 1970. No. 4.

westerners' anticipations towards Chinese images, satisfied its viewers' necessity for funding, commercial benefit, moral defense, emotional self-satisfaction, control of knowledge and exotic visual experience. At the same time, the presentation of the spectacle like Golden Pavilion also complemented, adjusted and renewed the viewers' understandings of their necessity. However, such update seems slowly due to the western world's innate superiority over the other and the fragmentalization and illusion rooted in the widely accepted images of other cultures. In this sense, the Golden Pavilion constructed a space of heterotopia in the context of the commercial society rather than a utopia to which the visionary scene described by Marco Polo has been long tied.⁷⁹ In the Chicago World's Fair, the foreign spectacles like the Golden Pavilion, excluded from the normal order of the western pavilions, were set to show the opposite side of the advanced technology civilization—requiring salvation. They were consciously arranged to contrast with the unilaterally set standards of the norm to emphasize the superior image of the western society. In addition, the Golden Pavilion juxtaposed some objects and symbols drawn from different times and spaces to present a scene outside the touched range in Western daily life and sell a hallucination widely accepted by the Western public.

Nevertheless, such heterotopias ephemerally appear and disappear in the flow of history, never entering the scope of that with temporal and spatial monumentality.

In the 1939 New York World's Fair, the replica was re-erected as a fair attraction. All the fine architectural parts and art pieces were transported from Chicago to New York

⁷⁹ For "heterotopia," see "Different Spaces" in *Michel Foucault, Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*. New York: The New Press, 1998, pp. 175-185; Michel Foucault, Jay Miskowiec translate, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" *Architecture/Mouvement/ Continuité*, October, 1984

and assembled as a substitute for the absent Chinese pavilion. Ironically, it fell into the range of amusements at the fair. The replica was titled Chinese Temple in the official guidebook and put in the area called “Amusement” together with some non-western buildings and temporary recreation facilities. Some Chinese workers, dressed in national costume, were hired to beat drums and gongs and cry out on a small stage to attract the fairgoers. The clamorous and profane scene placed in front of the sacred and solemn Lamaistic space looks like the satire to Hedin and Montell’s endeavor.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, it manifested the further detachment between the replica and its original contexts and the deconstruction of the original imperial hierarchy embedded in its physical matrix.

After the 1939 World’s Fair, the Golden Pavilion was dismantled into pieces and stored in the boxes, in the same state as it had been shipped to the shores of Lake Michigan. In 1943, Bendix donated the replica to the Oberlin College.⁸¹ Even though they had plans to use the replica to establish an Oriental museum, it was never brought out of the warehouse in Ohio. Harvard-Yenching Institute acquired its ownership in 1950, and then its right was relinquished to Indiana University in 1970, while the boxes of architectural pieces were still stored in Ohio.⁸² In 1985, the Golden Temple Foundation of Sweden transported the temple to Sweden and entrusted another party to repair and restore it. Actually, the transportation included only the architectural parts made in

⁸⁰ About the chaotic scene in front of the Chinese Temple, watch video archive [Home Movies: Medicus collection: New York World's Fair, 1939-40] (Reel 6) https://archive.org/details/0639_HM_Medicus_collection_New_York_Worlds_Fair_1939-40_Reel_6_15_01_00_00 accessed on May 1, 2016.

⁸¹ “Jehol Pavilion, Exhibit at Chicago Exposition, presented to Oberlin,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. September 25, 1943, pp. 16.

⁸² Cole Roskam, “The Golden Temple at Harvard,” *Harvard-Yenching Institute*, Fall 2010 Newsletter, pp. 2-4

Peking, the Chicago-made accessories, such as the gilt copper roof, were never brought to Sweden. When the foundation found the architectural pieces in Oberlin, only three objects remained there, including two in bad condition. Before the transportation in 1985, most of the furnishings in good condition had already returned to the Sven Hedin foundation in Stockholm in 1963. But we might never be able to restore the original collection for Chicago, as some pieces had been sold to different owners throughout the United States and some were totally destroyed.⁸³ However, the Golden Pavilion has never been erected again. Nowadays, some pieces are in the collection of the Jacques Marchais Museum. Jacques Marchais, the founder of the Museum, purchased them from the Bankrupt Bendix estate at an auction of Parke-Bernet Galleries in 1945. Jaques Marchais was aware of the temple replica and might have seen the replica in Chicago in 1933 or in New York in 1939. As an important Tibetan art collector, based in New York, Jacques Marchais was dissatisfied with the method of housing Lamaistic objects in a Chinese lama temple, which might have stimulated her to build her own Tibetan blockhouse to exhibit her collections.⁸⁴ Briefly, Jacques Marchais preferred Montell's collection for Chicago rather than the architectural replica.

Jacques Marchais's different attitudes towards the Lamaistic objects and the architectural replica implied an inclination for separating the interior decorations from the architecture. The separation was a disconnection between the objects and its display

⁸³ Information through e-mails with Håkan Wahlquist, the curator of Asia at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and keeper of the Sven Hedin foundation.

⁸⁴ Barbara Lipton and, Nima Dorjee Ragnubs. *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 15.

space, a simulacrum and a heterotopia, which means the objects were not the decorations of a simulacrum and the parts constructing the heterotopia. As such, Montell's collection for Chicago was separated from the context of the western commercial fair and given a possibility to regain its original context, through which it might have been reentered the category of art collection.

At almost the same time as the replica project of the Golden Pavilion, there were other cases of collecting Chinese architectural fragments to the United States.

In 1926, Horace H. F. Jayne,⁸⁵ the first curator of Oriental Art from the Philadelphia Museum of Art, collected the whole timber frame of a reception hall from a seventeenth-century architecture belonging to Duke Zhao Gongfu (Fig.30).⁸⁶ The timber frame was attached to one of the rooms in the museum to build up an elegantly furnished Chinese exhibition hall. Jayne emphasized its great value of "being brought from its original site in Peking." But what he highlighted most was the objects displayed in the architectural space—for example, "sixteen huge and magnificent examples of the crystal-carver's art"—rather than the architectural design itself.⁸⁷ Such architectural assembly was not a common phenomenon, but this Chinese hall was not the only case of assembling real

⁸⁵ Philadelphia Museum of Art digital historical archive, accessed on August 12, 2015 https://www.philamuseum.org/pma_archives/ead.php?c=FAR&p=hn

⁸⁶ Wenwu Chubanshe ed. *Kangyi Meidi Lueduo Woguo Wenwu*, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1960, 27-68; Jayne, Horace H.F. *Orient in Philadelphia*, Parnassus, Vol. 12, no. 5 (May, 1940), pp. 29; Adriana Proser, Sally Malenka, and Beth A. Price with a Foreword by Klaas Ruitenbeek. *Painted Splendor: The Context and Conservation of a Chinese Reception Hall in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

Chinese architectural parts in American museums then.⁸⁸

Making a comparison of Montell's collecting practice with that of Jayne, we might find that the Golden Pavilion was the copied entirety while the Duke Zhao's reception hall was an authentic fragment. It is noteworthy that the concept of architectural fragment is ambivalent in the discourse of collecting Chinese antiques. The boundary between architectural fragment and other art categories, such as stone relief, sculpture and wall painting, is unclear. Sometimes these types of artworks serve as the decorations of architectures, and sometimes they are regarded as independent artworks. Moreover, sometimes the state of "fragment" of architectural fragments is made deliberately by collectors for the purpose of collecting, which means that the intactness of the architecture is broken down forcibly and the aesthetic function of the architectural parts are emphasized by sacrificing the practical function. As such, the detached architectural fragments housed in the western museums are converted into aesthetic units to synecdochize their absent architectural entirety. However, the Golden Pavilion, dissembled into architectural fragments after the New York World's Fair, was not accepted by the western museum system. It was its identity as a simulacrum in the

⁸⁸ Another example is the Chinese temple in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. The transportation was executed by Laurence Sickman in 1930-1934, see Wenwu Chubanshe ed. *Kangyi Meidi Lueduo Woguo Wenwu*, Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1960, 27-68. About Laurence Sickman's collecting experience in China, see Meyer, Karl E. and Brysac, Shareen Blair. *The China Collectors: America's Century-Long Hunt for Asian Art Treasures*, 2015, 89-101. About the transfer of the caisson ceiling from Zhihua Temple by Laurence Sickman, see Xu Huili. *Gucha Guibao: Zhihuasi*, Beijing Yanshan Chubanshe, 1990. According to the interview in this book, Sickman purchased the famous caisson ceiling through a Chinese dealer. No one had paid attention to the caisson ceiling until the architect Liu Dunzhen, based in Nanjing, noticed its disappearance. Whether some Beijing-based architects and conservation specialists knew it and why they did not stop Sickman require further investigation.

context of ended world's fairs that hindered it to be collected again. It lacked authenticity and even the connection with the authentic.

Jayne's collecting practice of the timber frame testified the overwhelming fascination and reverence towards the authenticity in the western museum system. Authenticity of Chinese architectural fragments always implies the higher-level craftsmanship. As discussed in Chapter One, the copied dragon-pattern caisson ceiling in the Golden Pavilion was not as superb as the one in its original site. The craftsmanship of the folk artisans of the Republic of China could not rival that of the artisans commissioned by the emperor of the Qing Dynasty. The authentic Chinese architectural fragments can also provide more convincing clues to viewers' imagination of the architectural entirety and the Chinese architectural culture par excellence. Through rebuilding the authentic architectural fragments, the museums tried to reconstruct the original architectural space within their own space.

However, the irrevocable transformation of the architecture means the irreversible change of the original space. When Chinese architectural fragments enter the context of western museums, they fuse into the museum space to form a new space. The symbols drawn from different time periods and cultures coexist in the same space. But meanwhile the place belongs to neither the past nor the present, neither the West nor the Orient. It is a floating space without specifically temporal and spatial location.

From this perspective, the Golden Pavilion is also a floating space. Its architectural entity has disappeared from history, leaving behind some fragments packed in the boxes. It might have been forgotten by many audiences who had encountered it at the fair, or it

might have served as a matrix to transmit some Chinese and Lamaistic symbols to other simulacra. We cannot locate it in any exact spot, time, context or culture. From searching for its prototype to packing its fragments in the boxes, the continuously transferred process of the Golden Pavilion create a network in which different time, symbols, positions, cultures, contexts and spaces are connected. Moving in this network, the replica reveal various relations, such as Chinese culture and Lamaistic culture, Science and Art, matrix and simulacrum, Nationalism and Colonialism, Western aesthetics and Chinese craftsmanship, authenticity and reproducibility, fragment and entirety. Though the physical replica has disappeared, these relations continue to participate in our perception and cognition in art and culture.



Fig.1 Golden Pavilion of Jehol, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. Photomechanical print, color, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*, <http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/28094/rec/18> accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig.2 Interior of the Golden Pavilion of Jehol, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. lantern slide, color, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*, <http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/37470/rec/23> accessed on December 1, 2015

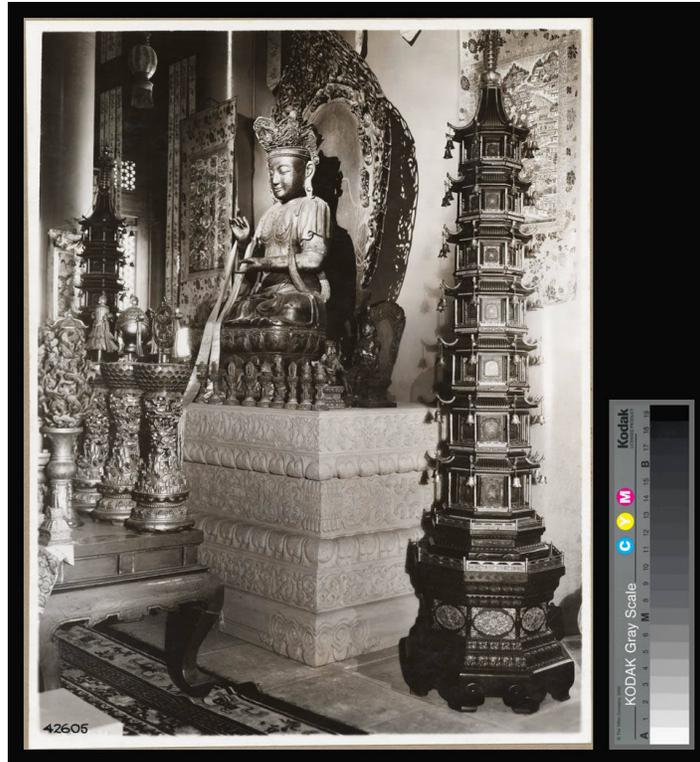


Fig.3 central figure of the Golden Pavilion of Jehol, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. photograph, black and white, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*,

<http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/28105/rec/20>
 accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig.4 Embroidered silk banner above the central figure, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 47



Fig. 5 Chinese “Wu Gong” made of cloisonné, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin’s expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 58

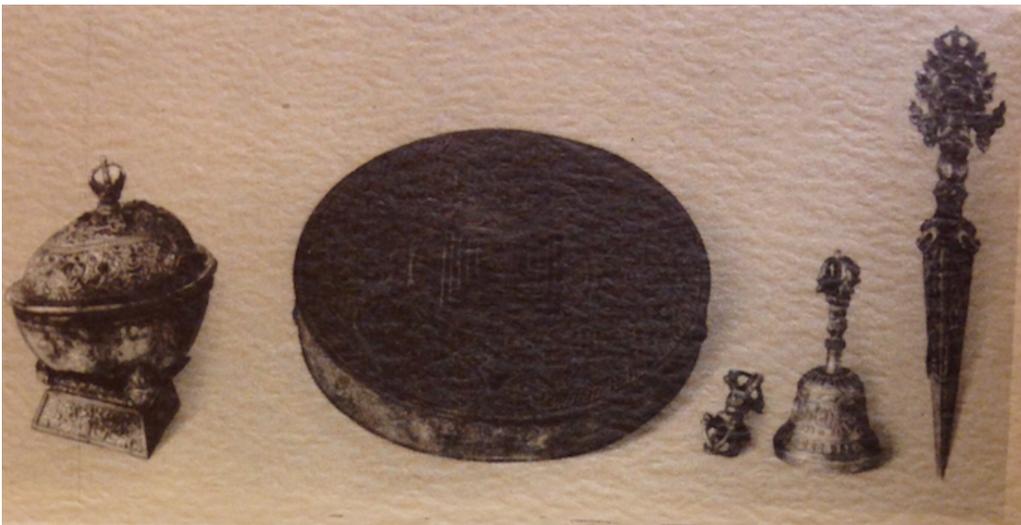


Fig.6 From left to right: a Gabala, a Mandala, a thunderbolt, a bronze bell, a three-bladed dagger with gold metal handle and a drum, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin’s expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 56



Fig.7 The Laughing Buddha, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 21



Fig.8 The Throne, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 37

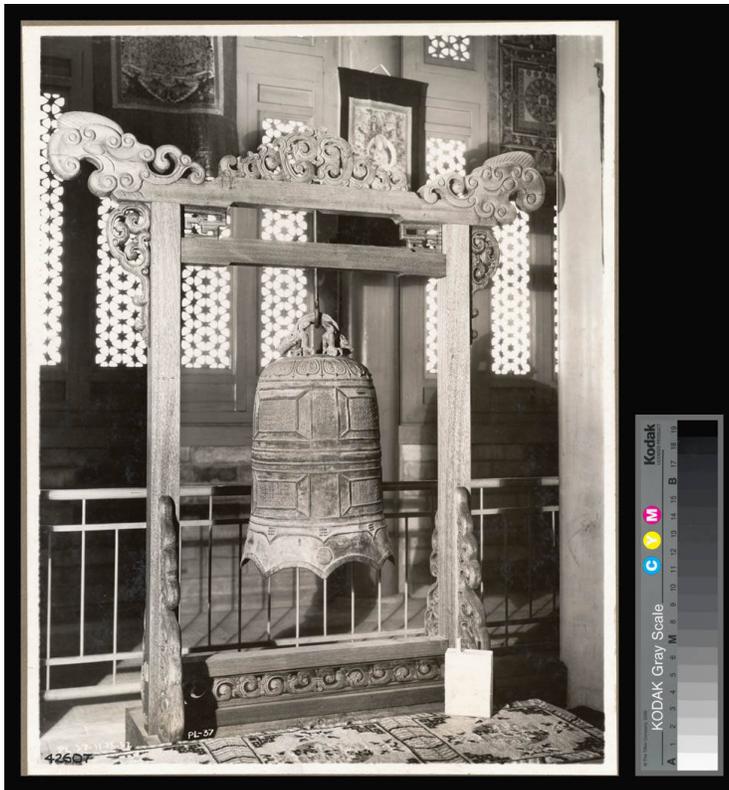


Fig.9 Temple bell, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. photograph, black and white, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*, <http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/28151/rec/22> accessed on December 1, 2015

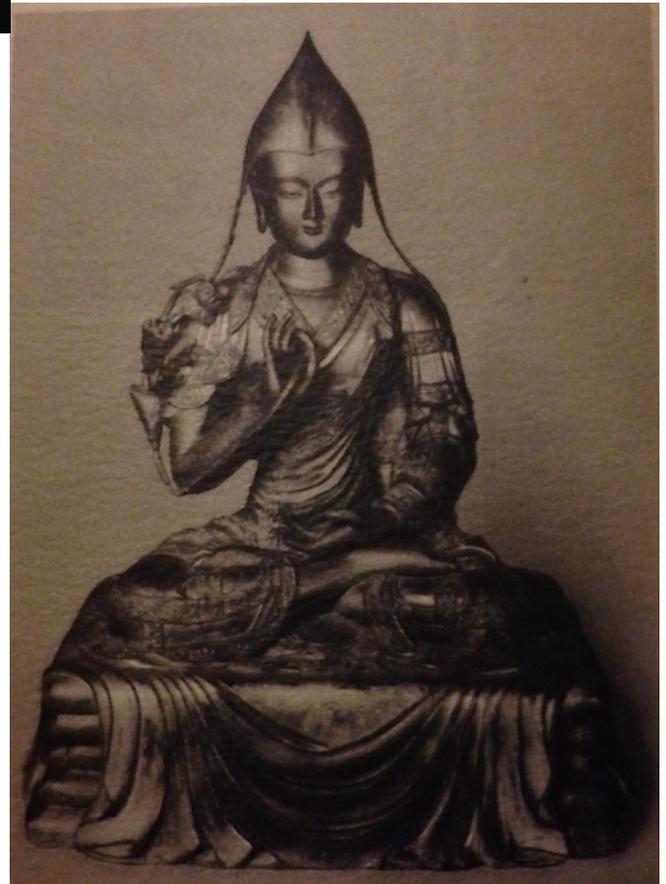


Fig.10 Tsongkhapa image, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 30



Fig 11. Avalokitesvara and his guardians, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 28



Fig. 12 Vajradhara with Consort, housed in Jacques Marchais Museum now, Thangka, China, 19-20th century, 122 x 94 cm (image only); after Barbara Lipton and Nima Dorjee Ragnubs. *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 90-91.



Fig 13. Robe and Masks, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 62



Fig 14. Instruments, left to right: a pair of horns, a pair of cymbals, a trumpet made of human bone, a dragon-pattern drum, a pair of copper trumpets, a sea-shell horn with metal ornament and fringe, as well as a ten-foot-long copper trumpet in three parts, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 59



Fig.15 Ceiling, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. photograph, black and white, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*, <http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/28083/rec/17> accessed on December 1, 2015

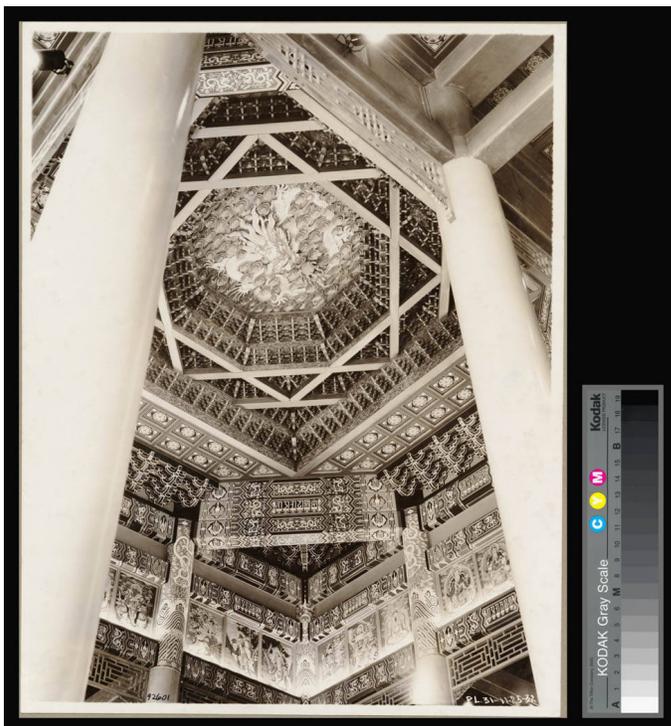


Fig.16 Ceiling and painted shingle structure, Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1933. photograph, toned, from *Architecture Photograph and Landscape Image Collection, c.1865-1973 (bulk 1890-1930)*, <http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/28069/rec/16> accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig. 17 Ceiling and shingle structure in the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, Putuo Zongcheng Temple, Chengde, Hebei province, photographed by the author.

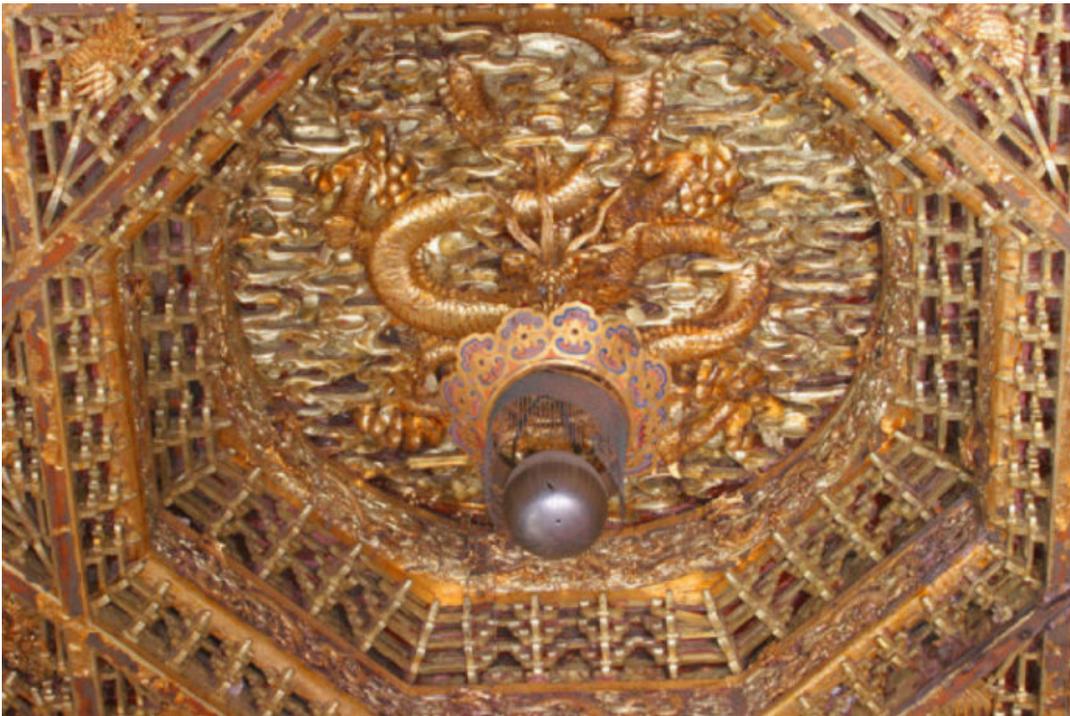


Fig. 18 Details of the Ceiling in the Wanfa Guiyi Hall, Putuo Zongcheng Temple, Chengde, Hebei province, photographed by the author.

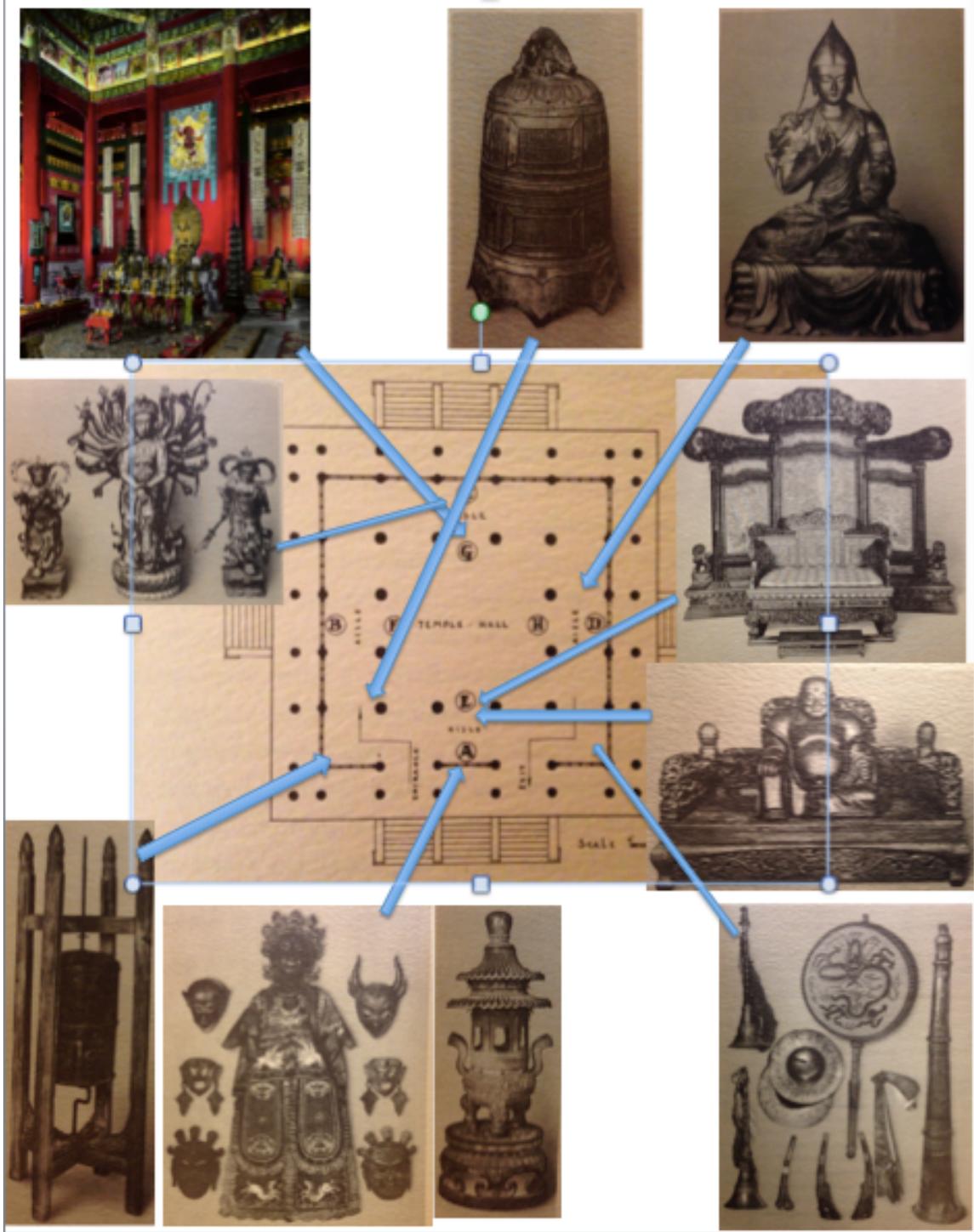


Fig. 19 Key plan of the Golden Pavilion, made by the author.



Fig. 20 Thangka of Mahākāla in Black-robe, auctioned by Beijing Council in 2014,
Internet resource: <http://auction.artron.net/paimai-art0042023914/>
accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig.21 the temple-yurts of Deva Gung (foreground) after *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927-1935*. Göteborg, Stockholm: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1944, Vol II, pp. 113.



Fig.22 the altar in the temple-yurts of Deva Gung after *History of the Expedition in Asia, 1927-1935*. Göteborg, Stockholm: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1944, Vol II, pp. 113.



Fig. 23 Boro-tologoin-sume in the Plain and Bordered White Banner, Inner Mongolia, China, photographed by the author



Fig. 24 Tsongkhapa image, found in the temple of Epikhalkha, housed in Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. Height: 125 cm, metal, <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1250633> accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig. 25 Vajrapāṇi, found in the temple of Epikhalkha, housed in Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. Height: 183 cm, metal, <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1023849> accessed on December 1, 2015

Fig 26. Gilded bronze buddha, after Sven Hedin and Gösta Montell, *The Chinese Lama Temple, Potala of Jehol: Exhibition of Historical and Ethnographical Collections Made by Dr. Gösta Montell, Member of Dr. Sven Hedin's expeditions, and Donated by Vincent Bendix*, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1932, pp. 24

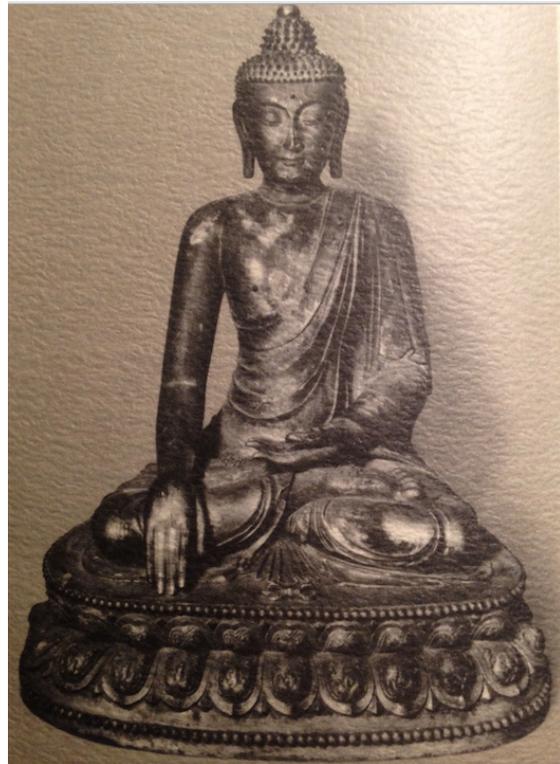




Fig. 27 Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm, Stockholm, Sweden, Internet resource: <http://www.kungahuset.se/royalcourt/visitttheroyalpalaces/thechinesepavilion.4.396160511584257f2180001373.html> accessed on December 1, 2015

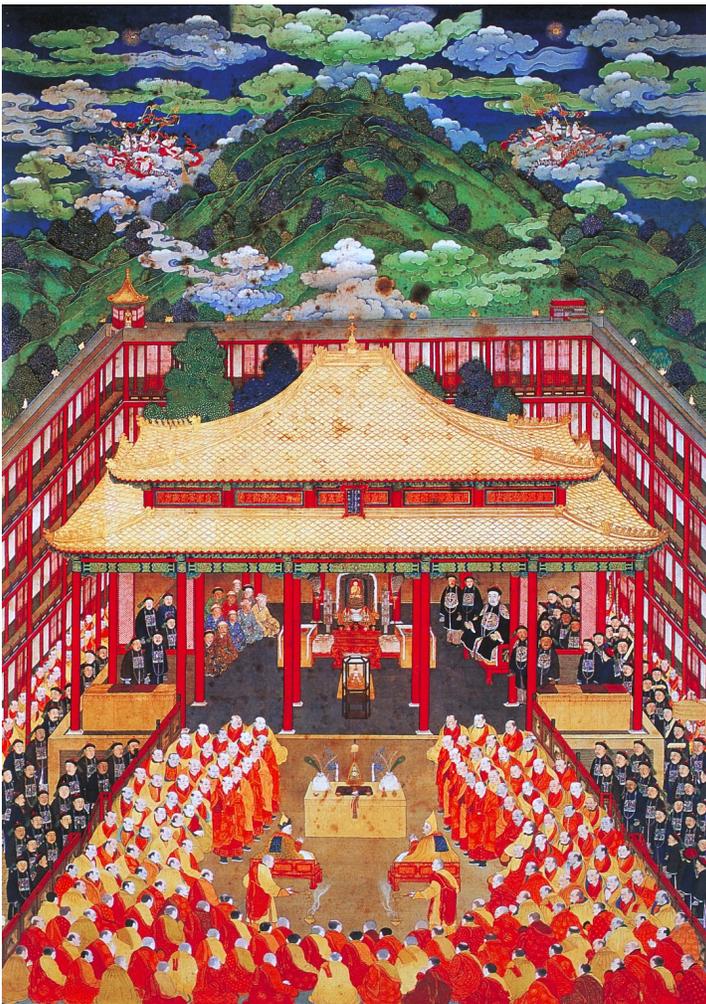


Fig. 28 Screen of Wanfa Guiyi, Qing Dynasty, color on silk, 163.8 x 110.8cm, housed in the Palace Museum of Beijing, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/272/@/118040.html> accessed on December 1, 2015



Fig. 29 The plaque of “Wanfa Guiyi,” photographed by the author



Fig. 30 Reception Hall from the Palace of Duke Zhao (Zhaogongfu), made in Beijing, First half of 17th century, wood with painted decoration, 548.6 x 1412.9 x 1073.2 cm
<http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/42422.html>
accessed on December 1, 2015