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FOR JULIE JONES

A meticulous and probing reader who significantly
broadened the *Journal's* scope

FOR BRUCE CAMPBELL

An exceptional designer
who lavished his talents on this publication

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Manuscript Guidelines for the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments. **To be considered for the following year's volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15.** Once an article is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for image costs is \$300, and each author receives a copy of the *Journal* volume in which his or her article appears.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

Height precedes width and depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
JOURNAL

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Trade Stories: Chinese Export Embroideries in the Metropolitan Museum

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Three silk textiles embroidered with flower, bird, and animal motifs entered the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1929 as part of a single bequest. Nineteen years later, the museum received a fourth textile, with similar characteristics, from another donor. About this group of objects, which are clearly identifiable as Chinese export embroideries, little else is known for certain. The present article is a first attempt at establishing a history of these works, provisionally setting forth their dates and place of origin, the uses they possibly served, and the routes they may have taken on their centuries-long journey from China to New York.

The formats and decorative compositions of the Metropolitan Museum's embroideries are consistent with those of a specific class of Chinese textiles that were produced as bedcovers for the European market between 1550 and 1800. Similar pieces currently preserved in Japan and Europe attest to the fact that such textiles were exported to both East and West; none remain in China. Their popularity led to the production of imitations in countries along the trade routes and to the evolution of an international style that spread as far as the Andes. Thus, the Museum's pieces are part of a larger category of textiles represented in collections around the world.

Embroideries of this type feature at their center a peony encircled by a pair of facing phoenixes. The phoenixes, in turn, are surrounded by flowers, birds, and a variety of animals. Such compositions are found in two basic formats: vertical, with distinct top and bottom; and four-directional, with motifs radiating from the center. The backgrounds of these works are of two types also: in one, the background is covered entirely with gold-thread embroidery; in the other, the unadorned foundation fabric serves as

the backdrop. The stylistic analysis presented in this article will focus exclusively on four-directional compositions with gold backgrounds.

The three embroideries that came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1929 were bequeathed by Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer; the fourth, bestowed in 1948, was a gift from Catherine D. Wentworth. The Havemeyer textiles were regarded initially as discrete objects, and each was assigned an accession number. Many years later, however, the Museum's Textile Conservation Department discovered that the smallest of the three embroideries had been pieced together mostly with fragments from the other two, and conservators embarked on a project to detach the mismatched fragments and restore them to their original positions in the two larger embroideries (see Appendix Diagrams 1–3). As a result of this ongoing work, the number of the Havemeyer textiles has effectively been reduced from three to two. (All that remains of the third Havemeyer textile are two long, narrow strips; see Appendix Diagram 3.) These two embroideries will be referred to here as MMA I (Figure 1) and MMA II (Figure 2).

Of the Metropolitan's embroideries, only the Wentworth gift, hereafter referred to as MMA III (Figure 3), is complete. Unfortunately, the work's original appearance was significantly altered during an earlier restoration, and, since no information has come to light regarding when or where the donor acquired the piece, it is difficult to speculate on its travel history. For these reasons, MMA III will be discussed mainly with regard to the place and date of its production.

COMPARATIVE WORKS

Although the Metropolitan Museum's three embroideries are undated, two similar textiles with verifiable dates have been identified. One of these textiles is in Italy, and the other is among the sixteen flower, bird, and animal embroideries with gold backgrounds and four-directional



1. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Longqing period (1567–72)—Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 82 x 75 in. (208 x 190 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.154). Here referred to as MMA I



2. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Longqing period (1567–72)—Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 60 x 39¼ in. (152 x 100 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.155). Here referred to as MMA II

compositions that are known to be preserved in Japan.¹ These two firmly dated embroideries, together with four more textiles from the Japan group, will serve here as the elements for constructing a chronological framework within which the Museum's works may be situated. The five embroideries that will be analyzed from the Japan group² are preserved at the temples Honkokuji (Figure 4), Rinzaiji (Figure 5), Shōkokuji (Figure 6), Saikyōji (Figure 7), and at the Kyūshū National Museum (hereafter KNM) (Figure 8).³

An inscription on the Saikyōji embroidery reveals that it was made prior to 1616, during the Wanli period (1573–1619) of China's Ming dynasty (1368–1644). This information enables us to use the Saikyōji piece as a reference for calculating the dates of the other embroideries. The related textile in Italy (Figure 9), also roughly datable, belongs to the Museo Diocesano in Chiavari.⁴ Documents affirm that Achille Costaguta, a prosperous aristocrat of the town, donated the embroidery in 1651 to a rosary society affiliated

with Chiavari's church of San Giovanni Battista.⁵ Moreover, it is known that the embroidery was owned by the Costaguta family between 1644 and 1651.⁶ Therefore, we may deduce that the Chiavari textile was made before 1644, most probably during the Wanli period, since the animal and bird motifs on the embroidery closely match design sketches from that time.⁷ The present author, following a lead published by Donatella Failla to a work with similar visual characteristics in Japan,⁸ examined both pieces in 2008 and found a striking correspondence in their design, materials, and techniques.⁹

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

The materials and techniques used in the Chiavari embroidery and in each of the textiles in the Japan group are essentially the same as those found in the works at the Metropolitan Museum and at Saikyōji (see Appendix Table 1). These shared characteristics are typical of embroideries made in



3. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, first half of Qing dynasty (1644–1912). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 100 x 80 in. (254 x 203.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1948 (48.187.614). Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA. Here referred to as MMA III

4. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, late Jiajing period (1522–66)—first half of Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 77½ x 65 in. (197 x 165 cm). Used in Japan as a hanging in a Buddhist temple. Honkokuji, Kyoto, Japan. From Nishimura 1973, vol. 2, pl. 62

5. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Longqing period (1567–72)—Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 96½ x 83 in. (245 x 211 cm). Used in Japan as a floor covering in a Buddhist temple. Rinzaiji, Shizuoka, Japan. Photograph: Kōzō Asano



Guangzhou (Canton), China, during the Ming and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties. As noted in Chinese primary sources¹⁰ and as seen in one of the oldest extant Guangzhou embroideries,¹¹ the salient features of these textiles, known as *yue xiu*, are the following: dense, decorative motifs; strongly contrasted, vivid colors; abundant use of gold thread; birds and animals depicted with the techniques known as *rongmao zhen* (絨毛針)¹² and *yao zhen* (要針);¹³ dragon scales and bird feathers rendered in *qilin yaocai* (起鱗要彩);¹⁴ outlining in gold threads and horsehair threads; and the use of peacock feather threads. These characteristics match almost perfectly those of the Japan group, the Chiavari piece, and the Metropolitan embroideries.¹⁵

SIZE

The dimensions of the Metropolitan's embroideries and those of the comparative pieces are shown in Table 2 (see Appendix). Measuring 77½ by 65 inches (197 x 165 cm), the textile in Honkokuji is the smallest. The rest range from 96½ to 106⅜ inches (245 to 270 cm) in height and 74⅞ to 86⅝ inches (190 to 220 cm) in width.¹⁶

COMPOSITION

The compositions of all the works considered here—the comparative examples as well as the Metropolitan Museum's pieces—fall into three categories. Type 1, with the fewest

number of motifs (Appendix Diagram 4), is represented solely by the Honkokuji embroidery. The work's main elements are a central, eight-petaled medallion (A) with a narrow rim (B) set in a rectangular field (C) that is surrounded by a border (D). The border is bounded by an outer guard (E) that frames the entire piece. Inside the medallion, two facing phoenixes (1) fly around a peony (O). The rectangular field contains two peacocks (2) and two golden pheasants (3), and in the surrounding border there are four peonies (O) and four animals (4, 5, 6, 7).¹⁷ In Types 2 and 3 (Appendix Diagram 5, 6), the central medallion is round (F), an inner guard (G) surrounds the rectangular field, and there are greater numbers of peonies and animals. The central motif corresponds to that of Type 1. MMA I, KNM, and the embroideries at Rinzaiji, Shōkokuji, and Saikyōji belong to Type 2. MMA III is a variation of Type 2; its four corners are decorated with fruit-bearing plants rather than peonies, and it has ten four-legged animals rather than eight.

Type 3 (Appendix Diagram 6), represented solely by the Chiavari piece, is distinguished from Type 2 by its extra border (H) and the clustering of the four-legged animals at the corners of the inner border.

STYLE

The same types of creatures that appear on the embroideries were emblazoned on the rank badges worn by government officials in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Each animal



6. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Longqing period (1567–72)—Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 106 x 84½ in. (270 x 215 cm). Used in Japan as an altar cloth. Shōkokuji, Kyoto, Japan. From Tokugawa Bijutsukan 1998, pl. 125



7. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 100½ x 76¾ in. (255 x 195 cm). Used in Japan as an altar cloth. Saikyōji, Shiga, Japan. From Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2008, pl. 20

represented a particular position in the administrative hierarchy (see Figure 21).¹⁸ Small in size, the insignia were embroidered in many parts of China. For this reason, regional and period styles and individual embroiderers' skill levels must be taken into account when analyzing rank badges. By contrast, all of the textiles under discussion in this article were made in one place: Guangzhou. Close examination reveals that threads of different colors were used in different parts of the embroideries, suggesting that several hands were involved in the production of each textile. This leads to the conclusion that the stylistic variations that are apparent from one work to another are the results of deviations that occurred over time rather than the consequences of regional peculiarities or the idiosyncracies of individual embroiderers.

It has been widely observed that copying the same design over many years leads to a stiffening of style and a decrease in three-dimensional illusion, with the original rendering eventually transformed into a flat arrangement of colors and simplified, sometimes exaggerated forms. These effects can be seen in the tiger motif that occurs in all but one of the embroideries discussed here. The stylistic permutations of this shared figure provide a basis for positing the works' chronological order.

The Honkokuji embroidery (Figure 4), the simplest and probably the earliest of the textiles, does not feature a tiger, but it does represent a female lion, or perhaps a lion cub (Figure 10; see also Appendix Diagram 4), that closely

resembles the tigers in the other embroideries. The portrayal of the animal is simple and realistic: the embroidery threads are fine, their twist loose, and the floats long. The flow of the stitches deftly simulates the texture of the creature's fur and the roundness of its body.

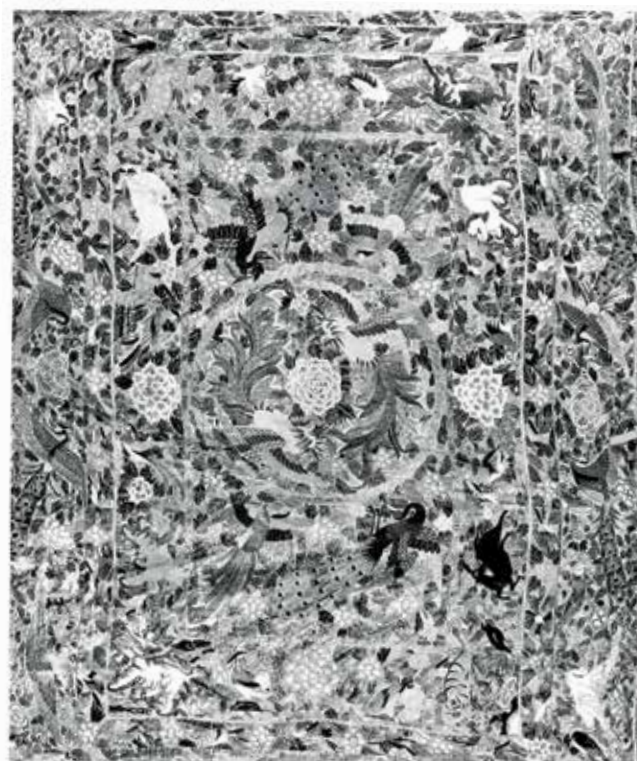
A quick review of China's role in international commerce is useful in narrowing down a time frame for the production of the Honkokuji embroidery. In the decades after the arrival of the first Portuguese in China, in 1513, Chinese authorities shifted back and forth between allowing and prohibiting trade with the European seafarers.¹⁹ Only in 1554 was Portugal granted official permission to conduct business in China, and its activity was restricted to the area surrounding Guangzhou. It is most likely, then, that the Honkokuji embroidery was produced after 1554. As we shall soon see, the textile probably originated in the second half of the sixteenth century, in the period spanning the late Jiajing period (1522–66) and the first half of the Wanli period (1573–1619).

A new generation of textiles evolved from the Honkokuji model. Larger in size, these embroideries were suitable for use as European bedcovers and were presumably commissioned as such. At their center, instead of the traditional Chinese eight-petaled medallion, was a universally symbolic circle; their greater size accommodated a higher number and wider variety of decorative elements arranged in increasingly complex layouts, such as those seen in MMA I and in the Rinzaiji, Shōkokuji, Saikyōji, and Chiavari

8. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, first half of Qing dynasty (1644–1912). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 98¾ x 86½ in. (251 x 220 cm). Kyūshū National Museum, Fukuoka, Japan. Photograph: Takeshi Fujimori, Courtesy of Kyūshū National Museum



9. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. China, Wanli period (1573–1619). Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 103½ x 82 in. (263 x 208 cm). Used in Italy as a canopy for a religious statue. Museo Diocesano, Chiavari, Italy. From *Lucidi* 1994, p. 287, no. 156



embroideries. Compositions of Types 2 and 3 were both produced during the Wanli era.²⁰

Apart from its stripes, the tiger in the Rinzaiji embroidery (Figure 11) so closely resembles the lioness (or cub) depicted in the Honkokuji piece that one can imagine both figures deriving from the same design sketch. The Rinzaiji animal's stance is natural, its front legs cross, and its head faces forward on a diagonal. Following the curves of the body, the stripes on the legs (i) and cheeks (j) describe three-dimensional forms. The stripes on the top of the head (k) are simply rendered. The embroidery threads are thin, with a loose twist and soft, fluffy texture, as are those in the Honkokuji feline. The relatively stiff poses of the other animals in the Rinzaiji embroidery and the complexity of the textile's overall design make it highly likely that this embroidery is of a later date than the Honkokuji textile. The reasons why the Rinzaiji embroidery is thought to predate MMA I as well as the Shōkokuji, Saikyōji, and Chiavari pieces will soon be made clear.

The tiger in MMA I (Figure 12) is stiffer and slightly more stylized than the Rinzaiji tiger. Rather than defining the animal's anatomy, the stripes on the legs and body (l) repeat the same wavy line, and those on the head (m) are arranged in a star shape. The embroidery threads are slightly thicker and have a slightly tighter twist than those used to create the Rinzaiji tiger.

MMA II does not feature a tiger. Although significant portions of the work are missing, the remaining parts are

stylistically and technically similar to MMA I. This makes it safe to assume that the two embroideries were produced at about the same time.

The Shōkokuji tiger (Figure 13) resembles the tiger in MMA I, and its stripes repeat the same wavy lines. The ears (n) are filled in with two-color plied threads, conveying the effect of flat areas of color. The similarities in the Shōkokuji embroidery and MMA I include composition, material, and technique, as well as style.²¹ The fact that the threads of the Shōkokuji piece are slightly thicker and have a tighter twist than those of MMA I and MMA II is a sign that the Shōkokuji textile may have been made slightly later than the other two.

Turning now to the Saikyōji tiger (Figure 14), produced before 1616, we see that the animal's stance differs somewhat from those discussed above. Its front legs are spread apart and the end of its tail hangs down. The body lacks volume; the eyes, accentuated by what appear to be heavy blue lids, are greatly exaggerated; and the stripes on the head (o), like those on all but the Rinzaiji tiger, are decoratively rendered. Far from a realistic representation, the Saikyōji tiger is flat and patternized, and its features are distorted.

It is probable that the tiger in the Chiavari piece (Figure 15), produced before 1644, is based on the same prototype as the tigers in the Rinzaiji, MMA I, and Shōkokuji embroideries. However, the stylized stripes on the cheek of the Chiavari tiger (p) have no relation to the creature's

anatomical curves; the stripes on the head (q) converge in a decorative motif; and spots (r) have been added to the paws. Here, the tiger's natural appearance has been schematized rather than realistically rendered.

The even greater degree of stylization that occurs in MMA III and in the KNM embroidery suggests that these works were made later than the Chiavari piece. The distribution of motifs in MMA III shows the composition to be a variant of Type 2, with ten mammals—more than in any other piece examined here—occupying its borders. The presence of threads added during an earlier restoration makes it difficult to envisage the tiger as it originally appeared; however the creature's overall form (Figure 16) is close to, if even less realistic and more patternized than, that of the Chiavari tiger. For this reason, it is highly probable that MMA III was made after the Chiavari embroidery, possibly during the first half of the Qing dynasty. More precise dating will depend upon the eventual discovery of comparative pieces from this period or documentation that permits us to trace the origins of MMA III.

The KNM tiger (Figure 17) appears to be based on the same prototype as the Saikyōji tiger, but its legs are set closer together, giving it a rather unnatural stance. Moreover, its ears are highly schematized—the animal's proper right ear (s) is defined by the outline of the head—and the mottled diagonal strip above the proper left eye projects outward like an eyebrow (t), giving the animal a cartoonlike expression. Yet overall, the KNM tiger so closely resembles its Saikyōji counterpart that it could well be a distant iteration of that figure, the product of multiple retracings of the drawing on which the Saikyōji tiger is based. This process, as we have seen, gradually resulted in a flattened, simplified, and distorted version of the original model. The KNM embroidery's threads are thicker and more tightly twisted than those of the Saikyōji piece; in addition, its stitches are shorter and its color scheme more complex, characteristics consistent with textiles of later production than the Saikyōji embroidery. Thus, we may deduce that the KNM piece was made later than the work at Saikyōji, possibly in the first half of the Qing dynasty; but again, lacking firmly dated comparative pieces, it is difficult to close in on a production date.

To recapitulate, MMA I and MMA II predate the Saikyōji embroidery and were probably made in the late sixteenth century, while MMA III exhibits characteristics of a later date.

THE MIGRATION OF MMA I AND MMA II

Fortunately, reliable donor information for the Saikyōji piece as well as for a similar textile at Jōdenji, in Japan's Tottori Prefecture, allows us to extrapolate the circumstances behind the importation of those two textiles to

Japan, circumstances that may apply to the MMA I and MMA II embroideries also.

An inscription on the back of the Saikyōji piece relates that the magistrate of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Fujihiro (1567–1617), donated the work to the temple in 1616 in honor of the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu (1542–1616). Fujihiro owed his high office to his sister, who was one of Ieyasu's concubines. As magistrate, Fujihiro was responsible for overseeing administration, justice, and international trade in the port city. He received merchant vessels' cargo lists and acted as the shogun's surrogate, prioritizing the purchase of articles on behalf of the shogun and bargaining over their prices.²²

Fujihiro supervised trade with Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and England. Of these countries, only Portugal then had a trading post in China. It was located in Macau, on the route connecting Lisbon and Goa to Nagasaki.²³ Products made in Guangzhou were taken to Macau—a distance of about sixty-eight miles—by Chinese merchants. The goods were then shipped out of Macau on Portuguese sailing vessels that plied the international trade routes.²⁴

The peak period of trade between Macau and Nagasaki (1569–1635) overlapped with Fujihiro's term as magistrate (1606–14). This information, together with the fact that pieces similar to the Saikyōji embroidery are preserved in Lisbon and India, makes it likely that the Saikyōji piece was shipped from Macau to Nagasaki on a Portuguese carrier. However, it cannot be ruled out that a Portuguese or Chinese vessel might have transported the work to Southeast Asia, where it could have been purchased by Spanish, Dutch, English, Ryūkyūn, or Japanese merchants, who then took it to Japan. By whatever means the embroidery arrived in Nagasaki, Fujihiro likely acquired the precious work while he was serving as magistrate. During that time, the international textile trade was limited almost exclusively to recently made goods. Therefore, the Saikyōji embroidery probably dates from about 1606 to 1614.

It has long been said that the flower, bird, and animal design embroidery with vertical composition preserved at Jōdenji was donated by Korenori (1557–1612), the first head of the Kamei family.²⁵ Only Korenori could have procured such a luxurious import item and gifted it to this temple so far removed from the central seat of power.²⁶ He was a trader as well as a *daimyō* (feudal ruler) and thus was in a privileged position to procure foreign-made luxury goods. It can be assumed that he donated the embroidery between 1581, when he was installed as a lord of the Kita district, in what is today's Tottori Prefecture, and his death in 1612.

In the mid-sixteenth century, pirates roamed the China Seas. Called *wakō* (Japanese pirates), the marauders in fact came from many countries. The Ming court feared them and prohibited official trade with Japan, but the Japanese

10. Lioness or lion cub in the Honkokuji embroidery (Figure 4). Photographs in Figures 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 24–27, 30, 32, 33, 35: Masako Yoshida

11. Tiger in the Rinzaigi embroidery (Figure 5)



12. Tiger in MMA I (Figure 1). Photograph: Minsun Hwang

13. Tiger in the Shōkokuji embroidery (Figure 6). From Nishimura 1973, vol. 2, 1973, fig. 63



government, despite the danger posed by the *wakō* and partly to counter them, issued trade permits to select private ships, enabling them to conduct informal trade with China and Southeast Asia. The permits were stamped with a red seal (*shuin*) and the vessels that carried them were known as red seal ships (*shuinsen*).

Korenori received red seal permits on three occasions. The first was in 1607, when he sailed for South China.²⁷ On the second and third occasions, in 1609 and 1610, he went to Thailand (Siam).²⁸ Korenori may have acquired the flower, bird, and animal embroidery in South China in 1607, or in Thailand in 1609 or 1610, since private Chinese merchant ships carried Chinese goods to Thailand to be traded on the Asian market. It is also possible that Korenori's son, Suzuki Hachirōzaemon, bought the piece while trading with foreign ships in Nagasaki.²⁹

MMA I and MMA II, like the embroideries owned by Fujihiro and Korenori, are typical examples of the textiles that were highly prized at the beginning of the China trade during the Age of Exploration—textiles now preserved in

greatest number in Japan. As explained below, facts known about the donor of MMA I and MMA II seem to support the possibility that these two works were also once in Japan, and that they followed the same route there as the one taken by the embroideries of Fujihiro and Korenori.

THE TASTE FOR GOLD

A common characteristic of the Metropolitan Museum's pieces and the works in the Japan group is an abundance of gold thread. With only one exception,³⁰ the twenty-six flower, bird, and animal embroideries known to be preserved in Japan have gold backgrounds, whereas the number of gold-background embroideries that have survived in Europe is very small.³¹ Here we will consider some possible causes of this imbalance, notably those pertaining to contemporary tastes and utilitarian functions.

Most of the works in the Japan group were imported between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a time when gold was used lavishly in Japanese architectural



14. Tiger in the Saikyōji embroidery (Figure 7)



15. Tiger in the Chiavari embroidery (Figure 9)



16. Tiger in MMA III (Figure 3)



17. Tiger in the Kyūshū National Museum embroidery (Figure 8)

interiors and clothing materials. Indeed, the Momoyama period (1573–1615) marks the height of gold-ground bird-and-flower paintings, many of which decorated the walls and sliding doors of ceremonial rooms in temples and castles. Noh costumes (*nuihaku*) from the Momoyama period also reflect the popularity among the upper classes of bird-and-flower motifs on gold-leaf ground.³² It follows that Japanese traders would have catered to the taste of the elite by importing gold-ground bird-and-flower textiles.³³ What is more, Europeans who traveled to Japan hoping to expand their nations' trading rights and gain political advantage adopted the local custom of presenting textiles as gifts to Japanese officials. For reasons such as these, Chinese embroideries originally produced for the European market were increasingly imported to Japan.

MULTIPLE USES: SECULAR TO SACRED

Although the dimensions and shapes of the embroideries in the Japan group suggest that these textiles were intended

as European bedcovers, the Japanese adapted them to their own purposes.³⁴ Initially they may have displayed the embroideries in various ways, but eventually the works were treated as sacred objects, which largely explains why they have been so carefully preserved.

The majority of the surviving embroideries were donated to Buddhist temples after the death of their owners, a fact explained by the custom of offering precious items related to the deceased in supplication for his or her well-being in the afterlife. Inscriptions added to these embroideries indicate that, once in a temple's possession, they were used as hangings, altar cloths (*uchishiki*), or wrappings for Buddhist ritual implements (*fukusa*).³⁵ The textile in Hōjōji was divided into three sections and refashioned as a curtain for a hall devoted to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, or Kannon Bosatsu (Figure 18).

Some of the embroideries remained in private hands into the latter half of the Edo period (1603–1868), when members of the prosperous merchant class began buying them and eventually donating them to local religious festivals, in which



18. Bird, flower, and animal design embroidery reconfigured into hangings for the hall devoted to the Kannon Bosatsu at Hōjōji, Otsu, Japan. Photograph: Courtesy of Hōjōji



19. Flower, bird, and animal design embroideries (reproductions) decorating the Sesshōsekizan float at the Otsu Festival, Japan

the embroideries would play conspicuous parts in parades of splendidly adorned floats. The role of sumptuous fabrics in such festivals dates far back to the time when it was believed that eye-catching materials could be used to lure demons, which could then be captured and exorcised. During the Middle Ages, decorative textiles were hung from multistoried floats (*yamaboko*) in Kyoto's Gion Festival, which was given four flower, bird, and animal embroideries that were employed for centuries in that yearly event.³⁶

Eight textiles with flower, bird, and animal designs can still be seen today adorning floats in the Otsu Festival, which has been held annually for more than four hundred years in the area surrounding the Tenson Shrine. Of the eight textiles, seven are copies (Figure 19) of original embroideries that are now kept in storage owing to their fragile conditions.

In Italy, the Chiavari embroidery performed a comparable function. At festival time, it was draped as a canopy over a palanquin bearing a statue of the Virgin.³⁷

MOTIFS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM

For their Chinese creators, the flowers, birds, and animals depicted in the embroideries had specific meanings. The following examples of common motifs give an idea of the

auspicious characteristics of the elements that decorated these compositions.

During the Tang dynasty (618–906), the peony, king of flowers, and the phoenix (*fenghuang*), king of birds, were paired in a design called “phoenixes playing with peonies” (*Feng xi mudan*) and “phoenixes passing through peonies” (*Feng chuan mudan*), symbolizing prosperity and good fortune (Figure 20).³⁸ In the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), *Feng xi mudan* was adopted as an insignia for princesses; when associated with ordinary citizens, the motif denoted harmony and conjugal happiness.³⁹

The peacock, bird of virtue, signified love⁴⁰ and also symbolized the power of civil officials in the imperial court. The same meaning was ascribed to the golden pheasant, which was represented on the rank badges of the highest civil officials and also on the ceremonial robes of the empress.⁴¹

Tigers, emblems of bravery and the power to repel evil,⁴² were also associated with advancement in the government hierarchy. The deer, symbol of longevity, denoted wealth, since *lu* (deer) is homonymous with the Chinese word for “stipend.”⁴³ Goats and sheep were seen as felicitous because their names, *shanyang* (goat) and *mianyang* (sheep), share the character for *yang* found in *jixiang* (auspicious).⁴⁴

Xiezhi, a mythical unicorn, was believed capable of distinguishing right from wrong⁴⁵ and figured on the rank badges of the Censorate in the Ming dynasty (Figure 21).

The *qilin*, an imaginary animal, was said to appear during the reigns of emperors who governed virtuously.⁴⁶ When depicted on common objects, the *qilin* often symbolized the user's wish for children who would bring success to the family.

GLOBAL PRODUCTION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF MOTIFS

With the expansion of the trade routes, copies of Chinese embroideries began to be made at culturally diverse sites, where the symbolism of the original designs was unknown. As a result, the motifs mutated. Evidence of this transformation can be seen by comparing the Chinese-made originals in the Metropolitan Museum and the Japan group with foreign-made—in Europe, India, and the Andes—versions of the same designs.

India

In 1973, John Irwin, then Keeper of the Indian Section at the Victoria and Albert Museum, published a textile—either a canopy or a bedcover—produced for the European market in Gujarat in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Figure 22).⁴⁷ Failla demonstrated in 1982 that the work belongs to the same category of textiles as the flower, bird, and animal embroideries.⁴⁸

Comparison of the Indian work with the Guanzhou embroideries in the Metropolitan Museum and the Japan group reveals the phoenixes in the Indian-made piece to be distant variants of the *fenghuang* in the older Chinese works (see Figure 20).⁴⁹ Other Chinese motifs in the Indian embroidery include the musical instrument *qing* (u) and a cloud-shaped corner embellishment (v). The lion (w), too, although stiff and stylized, derives from Chinese sources.

Indian textiles with designs similar to the one discussed here are preserved at the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, in New York and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.⁵⁰ The existence of these three works suggests that a Chinese prototype was taken to India, where copies were produced for the European market.

Europe

A large flower, bird, and animal embroidery (Figure 23) owned by the Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva (FRESS) in Lisbon is commonly thought to have originated in eighteenth-century China. However, an examination of the embroidery by the present author in 2007 brought to light strong evidence that the work was probably produced in Europe from Chinese models.⁵¹



20. Detail of MMA II (Figure 2) showing a pair of phoenixes circling a peony



21. Rank badge with *xiezhi*. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Tapestry-woven silk and metal-wrapped threads, 13¾ x 14½ in. (34.9 x 36.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1936 (36.65.29)

22. Canopy or bedcover. India, for the European market, late 17th–early 18th century. Cotton, embroidered with silk, 91 3/4 x 76 in. (233 x 193 cm). Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad (702). From Irwin and Hall 1973, vol. 2, pl. 20, no. 41



23. Panel with flowers, birds, and animals. Europe, 18th century. Bast fiber embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped threads, 110 1/4 x 119 in. (280 x 304 cm). Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon (176). Photograph: Courtesy of Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon

Significant differences in motifs and materials distinguish the FRESS embroidery from the Chinese originals in the Metropolitan Museum and the Japan group. Whereas the works in New York and Japan feature only traditional Chinese flowers, such as peonies, lotuses, and chrysanthemums (Figure 24), the FRESS piece includes carnations and tulips (Figure 25), flower types often represented in European embroideries. Another clue to the FRESS embroidery's European origin is found in the figure of the monkey (Figure 26). Unlike its simian counterpart in the Chinese embroidery that for many years decorated the Sesshōsekizan float in the Otsu Festival (Figure 27), the FRESS monkey wears a belt and a dangling ornament similar to those seen on monkeys depicted in Western chinoiserie. The foundation textile of the Chinese-made embroideries is silk, whereas that of the FRESS embroidery is woven from a bast fiber, most likely linen, a material commonly used in European embroideries. The metallic thread of the Chinese works consists of thin strips of paper gilded with the use of lacquer adhesive and wound in a Z direction around a silk-thread core (see Appendix Figure 1). This technique for creating gold thread was used in China in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. In the FRESS piece, the metallic thread was formed by winding narrow metal strips directly around a silk-thread core in an S direction (see Appendix Figure 2), a technique commonly employed in Europe during that same period.

These findings lead us to conclude that the FRESS embroidery was made in Europe and that its layout and motifs derive from the same style sketches that were used for the Japan group. It is probably based on complex models dating from the middle of the Qing dynasty.

The Andes

In 1964 Schuyler Cammann published several Chinese-influenced tapestries that were made in the colonial Andes. One of these (Figure 28), a Peruvian-made piece in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston,⁵² was later identified by Failla as belonging to the same textile category as four-directional flower, bird, and animal embroideries.⁵³ Subsequent research by the present author revealed that the positions of certain motifs—namely, of peonies, phoenixes, and *xiezhi*—in Boston's Andean tapestry match those of corresponding motifs in MMA I and the Saikōji piece.⁵⁴

Many of these shared motifs appear to have been culturally recast in the Peruvian textile. A few examples show ways in which ancient Chinese emblems were adapted to a New World situation. The Peruvian birds (Figure 29) that Cammann identified as peacocks prove to be modified phoenixes when compared with their counterparts in the embroideries of the Metropolitan Museum (see Figure 20) and the Japan group. And the flamelike shapes signifying mystical power that flare out a short distance from the body

of the *xiezhi* in the Chinese-made textiles (Figure 30 [x]), are totally transformed in the Peruvian tapestry, where they resemble pectoral wings or even antlers (Figure 31 [y]). As noted by Cammann, the crowned Andean lion (Figure 32) is distinctly European in character, while the lions in the Metropolitan Museum's pieces and in the Japan group are typically Chinese (Figure 33). The *qilin* (Figure 34) and other auspicious Chinese creatures in the Metropolitan and the Japan group textiles are accompanied in the Andean tapestry by indigenous animals that Camman identifies as llamas or vicuñas (Figure 35).

The Peruvian tapestry provides evidence in support of the idea that the Spanish took Chinese design sketches and/or textiles to their colonies in the Andes and commissioned artisans there to use them as models for tapestries. Although Spain did not have a commercial base in China, from its colony in Manila it was able to engage in trade with Chinese merchants operating off China's coast and also to do business at trading points in Southeast Asia. Goods thus acquired were transported on Spanish ships, known as Manila galleons, from the Philippines across the Pacific to Lima and Acapulco.

MMA I AND II: New York via Japan

Traveling the trade routes, Chinese flower, bird, and animal embroideries of the types in the Metropolitan Museum and the Japan group were eventually widely dispersed in Asia, India, Europe, and South America. Where might Mrs. Havemeyer and her husband, Henry O. Havemeyer, have acquired theirs?

As we have seen, numerous embroideries dating from the same period and with essentially the same design as MMA I and MMA II are preserved in Japan. The Havemeyers had strong connections among Asian art dealers; the couple collected Japanese textiles between 1876, when they made their first such acquisitions at the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia,⁵⁵ and 1924.⁵⁶ This period of time overlaps Japan's Meiji era (1868–1912), when a reshuffling of society and the opening of the country to trade with the West resulted in the introduction of traditional Japanese goods to the international marketplace. Those goods would have included embroideries. There are many examples of textiles that were sold after being passed down for generations in Japanese households. In the Meiji era in particular such heirlooms tended to end up abroad.

Although it cannot be ruled out that the Havemeyer embroideries were imported to Europe directly from China, the evidence presented above suggests that they were shipped initially to Japan and remained there for more than two centuries before coming into the possession of the American collectors. In other words, MMA I and MMA II, like the embroideries procured by Fujihiko and Korenori,



24. Chrysanthemums in the Saikyōji embroidery (Figure 7)



25. Tulips in the European embroidery (Figure 23)



26. Monkey with belt and ornament in the European embroidery (Figure 23)



27. Detail of monkey in a flower, bird, and animal design embroidery. China, Longqing (1567–72)—Wanli (1573–1619) period. Silk, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped threads, 43³/₈ x 70¹/₂ in. (110 x 179 cm). Sesshōsekizan float, Shiga Prefecture, Japan

28. Tapestry. Peru, colonial period, late 17th– early 18th century. Tapestry weave, wool, silk, cotton, and linen. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.1264). Photograph: ©Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



29. Pair of phoenixes in the Peruvian tapestry (Figure 28)



may well have traveled the Asian trade routes to Japan, where they would reside for many generations before continuing on to their final destinations.

As for MMA III, almost everything remains to be discovered about its journey from China to New York. The search is a fascinating one, since the significance of the Metropolitan's embroideries lies not only in what they tell us about China during the late Ming and the first half of the Qing dynasty, but also in what they add to our knowledge of the cultural relations among China, Japan, Europe, South America, and North America during that time.

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30. *Xiezhi* in the Saikyōji embroidery (Figure 7)



31. *Xiezhi* in the Peruvian tapestry (Figure 28)



32. Lion in the Peruvian tapestry (Figure 28)



33. Lion in MMA I (Figure 1)



34. *Qilin* in MMA III (Figure 3)



35. Llama or vicuña in the Peruvian tapestry (Figure 28)

NOTES

1. Embroideries with gold backgrounds and four-directional compositions are preserved in Japan at the following places, listed from north to south:
Engakuji in Kanagawa; Hōjōji in Shizuoka; Rinzaiji in Shizuoka; Ryūmontakiyama in Shiga (two works); Saikyōji in Shiga; Sesshōsekizan in Shiga; Honkokuji in Kyoto; Kankoboko in Kyoto (two works); Shōkokuji in Kyoto; Marubeni Company in Osaka; Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Cultures (Kurokawa Kobunka Kenkyūjo) in Hyogo; Yōmeiji in Shimane; and Kyūshū National Museum in Fukuoka (two works).
2. Reference material related to the Japan group includes: Mikami and Yamanobe 1969, p. 86; Nishimura 1973, pl. 62; Hibino 1982, p. 218; Osaka Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1988, p. 30; Otsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 1996, p. 49; Tokugawa Bijutsukan 1998, pl. 125; Yoshida 1998; Yoshida 2007, pp. 110–11; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2008, pp. 48–49, pl. 20; Yoshida 2011.
3. See note 1 above for locations.
4. There are other embroideries of this type in Europe. Donatella Failla (1987, p. 120), mentions one example at El Escorial and another at a church (unnamed) in Seville. It has not yet been determined whether these examples are of Chinese origin. For further information on the Chiavari piece, see Failla 1982; Algeri 1985; Algeri 1986, pp. 64–67; Failla 1987; Failla 1994; Algeri 2003, pp. 98–99.
5. Failla 1982, p. 96.
6. Failla 1987, pp. 120–21.
7. The motifs in the Chiavari embroidery bear close comparison to rank insignias illustrated in *Daming huidian* (Great Ming dynasty legal code) (1587) and *Sancai tuhui* (Pictorial encyclopedia of the heaven, earth, and man) (1609). Failla 1982, p. 97.
8. Failla 1987, p. 119.
9. Yoshida 2008.
10. Cited in Yoshida 2007, pp. 104–8.
11. This early (Qing dynasty) Guangzhou embroidery, formerly in the Palace Museum in Beijing, is now in the Guangzhou Museum.
12. *Rongmao zhen* is a variation of satin stitch employed to simulate the texture of animal hair.
13. *Yao zhen* is a variation of satin stitch used for outlining plumage and fur.
14. *Qilin yaocai* is an embroidery technique combining satin stitch with couching. It is used to depict dragon scales and small, scale-like feathers.
15. Peacock feather threads are not present in these works. Outlining threads resembling horsehair are present, but the Textile Conservation Department has determined that these are composed of cellulose rather than protein fiber.
16. As provisionally reconstructed by the Department of Textile Conservation, the full dimensions of MMA I (see Appendix Figure 1) would be approximately 102¾ by 74¾ inches (260 by 190 cm). MMA II is not included in this comparison because of its incomplete state.
17. It has been pointed out that combining flowers, birds, and animals was a distinct tradition in the eastern part of Central Asia, where an embroidery of this description is known to have been produced sometime between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The disposition of four animals, one on each side of the embroidery, stems from Chinese tradition. See Watt and Wardwell 1997, pp. 172–75, fig. 50.
18. A rank badge embroidered with phoenixes and peonies is illustrated in Huang 1987, p. 52, fig. 47.
19. Portugal was the first European power to enter China. Portuguese ships sailed into Guangzhou in 1513, but China's rulers put a stop to foreign trade a few years later. From the 1520s until 1554, Chinese merchants did business with Portuguese smugglers along China's south coast. In 1554 the Portuguese successfully negotiated an agreement to conduct trade in Guangdong. Three years later, Portugal leased Macau and was allowed to establish a settlement there. In 1578, Portuguese ships were authorized to sail in and out of Guangdong harbor. In light of this timeline, it seems probable that European export goods began to be produced in Guangzhou after the Portuguese secured permission to trade in Guangdong in 1554.
20. The Saikyōji (Type 2) and Chiavari (Type 3) embroideries are thought to have originated in the Wanli era.
21. The compositions of MMA I and the Shōkokuji embroidery differ only slightly. In the place of the lion in MMA I, the Shōkokuji embroidery has a goat.
22. For Hasegawa Fujihiro, see Miyake 1956.
23. Studies tracing the trade routes include: Okamoto 1936; Boxer 1948; Boxer 1959; Boxer 1969; Arano 1992; Murai 1997.
24. Linschoten (1663) 1968, p. 241.
25. Starting with the fourth generation, Kamei family graves were sited at Yōmeiji, in Shimane prefecture. Yōmeiji has a four-directional flower, bird, and animal embroidery, but it is unclear with which family member it is associated. For this reason, the database Jōdenji embroidery, which has a vertical composition, is discussed here.
26. Yoshida 2011, pp. 7–10.
27. Sūden (1608) 1989, p. 196. The destination of the first voyage is given as Saiyō, a name that can designate either Macau (see Iwao 1958) or all of southern China (see Nagazumi 2001, pp. 50–51). The present author interprets the name, as used in the Korenori documents, to designate the broad area of southern China.
28. Sūden (1608) 1989, p. 203.
29. Koizumi 1906, p. 388.
30. The exception, preserved at Rinnōji, has colorful flower, bird, and animal motifs embroidered on a plain white background. Stylistic and material considerations suggest that this piece was produced later than the Honkokuji, Rinzaiji, and Saikyōji embroideries.
31. Vertical as well as four-directional compositions are included among the twenty-six flower, bird, and animal embroideries preserved in Japan.
32. *Nuihaku* is the name for textiles covered with gold leaf and then embroidered; the term also designates the garments fashioned from this textile. For sumptuously embroidered Noh costumes of the Momoyama period (1573–1615), see Kokuritsu Nōgakudō 1986, p. 38, fig. 27 (a jacket of phoenix, willow, and cherry blossom pattern embroidery on gold-foil ground; Itsukushima Shrine, Momoyama period); and Tokugawa Bijutsukan 1998, p. 159, pl. 68 (a robe made of paulownia, bamboo, phoenix, and flower curved-line pattern embroidery on gold-foil ground; Kasuga Shrine, Momoyama period), and p. 160, fig. 76 (a robe of reed and bird pattern embroidery on gold-foil ground; Hayashibara Bijutsukan, Momoyama period).
33. Sudō 1998.
34. Since the dimensions of the embroideries in the Japan group do not correspond to the lifestyle of sixteenth-century Japan, it is doubtful that any of them were originally produced for the Japanese. Embroideries of similar size and shape, and with central round medallions, were made in India about this time as bedcovers for the Portuguese. Four such works, all from the seventeenth

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- century, are in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon: inv. 2281, 129 x 105 1/8 in. (328 x 267 cm); inv. 2164, 102 3/8 x 82 1/4 in. (260 x 209 cm); inv. 112, 109 1/2 x 78 3/4 in. (278 x 200 cm); inv. 113, 88 1/8 x 67 3/4 in. (224 x 172 cm). See Passos Leite 1981, pp. 33, 34, 35, 39.
35. The embroideries at Honkokuji, Rinzaiji, Shōkokuji, and Saikyōji were used in these ways.
 36. The four textiles were replaced several years ago by reproductions. The originals are now stored in the districts of Kankoboko, Mōsōyama, and Ashikariyama.
 37. Failla 1982, p. 96.
 38. The *fenghuang* is a legendary bird that appears when a ruler governs virtuously. See Hua 1993, p. 1133, and Xu Huadang 2000, p. 21. In the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) pairs of flying *fenghuang* with different tail shapes emerged as a common motif; see Watt and Wardwell 1997, pp. 196–99, no. 60. The *Feng xi mudan* was used over a long period.
 39. Xu Zhongjie 1985, pp. 138–39.
 40. See Han 1995, pp. 35–36; Chen 1992, pp. 52–53.
 41. See Hua 1993, p. 1538; Chen 1992, p. 53; Zuo 2001, p. 123.
 42. See Han 1995, pp. 13–14.
 43. See *ibid.*, pp. 22–23; Chen 1992, p. 51.
 44. See Han 1995, p. 28.
 45. See Cammann 1944, p. 108; Hua 1993, p. 1136; and Joyce Denney, “Rank Insignia,” in Phipps, Hecht, and Martín 2004, pp. 254–55, no. 77.
 46. See Han 1995, pp. 9–11.
 47. Irwin and Hall 1973, vol. 2, pl. 20, no. 41.
 48. Failla 1982.
 49. The principal distinction between the Indian and Chinese phoenixes is in the construction of the birds’ tails. The elongated tail of the Indian phoenix is composed of small triangles linked together, giving it a jagged, spikey appearance, whereas the tails of Chinese phoenixes usually branch out in gentle, continuous curves.
 50. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York (1953–123–2); Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (978.339).
 51. Yoshida n.d. (forthcoming).
 52. Cammann 1964, p. 23, fig. 3.
 53. Failla 1987.
 54. Yoshida 2007, pp. 111–13.
 55. Meech 1993, pp. 129–30.
 56. Del Collo 2013, p. 4.
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APPENDIX

The Metropolitan Museum’s three Havemeyer embroideries reassembled to approximate their original configurations



Diagram 1. MMA I (Figure 1, 29.100.154) shown with its proper border (a) restored from MMA 29.100.156



Diagram 2. MMA II (Figure 2, 29.100.155) shown with two of its fragments (d and e) restored from MMA 29.100.156

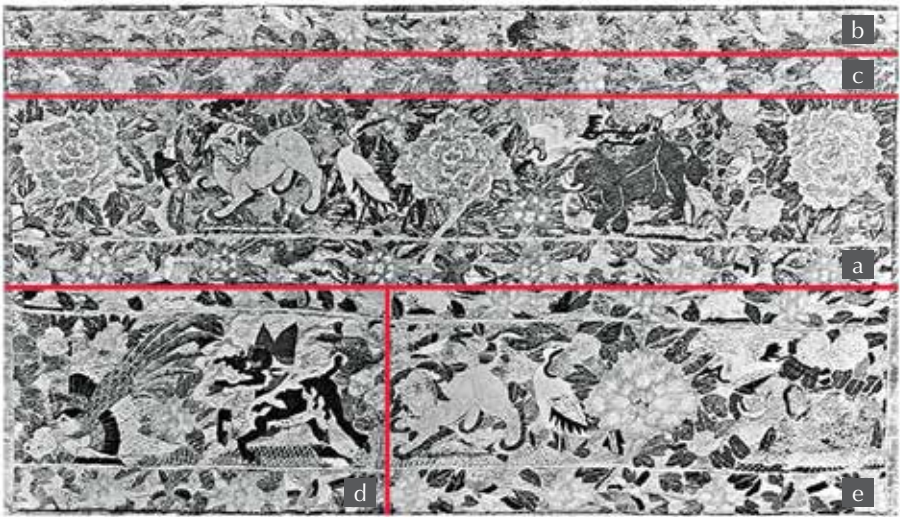


Diagram 3. MMA 29.100.156. Lines indicate the location of seams joining the embroidery’s five separate elements

TABLE 1. MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE SAIKYŌJI EMBROIDERY AND IN MMA I, II, AND III

	Saikyōji	MMA I	MMA II	MMA IV
Foundation fabric: silk plain weave	✓	✓	✓	✓
Warp: no twist (density)	(28/cm)	(30/cm)	(30/cm)	(30/cm)
Weft: no twist (density)	(24/cm)	(30/cm)	(30/cm)	(30/cm)
Embroidery thread				
Untwisted thread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Twisted thread (twist and ply)	(S-2Z)	(S-2Z, S-3Z)	(S-2Z)	(S-2Z)
Two-color plied thread (twist and ply)	(S-2Z)	(S-2Z)	(S-2Z)	(S-2Z)
Metallic thread: silk S-2Z twist core thread wrapped in Z direction with gold-leaf strips on a paper substrate with a lacquer adhesive	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thick thread: a core fiber wrapped with floss silk	✓	✓	✓	✓
Main embroidery stitches: satin stitch, long and short stitch, couching stitch, knotting stitch, backstitch	✓	✓	✓	✓

TABLE 2. DIMENSIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM’S EMBROIDERIES AND OF THE MAIN COMPARISON PIECES DISCUSSED IN THIS ARTICLE

Location	Accession No.	City, Country	Condition	Height (cm)	Width (cm)
MMA	29.100.154	New York, United States	incomplete	208	190
MMA	29.100.155	New York, United States	incomplete	152	100
MMA	29.100.156	New York, United States	fragments	99	175
MMA	48.187.614	New York, United States	complete	254	203
Honkokuji		Kyoto, Japan	complete	197	165
Rinzaiji		Shizuoka, Japan	complete	245	211
Shōkokuji		Kyoto, Japan	complete	270	215
Saikyōji		Shiga, Japan	complete	255	195
Kyūshū National Museum		Fukuoka, Japan	complete	251	220
Museo Diocesano		Chiavari, Italy	complete	263	208



Appendix Figure 1. Metallic threads from the Saikyōji embroidery (Figure 7): paper strips gilded with the use of lacquer adhesive wound in a Z direction around silk S-2Z core threads. Photograph: Masako Yoshida



Appendix Figure 2. Metallic threads from the FRESS embroidery (Figure 23): strips of metal sheet wound in an S direction around silk Z core threads. Photograph: Masako Yoshida

Diagrams of flower, bird, and animal design embroideries of Types 1, 2, and 3. Numbers identify distribution of motifs; letters represent structural components of the composition.

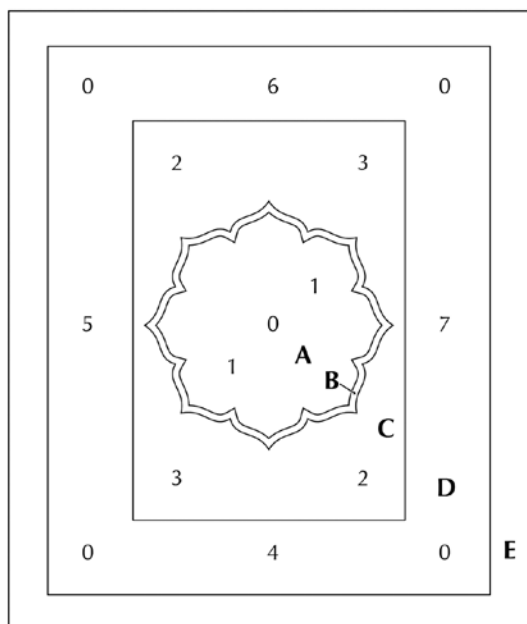


Diagram 4. Type 1, represented by the Honkokuji embroidery. Key: 0 peony, 1 phoenix (*fenghuang*), 2 peacock, 3 golden pheasant, 4 tiger, 5 *qilin*, 6 deer, 7 *xiezhi*. Diagrams 4–6: Anandaroop Roy

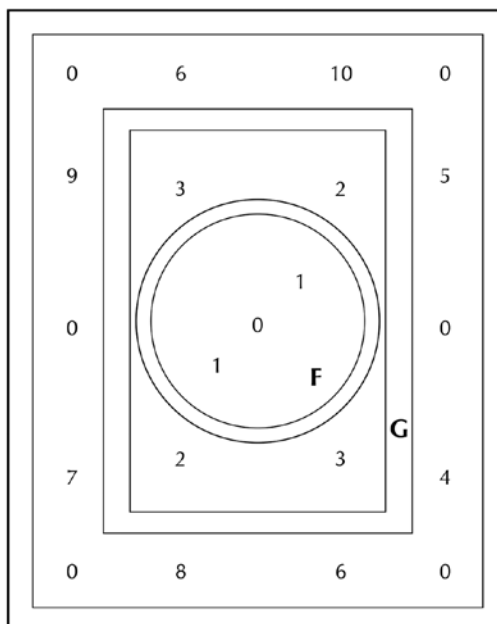


Diagram 5. Type 2, represented by the Saikyōji embroidery (Figure 7). Key: 0 and 1–7 are the same as in Diagram 4; 8 goat, 9 lioness or lion cub, 10 rabbit

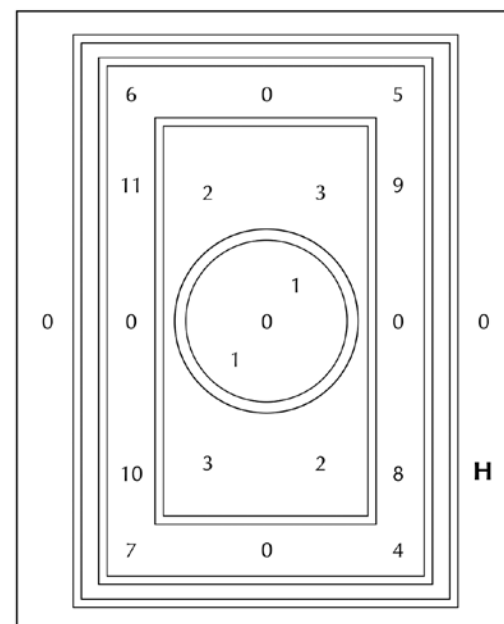


Diagram 6. Type 3, represented by the Chiavari embroidery (Figure 9). Key: 0 and 1–9 are the same as in Diagram 5; 10 lion, 11 horse