

# Beauties under Manchu Rule: Chinese Female Attire of the Early Qing Period

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Clothes represent a significant aspect of Chinese culture, particularly in the depiction of gender. Moreover, sartorial details may also be an index to questions of empire in certain contexts. This paper focuses on female figures and the depiction of costumes for both female and male subjects across media during the early Qing period (ca. the second half of the seventeenth century). My primary focus is porcelain from the Porzellansammlung (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden); where relevant, I introduce paintings and woodblock prints as cross media examples of how female attire was an index of Han-Manchu relationships and conflicts in the early Qing Dynasty.

The core issue or problem is that female figures depicted on Dresden porcelains dating from the early Qing Dynasty (primarily from the Kangxi's reign, 1662-1722) reflect fashions from the previous dynasty; i.e., women's attire from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).<sup>1</sup> The ideal Ming-dynasty woman was depicted in conservative, yet garishly-decorated clothes, suggesting that desirable women were to be both elegant and deferential during this period.<sup>2</sup> It is relatively well-known that the Manchus, who founded the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), cultivated a clothing style different from the Han Chinese. At the beginning of the dynasty, the Manchu government issued an edict which ordered the populace to change their attire and hair treatment to a Manchu manner.<sup>3</sup> It is indeed interesting that Ming dynasty clothing patterns would be used in Qing-period porcelain, painting, and woodblock prints. But it does not appear to hold true for both men and women. In contrast, men are outfitted in Manchu clothing in Qing period porcelain; they are illustrated alongside women who are garbed in anachronistically Ming-dynasty attire.<sup>4</sup> This juxtaposition reflecting, on the one hand, a shift in ethnic politics through male costume, and a lack of change in female attire, deserves close attention. The distinction offers an opportunity to observe the relationship between Han Chinese and Manchus.

First, let me say a word about the issue of dress and its connection with the concept of empire.<sup>5</sup> The *Book of Documents* mentions that peoples from the frontiers of four directions wore clothes with a left-

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<sup>1</sup> Examples include five Kangxi Period pots and one from the preceding Shunzhi Period (1644-1661) reproduced in this essay (see **figs. 6.3-6.5; 6.7, 6.10 and 6.12**).

<sup>2</sup> The feminine ideal is typically painted in the specific genre, *shinütu* 仕女圖 [paintings of court ladies]; often translated as “gentlewomen,” this type of sophisticated woman is known for her erudition.

<sup>3</sup> The regent, Prince Rui of the First Rank [named] Dorgon, led his army to Tongzhou; Tongzhou's governor then led the people to surrender. [And Dorgon] ordered them to cut their hair in the Manchu style. 攝政和碩睿親王多爾袞師至通州知州率百姓迎降諭令雜發. 清實錄順治朝實錄 [Veritable Records of Emperor Shunzhi] (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 2008), 31.

<sup>4</sup> Male attire is especially distinct in two Dresden vessels; (see **figs. 6.16-6.17**).

<sup>5</sup> The term *huaxia* 華夏, a term used to describe the expanse of the Chinese empire and distinguish it from its foreign counterparts since pre-Qin period (ca. third century BCE), embodied the concept of empire in the materiality of clothing, particularly in regards to distinguish the court from the frontier. The earliest references linking *huaxia* and “China” appear in the *Commentary of Zuo* 左傳 (late fourth century BCE) and *Mencius* 孟子 (c. 300 BCE). The most common usage of *huaxia* in early period is in connection to foreigners, usually appearing together with other words such as *yi* 夷 (peoples on the frontier). See Zhan Yinxin 詹鄞鑫, 华夏考 [Research on Huaxia], *Journal of East China*

fastened collar.<sup>6</sup> Manchus, with a homeland defined as part of the northeastern frontier, while not strictly following this tradition of fastening collars on the left, maintained a collar tradition that was significantly different from Han practices. Because the collar was typically a point of focus in clothing, and became particularly important during the Qing dynasty, I will concentrate on this feature.

In the early Qing period, Manchu costumes commonly consisted of a long, one-piece gown with a separate, faux collar or no collar. By contrast, the typical Han Chinese costume usually featured a right-fastened collar (*youren* 右衽) (figs. 6.1-6.3).<sup>7</sup> The importance of this element for Han clothing is noted in a quote attributed to Confucius describing the clothing of ethnic minorities consisting of “disheveled hair and a left-fastened collar.”<sup>8</sup> Before I explore in-depth the nature of women’s clothing depicted on early-Qing porcelain in the Porzellansammlung, let us consider briefly several non-political explanations for the Ming-style clothes depicted on the Qing porcelains. Ateliers had reasons for maintaining certain long-standing motifs that could account for residual conventions in costumes.

First, porcelain artisans inherited image patterns, and since most of the relevant Dresden porcelains are from the early Qing period, working models from the Ming Dynasty must have been their primary referents. Sometimes, artisans intentionally imitated earlier patterns to forge Ming porcelains for higher prices. Second, illustrations of romances or operas were popular for porcelains, and these motifs were mostly based on woodblock prints of the Ming Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> These factors based on an artistic rationale could explain why at least the female figures on the Dresden porcelain are illustrated in Ming-style clothing. But the social context is where I turn for the rest of the article.

Typical Ming-style clothing for women usually consisted of *ruqun* 襦裙, a short upper garment (*ru*) with a long skirt (*qun*); this configuration is often found in representations of female attire on porcelain in the Dresden collection (figs. 6.3-6.4). A long coat with high side slits (*beizi* 褙子) was also part of contemporary fashion (figs. 6.5-6.6).<sup>10</sup> Female hairstyles, however, varied greatly. One that deserves special mention is a spiral bun called the “Hangzhou-hairstyle of a nest of gathered silk” (*yiwosi hangzhouzan* 一窩絲杭州攢) (fig. 6.9).<sup>11</sup> This coiffure seems to have been popular since it appears several times on ceramics and printed works of the early Qing period.<sup>12</sup> A scene from *The Golden Lotus* (*Jinpingmei* 金瓶

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*Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2001.05):* 21. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648 CE) is credited with the statement that links empire, the term *huaxia*, and fine attire, “Because of grand rituals, [China] is called *xia*; because it has flowery clothing, it is named *hua*.” Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *春秋左傳正義* [Interpretation of Zuo commented version of Chunqiu] (Wuyingdian 武英殿, 1871), 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, *尚書校釋譯論* (三) [Interpretation of Book of Documents (Vol.3)] (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 2005), 987. The original text reads, “四夷左衽 [nomad people on the four frontiers wear the left-fastened collar].”

<sup>7</sup> Emperor Kangxi wears a Manchu gown without a collar (fig. 6.1). Prince Yinzhen is in a robe with a faux collar (fig. 6.2).

<sup>8</sup> “Without Guanzhong, I would have already had disheveled hair and been in a gown with a left-fastened collar 微管仲, 吾其被髮左衽矣.” This implies that if Guanzhong did not defeat the barbarians, Confucius would be ruled by them. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *論語譯注* [Interpretation of Analects] (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1980), 160.

<sup>9</sup> Wen-Chin Hsu, “Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period, Ca. 1620-1683,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1988): 135-59.

<sup>10</sup> These are illustrated in a fishbowl (PO 4271) and a painting “A Beauty at Leisure: Drinking Tea under a Parasol Tree,” from Yongzheng’s *Screen of Twelve Beauties* (figs. 6.5-6.6).

<sup>11</sup> Shen Congwen 沈從文, *中國古代服飾研究* [Studies of Ancient Chinese Clothing] (Shanghai: Century Publishing Group of Shanghai, 2002), 617.

<sup>12</sup> A plate from the Dresden collection features a female figure painted with the Hangzhou hairstyle “of a nest of gathered silk” (fig. 7). Three porcelain figurines, also in the Dresden collection, are decorated with the same high hairstyle (fig. 6.8). In yet a third example, in a printed work from the Qing Dynasty, a woman has a similar coiffure (fig. 6.9).



梅), composed during the late Ming (1368–1644), also contains a description of it: “Li Guijie went out with a casual ‘Hangzhou nest’ hair bun ...”<sup>13</sup>

Generally speaking, women of this period wore long skirts and wide sleeves (fig. 6.3). Many accessories to gather or fasten textiles were also part of their attire. A scarf around the arms (*pibo* 披帛), knots and tassels (*tao* 縵) were typical accessories (figs. 6.10–6.11).<sup>14</sup> Among these adornments, the *jinbu* 禁步—worn on the outside of a woman’s dress as a pendant on the belt, is of particular interest (fig. 6.12). Literally it translates as “forbidden steps.” Usually, *jinbu* were made of small jade or metal pieces. The style originated from jade pendants (*yupei* 玉佩), which were mainly for men. When a woman wearing this type of pendant would walk too fast or her steps were too large, the *jinbu* would ring to remind her that she should walk more slowly to reflect the elegance fitting of a noble lady. Similar ornaments are illustrated in prints or paintings (figs. 6.13–6.14). The *jinbu* is also mentioned in the Qing dynasty novel *The Upright Bandits* 蕩寇志.<sup>15</sup> It is an accoutrement indicative of standard feminine fashion and behavioral comportment during this period; women were expected to be demure and quiet. Other accessories worked in similar ways in that they functioned to control the movement and pacing of the female body. One could argue that as the *jinbu* pendant fell out of usage, the high heel that became popular in late Manchu-Qing fashion was a type of substitute to ensure that women walked slowly and with measure.

On a porcelain fishbowl in the Dresden Collection, a small portion of a woman’s pointed shoe is visible under her skirts, which implies that the figures depicted are Han women with bound feet (fig. 6.5).<sup>16</sup> Manchu women did not have a tradition of foot binding and Manchu rulers forbade it. But the ban could not be enforced as the rulers did not control the domestic sphere; ladies with bound feet would never go to public areas. Manchu shoes for women also became inconvenient for walking as they began to be outfitted with high heels; this transformation can also be regarded as an imitation of foot binding. The influence of this specific aesthetic seems to have been internalized by both Manchu and Han women. Obviously, these fashions were not well suited for physical activities, but were in line with the social expectations for a lady. She belonged to “the inner quarters” and her territory was within her family.

Remarkably, in contrast to clothing from the early period, the Mandarin collar with the high neckline was especially popular. Perhaps it was climate change that made women cover their necks; according to a paleoclimate study, even in the warmest period during 1400–1900, the weather was colder than during the Tang Dynasty (618–907).<sup>17</sup> The popularity of Mandarin collars may have been related to the colder climate of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Taken in their entirety—the clothing styles and the composition of figures—the man is at the center of the image and female figures surround and serve him. These details reflect the key traits of the Ming-Qing female ideal: attentive, compliant, delicate, elegant, and submissive. Although, as we can imagine, the idealized image of femininity was mainly depicted by men for men, women may have also been engaged in the manufacturing process of porcelain. There is a tale from the late Ming writer, Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646), which reveals that a porcelain artisan’s wife

<sup>13</sup> “Li Guijie went out with ‘Hangzhou-style’ bun bound by a golden hairpin. On the hairpin is decoration in jade plum blossom, a pearl hoop and golden cage-shaped pendant. 李桂姐出來，家常挽著一窩杭州攢，金累絲釵，翠梅花鈿兒，珠子箍兒，金籠墜子。” Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng 蘭陵笑笑生，皋鶴堂批評第一奇書金瓶梅 [The Golden Lotus with Gaohetang’s Commentary] (Yingsongxuan 影松軒, 1695), 336.

<sup>14</sup> The female figures have blue *pibo* around their arms (PO 6857) (fig. 6.10); an illustration of *tao* (knots) appears in an illustrated reference text (fig. 6.11).

<sup>15</sup> “The guide holds a jade *jinbu* and a pearl, which say: ‘gifts for you, my dear sister.’ (那衙內將著一塊碧玉禁步，一顆珠子，說道：‘送與賢妹添妝。’) Yu Wanchun 俞萬春，蕩寇志 [The Upright Bandits] (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1981), 42.

<sup>16</sup> The difference between female and male shoes is clearly discernible in another porcelain plate (fig. 6.15).

<sup>17</sup> Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨, “中國近五千年來氣候變遷的初步研究 [A Preliminary Study of Climate Change in China in the Recent 5000 Years],” *Scientia Sinica Mathematica* (1973): 168–189.

was engaged in painting the decoration on porcelain wares at a family-run workshop.<sup>18</sup> This female participation in perpetuating male-oriented images of femininity, however, does not mean that “the female ideal” was also a woman’s ideal of the self. Patriarchal values were likely internalized by many women. As G. Spivak argues, “the subaltern,” or those who are social or political outsiders, cannot speak for themselves.<sup>19</sup>

Among the female figures represented in Dresden collection objects from the early Qing period, no Manchu clothes are to be found. Although male figures appear less frequently in ceramics in this collection, when they do appear, they are depicted in Manchu clothes, specifically on two plates from the Kangxi period (figs. 6.16-6.17). Manchu attire and hairstyles are distinct from Han styles. Typical Manchu clothing usually involved long, one-piece gowns (fig. 6.1). Manchu dress also included a short coat for an informal suit, named the *magua* 馬褂, literally meaning “riding coat.” Later, during the Republican period (1912-1949), this informal attire became for a time the national formal dress. A man in *magua*, standing near a horse is illustrated in one of the plates (fig. 6.16). Additionally, in a vase decorated with a hunting scene, all the male figures don typical Manchu costumes and hairstyles (fig. 6.17). As is evident the Manchu costume—together with the other motifs surrounding the male figures—the implication is that these men are physically strong and dominant. This is quite contrary to the male figures depicted in Ming-style clothes, which are usually scholarly; their clothes do not appear to be suitable for physical work (figs. 6.5; 6.10).

At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, the law requiring subjects to change their clothes and hair to the Manchu style led to enormous conflict. A compromise resulted, which stated that Han women could still wear traditional Han clothes, which partially explains the gender difference in the way costumes were represented in art.<sup>20</sup> Actually, typical portraits of beauties in the Qing Dynasty nearly always displayed women illustrated in Ming-style clothes. Even some famous paintings of Qing court women are depicted in the Han style of dress. For example, the female figure from *Yongzheng’s Screen of Twelve Beauties* 胤禛美人圖 (d.1712-1721), who is reputed to have been Prince Yinzhen’s wife, is wearing typical Ming-style clothing instead of Manchu attire in all twelve screens.<sup>21</sup>

Judging by the manner in which costumes were deployed in illustrations, Han Chinese seemed to have been associated with concepts of femininity, submissiveness and delicate beauty in the Qing imagination. It may partly imply the status of Han Chinese as the conquered, which pleased Manchu rulers. As none of these porcelains under consideration are from imperial kilns, however, it is hard to deem them wares made explicitly with a political message. Patricia Ebrey’s discussion regarding the shift in notions of ideal manhood in the Song Dynasty, however, sheds some light on this issue. She argues that “[f]or Sung men in the ruling elite to cultivate the image of the refined literatus accentuated the contrast between the Chinese and their northern rivals, the Turks, Khitan, Jurchen and Mongols, all much more

<sup>18</sup> “An Injustice Caused by a Slight Dispute Over One Penny 一文錢小隙造奇冤”: “It is said that in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, everyone makes a living from porcelain...To list just one case, Qiu Yida, is a porcelain artisan and his wife, with maiden name Yida makes the porcelain biscuits and then Yang paints floral subjects and figures on them; they both work. (話說江西饒州府浮梁縣, 有景德鎮 ... 鎮上百姓, 都以燒造磁器為業 ... 就中單表一人, 叫做丘乙大, 是窯戶家一個做手, 渾家楊氏, 善能描畫。乙大做就磁胚, 就是渾家描畫花草, 人物, 兩口俱不吃空.)” Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646) ed., 醒世恒言 [Stories to Awaken the World] (Suzhou: Yejingchi, 1627), v. 14:5.

<sup>19</sup> Rosalind C. Morris ed., *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (Columbia University Press, 2010). I would suggest Morris’ use of gendered postcolonial theory is useful to explain that women, as figures outside the power structure, or “subalterns” in a patriarchal society, were constrained by mainstream social values; and, as a result, their words did stand for their own will.

<sup>20</sup> “...men should follow the rule and wear Qing-style clothes, while women are still in Ming-style clothes. “... 男子從時服, 女子猶襲明服.” Xu Ke 徐珂, 清稗類鈔 [Anthology of Qing Petty Matters] (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1984), 6146.

<sup>21</sup> Yang Xin 楊新, “胤禛圍屏美人圖探秘 [Research on the Screen Paintings of Yinzhen’s Beauties],” *Palace Museum Journal* 故宮博物院院刊 154 (2011): 6-23.

martial types. Tacitly asserting the superiority of the literary way of life was thus a way of asserting the superiority of Chinese over non-Chinese culture.”<sup>22</sup>

Han Chinese may also have preferred the connotations of femininity since a literary life seems to have been considered more “feminine” than the martial activities associated with the Manchus. They distinguished themselves from the Manchu with scholarly features they regarded as superior. Moreover, there are literary works from the early Qing period that glorify loyalty to the Ming Dynasty by depicting certain female characters. For instance, courtesan Li Xiangjun 李香君 in the *Peach Blossom Fan* 桃花扇 is depicted as a woman of nobility and loyalty.<sup>23</sup> Li seems to have had equal or even greater loyalty than her lover, Hou Fangyu 侯方域, a Ming court scholar. Although further research still needs to be conducted on this subject, it seems likely that female figures garbed in Ming attire held ideological connotations and were an indication of how the former dynasty was cherished in the popular imagination.

Due to the limitations of extant materials, this essay can only touch upon several case studies; many questions remain unsolved. The point of departure for a further study of this topic would be, for instance, the manufacture and target market of these porcelains as mass products. Open questions include: Who dominated the manufacturing process? Were the images painted with an awareness of social or political commentary? Who comprised the potential audience for these porcelains? All of these questions deserve attention when addressing the clothing issues depicted in porcelains and woodblock prints.

In the early Qing period, political conflict and cultural exchange between Manchu and Han Chinese were critical features of social life. Whereas former Han-dominated concepts were challenged under Manchu rule, a key number of images of female beauty still appeared in the Ming style. However, the meaning of this ideal may have shifted. Beauties were not only objectified by men, but they also became a political tool. They reflected the subtle and complicated relationship between gender and empire. Han Chinese under Manchu rule were self-feminized through beautiful clothes.

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<sup>22</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 33.

<sup>23</sup> Kong Shangren 孔尚任, *桃花扇* [Peach Blossom Fan] (Beijing: People’s Literature Press, 1998).

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**Fig. 6.1** Anonymous, *A Portrait of Emperor Kangxi Writing in Informal Clothes* 康熙帝便服寫字像, middle section. Kangxi period (1662-1722), hanging scroll, color on silk, 50.5 × 31.9 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Wang Qi 汪元, “故宮藏康熙帝肖像畫 [Portraits of Emperor Kangxi collected at the Palace Museum].” 紫禁城 [Forbidden City] 5 (2004): 101.



**Fig. 6.2** Anonymous, *Yinzhen's Amusements* 胤禛行樂圖軸, detail, left side. Yongzheng period (1723-1735), hanging scroll, color on silk, 157 × 71 cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Yang Xin 楊新, “胤禛圍屏美人圖探秘 [Research on the Screen Paintings of *Yinzhen's Beauties*].” 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal] 154 (2011): 17, fig. 17.





**Fig. 6.3** Vase, polychrome overglazed porcelain. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 71.2 cm, D. rim 19.3 cm, D. footring 24.3 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 6258. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.





**Fig. 6.4** Plate, polychrome over-glazed porcelain, Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 7.9 cm, D. rim 52.2 cm, D. footring 30.5 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 3047. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.



**Fig. 6.5** Fish Bowl, porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze *famille verte*, detail. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, D. 35 cm, D. rim 37.5 cm, D. footring 19 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 6275. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.





**Fig. 6.6** Anonymous, *A Beauty at Leisure: Drinking Tea Under a Parasol Tree*, from Yongzheng's *Screen of Twelve Beauties* 雍正十二美人圖之桐蔭品茶, ca. 1712-1721, color on silk, 184×98cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Yang Xin 楊新, “胤禛圍屏美人圖探秘 [Research on the Screen Paintings of Yinzhen's Beauties].” 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal] 154 (2011): 17, fig. 4.

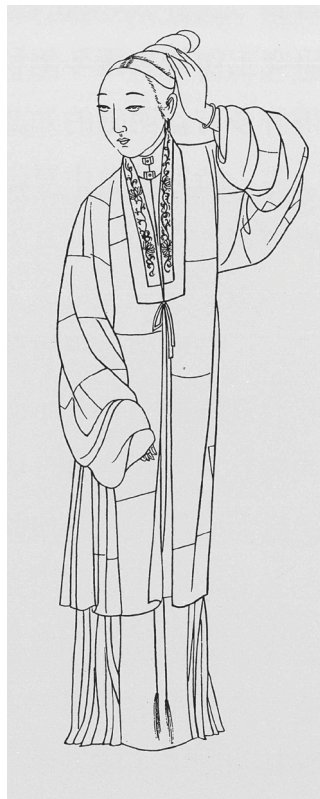


**Fig. 6.7** Plate, *famille verte*. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 4.7 cm, D. rim 36.8 cm, D. footring 18.1 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 3815. ©Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.



**Fig. 6.8** Three female figurines, Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and cold painting, Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty. H. ca. 34.5 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. Nos. PO 8606, PO 8605, PO 8607. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.





**Fig. 6.9** *Domestic Scenes from an Opulent Household* 燕寝怡情, Early Qing period. After Sheng Congwen 沈从文, *中国古代服饰研究* [Study on Ancient Chinese Clothing] (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Press, 2002), 615, fig. 232.



**Fig. 6.10** Vase, porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze *famille verte*. Jingdezhen, China, Shunzhi period (1644-1661), Qing dynasty, H. 49.2 cm, D. rim 33.9 cm, D. footring 22.0 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 6857. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.



Fig. 6.11 Anonymous, *Knots*. After Wang Qi 王圻 ed., *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪 [Illustrations of Subjects in the Three Worlds of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity], 1609, v. 1:42.





**Fig. 6.12** Vase, porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, detail. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 73.5 cm, D. rim 27.7 cm, D. footring 20.4 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 1033. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.



**Fig. 6.13** Anonymous, *Beauty with A Whisk*. After Yang Zhaozhi 楊肇祉 ed., *Tangshi Yanyi pin* 唐詩豔逸品 [Beauties in Tang Poems], printed in Tianqi reign of Ming Dynasty (1621-1627), 11, fig.3.



**Fig. 6.14** Anonymous, *A Beauty at Leisure: Wearing a fur-lined coat while looking in a Mirror*, Yongzheng's Screen of Twelve Beauties 雍正十二美人圖之裘裝對鏡, detail. ca. 1712-1721, color on silk, 184×98cm. The Palace Museum, Beijing. After Yang Xin 楊新, “胤禛圍屏美人圖探秘 [Research on the Screen Paintings of Yinzhen's Beauties].” 故宮博物院院刊 [Palace Museum Journal] 154 (2011): 17, fig.1.





**Fig. 6.15** Plate, porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze *famille verte* and gold. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, h. 6.6 cm, h. rim 41.0 cm, h. footring 23.7 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 4271. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.



**Fig. 6.16** Plate, *famille verte*. Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 5.2 cm, D. rim 37.3 cm, D. footring 21 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 3641. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.





**Fig. 6.17** Vase, blue and white porcelain, Jingdezhen, China, Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty, H. 101.4 cm, D. rim 50.7 cm, D. footring 40.0 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, Inv. No. PO 1131. © Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Adrian Sauer.