Women on Display: Narration and Cross Media Spaces in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Chinese Porcelain

Introduction by Sarah E. Fraser, Yue Sun, and Hua Wang

The purpose of this essay, in conjunction with the exhibition we held at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden from March 3 to June 5, 2017, is to highlight the singular importance of the Dresden collections in revealing the emergence of the representation of women in Chinese and Japanese visual culture in the seventeenth century.[1] At the same time, the objects—porcelain and the spatial environments in which they were displayed—reflect a substantive transformation in the complexity of narrative compositions and motifs. We highlight porcelain in the early seventeenth century at the end of the Ming and beginning of the Qing dynasties to emphasize the links between the narrative revolution in the medium and the appearance of women on vessel surfaces. The importance of female-centered narratives is especially evident in the Dresden porcelain collection of Augustus the Strong (1670-1733)—entitled Elector of Saxony (1696-1733), King of Poland (1697-1706 and 1709-1733), and Augustus II the Strong (Friedrich August I, r. 1694-1733)—due to the intensity and rapidity in which royal ceramics were amassed for his court (ca. 1715-1730). Present-day collections in China do not reflect porcelain production of this period in such clear and vivid terms. The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden State Collections) contain Chinese Jingdezhen products for the domestic, non-imperial (Chinese) market in addition to objects such as *Kraak* ware destined for the overseas market. In their multiple transfers, these ceramics blur the distinction between porcelain "made for export" and objects that "were exported."[2] That is, critical developments occur in Chinese ceramic production during the so-called Transitional Period (1620-1683) that distinguish it from preceding history, which is especially relevant to this project; these developments encouraged us to focus on the dual issues of "cross media" and "women." To be sure, this is a pivotal moment in terms of technical innovation, yet without the seismic shift in the social structure and economic organization of the Jingdezhen kilns, enduring changes in composition and style would not be possible. Links between porcelain, prints, and ultimately photography, mediated by global trade and colonial encounters, are explored in the many essays in this volume.

[1] We wish to acknowledge the following scholars who contributed significantly to the preparation of this manuscript, Prof. Stacey Pierson, SOAS, University of London; Cora Würmell, Curator, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; Prof. Dawn Odell, Lewis and Clark College; and Prof. Wang Cheng-hua, who as the 2013 Heinz Götze Visiting Professor, provided invaluable insights about the collections in Dresden. At Heidelberg University's Institute for East Asian Art, the following Ph.D. candidates and teaching staff have been instrumental: Giulia Pra Floriani, Bai Bing, Guo Qiuzi, Ph.D., Huang Bihe, Liu Quan, Qiu Wenzhuo, Feng He Schöneweiß; and Dr. Lianming Wang; an early version of the text was researched by Wu Ruoming, Ph.D. In addition to this text, Megan Bedford-Strohm copy edited first drafts of all essays in the volume, working closely with each author. Any remaining errors are the responsibility of the authors.

[2] See Stacey Pierson, "Export or Exported? Primary and Secondary Transfer in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth century Chinese Porcelain" in this volume.

Sarah Fraser, Yue Sun, Hua Wang, Introduction: Women on Display: Narration and Cross Media Spaces in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Chinese Porcelain, in: Fraser, Wakita, Wang, Women Cross Media. East Asian Photography, Prints, and Porcelain from the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net 2022, p. 48-130, https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.995.c13780

Introduction

Due to political chaos at the end of the Wanli period (1573-1620), imperial porcelain orders at the Jingdezhen kilns in Jiangxi Province, which had previously dominated imperial production for nearly two centuries, significantly decreased. Kilns, no longer producing in an official capacity exclusively for the imperial court, functioned as private enterprises receiving orders from a variety of new clients. Without the strict control of court supervisors, ceramic designers drew on vernacular themes used in literature, painting, and prints. Many new categories of ceramic motifs emerged. This dramatic transformation in ceramic decoration of the Transitional Period in connection to the question of gendered motifs has yet to be researched in depth. A phenomenal growth occurred in the appearance of female figures on ceramics, which had factored insignificantly in previous court porcelain. Narrative themes from the popular realm became central in porcelain décor.

This expansion of subject matter indicates the range of narrative possibilities and new decorative elements featuring female figures—depicting, for example, the intricate details of the entire novel of the *Romance of the Western Chamber* on monumental fish jars; battle scenes of women in combat from the *Tale of the Three Kingdoms*; female protagonists galloping on horses, maidens suggestively playing on swing sets and viewing antiquities in lavish gardens (see **fig. 1.17**).[3] As these stories date from the early period of Chinese history, they had been repeatedly represented in woodblock prints or paintings before the Transitional Period, which made it possible for craftsmen to migrate motifs to porcelain designs. In other words, the emergence of narrative female figures in different media is a result of cross-media appropriation, instead of a parallel development. These motifs contrast starkly with the number of female figures depicted on court vessels.

The examples of prints, painting, porcelain, and photography represented in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, discussed in this essay and the other contributions in this volume, foreground several questions, such as: how did women-centered motifs and representational schema become a fixture in popular culture and migrate across media by the seventeenth century, and especially from prints to porcelain? We may attribute the emergence of female figures in decorative motifs and narratives to three broad reasons. Women and descriptions of material culture factored prominently in the core of Jiangnan scholars' writings during late Ming and early Qing dynasties; both were categorized and evaluated as critical subjects of concern in scholars' lives.[4] The early Qing playwright Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680) discussed the comportment of women from four perspectives in *Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood* 閒情偶寄—appearance 選姿, makeup 修容, costume 治服, and skills 習技, among other qualities.[5] These standards for appreciating women were shared by Wei Yong 衛泳 (active 1643-1654) in *Compilation of Charming Appearance* 悅容編 and included detailed descriptions encompassing maids, women of various ages, activities during different seasons, and houses where women lived.[6]

[3] Two such examples in the Dresden collection are women horse riding and women playing on a swing, P.O. 6225 and P.O. 3419, respectively (see **figs. 1.20-1.21**). Both motifs existed and circulated independently; the theme of playing on the swing appeared in the erotic novel *The Golden Lotus* (also translated as *Prunus in a Golden Vase*) and was loosely associated with its content. This novel became a popular source of imagery during the Transitional Period (1620-1683) when there were less constrictions on content.

[4] Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, "女人, 物品與感官欲望: 陳洪綬晚期人物畫中江南文化的呈現 [The Late-Ming Culture of Sensibility]" 中國近代婦女史研究 [Research on Women in Modern Chinese History], v. 10 (2002): 27.

[5] Li Yu 李漁, 閒情偶寄 [Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Book Press, 1985), 100-42.

[6] Wei Yong 衛泳, "悅容編 [Compilation of Charming Appearance]," in 中國香艷全書 [Compendium of Chinese Fragrance and Gorgeousness] (Beijing: Tuanjie Press, 2005), edited by Chongtianzi 蟲天子, v. 1, n. 2: 28-32.

In parallel with popular writing on appreciating women, female portraits were also prevalent in late Ming and early Qing. Mao Wenfang's 毛文芳 research indicates that late-Ming men showed more interest in the creation of female portraits than during former eras.[7] Depicting, collecting, and inscribing female images reflected a refined taste and discernment of beauty.[8] Social norms did not allow women to appear publicly; beauties were depicted and displayed in framed paintings or woodblock-printed publications functioning as an extension [or mirror] of male privilege and power. Representations of female beauty were a locus of the male gaze.[9] The famous courtesan Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618-1664) was illustrated as an attractive, scholarly woman with brush and books in hand; she is also represented as a nymph in Daoist costume.[10] Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯, the heroine of *The West Chamber* 西廂記, who appears repeatedly on vessels in the Dresden porcelain collection, was illustrated frequently in portraits in the Ming and Qing period. As the tale's heroine, her likeness was typically placed at the beginning of woodblock-printed versions of *The West Chamber*.[11]

Another important element, which contributes to the emergence of female representations in porcelain relates to the expansion and circulation of printed pictures in the Ming period. As Craig Clunas indicates, the private space of the book develops in the Ming dynasty at quantities greater than previous times since the invention of printing, ranging from the arcane images of technical philosophical treatises to full-page illustrations for luxury editions of fiction and drama.[12] In this context of producing pictures in large quantities, pictorial engagement across a range of media including paintings by prominent artists, anonymous painted works, books, and luxury craft objects was commonplace. Rather than attempting to rank these four representations, Clunas explains this phenomenon with the notion of an "iconic circuit," which he defines as "an economy of representations … [that] circulated between different media in which pictures were involved."[13] The exchange and movement of the same motif between paintings, prints, and porcelain is evident in the Dresden collections.

European interest in depictions of Chinese women construed as exotic was trigged by mid-seventeenth century European encyclopedic and ethnographic publications; the *China Illustrata* (1667) by Athanasius Kircher S. J. (1602-1680) was a key, early text in this category. It contains illustrations of a pair of women in which an interest in hairstyles, costumes, accessories, and leisure activities is demonstrated in both the images and accompanying textual description.[14] As Kircher never traveled outside of Europe, his *China Illustrata* was based upon information gathered from his correspondence with fellow Jesuits who lived in Asia and materials published by other European travelers.[15] Against this background, the increasing accessibility of porcelain with depictions of genre scenes of Chinese women afforded Europeans more recent, albeit idealized and generic images from East Asia. The motif of elongated Chinese ladies

[7] Mao Wenfang 毛文芳, 寫真: 女性魅影與自我再現 [Portraits: Female Images and Self-Representation], chap. in 物·性別·觀看: 明末清初文化書寫新探 [Object, Gender, and Seeing: New Study on Cultural Writing in Late Ming and Early Qing] (Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, 2001), 342.
[8] Mao Wenfang 毛文芳, "幅巾, 紅妝與道服: 閱讀柳如是畫像" [Scarf, Make-up, and Daoist Costume: Reading the Portraits of Liu Rushi] *Journal of Oriental Studies*, v. 41, n. 2 (2008): 115.
[9] Mao Wenfang, "寫真: 女性魅影與自我再現 [Portraits: Female Images and Self-Representation]," (2001), 344.
[10] Sometimes this Daoist attire involved cross-dressing in male versions of Daoist regalia. Mao Wenfang, "幅巾, 紅妝與道服: 閱讀柳如是畫像 [Scarf, Makeup and Daoist Costume]": 106; 113; 129.
[11] Mao Wenfang 毛文芳, "遺照與小像: 明清時期鶯鶯畫像的文化意涵 [A Posthumous Portrait and Miniature Portrait: Cultural Traits of the Portraits of Yingying in Ming-Qing Dynasty]," 文與哲 [Literature & Philosophy], n. 7 (2005): 252-53.
[12] Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1997), 29.
[13] C. Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, 46.
[14] Athanasius Kircher S. J., *China Illustrata*, trans. Charles D. van Tuyl (Bloomington: 1987), 101; 102; 106; 107.
[15] Dawn Odell, Chinese 'Painting of Beautiful Women' and Images of Asia in a Jesuit Text, chap. in *Ut Pictura Amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700*, ed. Walter S. Melion, Joanna Woodall, and Michael Zell (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 111.

and dancing boys depicted in a fenced garden or on a pavilion terrace—a composition known as the "long Elisa" ("Lange Lijzen" in Dutch)—is generally regarded as a distinctive transition point for Kangxi porcelain decoration in European collections.[16]

The increase in figuration on porcelain during the seventeenth century has roots in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, when a shift away from blue and white wares with geometric patterns and an expanded repertoire of deities developed. During this same period, the Chinese court was exporting ceramics globally through diplomatic channels. During the Transitional Period (ca. 1620-83), depictions of women on porcelain came to represent a significant portion of porcelain production. There was a shift away from the tendency to depict female characters primarily in the roles of folk deities and immortals and a marked increase in narratives grounded in popular literature. Cross-media concerns in the eighteenth century—the movement of motifs between porcelain, painting, and prints—eventually impacted photographic motifs in the nineteenth century, especially in the construction of feminine ideals. Compositions foregrounding women were popular among foreign travelers who collected scenes staged to evoke a gendered fantasy. To gain a general understanding of this transition, it is necessary to start at the beginning and reference the emergence of figures in porcelain.

Female Figures in Early Ceramics

Cizhou wares are one of the most important examples of early decorated Chinese ceramics containing representations of women.[17] It is clear in the history of Chinese ceramic decoration that figural subjects appeared significantly later than motifs of plants or animals. Until the Northern Song (960-1125) or the Jin dynasty (1115-1234), very few female figures were depicted in ceramic motifs.[18] The decorative patterns on Cizhou vessels consisted primarily of floral designs on white ground, painted with a brush directly onto the body of the object, which was coated with slip.[19] But it was on Cizhou pillows of the Northern Song or Jin periods, that patterns and subject matter involving female figures began to emerge. Additionally, several human figures shaped out of stoneware are extant in Cizhou kiln products.

A Jin dynasty ceramic pillow from the Cizhou kiln, dated to the equivalent of May 1176 C.E., is made in the shape of a young girl reclining **(fig. 1.1)**.[20] She slightly twists her head; her arms are propped

[16] Christiaan J. A. Jörg and Michael Flecker, *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck: The Hallstrom Excavation* (Singapore: Sun Tree Publ., 2001), 36. The term "Lange Lijzen" has been also translated as "tall dawdlers." Gordon Campbell, ed., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 2:55.

[17] Cizhou wares also include a variety of other motifs including animals, birds, flowers, plants, and poetic verse. An overview of Song period kiln production (the "Five Famous Kilns" comprised of Ru, Guan, Ge, Ding, and Jun wares and the "Eight Kiln System" including Cizhou, Ding, Yaozhou, Jian, Jun, Longquan, Jingdezhen and Yue) is discussed in Feng Xianming, An Zhimin, and An Jinhuai 中國硅酸盐學會 [Chinese Ceramic Society], ed., 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese porcelain history] (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1982), 229; see also Rose Kerr, *Song Dynasty Ceramics* (London: V&A Publications, 2004).

[18] We consider three-color ceramics used as grave goods (*mingqi* 明器) in the Tang dynasty formed in the shape of women to be essentially sculpture—fundamentally a different medium or genre—distinct from the pictorial representation of female forms painted on ceramics.

[19] This special technique using slip originated in the Sui dynasty (581-618). The decoration appeared on objects in the tomb of Zhang Sheng in Anyang, Henan province, dated to the fourteenth year of *kaihuang* 開皇 period (594 C.E.). See 河南考古研究所安陽發掘隊 [Henan Archaeology Institute, ed.], "安陽隋張盛墓發掘記 [Excavation Report of Zhang Sheng's Sui dynasty Tomb, Anyang, Henan]," 考古 [Archaeology], (1959), n. 10: 541.

[20] The dated inscription "大定十六年五月" is written in ink on the base. This pillow was unearthed November 1, 1983 Huangling Prefecture, Shanxi Province 陕西省黃陵縣. Yang Yuansheng 楊元生, "Discovering a Porcelain Pil-

beneath her head and function as a makeshift "pillow." Her resting body, bent at the knees, is clothed in attire decorated with small flowers; her hair is parted in the middle and bound into two buns, typical for a child's hairstyle.[21] Several versions of this Cizhou pillow of a young servant girl are extant, one example of the same style is also inscribed with two verses of a poem's variation by Zhang Ji 張繼 (765-830? C.E.).[22] The text's origin and content are potentially relevant to the resting figure's meaning. The poem on the second type (the image not reproduced in this essay) reads,

> Leaves are falling, gibbons calling,
> and frost fills the sky.
> On the other side of the river,
> an old fisherman closes his weary eyes.
> 葉落猿啼霜滿天, 江邊漁父對愁眠.[23]

Zhang's original Tang dynasty poem differs slightly from that written on the pillow; despite the slight disparity between the two versions, a mild melancholic tone remains in both.[24] The poet is thought to have created the verses during his journey to Zhejiang in search of an official position after taking the exams in the eastern capital (Luoyang).[25] As the text references a scholar traveling south, the theme of a resting girl in the shape of a pillow—a daily use item that may be linked to thoughts or the comforts of home—are allusions suggested in the verse, which seem to be appropriate for this type of quotidian object in the N. Song and Jin periods.[26]

Even at this early stage, the implications of the figure's shape and cushion imply an intimate moment when the tired official would lie down and rest within the warm hug of the affable lady. It implies the user would touch the object with his head, triggering a direct possession and possible sexual allusion. Within later pieces of porcelain including bowls, dishes, plates, teacups, and vases, the user touches the object with one's hands, brings them to the lips, or gazes at them within the premises of the studio, maintaining a certain intimacy with the objects associated with one's private space. The obsessive theme

---

low from the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) in Huangling Prefecture 黃陵縣發現一件金代瓷枕," *Relics and Museum Studies* 文博, n. 1 (1986): 33; Liu Tao 劉濤, 宋遼金紀年瓷器 [Dated Porcelain from the Song, Liao, and Jin Periods] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2004), 227.

[21] Gao Chunming 高春明, 中國服飾名物考 [Research in Ancient Chinese Costume and It's Adornment] (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhua Press, 2001), 55.

[22] Unlike the calligraphic tradition of writing from right to left, the two verses are positioned symmetrically on the top of the pillow; beginning from the middle of the top surface, the first is written right to left while the second is read from the center to the left.

[23] The poem on the second pillow appears on the flat section where the head would rest. Translation modified from, Rene-Yvon Lefebvre d'Argence, ed., *6000 Years of Chinese Art: Treasures from the Shanghai Museum* (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 1983), cat. no. 88, 163.

[24] Regarding the differences in the two versions, Song Boying 宋伯胤 discusses the linguistic details of how the original verses were changed during transmission, 南京博物院 [Nanjing Museum], ed., 宋伯胤文集·枕具卷 [Corpus of Song Boyin, Pillow Volume] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2012), 114.

[25] Sun Guiping 孫桂平 and Ai Bingmei 艾冰梅, "張繼 '松江夜泊' 相關問題考證 [Textual Research on A Night Mooring at Maple Tree Bridge]," 集美大學學報, 哲學社會科學版 [Journal of Jimei University, Philosophy and Social Sciences Division], v. 20, n. 2 (April 2017): 93-8. According to this article, the poet Zhang Ji traveled from Luoyang 洛陽, where he took the examination, to Kuaiji 會稽, Zhejiang Province to seek an official position; he wrote the poem during the journey.

[26] Scholars speculate that such pillows were actually used in daily life and then buried upon death with other grave goods to accompany the owner. Feng Xiaoqi 馮小琦, "宋代如意形狀瓷枕 [Ceramic Pillows in the Shape of Ruyi in the Song Dynasty]," 文物 [Cultural Relics], n. 9 (2005): 95. One such example is a N. Song (960-1127) "Longevity Pillow 長命枕," excavated in 1919 in Julu, Hebei Province 河北钜鹿; made in the shape of a leaf, the inscription written on the surface sends wishes of long life to the owner. See Margaret-Carney Xie, Chü-lu, A Northern Sung Ceramic Legacy (University of Kansas, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1989), 131-37.

of beautiful women is particularly evident in the late Ming and Qing dynasties when the shape of a woman's body is equated with the shape of a porcelain vessel in literary texts. Wu Meiding 吳梅鼎 (1631-1700), a poet in the Kangxi period (1661-1722 C.E.), in his work titled, *Ode to Teapots* 陽羨茗壺賦, makes a direct analogy between the shape of a tea vessel and a woman's physique.

> As for forming the ceramic shape to imitate the body, every endeavor has been made. Spirit consonance matches that of a beauty's shoulders; style is beyond that of Xi Zi's [breast]. The waist is wrapped with raw silk …; the shoulder is exquisitely sculpted …[27]

In recent work, the scholar Xu Zhiheng 許之衡 pursues the implications of the double entendre implied in the term "a beauty's shoulder 美人肩," which links the slope of a vessel to a woman's body during the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns.[28]

Another Cizhou ware from the N. Song and Jin periods contains a scene featuring two women in a spartan garden scene. The narrative's meaning may be difficult to decipher given its synoptic (abbreviated) nature **(fig. 1.2)**. The rectangular pillow's base is impressed with the seal, "made by the Wang Family 王家造," and is similar in style to a (third) Cizhou pillow dated 1203, which establishes a firm date for this Wang Family pillow in the early thirteenth century.[29] A lady, accompanied by her maid, burns nighttime incense facing a rock and shrubs. This has been routinely identified as the earliest depiction of the *Romance of the Western Chamber*. It is also possible that it illustrates a more generic version of a similar tale titled, "Burning Incense to Worship the Moon."[30] If this is a representation of a *Romance* chapter, is it highly synoptic, with the narrative pared to the essential elements. The women are represented in a chaste, reserved manner, and contrast with the more complex, vivid, and diverse renditions that proliferate in the Ming and Qing versions of the *Romance*. An example of this more expressive, florid depiction of the novel's narrative in the later period is a large fish jar in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden decorated with twenty-four different verses from the text **(fig. 1.17)**. Vastly different from the pillow, which contains only one scene, this vat articulates almost the entire plot of the story (minus the conclusion). As such, the differences between the two, which date some four centuries apart, highlight

---

[27] 至於摹形象體, 殫精畢異. 韻敵美人(美人肩), 格高西子(西施乳), 腰洵約素, 照青鏡之菱花 (束腰菱花); 肩果削成, 採金塘之蓮蒂 (平肩蓮子). Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733-1813), ed., 陽羨名陶錄 [Records of Prestigious Ceramics in Yangxian], Yiwen Publishing House, n.d., 下 12; (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1991), 21, reprint. Reprint text cited and translation modified from a study that emerged from our 2016 Heidelberg University seminar held in preparation for the 2017 Dresden exhibition, He Feng, "Embodied Beauty: Feminising Chinese Ceramics in Eighteenth-Century China and Europe," chap. in *Wechselblicke. Zwischen China und Europa 1669-1907*, Matthias Weiß, Eva-Maria Troelenberg, and Joachim Brand, eds. (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 100.

[28] Xu Zhiheng discusses the *ruyi zun* 如意尊, a beaker-shaped vessel, 許之衡, 飲流齋說瓷 [Explaining Ceramics of Yinliu Studio] (Shandong Pictorial Press: 2010), 161.

[29] For further discussion on this inscription and the Jin dynasty dating, see Fan Dongqing 范冬青, "陶瓷枕略論 [Research on Porcelain Pillows]," 上海博物館輯刊—建館三十五周年特輯 (總第四期) [Bulletin of the Shanghai Museum], v. 4, 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the Shanghai Museum] (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Press, 1987), 280; this second pillow, embellished with black flowers on a white base, contains a poem and inscription dated to 1203; see René Lefebvre d'Argencé, *6000 Years of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 1983), 162-63, cat. 87. It is held in a private collection in Japan; Liu Tao 劉濤, 宋遼金紀年瓷器 [Dated Porcelain from the Song, Liao, and Jin Periods] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2004), 47.

[30] The custom of worshiping the moon probably began very early in Chinese history. Jin Yingzhi 金盈之, 新編醉翁談錄 [New Edition of the Spoken Record of an Old Drunkard], d. ca. 1126, is one of the earliest. Scenes of women worshipping the moon are found in Tang and Song poems; dramas in Yuan dynasty also describe this scene repeatedly. "Worshiping the Moon" includes both the crescent moon and the full moon, the latter is usually related to appreciating the moon during the Mid-Autumn Festival. Wang Zheng 王政, "元代戲曲中的拜月古俗考 [Study on the Ancient Custom of Worshiping the Moon in Yuan Drama]," 戲曲研究 [Research on Drama], n. 1 (2008): 152-54. The moon depicted in the pillow reproduced here is a crescent moon.

the dramatic transformation of porcelain designs and the expanding representation of women in ceramic narratives analyzed in this essay.

On the pillow, Cui Yingying (aka "Oriole"), dressed in formal attire, stands behind an incense table in the garden accompanied by her maid, Hongniang 紅娘 **(fig. 1.2)**. If indeed this is a scene from the *Romance of the Western Chamber*, it fits well with a section that was popular in the Jin dynasty version titled, *Master Dong's Romance of the Western Chamber* 董解元西廂記.[31] In the written verse, Zhang Sheng, Yingying's paramour, expresses his love and she, in turn, accepts him as a suitor. On the pillow only two female figures are depicted; Zhang's presence is only implied as Yingying lights incense while chanting a melancholy poem in the moonlight. The simple scene of a woman at an altar attended by her maid does not exactly correspond to the complexity of Dong's written text, which narrates a sequence of events, including the poem chanting, Zhang's catching the scent of her burning incense, Yingying tidying her dress, and her being startled by his nighttime movements. Zhang remains unseen as he secretly watches. In the original text by Dong Jieyuan 董解元, the author highlights the visual qualities of the moonlit scene.

> On this night, the moon looks like a painting;
> Zhang Sheng ventures outside Cui Yingying's residence,
> chanting a short, twenty-character poem. …
> 是夜月色如畫, 生至鶯庭側近,
> 口占二十字小詩一絕. …[32]

The limited synoptic nature of Jin dynasty Cizhou wares depicting the burning of nighttime incense in a garden contrasts with developments displayed in a Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) blue-and-white rendition of the *Romance of the Western Chamber*, which expand in narrative complexity during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yuan ware decoration consists primarily of floral designs, dragons, and other animal motifs, but the significance of this period for our discussion lies in the emergence of figures, especially female protagonists, on ceramic surfaces reflecting links to drama, which gained importance in Yuan popular culture.[33] A porcelain vase in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated between 1320 and 1350, contains a sequence of three scenes from the romance tale.[34] These include Cui Yingying lighting incense in the moonlight and her maid crying after receiving a flogging from Yingying's mother (for encouraging the lovers).[35] Pairings and groups of women were typical for the representation of female subjects in the

[31] Hsu Wen-chin charts the ways in which The *Romance* text is not stagnant and continually transforms over time; "Illustrations of R*omance of the Western Chamber* on Chinese Porcelains: Iconography, Style, and Development," *Artibus Asiae*, v. 40 (2011): 39-45.

[32] Dong Jieyuan 董解元 and Zhu Pingchu 朱平楚 eds., 西廂記諸宮調注釋 [Notes on the Romance of the Western Chamber] (Lanzhou: Gansu People's Press, 1982), 38-9.

[33] In terms of content, designs adhered to conservative themes and, for the most part, featured male subjects: scholars; generals and heroes; and immortals; the latter includes the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu). In general, this type of synoptic narrative scene used to depict the *Romance of the Western Chamber*, however, are few. Beyond the appearance of proto-narratives and female figures often on blue-and-white porcelain during the Yuan dynasties, dragons and other motifs were the most common on a range of monochrome wares, including those with copper red underglaze.

[34] Object information is available on the museum's website, last accessed September 30, 2019 http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O17110/vase-unknown/. Craig Clunas, "The West Chamber: A Literary Theme in Chinese Porcelain Decoration," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 46 (1981-1982): 71. For a comprehensive study see Hsu Wen-chin, "Illustrations of R*omance of the Western Chamber* on Chinese Porcelains: Iconography, Style, and Development," *Artibus Asiae*, v. 40 (2011): 39-107.

[35] Saitō Kikutarō also concurs with Clunas' *Western Chamber* identification, see the former's two-part essay, Sometsuki Kō: Jūyon Seiki Chūyō no Gen-Seika to Genkyoku (jō) "元代染付考: 十四世紀中葉の元青花と原曲（下）[The Yüan

condensed narratives of this period.[36] Other scholars such as Liu Liangyou and Ni Yibin identify the scenes on the vessel as a possible variant tale titled, *Tears on the Blue Clothes of the Jiangzhou Minister* 江州司馬青衫淚.[37]

In 1368, however, with the establishment of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), new categories of porcelain were created as tastes shifted and glaze types changed. The most significant transformation stemmed from new organizational and kiln production decisions made during the Xuande 宣德 period (1426-1435). Earlier, during the Hongwu 洪武 period (1368-98), the Ming government established an imperial kiln in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province with a local office directing court production. This represented a significant transformation in the management of porcelain manufacture. In the previous Yuan dynasty, craftsmen were free to produce wares for other markets once products for the official kiln were complete.[38] After the establishment of the Jingdezhen imperial kiln in the early Ming dynasty, however, craftsmen were strictly regulated by on-site government supervisors and were directed to fabricate designs exclusively for the court. Major developments in the transformation of the Ming ceramic industry ensued. This resulted in what one might term a proscriptive impact on motifs and designs produced in Jingdezhen as the court widely impacted the terms of manufacture especially, it appears, in the arena of the representation of women.

Imperial Control: Production Monopoly

The government monopolized the production of official wares, ranging from labor, materials, and production sites. The boundaries between official and civilian kilns became increasingly clear-cut. Products of civilian kilns were of lower quality than official porcelain and vessels produced in private kilns had few distinguishing characteristics. In contrast, one can link official porcelain produced in the early and

---

Blue-and-White and the Yüan Drama in the Middle of the 14th century, Part II]," 古美術 *Kobijutsu: A Quarterly Review of the Fine Arts* 19 (October 1967): 51, 59–61; part two cited in Clunas, "The West Chamber": 71.

[36] Figural motifs in thirteenth-fourteenth centuries—constituted only 7.8% of the decoration on porcelain. Just 1.6% of embellishment on these surfaces of all types of ceramic wares had female figures. We arrived at these statistics consulting the following pictorial surveys, Ye Peilan 葉佩蘭, 元代陶瓷 [Porcelain in Yuan Dynasty] (Beijing: Jiuzhou Pictorial Press, 1998); Laurie E. Barnes, Yuan Dynasty Ceramics, chap. in *Chinese Ceramics: From the Paleolithic Period through the Qing Dynasty*, Li Zhiyan, Virginia L. Bower, and He Li, eds. (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 331-85; 中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會 [Editorial Committee of Chinese Porcelain Collections], ed., 中國陶瓷全集 [The Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Art Press, 2000), v. 10-11; and 中國美術全集編輯委員會 [Editorial Committee of the Complete Collection of Chinese Art], 中國美術全集工藝美術編 3 陶瓷 (下) [Collection of Chinese Fine Art, Applied Art Section] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, 1988), III, v.2:1-56.

To augment this survey of published material, Wu Ruoming conducted a similar preliminary survey of materials held in the Palace Museum, Beijing, the National Palace Museum, Taipei, The British Museum, The Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, Turkey, and the Jingdezhen Archaeological Institute, Jiangxi Province, accessible through databases in 2015. (Those statistics are not published here.)

[37] Liu Liangyou 劉良佑, "元代晚期的雜劇人物青花器 [Blue-and-White Porcelains Figures from Drama in Late Yuan]," 故宮文物月刊 [The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art], v. 6, n. 4 (July 1988): 93; Ni Yibin 倪亦斌, 看圖說瓷 [Discussing Porcelain through Reading Images] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008), 101; 103. Ni Yibin's explanation of the scene(s) on the vase is the heroine, Pei Xingnu 裴興奴, burns an offering for the hero Bai Letian 白樂天 when she is informed of his death; this alternative interpretation is not widely used in the reading of the vessel's themes. Another variation featuring a woman lighting incense under a crescent moon is in the Yuan drama titled *The Quiet Boudoir* 幽閨記, (alternative title: *Worshipping the Moon* 拜月亭), written by Shi Hui 施惠, last accessed August 1, 2018 http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_7a11ebe30101fvd4.html.

[38] Wang Guangyao 王光堯, 中國古代官窯制度 [The System of Chinese Official Kilns] (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005), 158-75.

mid-Ming dynasty to imperial taste; objects exhibited markedly distinct characteristics during each reign period including a diversity of glazes—both high-fired and enamels; colored glazes were particularly rich in vessels produced in official kilns **(figs. 1.3-1.6)**. There was a demand for monochrome porcelain in the court as it was displayed on ritual occasions; some of these vessels also had quotidian uses. While it would be a misnomer to describe these wares as simply monochromatic or without décor—they contained a variety of incised floral designs and dragons that subtly offer decoration below the surfaces—the glazes were typically one hue, occasionally embellished with gold. There were few if any human figural motifs in these official wares. For our purposes, it is also worth repeating that narrative scenes were of little interest for court or official ceramics used in every day or for ritual purposes. An analysis of imperial ceramic orders, albeit relying on entries in official archives and the likelihood that these records are incomplete, nonetheless makes the point. Women had a limited, if not insignificant role in early Ming imperial ceramics.

Ritual Monochrome Wares

During the Ming dynasty, official regulations for porcelain wares used in ritual were increasingly codified and standardized. Porcelain proclamations were issued during three key junctures—in the late fourteenth century and during the mid- and late-sixteenth century. At the beginning of the dynasty in the twenty-sixth year of the Hongwu period (1393 C.E.), emperor Zhu Yuanzhang gave specific orders for porcelain to replace previous bronze or jade vessels in imperial ceremonies presumably to save on government spending.[39] The second key period in which porcelain regulations were imposed was in the ninth year (1530 C.E.) of the Jiajing 嘉靖 period (r. 1522-1566); two wares from this period are reproduced here reflecting those transformations **(figs. 1.3-1.4)**. Changes in glazes are connected to new imperial regulations; earlier in the Ming dynasty, sacrificial rituals for heaven and earth were both performed at the Altar of Heaven, built from 1406 to 1420.[40] But during the Jiajing period, other imperial altars were constructed; the Emperor built the Altar of Earth in the capital's northern suburbs in 1530, and heaven and earth rituals were therefore separated.[41] The Altar of the Sun, with an altar surface paved with red glazed tiles to offer sacrifices to the sun on the spring equinox, was built in the same year 1530. The Altar of Moon with white glazed tiles was also established in the same year as the space to offer sacrifices to the moon on the autumn equinox.[42]

Thus, the regulated colors of porcelain wares for sacrificial rituals were consistent with each altar's surface color. *The Collected Statutes of the Ming Empire* stipulated that porcelain was to be created in blue, yellow, red, and white for use in imperial altar ceremonies.

> The porcelain used in each mausoleum and four suburban altars was officially settled: blue wares for the Altar of Heaven (圜丘 Yuanqiu/天壇 *Tiantan*); yellow for the Altar of Earth (方丘 *Fangqiu*/地壇 *Ditan*); red for the Altar of the Sun (日壇 *Ritan*); and white for the Altar of the

[39] Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, ed., 明史, 崔亮傳 [Ming History, Biography of Cui Liang] (Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing House, 1977), 3528. *Collected Regulations of the Great Ming* 大明會典 (d. 1587) describes that (plain) porcelain bowls replaced bronze wares in the shapes *deng* 登 and *xing* 鉶; and porcelain plates replaced *fu* 簠, *gui* 簋, *bian* 籩 and *dou* 豆 (登鉶以瓷碗代,簠簋籩豆以瓷盤代). Li Dongyang, Shen Shixing, and Zhang Juzheng. 李東陽, 申時行, and 張居正 et al., 大明會典 [Collected Regulations of the Great Ming], 1587 edition, v. 82, 34-5.
[40] Liu Zuochen 劉祚臣, 北京的大壇廟文化 [Culture of Altar and Temple in Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing Press, 2000), 59.
[41] Sun Chengze 孫承澤, 春明夢餘錄 [Record of the Capital after the Dream] (Beijing: Beijing Guji Press, 1992), v. 16, 232.
[42] Sun Chengze, Record of the Capital (Beijing), v. 16, 238-39.

> Moon (月壇 *Yuetan*); orders for producing the porcelains according to the settled regulations were given to Raozhou Prefecture in Jiangxi Province 江西饒州府.[43]

Several of these glazes appeared for the first time on Jingdezhen porcelain in the late Yuan and Ming dynasty such as "sacrificial red"—a high-temperature red glaze used on wares specifically for ceremonies, in addition to sweet white (*tianbai* 甜白), sacrificial blue, and a yellow overglaze.[44] By the Wanli period (1573-1620)—the third significant period of development for ritual vessels—further specifications outlining the details of the altar layout were stipulated in 1587 C.E. For example, in the Temple of Heaven, the *Layout of the First Tier in Yuanqiu* 圜丘第一成陳設圖 outlines new details for the altar's arrangement.[45] Further detailed exploration of imperial ritual and practice is beyond the scope of this study which aims to focus on questions of porcelain design and narrative development.

Despite the high-quality production, the wares developed for ritual altars did not have a widespread application; they were produced in Jingdezhen for special and limited use in the court and manufactured in small batches. Their existence is an indication of the court's focus and interest in vessels embellished with limited designs without narrative details for ritual use. A case in point is a blue-glazed bowl used in the Temple of the Heaven, which features a plain exterior with a design incised on the inside only; the subtle pattern is visible on close inspection **(fig. 1.3)**.[46] A delicate brown or caramel 棕 (*zong*) overglaze coats the rim and foot.[47] The interior pattern features clouds and two dragons chasing a ball 雙龍趕珠紋. Dated to the Jiajing period, these blue wares were developed specifically for the Ming emperor to offer sacrifices and report to the heavens that abundant crops had been harvested.[48]

As mentioned, it was during the Jiajing period that imperial sacrifices for Heaven and Earth were separated during reforms in 1530. Yellow porcelain vessels ordered by the court were used in the Altar of Earth. The center of a yellow-glazed dish is incised with a cloud and a dragon pattern **(fig. 1.4)**.[49] On the base is the reign mark, "Made in the Jiajing Period [1522-1566] of the Great Ming 大明嘉靖年制."[50] An earlier piece from the Xuande period 宣德 (1426-1435) is an example of imperial red-glazed ware; at the center of the dish is an incised pattern of clouds and dragons 紅釉金彩雲龍紋盤, which were once

---

[43] Li Dongyang, Shen Shixing, and Zhang Juzheng. 李東陽, 申時行, 張居正 et al., 大明會典 [Collected Regulations of the Great Ming], 1587 edition, v. 201: 26.

[44] Similar glazes were also developed in the Yongle (1403-1424) and Xuande (1426-1435) periods.

[45] Li Dongyang, Shen Shixing, and Zhang Juzheng 李東陽, 申時行, 張居正 et al., 大明會典 [Collected Regulations of the Great Ming], v. 82: 34-5. It should be noted that despite efforts to create special glazes and shapes, ordinary bowls connected to everyday eating and utensils, were often used on the altars side by side with these specially developed wares.

[46] This glaze, also known as "Mohammedan blue 回青釉," was made use of the mineral azurite sourced from the western regions, hence the ethnic associations associated with the glaze name 尚衍斌, 林歡, "回回青的來龍去脈" [The Origin and Development of the Mohammedan Blue Glaze], 紫禁城 [Forbidden City] v. 6 (2008): 144-45.

[47] The object description draws from 楊靜榮 Yang Jingrong, ed., 故宮博物院文物珍品大系: 顏色釉 [Compendium of Cultural Treasures in the Palace Museum: Monochrome Wares] (Shanghai: Shanghai Scientific Technical Press, 1999), 86.

[48] Liu Zuochen 劉祚臣, 北京大壇廟文化 [Altar and Temple Culture in Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing Press, 2000), 65-6.

[49] A similar dish with rounded sides, incised dragon in the center, and a brownish-yellow glaze is in the British Museum collection; it also dates to the Jiajing Period (1522-1566), H. 6.6cm, D. 36.1cm. Last accessed August 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180926&partId=1&searchText=yellow+dish+++Ming&page=1

[50] Yang Jingrong, ed., 故宮博物院文物珍品大系: 顏色釉 [Compendium of Cultural Treasures in Palace Museum: Monochrome Wares] (Shanghai: 1999), 50. A like yellow-glazed object is in the British Museum collection, last accessed August 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180926&partId=1&searchText=yellow+dish+++Ming&page=1

delicately highlighted in gold **(fig. 1.5)**.[51] Although the shimmering detailing has faded, the gold is extant on a nearly identical vessel.[52] Its exterior surface is similarly fine.[53] A fourth example, a white-glazed bowl incised with a spiraling lotus linking the eight auspicious signs, is another type of monochrome glaze vessel with incised designs also made for the court; the inscription reads, "Made in the Xuande Period of Great Ming 大明宣德年制" **(fig. 1.6)**. The eight auspicious symbols (Skt. *astamangala*) depicted around the exterior rim are associated with Buddhism and good fortune; they include the white parasol, pair of golden fish, treasure vase, lotus, right-spiraling conch shell, endless knot, victory banner; and golden wheel.[54]

New Decoration and Links to Technological Advances

As production technology developed in kilns producing porcelain for the court in Jingdezhen, popular new varieties of polychrome porcelain arose, and by the mid-Ming dynasty it became possible to fabricate *doucai* 鬥彩—wares of "contrasting colors"—with genre scenes featuring human and animal figures **(figs. 1.7a-1.7b)**. Producing polychrome enamel vessels in several colors, including this small cup embellished with chickens and garden motifs of stones and flowers—designs more symbolic and auspicious than narrative in content—nonetheless signaled greater possibilities for expressive content. Yet these so-called chicken cups were notoriously difficult and expensive to produce.[55] *Doucai* 鬥彩, meaning "contrasting" or "competing colors," is a technique that combines underglaze blue with overglaze polychrome enamels.[56] Due to their complex manufacturing process—only approximately twenty are extant—these

[51]中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會 [Editorial Committee of the Comprehensive Works of Chinese Ceramics], ed., 中國陶瓷全集 (13) [Comprehensive Works of Chinese Ceramics] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Art Press, 2000), 13: 205.

[52] This dish dates to the same period (Xuande, 1426-1435) and is also held in the National Palace Museum, Beijing; H. 4.5cm, top diameter: 19.7cm, bottom diameter: 12.3cm; last accessed August 1, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/ceramic/227638.html.

A third red-glazed dish, containing no decorative designs, is indicative of the innovative, yet difficult production process, which makes use of the copper red glaze; see Geng Baochang 耿寶昌 ed., 孫孙瀛洲的陶瓷世界 [Porcelain World of Sun Yingzhou] (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2005), 92.

[53] A dish of similar shape, also dated to the Xuande period (1426-1435), but devoid of the dragon, cloud pattern and gold embellishment, is reproduced in Geng Baochang 耿宝昌 ed., 孫瀛洲的陶瓷世界 [Porcelain World of Sun Yingzhou] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Press, 2005), 92.

A 2016-17 exhibition at the Freer Gallery emphasized this pure red porcelain and its production technology; one Ming dish d. 1430 was exhibited alongside a painting by Mark Rothko painted in a similar crimson tone. Last accessed August 1, 2018 https://www.npr.org/2016/12/21/505440088/see-red-in-a-new-light-imperial-china-meets-mark-rothko-in-d-c-exhibition

https://www.freersackler.si.edu/exhibition/red-ming-dynastymark-rothko/

[54]楊靜榮 Yang Jingrong, ed., 故宮博物院文物珍品大系: 顏色釉 [Compendium of Cultural Treasures in the Palace Museum: Monochrome Wares] (Shanghai: Shanghai Scientific Technical Press, 1999), 113. Iconography of eight auspicious symbols discussed in Robert Beer, *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2003), 1-15. Vessel published online on the museum's website, last accessed October 8, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/ceramic/227637.html. The British Museum, Percival David Collection holds a similar dish, last accessed August 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180926&partId=1&searchText=yellow+dish+++Ming&page=1

[55] Early *doucai* fragments datable to the Xuande period were found at the Jingdezhen kiln site.

[56] 中國硅酸鹽學會 [Chinese Ceramic Society] ed., 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese Porcelain History] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1982), 381. The present-day term "doucai" 鬥彩 first appears in *Notes of the South Kiln* 南窯筆記, an unattributed manuscript written in Qing dynasty. Anonymous, "南窯筆記" [Notes on the South Kiln], in 美術叢書 (第四集第一輯 [Compilation of Books on Fine Arts] (v. 4, n. 1), edited by Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Deng Shi 鄧實, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Art Press, 2013), 319-20.

"chicken cups" were highly valued in the late-Ming court and continue to be admired to the present day. In their fabrication, the first step was to outline the design in underglaze blue; after applying the glaze and firing at a high temperature, the overglaze enamels of varying colors are applied and the vessel is fired again at a lower temperature to produce overglaze colors.[57] As this process was quite expensive, it was typically applied to smaller surfaces, which were not ideal for hosting narrative scenes; therefore scenes such as chickens in a garden setting that carry significant cultural meaning were easier to produce.

The exterior surface of the *doucai* chicken cup, dated to the Chenghua period (1465-1487), consists of two groups of rock and plants; one is clustered around minimal rockery; an orchid grows behind it **(fig. 1.7b)**. The other contains a more substantial outcropping surrounded by peonies.[58] In between these zones are two groups of chickens. In one cluster, a rooster, crowing and walking in the direction of the orchid, is followed by a hen and three chicks pecking at a centipede. In the other, the rooster turns to look at a hen and a chick also pokes at an insect; two chicks play.[59] The "double painting technique" makes it possible to crisply render these fine details of movement.[60] The virtuous associations of long service and loyalty of this common bird continued to make it a popular subject in painting through the Ming dynasty, and particularly in the fifteenth century when the chicken cups were produced.[61] For example, in an attributed Song Academy painting titled *Hen and Chicks* 宋人畫子母雞圖, the Chenghua emperor (r. 1464-1487) inscribed a poem in 1486 indicating admiration for the hen's protection of her charges—an allegory of a peaceful empire.[62] Themes rendered in paintings, similar to the depiction on the chicken cup, are thought to be one important reason for the production and popularity of these porcelains; more than decorative pieces, the symbolic themes projecting imperial control were broadcast across media. We may infer that at this stage, court messaging preferred the choice of auspicious animal imagery to gendered themes or depictions of exemplary women in their projection of a peaceful empire.

---

[57] The temperature of the second firing is variable but approaches 700-800°c; Shang Gang 尚剛, 中國工藝美術史新編 [New Edition of History of Chinese Art and Design] (Beijing: Gaodeng Educational Press, 2007), 322.

[58] The flowers are differently identified. In the *Dictionary of Chinese Porcelain*, peonies are cited: Xu Shaoyin 許紹銀 and Xu Ke 許可, eds., 中國陶瓷辭典 [Dictionary of Chinese Porcelain] (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Press, 2013), 136. The Palace Museum website indicates they are roses, last accessed October 8, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/ceramic/226831.html; The British Museum identifies them as lilies.

[59] Further object description and additional images are on the British Museum website, last accessed August 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=442808001&objectId=3181048&partId=1 - more-views

[60] Chickens have long been associated with the "five virtues" since the Han Dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE). These same attributes are also reflected in *A Golden Pheasant Resting on Hibiscus Branch*––a painting produced in academy of Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1100-1126). It was likely presented to a loyal official after a long period of service and contains a poem citing preference for the bird over "ducks and widgeons." 秋勁拒霜盛, 峨冠錦羽雞. 已知全五德, 安逸勝禿鶖. Palace Museum, Beijing website, last accessed October 8, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/230125.html; also see and Patricia Ebrey *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 211.

[61] The National Palace Museum, Taipei featured these themes in an exhibition celebrating the year of the chicken, January 1, 2017 to March 25, 2017, 酉年大吉: 畫雞名品特展 [Great Fortune for the Year of the Rooster: A Special Exhibition of Chicken Paintings from the Museum Collection], last accessed October 8, 2018 https://www.npm.gov.tw/zh-tw/Article.aspx?sNo=04007537.

[62] The second line in the Chenghua emperor's inscription suggests a primary issue was providing sustenance for the family brood––an allusion to feeding the empire. "偎窠伏子無昏晝, 覆體呼兒伴日曛. Cuddling the nest and crouching babies day and night, covering bodies and calling the charges at sunset." Two other earlier Ming paintings, one dated to the Xuande period (r. 1426-1435), depicting a rooster and a hen with seven chicks, suggests similar connotations associated with a peaceful imperial reign. An attributed Bian Wenjin 邊文進 (act. ca. 1354-1428) painting, titled *Dividing Food for Chicks* 分哺圖, also features the subject of feeding; the rooster splits a moth for five chicks. Kong Liuqing discusses family ethics and the larger implications of peaceful rulership, 孔六慶, 繼往開來: 明代院體花鳥畫研究 [Carrying on the Past: Study on Flower and Bird Paintings of the Ming Dynasty] (Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 2008), 97.

Returning to technical questions and the importance of *doucai* 鬥彩, Liu Xinyuan argues that the term was used to differentiate it from porcelain on which only overglaze polychrome colors were applied. *Doucai*, in fact, is a later term (used in the Qing dynasty); in the Ming dynasty, the term "five colors" 五彩 was used to describe blue patterns on a white ground with added polychrome colors 白地青花間裝五色. The term emphasized the introduction of enameled tones, particularly in contrast with underglaze blue—a common hue for decorative drawing on Jingdezhen porcelain since the turn of the fourteenth (ca. 1300 C.E.) century.[63] The technology of combining the underglaze blue with overglaze color had already appeared in the Xuande period (1426-1435) but the *doucai* wares during the Chenghua (1465-1487) era were very different from those produced in the early fifteenth century, mainly in drawing technique, the tone of the cobalt, and diversity of colors.[64] Stepping back from the details of technique to consider the development of these delicate and finely crafted wares in a larger perspective, let us recall that the *doucai* cups under consideration were produced in controlled conditions in the official kilns of Jingdezhen; they were crafted in small batches for the court and destined for a limited audience. Significantly, the themes were also limited and restrained. In the case of the small *doucai* cups, chickens were symbolic of virtue, but the theme of these birds did not challenge any content or compositional boundaries. At the same time when these delicate wares were produced, official kilns also began to explore on a very limited basis new content in the early fifteenth century—an indication that more significant and dramatic changes in audience, quality, and subject matter were to appear later in the century.

Rise of the Female Figure in Wares of the Mid-Ming Dynasty

On the whole, output from kilns producing official wares was much smaller than that of the private kilns. Further, few extant objects from the early fifteenth century produced in official kilns contain motifs incorporating female figures. One such porcelain bowl dated to the Xuande reign (1426-1435 C.E.) features two scenes of women on either side of the vessel in a garden setting **(figs. 1.8a-1.8b)**. It is among the earliest Ming dynasty bowls from an official kiln with women depicted and is to be considered an index to the emergence of the scholarly woman motif.[65] On one side a pair of women engage in conversation; the pavilion is surrounded by trees and bamboo on which a phoenix is perched. The hostess holds a fan, framed by a simple scene of rock and water, which decorates the entryway wall.[66] The theme of landscape is continued by clouds, a pond with leaping carp, and distant hills that connects the courtyard scene on the opposite side where the two women appear to be parting; this is complemented inside the bowl's

[63] Ibid.

[64] Liu Xinyuan 劉新園, 景德鎮出土明成化官窯遺跡與遺物之研究 [Research on the Unearthed Ruins and Remains of the Official Kiln in Jingdezhen in the Ming Chenghua Period], chap. in 成窯遺珍: 景德鎮珠山出土成化官窯瓷器 [Heritage of Cheng Kiln: Imperial Porcelains in Chenghua Period Unearthed in Zhushan, Jingdezhen] (Hongkong: Hongkong Xushi Art Museum, 1993), 36.

[65] The reign mark in written on the foot, "Made in Xuande Period of Great Ming 大明宣德年制," 國立故宮博物院 [National Palace Museum, Taipei], ed., 明代宣德官窯菁華特展圖錄 [Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Selected Hsüan-Te Imperial Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1998), 352-353, cat. 149. Porcelain was also made at private kilns (*minyao*) during the Xuande period; they are beyond the scope of this study. See Li Zongyang 李宗揚, 中國歷代瓷器鑒定 [Authentication of Chinese Porcelains in Previous Dynasties], chap. in 文物鑒定與考古系列講座 [Lectures on Authenticating Cultural Relics and Archaeology], edited by Zhu Ping 朱萍 (Beijing: Minzu University of China Press, 2007), 245.

[66] This wall serves to create a corridor and a shallow, partially open-air meeting space to receive guests known as a *xuanguan* 玄關. This vestibule serves a variety of purposes including, as the name implies, the creation of a private zone, blocking further visual access or entry into the main areas of a residence.

center, where a schematic cluster of rock, trees, and plants complete the garden theme.[67] Returning to the exterior, the robes of the figure, on the left, who bids farewell, flutter as she turns and gestures to her companion at the base of the stairs. This bowl points to narrative developments that appear later, especially in the seventeenth century when female-centered tales become popular. There is some slight suggestion of a temporal sequence between the events on both sides of the vessel. If the woman at the stairs' base is gathering her hands in a gesture of farewell and the other figure is about to depart, as her voluminous robes suggesting movement indicates, we might read the two scenes thematically. Both courtyard pavilions are similarly decorated; a "lite narrative" interpretation would be that on side A, the guest arrives and is received in the entryway; on side B the host bids adieu to the visitor who turns to utter a final departing exchange.

In the era immediately following the Xuande reign, in what is often called the "interregnum," during the Zhengtong 正統, Jingtai 景泰, and Tianshun 天順 periods (1436-1464 C.E.), private kilns or *minyao* 民窑 produced new wares for the domestic (Chinese) and foreign markets.[68] While the technical quality of the production was not as refined as official kilns production—exemplified by the *doucai* chicken cup or even this bowl of court women at leisure in the garden—porcelain manufactured at private kilns included diverse new themes immensely popular in other mediums **(figs. 1.9a-11.b)**. In the next section, we will consider three objects made in Jingdezhen's private kilns for the domestic market; the religious and folk themes depicted on their surfaces—such as the popular Daoist deity, Queen Mother of the West, the equally ubiquitous Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音) in feminine form, and a woman watching young boys play—indicate that the private kilns supplied an increased demand for vernacular topics including female icons and topics close to everyday concerns.

The first example is a jar datable to the Jingtai reign (1450-56) featuring Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) on one side and a male immortal (probably Li Tieguai 李鐵拐) watching a game of *go,* on the opposite side **(figs. 1.9a-1.9b)**.[69] The composition of Eight Immortals 八仙 stretching across the surface between them, suggests a gathering to fête her birthday; associated with longevity, as a gift this jar would have auspicious connotations. Energetically-rendered clouds link the upper edge of all the figures. An additional layer of flamboyant, swirling motifs envelopes the space beneath the Queen Mother of the West in a loosely drawn line; this conspires to make her the star or focus of the pictorial surface. She is joined by two attendants and, in total, fifteen figures process through the Eastern Sea, including eleven other immortal figures. The blue-and-white vessel is anomalous in the Palace Museum, Beijing ceramic collection; while there is not much doubt that it was produced for the domestic market it also seems clear that it was not initially part of or used in the imperial household. The vessel entered the

[67] A similar bowl exists in the Palace Museum, Beijing (without the interior decoration), 故宫博物院 The Palace Museum, Beijing, ed., 故宫經典: 故宫陶瓷圖典 [Classics of the Forbidden City: Ceramics of the Gugong] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2010), 146; also online, last accessed October 8, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/ceramic/227873.html

[68] Regarding imperial kiln porcelain production, Yang Junyi discusses its' cessation in the late Xuande period (1424-1435) and its resumption no later than the third year (1438) of Zhengtong 正統 (1436-1449). Although Jingdezhen imperial kilns continued to produce porcelain during the Jingtai 景泰 (1450-1456）and Tianshun 天順(1457-1464) periods, (only) small quantities were manufactured. Because of this limited output and the frequent change of the reign titles during the interregnum, wares seldom contained reign marks. Yang Junyi 楊君誼, "明 '空白期' 禦器廠不署紀年款原因探析 [Study on the Reasons for Imperial Kiln Products without Inscriptions during the Ming Dynasty Interregnum]," 裝飾 [Decoration] n. 12 (2015): 88-9.

[69] 故宫博物院 [The Palace Museum], ed., 故宫陶瓷館 [*Ceramics Gallery of the Palace Museum*] (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 2008), v. 2: 309, pl. 234. Regarding the date of production, this period in the Ming dynasty has often been labeled the "blank period."

Palace Museum after 1949.[70] As such it is not a product of the official kilns, but the work of a private kiln. The quality indicates that it was not made specifically for the court—note the numerous cracks in the glaze. Yet this theme does seem to have been in common usage in court objects across other mediums.

The Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) was a symbol of good fortune associated with long life and birthday wishes; this topic was popular from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties. Let us consider briefly a painting, a split silk tapestry, and an inlaid wooden screen with a throne.[71] These other objects in the Palace Museum provide further details on the iconography and popularity of the subject matter. A luxurious textile, "Silk Tapestry of Auspicious Celebration in the Jade Pond 緙絲瑤池吉慶圖軸," contains a symbolically rich cluster of colorful shapes and symbolic motifs that provide a guide on how to read the Xiwangmu jar (where some of the details are small and blurred, **figs. 1.9a-1.9b**).[72] In the tapestry, in finely rendered silk thread, clouds are formed in shapes similar to the auspicious *ruyi* 如意 scepter (a talisman of good fortune). They are also rendered in forms suggestive of the purple divine fungus (*lingzhi* 靈芝)—creating an effect more iconic rather than representational; the tableau is replete with good fortune. The flora and fauna are carefully chosen according to the message of long life associated with Xiwangmu's Paradise. A crane paired with a deer alights on the rocks; another flies amongst the clouds; and the goddess's vehicle—a multi-colored phoenix (or *luan* 鸞)—arrives at her left.[73] On the Beijing jar featuring Xiwangmu, a similar array of birds and animals crowd the surface; a crane perches beneath the goddess and gazes at her **(figs. 1.9a-1.9b)**. Flying cranes also grace the neck of the vessel. A deer sits beneath the board of the *go* game; schematically rendered cypress and green pine sprout from the rock that is positioned at the edge of the garden across from Li Tieguai. This theme was so popular it crossed media easily from embroidery to ceramics and other pictorial surfaces. In a Yuan dynasty painting *Celestial Celebration in Jade Pond* 瑤池仙慶圖 by Zhang Wo 張渥 (? -1356), Xiwangmu appears in celestial clouds where nine male immortals greet her in an earthly landscape on the edge of a mountain and sea.[74] In the Ming textile, all nine figures who gather around the Jade Pond 瑤池 to present the goddess with gifts are women.[75] This gender shift from the Yuan to Ming dynasty towards a feminized composition in the Xiwangmu depiction is generally consistent with the developments we are tracking in ceramics.

The emerging centrality or importance of imagery of women is evident in the inscribed bowl featuring the female form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, (Guanyin) **(fig. 1.10)**. Presumably commissioned by the court in a private Jingdezhen kiln rather than an official one, this bowl blurs the distinction between

[70] The inventory number of this jar is 新 82529, which indicates it was acquired after 1949. In the twentieth century, The Palace Museum designated newly acquired objects by labeling them new 新 (*xin*) differentiating them from objects that were part of the older imperial collection with the character 故 (*gu*).

[71] The screen and throne set inlaid with mother-of-pearl, dated to ca. the Kangxi period (1661-1722) and once part of the Manchu imperial household, was brought to Germany ca. 1924 and is now held in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst-Dahlem, Berlin (now under the umbrella of the Humboldt Forum). Sun Xin, one of the authors in this volume, is writing her master's thesis on its iconography and function.

[72] Ming dynasty (1368-1644), 260×205cm, is in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, last accessed October 30, 2018 http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/embroider/229467.html.

[73] This tapestry is impressed with two Qianlong (1736-1795) seals: the *Seal of Qianlong Appreciation* 乾隆鑒賞之寶 and the *Seal of The Hall of Three Pleasures* 三希堂精鑒璽, see "緙絲瑤池集慶圖軸 [Silk Tapestry of Celebrating the Gathering in the Jade Pond]," 紫禁城 [Forbidden City], n. 7 (2014): 10.

[74] Huang Xiaofeng argues that this composition to celebrate women's birthdays was established by the Yuan dynasty, 黃小峰, "瑤池慶壽: 閬苑女仙圖卷年代與內容小考 [Celebrating Long Life in the Jade Pond: Study on the Date and Content of *Female Celestials in the Fairy Land*]," 中國歷史文物 [Journal of the National Museum of China], n. 2 (2008): 19.

[75] On the Ming dynasty jar under consideration, the figures may also assemble on the nine terraces of the Jade Pond in the Kunlun Mountains for a Peach Banquet; Wu Yuantai 吳元泰, 東遊記 [Journey to the East], 四遊記 [Four Journeys] (Beijing: Huaxia Press, 1994), 52-53. In this case, Xiwangmu could be understood as situated above the assembly of male immortals who gather on the other side of the vessel around the game of *go* (not to be confused with chess).

civil and official porcelain enterprises that developed in the sixteenth century.[76] Private kilns seem to have been more flexible, even experimental, in their ability to accommodate variant subject matter. Given that this bowl had personal meaning for the emperor points to potential reasons for the choice of a folk (private) kiln for its production. It appears to have been specifically commissioned to mark the birthday of Emperor Wanli's biological mother on the two-year anniversary of her passing. The bowl's commemoration may have even been part of an effort to elevate the Empress Dowager Li's standing posthumously and recognize her benevolent nature concerning her Buddhist devotion by insuring her legacy as the Nine Lotus Bodhisattva 九蓮菩薩, a title with which she was honored annually on her birthday during her time in court.[77] Executed in underglaze blue, the last sentence at the end of a long sūtra inscription—the text from the *Sūtra of the Sound Observer Savior of Suffering* 觀世音救苦經 (T. 34)—provides a date and clues for its production. It reads, "Made on an auspicious day of midwinter, in the forty-fourth year [1616] of the Wanli period [1573-1620] in the Ming dynasty."[78] The text is ultimately derived from a variation of Chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sūtra*—one of the most popular and widely read texts across East Asia.[79] Six characters, "Venerable Buddha of Immeasurable Life" 南無無量壽 written at the center of the bowl's interior, speak to wishes for eternal life. They are a direct reference to the Buddha of the Western Paradise, Amitābha, and a text associated with rebirth in the western paradise: the *Sūtra of Immeasurable Life* 觀無量壽經 (T. 365).

According to the *Record by Juyin* 菊隱紀聞 written by Mao Hongbin 毛鴻賓 (1806-1868), the Empress Dowager Cisheng's 慈聖 birthday was celebrated on November 19th each year.[80] On the bowl's pictorial side opposite the *sūtra*, the Bodhisattva of Compassion is depicted amidst a sea of waves with a young Sudhana and martial Weituo 韋陀 in attendance—standard iconography for the *Lotus Sūtra* chapter dedicated to the Sound Observer as Savior of Suffering (Avalokiteśvara) in contemporary prints. The object appears to have been part of a final memorial the Wanli Emperor made on his mother's behalf; in the same month and year, he also dedicated a woodblock-printed Buddhist sūtra in her memory.[81] During her life, the emperor also produced an elegantly carved stele in her honor referencing this same link to the Nine Lotus Bodhisattva, which elevated his mother's status to that of a deity bypassing the second-tier position to which she was relegated during her life vis à vis the primary Empress Dowager, Xiaoan

[76] The inventory number of this bowl is "新 105325" indicates this object was collected in Palace Museum after 1949, rather than the imperial collection amassed before the end of dynastic China. This bowl has no reign mark, which is one of the primary reasons we assume it is a product from a private kiln.

[77] Yu Minzhong 于敏中, ed., 日下舊聞考 [Investigation of Old News in the Present Period] (Beijing: Beijing Guji Press, 1985), v. 110:1840.

[78] The last line of the inscription provides the date: 明萬曆四十四年歲次丙辰仲冬月吉日精造. The Palace Museum, ed., *Ceramics Gallery of the Palace Museum* (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 2008), v. 2:349, pl. 272. 中國歷代觀音文獻集成 (Beijing: National Library of China, Manuscript Microfilm Reproduction Center), v. 1:76-81.

[79] T. 262; 妙法蓮華經 第 7 卷 (妙法蓮華經觀世音菩薩普門品第二十五) [Lotus Sutra, Chapter 25, Universal Gate on Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva], last accessed October 31, 2018 http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T09n0262_007

[80] "The Empress Dowager Cisheng was born in Yongledian, Huo prefecture. She devoutly worshipped the Buddha and was called the 'Nine Lotus Bodhisattva' in the court. Every year, on her birthday, November 19, officials of all ranks congratulated [her] in front of the Meridian Gate…… 明慈聖皇太后生於漷縣之永樂店, 事佛甚謹, 宮中稱為九蓮菩薩. 每歲十一月十九日為其聖誕, 百官率於午門前稱賀…." Yu Minzhong 于敏中, ed., 日下舊聞考 [Investigation of Old News in the Present Period] (Beijing: Beijing Guji Press, 1985), v. 110:1840.

[81] The dedicatory inscription (of this apocryphal text) reads in part, "The current emperor [Wanli Emperor] sincerely produced the *Sutra of Incarnation of the Benevolent Savior Lotus Bodhisattva*, to reciprocate benevolence and to aid the common people……" 當今皇帝（明神宗）謹發誠心印造, 大慈至聖九蓮菩薩化身度世尊經一藏, 以此功德上報慈仁……Xu Yizhi 徐一智, "明代帝王與觀音信仰: 以永樂與萬曆朝編纂的兩本觀音經典為例 [Ming Emperors and the Faith of Guanyin: A Case Study of Two Guanyin Scriptures Compiled in Yongle and Wanli Periods]," 東吳歷史學報 [Dongwu Journal of History], v. 29, 2013 (June): 36.

Chen 孝安陳皇后 (?-1596).[82] The court also facilitated other Buddhist objects in her honor during this period; Wanli's highest-ranking concubine Zheng 鄭貴妃 (1565-1630) also commissioned a variant of the sūtra associated with Guanyin as Savior.[83] In this print it is clear that the deity is the Water-Moon Guanyin; a willow branch, placed in a bottle, rests on the rocky ledge nearby. On the porcelain bowl, the iconography is not so definitive; the attending figures (Sudhana and Weituo) are present but the bodhisattva stands and glides across the waves instead of resting on the edge of the sea (as is evident in the print). In the early seventeenth century this popular iconography (with variations) migrated across media and social boundaries; the court became interested in ordering popular religious themes albeit on a limited basis. The private kilns became more technically proficient to produce them in porcelain.

Extant holdings in the Palace Museum, Beijing are a good barometer of the importance of the female figure in official ceramics. Among the 9,023 Ming Dynasty ceramic and porcelain objects in the collection, 245 pieces are embellished with human figures; of those less than 3.7% (9 pieces) feature compositions with women.[84] This is an indication that in normative, elite culture, motifs displaying the female form were not in demand or desirable. Similarly, among the museum's collection of Qing Dynasty vessels, less than 1% of 331,521 pieces in the collection from this era feature designs with figures (2,335); among those, just 120 (less than 5.2%) contain women.[85] Factoring the number of vessels with female figures (120) against the total number of Qing dynasty ceramic objects in the Palace Museum Beijing collection, the female form is statistically insignificant.[86] It is worth noting that the introduction of non-imperial kiln objects, some ordered by the court but executed by private (or folk) kilns, complicates the picture of "female motifs" on porcelain images in Ming and Qing porcelain. Yet, several of these, such as the commemorative bowl (d. 1616) made posthumously for the dowager mother is an indication of a shift in imperial taste by the Wanli period—just at the beginning of the Transitional Period **(fig. 1.10)**.

One might ask why when after the beginning of the Transitional Period (ca. 1620-1683), when private kilns began producing more complex narratives and a greater number of motifs featuring women that overall the imperial collection while growing substantially—approximately five-fold from the Ming holdings—experienced such a small increase of vessels with motifs containing designs with female figures. Would not the court collection reflect broader changes unfolding in kilns in Jingdezhen even if their

[82] Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 explains that when the Wanli Emperor, Zhu Yijun 萬曆皇帝朱翊鈞 (1563-1620, r. 1573-1620) ascended the throne, Empress Dowager Li (1546-1614) was only his biological mother. The legal Empress Dowager was Xiaoan Chen 孝安陳皇后 (?-1596). Because her son ascended to the throne, Li was upgraded from an imperial concubine to Empress Dowager; yet, Xiaoan Chen always preceded her in status. The title "Nine Lotus Bodhisattva" was established to elevate Empress dowager Li to that of a deity …" Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, "明萬曆年間為九蓮菩薩編造的兩部經 [Two Sūtras Compiled for the Nine Lotus Bodhisattva in the Ming Wanli Period]," 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], v. 2 (1985): 39.

[83] *Sūtra of the Sound Observer Savior of Suffering* 佛說觀世音菩薩救苦經, printed by the highest-ranking imperial concubine Zheng 鄭貴妃 (1565-1630), Wanli period 萬曆 (1573-1620), private collection. The Guanyin portrait is in the National Library of China, last accessed September 30, 2020 http://www.nlc.cn/dsb_zt/xzzt/mjscz/zlxq/dhys/index_19.htm

[84] Overall, the number of Ming dynasty porcelain objects with female figures (9 of 9,023) constitute approximately 1% of those in the collection. These statistics were gathered from the museum's internal database, The Palace Museum's Collection Information System 故宮博物院文物執行資訊系統. Terms entered into the database were "*shinü* (scholarly woman)" and "*nü* (woman or female)." An additional preliminary survey was also conducted May 14, 2015 with Lü Chenglong, (former) director of porcelain department in The Palace Museum.

[85] In the entire collection, 144 porcelain and ceramic wares with decoration containing female motifs are extant; eleven of these are dated to the Song dynasty, nine date to the Ming dynasty, 120 of these are Qing dynasty, and four pieces are from the modern period (after 1911). In the next phase of this research one could imagine broadening the nomenclature and analyzing the precise nature and origins of the objects themselves. The issue of the key words initially entered into the database itself is a mitigating factor, as well. That is, the analysis is dependent on the initial data entry and what constitutes "female" motifs.

[86] When considering the statistics on a granular level, 120 porcelain featuring women among a total of 331,521 in Beijing Palace Collection dated to the Qing period, yields a number less than 1%; i.e., ca .0004.

pieces were crafted in official sites? The fact that there was little change in official kiln wares probably lies in the fact that notably, although after the late Ming and early Qing periods, the figural decoration that typically includes women—scenes with families including mothers and sons; religious icons with a strong following among the population; and love scenes between paramours—those that might be considered "folk" (*minjian*) or linked to novels and the stage—were not subject matter typically used in court porcelain motifs. And this emphasizes the importance of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. These collections provide researchers with a crucial perspective on the dramatic increase in narrative imagery in ceramics in the early seventeenth century and the prominence of women in porcelain manufactured in non-official kilns. These elements, particularly the shift in gendered motifs, are not readily visible in collections that focus on elite vessels.

Before the Transitional Period, imperial wares largely produced in Jingdezhen did not seem to provide the conceptual space for the representation of women the way that paintings featuring court women at leisure did.[87] The absence of extensive tales and figures before the mid-Ming dynasty points to the larger issue; ceramics were not a site of extensive narrative expression at least before the fifteenth century. The expansion of figural motifs and narrative complexity developed largely during the middle Ming Dynasty—the so-called "Blank period" (1436-1464), which spanned three imperial reigns: Zhengtong (1436-1449), Jingtai (1450-1456), and Tianshun (1457-1464). For nearly three decades, the quantity of official porcelain manufacture reduced precipitously; kilns produced private porcelain orders, during which time figural motifs on blue-and-white wares (jars and bottles) became increasingly common.

Narration and Female Representation in Late Ming

In the next century, during the Wanli period, *Kraak* porcelain and the other Transitional Period-style blue and white porcelain were manufactured in Jingdezhen private kilns to meet the demand of the European market. Especially after official kilns were closed in the fourth-eighth year of Wanli's reign (1620 C.E.), figural compositions developed rapidly. Narratives rich in content developed alongside figural themes including children, Daoist immortals, officials, scholars, women, and genre scenes of farmers, fishermen, and woodcutters. As complex narrative(s) starring women in key and often physically active roles developed, it does not mean that male figures disappear but the new focus on the female form is simultaneous with the migration of themes of women across mediums including painting, prints, and porcelain surfaces by the early seventeenth century **(figs. 1.20-1.23)**.

It is interesting to note the important shift in Jingdezhen production that made it possible for imperial wares in the late Ming such as a bowl to commemorate the passing of Emperor Wanli's mother to be produced in private kilns. The products from folk kilns began to supplement those of official kilns beginning in the Jiajing 嘉靖 period (1522-1566). In the late Ming period, as the imperial demand for porcelain wares increased annually and the administration of the official kilns was in disarray, a portion of imperial kiln production was assigned to non-official kilns to keep pace with deadlines.[88] Ceramics commissioned for official purposes in private kilns were designated as "government wares fired in private kilns" 官搭民燒 (*guanda minshao*). Further, eunuchs assigned to oversee the Jingdezhen official kilns in the late

[87] Images of women in garden scenes were popular going as far back as the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.). Even in the sixth century, filial women were a popular subject in painting even if these themes sometimes had a didactic, even punitive focus (such as the *Admonitions of the Court Instructress*).

[88] Wu Junming 吳軍明 et al., "論'官搭民燒'對景德鎮瓷業發展的影響 [Discussion on the Impact of 'guanda minshao' on the Development of Jingdezhen Porcelain Industry," 陶瓷學報 [Journal of Ceramics], v. 33, n. 4 (December 2012): 437.

Ming government engaged in corrupt managerial practices.[89] Jingdezhen kiln managers and artisans resisted collaboration; as a result, the court often did not send supervisors during this period. In sum, Ming imperial orders for porcelain manufactured at folk (private) kilns were less expensive and more efficiently produced than objects fired in official kilns.

Another bowl produced by a private kiln during the Wanli period also features a female motif in a casually-rendered hand in underglaze blue **(figs. 1.11a-1.11b)**. The free drawing style, typically a marker of lesser technical quality, is also an indication of private kiln production. The exterior surface of the bowl features a garden scene of a woman resting on a rock near a willow tree; holding a walking stick in her left hand, she gazes at three small boys playing. Clouds and a sun (or moon?) hover overhead; the simple landscape is completed by two birds flying above the children. The inscription at the base—"Made in Xuande Period" 宣德年制 (1426-1435)—provides critical if inaccurate data about the object. Despite the *Xuande* reign mark, this bowl dates to more than a century later, sometime between 1580 to 1600.[90] Porcelains made in later periods with earlier reign marks are a phenomenon that emerged in the Chenghua 成化 (1465-1487) period. Due to the high prices that early Ming porcelain wares could garner in the late Ming market, apocryphal marks added to new vessels would have been added for commercial profit. Regarding apocryphal reign marks on export porcelains, Stacey Pierson notes: "the broker for this transaction felt that the mark would make the piece appear more valuable, as it would likely have to a Chinese consumer in the Ming, or more "Chinese," which may also have enhanced its value to foreign consumers."[91] The conical shape of the bowl is an archaistic stylistic feature that gestures back to earlier *Ding* ware made in the N. Song dynasty. The family-centered décor is new but the shape recalls the deeply sloped bowls and small, shaped foot common in *Ding* production.[92]

Local and Global: Experimentation in the Making of Transcultural Ceramics

This interesting mix of new subject matter combined with stylistic experimentation is typical of works during the Transitional Period when the private kilns were the primary producers. Without court oversight, the same kilns also produced wares for export that incorporated materials from foreign sources and other experimental motifs. An indication that export wares included a relaxed drawing style and a freer range of motifs is evident in a plate that includes Middle Eastern figures in the central medallion

[89] According to the *Veritable Record of Wanli Emperor* 明神宗實錄, in February 1602 (Wanli 30th year), Pan Xiang, an eunuch responsible for taxing Jiangxi Province, and his assistant Wang Si, were arbitrary in executing their duties in Jingdezhen. They provoked a rebellion, further leading to the destruction of the imperial porcelain factory. 萬曆三十年二月, 江西稅監潘相, 舍人王四等於饒州橫恣激變, 致毀器廠. Wen Tiren 溫體仁, ed., 明神宗實錄 [Veritable Record of Wanli Emperor] (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962), v. 368:6886.

[90] Object description available on the British Museum website, last accessed November 15, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3181333&partId=1&searchText=Ming+blue-and-white+Bowl&page=1. "The technique, used at the Museum, is non-destructive and instantaneous. By focusing on an area of a pot, say a patch of cobalt from the hat of a figure, XRF peaks can be generated which show the different mineral elements in the sample and their approximate quantities." Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 569.

[91] Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 46; ff. 18. The practice of adding earlier reign marks to set higher prices began in the Chenghua period, Tsui Museum of Art 成窯遺珍: 景德鎮珠山出土成化官窯瓷器 [A *Legacy of Chenghua: Imperial Porcelain of the Chenghua Reign Excavated from Zhushan, Jingdezhen*] (Hong Kong: Xushi Museum, 1993), 110.

[92] For examples of white N. Song *Ding* ware see, 故宮博物院 [Palace Museum, Beijing], ed., 故宮藏傳世瓷器真贋對比歷代古窯址標本圖錄 [*A Contrast between Genuine and Fake Porcelain and the Porcelain Specimens from Ancient Kiln Sites Collected in the Palace Museum* (*Pictorial Album*)], (Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 1998), 43.

(fig. 1.12). Two critically important issues emerge about this plate, commonly known as *Kraak* ware after the Portuguese term for cargo vessels used to transport ceramics from East Asia.[93] First, the two figures enjoying refreshments in a garden—a woman presents tea or fruit to the man (or woman) on the right—represent the cross-media circulation of a motif that most likely traveled from Persian drawings and became a popular albeit schematized motif in the central medallion of Jingdezhen export ware. Second, the large plate represents a remarkable transcultural triangulation of artistic appropriation. Designs modified from Dutch emulation of Turkish ceramics featuring tulips and other flowers often depicted on Delftware were joined with the garden scene and drawn on a wooden plate that served as a template and sent to a Jingdezhen private kiln for production.[94]

The plate and two similar versions featuring this garden scene with two Persian figures are framed by a rim with flower sprays and landscape vignettes; the flower motifs are quite distinctive and are traceable to Ottoman decorative schema. Six large panels brimming with tulips and carnations alternate with narrower bands with the same shapes. The thin, elongated tulips reflect Dutch appreciation of Ottoman pottery ornamentation, identified as patterns from sixteenth-seventeenth century Iznik kiln ware, southeast of Istanbul.[95] The same floral styles were also incorporated in Ottoman (Turkish) textiles, an indication that this motif was highly mobile and easily incorporated into a range of mediums; in European décor, this design became known as "Dutch flowers." Yet, they had their origin in Turkish ornamentation and subject matter.[96]

Interspersed with the Ottoman ornamentation are two scenes of Chinese peasants carrying farm implements; in the Boston and British Museum plates the figure's left foot is raised as if he is in mid-step, perhaps returning home from the fields.[97] Considered on its own, this is a curious theme paired with the scene of tea drinking at the center. But a fourth version of the dish contains an expanded number of farmer-fisherman genre scenes; increased to four, they correspond to the four noble pursuits—fishing, gathering firewood, cultivating the land, and reading (*yuqiao gengdu* 漁樵耕讀)—a Confucian subject associated with the ideal life of the scholar-official.[98] These subjects are connected to eremitism or the tradition or reclusion—genre scenes of leisure for the educated elite. If the intended clients or patrons of

[93] Campen explains the term may derive from *carraca* (*kraken* in Dutch), a type of Portuguese trading vessel, Karina Corrigan, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, eds., *Asia in Amsterdam: the Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2015), 142.

[94] Scholars speculate the shape of the plate was Dutch; the wood was sourced in present-day Taiwan, T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers: 1602-1682* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 37-8; 59-60. Wares with loose designs and similar plate compositions were also produced in Swatow (Shantou), Guangzhou for export to Muslim clients in Southeast Asia. This Boston plate, though, is consistent with pieces made in Zhangzhou, Fujian and Jingdezhen. The Percival David Collection in the British Museum holds a similar plate of tea-drinking figures, produced in Jingdezhen; last accessed May 12, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-C-645

[95] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade* (London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd., 1989), 113; 239. An example of Iznik design and flower combinations considered to be a general referent in the Persian-figured plates, d. ca.1575, see Katharine Baetjer and James David Draper, eds., *"Only the Best": Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 64. Thanks to my student, Dr. Yu Yusen, now teaching at The University of St. Andrews, for providing these references.

[96] Further details on Ottoman *kemha* silks available in Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh, eds., *Kraak Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th centuries* (London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2008), 37.

[97] The two panels in the British Museum plate has what appears to be fish lashed to a fisherman's pole; last accessed December 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3181182&partId=1&searchText=Ming+dish&page=3. The implements in a Dresden version and the Museum of Fine Arts Boston plate are similar (perhaps a tool for working the earth, such as a hoe), last accessed December 1, 2018 https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/large-deep-plate-with-blue-and-white-decoration-of-middle-eastern-figures-and-flowers-23442.

[98] Julie Emerson, Jennifer Chen, and Mimi Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (Seattle: The Seattle Art Museum, 2000), 253.

this Jingdezhen export ware were West Asian, these frequent motifs could be read as "exotic" or sufficiently "Chinese" to satisfy the demand for East Asian content that was popular in many art circles including the Safavids (1501-1722).[99] Comparing the setting to the drawing in ink and gold of Persian figures relaxing and partaking of refreshments, it is easier to parse some of the oddly-shaped details such as the rocks. These elements might be best understood in earlier iterations as cushions, on which the male figure rests as a woman offers a bowl of fruit; there is some slight suggestion of an amorous encounter.[100] In the ceramics, the granular detail is no longer evident, even the gender of the second figure evident in the body posture in the drawing is not recognizable; these elements indicate the scene most likely began in drawing and was then appropriated in ceramic form. As a global object with themes and forms that circulated between Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia, one of the unresolved shifts in Jingdezhen porcelain motifs is the introduction of foreign women into image decoration.

The question of gender is compelling in terms of the circulation of motifs and transcultural interpretation of new and unfamiliar content. The "woman" may have been a boy in earlier Persian prototypes. A Persian model suggests that an earlier design features a man being offered tea by a woman or a young, beardless boy. The popularity of Safavid Persian designs in seventeenth-eighteenth century Europe is evident in drawings by Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1643-1713).[101] Chardin's drawings transform contemporary Persian clothing that resembles that of *Kraak* (export) porcelain figures. Chardin's sketches were not necessarily the direct source of this plate under discussion but similar prototypes may have been a referent. Later, European patrons may have placed orders in Jingdezhen ateliers using these transgressive motifs, suggesting that it was European patrons who drafted the compositional vignette (rather than Persian clients).[102] Although it is beyond the scope of this essay to explore the history of this cross-media experimentation of Persian designs and Chinese ceramics, we can briefly note the transcultural exchanges that made it possible for export ware to travel from China's coast to European courts and markets.

Porcelain Routes

The porcelain produced in China was shipped to Europe by professional trading companies; the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was founded in 1602. Using Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia) and Formosa (Taiwan) as trading hubs, the VOC acquired porcelain from Batavian traders and also via direct trade with Chinese dealers (in Guangzhou). The Dutch created a hybrid culture and government center in Batavia; its population included Europeans, Chinese, and local Javanese.[103] From 1634, as the VOC began to dominate trade, the business of customized porcelain increased.[104] The regime change from the Ming to Qing dyn-

[99] L. Vinhais and J. Welsh, *Kraak Porcelain: Rise of Global Trade*, 290-95.

[100] Sussan Babaie and Marie Lukens Swietochowski, *Persian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 58-9. Again, we are indebted to Yu Yusen for leading us to this material.

[101] Last accessed December 15, 2018 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:74_Chardin_Safavid_Persia_women_customs.jpg

[102] This is consistent with the "domestication" process, Ann Gerritsen describes in transcultural exchanges. Anne Gerritsen, "Transcultural Objects, Movements, and Bodies," in *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, ed. by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 241. Europeans juxtapose Chinese motifs with those of other origins, including Persia in this case. It attests that the plates were ordered by European clientele.

[103] K. Corrigan, J. van Campen, F. Diercks, eds., *Asia in Amsterdam*, 40. Maps and paintings amplifying the discussion on trading culture are found in the same volume, pages 21-30.

[104] Christiaan J. A. Jörg, 17 世紀銷往荷蘭的中國瓷器: 貿易網絡和私人企業 [Chinese porcelain Exports to the Netherlands in the 17th Century: Trade Network and Private Enterprise], in 古代外銷瓷器研究 [Collection of the

asties in the mid-seventeenth century directly impacted the supply of Chinese porcelain; Batavia merchants began to use Japanese porcelains to replace Chinese supplies due to shortages after 1645. Once the Qing army gained control of the south in the early 1680s, Guangzhou (and Xiamen) licensed traders gradually returned.[105] A century later, the Dutch East Asian Trading Company had established an active trading post in Guangzhou.[106] The monsoon season greatly impacted maritime travel; ships would arrive in Batavia between October and March. The onward journey to the Netherlands was limited from April to October requiring at least five months. After docking, the cargo was accessible for inspection at the company's Amsterdam warehouse where freight was usually sold at auctions publicized across Europe.[107]

A new study makes it clear that a private network played a critical role in amassing the Sachsen Court collection once objects were sold to European dealers. Augustus the Strong initially relied on one agent, an Italian officer, Peter Robert Taparelli, Count of Lagnasco (1659-1735). The King's substantial acquisition of East Asian porcelain did not begin before 1715; upon his death in 1733 he owned more than 26,800 pieces from China and Japan.[108] In July 1716, Lagnasco traveled to Amsterdam and The Hague with the mandate of "scouting the art market of the Netherlands to buy porcelain and other luxuries for the furnishings of the Japanese Palace."[109] Lagnasco's work required local middlemen. He succeeded in making two large porcelain purchases with the help of Egidius van den Bempden (1667-1737) from 1716 to March 1717.[110] Van den Bempden was from a wealthy merchant family with close connections to dealers in Amsterdam and The Hague; he also became one of the VOC directors and the elected mayor of Amsterdam in 1719.[111] His duties involved communicating with other brokers, accepting deliveries; arranging for purchases, packing and shipping; and expediting bureaucratic matters including arranging waived custom fees. Van den Bempden concluded most purchases by January 1717 but delayed the shipment of seventy crates until March to resolve transport questions; both the overland and water routes had their risks. The Swedes blocked access to the Elbe River; large crates with breakable porcelain made transport via cart precarious. Nonetheless, Augustus the Strong ordered the latter option; the journey from Amsterdam to Dresden took approximately one month and the first big overland shipment from Amsterdam successfully arrived in Dresden on April 2, 1717.[112]

After the first phase, the task of acquiring porcelain was passed to the couple Madame and Monsieur Jean St. Martin in The Hague; Lagnasco also stayed in The Hague to oversee purchases until 1718.[113] Madame St. Martin travelled regularly to Amsterdam to seek wares especially during the seasons when

research of Ancient Export Ceramics], trans. Li Bing 李冰 (Beijing: Palace Museum, 2013), 231-2. This year was also the beginning of the Transitional Period. Sources for motifs were largely from Chinese woodblock prints and book illustrations; Dutch wooden models were often used for samples.

[105] C. Jörg, Chinese porcelain Exports to the Netherlands in the 17th Century, 238.

[106] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Scratching the Surface: The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China, chap. in *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asian,* ed. Michael North and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), 208.

[107] Ruth Sonja Simonis, *Microstructures of global trade: Porcelain acquisitions through private trade networks for Augustus the Strong* (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2020), 8; 21-7. Last accessed May 4, 2020 https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.499.

[108] This number also includes pieces of German Meissen manufacture. Cora Würmell, "A Microcosm of Early Globalization: The East Asian Porcelain in the Collection of August the Strong," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, v. 49 (2016): 57.

[109] Ruth S. Simonis, "How to Furnish a Palace: Porcelain Acquisitions in the Netherlands for Augustus the Strong, 1716-1718," *Journal for Art Market Studies*, n. 3 (2018): 9.

[110] Idem., *Microstructures of global trade*, 31.

[111] Ruth Simonis, "How to Furnish a Palace," *Journal for Art Market Studies*: 9.

[112] R. Simonis, *Microstructures of global trade*, 52; 55. R. Simonis, "How to Furnish a Palace: 9; 14; 45.

[113] Simonis, *Microstructures of global trade*, 33.

VOC ships arrived; fierce competition among buyers made acquisitions challenging.[114] But the couple had access to an extensive network of merchants and collectors including nobility whom they attempted to persuade to sell porcelain to the King. The St. Martins also had connections with VOC traders, permitting them advance access to objects. This far-reaching trading system accounts for the great variety and superior quality of Augustus the Strong's ceramic collection.

Staging New Narrative Spaces

For porcelain production, the Transitional Period was largely defined by the increasing presence of female representations as we have discussed above, and an expansion of narratives on porcelain surfaces, especially in vessels exported or made for export. Another notable development is artists began to venture far beyond mono-scenic descriptions of space and place during this period. On one small ovoid jar datable to ca. 1635-1640, the well-known tale of the Han official Su Wu 蘇武 and general Li Ling 李陵 is depicted; with great economy, artists convey space, hierarchy, and capture something of the figures' emotions on the nomadic frontier **(fig. 1.13)**.[115] Spatial recession is intensified by placing the men on diagonals to create tension, similar to techniques exploited in scroll painting. The heightened tension is critical to the heart-wrenching tale set in the Han dynasty between two old friends who suffered under a long-term, protracted struggle between the Han emperor and the Xiongnu chieftain.[116] It is similarly recounted in a 1635 painting attributed to Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652); Su (with the State staff) and Li appear on the left. Their attendants are also paired in conversation on a dramatic angle opposite them on the right.[117] This synoptic moment in both contemporaneous painting and on the porcelain jar commemorates the moment when Su and Li bid their final farewell; in their third encounter in Xiongnu territory, Su Wu returns to Han territory after being held hostage for many years.[118] Li Ling had lured him to the frontier at the behest of the Xiongnu in hopes of having Su "switch sides 'too'." Li had been captured years earlier during a Han court campaign. The story ultimately questions loyalty and service. Li was assumed a traitor and his entire family was killed during his period of exile; therefore, he was effectively homeless and stateless, yet he had never betrayed the Han emperor—his capture was never a willing one (even though he stayed with the Xiongnu).[119] The painting captures with a bit more nuance the drama

[114] Simonis, *Microstructures of global trade*, 48-9; 55. Their porcelain acquisitions were not amassed in a warehouse for bulk shipment in the manner of Van den Bempden; purchases instead were shipped as they were finalized.
[115] Michael Butler and Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain from the Shanghai Museum and the Butler Collections* (New York: Scala Publishers, 2006), 92. The vessel type is known as a "Lotus Seed Jar" 蓮子罐 popular during the late Ming-early Qing period. Xu Shaoyin 許紹銀 and Xu Ke 許可, eds., 中國陶瓷辭典 [Dictionary of Chinese Porcelain] (Beijing: Zhongguo Literature and History Press, 2013), 276.
[116] The Butler jar composition is more consistent with those on paintings than printed illustrations. Prints from the Wanli period focus on individual scenes of hardship; e.g., "Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊,"
see Fang Yanshou 方彥壽, 建陽刻書史 [History of Printed Books in Jianyang] (Beijing: Zhongguo Society Press, 2003), 436; and *Minister herding sheep holding a tasseled-staff* 牧羊持節臣, carved in the 21th year of Wanli period (1593), Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Wang Fukang 王福康, 中國古代插圖史 [*History of Ancient Chinese Illustrations*] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2007), 87.
[117] "Farewell of Su Wu and Li Ling," 1635, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, Berkeley Art Museum, University of California, reproduced in Julia M. White, ed., *Repentant Monk: Illusion and Disillusion in the Art of Chen Hongshou* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 116-117.
[118] Ascribed to Li Ling 李陵, "舊題'李少卿與蘇武詩' (其三) [Old Title 'Poem Written by Li Ling for Su Wu,' n. 3]," 兩漢詩傳 *Record of Poems in Two Han Dynasties* (Changchun: Jilin People's Press, 2000), 296.
[119] Ban Gu 班固, 漢書 [History of Former Han Dynasty] (Changsha: Yuelu Publishing House, 2008), 943-44.

of the moment than the detail on the jar, yet the ability to position the figures in a dynamic space to suggest human pathos approaches the look and expressive monumentality in painting.

Additional porcelain pieces mark important developments in the formation of narrative complexity; the first development is thematically-linked, sequential scenes arrayed separately across the vessel surface, the second is in the area of color application, and the third is in the use of color to introduce bold-acting female protagonists. A bowl in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston displays a complex arrangement of figures—eighteen scholars in a relatively small space with many props—expands on the organization evident in the Su Wu and Li Ling composition during the earlier period **(fig. 1.14).** Taking advantage of the curvature of the bowl, separate scenes highlight activities of scholars' gatherings in three zones.[120] In the section reproduced here scholars both write calligraphy (left) and appreciate paintings, divided by a cluster of rocks that dramatically emerge from the mid-ground to suggest a change in action. On the right, five men view a hanging scroll extended horizontally at a slight diagonal to suggest the garden space of their leisure activities; their gazes are varied as they glance at one another across the painting.[121] Just visible to the right are a pair of calligraphers who gather around a rock-made table, an inkstone, and brush. Beyond the landscape partition, to the left, the second scene begins: two scholars' banter over a game of *go*; a table filled with books, a teacup, and a flower vase enters at a forty-five-degree angle to produce the effect of an outdoor calligraphy and painting studio. In the four sections on the exterior rim are plants symbolically associated with the upright scholar including pine, bamboo, and plum that accent the main composition below.[122]

A plate from the Sir Percival David Collection with underglaze blue and red depicts a scene of an official and attendants in a garden path demonstrates the importance of advancements in glazes to convey meaning in storytelling **(figs. 1.15a-b)**. The use of strong diagonals cutting through the circular shape of the plate is especially dramatic and suggests connections with other pictorial surfaces such as album leaves. The most important issue in the plate (for our purposes) is that before the Kangxi period, underglaze red was used primarily for decorative figures such as dragons. In this plate, which features a genre scene of a boy holding a zither 琴 (*qin*) while gesturing at the sun, both underglaze copper-red and cobalt blue are applied liberally in the landscape enhancing the drama of the boy's emphatic gesture towards the sky. The dual tones intensify the message of the vignette, "pointing to the sun, hoping to be promoted to a higher rank 指日高升."[123] The older gentleman wearing the official cap beholds the auspicious rising sun, representing a future successful career.[124] The scene has been alternatively identified as a nighttime sky illuminated by the moon; yet if this were an auspicious message geared towards ambitious young progeny, the daytime interpretation makes more sense (and the sky also appears in a bright, crimson red).

---

[120] The painting composition is purported to have begun in the Tang dynasty, Liu Xu 劉昫, 舊唐書[Former Tang Dynastic History] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2000), v. 72:1742-1743. Zhang Yanyuan recounts Yan Liben's painting the theme in 626 C.E., Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, 歷代名畫記 [Record of Famous Paintings Throughout the Ages] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985), v. 9:269.

[121] Xiao Xiao recounts the three types of Eighteen Scholars compositions after the Tang dynasty, 肖曉, "十八學士圖的觀念與模式研究 [Research on the Conception and Format of Depicting Eighteen Scholars]," 文物世界 [World of Antiquity], n. 2 (2012): 61.

[122] In a vase in the Palace Museum, Taipei, also dated to the Kangxi-period, the arrangement of themes is reversed. The neck is depicted with eighteen scholars playing *qin* and *go*, writing calligraphy and appreciating paintings. The belly (main body) of the vase is decorated with the symbolic flowers: scholars return from a spring outing appreciating lotus and chrysanthemums and picking plums; last accessed December 1, 2018 https://antiquities.npm.gov.tw/Utensils_Page.aspx?ItemId=302936

[123] Geng Baochang 耿寶昌,明清瓷器鑑定 [Authentication of Ming and Qing Porcelains] (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 1993), 202.

[124] The alternative object description is found on The British Museum website, last accessed December 1, 2018 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180161&partId=1&searchText=Qing+dish&page=5.

Although it bears the reign name of the Kangxi Emperor inside a double, underglaze-blue foot ring—in which is written "made by *Zhonghetang* Studio in the *Xinhai* Year (1671) of the Kangxi Reign 康熙辛亥中和堂製"—several indicators point to the dish being manufactured in a private kiln. Dating toward the last decade of the Transitional Period, the theme itself suggests independent manufacture.[125] Gesturing to the sun in hopes of advancement in rank references a mid-seventeenth century idiom found in Cheng Dengji's 程登吉 (1601-1648) text *Jade Forest of Learning for Children* 幼學瓊林.[126] Given that the emperor is at the apex of power, there would be no need for him to personally use this type of object in his orbit.[127] Instead this ware could be given as a gift to congratulate others on the cusp of promotion. A vase with a similar design is held in the collection of the Palace Museum Beijing.[128]

The Female Figure Becomes the Protagonist

This dual-tone plate featuring the theme of ambition is a key stepping stone in the development of complex narratives; tales featuring women in *famille verte* porcelain (green enamel) depicted in the full spectrum of colors (eventually) becomes ubiquitous **(figs. 1.16-1.20)**. This next section concentrates on five such Kangxi-period objects (one dates to the following Yongzheng period, 1723-1735); intricately-rendered tales are depicted in crisp detail. This is the moment when female protagonists on porcelain surfaces dramatically and emerge center stage. The new emphasis on women in active roles is best embodied on a vase with a scene of Liu Bei 劉備 and Sun Shangxiang's 孫尚香 wedding, which is part of a much larger plot in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義 **(fig. 1.16)**.[129] This wedding ceremony 劉備招親 is actually a complicated ruse in which Sun's family leverages both bride and groom as pawns. Set during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280 CE), Liu, somewhat contrary to tradition, marries into the bride's family; he is the founder of the State of Shu 蜀.[130] Lady Sun is the younger sister of Sun Quan 孫權, the powerful King of the State of Eastern Wu 東吳. On the vase, she wears a red over-cloak; her

[125] After closing at the end of the Wanli period (1620), the official kilns reopened in the 18th year (1651) of the Shunzhi period 順治 (1644-1661). However, they shuttered again due to the Revolt of the Three Feudatories 三藩之亂 (1673-1681). After the war, they reopened and resumed production in 1683, see Sun Yue 孫悅, "'榷陶'唐英與清代官窯 [Ceramics Supervisor Tang Ying and Official Kilns in the Qing Dynasty]," (Master's Thesis, Chinese National Academy of Arts, 2010), 18.

[126] "指日高升, 預賀官僚 [pointing to the sun, hoping to be promoted to a higher rank (is used) to congratulate officials before being promoted]." Cheng Dengji 程登吉, 幼學瓊林 [Jade Forest of Learning for Children] (Hangzhou: Hangzhou Ancient Book Press, 2013), v. 1:37.

[127] Peng Tao 彭涛, "康熙中和堂款瓷器官民窯性質的探討" [Research on Whether Porcelains with the Zhonghetang Mark during the Kangxi Period Are Official or Civilian Kilns], 南方文物 [Southern China Cultural Relics], n. 2 (2011): 152. Zhou Lili 周麗麗 also explores the issue of whether the "Zhonghetang Studio" is the mark of a civilian or official kiln "關于康熙'中和堂'款瓷器性質的討論 [A Study of Kangxi Wares with 'Zhonghetang Studio' Mark]," 上海博物館集刊 [Shanghai Museum Collected Journals], n. 12 (2012): 321-43.

[128] The surface on the Palace Museum vase is depicted with three officials attended by servants holding fans; two point at the sun surrounded by thin, floating clouds as the other gazes at the scene. Chen Ruimin 陳潤民 ed., 故宫博物院藏清代瓷器類選: 清順治康熙朝青花瓷 [Selection of Qing Porcelain Collected in the Palace Museum, Beijing: Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Qing Shunzhi and Kangxi Periods] (Beijing: the Forbidden City Press, 2005), 434-35.

[129] In the original version of the 三國志 [Record of the Three Kingdoms], According to Fan Guoqiang 范國強's research, the female protagonist is not given a name. She is first called Sun An 孫安 in the Yuan drama, then Sun Ren 孫仁; a third name, Sun Shangxiang 孫尚香, emerges in for the bride's role in Beijing opera. See Fan Guoqiang 范國強, "歷史記載與傳說想像對人物形象的構建: 以三國之孫夫人形象的歷史流變為例[Construction of the Personage in the Historical Record and the Legendary Imagination: the Historical Development of Madam Sun's Image as an Example]," 貴州社會學 [Guizhou Social Science Studies], n. 3 (2015): 85-91.

[130] Wu Wenzhi 吳文智, Qian Housheng 錢厚生, eds., 漢英翻譯大詞典 [Chinese-English Translation Dictionary] (Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2015), 2072.

attendant hoists a large feather fan above to highlight her status and locate the center of activity. Yet one of the women in her retinue behind the couple is less obsequious. Brandishing a long sword, she gazes pointedly in the groom's direction with her hand firmly on the weapon's hilt. The three women following at close step somewhat concealing their swords and are less menacing but the message is clear: this is not necessarily a friendly welcome for the groom, Li. Indeed, it is rare to see a ladies' retinue wielding weapons in Chinese art and the shift in eighteenth-century porcelain is notable.

Liu Xuande (Bei) is alarmed by the swords flanking the path towards the bed-chamber.[131] Lady Sun, fond of martial arts, had stockpiled her quarters with an array of weaponry inside. The narrative flow of the porcelain vase proceeds from left to right. Liu is positioned at the base of the stairs; half of his body gestures toward his betrothed, the other moves in the direction of the pavilion's entrance. This ambivalence may suggest the interior's martial atmosphere, which has given him pause. The text recounts her laughter at Liu's trepidation and his request to remove the weapons (despite his long military career) but she relents and has the objects removed before the maid serves them. He has good reason to be nervous. According to the tale, the marriage takes place under false pretenses.[132] Lady Sun is the leading figure in a "honey trap" (or "beautiful woman scheme" 美人記) to entice Liu to the State of Wu.

Despite the pretense, or because of it, the colorful *famille verte* vase provides granular detail of an evening wedding event. The hair of both bride and groom is festooned with red ornaments; and two sets of maidservants are stationed symmetrically at the terrace's base and portico, holding red lanterns, a wine pot, and food tray. Inside, moving right along the corridor, the table is set festively with a special wedding banquet to celebrate the occasion (these and the following details are not visible in the reproduction).[133] Four female musicians playing the drums, flute, reed pipe 笙 (*sheng*), and cymbals (*gong*), which stand below lanterns and a red, true-love knot affixed to the eaves. A verdant banana tree, rocks, and small embankment on the pavilion's edge bring the scene to a close.[134] The application of the *famille verte* glaze unites the details: the foliage, groom's robe, lattice doors, rockery, terrace landing, and tree bark are executed in this singular pastel green. And, above, a red-scalloped design beyond the roofline suggests a temporal and spatial cohesion to distinguish the private nature of their activities from the outside world. Small motifs of young boys playing outdoor games on the vase's neck point to the meaning and purpose of the marriage scene below: a wish for multiple male children.[135]

Sixteenth-century woodblock prints are one of the key, cross-media referents for this type of *Three Kingdom* porcelain composition. A Wanli-period print dated to 1591 depicts similar architecture, servants with lanterns, and ceremonial weapons (a long ax 長斧 and long hammer 長錘); another from the late Ming also depicts maids brandishing weaponry.[136] A third titled, *Liu Bei Marrying Madame Sun* 劉玄德

---

[131] "驚看侍女横刀立, 疑是東吳設伏兵 … 卻說玄德見孫夫人房中兩邊槍刀森列, 侍婢皆佩劍, 不覺失色." Attributed to Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, trans. Moss Roberts, 大中華文漢英英對照三國演義 [Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Three Kingdoms] (Beijing; Changsha: Foreign Languages Press and Hunan People's Publishing House, 2000), 1318-21.

[132] Sun Quan, Lady Sun's older brother explained the marriage ploy to his mother. Zhou Yu intended to retake Jingzhou 荊州. Using the marriage to bring Liu to Eastern Wu, the strategy was to detain him, then trade Liu for (possession of) Jingzhou, or kill him if Jingzhou refused. No actual marriage was intended. Attrib. Luo Guanzhong, trans. M. Roberts, *Chinese-English Three Kingdoms* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2000), 1311.

[133] 8 dishes and 4 bowls 八盘四碗 set between two rows of plates is symbolic in a traditional Chinese banquet. "4 bowls" symbolizes making a fortune in the four seasons; "8 plates" refers to prospering and thriving. Together they conjure joyous meaning for the wedding ceremony (the details are approximate on the vase).

[134] Chen Kelun 陳克倫, 藝林擷珍叢書: 瓷器 [Compendium of *Masterpieces*: Porcelain] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Press, 1997), 74.

[135] Chen Weiyan 陳維豔, "中國傳統嬰戲圖中祈子民俗觀探析 [Study on the Folk Concept of Praying for Children in Chinese Traditional Paintings of Playing Children]," in 美術教育研究 [Art Education Research], n. 7 (2018): 33-6.

[136] 三國志通俗演義 [Romance of the Three Kingdoms], engraved in the 19th year of the Wanli period (1591) 明萬曆十九年刊本, National Archives of Japan 日本内閣文庫, v. 6:31, last accessed December 1, 2018

娶孫夫人, omits the arms and focuses on the wedding.[137] In this image, eight figures including Liu Bei, Madame Sun, and six maidservants are depicted on a stage enclosed by the horizontal and diagonal bamboo handrails, which weave behind the building. The close relationship between the prints and the porcelain speaks to the growing importance of printed book narratives in the Jingdezhen industry during the early Qing dynasty.

The Romance of the Western Chamber, one of the most popular dramas during the Jin to Qing dynasties, as established, received particular innovative treatment during the Transitional Period on large porcelain surfaces such as the oversize, *famille verte* fish jar in the Porzellansammlung (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden) collection **(fig. 1.17)**.[138] All twenty-four chapters of the drama are depicted in separate frames, an indication that vernacular scenes featuring women had become the norm—if not in porcelain for the court, certainly in other ceramic production, and in prints and painting; this indicates the mobility of this theme across media. In the Jin pillow discussed at the beginning of this essay, only one scene from the tale adorns the surface **(fig. 1.1)**. And in a thirteenth-century Yuan vase, also explored in the first section, three scenes are depicted on the vessel. In contrast, in this fish jar, women are found in virtually every encounter. The twenty-four panels are divided by floral bands punctuated by two, large (painted) floral knots. The sections are organized in three registers from top to bottom, with eight scenes in each row. Wider at the top than the bottom, the space of each panel narrows towards the foot; this asymmetrical shape—with a wide jar opening and narrower base—contributes in part to the non-sequential layout of the twenty-four vignettes.[139] Because of the jar's shape, the sequence of the story becomes increasingly difficult to discern as the space narrows and the order is shuffled to fit the narrative details in the available area **(fig. 1.17)**.

Eight sequential scenes on the uppermost section of the jar depict the story's beginning, which generally follows the tale's temporal sequence. The story unfolds with Zhang Sheng and his servant traveling to Mid-River Prefecture 河中府; there Zhang's old friend, General Du Que 杜確, commands a hundred thousand men.[140] On the way, Zhang Sheng stops at the Salvation Monastery 普救寺 where Cui Yingying, the protagonist, has taken lodgings with her mother and maid Hongniang.[141] Their ro-

---

https://www.shuge.org/ebook/san-guo-zhi-tong-su-yan-yi/. Male guards hold weapons in the print dated to 1591; another in the Library of Congress is similar to the Shanghai and Beijing vases and features female guards: "Liu Bei and Madame Sun's Wedding Ceremony 劉備孫夫人成親" in 遺香堂繪像三國志 [Romance of the Three Kingdoms Images by Yixiang Hall], late Ming period (1368-1644), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; last accessed December 1, 2018 https://www.shuge.org/ebook/yi-xiang-tang-hui-xiang-san-guo-zhi/.

[137] Liu Bei Marries Madam Sun 玄德娶孫夫人 in 精鐫合刻三國水滸全傳 [Combined Edition of the Three Kingdoms and Water Margin], Late Ming, block-printed edition of Xiongfei Mansion, Jianyang 明末建陽雄飛館刊本, National Archives of Japan 日本内閣文庫, last accessed December 1, 2018 https://www.shuge.org/ebook/he-ke-san-guo-shui-hu/.

[138] The succession of scenes in a series of twenty-four panels in three registers is also depicted on an enameled *famille verte* bowl and matching dish in the Groningen Museum; Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Famille Verte: Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels* (Schoten: BAI/Groninger Museum, 2011), 95-101. Also see the detail reproduced in chapter 6 of this volume in the essay by Zhao Yang **(fig. 6.5)**.

[139] A blue-and-white vase decorated with twenty-four scenes from the same story is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the vignettes appear to be more standardized. The entire body is vertically divided into four rows; the sequence of twenty-four scenes proceeds from left to right and top to bottom, except in the bottom register, where the story begins from the middle section (yet even in this instance, the images are still arranged from left to right). Hsu Wen-Chin, "Illustrations of 'Romance of the Western Chamber' on Chinese Porcelains: Iconography, Style and Development," *Ars Orientalis*, v. 40 (2011): 75-6.

[140] Du guards Puguang 蒲關. Wang Shifu 王實甫, trans. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, 中華大文庫漢英對照西廂記 [Library of Chinese Classics, Chinese-English Romance of the Western Chamber] (Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 2000), 6-7.

[141] Yingying's father, the former prime minister unfortunately died in the capital; Cui Yingying and her mother wish to bring the coffin to the burial ground at Boling, Hebei 河北博陵. They deposit it temporarily at the Salvation Monastery, Hezhong Prefecture 河中府 and wait for Madam Cui's nephew, Zheng Heng 鄭恒, who is to help them

mance blossoms from the initial encounter. Proceeding right to left, Zhang rides a white horse, followed by his servant; he meets Yingying in the monastery where he decides to room.[142] The last scene in the first row is a turning point in the story's beginning; another commander, Sun Feihu, who leads five thousand soldiers, vies for Cui Yingying's hand in marriage and besieges the monastery with his troops.[143] This crisis allows Zhang Sheng to save Cui Yingying and negotiate with her mother about his marriage proposal to her daughter.[144]

The jar's semi-oval shape facilitates audience viewing in the upper and middle sections; zones closest to the bottom, in addition to being non-sequential, are difficult to see. The heavy, monumental-size jar would be placed on the floor and the lowest sections would remain unnoticed. For this reason, narrative details in the middle register such as important encounters between Zhang and Yingying, including his climbing over the garden wall at night to meet her for a romantic rendezvous, are featured at the vessel's belly crowned by a large yellow flower. In a central scene, Yingying and her maid stand beside a garden table; a crescent moon and a star shine above in the night sky as Zhang climbs a tree to scale the wall into her courtyard. This is the denouement (penultimate moment) of the story and receives considerable attention. Other devices are used to attract the viewer to the middle section; a fan-shaped panel frames the military crisis when Zhang Sheng's ally, general Du Que and his men, chase Sun Feihu's forces from Yingying and the monastery.

This one oversize jar manages to narrate the plot from the *Romance of West Chamber* in twenty-four vignettes on one surface; other blue-and-white plates, bowls, and (tea) sets, roughly from the same period, extend the same plot over entire sets on multiple pieces; each dish features only a single scene. The Dresden collections (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden) have several fine examples of these multi-piece sets.[145] Before this, woodblock illustrations dated to the late Ming, which contain cartouches next to each event, can be understood as the precursor or even the genesis for the elaborate scenes depicted on comprehensive fish jars or sets comprised of many pieces.[146] This is one indication that the cross-media flow between woodblock printing and porcelain was directly connected to the development of the extensive representation of female figures and tales on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramic vessels.[147]

---

to convey the coffin. Wang Shifu 王實甫, trans. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, 西廂記 [Romance of the Western Chamber] (Changsha, 2000), 3-5.

[142] The eight scenes depicted in the top row begins with the scene of Zhang Sheng riding the horse followed by his servant, from right to left: Zhang and his servant traveling; Zhang speaks with the Buddhist monk Facong 法聰; Madam Cui permits Cui Yingying to go to the monastery's front courtyard; Zhang encounters Yingying; Zang asks for a residence in the monastery; Hongniang inquires as the date of the religious service; the late prime minister's memorial service; and Sun Feihu surrounding the monastery with 5,000 men. Wang Shifu 王實甫, trans. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, 西廂記 [Romance of the Western Chamber] (Changsha, 2000), 3-95.

[143] Wang Shifu, *Romance of the Western Chamber*, 80.

[144] Wang, *Romance*, 82; 94.

[145] Zhang Sheng and his servant travel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Inv. No. P.O. 1424; Zhang Sheng with the Buddhist disciple Facong 法聰, Inv. No. P.O. 1379; Inv. No. P.O. 1978 Zhang Sheng encounters Cui Yingying in the monastery, Inv. No. P.O. 1978; Zhang Sheng asks for residence in the monastery, Inv. No. P.O. 1428; and Yingying's mother beats Hongniang (for encouraging the lovers' romance), Inv. No. P.O. 1386.

[146] Beginning in the Wanli period (1573-1620), before the development of these monumental, detailed objects and sets, printed versions of the *Romance* begin to feature two- or four-character cartouches of the story's important moments. Hsu Wen-Chin 徐文琴, "'西廂記'與瓷器—戲曲與視覺藝術的遇合個案研究 [The Romance of the Western Chamber and Chinese Porcelain: A Case Study of the Encounter of Drama and the Visual Arts]," 高雄師大學報 [Kao-hsiung Normal University Journal], n. 26 (2009):146.

[147] 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記 [Romance of Western Chamber, Reprinted Yuan Edition with Commentary and Interpretation], 忠正堂刊本 [Zhongzheng Hall, Woodblock-print Edition], 明萬曆 20 年 [Wanli 20th year (1592)], National Archives of Japan 日本內閣文庫, last accessed December 1, 2018 https://www.shuge.org/ebook/ti-ping-yin-shi-xi-xiang-ji/.

Battle Scenes in Five Colors

Other vernacular narratives were also produced in sets with multiple objects, such as a group of five vessels in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden featuring the tale *Mu Guiying Breaks the Heavenly Gate Formation* 穆桂英破陣 **(fig. 1.18)**. At this stage in porcelain narrative design, artisans display a novel's complex plot across several porcelain jars, in part, to expand the emphasis on action, movement, and temporal sequence. The battle-driven narrative in *Yang Family Generals* revolves around three generations of male and female generals.[148] Although the military encounters are largely male-focused, in this sumptuous Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden set, women fight alongside men; it appears that the designers deliberately developed scenes that highlight the women combatants. This is especially evident in the comparative preponderance of female protagonists who appear on the covered jars. Leading the charge is the chieftain Mu Guiying, who commands the attack on the Heavenly Gate Formation with her husband during the Khitan Liao and Northern Song war.[149] Her dramatic military attack on the female Liao cavalry dominates the action on two of the three covered vessels (P.O. 3006 and 6320).[150] At first glance, the tale on the five vases appears to be the popular *Water Margin* 水滸傳 as it also involves both male and female generals (three heroines and 105 heroes). But we identify the female commander as Mu Guiying; the combatants are partially unclothed—a detail narrated in the novel *Yang Family Generals*.[151]

Mu Guiying gallops across the plain in pursuit of the Liao women warriors; she is outfitted in armor, brandishing swords. Somewhat surprisingly, her enemies are depicted with bared, upper torsos (**fig. 1.18**, top row, far left).[152] In the print version, the most potent Liao princess-warrior appears naked; she grasps skulls—a symbol of the dark power of Yin 陰 forces.[153] It is very unusual to illustrate women without upper garments. These unconventional explorations of female martial strength are pictorial indicators of the vast changes in the representation of women in Qing dynasty porcelain. With imperial kilns and supervision disbanded at the end of the Wanli era (1573-1620), artists had more freedom in their choice of content. Previously taboo material from the world of theatre, including erotica such as *The Golden Lotus* 金瓶梅 and other printed books, demonstrate crossover from the world of performance and prints. This point will be underscored in the next group of vessels discussed in this essay **(figs. 1.20-1.21)**. One

[148] This tale is excerpted from the novel *Yang Family Generals* 杨家将; the latter is also known by the alternative title, *History of the Northern Song* 北宋志傳. The women warriors are widows and sisters of Yang-family male generals.

[149] Mu's husband is Yang Zongbao 杨宗保, the grandson of the well-known Song general Yang Ye 楊業). Louise P. Edwards, Domesticating the Woman Warrior: Comparisons with *Jinghua yuan*, chap. in *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in The Red Chamber Dream* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 89.

[150] One of the covered vases (P.O. 3005, **fig. 1.18**)—with a flag prominently positioned on the vessel's belly—shares features with the woodblock print "Yang Liulang Rescued the Courtier 六郎救出朝臣." National Central Library 國立中央圖書館, ed., 楊家府世代忠勇演義志傳 [Legend of the Yang Family of Loyal and Brave Generations] (Taipei: National Central Library, 1970), v. 6: 522-23. As a side note, the two uncovered *gu* feature more flowers, scholarly scenes such as enjoying books, and less action, possibly due to the diminished, available space in the bellies' narrow widths).

[151] In the *Water Margin*, Hu San'niang 一丈青扈三娘, known as "Ten Feet of Steel," serves as a female chieftain under General Song Jiang's Northern Song command. In the war between Liao and Northern Song, Hu San'niang clashes with the female Liao cavalry sent by the Liao Princess. But on closer consideration, the details suggest the scenes reference a print of *Mu Guiying Breaks the Heavenly Gate Formation* in a private collection. Last accessed March 26, 2021 https://chiwoopri.wordpress.com

[152] The Liao women are visible in the vessel reproduced, yet Mu appears on the opposite side of the vessel and is not visible in the photo.

[153] Wilt L. Idema, "Something Rotten in the State of Song: The Frustrated Loyalty of the Generals of the Yang Family," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, n. 36 (2006): 71. On the ceramic vessel, the gruesome detail of skulls has been transformed into swords.

plate features court maidens riding on horseback as male court officials marvel at their physical prowess; another is a depiction of a woman playing on a swing set—understood to be a prelude to sexual activity. These active outdoor scenes of sport and military action, including the depiction of N. Song (and Liao) female warriors, reference a marked visual shift in the depiction of female figures.

Men on this set of five vases are also depicted bare-chested; on one of the covered vases (P.O. 6320), a man with long whiskers stands beside an armed general (fit in robust armor) **(fig. 1.18)**. This is the Daoist deity Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, who aids the General in his battle against the Liao Army.[154] Both men are positioned on a mountain top where they observe the fighting below. The scene corresponds to the episode "General Yang Zongbao and his Entourage Watching the Heavenly Gate Formation 宗保部從看天陣." Typically, the Daoist is depicted with a bare chest and belly in Ming prints and paintings including one dated to 1610.[155] However, considerable overlap and ambiguity exist in identifying motifs associated with the Song and Liao battle as it appears in both *Yang Family Generals* and the *Water Margin.*[156] More importantly, the migration of motifs across time, media, and thematic subjects complicates the identification of this visual narrative.[157] This ambiguity is further indication of the thematic crossover from print to porcelain; the importance of popular novels in the transformation of content on ceramics; and the increasing technical ability of artists to convey popular action scenes on ceramic surfaces.

Technological Finesse: Gold Detailing

Significant technological advances accompanied these changes in content. The techniques for producing multi-hued vessels "*doucai* 鬥彩" in the Chenghua period 成化 (1465-1487) were simplified to produce a new polychrome type—called five colors "*wucai* 五彩"—in the Jiajing (1522-1566) and Wanli periods. This technical advance contributed to the ability to narrate complex tales such as *Mu Guiying Breaks the Heavenly Gate Formation* on compact porcelain spaces.[158] The five-colors technique incorporates two types of porcelain styles: pure overglaze colors, in addition to overglaze gold and underglaze blue.[159] Although the new type of glaze has no compositional distinction with *doucai*—lightly

[154] Xiong Damu 熊大木 (ca. 1506-1578), 楊家将演義 [Romance on Yang Family Generals] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Press, 2010), 128.

[155] As a *Water Margin* vignette, this scene of the Daoist and the General would be identified as Gong Sunsheng 公孫勝 and Lu Zhishen 魯智深––a warrior who battles on the open plains. Both Gong and Lu are depicted bare chested. Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 and Shi Nai'an 施耐庵, 容與堂本水滸傳 [Water Margin Rongyu Hall edition], d. 1610 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1988), 15:196. Luo and Shi Nai'an, *Water Margin* (Shanghai: 1988), 8:112. Other male and female combatants in *Yang Family Generals* are also depicted in Wanli-era woodblock prints, one is attributed to Xiong Damu 熊大木 (ca. 1506-1578), 两宋志傳通俗演義 [History of the Northern and Southern Song], Wanli-period engraving, National Archives of Japan 日本内閣文庫, last accessed March 26, 2021 https://www.shuge.org/ebook/nan-bei-song-zhi-zhuan-tong-su-yan-yi/. For Ming-dynasty paintings, see *Zhongli Quan Crossing the Ocean* by Zhao Qi, Cleveland Museum of Art. Last accessed March 26, 2021 https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1976.13

[156] If read as a *Water Margin* scene, it would correspond to the episode "Song Jiang Annihilates the Troops' Formation 宋江破陣." During this point in the narrative, Gong Sunsheng 公孫勝 assists in a night battle against the Liao Army. Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 and Shi Nai'an 施耐庵, trans. M. Roberts, 大中華文庫漢英對照水滸傳 [Library of Chinese Classics, Water Margin] (Beijing; Changsha: Foreign Languages Press; 1999), 89:2688-89.

[157] Sarah E. Fraser, The Influence of the Dunhuang Sketches: *Fenben* and Monochrome Drawing, chap. in *Performing the Visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618-960* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 123-26.

[158] The Chinese Ceramic Society 中國硅酸鹽學會, ed., 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese Porcelain History] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1982), 383.

[159] Ibid. Overglaze gold detailing began in the late seventeenth century.

painted enamels with underglaze blue outlines—the representational differences between both types are evident. Before an overglaze blue was invented in the Kangxi period (1662-1722), the color blue was applied only in underglaze cobalt.[160]

Part of the dramatic technological breakthrough of five colors during the Kangxi period was the innovation of overglaze blue with gold enamel.[161] The production process of five colors includes three procedures: firing the glazed white porcelain at a high temperature, painting with polychrome colors, and firing the pieces again at a lower temperature.[162] The five colors application was produced in the highest quantity and quality during the Kangxi period and generally, the products from the folk (private) kilns were of higher quality than those of the official kilns.[163] The hues typically comprised blue, green, red, yellow, and aubergine (a muted purple). During the late seventeenth century, wares articulated in these jewel tones gained in popularity with European buyers; the French collector, Albert Jacquemart, first used the term *famille verte* in 1873 to describe wares featuring a dominant green hue.[164]

The skill of applying gold detailing, particularly in this set of five vessels, highlights the technological finesse **(fig. 1.18)**. All three covered vases have gilded-lion knobs; additionally, on the *gu*-shaped vessels, important details such as the moon and the metal elements of the warriors' costumes including, armor, belts, feathers, swords, and the tips of their weapons, are highlighted in gold. Golden touches are also added to the double axes of the whiskered Meng Liang 孟良 (upper register, P.O. 6321) and the surrounding landscape, including the clouds, lotus flowers, and sun **(fig. 1.18)**.[165]

Gilding complemented the tones of the five colors but decorating porcelain with gold touches had already gained ground earlier by gluing gold leaf in sections.[166] Gold enamel replaced the gold leaf application during the Qing dynasty by changing the process of applying gold enamel with a brush; this eventually

[160] Chinese Ceramic Society, ed., 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese Porcelain History] (Beijing, 1982), 384.
[161] Chinese Ceramic Society, ed., *Chinese Porcelain History*, 423.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Shang Gang 尚剛, 中國工藝美術史新編 [History of Chinese Art and Design] (Beijing: Advanced Education Press, 2007), 361; with the exception of bird-and-flower motifs, folk (private) kilns produced technically-superior narratives on five-color vessels, *Chinese Porcelain History*, 423.
[164] Iain Robertson, ed., *Understanding International Art Markets and Management* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), 177; Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2007), 76.
[165] The identification of Meng Liang's figure refers to 綉像杨家将全傳 [Biography of Yang Family Generals with Illustrations], printed in lithograph in 1892 (18th year of the Guangxu 光绪 period). Last accessed on March 26, 2021 https://www.shuge.org/ebook/xiu-xiang-yang-jia-jiang/
Alternatively, if one reads this story as the *Water Margin*, the whiskered figure holding two axes would be identified as Li Kui 李逵; Li shoulders General Song Jiang on his back, evident in late Ming woodblock prints. Luo and Shi, *The Water Margin*, Rongyu Hall edition, (d. 1610), (Shanghai, 1988), 73:1069. In the original *Water Margin* text, instead it is a merchant who carries Song Jiang. Luo Guanzhong and Shi Nai'an, trans. M. Roberts, Library of Chinese Classics: *Water Margin* (Beijing; Changsha: 1999), 40:1206-07. However, the motif shifts in drama. That is, in a theatrical version of this story, it is Li Kui who shoulders Song Jiang. "大鬧江州 [Tense Quarrel in Jiangzhou]" in Research Association of the Three Jin Cultures in the Linfen Area, eds., 臨汾地區三晉文化研究會編, 蒲州梆子傳統劇本彙編, 第十集 [Compilation of Puzhou Bangzi's Traditional Play Scripts] (Linfen: Linfen Regional Arts-Crafts Publication Factory), Internal [Research] Data 內部資料, 474.
[166] Zhou Lili 周麗麗, 略論康熙民窯五彩瓷器的燒造成就 [A Brief Discussion on Production Achievement of Famille Verte Porcelain in the Kangxi Period], chap. in Editorial Committee of the Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics 中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會, eds., 中國陶瓷全集 [Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2000), 14:21. Examples of the gold leaf application in the British Museum, last accessed May 4, 2020 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-548 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-A-553.

made the broad use of gold detailing possible because the application adhered more securely.[167] The extensive use of glistening detailing is evident on two other vessels from the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. A set of three Kangxi-period vases picture women in their private quarters grooming and tending to children; each of the three vases has approximately thirteen to seventeen touches of gold on the open-air pavilions and the figures' costumes **(fig. 1.19)**.[168] Another Dresden object—a dish dating to the Yongzheng period (1723-1735)—the era immediately following Kangxi's reign—features over thirty points highlighted in gold indicating an increasing interest and ability to gild the surface. The subject matter emphasizes active sport; women on horseback entertain men of the court as the officials gaze from a balcony overhead **(fig. 1.20)**. Designers overbrush elements of the building that frame the action in gold including the fish acroteria on the building; the latticework on the doors and railings; the embroidered motifs on the men's robes; and the accoutrements such as a fan and cup they hold. Off to the left, women charging on horseback through the floral trellis don golden earrings; the buttons on their clothing and the horses' bridles are also brushed with gold.

Ideals of Gendered Display

In this section we have emphasized the theme of active women as part of a larger shift in the representation of gender and narrative storytelling; we will return to this question in the next segment. Refocusing briefly on our discussion on the links between gendered subject matter and technique, it is clear how the application of gold is meant to create a coherence between the object's exquisite qualities and the pictorial representation of women's attractiveness **(figs. 1.19-1.20)**.[169] The porcelain vessels are both vehicles for the display as "things" of splendor (in their own right) and for constructing ideal types of beauty to be displayed and observed. The gilded decoration enhancing the three vases does just that; it creates the subject of "beauties" in a garden setting—"objects" to behold for their fine features and for the part they play within the larger theme of Confucian polygamous life **(fig. 1.19)**.[170] On each vase, the primary scenes include a man seated among three or more women and many children. With ten male progeny on each vessel for a total of thirty in the set—no small girls are depicted—the emphasis unequivocally highlights the function of the expanded household. The purpose of multiple wives and concubines is to produce multiple heirs who will carry on the family name to the next generation. On the opulent surfaces,

[167] The Chinese Ceramic Society 中國硅酸鹽學會, ed., 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese Porcelain History] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1982), 425. The later technique, "painting with gold 描金" involves grinding gold foil into powder form together with binding additives, and painting the mixture onto the porcelain surface. After firing the vessel at 700-800 degrees Celsius, the surface is polished to a shine with agate. The earlier process, "pasting gold 貼金," requires cutting gold foil to shapes and applying them to the base; two firings are necessary. This technique emerged in Tang dynasty and continued through the Song and Ming dynasties. In Qing it was replaced by a new technique. Mao Yi 茅翊 ed., 文房清供 [Stationery and Bibelot in Ancient Studies] (Hefei: Huangshan Publishing House, 2012), 107.

[168] P.O. 6257, which features a woman tending a parrot at the center, includes the most gold details (seventeen) (**fig. 1.19**, far left). The gold enameling emphasizes four primary areas: 1) light (falling on clouds); 2) metal (incense burner and birdcage stand); 3) architectural details (the roof, lattice work on door, railings, and balcony); and 4) standard accoutrements (women's headdresses, man's cap and robe, and the boy's bracelet). Other touches do not necessarily highlight the main subject matter but landscape details that augment the surface to make it glisten, including: the banana tree; rocks, plants, and flowers; and plum blossoms.

[169] A fourth, damaged vase (P.O. 6260) belongs in the set; it is not reproduced in this essay. A woman stands at a desk laden with scholarly implements; two boys play at her feet. A male scholar sits nearby at the edge of the open-air pavilion. He glances in the direction of two additional women and boys in the garden.

[170] Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews and Polygamists, Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth Century Chinese Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 5; 7; 9; 29-32.

the plurality of male heirs is depicted in aspirational terms. The groupings occupy idealized realms, existing in neither a specific time nor place. They represent grand, gendered fantasies where values of social ambition dominate, the kind that would have broad appeal on the open luxury market for such porcelain.

The path to clan advancement is conveyed subtly in the children's game largely confined to motifs scattered across the vases' necks. Nearly identical in size and coloring, the tripartite décor on each vessel features children chasing each other in a competition; they appear on plain ground interspersed with accents of banana palm in the uppermost section. Two of the three vases depict a child raising a flag with four other children following, grasping toys in hand. These scenes refer to "winning the championship 奪標," a reference to the grueling examination system boys are expected to endure later in life and the enormous benefits top honors bring.[171] On a third vase (P.O. 6259) a child taunts a gaggle of playmates as he holds a helmet aloft (**fig. 1.19**, far right). Five boys competing for such a hat are frequently represented in folk art; it is a motif denoting first prize and passing on an official rank to a descendent.[172] The character for "helmet" or *kui* 盔 is part of an elaborate pun linked to the Five Classics; these texts formed the cornerstone of the exams. During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) scoring first in one of the five classics was termed *kui* 魁—a different written character but the same pronunciation as the term for "helmet."[173] The clever rebus comprised of a visual puzzle and linguistic wordplay is meant to convey generic auspicious wishes for offspring. The viewership would link the cues between the numbers of boys and classics—five each.

Below the shoulder with delicate, alternating designs of brocade and plum, are large-scale, garden vignettes set in open-air pavilions; animated boys run between the elegant furnishings and adults sitting tête-à-tête. The desks nearby contain copious scholarly implements—book, brush holder, and scroll—unmistakable signifiers of sustained knowledge acquisition. The material culture associated with the men further suggests links to officialdom; in addition to the writing paraphernalia, red coral and peacock feathers emerge from the vase on the table (P.O. 6258, center vase, **fig. 1.19**).[174] Coral and peacock feathers are honors of first-place exam winners. According to the cap and robe system, a red coral branch and the peacock feather adorn the cap of an official of the first (highest) rank. While lacking in narrative links to the symbolic vignettes of the boys' "championship games" depicted above, the two sections are connected conceptually. To hold the flag is to score first in the official exams; learning is the pathway to achievement for men. The meta-statement of the "vase within a vase" brimming with symbols of success increases the auspicious value of such display objects.

The roles of the children and the men, including the high-ranking official festooned with a longevity medallion "*shou* 壽" in his brocaded robe, are clear. What are we to make of the women? They gently nurture the children who scamper at their feet in a quest to achieve first place in future exams. Beyond

---

[171] A scene on a blue-and-white incense burner with children playing 青花嬰戲圖爐 is in the Palace Museum, Beijing. It is quite similar to the Dresden set but five scenes are labeled with inscriptions. One of the five also depicts a child raising a flag while two pursue him. Below the flag, "win the first prize" 奪標 is written. Chen Runmin 陳潤民, chief ed., 故宮博物院藏清代瓷器類選: 清順治康熙朝青花瓷 [Selection of Qing Porcelain in the Palace Museum, Beijing Collection: Blue-and-White Porcelain of the Shunzhi and Kangxi Periods] (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2005), 56-9. Zhou Yonghui 周永惠, 同義詞反義詞詞典 [Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms] (Chengdu: Sichuan Lexicographical Press, 2006), 219.

[172] *Five boys fighting for a helmet, Passing the official rank on to descendants* 五子奪魁冠帶傳流, Taohuawu, Suzhou prints 蘇州桃花塢. Bo Songnian 薄松年, 中國娃娃: 喜慶歡樂的嬰戲圖 [Chinese Children: Joyous Pictures of Children at Play] (Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2009), 67.

[173] The Five Classics 五經 are: the *Book of Poetry* (*Odes*) 詩經, *Book of Documents* (*History*) 尚書, *Book of Rites* 禮記, *Book of Changes* 易經 (周易) and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋. Gu Yue 古月, ed., 國粹圖典: 紋樣 [Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Images: Patterns] (Beijing: Chinese Pictorial Press, 2016), 155. Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 5-75.

[174] See chapter 7 by Wang Yizhou in this volume, for a recto view of P.O. 6258 **(fig. 7.4)**.

this, are they simply included to look beautiful? The answer is not so straightforward. In terms of appearance, each of the nine women in the three vases has the same white face, thin eyebrows, small lips, average height, and slender physique; they are standardized beauties. Apart from sartorial details, they are differentiated from each other through their activities. This is the critical point. Their amusements, such as tending to a parrot, conform to criteria for evaluating beautiful women in the Early Modern period.[175] The Qing dynasty novelist, Xu Zhen 徐震 (act. 1659-1711), outlines ten classifications for female attractiveness in his *Manual of Beautiful Women* 美人譜. His normative categories reflect a concern for a constructed history of beauty—one that is based on a long hagiography of famous courtesans, maids, and widows known for their stunning looks and comportment. The first, third, and fourth categories are relevant in analyzing these vases. "Appearance (*rong* 容)" is the first attribute in Xu's list, which we may infer is the most critical. The ideal shape of a woman's head is likened to an insect: "cicada head 蝉首"; the lips likened to "apricots 杏唇"; and the coiffure ideally swirls "cloud-like 雲鬢."

A comparison of these literary metaphors to the figures adorning the vases, confirms the draftsman's penchant for ovoid-shaped heads. They are depicted with excessively wide foreheads tapering at the chin; pursed, orange-red lips forming a delicate circle, and hair generously piled high. The vignettes on the vases correspond loosely to the third and fourth categories—activities (*shi* 事) and skills (*ji* 技). A woman plays with the perched bird; others hold brushes poised to pen poems; these motifs reflect "activities" and "skills," respectively, in the schema (**fig. 1.19**, far left and far right).[176] Appearing alluring while busily engaged in activities was an integral part of the evaluation system closely linked to male desire. There is no reason to believe that the Jingdezhen craftsmen consulted Xu's *Manual of Beautiful Women* or that in principle or general practice, texts dictate form. But, as we have argued in this essay, motifs circulated between ceramic production, printed book design, and literature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[177] Homologous ideals of feminine beauty in early modern popular culture moved easily across mediums by the late Ming and early Qing periods. If the women are depicted according to types, the adult male figures in these three Kangxi-period vases, also are envisioned in equally standardized terms. The man standing next to the table outfitted with symbols of an exam's first-place winner is an aspirational figure. He is not an official *per se*—if he were a ranked courtier, a red coral bead and peacock feather would adorn his official hat; instead, his hat is a plain, secular type. (Yet aspirational references to officialdom are positioned on the adjacent writing table; coral and feathers are planted in a vase as decorative items.) An air of serene, detached amusement fills their countenances; both genders seem somewhat vacant and nonplussed. One might argue that the only convincing figures, perhaps due to their small stature and their lively action, are the children. The appealing liveliness of the progeny, therefore, would render the vases doubly desirable to the target consumer able to afford such wares—a rich, merchant family in the Jiangnan area ca. 1700 who would hope for multiple heirs pictured in abundance on its' surfaces.

The excessive application of gold, framed by a gleaming roof is the last step to gild these scenes of timeless, familial harmony. What has changed is female figures have taken center stage; women occupy more surface space than both the men or the boys; they are unquestionably the pictorial focus. As 美人

[175] See Wang Yizhou, *Ten Categories for Beautiful Women in the Ming-Qing Period*, in this volume.
[176] As Wang Yizhou discusses in her text, teaching myna birds 鴝鵒 to read poems is included in Xu's fourth category of alluring feminine activities. Mynas were known for their ability imitate the human voice. Ibid. A Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden print featuring a similar theme also dates to the early Qing dynasty (see **fig. 7.5**).
[177] An example is Chen Hongshou's printed playing cards of the *Water Margin* created for drinking games; these feature male heroes, reflecting an early stage before designers shift their focus to featuring women of the novel on porcelain such as the Dresden set of five vases discussed in this essay. For an analysis of Chen's woodblock-prints see, James Cahill, "Ren Xiong and His Self-Portrait," *Ars Orientalis*, v. 25 (1995): 127-28.

meiren, they call attention to the sumptuous interiors filled with luxurious objects.[178] Both the interiors and beautiful women are linked as objects to be consumed by the viewer by suggesting both material and erotic pleasure.

The Body Visible in Sport

Another *famille verte* vessel in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden underscores the claim that women emerge center stage as primary actors in porcelain narratives during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. A brilliantly colored Yongzheng-period dish featuring court maidens galloping through a flowered trellis demonstrates the popularity of scenes of active sport **(fig. 1.20)**. Luminously colored with blue rocks, fantastic orange clouds, pink horses, and turquoise foliage, it must have been treasured as a showpiece and largely unused as most of the gold detailing remains intact. Eight women on horseback wield riding crops aloft as they reign in their steed in the small courtyard; divided into two groups of four, their audience responds enthusiastically to their athletic ability. One official, most likely the emperor, signals his pleasure by placing his foot on the balcony balustrade and raising an open fan; two others confer in conversation at his side. The body language of the male onlookers is an indication of prurient interest in the female riders and the horse race.

Heretofore unpublished, this Dresden plate is similar to a piece in the Jie Rui Tang Collection, which provides clues as to the meaning of the synoptic narrative.[179] According to Ni Yibin, the male protagonist is the Sui Emperor Yang Guang 隋煬帝楊廣 (r. 604-618).[180] The story is described in the novel *Heroes in Sui and Tang Dynasties* 隋唐演義 by the Ming writer, Chu Renhuo 褚人獲 (1625-1682). Madame Xia 夏夫人 asks Emperor Yang if he would like the palace maids to sing on stage or ride on horseback. The Emperor expressed doubt they could ride with skill, assuming the maids must only be capable of trotting the animals at a steady pace.[181] But they had been polishing their equestrian skills and, much to his surprise, staged a performance at galloping speeds. Subsequently, invoking the sounds of *Zhaojun's Exile to the Frontier* 昭君出塞, they played *Song Beyond the Frontier* 塞外曲 while mounted on horseback for the imperial entourage assembled on the balcony.

The sensual appeal of porcelain encompasses both the luxurious articulation of the surface enameled in bright hues with gold and the depiction of the female form; direct themes of erotica also found their place among porcelain compositions, evident in another plate. A scene with an active outdoor game with amorous suggestions features a single woman swinging 鞦韆 with an audience of three; this blue-and-white dish is also in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden **(fig. 1.21)**. This activity is not mere sport, which is made clear in contemporary literature and woodblock prints. Xu Zhen (act. 1659-1711) includes swinging as a "skill 技" in his *Manual of Beautiful Women* 美人譜—one of many pastimes deemed attractive for beauties. This category includes artistic pursuits such as copying calligraphic rubbings, embroi-

[178] Hay argues that *meiren* have cognitive agency in the spaces in which they are depicted and are to be read as designers of these elaborate interiors in Kangxi-period painting and in other early Qing decorative objects. See Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces, The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 396.

[179] *The famille verte* rouleau vase in the Jie Rui Tang 潔蕊堂 collection dates to the Kangxi period Ni Yibin 倪亦斌, "隋朝宮人扮 '昭君' 不是忠烈楊家女 [Maids in the Sui Imperial Court Impersonating '(Wang) Zhaojun' Rather than the Loyal Women of the Yang Family]," 讀者欣賞 [Reader's Taste], n. 8 (2017): 103. Last accessed December 10, 2018 https://www.jieruitangcollection.com/0153.

[180] Ni Yibin, "隋朝宮人 [Maids in the Sui Imperial Court]," *Reader's Taste*: 105.

[181] Chu Renhuo 褚人獲, 隋唐演義 [Heroes in Sui and Tang Dynasties] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1981), 265.

dering, flute playing, and reciting poems. It also encompasses sportive activities such as kickball. Swinging was a popular theme in addition to "being tipsy"—listed in Xu's beauty rubric as an "enjoyment 趣." Both were favorite motifs given the possibility for intimacy.[182] For those with knowledge of classical Chinese literature or popular variations, the sexual references in a swinging scene are unmistakable; the swaying movement of the body is understood as an allusion to lovemaking. And the subtle connection between female sport and sexual intercourse draws the viewer closer to gaze at the scene.[183]

In the center of the plate, a woman stands on the swing positioned at its highest point; a male servant is poised below to push her once it arrives close to the ground. Two scholars stand to the side chatting; one points with great enthusiasm at her as the other looks in her direction raising his sleeve as if to remark on the spectacle (or opportunity). A woodblock print from the *Pictorial Book of Poems* 詩餘畫譜, dated to roughly the same period (d. 1612), indicates the popularity and ubiquity of the theme and suggests the easy circulation of motifs between mediums by the second quarter of the seventeenth century.[184] The Ming novel *The Golden Lotus* 金瓶梅 also illustrates a male servant pushing two women on a swing.[185] It makes the link between this pastime and sex explicit. In the *Lotus*, when pushing the swing, the man seizes the chance to touch both women, one beneath her garments.[186] As in the woodblock print, the depiction on this Dresden porcelain dish encourages voyeuristic pleasure; the erotic imagination is aroused by the possibility of the male servant's hand making contact with the female body and viewing beneath her robes as the swing flies high.

What about the dish's use and the indication of global circulation **(fig. 1.21)**? It contains typical features of *Kraak* (export ware), dated to the long century from the Wanli (1573-1620) to Kangxi periods (1662-1722). On this vessel, these elements include the rather free application of blue glaze; the choice of schematic, Turkish-style tulip motifs on the outer rim; and the intervening panels of genre scenes showcasing the four arts (music, painting, calligraphy, and *go*—a strategic board game). Another *Kraak* dish we have already considered has a similar shape and compositional design. Two women occupy the central section—Persian women drinking tea—surrounded by a rim of flowers interspersed with bucolic scenes of farmers **(fig. 1.12)**. As established, the copious tulips in the Iznik-kiln design are Middle Eastern and also reflect Dutch appreciation of Ottoman ceramic motifs reconfigured for the European audience by Chinese designers. This is also the case for the plate featuring the girl on a swing; it, too, is bordered with a form of schematic Turkish florals alternating with genre scenes of idealized Chinese life **(fig. 1.21)**. In light of the inclusion of designs and shapes that have migrated

[182] "Enjoyment (趣 *qu*)," Xu's tenth category by which to judge female beauty, also includes "daylight bathing 蘭湯晝沐" and "resting on a male lover's shoulder while drunk 醉倚郎肩," hence suggestive of intimate acts with voyeuristic potential. See Wang Yizhou, *Ten Categories for Beautiful Women in the Ming-Qing Period*, in this volume.

[183] Poetic references are found as early as the eleventh century. A pair of lines attributed to Su Shi (1037-1101) 蘇軾 citing male voyeurs in the lyric *Butterfly Longs for Flowers: Spring Scene* 蝶戀花· 春景), reads: "Within the walls, a swing; beyond the walls, the road. Beyond the walls, a traveler; within, a laughing beauty. 牆裡鞦韆牆外道. 牆外行人, 牆裡佳人笑." James J. Liu, *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung: A.D. 960-1126* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 153-54. Regarding the issue of eroticism and the voyeur, see Guo Qiuzi's essay in this volume (chapter 12), *From Porcelain to Photography: The Transformation of Femininity in the Representation of Chinese Women.*

[184] It features a young lady swinging to the melancholic, Song dynasty lyric *Green Willow Brush* 柳梢青 by Shi Zhongshu 釋仲殊; in the illustration, she is similarly depicted in an enclosed garden. "The place (that I) sober up, a setting sun and groups of birds. Swing outside the door, the beauty at the top of the wall, whose garden is this?" Wu Qiming 吳企明 and Shi Chuangxin 史創新, eds., 題畫詞與詞意畫 [Poems with Paintings and Paintings with Poetic Meaning] (Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, 2007), 243.

[185] Wang Rumei 王汝梅, 金瓶梅版本史 [History of Editions of the Golden Lotus] (Jinan: Qilu Press, 2015), 86. Also, a woodblock print exists of a woman swinging in the drama *The Lute Record* 琵琶記. 琵琶記 [The Lute Record], 明萬曆二十五年汪光華玩虎軒刻本 [Wang Guanghua and Wanhu, eds., Woodblock-print edition, 25th year Wanli Period, (1597)], 1:24-25. National Library of China Collection.

[186] Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng 蘭陵笑笑生, 金瓶梅詞話校注 [Annotated Edition of the Golden Lotus], ed. Bai Weiguo 白維國 and Bu Jian 卜健 (Changsha: Yuelu Press, 1995), 676-77.

from other continents, the placing of female-centered vignettes in prominent locations indicates that beyond a conscious reorganization of porcelain surfaces for foreign consumers, we must also consider the issue that it is not possible to separate things from the people that make them.[187] Chinese designers calculated the reception of objects for the European market and highlighted women in designs to satisfy European interest in feminized Chinese motifs.[188] We know that the Dutch "domesticated" Chinese female motifs, requesting made-to-order plates.[189]

How did cultural circles within seventeenth and eighteenth-century China react? Especially in the Ming court, where ceramics made for imperial use featured very limited motifs depicting secular women, what impact did the Eurasian transcultural flows have on the representation of women? On one level, as we have argued throughout this essay, the division between official and private kiln production during the seventeenth century increasingly become meaningless; private kilns start to produce most if not all of Jingdezhen porcelain beginning in the Chongzhen period (1628-44). As imperial control wanes in Jingdezhen during the Ming-Qing transition, Dutch East India Trading Company (VOC) exports from East Asia rapidly expand. Elite control on designs and narratives dissipate, and popular prints, literature, and theatrical themes in addition to motifs circulating from abroad take hold. In this section, we have focused on the materiality—the production, technique, and content—of objects produced during the Ming and Qing dynastic transition. In what follows, we will turn to the reception and environment of object display.

Walking into the "Chinese Room"

In the context of an increasing mutual exchange in decorative practices between Chinese and European artists and their crafts, ateliers selectively adapted "foreign elements" within local framing. Despite their cultural distance, Chinese, Dutch, and German artisans faced similar questions of how to absorb and appropriate techniques and subjects from an extraneous culture and harmoniously adapt them to local taste. Chinese artists working at court and European artisans engaged by local nobility creatively developed a range of distinct strategies that allowed them to learn practical and artistic knowledge of other cultures, make modifications, and apply innovations of their own. While Chinese artists had the opportunity to enter in direct dialogue with European missionary painters based in China, European crafts profited indirectly by the circulation of Chinese manufactured commodities distributed via commercial networks, including decorated wares, paintings, and prints. In the following section, we analyze two emblematic examples of this process of selective appropriation actuated by the Chinese imperial artist and the European nobility, focusing on the visibility and display of the female figure.

In her essay for this volume, Stacey Pierson makes the case for bypassing distinct categorical divisions for objects produced explicitly for export and those made for a domestic market. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the strict demarcations between domestic and foreign markets blur as cultural flows moved multi-directionally between Europe and Qing China. Within this vast topic, the display of objects in architectural spaces is of particular interest **(figs. 1.22-1.23)**. In rooms dedicated to material

[187] Anne Gerritsen, "Transcultural Objects, Movements, and Bodies," in *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, ed. Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 241.
[188] For three early European representations of Chinese women see the seventeenth-century Dutch and French illustrations (d. to 1666, 1696, and 1667) in the "Preface" to this volume, Wakita and Wang, *Japanese and Chinese Women across Media: Context and Issues* **(figs. M, N, and O)**.
[189] Christian Jörg discusses the phenomenon of the "Long Eliza" motif in export porcelain in *Chinese Ceramics in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: Ming and Qing Dynasties* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1997), 101, pl. 91; 103, pls. 94-95; 109-10, pls. 105-106; 262-63, pl. 303. Gerritsen, Ibid.

culture and the depiction of three-dimensional objects pictorially in murals, "Chinese rooms" were popular across European courts in residential and palatial settings. In eighteenth-century British, French, and German architecture, East Asian design elements were incorporated with great passion; installing a "Chinese room" became increasingly common. A subset of these spaces featured large-scale prints of "historical beauties." This is illustrated in the Dresden example that will occupy us in the final section of this essay: a palace built by a minister who served in Augustus the Strong's court and renovated between 1722-50. The Baroque Schloss Lichtenwalde, located 65km west of Dresden, contains thirty-four, large-scale panels of Chinese women. These Suzhou prints finished in ink are inset in latticework; the porcelain (primarily Japanese) displayed intermittently on the jade green frame represents a later decorative phase. Other palaces with Chinese rooms include Augustus the Strong's Baroque Pillnitz—a *lust palais* outside of Dresden with Chinoiserie elements (ca. 1715-25); the highly-regarded Porcelain Cabinet in the Prussian Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin (d. 1706); Sanssouci, the elegant summer palace of Frederick the Great in Potsdam with gardens and Chinese tea house (1755-64); and Versailles' Trianon de Porcelaine (1670-71) with blue and white faience tiles, considered to be one of the progenitors of European Chinoiserie.[190]

Concurrently, in Qing court interiors, particularly during the Qianlong 乾隆 period (r. 1735-1796), large-scale affixed wall hangings (*tieluo* 貼落 or removable murals) began to feature female subjects. These depictions of imperial consorts and interiors brimming with luxurious material culture in two dimensions are rendered according to European principles of spatial organization: one-point perspective, attention to light source, chiaroscuro, incorporation of *trompe l'oeil* effects, and fidelity to detail. This pictorial verisimilitude reflects the presence of Jesuit artists in the painting academy, most notably Giuseppe Castiglione, S.J. (Lang Shining 郎世寧, 1688-1766) who was favored by Qianlong. Having arrived in China in 1715 and served the Qing court for over fifty years (including the Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors), Castiglione became the *de facto* principal among other Italian, French, and German artists blending European optics with Chinese ink painting.[191] Our focus on two rooms in Early Modern elite cultures—a small hall in the Qianlong Emperor's Retirement complex titled the Palace of Tranquil Longevity 寧壽宮 dated to 1772-76, and the "Chinesische Zimmer" at Lichtenwalde, the residence of Friedrich von Watzdorf (?-1764)—provides an index to the transcultural phenomenon of the display of women and porcelain objects in the middle of the eighteenth century **(figs. 1.22-1.23)**.

[190] The Trianon de Porcelaine, created as a pleasure house for King Louis XIV's mistress and no longer extant, was replaced by the Grand Trianon. A writing desk (attr. Pierre Gole) survives and is held in the Getty Museum, last accessed August 1, 2020 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/5781/unknown-maker-writing-table-french-about-1670-1675/. A miniature painting, sometimes attributed to Pierre Mignard, depicts Madame de Montespan in one of rooms in the Trianon; the decorative scheme is meant to be evocative of the "Nanjing Pagoda" indicated by the tiles and window treatment, last accessed August 1, 2020 http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O45609/portrait-miniature-of-a-lady-miniature-unknown/. Ina Baghdiantz-MacCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Regime* (Oxford; New York: Berg: 2008), 214 –19.
This brief survey of palaces with Chinese rooms is not meant to be exhaustive, rather to suggest the breadth and transcultural nature of artistic appropriation between East Asia and European palatial architecture with a focus on interior design. The publication of *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, by the British architect William Chambers in 1757, further popularized and made chinoiseries designs widely accessible.

[191] Among the other Jesuit painters, the better known artists include: Jean-Denis Attiret 王致誠 (1702-1768), Louis Antoine de Poirot 賀清泰 (1735-1813); Joannes Damascenus Saslusti 安德義 (?-1781); and Ignatius Sichelbarth 艾啟蒙 (1708-1780).

Genre Scenes in Architectural Settings: Dresden and Beijing

Qianlong's retirement garden, the Palace of Tranquil Longevity (*Ningshou gong*), was constructed in the emperor's later years; located in the northeastern section of the Forbidden City complex, it contains buildings with "scenic illusion paintings 通景畫" that create stunning, optically-deceiving effects. The murals throughout this World Monuments-conserved garden complex are distinctive for their large, immersive quality captivating the viewer with floor-to-ceiling wooden detailing fused seamlessly within the architectural context; the effect of three-dimensionality achieved with brushwork of Qing spatial interiors opens the halls further.[192] Using *trompe l'oeil* brushwork, the effect is meant to deceive and delight the eye by deploying pictorial effects that suggest another world. For example, a rich mix of paints may evoke natural blue sky and clouds; this technique was also achieved in other mediums.[193] The wall hangings in the Nurture Harmony Abode 養和精舍 dated to 1776 (forty-first year of Qianlong period), executed on silk, include spring and autumn scenes. The removable mural hanging in the east room occupying the entire south wall evokes spring **(fig. 1.22)**.[194]

Scenic illusion paintings and "perspective line painting 線法畫" in Qing China were developed by Castiglione and the Qing court artists he mentored, such as Wang Youxue 王幼學 (act. 1730s-1780s). The technique relied on perspective technologies and painting surfaces organized on a grid.[195] The format of the large-scale painted wall hanging (*tieluo*) deploying these techniques in the imperial context may be traced back to 1727; it was developed as a response to the introduction of European narrative tapestries and murals, facilitated by Jesuits in the Qing court.[196] The height of its popularity in the eighteenth century corresponds roughly to the same era when the Chinese room of the Schloss Lichtenwalde was built (ca. 1722-1729) **(fig. 1.23)**.[197] The application of *trompe l'oeil* in the Qing court involved European techniques of perspective showcasing Chinese themes, especially those created in quarters for women and the emperor's heirs; these illusions created idealized environments picturing court women. It is ironic that in imperial spaces where, for the most part, the court had not welcomed ceramics decorated with the female form, palace rooms were now designed as a window onto feminine ideals. For example, in the case of the Nurture Harmony Abode, a small child reaches for his mother **(fig. 1.22)**. In the background, a blue and white vase is displayed on a table below two flower paintings and a landscape scroll. The prominent

---

[192] Wang Zilin 王子林, ed., 明清皇宮陳設 [Display of Ming and Qing Royal Palaces] (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2011), 251. The wooden framework depicted in the painting meets with the actual wall and the ceiling of this room; the floor in the painting also joins the room's ground adding to its mimetic effect.

[193] At the stunning Italian Ducal Palace in Urbino, rare combinations of wood simulate leather-bound books and optical instruments in the *Studiolo* (ca. mid-fifteenth century).

[194] Li Qile 李啟樂 [Kristina Kleutghen], "通景畫與郎世寧遺產研究 [Scenic Illusion Paintings and the Legacy of Giuseppe Castiglione]," 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], v. 3 (2012): 77-88; Palace Museum, Beijing, Capital Museum of China, eds., 故宮博物院, 首都博物館編, 長安茀祿: 乾隆花園的秘密 [Emperor Qianlong's Private Garden] (Beijing: Beijing Press, 2014), 1.

[195] 線法畫 [perspective line painting] was recorded as a new painting category in the Qing court. Nie Chongzheng 聶崇正, "'線法畫'小考 [Study on 'Xinhua'']," 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], n. 3 (1982): 85-8; Zhao Yanzhe 趙琰哲, "海西線法的運用與視幻空間的製造: 以清宮倦勤齋等幾處通景線法畫為例 [Use of Foreign Western Line Technique and Creation of Spatial Optical Illusion: A Case Study of Tongjing-xianfahua Represented by Juanqin Zhai of the Forbidden City]," 中國國家博物館館刊 [Journal of National Museums of China], n. 7 (2012): 103.

[196] Lianming Wang, Europerie und Macht. Akteure und Publika der transulturellen Bilderbauten aus der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Qianlong, chap. in *Wechselblicke: Zwischen China und Europa 1669-1907*, Matthias Weiß, Eva-Maria Troelenberg and Joachim Brand, eds. (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 70-4.

[197] Nie Hui 聶卉, "清宮通景線法畫探析" [Study on one-point perspective painting in the Qing Court], 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], n. 1 (2005): 41; The initial Baroque building phase of Schloss Lichtenwalde dates to 1722-1729. Simone Balsam, "Orangeriekultur in Sachsen. Ein Überblick," in *Orangeriekultur in Sachsen: Die Tradition der Pflanzenkultivierung* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2015), 26.

positioning of the porcelain exemplifies a dynamic transcultural dialogue and mixed use of techniques to create the *trompe l'oeil* effect in this affixed hanging. These include the use of one-point perspective to organize spatial recession in the hanging itself; multiple perspectives to depict the landscapes hanging on the walls; illusionistic rendering of the flooring; and the indigenous wallpapering finished with blue flowers on a white ground. This mastery of techniques to depict court interiors reflect how Qing artists regarded their own material culture in relation to the larger global (visual) context.

This spring-themed wall hanging on the Nurture Harmony Abode's east wall is organized according to principles of European perspective; court artists place a bronze cauldron at the center with two stacks of books to create a center point. At the front of the picture plane, the latticed portico and lintel are inlaid with small Chinese flower and landscape paintings echoing the themes of the Chinese scrolls on the back wall. This latticed framing device invites the audience to enter the pictorial space. Also defining the area just inside the entrance is a woman who holds a flower in each hand; wearing a phoenix crown with floral décor, she casts her eyes on the small boy. The prince extends his arms imploring to be picked up.[198] According to Wang Zilin 王子林, this scene symbolizes flowers blossoming and seeds growing—a fitting motif for court women and imperial heirs. The flowers on the wall and in the mother's hand blossom—suggest a new beginning associated with spring and (Chinese) New Year.[199] Given its position within the emperor's garden architecture and the implied wordplay between "seed" and "son," we can surmise that this painting also contains good wishes for abundant offspring in the imperial court.[200]

The artists loosely carry the theme of the four seasons through the retirement complex. In the neighboring Bower of Purest Jade 玉翠軒 a large-scale wall hanging depicts a scene of the emperor's consorts in winter. And in the most renowned hall, the Studio of Exhaustion from Diligent Service 倦勤齋 (*Juanqin zhai*), summer is in full bloom; *trompe l'oeil* wisteria vines hang from (painted) ceiling trellises. Artists cleverly extend the impression of a sunny summer day in the interior by including an illusionistic image of palatial architecture behind a moon gate. The sense of excitement and anticipation of a performance is suggested in additional wall hangings on the narrow second floor. A female figure, surrounded by cultural relics, peers from behind a curtain. Indicating impending movement, she glances towards the corridor that leads to the stairs descending to the ground floor where a small stage for intimate imperial recitals is positioned.[201] The application of illusionistic painting in Qing interiors marks a shift from European *trompe l'oeil* that inspired them. Figures in motion and performative gestures within quotidian frames and contemporary settings appear to be central concerns in Chinese pictorial illusions.[202] But inside on the ground floor the artists cleverly evoke in paint a *pergola*—a popular garden landscaping element in early modern Italy used throughout Europe and Britain.[203] This trellis architecture features

[198] Wang Zilin, ed., 明清皇宮陳設 [Ming and Qing Imperial Palaces] (Beijing, 2011), 250.
[199] Wang, ed., 明清皇宮陳設 [Ming and Qing Imperial Palaces], 251-52. Nancy Berliner indicates plum blossoms (depicted in the scroll) can be linked to the New Year's (Spring) Festival. Nancy Berliner, *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 183-85.
[200] "Seeds growing 結子" and "receiving a son 接子"are two homophonic terms in Chinese. The character *zi* 子 in Chinese has two meanings, "seed" and "son."
[201] Kristina Kleutghen details the seating for the emperor in front of the stage and suggests that the female figure emerging from behind curtains on the second floor is aroused from the inner chambers by the sound of music below. See *Imperial Illusions, Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 221-22.
[202] Svetlana Alpers and Michael Baxandall, *Tiepolo and the Pictorial Intelligence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
[203] Thanks to my colleague, Prof. Henry Keazor, for bringing this to my attention. Forms of vaulted peristyle-like, landscape architecture featuring fragrant vines are popular in many cultures, including China where the Lingering Garden 留園 (*Liuyuan*) in Suzhou has an open-sided, covered walkway covered with wisteria. The phenomenon of an opening at the end of a long enclosure, could be a painting (c.f. the palace in Schwetzingen, Germany, ca. 1750) or borrowed "natural" scenery from distant landscape (through an opening or *clairvoyée*) as in La Foce, Tuscany. Toby Musgrave, *The Garden, Elements and Styles* (London: Phaidon Press, 2020), 61; 196-97.

open latticework with intertwining vines. At one end, a scene of a distant landscape is often positioned to transport the viewer to another world—an Elysium. Wang Zilin has independently suggested that as a whole this Qianlong retirement complex, the Palace of Tranquil Longevity, contains numerous references to long life with Buddhist overtones—an indication that the gardens and buildings may also have been envisioned as a paradise beyond this world.[204]

European missionaries in the Qing court encouraged the dissemination and use of perspectival painting skills, especially the use of mathematical techniques to depict pictorial space. The German artist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) described the core of these tactics in his popular 1525 treatise *Underweysung der Messung*, outlining the use of a grid and perspectival drawing machine, which were known across Europe.[205] The introduction of these para-mathematical techniques enabled the emergence of paintings in Jesuit-affiliated contact zones, such as the double image of the Qianlong emperor in *Is it One or Two* 是一是二圖. In this work, a new type of mirror imaging adheres to strict conceptions of (grided) perspectival space.[206] Mirror projection became very popular in Europe beginning in the Renaissance period and, as a painting theme, became metaphorical in the Baroque period.[207] In the Qing court, the translation of European scientific treaties was a key form of knowledge-sharing on the topic of drawing (in addition to on-site collaborations).[208] The court official, Nian Xiyao 年希堯 (d. 1738/9) compiled a critical text on perspective that drew heavily but not solely on the illustrated tract *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* by the lay Italian Jesuit brother, Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709).[209] Published in 1729, Nian's *Essence of Visual Science* 視學精蘊, reissued in a second edition under the title *Science of Vision* 視學 in 1735, recognized the input of Castiglione in the Prefaces.[210] The text's production is an index to extensive transcultural exchange between Jesuit missionaries and Chinese court artists who collectively formed a mural type reflecting the precision of European linear perspective and Chinese *gongbi* 工筆 (fine-line and color) painting. This eclectic art form becomes the preferred method to decorate Qing court buildings including collaborative spaces such as Beijing churches and private imperial garden architecture during the second to the fourth quarters of the eighteenth century.

Before the practice of European-inspired *tieluo*, Chinese aesthetes pursued innovative methods of embellishing walls that were to become admired and emulated worldwide. The development of decorative

[204] Wang Zilin 王子林, 清宫西方极樂世界佛堂與乾隆 "萬民長壽" 的理想 [The Elysium Buddha Hall in the Qing Imperial Palace and Qianlong's Ideal of 'Longevity for All']," chap. in 漢藏佛教美術研究: 第四届西藏考古與藝術國際學術討論會論會論文集 [Studies on Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Art: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Tibetan Archaeology and Art], eds. Xie Jisheng 謝繼勝, Luo Wenhua 羅文華, and Shi Yangang 石岩剛 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2014), 486.

[205] Noam Andrews, "Albrecht Dürer's Personal *Underweysung der Messung*," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, v. 32, n. 4 (2016): 409.

[206] Sarah E. Fraser 胡素馨, "鏡中窺己: 乾隆時期的視覺文化開拓 [Mirrored Glimpse of the Self: Refracted Visual Culture of the Qianlong Period]," 人民日报 [People's Daily], August 28, 2016.

[207] For example, Johannes Gumpp's *Self-Portrait* in 1626 presents three views of the artist constituting a tripartite self-portrait. The three views include: a rear view of artist's head and back, the painter's face reflected in the mirror, and, third, on the canvas itself as a self-portrait. The metaphor in this painting happens to coincide with that implicated in the inscription of Qianlong's visage in *Is it One or Two*: "Which one is the real me?"

[208] The "double portrait" in *Is it One or Two* was constructed, in part, on the basis of a pre-existing Song pictorial conceit.

[209] John Finlay, *Henri Bertin and the Representation of China in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 9. See also J. Finlay, "The Qianlong Emperor's Western Vistas: Linear Perspective and Trompe l'Oeil Illusion in the European Palaces of the Yuanming yuan," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (2007) 94: 173; 175; Finlay also outlines Castiglione's long history of experimentation in illusion projects in Beijing––including the *quadratura* murals in dome or cupola for religious structures; the meaning of "*xianfa*" (line technique) that points to the use of string in executing designs according to the grid system; and provides an overview of the many studies of Jesuit artists in Beijing, including P. Berger, J. Stuart, etc.

[210] Anita Chung, *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 53.

wallpaper anticipated the favorable reception of illusion (*trompe l'oeil*) painting later. The famous Hangzhou writer Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680) indicates in his *Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood* 閒情偶寄 that affixing white paper on walls is common practice, and he views such monochrome coverings as dull. Li suggests new ways of decorating walls with the following explanation.

> Pasting paper on the wall is the same everywhere; the whole room is covered in white. I think this manner is too boring, so I want to innovate … Paste a layer of caramel-colored paper as the ground, then tear pale green mica paper into small pieces of different sizes, square or flat, short or long, triangular, square or pentagonal, but not round. Adhere these pieces [on top of] the caramel-colored paper. At the places where they meet, a thread of caramel paper should show through … After it is complete, the whole room will be filled with a cracked ice pattern, similar to the [surface of] beautiful *Ge* porcelain.[211]

Li's elegant notion of articulating a room's surfaces was to transform walls by layering paper colors to create the effect of lustrous porcelain. In this example, a pattern of cracked ice is achieved by juxtaposing beige and green-colored papers; the suggestion of a brown hue visible between asymmetrically-shaped sections of gold-flecked jade paper would evoke the crazing pattern typical of *Ge* ware. Li Yu's concept is that one could simulate the effect of ceramics in interior design by implying the contours of porcelain surfaces on a room's walls. He also discusses the application of calligraphy and painting to room surfaces.

> The hall walls should not be too plain or too sumptuous. The calligraphy and painting by famous people are indispensable. But the ink saturation should be proper and the arrangement appealing. I think mounted scrolls are not as good as pasting [paintings], considering that the scroll will swing with the wind and a famous painting will be damaged. Pasting directly on the wall has no such danger and is proper for both large and small [works of art].[212]

Li Yu's text indicates that a tradition of affixing calligraphic and pictorial works to the wall was a well-integrated practice by the seventeenth century; it becomes a foundation on which affixed wall paintings or hangings (*tieluo*) of painted illusion were developed. To summarize, the large hanging covering the east wall in Nurture Harmony Abode, dated to the late third quarter of the eighteenth century, is thus best viewed as a contact zone between Chinese and European practices.[213] Emperor Qianlong's preference for experimental wall painting created a new brand of mimetic illusion. And it indicates the extent to which Qing illusion painting was a cross-cultural product of both Qing China and Baroque Europe.[214]

---

[211] 糊壁用紙, 到處皆然, 不過滿房一色, 白而已矣. 予怪其物而不化, 竊欲新之 … 先以醬色紙一層, 糊壁作底,後用豆綠雲母箋, 隨手裂作零星小塊, 或方或扁, 或短或長, 或三角或四五角, 但勿使圓, 隨手貼於醬色紙上, 每縫一條, 必露出醬色紙一線 … 則貼成之後, 滿房皆冰裂碎紋, 有如哥窯美器. Li Yu 李漁, 閒情偶寄 [*Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood*] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Book Press, 1985), 171. Alternative translation: *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*.

[212] 廳壁不宜太素, 亦忌太華, 名人尺幅自不可少, 但須濃淡得宜, 錯綜有致. 予謂裱軸不如實貼, 軸慮風起動搖, 損傷名跡, 實貼則無是患, 且覺大小咸宜也. Li Yu 李漁, 閒情偶寄 [Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood], 169.

[213] Both calligraphy and paintings were usually mounted as scrolls to decorate the wall, but according to Nie Hui's research, calligraphy and paintings could also be applied or pasted directly on the wall, hence the term *tieluo* 貼落. This is a verb-verb compound (literally "paste-remove"); when combined it has become a noun and means "applied" or "pasted wall paintings." See Nie Hui 聶卉, "貼落畫及其在清代宮廷建築中的使用 [Tieluo Painting and its Use in Qing Court Architecture]," 文物 [Cultural Relics], n. 11 (2006): 87-8.

[214] Zhang Shuxian 張淑嫻, "從三希堂通景畫看乾隆時期皇宮通景畫的演變 [The Transformation of *Trompe L'oeil* Paintings of the Qianlong Era Based on the Study of Trompe L'oeil Painting in the Hall of Three Rarities (Sanxi tang)]," 故宮學刊 [Journal of Gugong Studies], n. 1 (2014): 216.

The Female Figure as Chinoiserie

At approximately the same time when these wall hangings (movable murals) were developed and became a major pictorial genre in the Qing court during the Qianlong period, Chinese wallpaper emerged in elite European interior spaces. Following the fashion of Chinoiserie, wallpaper imported from China was incorporated into a great number of European castles circa 1750. Women became one of the popular subjects of display in European "Chinese Rooms" as they were in murals in the Qing court. The Chinese cabinet (Chinesisches Zimmer) in the Lichtenwalde Castle near Dresden exemplifies the trend in mid-eighteenth century European Chinoiserie interiors **(fig. 1.23)**.[215] The room features thirty-four images of Chinese women. It is believed that the prints of Chinese women were installed after the residence was finished, most likely during the renovation of 1750.[216] What appears to be contiguous designs, is a combination of single sheets of colored woodblock prints that arrived in Europe in the first half of the century.[217] The pictures are embedded in mint green-colored wood panels; these painted fittings were developed on-site specifically for the installation to complement the prints. Additionally, 119 fittings extend from the wooden frame; they once served for the presentation of a porcelain collection (which were replaced at a later date with Japanese ceramics).[218]

The images illustrate a variety of Chinese female figures, including educating children or at leisure in garden settings—themes of exemplary women consistent with those found in Qing court wall hangings. The organization here reflects no discernible theme or narrative sequence. The assembled prints rather conjure an arena of oriental fantasy and, with the mirrors and extensive natural light, expand the legibility of the interior surface. Although arranged in a decorative manner, the genre scenes in the prints indicate that they were not made exclusively for the foreign market. These prints were part of a growing demand among Europeans for export artifacts decorated with Chinese female figures; they should be understood in the larger context of an increased interest in East Asian objects, especially porcelain. Their success in European and Japanese elite circles further promoted their widespread distribution beyond their site(s) of production.[219]

Craig Clunas has highlighted how this demand was met by a surge in artifacts produced for foreign merchants especially in Canton.[220] By adding decorative glazes on ceramic blanks imported from Jingdezhen, and producing watercolors on paper, the Cantonese market developed an international audience interested in East Asian patterns. The prints at Lichtenwalde, installed in a wall painting fashion,

---

[215] Hsu Wen-chin dates the prints in Lichtenwalde Castle between 1710 and 1740; she also dates a group of Chinese prints focused on Chinese female representations in Esterházy Privatstiftung, Eisenstadt Palace, Austria to ca. 1750; see Hsu Wen-chin 徐文琴, "流傳歐洲的姑蘇版畫考察 [Investigation of Gusu Prints in Europe]," 年畫研究 [Research on New Year's Pictures], n. 5 (2016): 16. The origin of Lichtenwalde Castle can be traced back to the twelfth century. Between 1722 and 1726, Friedrich von Watzdorf transformed it into a Baroque-style building. Subsequently, the structure was enlarged with a park which is still extant. Regarding the history of the Chinese room see, Friederike Wappenschmidt, Chinoise Tapeten-Phantasien und die Bilderwelten chinesischer Panoramatapeten, chap. in *Interieur und Bildtapete: Narrative des Wohnens um 1800*, ed. Katharina Eck and Astrid Silvia Schönhagen (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014), 137.

[216] Hsu, Ibid.

[217] Christiane Ernek, Neochinoiserien in Sachen: Das Teezimmer in Schloss Pillnitz und das chinesische Zimmer in Schloss Lichtenwalde – Ein stilistischer Vergleich, chap. in *China in Schloss und Garten: Chinoise Architekturen und Innenräume*, ed. Dirk Welich and Anne Kleiner (Dresden: Sandstein, 2010), 234.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, "清代初中期作為產業的蘇州版畫與其商業面向" [Suzhou Prints as an Industry and their Commercial Orientation in the Early-Mid Qing Dynasty], 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Journal of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica] v. 92 (June 2016): 32-7.

[220] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), 66.

are material witnesses to this export-art phenomenon, where European nobility acquired Chinese-taste porcelains, prints, and paintings to enrich their *Maisons* with exotica. While Suzhou prints featuring female figures resonated with the Chinese official's ideal of having many wives and children, their repositioning in a European milieu marked a shift in meaning towards an embodiment of commodified Chinoiserie.

Less didactic-oriented, market-driven appropriations of the Chinese female figure are found in seventeenth-century Europe, where they became part of a larger commercial array of objects imported from or inspired by China. Among those commodities, Gill Saunders has pointed out how Chinese wallpaper was sold in London in the late seventeenth century. She further explains that woodblock prints enriched with hand-painting were supplied in sets of twenty-five or forty.[221] It was precisely due to the widespread taste of having "things Chinese" in noble houses, that the Lichtenwalde Castle acquired thirty-four prints from China and mounted them in frames. All of the images in this room are products from Suzhou 蘇州 in the same size and the same style; sixteen are woodblock prints and eighteen are paintings.[222]

Hsu Wen-chin identifies nineteen different subjects within thirty-four images, which belong to the following three categories: "scholarly women 仕女" (*shinü*), "scholarly women and children 仕女娃娃," and "figural tales 人物故事."[223] Fourteen of the thirty-four pictures in the room are visible in the photographic reproduction; a woman in a blue robe appears twice in the upper register on either side of the chandelier and mirror **(fig. 1.23)**. This genre scene is known as "writing on a leaf 題葉" was well established before the Ming and includes many variations. Here the woman in blue holds a brush and is poised to compose a text on a red leaf placed on a rock writing surface. This subject is derived from the tale of a Tang court woman whose poem about loneliness brushed on a catalpa leaf is retrieved by a scholar after it floats in the palace's water channel; he is her future husband. This subject presents women albeit on a subtle level exerting themselves in an active role in seeking and finding love.[224]

The print at the left lower corner (just above and left of the wooden chest) is a motif from *The Cowherd and the Weaver Maiden* 牛郎織女—the popular Chinese folk tale **(fig. 1.23)**. A boy riding on an ox converses with the goddess perched above on the clouds.[225] She is the weaver-maiden—the prettiest daughter of the Kitchen God—who has been reliably attentive and industrious in her weaving of cloud-silk; yet, her encounter with a young cowherd living on earth changed this.[226] After this couple fell in love and married, she neglected her work as weaver to the gods.[227] As retribution, they were only permitted to meet once annually on the evening of the seventh day of the seventh month.[228] Cao Zhenxiu 曹貞秀

[221] Gill Saunders, *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration* (London: V&A Publications, 2002), 63.
[222] Hsu Wen-chin 徐文琴, "流傳歐洲的姑蘇版畫考察 [Investigation of Gusu Prints in Europe]," 年畫研究 [Research on New Year Pictures], n. 5 (2016): 15. Wang Xiaoming 王小明, "18 世紀歐洲藏 '仿泰西筆意' 姑蘇版畫考析 [Study on Gusu Prints Imitating European Techniques in 18th Century European Collections]," 年畫研究 [Research on New Year's Pictures], n. 5 (2016): 32.
[223] Hsu Wen-chin, "Investigation of Gusu Prints in Europe," 年畫研究 [Research on New Year's Pictures], (2016): 15.
[224] J. P. Park, *Art by the Book: Painting Manuals and the Leisure Life in Late Ming China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 176; 177.
[225] Wang Xiaoming 王小明, "姑蘇版畫考析 [Study on Gusu Prints]," 年畫研究 [Research on New Year's Pictures], n. 5 (2016): 32; 34.
[226] K. S. Tom, *Echoes from Old China: Life, Legends, and Lore of the Middle Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 5th ed., 2000), 38.
[227] Angered, the gods decreed that she must return to Heaven and thereafter would only be allowed to visit her husband only one night each year. After the Cowherd's death, he was transformed into an immortal and assigned to the star Altair; the weaver-maid became the star Vega and their two children two little stars near Vega. K. Tom, *Echoes from Old China*, 38.
[228] Then the magpies gather at the Milky Way and, by spreading their wings, form a bridge so that the weaver-maid can cross the Celestial River to meet with her lover. Ibid.

(1762 - ca. 1822), who in 1799, wrote a cycle of sixteen poems about legendary women, also chose the Weaver Maiden as one of her subjects; the text reads:

> The Milky Way has no bridge; one must wait for [a flock of] magpies to form it,
> Year after year, she regretted the error in her past.
> By the seventh day of the seventh month, she had produced piles of brocade,
> Yet they could not be the dowry for her betrothal to the cowherd boy.[229]

Despite the tale's punitive moral and its cautionary message about women pursuing love matches, the print mounted in Schloss Lichtenwalde depicts a physically active Weaver Maid who towers above the wistful Cowherd below.

In addition to folk tales, the other popular category on these walls emphasizes the pairing of mothers with male children; the motifs signify the benefits of nurturing in a strong family matrix. Duplicated on lower registers of both the north and east walls—left and right of the mirror, respectively—a woman leans on an Osmanthus tree and a boy hands her a flowering branch. The genre scene, *Picking the Osmanthus* 折桂圖, signifies an auspicious outcome in the imperial examinations.[230] Another didactic, nurturing scene (first image, lower register, right [east] wall) captures a mother covering a boy's ears to muffle the loud noises of a new year's firecracker lit by a second small boy on the ground nearby.[231] Wang Cheng-hua indicates that among the Suzhou woodblock print categories, the popular scholarly women 仕女畫 (*shinü hua*) genre has great range and variety.[232] Among those produced in Suzhou, the contemplative woman motif stands out as a main subject. This quiet scholarly type with mothers acting as mentors to their children and in settings reading and writing is, indeed, one of the major topics emphasized on the walls of the "Chinese Room" at the Schloss Lichtenwalde.

Among the preponderance of female-centered motifs, several male figures do appear in the prints. An image of a man riding a horse narrates the tale of *Han Xiangzi Enlightening Han Yu* 韓湘子度化韓愈 (lower register, east wall).[233] Han Xiangzi is said to be the nephew (or grandnephew) of the famous Tang dynasty scholar Han Yu (768-824). According to the tale, Han Xiangzi rescues Han Yu utilizing his supernatural powers, making the elder immortal.[234] Viewing all the prints as a unit, the two images of women holding writing brushes and the dynamic Weaver Maiden crossing the river, signal a new representational dimension for depicting women in the late Ming and Qing period. Their presence departs from the traditional exemplary women trope dependent on male relatives and opens up new spaces for female agency. Despite their idealization, the very fact images of women become available in figurative media is entangled with a new perception of her social role. Although she is forced to live within the bigger structures imposed on her life, she manages to enter illusionistic paintings, popular prints, and even wallpaper

---

[229] 銀漢無橋待鵲填, 湔車惆悵過年年. 七襄枉自堆雲錦, 難與牽牛抵聘錢. Cao's calligraphic inscriptions, including *Weaver Girl Crossing the River* 織女渡, are faced with pictorial album leaves by Gao Qi; see The Metropolitan Museum of Art, last accessed November 15, 2019 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/733847

[230] Wang Xiaoming, "Study on Gusu Prints," (2016): 33. Tang Dongdong 唐冬冬, "文物'吉祥圖案'探微 [Study on 'Auspicious Patterns' of Antiques]," 開封文博 [Kaifeng Cultural Relics and Museology], v. 11-12, n. 1-2 (1995): 44.

[231] Wang, "Study on Gusu Prints": 32.

[232] Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, "清代初中期作為產業的蘇州版畫與其商業面向 [Art as Commodity: The Commercial Aspects of Suzhou Single-Sheet Prints in the Early and Middle Qing Dynasty]," 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica], v. 92 (2016): 4.

[233] Wang, "Gusu Prints": 32; 34.

[234] The text, *Demoted, I Arrive at Blue Pass and Show This Poem to My Brother's Grandson Han Xiang* 左遷至藍關示侄孫湘, d. 819, expresses Han Yu's relief upon seeing his nephew at the Blue Pass in the Qin mountain range south of Chang'an. Erzeng Yang, *The Story of Han Xiangzi: The Alchemical Adventures of a Daoist Immortal* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), XVII.

covering the walls of European castles, where she quietly appears moving the curtain to gaze into and eventually enters, the room.

The depiction of women in active pursuits mirrored significant changes in the perception of female social roles at the end of the Ming and beginning of the Qing dynasties. In addition to appearing in decorative patterns, women became progressively more visible in the intellectual world due, in part, to increased female literacy during the seventeenth century.[235] The greater number of women authors of both literary and artistic works during this period is reflected in new biographical compendia of female artists published during the mid-Qing period. For example, *The Jade Terrace History of Calligraphy* 玉臺書史 by Li E 厲鶚 (1692-1752) is a compilation of more than 200 female calligraphers.[236] And a similar study was published on the history of women painters by Tang Shuyu 湯漱玉 (act. early 19th c.). Of note, in her assessment of women artists in the *Jade Terrace History of Painting* 玉臺畫史, Tang records the greatest number active during the Ming dynasty—an indication of significant expansion of creative output. In this first history of women artists, Tang and her collaborator, her husband Wang Yuansun 汪遠孫 (1789-1835), used a structural formula established by Li E in *The Jade Terrace History of Calligraphy* for organizing and discussing female creative talent.[237] Among the artists profiled is a late-Ming painter, Fang Weiyi 方維儀 (1585-1668) who is skilled in drawing Buddhist portraits in fine monochromatic line 白描 (*baimiao*); a painting by Fang in this style, titled *Portrait of Guanyin* 觀音圖, is held in the Palace Museum, Beijing.[238] Embroidery was often an important gateway skill linked to early training in painting and calligraphy for women who had limited access and opportunities to learn the creative arts. Often this early training led to collaborations with male literati and marketplace success.[239]

The expansion of subject matter and compositional topics showcasing women are reflected in the emergence of two new genres during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) according to Ma Mengjing 馬孟晶. First, the subject of martial females 武女 finds its place in the existing category of exemplary women.[240] This admiration for women in battle is reflected in the popularity of the *Twelve Widows of the Yang Family Marching Toward the West* legend. Later this interest grows into a general appreciation for images of heroines in the Qing dynasty.[241] We have observed the appearance of female martial themes on porcelain in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; for example, the figures on the two covered jars depicting

[235] Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, "女人,物品與感官欲望: 陳洪綬晚期人物畫中江南文化的呈現 [Late-Ming Culture of Sensibility: Women and Objects in Ch'en Hung-shou's Late Figure Painting (1645-1652)]," 中國近代婦女史研究 [Research on Women in Modern Chinese History], v. 10 (2002): 10.

[236] Ma Yazhen 馬雅貞, "從玉臺書史到玉臺畫史: 女性藝術家傳記的獨立成書與浙西的藝文傳承 [From the Jade Terrace History of Calligraphy to The Jade Terrace History of Painting: the Separate Compilation of Women Artist's Biographies and the Cultural Tradition of Zhexi (Western Zhejiang)]," 清華學報 [Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies], v. 40, n. 3 (2010): 416.

[237] Ma Yazhen, "From the Jade Terrace History of Calligraphy to Jade Terrace History of Painting," Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies, v. 40, n. 3 (2010): 433; 438.

[238] Zhao Yanzhe 赵琰哲, 一肩書畫一詩囊: 玉臺畫史與晚明女畫家 [Painting, Calligraphy and Poetry: *The Jade Terrace History of Painting* and Late Ming Women Painters], chap. in 大匠之門 [Gate of the Great Craftsman], ed. Wang Mingming 王明明 (Nanning: Guangxi Fine Art Press, 2016), v. 12: 25-6.

[239] Ma, "Exemplary Women, Talented Women": 19-20; Huang Yifen 黃逸芬, "顧繡新考" [New Study on Gu Embroidery], in 顧繡國際學術研討會論文集 [International Academic Conference on Gu Embroidery], ed. 上海博物館 Shanghai Museum (Shanghai: Shanghai Fine Arts Press, 2010), 37; and an album in the Palace Museum, Beijing by the female embroidery artist Han Ximeng 韓希孟 (1573-1644) with ink calligraphy by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), Li Guang'an 李光安, "董其昌款題韓希孟顧繡藝術探究" [Study on Dong Qichang's Inscriptions on the Gu Embroideries by Han Ximeng], 裝飾 [Zhuangshi], v. 251, n. 3 (2014): 131-2.

[240] Ma Mengjing 馬孟晶, "烈女, 才女, 織女: 女性生活的文化圖像 [Exemplary Women, Talented Women and Weaving Women: Cultural Images of Women's Life]," 故宮文物月刊 [The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art], n. 5 (2003): 7-8.

[241] Ma Mengjing, "Exemplary Women, Talented Women, and Weaving Women," National Palace Museum Monthly: 7.

the battle *Mu Guiying Breaks the Heavenly Gate Formation* (P.O. 3006 and 6320, **fig. 1.18**). As noted, the dramatic military attack on the female Liao cavalry is led by the Yang-family female general. The second genre appearing across media—talented women engaging in painting, reading, and writing—emerged in visual culture as the number of educated and literate women increased during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[242] Duplicate prints of writing women mounted in Schloss Lichtenwalde are one example of this development **(fig. 1.23)**.

Conclusion: The Female Figure and Intimate Space

Sensuous surfaces of luxury objects animating Chinese material culture embody metaphoric and affective potential, actualized by the user's pleasurable experience of them.[243] Jonathan Hay further argues that luxurious artifacts decorated with female figures are more than objects of possessive desire; as sources of erotic pleasure, they should be addressed in their full sensuousness, giving voice to their interaction with the other senses beyond vision, including touch and smell.[244] The material tactility and intimacy between the intended viewer-user and the object is one of the fundamental keys that transverses the history of the depiction of women in China. The first object studied in this essay, a ceramic cushion in the shape of a reclining girl, establishes an ideal starting point for the appearance of the female figure in Chinese porcelain **(fig. 1.1)**. Throughout the history of the representation of women, she is constantly associated with beautifully shaped objects of pleasure to be interiorized via the viewer's gaze, her body often being compared to that of a curvilinear vase.

The artworks described in this essay and this edited volume were produced with heightened attention to their visual appearance and conscious awareness of their impact on the senses. When interacting with pieces of porcelain including bowls, dishes, plates, teacups, and vases, the user's body interacted with the object via the hands or lips; in the instance of the decorative pillow, an invitation is extended to rest one's head on the surface. Maintaining a certain closeness, these items were often gazed at close proximity in private spaces such as the studio. Viewing practices of illusion murals (and subject matter considered exotic by their patrons) invited a form of "visual touch." When entering his private apartments in the Ningshou (Retirement) Palace from the garden, the Qianlong emperor did not look at the illusion paintings hanging on the walls as he would have studied a handscroll. That is, the murals created an immersive experience, which enticed the viewer to fully enter. In the imperial sphere, the illusion pictorials were perceived as one of the constituent elements of the architectural space the emperor traversed; other objects completed the entire effect. Kristina Kleutghen has further elaborated on the multi-sensorial dimensions of those illusionistic paintings and the invitation to touch they triggered.[245] As such, while it is unlikely that the audience would physically touch the murals, the viewer would caress them visually. *Trompe l'oeil* painting had strong emotional valence, and this gesture of "visual touch" was a spontaneous response from the viewer, who would be curious to verify the possibility of three dimensions depicted on a two-dimensional planar space. Similarly, in the Dresden palace, the articulation of the walls' surfaces brought other opportunities for cross-media experimentation; the installation of prints in wooden frames were shaped in separate "windows" formed in porcelain-like outlines. These suggest the presence of monumental vessels mounted on walls as if the printed shapes of women come to life when illuminated

[242] Ma, "Exemplary Women, Talented Women, and Weaving Women": 8.
[243] Further, the interaction connects us physically and visually to our surrounding environment by shaping a sense of meaningful order. Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces*, 13.
[244] Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces*, 387-96.
[245] Kleutghen, *Imperial Illusions*, 11-13.

by the abundant sunlight streaming through the windows. With reflections in the mirror and a glistening chandelier impacted by natural light, the optical effects evoke the shine of porcelain's high gloss.

Resurfacing in pre-modern Europe and developing among the nobility and their interest for things East Asian, images of Chinese women circulated and were displayed in private rooms inviting voyeuristic gazes, surprising their audiences with a range of new motifs. The female figure often appeared within hybrid artistic formats at the intersection of different media, which more often than not implied intimate moments of pleasure, consolation, and retirement. The association of Chinese women and ceramics, imagined by both the Qing emperor and European aristocracy in the eighteenth century, was based on two interwoven elements ascribed to feminine character: an idealized constitutional fragility and accessibility within interior, intimate spaces.

The primary aim of this essay has been to make visible important shifts in the representation of the female figure in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century porcelain; these developments are consistent with the rise of new literary genres and more clearly marked "feminized" spaces where women could express themselves. Women, who were scarcely represented in vessel decoration before the Ming dynasty, were included on the surfaces of many types of wares and also in a multitude of associated media by the close of the dynasty. Later they are featured as prominent protagonists in narrative constructions conceived for both Chinese internal and international markets. A close analysis of objects collected in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden reveals that changes in women's visibility indicate that female-centric genres enhance cross-media communication and selective borrowing; they also shed light on the thick plot of transcultural threads connecting China and Europe leading to creative innovation in both contexts.

The second trajectory developed in this study follows transcultural interactions characterized by the curiosity for exotic cultures and art practices in the Beijing court and rich Central-European families during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; artisans, designers, and printmakers in Jingdezhen and Suzhou were also significant actors in these exchanges. Against this background, the process of adaptation that allowed the inscription of those motifs in culturally distant, local frameworks enriched different modes of display, sensual experiences, and uses of objects decorated with East Asian women. In one example of this expanded thread, we traced the plate decoration of the "elongated female" based on an Ottoman-derived motif adapted by Dutch designers and produced in Jingdezhen **(fig. 1.12)**. Tactics of selective adaptation of novel visual themes and techniques were further investigated by analyzing the strategies used to create the illusion of three-dimensional space at the Qing court, and the inclusion of a large number of female figures within the Lichtenwalde Palace in Sachsen Germany **(figs. 1.22-1.23)**.

Ceramics, prints, and, in the nineteenth century, photographs characterized by the presence of women, were acquired by the Qing court, wealthy travelers and noble families for a range of uses, and became objects to be collected, displayed, and viewed within palaces, private study rooms, and photographic albums. The essays collected in this volume approach material collected in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden from a number of perspectives that connect porcelain, printed works, and photographic media through the thread of the presence of the female figure. Although important distinctions in terms of dimension, function, and materiality can be made between the objects analyzed, their description is key to illuminate the measured, constant growth in the visibility of women in the visual arts of China and East Asia.

Bibliography

Alpers, Svetlana and Baxandall, Michael. *Tiepolo and the Pictorial Intelligence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Anonymous. "大鬧江州 [Tense Quarrel in Jiangzhou]." In 蒲州梆子傳統劇本彙編, 第十集 [Compilation of Puzhou Bangzi's Traditional Play Scripts], edited by 臨汾地區三晉文化研究會編 [Research Association of Three Jin Culture in Linfen Area], 436-75. Linfen: Linfen Regional Arts-Crafts Publication Factory, 內部資料 [Internal Data].

Anonymous. "南窯筆記 [Notes on the South Kiln]." In 美術叢書 (第四集第一輯) [Compilation of Books on Fine Arts] (v. 4, n. 1), edited by Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Deng Shi 鄧實, 311-332. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2013.

Attributed to Li Ling 李陵. "舊題'李少卿與蘇武詩' (其三) [Old Title 'Poem Written by Li Ling for Su Wu,' n. 3]." In 兩漢詩傳 [Record of Poems in Two Han Dynasties], 296. Changchun: Jilin People's Press, 2000.

Ban Gu 班固. 漢書 [History of Former Han Dynasty]. Changsha: Yuelu Publishing House, 2008.

Babaie, Sussan and Marie Lukens Swietochowski. *Persian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012.

Baetjer, Katharine and James David Draper, eds. *"Only the Best": Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.

Balsam, Simone. Orangeriekultur in Sachsen. Ein Überblick. Chap. in *Orangeriekultur in Sachsen: Die Tradition der Pflanzenkultivierung*, 13-33. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2015.

Barnes, Laurie E. Yuan Dynasty Ceramics. Chap. in *Chinese Ceramics: From the Paleolithic Period through the Qing Dynasty*, edited by Li Zhiyan, Virginia L. Bower and He Li, 331-85. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2003.

Berliner, Nancy ed. *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City*. Salem, Mass.: Peabody Essex Museum, 2010.

Bo Songnian 薄松年. 中國娃娃: 喜慶歡樂的嬰戲圖 [Chinese Children: Joyous Pictures of Children at Play]. Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2009.

Butler, Michael and Wang Qingzheng 汪慶正. *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain from the Shanghai Museum and the Butler Collections*. New York: Scala Publishers, 2006.

Cahill, James. "Ren Xiong and His Self-Portrait." *Ars Orientalis*, v. 25 (1995): 127-28.

Campbell, Gordon ed. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Chen Kelun 陳克倫. 藝林擷珍叢書: 瓷器 [Compendium of *Masterpieces*: Porcelain]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1997.

Chen Pao-chen 陳葆真. "From Text to Images: A Case Study of the *Admonitions* Scroll in the British Museum." 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 [Taiwan University Journal of Art History], v. 12 (2002): 35-61.

Chen Ruimin 陳潤民, chief ed. 故宮博物院藏清代瓷器類選: 清順治康熙朝青花瓷 [Selection of Qing Porcelain in the Palace Museum, Beijing Collection: Blue-and-White Porcelains of the Shunzhi and Kangxi Periods]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2005.

Chen Weiyan 陳維豔. "中國傳統嬰戲圖中祈子民俗觀探析 [Study on the Folk Concept of Praying for Children in Chinese Traditional Paintings of Playing Children]. " 美術教育研究 [Art Education Research], n. 7 (2018): 33-6.

Cheng Dengji 程登吉. 幼學瓊林 [Abundant Knowledge for Children]. Hangzhou: Hangzhou Ancient Book Press, 2013.

Chinese Ceramic Society 中國硅酸鹽學會, ed. 中國陶瓷史 [Chinese Porcelain History]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1982.

Chu Renhuo 褚人獲. 隋唐演義 [Heroes in Sui and Tang Dynasties]. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1981.

Clunas, Craig. "The West Chamber: A Literary Theme in Chinese Porcelain Decoration." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, n. 46 (1981-1982): 69-85.

_____. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1997.

_____. *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. Cambridge: Polity Pr., 1991.

Corrigan, Karina, Jan van Campen and Femke Diercks, eds. *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*. Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2015.

Dong, Jieyuan 董解元 and Zhu Pingchu 朱平楚, eds. 西廂記諸宮調注釋 [Notes on the Romance of the Western Chamber]. Lanzhou: Gansu People's Press, 1982.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *Emperor Huizong*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Editorial Committee of the Complete Collection of Chinese Art 中國美術全集編輯委員會, ed. 中國美術全集工藝美術編 3 陶瓷（下）[Collection of Chinese Fine Art, Applied Art Section], III, v. 2: 1-56. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1988.

Editorial Committee of the Complete Collection of Chinese Ceramics 中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會, ed. 中國陶瓷全集 [Complete Collection of Chinese Ceramics], v. 10-13. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2000.

Emerson, Julie, Jennifer Chen and Mimi Gardner Gates. *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Ernek, Christiane. Neochinoiserien in Sachen: Das Teezimmer in Schloss Pillnitz und das chinesische Zimmer in Schloss Lichtenwalde – Ein stilistischer Vergleich. Chap. in *China in Schloss und Garten: Chinoise Architekturen und Innenräume*, edited by Dirk Welich and Anne Kleiner, 227-37. Dresden: Sandstein, 2010.

Fan Dongqing 范冬青. "陶瓷枕略論 [Research on Porcelain Pillows]." In 上海博物館輯刊: 建館三十五周年特輯（總第四期） [Bulletin of the Shanghai Museum], v. 4, 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the Shanghai Museum], 267-291. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Press, 1987.

Fan Guoqiang 範國強. "歷史記載與傳說想像對人物形象的構建: 以三國之孫夫人形象的歷史流變為例 [Construction of the Personage by the Historical Record and the Legendary Imagination: Taking the Historical Development of Madam Sun's Image as an Example]." 貴州社會科學 [Guizhou Social Science], n. 3 (2015): 85-91.

Fang Yanshou 方彥壽. 建陽刻書史 [History of Printed Books in Jianyang]. Beijing: Zhongguo Society Press, 2003.

Feng Xianming 馮先銘, ed. 中國陶瓷 [Chinese Ceramics]. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Press, 2001.

Feng Xiaoqi 馮小琦. "宋代如意形狀瓷枕 [Ceramic Pillows in the Shape of Ruyi in the Song Dynasty]." 文物 [Cultural Relics], n. 9 (2005): 94-6.

Fu Xihua 傅惜花, ed. 中國古典文學版畫選集[Selection of Woodblock Prints in Chinese Classical Novels]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Art Press, 1981.

Gao Chunming 高春明. 中國服飾名物考 [Research in Ancient Chinese Costume and It's Adornment]. Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhua Press, 2001.

Gao Ming 高明. 琵琶記 [The Lute Record], 明萬曆二十五年汪光華玩虎軒刻本 [Wang Guanghua, Wanhu Studio ed., Woodblock-print edition, 25th year Wanli Period, (1597)]. National Library of China Collection.

Geng Baochang 耿寶昌, ed. 孫瀛洲的陶瓷世界 [Porcelain World of Sun Yingzhou]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2005.

Geng Baochang 耿寶昌. 明清瓷器鑒定 [Authentication of Ming and Qing Porcelains]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 1993.

Gerritsen, Anne. "Transcultural Objects, Movements, and Bodies." In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, edited by A. Grasskamp and M. Juneja. Cham, 239-46. Switzerland: Springer, 2018.

Goyer, Peter De and Jacob De Keyzer. *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Province to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperour of China*. London: John Ma-cock, 1669.

Gu Yue 古月, ed. 國粹圖典: 紋樣 [Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Images: Pattern]. Beijing: Chinese Pictorial Press, 2016.

Han Ying 韓嬰. 韓詩外傳譯注 [Interpretation of the Outer Commentary on the Book of Songs by Master Han]. Edited by Wei Dachun 魏達純. Changchun: Dongbei Normal University Press, 1993.

Harrison-Hall, Jessica. *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press, 2001.

Hay, Jonathan. *Sensuous Surfaces, The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010.

He Feng. Embodied Beauty: Feminising Chinese Ceramics in Eighteenth-Century China and Europe. Chap. in *Wechselblicke. Zwischen China und Europa 1669-1907*, edited by Matthias Weiß, Eva-Maria Troelenberg and Joachim Brand, 98-114. Berlin: Imhof, 2017.

Henan Archaeological Institute, Anyang Excavation Team 河南考古研究所安陽發掘隊, ed. "安陽隋張盛墓發掘記 [Excavation Report of Zhang Sheng's Sui dynasty Tomb, Anyang, Henan]." 考古 [Archaeology], n. 10 (1959): 541-45.

Hoskins, Lesley, ed. *The Papered Wall: The History, Patterns and Techniques of Wallpapers*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

Hsu Wen-Chin. "Illustrations of *Romance of the Western Chamber* on Chinese Porcelains: Iconography, Style and Development." *Ars Orientalis*, v. 40 (2011): 39-107.

_____. "'西廂記'與瓷器: 戲曲與視覺藝術的遇合個案研究 [The Romance of the Western Chamber and Chinese Porcelain: A Case Study of the Encounter of Drama and the Visual Arts]." 高雄師大學報 [Kao-hsiung Normal University Journal], n. 26 (2009): 137-66.

_____. "流傳歐洲的姑蘇版畫考察" [Investigation of Gusu Prints in Europe]. 年畫研究 [Research on New Year's Pictures], (Fall 2016): 10-28.

Huang Xiaofeng 黃小峰. "瑤池慶壽: 閻苑女仙圖卷年代與內容小考 [Celebrating Long Life in the Jade Pond: Study on the Date and Content of *Female Celestials in the Fairy Land*]." 中國歷史文物 [Journal of the National Museum of China], n. 2 (2008): 10-21.

Huang Yifen 黃逸芬. "顧繡新考 [New Study on Gu Embroidery]." In 顧繡國際學術研討會論文集 [Symposium of International Academic Conference on Gu Embroidery], edited by 上海博物館 [Shanghai Museum], 20-41. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Press, 2010.

Jin Yingzhi 金盈之. 新編醉翁談錄 [New Edition of Sayings by an Old Drunkard], d. ca. 1126. Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Press, 1958.

Jörg, Christian J. A., ed. *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1997.

_____. *Famille Verte: Chinese Porcelain in Green Enamels*. Schoten, Belgium: BAI/Groninger Museum, 2011.

Jörg, Christiaan J. A. and Michael Flecker. *Porcelain from the Vung Tau Wreck: The Hallstrom Excavation*. Singapore: Sun Tree Publ., 2001.

Jörg, Christiaan J. A. 17 世紀銷往荷蘭的中國瓷器: 貿易網絡和私人企業 [Chinese porcelain Exports to the Netherlands in the 17th Century: Trade Network and Private Enterprise]. In 古代外銷瓷器研究 [Collection of the research of Ancient Export Ceramics], translated by Li Bing 李冰. Beijing: Palace Museum, 2013.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta and Michael North, eds. *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Kerr, Rose. *Song Dynasty Ceramics*. London: V&A Publications, 2004.

Kircher, Athanasius S. J. *China Illustrata*. Translated by Charles D. van Tuyl. Bloomington, 1987.

Kikutarō, Saitō. "Sometsuki Kō: Jūyon Seiki Chūyō no Gen-Seika to Genkyoku (jō)" 元代染付考: 十四世紀中葉の元青花と原曲(下) [The Yüan Blue-and-White and the Yüan Drama in the Middle of the 14th century, Part II]. 古美術 *Kobijutsu: A Quarterly Review of the Fine Arts*, 19 (October 1967): 51-74.

Kong Liuqing 孔六慶. 繼往開來: 明代院體花鳥畫研究 [Carrying on the Past: Study on the Bird-and-flower Paintings of the Ming Dynasty]. Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 2008.

Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng 蘭陵笑笑生. 金瓶梅詞話校注 [Annotated Golden Lotus], edited by Bai Weiguo 白維國 and Bu Jian 卜健. Changshu: Yuelu Press, 1995.

Lefebvre d'Argencé, René Yvon, ed. *6000 Years of Chinese Art: Treasures from the Shanghai Museum*. San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1983.

Li Dongyang 李東陽, Shen Shixing 申時行 and Zhang Juzheng 張居正, et al. 大明會典 [Collected Regulations of the Great Ming], 1587 edition.

Li Guang'an 李光安. "董其昌款題韓希孟顧繡藝術探究 [Study about Dong Qichang's Inscription on Gu-style Embroidery by Han Ximeng]." 裝飾 [Decoration], v. 251, n. 3 (2014): 131-32.

Li Qile 李啟樂 [Kleutghen, Kristina]. "通景畫與郎世寧遺產研究 [Scenic Illusion Paintings and the Legacy of Giuseppe Castiglione]." 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], v. 3 (2012): 77-88.

_____. *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Li Yu 李漁. 閒情偶寄 [Casual Notes in a Leisurely Mood]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Book Press, 1985.

Li Zongyang 李宗揚. 中國歷代瓷器鑒定 [Authentication of Chinese Porcelains in Previous Dynasties]. Chap. in 文物鑒定與考古系列講座 [Lectures on Authenticating Cultural Relics and Archaeology], edited by Zhu Ping 朱萍, 175-304. Beijing: Minzu University of China Press, 2007.

Liu, James J. *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung: A.D. 960-1126*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Liu Liangyou 劉良佑. "元代晚期的雜劇人物青花器 [Blue-and-White Porcelains Figures from Drama in Late Yuan]." 故宮文物月刊 [National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art], v. 6, n. 4 (1988): 85-95.

Liu Tao 劉濤. 宋遼金紀年瓷器 [Dated Porcelain from the Song, Liao, and Jin Periods]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2004.

Liu Xinyuan 劉新園. "景德鎮出土明成化官窯遺跡與遺物之研究 [Research on the Unearthed Ruins and Remains of the Official Kiln in Jingdezhen in the Ming Chenghua Period]." In 成窯遺珍: 景德鎮珠山出土成化官窯瓷器 [Heritage of Cheng Kiln: Imperial Porcelains in Chenghua Period Unearthed in Zhushan, Jingdezhen], 18-46. Hongkong: Hongkong Xushi Art Museum, 1993.

Liu Xu 劉昫. 舊唐書 [Former Tang Dynastic History]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2000.

Liu Zuochen 劉祚臣. 北京的壇廟文化 [The Culture of Beijing's Altars and Temples]. Beijing: Beijing Press, 2000.

Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中. 遺香堂繪像三國志 [Romance of the Three Kingdoms Engraved by Yixiang Hall]. Late Ming period (1368-1644). Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

_____. 三國志通俗演義 [Romance of the Three Kingdoms], engraved in the 19th year of the Wanli period (1591) 明萬曆十九年刊本, National Archives of Japan 日本內閣文庫. Ref. n. 附 1-0008.

Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 and Shi Nai'an 施耐庵. 精鐫合刻三國水滸全傳 [Combined Edition of the Three Kingdoms and Water Margin], block-printed edition of Xiongfei Mansion, Jianyang 明末建陽雄飛館刊本, National Archives of Japan 日本內閣文庫. Ref. n. 附 1-0010.

_____. 容與堂本水滸傳 [Water Margin Rongyu Hall Edition], d. 1610. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1988.

_____. 大中華文庫漢英對照水滸傳 [Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Water Margin]. Translated by Moss Roberts. Beijing and Changsha: Foreign Languages Press and Hunan People's Publishing House, 1999.

_____. 大中華文庫漢英對照三國演義 [Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Three Kingdoms]. Translated by Moss Roberts. Beijing and Changsha: Foreign Languages Press and Hunan People's Publishing House, 2000.

Ma Mengjing 馬孟晶. "烈女, 才女, 織女: 女性生活的文化圖像 [Exemplary Women, Talented Women and Weaving Women: Cultural Images of Women's Life]." 故宮文物月刊 [National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art], n. 5 (2003): 4-23.

Ma Yazhen 馬雅貞. "從玉臺書史到玉臺畫史: 女性藝術家傳記的獨立成書與浙西的藝文傳承 [From the Jade Terrace History of Calligraphy to the Jade Terrace History of Painting: The Separate Compilation of Women Artist's Biographies and the Cultural Tradition of Zhexi (Western Zhejiang)]." 清華學報 [Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies], v. 40, n. 3 (2010): 411-51.

Mao Yi 茅翊, ed. 文房清供 [Stationery and Bibelot in Ancient Studies]. Hefei: Huangshan Publishing House, 2012.

McMahon, Keith. *Misers, Shrews and Polygamists, Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth Century Chinese Fiction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Mao Wenfang 毛文芳. 寫真: 女性魅影與自我再現 [Portraits: Female Images and Self-Representation]. Chap. in 物·性別·觀看: 明末清初文化書寫新探 [Object, Gender and Seeing: New Study on Cultural Writing in Late Ming and Early Qing], 281-374. Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, 2001.

_____. "幅巾, 紅妝與道服: 閱讀柳如是畫像 [Scarf, Makeup and Taoist Costume: Reading the Portraits of Liu Rushi]." *Journal of Oriental Studies*, v. 41, n. 2 (2008): 101-39.

_____. "遺照與小像: 明清時期鶯鶯畫像的文化意涵 [A Posthumous Portrait and A Miniature Portrait: the Cultural Trait of the Portrait of Yingying in Ming-Qing Dynasty]." 文與哲 [Literature & Philosophy], n. 7 (2005): 251-91.

Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, ed. 宋伯胤文集·枕具卷 [Corpus of Song Boyin, Pillow Volume]. Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2012.

National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, ed. 明代宣德官窯菁華特展圖錄[Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Selected Hsüan-Te Imperial Porcelains of the Ming Dynasty]. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1998.

Ni Yibin 倪亦斌. 看圖說瓷 [Discussing Porcelain through Reading Images]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008.

_____. "隋朝宮人扮'昭君'不是忠烈楊家女 [Maids in the Sui Imperial Court Impersonating '(Wang) Zhaojun' Rather than the Loyal Women of the Yang Family]." 讀者欣賞 [Reader's Taste], n. 8 (2017): 102-9.

Nie Chongzheng 聶崇正. "'線法畫'小考 [Study on 'Xianfahua']." 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], n. 3 (1982): 85-88.

Nie Hui 聶卉. “清宮通景線法畫探析 [Study on Xianfahua in Qing Court].” 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], n. 1 (2005): 41-52.

_____. “貼落畫及其在清代宮廷建築中的使用 [Tieluo Painting and its Use in Qing Court Architecture].” 文物 [Cultural Relics], n. 11 (2006): 86-94.

Nylan, Michael. *The Five “Confucian” Classics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Odell, Dawn. Chinese Paintings of Beautiful Women and Images of Asia in a Jesuit Text. Chap. in *Ut pictura amor: the reflexive imagery of love in artistic theory and practice, 1500-1700*, edited by Walter Melion, Michael Zell and Joanna Wodall, 106-135. Boston: Brill, 2017.

Palace Museum 故宮博物院, ed. 故宮陶瓷館 [Ceramics Gallery of Palace Museum]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2008.

_____. 故宮經典: 故宮陶瓷圖典 [Classics of the Forbidden City: Ceramics of the Gugong]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2010.

_____. 故宮藏傳世瓷器真贋對比歷代古窯址標本圖錄 [A Contrast between Genuine and Fake Porcelain and the Porcelain Specimens from Ancient Kiln Sites Collected in the Palace Museum (Pictorial Album)]. Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing House, 1998.

Palace Museum 故宮博物院 and Capital Museum of China 首都博物館, eds. 長安茀祿: 乾隆花園的秘密 [Emperor Qianlong’s Private Garden]. Beijing: Beijing Press, 2014.

Park, J. P. *Art by the Book: Painting Manuals and the Leisure Life in Late Ming China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

Peng Tao 彭濤. “康熙中和堂款瓷器官民窯性質的探討 [Research on Whether the Porcelains with the Zhonghetang Mark during the Kangxi Period Are Official or Civilian Kilns].” 南方文物 [Southern China Cultural Relics], n. 2 (2011): 149-53.

Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2016–2018. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, v. 76, n. 2 (2018): 48.

Rinaldi, Maura. *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*. London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd, 1989.

Robertson, Iain ed. *Understanding International Art Markets and Management*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005.

Saunders, Gill. *Wallpaper in Interior Decoration*. London: V&A Publications, 2002.

Shang Gang 尚剛. 中國工藝美術史新編 [New Edition of History of Chinese Art and Design]. Beijing: Advanced Education Press, 2007.

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, ed. *Porzellansammlung im Zwinger*. Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1982.

Shang Yanbin 尚衍斌 and Lin Huan 林歡. "回回青的來龍去脈 [The Origin and Development of the Mohammedan Blue Glaze]." 紫禁城 [Forbidden City], v. 6 (2008): 144-49.

Simonis, Ruth Sonja. *Microstructures of Global Trade: Porcelain Acquisitions through Private Trade Networks for Augustus the Strong*. Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2020.

_____. "How to Furnish a Palace: Porcelain Acquisitions in the Netherlands for Augustus the Strong, 1716-1718." *Journal for Art Market Studies*, n. 3 (2018): 1-15.

Stacey, Pierson. *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

_____. *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960*. Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2007.

Sun Chengze 孫承澤. 春明夢餘錄 [Record of the Capital after the Dream]. Beijing: Beijing Guji Press, 1992.

Sun Guiping 孫桂平 and Ai Bingmei 艾冰梅. "張繼松江夜泊相關問題考證 [Textual Research on A Night Mooring at Maple Tree Bridge]." 集美大學學報, 哲學社會科學版 [Journal of Jimei University, Philosophy and Social Sciences Division], v. 20, n. 2 (2017): 93-8.

Sun Yue 孫悅. "'榷陶'唐英與清代官窯 ['Ceramics supervisor' Tang Ying and Official Kilns in the Qing Dynasty]." Master's Thesis, Chinese National Academy of Arts, 2010.

Tang Dongdong 唐冬冬. "文物'吉祥圖案'探微 [Study on 'Auspicious Patterns' of Antiques]." 開封文博 [Kaifeng Cultural Relics and Museology], v. 11-12, n. 1-2 (1995): 42-44.

Tang Mianjia 唐勉嘉. "從文本到繪畫: 洛神賦圖卷, 女史箴圖卷, 列女仁智圖卷研究 [From Text to Painting: Research on Nymph of the Luo River, The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies, and Wise and Benevolent Women]." Master, Fudan University, 2011.

Tom, K. S. *Echoes from Old China: Life, Legends, and Lore of the Middle Kingdom*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 5th ed., 2000.

Vinhais, Luísa and Jorge Welsh, eds. *Kraak Porcelain: The Rise of Global Trade in the Late 16th and Early 17th centuries*. London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2008.

Volker, Tijs. *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagh-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers: 1602-1682*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.

Wang Cheng-hua 王正華. "女人, 物品與感官欲望: 陳洪綬晚期人物畫中江南文化的呈現 [Late-Ming Culture of Sensibility: Women and Objects in Ch'en Hung-shou's Late Figure Painting (1645-1652)]." 中國近代婦女史研究 [Research on Women in Modern Chinese History], v. 10 (2002): 1-57.

_____. “清代初中期作為產業的蘇州版畫與其商業面向 [Art as Commodity: The Commercial Aspects of Suzhou Single-Sheet Prints in the Early and Middle Qing Dynasty].” 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica], v. 92 (2016): 1-54.

Wang Guangyao 王光堯. 中國古代官窯制度 [The System of Chinese Official Kilns]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2005.

Wang Lianming. Europerie und Macht. Akteure und Publika der transulturellen Bilderbauten aus der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Qianlong. Chap. in *Wechselblicke. Zwischen China und Europa 1669-1907*, edited by Matthias Weiß, Eva-Maria Troelenberg and Joachim Brand, 56-77. Berlin: Imhof, 2017.

Wang Rumei 王汝梅. 金瓶梅版本史 [History of Editions of Golden Lotus]. Jinan: Qilu Press, 2015.

Wang Shifu 王實甫. 新刻魏仲雪先生批點西廂記 [Newly-carved Romance of the Western Chamber]. 明末存誠堂刊本 [Cuncheng Hall, Late Ming Woodblock-print Edition].

_____. 重刻元本題評音釋西廂記 [Romance of Western Chamber, Reprinted Yuan Edition with Commentary and Interpretation]. 忠正堂刊本 [Zhongzheng Hall, Woodblock-print Edition], 明萬曆 20 年 [Wanli 20th year (1592)], National Archives of Japan 日本內閣文庫. Ref. n. 309-0096.

_____. 中華大文庫漢英對照西廂記 [Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English Romance of the Western Chamber]. Translated by Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖. Changsha: Hunan People’s Publishing House, 2000.

Wang Xiaoming 王小明. “18 世紀歐洲藏 ‘仿泰西筆意’ 姑蘇版畫考析 [Study on Gusu Prints Imitating European Techniques in 18th Century European Collections].” 年畫研究 [Research on New Year’s Pictures], (Fall 2016): 29-42.

Wang Zheng 王政. “元代戲曲中的拜月古俗考 [Study on the Ancient Custom of Worshiping the Moon in Yuan Drama].” 戲曲研究 [Research on Drama], n. 1 (2008): 152-162.

Wang Zilin 王子林, ed. 明清皇宮陳設 [Display of Ming and Qing Royal Palaces]. Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2011.

Wappenschmidt, Friederike. Chinoise Tapeten-Phantasien und die Bilderwelten chinesischer Panoramatapeten. Chap. in *Interieur und Bildtapete: Narrative des Wohnens um 1800*, edited by Katharina Eck and Astrid Silvia Schönhagen, 137-150. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014.

Wei Yong 衛泳. “悅容編 [Compilation of Charming Appearance].” In 中國香艷全書［Compendium of Chinese Fragrance and Gorgeousness], edited by 蠱天子 Chongtianzi, 28-32. Beijing: Tuanjie Press, 2005.

Wen Tiren 溫體仁, ed. 明神宗實錄 [Veritable Record of Wanli Emperor], v. 368. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962.

Wen Zhenheng 文震亨. 長物志 [Record of Superfluous Things]. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1936.

White, Julia M. ed. *Repentant Monk: Illusion and Disillusion in the Art of Chen Hongshou.* Oakland & California: University of California Press, 2017.

Wu Junming 吳軍明 et al. "論 '官搭民燒' 對景德鎮瓷業發展的影響 [Discussion on the Impact of 'guanda minshao' on the Development of Jingdezhen Porcelain Industry." 陶瓷學報 [Journal of Ceramics], v. 33, n. 4 (2012): 437-41.

Wu Qiming 吳企明 and Shi Chuangxin 史創新, eds. 題畫詞與詞意畫 [Poems with Paintings and Paintings with Poetic Meaning]. Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Press, 2007.

Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733-1813), ed. 陽羨名陶錄 [Records of Prestigious Ceramics in Yangxian]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1991.

Wu Wenzhi 吳文智 and Qian Housheng 錢厚生, eds. 漢英翻譯大詞典 [Chinese-English Translation Dictionary]. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2015.

Wu Yuantai 吳元泰. 東遊記 [Journey to the East]. Chap. in 四遊記 [Four Journeys], 1-64. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 1994.

Würmell, Cora. "A Microcosm of Early Globalization: The East Asian Porcelain in the Collection of August the Strong." *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, v. 49 (2016): 53-67.

Xia Jingshan 夏荊山 and Lou Yutian 婁玉田, eds. 中國歷代觀音文獻集成 [Integration of Chinese Guanyin Literature in Past Dynasties]. Beijing: China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 1998.

Xiao Xiao 肖曉. "十八學士圖的觀念與模式研究 [Research on the Conception and Format of Depicting Eighteen Scholars]." 文物世界 [World of Antiquity], n. 2 (2012): 60-4.

Xie, Margaret-Carney. Chü-lu: A Northern Sung Ceramic Legacy. Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1989.

Xu Shaoyin 許紹銀 and Xu Ke 許可, eds. 中國陶瓷辭典 [Dictionary of Chinese Porcelain]. Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Press, 2013.

Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Wang Fukang 王福康. 中國古代插圖史 [History of Ancient Chinese Illustrations]. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2007.

Xu Yizhi 徐一智. "明代帝王與觀音信仰: 以永樂與萬歷朝編纂的兩本觀音經典為例 [Ming Emperors and the Faith of Guanyin: A Case Study of Two Guanyin Scriptures Compiled in Yongle and Wanli Periods]." 東吳歷史學報 [Dongwu Journal of History], v. 29 (2013): 1-57.

Xu Zhiheng 許之衡. 飲流齋說瓷 [Explaining Ceramics of the Yinliu Room]. Jinan: Shandong Pictorial Press, 2010.

Xue Wenxiu 薛文秀. "水滸傳之扈三娘形象研究 [Study on Hu San'niang in the Water Margin]." 牡丹江大學學報 [Mudanjiang University Journal], v. 24, n. 8 (2015): 57-8.

Yang, Erzeng. *The Story of Han Xiangzi: The Alchemical Adventures of a Daoist Immortal*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Yang Jingrong 楊靜榮, ed. 故宮博物院文物珍品大系: 顏色釉 [Compendium of Cultural Treasures in Palace Museum: Monochrome Wares]. Shanghai: Shanghai Science and Technical Press, 1999.

Yang Junyi 楊君誼. "明‘空白期’禦器廠不署紀年款原因探析 [Study on the Reasons for Imperial Kiln Products without Inscriptions during the Ming Dynasty Interregnum]." 装饰 [Decoration], n. 12 (2017): 88-89.

Yang Yuansheng 楊元生. "黃陵縣發現一件金代瓷枕 [Discovering a Porcelain Pillow from the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) in Huangling Prefecture]." 文博 [Relics and Museum Studies], n. 1 (1986): 33.

Ye Peilan 葉佩蘭. 元代陶瓷 [Porcelain in Yuan Dynasty]. Beijing: Jiuzhou Tushu Press, 1998.

Yu Minzhong 于敏中, ed. 日下舊聞考 [Investigation of Old News in the Present Period]. Beijing: Beijing Guji Press, 1985.

Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, ed. 明史, 崔亮傳 [Ming History, Biography of Cui Liang]. Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing House, 1977.

Zhang Shuxian 張淑嫻. "從三希堂通景畫看乾隆時期皇宮通景畫的演變 [The Transformation of *Trompe L'oeil* Paintings of the Qianlong Era Based on the Study of Trompe L'oeil Painting in the Hall of Three Rarities (Sanxi tang)]." 故宮學刊 [Journal of Gugong Studies], n. 1 (2014): 205-24.

Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠. 歷代名畫記 [Record of Famous Painters Throughout the Ages], ca. 845-47. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985.

Zhao Yanzhe 趙琰哲. "海西線法的運用與視幻空間的製造: 以清宮倦勤齋等幾處通景線法畫為例 [Use of Haixixian Painting Technique and Creation of Space of Optical Illusion: A Case Study of Tongjing-xianfahua Represented by Juanqin Zhai of the Forbidden City]." 中國國家博物館館刊 [Journal of National Museums of China], n. 7 (2012): 93-108.

Zhou Lili 周麗麗. "略論康熙民窯五彩瓷器的燒造成就 [A Brief Discussion on Production Achievement of Famille Verte Porcelains in Kangxi Period]." In 中國陶瓷全集 [Completed Collection of Chinese Ceramics], edited by Editorial Committee of the Complete Collection of Chinese Ceramics 中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會, v. 14, 20-23. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2000.

Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良. "明萬曆年間為九蓮菩薩編造的兩部經 [Two Sutras Compiled for the Bodhisattva Nine Lotuses in the Ming Wanli Period]." 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal], v. 2 (1985): 37-40.

Zhou Yonghui 周永惠. 同義詞反義詞詞典 [Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms]. Chengdu: Sichuan Lexicographical Press, 2006.

"緙絲瑤池集慶圖軸 [Silk Tapestry of Celebrating the Gathering in the Jade Pond]." 紫禁城 [Forbidden City], n. 7 (2014): 10-11.

Fig. 1.1 Pillow in the shape of a Young Girl. Stoneware. Cizhou ware, Hebei province. Dated sixteenth year, *Dading* reign (1176 C.E.), Jin dynasty (1115-1234). H. 8.1 cm, L. 28.5 cm. Collection of Shaanxi History Museum. After Liu Tao 劉濤, *Songliaojin jinian ciqi* 宋遼金紀年瓷器 [Dated Porcelain from the Song, Liao, and Jin Periods] (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2004), 227.

Fig. 1.2 Pillow, scene of *Burning Incense at Night*, possibly from the *Romance of the Western Chamber*. Stoneware, Cizhou ware. Jin dynasty (1115-1234). L. 29.8 cm, W.17.4 cm, H. 13.7 cm. Collection of Shanghai Museum. © Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 1.3 Porcelain bowl, monochrome blue overglaze, decorated with incised dragon and cloud patterns; brown overglaze at rim and foot. Jingdezhen, China. Jiajing period (1522-1566), Ming dynasty. H. 9.2 cm, D. 20.7 cm, D. foot 9 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing.

Fig. 1.4 Dish, yellow-glaze with incised cloud and dragon design. Porcelain. Jingdezhen, China. Jiajing period (1522-1566). H. 7.2 cm, D. 36 cm, D. foot 22.9 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Yang Jingrong 楊靜榮, ed., 故宮博物院文物珍品大系: 顏色釉 [Compendium of Cultural Treasures in Palace Museum: Monochrome Wares] (Shanghai: Science and Technology Press, 1999), 50.

Fig. 1.5 Dish, red-glaze with gold cloud and dragon design. Porcelain. Jingdezhen, China. Xuande period (1426-1435), Ming dynasty. H. 4.1 cm, D. 17.7 cm, D. foot 10.6 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing. After The Editorial Committee of the Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics 中國陶瓷全集編輯委員會, ed., 中國陶瓷全集 [The Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Press, 2000), 13:205.

Fig. 1.6 Porcelain bowl with monochrome white glaze; Xuande mark on foot. Jingdezhen, China. Xuande period (1426-1435), Ming dynasty. H. 10.4 cm, D. 21 cm, D. foot 7.4 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing. © The Palace Museum, Beijing.

Fig. 1.7 a-b Chicken-cup decorated in underglaze blue and overglaze enamels in doucai style. Chenghua mark 大明成化年製 on foot. Porcelain. Jingdezhen, China. Chenghua period (1465-1487), Ming dynasty. H. 3.8 cm, D. 8.3 cm. Percival David Collection, The British Museum, Object No. PDF A.748. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 1.8 a-b Bowl, *Noble Women in the Garden*. Porcelain, blue and white. Xuande mark on foot. Jingdezhen, China. Xuande reign (1426-1435), Ming dynasty. H. 7.2 cm, D. mouth 18.9 cm, D. foot 7.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei, Inv. No. 珍 58.5/09704/Box1651. After National Palace Museum, Taipei 國立故宮博物院, ed., 明代宣德官窯菁華特展圖錄 [Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Selected Hsüan-Te Imperial Porcelains of the Ming Dynasty] (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1998), 352-53, cat. 149.

Fig. 1.9 a-b **a**: Male Immortal (possibly Li Tieguai 李鐵拐) Watches Game of *Go*; **b**: *Xiwangmu* 西王母 [Queen Mother of the West] Receives Birthday Greetings. Jar. Porcelain, blue and white. Jingdezhen, China. Jingtai reign (1450-1456), Ming dynasty (1368-1644). H. 35.3 cm, D. 21.5 cm, D. foot 20 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing. After The Palace Museum, Beijing 故宫博物院, ed., 故宫陶瓷館 [Ceramics Gallery of the Palace Museum, Beijing] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2008), 2:309, pl. 234.

Fig. 1.10 Bowl, *Child Worshipping Bodhisattva Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara)*. Porcelain, blue and white. Jingdezhen, China. Wanli reign (1573-1620), Ming dynasty. H. 7.6 cm, D.16.5 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing. After The Palace Museum, Beijing 故宫博物院, ed., 故宫陶瓷館 [Ceramics Gallery of the Palace Museum, Beijing] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2008), 2:349, pl. 272.

Fig. 1.11 a-b Conical bowl, *Woman on Rock Near a Willow Tree Watches Three Small Boys Playing*. Flower motif in small roundel, center. Blue and white porcelain. Spurious Xuande mark on foot. Jingdezhen, China. Wanli period (1573-1620), Ming dynasty. H. 3.4 cm, D. 10.5 cm.
Percival David Collection, The British Museum, Object No. PDF B.626.

Fig. 1.12 Large, deep plate, Middle Eastern figures in center. Porcelain, blue and white. Kraak ware. Jingdezhen, China. Second quarter of the seventeenth century, Ming dynasty (1368-1644). H. 9.7 cm, D. 45.7 cm. Collection of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Accession No. RES.13.55.

Fig. 1.13 Jar, *Su Wu and Li Ling Meet on the Frontier*. Porcelain, blue and white. Jingdezhen, China. Chongzhen period (1628-1644), Ming dynasty. H. 30 cm, D. foot 12.5 cm. The Butler Collection.
After Michael Butler and Wang Qingzheng, *Seventeenth Century Jingdezhen Porcelain from the Shanghai Museum and the Butler Collections* (New York: Scala Publishers, 2006), 93, pl. 14.

Fig. 1.14 Bowl, *Eighteen Scholars Assemble*. Porcelain, blue and white. Jingdezhen, China. Kangxi period (1662–1722), Qing dynasty. H. 9.6 cm, D. 20.6 cm. Collection of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Accession No. 01.5719. © The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 1.15 a-b Dish, scene of man on terrace; attendant gestures to the sun. Porcelain in underglaze cobalt blue and copper red. Inscription on base: "康熙辛亥中和堂製 [Made by Zhonghetang Studio in the Year of Xinhai of the Kangxi reign]." Jingdezhen, China. 1671 C.E., Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. H. 8.8cm, D. 35.8 cm. Percival David Collection, The British Museum, Object No. PDF 653. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 1.16 Vase, scene of Liu Bei and Sun Shangxiang during wedding ceremony, from the *Tale of Three Kingdoms*. Porcelain, *Famille Verte*. Jingdezhen, China. Kangxi period (1662–1722), Qing dynasty. H. 44.9 cm, D. 17.9 cm. Collection of Shanghai Museum. © Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 1.17 Large fish bowl, twenty-four scenes depicting the *Romance of the Western Chamber*. Porcelain, *Famille Verte*. Jingdezhen, China. Kangxi Period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. H. 35 cm, D. 37.5 cm, D. foot 19 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 6275. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.

Fig. 1.18 A set of five vessels in two forms; three vases with covers and two in the *gu*-shape, decorated with illustrations from *Mu Guiying Breaks the Heavenly Gate Formation*. Porcelain, *Famille Verte* and gilt decoration. Jingdezhen, China. Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung,
top: Inv. No. PO 3006, H. 62.9 cm, D. 21.9 cm, D. foot 16.1 cm;
Inv. No. PO 3004, H. 49.5 cm, D. 23.1 cm, D. foot 17.1 cm;
Inv. No. PO 3005, H. 61.7 cm, D. 23.1 cm, D. foot 16.7 cm;
bottom: Inv. No. PO 6321, H. 48.5 cm, D. 24.2 cm, D. foot 18.2 cm;
Inv. No. PO 6320, H. 61.2 cm, D. 23.0 cm, D. foot 17.0 cm.

Fig. 1.19 A set of three vases featuring beauties in a garden setting. Porcelain, *Famille verte* with gilt decoration. Jingdezhen, China. Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. From left to right: H.71.2 cm, D. 24.3 cm, D. foot 19.3 cm; H. 71.9 cm, D. 25.8 cm, D. foot 19.7 cm; H. 71.4 cm, D. 24.4 cm, D. foot 21 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. Nos. PO 6257, PO 6258, and PO 6259 (left to right). © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.

Fig. 1.20 Dish, *Women on Horseback*. Porcelain, *Famille Verte* and gilt decoration. Jingdezhen, China. Yongzheng Period (1723-1735), Qing dynasty. H. 7.2 cm, D. 55.5 cm, D. foot 33.0 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 6225. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.

Fig. 1.21 Plate. *Woman Swinging with Male Onlookers in a Garden.* Porcelain, blue and white. Jingdezhen, China. Chongzhen period (1628-1644), Late Ming dynasty. H. 10.5 cm, D. 48.8 cm, D. foot 26.1 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 3419. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Juergen Loesel.

Fig. 1.22 Interior Scene Depicting the Spring Season. Affixed wall hanging from the Nurture Harmony Abode 養和精舍, Ningshougong. Ink and colors on paper. 1772, Qianlong period (1736-1795), Qing dynasty. L. 325.1 cm, W. 304.8 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Nancy Berliner ed., *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Essex Museum, 2010), pl. 40.

Fig. 1.23 The Chinese Room (Chinesisches Zimmer), northeast corner. Wallpaper decorated with 34 panels of Chinese prints. Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. South wing, Schloss Lichtenwalde, built 1722-1726; panels attached 1750. Mittelsachsen, Germany.
Room: 82.4 m².
Left: North wall, entire wall: W. 250,0 cm x 2 (visible, right section: W. 250,0 cm), H. 285,0 cm.
Right: East wall, entire wall: W. 315,0 cm, H. 285,0 cm.
Each panel: W. 51,0 cm, H. 103,0 cm.
Photo: Sarah E. Fraser.