



# Chinese and Javanese Features in an Eighteenth-Century Portrait of a European Woman Holding a Child

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In the collection of the Rijksmuseum are two eighteenth-century statuettes of a man and woman dressed in contemporary European attire. Both are depicted full-length – one seated, one standing – and have a light-pink skin tone, narrow eyes, a slightly up-turned nose and finely carved lips. The two sculptures have long been attributed to Tan-Che-Qua (c. 1730-1796), also known as Chitqua, a Chinese artist active as a portrait-maker in the city of Canton.<sup>1</sup> The female figure is carved from wood and measures 57 cm high (fig. 1). She stands perfectly upright with a stoic, forward gaze; she holds a child high in her arms, presenting it to the world in a slightly awkward manner. The man, seated on a rock formation shaped like a chair, has his right hand inserted in the opening of his waistcoat (fig. 2). At 36.5 cm high, the male statuette is considerably smaller than the woman. He is not carved from wood but modelled from unfired clay. His head is a separate element attached to the body by means of a bamboo core. The man portrayed is in all probability Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801), a merchant employed with the Dutch East India Company (voc).<sup>2</sup> The woman's identity has not yet been ascertained. Although displaying evident stylistic similarities, the two sculptures diverge in gender, material

< Fig. 1  
Formerly attributed to CHITQUA, *Woman and Child, Batavia (now Jakarta)*, c. 1778-90. Teak, copper wire, rose-cut glass beads and polychromy in oil paint, 57 x 29 x 31.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-10883.

and size. The attribution of the female statuette to Chitqua has been debated for some time. This debate raises broader questions: Would a woman of European origin have been able to commission a portrait of herself in eighteenth-century Canton, as Houckgeest did? If not possible, then both the localization and the maker of the wooden statuette must be reconsidered. And in this reconsideration, can this object then be studied with the same approach as the male portrait, or does it require alternative documentary sources and frameworks of interpretation?

In the present study, an alternative place of origin is proposed for the statuette based on the identification of the wood type, stylistic characteristics and a related image in the Renato de Albuquerque collection in Portugal. Also, a comparison with contemporary fashion prints leads to a more precise dating of the woman's clothing. Additional context is provided by a concise description of women's lives in various colonial settlements. By applying different approaches, this article aims to gain a better understanding of the intercultural properties of the present sculpture.

## The Current Attribution

A better understanding of the sculpture begins with its acquisition by the

museum and the initial attempts to determine an attribution. The statuette *Woman and Child* was acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 1897 at the sale of the collection of P. Jacquet (Nancy) and the estate of the widow W.F.C. van Lidth de Jeude, offered at the Amsterdam auction house Frederik Muller & Co. The sculpture was presumably in the possession of the Van Lidth de Jeude family, though the sale catalogue makes no explicit mention thereof and describes the sculpture as a German work from around 1750.<sup>3</sup> Sixty years after the statuette's acquisition, art historian Aldoph Staring (1890-1980) attributed it to Chitqua in his article titled *Chineesche Portretfiguren*.<sup>4</sup> Given that during this period European women were barred from entering Canton, however, he deemed it improbable that the portrait would have been made in the city where the portrait-maker worked. Staring therefore devised an alternative hypothesis: on his return journey home after a sojourn in England, Chitqua, instead of sailing directly back to Canton, took a detour, stopping first at the Dutch colonial settlement Batavia (present-day Jakarta), where he carved the sculpture from local materials.<sup>5</sup> Jaap Leeuwenberg (1904-1978), curator of sculpture at the Rijksmuseum from 1941 to 1969, subsequently adopted Staring's hypothesis and named Batavia as a possible place of origin in the museum's 1973 collection catalogue.<sup>6</sup>

In 2011, David J. Clarke drew Staring's attribution into question.<sup>7</sup> If indeed by Chitqua, the statuette would then be, as far as can be ascertained, the sole piece carved from wood in the artist's oeuvre and moreover the only portrait of a woman. Clarke also observed a marked distinction between the meticulous application of the polychromy on the Rijksmuseum sculpture and the coarser polychromy on

other works by Chitqua, noting how a fine-haired brush was used to paint various details on the woman's dress, such as small patterns on the fabric of the sleeves and the corset. He moreover proffered that the stately composition of a woman holding a child in her arms might have been based on a Catholic depiction of the Virgin and Child, perhaps known to the artist, for instance, from a print.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, Clarke also emphasized the strong three-dimensionality arising from the execution of the coiffure, clothing and child, which implies that the artist had worked with an actual sitter.

Jan van Campen also maintained that, despite the similarities to Catholic iconography, the sculpture possesses the strong characteristics of a portrait. Nevertheless, both in his 2012 article and his 2015 book *Silk Thread: China and the Netherlands from 1600*, he localized the sculpture, a work in his view clearly demonstrating the contact between Asia and Europe, once again in Canton, citing a written account suggesting that, despite their official exclusion, foreign women may still have occasionally gained entry to the city. This made it more plausible that an encounter between a European woman and a local portrait-maker had taken place there.<sup>9</sup>

However, the statuette of the *Woman and Child* is not included in an overview of portrait figurines in Yi-chieh Shih's 2021 dissertation on the portrait figurine tradition of the so-called 'face-makers' of Canton, the group of Chinese artists solely working in clay with which Chitqua is associated. Shih observes that though Chitqua undoubtedly possessed the artistic skills to model a similar figure in clay, the technique requires different tools and entails an approach entirely unlike woodworking.<sup>10</sup> As she concludes, the absence of woodworking in the oeuvre of Chitqua or any other

Cantonese face-maker is therefore an important argument in dismissing the attribution of the present statuette to Chitqua.

### Canton, Chitqua and the 'Face-Makers'

Well into the eighteenth century, China's borders were closed to foreigners. To minimize the limited, existing contact between Chinese merchants and European sailors, during the Qing dynasty a small strip of land – less than 260 metres long – was specifically designated for trade with foreigners: the island Jongsin-Seeluan, located on the Pearl River just south of the port city Canton (now Guangzhou). From 1749 onwards, factories, called *hongs*, were built on the island, which trading posts could rent during their stay.<sup>11</sup> Permission to sell goods like tea and silk to foreigners on the outskirts of Canton was granted only to a select group of Chinese

merchants by the emperor. It was therefore global trade that led to a remarkable, albeit heavily regulated, encounter between Chinese culture and the rest of the world in this small corner of China.<sup>12</sup> Catering to the demand of sailors during their stay at the hongs, a Chinese production of art objects also gradually emerged. These included works such as Chinese porcelain, perhaps decorated with a Dutch family coat of arms or a depiction of Canton harbour, or a portrait bust modelled from unfired clay, such as the aforementioned bust of Houckgeest.<sup>13</sup>

China developed a strict policy for its trading post at Canton. Upon arrival, foreign ships originating from England, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and elsewhere were first required to anchor at the way station on the island of Whampoa, some twenty kilometres downstream from the city. On board these ships were up to as many as 100 to 150 crewmen, who had just completed a long voyage. Each ship was assigned a Chinese translator for the paperwork, and a *comprador*, responsible for ensuring the crew was furnished with all practical necessities, such as food and drink. In the meantime, the ships' chief officers, called 'supercargoes', travelled back and forth between Canton and Whampoa, while supervising the cargo and ensuring that order was maintained on the ships and the crew did not misbehave. Unloading and reloading could take up to five months for the larger ships and only a few weeks for smaller, privately owned ships.<sup>14</sup> Once unloaded, the supercargo and his crew were able to sail their ship into Canton. At this time, the crew was finally permitted to leave the ship, though even then, freedom of movement was restricted to the hongs and a few suburbs of the city. The entrance to these hongs was strictly guarded and closed every evening at

Fig. 2  
Attributed to CHITQUA, *Portrait of A Dutch Merchant*, possibly *Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest*, c. 1770. Unfired clay and oil paint, 36.5 x 31.5 x 20 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-1976-49, gift of the heirs of J.H. Timmer, Amsterdam.



ten o'clock, after which no one was allowed to enter or leave, a measure taken to keep out undesirables. The rent for the hong included food, the cleaning and other household tasks: all was carried out by Chinese servants under the comprador's direction, with the crewmen relieved of such daily chores. The timing of a ship's arrival and departure was determined by the prevailing monsoon winds: ships arrived in China between September and June and could depart only in the months November to February. During much of the intervening period, the crew had little to do; with so much free time on their hands and limited freedom of movement, this undoubtedly led to malaise. In *The Private Side of the Canton Trade*, Maria Kar-wing Mok aptly sums up the daily lives of these sailors in one word: 'shopping'. A great deal of their time in Canton, these sailors were buying up large quantities of items like tea, silk, porcelain, and other trinkets and bringing them back to the ship. The practice was even encouraged by the local Chinese authorities, who insisted a ship's hold be completely full before granting permission to leave China.<sup>15</sup> Writing in 1750, the Swedish clergyman Peter Osbeck (1723-1805) recorded in his travelogue one such 'shopping' experience in a Canton suburb: 'The famous face-maker was at work, who makes men's figures, mostly in miniature. Europeans often go to this man to be represented in their usual dress; and sometimes he hits them exceedingly well.'<sup>16</sup> Here, Osbeck describes one of the Chinese face-makers, craftsmen who, from the onset of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, produced striking portrait figurines in unfired clay, mostly of European sailors desiring a sculpted portrait of themselves as a memento of their journey.<sup>17</sup> The quality of surviving works – according

to the latest count, approximately forty-one figurines worldwide – greatly varies.<sup>18</sup>

Chitqua, too, was a face-maker. As a craftsman in China, he belonged to the lower social working class, a group seldom mentioned in written documents. Upon his arrival in England in 1769, however, Chitqua quickly rose to fame, becoming a much-discussed figure in London society.<sup>19</sup> During his brief, two-year sojourn in the city, he exhibited his work at the Royal Academy – the first Chinese artist to do so. Chitqua also met with King George III (1738-1820) and Queen Charlotte (1744-1818). Despite this moment of fame and his recognized talent, Chitqua chose to return to China. In a letter, he explained his decision to a friend, writing that he missed the tranquillity of the countryside and the climate of his homeland, but that the main reason for his departure was because he had run out of clay, the material necessary for him to practice his craft.<sup>20</sup> This is an important detail that shows that Chitqua was dependent on this material and did not make the switch to wood even when facing financially challenging times in England. Chitqua's first attempt to return to Canton ended in drama, a detailed account of which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of May 1771. He narrowly survived being violently thrown overboard by an aggressive group of sailors who distrusted his appearance and attire.<sup>21</sup> Not until a year later, in 1772, did he eventually find another ship to take him back to China. What happened in the ensuing years is unclear, but in this context, it seems implausible that he would have travelled to Batavia instead of Canton, as Staring suggested. There is no indication that Chitqua spent any amount of time in Batavia in the period 1772 to 1796. More likely than not, he simply returned to his homeland,

disillusioned after his adventure. In any event, Chitqua never revisited England, with nothing further written about his existence in China other than the sad news that he had ended his life in Canton by drinking poison, as reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1797.<sup>22</sup>

### European Women in Canton

Conceivably, it was upon returning to Canton circa 1773 that Chitqua created his portrait of Braam Houckgeest in unfired clay. Is it possible that, during this same period, he also made the wooden statuette of the woman and child in a city as strictly regulated as Canton?<sup>23</sup> The ban on foreign women in Canton was actively enforced, as is affirmed by an incident that occurred in 1751, registered in the *Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations: 1644-1820*.<sup>24</sup> The account tells of how a Dutch merchant, referred to as one Liao-lien, was attempting to take a woman and two girls from one ship to the Jui-feng Hong in Canton in a smaller boat. When discovered by local authorities, the woman and girls were immediately sent back to a Portuguese trading post on Macao, an island approximately 115 kilometres from Canton. The same ban is also confirmed by a regulation decreed in 1760, aimed to control the coming and going of foreigners. As stated under point two: 'Neither women nor pistols, spears, or weapons of a similar nature may be brought into the factories.'<sup>25</sup> In the following decades, this ban was consistently reissued, perhaps indicating that violations were frequent.<sup>26</sup> This is confirmed by Van Campen, who cites a telling passage in the *Kanton-Macao Dagregisters* of the Dutch lodge in Canton, published on 15 July 1764. In the passage, supercargo Martin Wilhelm Hulle (1735-1796) reports that the British King, an English ship, had arrived in Canton. Besides the captain himself, on board were his

wife and a second Englishwoman.<sup>27</sup> When seen by the Chinese authorities, the two women were immediately sent back to Macao. Hulle reported that the English had handled the incident clumsily, because with a small payment to the right people, such matters had previously been successfully arranged. This suggests a certain degree of tolerance, or, alternatively, corruption within the Canton system, which sometimes allowed supercargoes to smuggle women into the trading enclave. Officially, the ban was still in effect in the years 1770-90, the period in which the statuette is thought to have been made.

Missing from both the Chinese source from 1751 and the Dutch daily register from 1764 are the names of the women. This omission of relevant information is typical of many written sources from the eighteenth century. In the extensive archives of the Dutch East India Company (voc), women's names rarely appear. Travelling as passengers, their names are not listed in the shipping registers, an important source for the study of men working in the service of the voc in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>28</sup> The daily registers are no exception.

When the voc ships were anchored in Whampoa or Canton, as indicated, the women who travelled with the sailors usually stayed in the nearby Portuguese Catholic settlement of Macao. In the eighteenth century, this was an important place of residence for foreign merchants, where women of European origin were indeed allowed. Even so, there is no chance that a wooden statuette of a European woman would have been made on the island: since the introduction of the Canton system, all official trade with the Europeans was strictly concentrated in the city. Macao lacked both the legal jurisdiction required for commissioning work from a Chinese craftsman and the artisanal infrastructure for the production of refined woodcarvings destined for European

export. During the period in question, export art was produced exclusively in designated artisans' districts outside the Canton city centre.<sup>29</sup>

### Material-Technical Analysis

Until recently, the type of wood from which *Woman and Child* is carved was unknown, as were the carving techniques applied. For an object with such a dynamic history of attribution, this information is highly relevant to its interpretation. In the spring of 2021, material-technical analysis was conducted at the Rijksmuseum, specifically designed to determine the wood type and structure, and to ascertain possible restorations to the sculpture.<sup>30</sup> Digital microscopy, a technique that identifies wood types based on microscopic characteristics, indicated with a high degree of probability that the sculpture is carved from teak (*Tectona grandis*), a hard tropical wood species native to Myanmar, Thailand, and Indonesia.<sup>31</sup> Next, the sculpture was examined by

means of X-ray radiography (fig. 3). This required a relatively high radiation level; due to the strongly absorbent layer of polychromy on the sculpture, likely containing a lead-based pigment, the resulting images were sometimes inconclusive, and failed to reveal joints or glue seams that might indicate by what means the child was attached to the figure of the woman. From this, one may tentatively conclude that the entire sculpture – mother and child – was carved from a single piece of wood.<sup>32</sup> This would be unusual, however, given the more challenging technical execution necessary to carve such a composition from just one piece.<sup>33</sup> What the image did show were the round, copper ear studs inserted into the wood, and three presumably original nails. The woman's feet are possibly more recent additions, as these were attached to the statuette with twentieth-century slotted screws. Visible to the naked eye are several retouches, such as on the

Fig. 3  
Detail of *Woman and Child* (fig. 1).  
X-ray photograph  
(28 May 2021),  
Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam.



train's underside, the woman's left hip and the broken-off section of the dress. A number of minor restorations were also seen under UV light. Small areas of natural abrasion, especially in the green of the dress and in the child's face, were also retouched.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the overall condition of the polychromy is relatively good.

### Portrait Sculpture in Wood

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, teak grew naturally in many places on Java. Under the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the cultivation of teak expanded. The company needed the wood for shipbuilding and repairs because of its natural resistance to rot and shipworms, properties also of interest to furniture makers.<sup>35</sup> Up until the nineteenth century, the Javanese city of Japara was known as an important export centre for teak furniture, second only to Batavia.<sup>36</sup> The choice of teak – by no means the most obvious material for intricate woodcarving – suggests the present sculpture was made in a region where this type of wood was locally available and widely used. It also makes a Chinese origin less probable. The teak tree is not native to China. That the wood might have entered China through overseas trade with India and Indonesia cannot be ruled out. Even so, Chinese woodcarvers elsewhere had ample access to boxwood and jujube, native wood species that were finer in structure, more suitable for delicate woodcarving and therefore preferable to teak.

As noted above, even when faced with financial difficulty in England, Chitqua did not switch from clay to wood, two very different sculpting materials, as noted above, requiring entirely dissimilar techniques and working implements. In this respect, he was no exception: none of the Cantonese face-makers (are known to have) created images in wood. As observed by Olof Torén (1718-1753),



a Swedish preacher, in his travelogue of Canton: 'I have not heard of any carvers in wood or stone, but images and busts of clay are cheap.'<sup>37</sup>

A possible refutation of Torén's observation is a boxwood-carved, sculptural depiction of a man's head, approximately 16.5 centimetres high. This finely carved work is a portrait of a man with a refined face, thin lips and eyes, a pointed nose and a European or American coiffure with neatly combed hair and stylised curls (fig. 4). The man's neck terminates in a protruding L shape that functions as a stand.<sup>38</sup> The 1990 A&J Speelman sale catalogue situates this remarkable sculpture in China, and characterizes it as a work produced in the late eighteenth century possibly made for the export market. The detailed

*Fig. 4*  
ANONYMOUS  
CHINESE ARTIST,  
*Head, possibly*  
*of a Merchant.*  
Canton, late  
eighteenth century.  
Boxwood, 16.5 cm  
high.  
Private collection,  
London. Described  
in *A&J Speelman*  
*Oriental Art* 1996  
(note 38), p. 122.



woodcarving shows a level of craftsmanship comparable to that of the *Woman and Child*. Executed in boxwood – unlike the teak-carved *Woman and Child* statuette – the head was indeed more likely made in China. Unfortunately, nothing is known that might further facilitate a determination of its precise origin.

Finally, the few surviving examples of Chinese portrait sculptures of foreign women and men from the eighteenth century generally do not possess the level of refinement and detail found in the sculpture of the *Woman and Child*.<sup>39</sup> Besides the quality, even more striking is the highly accurate rendering of the woman's coiffure and clothing; unlike most depictions of European women among Chinese artworks produced for the export market, the attire is not an invention but instead a faithful representation of European fashion of the eighteenth century.

### Costume Analysis and Dating

The level of detail in the dress and hairdo suggests the Asian maker of the present sculpture worked with a tangible, three-dimensional textile model. European women sailing on VOC ships brought fashion with them to trading posts and colonial settlements overseas. For a greater understanding of the speed with which European fashion spread across Asia, and what specific trends made their way to the Dutch city of Batavia, the drawings of the Dutch preacher Jan Brandes (1743-1808) are a valuable source. Between 1779 and 1785, Brandes recorded numerous details of his trip to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), South Africa and Batavia in detailed, colourful drawings, sometimes supplemented with written annotations.<sup>40</sup> A resident of Batavia from 1779 to 1784, his works provide insight into daily life, seen through the eyes of a Dutchman. In his drawings, Brandes documented a wide variety



Figs. 5, 6  
*Woman and Child*  
(fig. 1): seen from  
the reverse and rear  
side view.

of subjects, including depictions of women dressed in European attire on different social occasions. These provide key reference points for analysing the sculpture *Woman and Child* (figs. 5, 6). In Brandes's 1785 drawing of a Dutch wedding celebration in Batavia, for example, two women on the right are seen wearing fashionable dresses closely adhering to fashion trends emanating from France, popular in Europe at the time (fig. 7). Tiered bows (*échelles*) adorn the bodice of the woman in the light-pink dress – a common detail for eighteenth-century dresses.<sup>41</sup> This trend, introduced at the French court by the highly influential Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764), spread very quickly throughout Europe.<sup>42</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, these bows were immortalized in Europe's first fashion magazine, *La Magasin des Modes Nouvelles Françaises et*



Fig. 7  
 JAN BRANDES,  
*Dutch Wedding  
 Celebration in  
 Batavia, 1779-85.*  
 Watercolour over  
 pencil, 201 x 330 mm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. NG-369.

*Anglaises* (abbreviated to *Magasin des modes*), published in Paris in 1787 (fig. 8).<sup>43</sup> Around the same time in Europe, the latest trends were recorded and disseminated in whole series of fashion prints, engravings and colour plates.<sup>44</sup> The fact that Jan Brandes drew a woman in a dress adorned with the popular French bows as early as 1785, implies that Batavia, despite its great distance from the source, was by no means lagging behind contemporary trends in European fashion.

The Rijksmuseum statuette also reflects these European trends. The woman's dress is in the style of a *robe à la française*, a term derived from the influence of French court fashion. It consists of a wide hoop skirt and an insert on the bodice (a *pièce d'estomac*), designed to further emphasize the waist. The dress in the *robe à la française* style was slightly shorter in front, allowing the wearer to walk without tripping on the costly fabric. The dress's skirt opens in front, revealing the ruffles of the underskirt. In the case of the statuette in the Rijksmuseum, the opening of the woman's dress is flanked by swirling, ruffled strips. The train at the back of her dress consists of two narrow pleats



Fig. 8

J.J. TUTTOT after  
A.B. DUHAMEL  
after CLAUDE  
LOUIS DESRAIS,  
*La Magasin des  
Modes Nouvelles  
Françaises et  
Anglaises, plate 1  
of the 8th cahier/  
sketchbook, 1787.*  
Hand-coloured  
engraving,  
191 x 121 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-2009-1279A,  
purchased with  
the support of the  
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

Fig. 9

NICOLAS DUPIN  
after CLAUDE  
LOUIS DESRAIS,  
*Galerie des Modes  
et Costumes  
Français, c. 1778.*  
Hand-coloured  
engraving,  
281 x 192 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-2009-1160,  
purchased with  
the support of the  
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

that are narrower than customarily encountered on a *robe à la française* – a highly fashionable detail as evidenced by an exclusive, contemporary French fashion print showing a similar dress with a narrow train. The same print belongs to a series of French fashion plates from 1778: the *Galerie des Modes et Costumes Français*, the exclusive precursor of the *Magasin des Modes* (fig. 9).<sup>45</sup> In all probability, the dress of the *Woman and Child* and the dress in the fashion print date from the same period. Invariably, they reflect the same trend. From the onset of the eighteenth century, the standard model of the *robe à la française* grew in popularity, reconceived in ever-changing variations until falling out of fashion in the seven-tens. The sculpture *Woman and Child* must therefore have been produced before 1790.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the coiffures of European women grew higher and higher.<sup>46</sup> This style trend is also reflected in the *Woman and Child*, who wears her voluminous, reddish-brown hair styled high, tapering to a point at the top, with stylised pipe-screw curls falling down either side of her face and the hair smoothly tucked inwards at the nape of the neck. A 1778 print by the engraver Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki shows various women's hairstyles, all of which resemble that of the statuette to some degree. Nevertheless, there is a direct similarity to the hairstyle in the left corner of the right panel. The high bouffant, viewed from behind, has a flat top and a rather sharp angle at the back. The woman has large curls at the nape of the neck and is wearing a headdress of wide bands, with wavy loops and a bow (fig. 10). The same hair trend can be observed in a drawing of four women by Jan Brandes, made during a trip on board a ship destined for Batavia in 1799 (fig. 11). All four have tall coiffures with the hair combed tightly



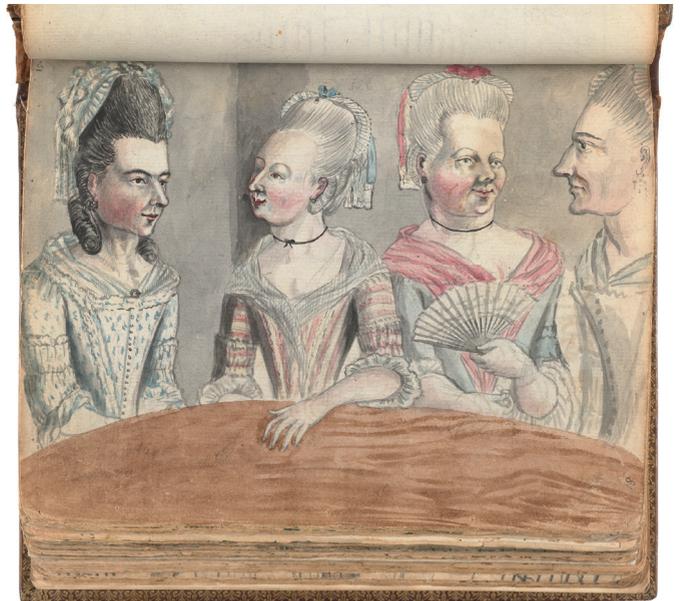


Fig. 10  
DANIEL NIKOLAUS  
CHODOWIECKI,  
*Various Women's  
Coiffures and  
Headdresses, 1779.*  
Engraving,  
127 x 133 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-OB-14.045.

Fig. 11  
JAN BRANDES, *Four  
Women at a Table  
during an Excursion  
to Falmouth, 1779.*  
Watercolour over  
pencil, 155 x 195 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
NG-1985-7-2-51.

upwards, accompanied by bonnets adorned with loops and ribbons. Brandes's drawing confirms that the style was not just reserved for fashion prints, but actually worn, even during lengthy sea voyages, though the drawing was made early in the ship's voyage. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the high hairstyle went out of fashion. Just like the dress worn by the wood-carved figure, the coiffure can also be dated to around 1780.

More difficult to interpret is the figure's headdress, integrally carved and additionally inlaid with rose-cut glass beads and copper wire. The 'difficulty' is especially noticeable in the openwork back (figs. 5, 6) – possibly an error on the sculptor's part, i.e. a failed attempt to recreate a European-style bonnet or cap. A similar inaccuracy can likewise be observed on the front of the dress, specifically, the unconvincing manner in which the meticulously applied curls framing



the front of the skirt fail to blend with the bodice, instead disappearing at the level of the woman's waist (fig. 1). These details may reveal something about the sculpture's creation, hinting at a maker with little knowledge of dresses and headdresses, someone who initially worked with a physical model that was not present when later executing other details, such as the back of the head. In any case, these findings establish that the hairstyle and dress, and therefore the sculpture, can be dated to the period 1778-90.

### A Related Sculpture in the Renato de Albuquerque Collection

Also travelling on the ship to Batavia in 1779, under Brandes's supervision, was the fifteen-year-old Maria Margaretha Wiese (1763-1846), second from the left in the above-cited drawing, as noted by him on the reverse (fig. 11). Born into a large German family with twenty-four children, Maria had been sent to Batavia, where affluent relatives were to assist her in finding a husband.<sup>47</sup> As young women in Batavia are rarely depicted, this surviving drawing of Maria is exceptional.

Portrait depictions of European women made in Asia in the eighteenth century are especially rare, nowhere more so than in sculpture. A possible example of the latter is a wooden statue of a young woman sitting in a chair, dressed in European attire, preserved in the Renato de Albuquerque collection (the RA collection) in Portugal. When offered for sale at Christie's Amsterdam in 2006, this statuette was invariably linked to the Rijksmuseum figure (fig. 12). Like *Woman and Child*, *Young Woman Sitting in a Chair* surfaced in a Dutch private collection.<sup>48</sup> Despite the difference in size, with the latter measuring 28 centimetres high, the two works could indeed have been made by the same artist. Although the

polychromy is heavily damaged and largely lost, traces of paint can still be discerned on the face: the eyes, cheeks and hairline are indicated with white and black paint. As on the *Woman and Child*, the hairline is applied in thin brushstrokes, hair by hair. Unfortunately, the type of wood used for the statue of the young woman is unknown, but even without a wood analysis, the similarities between the two statues are convincing. Both female figures have the same large, rounded forehead, a small, pointed nose and a narrow mouth. The shape of the ears is also striking, virtually identical in both statues. The young woman's nose is slightly smaller and her cheeks are fuller, giving her a more youthful appearance.

Fig. 12

ANONYMOUS  
CHINESE MAKER,  
*Young Woman  
Sitting in a Chair*,  
c. 1775-85. Probably  
originating from  
Batavia (now Jakarta).  
Wood and poly-  
chromy, 28 cm high.  
Sintra (Portugal),  
De Renato de  
Albuquerque Collec-  
tion, inv. no. 1080.





Fig. 13

JAN BRANDES,  
*Group of Card-  
 Playing Europeans  
 on Ceylon (now  
 Sri Lanka)*, 1785.  
 Watercolour over  
 pencil, 195 x 310 mm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
 NG-1985-7-2-17.

In *Young Woman Sitting in a Chair*, the figure sits on a mahogany chair with a violin-shaped backrest, fluted legs and decorative, floral-shaped knobs – in fact, an accurate miniature representation of a popular Dutch model from the late eighteenth century. Whether the chair is original cannot be determined with certainty. The young woman sits with her legs set apart – likely a consequence of wearing a corset, in the eighteenth-century commonly having an elongated busk extending to the pubic bone.<sup>49</sup> This created a narrow waist, but also forced the wearer to sit with the legs apart, with the busk's pointed end terminating between the legs.<sup>50</sup> The clothing of the girl in the RA collection, like that of the Rijksmuseum sculpture, is rendered in detail. On her head, the girl wears a round headdress with a braided pattern and a wide rim. On her upper body, she wears a buttoned waistcoat in the form of a half-length jacket with curled hems. Noteworthy is that, up until the end of the eighteenth

century, this type of jacket was worn exclusively by men. Women's variants, the so-called *redingotes* (a derivative of the English 'riding coat'), first appear in Western European fashion no earlier than the end of the century.<sup>51</sup> Unlike the shorter men's jackets, these redingotes reached to the ground and had the silhouette of an overcoat. Yet the jacket worn by the young woman is undoubtedly the earlier version designed for men.<sup>52</sup> This noteworthy detail may have specifically applied to women of European origin residing in Asia. In fact, one finds this fashion phenomenon likewise documented in Jan Brandes's coloured drawing from 1785, made while accompanying a group of European travellers on an elephant hunt in Ceylon (fig. 13). The drawing shows eleven people playing a game, seated around a table: four women, six men and a young boy. A woman on the left wears a mid-length jacket with a ruffled edge over a buttoned vest and a skirt, similar to the attire of the young woman.<sup>53</sup> Based on the style of the jacket in

this drawing and on the statuette of the young woman, the latter, like *Woman and Child*, can be dated to approximately 1780-90.

An opening in the girl's clenched fist suggests she was originally holding some kind of attribute, possibly a book. A similar opening in the hand of the child in the *Woman and Child* indicates the presence of an object now lost. A final, noteworthy commonality is the presence of holes drilled into the earlobes of the two female figures, an indication that, originally, the girl was also depicted wearing earrings. On the Rijksmuseum sculpture, the earrings are still present, in the form of copper studs inlaid with glass beads. Future research of the materials used may perhaps provide additional insight. Figural works adorned with earrings are not found in Europe or China. Where they do occur is in Javanese court culture, specifically in the Javanese *Loro Blonyo* tradition: ceremonial wood-carved sculptural depictions of seated married couples, symbolizing fertility and harmony. Occasionally, holes are made in the ears of female figures to accommodate jewellery. In one eighteenth-century example, preserved in Scotland, such holes in the earlobes are clearly visible (fig. 14).<sup>54</sup> The various Javanese courts maintained varying levels of contact with the authorities in Batavia. The Javanese craftsmen active in Batavia possibly originated from those regions centred on these courts. The striking similarities between *Young Woman Sitting in a Chair* and *Woman and Child* confirm that the two works originated from the same region, possibly made in the same workshop or by the same artist.

#### Alternatives for Canton as Place of Origin

The well-preserved polychromy of *Woman and Child* has a palette of soft pastel colours: a mint-green dress,

white, fondant-like skin, light-pink blushing cheeks and ginger hair. The chosen, predominantly Chinese colour palette lends this solid wood sculpture the appearance of porcelain. The sculpture possibly originated as an intercultural hybrid: a European sitter, portrayed by a Chinese craftsman working outside China, perhaps in collaboration with a local wood-carver.

In the eighteenth century, there were a number of European colonial settlements and trading posts where both Chinese sculptors and European women were present, making these possible locations for the production of a sculpture featuring such a woman. For example, the *Woman and Child* might have originated from a Spanish or Portuguese colonial settlement in Asia. In the year 1775, nine Chinese

Fig. 14  
ANONYMOUS  
JAVANESE  
WOODCARVER,  
*Female Figure from a  
Wedding Couple (Loro  
Blonyo)*, eighteenth  
century, Java.  
Wood and silk.  
Edinburgh, National  
Museums Scotland,  
inv. no. A.1991.65 B.  
Photo © National  
Museums Scotland



sculptors are known to have been active in the Spanish colony Manila in the Philippines.<sup>55</sup> Such an origin in a Catholic settlement would explain the similarity between *Woman and Child* and images of the Virgin and Child. However, this option is not the most likely. In her dissertation, Shih shows that some Chinese face-makers chose to leave Canton for destinations such as Madras (present-day Chennai, India) or Batavia, with the aim of modelling portrait figures of European sailors in unfired clay.<sup>56</sup> But like Chitqua, these craftsmen were not woodcarvers and therefore unlikely to have made the *Woman and Child* sculpture. Nevertheless, Chinese and Europeans could be found in Madras and Batavia, two cities in which teak was also readily available. Both places also had a local tradition of wood-carved sculpture, though this was not unique in Asia. Accordingly, one may reasonably conclude that the *Woman and Child* was created in one of these cities. However, the remarkable detail of the earrings shared by the sculptures in the Rijksmuseum and the RA collection suggests a connection to the Javanese *Loro Blonyo* tradition, pointing once again to the location proffered by Staring and Leeuwenberg in the twentieth century: Batavia.

### Chinese and Javanese Craftsmen in Batavia

Contact between China and Java dates back centuries. In the seventeenth century, when the Dutch took Batavia by force and established the city as the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), they sought to work closely with the Chinese community then already present on Java.<sup>57</sup> The Chinese came to play a central role in the social, cultural and economic structure, for example, serving as intermediaries between the VOC administrators and the local Javanese community. As such, they held a crucial position

in trade, policy implementation and the production of goods in Batavia's artisans' quarter (*het ambachtskwartier*). By the end of the eighteenth century, the Chinese community constituted the largest non-indigenous, ethnic group in the city.<sup>58</sup> Many Chinese worked in Batavia's artisans' quarter, known for their craftsmanship and ability to adapt to the wishes of customers from different cultures. At the end of the seventeenth century, a German traveller observed that Chinese craftsmen in Batavia were able to reproduce almost anything the Dutch made, whether it be furniture or household goods.<sup>59</sup> Chinese craftsmen abroad always retained the right to return to their homeland, which made it easier for them to settle elsewhere for a period of time. From China, two important sea routes led to foreign trading posts: the western route (Xiyang), which led to the Indian Ocean, Bengal and Madras; and the eastern route (Dongyang), with destination Batavia.<sup>60</sup> Strict trade regulations and fierce competition prevailed in Canton. With its central location, cultural diversity and relatively flexible regulations, Batavia was an attractive alternative for Chinese craftsmen.

Throughout the centuries, craftsmen of many different nationalities worked in close collaboration in the artisans' quarter of Batavia. To meet the demand for furniture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hundreds of furniture makers must have worked in the city.<sup>61</sup> Traveller's accounts occasionally provide a glimpse into the practices of these craftsmen. One Dutchman describes with astonishment how Javanese craftsmen in Batavia worked with minimal resources: a small plot of land as a workshop, a low table, a wooden hammer and a set of chisels. Among the latter were the *pengku* (a semi-circular chisel for curved lines) and the *penyilat* (a flat chisel

for straight lines).<sup>62</sup> Javanese woodworkers had learned to master the art of woodworking down to the minutest detail.<sup>63</sup> A skilled Javanese woodcarver would have had no difficulty executing complex elements such as the rippling fabric folds and finely draped garments found on the present statuette.

That two craftsmen from different backgrounds would eventually cross paths in the culturally diverse artisans' quarter of Batavia was a certainty. For this reason, furniture from Batavia, like the statuette of the *Woman and Child*, was often an undefinable hodgepodge of diverse cultural influences. One such piece is a wooden screen with a design and woodcarving in a late seventeenth-century European Baroque style combined with a Lingzhi motif commonly applied in Chinese woodcarving starting from the period of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).<sup>64</sup> Another example is a miniature of a European chair, where the complex wood joints betray the hand of a Chinese artisan, a piece that could just as easily have been made in Canton as Batavia.

As Chinese craftsmen were able to work in various locations across Asia and skilled at copying furniture and handicrafts from other cultures, it is almost impossible to distinguish the hand of one craftsman from another. Accordingly, one can sometimes discern the nationality of a work's maker based on small details, such as an unusually finished face or a characteristic motif.<sup>65</sup> Although it was previously stated that *Woman and Child* would not have been made in China, the specific colour palette of the polychromy does in fact point to a Chinese maker. Nevertheless, the use of teak, the earrings and the woman's stately pose are characteristic of Javanese art, especially the monumental *Loro Blonyo* sculptures, suggesting the influence of Javanese sculptural culture. More so than elsewhere in Asia, Batavia was the

ultimate breeding ground for a meeting of elements from the cultures of Europe, Java and China.

### **An Anonymous Maker and an Unknown Sitter**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Batavia was a colonial city where cultural suppression and exchange went hand in hand. This exchange was evident not only among the city's inhabitants, but also in its material culture. Alongside European objects, the Dutch adorned their interiors with Chinese paintings, Japanese and Chinese porcelain, and Indian chintz, but also Javanese furniture, batik and musical instruments.<sup>66</sup> Through trade and slavery, this meeting of multiple nationalities and cultures gave rise to several cultural hybrid forms, including, for example, the Javanese musical genre *kroncong*, developed under the influence of Portuguese folk music.<sup>67</sup> Despite the dominant presence of the Dutch from the seventeenth century onwards, Batavia essentially maintained its Asian character. Also, European women had played an active public role in the civic life of Batavia for centuries, enjoying a relative freedom of movement. For the present statuette of a European woman simultaneously displaying ostensible European, Javanese and Chinese traits, Batavia, a place where elements from different cultures intersected, emerges as a highly tenable place of origin.

In the absence of any direct, documented proof, the identity of the woman portrayed in the Rijksmuseum sculpture remains speculative. However, the presence of a small child suggests the work was made for a young mother. One possibility is a daughter of Governor-General Willem Arnold Alting (1724-1800): either Willemina Hendrina (1763-1792) or Constantia Cornelia (1770-1840), both of whom married and gave birth to a child in

the seventeen eighties, corresponding to the period in question. A third candidate is Apollonia Magdalena van Angelbeek (1768-1800), whose image has been passed down in a depiction by Jan Brandes, made during the aforementioned elephant hunt in Ceylon in 1785.<sup>68</sup> Among the families of governors-general of Batavia, sons reaching adulthood are remarkably few in number.<sup>69</sup> Accordingly, public events were typically attended by the daughters, after whom houses and forts were also often named. A portrait sculpture in wood of a prominent daughter is therefore conceivable.

Despite the underrepresentation of women and children in numerous written sources and official functions in the world of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the eighteenth century, the present wooden statuette tangibly attests to their presence. Like the identity of the woman and child portrayed, the maker of the

sculpture also remains elusive. This anonymity reflects an even greater void in such historical sources: women's life stories and the contributions of non-European craftsmen are rarely recorded or preserved in detail. Works like *Woman and Child* serve as a reminder that, outside written history, there are still many voices whose stories have yet to be heard.

## ABSTRACT

An eighteenth-century wooden statuette of a woman holding a child in the Rijksmuseum has long been attributed to Tan-Che-Qua (Chitqua), a Chinese portrait-maker active in Canton (present-day Guangzhou). This attribution proves untenable in light of the observation that Chitqua is not known to have ever worked in wood. The present article proposes an alternative attribution to an anonymous Chinese artist working in the Dutch settlement of Batavia (now Jakarta). This suggestion is corroborated by a technical analysis of the wood used to carve the sculpture, identified as teak, a material readily available on Java and commonly used by indigenous craftsmen to create detailed figures. Copper studs inserted into the woman's wood-carved ears are possibly akin to similar accessories adorning figures carved in the Central Javanese *Loro Blonyo* tradition. A Chinese artist working in the artisans' district of Batavia could easily have been influenced by his Javanese counterparts. A close comparison with contemporary fashion prints identifies the woman's attire as an exact rendering of European fashion from the period 1778-90. Moreover, the specificity of the woman's facial features indicates that the statuette is a portrait. This person is far more likely to have lived in Batavia, where European women could live their lives in relative freedom, versus Canton, a city where European women were forbidden entry. The identity of the sitter has not (yet) been ascertained, but the daughters of the governors-generals of Batavia are tenable candidates. By exploring this statuette, the article aims to expand on existing scholarship, while addressing the visibility – or rather, invisibility – of European women and non-European artists in the written history of the eighteenth-century overseas trade in Asia.

## NOTES

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- 1 Aldoph Staring, 'Chineesche Portretfiguren', *Oud Holland* 73 (1958), pp. 220-28.
  - 2 Frits Scholten, 'Een Nederlandse Amerikaan in China', *Floris Verster 1861-1927* [Kunstschrift] (1995), no. 1, pp. 52-54; Jan van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen van Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 53 (2005), no. 1, pp. 18-40; Joost C. A. Schokkenbroek, 'Versteend verleden: Chinese portretbeeldjes in de collectie van het Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam', *Vormen uit vuur* 203 (2008), no. 4, pp. 2-13, esp. p. 11; Joost C. A. Schokkenbroek, 'Figuring Out Global and Local Relations: Cantonese Face-Makers and their Sitters in the 18th Century', in Pepijn Brandon, Sabine Go and Wybren Versteegen (eds.), *Navigating History: Economy, Society, Knowledge, and Nature*, Leiden 2017, pp. 170-97.
  - 3 *Catalogue d'une vente importante de tableaux anciens et d'antiques*, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller & Co), 2-3 March 1897, lot 74: 'Statuette de femme avec un enfant. Bois sculpté et peint. Travail allemand, vers 1750' (Statuette of woman with a child. Wood sculpted and painted. German work circa 1750; estate of Cornelia Willempje de Roo (1816-1896), widow of Willem Frederik Carel van Lidth de Jeude (1815-1874). The family archive of W.F.C. van Lidth de Jeude was consulted during the research for this article but failed to produce any indications regarding the provenance of the statuette.
  - 4 Staring 1958 (note 1), p. 227; inventory card *Woman and Child*, archive Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, with annotation (presumably made by Jaap Leeuwenberg) stating his correspondence with Aldoph Staring dated 14 April 1956 regarding the attribution to a Chinese artist active in Canton.
  - 5 Staring 1958 (note 1), p. 221.
  - 6 Jaap W. Leeuwenberg and Patricia Wardle, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum: catalogus*, Amsterdam 1973, p. 495.
  - 7 David James Clarke, *Chinese Art and Its Encounter with the World*, Hong Kong 2011, p. 68.
  - 8 Ibid.
  - 9 Jan van Campen and Tristan Mostert, *Zijden draad: China en Nederland 1600-2000*, Amsterdam/Nijmegen 2015, p. 123; Jan van Campen, 'Dame met een kind op de arm', *Aziatische Kunst* 42 (2012), no. 3, pp. 33-36.
  - 10 Yi-chieh Shih, *Modelling Handsome Faces. Chitqua: A Chinese Artist and Chinese Art in Eighteenth Century London*, Geneva (diss. University of Geneva) 2021, p. 213.
  - 11 Paul A. van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*, Hong Kong 2007, pp. 163-76; A.M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'De factorijen te Canton in de 18de eeuw', *Oud Holland* 70 (1955), no. 3, pp. 162-63.
  - 12 Shih 2021 (note 10), p. 65.
  - 13 See for example *Plate Bearing the Arms of the Beekman Family*, China, 1730-35. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-NM-13402. Campen and Mostert 2015 (note 9), p. 111.
  - 14 Paul A. van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories, 1760-1822: Reading History in Art*, Hong Kong 2015, p. xv.
  - 15 Paul A. van Dyke and Susan E. Schopp (eds.), *The Private Side of the Canton Trade, 1700-1840: Beyond the Companies*, Hong Kong 2018, p. 64. See also Paul A. van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao*, Hong Kong 2016.
  - 16 Pehr Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en ostindisk resa åren 1750, 1751, 1752*, Stockholm 1757, p. 144; English-language translation in Peter Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies* (transl. and pub. John Reinhold Forster), London (Benjamin White) 1771, pp. 220-21.
  - 17 Van Dyke and Kar-wing Mok 2015 (note 14), p. xvii.
  - 18 Shih 2021 (note 10), pp. 398-443.
  - 19 Clarke 2011 (note 7), pp. 15-85.
  - 20 Shih 2021 (note 10), p. 5.
  - 21 Edward Cave (ed.), *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle: May 1771*, London (D. Henry) 1771, p. 237; Clarke 2011 (note 7), pp. 81, 230 note 119.
  - 22 Clarke 2011 (note 7), p. 237; Edward Cave (ed.), *Gentleman's Magazine* xxvii, part 11, no. 6, December 1797, p. 1072.
  - 23 Van Campen 2012 (note 9), pp. 33-36.
  - 24 Lo-Shu Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820)*, Tucson 1966, p. 189.
  - 25 'Zowel vrouwen als pistolen, speren of wapens van vergelijkbare aard mogen niet worden meegenomen naar de factorijen.'; William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days: 1825-1844*, Shanghai (The Oriental Affairs) 1882, p. 17.

- 26 Van Campen and Mostert 2015 (note 9), 123; Lisa Hellman, 'The Life and Loves of Michael Grubb: A Swedish Trader in Eighteenth-Century Canton and Macao', in Paul A. van Dyke and Susan E. Schopp (eds.), *The Private Side of the Canton Trade, 1700–1840: Beyond the Companies*, Hong Kong 2018, p. 121.
- 27 Cynthia Viallé and Paul A. van Dyke, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1764*, Macau (Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau) 2009, p. 132.
- 28 Yvonne Prins, 'Leidse vrouwen naar de Oost', *Genealogisch Jaarboek*, The Hague (Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie) 2002, p. 179; see also Mark R.F. Williams, 'Seeing Women in the Early English and Dutch East India Companies', *Historical Research* 98 (2025), no. 281, pp. 350–66, esp. p. 354.
- 29 For additional information on the strict concentration of handicraft production and European trade in Guangzhou, as well as the absence of a comparable infrastructure in Macao, see Paul A. van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*, Hong Kong 2016; Paul A. van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1763 and 1764*, Macau (Instituto Cultural) 2008 and 2009; Pamela Kyle Crossley, 'The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tours and the Construction of the Canton System', in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The Chinese World Order Reconsidered*, Leiden 2018, pp. 233–56; Lisa Hellman, *This House Is Not a Home: European Everyday Life in Canton and Macao, 1730–1830*, Leiden 2020, especially chapters 3–5, in which the notion is reinforced that Macao was not a centre of production for export art and that the commissioning of European works happened exclusively in Canton.
- 30 Material-technical analysis conducted by Jan Dorscheid. For the report on the technical analysis, see Lydia Randt, entry BK-NM-10883, unpublished object dossier, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 2025.
- 31 The outer edge of walnut wood closely resembles teak. For this reason, walnut first had to be ruled out. The wood of the statuette has the following characteristics: growth-ring boundaries diffuse porous/semi-diffuse porous, pores solitary or in pairs, tyloses in pores present, rays 3–4 seriate, terminal parenchyma. The last of these characteristics is not found in walnut. See Rudi Wagenführ, *Holzatlas*, Munich 2000 (rev. ed.), p. 5.
- 32 Instrument used: Balteau Baltograph XSD225, tube TSD225/0 and Control Unit LSI. Manipulator system: Seifert DP435, C-arm. Flat panel/ DR: FP Digit 13 – 127 14/16 bit. Pixel pitch: 127µm<sup>2</sup>. Parameters: 45–55kV, 2–3mA, spot size 1mm.
- 33 A CT scan might produce greater clarity or even conclusive evidence in respect to the overall structure of the sculpture, perhaps revealing the direction of the woodgrain, eventual joints and/or glue lines.
- 34 Instrument used: Foster+Freeman Crime-lite 42s Dual-wavelength light source, 350–380nm, peak at 365nm.
- 35 Erik Odegard, "The Best Timber in India": Shipbuilding Supplies and the Dutch East India Company in Cochin, 1663–1795', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* (2025), pp. 435–39.
- 36 Monique van de Geijn-Verhoeven, Antonia Malan and Karel Schoeman, *Wonen op de Kaap en in Batavia, 1602–1795*, exh. cat. The Hague (Gemeentemuseum Den Haag) 2002, p. 44; *Javasche Courant* 1829, no. 11.
- 37 *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, London (D. Henry) May 1771, pp. 237–38, with citation of Olof Torén (1718–1753); Clarke 2011 (note 7), p. 19.
- 38 Alfred and Jules Speelman, *A & J Speelman Oriental Art, sale cat.* London 1990, p. 122.
- 39 There exist several examples of Asian depictions of foreign women in the 17th and 18th centuries. One example is a remarkable wooden statue of a woman with a fan, attired in Dutch traditional dress from the late seventeenth century: Zebregs & Roëll, 'A Highly Unusual Chinese Sandalwood Figure of a Dutch Lady, China or Jakarta (Batavia), late 17th century'; sale catalogue Bukowskis, Stockholm, 11–13 June 2025, lot 941, *Parsi Merchant with his Wife*, Canton, 19th century. In addition, a number of works are also traceable to European prints, see Jan van Campen, "In 't vuur geschilderd": Geëmailleerde platen van koper en porselein uit de collectie J. Th. Royer (1737–1807)", *Het Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 50 (2002), no. 1, pp. 2–27; Rita Wassing-Visser and Martine P. Wolff (eds.), *Met andere ogen: 400 jaar afbeeldingen van Europeanen door verre volken*, exh. cat. Delft (Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara) 1986, pp. 18, 46 (figs. 16, 36).
- 40 Max de Bruijn, *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743–1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa*, Zwolle 2004, pp. 29–30.
- 41 Valerie Cumming, Cecil Willett Cunnington and Phillis E. Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Oxford 2010, p. 73.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 506.

- 43 Aileen Elizabeth Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe: 1715-1789*, New Haven 2002 (2nd ed.), p. 34.
- 44 Ibid., p. 63; Vyvyan Holland, *Hand-Coloured Fashion Plates: 1770 to 1899*, London 1955, pp. 48-52.
- 45 Ribeiro 2002 (note 43), p. 63; Holland 1955 (note 44), pp. 48-52.
- 46 Aileen Elizabeth Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume: The Eighteenth Century*, London 1983, p. 14.
- 47 De Bruijn 2004 (note 40), pp. 29-30.
- 48 William R. Sargent, 'Figure of a Lady', in Carita Helder et al. (eds.), *The RA Collection of Cross-Cultural Works of Art: A Collector's Vision*, London 2022, pp. 84-85.
- 49 Cecil Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *The History of Underclothes*, London 1951 (repub. Dover 1992), pp. 87-88.
- 50 Email correspondence with Bianca M. du Mortier, May 2021, Amsterdam.
- 51 'Redingote', Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Springfield 2003, see <https://www.merriam-webster.com> (consulted 21 June 2021).
- 52 Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington 2010 (note 41), p. 170.
- 53 De Bruijn 2004 (note 40), pp. 295-98. A list survives containing the names of the twenty-two individuals who participated in the elephant hunt Jan Brandes recorded in his drawing. There were three women in the group: Apollonia Magdalena van Angelbeek (born in Batavia, 1759-1800); the wife of *dessave* Frederik Jacob Billing (1747-1787), *onderkoopman* Schuler and *proponent* Camp. Unfortunately, there is no way of ascertaining the exact identity of the women depicted in the drawing; see *ibid.*, p. 195.
- 54 Helen Ibbitson Jessup (ed.), *Court Arts of Indonesia*, exh. cat. New York (The Asia Society Galleries) 1990, p. 28.
- 55 Van Campen 2012 (note 9), p. 34.
- 56 Shih 2021 (note 10), pp. 103-05.
- 57 *The Chinese Annals of Batavia, the Kai Ba Lidai Shiji and Other Stories (1610-1795)* (translated, edited, and annotated by Leonard Blussé and Nie Dening), Leiden/Boston 2018, pp. 3-4.
- 58 Jan van Campen, 'The Hybrid World of Batavia', in Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen and Femke Diercks (eds.), *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/Salem (Peabody Essex Museum) 2015, pp. 40-49.
- 59 Van Campen and Mostert 2015 (note 9), p. 129; Dave van Gompel, Joost Hoving and Reinier Klusener, *Furniture from the Netherlands East Indies 1600-1900: A Historical Perspective Based on the Collection of the Tropenmuseum*, Amsterdam 2013, p. 30.
- 60 Shih 2021 (note 10), pp. 91-93.
- 61 Van de Geijn-Verhoeven, Malan and Schoeman 2002 (note 36), pp. 19, 44.
- 62 R.M. Notosoeroto, 'Over de inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië', *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch huis oud en nieuw* (1913-14), pp. 43-50.
- 63 Van de Geijn-Verhoeven, Malan and Schoeman 2002 (note 36), p. 19.
- 64 Van Gompel, Hoving and Klusener 2013 (note 59), p. III, cat. no. 5.
- 65 Ibid., p. 114, cat. no. 7.
- 66 Michael North, 'Domestic Interiors in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Batavia', in Raquel A.G. Reyes (ed.), *Art, Trade, and Cultural Mediation in Asia, 1600-1950*, London 2019, p. 107; Jan van Campen, 'De Indische samenleving', in Kees Zandvliet and Leonard Blussé (eds.), *De Nederlandse ontmoetingen met Azië 1600-1950*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2002, p. 198.
- 67 Van de Geijn-Verhoeven, Malan and Schoeman 2002 (note 36), p. 21. In the nineteenth century, there also arose, for example, 'Indo-European batik', a batik style developed for Indo-European women.
- 68 *De Navorscher: Een middel tot Gedachtenwisseling en Letterkundig Verkeer tussen allen die iets weten, iets te vragen hebben of iets kunnen oplossen* (edited by J.F. van Someren), Zaltbommel 1906, p. 83.
- 69 Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, Madison 1983, pp. 3-4.