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# Regulating the *Qi* and the *Xin*: Xu Wei (1521–1593) and his Military Patrons\*

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Many historians have viewed sixteenth-century China positively as a period in which a market economy developed, Confucian thought expanded through the influence of Wang Yangming and his followers, and increased social mobility altered power relations.<sup>1</sup> It has also been viewed as the great age of Chinese vernacular literature and as a century of vitality in painting and calligraphy.<sup>2</sup> The political system, on the other hand, has been characterized as corrupt and paralyzed by bitter factional struggles.<sup>3</sup> However bleak this picture of the imperial court and the civil bureaucracy, scholars have traditionally held that China's military power was then even less effective and that the prestige of the military in Chinese society was then at its lowest point in history.<sup>4</sup> As the military historian Kenneth Swope has observed, the late Ming has been viewed as a period when “the pen really was mightier than the sword,” in other words, *wen* predominated over *wu*.<sup>5</sup> Yet during the second half of the sixteenth century China fought four major military campaigns along three borders. As recent

research has shown, hereditary military officials wielded considerable power both on the battlefield and at court.<sup>6</sup> In addition, many eminent civil officials were intimately concerned with and often specialized in military matters during the course of their careers. Although these recent studies in the field of military history have suggested that military officials were, in fact, figures of consequence in Ming society, the ways in which powerful military figures may have participated in the cultural practices of civil officials have not been examined.

Since the boundaries between civil and military society during the late Ming were more permeable than conventional historical narratives have led us to believe, a detailed examination of the types of social and professional interactions between civil and military officials may offer a new perspective on the social history of art. Art-historical scholarship on literati painting and its patronage during the latter part of the Ming dynasty has thus far emphasized the considerable fluidity of social boundaries mostly as it

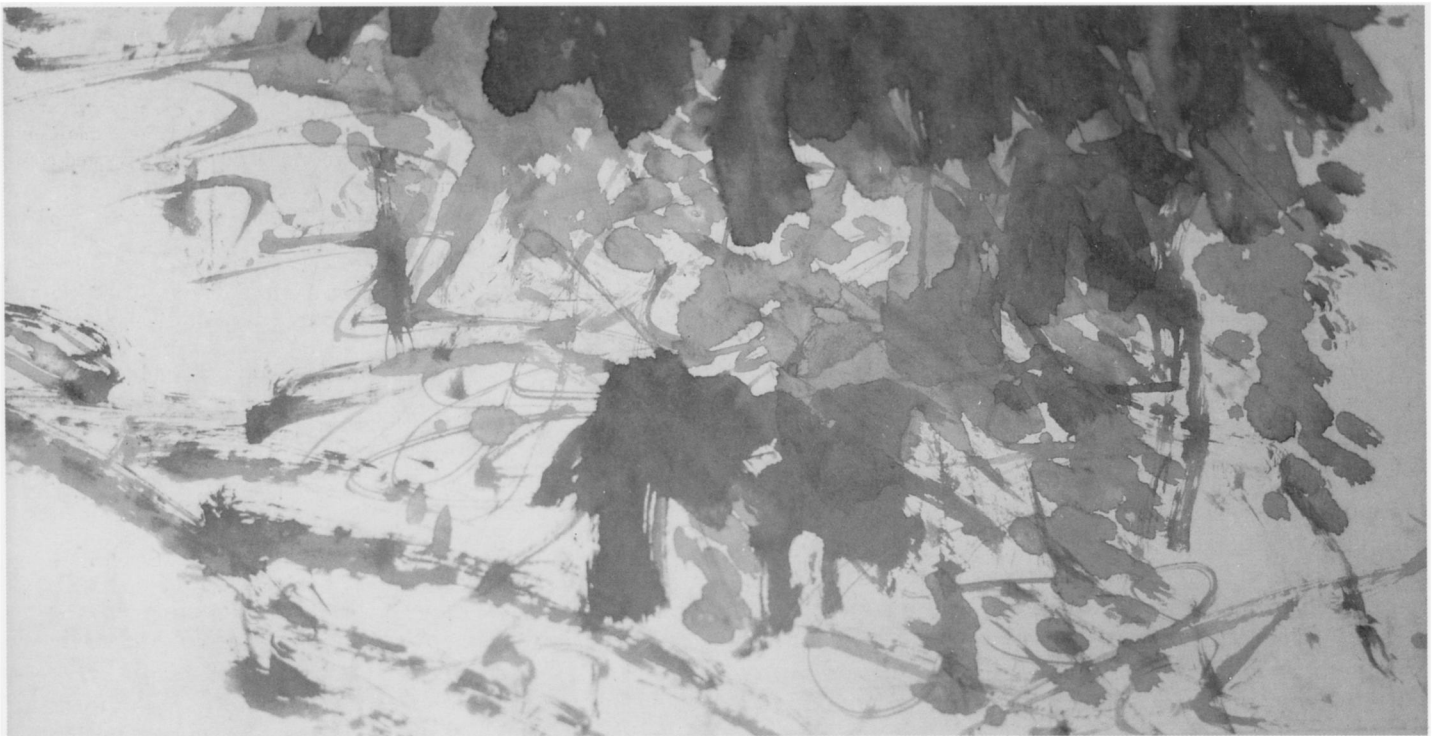


Fig. 1. Xu Wei (1521–1593) *Flowers and Plants*. China. Handscroll; ink on paper; h. 37 cm, w. 149 cm. Nanjing Museum (photograph courtesy of James Cahill).

obtained in the relations between civil officials and merchants.<sup>7</sup> But in a further and noteworthy instance of this social fluidity, members of the literati—men who participated in the civil-service examination system and engaged in scholarship and the arts—became increasingly involved in military affairs and pursued careers as military strategists, and at the same time hereditary military officials engaged in the same acquisition of civil cultural capital as merchants and other socially “disadvantaged” but economically privileged individuals outside the literati class.

This study will examine the case of the artist Xu Wei (1521–1593), a renowned figure in late Ming art and literature, who also worked for military officials as a professional writer and military strategist. Specifically, it examines his relationship with several military figures: Supreme Commander Hu Zongxian, General Xu Ximeng, and Li Rusong, son of General Li Chengliang, Earl of Ningyuan. Xu Wei participated in the tradition of literati painting called *xieyi* (sketching the idea). Works such as his famous handscroll of flowers and plants in the Nanjing Museum (Fig. 1) have been read almost exclusively as embodiments of untrammled self-expression. Although Xu did indeed articulate theories of art and literature that emphasized immediate self-expression as the primary purpose of creative activity, he also produced paintings primarily for the art market and for private patrons. Xu Wei’s various professional activities and collected writings shed light on the participation of hereditary military officials in the arts and thus expand our understanding of art production and patronage during the second half of the sixteenth century. Although Xu’s relations with military patrons may prove to have been exceptionally intimate, his example suggests the potential of further inquiry into this neglected aspect of Ming art history.

#### XU WEI’S EARLY CAREER AS A PRIVATE SECRETARY AND MILITARY STRATEGIST

Although Xu Wei obtained the *zhusheng* degree in 1540, he failed in eight attempts to pass the higher-level provincial examinations. Like many sixteenth-century literati (*wen ren*) without the provincial-level civil service degree (*juen*), Xu Wei earned his living by engaging in a variety of occupations in addition to the literati activities of painting and calligraphy. Among his extra-literati pursuits was employment as an aide to military officials and as a strategist. In the third month of 1553, the *wo kou* pirates launched a concentrated offensive on the Zhejiang coast near Xu’s hometown of Shaoxing. At this time Xu composed many poems commenting on the defects of the local defense and the heroism of various individuals.<sup>8</sup> During the next two years Xu Wei served the army of Yu Dayou and Wu Chengqi<sup>9</sup> in their campaign against the pirates at Keting.<sup>10</sup> He worked with the poet Wang Yin to revise certain mil-

itary strategies and wrote a detailed record of a major campaign as well as songs of victory.<sup>11</sup> His reputation for literary talent, which had helped him secure work as a professional writer and teacher in his native Shaoxing, brought him to the attention of Supreme Commander Hu Zongxian whose private secretary he became in 1557.<sup>12</sup>

Hu’s jurisdiction encompassed Nan Zhili, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Jiangxi, a region whose coastal areas were being ravaged by the *wo kou* pirates in the 1550s. Part of Xu’s job was to devise military strategy for Hu’s campaigns against the *wo kou*. Because these pirate raids devastated the target areas and challenged the central government, major operations were mounted to suppress them, for which Hu recruited several talented hereditary military officials as well as civil officials.<sup>13</sup> As one of Hu’s staff, Xu Wei met leading writers and officials who were interested in military strategy, such as Tang Shunzhi, Mao Kun, and Shen Mingchen.<sup>14</sup>

In 1557 Hu Zongxian intensified efforts to control the coastal piracy plaguing the region, and it was then that Xu Wei joined his staff. In the third month on the fourteenth day, Hu Zongxian commissioned Xu Wei to write the text that commemorated all officials and troops who had died in battle with the pirates.<sup>15</sup> At the end of the year, Xu went to Hu Zongxian’s office in Hangzhou to write “joined” style visiting cards to send to men of rank in the capital on behalf of his employer.<sup>16</sup> That assignment completed, he resigned and went home to Shaoxing, but after New Year 1558 Hu summoned Xu Wei again.<sup>17</sup> Two white deer had been captured, a doe and a stag—auspicious omens that were particularly welcome to the emperor during this troubled time. Xu was ordered to draft two memorials about these omens to present to the throne. They were sent to the Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, Dong Bin, who vetted all memorials and sent those approved on to the throne.<sup>18</sup> Xu Wei’s text impressed not only Dong but also the Jiajing emperor. Concurrently Xu was also advising Hu on military strategy and training.<sup>19</sup> His tenure in this service continued for five years, a period of professional recognition and economic stability that ended only with his mental breakdown and imprisonment in 1565.

Xu’s fortunes rose after 1558, and in 1560 he received 220 taels of silver from Hu Zongxian for writing the *Zhenhai Lou Ji* (*Record of the Zhenhai Tower*).<sup>20</sup> With this money he purchased ten *mu* of land in the southeastern part of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, and there built a large house called the Hall of Remuneration for Words.<sup>21</sup> In the fall of 1561 Hu Zongxian was put in temporary charge of the military defense in Jiangxi Province to repel a bandit invasion. At the end of the year Xu Wei answered Hu’s summons to come to Jiangxi to advise him on military strategy.<sup>22</sup> Spring and summer brought pirate raids to the Fujian coast, part of Hu Zongxian’s region of com-

mand, and Xu left travelling Anhui to join Hu. Not long after, Hu Zongxian was arrested as a member of the clique surrounding the notorious and corrupt Grand Secretary Yan Song, who had fallen from power six months previously.<sup>23</sup> Though Hu was exonerated by the emperor a few months later, Xu was left without permanent employment. He worked briefly and unsuccessfully as a private secretary to Minister of Rites Li Chunfang in Beijing,<sup>24</sup> returning home to Shaoxing in the winter of 1564. A few months after, a protégé of Hu Zongxian was executed. Found among his confiscated possessions was a letter from Hu asking him to present a bribe to the profligate son of Yan Song. This letter was used as evidence of Hu Zongxian's corruption. He was arrested in the tenth month and died in jail, apparently a suicide. Hu's death in prison and his own failure to come to Hu's defense plunged Xu Wei into a period of madness in which he mutilated himself and killed his third wife. Xu's subsequent imprisonment and chronic bouts of mental and physical illness prevented him from holding any further extended employment.

Although there are no extant paintings or textual records of paintings made by Xu for the individuals whom he encountered while in Hu Zongxian's service, numerous poems written by Xu to these individuals survive. Moreover, during this period Xu also wrote many poems to the renowned generals Qi Jiguang and Yu Dayou, who both belonged to hereditary military families.<sup>25</sup> The deep interest many local literati expressed in coastal defense, military strategy and martial culture is also illustrated by Xu's relationship with two cousins of Lü Guangxun, the Regional Inspector of Suzhou and Songjiang and later Minister of War and a native of the neighboring city of Xinchang, Zhejiang.<sup>26</sup> The elder brother, Lü Guangsheng, was a poet and calligrapher who fought in the campaigns against the *wo kou*. Records describe the younger brother, Lü Guangwu, as a "knight-errant" who also participated in the defense of the coast.<sup>27</sup> Both brothers engaged in literary exchange and sword collecting with Xu Wei, although Lü Guangsheng appears to have had the more serious interest in poetry.<sup>28</sup> In a preface to Lü Guangsheng's collected works, Xu extolled both Lu's connection with orthodox models of poetry and the powerful qualities of his poetry:

As for his poems, those in ancient style imitate the Han and Wei dynasties, and the most modern follow the Tang; everyone knows this. His serious poems are mysterious and untrammelled, and his verses with ordinary topics have a noble spirit; everyone also knows this. Shanren [Lü] harbors extraordinary talent, has deep strategies, and bravely looks at his ambition and responsibilities; however, he does not have a chance to realize them, so he lives in the mountains. This is like a tiger or leopard being treated as a deer; everyone may not know this. This is why his poems have the above characteristics.<sup>29</sup>

Xu's preface praises Lü's art as truly descended from orthodox models and powerfully expressive. Xu Wei also

refers to Lü as the quintessential man of unrecognized talent and therefore unrealized ambitions, and suggests that Lü's frustrations are the wellspring of his poetry's strength. In writing about men with military careers or strong military interests, Xu tended to extol the distinctive and positive aspects of their artistic interests or talents while asserting their legitimacy as participants in traditional literati culture.

## XU WEI AND LATE MING VIEWS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

The Lü brothers are examples of members of the Zhejiang literati class who engaged in literary pursuits while actively participating in military defense and other aspects of military culture. Xu Wei was also intimately connected with high-ranking hereditary military figures such as Qi Jiguang and Yu Dayou, who became patrons of his poetry, painting, and calligraphy. The interconnection of activities in spheres usually considered distinct from one another—scholar-officialdom and the military—is clearly articulated by Xu Wei in his text on military theory, entitled *Zhi Qi Zhi Xin* (*Regulating the Qi and the Xin*):

When they spoke of generals in ancient times, a scholar and a general were one [person]. Since a general and a scholar were one, regulating the *qi* (physical energy) and the *xin* (mind) were one. When they speak of generals today, generals and scholars are two [different types of people]. Since generals and scholars are two [different types of people], in regulating the *qi* and the *xin*, those who rouse it up and are resolute are generals, and those who do not rouse it up and are not resolute are scholars. It's a pity—Sunzi knew how to regulate his *qi* and *xin* and how to unite them.<sup>30</sup> Why? The *xin* regulating the *qi* and the *qi* following the *xin* is one thing.<sup>31</sup>

For Xu Wei, the scholar and the general, *wen* and *wu*, are optimally not separate types. Whereas conventionally the *xin*, or mind, is seen as the scholar's domain, and *qi*, or physical energy, as the locus of military talent, Xu promotes the unity of things associated with the mind with their physical implementation. In this text Xu argues that the concerns of the scholar and the general are not mutually exclusive. He may have written *Zhi Qi Zhi Xin* to justify his involvement, as a literary man, in military affairs, but other of his texts more explicitly demonstrate the reverse: military men actively pursuing the arts.

Xu Wei was not alone in observing the civil-military dichotomy as it existed during the Ming. In *A Plan for the Prince*, ten years after the fall of the dynasty, Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) observed:

Beginning with the Tang and Song dynasties, civil and military official were differentiated along two separate paths. Nevertheless, in filling official posts, whether in the Chief Military Commission or in provincial government and army commands, civil officials were intermixed with military. Only in the Ming were the two definitely separated and not mixed....if soldier and scholar are brought together in one profession, the scholar would realize that

military classics and battle tactics do not lie outside his province; studying them, he would learn that they are not completely impractical subjects. The military man would learn that personal concern for the ruler and love of the people are the basis of military service, and that crudeness and violence are not to be mistaken for ability....<sup>32</sup>

Huang, writing in part to explain the demise of the Ming, echoes Xu's observation that during the Ming scholars and generals were two different types of people.<sup>33</sup>

Notwithstanding the predominance of that opinion, other writers of the Wanli era (1572–1620) describe men in whom civil and military pursuits are united. In his *Wanli Ye Huo Bian (Random Gatherings of the Wanli Era)* of 1606, Shen Defu (1578–1642) writes about both “Military Men Who Are Devoted to Literature” and “Literati Who Discuss Military Affairs.” In the former entry, Shen describes the interest in poetry of hereditary military officials:

In this dynasty military officials are able to be men of letters...and they have reputations as poets. They only [compose poetry] to amuse themselves and do not dare erect banners and halberds in the halls of the arts. During the Jiajing era (1522–1567) in the southeast pirates were troublesome and ablaze with rebellion. The favored officials Hu Zongxian and Zhao Wenhua ...received men of literary ability and filled the “Lofty Hall” with them.<sup>34</sup> Hu employed the Zhejiang men Xu Wei, Shen Mingchen, and Zhao Desong....<sup>35</sup> They all had extraordinary talents and received generous payment [for their service]. They completely absorbed themselves in the world of the military.

During the Longqing (1567–1573) and Wanli eras Qi Jiguang was a renowned general of Jimen. At that time, Wang Taihan (Daokun) and Wang Hezhou (Shizhen)<sup>36</sup> praised him as a literary talent. Consequently, Qi took himself very seriously and considered himself a person with a high degree of literary skill. ...He claimed his own literary territory that differed from that of the gentry, and people who called themselves recluses made claims on him in society. These “recluses” filled the borders and cities; consequently his income was not sufficient to satisfy these people's requests. Eventually Qi became disgusted with the situation, but was unable to put an end to it.

Shen Defu gives as a further example the Supreme Commander of Ningxia, Xiao Ruxun, who also considered himself a literary man and had the same problem with “recluses” plaguing him for poems and other favors.<sup>37</sup> Shen ends this entry saying, “As for military officials who are devoted to literature, they bring calamity upon themselves in this way.”<sup>38</sup> Shen is clearly poking fun at high-ranking military officials who cultivate reputations as poets. He suggests that men like Qi Jiguang and Xiao Ruxun let their literary ambitions make them targets for moochers. While granting that two noted literati of the day, Wang Daokun and Wang Shizhen, praised Qi's poetry, Shen finds his literary fame only good for attracting spurious “recluses” who parasitically clamored for his writing and largesse. His criticism of Xiao Ruxun goes further, implying that only fickle taste proclaimed Xiao the talent

of the moment, a reputation whose consequent social and financial obligations bled him dry.

Toward the opposite phenomenon, “Literati Who Discuss Military Affairs,” Shen adopts a more laudatory tone:

Since the Jiajing era, famous gentlemen like Aide to the Censor-in-Chief Tang Jingchuan [Shunzhi], Grand Secretary Zhao Dazhou [Zhenji], and Aide to the Censor-in-Chief Zhao Jungu [Shichun]<sup>39</sup> were all great Confucians and were respected by the literati of their generation. They all concentrated on military affairs but began in the literary sphere. They lent distinction to the literati [because of their interest in military affairs]. ...Others, such as First Graduate Shen Shaolin [Mouxue] and Minister of Rites Dong Bonian [Sicheng], are famous in the arts, but they also were fond of discussing military matters.<sup>40</sup>

Men of literary talent who took a serious interest in the military receive Shen's praise. Even the military men who were fond of literature are approved for employing men with literary talent like Xu Wei who thereupon immersed themselves in military affairs. This essay concludes with the ignominious end of an official who was vain of his literary and military abilities, but that tale only seems to caution against civil officials taking credit for military successes that are not theirs. In contrast, Shen ends “Military Men Who Are Devoted to Literature,” with a picture of the frontier as a place where fortunes are made by the lowest sorts of people:

Since the Longqing era, ...defense in the northwest became relaxed; ...except for the “recluses,” all doctors and fortunetellers, astrologers and physiognomists [low-status occupations] held letters of recommendation and returned home from the frontier with their [financial] expectations satisfied. When I was young, I used to see a servant in my household who was an expert in massage travel to Xuanfu and obtain two hundred *jin* in payment. This was already a strange state of affairs.<sup>41</sup>

Shen Defu's accounts clearly attest the participation of literati in military affairs and the avidity of some military men for literary reputations; he also asserts that the two groups were by no means equally successful in each other's spheres. He describes men of letters as having genuine success in managing military affairs, whereas the literary reputations of hereditary military officials were owing largely to the lack of discrimination among frontier audiences. Although Shen mentions only the efforts by military officials to establish themselves as poets, he makes plain their eagerness for the social prestige accruing to general artistic or scholarly accomplishments or to a reputation for discriminating patronage. It is thus not surprising to find that Xu Wei's military patrons requested not only his poetry but works of painting and calligraphy as well.

## XU'S MILITARY PATRONS IN HIS LATER CAREER

Even though there is very little evidence that military officials commissioned painting or calligraphy from him during his period of participation in the coastal defense and his association with Hu Zongxian, Xu Wei had established a network of professional contacts within the military that would later help his career as a painter and calligrapher. After his release from prison in 1573 his only salaried positions were brief appointments as a private secretary to military officials. Thus his opportunities for artistic patronage often came from the close circles of high-ranking civil and hereditary appointees to the army. In 1576, a few years after his release from prison, Xu received an offer of employment in Xuanfu, one of the important strategic posts on the northern frontier.<sup>42</sup> Two of the people most prominently associated with his painting production were hereditary military officials whom he met during this period. Contrary to conventional, literati-inspired notions about military officials as unrefined and uncultivated men of action, these were also the persons with whom Xu most often discussed his views on art.

One of these individuals was Circuit General Xu Ximeng.<sup>43</sup> From the poems inscribed by Xu Wei on paintings he did for this general, it is clear that the general was supporting Xu Wei in exchange for paintings. Since they had close social relations, Xu Wei also produced occasional paintings for Xu Ximeng, which were usually obligatory and for which he was directly or indirectly compensated. Poems such as “Sketching Bamboo to Respond to Circuit General Xu’s New Year’s Gift” and “Painting Bamboo Shoots to Present to Xu Koubei on the Birth of His Son” demonstrate the conventional use of paintings as “gifts” in return for other “gifts” received, which were often commodities or money.<sup>44</sup> All of the paintings done for General Xu in Xuanfu respond specifically to gifts of food. In a poem written on a painting depicting bamboo, Xu Wei clearly indicates the use of the painting as repayment for a New Year’s gift of various comestibles:

A meal of soup, carp, rice and millet,  
Thinking deeply, wanting to repay the debt;  
Only settling for a useless visiting card,  
Sketched bamboo acting as reimbursement.<sup>45</sup>

In this inscription, the artist does not make bamboo a flattering symbol of the recipient’s noble character. His emphasis on the painting as a form of payment is not unusual in his oeuvre and reflects Xu’s self-consciousness about the function of many of the works that he produced.<sup>46</sup>

A poem inscribed on another painting of bamboo also focuses on the food item being offered to the artist. In this poem, whose headnote reads, “Painting bamboo shoots to send as a present to Circuit General Xu—At North of the Pass, Xu once tempted me with bamboo shoots, so I jest

about it,”<sup>47</sup> the artist compares bamboo shoots, a culinary specialty of southern China, with literati bamboo painting:

At North of the Pass, they are pure and mouth-watering, resembling the elder Su’s,<sup>48</sup>  
On the impoverished frontier, how can I obtain bamboo shoots to cook on a stove?  
I have heard that one can quench thirst by squeezing plum seeds,  
For this reason, I am sketching the “dragon’s grandson” with a “great minister.”

In this poem Xu Wei implies that his painting of bamboo shoots is as good as one by the great Song literati painter Su Shi and that his representation of them might satisfy his hunger for them on the frontier, where they are unavailable. The second couplet makes that meaning explicit. In the last line two metaphors describe the specific subject matter of the painting—“dragon’s grandson” is another name for a bamboo shoot, “great minister” (*daifu*) is another name for the pine tree. Since Xu Ximeng had presented bamboo shoots to Xu Wei, the pine tree may have been a visual metaphor for the general himself.

Bamboo appears to have been the sole subject matter that Xu Wei painted for Xu Ximeng and other military officials at Xuanfu, perhaps because of the motif’s wide range as a signifier. Because bamboo symbolized the virtuous scholar-official, it had long been quintessential literati subject matter. Xu Wei expanded the semantic range of bamboo, using it to refer to rare food commodities, literati painting, the relationship between patron and artist, and even to symbolize the birth of sons. Clearly bamboo painting could serve a variety of social functions.

General Xu Ximeng may also have been an art collector. In his preface to a poem entitled “Painting with Xu,” Xu Wei states that “Xu [Ximeng] often allowed me to copy a painting by Wang Meng (1308–1385).”<sup>49</sup> Much of Xu Wei’s correspondence with Xu Ximeng reveals the general’s serious interest in painting and poetry. In these letters the artist discusses his theories about the nature and function of art and poetry and about the process of artistic creation.<sup>50</sup> The best type of poetry should be “like icy water poured down the back”—Xu Wei writes this in response to a collection of poetry that Xu Ximeng has sent him. In painting or poetry these letters advocate an unpretentious plainness, presumably a quality that would have appealed to his military patrons. In a letter that discusses a painting of bamboo executed for the general, Xu Wei praises simplicity and informality. He suggests that his bamboo painting reflects these qualities and that Xu Ximeng is the type of man who appreciates direct artistic expression. Xu Wei further ridicules aristocrats who play at being martial by dressing in furs and riding horses, but surround themselves with opulent creature comforts.<sup>51</sup> The artistic activities of a relatively obscure figure like Circuit General Xu Ximeng, as revealed in Xu Wei’s poems and letters, support Shen

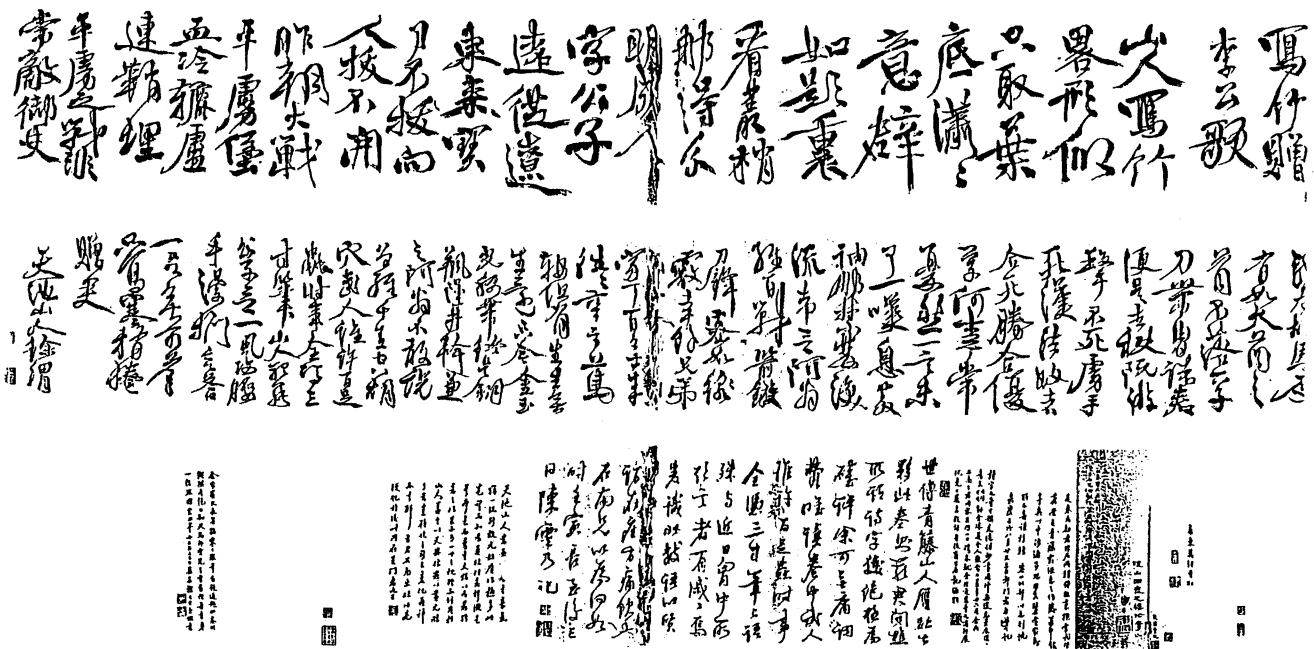


Fig. 2. Xu Wei. Colophon to *Painting Bamboo for Li Changgong*. China. Handscroll; ink on paper. Qing Wan Society Collection, Taipei.

Defu's picture of military men on the northern frontier engaging in literary pursuits and expand it by showing that they were also interested in painting.

Xu Wei's most important patron throughout his late years was one of the most powerful military figures of the late sixteenth century, Li Rusong.<sup>52</sup> Xu, on his way to Xuanfu in 1576, passed through Beijing and met Li, forming a friendship that lasted until the end of Xu's life. Li Rusong descended from a hereditary military family in Liaodong and eventually succeeded to the title of earl that had been bestowed upon his father, General Li Chengliang. At this time the Li family enjoyed the personal support of Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582) and of the Wanli emperor, who invested Li Chengliang and his sons with titles and responsibilities never before enjoyed by hereditary military officials.<sup>53</sup> Not surprisingly, the Li family, combining great power and authority along the northern frontiers with overall disdain for Confucian sensibilities, made many enemies.<sup>54</sup> Records written by court officials describe Li Rusong as undisciplined, arrogant to civil officials, and so unrefined that he did not even own proper court attire.<sup>55</sup> The many accounts of Li Rusong's bravery and ferocity in battle undoubtedly capture some part of Li's persona; whatever his behavior off the battlefield, civil officials' description of the fierce general as "the wolf sent to keep the tiger at bay"—in other words, a brute beast—reflects their prevailing bias against military men.

An abundance of letters and numerous poems call into question this picture of Li Rusong as a lout and a boor. Li

Rusong's interest in painting appears to have initiated his friendship with Xu. Xu's letters to Li contain a great deal of discussion about art and literature.<sup>56</sup> Xu Wei's relationship with Li Rusong also continued long past the two years in which they lived in the same area. Even after Xu returned south to Shaoxing, Li provided economic support, ranging from food, clothing, materials for writing and painting, and money to a job for his youngest son, Xu Zhi, who went to work for Li Rusong in 1588.

Concrete evidence of the type of economic support that Li provided for Xu appears in a poem whose headnote reads, "On the fifth day of the fifth month, Li Changgong of Liaodong sent wine and five *liang* (taels) of silver; so I sketched bamboo shoots to answer him and am writing this on it":

Five thousand cash is sealed in a military tally,<sup>57</sup>  
 On its arrival, calling to exchange [it] for fermented  
 rice for me;<sup>58</sup>  
 On becoming drunk, I respond by sketching not  
 one thing,  
 Completely lopped-off bamboo shoots sent to  
 Liaodong.<sup>59</sup>

The theme of bamboo shoots, which was pervasive in the paintings done for Xu Ximeng, was also frequently employed by Xu in paintings for Li. Again, the subject may have functioned as an emblem of literati culture while simultaneously expressing other types of meanings. As in "Sketching Bamboo to Respond to Circuit General Xu [Ximeng]'s New Year's Gift," the benefice that prompted the painting appears in the text. Here Xu explicitly describes



the exchange, adding the conventional deprecation of the painting he has made in repayment of his patron's largesse.

Like paintings done for other high-ranking patrons, Xu's paintings and inscriptions for Li Rusong might celebrate the virtues and talents of the recipient. In a very long, seven-character, ancient style verse, entitled "Song of Sketching Bamboo as a Gift for Li Changgong," Xu offered an encomium on the military skill and noble character of Li Rusong and his father (*Fig. 2*).<sup>60</sup> Unfortunately, the painting attached to this colophon does not survive. The poem characterizes the elder and younger Li as valiant generals who never retreat, have triumphed over countless barbarian forces, treat captive civilians humanely, and have had riches and honors bestowed upon them as a result of their victories. This commingling of power and benevolence can be allegorized in the bamboo's strength and nobility. He ends the poem with a conventional expression of the inadequacy of his painting as an appropriate gift for such a lofty individual:

The recluse has finished listening to the words of the noble  
gentleman,  
One louse attacking my waist, my hand feeling around to kill it;  
Wanting to respond with one word, unable to respond,  
Only sketching some wintry branches, rolled up to present to you.

By linking the motif of bamboo to traditional military rather than literati virtues, Xu Wei once again expands the expressive range of bamboo, while simultaneously flattering his very powerful patron.

Li Rusong took up the art of painting himself. In a preface to two albums painted by Li, Xu Wei emphasizes how painting can benefit a military man and how a military man's painting might enlighten the art of *wen ren*:

Mr. Li has gathered together two albums of his paintings; each volume has ten paintings; landscape, figures, feathers and fur, and fruits and plants are all included. Their quality is what painters call untrammelled, and they have a divine spirit.... When you [Li] entered the capital from Liao[dong], your acquaintances and connections greatly expanded; every leaf thus needs a renowned poet to write on it. I am undeservedly considered one of them, and you went so far as to ask me to write a preface for these albums.

I have seen Su Shi's *Baohuitang Ji* (*Record of the Hall of Precious Paintings*) done for Wang Jinqing [Shen].<sup>61</sup> Su wrote extensively about how collecting calligraphy and painting in the wrong way harms a person....<sup>62</sup> According to what is recorded about Cui Boyan that I read in the *Zazu* (*Miscellaneous Records*), every time he engaged in battle, Cui had to order the monk Zhao to use a whistle to play martial songs about Jing Ke and Xiang Yu.<sup>63</sup> Afterwards he spurred on his horses to enter the battle array and triumphed over all opponents.<sup>64</sup> In this way, the poems in these albums certainly would not harm you.

We have never heard similar things about painting; but fish and fowl, geese and cranes, all are recorded in military texts on battle formations. [As for landscape,] in the *Xing* and *Shi* chapters of *Sunzi*, [we read of] "pent-up waters plunge into a bottomless abyss, and the shape of the territory controls the flow"; these are very important words.<sup>65</sup> All of these four phenomena are what painters call feathers-and-fur and mountains-and-water.

Examining [these subjects of painting] in this way, not only will they not harm you, but they will help you have success.... With one touch, sudden enlightenment, and you'll be happy forever; lodging your cleverness and quick wit in these four phenomena help military people even more. If this is the case, it is not a bad thing to build, like Jinqing, a hall in which to store paintings, and to have scholars like us writing about their qualities while we wait for sudden enlightenment at your one touch.<sup>66</sup>

By invoking Wang Shen, a member of the hereditary military class who married into the Song imperial family, Xu Wei implicitly compares Li Rusong with that great painter and friend of Su Shi. As in *Regulating the Qi and the Xin*, Xu Wei argues for mutual integration of the intellectual and the physical, and of civil and military culture. He makes clear that painting and collecting works of art are not only beneficial to a military man but that scholars can also benefit from the cultivation of a painter who is a military official. Xu's preface, though obviously intended to flatter one powerful patron, also suggests that military officials generally participated in literati culture. Because no known paintings or writings by Li Rusong are extant, it is impossible to assess the extent or quality of his artistic output. But we know that he provided financial support for a literatus who was renowned for his literary and artistic skill among the hereditary military officials and civil appointees to the military who were active on the southeastern coast and the northern frontiers. Within the context of recent research that has revealed the influence of military officials in sixteenth-century China, Xu Wei's cultivation of a powerful patron like Li Rusong hardly seems unusual. In addition, Shen Defu's picture of the northern frontier as a place where fortunes (or at least decent livelihoods) could be made suggests that military officials who sought to enhance their social status by participating in literati culture may have been an important type of client for literati who earned their living by the brush.

## CONCLUSION

The lives of Xu Ximeng and Li Rusong demonstrate that members of the hereditary military officialdom wrote poetry, received, commissioned, and collected works of art, and even painted. The example of Xu Wei illustrates that, for at least one renowned *wen ren* artist of the sixteenth century, these hereditary military officials were important art patrons. Xu Wei's career further demonstrates the permeability of the division between civil and military spheres, since Xu, in addition to making his living by writing and painting, worked as a military strategist for both hereditary military figures and civil officials in military positions. Xu Wei and his patrons show that, notwithstanding literati assumptions to the contrary, an individual might encompass both military and cultural pursuits, and the spheres of action of men defined by society as essen-



tially military or essentially *wen ren* intersected to a considerable degree. Moreover, Shen Defu by his very taxonomy demonstrates that, in late Ming times at least, these two forms of civil-military interconnection might be noteworthy but were in no way anomalous. For the art

historian of sixteenth-century China, further inquiry into this hitherto neglected aspect of art patronage and practice may not only expand our understanding of painting and calligraphy during this period, but may also contribute to a much more nuanced view of Ming history in general.

## Notes

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1. Numerous studies have been devoted to the philosophy of Wang Yangming and his disciples, and to its impact on the intellectual history of the Ming dynasty. For an overview of these thinkers, see William Theodore DeBary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought* (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1970). Recent scholarship on the social and economic history of the Ming dynasty includes John Meskill, *Gentlemanly Interests and Wealth on the Yangtze Delta* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1994); Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr., 1998); John Dardess, *A Ming Society* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr., 1996).

2. Three of the four masterworks of the Ming novel, *Shui Hu Zhuan*, *Xi You Ji*, and *Jin Ping Mei*, were written in the sixteenth century. In most studies of the Chinese novel, these are considered landmarks and catalysts in the development of vernacular fiction. Many of the major figures of Chinese painting graced the sixteenth century: the great literati painter Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) and his followers in Suzhou, active during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century; the renowned scholar-official, art critic, collector, and artist Dong Qichang (1555–1636); distinguished professional painters such as Zhang Hong (ca. 1577–ca. 1652) and Wu Bin (act. ca. 1573–ca. 1625).

3. For this view, see such histories of the Ming dynasty as *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7: The Ming Dynasty 1368–1644, Part 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1998), and Ray Huang, *1587, A Year of No Significance* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1981).

4. Kenneth M. Swope, Jr., “The Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor, 1592–1600: Court, Military, and Society in Late Sixteenth Century China” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2001).

5. Kenneth Swope, “A Few Good Men: The Li Family and China’s Northern Frontier in the Late Ming,” unpublished paper delivered at the Chinese Military History Group conference, University of South Florida, on 12 May, 2001.

6. For recent research on Ming military history, see Alastair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1995); Kenneth Swope, “Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor”; and David M. Robinson, “Banditry and Rebellion in the Capital Region During the Mid-Ming (1420–1525)” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1995).

7. For some of the most recent studies of art patronage during the Ming dynasty, see Anne DeCoursey Clapp, *The Painting of Tang Yin* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1991); James Cahill, *The Painter’s Practice* (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1994); and Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Champaign-Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1991), and *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke Univ. Pr., 1996).

8. “Presented to General Yu” in *Xu Wei Ji (XWJ)* (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1983), p. 789; “A Long Poem for Lü Zhengbin” in *XWJ*, p. 113; “At Sea—five poems,” *XWJ*, p. 59.

9. Generals Yu Dayou and Wu Chengqi were regional commanders of Zhejiang Province at the time. Yu Dayou (1503–1579) was from a hereditary military family in Fujian. He received the military *jinshi* degree in 1534. He commanded troops against the *wo kou* from 1552–1559 and was one of the outstanding military officers of that campaign. For Yu’s biography, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography (DMB)* (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1978), pp. 1616–18.

10. “Ni Shang Dufu Shu” in *XWJ*, p. 463.

11. Wang Yin, *zi Zhongfang*, was a poet from She *xian* in Anhui Province. See *DMB*, p. 34. Some examples of these victory songs are “On Policy (2)” (*XWJ*, pp. 506–11) and “Song of Victory at Mt. Kan” (*XWJ*, p. 339).

12. Hu Zongxian (1511–1565), *jinshi* 1538, served as a censor-inspector in Xuanfu on the northern frontier from 1549 to 1551. He was then transferred to Huguang (the area that includes present-day Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi and Guangdong Provinces) to suppress a Miao rebellion. Because of his experience in military affairs, he was ultimately appointed Supreme Commander of Zhejiang, Nan Zhili, Fujian, and Jiangxi, a post that combined military and civil jurisdiction, with a primary focus on suppressing the *wo kou* pirates. The term *wo kou* means “Japanese pirates,” and pirates from the southern islands of Japan had been raiding the Chinese coast for many years. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the raiders of the Chinese coast comprised mainly Chinese from Zhejiang and Fujian who were involved in illicit trade with Japan. For Hu’s biography, see *DMB*, pp. 631–38.

13. For an extensive treatment of the so-called Japanese pirate (*wo kou*) raids on the Zhejiang and Fujian coasts in the 1550s, see Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the Sixteenth Century* (East Lansing: Michigan State Univ. Pr., 1975); and Zheng Liangsheng, ed., *Mingdai Wo Kou Shiliao*, 5 vols. (Taipei: Wenshizhe Chubanshe, 1987).

14. Tang Shunzhi (1507–1560), *zi Yingde*, is famous as an essayist and prose stylist. After obtaining the *jinshi* degree in 1529, he was assigned as a secretary in the Ministry of War. He frequently retired from government service due to ill health and was involved in factional disputes that often derailed his career as an official. He was also a serious student of astronomy, geometry, weaponry, and military strategy. When he was employed under Hu Zongxian, he went beyond his position as an imperial observer and inspector to take an active role in field operations. See *DMB*, pp. 1252–56.

Mao Kun (1512–1601), *hao Lumen*, was from Gui’an in Zhejiang Province. He earned his *jinshi* in 1538 in the same class as Shen Lian

and Hu Zongxian. A skilled military strategist, Mao held several high-level positions in which he created successful defense plans. After his dismissal from government service in 1554 he became a consultant to Hu Zongxian. He wrote strong defenses of Hu when the latter was imprisoned. See *DMB*, pp. 1042–47.

Shen Mingchen (act. ca. 1550–1561), *zi* Jiaye, established a reputation as a poet during the Jiajing era. Like Xu Wei, he held only a *zhusheng* degree and served as a private secretary to Hu Zongxian. After Hu's death in prison Shen wrote eulogies praising the commander. Shen made his reputation as a talented poet; his collected poems, entitled *Feng Dui Lou Shi Xuan*, has prefaces by eminent literati such as Wang Shizhen, Liu Feng, and Tu Long.

15. *XWJ*, p. 656.

16. “Joined” style visiting cards were notes much like modern greeting cards that were written in an euphuistically antithetic style and presented on important occasions such as the New Year's Festival. Xu Wei would have composed the text for Hu Zongxian and probably did the calligraphy as well.

17. Even though he was employed by Hu Zongxian for a period of five years, Xu Wei was seemingly unwilling to commit himself exclusively to Hu and would periodically resign. Since Hu would then recall him to service, he apparently tolerated Xu's unconventional behavior.

18. *XWJ*, pp. 430–32. Dong Bin (1510–1595), *jinshi* 1541, was the head of a wealthy and powerful family in Huzhou Prefecture, Zhejiang. He was appointed Minister of Rites and Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy in 1565. See *DMB*, p. 1329.

19. See *XWJ*, p. 463–66.

20. The Zhenhai Tower was a famous site located on the eastern slope of Mt. Wu within the city limits of Hangzhou. Xu Wei's text recounts its history.

21. See “Zhenhai Lou Ji” and “Zhouzi Tang Ji,” in *XWJ*, pp. 611–12.

22. *XWJ*, pp. 460.

23. For a biography of Yan Song (1480–1565), see *DMB*, pp. 1586–91.

24. Li Chunfang (1511–1585) entered the Grand Secretariat three years earlier, in 1565, and was Chief Grand Secretary from 1568 to 1571. As a government official, Li was primarily concerned with the relations with the Mongols and supported the military's proposal to construct watchtowers along the line of defense in the northeast. He employed Xu Wei while he was Minister of Rites. Because Xu was dissatisfied with the insignificance of his position, he decided to request a leave of absence to travel back to Zhejiang to take the *juren* examination. It appears that Li Chunfang was unwilling to grant the leave; consequently, Xu Wei tried to return his salary, which Li refused to accept. For Li's biography, see *DMB*, pp. 818–19.

25. Qi Jiguang (1528–1588), *zi* Yuanjing, was born into a hereditary military family in Shandong Province. In addition to his military training, Qi received a traditional Confucian education in the Classics and literature. Qi rose to prominence in the coastal defense against the *wokou*, and later in his career commanded the defense of the northern frontier against the Mongols. He rose to extremely high rank, unprecedented for a member of the hereditary military class. See *DMB*, pp. 220–24. For more extensive studies of Qi Jiguang, see Su Tongbing, *Qi Jiguang* (Hong Kong: Asia Press, 1959); Xie Chengren, *Qi Jiguang* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1978); and Fan Zhongyi, *Qi Jiguang Ping Zhuan* (Nanning: Guangxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1995).

26. I am indebted to Joe Dennis of the University of Minnesota for giving me a copy of the Lü family genealogy, *Lü Shi Zong Pu* (Shanghai: Mingyantang, 1930).

27. *Lü Shi Zong Pu*, p. 107.

28. Sword collecting was very popular among Xu Wei's circle of friends and acquaintances. Xu wrote many poems about this activity. For examples, see “Shen Shuzi (Jixia) Sent a Foreign Sword As a Gift” (2 poems, *XWJ*, p. 149); “Ryukyu Island Sword, Two Poems” (*XWJ*, pp. 167–68); “Precious Sword Poem” (*XWJ*, p. 185).

29. *XWJ*, p. 901–2.

30. Sunzi is the author of the military classic *Sunzi Bingfa*, commonly translated as *The Art of War*.

31. *XWJ*, pp. 891–96.

32. William Theodore DeBary, *Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince—Huang Tsung-hsi's Ming-i-tai-fang lu*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1993), pp. 147–49.

33. DeBary, *Waiting for the Dawn*, pp. 7–8.

34. I believe the term *qiao guan* (“lofty hall”) refers to the *qiao cai guan* of the Han dynasty, an institute for talented men.

35. I have not been able to identify Zhao Desong. Zhu Chaqing (d. 1572) was from Shanghai. He was a student at the National University, chivalrous and public-spirited, and had a reputation as a knight-errant.

36. Wang Daokun (1525–1593), *jinshi* 1547, was a poet, playwright, and official who was also active in military affairs. See *DMB*, pp. 1427–30. Wang Shizhen (1526–1590), *jinshi* 1547, was one of the leading figures in the literary circle known as the “Later Seven Masters of the Ming.” His father Wang Yu had been supreme commander of Ji-Liao, the frontier region northeast of the capital, but had been blamed for a defeat by the Mongols in 1559 and was executed. Wang Shizhen was also concerned with military affairs and eventually was appointed to the position of Right Vice Minister of War in 1588. See *DMB*, pp. 1399–404.

37. Xiao Ruxun was from a hereditary military family of the Yan'an garrison. During the Wanli era he was a general at Ningxia and was active in suppressing the Pübei rebellion.

38. Shen Defu, *Wanli Ye Huo Bian* (1606) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1997), pp. 434–35.

39. Zhao Zhenji (1508–1576), *jinshi* 1535, was a scholar and philosopher who served as the director of studies in the National University. He came to the defense of the capital during the Mongol invasion of 1550, but was curtailed in his career advancement by Yan Song. See *DMB*, pp. 120–21. Zhao Shichun (1509–1567), *jinshi* 1526, was a man of letters and friend of Tang Shunzhi. As an official, like Tang, he was deeply concerned with military affairs.

40. Shen Maoxue (1539–1582), *jinshi* 1577, was an outspoken official who offended Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng and subsequently lived in retirement. He was friend of the poet and dramatist Tu Long, uncle of the renowned soldier and military leader Shen Yourong, and a disciple of the Daoist priestess Tanyangzi. Dong Sicheng (1560–1595), *jinshi* 1580, was the grandson of Dong Bin (1510–1595) and vice director of a bureau in the Ministry of Rites. He was also a poet.

41. Shen Defu, *Wanli Ye Huo Bian*, p. 435.

42. Xuanfu or Xuanhua, located in northwestern Hebei Province, was one of the two great garrison cities situated one hundred miles northwest of Beijing and key to the defense of the capital. For a discussion of its strategic importance, see Johnston, *Cultural Realism*.

43. Not much is known about Xu Ximeng. He held the position of Regional General of the Xuanfu Circuit; thus, he was a military official rather than a civil appointee to a military position.

44. These two poems can be found in *XWJ*, pp. 333 and 393, respectively.

45. “Writing Bamboo to Respond to Circuit General Xu's New Year's Gift,” *XWJ*, p. 333.

46. See Kathleen Ryor, “Bright Pearls Hanging in the Marketplace: Self-Expression and Commodification in the Painting of Xu Wei (1521–1593)” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998), chaps. 2, 3.

47. *XWJ*, p. 390.

48. The elder Su is the Northern Song poet, calligrapher, and painter Su Shi (1037–1101). Xu is comparing his painted bamboo shoots with Su Shi's paintings of bamboo.

49. *XWJ*, p. 383.

50. For example, see *XWJ*, p. 482.

51. *XWJ*, p. 1016.

52. Li Rusong (1549–1598) was born into a prominent hereditary

military clan in Liaodong. His father was the regional commander Li Chengliang, who was made an earl in 1579. Li Rusong was appointed regional commander of Shanxi in 1583. In 1587 he was appointed regional commander of Xuanfu, but was forced to resign with a loss of salary. He was reappointed in 1592 in order to suppress the Pübei rebellion. See *DMB*, pp. 830–35.

53. Swope, “*Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor*,” chap. 1, p. 34, chap. 3, p. 30.

54. Swope, “*Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor*,” chap. 3, p. 29.

55. Swope, “*Three Great Campaigns of the Wanli Emperor*,” chap. 3, p. 29, n. 136, chap. 4, p. 80, n. 315. He refers to the account given in the *Ming Shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1987), pp. 6192–93.

56. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the content of Li’s poems or letters addressed to Xu Wei, as no collected writings by Li Rusong survive.

57. This is presumably the copper cash equivalent of five ounces of silver.

58. Fermented rice refers to rice wine.

59. *XWJ*, p. 390.

60. *XWJ*, p. 134. This was done sometime after 1577 and before 1583, when Li’s title would have changed. 1582 is the probable date, as Xu mentions Ruan, where Li was stationed at that time. See *DMB*, pp. 830–35. Liang Yicheng thinks it was done in 1577 when Xu first met Li. See Liang Yicheng, *Xu Wei de Wenxue yu Yishu* (Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1976), p. 135. This text exists in the colophon of the painting, which survives in the collection of the Qing Wan Society, Taipei, and is reproduced in *Zhongguo Wenwu Jizui—Qing Wan Ya Ji Shoucang Zhan* (*Exquisite Chinese Artifacts—the Collection of the Qing Wan Society*) (Taipei: Guoli Lishi Bowuguan, 1995), pp. 62–63.

61. Wang Jinqing is Wang Shen (ca. 1048–ca. 1103), the Song collector, poet, and painter who was a great friend of Su Shi. Wang was from a hereditary military family and became a son-in-law to Emperor

Shenzong. Because his position and fortunes were considerable and relatively secure, he often gave Su Shi financial aid. He established the Hall of Precious Paintings in 1077. *The Record of the Hall of Precious Paintings* expressed the gentleman’s approach to collecting and appreciating art. For a partial translation, see Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1985), pp. 233–34.

62. In *The Record of the Hall of Precious Paintings* Su Shi describes how the gentleman should “rest his thoughts on objects, but must not fix his thoughts on them.... Of all the things that may be enjoyed enough to gladden one, yet not enough to affect one, none are better than calligraphy and painting. But if anyone fixes his thoughts on them unremittingly, his misfortune will defy description....” See Bush and Shih, *Early Texts on Chinese Painting*, p. 233.

63. Cui Boyan is Cui Yanbo, a military man who lived during the Wei dynasty. He served as a Mobile Corps commander in the Huai River region. During the Taihe era (227–233) he became a commander in chief. In bravery as in strategy, he surpassed others.

64. Facing ultimate defeat, the hegemon king Xiang Yu composed and sang a song about his fate and his trusty horse and loyal concubine. Afterwards he broke out of encirclement, won three battles, and cut off the heads of the opposing army’s generals before committing suicide rather than be captured. See William Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe’s Records, Volume 1: The Memoirs of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Pr., 1994), pp. 205–7.

65. The phrase here, “*jue shui qian ren*,” alludes to the last line of the fourth chapter of *Sunzi*, “Xing”: “It is because of *xing* that a victorious general is able to make his people fight with the effect of pent-up waters which, suddenly released, plunge into a bottomless abyss.” See *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel Griffith (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1963).

66. *XWJ*, p. 539.

## Characters

Baohuitang ji 寶繪堂記

Cui Boyan 崔伯延

daifu 大夫

Dong Bin 董份

Dong Sicheng 董嗣成

Feng Zilu 馮子履

fu 府

Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲

jin 金

ju ren 舉人

“jue shui qian ren” 決水千仞

Li Chunfang 李春芳

Li Chengliang 李成梁

Li Rusong 李如松

liang 兩

Lü Guangsheng 呂光昇

Lü Guangwu 呂光午

Lü Guangxun 呂光詢

Mao Kun 茅坤

mu 畝

qi 氣

Qi Jiguang 戚繼光

qiao guan 翹館/qiao cai guan 翹材館

Shen Defu 沈德符

Shen Maoxue 沈懋學

Shen Mingchen 沈明臣

shi 勢

Sunzi 孫子

Tang Shunzhi 唐順之

Wanli ye huo bian 萬歷野獲編

Wang Daokun 汪道昆

Wang Meng 王蒙

Wang Shen 王誥

Wang Shizhen 王世真

Wang Yin 王寅

wen 文

wen ren 文人

Wen Zhengming 文徵明

wo kou 倭寇

wu 武

Wu Chengqi 吳成器

Xiao Ruxun 蕭如薰

xin 心

xing 形

Xu Wei 徐渭

Xu Ximeng 許希孟

Xu Zhi 徐枳

Xuanfu 宣府 (Xuanhua fu 宣化府)

Yan Song 嚴嵩

Yu Dayou 俞大猷

Yu Dazhen 于達真/Yu Tian 于瑱

Zazu 雜俎

Zhang Juzheng 張居正

Zhao Desong 趙得松

Zhao Shichun 趙時春

Zhao Wenhua 趙文華

Zhao Zhenji 趙真吉

Zhenhai lou ji 鎮海樓記

zheng dao 爭道

Zhi qi zhi xin 治氣治心

Zhu Chaqing 朱察卿

zhusheng 諸生