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Art Production of the Late Ming Court during the Wanli Era, 1573-1620

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Art History

by

Ka-Yi Ho

2017

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Art Production of the Late Ming Court during the Wanli Era, 1573-1620

by

Ka-Yi Ho

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Hui-shu Lee, Chair

This dissertation argues that Emperor Wanli (1563–1620) and his birth mother, Empress Dowager Cisheng (1546–1614), used art as a crucial means of proclaiming their political legitimacy. Whereas previous scholars assumed that the Wanli court’s demand for art production served only to fulfill the imperial family’s penchant for a luxurious lifestyle, in this study, I reveal the complex political, moral, and financial struggles behind their commissions. By examining extant artifacts and textual records, I uncover Wanli’s efforts to declare his independence from the regent rule of his younger years in the construction of his own mausoleum and Cisheng’s breakthrough from restrictions on imperial women’s agency by sponsoring Buddhist monasteries and imagery.

In his early twenties, Wanli embarked on building himself the third largest mausoleum among the thirteen Ming emperors buried in the Tianshoushan area. By analyzing veritable records of how Wanli persistently negotiated with officials about the timing of its construction, its location, and its architectural features, I contend that Wanli sought to imitate his grandfather,

Emperor Jiajing (r. 1522–1566), to legitimize his emperorship. Since Wanli ascended the throne at nine years old, the education program designed by Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582), the regent and mentor of Wanli, positively introduced Wanli to various exemplary precedents of sagacious behaviors by emperors, including renovating imperial mausoleums and ordering commemorative art. Therefore, the two monumental paintings of the Wanli court, the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*, which commemorated Dingling's construction, can also find their roots in Zhang Juzheng's teaching.

In contrast to Wanli's commissions which were state projects and directly spoke for the emperor himself, Cisheng packaged her Buddhist sponsorship as private projects dedicating to the imperial family or the subjects. By refraining from commissioning outer court institutions to carry out her building projects, Cisheng was praised as an exemplary imperial woman who did not financially burden her subjects. The widely circulated Buddhist imagery promulgating her as a compassionate mother to the emperor and the subjects also granted her political influence during and after the Wanli era.

The dissertation of Ka-Yi Ho is approved.

Lothar von Falkenhausen

Richard E. Strassberg

Hui-shu Lee, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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## Vita

### Degrees Awarded

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### Selected Conference Presentations and Publications

“Exhibition Preview on the ‘Goryeo Buddhist Painting at the Sen-oku hakuko kan, Kyoto’,” *Daguan Monthly*, vol. 86 (2016.11): 62-65.

“Transformation and Appropriation of Woodcut Illustrated Daoist and Buddhist Figures in the Late-Imperial Period.” Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, Seattle. April 1, 2016

“The Two Empress Dowager Cisheng’s Buddhist Paintings in the Met’s Collection and Cisheng’s Patronage Strategy.” Spring Fellows Colloquia, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. March 4, 2016

“Court Art from the Marketplace: Reconstructing the Pattern of Court Patronage in the Late Ming Period.” College Art Association Annual Conference, New York City, February 11, 2015

“A Portrait of King T’aejo of the Chosŏn Dynasty and Its Chinese Origins.” The 16th Annual Harvard East Asia Society Graduate Student Conference, Cambridge, MA. February 24, 2013

“Chinese Pictorial Motifs in the Korean Monastery: Paintings of Thirty-Three Patriarchs at Sŏnamsa,” *NMK 2012 Museum Network Fellowship Research Papers* (2013.01): 124-143.

## Introduction

The reign of Emperor Wanli 萬曆 (r. 1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) began with the swift settlement of the power struggle between Gao Gong 高拱 (1513–1578) and Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–1582), the two competing grand secretaries (*neige daxueshi* 內閣大學士) of the previous Longqing 隆慶 (1567–1572) era. Emperor Wanli ascending the throne at nine-years old created a chance for Zhang Juzheng to maneuver the imperial court according to his wishes. Allying with Empress Dowager Cisheng 慈聖 (1546–1614), the birth mother of Wanli, through the help of Feng Bao 馮保 (1543–1583), the most powerful eunuch of the time, Zhang Juzheng successfully expelled their collective political rival, Gao Gong, from the court. This, despite the fact that the late Emperor Longqing had entrusted Gao Gong to act as the regent of Wanli.<sup>1</sup> This abrupt shift in power served as a prelude to the coming era in which the emperor, empress dowager, and regent of this imperial court resolutely confronted, challenged, or eschewed court conventions to accomplish their individual beliefs and interests. This proves to be a common scenario that reoccurs in each chapter of this dissertation, which examines how commissioning art was a crucial means of the regent, emperor, and empress dowager to achieve their political goals.

Previous scholarship has argued that the decisions of a few power wielders determined the historical trajectory of the Wanli reign. Zhang Juzheng especially was a crucial figure for he was the first senior grand secretary (*shoufu* 首輔) of the Ming dynasty who gained despotic

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<sup>1</sup> Gu Yingtai 谷應泰, *Mingshi jishi benmo* 明史紀事本末 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 61:937-938. Regarding the expulsion of Gao Gong from the court, see Wei Qingyuan 韋慶遠, *Zhang Juzheng he Mingdai zhong hou qi zhengju* 張居正和明代中後期政局 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 408-455.

power over the imperial court.<sup>2</sup> Scholars assert that his political, economic, educational, legal, and military reforms adapted the Ming government to contemporary challenges, such as the military campaigns in the frontiers and the deficient state finances that had worsened by the commercialization of late Ming society.<sup>3</sup> However, there has been little attention to the fact that the all-encompassing administration of Zhang would not only have regulated court commissions during his regency but also shaped Wanli's interest in art commissioning.<sup>4</sup> I discuss this unrecognized aspect of Zhang Juzheng in Chapter One, a chapter searching for the origin of Wanli's court art patronage by examining how Zhang selectively exposed the young emperor to artistic activities, which in Zhang's opinion were desirable qualities of the ideal emperorship that he intended Wanli to possess.

Another protagonist who shaped the characters of the Wanli reign was the emperor himself. In his youth, Wanli was Zhang Juzheng's most faithful dependent and student. An example of Wanli depending heavily on Zhang to handle state affairs is that Wanli requested for exempting Zhang from resigning for mourning his deceased father in 1577. Although Zhang's violation of the mourning ritual caused debates in the outer court, the proof that Wanli valued Zhang for his indispensable aid in governing can be found in Wanli's edicts which defended Zhang and called him by principal support (*yuanfu* 元輔), grand preceptor (*taishi* 太師), mentor

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<sup>2</sup> For the evaluation of Zhang Juzheng, see Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Jiajing yilai neige shoufu* 嘉靖以來內閣首輔傳, vol. 7, in *Qinding siku quanshu* 欽定四庫全書, vol. 452 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 503-516; Robert Crawford, *The Life and Thought of Chang Chü-Cheng* (doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1961); Wei Qingyuan, *Zhang Juzheng he Mingdai zhong hou qi*; Liu Zhiqin 劉志琴, *Zhang Juzheng pingzhuan* 張居正評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> According to the formal history of the Ming dynasty, Zhang Juzheng did not strongly interfere Empress Dowager Cisheng's Buddhist patronage but admonished Wanli against commissioning costly projects, such as textile for imperial accoutrement. Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Ming shi* 明史 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980) 114:3536; *Ming Shenzhong shilu* 明神宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962), 57:1301

(*xianshen* 先生).<sup>5</sup> Under the guidance of Zhang Juzheng, the young Wanli diligently learned how to rule the country and emulated the exemplary behaviors of sagacious emperors, such as cancelling the luxurious commission of lantern installation for the Lantern Festival or being frugal with clothing.<sup>6</sup> The wise behavior that Wanli demonstrated during his early years led contemporaries to compare him with his grandfather, Emperor Jiajing 嘉靖 (r. 1522–1566), even calling him “Junior Emperor Jiajing” (*xiao shizong* 小世宗).<sup>7</sup> However, shortly after Zhang’s death, Wanli tolerated, if not encouraged, the posthumous persecutions of his mentor. In addition, he secluded himself in the inner court for almost the last thirty years of his reign, and ruled the country without consulting and compromising with his officials.<sup>8</sup>

Seeking the reasons why Wanli drastically changed his attitude toward Zhang and completely renounced performing any state rituals or following admonitions from officials in the post-Zhang Juzheng era is a usual approach that scholars take to understand Wanli and his reign. In his ground-breaking monograph, *1587, A Year of No Significance*, Ray Huang (1918–2000) sets the tone of the modern studies on this reign. Huang argued that Wanli’s seclusion from the outer court during the later years of his reign was the emperor’s passive tactic to proclaim his rulership by paralyzing the bureaucratic system, in which he played an important ritual role of legitimating any final decisions.<sup>9</sup> Huang depicts Wanli as a frustrated emperor who questioned his earlier trust in Zhang Juzheng and was unable to rule the country according to his will, a

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<sup>5</sup> Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 61:950-951.

<sup>6</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 33:778-779, 45:1008-1009 and 50:1158.

<sup>7</sup> Yu Shenxing 于慎行, *Gushan bichen* 穀山筆塵 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984) 2:7a-b. The same incident is also documented in *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 1:1-2.

<sup>8</sup> For the biographies and evaluations of Wanli, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 21:261-293; Fan Shuzhi 樊樹志, *Wanli zhuan* 萬曆傳 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Ray Huang, *1587: A Year of Insignificance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 75-129.

failure which culminated in his inability to appoint the son of his favorite consort, Honored Consort Zheng (Zheng *guifei* 鄭貴妃, ?–1630), as the heir apparent.<sup>10</sup>

Ray Huang's interpretation downplays the grandiose self-image that Wanli imposed in his court commissions. I argue Wanli's construction of his mausoleum, Dingling 定陵, in Chapter Three from a different perspective than Ray Huang's. The construction of Dingling in Ray Huang's discussion symbolizes Wanli's inescapable fate of being a depersonalized ritual body of the dynasty.<sup>11</sup> However, constructing a mausoleum for the ruling emperor was not a usual practice during the Ming dynasty. Therefore, directing the construction of Dingling in his early twenties was a fully intended choice of Wanli. Besides, Zhu Geng 朱賡 (1535–1608), while holding the post of the vice-minister of the ministry of rites (*libu shilang* 禮部侍郎), contested Wanli's ritually inappropriate order to build a mausoleum exceeding the scale of that of the previous emperor.<sup>12</sup> Disregarding the dissenting voice from his official, Wanli still built himself the third largest mausoleum among the thirteen mausoleums of Ming emperors in

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Disputes over appointing the heir apparent emerged as soon as Honored Consort Zheng gave birth to Wanli's third son, Zhu Changxun 朱常洵 (1586–1641), and lasted for fifteen years. In 1586, Wanli rejected a request from the senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535–1614), which urged Wanli to appoint Wanli's first son, Zhu Changluo 朱常洛 (1582–1620), the heir apparent. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 171:3094-3095. Officials' memorials stressing the same request expressed their worry that Wanli's rejection alongside the fact that Honored Consort Zheng held a higher rank than Zhu Changluo's birth mother, Consort Wang 王 (1565–1611), implied Wanli's intention of appointing Zhu Changxun the heir apparent. Wanli explained postponing the appointment of Zhu Changluo by claiming that Zhu Changluo was too young for the rigorous duties that an heir apparent needed to fulfill and that Empress Wang 王 (1564–1620) was still young and could give birth to a son. This unsettled issue became a topic for officials to falsely accuse their political rivals of forming factional affiliation. For the summary of the disputes, see Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 67:1061-1076. Honored Consort Zheng's publication of the illustrated didactic text for women, *Explicated and Illustrated Models on Women Exemplars (Guifan tushuo* 閩範圖說, 1595), which triggered political strife in the outer court, is especially discussed by scholars as the evidence that Wanli intended to support the honored consort's son to be the heir apparent. For the publication of the book and the following factional struggle, see Liu Ruoyu 劉若愚, *Zhuozhong zhi* 酌中志, (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1994), 1:1-19.

<sup>11</sup> Ray Huang, *1587: A Year of Insignificance*, 104-129.

<sup>12</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 219:5779.

Tianshoushan 天壽山, Changping 昌平 county, northwest of Beijing (fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> Two monumental handscroll paintings, *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* (*Chujing tu* 出警圖) and *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* (*Rubi tu* 入蹕圖) (figs. 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 3-1, 3-2, 3-3 and 3-4) (Two paintings hereafter are abbreviated as the *Imperial Processions*), provide additional evidence of Wanli's attitude. Now stored at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, the paintings depict a mausoleum visit (*yeling* 謁陵) trip Wanli took in the eleventh year of his reign (1583). During this visit, he inspected locations suggested by officials for building his mausoleum.<sup>14</sup> In these paintings, Wanli is represented in elaborate ritual outfits and escorted by the magnificent processions of imperial regalia and court personnel. The grand scale of his mausoleum and the spectacular scenes of his processions both explicitly display the splendid emperorship that Wanli possessed, which drastically deviated from Huang's image of the emperor. To unveil this insufficiently understood grandiose persona of Wanli, in Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation, I respectively examine how Wanli orchestrated these two commissions to proclaim his ideal emperorship in the complex political and economic conditions of his reign.

Since the early Qing period (1644–1911), issues of the Wanli court, such as Zhang Juzheng's reforms, Wanli's mining policies and military accomplishments, factional politics, and the controversy over appointing the heir apparent, had drawn attentions of historians.<sup>15</sup> In

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<sup>13</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 132:2462. Ray Huang suggested that it was the grand secretary, Zhang Siwei 張四維 (1526–1585), who proposed the construction of Dingling. Huang, *1587: A Year of Insignificance*, 124.

<sup>14</sup> For identifying “*Mingren chujing rubi tu*” the ritual depicted in the paintings, see Zhu Hong 朱鴻, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu*’ benshi zhi yanjiu” 「明人出警入蹕圖」本事之研究, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 22, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 183-213+219. For the discussion of the meaning of this mausoleum visit, see Chapter Two.

<sup>15</sup> These topics had been identified as early as the early Qing period in Gu Yingtai's writing. Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 61:935-67:1076.

contrast, art historians only started to recognize that the Wanli court actively commissioned art in the latter half of the twentieth century. Dingling is the only excavated mausoleum of a Ming emperor. Its excavation in 1956 led to the discovery of a lavish cache of porcelains, textiles, and metalware produced by the imperial workshops.<sup>16</sup> In 1994, Marsha Weidner identified Cisheng as the patron of two Buddhist paintings, the *Nine-lotuses Bodhisattva* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4) and the *Five Luohan with Attendants Crossing the Ocean* at the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 5).<sup>17</sup> Since 2003, multiple catalogues published the images of Buddhist paintings stored at the Capital Museum, Beijing, impressed with the seal of Cisheng, “Seal of Empress Dowager Compassionate, Reverend, Manifest, Literary, Luminous, Solemn, Virtuous, Longevous, Upright, Pious, Reverent, and Brilliant” (*Cisheng xuanwen mingsu zhenshou duanxian gongxi huang taihou bao* 慈聖宣文明肅貞壽端獻恭熹皇太后寶), and inscribed with “Painted and Produced [under the Order of] Empress Dowager Cisheng in the *jiyou* Year of the Wanli Reign (1609) of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming Wanli jiyou nian Cisheng huang taihou huizao* 大明萬曆己酉年慈聖皇太后繪造) (fig. 6).<sup>18</sup> In 2007, Zhu Hong 朱鴻 identified the *Imperial*

<sup>16</sup> The excavation of Dingling started in May 1956 and was completed in July 1958. For the excavation report on Dingling, see Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling* 定陵 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990). Scholars have only recently utilized these group of artworks to discuss the material culture of the Wanli court. Wang Limei 王麗梅, “*Wanli huangdi liangwei huanghou fazan de chabie*” 萬曆皇帝兩位皇后髮簪的差別, *Zijin Cheng* 紫禁城 (2007.08): 198-203. Wang Xiuling 王秀玲, “*Ming dingling chutu gongting yuyong jinqi (shang)*” 明定陵出土宮廷御用金器 (上), *Shoucang jia* 收藏家 (2008.10): 9-18. Wang Xiuling 王秀玲, “*Ming dingling chutu gongting yuyong jinqi (xia)*” 明定陵出土宮廷御用金器 (下), *Shoucang jia* 收藏家 (2008.11): 11-14. Zhang Wen 張雯, “*Ming Dingling chutu jinzan zhuangshi zhong de fojiao yinsu*” 明定陵出土金簪裝飾中的佛教因素, *Dongfang shoucang* 東方收藏 (2014.02): 22-25. Song Yuxian, “The Power of the Phoenix Crown: Imperial Women and Material Culture in Late Ming China,” (master thesis, University of Alberta, 2015), 53-68.

<sup>17</sup> Marsha Weidner, “Buddhist Pictorial Art in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644): Patronage, Regionalism & Internationalism,” in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner et al. (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 60-62.

<sup>18</sup> Beijing shi wenwu ju 北京市文物局 ed., *Beijing wenwu jingcui daixi: fo zaoliang juan xia* 北京文物精粹大系：佛造像卷下 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2003). Beijing wenwu ju ed., *Ming Qing shuilu hua jingxuan* 明清水陸畫精選 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe chubanshe jituan, 2006). For the studies on this set of paintings, see Ni Jia 倪葭, “*Shoudu bowuguan zang shuilu yuanqi tu tanwei*” 首都博物館藏水陸緣起圖探微, *Rongbaozhai* 榮寶齋

*Processions* as depicting Wanli's mausoleum visit in the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583). These paintings were originally thought by scholars since the Qing period that the paintings refer to the mausoleum visit of Jiajing or Emperor Zhengde 正德 (r. 1506–1521).<sup>19</sup>

Commissions known only by textual records have also attracted scholars' attention. The most discussed example is the *Illustrated and Explicated Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors of Various Dynasties* (*Lidai dijian tushuo* 歷代帝鑑圖說, 1573, hereafter abbreviated as the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*), an illustrated book of one hundred and seventeen exemplary and cautionary stories of emperors of successive dynasties. Zhang Juzheng orchestrated and commissioned this work for educating the young Wanli.<sup>20</sup> From the text "Memorial on Presenting the Illustrations [of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*](*Jin tu shu* 進圖疏)," we know that the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* presented to Wanli was collectively compiled by Hanlin academicians (*hanlin yuan daxueshi* 翰林院大學士) in the format of a hand-painted album.<sup>21</sup> The memoir of Liu Ruoyu 劉若愚 (1584–?), a eunuch who served in the Ming court

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(2004): 6-59; and Wu Meifeng 吳美鳳, "Mingdai gongting huihua shi wai yi zhang: cong Cisheng huang taihou de huizao tanqi" 明代宮廷繪畫史外一章：從慈聖皇太后的繪造談起, *Gugong xuekan* 故宮學刊 (2013): 266-310.

<sup>19</sup> Zhu Hong, "'Mingren chujing rubi tu' benshi zhi yanjiu," 183-213+219. For the studies identifying that the *Imperial Processions* were paintings of the Jiajing court, see Qinggui 慶桂 et al., *Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1994) 96:949. Hu Jing 胡敬, *Nanxundian tuxiang kao* 南薰殿圖像考, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu zi bu yishu le* 續修四庫全書 子部藝術類 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002) 1082:29-30. Na Chih-liang (Na Zhiliang) 那志良, *Mingren chujing rubi tu* 明人出警入蹕圖 (Taipei: Guoli gugong baowuyuan, 1970), 1-7. For identifying the Emperors in the paintings are Emperor Zhengde 正德 (r. 1506-1521), see Yinghe 英和 et al., *Qinding shiqu baoji sanbian* 欽定石渠寶笈三編, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu zi bu yishu le* 續修四庫全書子部藝術類, ed. Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002) 1081:416.

<sup>20</sup> Zhang Juzheng 張居正, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji* 張文忠公全集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935) 1:33.

<sup>21</sup> Zhang Juzheng 張居正 et al., "*Jin tu shu* 進圖疏 (Memorial on Presenting the Illustrations [of *Dijian tushuo*])," in Zhang Juzheng et al., *Dijian tushuo* 帝鑑圖說, in Beijing tushuguan guji chubanshe bianjizu ed., *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988) 14:705-708.



since the Wanli reign, recorded that there was a woodblock-printed edition produced by the Directorate of Ceremonial (*sili jian* 司禮監), one of the twelve eunuch directorates whose tasks included producing imperial publications, and the court stored the set of the woodblocks through the Chongzhen 崇禎 reign (1628–1644).<sup>22</sup> Although the hand-painted and woodblock-printed editions produced by the Ming court no longer exist, recent scholarship examining the later republications of this book in the woodblock-printed or hand-painted formats still acknowledges the significant role of the book in imperial education through the Qing period and in the publishing and visual culture of China and Japan through the present day.<sup>23</sup>

Studies of Buddhist monasteries in Beijing and Buddhism of the late Ming period also draw our attention to the commemorative writings on the stelae in Buddhist monasteries, which

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<sup>22</sup> Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi* 5:27 and 18:161. For the discussion of the woodblock-printed edition in the Wanli court, see Chen Shengxi 陳生璽 and Jia Naiqian 賈乃謙, ed., *Dijian tushuo pingzhu* 帝鑑圖說評註 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), 8. Julia K. Murray, “From Textbook to Testimonial: The Emperor’s Mirror, an Illustrated Discussion (Di Jian tu shuo/Teikan zusetsu) in China and Japan,” *Ars Orientalis* 31 (2001): 71.

<sup>23</sup> For the study of *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, see Julia K. Murray, “From Textbook to Testimonial,” 68-72; Sakurai Toshiro 櫻井 俊郎, “Banreki shosei no keien nikkō to ‘Rekidai Teikan zusetsu’ 万曆初政の経筵日講と『歴代帝鑑図説』 “Classics Colloquium” under the first decade of the Wan-li period and *Lidai dijian tushuo*.” *Ōsaka Furitsu Daigaku kiyō. Jinbun, shakai kagaku* 大阪府立大學紀要 人文 社會科學 49 (2001): 1-15; Julia K. Murray, “Didactic Illustrations in Printed Books,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 417-450; Julia K. Murray, “Didactic Picturebooks for Late Ming Emperors and Princes,” in *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*, ed. David Robinson (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 231-268; Lin Li-Chiang, “The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rulership in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644): A Look at the Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors,” in *Perceptions of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization*, ed. Dieter Kuhu and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2008), 321-359; Chang Wenxiang 常文相, “Shengwang qidai yu Wanli zaoqi zhengju: yi dijian tushuo wei zhongxin” 聖王期待與萬曆早期政局：以《帝鑑圖說》為中心 (master’s thesis, Northeast Normal University, 2010); Julia K. Murray, “Narrative and Visual Narrative across Disciplines and Cultures,” in *Rethinking Visual Narratives from Asia: Intercultural and Comparatives*, ed. Alexandra Green (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 13-26; Lin Li-Chiang 林麗江, “Wanming gujian banhua dijian tushuo zhi yanjiu” 晚明規諫版畫帝鑑圖說之研究, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 33, no. 2 (2016): 83-142. For the study of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*’s legacy in the Qing court, see “Huangcheng juzhen: dianben tushu xinshang” 皇城聚珍：殿本圖書欣賞, National Palace Museum, Taipei, 2006, [http://tech2.npm.gov.tw/dianben/index/Sub01\\_2Books.html](http://tech2.npm.gov.tw/dianben/index/Sub01_2Books.html) (accessed December 1, 2013). Yan Bingzhen 顏丙震, “‘Dijian tushuo’ yu Qingdai de youdi jiaoyu” 《帝鑑圖說》與清代的幼帝教育, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 (2011.02): 132-133. For the book’s legacy in Japan, see Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 35-54.

document Cisheng and Wanli's patronage of the construction of Buddhist monasteries inside and outside Beijing.<sup>24</sup> Besides, textual records also demonstrate that Cisheng and Wanli ordered the supplement and circulation of the woodcut-printed Buddhist Tripitaka, *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* (*Yongle beizang* 永樂北藏).<sup>25</sup>

Extant artwork and textual records collectively indicate that the emperor, empress dowager, and high official of the Wanli court frequently commissioned a variety of items, including daily utensils, attire, ritual objects, publications, and architecture for the secular and sacred purposes in the state and private realms. However, previous studies have not recognized the unique features of the arts and patronage of this late Ming court. Scholars' disdain towards Wanli court art has in large part been due to how the comprehensive history of Ming court art commonly narrated that within the fifty years of the establishment of the dynasty, the scale and aesthetic values of court art patronage reached its pinnacle, and therefore narrated the history of Ming court art since the latter half of the fifteenth century as a downward trajectory, on which the Wanli period was at the bottom end.<sup>26</sup> Many studies argued that the reigns of Emperor

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<sup>24</sup> For the study of the Buddhist enterprises of the Wanli court, see He Xiaorong 何孝榮, *Mingdai Beijing fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu shang* 明代北京佛教寺院修建研究上 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2007), 291-335. For the discussion of Cisheng's Buddhist commissions, see Chen Yuh-neu 陳玉女 (Chen Yunü), "Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo—jianlun fodaoshi de duizhi—" 明萬曆時期慈聖皇太后的崇佛—兼論佛、道兩勢力的對峙—, *Chengda lishi xuebao* 成大歷史學報 23 (December 1997): 195-245; Zhang Dewei, "A Fragile Revival: Chinese Buddhism under the Political Shadow, 1522-1620," (doctoral dissertation, Peking University, 1999), 73-102.

<sup>25</sup> For the supplement for the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* compiled and printed by the Wanli court, see Chen, "Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo," 220-233; Zhang, "A Fragile Revival," 87-93; Li Jining 李際寧, *Fojing banben* 佛經版本 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 162-163; and He, *Mingdai Beijing fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu shang*, 315-322.

<sup>26</sup> In 1993, the Dallas Museum of Art first narrated the history of Ming court art since the latter half of the fifteenth century as a downward trajectory in the exhibition of the paintings of the Ming court and court style, "Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School." An exhibition at the British Museum entitled "Ming: 50 Years that Changed China" further developed this idea. For the exhibitions and publications that adapted this historical trajectory, see Richard Barnhart, ed., *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993); Li He, Michael Knight, Richard Ellis Vinograd, Terese Tse Bartholomew, and Dany Chan eds., *Power and Glory: Court Arts of China's Ming Dynasty* (San Francisco, CA: Asian Art Museum, 2008); Chen Jiejun 陳階晉 and Lai Yu-chih 賴毓芝 eds., *Zhuisuo Zhe pai* 追索浙派 (Taipei: Guoli gugong

Yongle 永樂 (r. 1403–1424) and Emperor Xuande 宣德 (r. 1425–1435) were the golden age of Ming court art. The overseas expeditions and the close religio-political relationships between Tibet and the Yongle court provide colorful historical backdrops for the decorative and Buddhist arts of this period, which synthesized features from multiple cultures and inspired later artwork from different regions.<sup>27</sup> In terms of Ming court painting, modern scholars commonly accept that it flourished in the Xuande reign during which time the emperor was talented in painting and the court recruited many well-known painters.<sup>28</sup> Although we can still trace the identity of the court painters and their high rankings from textual records and inscriptions in extant paintings throughout the reigns of Hongzhi 弘治 (r. 1488–1505) and Zhengde, the fact that there were fewer identifiable painters and paintings of the Ming court after these periods results in the impression that the latter Ming court was indifferent to commissioning paintings.<sup>29</sup>

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bowuyuan, 2008); Wen Jinxiang 文金祥, *Huangjia xinfeng: da Ming Zhu Shi jiazhu de shuhua yishu* 皇家新風：大明朱氏家族的書畫藝術 (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2011); Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall, and British Museum eds., *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014). For a discussion of the imperial portraiture of the Ming dynasty, see Dora C.Y. Ching, “Icons of Rulership: Imperial Portraiture during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644),” (doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 2011).

<sup>27</sup> For the studies of the arts of the Yongle reign, see Patricia Berger, “Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa’s Visit to the Chinese Capital,” in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 145-69. Denise Leidy, *Defining Yongle: Imperial Art in the Early Fifteenth-century China* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005). The *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China* also discusses the Yongle court’s commissions and influence throughout the catalogue.

<sup>28</sup> For the studies on the Ming court painting of the Xuande reign, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 53-87; Lin Lina 林莉娜, “Mingdai Yongle, Xuande shiqi zhi gongting huihua” 明代永樂、宣德時期之宮廷繪畫, *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 12, no. 5 (August 1994): 56-87. For the study of the Xuande court patronage, see Wang Cheng-hua, “Material Culture and Emperorhip: The Shaping of Imperial Roles at the Court of Xuanzong (r. 1426-35),” (doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1998).

<sup>29</sup> For the studies on the Ming court painters and the institutional history of Ming court painting, see Harrie Vanderstappen, “Painters at the Early Ming Court (1368-1435) and the Problem of a Ming Painting Academy,” *Monumenta Serica* 15, no. 2 (1956): 259-302; 16, no. ½ (1957): 315-346; Mu Yiqin 穆益勤, *Mingdai yuanti zhepa shiliao* 明代院體浙派史料 (Shanghai: Shanghai rinmin meishu chubanshe, 1985); Lin Lina 林莉娜, “Mingdai gongting huihua jige zhidu kao” 明代宮廷繪畫機構制度考, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 13, no. 1 (1995): 75-100; Sung Hou-Mei, *The Unknown World of the Ming Court Painters: The Ming Painting Academy* (Taipei: The Liberal Arts Press, 2006). For the discussion of the Ming court painting during the reigns of Hongzhi and Zhengde, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 251-277.

The assumption that Ming court art was insignificant after the latter half of the fifteenth century has been challenged by the emerging studies revealing the unique historical and aesthetic values of the Buddhist and Daoist commissions of the Ming court in the post-Xuande era, including the reigns of Jingtai 景泰 (r. 1450–1457), Chenghua 成化 (r. 1465–1487), Hongzhi, Zhengde, Jiajing, and Wanli.<sup>30</sup> In terms of the Wanli court, Marsha Weidner examines the imagery of the Nine-lotuses Bodhisattva (*Jiulian guanyin* 九蓮觀音), whose prototype can be trace back to Cisheng's commission.<sup>31</sup> Weidner argues that Cisheng's commission of the imagery of the Nine-lotuses Bodhisattva created the belief that she was the deity herself, which gained her political agency to influence the designation of the heir apparent, an unsettled issue that caused political turmoil inside and outside the court for almost twenty years.<sup>32</sup>

Another reason that Wanli court art has not yet been sufficiently studied in Chinese art history is that the emperor was not a renowned artist-emperor or art connoisseur. Wanli left few records of his interests in practicing or appreciating visual art. From textual records, we only

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<sup>30</sup> For the Tibetan elements in Ming court art of the Chenghua and Zhengde periods, see Karl Debreczeny, "Ethnicity and Esoteric Power: Negotiating the Sino-Tibetan Synthesis in Ming Buddhist Painting," (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007); Marsha Weidner, "Beyond Yongle: Tibeto-Chinese Thangkas for the Mid-Ming Court," *Artibus Asiae* 69, no. 1 (2009): 7-37; Marsha Weidner, "A Vaishravana Thangka from the Ming Dynasty," *Orientalia* (Nov/Dec. 2008): 92-99; Ursula Toyka, *The Splendours of Paradise: Murals and Epigraphic Documents at the Early Ming Buddhist Monastery Fahai Si* (Sankt Augustin Institut Monumenta Serica, 2014). For the Water-and-Land ritual paintings commissioned by Emperor Jingtai, see Marsha Weidner, "Two Ming Ritual Scrolls as Harbingers of New Directions in the Study of Chinese Painting," *Orientalia* (Jan/Feb. 2005): 64-73. On the Daoist ritual painting, the *Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang* 張 (1471–1541), of the Hongzhi period, see Yu Ping Luk, "Picturing Celestial Certificates in Zhengyi Daoism: A Case Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang," *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao, lishi yu shehui* 道教研究學報：宗教、歷史與社會 3 (2011): 17-48; Yu Ping Luk, *The Empress and the Heavenly Masters: A Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang (1493)* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2016). On the Daoist commissions of the Jiajing period, see Maggie C. K. Wan, "Motifs with an Intention: Reading the Eight Trigrams on Official Porcelain of the Jiajing Period (1522–1566)," *Artibus Asiae* 63, no. 2 (2003): 191-221; Maggie C. K. Wan, "Jiajing Emperor and His Auspicious Words," *Archives of Asian Art* 57 (2007): 95-120; Maggie C. K. Wan, "Building an Immortal Land: The Ming Jiajing Emperor's West Park," *Asia Major* 22, no. 2 (2009): 65-99.

<sup>31</sup> Weidner, "Buddhist Pictorial Art in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)," 60-62; Marsha Weidner, "Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager," *Chungguksa yǒn'gu* 中國史研究 35 (2005): 245-278.

<sup>32</sup> Weidner, "Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager," 245-278.

know that practicing at least one piece of calligraphy each day from model writings (*fatie* 法帖) was a crucial part of Wanli's formal education from the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1572) through the end of the sixth year of the Wanli reign (1578).<sup>33</sup> These calligraphy lessons familiarized Wanli with the art of calligraphy and probably inspired his interest in viewing other model writings stored in the imperial collection. Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1566–1636), a renowned painter, calligrapher, art collector, and high official from the Wanli period onward, recorded that the “*Yatouwan tie* 鴨頭丸帖 (On Duck Head Bolus)” by Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–386), the “*Lin Yueyi lun* 臨樂毅論 (Copy of the *Yueyi Treatise*)” by Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), and the “*Wenfu* 文賦 (*On Literature*)” by Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) were the favorites of Wanli in the imperial collection.<sup>34</sup> Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), a literatus at the turn of the Ming and Qing dynasties, also documented that Wanli once ordered Zhang Juzheng to write a colophon for the “*Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*)” written by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785) in the imperial collection.<sup>35</sup>

Extant writings of Wanli are rare and have been little studied. The *Sutra of Miaosha* (*Miaosha jing* 妙沙經), dated to 1601, originally in the collection of Ichikawa Beian 市河米庵 (1779–1858) and now stored at the Tokyo National Museum, is one of the two extant calligraphy by Wanli to my knowledge (fig. 7).<sup>36</sup> It reveals Wanli's interpretation of the stately style of Yan Zhenqing in a well-controlled manner.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:152, and 82:1737.

<sup>34</sup> Dong Qichang 董其昌, *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆, in *Jingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 867 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986), 425.

<sup>35</sup> Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan shang* 列朝詩集小傳 上 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 5.

<sup>36</sup> For the image of Wanli's *Sutra of Miaosha*, see “Tokyo National Museum Image Search:” <http://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0082161>. The other writing attributed to Wanli is a sixteen-character

There are even fewer records about Wanli's interest in painting as there exists none of his commentary on painting nor evidence of his personal involvement in painting affairs. And only a few painters can be related to the Wanli court. A local gazetteer, written during the Qing period, documented that Wu Bin 吳彬 (active 1573–1619), a Fujian native and a popular painter in Nanjing, served the Wanli court as a secretariat drafter (*zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人) in Nanjing.<sup>37</sup> Wu Bin once pleaded to the emperor to travel to Sichuan to refresh his eye from the Nanjing scenery confirms that Wu mainly served in the Nanjing court.<sup>38</sup> Another identifiable court painter of the Wanli period is Gu Bing 顧炳 (dates unknown), the drafter of the comprehensive painting manual, *Painting Manual of Mister Gu* (*Gu Shi huapu* 顧氏畫譜). As stated in the preface of the painting manual, during the Wanli reign, Gu Bing served in the Hall of Military Valour (Wuying dian 武英殿), one of the palace halls where court painters worked in the Forbidden City.<sup>39</sup>

With so few known painters, previous studies did not acknowledge the Wanli court's use of court painters. In this dissertation, I gather the evidence that the Wanli court in fact frequently demanded service from court painters. In Chapter One, I highlight the fact that court painters painted the illustrations of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* by examining the textual records regarding the collaboration of the book and the visual traits of court painting in the illustrations

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piece written in running and cursive style in 1602. The phrase “The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean” (*Renxin wei wei, daoxin wei wei. Wei jing wei yi, yun zhi jue zhong* 人心惟危，道心惟微；惟精惟一，允執厥中) is excerpted from *The Book of Documents*. However, the source reporting about this piece does not indicate its provenance and location. <http://m.sohu.com/n/480190678/>

<sup>37</sup> Gong Zhaolin 宮兆麟 et al., *Putian xianzhi* 莆田縣志 (Taipei: Taipei shi putian tongxiang hui, 1963), 30:2b.

<sup>38</sup> Gong Zhaolin et al., *Putian xianzhi*, 30:2b.

<sup>39</sup> For the record of Gu Bing serving in the Ming court, see the preface of Zhu Zhifa 朱之蕃 in *Gu Shi huapu* 顧氏畫譜. Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Zhongguo banhua congkan di san ce* 中國版畫叢刊第三冊 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 332.

of the republications. Furthermore, I argue that there were multiple groups of painters serving the Wanli court by identifying the different artistic styles between the *Imperial Processions*, which are the focus of the discussion in Chapter Two, and the Buddhist paintings commissioned by Cisheng, the focus of Chapter Four.

The moral judgment imposed upon the politics and finances of Wanli also generated bias against his commissions. Around the fourteenth year of his reign (1586), Wanli occasionally ceased holding morning audiences and state rituals due to sickness.<sup>40</sup> He gradually turned his intermittent absence from the outer court into complete disappearance from the sight of his officials for the rest of his reign. Failing to fulfill the conventional expectations of a Ming emperor, such as being presented in state rituals and approving decisions which had been made in the outer court, was a moral flaw of Wanli that shaped historical depictions of the emperor as lazy and self-indulgent.<sup>41</sup> The official history of the Ming dynasty, the *Ming shi* 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty), even holds Wanli responsible for the fall of the Ming dynasty because he secluded himself in the inner court and failed to distinguish virtuous officials from small people (*xiaoren* 小人), which resulted in the severe factional strife troubling the rest of the Ming period.<sup>42</sup>

Pursuing mining to supplement his deficient treasury and entrusting eunuchs as superintendents to execute his mining policies also gave Wanli the reputation of being greedy.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 178:3328.

<sup>41</sup> Tan Qian 談遷, *Guo que* 國榷 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 83:5154-5155; Meng Sen 孟森, *Ming Qing shi jianyi* 明清史講義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 246-263; Fan Shuzhi, *Wanli zhuan*, 363-378; Yan Chongnian 閻崇年, *Mingwang Qingxing liushi nian* 明亡清興六十年 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 11-24.

<sup>42</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 21:294-295.

<sup>43</sup> Meng Sen, *Ming Qing shi jianyi*, 264-268; Fan Shuzhi, *Wanli zhuan*, 378-408; Yan Chongnian 閻崇年, *Mingwang Qingxing liushi nian*, 22. Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814), a historian of the Qing period, reasoned in his *Nian shi za ji* 廿二史劄記 (*Reading Notes on the Twenty-Two Official Histories*), that Wanli's interest in the mining

Recent scholars have started to understand Wanli's demand for money through unconventional revenue channels as an response to the flaws rooted in the taxation system of the Ming government and to the growth of a global economy. However, Wanli's commission of Dingling, whose construction consumed eight million taels (6,947,200 kilograms) of silver—almost two times the average annual income of the Ming government in the early years of his reign—is still used as evidence to argue that Wanli was a rapacious emperor.<sup>44</sup>

In fact, Wanli was not the only Ming emperor who built his own mausoleum during his lifetime. Before Wanli, Emperor Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368–1398), Emperor Yongle, and Emperor Jiajing all had built their mausoleums at grander scales than Wanli's Dingling.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, modern scholars recognized the ritual and political reasons behind the construction of the three emperors. Liu Yi 劉毅 discusses that building the mausoleum of Hongwu, Xiaoling 孝陵, in Nanjing was a part of the emperor's ritual reform on imperial mausoleum, which, for example,

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enterprise had already caused rebellions that led to the overthrowing of the Ming dynasty. Zhao Yi 趙翼, *Nian shi er shi zha ji* 廿二史劄記 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 35:796-797.

<sup>44</sup> For the annotated bibliography of the studies on the monetary policy of the Wanli court, see Xu Hong 徐泓, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo de Mingshi yanjiu* 二十世紀中國的明史研究 (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin chuban, 2011), 117-120. For the monetary policy of the Wanli court, see Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000-1700* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 142-172. For the money that the construction of Dingling consumed, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming Shi*, 58:1453. For the annual income of the Wanli reign, see Quan Hansheng 全漢昇 and Li Longhua 李龍華, “Mingdai zhongye hou Taicang suichu yinliang de yanjiu” 明代中後葉太倉歲出銀兩的研究, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu suo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 6, no. 10 (1978): 205-206. Even the administrative institute of Dingling, the *Shisanling tequ banshichu* 十三陵特區辦事處, stated that Wanli was the most dissolute emperor in its official website. [http://www.mingtombs.com/sslx/mdl/201602/t20160219\\_2494.htm](http://www.mingtombs.com/sslx/mdl/201602/t20160219_2494.htm). The expert of the architectural structure of Dingling, Hu Hansheng, also portrays Wanli the same way in his *Ming shisanling*. Hu Hansheng 胡漢生, *Ming shisanling* 明十三陵 (Beijing: Zhongguo xingnian chubanshe, 1998), 286-290.

<sup>45</sup> The construction of Emperor Hongwu's mausoleum, Xiaoling 孝陵, started when the emperor ordered the relocation of Jiangshan si 蔣山寺 (Monastery of Mount Jiang) from the site of Xiaoling to the current location of Linggu si 靈谷寺 (Monastery of Efficacious Valley) in the ninth month of the fourteenth year of the Hongwu reign (1381). Liu Yi 劉毅, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 明代帝王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006), 70. For the construction of Emperor Yongle's mausoleum, Changling 長陵, see Liu Yi, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 80-81. For the construction of Jiajing's mausoleum, Yongling 永陵, see Wang Ruru 王茹茹, “Ming Yongling jianzao shishi tanji ji fuyuan sheji” 明永陵建造史實探機及復原設計, *Jianzhu xuebao* 建築學報 (Spring 2011): 68.



changed the usual layout of the mausoleums of the previous dynasties from a square structure into the layout of square courtyards in the front and a circular underground burial area in the rear.<sup>46</sup> Regarding the mausoleum of Yongle, Changling 長陵, Wang Cheng-hua 王正華 suggests that Yongle built his mausoleum in Tianshoushan, northwest of Beijing, as part of his plan to move the capital from Nanjing to Beijing.<sup>47</sup> In the case of the mausoleum of Jiajing, Yongling 永陵, Wang Limei 王麗梅 argues that Jiajing built his mausoleum to claim a new imperial lineage. Jiajing violated the convention of downscaling the size of his mausoleum from that of the previous emperor, instead modeling his mausoleum closely after Changling, the first and the grandest Ming mausoleum in Tianshoushan.<sup>48</sup>

Examining why Wanli determined to construct Dingling and how he directed this commission is the method that I utilize in this dissertation to understand Wanli as an emperor and as an artistic agent. I especially search answers from the fact that Wanli insisted on closely following Jiajing's precedents regarding the ritual procedure of building Dingling and the architectural features of Dingling. In the eighth year of the Wanli reign (1580), Wanli suggested to perform his first mausoleum visit after Jiajing's precedent in the spring fifteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1536).<sup>49</sup> During Jiajing's first mausoleum visit in 1536, the emperor universally paid homage at every mausoleum in Tianshoushan and decided Yangcuiling 楊翠嶺 as the

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<sup>46</sup> Liu Yi, *Mingdai diwang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 77-79.

<sup>47</sup> Wang Cheng-hua, "Material Culture and Emperors," 43. The similar argument also can be found in Zhang Chunqu 張春秋, "Qianxi Ming Changling de yingjian ji qu yishu tedian" 淺析明長陵的營建及其藝術特點, in *Ming Changling yingjian 600 zhounian xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 明長陵營建 600 週年學術研討會論文集, edited by Zhongguo mingshi xuehui, Beijing shisanling tequ banshichu (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), 593.

<sup>48</sup> Wang Limei 王麗梅, "Zhu Houcong dixi duli yishi zai lingqin jianzao zhong de fanying" 朱厚熹帝系獨立意識在陵寢建造中的反映, *Gugong bowuyuan yuanka* 故宮博物院院刊 129 (January 2007): 14-23.

<sup>49</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

location for building his own mausoleum after inspecting the location during his stay in Tianshoushan.<sup>50</sup> Regardless the fact that Jiajing's 1536 tomb visit could also serve as a precedent of building a Ming mausoleum, officials of the Wanli court intentionally ignored this aspect of the ritual. They rejected Wanli's request and reasoned that Jiajing's universal mausoleum visit was exceptional because Jiajing ascended the throne from the lineage of Prince Xian 獻 (1476–1519), enfeoffed in present-day Hubei province, and therefore needed to pay homage to every imperial ancestor during his first mausoleum visit to declare his legitimacy.<sup>51</sup> Ritual officials, therefore, suggested that Wanli's first mausoleum visit should be performed after the precedent of the first mausoleum visit of Wanli's father, Longqing, instead of Jiajing.<sup>52</sup>

Wanli eventually performed his first mausoleum visit according to ritual officials' suggestion and only visited the mausoleums of Yongle, Jiajing, and Longqing.<sup>53</sup> However, Wanli brought up the request for a universal mausoleum visit again in the spring of the eleventh year of his reign (1583) and finally inspected the locations suggested for building his mausoleum during this universal mausoleum visit in Tianshoushan and Xishan.<sup>54</sup> When planning the scale of Dingling, Wanli again modeled his mausoleum after Jiajing's Yongling, instead of the mausoleum of Wanli's father, which should be the case according to the ritual norm of the Ming court.<sup>55</sup> Wanli obviously took his grandfather, Jiajing, as his role model. However, why did

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<sup>50</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu* 明世宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962), 186:3929-3932, and 3943-3946.

<sup>51</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> For the plan of Wanli's first mausoleum visit suggested by ritual officials, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931. For the performance of Wanli's first mausoleum visit, see *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28 and *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 97:1950-1952.

<sup>54</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 132:2462.

<sup>55</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 219:5779.

Wanli feel the need to emulate Jiajing? I will seek the answer in Chapter One by examining Wanli's early education which positively introduced Jiajing and selective kinds of court commissions to Wanli.

Zhang Juzheng was the main character who supervised and shaped Wanli's early education. He was an experienced educator before he became the senior grand secretary.<sup>56</sup> He did not consider supervising the emperor's education a nominal responsibility of a grand secretary as his political rival, Gao Gong, did.<sup>57</sup> On the contrary, Zhang proactively regulated and designed Wanli's daily curriculum.<sup>58</sup> The most well-known study material that Zhang commissioned for Wanli was the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*. Based on the selection of compiled stories, modern scholars have argued that the book reveals Zhang's expectations for the young Wanli to be a sage-king and to be obedient to his regency.<sup>59</sup> In this dissertation, however, I turn the attention to the fact that the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was only one of the

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<sup>56</sup> Zhang had profound experience in education before Wanli ascended the throne in the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1572). He started his career as a bachelor of the Hanlin Academy (*hanlinyuan shujishi* 翰林院庶吉士) in 1547. Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming Shi*, 213:5643. In 1560 he was promoted from the post of the junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy (*hanlinyuan bianxiu guan* 翰林院編修官) to that of the right companion of the right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent (*you chunfang you zhongyun* 右春坊右中允) and concurrently held the post of the director of studies of the Directorate of Education (*guozijian siye* 國子監司業). *Ming Shizong shilu*, 484:8077. Later he became a daily lecturer (*rijiang guan* 日講官) of Prince Yu 裕, the future Emperor Longqing 隆慶 (r. 1567-1572) and Emperor Wanli's father, while holding the post of the right adviser of the heir apparent of the right secretariat of the heir apparent (*you chunfang you deyu* 右春坊右德諭) in 1564. *Ming Shizong shilu*, 536:8700.

<sup>57</sup> Approving the study materials compiled by lecturers was the senior grand secretary's responsibilities. Li Dongyang 李東陽 et al., *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典, vol. 221 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu shi bu zhengshu le*, 701:618.

<sup>58</sup> Not every senior grand secretary was as enthusiastic as Zhang when it came to supervising Wanli's early education. There is a record indicating that the senior grand secretary before Zhang Juzheng, Gao Gong 高拱 (1513-1578), had been impeached for his reluctant attitude towards supervising the study of Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 (1563-1620), before he became Emperor Wanli. *Ming Muzong shilu* 明穆宗實錄, vol.68 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962), 1646-1650.

<sup>59</sup> Chang Wenxiang, "Shengwang qidai yu Wanli zaoqi zhengju: yi dijian tushuo wei zhongxin." Lin Li-Chiang argues that Zhang Juzheng compiled the stories of exemplary emperors complying with officials' admonition in the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* in the hope that Wanli would imitate this behavior. Lin Li-Chiang, "The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rulership in the Ming Dynasty," 341-344.

visual devices that Zhang facilitated to educate Wanli. In order to explore the possible inspirations for Wanli's later art commissions, Chapter One comprehensively discusses the visual materials that Zhang Juzheng presented to Wanli documented in the veritable records.

Chapter Two examines the making of the two monumental paintings, the *Imperial Processions*, in which Wanli is the protagonist of the imperial processions marching to and from his second mausoleum visit, performed right after the death of the regent Zhang Juzheng. During this mausoleum visit in the spring of 1583, Wanli universally paid homage at every imperial mausoleum and inspected the candidate locations suggested by officials for building his mausoleum.<sup>60</sup> There is no textual record regarding the commission and use of the paintings. However, the ritual and political significances of the mausoleum visit, the visual features of the paintings *per se*, and the precedents of court commissioning paintings of similar visual features are sufficient evidence for us to answer the following questions. Who commissioned these paintings and why? Were they Ming court production? What was the function of these paintings?

Following the mausoleum visit in the spring of 1583, Wanli successfully initiated the construction of his mausoleum.<sup>61</sup> However, during the construction period, Wanli constantly negotiated with officials regarding the mausoleum's location, the collection and distribution of construction materials, and the manufacture of the artifacts found in the mausoleum. To what extent Wanli built Dingling according to his will is an important issue that I discuss throughout Chapter Three. I also examine the decision-making and constructional processes of Dingling to map out the personnel and institutions involved in this unique state project. Besides, there are

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<sup>60</sup> According to the precedent of Jiajing's mausoleum visit in 1536, Wanli had been dissuaded from performing a mausoleum visit by officials in the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581), because the officials responsible for arranging state rituals reasoned that the Wanli did not have the same legitimacy issue as Jiajing did. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

<sup>61</sup> The construction of Dingling was completed in the sixth month of the eighteenth year of the Wanli reign (1590). *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 224:4159-4160.

differences in terms of the combination and aesthetic features of the burial objects respectively dedicated to the three occupants, including Wanli, Empress Xiaoduan 孝端 (1564–1620), who was the primary wife of Wanli, and Empress Xiaojing 孝敬 (1565–1611), who was the birth mother of Emperor Taichang 泰昌 (r. 1620).<sup>62</sup> Therefore, the in-depth analysis of the visual features of the burial objects and their distributions in Dingling in Chapter Three is intended to reveal the burial custom of the Ming imperial court and aid our understanding about the rigid division between different gender and ranking in the Wanli court.

The products of Wanli's patronage would not have been visible or accessible to commoners. In contrast, Empress Dowager Cisheng's commissions were visible and recognizable by the public, a reality that contradicts the common belief that imperial women of the Ming dynasty were rigidly confined to the realm of the inner court.<sup>63</sup> Cisheng generously sponsored the construction of Buddhist monasteries, the circulation of Buddhist texts, and the performance of Buddhist rituals.<sup>64</sup> Even though the Buddhist commissions of Cisheng consumed a significant amount of state financial resources, including money and labor, Cisheng was still able to execute her commissions without being severely restricted and criticized, which was

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<sup>62</sup> Wang Limei's research indicating that the hairpins belonged to Xiaoduan are more luxurious than those of Xiaojing is the only study considering how the burial objects in Dingling reflect the hierarchy of the occupants. Wang Limei, "Wanli huangdi liangwei huanghou fazan de chabie," 198-203.

<sup>63</sup> The regulations of imperial women's behaviors in *Huangming zuxun* 皇明祖訓 (The August Ming Ancestral Instructions, 1371), issued by the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, strictly refrained imperial women of the Ming dynasty from interfering any decisions made outside the physical boundary of the inner court. Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, *Huangming zuxun* 皇明祖訓, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 集部 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 264:179. For the studies of imperial women of the Ming dynasty, see Felicia Soulliere, "Palace Women in the Ming Dynasty: 1368-1644," (doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1987); Hsieh Baohua 謝葆華, "From Charwoman to Empress Dowager: Serving Women in the Ming Palace," *Ming Studies* 42, no. 1 (1999): 26-80; Hsieh Baohua, "Empress' Grove: Ritual and Life in the Ming Palace," *Jindai funü shi jianjiu* 近代婦女史研究 11 (November 2003): 99-186; and Tsai Shih-shan Henry 蔡石山, *Mingdai de nü ren* 明代的女人 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2009).

<sup>64</sup> Chen Yuh-neu, "Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo—jianlun fodao shili de duizhi—," 195-245. He Xiaorong, *Mingdai Beijing fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu*, 291-335.

often the case when it came to the commissions of Wanli.<sup>65</sup> Why did Cisheng persistently sponsor Buddhist commissions? How did she overcome the restrictions imposed upon her commissions regarding her gender and her role in the court? I answer these questions in Chapter Four by examining the contemporaries' criticism and compliments on Cisheng's Buddhist sponsorship. In addition, the extant Buddhist paintings sponsored by Cisheng reveal a unique style which cannot be found in the Buddhist paintings of the Ming court prior to the Wanli reign. I also disclose the artistic features of the paintings commissioned by Cisheng and why the stylistic transition happen in the Wanli court in the later half of Chapter Four.

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<sup>65</sup> Zhang Juzheng admonished Cisheng about her generously sponsor to Buddhist monasteries. However, Cisheng did not therefore cut back her donation. Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114:3534.

## Chapter 1

### Zhang Juzheng and Emperor Wanli's Early Art Education

In 1572, when Emperor Wanli ascended the throne at nine years old, Zhang Juzheng, the senior grand secretary and the *de facto* regent of the first decade of the Wanli reign, proactively undertook the task of educating the young emperor.<sup>66</sup> The attention that Zhang Juzheng paid to Wanli's education was not merely on the emperor's understanding of the classics and histories, the conventional subjects that generations of Ming emperors studied under the supervision of officials. Zhang Juzheng also presented to Wanli illustrated books, maps, diagrams, and paintings and frequently discussed these visual materials with the emperor.<sup>67</sup> However, Zhang's goal of introducing Wanli to various visual arts was not to shape Wanli into an artist or art connoisseur. As soon as Wanli ascended the throne, Zhang Juzheng instructed that the emperor should practice at least one piece of calligraphy each day.<sup>68</sup> Six years later, Zhang excluded the calligraphy lesson from the emperor's daily curriculum and explained that the emperor had obtained enough writing ability for replying memorials, and mastery in calligraphy to the extent

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<sup>66</sup> For the record of Zhang Juzheng's despotic power, see Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 61:935-938. The high status of Zhang Juzheng at the beginning of the Wanli reign is reflected in the honorific titles he received, including the junior preceptor (*shaoshi* 少師) and the grand preceptor of the heir apparent (*taizi taishi* 太子太師). He also held the post of the minister of personnel (*libu shangshu* 吏部尚書) while being the grand academician of the Hall of Establishing Supremacy (*Jianji dian daxueshi* 建極殿大學士). Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 110:3364. Zhang Juzheng et al., *Dijian tushuo*, 705 and 707.

<sup>67</sup> For the presentation of the illustrated book, the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, see *Ming Muzong shilu*, 8:290. For the presentation of the map, the *Screen Written with the Officials' Posts* (*Zhiguan shuping* 職官書屏), see *Wanli qijuzhu*, 1:243. For the presentation of the diagram, the "Illustrated Research on Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth" (*Jiaoli tukao* 郊禮圖考), see Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quanji*, 1:63-65. For the presentation of the painting, the *Grand Review* (*Dayue tu* 大閱圖), see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 110:2106-2107; and Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 2:167-168. For the records of the discussions between Wanli and Zhang Juzheng on the illustrated book, *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, see Lin Li-chiang, "The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rulership in the Ming Dynasty," 351-352, Appendix B.

<sup>68</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:152.

of the renowned calligraphers, Zhong You 鍾繇 (151–230) and Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361), did not add to the emperor's ruling abilities.<sup>69</sup> This incident indicates that Zhang encouraged Wanli to practice calligraphy for the cultivation of the emperor's writing ability, not his aesthetic taste.

What kinds of ruling abilities did Zhang Juzheng expect Wanli to learn from the visual materials that he presented and to what extent the early education of Wanli influenced the emperor's view on visual art and art patronage are the main issues that I will explore in this chapter. First, I will discuss in what way Zhang Juzheng supervising the education of Wanli and incorporating visual materials into Wanli's daily study. Second, in order to reconstruct the visual experience of Wanli, I will examine what visual productions Zhang Juzheng commissioned for Wanli's education and in which visual art activities Wanli engaged during his early years. Finally, I will evaluate how Wanli responded to the visual devices Zhang presented to him to set the background for understanding Wanli's later commissions, which are the topics of Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

### 1.1 Zhang Juzheng, the Regent and Mentor of Emperor Wanli

Zhang Juzheng was experienced in imperial education before he became the senior grand secretary.<sup>70</sup> The successful career of Gao Gong (1513–1578), the political rival of Zhang, in the

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<sup>69</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 33:774-775 and 82:1737.

<sup>70</sup> Zhang Juzheng started his career as a Bachelor of the Halin Academy (*hanlinyuan shujishi* 翰林院庶吉士) in 1547. Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 213:5643. In 1560, he was promoted from the post of the Junior Compiler of the Hanlin Academy (*hanlinyuan bianxiu guan* 翰林院編修官) to that of the Right Companion of the Right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent (*you chunfang you zhongyun* 右春坊右中允) and concurrently held the post of the Director of Studies of the Directorate of Education (*guozijian siye* 國子監司業). *Ming Shizong shilu*, 484:8077. Later he became a lecturer of Prince Yu, the future Emperor Longqing, while holding the post of the Right Adviser of the Heir Apparent of the Right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent (*you chunfang you deyu* 右春坊右德諭) in 1564. *Ming Shizong shilu*, 536:8700.



Longqing period (1567–1572) contributed to Zhang’s keen interest in educating Wanli. Before Zhang became a lecturer (*jiangguan* 講官) of Prince Yu 裕, the future Emperor Longqing, Gao Gong had already served in the same post for six years and built a close relationship with the prince.<sup>71</sup> Unable to compete with Gao Gong, who gained Emperor Longqing’s trust and became the senior grand secretary during the Longqing reign, Zhang Juzheng proactively urged that the heir apparent should start studying classics and histories under the supervision of the Grand Secretariat as soon as possible.<sup>72</sup> Although Wanli only started receiving formal education three months before the death of Longqing, Zhang treated Wanli as the future ruler by diligently overseeing his formal education, which contrasted significantly with the reluctant attitude of Gao Gong. This attention to Wanli’s education won Zhang the political endorsement of Cisheng, who was disturbed by how Gao Gong occasionally expressed doubts in the capability of a young boy to handle state affairs.<sup>73</sup>

After Gao Gong was expelled from the court, Zhang continuously cultivated his relationship with Wanli by personally educating him.<sup>74</sup> The duty of the grand secretaries of supervising the education of the Ming emperor, documented in the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming (Da Ming huidian* 大明會典), only listed that the materials in the Classics Colloquia

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<sup>71</sup> The *Ming shi* argues that Gao Gong enjoyed prerogatives in the Longqing court because Gao served as Longqing’s lecturer for nine years before Longqing ascended the throne. Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 213:5638-5639.

<sup>72</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 1:13.

<sup>73</sup> For the start of the heir apparent’s education, see *Ming Muzong shilu*, 68:1626. For the impeachment of Gao Gong’s reluctance of supervising Wanli’s education, see *Ming Muzong shilu*, 68:1646-1650. For Gao’s doubt in Wanli’s capacity in ruling the country, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 305:7801.

<sup>74</sup> For the reasons that Gao Gong was expelled from the court, see Wei Qingyuan, *Zhang Juzheng he Mingdai zhong hou qi zhengju*, 408-455. Wang Limei 王麗梅, “Xiaoding Li taihou dui Wanli chao chuzheng de yinxiang” 孝定李太后對萬歷朝初政的影響, in *Ming Changling yingjian 600 zhounian xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 明長陵營建 600週年學術研討會論文集, ed. Zhongguo mingshi xuehui, Beijing shisanling tequ banshichu (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), 119-120. The records of Wanli called Zhang Juzheng, “Principal Support, Teacher Zhang,” see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 25:636 and 67:1469

(*jingyan* 經筵) and the Daily Lectures (*rijiang* 日講) should be compiled by lecturers and be presented to the Grand Secretariat for approval three days before the Classics Colloquium and a day before the Daily Lecture.<sup>75</sup> According to the *Regulations for the Inner Court of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming neiting guizhi kao* 明內廷規制考), the grand secretaries should present themselves in Daily Lecture, but the lecturing of the emperor was still the duty of lecturers.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, the many records indicating that Zhang personally lectured the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* and examined the study of Wanli reveal the extent to which Zhang exceeded his obligation as a grand secretary.<sup>77</sup>

The teaching of Zhang Juzheng was rigorous. Gu Yingtai 谷應泰 (1620–1690), a historian of the early Qing period, recorded that Zhang once harshly corrected Wanli when Wanli pronounced the word “*bo* 勃” in the phrase of “*se boru ye* 色勃如也” in *The Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) as “*bei* 背.”<sup>78</sup> Zhang’s reaction frightened the emperor and the officials who regarded it merely a minor mistake.<sup>79</sup> Gu Yingtai used this incident to argue that Zhang’s strict attitude toward Wanli was one reason why Wanli posthumously punished Zhang.<sup>80</sup> However, there is no record indicating that Wanli resented being corrected by Zhang Juzheng, whereas Wanli publicly rebelled against his another guardian, the eunuch Feng Bao, who closely

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<sup>75</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, vol. 221, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu shi bu zhengshu le*, 701:618.

<sup>76</sup> *Ming neiting guizhi kao* 明內廷規制考, vol. 2, in *Congshu jicheng xingbian* 叢書集成新編 (Taipei: Xingwenfong chuban, 1985), 29:259. Wang Chongwu 王崇武 argues that the compiling date of *Ming neiting guizhi kao* was between the Shunzhi 順治 reign (1644-1661) to the fifteenth year of the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1676). Wang Chongwu 王崇武, “*Ming neiting guizhi kao*” 明內廷規制考, *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi jikan* 中國社會經濟史集刊 7, no. 1 (1944): 143-146.

<sup>77</sup> For a complete list of the records of Wanli discussing the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* with Zhang Juzheng, see Lin Li-Chiang, “The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rulership in the Ming Dynasty,” Appendix B.

<sup>78</sup> Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 61:959.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 61:958-959.

inspected Wanli's private life, by causing incidents such as splashing ink on Feng's robe to humiliate Feng.<sup>81</sup> Regardless, Wanli clearly recognized that Zhang played dual roles in the court—that of the regent and his mentor—and called him “Principal Support, Mentor Zhang (*yuanfu Zhang xiansheng* 元輔張先生),” “Mentor Zhang (Zhang *xiansheng* 張先生),” or “Grand Preceptor, Mentor Zhang (*Taishi Zhang xiansheng* 太師張先生).”<sup>82</sup>

Wanli's regular practice and appreciation of visual arts, which was not a usual daily routine regulated in any rules for the imperial education during the Ming period, was only possible after gaining Zhang's approval.<sup>83</sup> As a renowned art collector, Zhang was interested in the visual arts. Documented by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), a political rival of Zhang Juzheng, Zhang acquired two out of ten of the best works of art in the collection of Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480–1567), a powerful senior grand secretary of the Jiajing period (1522–1566), through imperial clan member Zhu Zhongxi 朱忠僖 (Zhu Xixiao 朱希孝, 1567–1572), who was also known as an art collector.<sup>84</sup> A contemporary writer, Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642), also

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<sup>81</sup> For Wanli splashing ink on Feng Bao's robe, see Shen Defu 沈德符, *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 2:65. For the relationship between Emperor Wanli and Feng Bao, see Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 106-109. The conflict between Wanli and Feng further deepened in 1580, when the two eunuchs, Sun Hai 孫海 and Ke Yun 客用, who closely took care of Wanli's daily life, were expelled from the court for being accused by Feng as the cause of the emperor's indulgence in drinking and martial activities. Feng even persuaded Empress Dowager Cisheng to severely scold the emperor and urged Zhang Juzheng to draft a self-blaming edict on behalf of the emperor. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 106:2052-2054; and Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming Shi*, 305:7801-7802.

<sup>82</sup> The records of Wanli called Zhang Juzheng, “Principal Support, Mentor Zhang,” see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 25:636 and 67:1469. The emperor also called Zhang Juzheng “Teacher Zhang,” see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 69:1491, and “Grand Preceptor, Teacher Zhang,” see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 125:2334.

<sup>83</sup> The documented curriculum of the Ming emperor are the classics and histories in the Daily Lectures and the classics in the Classics Colloquia. Song Bingren 宋秉仁, “*Mingdai de jingyan rijiang*” 明代的經筵日講, *Shi yun* 史耘, vol. 2 (1996.09): 41-66. Hu Jixun 胡吉勛, “*Jiaoyu yizhi*” 教育儀制, in *Mingdai gongting dianzhi shi* 明代宮廷典制史, ed. Zhao Zhongnan 趙中男 (Beijing: Zijingcheng chubanshe, 2010), 394-447.

<sup>84</sup> Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Gubugu lu* 觚不觚錄, in *Chongshu jicheng chubian*, ed. Wang Yunwu (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 2811:16-17.

described Zhang as one who took an interest in the fashion of collecting antiquities (*haoshi zhe* 好事者).<sup>85</sup> It is a pity that there is no an inventory record of Zhang's collection which could directly testify Zhang's artistic taste. However, the reasons that Zhang provided in the memorials explaining why the daily curriculum of Wanli incorporated certain visual arts tell that Zhang was not merely a follower of the trendy collecting culture of the time and had specific ideas of the practical functions of visual arts.<sup>86</sup>

In the following section, I examine the memorials issued by Zhang Juzheng on explaining when and how Wanli should practice and appreciate the works of art. By exploring the visual arts in the daily curriculum of Wanli, I will not only reveal Zhang's views on visual arts, but also reconstruct Wanli's early experience with visual arts and court patronage.

## 1.2 Visual Arts in the Early Education of Wanli

In the eighth month of the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1572), Zhang Juzheng and the other grand secretary, Lü Tiaoyang 呂調陽 (1516–1580), urged the initiation of the formal

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<sup>85</sup> Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 26:654.

<sup>86</sup> For the studies of the collecting culture of the later Ming period, see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, "Shenghuo, zhizhi yu wenhua shangping: wan ming fujianban 'riyong leishu' yu qi shuhua men" 生活、知識與文化商品：晚明福建版「日用類書」與其書畫門, *Zhong yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 41 (2003.9): 1-83. Wang Hong-tai 王鴻泰, "Xianqing yazhi—Ming Qing jian wenren de shenghuo jingying yu pinshang wenhua" 閒情雅致—明清間文人的生活經與品賞文化, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 22, no. 2 (2004): 69-97. Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming (1470-1559)* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004). Wang Hong-tai 王鴻泰, "Yasu de bianzheng—Mingdai shangwan wenhua de liuxing yu shishang guanxi de jiaocuo" 雅俗的辯證—明代賞玩文化的流行與士商關係的交錯, *Xin shi xue* 新史學 17, no. 3 (2006.9): 73-143. Wang Wanting 王琬婷, "Mingdai houqi (1522-1644) shuhua jiaoyi tanxi: yi Jiangnan diqu wei zhongxing" 明代後期 (1522-1644) 書畫交易探析：以江南地區為中心 (master thesis, National Central University, 2011).

education of the young Wanli.<sup>87</sup> Considering that the previous practice of Ming emperors of attending Daily Lectures and inspecting courtly affairs on a daily basis would be too tiring and therefore was harmful to the young emperor's physical condition, the grand secretaries suggested that Wanli should only attend morning audience on the days ending in one, three, six, and nine.<sup>88</sup> Except on the days of the morning audience and in severe weather, Wanli would attend Daily Lectures.<sup>89</sup> Even on days where there was no Daily Lecture scheduled, Wanli still needed to either review what he had learned from the previous day or to practice calligraphy.<sup>90</sup> In the spring of the first year of the Wanli reign (1573), Wanli started attending Classics Colloquia, held on the second, twelfth, and twenty-second day of the second, third, fourth, eighth, ninth, and tenth month.<sup>91</sup> From then on, Wanli's early life was a busy routine of morning audience, Daily Lecture, and Classics Colloquium.

According to the "Rules for Daily Lecture" (*Rijiang yizhu* 日講儀注), the curriculum of Wanli's Daily Lecture was as follows. In the early morning, Wanli should study the classics, starting from *The Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) and *The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), which the emperor had studied but not yet finished before he came to the throne.<sup>92</sup> During the break between the morning and afternoon sessions, the emperor would have a chance to reply to memorials before practicing calligraphy.<sup>93</sup> The afternoon session began in the early afternoon

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<sup>87</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:142-143. Lü Tiaoyang was promoted to the post of the minister of rites and the grand academician of the Pavilion of Literary Profundity (*wenyuan ge daxueshi* 文淵閣大學士) in the sixth year of the Longqing reign, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 110:3364.

<sup>88</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:145-146.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:152.

<sup>91</sup> For the record of Emperor Wanli's first Classics Colloquium, see *Ibid.*, 10:341-342.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:151-152.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:152.

and focused on histories, starting with *The Excerpts from Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Tongjian jieyao* 通鑑節要).<sup>94</sup> Except for the calligraphy lesson, the “Rules for Daily Lecture” did not specify any visual arts to be studied in Wanli’s Daily Lectures. However, learning from visual materials was still an important daily task for Wanli.

### 1.2.1 Practicing Calligraphy

Practicing calligraphy was an essential part of Wanli’s daily life from the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1572) through the end of the sixth year of the Wanli reign (1578).<sup>95</sup> Each day Wanli practiced at least one piece of calligraphy from model writings during the calligraphy lesson between the morning and afternoon sessions of Daily Lecture.<sup>96</sup> While the emperor practiced calligraphy, court calligraphers (*shishu guan* 侍書官), who were also responsible for transcribing reading materials for Daily Lectures, would stand at the emperor’s side to tutor the emperor on the brush strokes.<sup>97</sup> On the days of the morning audience, Wanli still had to practice a piece of calligraphy on his own.<sup>98</sup>

Zhang Juzheng excluded calligraphy lessons from Daily Lecture after he had determined that the emperor’s writing was marvelous, and further refining of the emperor’s writing skills to the level of Zhong You and Wang Xizhi did not add to the emperor’s ruling abilities.<sup>99</sup> Besides replying to memorials, creating a harmonious atmosphere between Wanli and officials by bestowing Wanli’s writing as gifts was another ruling skill that Wanli acquired from practicing

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 4:152, and 82:1737.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 4:152.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 4:153.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 4:152.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 82:1737.

calligraphy. At first, receiving Wanli's calligraphy work was the privilege of high officials who closely served the emperor and expressed the emperor's acknowledgement of the contributions of the gift recipients. Soon after Wanli had started practicing calligraphy, he bestowed his calligraphic pieces of "Principal Support" (*yuanfu* 元輔) and "Good Minister" (*liangchen* 良臣) in large characters to Zhang Juzheng and that of "Supporting Government" (*fuzheng* 輔政) to Lü Tiaoyang.<sup>100</sup> In return, Zhang and Lü presented memorials that expressed their gratitude for the emperor's gifts.<sup>101</sup> Another record indicates that Zhang Juzheng received two calligraphic pieces, written "You are like Salt and the Prunes [in Making Agreeable Soup]" (*erwei yanmei* 爾為鹽梅) and "You are Oars to the Boat" (*ruzuo zhouji* 汝作舟楫), and Lü Tiaoyang a piece of "Being Cautious in Handling the Crux" (*shuji keshen* 樞機克慎) from Wanli.<sup>102</sup> In commemorating the bestowal from the emperor, Zhang Juzheng built a studio specially to house Wanli's calligraphy, which Wanli named the building, "Embracing the Sun" (*pengri* 捧日), and the studio, "Pure Loyalty" (*chunzhong* 純忠), in the sixth month of the first year of the Wanli reign.<sup>103</sup> These records demonstrate that Wanli's calligraphy works functioned as a medium for Wanli to express his recognition of the merits of those who closely served him in governance and for the gift-receivers to express their royalty to the emperor.

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 7:255. Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang wenzhong gong wenji*, 1:30.

<sup>101</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 7:255.

<sup>102</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang wenzhong gong wenji*, 30-31. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 8:279. "Erwei yanmei" and "ruzuo zhouji" are excerpts from in *The Book of Documents* referring to the story of Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1250 BCE–1192BCE) of the Shang dynasty (c. 1600 BCE–1046 BCE) expressing his gratitude to the essential help from Fu Yue 傅說 (dates unknown) in governing.

<sup>103</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 14:442-443.

Beside the grand secretaries, the administrators of the Six Ministries (*liubu* 六部), Censorate (*ducha yuan* 督察院), the Office of Transmission (*tongzheng si* 通政司), and the Court of Judicial Review (*dali si* 大理寺), as well as lecturers, and proofreaders (*zhengzi guan* 正字官) also received Wanli's calligraphy works.<sup>104</sup> However, high officials were concerned that the eunuchs who frequently surrounded and requested Wanli for multiple pieces of the emperor's calligraphy.<sup>105</sup> This practice degraded the value of Wanli's writings and generated the concern that the emperor indulged in writing calligraphy, which led to the cancellation of Wanli's calligraphy lessons by the regent Zhang Juzheng.

The *Sutra of Miaosha* stored at the Tokyo National Museum is a rare extant writing of Wanli (fig. 7).<sup>106</sup> The colophon block with dragon at the end of the sutra indicates that Wanli transcribed twelve copies of the sutra on the first day of the third month of the twenty-ninth year of the Wanli reign (1601) for praying for the peace of the country and the seasonable weather, repenting his sins, eliminating misfortunes, prolonging his life, and vanishing calamities. Following a frontispiece of the Buddha's assembly and an ornate cartouche, the two hundred thirty-nine big characters in gold on indigo paper were written in a well-controlled and plump style.

The record that Wanli closely kept by his side the *On Duck Head Bolus* by Wang Xianzhi, the *Copy of the Yueyi Treatise* by Yu Shinan, and the *On Literature* by Mi Fu tells that Wanli did not only master in the rigid regular script demonstrated in the extant case of the *Sutra of Miaosha*, but also was interested in writing models of more spontaneous styles, such as Wang

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<sup>104</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang wenzhong gong wenji*, 44-45. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 23:607.

<sup>105</sup> Yu Shengxing 于慎行, *Gushan bichen* 穀山筆塵, vol. 2, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Shangshia: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 1128:715.

<sup>106</sup> "Tokyo National Museum Image Search:" <http://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0082161>



Xianzhi's letter on duck head bolus in running-cursive style, a copy of which now stored at the Shanghai Museum.<sup>107</sup>

### 1.2.2 Learning Emperorhip from Didactic Painting

Besides practicing calligraphy, viewing didactic painting was also a regular task in Wanli's Daily Lecture. On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1573), Zhang Juzheng and other lecturers presented the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* to Wanli in Daily Lecture.<sup>108</sup> According to the "Memorial on Presenting the Illustrations [of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*]," the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* presented to Wanli was a two-volume, hand-painted, illustrated album (*tuce* 圖冊).<sup>109</sup> However, this hand-painted edition of the book no longer exists.

The lecturers, beginning with Ma Ziqiang 馬自強 (1513–1578), were responsible for the compilation of the stories of the eighty-one exemplary deeds from the legendary sage kings, Yao 堯 and Sun 舜, to Emperor Zhezong of the Song dynasty (Song Zhezong 宋哲宗, r. 1085–1100) in the first volume, and thirty six cautionary behaviors from Taikang of the Xia dynasty (Xia Taikang 夏太康, r. 2117 BCE–2088 BCE) to Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty (Song Huizong 宋徽宗, r. 1100–1125) in the second volume.<sup>110</sup> According to Zhang's memorial, Zhang was inspired by the saying of "using history as an (advisory) mirror (*yigu weijian* 以古為鑑)" of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (Tang Taizong 唐太宗, r. 626–649) and therefore named

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<sup>107</sup> Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi suibi*, 425.

<sup>108</sup> *Ming Muzong shilu*, 8:290.

<sup>109</sup> Zhang Juzheng et al., "Jin tu shu," in Zhang Juzheng et al., *Dijian tushuo*, 707-708.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

the book *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*.<sup>111</sup> The number of the stories compiled in the two volumes are selected according to the belief of numerology that eighty-one is a *yang* and auspicious number corresponding to the exemplary deeds and thirty-six is a *yin* and inauspicious number corresponding to cautionary behaviors.<sup>112</sup>

The memorial does not specify on which occasion the book should be read. However, Wanli most likely viewed the book during Daily Lectures for the records of him commenting the stories in it were solely on the days when he attended Daily Lectures in the Hall of Literary Glory (Wenhua dian 文華殿).<sup>113</sup> Besides, in the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581), the Grand Secretariat assigned that the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was the paragon of the compilation of another teaching material for Wanli's Daily Lectures, *Classified Chapters of Records of Admonitions* (*Xunlu leipian* 訓錄類篇), a compendium of excerpts from the *Precious Admonitions* (*Baoxun* 寶訓) and the *Veritable Records* (*Shilu* 實錄) of previous Ming emperors.<sup>114</sup> The instruction for the compilation of the *Classified Chapters of Records of Admonitions* further stated that following the convention of lecturing the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, only one or two entries from the *Classified Chapters of Records of Admonitions* would be explicated in each lecture.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, we can deduce that the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was compiled to be studied in Daily Lectures, and only one or two stories from the book were discussed in each Daily Lecture.

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<sup>111</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 1: 33-34.

<sup>112</sup> Zhang Juzheng et al, "Jin tu su," 707.

<sup>113</sup> For the records of Wanli and Zhang Juzheng discussing the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 11:364-365; 18:520-521; 36:837-838; and 48:1091-1092. For the location of Daily Lecture of Ming emperor, see *Ming neiting guizhi kao*, vol. 2, in *Congshu jicheng xingbian*, 29:259.

<sup>114</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 109:2100.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

The texts of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* are in the same format as those of the other teaching materials, the so-called “direct explications” (*zhijie* 直解), compiled for Wanli’s Daily Lectures. The content of these direct explications consists of excerpts from classics or historical books followed by interpretations written by lecturers in colloquial language.<sup>116</sup> Despite the similarity in the formation of the texts, the illustrated format of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was unique among the teaching materials compiled at the same time. The memorial on presenting the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* explains that seeing could evoke an emotional response in the reader (*chumu shenggan* 觸目生感).<sup>117</sup> In order to argue the efficacy of didactic painting in admonishing emperors, the memorial uses the precedent of Ban Bo 班伯 (55 BCE–17 BCE), who successfully utilized a painting screen to admonish Emperor Cheng of the Han dynasty (Han Chengdi 漢成帝, r. 33 BCE–7 BCE) against indulging in drinking.<sup>118</sup> The memorial also defends the potential drawback of being vulgar (*lisu* 俚俗) because of its illustrated format. This specific concern probably derived from the popularity of illustrated books for preliminary education of children in the contemporary book market. For example, an illustrated woodblock-printed publication, titled *Stories for Daily Memorization* (*Xiaoxue riji gushi* 小學日記故事) and compiled by Yu Shao 虞韶 (?) of the Yuan period (1271–1368), was popular on book market and republished respectively in the twenty-first year

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<sup>116</sup> Zhang ordered that direct explications were to aid Wanli’s comprehension and therefore the interpretations should be written in colloquial language to be understood by the young Wanli. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:152. For an example of the direct explications, see Zhang Juzheng ed., *Shangshu zhijie shisan juan* 尚書直解十三卷 (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1991).

<sup>117</sup> Zhang Juzheng et al., “*Jin tu shu*,” in Zhang Juzheng et al., *Dijian tushuo*, 708.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. For didactic paintings as a genre, see Kuo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌, vol. 1, in *Chongshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 1648:12-16. For recent study on didactic illustrations, see Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, “*Nan Song de liangzhong guijian hua*” 南宋的兩種規鑿畫, *Yishu xue* 藝術學, 1 (March 1987): 7-39, and Julia K. Murray, *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007).

of the Jiajing reign (1452) and in the nineteenth year of the Wanli reign (1591) (fig. 8).<sup>119</sup> The *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was therefore a production combining the traditions of didactic painting in the court and the illustrated publication for preliminary education of children from the book market.<sup>120</sup>

Zhang Juzheng later republished the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* outside the court in woodblock-printed format in the first year of the Wanli reign (1573). Regardless of the fact that the book was collectively compiled by lecturers, Zhang's republication, known as the Chunzhong tang 純忠堂 (Hall of Genuine Loyalty) edition, solely commemorated Zhang's essential role in this project.<sup>121</sup> As packaged in the preface of Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (1509–1605), the minister of rites (*libu shangshu* 禮部尚書) and a Hanlin academician, and the postface of Wang Xilie 王希烈 (*jinshi* 1553), who was the vice-minister of personnel (*libu zuoshilang* 吏部左侍郎) and the Hanlin reader-in-waiting in charge of the household administration of the heir apparent (*hanlin yuan shidu xueshi zhang zhanshi fu shi* 翰林院侍讀學士掌詹事府事), Zhang was the person who ordered the book's compilation.<sup>122</sup> Especially, Lu Shusheng's preface vividly records how Wanli asked Zhang about the book's contents while the book was presented to the emperor.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> For the record of *Riji gushi*'s editions, see Zhang Zhigong 張志公, *Chuantong yuwen jiaoyu chutan: fu mengxue shumu gao* 傳統語文教育初探：附蒙學書目稿 (Shanghai: shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1962), 173-174.

<sup>120</sup> For the study on reading illustrated books, see Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>121</sup> For the book's compilers, see Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 1:33. The other Hanlin Academicians mentioned in the memorial on presenting the book were probably the lecturers serving the post around the same time, including Tao Dalin 陶大臨 (1526–1574), Chen Jingbang 陳經邦 (1537–1615), He Luowen 何雒文 (dates unknown), Shen Li 沈鯉 (1531–1615), and Ding Shimei 丁士美 (dates unknown). *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 4:153.

<sup>122</sup> Zhang Juzheng et al., *Dijian tushuo*, 705-706 and 871-872.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 705.

The Chunzhong tang edition was immediately popular throughout the country and underscored Zhang's widespread fame as the teacher of the emperor.<sup>124</sup> Zhang's republication was so popular that Hu Xian 胡賢 (dates unknown), the commercial publisher of the Jinling Book Store (*Jinling shufang* 金陵書坊), republished the volume in the same year, and Kuo Tingwu 郭庭梧 (*jinshi* 1565), who served as the investigating censor (*jiancha yushi* 監察御史) in Yunnan, published his edition in the third year of the Wanli reign (1575).<sup>125</sup>

Presenting the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* as a complete book was another unusual choice of this commission that hints at Zhang Juzheng's plan to publish the book outside the court after its presentation to Wanli. The length of the direct explications for the classics or historical books that Wanli studied during the first year of the Wanli reign (1573) was fairly short. During this time Wanli only studied four or five new sentences from the classics in each lecture.<sup>126</sup> A record shows that the direct explications for the materials that Wanli studied in 1573—including *The Great Learning*, *The Book of Documents*, and *The Excerpts from Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*—were only compiled into hand-written books at the end of the year for Wanli's review.<sup>127</sup> The Directorate of Ceremonial later reproduced the hand-written version of these books into a woodblock-printed edition alongside the direct explications of *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸).<sup>128</sup> This set of woodblock-printed books became emperor's gifts for important personages, including Zhang Juzheng who received

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<sup>124</sup> For the discussion of the two republications after Zhang's edition, see Murray, "From Textbook to Testimonial," 74-77.

<sup>125</sup> Murray, "From Textbook to Testimonial," 74-77.

<sup>126</sup> *Wanli qijuzhu*, 1:142.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:138-140.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:372.

three sets, the other two grand secretaries, Lü Tiaoyang and Zhang Siwei 張四維 (1526–1585), two sets each, and each lecturer a set in the twelfth month of the third year of the Wanli reign (1576).<sup>129</sup>

Although there are no textual records indicating the identities of the illustrators, the similar visual modules and motifs existing in both the illustrations of Zhang Juzheng's edition and paintings of Ming court painters suggest the participation of court painters in this book project. Modern scholar Lin Li-chiang 林麗江 identified the similar composition between the illustration of “Harmonious Relationship between the Emperor and the Official” (*Junchen yushui* 君臣魚水) in Zhang's edition and the *Three Visits to the Thatched Cottage* (*Sangu tu* 三顧圖), at the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 9).<sup>130</sup> *Three Visits to the Thatched Cottage* was originally attributed to Li Di 李迪 (971–1047), a court painter at the turn of the Northern and Southern Song periods, but the work is more likely an early Ming court painting.<sup>131</sup> If not for the narrower picture frame of the illustration, which leaves no room for the cottage of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) in the far left of the composition and so moves it to the upper center, the two compositions would be identical.<sup>132</sup>

Besides the example discerned and identified by Lin Li-chiang, the composition of the painting, *Visiting (Zhao) Pu on a Snowy Night* (*Xueye fang Pu* 雪夜訪普) of Liu Jun 劉俊 (active ca. 1475–1505), a court painter active during the middle Ming period, uses the basic layout of an indoor scene like most of the illustrations of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Lin Li-chiang, “The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rulership in the Ming Dynasty,” 338

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

(fig. 10). The painting depicts the story that Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty (Song Taizu 宋太祖, r. 960–976) visited the residence of Zhao Pu 趙普(922–992), the counselor-in-chief (*chengxiang* 丞相) whom Song Taizu frequently consulted, on a snowy night to request Zhao’s advice.<sup>133</sup> The painting consists of two sections. In the middle ground, there is an open structure in which Song Taizu and Zhao Pu are seated, and in the foreground a group of servants wait outside the front door of Zhao’s residence. The painter staged the story’s main episode in an open hall and enclosed the stage with walls and a front gate guarded by soldiers or servants. It is a visual module commonly used in the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* when depicts stories taking place indoors (fig. 11).

This compositional module was popular in visual productions of the time. For example, the *Ten Thousand Years of Orthodox Transmission of Emperors* (*Diwang daotong wannian tu* 帝王道統萬年圖), now at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, consists of twenty paintings respectively depicting the twenty sage-kings, starting from the legendary sovereigns, Fuxi 伏羲, Shennong 神農, and Huangdi 黃帝, through Emperor Renzong of the Song dynasty (Song Renzong 宋仁宗, r. 1022–1063) (fig. 12). The eulogies of Gu Kexue 顧可學 (?–1560), a high official favored by Jiajing because of his mastery in Daoist alchemy, which accompany each of the twenty paintings, suggest that this album was a work celebrating the Jiajing reign.<sup>134</sup> In nine

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<sup>133</sup> Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Song shi* 宋史 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), 256:8932.

<sup>134</sup> For Gu Kexue’s pronouncements, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan bianji weiyuanhui ed., *Gugong shuhua tulu* 故宮書畫圖錄 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2005), 22:264-266. Although the album also bears the signature and seal of Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1498–1552), the deviation of aesthetic features between this album and Qiu’s other works leave room for debating its authenticity. Peng Yu-Hsin has identified the identical images of an armillary sphere in both *Ten Thousand Years of Orthodox Transmission of Emperors* and *Cheng Shi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (*Ink Garden of Mater Cheng*, 1604) and dates the extant album to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Peng Yu-Hsin 彭喻歆, “*Ming Qiu Ying hua 'Diwang daotong wannian tu' yanjiu*” 明仇英畫《帝王道統萬年圖》研究, *Yishu luntan* 藝術論壇 6 (July 2009): 116-118.

out of the twenty paintings, the sage-kings are depicted sitting at the center of the palace halls, and subordinate figures, such as servants or officials, flank the emperors or wait in front of the palace halls according to their duties and ranks. The similar compositional module also repeats in the *Illustrated Records of Border Defenses in Fujian, Guangdong, and Guizhou Provinces* (*Sansheng beibian tuji* 三省備邊圖記, published in 1583) commissioned by Su Yu 蘇愚 (dates unknown), an official of the Wanli period, in commemoration of his military merits before he became the provincial administration commissioner (*buzheng shi* 布政使) of Jiangxi Province (fig. 13).<sup>135</sup> In this work, Su Yu is the protagonist giving orders or receiving rewards in the open hall and guarded by subordinate officials and soldiers arraying in the garden or front gates. However, the compositions of Qiu Ying's album and Su Yu's commission both lack the sense of parallel balance between the main stage and the accessory scenery in the foreground, which can be seen in both the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* and Liu Lun's paintings commissioned by the Ming court.

Some motifs in the illustrations of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* can be also found in Ming court paintings. In the illustration of "Educating the Heir Apparent through Daily Trifles" (*Yuwu jiachu* 遇物教儲), the motif of two horses waiting under a willow tree is identical to that of the *Two Horses under a Willow Tree* (*Liuyin shuangjun* 柳蔭雙駿) by Hu Cong 胡聰 (act. 15<sup>th</sup> century), a Ming court painter who had served in the Hall of Martial Valour (figs. 14 and 15). According to the study of Sung Hou-mei 宋后楣, this motif was commonly interpreted as the wish for the relief brought by the touring censor, which was symbolized in the willow tree and the white horse, "*congma* 驄馬," which Huan Dian 桓典 (?–201), the righteous attending

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<sup>135</sup> Ma Ya-chen 馬雅貞, "Zhanxun yu huanji: Mingdai zhangzheng xiangguan tuxiang yu guanyuan shijue wenhua" 戰勳與宦蹟：明代戰爭相關圖像與官員視覺文化, *Mingdai yanjiu* 明代研究 17 (December 2011): 74-76.



ensor (*shiyushi* 侍御史) of Emperor Xian of the Han dynasty (Han Xiandi 漢獻帝, r. 189–220), frequently rode.<sup>136</sup> However, the illustrator of “Educating the Heir Apparent through Daily Trifles,” adapted the same motif to represent the good deeds of Tang Taizong, who taught the heir apparent to have sympathy even for horses.<sup>137</sup>

Both utilizing the already established compositional module of representing stories indoors, which compose the majority of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, and adapting visual motifs familiar to the court painters contributed to the swift completion of the book’s one hundred and seventeen hand-painted illustrations during the short period between the eighth month of the sixth year of the Longqing year, when Zhang planned Wanli’s education by presenting the “Rules for Daily Lecture,” and the twelfth month of the same year, when the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* was presented to Wanli. Zhang Juzheng showed no sign of being bothered by the repetition of the composition, which hints that he did not care too much about the aesthetic quality of the illustrations of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, but their didactic function.

### 1.2.3 Reading Map of Officials’ Posts

In 1574, the second year of the Wanli reign, Zhang Juzheng and other officials presented Wanli with a map of the entire country, painted in a fifteen-panel folding screen.<sup>138</sup> In this so-called *Screen Written with the Officials’ Posts* (*Zhiguan shuping* 職官書屏), the three panels at the center were the map. On the rest of the panels, the civil officials’ name-strips were attached

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<sup>136</sup> Sung Hou-mei, “The Symbolic Language of Chinese Horse Painting,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (July 2002): 62-67.

<sup>137</sup> Zhang Juzheng et al., *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*, 776.

<sup>138</sup> *Wanli qijuzhu*, 1:243.

to the six panels on the right, and the military officials' name-strips on the six panels on the left. In the memorial, Zhang states that the precedents of exemplary emperors inspired this commission, because they displayed their official names on easily viewed places to remind them of the importance of officials in governance.<sup>139</sup> However, visualizing the official posts on the map was an innovative design of the *Screen Written with the Officials' Posts*.

The memorial also states that the screen should be placed in the rear hall of the Hall of Literary Glory, where the emperor received Daily Lectures, so the emperor could see it often and immediately ask officials who supervised the emperor's study on a daily basis about the designations of officials reflected in the adjustment of the attached name-strips.<sup>140</sup> The adjustments of the name-strips were made every ten days by the Ministry of Personnel (*hubu* 戶部) and the Ministry of War (*bingbu* 兵部).<sup>141</sup> The ultimate goals of studying this screen are establishing Wanli's geographical sense of the country and familiarizing Wanli with the officials of the country so the emperor would be able to conduct periodic reviews of officials by himself.<sup>142</sup>

A leaf in the album, *Illustrated Official Biography of Xu Xianqing* (*Xu Xianqing huanji tu* 徐顯卿宦迹圖), now stored at the Palace Museum in Beijing, helps us visualize where the screen could have been placed in the Hall of Literary Glory (fig. 16).<sup>143</sup> This album consists of

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> For the studies on this album, see Yang Lili 楊麗麗, "Yiwei Ming dai Hanlin guanyuan de gongzou lili—'Xu Xianqing huanjitu' tuxiang jiexi" 一位明代翰林官員的工作履歷 --- 《徐顯卿宦蹟圖》圖像解析, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 120 (2005): 42-66, and Zhu Hong 朱鴻, "'Xu Xianqing huanji tu' yanjiu" 《徐顯卿宦蹟圖》研究, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 154 (2011): 47-80.

twenty-six crucial episodes in the life of Xu Xianqing, a lecturer serving from 1585 through 1589.<sup>144</sup> Each painting in this album pairs with an autobiography of Xu and a poem explaining the image. The twenty-fourth leaf of the album depicts the scene of Xu lecturing Wanli in Daily Lecture.<sup>145</sup> The autobiography paired with this image indicates that following figures depicted in the painting: Xu Xianqing standing in front of the throne; most likely the grand guardian of the seal of the Directorate of Ceremonial (*Sili jian zhangyin taijian* 司禮監掌印太監) showing his back to us by the emperor's side; the four grand secretaries, two on each side of the throne; and the other five lecturers, three on the emperor's left-hand side and two on the other.

According to the *Regulations for the Inner Court of the Ming Dynasty*, the emperor's Daily Lecture took place in the hallway connecting the Hall of Literary Glory and its rear hall.<sup>146</sup> Before every lecture, lecturers marked the beginning and the ending of the passage to be covered in the lecture with yellow slips.<sup>147</sup> During the lecture, the lecturer on duty should stand in front of the emperor's desk and use an ivory baton in his right hand to point at the passage as he explained it to the emperor.<sup>148</sup> The hallway and the ivory baton depicted in Xu's album match the textual description of a Daily Lecture of Ming emperor, and therefore the image could serve as a faithful reference for us to understand the setting of Wanli's Daily Lecture. The standing screen behind the emperor's throne in Xu's album, therefore, could have been the place where the *Screen Written with the Officials' Posts* would have been displayed.

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<sup>144</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 167:3035, and 209:3924.

<sup>145</sup> The numbering of the album leaves is based on Zhu Hong's study, see Zhu Hong, "'Xu Xianqing huanji tu' yanjiu," 48-52. This album was a collaborated work of Yu Shi 余士 of Taicang and Wu Yue 吳鉞 of Gushe in 1588.

<sup>146</sup> *Ming neiting guizhi kao*, vol. 2, in *Congshu jicheng xingbian*, 29:259.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

### 1.2.4 Viewing and Commissioning Commemorative Painting

Zhang Juzheng encouraged Wanli to view paintings commissioned or painted by previous Ming emperors to be mindful of his imperial ancestors. A record shows that in the fourth year of his reign (1576), Wanli sent the painting of the four horses ridden by Yongle during the battles of “Pacification of Problems” (*jingnan* 靖難) from the imperial collection to Zhang Juzheng for an inscription from Zhang.<sup>149</sup> When Zhang Juzheng returned the painting with his writing, the emperor generously rewarded Zhang. In return, the regent praised the emperor for cherishing the painting, which represented the hardship that Yongle experienced while ascending the throne.<sup>150</sup>

In the same year, officials in Nanjing presented to Wanli the ten copies of Zouyu 騶虞 (auspicious animal) paintings, originally stored in Nanjing (fig. 17).<sup>151</sup> Yongle commissioned the paintings to commemorate the capture of a Zouyu, a symbol of the emperor’s sage rule, by the King of Zhou 周 (Zhu Su 朱橚, 1361–1425) from his enfeoffed land in the second year of the Yongle reign (1404).<sup>152</sup> Yongle further ordered officials who served him closely, including Jian Yi 蹇義 (1364–1435, *jinshi* 1385), Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1335–1418) and other Hanlin academicians, to each compose an eulogy for recording this auspicious event and mount them as colophons of the painting.<sup>153</sup> Upon receiving the painting, Wanli not only showed the paintings

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<sup>149</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 50:1158.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 55:1272-1273.

<sup>152</sup> For the studies of the Zuoyu paintings, see Wang Ting 王頌, “*Mingdai ‘xiangrui’ zhi shou ‘zouyu’ kao*” 明代「祥瑞」之獸「騶虞」考, in *Jinan shixue* 暨南史學, edited by Tang Kaijian 湯開建 3 (Jinan: Jinan chubanshe, 2005): 191-201; and Lan Yu-ching 藍御菁, “*‘Ming neifu zuoyutu’ zhi yanjiu*” 《明內府騶虞圖》之研究, *Shuhua yishu xuekan* 書畫藝術學刊 6 (June 2009): 441-464.

<sup>153</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 55:1273.

of Zuoyu during a Daily Lecture to officials but also ordered a copy of the painting to be stored in the Grand Secretariat for further circulation.<sup>154</sup>

Besides commemorative paintings commissioned by Yongle, in Daily Lecture in the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581), Wanli showed a painting of a black rabbit (*Xuantu tu* 玄兔圖) painted by Xuande to officials, and commanded Zhang Juzheng and other officials, including lecturers, to each compose a poem for the painting.<sup>155</sup> Wanli later ordered the thirty-six poems presented by the officials to be mounted with the painting.<sup>156</sup>

Besides viewing paintings in the imperial collection, Zhang Juzheng also presented to Wanli commemorative painting that he commissioned. In the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581), three days after the completion of Wanli's first military review, the Grand Review Ceremony (*dayue li* 大閱禮), Zhang presented to Wanli a painting, the *Grand Review* (*Dayue tu* 大閱圖), alongside a poem and a eulogy during the Daily Lecture.<sup>157</sup> Zhang stated in his memorial that the painting was commissioned to “document the true event in order to pass down to later generations” (*shuzhen jishi, yi chuanshi jianglai* 述真紀實，以傳示將來).<sup>158</sup> However, judging from the fact that Zhang presented the painting only three days after the completion of the ritual, the painting was most likely completed before the performance of the ritual and was more a commemorative painting than a documentary painting.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 108:2085.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 109:2089-2090.

<sup>157</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 110:2107. For the presentation of the painting, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 110:2106-2107; and Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 2:167-168.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 2:168.

The Grand Review was the only state ritual performed by Wanli for which Zhang commissioned a commemorative painting. Before this military review, Wanli had already performed other pivotal state rituals, especially those designating that Wanli had reached his adulthood and was able to fully perform his role as an emperor, such as the Wedding Ceremony (*hun li* 婚禮) in the sixth year of his reign (1578) and the Agricultural Ceremony (*gengji li* 耕藉禮) in the eighth year of his reign (1580).<sup>159</sup> The Grand Review was a ritual which only resumed its practice in the Longqing reign in reaction to the military threat from the Mongols led by Altan-Qaghan (1507–1582).<sup>160</sup> From the Longqing reign onward, Zhang Juzheng had suggested that the emperor should perform a military review to demonstrate his determination to revive the military.<sup>161</sup> The military review held by Longqing in the ninth month of the third year of the Longqing reign (1569) was made possible after series of debates among the officials about the necessity of the emperor's personal involvement in military affairs.<sup>162</sup> In comparison, Wanli's first Grand Review did not encounter any objections, probably due to the fact that Zhang had gained despotic power over the Wanli court, a possible overtone that Zhang celebrated in his commission of the *Painting of Grand Review*.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 72:1556; and 96:1931.

<sup>160</sup> For the Grand Reviews of Emperor Longqing, see David M. Robinson, *Martial Spectacles of the Ming Court* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 253-274. Wang Tianyou 王天有, "Shilun Muzong dayue yu Anda fenggong" 試論穆宗大閱與俺達封貢, *Beijing daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexue ban* 北京大學學報 哲學社會科學版 (1987): 92-100.

<sup>161</sup> *Ming Muzong shilu*, 33:859-861. For Zhang Juzheng arguing the necessity of performing of the Grand Review, also see Gu Yingtai, *Mingshi jishi benmo*, 61:936-937.

<sup>162</sup> David M. Robinson, *Martial Spectacles of the Ming Court*, 253-274.

<sup>162</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 2:168.

<sup>163</sup> In the ninth year of the Wanli reign, the Ministry of War, probably in response to Zhang's order, urged the performance of Emperor Wanli's first military review. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 108:2086.

There were probably multiple copies of the *Painting of Grand Review* made for the participants of the ritual. Duplicating commemorative paintings of a social event, such as elegant gatherings or military campaigns, was a common practice among Ming officials.<sup>164</sup> The *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden* (*Xingyuan yaji tu* 杏園雅集圖) is one example (fig. 18).<sup>165</sup> Yang Rong 楊榮 (1371–1440), a grand secretary from the Yongle reign through the Zhengtong reign, commissioned the painting to commemorate the gathering of high officials in his residence in 1437.<sup>166</sup> According to Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447–1516), a grand secretary slightly later than Yang, the three copies of the *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden* owned respectively by the

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<sup>164</sup> For the studies of commemorative paintings of the Ming period, see Ma Ya-chen, “Zhanxun yu huanji: Mingdai zhangzheng xiangguan tuxiang yu guanyuan shijue wenhua,” 49-89.

<sup>165</sup> Other examples include *Zhuyuan shouji tu* 竹園壽集圖 (*Longevity Gathering in the Bamboo Garden*) and *Jiashen shi tongnian tu* 甲申十同年圖 (*Group Portraiture of the Ten Jinshi Graduates of the Jiashen Year*), which vividly document the scenery of literati gatherings in visual format. *Longevity Gathering in the Bamboo Garden* was painted by court painters, Lü Wenying 呂文英 (1421-1505) and Lü Ji 呂紀 (1477-?), to commemorate the gathering in Zhou Jing’s 周經 (1440-1510, *jinshi* 1460) residence for the sixtieth birthday of Zhou, Tu Yong 屠瀟 (1440-1512, *jinshi* 1466), and Lü Zhong 侶鐘 (1440-1511, *jinshi* 1466) in 1499. According to the preface of Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504, *jinshi* 1472), each of the fourteen participants received a copy of the painting. For Wu Kuan’s preface, see Wu Kuan 吳寬, *Pao weng jiacang ji* 匏翁家藏集, vol. 45, in *Sibu congkan chubian jibu* 四部叢刊初編集部, 1562:6b-8a. For the studies of *Longevity Gathering in the Bamboo Garden*, see Su Wen-Hsuan 蘇玟瑄, “*Cong mingdai guanyuan yaji tu kan mingdai yaji tu ji qunti xiaoxiang de fazhang* 從明代官員雅集圖看明代雅集圖及群體肖像的發展 (master’s thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2009), 11-13. *Group Portraiture of the Ten Jinshi Graduates of the Jiashen Year* was a commemorative painting for the gathering of the ten *jinshi* graduates of 1464 in the Min Gui’s 閔珪 (1430-1511) residence in 1503. Ten copies were also produced probably by Lü Ji. For the study of the painting, see Yang Lili 楊麗麗, “*Mingren ‘shi tongnian tu’ juan chutan*” 明人《十同年圖》卷初探, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 112 (2004): 100-112.

<sup>166</sup> For the studies of the *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*, see Sung Hou-mei 宋后楣, “*Yuanmo minzhe fengge huafeng yu Zhe pai zhi xingcheng yi*” 元末閩浙風格畫風與浙派之形成 一, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 6, no. 4 (1989): 1-16; Sung Hou-mei, “*Yuanmo minzhe fengge huafeng yu Zhe pai zhi xingcheng er*” 元末閩浙風格畫風與浙派之形成 二, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 7, no. 1 (1989): 1-15; Maxwell K. Hearn, “An Early Ming Example of Multiples: Two Versions of *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*,” in *Issues of Authenticity in Chinese Painting*, ed. Judith Smith and Wen Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 221-256; and Wu Sung-feng 吳誦芬, “*Zhenjiang ben Xingyuan yaji tu de yiwen*” 鎮江本杏園雅集圖的疑問, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 27, no. 1 (2009): 73-101.

descendants of the three participants, Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1364–1444), Wang Ying 王英 (1376–1450), and Yang Pu 楊溥 (1372–1446), were all identical in composition.<sup>167</sup>

Another commemorative painting on the military theme from around the time the *Grand Review* was commissioned might share some visual features with the *Grand Review*. The *Suppressing the Northwest Rebellion (Pingfan desheng tu 平番得勝圖)*, painted by Lu Xiyan 陸希顏 (dates unknown) from the Wu area, is now stored at the National Museum of China (fig. 19).<sup>168</sup> Liu Boxie 劉伯燮 (1532–1584), the military defense circuit of the garrison of Guyuan (*guyuan bingbeidao 固原兵備道*), commissioned this painting to commemorate the suppression of the tribal riots in the Tao 洮 prefecture, in present-day Gansu province, during the second to the fifth year of the Wanli reign (1574–1577).<sup>169</sup> He ordered three copies of the paintings for distribution among the three leading figures of this military action—that is, Shi Maohua 石茂華 (1522–1584), the supreme commander of military affairs (*zongdu sanbian 總督三邊*) of Shaanxi; Sun Guochen 孫國臣 (dates unknown), the regional commander (*Shaanxi zongbin 陝西總兵*) of Shaanxi; and Liu Boxie himself.<sup>170</sup> The narrative of the extant painting begins from the dispatch at Guyuan under the command of Shi Maohua at the right, followed by combat scenes led by Liu Boxie, Sun Guochen, and thirteen other military commanders. The painting

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<sup>167</sup> Li Dongyang 李東陽, *Huilu tong ji 懷麓堂集* (Anthology of the Studio of Huilu), vol. 73, in *Jingyin enyuange siku quanshu 景印文淵閣四庫全書* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986), 1250:773.

<sup>168</sup> Liu Boxie 劉伯燮, *Ming he ji 鳴鶴集*, vol. 27, in *Siku wei shoushu ji 四庫未收書集* 5, no. 22 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), 461. The scroll begins from the dispatch at Guyuan under the command of Shi Maohua at the right, followed by combat scenes led by Liu Boxie, Sun Guochen, and thirteen other military commanders. The painter settled each of the combat scenes in a continuous landscape, designated by cartouches.

<sup>169</sup> Zhu Min 朱敏, “*Pingfan desheng tujian kao lue*” 平番得勝圖卷考略, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guanka 中國國家博物館館刊* 119 (2013): 28-50; and Chen Lüsheng 陳履生, “*Cong ‘bangti’ kan ‘Pingfan desheng tujian’*” 從“榜題”看《平番得勝圖卷》, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guanka 中國國家博物館館刊* 119 (2013): 6-27.

<sup>170</sup> Liu Boxie, *Ming he ji*, 27:461-462.



concludes in Shi Maohua granting rewards to military commanders at Guyuan at the left. The painter settled each of major scenes in a continuous landscape, designated by cartouches.

It is not impossible that the *Grand Review* owned by Wu Dui 吳兌 (1525–1596), who was responsible for the security of Beijing during the military review in 1581, was a copy of or an imitation inspired by Zhang Juzheng's commission.<sup>171</sup> Although the painting in Wu Dui's possession is now-lost, the description of the painting made by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), a renowned scholar of the early Qing period, shed lights on the possible composition of the painting. According to Zhu, he once viewed the *Grand Review* in the collection of Wu Dui's great-grandson, Wu Fuguo 吳輔國 (?).<sup>172</sup> The painting that he viewed was three *chi* 尺 (about 93 cm) long and consisted of scenes from the imperial palace, imperial mausoleum, through the desert frontier. As documented in the *Veritable Record of Wanli*, the emperor only visited the Training Fields of the Capital Garrisons (*jingying jiaochang* 京營教場), located north of the outer city of Beijing, to review troops from the Capital Garrisons during the two-day military review.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, the painting also depicted the important military fortresses that the emperor did not visit, which on one hand provided a comprehensive view of the military review, and on the other hand collectively celebrate the completion of the rite with a wide range of military personnel who participated in the event.

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<sup>171</sup> Fang Fengshi 方逢時 (1523-1596) was the minister of war in charge of the Grand Review. Wu Dui was shortly appointed as the supreme commander of Ji-Liao (*jiliao zongdu* 薊遼總督) after the ritual, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 111:2120, 2129, and 2133.

<sup>172</sup> Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Pushu ting ji* 曝書亭集, vol. 4, in *Jingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986), 1317:433-434.

<sup>173</sup> Emperor Wanli's Grand Review in 1581 was modeled after Emperor Longqing's Grand Review in the ninth month of 1569. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 108:2086; and *Ming Muzong shilu*, 37:945-946.

The commemorative poem that Zhu Yizun wrote after viewing the *Grand Review* described the scenery of the imperial procession marching toward the military base:

Imperial regalia moves along the Hall of Tranquil Happiness;  
Feathered banner clusters around the Hall of Upward Orchid.  
Suddenly thousands of mounted soldiers arrayed,  
Swiftly merged into the Six Garrisons.

仙仗移平樂，霓旌擁上蘭。忽驚千騎並，旋訝六營團。<sup>174</sup>

The magnificent scene of Wanli's procession consisting of his imperial regalia in the *Grand Review*, which evidently impressed Zhu Yizun. This collective memory about the emperor, Wanli, of the contemporaries, might also inspire the commissioner of the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City*, whose main theme is the procession of Wanli's imperial regalia (figs. 2-1 and 2-2). The *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* depicts the scene of Wanli's mausoleum visit in 1583, which will be discussed in Chapter Two as a court production in the beginning of the post-Zhang Juzheng era. Although no evidence could demonstrate the relation between the two paintings, Zhang Juzheng demonstrated the practice of commemorating the performance of a state ritual by commissioning painting through the presentation of the *Grand Review* to the young Wanli.

### 1.3 Emperor Wanli's Response to the Visual Arts in His Early Education

Discussions of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* recorded during Daily Lectures indirectly reveal how Wanli reacted to the visual lessons designed for him. Upon the illustrated

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<sup>174</sup> Special thanks to Yunshuang Zhang for bringing to my attention Zhu Yizun's adaptation of "In Imitation of 'Singing of My Feelings' (Ni Yonghuai 擬詠懷)" of Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581) in these lines.

book's presentation, Wanli ordered to keep this teaching material by his throne and requested Zhang to lecture on its stories in each Daily Lecture. This unusual move hints at Wanli's keen interest in this illustrated book.<sup>175</sup>

Discussing the historical stories of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* in Daily Lectures provided opportunities for the lecturers to examine whether the emperor clearly recognized the moral message embedded in the book. On the occasion of discussing the exemplary story of Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (r. 1022–1063) who found the fashion of wearing pearl jewelry in the inner court distasteful and covered his face when he saw his favorite Honored Consort Zhang 張 (1024–1054) wearing only pearl accessories, Wanli expressed that he also disliked the trend of wearing jeweled accessories in the inner court and further stated that virtuous officials would benefit the country more than jewelry.<sup>176</sup>

Reading the book in Daily Lecture was also an outlet for the emperor to express his thoughts on current events. When Li Wei 李偉 (?–1583), the father of Wanli's birth mother, Empress Dowager Cisheng, requested money for building his tomb, the exceptional amount that he demanded instigated objections from the Grand Secretariat and the Ministry of Works (*gongbu* 工部), the administrative institute responsible for constructing royal tombs.<sup>177</sup> Discussing the story that Emperor Guangwu of the Han dynasty (Han Guangwudi 漢光武帝, r. 25–56) supported Dong Xuan 董宣 (active 25–56), an official who had the fortitude to execute a servant of Princess Huyang 湖陽 (18 BCE–?), who committed murder, in Daily Lecture while the debate was still unsettled was an intended choice of the Lecturers. During the discussion, Wanli

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<sup>175</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 8:290-291.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 18:520-521.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 36:849.

revealed to officials leading by Zhang Juzheng his displeasure at the behaviors of the royal relatives and how he endeavored to solve the dilemma about granting special treatment to Cisheng's maternal family and being an impartial emperor.<sup>178</sup> However, eighteen days later, Wanli finalized the grant of thirty thousand silver taels, which was ten thousand taels more than Zhang Juzheng and the Ministry of Works originally agreed to grant for Li Wei.<sup>179</sup>

Besides the textual content, the illustration of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* also provoked discussion in Daily Lecture. Zhang once lectured on the story of how Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty (Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, r. 712–756) held a banquet in the Hall of Diligent State Affairs (Qinzheng dian 勤政殿) to fatuously favor An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757), who later rebelled against the monarch.<sup>180</sup> When Wanli saw the name of the palace hall indicated in the painting, he regretted the stark contrast between the righteous name of the palace hall and the decadent banquet held in it.<sup>181</sup>

The lifetime soulmate of Wanli, Honored Consort Zheng (?–1630), revealed in the preface of her republication of the illustrated didactic text for women, *Explicated and Illustrated Models on Women Exemplars* (*Guifan tushuo* 閩範圖說, 1595), that Wanli inculcated imperial women with morality through the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* alongside other didactic texts not specified in the preface.<sup>182</sup> Zheng's preface demonstrates that Wanli valued the efficacy of

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 36:838. For Dong Xuan's story, see Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), 77:2489-2490; Zhu Qiyu 朱祁鈺, *Lidai junjian* 歷代君鑑, vol.10, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, zibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 子部 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1995), 121:44; and Zhang Juzheng, *Dijian tushuo*, 754-755.

<sup>179</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 36:849.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 48:1091-1092.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. Later woodblock-printed replications omitted the title of the Hall of Qinzheng.

<sup>182</sup> Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536–1618) originally compiled *The Explicated and Illustrated Models on Women Exemplars* when he held the post of Surveillance Commissioner of the Shanxi province (*Shanxi ancha shi* 山西按察使) in 1590. The book entered the court through the purchase of eunuch Chen Ju 陳矩 (dates unknown). It was later bestowed by Wanli upon Honored Consort Zheng. For the publication of the *Explicated and Illustrated Models on*

the book in moral teaching even during the time when Zhang Juzheng was severely persecuted.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, when the supporters of Zhu Changluo slandered Honored Consort Zheng for plotting with Lü Kun 呂坤 (1536–1618) to publish a didactic text for women, a privileged commission of empresses and empress dowagers, in supporting her son, Zhu Changxun, to be the heir apparent, Wanli issued an edict explaining that it was him who introduced the book to the honored consort.<sup>184</sup> This incident demonstrates that Wanli continuously read illustrated books. His interest in this book format urged him to endorse Zheng to republish an illustrated didactic book, which was an unusual format of imperial publication.

#### 1.4 Concluding Remarks

Before Wanli ascended the throne, Zhang Juzheng was already enthusiastically involved in educating Wanli and establishing an intimate relationship with the future emperor. Zhang further strengthened his despotic authority over the young Wanli and the Wanli court by assuming the role of the regent and mentor of the emperor, which was an idea publicly celebrated and circulated in his republication of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*.

Zhang Juzheng's careful orchestration in facilitating the role that visual art played in Wanli's daily curriculum is perhaps most poignantly illustrated in his cancellation of Wanli's calligraphy lessons at the end of the sixth year of Wanli reign (1578). After Zhang had determined that Wanli had already mastered the writing skill of handling daily administration,

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*Women Exemplars* by Honored Consort Zheng and the political struggles derived from Zheng's republication, see Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi*, 1:1-19.

<sup>183</sup> Julia K. Murray notices that the preface and the postface respectively written by Lu Shusheng and Wang Xilie, celebrating the central role of Zhang in the compilation of the book, were taken out from the editions published during the period when Zhang was politically persecuted to downplay the book's relationship with Zhang. Murray, "From Textbook to Testimonial," 77. However, the book was never banned.

<sup>184</sup> Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian buyi*, 3:875.

calligraphy lessons in between morning and afternoon sessions of Daily Lectures were replaced by learning how to reply to memorials. This replacement explicitly demonstrates that Zhang after all only cherished visual art's ability in shaping Wanli's emperorship, such as performing the bestowal of Wanli's calligraphy work to promulgate the harmonious atmosphere between the emperor and his officials, but still concerned about the drawback of indulging in art.

Besides practicing calligraphy, Wanli's daily tasks were studying classics and history and learning other ruling skills. The visual devices utilized to nurture Wanli's ruling abilities were naturally blended into the emperor's daily life. The *Screen Written with Officials' Posts*, which assisted Wanli to develop his judgment in appointing officials, was a part of the interior of the Hall of Literary Glory, where Wanli practiced calligraphy on a daily basis and attended Daily Lectures. The map of the Ming empire depicted at the center of this screen and the name scripts of the civil and military officials attached to the two sides of the screen helped the emperor visualize the territory and the officials under his rule.

The most well-known visual commission of Zhang for Wanli's education is the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors*. The book was originally supplementary reading material in Daily Lectures, and only one or two of its stories were thoroughly discussed in each lecture. Yet the illustrated format of the book successfully attracted the young emperor's interest and lured Wanli into keeping the book by his throne. From the records of the discussions made between the emperor and the officials on the contents of the book, we know that Wanli whole-heartedly accepted the moral messages embedded in the book and further developed his judgment on the contemporary events based on what he learned from the lessons.

Zhang valued the viewing of paintings commissioned or painted by previous Ming emperors in the imperial collection for their didactic function—that is, to inspire Wanli to imitate

the exemplary emperorship set up by his imperial ancestors. The practice of requesting officials to compose commemorative poems on the paintings was a conventional way of establishing the tight bond and demonstrating the harmonious atmosphere between the emperor and his officials since the Yongle reign. Wanli also adapted this practice during the regency of Zhang.

The visual commission of Zhang also introduced to Wanli the practice of commissioning painting to celebrate the performance of a state ritual. After Wanli had performed his first military review in the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581), Zhang presented the *Grand Review* to Wanli during Daily Lecture, although no textual records indicated Wanli's reaction to this painting. However, the two paintings representing the mausoleum visit that Wanli performed after Zhang Juzheng's death are the concrete evidence revealing how the Wanli court continued the practice of commissioning paintings introduced by Zhang. The event depicted in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* is Wanli's second mausoleum visit in the eleventh year of his reign (1583), only two years after the Grand Review. In these paintings, Wanli is the protagonist escorted by the civil and military officials, soldiers, eunuchs, musicians, and imperial regalia. The cheerful facial expression of the figures, the animated and organic formation of the procession, and the vivid colors and sophisticated decorations in the paintings all add to the paintings' celebrating atmosphere. However, these paintings raise more questions on the art patronage of the Wanli court. Wanli performed six mausoleum visits during his reign.<sup>185</sup> Why was only the second

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<sup>185</sup> The six mausoleum visits performed by Emperor Wanli were the Spring Worship Ceremony in the third month of the eighth year of the Wanli reign (1580); the Spring Worship Ceremony in the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in ninth month of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584); the mausoleum inspections in the intercalary ninth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585); and the ninth month of the sixteenth year of the Wanli reign (1588). *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28, and *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 97:1950-1952; 134:2498-2501; 141:2624-2627; 153:2835-2837; 166:3011-3013; and 203:3796-3797.

mausoleum visit documented or celebrated in pictorial format? In the following chapter, I examine the political significance of this mausoleum visit to Wanli to analyze Wanli's role behind these paintings' commission.



## Chapter 2

### Emperor Wanli and the Parade of His Emperorship

One day the gate guard reported that a eunuch sent by Consort Gong 恭妃 (dates unknown) of Emperor Longqing smuggled a gold teapot out of the Forbidden City for her maternal family. The emperor said, “Although this utensil belongs to the consort, the imperial utensil is not supposed to be smuggled out.” [The emperor] ordered whipping the eunuch thirty times. Later, [he] sent a representative to give the consort a hundred gold ingots and said, “I bestow you the money because of your impoverished family, but the object granted by the late emperor should not be taken out of the court.”

一日，穆廟恭妃院遣一內使，持金茶壺闖出禁門，遣其私家，為門者所奏。上曰：「此器雖妃所有，然大內器不當闖出。」詔答內使三十。乃使使以百金遣妃，曰：「即妃家貧，以此給賜，先帝所賜器不可出也。」<sup>186</sup>

Yu Shenxing 于慎行 (1545–1608), a minister of rites of the Wanli court, cited this story to testify to Wanli’s wise character, which led the court personnel to call him, “Junior Emperor Jiajing” (*xiao shizong* 小世宗) during the early years of his reign.<sup>187</sup> Jiajing was one of the exemplary emperors from whom Zhang Juzheng frequently encouraged Wanli to learn. Zhang once selected and compiled the rescripts written or issued by Jiajing, stored in the Grand Secretariat, and suggested that Wanli study them in his leisure time.<sup>188</sup> When Wanli demonstrated to officials his purple robe, which had faded into blue, Zhang utilized the anecdote of Jiajing being thrifty with his clothing to persuade Wanli not to wear purple robes to prevent from frequently requesting new clothes.<sup>189</sup>

Wanli’s order of performing his first Mausoleum Visit Ceremony (*yeling li* 謁陵禮) according to the precedent of Jiajing in the third month of the fifteenth year of the Jiajing reign

<sup>186</sup> Yu Shenxing, *Gushan bichen*, 2:7a-b. The same incident is also documented in *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 1:1-2.

<sup>187</sup> Yu Shenxing, *Gushan bichen*, 2:7a-b.

<sup>188</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 50:1158.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 57:1301.

(1536) indirectly demonstrates that Wanli actually heeded Zhang's advice. This Jiajing's precedent was listed in the *Precious Admonitions of Jiajing* as his exemplary behavior.<sup>190</sup> Wanli would not have expected that his request would fail to gain the support from Zhang Juzheng and be rejected by the officials arguing that it was an exceptional practice for legitimating Jiajing's succession to the throne from a princely court enfeoffed in present-day Hubei province.<sup>191</sup> Wanli eventually performed his first mausoleum visit according to the ritual precedent of Longqing's mausoleum visit in the second year of his reign (1568), as suggested by the ritual officials.<sup>192</sup> Not until Wanli's second mausoleum visit, performed three years later, did Wanli finally performed the ritual according to his wishes.

The two rare extant secular paintings of the Wanli court, the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*, now at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, respectively represent Wanli in the imperial procession departing for and returning from his second mausoleum visit in the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of his reign (1583) (figs. 2-1, 2-2, 3-1, 3-2, 3-3 and 3-4).<sup>193</sup> Out of the six mausoleum visits that Wanli held throughout his reign, his second mausoleum visit was the only one depicted in the paintings.<sup>194</sup> Throughout the Ming period, emperor's mausoleum visits

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<sup>190</sup> *Ming shizong baoxun*, 3:35-38. The completion of the *Precious Admonitions* of Jiajing was in the eighth month of the fifth year of the Wanli reign (1577). See *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 65:1436.

<sup>191</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

<sup>192</sup> For the plan of Wanli's first mausoleum visit suggested by ritual officials, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931. For the performance of Wanli's first mausoleum visit, see *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28.

<sup>193</sup> For identifying the event depicted in the *Imperial Processions*, see Zhu Hong, "'Mingren chujing rubi tu' benshi zhi yanjiu," 183-213+219.

<sup>194</sup> The six mausoleum visits performed by Wanli were the Spring Worship Rite in third month of the eighth year of the Wanli reign (1580); the Spring Worship Rite in the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in ninth month of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584); the mausoleum inspections in the intercalary ninth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585); and the ninth month of the sixteenth year of the Wanli reign (1588). *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28, and *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 97:1950-1952; 134:2498-2501; 141:2624-2627; 153:2835-2837; 166:3011-3013; and 203:3796-3797.

were not regularly performed rituals, and therefore each mausoleum visit was a response to a particular agenda of the emperor.<sup>195</sup> Why did Wanli insist on performing a mausoleum visit according to Jiajing's precedent in the spring of 1536? How do these paintings represent the mausoleum visit and Wanli? Who commissioned the paintings and why? Unfortunately, no textual records exist to answer these questions. For this reason, this chapter seek answers through an exploration of the ritual and political significance of the mausoleum visits of Jiajing and Wanli in the spring of 1536, 1580, and 1583 in order to set the historical backdrop for the commission and the function of the *Imperial Processions*. The latter part of this chapter

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<sup>195</sup> The mausoleum visit of Hongwu in the eighth year of his reign (1375) to the Imperial Mausoleum (Huangling 皇陵), in Fengyang 鳳陽, the hometown of the emperor, on the thirty-second anniversary of the death of Hongwu's parents was the first Ming emperor's mausoleum visit and was the emperor's only mausoleum visit. *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 99:1682. Modern scholar Zhu Hong argues that this mausoleum visit was a demonstration of the emperor's filial piety toward his civilian parents, and was an elaborate version of the death ritual practiced by commoners. "Sangcang lingqin" 喪葬陵寢, in *Mingdai gongting dianzhi shi* 明代宮廷典制史, ed. Zhao Zhongnan 趙中男 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2010), 535-537. Yongle was the second Ming emperor who left records of performing mausoleum visits. Before ascending the throne that he usurped from his nephew, Emperor Jianwen 建文 (r. 1399-1402), Yongle accepted the advice of Yang Rong 楊榮 (1371-1440), who later served as a grand secretary during the reigns of Yongle, Hongxi, Xuande, and Zhende, that he should pay homage at Xiaoling, the mausoleum of Hongwu, to receive the Mandate of Heaven to legitimize his enthronement. *Ming Taizong shilu* 明太宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 9b:135. Besides this exception, Yongle's other mausoleum visits consisted of visiting Xiaoling on the anniversary of the death of Hongwu in the first two years of his reign (1403 and 1404) and visiting Huangling during his travel between Nanjing and Beijing in the seventh (1409), eleventh (1413), fourteenth (1416) and fifteenth (1417) years of his reign. Zhu Hong, "Sangcang lingqin," 537. When Yongle moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1421, he did not move Hongwu's mausoleum to Beijing. Yongle's mausoleum, Changling, therefore is the first Ming imperial mausoleum in Tianshoushan, located in the northwest outskirts of Beijing city. Yongle's son, Emperor Hongxi 洪熙 (r. 1425) visited Changling in the fourth month of his reign. *Ming Renzong shilu* 明仁宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 9b:294. Argued by Zhu Hong, this mausoleum visit could be a preparation for moving the capital back to Nanjing. Zhu Hong, "Sangcang lingqin," 537. After Hongxi, the Ming emperors' mausoleum visits usually consisted of paying homage at Changling, the first Ming mausoleum in Beijing, and the mausoleums of the emperor's father and grandfather. Xuande visited the mausoleums of Yongle and Hongxi on the Qingming 清明 Festival in the first (1426) and fifth (1430) years of his reign. *Ming Xuanzong shilu* 明宣宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 14:387, and 63-64:1492-1502. Besides demonstrating the emperor's filial piety toward his parents and receiving the Mandate of Heaven, Ming emperor's mausoleum visit could also be performed to inspect the construction of a mausoleum. The mausoleum visit of Zhengde in the thirteenth year of his reign (1518) was originally performed to inspect the construction at Maoling 茂陵, the mausoleum of Chenghua, for the proper burial of Grand Empress Dowager Wang 王 (?-1518) and also an excuse for Zhengde to prolong his travel outside the capital. *Ming Wuzong shilu* 明武宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 161:3015-3106.

compares the visual features of the two paintings to other court paintings with similar features to identify the possible patrons and the reasons behind the commission of the two paintings.

## **2.1 The Mausoleum Visits of Emperor Jiajing and Emperor Wanli in the Spring of 1536, 1580, and 1583**

After Wanli had performed his first Agricultural Ceremony in the eighth year of his reign (1580), the emperor issued an order stating that his first mausoleum visit should be arranged according to Jiajing's mausoleum visit in the third month of the fifteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1536).<sup>196</sup> This mausoleum visit was Jiajing's first mausoleum visit, during which the emperor paid homage at every imperial mausoleum in Tianshoushan, as well as the mausoleum of Jingtai (r. 1450–1457) and the tomb of the demoted empress of Xuande, Empress Hu 胡 (?–1443), both in Xishan 西山.<sup>197</sup> Jiajing's *Precious Admonitions* listed this mausoleum visit under the section of “Reverencing the Mausoleum” (*zhong lingqin* 重陵寢) as an example of the emperor's attentiveness to the imperial mausoleums which, after inspecting their condition, led him to seek their renovation.<sup>198</sup> The *Precious Admonitions* presented Jiajing's mausoleum as an additional project of reverencing the mausoleums, which only commenced its construction after Jiajing gained the approval of the officials and the subjects and to economize on the cost of labor and materials.<sup>199</sup>

In fact, the reason that Jiajing argued at this point in his reign for holding a mausoleum visit, even though he had rejected the suggestion from the grand secretaries about paying homage

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<sup>196</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

<sup>197</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu*, 185:3924-3925. Xishan was also known as Jinshan 金山.

<sup>198</sup> *Ming Shizong baoxun*, 3:35-38.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

at the mausoleums of Chenghua, Hongzhi, and Zhengde seven years earlier, was Jiajing's wish to build his own mausoleum.<sup>200</sup> Jiajing proposed to build his mausoleum when the reconstruction of the Grand Temple (Taimiao 太廟) was almost complete.<sup>201</sup> Renovating the architectural compound of the Grand Temple was Jiajing's enterprise to enshrine his birth father, Prince Xian 獻 (1476–1519), in state ritual.<sup>202</sup> In Jiajing's order for preparing his first mausoleum visit, he explained that the timely preparation for building his own mausoleum would benefit the state by continuing the use of the labor and materials already earmarked for the renovation of the Grand Temple.<sup>203</sup> For this purpose he decided to promptly perform a mausoleum visit to find a location for his future mausoleum.<sup>204</sup> The officials who suggested dispatching the staff of the Directorate of Astronomy (Qingtian jian 欽天監) and geomancers to select potential locations prior to the emperor's inspection did not dare directly reject the emperor's proposal, especially after witnessing the political turmoil that ensued after debating the ritual treatments of the emperor's birth father.<sup>205</sup> Instead, they merely sought to postpone the construction of Jiajing's mausoleum

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 3:32-35.

<sup>201</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu*, 185:3915-3916.

<sup>202</sup> In order to officially enthrone Prince Xian in the Grand Temple, Jiajing removed Emperor Dezu 德祖 (?)—the great-great-grandfather of Hongwu—from the worship of the Grand Temple and replaced Dezu by Hongwu as the worship center. *Ming Shizong shilu*, 121:2880-2894. Jiajing further proposed to reconstruct the architectural compound of the Grand Temple from the structure of multi-chambers in one hall (*dongtang yishi* 同堂異室) into a multi-hall layout (*dugong zhizhi* 都宮之制). *Ming Shizong shilu*, 130:3098-3101. This renovation created a chance for the Temple of Emperor Xingxian 興獻 (Shimiao 世廟) to be included in the compound of the Grand Temple and to share the similar status with the emperors who worshiped in the same compound. For the debates and establishment of Emperor Xingxian's temple, see Zhao Kesheng 趙克生, *Mingchao Jiajing shiqi guojia jisi gaizhi* 明朝嘉靖時期國家祭祀改制 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 33-38. The actual reconstruction of the Grand Temple started from the second month of the fourteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1535) through the twelfth month of the following year (1536). *Ming Shizong shilu*, 172:3736-3737, and 194:4089

<sup>203</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu*, 185:3915.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid..

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 185:3915-3916. For the discussion on Prince Xian's ritual treatments, the so-called Great Ritual Controversy (*Da li yi* 大禮議), see Carney T. Fisher, *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong* (Sydney, Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1990); Hu Jixun 胡吉勳, "Dali yi yu Mingting renshi bianju ji zhengzhi lunli zhanxiang yanjiu—yi Jiajing san nian zuoshun men kujian qunchen zaoyu wei zhongxin de lishi

as long as possible by sending out relevant staff.<sup>206</sup> In response, Jiajing justified the urgency of a mausoleum visit by highlighting his desire to pay respect to every imperial ancestor before the construction of his own mausoleum would start.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, during the mausoleum visit, Jiajing not only paid homage at every imperial mausoleum but also inspected the two locations suggested by the officials dispatched years ago for locating a tomb for his late Empress Chen 陳 (1508–1528).<sup>208</sup> After returning from the mausoleum visit, Jiajing promptly decided the location of his mausoleum and scheduled the initiation of the construction on the twenty-second day of the following month.<sup>209</sup>

Later in the same year, Jiajing visited Tianshoushan twice. In the fourth month, the emperor traveled to Tianshoushan to officially announce the initiation of the renovation of the seven imperial mausoleums and the construction of his mausoleum, and in the ninth month he performed an Autumn Worship Ceremony (*qiuji li* 秋祭禮) in Tianshoushan, which Jiajing afterward designated as an annual state ritual which should be performed and paired with the Spring Worship Ceremony (*chunji li* 春祭禮).<sup>210</sup> During the latter two mausoleum visits in 1536, Jiajing only worshiped at Changling and dispatched officials to pay homage on his behalf at the other six mausoleums. Jiajing himself discontinued holding the Spring Worship Ceremony and

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*kaocha*”大禮議與明廷人事變局及政治倫理轉向研究—以嘉靖三年（1524）左順門哭諫群臣遭遇為中心的歷史考察 (doctoral dissertation, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005); and Yu Shu-chün 尤淑君, *Mingfe lizhi yu huangquan chongsu: Dali yi yu Jiajing zhengzhi wenhua* 名分禮制與皇權重塑：大禮議與嘉靖政治文化 (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuexi, 2006).

<sup>206</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu*, 185:3915-3916.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 185:3924-3925.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 186:3929-3932, 3943-3946.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 186:3941-3947; and 191:4032, 4038-4039.

the Autumn Worship Ceremony after the eighteenth year of his reign.<sup>211</sup> Jiajing decreased in enthusiasm of holding the Spring Worship Ceremony and the Autumn Worship Ceremony to certain extent reveal that it was impartial to perform mausoleum visit twice a year after the emperor had realized his wish for constructing his tomb.

The ritual officials of the Wanli court interpreted Jiajing's mausoleum visit in the spring of 1536 from a different perspective presented in Jiajing's *Precious Admonitions* and the historical records. They argued in their memorials that Jiajing had the need to announce his succession to the throne to every imperial ancestor because he entered the court from a seigniorial lineage.<sup>212</sup> The officials instead suggested that Wanli's first mausoleum visit should take the precedent of the mausoleum visit in the second year of the Longqing reign (1568), during which Wanli's father only visited Changling, the mausoleum of Yongle, and Yongling, the mausoleum of Longqing's father, Jiajing.<sup>213</sup>

Recognizing the fact that Zhang Juzheng did not consider all of Jiajing's conduct worth following helps explain the regent's attitude toward the ritual official's decision. Before Wanli's first mausoleum visit, Zhang had already abandoned Jiajing's reform on the Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth (*jiaoli* 郊禮) in the third year of the Wanli reign (1575). When preparing for Wanli's first Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, Zhang presented the "Illustrated Research on Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth" (*Jiaoli tukao* 郊禮圖考) and "Research on the Old and New Practices of the Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth" (*Jiaoli xinjiu kao* 郊禮新舊考) to explain to Wanli why he should adopt Hongwu's practices despite the fact that Jiajing revived the practices set by

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<sup>211</sup> Zhu Hong, "Sangcang lingqin," 543-548.

<sup>212</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.* For Emperor Longqing's mausoleum visit in 1568, see *Ming Muzong shilu*, 17:473-476.

previous Ming emperors based on the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮).<sup>214</sup> The “Research on the Old and New Practices of Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth” regarded the old practice, which offered sacrifices to heaven and earth together on the *xin* 辛 day of the first month in the Hall of Grand Rite (*dasi dian* 大祀殿) in the Southern Suburbs (*nanjiao* 南郊), as more practical than Jiajing’s version of offering sacrifices to heaven and earth, respectively, on the day of winter solstice at the Altar of Heaven (*tiantan* 天壇) in the Southern Suburbs and on the day of summer solstice at the Altar of Earth (*detan* 地壇) in the Northern Suburbs (*beijiao* 北郊), which had already ceased its practice during the Jiajing reign.<sup>215</sup>

The political move that Zhang Juzheng made to negate Wanli’s possibility of ruling the country independently added another layer of political meaning to Wanli’s first mausoleum visit. Wanli eventually performed his first mausoleum visit in the third month of the eighth year of his reign (1580), according to what the ritual officials suggested, and only paid homage at the mausoleums of Yongle, Jiajing, and Longqing.<sup>216</sup> Seven days after Wanli returned from the mausoleum visit, Zhang submitted a memorial requesting to be released from his duty as regent.<sup>217</sup> In this memorial, Zhang stated that since the emperor had reached his adulthood and was mature enough to perform state rituals, including the Wedding Ceremony, Agricultural Ceremony, and Mausoleum Visit Ceremony, Wanli was capable of handling state affairs

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<sup>214</sup> For the research presented to Emperor Wanli, see Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quanji*, 1:63-65. For the reforms of Emperor Hongwu and Emperor Jiajing on the Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, see Zhao Kesheng 趙克生, “Mingdai jiaoli gaizhi shulun” 明代郊禮改制述論, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 (February 2004): 12-17.

<sup>215</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quanji*, 1:65.

<sup>216</sup> For the plan of Emperor Wanli’s first mausoleum visit suggested by ritual officials, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 96:1931. For the performance of Emperor Wanli’s first mausoleum visit, see *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:29-31.



independently with the assistance of his officials.<sup>218</sup> In response to Wanli's immediate rejection of his request, two days after presenting the memorial, Zhang submitted another memorial re-emphasizing his desire to be released from his post.<sup>219</sup> This memorial led to a rescript issued by Wanli, which secured Zhang's status as the regent for at least another decade. The rescript states:

Edict for Principal Support and Junior Preceptor, Mentor Zhang, "I received the imperial edict of the Sage Mother (Empress Dowager Cisheng) in person, which says, '[You] (Emperor Wanli) convey this [message] to Mentor Zhang. Although every state ritual [an emperor should perform] has already been completed, you still cannot adjudicate government affairs inside and outside the country, especially those of the urgent frontier defense, [on your own]. Mentor Zhang personally received entrustment [of state affairs] from the deceased emperor. How could [he] bear to resign? We will discuss [his retirement] till you are thirty *sui*.' From now on, Mentor [Zhang] should not raise the thought [of retiring] again..."

諭元輔少師張先生：「朕面奉聖母慈諭云：『與張先生說，各大典禮雖是修舉，內外一切政務，爾尚未能裁決，邊事尤為緊要。張先生親受先帝付託，豈忍言去。待輔爾到三十歲，那時再作商量。』先生今後再不必興此念...」<sup>220</sup>

Although it was impossible in the textual records to confirm how Zhang influenced the emperor and the empress dowager to make such a promise, both Cisheng and Wanli gave their words that Zhang would act as the regent until the emperor turned thirty *sui* in this rescript. Zhang's

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 2:30.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 2:32-37.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 2:35.

memorials requesting to be released as a regent also prevented him from being criticized for coveting the emperor's rulership.

Wanli was unable to break this promise while Zhang was still alive. Zhang Juzheng's health started to decline from the summer of the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581).<sup>221</sup> During Zhang's last days, until he finally passed away in the sixth month of the tenth year of the Wanli reign (1582), he still managed to oversee court affairs by appointing his political allies to important posts and handling suggested rescripts (*piaoni* 票擬) on his sickbed.<sup>222</sup> Wanli also showed his personal affection toward Zhang by urging Zhang's early return to aid in his administration and by bestowing gifts and sending court personnel to visit Zhang's residence when Zhang was absent from the court.<sup>223</sup>

However, the emperor's attitude toward Zhang drastically changed after the regent's death, and the persecution of Zhang's political allies began only three days after his death.<sup>224</sup> Wanli rejected the agreement with Zhang and Feng Bao to recruit Pan Cheng 潘晟 (1517–1589) into the Grand Secretariat.<sup>225</sup> With the backing of the emperor and the Grand Secretaries, Zhang Siwei and Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535–1614), the besmirching of Zhang's reputation heated up through time.<sup>226</sup> Zhang was finally deprived of any honorific titles by the time of the eighth

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<sup>221</sup> Zhang Juzheng, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 5:474-478.

<sup>222</sup> For Zhang Juzheng's last days and his relationship with Wanli, see Fan Shuzhi, *Wanli zhuan*, 162-169.

<sup>223</sup> *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:208, 210-211, 213, 222, 224-231.

<sup>224</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming Shi*, 213:5650.

<sup>225</sup> Wei Qingyuan, *Zhang Juzheng he Ming dai zhong hou qi zhengju*, 845.

<sup>226</sup> For the discussion of the political transformation before and after Zhang Juzheng's death, see Fan Shuzhi, *Wanli Zhuan*, 162-208; and Wei Qingyuan, *Zhang Juzheng he Ming dai zhong hou qi zhengju*, chapter 21, 841-883.

month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583),<sup>227</sup> and the property of his family was confiscated in the fourth month of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584).<sup>228</sup>

Shortly after Zhang Juzheng's death, Wanli ordered the Grand Secretariat to plan his second mausoleum visit to perform a Spring Worship Ceremony, according to Jiajing's precedent in the spring of 1536, and to select a location for building his mausoleum.<sup>229</sup> The memorials that Wanli received from officials praising him for following the exemplary behaviors of Hongwu, Yongle, and Jiajing, who did not regard building their mausoleums as a taboo and started construction while they were still alive, demonstrate that selecting a location for building Wanli's mausoleum was not Wanli's hidden agenda anymore.<sup>230</sup>

The opposition from the officials against Wanli's second mausoleum visit came in the form of a memorial from the Grand Secretariat suggesting that the strong winds and hazy skies in the capital a few days before the mausoleum visit were an omen that the emperor should not perform the mausoleum visit.<sup>231</sup> Nevertheless, Wanli was not swayed by the memorial and departed for his seven-day trip. On the twelfth day of the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of his reign, Wanli departed from the Forbidden City to the City of Capital Defense (Gonghua cheng 鞏華城), the military fortress guarding Beijing before entering Tianshoushan.<sup>232</sup> On the thirteenth day, he settled in the Hall of Gratitude (Gan'en dian 感恩殿) near Yongling.<sup>233</sup> He spent the next two days paying homage at every mausoleum in

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<sup>227</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 135:2509 and 140:2610.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 148:2756.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 132:2462.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 134:2496-2497.

<sup>232</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2498. *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:329.

<sup>233</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2499. *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:330.

Tianshoushan.<sup>234</sup> On the sixteenth day, he spent a day inspecting Xiangziling 祥子嶺, Tanyuling 潭峪嶺, and Lecaowa 勒草窪, the three possible locations for building his mausoleum, suggested prior by the Directorate of Astronomy and geomancers.<sup>235</sup> On the seventeenth day, he paid homage at Jingtai's mausoleum and the tomb of Empress Hu of Xuande in Xishan and returned to the capital on the following day.<sup>236</sup>

## 2.2 Deciphering Visual Codes in the *Imperial Processions*

Out of Wanli's six mausoleum visits, the one held in the spring of 1583 was the only mausoleum visit during which Wanli paid homage at every imperial mausoleum and left a visual depiction of its performance. The two paintings, the *Imperial Processions*, represent Wanli's procession in the first and the last day of this mausoleum visit. The paintings did not represent any scene of Wanli paying homage at the imperial mausoleum or inspecting the locations suggested for building his mausoleum. Instead, the arrays of imperial regalia consisting Wanli's procession between the capital and the imperial mausoleum occupy almost seven-eighths of the length of the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and nine-tenths of the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*. If Wanli's imperial regalia is the focus of the two paintings, what message does this visual feature convey? The following sections examine the visual features of the two paintings to detect how the commissioner of the two paintings perceived the meanings of the ritual, who the commissioner was, and what the possible functions of the paintings in the Wanli court were.

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<sup>234</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2499. *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:331-333.

<sup>235</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2500. *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:333-334.

<sup>236</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2500-2501. *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:334-335.

### 2.2.1 Narration in the *Imperial Processions*

Each of the *Imperial Processions* is a monoscenic display of Wanli's procession in a specific time and space, denoted by the landmarks and the seasonal cherry blossoms depicted in the two paintings. Located on the right end of the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* is the northwest gate of the Beijing city, the Gate of Virtuous Victory (Desheng men 德勝門). In front of the gate is a group of officials sending off the procession (fig. 2-1).<sup>237</sup> In the procession, Wanli, in luxurious armor and mounted on a horse, is escorted by civil and military officials, soldiers, eunuchs, musicians, and court personnel carrying or leading various imperial regalia, such as litters, animal-drawn carriages, flags, canopies, and banners. While the emperor is halfway on his journey to the City of Capital Defense, the head of the procession has already arrived at Tianshoushan depicted on the left end of the painting, designated by the landmarks forming the axis of the Ming mausoleum area: the entrance of the mausoleum area, the Grand Red Gate (Dahong Men 大紅門); the Pavilion of Stele of the Divine Merits and Sacred Virtue of the Mausoleum of Chang (*Changling shengong shengde bei* 長陵神功聖德碑); the Gate of the Lattice Star (Lingxing Men 欂星門); the Bridge of Five Arches (Wukong Ciao 五空橋); the Bridge of Seven Arches (Qikong Ciao 七空橋); and Changling (fig. 2-2).<sup>238</sup>

In the *Imperial Procession Returning the Forbidden City*, the depiction of Wanli's procession is still the main focus but flows from the left to the right, in the opposite direction of the previous painting. In this painting, Wanli, in his purple ceremonial attire (*gunmian* 袞冕), and his entourage depart from the Xishan area, denoted by the mausoleum of Jingtai, at the left

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<sup>237</sup> Zhu Hong, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu’ benshi zhi yanjiu*,” 187.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

end of the painting (fig. 3-3 and 3-4), and take a water route to return to the Forbidden City, denoted by its main entrance, the Meridian Gate (Wu Men 午門), at the right end of the scroll. (fig. 3-1).<sup>239</sup>

### 2.2.2 Previous Studies on the *Imperial Processions*

Because the Ming court did not document the commission and use of these paintings, their precise origin was already lost by the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The first textual record of the two *Imperial Procession* paintings appeared in the *Sequel of the History of the Qing Imperial Palace* (*Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編, 1801).<sup>240</sup> According to the record, the court originally labeled the two paintings as the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* (*Chujing tu* 出警圖) and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* (*Rubi tu* 入蹕圖) and stored them in the same case with another portrait of Jiajing in the Office of Imperial Household (*neiwufu* 內務府).<sup>241</sup> Probably inspired by the storage of the paintings in the same box as a portrait of Jiajing, the compilers of the *Sequel of the History of the Qing Imperial Palace* declared that the facial features of the emperors in these paintings resembled that of Jiajing in his portrait. They even went a step further and deduced from the terrain and season depicted in the paintings that they depict Jiajing's sojourn in Tianshoushan during his trip to select a proper burial for his birth mother, Empress Dowager Jiang 蔣 (?–1538), in Chengtian Fu 承天府, in present-day Hubei province, in the eighteenth year of his reign (1539).<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> For the identification of the landmarks of the Jinshan area, see Zhu Hong, “‘Mingren chujing rubi tu’ benshi zhi yanjiu,” 193-198.

<sup>240</sup> Qinggui et al., *Guochao gongshi xubian*, 96:943-949.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid..

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 96:949.

The two paintings were later remounted in 1747 and relocated to the Hall of South Fragrance (Nanxun Dian 南薰殿) in 1749.<sup>243</sup> In 1815, the imperial inventory documented the group of imperial imagery stored in the Hall of South Fragrance in a volume entitled the *Third Compilation to the Treasures of the Stone Canal* (*Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編).<sup>244</sup> This included the *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* (*Xingle tu* 行樂圖) of the Ming emperors and the *Imperial Processions*, which were renamed the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City of Emperor Jiajing* (*Ming shizong chujing tu* 明世宗出警圖) and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City of Emperor Jiajing* (*Ming shizong rubi tu* 明世宗入蹕圖). However, the compilers of this imperial inventory argued that the emperor's military costume in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* was in fact Zhengde because, in the twelfth year of his reign (1517), he had declared himself the “Regional Commander of the General-in-Chief of Awesome and Militant Army of the Supreme Commander of Military Affairs” (*Zongdu junwu weiwu dajiangjun zongbingguan* 總督軍務威武大將軍總兵官).<sup>245</sup> What led the compilers to this conclusion was Zhengde's tremendous interest in military affairs, which contributed to the violation of court etiquette by wearing military attire rather than funeral attire when escorting the coffin of Grand Empress Dowager Wang to the Tianshoushan area.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> For the date of relocating imperial portraiture from to the Hall of South Fragrance, see Lai Yu-chih 賴毓芝, “*Wenhua yichan de zaicao: Qianlong huangdi dui Nanxundian tuxiang de zhengli*” 文化遺產的再造：乾隆皇帝對南薰殿圖像的整理, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 26, no. 4 (1999): 79- 81.

<sup>244</sup> Yinghe et al., *Qinding shiqu baoji sanbian*, 416.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. For information on how Emperor Zhengde entitled himself Regional Commander of the General-in-Chief of Awesome and Militant Army of the Supreme Commander of Military Affairs, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 16:209, *Ming Wuzhong shilu*, 153:2959.

<sup>246</sup> Yinghe et al., *Qinding shiqu baoji sanbian*, 416.

Hu Jing 胡敬 (1769–1845), who also participated in the compilation of the *Third Compilation to the Treasures of the Stone Canal*, expressed a different opinion from that of the imperial inventory in his “Research on the Imagery Stored in the Hall of South Fragrance” (*Nanxundian tuxiang kao* 南薰殿圖像考).<sup>247</sup> Hu argued that wearing military attire and auspicious attire, as shown in the *Imperial Processions*, respectively, were instead Jiajing’s bold innovation in funerary rituals.<sup>248</sup> Therefore, these paintings documented the procession of Jiajing escorting the coffin of the late Empress Dowager Jiang 蔣 to Chengtian Fu in the eighteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1539).<sup>249</sup>

In view of the contradictory results proposed by Qing scholars, modern scholar Na Chih-liang 那志良 (1908–1998) reexamined the textual records of the mausoleum visits performed by Xuande (r. 1425–1435), Zhengtong (r. 1436–1449), Zhengde, and Jiajing in comparison with the season and the route that the imperial processions took depicted in the *Imperial Processions*. In addition, he matched the facial features of the emperors in the formal portraits of these emperors with the emperor depicted in the *Imperial Processions*.<sup>250</sup> Na argued that, because the water route from Changping to the capital was being expanded for sailing after the sixth year of the Jiajing reign (1527), Jiajing was the only possible protagonist of the paintings.<sup>251</sup> In terms of the discrepancy between the narrative of the two paintings and the records of Jiajing’s mausoleum visits, Na speculated that the paintings were only a collective commemoration of all of Jiajing’s

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<sup>247</sup> Hu Jing 胡敬, *Nanxundian tuxiang kao* 南薰殿圖像考, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu zi bu yishu le* 續修四庫全書子部藝術類 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 1082:29-30.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.* *Ming Shizong shilu*, 221:4598-4604; 222:4605-4626; and 223:4626-4631.

<sup>250</sup> Na Chih-liang, *Mingren chujing rubi tu*, 1-7.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.



mausoleum visits because of the form of the imperial regalia and the fact that the number of personnel escorting the emperor in the paintings exceeded the ritual norms documented in the *Ming shi*.<sup>252</sup> These points hint that those who commissioned the paintings did not intend for them to realistically represent the scenes of the mausoleum visit.<sup>253</sup>

It was not until modern scholar Zhu Hong did any scholar consider that Wanli was the protagonist of the paintings.<sup>254</sup> Zhu discovered that Wanli's Spring Worship Ceremony performed in the second intercalary month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583) was the only Ming emperor's mausoleum visit performed in spring, took the water route back, and entered the capital from the western gate of the capital, the Gate of Western Upright, as represented in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*.<sup>255</sup> Furthermore, Zhu also noticed that the facial features of the emperors in the two paintings and the cap worn by the emperor in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* match the depiction of Wanli in his formal portraiture (fig. 20).<sup>256</sup>

As for identification of the painters of the *Imperial Processions*, Zhu Hong and Wu Meifeng 吳美鳳 both focused on the court painter Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547–1628) and pinpointed the identical features found in the *Imperial Processions* and Ding's paintings.<sup>257</sup> However, both studies neglect the traces of different hands in the *Imperial Processions*. For example, the bearded, dark-skinned military figures frequently seen in the *Imperial Procession*

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Zhu Hong, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu' benshi zhi yanjiu*,” 183-213+219.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 193-202.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.; and Wu Meifeng, “*Jingqi yiaofu wuyunlai bushi qianqiu ximatai—shitan Mingren 'Chujing rubi tu' yu wan Ming huajia Ding Yunpeng zhi guanxi*,” 118-130.

*Returning to the Forbidden City* cannot be found in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City*, and the depiction of this type of figures also varied (fig. 21). These details both hint at the paintings being collaborative works by multiple painters.

As Zhu Hong has rightly discerned the oblong and round face, the straight nose, and the plump double-chin can all be found in the bust portrait of Wanli, although the emperor depicted in the *Imperial Processions* is younger and therefore without facial hair.<sup>258</sup> The decorations on the black gauze cap worn by the emperor in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* is also identical to that of the caps in Ming emperor portraiture from Longqing onward (Fig. 22 and 23). The details—such as the pearl framed with golden rays and two five-clawed dragons decorated with five colors of gems on the top of the cap, and the golden rims of the uprising wings on the back of the cap—could not be faithfully depicted without firsthand knowledge of the emperor's official garment. Therefore, the two paintings were no doubt from the hands of court painters, although it is impossible to determine the precise identities of the painters.

### **2.2.3 The *Imperial Processions* in the Genre of the *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* (*Xingle tu* 行樂圖)**

Revealing Wanli's facial features is one crucial characteristic of the *Imperial Processions*. The imagery of an emperor was not always depicted in Chinese court art. For example, the present of Emperor Zhenzhong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1279) in the *Illustrations of the Four Events of the Jingde Era, 1004-1007* (*Jingde si tu* 景德四圖), a didactic painting of the emperor's exemplary behaviors, is only hinted at by the

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<sup>258</sup> Zhu Hong, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu’ benshi zhi yanjiu*,” 202.

curtain or the tent to which officials pay respect (fig. 24).<sup>259</sup> Modern scholar Liu Heping suggested that avoiding visually representations of the emperor was similar to the practice of the “taboo character“ in writing, which emerged out from the fear of not being able to capture the likeness of the emperor in illustration.<sup>260</sup>

*Attending a Banquet by Lantern Light (Huadeng shiyan tu 華燈侍宴圖)*, inscribed with the name of the court painter Ma Yuan 馬遠 (ca. 1189–1225) also demonstrates this similar practice of concealing imagery of the royal couple with a curtain (fig. 25). In this visual representation of the banquet hosted by Emperor Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1194–1224) of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) and Empress Yang 楊 (1162–1232), the painters do not depict Ningzong and instead only hint at his presence by having all banquet attenders respectfully face the emperor’s direction.<sup>261</sup> However, some paintings of the Southern Song court represent anthropomorphic imagery of the emperor. In the *Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival (Zhongxing ruiying tu 中興瑞應圖)* by the court painter, Xiao Zhao 蕭照 (active ca. 1130-1160), Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) appear in most scenes of the twelve auspicious omens of the revival of the Song rule, although the depiction of his facial features do not resemble that of his portraiture (fig. 26).<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Chen Yunru 陳韻如, “Jingde si jing tu” 景德四景圖, in *Daguan: beisong shuhua tezhan* 大觀:北宋書畫特展, edited by Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2006), 139-141.

<sup>260</sup> Liu Heping, “Empress Liu’s Icon of Maitreya: Portraiture and Privacy at the Early Song Court,” *Artibus Asiae* 63, no. 2 (2003): 180.

<sup>261</sup> For the identification of the meaning of the painting, see Lee Hui-shu, “The Emperors Lady Ghostwriters in Song-Dynasty China,” *Artibus Asiae* 64, no. 1 (2004): 95-96.

<sup>262</sup> For the study of Xiao Zhao’s *Zhongxing ruiying tu* 中興瑞應圖 (Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival), see Julia Murray, “Ts’ao Hsun and Two Southern Sung History Scrolls,” *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985): 8-11, and Fu Boxing 傅伯星, “Lun Xiao Zhao ji qi Zhongxing ruiying tu” 論蕭照及其《中興瑞應圖》, *Meishu shilun* 美術史論 4 (1994): 83-87.

The painting depicting emperors with the facial likeness of their portraiture engaging in leisure activities became a painting genre frequently commissioned by the Ming court. This so-called *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* (*Xingle tu* 行樂圖), established a visual precedent for the *Imperial Processions*. Originally popular among scholar-officials, it was a genre introduced to the Ming court through the officials who closely served Xuande.<sup>263</sup> The *Emperor Xuande Enjoying Leisure Time* (*Xuanzong xingle tu* 宣宗行樂圖), attributed to the court painter Shang Xi 商喜 (fl. early fifteenth century) and now at the Palace Museum, Beijing, is the earliest extant example of Ming emperor's *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* (fig. 27). According to modern scholar Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, this painting depicts the inspection of Xuande in the Island of Beautiful Rocks (*Qionghua dao* 瓊華島) in the Western Park (*Xiyuan* 西苑), where events signifying the emperor's legitimacy frequently took place, with an entourage of eunuchs.<sup>264</sup> Filled with auspicious animals, such as paired rabbits, deer, and pheasants, this painting might serve as a metaphorical representation of the prosperity of the empire under Xuande's rule, although the textual records did not document its commission and function in the Ming court.<sup>265</sup> In the background of this painting, Xuande rides on the white horse with a full beard, roundish face, and darkened skin, which are the facial features in his portraiture. The imagery of the emperor is larger in scale than other figures in the painting and therefore can be easily recognized as the protagonist of this painting. Besides the emperor, the eunuchs mounted on horses in the foreground all have distinguishing facial features and skin tones and could reveal the portrait likeness of the eunuchs who closely served the emperor (fig. 29).

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<sup>263</sup> Wang Cheng-hua, "Material Culture and Emperors," 216-221.

<sup>264</sup> From the topography, vegetation, and the abundant number of paired animals hidden in the background, Wang Cheng-hua deduces that the painting depicts Emperor Xuande's inspection of the imperial park. *Ibid.*, 226-246.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

Similarly, the images of Wanli, whether on horseback in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* or in the boat in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*, are both larger than other figures in the paintings and therefore the focus of the processions. The eunuch on a white horse following Wanli in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the eunuch standing to Wanli's right-hand side in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* are likely the same person, since they have the same slender face, upward-slanting eyes, protruding cheek bones, and sharp chin (fig. 30). A possible candidate for this figure is the eunuch Zhang Hong 張宏 (dates unknown), the grand guardian of the seal of the directorate of ceremonial at the time. From textual records, we know that the court entrusted Zhang Hong with the task of supervising the construction of Wanli's mausoleum and also accompanied the Wanli during his mausoleum visit.<sup>266</sup> Considering the fact that the *Imperial Processions* only portrayed eunuch Zhang Hong while depicts civil and military officials in a generic manner, it is very likely that the Directorate of Ceremonial was behind the commission or production of these paintings.

Another the *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* of the Ming court, *Emperor Chenghua Enjoying Leisure Time during the Lantern Festival* (*Xianzong yuanxiao xingle tu* 憲宗元宵行樂圖), now at the National Museum of China, confirms the use of this painting genre (fig. 28). This painting depicts three scenes of the emperor Chenghua celebrating the Lantern Festival in the inner court. In each scene, Chenghua watches court personnel playing firecrackers, children buying goods from peddlers, and the procession of jugglers from the patio in front of the palace hall. The frontispiece attached to the painting describes the general prosperity of the Lantern

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<sup>266</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 133:2480; 136:2530-2531; 139:2594; and 154:2847.

Festival and, most importantly, dates the painting to the first day of the eleventh month of the twenty-first year of Chenghua reign (1485). Considering that the emperor's birthday fell on the second day of the eleventh month, this painting was probably unveiled at the celebratory banquet of the emperor's thirty-ninth birthday.<sup>267</sup>

## 2.2.4 The Imperial Processions in the Genre of the Illustration of Imperial Grand Carriage (*Lubu tu* 鹵簿圖)

Devoting most of the picture frame to Wanli's imperial procession consisting of regalia (*yizhang* 儀仗), Grand Carriage (*Lubu* 鹵簿), and entourage in the procession is another unique feature of the *Imperial Processions*. The formations of the imperial regalia, Grand Carriage, and military guards of a Ming emperor on different occasions was regulated in the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming*, however, only in textual format.<sup>268</sup> Visually displaying the formation of an imperial procession goes back to an earlier precedent.<sup>269</sup> An extant example, titled *Illustration of Imperial Regalia of the Grand Carriage* (*Dajia lubu tu* 大駕鹵簿圖), now in the National Museum of China, documents the imperial procession of a Suburban Sacrifice (*jiaosi* 郊祀) held by Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (r. 1022–1063) in 1053 (fig. 31).<sup>270</sup> Patricia Ebrey argues that the

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<sup>267</sup> For the frontispiece, see Guojia bowuguan ed., *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu. Huihua juan, Fengsu hua* 中國國家博物館館藏文物研究繪畫卷風俗畫 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 32-33.

<sup>268</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 140: 444-448.

<sup>269</sup> Early examples of visual representation of imperial procession can usually be found on mural paintings of tombs, such as *chema yizhang tu* 車馬儀仗 (A Depiction of Horses, Carriages, and Honour Guard) on the western wall of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. However, the imagery in tombs was more likely a representation of an episode of the lives of the tomb occupants before death in order to emphasize their social status than a faithful documentation of the formation of the procession.

<sup>270</sup> Chen Pengcheng 陳鵬程, "Jiuti 'Dajia lubu tushu zhongdao' yanjiu—'yanyou lubu' niandai kao" 舊題《大駕鹵簿圖書 中道》研究——“延佑鹵簿”年代考, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 2 (1996): 76-85.

*Illustration of Imperial Procession of the Grand Carriage* was a production of the visual culture of the Northern Song period (960–1127), which combined “*zitu* 字圖” (diagram, or literally “word-image”), and “*tuji* 圖記” (illustration, or literally “picture-records”) in one work.<sup>271</sup> In other words, the inscriptions in the painting denote the proper position of the components in the procession, and the images in the painting reveal the appearance of objects. The painting, therefore, functioned more as a tool to assist in documenting or directing the proper formation of the procession than a commemoration of a specific event, as the generic background leaves no hints about place and time.<sup>272</sup> However, in the case of the *Imperial Processions*, specifically identifying the place and time of the ritual performed added to the paintings’ commemorative nature.

The studies of Na Chih-liang and Lin Lina argue that the identical images of the imperial regalia, weapons, and imperial carriage depicted in the *Imperial Processions* can be found in the illustrated encyclopedias, *Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms of the Heaven, Earth, and Man* (*Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會) and *Complete Collection of Illustrations and Books of Past and Present* (*Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成).<sup>273</sup> The precise depiction of the imperial regalia in these paintings can be further testified by the flags of three-clawed dragon holding by the soldiers awaiting in front of the Gate of Western Upright (*Xizhi men* 西直門) (fig. 32).

According to textual records, Prince Lu 潞 (1608–1646), Wanli’s younger brother, welcomed the

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<sup>271</sup> Patricia Ebrey, “Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng,” *Asia Major* 12, no. 1 (1999): 58-60.

<sup>272</sup> Patricia Ebrey, “Taking Out the Grand Carriage,” 61.

<sup>273</sup> For the studies on the imperial regalia depicted in the *Imperial Processions*, see Na Chih-liang, *Mingren chujing rubi tu*, 7-28 and 137-156; Lin Lina, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu’ zhi zonghe yanjiu shang*,” 58-77; and Lin Lina, “*Mingren chujing rubi tu’ zhi zonghe yanjiu xia*,” 34-41.

returning imperial procession at the Gate of Western Upright.<sup>274</sup> Therefore, the formation of the imperial processions depicted in the *Imperial Processions* is a faithful rendering which could supplement our understanding about the Ming emperor's procession for a mausoleum visit, which was not documented in any textual records. With regard to the discrepancies between the description in the paintings and the illustrated books, Na argued that these discrepancies may reflect the exclusive knowledge that court painters had about the imperial regalia.<sup>275</sup>

### 2.3 Concluding Remarks

Designated by the landmarks and the seasonal cherry blossoms depicted along the routes of the imperial processions, the event commemorated in the *Imperial Processions* is Wanli's second mausoleum visit in the spring of 1583.<sup>276</sup> During this mausoleum visit, Wanli personally paid homage to every imperial mausoleum in both Tianshoushan and Xishan and inspected the three locations suggested for building his mausoleum. This mausoleum visit symbolized the resolution of several political frustrations which Wanli had endured since 1580. After his first Agricultural Rite in 1580, Wanli proposed performing his first Mausoleum Visit Rite according to Jiajing's precedent in the spring of 1536, which initiated the construction of Jiajing's Yongling. Ritual officials of the Wanli court rejected the emperor's proposal by interpreting Jiajing's mausoleum visit in the spring of 1536 as an exception because Jiajing ascended the

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<sup>274</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 133:2482.

<sup>275</sup> Na Chih-liang, *Mingren chujing rubi tu*, 9-12.

<sup>276</sup> The six mausoleum visits performed by Emperor Wanli were the Spring Worship Rite in third month of the eighth year of the Wanli reign (1580); the Spring Worship Rite in the intercalary second month of the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in ninth month of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584); the mausoleum inspections in the intercalary ninth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585); And the ninth month of the sixteenth year of the Wanli reign (1588). *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:24-28, and *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2498-2501; 141:2624-2627; 153:2835-2837; 166:3011-3013; and 203:3796-3797.



throne from the lineage of the lineage of Prince Xian 獻 (1476–1519), enfeoffed in present-day Hubei province, and therefore had the need to pay homage at every imperial mausoleum to legitimate his enthronement. The suggestion that Wanli should perform his first mausoleum visit according to the precedent of Longqing not only prevented Wanli from performing a universal mausoleum visit but also initiating the construction of the emperor's own mausoleum. Zhang Juzheng's requests to be released from his duty as a regent after the completion of Wanli's mausoleum visit resulted in an edict issued by Wanli promising Zhang's regency through the emperor's thirtieth birthday. This added another layer of political meaning to Wanli's second mausoleum visit—that is, the withdrawal of the rulership that Wanli gave up to the regent.

Although there is no textual record indicating the exact process in the production of these two paintings, the painters' knowledge of the emperor's appearance, costume, and imperial regalia, suggests that these paintings were painted by court painters. The visual features of the *Imperial Processions* demonstrate that the paintings not only reveal episodes of the mausoleum visit but also celebrate Wanli's emperorship. The painters depicted no scene of worship at the imperial mausoleum. Instead, the imperial processions, comprised of the symbols of the emperor, including the images of the emperor himself in elaborate attire and regalia, dominate the painting. The unique facial features of the eunuch at the emperor's side suggest that the painting specifically depicted the eunuch in charge of the supervision of building Wanli's mausoleum. This specificity hints at the involvement of the Directorate of Ceremonial in commissioning or producing the paintings. Revealing main figures' facial features and displaying the formation of the imperial regalia are the two visual features of the *Imperial Processions* deriving from the painting genres of the *Painting of Enjoying Leisure Time* and the *Illustration of Imperial*

*Regalia.* The painters of the Wanli court creatively combined these two well-established genres to celebrate Wanli gaining back his rulership.

### Chapter 3

#### The Imperial Mausoleum, Dingling, and Wanli's Agency of Its Construction

The mausoleum visit in the spring of 1583, the event commemorated in the *Imperial Processions* discussed in the previous chapter, denoted the initiation of the construction of Wanli's mausoleum, which was officially named "Dingling" shortly before the burial of the Wanli's coffin in the forty-eighth year of the Wanli reign (1620).<sup>277</sup> Dingling was a construction project that Wanli proactively demanded and supervised. Before its completion, Wanli performed another four mausoleum visits to officially proclaim Dayushan 大峪山 the site for building his mausoleum and inspect the construction of the mausoleum.<sup>278</sup> However, due to the cost, security concern, and emperor's health, which limited Wanli's physical present outside the Forbidden City, Wanli relied heavily on superintendents acting as his proxy to oversee miscellaneous tasks related to this project.<sup>279</sup>

The disputes among officials regarding the location of the mausoleum and the distribution of the labor and financial resources among the various constructional and manufactural projects which simultaneously undertook by the Wanli court to different extent affirmed, directed, or changed the emperor's final decisions. Therefore, in this chapter, I examine the construction of Dingling and the manufacture of the artifacts found in Dingling to evaluate

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<sup>277</sup> For the naming of the mausoleum, see *Ming Guangzong shilu* 明光宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967), 4:101.

<sup>278</sup> They were the Autumn Worship Ceremony in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Wanli reign (1583); the Autumn Worship Ceremony in ninth month of the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1584); the mausoleum inspections in the intercalary ninth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585); and the ninth month of the sixteenth year of the Wanli reign (1588). *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 141:2624-2627; 153:2835-2837; 166:3011-3013; and 203:3796-3797.

<sup>279</sup> For the reasons presented by officials admonishing against Wanli inspecting the mausoleums, see *Ibid.*, 208:3893-3894.

Wanli's agency in court commissions. What were the factors that caused the disagreements among involved court personnel? Who and which institutes were involved in the mausoleum's construction and the manufacture of the objects buried in Dingling? How did Wanli evaluate and seek to resolve the discrepancies and conflicting interests among officials and institutes? These are the questions this chapter addresses.

### 3.1 Disputes over the Scale and the Site of Wanli's Mausoleum

Zhu Geng, who was dispatched to inspect the site of Wanli's mausoleum while holding the post of the vice-minister of the ministry of rites, once presented a memorial contesting Wanli's order of modeling his mausoleum after Yongling, the mausoleum of Wanli's grandfather, rather than that of Zhaoling 昭陵, the mausoleum of Wanli's father.<sup>280</sup> Zhu argued that building a mausoleum exceeding the scale of the previous emperor was ritually inappropriate.<sup>281</sup> The *Ming shi* simply documents that Wanli left the memorial in the court without writing a directive and eventually built the mausoleum according to his will.<sup>282</sup> Architectural features shared only by Dingling and Yongling among the thirteen Ming mausoleums testify that Dingling was indeed built according to the layout of Yongling. Modern scholars especially pointed out that the outer walls enclosing Dingling and Yongling and the stone-made Soul Tower (*minglou* 明樓) on the Precious Citadel (*baocheng* 寶城), the ground-level structure on top of the burial area at the rear of the mausoleum, are the two explicit similarities between the two mausoleums (figs. 33 and 34).<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 219:5779.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 6. Scholars argues that the outer wall was designed to include the burials of imperial consorts in the mausoleum. Wang Limei, "Zhu Houcong dixi duli yishi zai lingqin jianzao zhong de

However, the record in the *Ming shi* over-simplified the complex decision-making process on Dingling's architectural features. In fact, the planning of the layout and the scale of Dingling were presented to Wanli in illustration collectively made by the Ministry of Rites, the Ministry of Works, and Directorate of Palace Eunuchs (*neiguan jian* 內官監), one of the twelve eunuch directorates responsible for supervising the imperial construction.<sup>284</sup> Wanli finalized the layout and the scale of Dingling in the following month.<sup>285</sup>

Wanli's response to the dispute over locating his mausoleum, which caused political turmoil in the outer court over the course of the constructional period of Dingling, also reveal that Wanli in fact took into consideration the different opinions submitted from the officials.<sup>286</sup> Unsatisfied with the three locations that he inspected during his second mausoleum visit, Wanli ordered the personnel from the Ministry of Rites, the Ministry of Works, and the Directorate of Astronomy to find other locations for his next inspection.<sup>287</sup> Unlike the prior preselection, which swiftly decided upon Xiangziling, Tanyuling, and Lecaowa, this time the emperor's order was not executed without argument among officials.<sup>288</sup>

In response to Wanli's order, the Ministry of Rites presented a memorial stating that the officials of the Ministry of Rites were not experts of geomancy, and that the geomancers were

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*fanying*,” 17; and Wang Ruru, “*Ming Yongling jianzao shishi tanji ji fuyuan sheji*,” 70. For the design of Yongling, the *Veritable Record* of Jiajing indicates that the original design of Yongling includes the arrays of the burials of imperial consorts on the two sides of the Precious Citadel, the burial area at the rear of the mausoleum, inside the outer walls. *Ming Shizong shilu*, 187:3959. However, from the tomb of Consort Xian 賢妃 (?–1536) also having an outer wall, it is probable that the outer wall was a universal feature of the imperial tombs built by Jiajing. Hu Hangshen 胡漢生, “*Ming shisan ling qu de fezi mu*” 明十三陵區的妃子墳, *Zijin Cheng* 紫禁城 (July 2011): 41.

<sup>284</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 153: 2840.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 154:2847.

<sup>286</sup> For a summary of the dispute over Wanli's Mausoleum, see Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 20:515.

<sup>287</sup> *Wanli qiju zhu*, 2:331-335. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2501.

<sup>288</sup> For deciding Xiangziling, Tanyuling, and Lecaowa—the three locations for Wanli's inspection during his second mausoleum visit—see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 133:2480.

afraid of stating their opinions in front of too many officials.<sup>289</sup> Therefore, the ministry requested that the emperor exempt the vice-director of the bureau of sacrificial rites of the ministry of rites (*libu siji yuanwailang* 禮部祠祭司員外郎) who had participated in the previous preselection from the task and only dispatch the deputy supervisor of the directorate of astronomy (*qintian jian jianfu* 欽天監監副), Zhang Bangyuan 張邦垣 (dates unknown), to lead the geomancers to preselect locations.<sup>290</sup> After receiving the report presented by the Directorate of Astronomy, the Ministry of Rites would accompany the grand secretaries and the meritorious officials to inspect and decide on the two or three final locations for the emperor's inspection.<sup>291</sup>

Wanli approved the request from the Ministry of Rites, which demonstrated that he did not consider that the absence of the official from the Ministry of Rites would greatly affected the result of the preselection.<sup>292</sup> However, a day after Wanli's approval, Liang Ziqi 梁子琦 (?), an assistant transmission commissioner of the office of transmission (*tongzheng si canyi* 通政司參議), who participated in the preselection because of his mastery of geomancy, declared Zhang Bangyuan ignorant in geomancy and requested the Ministry of Rites to dispatch other officials to inspect and draw the diagrams of the other three locations which he separately selected with geomancers for final assessment.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 134:2501.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 134:2501. The preselection of the locations for Wanli's first inspection was led by the Vice-Director of the Bureau of Sacrificial Rites of the Ministry of Rites, Chen Shuling 陳述齡, the Secretary of the Bureau of Rivers and Canals in the Ministry of Works (*gongbu dushu si zhushi* 工部都水司主事), Yan Bang 閻邦, Zhang Bangyuan, and geomancers in the capital. *Ibid.*, 133:2480.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 134:2501-2502.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 134:2502.

<sup>293</sup> For Liang Ziqi's participation in the task, see *ibid.*, 133:2482. For Liang's criticism on Zhang, see *ibid.*, 134:2502.

A month later, since there was still no a consensus among the officials of the Ministry of Rites and the Ministry of Works and Lian Shichang 連世昌 (dates unknown), the geomancer who participated in the preselection, on the six locations suggested by Zhang Banyuan and the eight locations suggested by Liang Ziqi, Wanli ordered the minister of rites, Xu Xuemo 徐學謨 (1521–1593), and the minister of works, Yang Wei 楊巍 (1516–1608), to inspect the fourteen locations and present the diagrams of the three or four final decisions for further approval.<sup>294</sup> Ten days later, Xu Xuemo and Yang Wei presented the diagrams of Xinglongshan 形龍山, Dayushan, and Shimengoshan 石門溝山 and requested the emperor to dispatch representatives to inspect the three locations and finalize the locations for the emperor’s inspection.<sup>295</sup> Wanli, in response, ordered the Duke of Dingguo 定國, Xu Wenbi 徐文璧 (?–1608), the senior grand secretary, Zhang Siwei, and the grand guardian of the directorate of ceremonial (*sili jian taijian* 司禮監太監), Zhang Hong, to inspect the locations in the coming fall.<sup>296</sup>

The officials, led by Xu Wenbi, and the senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing, inspected the three locations on the twenty-second day of the eighth month of the eleventh year (1583) and presented the diagrams of Xinglongshan and Dayushan, the two most suitable locations in their opinion, for Wanli’s approval on the twenty-fourth day of the same month.<sup>297</sup> A day after, Liang presented a memorial impeaching the minister of rites, Xu Xuemo, for being a political ally of Zhang Juzheng and the affines of the current senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing.<sup>298</sup> Instead of

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 135:2525-2526.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 136:2530.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 140:2617-2618.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 140:2618. Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 243:6303.

directly responding to Liang's accusation, Shen Shixing and Xu Xuemo respectively presented memorials explaining that the locations which Liang suggested were unsuitable for building the mausoleum in terms of their geographic and ritual positions, and pinpointed that Liang's disagreement over the decision only served to defer the final decision.<sup>299</sup> Wanli agreed with the explanation from Shen and Xu and confiscated Liang's salary for three months.<sup>300</sup> However, the emperor's order did not cease the factional strife between the supporters of Xue Xuemo and Liang Ziqi, who continuously submitted memorials slandering each other, until Xu's early retirement and the further demotion of Liang.<sup>301</sup>

Regardless of the constant disputes in the outer court, Wanli inspected the two final sites, Xinglongshan and Dayushan, during his third mausoleum visit held in the fall of 1583 and decided upon Dayushan as the location for his mausoleum.<sup>302</sup> A year later in 1584, Wanli held another Autumn Worship Ceremony with the two empress dowagers at Changling, Yongling, and Zhaoling, and officially announced Dayushan as the site for his mausoleum.<sup>303</sup>

The controversy over the location of Wanli's mausoleum did not die out after the construction had officially started.<sup>304</sup> On the first day of the eighth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585), the vice minister of the court of the imperial stud (*taipu si shaoqing* 太僕寺少卿), Li Zhi 李植 (*jinshi* 1577), the vice minister of the court of imperial entertainments

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<sup>299</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 140:2618.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>301</sup> For the impeachments presented on the issue, see *ibid.*, 141:2630; 142:2652-2653; and 143:2669.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 141:2625.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 153:2836.

<sup>304</sup> Preparing the constructional site by cutting the forest was scheduled on the sixth day of the tenth month of the twelve year of the Wanli reign (1584), and the actual construction was scheduled on the sixth day of the eleventh month of the same year. *Ibid.*, 153:2851. For rewarding Shen Shixing for the start of the construction of Wanli's mausoleum, see *ibid.*, 155:2869.



(*guanglu si shaoqing* 光祿寺少卿), Jiang Dongzhi 江東之 (dates unknown), and the vice minister of the seals office (*shangbao si shaoqing* 尚寶司少卿), Yang Keli 羊可立 (1536–1595), impeached the senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing, for being in faction with the minister of rites, Xu Xuemo, to select an improper location for the mausoleum.<sup>305</sup>

According to the *Ming shi*, the political intention of Li, Jiang, and Yang to support Wang Xijue 王錫爵 (1534–1614) to become the senior grand secretary triggered their impeachment of Shen Shixing.<sup>306</sup> Li Zhi and Jiang Dongzhi were hostile toward Zhang Juzheng’s followers after Zhang’s death. Their impeachments had already led to the fall from power of Zhang Juzheng’s allies and their own promotions.<sup>307</sup> Shen Shixing was compassionate toward Zhang and continuously attracted attacks from speaking officials (*yanguan* 言官).<sup>308</sup> On the contrary, Wang Xiju was renowned for his confrontation with Zhang Juzheng when Zhang had Wanli’s unconditional trust and did not perform filial mourning for his father.<sup>309</sup>

Probably to the impeachers’ surprise, Wanli defended Shen Shixing from being blamed for the decision made after the geomancy of the mausoleum by emphasizing that the grand secretary only played the role of a prestigious administrator of the task of selecting the location.<sup>310</sup> Wanli further confiscated half a year’s salary from Li, Jiang, and Yang as punishment for wrongly impeaching the grand secretary.<sup>311</sup> To comfort Shen Shixing, Wanli sent an instruction to Shen reaffirming that it was him who picked the location, and the two empress

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<sup>305</sup> For the impeachment for Shen Shixing, see *ibid.*, 164:2983.

<sup>306</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 236:6144.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, 236:6141.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 218:5748.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 236:6144.

<sup>310</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 164:2983.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 164:2983.

dowagers had already inspected and consented his decision.<sup>312</sup> Wanli also expressed his suspicion of the intention of the impeachers by stating that Li, Jiang, and Yang also accompanied the inspection but did not object to the decision until the construction had been initiated, which would not sway his mind.<sup>313</sup>

However, shortly after the impeachment presented by Li, Jiang, and Yang, officials discovered huge rocks in the northwest corner of the construction site.<sup>314</sup> Considering that it was a bad feature, Wanli immediately ordered another mausoleum visit trip to Dayushan on the sixth day of the ninth month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585).<sup>315</sup> The memorials continuously presented by Li Zhi and his followers calling for the emperor to discard Dayushan for its rocky nature convinced the emperor to take Li Zhi's suggestion into account.<sup>316</sup> Before his inspection, Wanli sent out personnel from the Ministry of Rites and the geomancers recommended by Li Zhi to select several other locations for his up-coming inspection.<sup>317</sup>

During this fifth mausoleum visit of Wanli, much to the emperor's surprise, Wanli confirmed that although Dayushan was not a perfect site but still was the most suitable place for building his mausoleum out of the many locations that he inspected.<sup>318</sup> Before making his final decision, Wanli asked the senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing, why the officials challenged his

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 164:2983.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., 164:2993.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 164:2994.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 165:3007.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Wanli's dissatisfaction with Dayushan was demonstrated in the punishment of Zhang Bangyuan and Ke Ting 柯挺 (*jinshi* 1580), who suggested Dayushan was the ideal location for building Dingling even though Wanli restated that he would not discard Dayushan. Ibid., 166:3011-3013.

decision without concrete reasons.<sup>319</sup> Wanli further expressed to those who closely served him his distaste for the officials of the outer court quarreling about geomancy, an issue which did not guarantee the prosperity of a dynasty, as demonstrated in the mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 247 BCE –210 BCE).<sup>320</sup> Wanli's decisive restatement of his decision of Dayushan as the final location finally ceased the dispute over the location of his mausoleum.

Wanli traveled to Tianshoushan for the last time in the ninth month of the sixteenth year of his reign (1588).<sup>321</sup> During this mausoleum visit, Wanli paid respects at Changling, Yongling, and Zhaoling, and inspected the Underground Palace (*xuantang* 玄堂) and the Precious Citadel of Dingling (fig. 35).<sup>322</sup> In the second month of the following year Wanli requested to perform another mausoleum visit to inspect the construction near its end.<sup>323</sup> The chief supervising secretaries of office of scrutiny for works (*gongke jishizhong* 工科幾事中) suggested that the emperor's mausoleum visit was costly and should be performed after the construction was completed.<sup>324</sup> However, Wanli did not travel to Tianshoushan again after the construction was officially completed.<sup>325</sup>

### 3.2 The Institutional Structure of Court Production

Comparing with the selection of the location of the mausoleum, which left a grey area for officials whoever claimed that they mastered geomancy to speak of the project, the construction

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid., 166:3011-3013.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., 165:3007.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 203:3796-3797.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid., 208: 3893-3894.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 224:4159-4160.

of the mausoleum and the manufacture of the objects found in the mausoleum were the designated duties of selective officials and exempted from political turmoil. However, there were also disputes between the emperor and officials mostly over the distribution of financial resources. In the following sections, I identify the duties of and the requests from the institutes and personnel responsible for building Dingling and manufacturing of the burial objects to reconstruct the institutional structure of court production and explain how Wanli directed and negotiated with officials for his commissions.

### 3.2.1 Administrative Level

Inspecting the terrain in Tianshoushan and the construction site were the few tasks that Wanli personally oversaw during the building of Dingling. Being physically restricted to the Forbidden City, Wanli depended heavily on representatives performing as his ritual body on various occasions and supervising the tasks of collecting, distributing, and managing raw materials and recruiting laborers on his behalf during the construction period.

The appointment of the personnel responsible for the construction of Dingling on the seventh day of the tenth month of the twelve year of the Wanli reign (1584) reveals that this project had an institutional structure designated by the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming* to building an imperial mausoleum. The elected personnel consisted of prestigious project administrators, coordinators of practical affairs from the outer court, and representatives from the inner court.<sup>326</sup> In the case of Dingling, the prestigious administrators of the construction (*zhijian* 知建) of Dingling were the meritorious official, Xu Wenbi, and the senior grand secretary, Shen

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<sup>326</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 154:2847. Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 203:2730-1.

Shixing.<sup>327</sup> The minister of war, Zhang Xueyan 張學顏 (?–1598), and the minister of works, Yang Zhao 楊兆 (*jinshi* 1557), were the grand coordinators (*zongdu* 總督) of the task.<sup>328</sup> The vice minister of the ministry of works (*gongbu shilang* 工部侍郎), He Qiming 何起鳴 (*jinshi* 1559), inspected (*tidu* 提督) the construction, while the right vice minister of the ministry of works (*gongbu you shilang* 工部右侍郎), Wang Youxian 王友賢 (?–1600), was responsible for transporting materials (*cuizan* 催餉).<sup>329</sup> The vice minister of war, Yin Wuqing 陰武卿 (1527–1586) was appointed the special administrator (*zhuanguan* 專管), while the minister of rites, Chen Jingbang 陳經邦 (*jinshi* 1565) oversaw ritual affairs.<sup>330</sup> Eunuch Zhang Hong from the Directorate of Ceremonial was the grand coordinator; eunuch Liu Ji 劉濟 (dates unknown) from the Directorate of Palace Eunuchs inspected the construction, and eunuchs Zhang Qing 張清 (dates unknown), Wang Sheng 王升 (dates unknown), and Ma Liang 馬良 (dates unknown) assisted in management.<sup>331</sup>

Other textual records indicate the actual tasks of the above-mentioned personnel and a more detailed account of their collaborative efforts. From the Longqing reign (1567–1572) onward, the meritorious official, Xu Wenbi, represented the emperor performing the ritual of ancestral worship at Ming mausoleums on the day of the Ghost Festival, the anniversaries of the death of imperial ancestors, the end of the year, the First Frost Festival, the emperor's birthday,

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<sup>327</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 154:2847.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

and the Qingming Festival.<sup>332</sup> On behalf of Wanli, Xu also worshiped at the Temple of the Emperors of Successive Dynasties (Lidai diwang miao 歷代帝王廟), the Altar of Earth, and the Grand Temple, and installed the spirit tablet in the Hall of Eminent Favor (Ling'en dian 稜恩殿) of Tailing 泰陵, the mausoleum of Hongzhi, after its renovation was completed.<sup>333</sup> Records show that Xu inspected the preselected locations before Wanli's mausoleum visit, performed the ritual for cutting the wood, which officially denoted the initiation of the construction, and again inspected the rocks found in Dayushan in 1585 before Wanli's inspection.<sup>334</sup> During these occasions when Wanli was absent, Xu must took up his usual duty of acting as the ritual body of Wanli.

According to the *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty*, only since the Jiajing reign onward did the grand secretary participate in the construction of the emperor's mausoleum as a prestigious administrator.<sup>335</sup> The senior grand secretary, Shen Shixing, similarly to Xu Wenbi, took part in finalizing the locations for Wanli's inspection, accompanying Wanli during his mausoleum visit, and participating in the ritual of cutting timbers at the construction site.<sup>336</sup> However, Shen Shixing in these occasions collectively represented the officials in the outer court, as evidenced by Wanli's aforementioned inquiry which went to Shen Shixing into disputes among officials over Dayushan.<sup>337</sup> Shen Shixing might also function as a coordinator among different institutes in the outer court. A record indicates that he inspected the collection of stone

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<sup>332</sup> *Ming Muzong shilu*, 22:591; 23:613; 24:633-634; 27:734; 29:782; 38:960; 45:1130-1131; 52:1309; 53:1309; 54:1351; 59:1437; and 64:1537.

<sup>333</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 3:98.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 140:2616-2617, 164:2993, and 164:2993.

<sup>335</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 203:422.

<sup>336</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 140:2616 and 141:2624.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 166:3011-3013.

in the quarry, which demanded the coordination of financial resources among the institutes responsible for recruiting laborers and arranging transportation.<sup>338</sup>

The grand guardian of the seal of the directorate of ceremonial, Zhang Hong, participated in the tasks of finalizing the locations for Wanli's inspection and accompanying Wanli's mausoleum visit.<sup>339</sup> The record of Zhang announcing Wanli's order on the issue of brick quality control indicates that Zhang functioned as an agent who conveyed the emperor's orders to the outer court.<sup>340</sup>

The roles of the officials of the Ministry of War in building an imperial mausoleum, according to the *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty*, were to govern military personnel involved in the task.<sup>341</sup> From the veritable record, we know that the so-called "rotating soldiers" (*banjun* 班軍) were the soldiers registered in local military garrisons who regularly traveled to the designated locations for satisfying their *corvée* duties. Although the number is not documented, these men fulfilled the demand for laborers to build Dingling.<sup>342</sup> The quality control inscriptions written on the stones in the Arched-Ceiling Corridor (*suidaoxuan* 隧道券) of Dingling further confirm that the rotating soldiers from the Central Capital Headquarter (*zhongdu si* 中都司) indeed played a role in the task.<sup>343</sup> Besides, personnel registered in the Firearms Division (*shenji ying* 神機營) and the Five Barracks Division (*wujun ying* 五軍營), two of the three elite military divisions stationed around the capital Beijing, also contributed to

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 154:2851 and 162:2965.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., 133:2480 and 140:2616.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., 154:2851.

<sup>341</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidain*, vol. 203, 2730-1.

<sup>342</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 159:2917 and 219:4109. For the rotating soldiers of the Ming dynasty, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 90:2229-2232.

<sup>343</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 17.

management of the stone.<sup>344</sup> Coordinating from where the rotating soldiers should be called for this special task and providing a sufficient number of *corvée* laborers from the military should have been the major task of the officials of the Ministry of War.<sup>345</sup>

Similar with the minister of war, the minister of works was also listed as a grand coordinator of the construction of Dingling. Yang Zhao, the minister of works, requested reduced expense on the interior of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility (Cining gong 慈寧宮), Cisheng's residential palace, for the sake of the construction of Dingling.<sup>346</sup> This indicates that the minister of works was in charge of the coordination of resources distributed among different state constructions.

The executive officials of the ministry of works who oversaw the miscellaneous tasks surrounding the actual construction of the mausoleum were from the State Farms Bureau (*tuntian qingli si* 屯田清吏司), one of the four bureaus under the administration of the ministry of works.<sup>347</sup> Ge Xin 葛昕 (dates unknown), the Director of the State Farms Bureau (*tuntian qingli si langzhong* 屯田清吏司郎中), presented a “Memorial Regarding the Construction of the Imperial Mausoleum” (*shougong yingjian shiyi shu* 壽宮營建事宜疏), listing the fourteen tasks that the Ministry of Works should tackle before the initiation of the construction of Dingling. The fourteen entries provide a glimpse into the complex tasks in which the bureau engaged:<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 153:2840.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 144:2690 and 154:2855. The Palace of Compassionate Tranquility burned down in the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583) and was reconstructed through 1585.

<sup>347</sup> The tasks of the State Farms Bureau were managing the state farms, the imperial mausoleums, and the wood fuel and charcoal collected as commercial tax. Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 202:2721-1.

<sup>348</sup> Ge Xin 葛昕, *Jiyu shanfang gao* 集玉山房稿, vol. 1, in *Jingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 1296 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986), 380-386.



1. Appointing special inspectors and administrators for tasks, including managing laborers, as well as manufacturing, collecting, and distributing constructional materials. However, there is no need to assign superintendents for firing bricks in Lingqing 臨清, Shandong province, and collecting bricks and timbers as commercial tax in Tongzhou 通州, which is already under the administration of representatives.
2. Investigating and collecting pending tax payment from local governments.
3. Besides arranging brokers to purchase timbers, in the meantime inventory checks of timbers stored in imperial warehouses. Also, the shearing of timbers before transporting to the construction site to save transportation fees.
4. Sending out representatives and artisans to inspect quarries, including Dashishanwo 大石山窩, Maanshan 馬鞍山, and Niulanshan 牛欄山, to plan the actual extraction.
5. Regulating the quality of the bricks and tiles and ordering the re-fire of kilns in Changqing to supplement the manufacture in Suzhou and Linqing.
6. Regulating the quality of clay.
7. Setting up a censoring system to ensure that brokers reveal the real market price.
8. Arranging carters under the administration of the Canal of Tonghui 通惠 and recruiting supplementary carters from prefectures, including Shuntian 順天, Zhending 真定, and Baoding 保定.
9. Recruiting laborers from the Wanping 宛平 and Daxing 大興 counties, and qualified artisans from the Shuntian, Zhending, and Baoding prefectures.

10. Regulating military laborers.
11. Setting up exceptional rules for personnel on site regarding salaries.
12. Allowing the construction of temporary worker huts on site.
13. Digging wells to provide drinking water for workers.

In short, the State Farms Bureau oversaw tasks, including appointing administrators; collecting tax; managing the collection and transportation of timbers, stones, bricks, and tiles; controlling the quality of collected materials and products; and recruiting, regulating, and taking care of civil and military laborers.

The memorial presented by the vice minister of the ministry of works, He Qiming, on the management of construction materials and laborers supplements certain details of the construction process, even though the record of He's memorial is fragmentary. In terms of the quality of the collected construction materials, bricks must have created clear sound when struck and bear no bubbles. In addition, the color of the stones must have been fresh and the body of the rocks firm.<sup>349</sup> The construction materials usually stored in nearby Zhaoling and Xijing 西井 could be transported via water to Tangshan 湯山 and Chaozhongqiao 朝宗橋 under heavy rain.<sup>350</sup> In addition to laborers and artisans receiving proper care and housing, they received silver every half-month as salary.<sup>351</sup>

The excavation of Dingling in 1956 revealed materials confirming the credibility of some of the fragmented textual records regarding its construction. The marks, “*shougong*” 壽工 (Construction of Imperial Mausoleum) and “*Linqing yaohu*” 臨清窯戶 (Kiln Family in Linqing)

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<sup>349</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 156:2882-2883.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*

on some of the bricks demonstrate that they were customized by brick-makers in Linqing exclusively for building Dingling.<sup>352</sup> Most bricks bearing the quality control inscriptions found in the Arched-Ceiling Corridor dated to the twelfth year (1584), the thirteenth year (1585), the fourteenth year (1586), and the fifteenth year (1587) of the Wanli reign during which the construction reached its peak.<sup>353</sup> After Wanli's last mausoleum visit in the fall of the sixteenth year of his reign (1588), records of the request to reduce the court personnel sent to supervise the task started to emerge.<sup>354</sup> Shortly before the construction of Dingling was officially completed in the eighteenth year of the Wanli reign (1590), the investigating censor of the capital guard (*jingyin kedaoguan* 京營科道官) also suggested reducing the number of rotating soldiers at the construction site.<sup>355</sup>

### 3.2.2 Manufacturing Level

The excavation of Dingling also revealed that the underground palace of the mausoleum consisted of an Arched-Ceiling Corridor connecting the entrance to this underground structure and followed by an Ante-Chamber (*qiandian* 前殿), a Sacrificial Chamber (*zhongdian* 中殿) with an Annex (*zuoyou peidian* 左右配殿) on each side, and a Burial Chamber (*houdian* 後殿) along a central axis (fig. 35). The five chambers of Dingling was in fact a simplified version of

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<sup>352</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 6-7. After Yongle moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, the kilns in Linqing produced most of the bricks for building the Beijing city, imperial palaces, and mausoleums because of its abundant supply of clay-making bricks and fuel for firing, and convenient water route for transporting bricks to the capital. Wan Yun j 王雲, "Ming Qing Linqing gongzhuan shengcan jiqi shehui yinxing" 明清臨清貢磚生產及其社會影響, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 128 (2006): 61-64.

<sup>353</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 6-7. Some bricks made during the Longqing reign reveal the extent to which the supply from the inventory of bricks was needed, and those made in the twentieth year of the Wanli reign (1590), two years after the construction of Dingling had been officially completed, demonstrate that the mausoleum was under continuous construction or renovation.

<sup>354</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 207:3884.

<sup>355</sup> For the official completion of the construction, see *Ibid.*, 224:4159-4160.

the inner court of the Ming palace, the so-called “nine-tiered residential palace” (*jiuchong fagong* 九重法宮) layout of the emperor’s living area.<sup>356</sup>

The three coffins of the tomb occupants—Wanli, Empress Xiaoduan 孝端 (1564–1620), the primary wife of Wanli, and Empress Xiaojing 孝敬 (1565–1611), the birth mother of Emperor Taichang 泰昌 (r. 1620)—are on the coffin bed parallel to the rear wall of the burial chamber. Burial objects belonging to the emperor and the two empresses, including their accouterments and daily utensils are respectively in the coffins in the Burial Chamber. Funerary objects dedicated to the three occupants, such as the imperial regalia, wooden figures of courtiers and horses, armor and weapon, and other ritual vessels made of porcelain, tin and stoneware with three-color glaze (*sancai* 三彩), are either in the separate boxes or arrayed around the coffins in the Burial Chamber. Other burial objects in the Sacrificial Chamber are three sets of marble ancestral thrones (*shenzuo* 神座), five offerings (*wugong* 五供), and ever-lasting lamps (*changming deng* 長明燈) dedicated to the spirits of the three occupants.

These burial goods provide a glimpse into the material culture of the Wanli court and the complex manufacturing and transporting network which supplied the metalwares, textiles, and porcelains demanded by the court.

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<sup>356</sup> For a discussion of the layout of the underground palace of Ming mausoleums, see Hu Hansheng, “*Ming Dingling xuangong zhidu kao*” 明定陵玄宮制度考, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (April 1989): 25-35 and *Ming shisan ling*, 90-108. Jiajing, however, intended to abandon the nine-palaces structure, arguing that its construction cost huge effort and was still not functional. *Ming Shizong shilu*, 187:3959. The empty annexes to the two sides of the sacrificial chamber, which can be seen in Dingling’s case, might be the reason that Jiajing wanted to abandon it.

## Textiles

The attire and the textile for making the attire of the emperor and the two empresses are mostly buried in the inner coffins of the tomb occupants, while few are on the outer coffins<sup>357</sup> Socks, shoes, and wrappings for miscellaneous ritual objects are stored in the separate boxes designated for burial objects.<sup>358</sup> The embroidery and label slip in some attire of the emperor and empresses indicate that they were mostly made during the later years of the Wanli reign from the thirty-second year through the forty-eighth year (1604–1620).<sup>359</sup> According to the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming*, making attire for the emperor was the task of the Imperial Silk Manufactory in the Imperial City (*zhizao ju neiju* 織造局內局), which was the manufacturer of the imperial attire found in Dingling.<sup>360</sup> However, the textile for making the imperial attire were acquired from the Imperial Manufactories in Nanjing, Suzhou, and Shanxi throughout a long period between the forty-second year of the Jiajing reign (1563) and the thirty-eighth year of the Wanli reign (1610), documented in the quality-control inscriptions on the wrapping paper of some of the textile.<sup>361</sup> The discovery of textile from the Jiajing and early Wanli reign in Dingling testifies the record that there are reserved textile in the Storehouse Administration (*nei chengyun ku* 內承運庫), the administrative institute of the emperor's privy purse.<sup>362</sup>

Commissioning the weaving of textile from the Imperial Silk Manufactories in Nanjing, Suzhou, Hangzhou, Jiaxing, Huzhou, and Shaanxi, was a recurring issue throughout the Wanli

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<sup>357</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 345.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, charts 3-6.

<sup>360</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 201: 2703-1.

<sup>361</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, chart 1.

<sup>362</sup> *Ming Shengzong shilu*, 48:1514.

reign.<sup>363</sup> When Wanli ascended the throne, to demonstrate that he empathized with his subjects, he approved officials' request for ceasing the manufacture of textile directly commissioned by the imperial court on top of the regular annual demand regulated by the Ministry of Works.<sup>364</sup> However, the reports from the Storehouse Administration on the deficit in textile for making imperial attire or for awarding urged Wanli to argue the necessity of resuming the manufacture of textile under the supervision of eunuchs, who better understood correct decorative designs demanded by the imperial court.<sup>365</sup>

After Wanli entrusted eunuch Sun Long 孫隆 (dates unknown) to supervise the manufacture of textile in Suzhou and Hangzhou, Zhang utilized the anecdote of Jiajing being thrifty with his clothing to persuade Wanli not to wear purple robes, which easily faded and could be an excuse for the emperor to request new clothes.<sup>366</sup> When the project entrusted to Sun Long approached the end, a flood hit the Wu area. Investigating censors and Zhang Juzheng all presented memorials requesting Wanli to immediately ceasing the weaving production, which in their opinion would impose taxation burden on people for buying raw materials and collecting salary for weavers. In response, Wanli stated that the project could be completed within a few months, and he had already transferred five thousand taels of silver from his privy purse to Sun Long without imposing financial burdens on his subjects and the outer court.<sup>367</sup> Regardless that Zhang continuously persuaded Wanli on ceasing the manufacture which Cisheng had already agreed, Wanli still insisted that Sun Long should accomplish the weaving of the raw materials

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<sup>363</sup> Ibid, 2:17.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid, 42:951-952; 48:1204 and 1111.

<sup>366</sup> For the appointment of Sun Long, see Ibid, 51:1188. For Zhang's admonition, see Ibid, 57:1301.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid., 51:1188.

which he had already collected.<sup>368</sup> Wanli's persistent insistence on his demand upon textile was unique, if comparing with Wanli's indecisive attitude toward the location of his mausoleum and his other commissions such as porcelain, which will be discussed in the following section.

### **Porcelain**

In front of each of the three ancestral thrones of the tomb occupants in the Sacrificial Chamber are the five offerings and a large bowl made of porcelain. Each large bowl was inscribed with "Made in the Jiajing reign of the Great Ming" (*Da Ming Jiajing nian zhi* 大明嘉靖製) below the registers of floral scrolls and lotus petals around the rim and decorated with a dragon chasing the flame jewel with auspicious clouds on the body (fig. 37).<sup>369</sup> The oil and burned-wicks found in the bowls indicate that they functioned as ever-lasting lamps in the mausoleum.<sup>370</sup>

Textual records document that Wanli ordered the manufacture of the so-called "big bowl with dragon motif" (*dalong gang* 大龍缸) during his reign. A record indicates that while preparing for a rain-praying ritual against the drought in the thirteenth year of his reign (1589), Wanli complied with the suggestion submitted by the Grand Secretariat for ceasing the making of large bowls with dragon designs, which were considered difficult to make, alongside other porcelain commissions, including standing screens, candle stands, chess boards, and brush handles.<sup>371</sup> The fact that the three large oil bowls in Dingling were not made during the Wanli reign confirms that the manufacturing difficulty of this type of porcelain reported by the Grand

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 184.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>371</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 160:2933.

Secretariat was not an excuse to cut down Wanli's porcelain commission which impacted state finances on a large scale.

The imperial kiln of the Ming dynasty, the so-called Imperial Porcelain Factory (*yuqicang* 御器場), was established in Jingdezhen 景德鎮, Jiangxi province, in the fourth year of the Jianwen 建文 reign (1402) for manufacturing porcelain exclusively for the imperial court.<sup>372</sup>

The production of the Porcelain Factory wax and wane after its establishment, and revived especially during the Jiajing and Wanli periods.<sup>373</sup>

In the tenth year of the Wanli reign (1583), Wanli ordered the making of ninety-six thousand six hundred and twenty-two pieces of porcelain.<sup>374</sup> In the following year, the grand secretaries presented a memorial contending that the task had stressed and impoverished people in the Jiangxi province and requested the reduction of the ordered daily utensils, including bowls, dishes, vases, and jars, and the suspension of the making of candle stands, chess boards, standing screens, and brush handles, which were usually made of bronze, tin, wood, or bamboo.<sup>375</sup> Under the leadership of Wang Jingmin 王敬民 (dates unknown), the chief supervising secretary of the office of scrutiny for works (*gongke jishizhong* 工科幾事中) also requested the cessation of the production of porcelain to demonstrate the emperor cherished the virtue of frugality.<sup>376</sup> However,

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<sup>372</sup> According to *Jiangxi dazhi* 江西大志 by Wang Zongmu 王宗沐 (1523–1592), the Imperial Porcelain Factory was established during the early years of the Zhengde reign (1506–1521). However, modern scholar Wang Yuxin argued from *Jingdezhen taolu* 景德鎮陶錄 by Lan Pu 藍浦 (active late eighteenth century) that the Imperial Porcelain Factory was first established in 1402 and resumed its practice in the Zhengde reign. Wang Yuxin 王鈺欣, "Ming Qing liangdai Jiangxi Jingdezhen de guanyao shenchan yu taozheng 明清兩代江西景德鎮的官窯生產與陶政," *Qingshi luncong* 清史論叢 3 (1982): 81. Wang Zongmu 王宗沐, *Jiangxi dazhi* 江西大志 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1989), 7:813.

<sup>373</sup> Wang Yuxin, "Ming Qing liangdai Jiangxi Jingdezhen de guanyao shenchan yu taozheng," 80-99.

<sup>374</sup> Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 194:2632-2.

<sup>375</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 136:2530.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*



there is no evidence that Wanli changed his mind because of these memorials, and officials continuously requested the reduction or even cessation of porcelain manufacturing for the imperial court. In the twelfth year of the Wanli reign (1585), Wang Jingmin presented another memorial stating the hardship of the potters and the difficulties of making delicate pieces.<sup>377</sup> This time Wanli approved a fifty percent decrease in the production of chess boards and standing screens.<sup>378</sup> In the following year, in response to the admonition from the investigating censor, Deng Jian 鄧鍊 (dates unknown), Wanli finally stopped the production of standing screens, candle stands, chess boards, vases, and large bowls with the dragon design.<sup>379</sup> However, in the nineteenth year of the Wanli reign (1591), Wanli reordered the manufacture of porcelain. This time Wanli ordered the making of one hundred fifty-nine thousand pieces of porcelain and later added eighty thousand more pieces on top of the original number.<sup>380</sup> The manufacture of this order lasted through the thirty-eight year of the Wanli reign.<sup>381</sup>

The burial objects in Dingling do not include candle stands, chess boards, standing screens, and brush handles, which textual records indicate that Wanli consistently negotiated with officials for their production. Only few belongings of the emperor and the empresses are made of porcelain, but these findings reflect the refined quality of porcelain that the Wanli court demanded. In Wanli's coffin, the blue and white bowl with interlocking flower patterns and paired with a gold lid and a gold tray is considered used by Wanli from the trace of use can be found on the rim of the bowl (fig. 38).<sup>382</sup> Another daily utensil of the tomb occupant is the

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<sup>377</sup> Ibid., 147:2744.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., 160:2933.

<sup>380</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 82:1999.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 184.

cosmetic box with dragon designs and inscription of “Made in the Wanli Reign of the Great Ming” found in the coffin of Xiaoduan.<sup>383</sup> Porcelain utensils are relatively fewer in quantity than those made of gold and silver, which might reflect the fact that metalware was more commonly used in the daily lives of emperor and empresses of the Wanli court.

Blue and white plum plum vases (*meiping* 梅瓶) function as the ceremonial display universally found in royal tombs of the Ming dynasty, such as the three plum vases found in the niche on the back wall of the tomb of the King of Zhuang of Liang (Liangzhuang wang 梁莊王), the ninth son of Emperor Hongxi 洪熙 (r. 1425).<sup>384</sup> In Dingling, eight blue and white plum vases are placed on the two sides of the coffins of Wanli, Xiaoduan, and Xiaojing. The arrangement of these vases reveal the effort of the successive emperor Taichang to elevate the ritual status of his birth mother, Xiaojing.<sup>385</sup> The two plum vases on each side of Wanli’s coffin and the one on each side of Xiaojing’s coffin are inscribed with “Made in the Wanli Reign of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming Wanli nian zhi* 大明萬曆製) on their shoulders (fig. 39).<sup>386</sup> These six vases are identically decorated with dragons and lotus scrolls on the lids and bodies, which are framed by lotus petals on the top surfaces of the lids and on the shoulders and feet of the vases. In comparison, the one on each side of the coffin of Xiaoduan are smaller in size, inscribed with “Made in the Jiajing Reign of the Great Ming” on the shoulders, and cannot be paired with the vases by Wanli’s coffin.<sup>387</sup> The decorations on the vases by Xiaoduan’s coffin are visually

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>384</sup> For the plum vases in the tomb of the King of Zhuang of Liang, see Zhang Fan Jeremy ed., *Royal Taste: The Art of Princely Courts in Fifteenth-Century China* (London: The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in association with Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2015), 188.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 183-184 and chart 21.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid., 184 and chart 21.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

different too. Their lids are decorated with auspicious clouds. On the shoulders of the vases are lotuses and dripping necklaces alternating in the areas framed by the auspicious *luyi* cloud scrolls. On the bodies are lotus scrolls framed by a register of plum blossoms and a register of the lotus petals alone on the foot. Flanking Xiaojing's coffin with plum vases identical in size and decorative patterns to those flanking Wanli's coffin ritually pairs the birth mother of Taichang with Wanli.

### **Metalware**

Excavators found two hundred eighty-nine gold wares buried in Dingling.<sup>388</sup> Most of them in the coffins of the emperor and the two empresses.<sup>389</sup> Only twenty-one gold wares were separately found in the box number 6 for burial goods.<sup>390</sup> These objects, including *jue* 爵 vessels, *hu* 壺 vases, basins, cylindrical boxes, rinse-bowls, bowls with rosewood outer surface, fragrance-boxes inlaid with jewels, spoons, and chopsticks, were all made in 1602 by the Jewelry Service (*yinzuo ju* 銀作局), the service responsible for making gold and silver accessories, beads, and sheets.<sup>391</sup> Thirty-one gold wares mark the date of the manufacture.<sup>392</sup> Except for the one basin in Xiaojing's coffin that was made in the *wuchen* 戊辰 year of the Longqing reign (1568), the rest were made in the *dingyou* 丁酉 (twenty-fifth) year (1597), the *xinchou* 辛丑 (twenty-ninth) year (1601), and the *gengshen* 庚申 (forty-eighth) year (1602) of the Wanli

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid., 151-162.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., chart 15 and 151.

<sup>391</sup> For the responsibilities of the Jewelry Service, see Liu Luoyu, *Zhouzhong zhi*, 16:110.

<sup>392</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 162.

reign.<sup>393</sup> The wide range of manufacturing dates of the gold wares found in Dingling indicated that these objects were not specifically made as burial objects, but were more likely for actual use in the court.

The scratches and burn marks on the two medicine jars with handles found in Wanli's coffin demonstrate that they had been used for cooking medicine and confirm Wanli's deteriorated health during the latter part of his reign.<sup>394</sup> The marks on their bottoms indicate that they were made by the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments (*yuyong jian* 御用監) (fig. 36), one of the twelve eunuch Directorates responsible for making the folding-screens, furnishings, and utensils for the emperor.<sup>395</sup> The “Stored in the Chamberlain for Palace Revenues and Used by the Emperor” (*Shangguan shangyong* 尚冠上用) incised on the jars also tell that they were designated utensils of Wanli.

Basins, rinse-bowls, and accessories, such as hair pins, are universally found in the coffins of Wanli and his two empresses. The motif of a five-clawed dragon chasing the flame jewel with auspicious clouds was universally used on the gold wares made for the emperor and the empresses. However, the drinking utensils, such as gold wine servers and *jue*, are exclusively found in Wanli's coffin.<sup>396</sup> Only one wine server is in Xiaojing's coffin. In comparison, the two empresses' accessories inlaid with gems and jade are more exquisitely decorated than those of Wanli.<sup>397</sup> And while the accessories of the primary wife of Wanli, Xiaoduan, are almost all made

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<sup>393</sup> Ibid., 162 and chart 15.

<sup>394</sup> Wang Xiuling 王秀玲, “*Ming dingling chutu gongting yuyong jinqi (xia)*” 明定陵出土宫廷御用金器 (下), *Shoucang jia* 收藏家 (2008.11): 11-14.

<sup>395</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, chart 15, 278. For the responsibilities of the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments and the Jewelry Service, see Liu Luoyu, *Zhouzhong zhi*, vol. 16, 103.

<sup>396</sup> Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, chart 15 and 29.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., chart 30, 31, and 32.

of gold, many Xiaojing's accessories are made of silver. In fact, the gold wares in Xiaojing's coffin are limited to a wine dropper, a cup, two basins, and a rinse-bowl, and the rest of the daily utensils are made of silver.<sup>398</sup> The relatively fewer gold wares found in Xiaojing's coffin reveals her lower status, as does the fact that she was originally buried in Dongjing 東井, one of the places designated for the burial of imperial concubines.<sup>399</sup> The selection and the number of gold burial objects in the coffins of three tomb occupants therefore reveal their different genders and statuses in the court.

### 3.3 Concluding Remarks

Dingling was a project that Wanli orchestrated to demonstrate his ideal emperorship. However, from the beginning of its construction, Wanli consistently negotiated with officials in order to fulfill his expectation for a mausoleum. As discussed in the previous chapter, Wanli's suggestion of building his mausoleum was at first rejected by ritual officials in 1580 and was only realized after he gained authority over directing the outer courts after Zhang Juzheng's death. In the post Zhang Juzheng era, Wanli seemed to be the one who finalized every decision made for this commission. For example, after his second mausoleum visit, Wanli discarded the first three locations suggested by officials for the mausoleum. However, Wanli's decision was not unchallengeable. The subsequent disagreements over Wanli's approvals of the mausoleum locations after his second inspection of Dayushan eventually led to the official impeachment of those responsible for proposing or affirming these approvals. Liang Ziqi's impeachment of

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<sup>398</sup> For the gold wares in Xiaojing's coffin, see Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, chart 15. For the silver wares in Xiaojing's coffin, see Institute of Archaeology, *Dingling*, 165 and chart 36 (3).

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, 165. For the burial of imperial concubines of the Ming dynasty, see Hu Hansheng 胡漢生, "Ming shisan ling qu de fezi mu shang" 明十三陵區的妃子墳上, *Zijin Cheng* 紫禁城 (June 2011): 40-45, and "Ming shisan ling qu de fezi mu xia" 明十三陵區的妃子墳下, *Zijin Cheng* 紫禁城 (June 2011): 40-43.

Zhang Bangyuan, as well as Li Zhi, Jiang Dongzhi, and Yang Keli's impeachment of Shen Shixing are two examples. Wanli once explicitly expressed his frustration to Shen Shixing with the officials who not only disobeyed his orders but also attempted to capitalize on this issue politically. Wanli's reaffirmation of his distaste for how officials dragged their feet on the issue of geomancy finally suppressed the years-long dispute.

In fact, Wanli had never directed this commission without any restrictions from the beginning. The precedent of Jiajing which legitimated building Wanli's mausoleum capped the maximum scale of Dingling. Furthermore, the miscellaneous tasks that the superintending officials planned before Wanli's approval limited his choices. Taking the location of Dingling as an example, although Wanli decided that he would not discard the construction which had already been initiated in Dayushan during the controversy of the discovery of rocks at site in 1585, punishing the officials who suggested that Dayushan was the most ideal location for building Dingling suggested that Wanli was still not completely satisfied with officials' plan for his commission.

Other challenges toward Wanli's order on making Dingling was from the state finances aspect. The attempt of the minister of works, Yang Zhao, to counterbalance the spend between the renovation of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility, a project which will be discussed in the next chapter, and Dingling reveals the reality that Dingling was not the only construction project that the Wanli court undertook during Dingling's construction period. Insisting his original orders and approving exceptional method for collecting tax risk Wanli his virtuous fame as a sagacious emperor who did not burden his subjects with extra tax payment and *corvée* labor. Besides the recruitment of laborers and the collection and transportation of the construction materials, such as stone, bricks, and timbers, the manufacture of textile and porcelain was also a

part of the complex taxation issue. Although there are no textual records regarding the manufacturing of the metalwares, textiles, and porcelains found in Dingling, the negotiations between Wanli and officials regarding the latter's request for the complete cease in production or reduction in the demanded number of the textiles and porcelains produced for the imperial court throughout the Wanli reign provide a historical context for the burial objects in Dingling.

## Chapter 4

### Empress Dowager Cisheng and Female Agency in the Ming Court

The biography of Empress Dowager Cisheng (1546–1614), the birth mother of Wanli, in the formal history of the Ming dynasty, *Ming shi*, presents two personas of this most influential woman in the Wanli court.<sup>400</sup> Most selected anecdotes portray Cisheng as a sagacious empress dowager, who rigidly disciplined the study and private life of her son. The conclusion of the biography subtly criticizes how her devout Buddhism led her to spend lavishly on building Buddhist monasteries inside and outside of Beijing.<sup>401</sup> Cisheng managed to maintain her reputation as an exemplary imperial woman while violating the morality of being frugal reveals that certain condemnable conducts of the imperial women of the Ming dynasty were excusable. This chapter therefore not only examines how Cisheng's Buddhist commissions shape her public personas but also scrutinizes the tactic of her patronage which defines the agency of imperial women of the Ming dynasty in the making of art.

From other textual records and extant Buddhist commissions of Cisheng, we know that besides constructing Buddhist monasteries, her sponsorship of Buddhism included donating money, sutras, and ritual objects, and ordering the performance of Buddhist rituals. The inscription on the bronze bell for the Monastery for Protecting the Ming (Baoming si 保明寺), a temple that generations of Ming emperors sponsored, indicates that Cisheng donated money alongside other members of the imperial family and courtiers for the bell's casting, shortly after

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<sup>400</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114:3534-3536.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 114:3536.



the court bestowed on her the rank of empress dowager (*huang taihou* 皇太后).<sup>402</sup> Her sponsorship of the supplement and the circulation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* (*Yongle beizang* 永樂北藏), which was exclusively printed by the imperial court, was commemorated in the gazetteers of Buddhist monasteries, the stelae in situ in Buddhist monasteries, and the memoir of Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623), a Buddhist master whom Cisheng frequently sponsored.<sup>403</sup> In the fourteenth year of the Wanli reign (1586), the Monastery of Ocean Seal (Haiyin si 海印寺) on Mount Lao 勞, which was newly established by Deqing, was one of the first fifteen monasteries, including the pilgrimage sites in Mount Putuo 普陀 and Mount Emei 峨眉, that received a set of the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka*.<sup>404</sup> Modern scholars argue that it was because Cisheng believed that the Universal Salvation Ritual (*wuze fahui* 無遮法會) held in Mount Wutai 五台 in the ninth year of the Wanli reign (1581) by Deqing and Miaofeng Fudeng 妙峰福登 (1540–1612) under the order of Cisheng to pray for Wanli’s heir was a success.<sup>405</sup> The fifty-some Buddhist paintings for the Rite

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<sup>402</sup> Thomas Shiyu Li and Susan Naquin, “The Baoming Temple: Religion and the Throne in Ming and Qing China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 48, no. 1 (June 1988): 141-142. The bell is now stored at the Dazhong Temple Ancient Bell Museum in Beijing.

<sup>403</sup> For the supplement for the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* compiled and printed by the Wanli court, see Chen Yuh-neu, “Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo—jianlun fodao shili de duizhi—,” 220-233; Zhang Dewei, “A Fragile Revival,” 87-93; Li Jining 李際寧, *Fojing banben* 佛經版本 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 162-163; and He Xiaorong 何孝榮, *Mingdai Beijing fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu shang* 明代北京佛教寺院修建研究 上 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2007), 315-322. For the extant stele in the Zhiguo si 智果寺, Shaanxi province, indicating the circulation of the Buddhist Tripitaka by Cisheng, see Wu Shuang 吳爽, “陝西省智果寺永樂北藏とその表装に用いられた染織品について,” *Waseda daigaku daigakuin Bungaku kenkyu kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要, 59 (2014): 119. For Deqing’s memoir, Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu* 憨山大師年譜疏, vol. 1 (Shangshi: Guoguang yishuju, 1934), 53.

<sup>404</sup> Hanshan Deqing, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu*, 1:53.

<sup>405</sup> For the Universal Salvation Ritual in 1581, see Shi Yinguang 釋印光, *Qingliang shan zhi* 清涼山志, vol. 3, in *Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan* 中國佛寺史志彙刊, vol. 229, edited by Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 et al. (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1933), 153. Chen Yuh-neu, “Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo—jianlun fodao shili de duizhi—,” *Chengda lishi xuebao*, 32. Cisheng further funded the construction of the Repository of Buddhist Canon (*cangjin ge* 藏經閣) of the Monastery of Ocean Seal. Hanshan Deqing, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu*, 1:53. For

for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land (*shuilu fahui* 水陸法會), now stored at the Capital Museum in Beijing, bear the seal of Cisheng and an inscription of her as the donor. This demonstrates that, besides sponsoring the performance of Buddhist rituals, she also commissioned Buddhist ritual objects (fig. 6).<sup>406</sup>

In fact, Cisheng's religious commission had caused controversy in the outer court at the early Wanli reign. In the second year of the Wanli reign (1574), Cisheng sponsored the construction of a Temple of the Primordial Lady of the Emerald Clouds (Niangniang miao 娘娘廟) in Zhuozhou 涿州, Hebei province.<sup>407</sup> Although Cisheng had transferred three thousand taels from her privy purse to the Ministry of Works, the officials who were responsible for this task still submitted memorials objecting to her order.<sup>408</sup> In his memorial, Zhu Heng 朱衡 (1512–1584), the minister of works, urged the emperor to demonstrate his filial piety by exhorting Cisheng not to support the eccentric practices of Buddhism and Daoism.<sup>409</sup> Wu Wenjia 吳文佳 (1539–1607), the chief supervising secretary of Office of Scrutiny for Works (*gongbu jishizhong* 工部幾事中), whose duty should have been censoring how the Ministry of Works executed this task, also presented a memorial stating that the worship of the Primordial Lady of the Emerald Clouds, a popular cult in the capital, was a harmful practice that should be banned instead of

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Cisheng's sponsorship for Miaofeng, see Puay-peng Ho, "Building for Glitter and Eternity: The Works of the Late Ming Master Builder Miaofeng on Wutai Shan," *Orientalia*, 27, no. 5 (May 1996): 67-73; and Marsha Weidner, "Imperial Engagements with Buddhist Art and Architecture: Ming Variations on an Old Theme," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 130.

<sup>406</sup> For images of the paintings, see Beijing shi wenwu ju ed., *Beijing wenwu jingcui daixi*, 64-67, 81-86, 171-178, 180-181, 187, 190, and 192-193.

<sup>407</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 24:618.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, 24:618.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*

fostered.<sup>410</sup> How Wanli responded to these memorials is not documented in any textual records, but the temple was eventually built under the supervision of the eunuchs sent from the court.<sup>411</sup>

Was the controversy really about Cisheng's religious practice, as the officials stated in their memorials? It seems that religious practice alone was not the main concern. From the Hongwu reign (1368–1398) onward, the Ming court had never denied the supplemental role that religious practice played in administration.<sup>412</sup> Just to name a few, Hongwu ordered the performances of the Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land in Jiangshan 蔣山, Nanjing, respectively in the first five years of his reign to transit the dead in recent warfare and to demonstrate his care for his subjects.<sup>413</sup> Yongle commissioned the construction of the Grand Monastery of Requiring Gratitude (Da baoen si 大報恩寺) in Nanjing, the most fascinating scene in the cityscape of Nanjing before it was destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), to pray for the happiness of the deceased Hongwu and Empress Ma 馬 (1333–1382), as well as the prosperity of his subjects.<sup>414</sup> Yongle also invited the Fifth Karmapa (Dezhin Shegpa, 1384–1415) to perform a Universal Salvation Ritual for Hongwu and Empress Ma at the Monastery of the Spirit Valley (Linggu si 靈谷寺). Modern scholars argue that inviting the Fifth Karmapa transformed this ritual into a political event intended to build a harmonious diplomatic

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<sup>410</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 24:618.

<sup>411</sup> Jiao Hong, *Guocao xianzheng lu*, 50:79-1.

<sup>412</sup> Du Changshun 杜常順, *Mingchao gongting yu fojiao guanxi yanjiu* 明代宮廷與佛教關係研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), 6-9; Cheng Zhiqiang 程志强, “*Ming Taizu de sanjiao sixiang, zhengzhi jiqi yingxiang*” 明太祖的三教思想、政治及其影響, *Shilin* 史林, no. 1 (2002): 14-19. Zhao Yifeng 趙軼峰, *Mingdai guojia zongjiao guanli zhidu yu zhengce yanjiu* 明代國家宗教管理制度與政策研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008).

<sup>413</sup> Du Changshun, *Mingchao gongting yu fojiao guanxi yanjiu*, 32-35, and Natasha Heller, “From Imperial Glory to Buddhist Piety: The Record of a Ming Ritual in Three Contexts,” *History of Religions*, 51, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 59-83.

<sup>414</sup> Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮, *Jinling fanchazhi* 金陵梵剎志, vol. 31, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 718 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 675.

relationship with Tibet.<sup>415</sup> Every emperor after Yongle and some empresses left records of sponsoring religious constructions and rituals inside and outside the Forbidden City.<sup>416</sup> Cisheng could easily find exemplary precedents from imperial ancestors to legitimate her commissions.

Could the controversy of building the Temple of the Primordial Lady of the Emerald Clouds have resulted from financial difficulties? Current scholar Chen Yuh-neu 陳玉女 (Chen Yunü) argues that the demand for money from Cisheng's privy purse imposed a burden on state finances and therefore caused the objection from the Ministry of Works.<sup>417</sup> However, if this was the case, how do we explain the fact that the controversy was resolved after Cisheng sent out eunuchs to complete the task that the Ministry of Works refused to execute?

In this chapter, I first examine what factors legitimated Cisheng's Buddhist commissions and the reasons why she was enthusiastic about them despite the potential risk and harm they might cause from her life experience and the contemporary political situations. In the last section of this chapter, I shift the focus to examine how the revival of Buddhist sponsorship of the Ming court during the Wanli period is embodied in the Buddhist paintings commissioned by Cisheng. By comparing Cisheng's Buddhist paintings with the religious paintings of the earlier Ming court and the secular paintings of the Wanli court—that is, the *Imperial Processions*—I also bring to

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<sup>415</sup> Patricia Berger, "Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa's Visit to the Chinese Capital," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 145-169. The miracles witnessed at the Monastery of the Spirit Valley during and after the Universal Salvation were recorded in the forty-nine sections of the *Scroll of Universal Salvation Conducted by the Fifth Karmapa for Emperor Hongwu and his Empress (Dabao Fawang wei Ming Taizu ji Huanghou jian Pudu dazhai juan 大寶法王為明太祖及皇后建普渡大齋卷)*. For the studies of the painting, see Luo Wenhua 羅文華, "Ming Dabao Fawang jian Pudu dazhai changjuan" 明大寶法王建普渡大齋長卷, *Zhongguo Zangxue 中國藏學*, 1 (1995): 89-97; Luo Ai Li, "Ming Chengzu yu Dabao fawang jiaoliu yanjiu: yi zongjiao huajuan jianfu tu weili" 明成祖與大寶法王交流研究: 以宗教畫卷薦福圖為例, *Xin shiji zongjiao yanjiu 新世紀宗教研究*, 6, no. 1 (2007): 31-80.

<sup>416</sup> Du Changshun, *Migchao gongting yu fojiao guanxi yanjiu*, 6-153. He Xiaorong, *Mingdai beijing fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu shang*, 136-343; and He Xiaorong, "Mingdai huanggong zhong de fojiao jianzhu yu congfo huodong" 明代皇宮中的佛教建築與崇佛活動, *Gugong xuekan 故宮學刊*, 4 (2008): 127-141.

<sup>417</sup> For the study of the controversy of building the *Niangniang miao*, see Chen Yuh-neu, "Ming Wanli shiqi Cisheng huang taihou de chongfo—jianlun fodao shili de duizhi—" 210-214.

light the collaboration of painting workshops during the Ming court, which is not clearly documented in textual records.

#### 4.1 Legitimizing Buddhist Art Commissions of Cisheng

##### 4.1.1 Endorsement of the Filial Emperor Wanli

Wanli played a crucial role in not only gaining a political stance for Cisheng but also legitimating her court commissions. Few records indicate the family background of Cisheng. From the biography of Cisheng's father, Li Wei (?–1583), we know that the Jingnan 靖難 campaign (ca. 1399–1402) caused the relocation of the Li family from the Shanxi province to Huo 鄆 County.<sup>418</sup> The Li family moved from Huo County to the capital of Beijing around the time Cisheng was born.<sup>419</sup> The fact that Cisheng entered the court of Prince Yu, the eventual Emperor Longqing, as a female attendant informs us that the Li family probably did not have high social status.<sup>420</sup>

For giving birth to Longqing's first son, Wanli, the court promoted Cisheng to the rank of Honored Consort (*guifei* 貴妃) in the third month of the first year of the Longqing reign (1566).<sup>421</sup> After Wanli ascended the throne, the efforts of Cisheng's main political allies—Zhang Juzheng and the eunuch Feng Bao—granted her the rank of empress dowager and a title prefixed by two honorific characters, denoting her equal status with that of Longqing's principal wife,

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<sup>418</sup> Yu Youding 余有丁, *Yu Wenmin gong wen ji* 余文敏公文集, vol. 10, 8b-12a in *Xuxiu siku quanshu ji bu bieji lie* 續修四庫全書集部別集類, vol. 1352, ed. *Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002); Jiao Hong, *Guocao xianzheng lu*, 3:109-125-2.

<sup>419</sup> Jiao Hong, *Guocao xianzheng lu*, 3:109-125-2.

<sup>420</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 300:3534.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*, 114:3534.

Empress Chen 陳 (?–1596), who was at the same time bestowed the title of Empress Dowager Rensheng (*Rensheng huang taihou* 仁聖皇太后).<sup>422</sup>

Cisheng was aware that she was still inferior to Rensheng in the eyes of the public, as demonstrated in the record indicating that she did not share the superior seat with Rensheng at imperial banquets.<sup>423</sup> However, in the private realm Cisheng had a more intimate relationship than Rensheng with their son, Wanli. The *Ming shi* records indicate that before Wanli became the emperor, every morning he would pay respect at the Hall of Ancestral Worship (Fengxian dian 奉先殿), to the emperor, to Cisheng, and then to Rensheng in her residential palace.<sup>424</sup> After Wanli had ascended the throne, even Cisheng's political ally, Zhang Juzheng, one time reminded Wanli that Rensheng sometimes expressed her loneliness to Zhang when the emperor had a flower-viewing banquet only with Cisheng.<sup>425</sup> In response to Zhang's advice, Wanli returned to the residential palace that Cisheng and Wanli shared, probably to inform and seek Cisheng's agreement, before going to Rensheng's place alone to invite her for a flower-viewing.<sup>426</sup>

Wanli's intimacy with Cisheng was not simply rooted in the kinship between mother and son but was also connected to Cisheng's discipline and caring for Wanli. When Wanli became the emperor, Zhang Juzheng requested that Cisheng relocate from the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility (Cining gong 慈寧宮), which was the palace designated to her, to Wanli's residential

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<sup>422</sup> For a biography of Empress Chen, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114:3534. Usually the principal wives of the late emperors were granted different honorific titles to that of the heir's birth mothers to differentiate their different statuses. For a discussion of granting equal honorific titles to Rensheng and Cisheng, see Jiao Hong, *Guocao xianzheng lu*, 17:67-2; Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 3:95; and Yu Shenxing 于慎行, *Gushan bichen* 穀山筆塵 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 2:14.

<sup>423</sup> Yu Shenxing, *Gushan bichen*, 2:15.

<sup>424</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114:3534.

<sup>425</sup> Yu Shenxing, *Gushan bichen*, 2:15.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

palace, the Palace of Heavenly Purity (Qianqing gong 乾清宮), in order to closely oversee the daily life of the young emperor.<sup>427</sup> Cisheng's biography in the *Ming shi* reveals that she would punish Wanli by forcing him to kneel when he did not study.<sup>428</sup> To test whether Wanli memorized his lessons from the Classics Colloquia and Daily Lectures, Cisheng would order Wanli to recite them in front of her.<sup>429</sup> On the days of morning audience, Cisheng would wake up the young emperor, wash his face, and lead him to ascend the sedan chair to be transported to the audience hall.<sup>430</sup>

Cisheng also designated herself as a role model for her son and studied with the emperor. Records show that Cisheng followed Wanli's daily curriculum and studied history and classics, as well as practiced calligraphy.<sup>431</sup> According to an account in the *Compilation of Anecdotes of the Wanli Reign* (*Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編) of a contemporary writer, Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642), a plaque hanging in the rear hall of the Hall of Literary Glory was mistakenly indicated as written by Wanli but was in fact composed by Cisheng.<sup>432</sup> It is possible that Cisheng practiced calligraphy with Wanli and therefore wrote in the style of Wanli. Besides the plaque in the rear of the Hall of Literary Glory, Cisheng also wrote the plaque of the Pavilion of Peaceful Tranquility (Anning ge 安寧閣) in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (Cishou si 慈壽

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<sup>427</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114: 3535.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 38:894.

<sup>432</sup> For a source that attributes the plaque to Wanli, see Wen Bing 文秉, *Dingling zhulue* 定陵注略 (Taipei: Weiwen tushu chubanshe, 1976), 1:9. For the correction of the attribution, see Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 3:71.

寺) in Beijing, a monastery dedicated to the longevity of Cisheng and contributed shaping her public personas.<sup>433</sup>

Wanli strictly performed court etiquette calling for him to demonstrate respect for the two empress dowagers. In imperial banquets, Wanli and his primary wife, Empress Wang 王 (1564–1620), would kneel and pour wine for the two empress dowagers nine times before the four of them returned to the side room and enjoyed the banquets as a family.<sup>434</sup> On some occasions, however, Wanli's respectful behavior towards the dowagers exceeded the norm. For example, during the tomb visit in 1583, officials witnessed how Wanli avoided riding in the middle of the road when leading the two empress dowagers' carriages, and how he stood and waited in front of the empress dowagers' tent while they were resting.<sup>435</sup> Yu Shenxing 于慎行 (1545–1608), a minister of rites of the Wanli court, argued that even though this conduct demonstrated the emperor's filial piety to his mothers, it decreased the emperor's dignity and should therefore only be performed in the private realm away from the eyes of the public and officials.<sup>436</sup>

Wanli's response to Li Wei's request for silver taels for building his tomb implies that the emperor was completely submissive to Cisheng when it came to her commission.<sup>437</sup> At first, the Ministry of Works and the Grand Secretariat only agreed to transfer Li Wei twenty thousand taels according to the financial precedent set by the Ministry of Works during the building of the tomb of Jiang Lun 蔣輪 (1459–1525), the father of Emperor Jiajing's mother, Empress Dowager

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<sup>433</sup> Li Zongwan 勵宗萬, *Jingcheng guji kao* 京城古蹟考 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1981), 17.

<sup>434</sup> Yu Shenxing, *Gushan bichen*, 2:15.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:21.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>437</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 36:849.



Jiang 蔣 (?–1538).<sup>438</sup> Despite this justifiable standard, Wanli still ordered the Ministry of Works to transfer thirty thousand taels to Li Wei.<sup>439</sup> However, several days before Wanli issued this order, on the occasion of discussing the story in the *Admonitory Mirrors of Emperors* about Dong Xuan 董宣 (active 25–56) executing a servant of Princess Huyang 湖陽 (18 BCE–?) for murder, Wanli expressed his regret for not being able to regulate the behavior of the royal relatives because he was afraid of offending Cisheng.<sup>440</sup> It is very possible that Zhang Juzheng or other lecturers selected this story to be discussed in Daily Lecture to influence Wanli's final decision on Li Wei's recent request. Wanli's response hints that he did not completely consent to the behaviors of the royal relatives. However, due to the pressure from Cisheng, he was probably forced to be more generous to them. Nevertheless, Li Wei's case was exceptional. In the tenth year of the Wanli reign (1583), the younger brother of Empress Dowager Xiaoke 孝恪 (1510–1554), the birth mother of Emperor Longqing, requested the same amount of silver taels for building his tomb.<sup>441</sup> This time, Wanli only approved fifteen thousand taels.<sup>442</sup>

Wanli endorsed numerous major commissions of Cisheng. Under the emperor's order, Cisheng's wish to compile and circulate the sequel of the supplemented *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* was realized.<sup>443</sup> Wanli wrote the sequel's preface, which commemorated Cisheng's compassion for her subjects. The emperor's support of this project reconciled the public's anxiety that Cisheng had overstepped the privilege of emperors in commissioning

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<sup>438</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 36:849.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 36:838.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*, 123:2300.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>443</sup> Zhao Puchu 趙樸初 et al., *Yongle bei zang* 永樂北藏 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2000), 1:9, 11-12.

Buddhist Tripitaka, which had only been commissioned by Hongwu, Yongle, and Zhengtong.<sup>444</sup> The bestowal of Cisheng's sequel alongside the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* to Buddhist monasteries was also carried out in the name of Wanli.<sup>445</sup> In 1586, even though Hanshan Deqing recalled how Cisheng's gratitude toward his performance of the heir-praying ritual in Mount Wutai caused Mount Lao to be one of the fifteen Buddhist monasteries to receive the supplemented *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka*, he still recognized that the bestowal was under the Wanli's imperial edict.<sup>446</sup>

The Hall of Brilliant Mandate (Jingming dian 景命殿), the family temple (*jiamiao* 家廟) of Cisheng's maternal family in her birthplace, Yongledian 永樂店 in Huo County, was another of Cisheng's commissions legitimated by Wanli.<sup>447</sup> Although Cisheng demanded the construction of the Hall of Brilliant Mandate to commemorate her birthplace and to pray for her longevity, it was Wanli who officially dedicated the compound to Cisheng. What is more, Wanli transformed her private commission into the emperor's filial piety to his mother when he changed the name of the Temple of Avatamsaka (Huayan si 華嚴寺) to the east of the Hall of Brilliant Mandate into the Temple of Avatamsaka of Companionate Filial Piety Protecting the Country (Baoguo cixiao huayan si 保國慈孝華嚴寺) and the name of the Temple of Zhenwu

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<sup>444</sup> For Wanli's preface, see Yongle beizan zengli weiyuanhui, ed., *Yongle beizan*, 1:11-12. There were three imperial editions of Tripitaka before the Wanli reign. The compilation of the Hongwu edition, the Hongwu Edition of the Southern Tripitaka (*Hongwu nanzan* 洪武南藏), began in 1372 in Nanjing, but the carving of the woodblocks wasn't completed until 1401. They compiled the *Yongle Edition of the Southern Tripitaka* (*Yongle nanzan* 永樂南藏) one or two years after the woodblocks of the Hongwu edition were burned—no later than 1419. The preparation of the Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka (*Yongle beizan* 永樂北藏) started in 1419, and the carving was completed in 1440. Li Jining, *Fojing banben*, 153-163.

<sup>445</sup> Zhao Puchu et al., *Yongle beizang*, 1:9.

<sup>446</sup> For bestowal of the *Yongle beizan* and Cisheng's supplement in 1586, see Hanshan Deqing, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu*, 1:53.

<sup>447</sup> The Hall of Brilliant Mandate was a five-bays structure with a rear hall of five bays. There were three stelae installed to the left, front, and right of its gate. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 445:8516.

(Zhenwu miao 真武廟) to the west of the hall into the Temple of the Perfect Lord of the Utmost Virtue Guarding the Venerated Peace of the Country (Huguo chunning zhide zhenjun miao 護國崇寧至德真君廟).<sup>448</sup> Led by Zhu Geng, the grand secretaries further requested to change the name of the Hall of Brilliant Mandate into the Hall of Brilliant Mandate of Cisheng (Cisheng Jingmin dian 慈聖景命殿) to match the length of the new titles of the two flanking temples and to demonstrate that the hall was dedicated to Cisheng's longevity.<sup>449</sup>

Besides the architectural structure, Wanli appointed the seven-hundred *qing* 頃 fiefs which had been bestowed by Longqing to Li Wei and the twenty-five *qing* of rice-fields (*zhuangtian* 莊田) newly donated by Cisheng to the family temple under the management of the Li family.<sup>450</sup> The opposition from the minister of revenue, Zhao Shiqing 趙世卿 (d. 1618), demonstrates that by combining the Li family's hereditary fiefs, which Cisheng's nephew, Li Mingcheng 李銘誠 (?–1608), had already inherited from his grandfather, Li Wei, without any reduction, into the rice-fields of the temple, the land under the management of the Li family was no longer subjected to the regular reduction of transmission between generations applied to other hereditary fiefs.<sup>451</sup> Despite the opposition, Wanli insisted on his original decision but promised that this practice would not be taken as a precedent in the future.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> Ibid., 450:8514-8516, and vol. 445:8515.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., 450:8515.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid., 450:8517.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., 450:8525.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.1.2 Exemplary Buddhist Commissions of Imperial Woman of the Ming Dynasty

Cisheng was not the only imperial woman of the Ming dynasty who built a family temple for her maternal family.<sup>453</sup> Empress Dowager Xiaosu 孝肅 (?–1504), the birth mother of Chenghua (r. 1465–1487), in many aspects served as a role model for Cisheng. Similar to Cisheng, Xiaosu was not the primary wife of Zhengtong (r. 1435–1449 and 1457–1464).<sup>454</sup> When Xiaosu's son became the emperor, she was exceptionally bestowed the rank of empress dowager, which before her was only granted to the primary wife of the late emperor.<sup>455</sup> Xiaosu also frequently sponsored the construction of Buddhist monasteries. In 1466, she commissioned the construction of the Grand Monastery of Compassionate Humaneness (Da ciren si 大慈仁寺) to the west of the Gate of the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu men 宣武門) in Beijing.<sup>456</sup> Originally a small temple, Xiaosu's cousin, Zhou Jixiang 周吉祥 (1441–1492), resided there first as a monk and, after its renovation, as the monastery's abbot. Demonstrating his filial piety to Xiaosu, Chenghua later dedicated the monastery to pray for her longevity.<sup>457</sup>

In addition, Xiaosu financially benefited her maternal family through bestowing the family the tax share of the rice-fields of the Buddhist monasteries she commissioned. In 1478, Xiaosu renovated the Monastery of Enlightenment (Dajue si 大覺寺), located near her

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<sup>453</sup> Except Empress Dowager Xiaosu, who will be discussed in detail in the following, Emperor Hongzhi built the family temple for Empress Zhang 張 (1471–1541) in her birthplace, Xingji 興濟. Tsai Shih-shan Henry, *Mingdai de nüren*, 34.

<sup>454</sup> For a biography of the Empress Dowager Xiaosu, see Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 113:3518-3519; and Tsai Shih-shan Henry 蔡石山, *Mingdai de nüren 明代的女人* (Taipei: Lianjing, 2009), 22-24.

<sup>455</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 113:4684.

<sup>456</sup> Gui Youguang 歸有光, *Zhenchuan xiansheng wenji 震川先生文集* (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1983), 11:272-274.

<sup>457</sup> Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu 北京圖書館金石組 ed., *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989), 52:54.

hometown in Haidian 海淀, for worshiping the Zhou family's ancestors.<sup>458</sup> Zhou Jixian, Xiaosu's cousin, was also appointed the abbot of the Monastery of Enlightenment.<sup>459</sup> In 1479, the court bestowed thirty-nine *qing* rice-fields on the monastery.<sup>460</sup> Xiaosu was granted even more exceptional treatments after her grandson, Hongzhi (r. 1487–1505), had ascended the throne. During his early years, Xiaosu kept him by her side to protect him from the persecution of Chenghua's favorite consort, Honored Consort Wan 萬 (1428–1487).<sup>461</sup> In 1497, the court bestowed the exceptional number of rice-fields, that is one hundred and twelve *qing*, on the Monastery of Compassionate Humaneness.<sup>462</sup>

Even though the monasteries benefited Xiaosu's maternal family, she was still praised for funding her private commission from her privy purse, a gesture of interfering herself from interfering in the lives of her subjects.<sup>463</sup> Chenghua specified in his commemorations of the completion of the Monastery of Compassionate Humaneness and the Monastery of Enlightenment that Xiaosu utilized her money to collect raw materials and to hire laborers from

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<sup>458</sup> Ink-rubbing of the “*Chenghua shi si nian yuzhi chongxiu dajue si bei*” 成化十四年御製重修大覺寺碑, is stored at the Capital Library of China. The stele also mentions that the labors and materials for constructing the monastery was purchased with funding from the Empress Dowager Xiaosu's Privy Purse.

<sup>459</sup> Even though the records of Gui Youguang indicate that Zhou Jixian was believed to be Empress Dowager Xiaosu's younger brother, Shu Xiaofeng argues from the stele erected by Zhou's disciple in Fangshan 房山 that Zhou was Xiaosu's cousin. Considering Gui Youguang's record was written seventy years after Zhou's death, the saying that Zhou Jixian was Xiaosu's younger brother is less credible. See Shu Xiaofeng 舒小峰, “*Beijing liangchu mingdai Zhou Jixian ta kaobian*” 北京兩處明代周吉祥塔考辨, *Beijing wenbo* 北京文博 (February 2003): 59-67.

<sup>460</sup> “*Hongzhi shi qi nian da jue si dichan bei* 弘治十七年大覺寺地產碑” from Shu Xiaofeng, “*Beijing liangchu mingdai Zhou Jixian ta kaobian*,” *Beijing wenbo*.

<sup>461</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 113:3516-3518.

<sup>462</sup> *Ming Xiaozong shilu*, 129:2286.

<sup>463</sup> Gui Youguang, *Zhenchuan xiansheng wenji*, 11:273.

the marketplace without utilizing *corvée* labor, both conventionally under the administration of the Ministry of Works.<sup>464</sup>

Conventionally, the participation of the personnel of the Ministry of Works in the task of building a Buddhist monastery sponsored by Ming emperor can be attested in textual records alongside the names of eunuchs. Taking the renovation of the Grand Monastery of Requiring Gratitude as an example, Yongle ordered the Ministry of Works to initiate the task in the eleventh year of the Yongle reign (1413).<sup>465</sup> Eunuch Wang Fu 汪福 (dates unknown) from the Directorate of Palace Eunuchs, alongside Marquis Yongkang (Yongkang hou 永康侯), Xu Zhong 徐忠 (1362–1413), and the Vice Minister of Works, Zhang Xin 張信 (dates unknown), were the documented personnel involved in this task.<sup>466</sup> The construction lasted through Xuande's reign. In order to complete the reconstruction which had already spanned sixteen years, Xuande appointed eunuchs Wang Fu 汪福 (dates unknown), Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433), Li Sengchong 李僧崇 (dates unknown), Shang Yi 尚義 (dates unknown), Wang Jinghong 王景弘 (dates unknown), Tang Guan 唐觀 (dates unknown), and Luo Zhi 羅智 (dates unknown) to assist the Ministry of Works.<sup>467</sup> The record of eunuchs Shang Yi and Meng Ji 孟繼 (dates unknown) reporting to the Ministry of Rites the completion of the pagoda in the Grand Monastery of Requiring Gratitude in the third year of the Xuande reign (1428) hints that eunuchs

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<sup>464</sup> Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000), 59:966. Ming Xianzong 明憲宗, “*Yu zhi congxiu dajue si bei*” 御製重修大覺寺碑, in *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編, ed. Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu 北京圖書館金石組 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989), 52:140.

<sup>465</sup> Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮, *Jinling fanchazhi* 金陵梵剎志, vol. 31, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 718 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 675.

<sup>466</sup> Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fanchazhi*, 2:475.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:475-476.

entrusted to inspect the construction played the role of reporting the progress of the construction to the court.<sup>468</sup>

Similarly, eunuchs and officials in the Ministry of Works collaborated on the construction of the Grand Monastery of Thriving Prosperity (Da xinglong si 大興隆寺), sponsored by Zhengtong. The personnel involving in this task included eunuchs Shang Yi and Li Xian 黎賢 (dates unknown), the vice minister of works, Wang Yonghe 王永和 (dates unknown), and the secretary of the minister of works (*gongbu zhushi* 工部主事), Kuai Xiang 蒯祥 (1398–1481).<sup>469</sup> Another Buddhist monastery sponsored by Ming emperor and built under that same pattern is the Grand Monastery of Prosperous Blessings (Da longfu si 大隆福寺). Jingtai (r. 1450–1457) sponsored entrusted eunuchs Shang Yi, Chen Xiang 陳祥 (dates unknown) and Chen Jin 陳謹 (dates unknown) from the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments (*yuyong jian* 御用監) to supervise the task, and the left vice minister of the ministry of works (*gongbu zuo shilang* 工部左侍郎), Zhao Rong 趙榮 (?–1475) to execute the construction.<sup>470</sup> The record that Kuai Xiang, who had been promoted to the post of the vice directors of the ministry of works (*gongbu yuanyailang* 工部員外郎) during the Jingtai reign, and Lu Xiang 陸祥 (dates unknown) were rewarded when the construction was completed demonstrates that they also participated in the monastery's construction.<sup>471</sup>

As mentioned in this chapter's introduction, Cisheng transferred three thousand taels from her privy purse to the Ministry of Works for the building of the Temple of the Primordial

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<sup>468</sup> Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fancha zhi*, 2:475-6.

<sup>469</sup> *Ming Yingzong shilu*, 171:3290.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 217:4677.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 227:4970.

Lady of the Emerald Clouds in Zhuozhou. Although entrusting the Ministry of Works to build a monastery was a practice following the precedent set by previous emperors, in Cisheng's case she exceeded the moral standard for imperial women regulated by Hongwu in his *August Ming Ancestral Instructions* (*Huangming zuxun* 皇明祖訓, 1371), which forbade imperial women from directing the outer court institutes.<sup>472</sup> Most importantly, she did not refrain from imposing *corvée* labor on the subjects, the usual source from which the Ministry of Works recruited laborers, as the exemplary precedents of Xiaosu avoided.

The controversy over building the Temple of the Primordial Lady of the Emerald Clouds led Cisheng to be more cautious about her role as an imperial woman and the boundary between inner and outer courts in her future commissions. For example, she funded the construction of the Monastery of the Grand Pagoda (Da Tayuan si 大塔院寺) at Mount Wutai in the seventh year of the Wanli reign (1579), with donations from Prince Lu 潞王 (1568-1614), princesses, imperial consorts, and eunuchs.<sup>473</sup> Eunuchs not only oversaw this project, which was the duty of Feng Bao and Yang Hui 楊輝 (dates unknown), but also managed the laborers, a usual task of the Ministry of Works, as stated in Deqing's memoir.<sup>474</sup> Deqing once recalled that he assisted eunuchs Fang Jiang 范江 (dates unknown) and Li You 李友 (dates unknown) from the Directorate of Imperial Apparel (*shangyi jian* 尚衣監), who brought in three thousand laborers and artisans to Mount Wutai.<sup>475</sup> Putting eunuchs in charge of the construction without any

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<sup>472</sup> Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, *Huangming zuxun* 皇明祖訓, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書集部 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 264:179.

<sup>473</sup> Yu Shenxing, "Chi jian Cishou si beiwen," 448-449.

<sup>474</sup> Ibid.

<sup>475</sup> Hanshan deqing, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu*, 1:45; Shi Yinguang 釋印光, *Qingliang shan zhi* 清涼山志 (Gazette of Mount Qingliang), vol. 5, in *Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan* 中國佛寺史志彙刊, vol. 229, ed. Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 et al. (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1933), 218.



intervention from the Ministry of the Works earned Cisheng praise for not imposing the burden of recruiting labor and collecting raw materials on the outer court and her subjects.<sup>476</sup>

Shen Defu, a contemporary writer of the Wanli period, listed the merits of Wanli court's sponsorship for constructing Buddhist monasteries and profoundly summarized Cisheng's patronage.<sup>477</sup> According to Shen Defu, Buddhist monasteries funded by the privy purse of the emperor and the empress dowager, were entrusted to a leading eunuch, which eliminated the involvement of outer court officials.<sup>478</sup> The subjects, therefore, did not know of the existence of such major construction projects commissioned by the court, which traditionally called for *corvée* labor, and were able to continue to enjoy peaceful lives.<sup>479</sup> This description exactly followed the exemplary model set by Xiaosu's commissions.

#### 4.2 Transforming Cisheng into the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva

Among the many Buddhist monasteries sponsored by Cisheng during the early years of the Wanli reign, the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (Cishou si 慈壽寺) was the one most closely related to her, and many of her commissions in this monastery shaped how later generations remembered her. The Directorate of Ceremonial purchased the land for the monastery, and eunuchs from the Directorate of Imperial Apparel, led by Fan Jiang, supervised its construction.<sup>480</sup> Originally, Cisheng wished to construct a Buddhist monastery on Mount

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<sup>476</sup> Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 27:687. Nie Furong 聶福榮, “*Wanli chao Cisheng Li taihou chongfo kaolun*” 萬曆朝慈聖李太后考論 (Master's thesis, Jilin University, 2007), 13.

<sup>477</sup> Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 27:687.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu ed., *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 57:47.

Wutai to pray for Longqing's happiness in the afterlife and Wanli's health.<sup>481</sup> However, Mount Wutai's distance from the court made it inconvenient for paying offerings. In substitution, to fulfill the wish of Cisheng, Feng Bao selected the old property of eunuch Gu Dayong 谷大用 (active 1506–1521), outside the Gate of Abundant Success (Fucheng men 阜成門) in Beijing.<sup>482</sup> When the construction of the monastery was completed in the sixth year of the Wanli reign (1578), Wanli bestowed the name "Compassionate Longevity" (*cishou* 慈壽) on the monastery and designated it for the well-being of Cisheng.<sup>483</sup>

Monk Juechun 覺淳 (1511–1581) was the first abbot of the monastery.<sup>484</sup> He had built a close relationship with the imperial court since the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1572) when Longqing resumed the sponsorship of the Ming court for Buddhism after Jiajing banned Buddhist practices in the imperial court, and commissioned a ritual at the Monastery of Universal Peace (Puan si 普安寺) where Juechun resided.<sup>485</sup> After Wanli had ascended the

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<sup>481</sup> Shi Yinguang 釋印光, *Qingliang shan zhi*, *Qingliang shan zhi* 清涼山志, vol. 5 in *Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan* 中國佛寺史志彙刊, vol. 229, ed. Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 et al. (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1933), 219. Zhang Juzheng, "Chi jian wutaishan da baota si ji" 敕建五台山大寶塔寺記, *Zhang wenzhong gong quan*, 6:567; and Hanshan deqing, *Hanshan dashi nianpu shu*, 1:45.

<sup>482</sup> Zhang Juzheng 張居正, "Chi jian Cishou si beiwen" 敕建慈壽寺碑文, *Zhang Wenzhong gong quan ji*, 6:564.

<sup>483</sup> Yu Shenxing 于慎行, "Chi jian Cishou si beiwen" 敕建慈壽寺碑文, *Gucheng shan guan wenji* 穀城山館文集, vol. 13, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 集部 (Collectanea of All Works in the Annotated Bibliography but not Included in the *Siku quanshu*), vol. 147 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 448-449. For the purpose of the construction of the Monastery of Benevolent Longevity, see Yan Chongnian 閻崇年, "Cisheng taihou yu Yong'anshou ta" 慈聖太后與永安壽塔, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (January 1995): 3-7.

<sup>484</sup> Zhang Juzheng, "Chi jian Cishou si beiwen," 564.

<sup>485</sup> For information on Emperor Jiajing's ban of Buddhism, see He Xiaorong 何孝榮, "Lun Shizong jinfo" 論世宗禁佛, *Mingshi yanjiu* 明史研究 7 (2001): 164-176. Hanshan deqing 憨山德清, "Chi jian Da huguo cishou si kaishan di yi dai zhuchi gufeng chungong ta ming" 敕建大護國慈壽寺開山第一代住持古風淳公塔銘, in *Hanshan laoren mengyou ji* 憨山老人夢遊集, vol. 29, in *Wan shinsan dai nihon zoku zōkyō* 卍新纂大日本續藏經, vol. 73, no. 1456 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōka), 668b, and Zhang Dewei, "A Fragile Revival," 96-98. Chen Yuh-neu 陳玉女 (Chen Yunü), "Ming Jiajing chuqi yili pai zhengquan yu fojiao suqing" 明嘉靖初期議禮派政權與佛教肅清, in *Mingdai de fojiao yu shehui* 明代的佛教與社會 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chuabanshe, 2011), 60-95.

throne, the two empress dowagers continuously ordered Juechun to perform Buddhist rituals inside and outside the court.<sup>486</sup> Juechun was also charged with the responsibility of supervising the editing of the sequel of the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka*, a task that Cisheng commissioned around 1579.<sup>487</sup> After Juechun had passed away, his grand-disciple, Benzai 本在 (dates unknown) succeeded the post as the abbot of the monastery and was granted the position of the left Buddhist patriarch of the central Buddhist registry (*senlusi zuo shanshi* 僧錄司左善世), the highest ranking Buddhist cleric.<sup>488</sup>

The Ming dynasty established Buddhist administrative institutions, including the Bureau of the Buddhist Patriarch (*shanshi yuan* 善世院) and its replacement, the Central Buddhist Registry (*senglu si* 僧錄司), to restrict the construction of Buddhist monasteries and the private ordination of monks and nuns.<sup>489</sup> Regardless of the restrictions keeping Buddhism from competing with the state finances, Buddhist clergy were still self-governed under Buddhist leadership appointed as the Buddhist patriarch (*shanshi* 善世) in the Central Buddhist Registry. Some Buddhist monasteries received the exceptional sponsorship of the Ming emperors, such as the Monastery of Heaven (Tianjie si 天界寺) and the Monastery of Heavenly Happiness (Tianxi si 天禧寺) in Nanjing during the Hongwu reign, and the above-mentioned Grand Monastery of

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<sup>486</sup> Hanshan deqing, “*Chi jian Da huguo cishou si kaishan di yi dai zhuchi gufeng chungong ta ming*,” 668b.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid., 688c and 670c.

<sup>489</sup> For the Buddhist policy and institutions of the Ming government, see Suzuki Tadashi 鈴木正, “*Mindai teishitsu zaisei to bukkō* 一明代帝室財政と佛教 (一),” *Rekishi kenkyū* 歴史研究 6, no.11 (1936): 47-63; Chen Yuh-neu 陳玉女 (Chen Yunü), “*Ming Taizu zhengzhao ruseng yu tongzhi sengren de lishi yiyi*” 明太祖徵招儒僧與統制僧人的歷史意義, *Zhongguo foxue* 中國佛學 2, no. 1 (April 1999): 39-68; Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 150-171; and Du Changshun 杜常順, *Mingchao gongting yu fojiao guanxi yanjiu* 明朝宮廷與佛教關係研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), 46-48.

Thriving Prosperity sponsored by Zhengtong and the Grand Monastery of Prosperity Perfect (Dashanlong xi 大隆善寺) in Beijing after Yongle moved the capital to Beijing.<sup>490</sup> Appointing Benzai the left Buddhist patriarch of the central Buddhist registry therefore implied that the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity was the leading Buddhist monastery throughout the country.

Most of the architectural structure of the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (Cishou si) has been destroyed, and only the Pagoda of Eternal Peace Longevity (Yong'an shou ta 永安壽塔) is still in situ.<sup>491</sup> We can only reconstruct the layout of the monastery from the commemorative writing on the completion of the monastery by Zhang Juzheng and the travel document by Li Zongwan 勵宗萬 (1701–1759), who researched the monuments in Beijing under the order of Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736–1795). According to Zhang Juzheng, a main gate and a Hall of the Heavenly King (Tianwang dian 天王殿), flanked by the Towers of Bell and Drum, were in the outer compound of the monastery.<sup>492</sup> In the inner compound were the Pagoda of Eternal Peace Longevity, Hall of Prolonging Longevity (Yanshou Dian 延壽殿), and the Pavilion of Peaceful Tranquility (Anning ge 安寧閣), flanked by the adjacent halls of guardians (Jialan 伽藍), patriarchs (Zushi 祖師), bodhisattvas (Dashi 大士), and Ksitigarbha (Dizang 地

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<sup>490</sup> Suzuki Tadashi argues that settling the highest Buddhist administration in Buddhist monasteries demonstrates the semi-official status of this institution and the autonomy that Buddhist clergies enjoyed. Suzuki Tadashi, “*Mindai teishitsu zaisei to bukkuyō*,” 54.

<sup>491</sup> For the study of the pagoda, see Wan Yipeng 汪藝鵬 and Wan Jianmin 汪建民, “*Beijing Cishou si ji Yong'an wanshou ta II* 北京慈壽寺及永安萬壽塔 II.” *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報 33, no. 3 (June 2012): 86-96; “*Beijing Cishou si ji Yong'an wanshou ta IV* 北京慈壽寺及永安萬壽塔 IV.” *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報 33, no. 5 (October 2012): 86-91.

<sup>492</sup> Zhang Juzheng, “*Chi jian Cishou si beiwen*,” 564.

藏) and surrounded by hundreds of painting corridors.<sup>493</sup> The monastic compound also had abbot's quarters.<sup>494</sup> A garden and thirty *qing* of rice-fields were bestowed to the monastery.<sup>495</sup> Starting from the ninth year of the Jiajing reign (1530), monks were forbidden from directly collecting the share of the land tax from the sharecroppers.<sup>496</sup> Therefore, in the case of Monastery of Compassionate Longevity, the court appointed eunuchs led by Wang Chen 王臣 (dates unknown) to manage the property of the monastery.<sup>497</sup>

Li Zongwan's record further maps out the various deities in the monastery.<sup>498</sup> There were two heavenly kings (*jingang* 金剛) at the main gate. The images of Skanda (Weituo 韋馱), Naga king (Longwang 龍王), Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Guanyin 觀音), and Fish-Basket Bodhisattva (Yulan 魚籃) were respectively on the four stelae at the four directions of the pagoda. The Hall of Prolonging Longevity had bronze statues of Buddhas of the Past, Present, and Future (Sanshifo 三世佛), Ānanda (Anan 阿難), Mahākāśyapa (Jiaye 迦葉), and Eighteen Arhats (Luohan shiba zun 羅漢十八尊). The adjacent hall to the east of the Hall of Prolonging Longevity was devoted to guardians (Zhuangmiao 狀繆), and the adjacent hall to the west of the Hall of Prolonging Longevity was devoted to Bodhidharma (damo 達摩). Li documented the Pavilion of Peaceful Tranquility as the Pavilion of Vairocana (Pilu ge 毘盧閣). In the front were Vairocana and Pavilion of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Guanyin ge 觀音閣) in the rear. Flanking

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<sup>493</sup> Zhang Juzheng, “*Chi jian Cishou si beiwen*,” 564.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid.

<sup>496</sup> According to *Da Ming huidian*, an estate manager (*zhuangtou* 莊頭) was selected among the sharecroppers to manage the task of collecting land tax. Li Dongyang et al., *Da Ming huidian*, 17:296.

<sup>497</sup> Zhang Juzheng, “*Chi jian Cishou si beiwen*,” 564.

<sup>498</sup> Li Zongwan, *Jingcheng guji kao*, 17.

the Pavilion of Vairocana were the adjacent hall of Avalokiteśvara in the east and the adjacent hall of Ksitigarbha in the west. Among the one hundred bays of painting galleries in the monastic compound, in the middle was the Hall of Amitabha Buddha (Mituo dian 彌陀殿); in the east was the Pavilion of Compassionate Luminousness (Ciguang ge 慈光閣), in which they installed a painted image of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva (*Jiulian pusa* 九蓮菩薩); and in the west was the Pavilion of Bronze Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Tongxiang guanyin ge 銅像觀音閣).<sup>499</sup>

According to Li Zongwan, the monastery installed two images of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva. One was the image of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva (*Jiulian pusa xiang* 九蓮菩薩像) in the rear hall of the monastery, and the other was a painting of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva in the painting gallery. The image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva documented in Li's record by the pagoda was probably also the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva, but the iconography of the imagery had been no longer recognizable at Li's time. The stele of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is still in situ at the northeast side of the Pagoda of Eternal Peace Longevity (fig. 40). Marsha Weidner argues that it represents the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva based on the inscription of the "Image of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva" (*Jiulian guanyin xiang* 九蓮觀音像) in another stele at the Temple of Maitreya (Mile yuan 彌勒院), which has the similar composition to the stele in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (fig. 41).<sup>500</sup>

The stele of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva by the pagoda was a commission of Cisheng, which demonstrates her devotion to the deity and likely contributed to the belief that she was the

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<sup>499</sup> Li Zongwan, *Jingcheng guji kao*, 17.

<sup>500</sup> Marsha Weidner also argues that the imagery of the Nine-Lotus Holy Mother was a synthesis of the realm of White-robed or South Sea Guanyin (Nanhai Guanyin 南海觀音) with that of the imperial court. Weidner, "Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager," 247-248, 260.

bodhisattva herself. On the image side of the stele is a bodhisattva inclining against the palatial balustrade framing a lotus-pond, where twelve double-flowering lotuses bloom and a Sudhana worships the bodhisattva in its lower left corner (fig. 39). Behind the bodhisattva, there are bamboo groves, an udumbara tree, and a *taihu* rock, on which a white parrot stands. In the upper left corner of the picture frame, the seal of Cisheng, “Seal of the Empress Dowager *Cisheng xuanwen mingsu*” (*Cisheng xuanwen mingsu huang taihou zhi bao* 慈聖宣文明肅皇太后之寶), indicates that she was the commissioner of this imagery. Besides, the inscription, “Made in the year of the *dinghai* of the Wanli reign of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming Wanli dinghai nian zao* 大明萬曆丁亥年造), dates the commission of the stele to 1587. A eulogy reads:

The compassionate benevolence of our Holy Mother reached the Heaven. As responding auspicious omen, felicitous lotuses bloomed in the palace. [She] commissioned image of Bodhisattva and carved it on the stone to be circulated. Prolong the country and bless the subjects, even the barren land enjoys the same.

讚曰：「惟我聖母，慈仁格天。感斯嘉兆，闕產瑞蓮。加大士像，勒石流傳。延國福民，宵壤同堅。」

On the opposite side of the same stele is carved the “Rhapsodies of the Auspicious Lotuses” (*Ruilian fu* 瑞蓮賦), written by the grand secretaries, Shen Shixing, Xu Guo 許國 (1527–1596), and Wang Xijue. These rhapsodies, along with the eulogy on the image side of the stele, testify that this stele was a commemoration of the auspicious lotuses blooming in Cisheng’s residential palace in the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1586).<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> Shen Bang 沈榜, *Wanshu zaji* 宛署雜記 (Beijing: Beijing guji, 1980), 20:289-291.

The Palace of Compassionate Tranquility was Cisheng's residence after Wanli held his wedding ceremony in the sixth year of his reign (1578).<sup>502</sup> In the eleventh year of the Wanli reign (1583), the palace burned down for an unknown reason.<sup>503</sup> Both Cisheng and Wanli considered the fire a warning sent from heaven.<sup>504</sup> Wanli, therefore, issued an edict ordering officials to repent of their wrongdoings for three days.<sup>505</sup> In return, the chief supervising secretary of the office of scrutiny for rites (*like du jishizhong* 禮科都給事中), Wan Xiangchun 萬象春 (*jinshi* 1577), and the investigating censor of the Shandong Province (*Shandong dao yushi* 山東道御史), Ding Cilü 丁此呂 (*jinshi* 1616), both interpreted the fire as a warning for the emperor and exhorted the emperor to reduce expenses, such as lantern installations (*aoshan* 鰲山), the inspection of mausoleums, and the commission of textiles and porcelain.<sup>506</sup>

The reconstruction of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility was simultaneous with that of Dingling.<sup>507</sup> The two major imperial commissions caused fiscal competition among the institutions responsible for the projects. When the Storehouse Administration, requested transferring four thousand taels from the Ministry of Revenue and the Ministry of Works to fund the project of decorating the interior of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility, the minister of revenue, Wang Lin 王遴 (1525–1608), reported the difficulty of raising such a large amount of

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<sup>502</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 71:1529-1530

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid.*, 144:2690.

<sup>504</sup> For Cisheng's view of the fire, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 164:2990-2991. For Emperor Wanli's, see *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 144:2690.

<sup>505</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 144:2690, 2691.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, 145:2700-2701.

<sup>507</sup> Before they officially decided the location of Dingling, the Ministry of Works had already purchased timber for its construction during the construction of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 147:2746-2747.



money in a short time.<sup>508</sup> Wang suggested that the Storehouse Administration should utilize the surplus of the administration or the budget for comprador (*maiban* 買辦) to purchase raw materials and labor, or discuss with the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments the possibility of reducing its demand for the project, after which they would request the Ministry of Revenue and the Ministry of Works to purchase on their behalf.<sup>509</sup> The minister of works, Yang Zhao 楊兆 (*jinshi* 1556), also appealed to reduce the cost of the interior of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility for the sake of the construction of the emperor's mausoleum.<sup>510</sup> However, Wanli did not cut down the financial support for Cisheng's residence, but instead ordered the Ministry of Revenue and the Ministry of Works to fulfill the fiscal need gradually.<sup>511</sup> Wang Lin later attempted to reduce the budget for the metal wares for the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility from three thousand two hundred taels to one thousand five hundred taels, and again, Wanli did not approve.<sup>512</sup>

The reconstruction of the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility was eventually completed, regardless of the controversies it caused, in the third month of the thirteenth year of the Wanli reign (1585), and Cisheng moved back to the palace two months later.<sup>513</sup> Almost a year after Cisheng returned to the palace, auspicious lotuses bloomed in the empress dowager's residential palace. Commissioning projects commemorating this auspicious event successfully changed the tone of officials when they discussed Cisheng's residential palace. On the seventh

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<sup>508</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 154:2854.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, 154:2855.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, 154:2854

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, 158:2913.

<sup>513</sup> The Ministry of Works reported that the amount spent on the reconstruction was one hundred and fifty thousand taels. *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 162:2957. For Cisheng moving back to the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility, see *Ibid.*, 164:2986, 2990.

day of the seventh month of the fourteenth year of the Wanli reign (1586), the emperor ordered the grand secretaries to compose poems in commemoration of this auspicious omen.<sup>514</sup> Two days later, Wanli bestowed on the grand secretaries who inscribed the *Painting of Auspicious Lotuses* (*ruiliang tu* 瑞蓮圖) silver taels and showed them a branch of the auspicious lotus.<sup>515</sup>

Although the stele of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity vividly represents double-flowering lotuses blooming in the pond, there is no evidence indicating whether it was the *Painting of Auspicious Lotuses* inscribed by the grand secretaries. However, the Fish-Basket [Bodhisattva] (*Yulan* [*pusa*] 魚籃[菩薩]) in Li Zongwan's documentation represents a bodhisattva carrying a fish-basket and walking by the lotus pond (fig. 42).<sup>516</sup> This stele is also in situ to the northwest of the Pagoda of Eternal Peace Longevity. The identical Cisheng's seal, inscription, and eulogy to that of the stele of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva can be found on the stele and date this stele to the same time to the stele of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva commissioned. On the other side of this stele is the image of Guangong 關公 (160–220) and his attendant, the usual guardian deities of the Buddhist temple in

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<sup>514</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 176:3236.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, 176:3238.

<sup>516</sup> The Fish-Basket Bodhisattva was one of the feminine forms of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音) widely worshiped during the Ming and Qing period. Scholars have traced the origin of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva to an account in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, which is a tale of a woman in Yanzhou 延州, who would have sex with whoever asked for her in order to free them from sexual desire forever. Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, vol. 110. For the studies of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva, see Yü Chün-fang, "Guanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara," in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1994), 166-169; Yü Chün-fang, "Cong Guanyin de nüxing xingxiang lueluan fojiao dui lijiao yu qingyu de kanfa" 從觀音的女性形象略論佛教對禮教與情慾的看法, in *Lijiao yu qingyu: qian jindai Zhongguo wenhua zhong de hou/xiandai xing* 禮教與情慾: 前近代中國文化中的後/現代性, ed. Hsiung Ping-chen 熊秉真 and Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jingdai shi yanjiu suo, 1999), 306-308; Yü Chün-fang, "Yulan ti xiang feng qian mai yu sui" 魚籃提向風前賣與誰? *Xiangguang zhuangyan* 香光莊嚴 61 (March 2000): 66-95; Wang Chun-chang 王俊昌, "Shitan Yulan guanyin wenben de shehui yihan" 試探魚籃觀音文本的社會義涵, *Zhongzheng lishi xuekan* 中正歷史學刊 (2006): 87-118.

Beijing.<sup>517</sup> In Li Zongwan's record, there were also images of Skanda and the Naga king by the Pagoda of Eternal Peace Longevity that are no longer in situ.<sup>518</sup> However, they were probably not commissioned at the same time as the two stelae of bodhisattvas, for the eulogy only indicates that Cisheng commissioned images of bodhisattvas to commemorate the auspicious lotuses blooming in her residence.

The images of both of the extant stelae in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity were frequently reproduced and widely circulated during the Wanli period. The stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Pavilion of Guanyin (Guanyin ge 觀音閣) in Lushan 瀘山, Sichuan province, had the identical image to that of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (fig. 43). In 1602, Ma Zhongliang 馬中良 (dates unknown), the subprefectural magistrate of the Zhanyi Subprefecture (*Zhangyi zhou zhizhou* 霑益州知州), acquired a copy of the ink-rubbing of the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity from a eunuch in Panshan 盤山, Ji 薊 County.<sup>519</sup> Upon returning from Beijing, Ma built the *Guain jingshe* 觀音精舍 (Vihara of Avalokiteśvara) and sought a similar-sized stone to the ink-rubbing to faithfully reproduce Cisheng's stele to commemorate the auspicious lotuses bloomed in response to Cisheng's devotion to the bodhisattva and the protection that the bodhisattva provided during his return trip.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>517</sup> For popular deities in Beijing during the Ming and Qing periods, see Susan Naquin, *Peking Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2000), 19-59.

<sup>518</sup> Li Zongwan, *Jingcheng guji kao*, 17.

<sup>519</sup> Liu Shixu 劉世旭 and Zhang Zhengning 張正寧, "Xichang Lushan 'Yulan guanyin' huaxiang bei kaolue" 西昌瀘山'魚籃觀音'畫像碑考略, *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 (March 1992): 48, and Zhang Zhengning, "Dui Xichang Lushan 'Yulan guanyin tu' de zai yanjiu" 對西昌瀘山'魚籃觀音圖'的再研究, *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 (March 1997): 33.

<sup>520</sup> Zhang Zhengning, "Dui Xichang Lushan 'Yulan guanyin tu' de zai yanjiu," 33.

Scholars argue from the Sudhana added to the lower right corner of the Sichuan stele that Ma probably also owned a copy of the ink-rubbing of the pairing stele in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity, where the image of Sudhana can be found in the lower left corner.<sup>521</sup> Regardless, the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in Lushan proves the efficacy of Cisheng's 1587 commission. Ma's commission faithfully transcribed the identical eulogy, Cisheng's seal, and the dated inscription to those on the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity, which continuously celebrated the auspicious omen in response to Cisheng's prior benevolence from fifteen years earlier in southwestern China.

Besides ink-rubbing, painting was another way of circulating Cisheng's commission for promulgating the auspicious lotuses blooming in her residence. The *Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has the almost identical composition to that of the stele in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity (fig. 4). In its upper left corner is a handwritten inscription of "Made in the *kuisi* year (1593) of the Wanli reign of the Great Ming" (*Da Ming Wanli guesi nian zhi* 大明萬曆癸巳年製) (fig. 44). On top of the inscription, an identical Cisheng's seal was impressed. Below Cisheng's seal is an impressed eulogy with the similar text to that of the stele in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity. In the Met's painting, they only rephrased the sentence "carved it on stone" (*leshu liuchuan* 勒石流傳) on the stele into "painted it to be circulated" (*tuxie liuchuan* 圖寫流傳). The same sentence, "painted it to be circulated," can be found in another stele in the Monastery of the Compassionate Sage (Cisheng si 慈聖寺) in Beijing, made a year after the Met's painting (1594) (fig. 45). From this sentence, we know that the prototype of this stele was a painting rather than an ink-rubbing.

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<sup>521</sup> Zhang Zhengning, "Dui Xichang Lushan 'Yulan guanyin tu' de zai yanjiu," 33.

Scholars have argued that the reason why Cisheng commissioned and distributed the imagery of the above-mentioned bodhisattvas was her political desire to compete with Wanli's favorite consort, Honored Consort Zheng, on the issue of appointing the heir apparent.<sup>522</sup> In the first month of the fourteenth year of the Wanli reign (1586), Honored Consort Zheng gave birth to Wanli's third son, Zhu Changxun 朱常洵 (1586–1641).<sup>523</sup> Soon after, in the second month of the same year, the Senior Grand Secretary, Shen Shixing, presented a memorial requesting that Wanli appoint the emperor's first son, Zhu Changluo 朱常洛 (1582–1620), the heir apparent.<sup>524</sup> Even though the birth of Zhu Changxun immediately caused political quarrels in the Wanli court, the many anecdotes indicating Wanli's complete submission to Cisheng bring into question the notion that Cisheng needed public support to extend her influence on the emperor.<sup>525</sup> The *Ming shi*, which vividly delineates the relationship between the emperor and the empress dowager, identifies Cisheng as the one who settled the quarrels about the appointment of the heir apparent.<sup>526</sup> It states that when Cisheng asked Wanli the reason why he did not wish to appoint Zhu Changluo the heir apparent, Wanli answered that it was because Changluo's birthmother was a female attendant. Cisheng's irate reply that the emperor was also a son of a female attendant made the emperor prostrate himself in fear in front of Cisheng and not dare to stand up. Furthermore, considering the fact that Zhu Changluo was appointed the heir apparent in 1591,

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<sup>522</sup> Marsha Weidner argues that promulgating Cisheng's bodhisattva nature by distributing the images of the Nine-Lotuses bodhisattva draws into question Cisheng's interference in the appointment of the heir apparent. Weidner, "Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager," 266-269. Wang Qiyuan, "*Cisheng huang taihou Jiulian jing yu Wanli fojiao*," 67.

<sup>523</sup> *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 170:3063.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 171:3094-3095.

<sup>525</sup> For a discussion of the political quarrels relating to the appointment of the heir apparent, see He Xiaorong 何孝榮, "*Wanli nianjian de 'guoben' zhi zhen*" 萬曆年間的"國本"之爭, *Shandong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 山東大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) (April 1997): 49-45.

<sup>526</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 114:3536.

and the commemoration of the auspicious blooming in Cisheng's residential palace lasted at least through 1602, indicated by the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in Lushan, Cisheng's commission was more likely her consistent religious practice than evidence of a calculated political campaign.

The two bodhisattvas on the stelae of the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity later became the different manifestations of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the woodblock-printed book, *Pronouncements and Illustrations of the Fifty-three Manifestation of the Compassionate Appearances of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva* (*Guanyin pusa cirong wushisan xian tuzan* 觀音菩薩慈容五十三現圖贊), published around the early Qing period (fig. 46).<sup>527</sup> In this publication, Cisheng's Fish-Basket Bodhisattva is the fifteenth manifestation and her Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is the forty-fifth manifestation of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. The pairing poem of the fifteenth manifestation is an excerpt from the anthologies of Chan record, *Xu guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要 (Supplementary Recorded Saying of the Ancient Worthies), and the origin of the poem of the forty-fifth manifestation is unidentifiable.<sup>528</sup> Although the auspicious lotuses blooming at Cisheng's residence were no longer remembered during the early Qing period, the wide circulation of Cisheng's commissions in both painting and ink-rubbing formats no doubt popularized the imagery of the two bodhisattvas on the stelae of

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<sup>527</sup> For the study of the book, see Gao Ruzhi 高睿哲, "Qingchu guanyin huapu cirong wushisan xian banhua yanjiu" 清初觀音畫譜《慈容五十三現》版畫研究 (master's thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2006). For the images of the book, see Dai Wangying jia cang 戴王瀛家藏, *Guanyin pusa cirong wushisan xian tuzan* 觀音菩薩慈容五十三現圖贊 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014).

<sup>528</sup> Shiming 師明, *Xu guzhun yuyao* 續古尊宿語要, vol. 6, Chen 辰, in *Shinsan dai nihon zoku zōkyō* 卍新纂續藏經, ed. Watanabe Kōshō 河村孝照, vol. 58, no. 1318 (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankokai, 1975-7), 504.

the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity and transformed them into prototypes of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.

Among the diverse deities to whom Cisheng devoted, textual records especially highlighted Cisheng's relation to the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva. The memoir of eunuch Liu Ruoyu documented that court personnel called Cisheng the "Imperial Grandmother Cisheng, the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva" (*Jiulian pusa cisheng huang zumu* 九蓮菩薩慈聖皇祖母).<sup>529</sup> The Chongzhen 崇禎 reign (1628–1644) fully developed the belief that Cisheng was the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva, as evidenced by how the imperial family regarded Cisheng as the "Nine-Lotuses Buddhist patriarch" (*Jiulian fozu* 九蓮佛祖). An episode in the *Ming shi* states that when Chongzhen visited his sick fifth son, the five-year-old boy suddenly said, "The Nine-Lotuses Buddhist patriarch said that the emperor treated the royal relatives ungenerously, and therefore every one of his sons died young," before he passed away.<sup>530</sup>

Popular during the late Ming period, the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva was an apocryphal deity derived from the common relation between the number "nine" with the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and the cult belief of the White Lotuses (*bailian* 白蓮), which created many "precious scrolls" (*baojuan* 寶卷) named after nine-lotuses (*jiulian* 九蓮).<sup>531</sup> There are two extant commissions of the Wanli court titled after nine-lotuses. One is the 1616 apocryphal scripture *The Exalted Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Incarnation of the Great Compassionate and Supreme Holy Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva to Save the World* (*Fo shuo daci*

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<sup>529</sup> Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi*, 16:119.

<sup>530</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 120:3658.

<sup>531</sup> Thomas Shiyu Li and Susan Naquin, "The Baoming Temple," 131-188, and Yü Chün-fang 于君方 (Yu Chun-fang), "Weijing yu Guanyin xinyang" 偽經與觀音信仰, *Zhongguo foxue xuebao* 中國佛學學報 8 (1995): 125-129.

*zhisheng Jiulian pusa huashen dushi zun jing* 佛說大慈至聖九蓮菩薩化身度世尊經), which Wanli dedicated the merits of its printing to Cisheng who passed away two years earlier.<sup>532</sup> In its frontispiece, the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva was depicted as the nine interlocking lotuses on top of the assembly of deities to the Buddha's left hand side (fig. 47). Another is the Daoist apocryphal scripture *The True Scripture of the Heavenly Immortal of Perfect Freedom, Nine-Lotuses Supreme Sage's Responding to Transformations and Saving the World as Spoken by Supreme Lord* (*Lao Taishang laojun shou zizai tainxian jiulian zhisheng yinhua dushi zhenjing* 太上老君說自在天仙九蓮至聖應化度世真經) also sponsored in 1616 at the same time as the Buddhist sutra.<sup>533</sup> In the frontispiece of this scripture, the deity sitting on a lotus throne, holding a child to her chest and descending from the right-hand side of the Supreme Lord Lao, is the Nine-Lotuses Supreme Sage (fig. 48).

The manifestations of the deities of the Nine-Lotuses are different between the Buddhist and Daoist traditions. In addition, from the at least three types of imagery of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva that Cisheng commissioned we can deduce that the iconography of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva was still unsettled during the Wanli period. The nine lotuses in the Buddhist scripture that Wanli commissioned in 1616 is one type. One of the two portraiture of Cisheng in Changchun si 長椿寺, Beijing, which was documented as a painting with nine lotuses, probably

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<sup>532</sup> Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, "Ming Wanli nianjian wei Jiulian pusa bianzao de liang bu jing" 明萬曆年間為九蓮菩薩編造的兩部經, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (February 1986): 38-39. Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 144-145. For the text of the sutra, see Wang Jianchuan 王見川 ed., *Ming Qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian* 明清民間宗教經卷文獻 (Taipei: Xin wen feng, 1999), 12:1-13.

<sup>533</sup> Zhou Shaoliang, "Ming Wanli nianjian wei Jiulian pusa bianzao de liang bu jing," 39-40, and Wang Jianchuan, *Ming Qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian*, 17-28.



belongs to this type.<sup>534</sup> The second type was the bodhisattva inclining against the palatial balustrade by a lotus-pond in the stele of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity. The Met’s *Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva*, and the stelae carved with the similar imagery to that of the stele of the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity, such as the one in the Temple of Maitreya, all belong to this type.<sup>535</sup> The third type of the bodhisattva only exists in textual record. In Li Zongwan’s documentation, the statue of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva in the Pavilion of Nine-Lotuses in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity was a nine-headed bodhisattva riding a golden phoenix.<sup>536</sup> The anecdote that the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva manifested in Cisheng’s dream and taught her the *Nine-Lotuses Sutra* (*Jiulian jing* 九蓮經), which Cisheng memorized and compiled in the Tripitaka, also states that the statue of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity was made based on manifestation of the bodhisattva in Cisheng’s dream. Texts dating back to the Chongzhen reign, including the 1635 volume entitled the *Brief Guide to the Sights and Features of the Capital* (*Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略) and *Yutang huiji* 玉堂薈記 (1643), repeatedly transcribed this anecdote.<sup>537</sup> However, the supplement to the

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<sup>534</sup> According to Yan Congnian, the two portraiture of Cisheng in Changchun si was a painting of a spirit tablet inscribed with “Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva” and a painting with nine lotuses. Cited from Yan Congnian, “*Cisheng taihou yu Yong’an shou ta*,” footnote 35, from *Jiudu wenwu lue* 舊都文物略 (Beijing gugong yinshuachu, 1935).

<sup>535</sup> For more examples of this type of imagery, see Weidner, “Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager,” 257-261 and 271-272.

<sup>536</sup> Liu Tong and Yu Yizhen ed., *Dijing jingwu lue*, 5:329. Yang Shicong, *Yutang huiji*, 524.

<sup>537</sup> Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizhen 于奕正, *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略, vol. 5, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, shibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 史部 (Collectanea of All Works in the Annotated Bibliography but not Included in the *Siku quanshu*), vol. 248 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 329. Yang Shicong 楊士聰, *Yutang huiji* 玉堂薈記, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, zibu* 四庫全書存目叢書 子部 (Collectanea of All Works in the Annotated Bibliography but not Included in the *Siku quanshu*), vol. 244 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), 524. Other similar records including Wu Changyuan 吳長元, *Chenyuan shilue* 宸垣事略; Yu Minzhong 于敏中, *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考; and Chen Kangqi 陳康祺, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔.

*Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka*, which Cishen ordered, did not compile the *Nine-Lotuses Sutra*.

The compilers of the *Ming shi* deduced that court personnel regarded Cisheng as the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva because her portraiture in the court represented her as the deity.<sup>538</sup> A record in the *Supplements for the History of the Current Dynasty* (*Shengcao tongshi shiyi ji* 聖朝史拾遺記) states that, to celebrate Cisheng's birthday, Wanli commissioned a portrait of Cisheng modeled after a bodhisattva painting stored in the imperial collection by Wu Daozi 吳道子 (680–759), a master painter of the Tang dynasty (618–907).<sup>539</sup> It is not impossible that one of the manifestations of Cisheng as the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva was inspired by Bodhisattva paintings stored in the imperial collection.

### 4.3 Cisheng's Buddhist Paintings and Painting Workshops of the Ming Court

Cisheng's commission of Buddhist paintings was consistent throughout the entire Wanli reign and left sufficient extant examples for us to reconstruct the stylistic features of the painting workshop serving Cisheng. The *Luohan and Attendants* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, impressed with a seal which reads "Seal of Empress Dowager Cisheng" (*Cisheng huang taihou bao* 慈聖皇太后寶) in its upper left hand corner, is a commission dated from 1572 to 1578 when "Empress Dowager Cisheng" was Cisheng's honorific title (fig. 49).<sup>540</sup> This earliest extant

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<sup>538</sup> Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 120:3658.

<sup>539</sup> Mao Qiling 毛奇齡, *Shengcao tongshi shiyi ji* 聖朝史拾遺記, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, shibu* 四庫全書存目叢書史部 (Jian: Qilu shushe, 1997), 122:391-392. Even though the book was questioned by the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* about its credibility, Wang Qiyuan 王啟元 argues that it still supplements the scant documentation on Cisheng. Wang Qiyuan 王啟元, "Cisheng huang taihou Jiulian jing yu Wanli fojiao" 慈聖皇太后九蓮經與萬曆佛教, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 (January 2014): 67-68.

<sup>540</sup> Cisheng was officially awarded the two-character honorific title of Empress Dowager Compassionate and Reverend (*Cisheng huang taihou* 慈聖皇太后) on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the sixth year of

Buddhist painting commissioned by Cisheng depicts five luohans, two guardians, two attendants, and two fantastic figures. These motifs are identical to those in one of the four paintings of the *Sixteen Luohans* at the Capital Museum in Beijing, which suggests that the Met painting is likely one of the *Sixteen Luohans* (fig. 49).

The different aesthetic preferences demonstrated in the paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Capital Museum help us identify the features of Cisheng's painting. In the painting at the Capital Museum, the figures are gathered to the right side of the painting. The painting's strong sense of depth emerges from the overlapped edges of the front figures with the figures behind them. The drapery lines implying the bodily autonomy underneath the garment accentuate the volume of the bodies. The engaging conversation between the two luohans on the second register to the right, represented by their exchanging eyesight, animates the procession of this group of deities. In comparison, the two vertical blank spaces, dividing the figures in Cisheng's painting into three isolated groups, blur the organic interaction among the figures and flatten the entire composition. The lavishly applied decorative patterns in Cisheng's commission—including the floral scrolls, auspicious clouds, weaves, interlocking t-shapes, and circles in white lines and colors—are overdrawn on the drapery lines and imply that the dazzling visual effect created by patterns and colors is more important than the illusion of animation, depth, and volume, which the painting at the Capital Museum emphasizes.

The same attention given to decorative patterns and colors can be also seen in the paintings commissioned by Cisheng thirty years later. A set of Cisheng's commission for the Rite for the Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land now is housed at the Capital Museum in

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the Longqing reign (1572). *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 3:110-111. On the seventh day of the third month of the sixth year of the Wanli reign (1578), Cisheng was granted the four-character honorific title of Empress Dowager Compassionate, Revered, Manifest, and Literary (*Cisheng xuanwen huang taihou* 慈聖宣文皇太后). *Ming Shenzong shilu*, 73:1580-1581.

Beijing (fig. 6). Each of its remaining fifty some paintings, bears the “Seal of Empress Dowager Cisheng xuanwen mingsu zhenshou duanxian gongxi” (*Cisheng xuanwen mingsu zhenshou duanxian gongxi huang taihou bao* 慈聖宣文明肅貞壽端獻恭熹皇太后寶) and an inscription of “Painted and Produced [under the order of] Empress Dowager Cisheng in the *jiyou* Year of the Wanli Reign (1609) of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming Wanli jiyou nian Cisheng huang taihou huizao* 大明萬曆己酉年慈聖皇太后繪造). Another painting commissioned by Cisheng a year later, the *Five Luohan with Attendants Crossing the Ocean* at the Freer Gallery of Art, bears Cisheng’s same seal on the paintings at the Capital Museum and has the following inscription: “Painted and Produced [under the Order of] Empress Dowager □□□[wen]mingsu zhenshou duanxian gongxi in the *gengxu* Year of the Wanli Reign (1610) of the Great Ming” (*Da Ming wanli suici gengxu nian* □□□ [wen]mingsu zhenshou duanxian gongxi huang taihou huizao 大明萬曆歲次庚戌年 □□□ [文]明肅貞壽端獻恭熹皇太后繪造) (fig. 5). The same set of decorative patterns in Chisheng’s painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the floral pattern, the interlocking t-shapes, the weaves, and the lotus patterns, appears in these later commissions (fig. 51). That the figures’ faces have the same types of eyes, mouths, chins, and ears, further demonstrates that these paintings were productions from the same painting manual or the same painting workshop (fig. 52).

However, the decorative patterns and figural motifs in Cisheng’s paintings cannot be found in the *Imperial Processions*, which I argue in Chapter Two were paintings by court painters. The discrepancy among visual features of the *Imperial Processions* and Cisheng’s paintings begs the question whether or not there were different painting workshops respectively specializing in secular and sacred topics in the Ming court. This possibility has never been confirmed in textual records. The eunuch Liu Ruoyu documented in his memoir a Buddhist

workshop (*fozuo* 佛作) under the supervision of the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments, but he only lists this directorate as producing furniture and daily objects made of wood.<sup>541</sup>

The extant Buddhist paintings produced under the supervision of the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments suggest that producing Buddhist paintings was one of its duty. Sponsored by Jingtai (r. 1450–1457), the thirty-eight paintings inscribed in gold the inscription of “Donated on the Third Day of the Eighth Month of the Fifth Year of the Jingtai Reign (1454)” (*Da Ming Jingtai wu nian ba yue chu san ri shi* 大明景泰五年八月初三日施) are the paintings for the Rite for the Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land (fig. 53).<sup>542</sup> Each painting also bears an inscription written in ink, “Shang Yi and Wang Qin of the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments Superintending the Production According to the Imperial Order” (*Yuyongjian taijian Shang Yi Wang Qin deng fengming tidu jianzao* 御用監太監尚義王勤等奉命提督監造), which indicates that the Directorate for Imperial Accouterments inspected the production of this set of paintings.<sup>543</sup> Besides, Eunuch Li Tong 李童 (1389–1452), who served in the Directorate

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<sup>541</sup> Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi*, 16:103.

<sup>542</sup> The third day of the eighth month was Jingtai’s birthday. The Veritable Record of Jingtai did not document the performance of a Buddhist ritual in the court. *Ming Yingzong shilu*, 244:5295. However, Wu Meifeng argues that the Jingtai *shuilu* paintings were probably ritual paintings used in the Buddhist ritual held in the inner court. He bases this conclusion on Liu Ruoyu’s *Zhuozhong zhi*, which indicated that, during the Wanli reign, Buddhist rituals were performed on the emperor’s birthdays by the Chinese Sutra Depository (*hanjing chang* 漢經廠) and the Western Sutra Depository (*fanjing chang* 番經廠). Wu Meifeng, “*Mingdai gongting huihua shi wai yi zhang: cong Cisheng huang taihou de huizao ta nqi*,” 300 and Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuozhong zhi*, 116, 119. There are thirty-four *shuilu* painting sponsored by Emperor Jingtai dated to 1454 in the Musée Guimet, Paris, two in the Cleveland Museum of Art, one in the Spencer Museum of Art, and one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For studies on this set of painting, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 104-106; Marsha Weidner, “Buddhist Pictorial Art in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644): Patronage, Regionalism & Internationalism,” in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas; Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 56-67 and Plates 13-16; Xiao Min Feng, *La Voie Du Tao* (Paris: Alternative, 2000), 114-117, 120-121, 140-141, 232-233, and 290-294.

<sup>543</sup> Shang Yi 尚義 (dates unknown) was the supervisor of various Buddhist commissions of the Ming court since the Xuande period (1426–1435). He and another eunuch from the same directorate, Meng Ji 孟繼 (dates unknown), reported to the Ministry of Rites the completion of the pagoda in the Grand Monastery of Requiring Gratitude in Nanjing in the third year of the Xuande reign (1428), and supervised the preparation for the ritual commemorating the completion of the monastery. Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fancha zhi*, 2:475-6. Other monasteries sponsored by the emperors and built under Shang Yi’s supervision include the Chan Monastery of the Grand Merit (Da gongde chan

for Imperial Accoutrements, commissioned the murals in the Hall of the Great Hero in the Monastery of Dharma Sea (Fahai si 法海寺) in Beijing, which was built from 1439 to 1443.<sup>544</sup>

The murals share the identical figural motifs and decorative patterns of the paintings sponsored by Jingtai, such as the floral and cloud patterns painted in gold (figs. 54 and 55).

Outlining the decorative patterns in gold is a visual feature of court commissioned religious paintings before the Wanli period. The *Maitreya as Budai with Children* at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, was a commission of Empress Dowager Xiaosu in 1503, indicated by Xiaosu's seal, "Seal of *Shengci renshou huide yigong*" (*Shengci renshou huide yigong zhi bao* 聖慈仁壽徽德懿功之寶), and the 1503 inscription, "Donated on the fourteenth day of the tenth month of the sixteenth year of the Hongzhi reign of the Great Ming" (*Da Ming Hongzhi shiliu nian shi jue shisi ri shi* 大明弘[治]十六年十月十四日施), written in gold in its upper right corner (fig. 56).<sup>545</sup> Surrounded by six boys, Budai, a manifestation of the Maitreya Bodhisattva,

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si 大功德禪寺), the Grand Monastery of Thriving Prosperity sponsored by Emperor Zhengtong, and the Grand Monastery of Prosperous Blessings sponsored by Emperor Jingtai (r. 1450–1457). *Ming Yingzong shilu* 明英宗實錄 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1962), 128:2556; 171:3290; and 217:4677. From the tasks in which Shang Yi engaged, we know that the Directorate for Imperial Accoutrements was responsible for supervising the construction of Buddhist monasteries and the preparation of ritual objects, including the production of Buddhist paintings.

<sup>544</sup> Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu ed., *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 51:112-115. For the studies of the Fahai si, see Liu Qixiang 留啟祥, "Beijing Fahai si bihua yanjiu" 北京法海寺壁畫研究 (master's thesis, National Normal University, 2003). Beijing shi shijing shanqu wenhua weiyuanhui 北京市石景山區文化委員會 ed. *Fahai si bihua* 法海寺壁畫 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2004). Karl Debreczeny, "Fahai Temple and Tibetan Influence at the Early Ming Court" (master's thesis, Indiana University, 1997), and "Ethnicity and Esoteric Power: Negotiating the Sino-Tibetan Synthesis in Ming Buddhist Painting" (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007), 115-147. Ursula Toyka, *The Splendours of Paradise: Murals and Epigraphic Documents at the Early Ming Buddhist Monastery Fahai si* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2014).

<sup>545</sup> Written in ink in the lower left corner is another inscription—"Sincerely request to be enshrined at the Monastery of the Origin of Compassion. Donated by vowed disciple Duan Jishan" (*Chengqing ciyuan si gong. Faxin dizi Duan Jishan fongxian* 誠請慈源寺供。發心弟子段積善奉獻). The inscription indicates that the painting was donated to the Monastery of the Origin of Compassion in the south of Sanliche 三里河, Beijing, which was constructed during the early years of the Zhengtong reign and renovated by Zhu Shan 朱善 (dates unknown) in the second year of the Chenghua reign (1566). However, Duan Jishan's donation did not necessarily relate to Xiaosu. For the Monastery of the Origin of Compassion, see Liu Tong and Yu Yizhen, *Dijing jingwu lue*, 3:223; Yu Minzhong et al., *Rixia jiuwen*

represents himself with an exposed and enormous belly. The story of Budai with children can be found in the *Completed Records of the Buddha and Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀), which portrays the extraordinary nature of the monk Budai of the Later Liang dynasty (907–923) by listing his eccentric behaviors.<sup>546</sup> The volume recounts an incident in which sixteen children chased Budai and tugged at his bag.<sup>547</sup> In the painting in Boston, the jolly atmosphere created by Budai's facial expression and the children in uproarious play makes this painting an auspicious celebration of the prosperity of male offspring. The drapery of the figures' robes and the cloth bag were painted with brush strokes having heavy beginnings, turnings, and pointy ends. The interest in manneristic drapery lines can be also found in other paintings with the similar auspicious intentions by the Ming court painters, such as *Shang Zi's Four Immortals Salute Longevity*, at the National Palace Museum, or the *Three Daoist Immortals Dancing around a Frog*, at the Museum of Fine Arts by Liu Jun 劉俊 (active ca. 1475-1505).<sup>548</sup> In addition, Xiaosu's painting added decorative patterns—such as auspicious clouds, vine scrolls and turtle patterns, depicted with fine lines in gold, ink, and pink—on top of the figure's clothes.

The similar visual feature was also applied on the Daoist painting of the Ming court. Dated to 1493, the *Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang* at the San Diego Museum of Art is a handscroll consisting of texts and images for ordinating Empress Zhang 張皇后 (1470–1541) of

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*kao*, 58:945; and Tang Zhiyu 唐執玉 and Li Wei 李衛, *Jifu tongzhi* 畿輔通志, vol. 51, in *Jingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 505 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 155.

<sup>546</sup> Zhipan 志磬, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, vol. 42, in *Da zheng xin xiu da zang jing* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 49 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban, 1983), 390.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>548</sup> For the discussion of the painting, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 119; Weidner, *Latter Days of the Law*, 392-393. Denise Leidy, *The Art of Buddhism: An Introduction to Its History & Meaning* (Boston: Shambhala: Distributed in the United States by Random House, 2008), 281-282.

Hongzhi to the Daoist celestial pantheon (fig. 57).<sup>549</sup> According to Luk Yu Ping's study, the traces of the production process in the painting, such as the Chinese characters noting the colors and the attached paper identifying the figures' identities, hint that the painting could be a preliminary draft and that there could be another painting for Empress Zhang.<sup>550</sup> However, the decorations and inscriptions in gold demonstrate that the painting was still a highly finished production.<sup>551</sup>

The similar facial features of the figures and decorative patterns to those in the *Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang* can be found in the *Master Thunder* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, another Daoist painting sponsored by an imperial woman almost forty years later (fig. 58). Their similarities suggest a consistent style in the Daoist paintings of the Ming court.<sup>552</sup> The inscription written in gold, "Donated and painted at the order of the Imperial Honor Consort Shen on the first day of the first summer month of the *renyin* year in the Jiajing reign era of the great Ming dynasty (1542)" (*Da Ming Jiajing renyin sui mengxia shuodan, huang guifei Shen Shi mingong hui shi* 大明嘉靖壬寅歲孟夏朔旦，皇貴妃沈氏命工繪施), indicates that Imperial Honored Consort Shen 沈皇貴妃 (dates unknown) of Emperor Jiajing was the commissioner of this painting. The "Compassionate and loyal courtier" (*chixin zhongliang* 赤心

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<sup>549</sup> Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 208-213. Luk Yu Ping, "Picturing Celestial Certificates in Zhengyi Daoism: A Case Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang," 17-48. Luk Yu Ping, "Empress Religious Practice and the Imperial Image in Ming China," (Dphil, St. Catherine's College, 2010); and Luk Yu Ping, *The Empress and the Heavenly Masters: A Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang (1493)* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2015).

<sup>550</sup> Luk Yu Ping, "Empress Religious Practice and the Imperial Image in Ming China," 18-35

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>552</sup> For the identification of the main deity in this painting, see Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 266.



忠良) plaque hanging down from the main deity's right shoulder identifies that this figure is the Master Thunder (Lei gong 雷公), Marshal Wang (Wang yuanshuai 王元帥).<sup>553</sup>

In comparison, the decorative patterns in Cisheng's paintings are delineated in white and consist of a unique combination. Why do Cisheng's paintings have a drastically different aesthetic preference to the religious paintings of the Ming court of the previous period? It is possible that Jiajing's policy of suppressing Buddhism disrupted the transmissions of the Buddhist painting workshop in the Ming court.<sup>554</sup> In the fifteenth year of the Jiajing reign (1536), Jiajing demolished the Grand Buddhist Palace of Goodness (Da Shang fo dian 大善佛殿) in the imperial court and melted the Buddhist statues and reliquaries made of gold and silver, as well as burned the Buddha's bones housed in the palace.<sup>555</sup> On the same site, Jiajing built the palace for the empress dowager.<sup>556</sup>

When Cisheng revived the Ming court's sponsorship of Buddhism, the newly recruited Buddhist painters brought in the visual tradition, most likely from Shaanxi and Qinghai provinces. Cisheng's painting commissioned in 1609 and the two sets of *shuilu* paintings respectively in Xingping si 興平寺, Shaanxi province, and in Xilai si 西來寺, Qinghai province

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<sup>553</sup> For the painting commissioned by Imperial Honored Consort Shen, see Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 266. The Metropolitan Museum of Art documents the painting as *Master Thunder* (Accession Number 1989.155).

<sup>554</sup> Shen Defu, *Wanli yehuo bian*, 27:916 and 28:712. Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓, "Ming Shizong 'paichi fojiao' kaoshu 明世宗"排斥佛教"考述," *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 10 (2001). <http://www.baohuasi.org/qikan/fxyj/2001/200110f33.htm>. Chen Yuh-neu 陳玉女 (Chen Yunü), "Ming Jiajing chuqi yili pai zhengquan yu fojiao suqing" 明嘉靖初期議禮派政權與佛教肅清, in *Mingdai de fojiao yu shehui* 明代的佛教與社會 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chuabanshe, 2011), 60-95. Zhang Dewei, "Challenging the Reigning Emperor for Success: Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546-1623) and Late Ming Court Politics," *Journal of the American Oriental Study*, 134, no. 2 (April-June 2014): 263-285.

<sup>555</sup> *Ming Shizong shilu*, 187:3956.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*

were derived from the same iconographic prototype (fig. 59). The latter two painting sets respectively bear dates of 1691 and of 1700.<sup>557</sup>

#### 4.4 Concluding Remarks

On the one hand, Cisheng's Buddhist commissions introduced her to the danger of intervening in outer court affairs; on the other hand, these interventions gave her tools to reach the world outside the inner court. The controversy regarding her sponsorship of building a Temple of the Primordial Lady of the Emerald Clouds, which happened at the very beginning of the Wanli reign in 1574, exhorted Cisheng to be more conscious about the division between the inner and the outer courts. Cisheng's later entrustment of recruiting labors and collecting raw materials for building her commissions to only eunuchs demonstrates that she promptly reacted to the critiques and adjusted her patronage according to exemplary precedents, especially the commissions of Empress Dowager Xiaosu. Her contemporaries praised Xiaosu for refraining from utilizing resources in the outer court.

Sponsoring Buddhist commissions not only fulfilled Cisheng's religious needs but also became a legitimate way for her to present herself to the public and request financial benefits for her maternal family. Her visual campaign for commemorating the double-flowering lotuses blooming in the Palace of Compassionate Tranquility in 1586 was a success lasting at least through 1602, demonstrated by the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in Sichuan. Cisheng's

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<sup>557</sup> For studies on the *shuilu* paintings in Xingping si and Xilai si, see Bai Wanrong 白萬榮, "Qinghai ledu xilai si ming shuilu hua xi" 青海樂都西來寺明水陸畫析, *Wenwu* 文物 (October 1993): 57-63. Hu Yiansheng 呼延勝, "Shaanxi xiancun de jitao shuilu hua de diaocha ji chubu" 陝西現存世的幾套水陸畫的調查及初步研究 (master's thesis, Xi'an Academy of Fine Arts, 2007), 14-16. Yun Anzhi 袁安志 and Zuo Zheng 左正, "Luochuan xian Xingping si shuilu daocang hua" 洛川縣興平寺水陸道場畫, *Wenbo* 文博 (1991): 17-21.

many commissions devoted to the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva also shaped the later generations' memories about her and created a belief that she was the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva.

Among Cisheng's Buddhist patronage, paintings are the only genre that left abundant extant examples for us to examine the aesthetic features of the Buddhist workshop serving the Wanli court. The consistent figural and decorative styles throughout the Buddhist paintings sponsored by her demonstrate that Cisheng derived her Buddhist paintings from a different visual tradition of other contemporary secular paintings in the Wanli court and of the previous Buddhist paintings commissioned by the Ming court. Therefore, Cisheng's revival of the Ming court's sponsorship for Buddhism, which had been ceased since the Jiajing reign, also brought in a novel visual tradition to Ming court art.

## Conclusion

In this dissertation, I comprehensively examine the court commissions of the Wanli reign, a period received little attention in the study of Ming court art. By analyzing the textual records indicating how the regent Zhang Juzheng, Emperor Wanli, and Empress Dowager Cisheng explained, demanded, and defended their commissions of art and architecture, I reveal a much neglected fact that the three patrons all knowledgeable about court art commissions and consciously emulated the exemplary precedents to proclaim the legitimacy of their commissions through which they gained political influences.

The first senior grand secretary of the Wanli reign, Zhang Juzheng, proactively designed the young Wanli's education program to cultivate Wanli into the ideal emperor according to his vision. Being an antiquities collector who took an interest in contemporary visual culture, Zhang Juzheng regarded that certain artistic abilities were essential for Wanli to process. Under Zhang's close supervision, practicing calligraphy, memorizing official posts from a map, reading illustrated didactic books, viewing commemorative paintings, and requesting inscriptions from officials for paintings stored in the imperial collection, consisted of a significant portion of Wanli's daily curriculum. To train Wanli's writing ability in managing memorials, Zhang ordered that the emperor should practice at least one piece of calligraphy every day. However, when Wanli showed sign of indulging in practicing calligraphy, Zhang canceled the calligraphy lesson and declared that mastering calligraphy to the extent of renown calligraphers did not aid to Wanli's administrative ability. This incident manifests that Zhang Juzheng did not intend to cultivate Wanli into an artist emperor, but only cherished the ruling skills that Wanli could learn from certain artistic activities.

Other merits that Zhang Juzheng saw in visual devices includes the didactic efficacy in paintings, demonstrated in his commission of the *Admonitory Mirrors of Various Dynasties*, and the visualization of the geographic location of the official posts, showed in the case of the *Screen Written with Officials' Posts*. Zhang Juzheng explicitly stated in the memorials on the presentations of the two commissions that the exemplary precedents of previous emperors inspired him to commission these court productions on behalf of Wanli, which intended to cultivate Wanli's emperorship, such as distinguishing exemplary and cautionary behaviors and performing periodic reviews of officials.

Zhang also urged Wanli to view paintings stored in the imperial collection to commemorate his imperial ancestors and request commemorative poems from officials to create an intimate relationship with his officials. Zhang's commission of the commemorative painting, the *Grand Review*, which documents Wanli's first military review, was an example that Zhang visualized Wanli's ideal emperorship and demonstrated to Wanli the practice of commissioning commemorative painting for the performance of a state ritual, which was unprecedented in the Ming court.

As a faithful student of Zhang Juzheng, Wanli from an early age demonstrated high interest in embodying the exemplary behaviors that Zhang Juzheng introduced to him. From the records of the discussion made upon the *Admonitory Mirrors of Various Dynasties*, we know that Wanli not only understood the moral messages embedded in the stories compiled in the book, but also utilized the chances to comment on the contemporary affairs.

The commemorative paintings that Wanli viewed under the guidance of Zhang Juzheng, such as the painting of *Zuoyu* celebrating the capture of the auspicious animal during the Yongle reign and the above-mentioned *Grand Review*, must inspire Wanli's interest in celebrating his

political achievements in painting. The *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* represent scenes of the second mausoleum visit of Wanli in the spring of 1583. This mausoleum visit carried significant ritual and political meanings for Wanli, including fulfilling his wish of performing a universal mausoleum visit and constructing his mausoleum according to the precedents of Emperor Jiajing, a role model to whom Wanli closely related himself. Most importantly, through this mausoleum visit Wanli corrected the memory of him giving up his rulership to Zhang Juzheng after the performance of the previous mausoleum visit. This argument can be further confirmed by the visual features of the *Imperial Processions*, which dedicated most of their picture frames to document the formation Wanli's imperial regalia, symbols of his emperorship.

Although there are no records indicating the paintings' commission, the visual features, such as the accurate depiction of the emperor's facial features and attire, demonstrate that they are production of the imperial court. The eunuch riding a horse following Wanli in the *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* and the one standing to Wanli's right-hand side on the boat in the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* further narrow down the possible patron of these paintings. Different from the generic facial features of the other figures in the paintings, the two figures have the similar slender faces and protruding cheekbones and therefore refer to a specific person. The eunuch who played a major role in this mausoleum visit was the Grand Guardian of the Seal of the Directorate of Ceremonial, Zhang Hong. While no other figures, except for Wanli and Zhang Hong, were commemorated in the paintings, we can narrow down the possible patron of these paintings to the two.

After the mausoleum visit, Wanli shifted his focus to a grander project, that is, building his mausoleum, Dingling. At first, Wanli's open attitude toward officials' suggestions of the

location of his mausoleum gave chances for officials to utilize the issue of the geomancy of his mausoleum to fulfill their wishes of winning over the trust of the emperor or slandering their political rivals. Realizing officials' political intentions and the fact that the quarrels over the issue only delayed the construction of Dingling, Wanli bluntly settled the issue by refusing any further discussions. Besides, financial concerns also limited Wanli's agency in court commission. Wanli constantly negotiated with officials regarding the quantity and quality of the construction materials for building Dingling, such as the stone, brick, and timber, as well as the manufacture of the items found in Dingling, such as textile and porcelain. The collection, production, and transportation of these commissions were critical issues of the government's taxation system.

In contrast to Wanli's commissions of building his mausoleum, which were hidden in the forbidden imperial mausoleum area, Cisheng's commissions of the construction of Buddhist monasteries and the making of Buddhist imagery were highly accessible to the public. Cisheng carefully refrained herself from being criticized for burdening the government and her subjects because of her private commissions. The emperor's endorsement for Cisheng's Buddhist commissions transformed her commissions, whether in the case of the supplement and circulation of the *Yongle Edition of the Northern Tripitaka* or the construction of Buddhist monasteries, into reciprocal gifts from her filial son who showed gratitude for Cisheng's compassion for him and his subjects. Wanli also gave orders to the outer court institutes regarding Cisheng's commissions on behalf of her to prevent her from transgressing the moral norm of imperial women about interfering any affairs outside the inner court. The Buddhist commissions of the birth mother of Chenghua, Xiaosu, which was praised for not requesting the outer court institutes for collecting raw materials and *corvée* labor from commoners, inspired

Cisheng to send out eunuchs to execute these jobs conventionally undertaken by the Ministry of Works. While entrusting eunuchs as superintendents of Cisheng's Buddhist monasteries was interpreted as a merit of the empress dowager, Wanli was criticized for being greedy and indifferent to the sufferings of his subjects by sending out eunuchs to supervise enterprises of textile weaving, porcelain firing, and silver mining. The double standards the commissions of Wanli and Cisheng reveal the different expectations of the commissions of the emperor and empress dowager regarding their different genders and social roles.

Buddhist paintings impressed with Cisheng's seal are only a small portion of her Buddhist commissions, but they are crucial in understanding the aesthetic features and the recruitment of painters of the painting workshops of the Wanli court. Buddhist paintings of the Ming court before the Wanli period demonstrate a consistent use of a fixed set of decorative patterns and the preference for gold outlines. Buddhist paintings endowed by Cisheng, however, are embellished with a different set of decorative patterns delineated in white pigment. The drastic change in style could be related to Jiajing's ban on Buddhist practice and commission in the imperial court. When the Ming court revived its sponsorship for Buddhism, painters were recruited from Shaanxi or Qinghai province, where discovered the two sets of paintings for the Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land sharing the identical prototype with the paintings marked with Cisheng's name stored in the Capital Museum, Beijing. Furthermore, the differences between Cisheng's Buddhist paintings and the *Imperial Processions* regarding the use of decorative patterns and the configuration of the figural motifs indicate that the sacred and secular paintings of the Wanli court are from different painting workshops. The fact that eunuchs from the Directorate for Imperial Accoutrements supervised the production of the ritual paintings



commissioned by Emperor Jingtai and the textual record of a Buddhist workshop under the administration of directorate point to a painting workshop specialized in religious theme.

The three patrons of the Wanli court productions discussed in this dissertation all looked back to precedents of art commissioning to legitimate their projects. Their commissions which designed to promulgate their ideal selves were at the same time subjected to criticism from the designated beholders. Adroitly reacting to the judgement imposed upon them and their commissions, the emperor and the empress dowager of the Wanli court gradually formed their art patronage through the process of learning, negotiating, and adjusting to the exemplary past.

Art commissions of the Wanli court also became exemplary precedents for the following era. Besides the well-known example of Zhang Juzheng's *Admonitory Mirrors of Various Dynasties*, which continuously played an important role in emperor's education through the end of the Qing period, the *Imperial Processions* of Wanli could serve as visual and thematic precedents for the commemorative paintings of the Qing court. The *Imperial Processions* were in Qing court collection as documented in the inventory record. Being the earliest extant paintings visually represent the scene of an emperor's procession, it is not impossible if they inspired Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–1795) and his court painters for the production of Qianlong's *Grand Review* (*Dayu tu* 大閱圖). As such, art production of the Wanli court is an indispensable link between in the history of Chinese court art.

## Figures

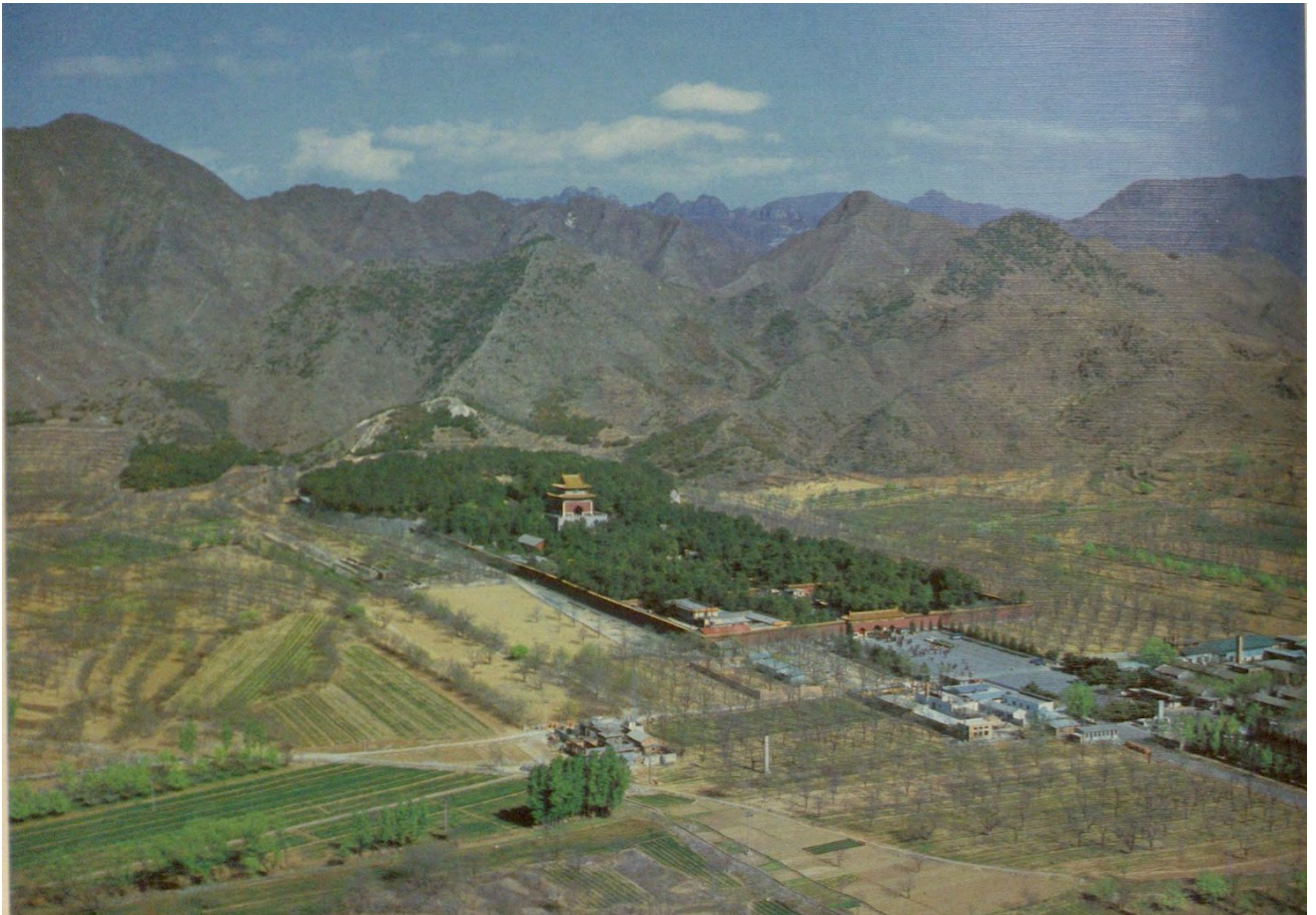


Figure 1 Dingling 定陵, the Mausoleum of Wanli. After Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling xia* 定陵下 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), figure 13.



Figure 2-1 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City* (*Chujing tu* 出警圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 92.1 × 2601.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi* 故宮藏畫大系, vol. 11 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1993-1994), figures 419.



Figure 2-2 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City*. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 419.



Figure 2-3 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Departing from the Forbidden City*. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 419.



Figure 3-1 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City* (*Rubi tu* 入蹕圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 92.1 × 3003.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 420.



Figure 3-2 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 420.



Figure 3-3 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 420.





Figure 3-4 Detail of Anonymous, *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan ed., *Gugong canghua daxi*, vol. 11, figures 420.



Figure 4 Anonymous, *Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva*, dated 1593. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 183.8 × 112.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/41472>



Figure 5 Anonymous, *Five Luohan with Attendants Crossing the Ocean*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 146.9 × 81.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art.

[http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg\\_F1911.275&bcrumb=true](http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1911.275&bcrumb=true)



Figure 6 Anonymous, *The Origin of Shuilu Ritual* (*Shuilu yuanqi* 水陸緣起). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 160 × 93.2 cm. Capital Museum, Beijing. After Beijing wenwu ju ed., *Ming Qing shuilu hua jingxuan* 明清水陸畫精選 (Beijing: Beijing chuban she chuban jituan, 2006).

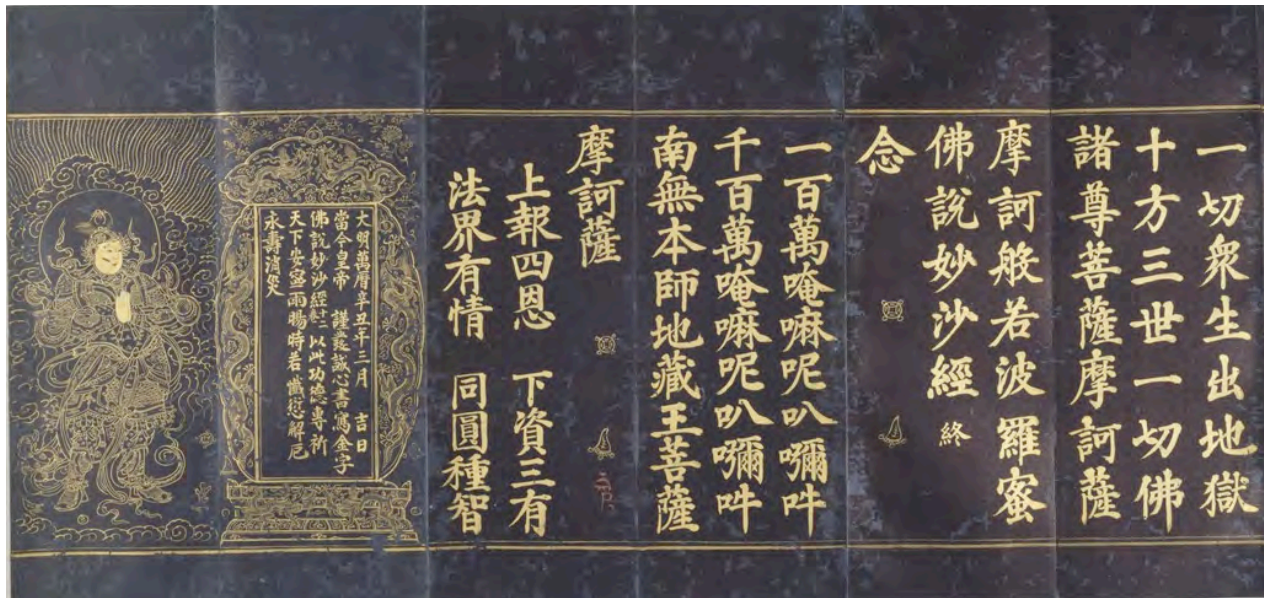


Figure 7 The *Miaosha jing* 妙沙經 (*Sutra of Miaosha*) transcribed by Emperor Wanli, dated 1601. Album, gold on black paper. Tokyo National Museum. [http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r\\_free\\_page/index.php?id=1628](http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1628)



Figure 8 Yu Shao 虞詡 ed., Illustrations of the *Stories for Daily Memorization* (*Riji gushi* 日記故事). Woodblock print, 1542 edition, in Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* 中國古代版畫叢刊, vol. 2, (Shanghai: Shangsai guji chubanshe, 1988), 577.

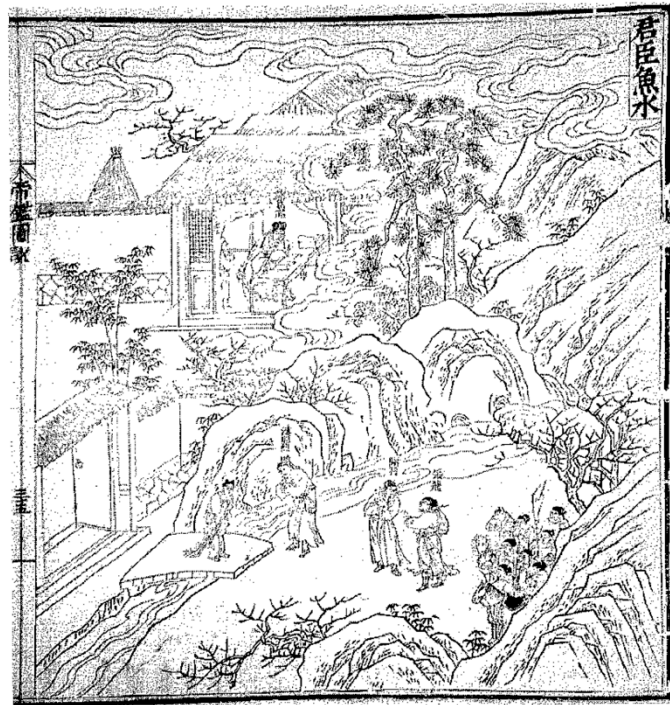


Figure 9 Upper: Anonymous, Illustration of “Harmonious Relationship between the Emperor and the Official (*Junchen yushui* 君臣魚水).” 50.5 × 41.5 cm. Library of the Japanese Imperial Household Agency. From Lin Li-Chiang, “The Creation and Transformation of Ancient Rule in the Ming Dynasty,” figure. 1. Lower: Attributed Li Di, *Three Visits to the Thatched Cottage* (*Sangu tu* 三顧圖). Hanging scroll, color on silk, 82.5 × 175.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. [http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=14283](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=14283)



Figure 10 Liu Jun 劉俊, *Visiting Zhao Pu on a Snowy Night* (*Xueye fong Pu* 雪夜訪普). Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 143.2 × 75 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Zhongguo lidai huihua gugong bowuyuan canghua ji. 5, Ming dai bu fen* 中國歷代繪畫 故宮博物院藏畫集 5 明代部分 (Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe, 1986), 78.



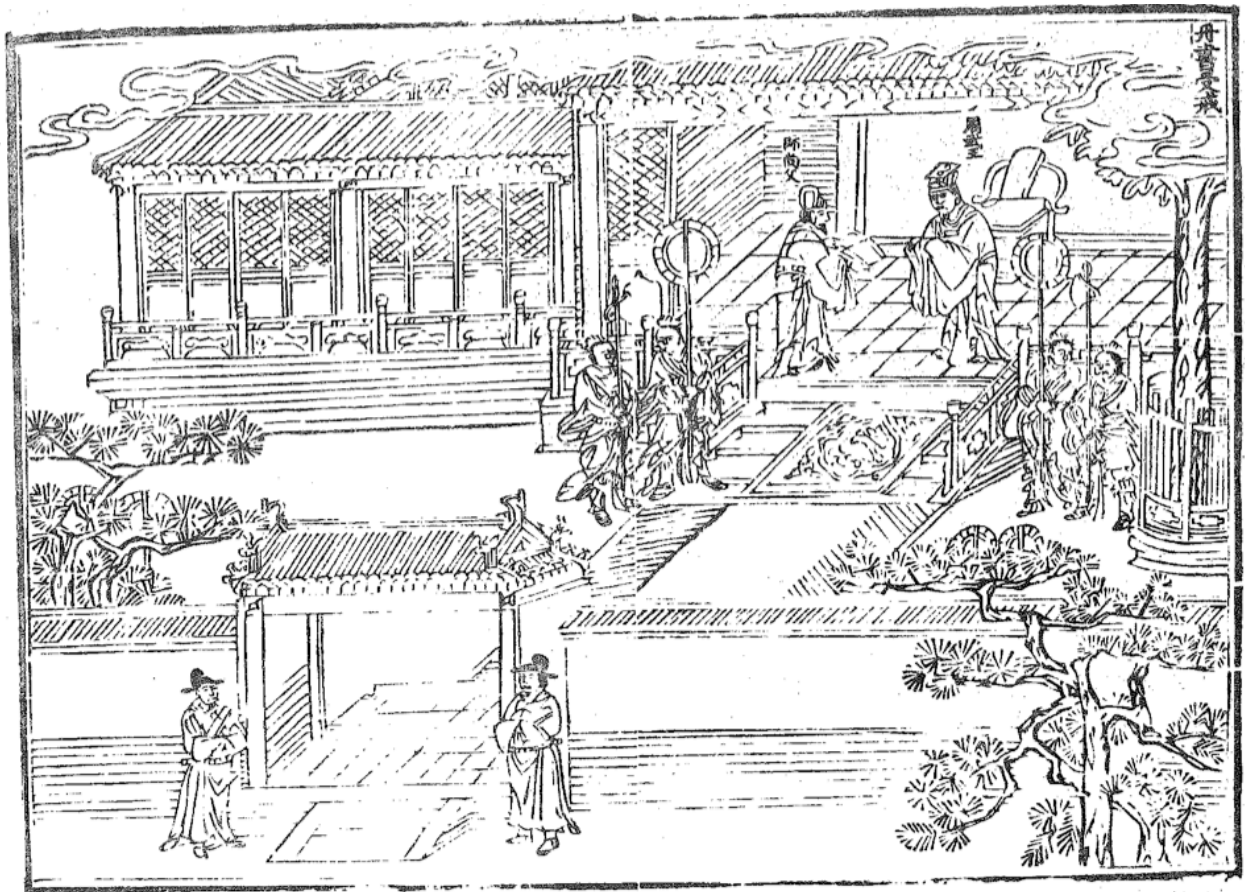


Figure 11 Illustration of “Transmitting the Book of Immortality (*Danshu shuojie* 丹書受戒).” In *Dijian tushuo*. Woodblock print, Guo Tingwu edition (1575). After *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊, edited by Beijing tushuguan guji chubanshe bianjizu, vol. 14 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), 726.



Figure 12 Attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英, “Song Taizu 宋太祖.” In the *Ten Thousand Years of Orthodox Transmission of Emperors (Diwang daotong wannian tu 帝王道統萬年圖)*. Album, colors on silk, 32.5 × 32.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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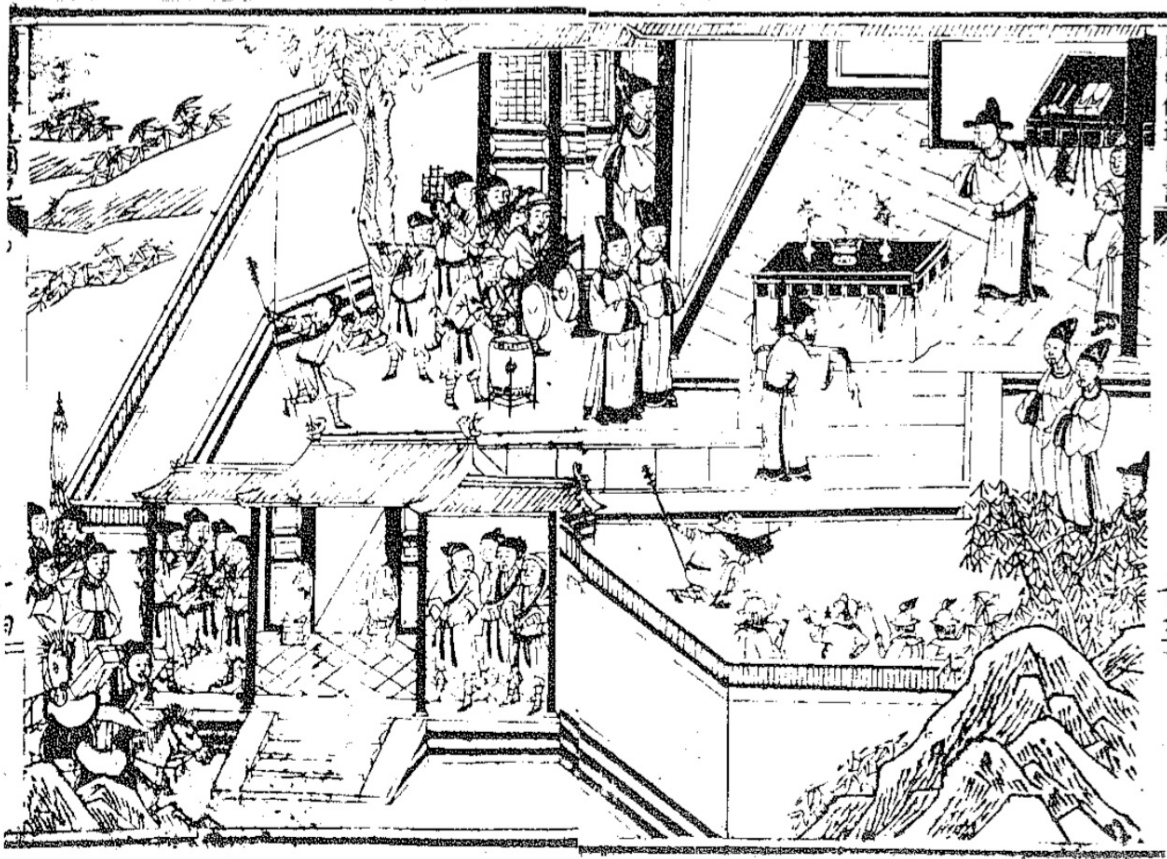


Figure 13 Su Yu 蘇愚, *Illustrated Records of Border Defenses in the Fujian, Guangdong, and Guizhou Provinces* (*Sansheng beibian tuji* 三省備邊圖記, 1583). After *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, vol. 22, 891.

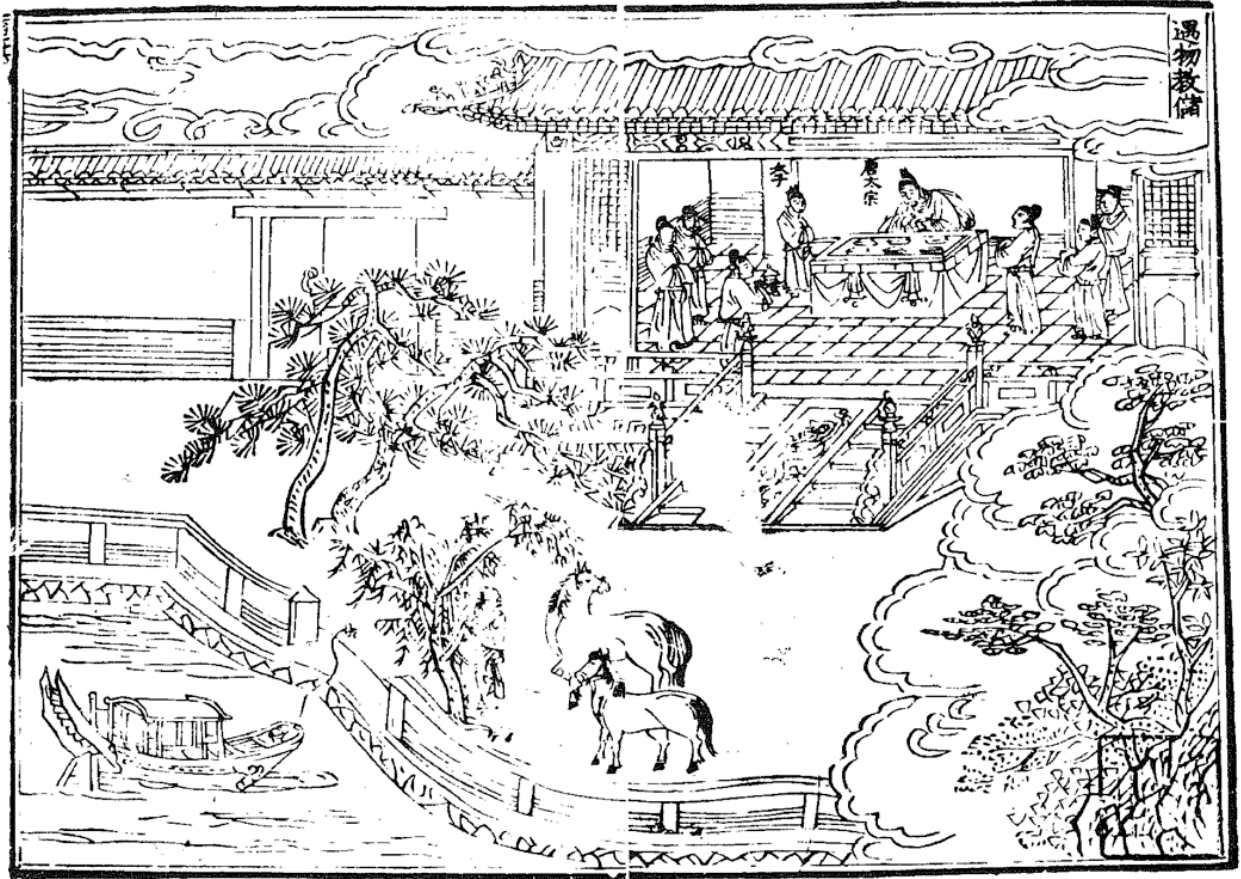


Figure 14 Illustration of “Educating the Heir Apparent through Daily Trifles (Yuwu jiachu 遇物教儲)” in the *Dijian tushuo*. After *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan*, edited by Beijing tushuguan guji chubanshe bianjizu, vol. 14, 775.



Figure 15 Hu Cong 胡驄, Two Horses under a Willow Tree (*Liuyin shuangjun* 柳蔭雙駿).  
Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 101.2 × 50.5cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 16 Xu Shi 余士 and Wu Yue 吳鉞, “Lecturing in Daily Lecture (*Rizhi jiangdu* 日直講讀).” In the *Official Biography of Xu Xianqing* (*Xu Xianqing huanji tu* 徐顯卿宦迹圖). Album leaf, colors on silk, 62×58.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. After Zhu Hong 朱鴻, “‘Xu Xianqing huanji tu’ yanjiu” 《徐顯卿宦蹟圖》研究. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, vol. 154 (2011): 77.



Figure 17 Anonymous, *Painting of Auspicious Animal, Zuoyu* (Zuoyu tu 騶虞圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 51.9 × 125 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
[http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=3678](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=3678)

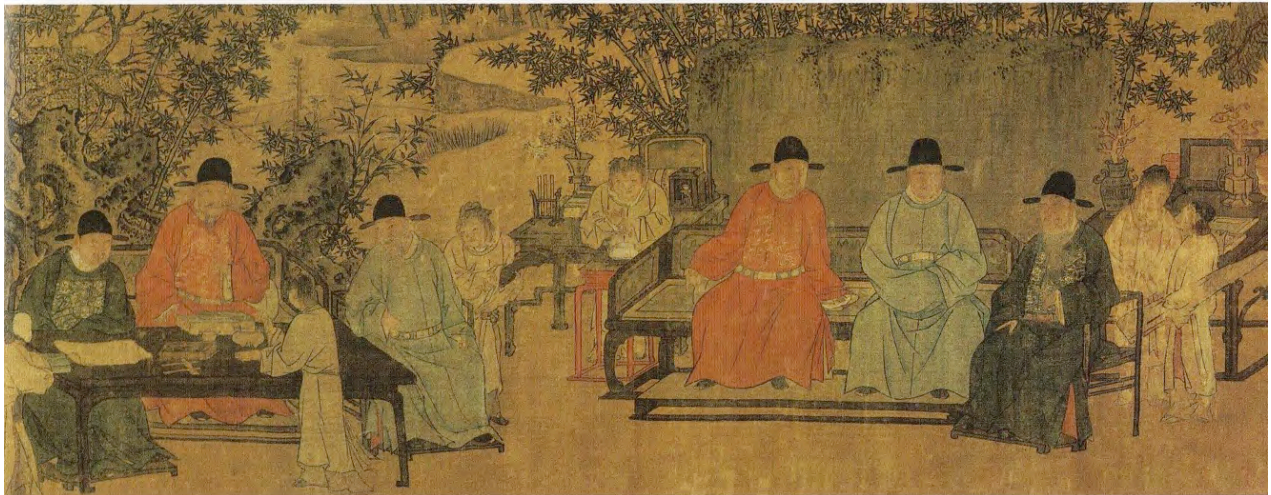


Figure 18 Xie Huan 謝環, *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden* (Xingyuan yaji tu 杏園雅集圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 37 × 401 cm. Zhenjiang Municipal Museum.

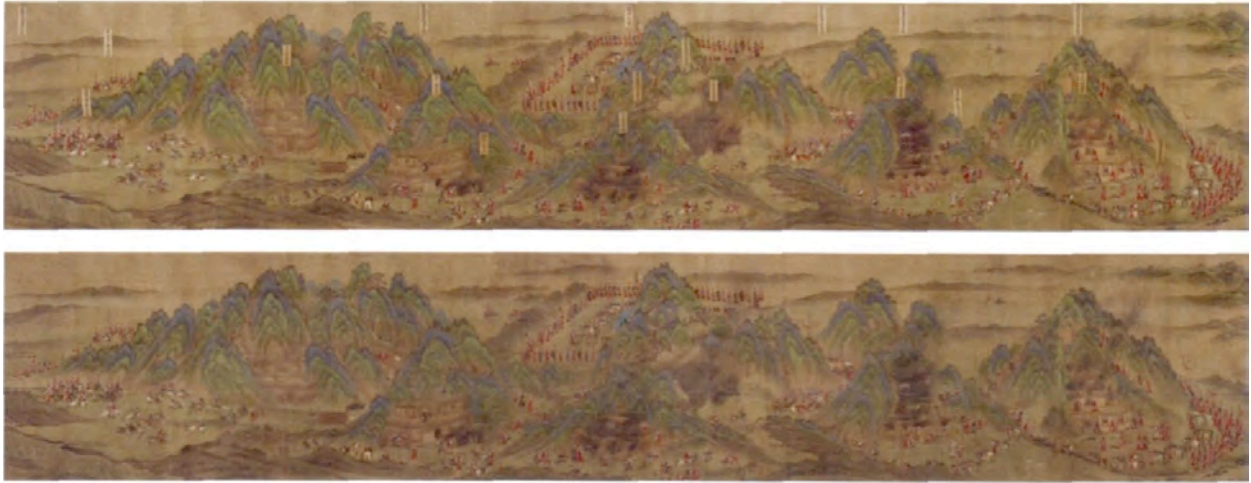


Figure 19 Lu Xiyan 陸希顏, *Suppressing the Northwest Rebellion* (*Pingfan deshen tu* 平番得勝圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 43.8 × 972.2 cm. National Museum of China.



Figure 20 Anonymous, *Bust Portraiture of Emperor Wanli*. Album, colors on silk, 65.1 × 51.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

[http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17824](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17824)





Figure 21 Detail of military figures in the *Imperial Processions Returning to the Forbidden City*.



Figure 22 The emperor in the Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City



Figure 23 Left: Portraiture of Emperor Jiajing. Right: Portraiture of Emperor Longqing. Album, colors on silk. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

[http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17818](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17818) and  
[http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17821](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=17821)

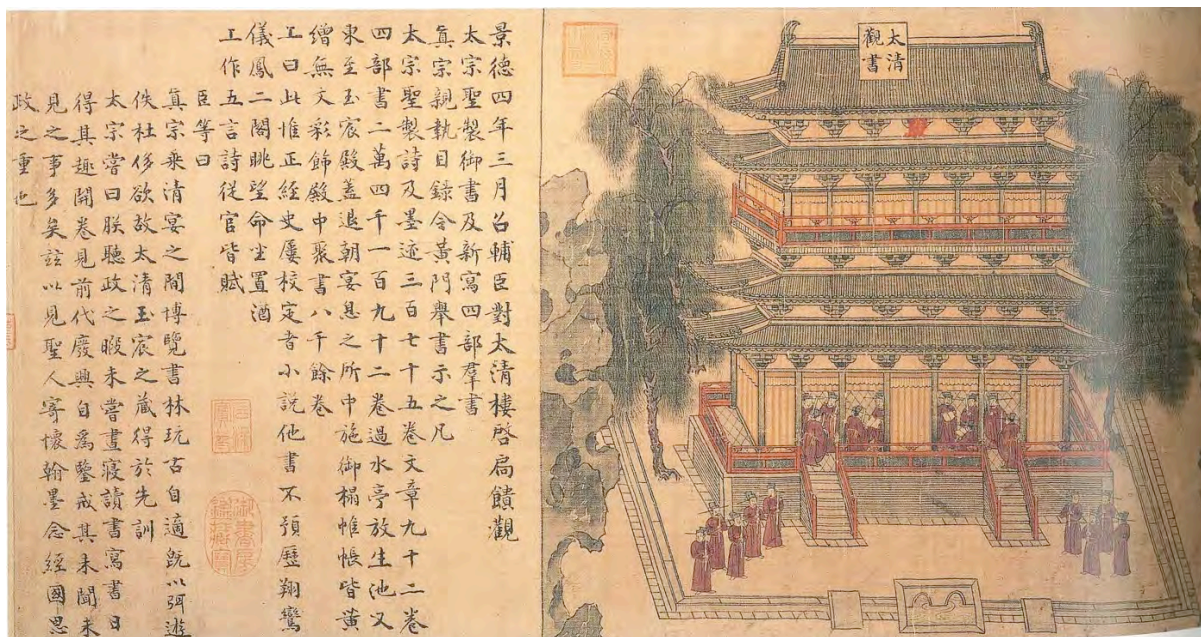


Figure 24 Detail of anonymous, *Illustrations of the Four Events of the Jingde Era* (*Jingde si tu* 景德四圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 33.1 × 252.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院院 ed., *Daguan: beisong shuhua tezhan* 大觀: 北宋書畫特展 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2006).



Figure 25 Ma Yuan 馬遠, *Attending a Banquet by Lantern Light* (*Huadeng shiyan tu* 華燈侍宴圖). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 125.6 × 46.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

[http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting\\_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=1445](http://painting.npm.gov.tw/Painting_Page.aspx?dep=P&PaintingId=1445)

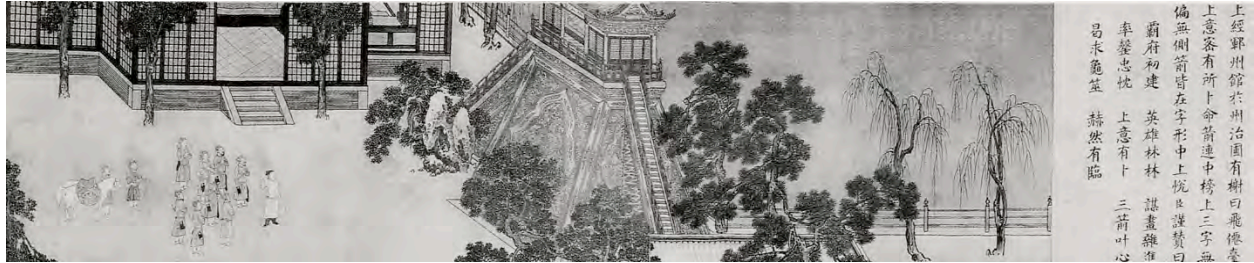


Figure 26 Detail of Xiao Zhao 蕭照, *Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival (Zhongxing ruiying tu 中興瑞應圖)*. Handscroll, colors on silk, 33× 723 cm. Tianjin Museum of Art.



Figure 27 Attributed to Shang Xi 商喜, *Emperor Xuande Enjoying Leisure Time (Xuanzong xingle tu 宣宗行樂圖)*. Hanging scroll, colors on paper, 211 × 353 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 28 Anonymous, *Painting of Emperor Chenghua Enjoying Leisure Time during the Lantern Festival* (*Xianzong yuanxiao xingle tu* 憲宗元宵行樂圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 37 × 624 cm. National Museum of China, Beijing. After Guojia bowuguan 國家博物館 ed., *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu. Huihua juan, Fengsu hua* 中國國家博物館館藏文物研究繪畫卷風俗畫 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 34-51.



Figure 29 Detail of the *Emperor Xuande Enjoying Leisure Time* attributed to Shang Xi



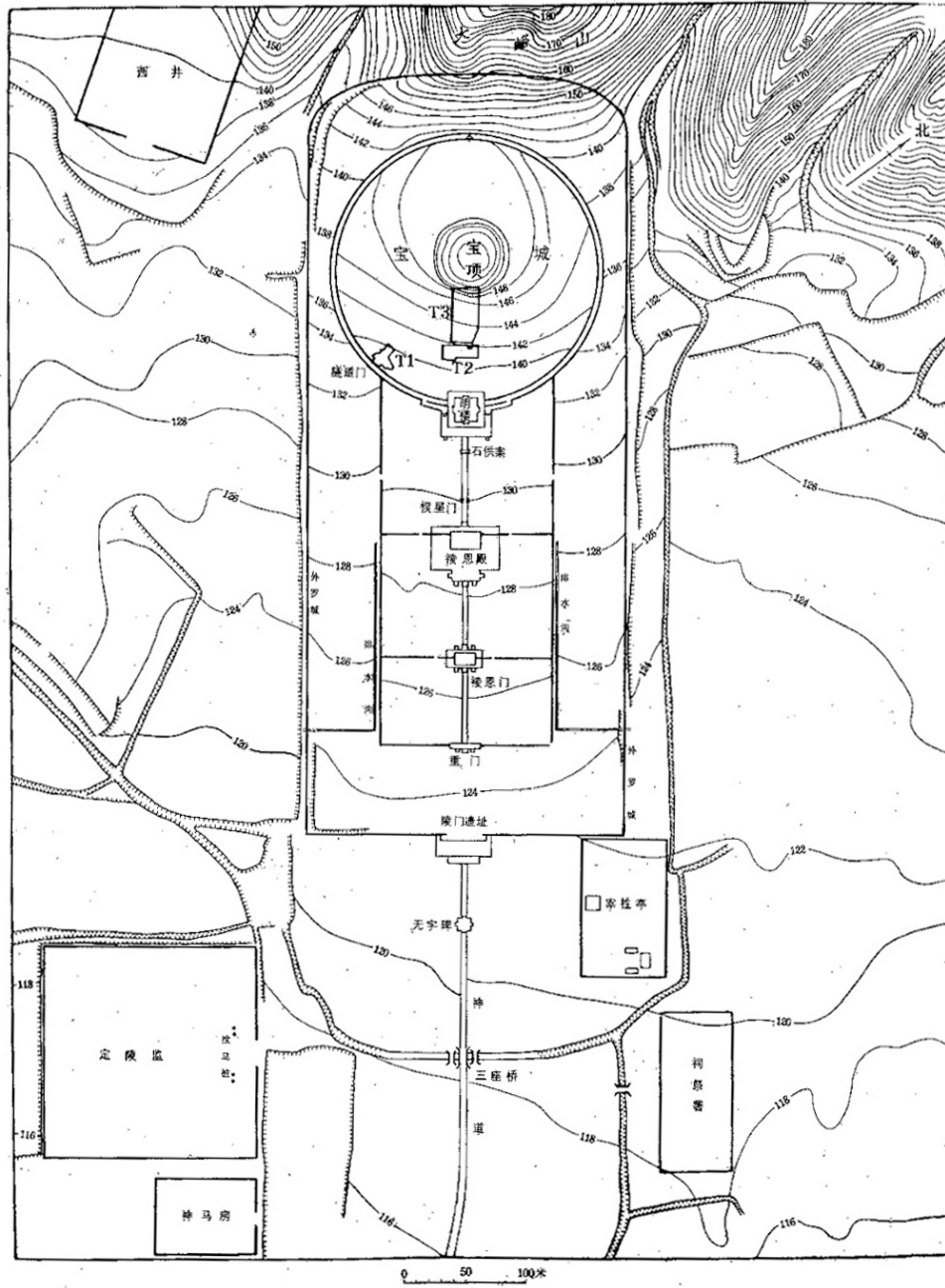
Figure 30 Detail of the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*



Figure 31 Detail of Anonymous, *Illustration of Imperial Procession of the Grand Carriage* (*Dajia lubu tu* 大駕鹵簿圖). Handscroll, colors on silk, 51.4 × 1481 cm. National Museum of China.



Figure 32 Detail of the *Imperial Procession Returning to the Forbidden City*.



图四 定陵陵园平面图

Figure 33 Plan of Dingling 定陵. From Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling 定陵*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 10.



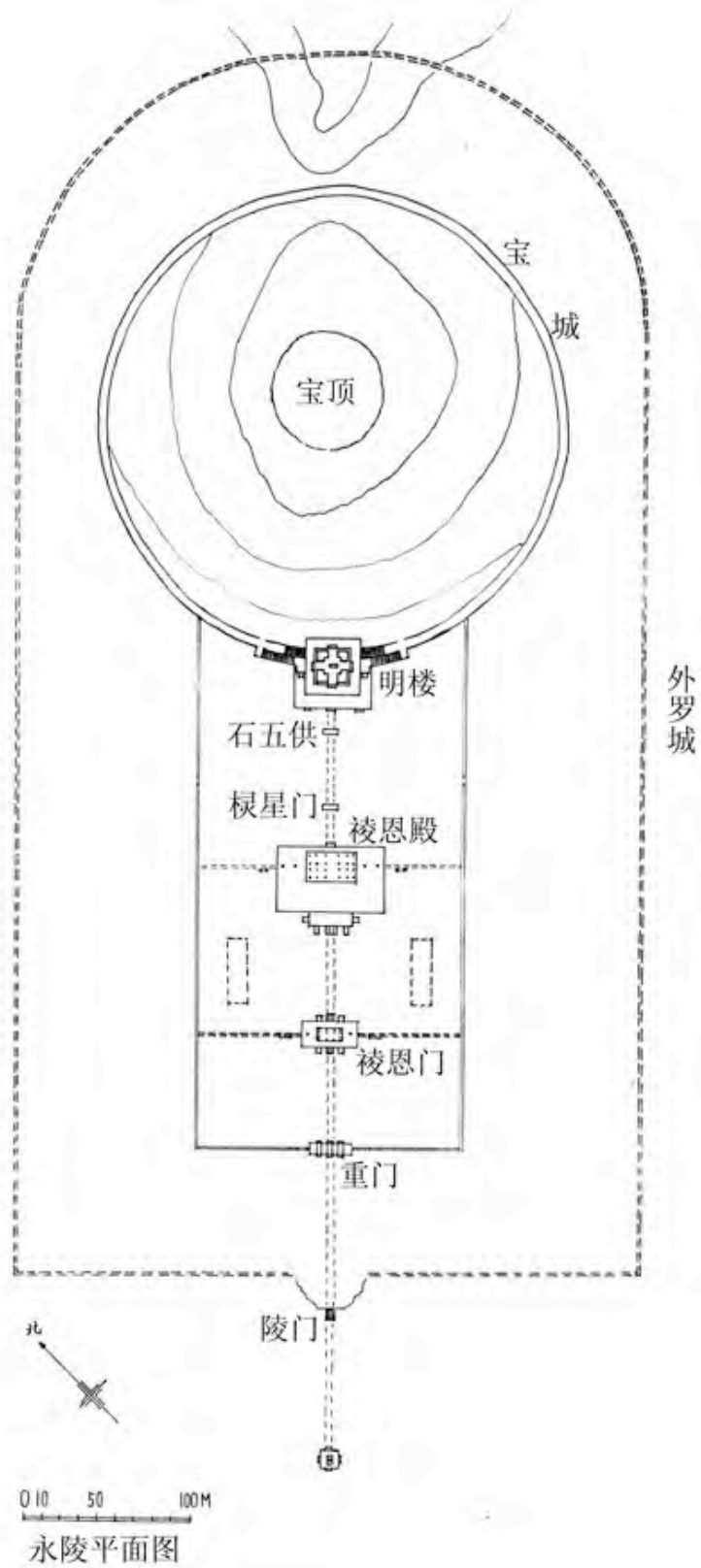
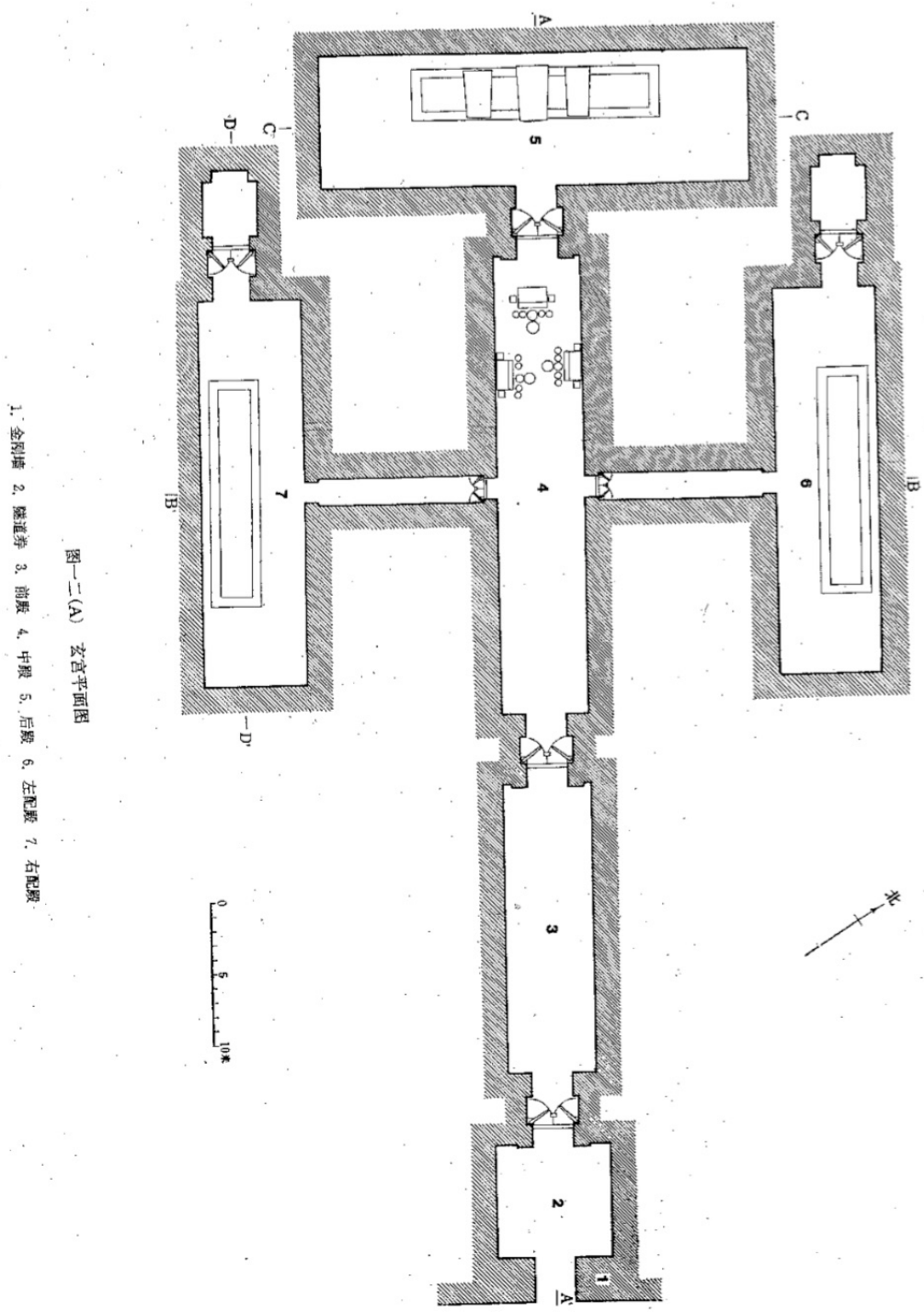


Figure 34 Plan of Yongling 永陵. *Ming shisanling tequ* 明十三陵特區  
[http://www.mingtombs.com/zswd/201007/t20100730\\_1346.htm](http://www.mingtombs.com/zswd/201007/t20100730_1346.htm)



图一(A) 玄宫平面图

- 1. 全副墙
- 2. 隧道券
- 3. 前殿
- 4. 中殿
- 5. 后殿
- 6. 左配殿
- 7. 右配殿

Figure 35 Plan of the underground palace of Dingling. After Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling*, vol. 1, 14.



Figure 36 Medicine jar with a handle found in Dingling and the inscription on its bottom. After Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling*, vol. 2, figure 74 and vol. 1, 155.



Figure 37 The big bowl with dragon motif (*dalong gang* 大龍缸) found in Dingling. After Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling*, vol. 2, figure 89.



Figure 38 The blue and white bowl with interlocking flower patterns and paired with a gold lid and a gold tray found in Wanli's coffin. After Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of Beijing eds., *Dingling*, vol. 2, figure 86.



Figure 39 Upper: The plum vase inscribed with “Made in the Wanli Reign of the Great Ming.”  
Lower: The plum vase inscribed with “Made in the Jiajing Reign of the Great Ming.” After  
Institute of Archaeology, Museum of Ding Ling, and the Archaeological Team of the City of  
Beijing eds., *Dingling*, vol. 2, figures 87 and 88.



Figure 40 Ink-ribbing of the stele of the Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity. After Beijing tushuguan shanbenbu jinshi zu 北京圖書館善本部金石組 ed., *Beijing tushuguan canghua xiang taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編, vol. 7 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993), 21.



Figure 41 Ink-ribbing of the stele of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva in the Temple of Maitreya, Beijing. After Beijing tushuguan shanbenbu jinshi zu ed., Beijing tushuguan canghua xiang taben huibian, vol. 7, 25.





Figure 42 Ink-ribbing of the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Monastery of Compassionate Longevity. After Beijing tushuguan shanbenbu jinshi zu ed., Beijing tushuguan canghua xiang taben huibian, 22.



Figure 43 The stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in the Pavilion of Guanyin in Lushan 瀘山, Sichuan province.

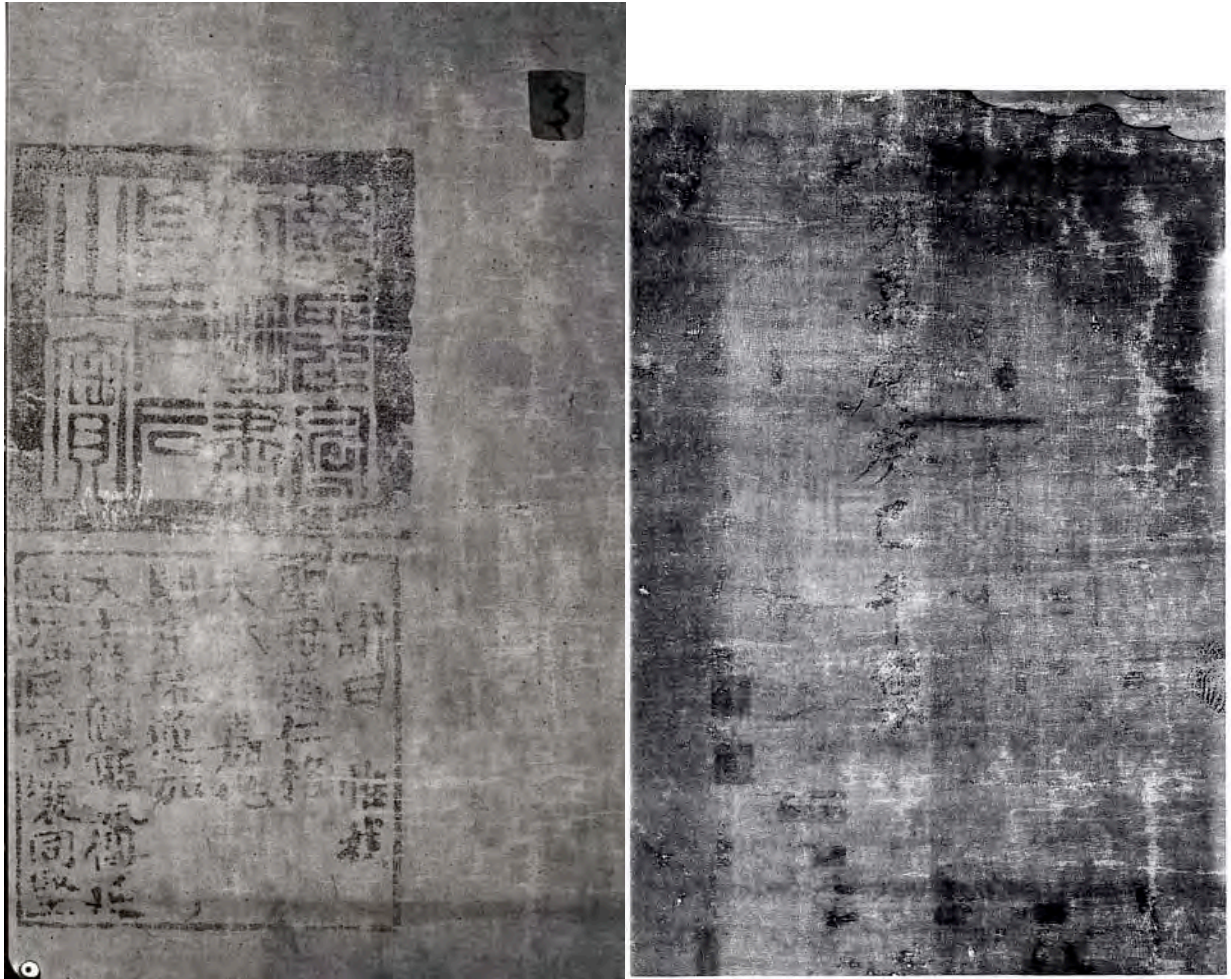


Figure 44 Left: Cisheng's seal and the eulogy of auspicious lotus in the *Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva*.  
Right: Inscription underneath the seals.



Figure 45 Ink-ribbing of the stele of the Fish-Basket Bodhisattva in Cisheng si 慈聖寺 (Monastery of the Compassionate Sage), Beijing. After Beijing tushuguan shanbenbu jinshi zu ed., *Beijing tushuguan canghua xiang taben huibian*, 29.



Figure 46 *Guanyin pusa cirong wushisan xian tuzan* 觀音菩薩慈容五十三現圖贊. Woodblock-printed book. Upper: The fifteenth leaf. Lower: The forty-fifth leaf. After Dai Wangying jia cang 戴王瀛家藏, *Guanyin pusa cirong wushisan xian tuzan* 觀音菩薩慈容五十三現圖贊 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014).



Figure 47 Frontispiece of the Fo shuo daci zhisheng jiulian pusa huashen dushi zun jing 佛說大慈至聖九蓮菩薩化身度世尊經 (The Exalted Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Incarnation of the Great Compassionate and Supreme Holy Nine-Lotuses Bodhisattva to Save the World, 1616). After Wang Jianchuan 王見川 ed., Ming qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian 明清民間宗教經卷文獻, vol. 12 (Taipei: Xin wen feng, 1999), 3-5.

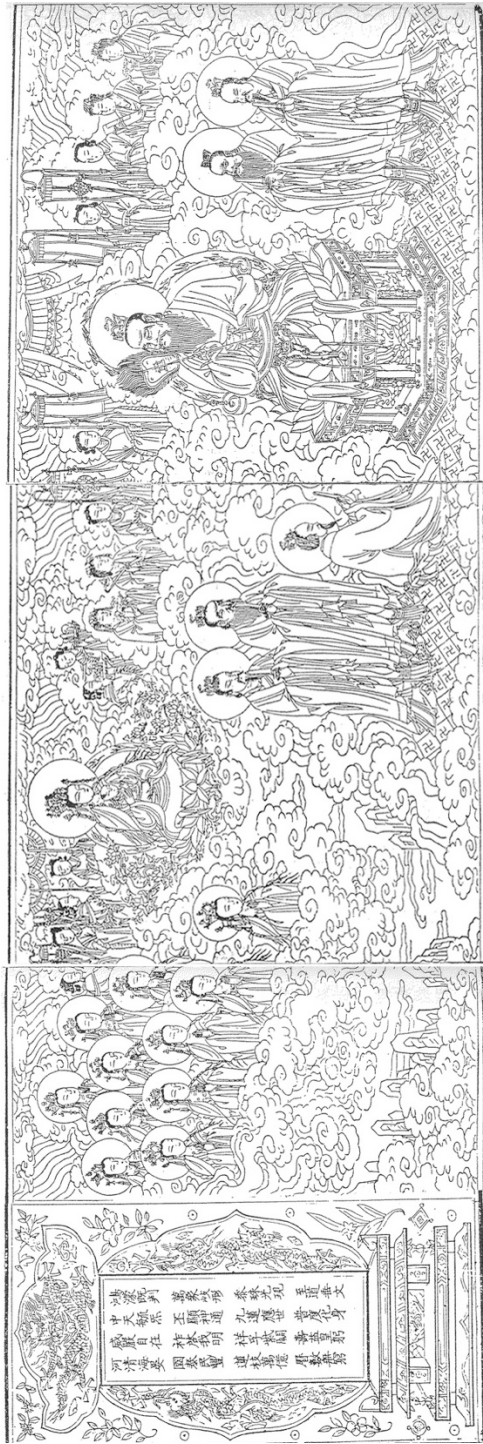


Figure 48 Frontispieces of the Taishang laojun shou zizai tainxian jiulian zhisheng yinhua dushi zhenjing 太上老君說自在天仙九蓮至聖應化度世真經 (The True Scripture of the Heavenly Immortal of Perfect Freedom, Nine-Lotuses Supreme Sage’s Responding to Transformations and Saving the World as Spoken by Supreme Lord Lao). After Wang Jianchuan ed., Ming qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian, vol. 12, 17-19.



Figure 49 Anonymous, *Luohans and Attendants* (29.100.467). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 140.2 × 79.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.





Figure 50 One of the four paintings of the *Sixteen Luohans*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 124 × 65 cm. Capital Museum, Beijing. After Beijing wenwu ju ed., *Ming Qing shuilu hua jingxuan*.

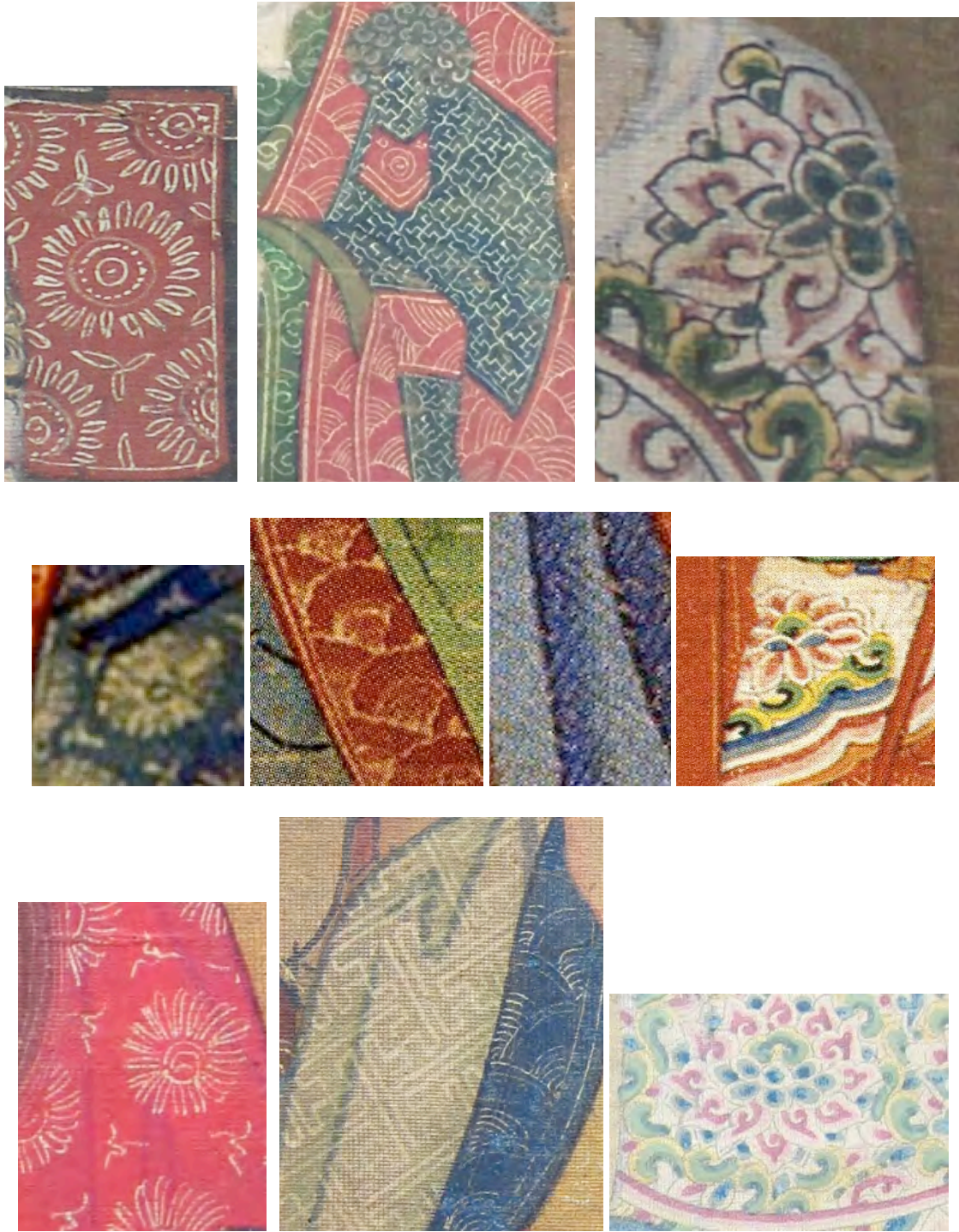


Figure 51 Upper Low: Details of the *Luohans and Attendants* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Middle Low: Details of the *shuilu* paintings at the Capital Museum of Art. Lowest Low: Details of the *Five Luohan with Attendants* at the Freer Gallery of Art.



Figure 52 Left: Detail of the *Luohans and Attendants* at the Met. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art. Right: Detail of the *Five Luohan and Attendants Crossing the Ocean* at the Freer Gallery of Art. <https://learninglab.si.edu/resources/view/25591>



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Figure 53 Anonymous, *Star Deities of the Northern and Central Dippers*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 138.9 × 77.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 54 Left: Detail of the *Star Deities of the Northern and Central Dippers*. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art. Right: Detail of the Fahai si mural. Beijing shi shijing shanqu wenhua weiyuanhui 北京市石景山區文化委員會 ed., *Fahai si bihua* 法海寺壁畫 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2004), 68.

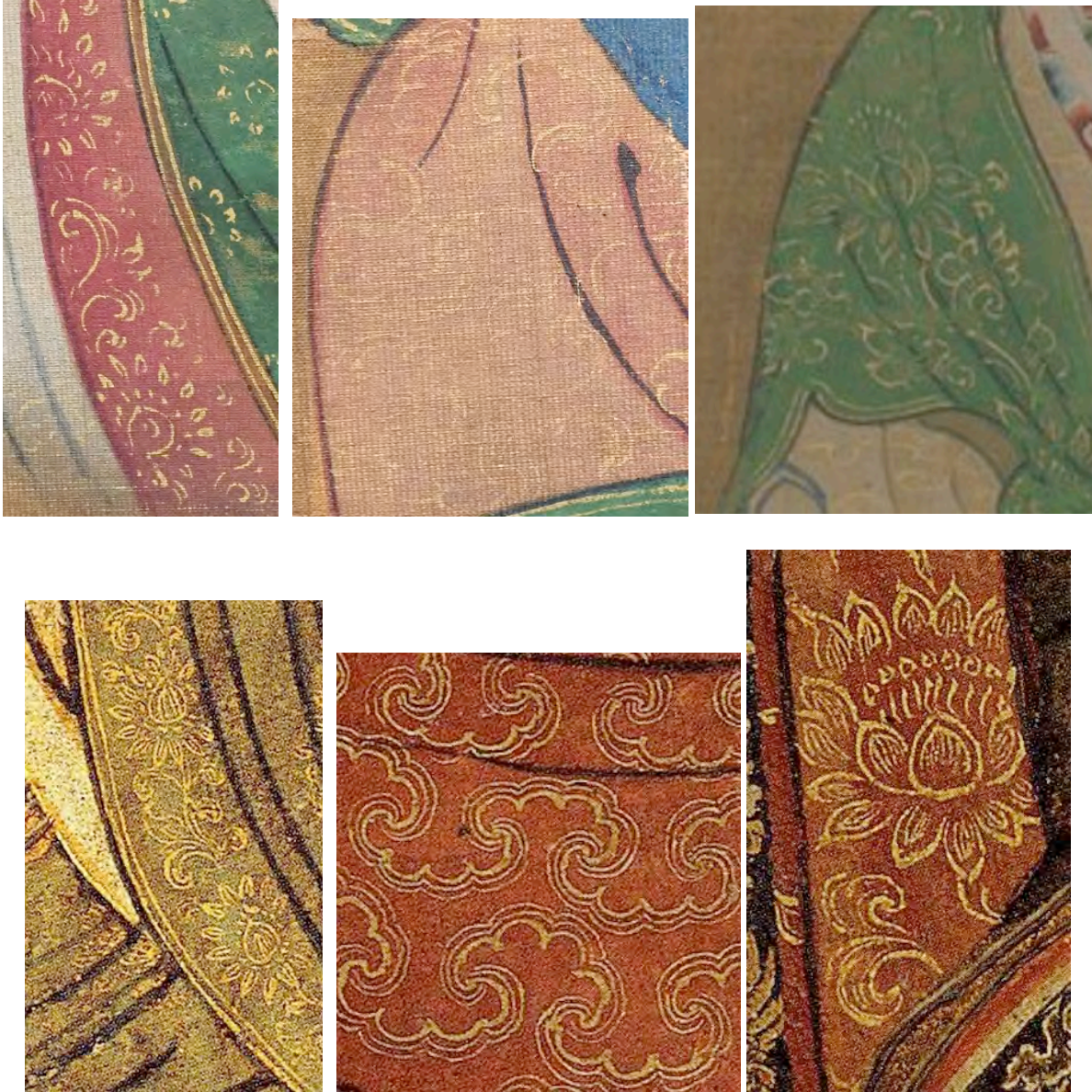


Figure 55 Upper low: Details of the Jingtai's painting. Lower low: Details of the Fahai si mural.



Figure 56 Anonymous, *Maitreya as Budai with Children*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 171.3 x 97.7cm. Museum of Fine Art, Boston. <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/maitreya-as-budai-with-children-28125>



Figure 57 Anonymous, Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang. Handscroll, color and gold on paper, 54.61 cm x 2743.2 cm. San Diego Museum of Art. After Luk Yu Ping, *The Empress and the Heavenly Masters: A Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang (1493)* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2015).





Figure 58 *Left column*: Details of the *Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang*. Handscroll, color and gold on paper, 54.61 cm x 2743.2 cm. Photograph courtesy of the San Diego Museum of Art.

*Right column*: Details of the *Master Thunder*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 98.4 x 62.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art.



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