歐邏巴洲亞嘉亞省。供木星人形之像。斐第亞天下名工。取山中一塊最硬大石。彫刻木星人形之像。身體弘大。工精細巧。安坐廟中。時有譏笑者。對工師曰。設使這弘大之軀起立。豈不冲破廟宇乎。工師答曰。我已安置之。萬不能起立。

EurAsian Layers: Netherlandish Surfaces and Early Modern Chinese Artefacts

• ANNA GRASSKAMP* •

There has been extensive research into the interactions between Chinese artefacts and material and visual culture in Belgium and the Netherlands of the same era under the labels of chinoiserie, export art or company art.[1] Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the mediation of Netherlandish and Flemish art in Asia,[2] and developed such terms as 'Euroiserie', 'Européenerie' or 'Chinese Occidenterie' to label fashions for European and European-style art in China.[3] Going beyond sociological approaches that focus on Flemish Jesuit agency or Dutch East India Company 'mediation', and nuancing umbrella terms that stress the priority of man-made systems of taste over object agency, this article will examine a number of EurAsian objects.

Produced and exchanged in Eurasian spaces,[4] EurAsian artefacts are 'entangled objects' that are composed of both Asian and European material and visual components.[5] Examples include items made in Asia for the Dutch East India Company, re-framings of Flemish engravings produced on command by the Chinese Emperor, *kraak* porcelain found in Dutch vessels, and the tombs of Chinese members of the elite, and European print motifs 'pasted' on to the surfaces of Chinese enamel wares. The European and Asian elements that these objects embody merge into a newly entangled unity, in which complex polarities simultaneously complement and oppose each other, as indicated by the use of a capital A for Asian in the unusual spelling of the term EurAsian.

Detail of fig. 3

Rather than categorizing EurAsian objects according to their respective geographic origin as essentially 'European' or 'Asian', or in relation to historic sequences as 'typical' or 'representative' of specific centuries' 'cultures', this article chooses to understand them as 'caught up in recursive trajectories of repetition and pastiche whose dense complexity makes them resistant to any particular moment'.[6] It approaches the surfaces of transcultural images and objects in an attempt to disentangle multiple material and visual layers with a particular focus on framing strategies.

An early multi-layered example of the importance of transcultural re-framings is the illustrated image printed in sixteenth-century Antwerp (fig. 1). The central motif of the image appears inside a frame of animals and plants, while in its slightly later Chinese version it is presented on a background that is blank except for inscriptions and rectangular linear frames (fig. 2). The image exemplifies the complications of transcultural authorship: the lines that constitute the picture had been carved into a

Fig. 1
EDUARD VAN HOESWINCKEL (publisher), MAARTEN DE VOS (inventor) and ANTONIUS II WIERIX (engraver), *The Journey to Emmaus*, Antwerp, 1580-1600. Engraving, one of 22 prints in the series *The Life of Christ*, 185 x 147 mm. London, British Museum, inv. no. F, 1211.

woodblock by a Chinese craftsman and the image's integration into a Chinese treatise on ink cake designs and the exact terms of its re-framing had been decided upon by a Chinese agent, Cheng Junfang 程君房 (1541-after 1610), the compiler of the album.[7] Nevertheless, the central picture plane displays the pictorial traces, for example, of the signatures of its European inventor, designer and printer, as we can clearly read 'Anton Wierix engraved [it]' (*Anton. Wierix sculpsit*), 'Martin de Vos invented [it]' (*Martinus de Vos inuentor*), and 'Eduardus van Hoeswinckel published [it]' (*Eduardus ab hoeswinckel excudit*); in its Chinese version, the Latin inscription is reduced to a partly unreadable arrangement of script-like ornamental lines. Clearly decipherable, yet written in an outdated Romanization mode of Chinese characters, four words in European script replace the elaborate pictorial frame of the Antwerp print. According to Lin Li-chiang, the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) had been commissioned to write them by the album's Chinese compiler.[8] Moving from the central image to the margins of the page, the multi-layered framework of authorships consists of Wierix, De Vos, Van Hoeswinckel, Ricci, a Chinese carver of the woodblock, and the treatise's compiler. While the latter determined the book design and the book page's general layout, and Matteo Ricci contributed the Romanized inscriptions on it, Hoeswinckel's and Wierix's agencies as publisher and engraver are rendered almost invisible by the different visual idioms and techniques used by the Chinese woodblock carver in interpreting De Vos's motif. Clearly, the agency of the Chinese framers of the image overwrites the European core motif in more than one regard, expressing a claim to authorship that is as strong as the one the European agency communicated through the central motif.

The image illustrated is also complex in terms of its mediation between two- and three-dimensional layers of pictorial representation. The three-dimensionally rendered 'by-works'[9] of the animals and plants in the margins of the European version have made way for a two-dimensional inscription and, as Lin has pointed out, the central motif's cross-hatchings, too, have been removed or flattened in the Chinese print's linear outlines and planar designs.[10] While the European print is framed by images that evoke fragments of the three-dimensional object world, playfully engaging with the potential of actual plants and insects to be collected and pressed between the pages of a (prayer) book,[11] the central image in both examples provides a link into another space. In the European case, the motif presents a window into the world of the Bible. In the Ink Cake Album the 'same' image provides a

gateway to the three-dimensional object world of the scholar's desk as a potential design for an object's surface, an ink cake. Ming dynasty inkstick or ink cake decorations appear in albums with sample images that promote potential surface decorations (as in the one illustrated) as well as on the surfaces of actual ink cakes; these, after grinding and with the addition of water and the use of a brush, could be destroyed for the sake of writing and/or painting. They therefore provide 'a concrete link between printed images and the decorative arts'.[12] In the act of translation, the European image of our example loses its cross-hatchings and is seemingly flattened, while in fact it is turned into a three-dimensional thing placed on a book page, the sample of a potential ink cake surface decoration sticking out of the two-dimensional and letter-dominated spaces of a book. Re-negotiating frameworks of authorships, as this example illustrates, the act of transcultural re-framing is inevitably also an act of re-layering, a sophisticated mediation between the two-dimensional

Fig. 2
*lh tu vuen xie*二徒聞實 [*er tu wen shi*, The Two Disciples Hearing the Truth], from Cheng Junfang 程君房 (ed.), *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 [Master Cheng's Garden of Ink Cakes], *juan* 6 *xia*, p. 39, after 1605. Woodblock prints, 236 x 149 mm. Taipei, National Palace Museum, inv. no. 06842.

and the three-dimensional potentials of surface layers.

This article reveals that visual and material re-framings are a common constituent rather than an isolated phenomenon in the field of EurAsian objects. It presents its own sequence of multiply layered objects from different periods, regional and social contexts to analyse the 'recursive strategies of repetition and pastiche'[13] through the example of (re-)framings of Flemish and Netherlandish visual and material culture on the surfaces of early modern artefacts, most of them made in China. Opening with an analysis of re-framings of Netherlandish and Flemish print culture on Chinese book and album pages, the article's second part focuses on the integration of European pictorial elements on the 'surfacescapes'[14] of three-dimensional artefacts made in Guangzhou and Beijing. Starting with printed and painted two-dimensional imagery and moving on to enamelled plaques and their employment of special background layers, the essay concludes with examples of mounted and painted porcelain and metal vessels. It reveals the multi-dimensionality of seemingly flat re-framings on the surfaces of transcultural artefacts as a key component of EurAsian object production, and stresses the importance of haptic engagement with them.

Planes on Paper: Shifting Layers in Transcultural Image Production

From the sixteenth century onwards, large quantities of Netherlandish and Flemish prints travelled eastwards. Findings from a Dutch vessel that was trapped in the ice at Novaya Zemlya in 1597 are physical evidence of a large consignment of prints being carried from Amsterdam to China.[15] The answer to the question as to whether such images were widely available to early modern Chinese viewers, has to be yes and no. Like many European prints, which are not physically extant in present-day Chinese archives but have survived in re-framed versions (such as the one just illustrated), European pictures were already more widely available to Chinese viewers in their re-framed transmutations rather than their original versions during the early modern period. In the example discussed, only the ink cake album's compiler and a few other members of the educated Chinese cultural elite possessed versions of European prints, whereas many more Chinese readers had access to the illustrated album of ink cake decorations with its re-framed versions of the images.

Jesuit missionaries were important non-Chinese agents in the re-framing of European imagery, as evidenced by an enormous amount of published scholarship that deals with prints as testimonies of Sino-European artistic interactions.[16] Arguably, the main body of European pictorial sources for the Chinese re-framings of religious visual culture reflects the importance of Northern European publishing centres, with material printed either in Antwerp, such as the images previously discussed and the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* by Geronimo Nadal (1507-1580), or in Amsterdam, as will be highlighted in the following examples.[17] In many cases, the missionaries were working at the command of the Chinese emperor, more often than not in close collaboration with Chinese scholars and artists, among them various unidentified woodblock carvers and assistants, as well as important figures such as the scholar Wang Zheng 王徵 (1571-1644) and the court painter Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞 (1689-1726).[18] These circumstances of commissioning and the division of labour mean that the Jesuits were 'co-framers' rather than the 'main authors' of many of the appropriated images.

To highlight certain aspects of pictorial re-framing, I will now briefly discuss the image of the *Temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus* from the series *Seven Wonders of the Ancient*

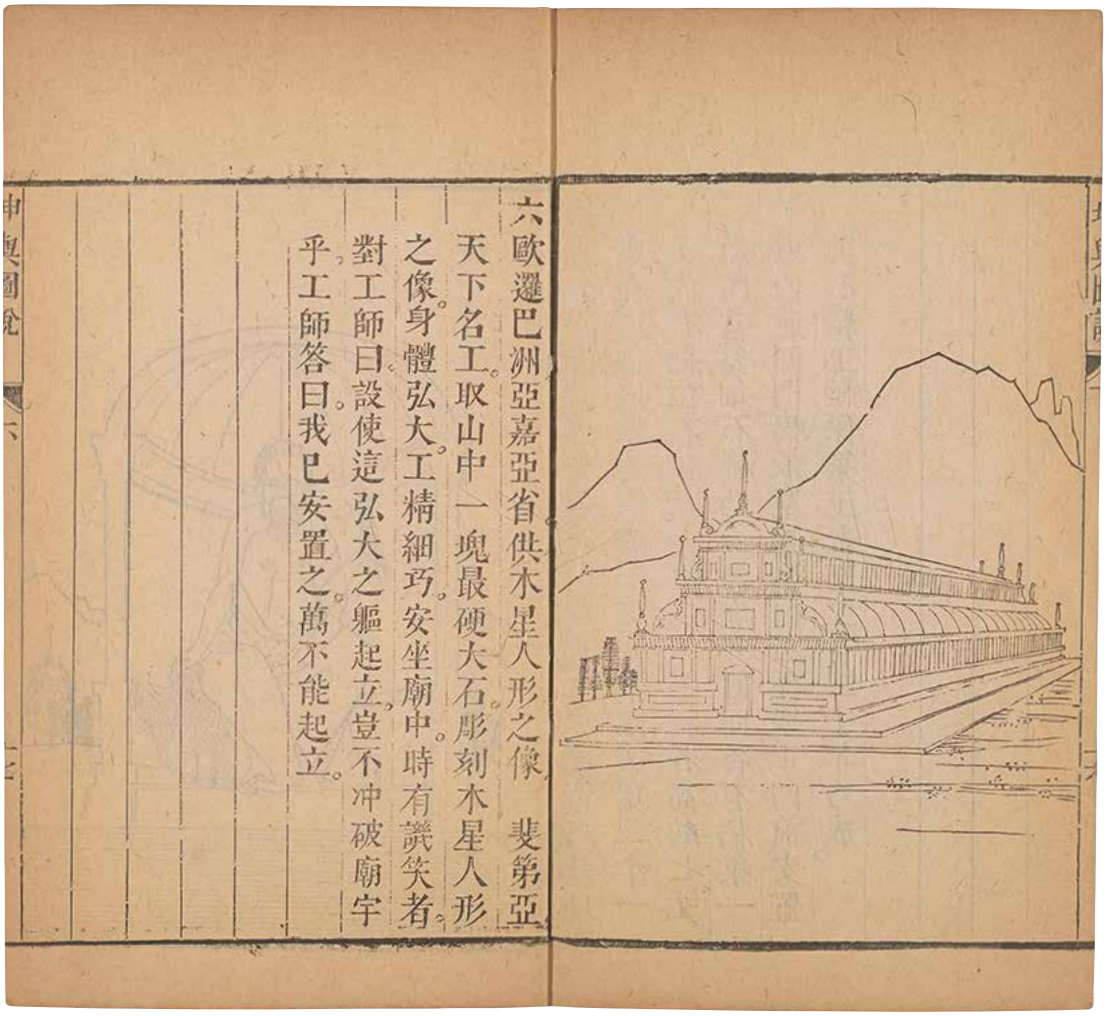

Fig. 3
FERDINAND VERBIEST, *Kunyu tushuo* 坤輿圖説 [An Illustrated Explanation of Geography], 1674, earliest version 1672, *juan xia*, p. 16. Woodblock prints, measurements unknown. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

World as it appears in the Chinese treatise *Kunyu tushuo* (*An Illustrated Explanation of Geography*), designed for the Chinese Emperor Kangxi by the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) and produced in cooperation with a team of unidentified Chinese craftsmen (fig. 3). Various versions of the motif already existed in the European context, for example in the margins of one of the famous Blaeu maps printed in Amsterdam (fig. 4), a picture which obviously simplifies the designs of earlier prints (fig. 5).[19] In the same way as the illustrated map marginalia adopt the central motif of the temple while changing its background, the *Kunyu tushuo* image pictorially re-frames the building by placing it in an empty meadow, beside a line of trees and in front of a mountain range. The Greek temple further migrated to Japanese printed sheets, as evidenced by Utagawa Kuninaga's 歌川国長 (1788-1829) version of it (fig. 6).[20] The *Kunyu tushuo* accompanies a map for the Chinese Emperor made after European models by the Flemish Jesuit Verbiest; the full-page image of the temple thus remains connected to the overall defining context of

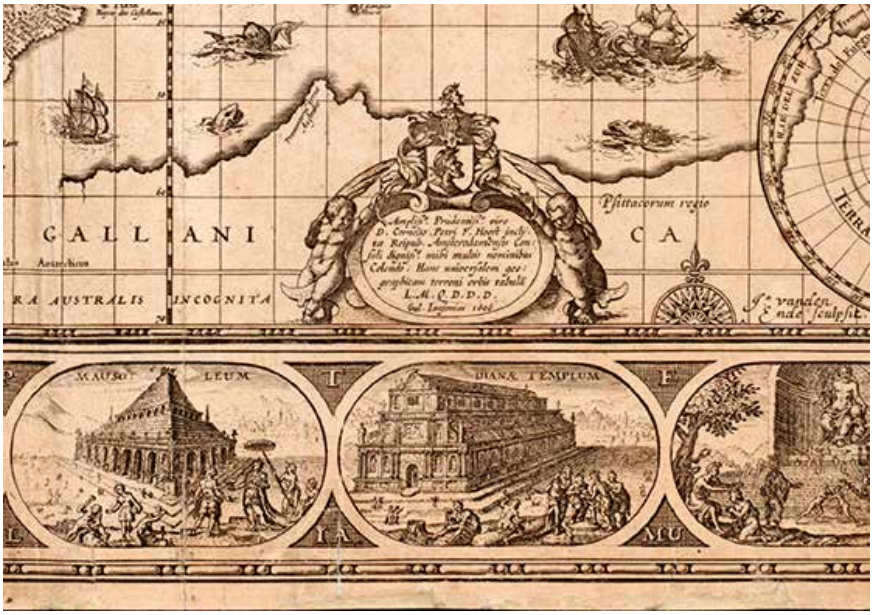

Fig. 4
WILLEM BLAEU,
Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula, 1606 (detail).
Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections, OTM: HB-KZL O.K. 16.

< *Fig. 5*
PHILIPS GALLE
AFTER MAARTEN
VAN HEEMSKERCK,
The Temple of Diana at Ephesus,
one of eight prints
in the series
Eight Wonders of the World, 1572.
Engraving,
212 x 262 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1904-3302.

Fig. 6
UTAGAWA
KUNINAGA
歌川國長, *Ajiashu Maurirya-o keibo* [The Tomb of King Mausolus in Asia], c. 1824/25, from the series *Shinpan Oranda uki-e* 新版阿蘭陀浮絵 [Newly Published Dutch Perspective Prints]. Colour woodblock print, 224 x 348 mm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1931-795.

geographical representations. In the Japanese case, however, it is integrated into a new pictorial narrative, as also highlighted by the print's title *Newly Published Dutch Perspective Prints: The Tomb of King Mausolus in Asia*.

While representations of European map marginalia in Chinese and Japanese images were based on Dutch models,[21] the re-framings of the European *Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* in Japan were more likely filtered through the *Kunyu tushuo* from China, which was widely available in Edo-period Japan.[22] Shifting from frame to centre, a temple in Ephesus appeared first on single sheet prints to be integrated at the borders of a large map with multiple frames, and then again separated on individual pages of a book made in China, to end up pasted into new pictorial backgrounds fabricated in Japan. Moving between central and peripheral pictorial spaces in the changing media of single sheet and book page print, this motif's travelling between geographical spaces further reveals its potential to twist around previous visual hierarchies between pivotal image (*ergon*) and framing by-work (*parergon*).

While the example of the ink cake album displays Christian imagery printed in Antwerp, and the Amsterdam

Fig. 7
Xiyang yuantu 西洋遠画 [Perspectival Picture of the West], from Sun Yunqiu 孙云球, *Jingshi* 镜史 [History of Lenses], c. 1680, postscript, 1681. Woodblock print, 210 x 135 mm. Artwork in the public domain.

printed designs appropriated by the *Kunyu tushuo* involved the mediating agency of European Jesuits, images produced in non-religious contexts integrating elements from secular Netherlandish landscape prints also appeared in early modern China. This is best illustrated by a composite image with the label *Perspectival Picture of the West* (*xiyang yuantu*) in the recently re-discovered *History of Lenses (Jingshi)* of around 1680 by Sun Yunqiu 孙云球 (1630-1662) (fig. 7).[23] As Wang Cheng-hua suggests, the print 'seems to be a revised version of some European images, revealing the subject and style of the lost original or similar pictures that came from Europe'.[24] Certain pictorial elements support a reading of the image as composed of constituents from a variety of European templates. Especially telling in this regard are the trunks and roots of the trees that form the foreground and incongruously blend into a bridge that is completely out of proportion. Similar tree frames were common in Netherlandish prints (fig. 8) and European treatises on perspective drawing (fig. 9). In such imagery they fit the view they framed, whereas the bridge in the Chinese example is a conspicuously disruptive element whose proportions are in stark contrast to the tree frame in the foreground yet at the same time harmonize with the proportions of the framed view in the middle ground. This discrepancy indicates that either the tree frame or the bridge (or both) were copied and pasted from different image sources and combined with other pictorial elements. The particularly large boat between the bridge in the foreground and the drawbridge in the middle ground further adds to this impression as it, too, does not harmonize in size with the surrounding pictorial elements.

The strange cluster of different architectural structures in the middle ground likewise appears to be a conglomerate of buildings from a variety of sources. The elongated building in the middle ground is reminiscent in more ways than one of the Artemis temple in the *Kunyu tushuo*, perhaps a mirrored and slightly modified version of it. Fragments taken from images in the style of the illustrated *View of Persijn Castle* might have served as models for the castle on the water with a drawbridge in the middle ground. Where would one expect to find such a strange architectural complex? The high mountain chain in the background moves the elements in the middle ground out of Netherlandish spaces into the realm of composite geographic fiction.

Fig. 8
CORNELIS ELANDTS, *Persijn Castle*, 1663-70. Etching, 225 x 283 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-102.387.

Fig. 9
'Perspectival View', from Jean du Breuil, *La perspective practique*, Paris 1642, p. 61. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, OF-TOL-15015532.

In the inscription on the right side of the page, the Chinese print is labelled as 'Western' (*xiyang*). The same adjective also denoted objects (including painted or printed images) coming to China from Europe.[25] Differences between European and European-style imagery made in China might have been hidden by the use of the same term, but were obviously understood and creatively articulated by the artists who did the re-layering.

Further examples of re-layered images include eighteenth-century paintings by Luo Ping 羅聘 (1733-1799), who, as Jonathan Hay has shown,[26] integrated skeletons visually 'cut out' of imagery in the book *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* [On the Fabric of the Human Body] by the Flemish anatomist Andreas Vesalius.[27] Another re-framing of European designs arguably also appears in an album painted by Luo (fig. 10a). In further nuancing previous analyses of this album page that focus on Inner Asian elements in the image's rendering of the figure on the right, including its conspicuous earring,[28] I would like to follow a hint provided by Yomi Braester in relation to a different European pictorial source,[29] and suggest an additional reading of the picture as a meditation on images of King Saul in the style of Maarten van Heelmskerck's print series *The Story of David and Saul* (fig. 11a). While the figures that oppose Saul wear distinguishably shorter tunics in combination with metal armour, the king himself appears in a knee-length, long-sleeved garment that is as variously patterned and multi-layered as the textile drapery that covers the chest of Luo's figure. Most strikingly different from other figures in the series is King Saul's headgear: a pointed cap in a crown surrounded by a turban-like wrap that re-appears in Luo's image as a pointed cap with what appears to be fur at the front. Saul's facial features, his large eye, pronounced nose and prominent beard arguably re-appear in the figure kneeling on the ground (figs. 10b, 11b).

Fig. 10a
LUO PING 羅聘,
Album Leaf No. 3,
1762.
Ink and colour on paper, one of ten leaves in the album *Landscape, Human Figures, and Flowers*, 323 x 419 mm.
Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, inv. no. 97.83.1.3.

Fig. 11a
MAARTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK, *David Being Armed before Saul*, c. 1556. Etching, plate 5 in the series *The Story of David and Saul*, 205 x 249 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1904-3351.

Fig. 10b
Detail of fig. 10a.

Fig. 11b
Detail of fig. 11a.

Although the pictorial elements that resonate in Luo's motifs are not sufficient to prove the Chinese painter's immediate encounter with, or possession of, the particular Dutch print, it is certainly not unthinkable that someone who had visual access to a version of Vesalius's skeletons also saw pictures of King Saul based on Heemskerck's work. Visually cut out, modified and pictorially pasted on to the blank space of an album page, Luo's meditation on the motif of 'King Saul' goes further than the examples discussed above, as the painter not only re-layered pictorial source material, but creatively mixed and matched iconographies from a variety of origins which, as Hay's analysis, Braemer's suggestion and the previously discussed image have shown, are all to some degree connected to images of foreign origin and images of foreigners.

The images we have discussed embody far more than a sum of foreign style elements and motifs. They show how Dutch and Flemish picture makers communicated their performance of image production to Chinese artists, who in the process of pictorial creation physically moved their hands in 'European styles' to draw, carve or paint along 'European lines'. As exemplified, the process of re-layering provided for partial deviations from the travelling images' invitation to literally re-enact European artistic performances. In many cases the selections and modifications entailed in the creative process of re-framing made the agency of the Chinese artists overwrite the actions of their European counterparts. Seeing these images related to creative processes and artistic agency allows us to consider them 'art objects in performative terms as systems of actions, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it',[30] as samples of an active visual and material communication between European and Chinese artists. In the illustrated examples the Chinese artist was in ultimate charge of guiding the viewer's gaze through a hierarchically organized picture plane, re-layering foreign surfaces, re-framing as well as overwriting artistic agencies.

Layers of Exotic and Erotic Encounter: Multi-Level Image Construction and Transcultural *ceng* 層

The particular traces of Flemish and Netherlandish perspective in Chinese painting of the early modern period have been analyzed by James Cahill, who stresses the significance of what he labels the 'northern see-through system' in imagery produced in the Jiangnan area and at the imperial court.[31] Cahill further observes as 'striking … the uses of Western-inspired illusionism for erotic effects, the ways in which scopophilic pleasures can be intensified by drawing the viewer's gaze more insistently into a feminized picture space and making the materials he encounters appear palpable'.[32] In many, if not most, of these early modern Chinese examples of 'Western-inspired illusionism for erotic effects'[33] curtains appear as a pictorial element between the opening of a gate or a window and the female figure within it, the frame and the framed. Such curtains are to the architectural frames in the image what clothes are to the pivotally framed female bodies – curtain and dress are *parerga*, by-works that wrap the central exhibit, partly removed to reveal the essential, but sufficiently closed to stress the existence of diverse layers of frames applied to it.

Although usually integrated into the flat surfaces of prints and paintings, such curtains could also re-appear as actual three-dimensional *parerga* in eighteenth-century Chinese artworks (fig. 12). This enamelled panel is one of several in the Rijksmuseum collections, first published in 2002.[34] Four of these panels are framed by painted open curtains that are also three-dimensionally

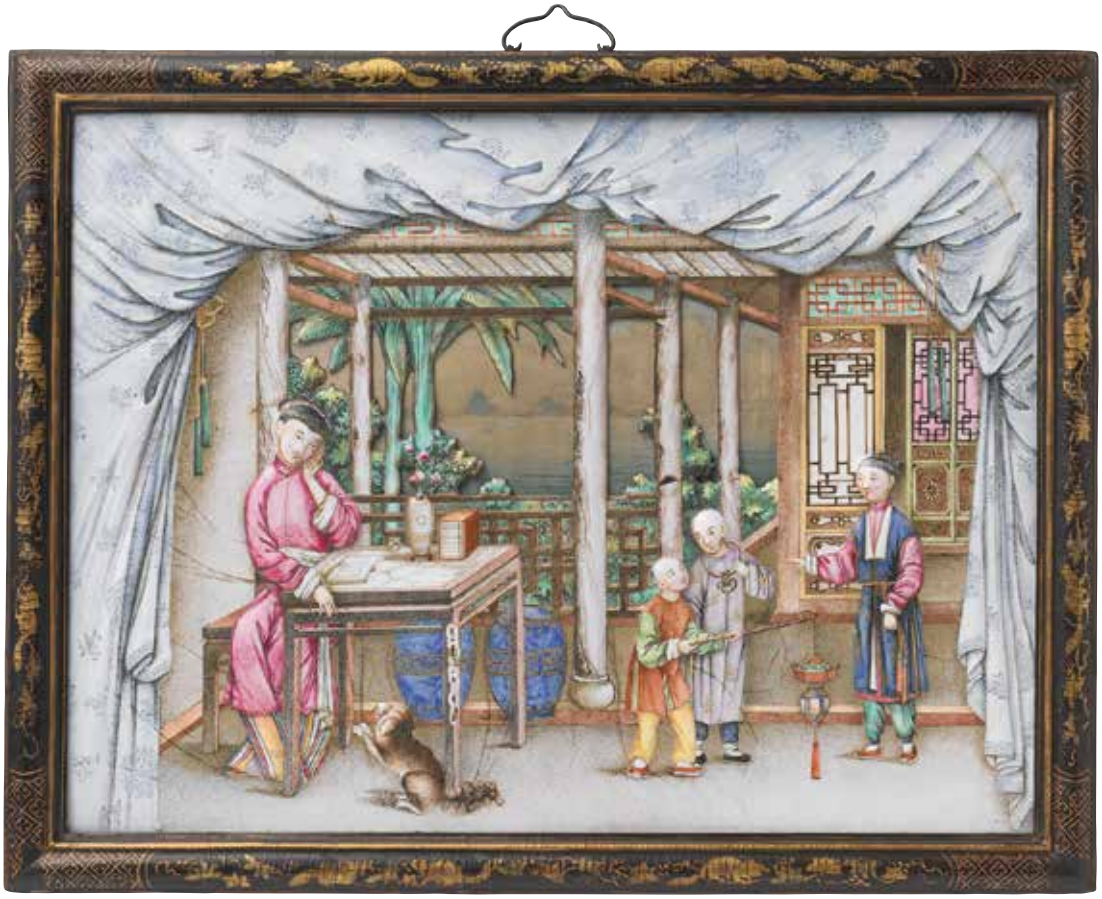

Fig. 12
GUANGZHOU WORKSHOP, *Plaque,* China, 1770-75. Painted enamel on copper, in the background oil on paper, 370 x 485 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-NM-6620-C.

tangible; they are constituents of the central picture plane, but in many ways also relate to the rectangular image frames that form a marginal enclosure.

A series of conspicuous curtain frames that function in similar ways to those in the Rijksmuseum plaques appears in at least three known portraits of Western merchants in reverse glass painting made in late eighteenth-century Guangzhou, attributed to Spoilum (active between 1785 and 1810) often identified with Guan Zuolin 关作霖 (fig. 13).[35] Red with gold cords and fringes, the drapery differs in colour from the four Rijksmuseum plaques with their pink and purple curtains. It is nonetheless comparable, as all 'image wraps' are similarly positioned at the margins of pictorial planes in immediate proximity to the materially different image frames. In the same manner as the red curtains render the merchant paintings window-like, an impression further supported by rectangular wooden frames and the fact that they are painted on (window) glass, the enamel plaques' lifted drapes mediate between material and visual potentials, tangible plaque surfaces and intangible but visually accessible pictorial spaces as windows to a different world.

Various authors have presented observations on curtains that are simultaneously *in* and *on* a painting functioning as mediators between real and illusionistic spaces as part of the rhetoric of the 'self-aware images' of early modern Europe.[36] Chinese screen paintings throughout the centuries can also be read as 'pictures on pictures'

that comment on their potential to evoke three-dimensionality through different ways of framing within the actual space of the framed image.[37] Confining private and intimate spaces as alcoves or beds, textile frames appear throughout Chinese imagery before the Qing dynasty, but in few cases such curtain frames connect the 'inner' image to the image's 'outer' frame by encompassing or 'unveiling' the full length of a visual representation.[38] The matching of a curtain that is simultaneously *in* and *on* the painting and its serial use throughout corresponding images is a Qing dynasty innovation linked to foreign-style illusionism and the European idea of a painting as a (curtained) window as exemplified by the illustrated examples.

Fig. 13
ATTRIBUTED TO SPOILUM, *Portrait of a Western Merchant on the China Coast*, late 18th century. Reverse glass painting, 259 x 206 mm. Hong Kong, Hong Kong Museum of Art.

The enamel plaque of a woman 'reading' is complemented by a corresponding panel which shows a man surrounded by piles of books underneath a purple curtain.[39] This pair of panels is an example of what Cahill calls the 'woman in waiting' motif within the scholar-and-beauty theme (*caizi jiaren*).[40] In such imagery a female who 'reads' while distractedly looking away from the actual text, is a recurrent key element.[41] The woman on the plaque appears next to a couple of identical stools beside her desk, a symbol of togetherness, and is engaging with the book in front of her to the same extent as she teasingly engages with a curly-haired dog, which she does not touch but obviously excites. Her gaze is in limbo between thought-inspiring readings, the animal that can be interpreted as phallic symbol (if one follows the logics of Cahill's readings of 'warmer' and 'hot' paintings) and the potential (male) beholder of the image.[42] What to a contemporary viewer might seem highly encoded in a comparatively subtle visual language was a highly erotically charged image to an early modern Chinese viewer; the image's inherent lifted veil further stressing the half-secret nature of the intimate encounter with the gaze of the woman, creating a threshold between the real space of the beholder and a dream-like interior with a Chinese beauty.

An oft-cited source on illusionistic painting in eighteenth-century China is a scene in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (originally *The Story of the Stone*), in which the character of Granny Liu encounters an image of a woman in a male protagonist's bedroom that at first she mistakenly takes to be real, but upon physical contact finds to be painted; she wonders how a painting could have been painted 'so that it sticks out like that'.[43] While an eighteenth-century male bedroom would have been one of the appropriate places for the type of enamel painting discussed above, the

Fig. 14 GUANGZHOU WORKSHOP, *Plaque*, China, 1770-75. Painted enamel on copper, in the background oil on paper, 370 x 485 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-NM-6620-D.

plaque stands out, not only because it is painted in a European layered manner with numerous openings of different pictorial planes and a shiny surface that invites the viewer's touch. It also stands out materially, as the beholder may discover by close inspection, in the same way Granny Liu finds out that the image of the woman in the bedroom is not a real woman. Combining separate layers, the plaque consists of three dimensionally designed surface elements that physically protrude. It literally embodies 'concavities and convexities' (*aotu* 凹凸), a Chinese term that referred to the achievement of three-dimensionality in painting and gained new importance in the art theory of early modern China in relation to the impact of European styles while it had previously been 'used only briefly during the Tang dynasty to describe a technique of three-dimensional painting associated with Central Asia'.[44]

The uneven enamelled foreground is supported by a piece of paper attached to the reverse. Painted in oil, similar background elements re-appear in another pair of enamel plaques attributed to the same workshop, one of which shows a woman standing next to the curtained but open door of her bedroom, holding a long folded fan that points at her body while fiddling with the sash that secures her garments (fig. 14). In the complementary image (fig. 15) another beauty looks out of the picture plane while leaning on a curtained door frame, a looming encounter with her object of desire is anticipated by the meeting of a pair of birds in front of her. These figures are

Fig. 15 GUANGZHOU WORKSHOP, *Plaque*, China, 1770-75. Painted enamel on copper, in the background oil on paper, 370 x 485 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-NM-6620-A.

a variation of the motif of 'women at the threshold', depictions of idealized female beauties leaning against or peeking out of door and window frames, as identified by Kristina Kleutghen's analysis of eighteenth-century imperial illusionistic paintings.[45]

All four images in the two panel pairs contain a separate layer of paper with painted backgrounds. Attached to the enamelled plaques from behind, they provide scenic settings behind the window or terrace openings in the imagery. One presents a building which, as Jan van Campen has pointed out, is clearly identifiable as a European-style architectural element (see fig. 14).[46] Staged against the backdrop of the half-defined spaces of some far-away paradise, these scenes combine the erotic with the exotic: placing longing women in half-veiled domestic spaces rendered in the foreign-style layers of the 'see-through system',[47] the panels encourage the beholder to follow the ladies' invitations to an erotic encounter in his imagination while he gazes at or holds the panels' layered surfaces.

While these scenes are staged in the sense that they are unreal and contain coded physical expression, European backdrops also appear in the depiction of scenes from Chinese drama, as is evident in a number of panels enamelled on porcelain, also in the Rijksmuseum collection.[48] The plaque illustrated here, one of a pair, shows two warrior women in front of a waterscape with large vessels and massive stone buildings in European style (figs. 16a, b). Carrying tiny, barely visible snakes on their heads, the two female warriors are

Fig. 16a
GUANGZHOU WORKSHOP, *Plaque*, China, 1770-75. Painted enamel on porcelain, 345 x 410 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no AK-NM-6612-A.

Fig. 16b
Detail of fig. 16a.

taken from a panorama of popular Qing dynasty versions of stories adapted for the stage in which reptiles can transform into humans and women appear as men. Narratives adapted for the stage like the *Tale of Hua Mulan* or *The Story of the White Snake* provide a matrix of plot outlines and protagonists such as the ones depicted, which include a variety of

Fig. 17a
GUANGZHOU WORKSHOP, *Plaque*, China, 1770-75.
Painted enamel on porcelain, 360 x 435 mm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-NM-6614-A.

Fig. 17b
Detail of fig. 17a.

cross-dressing figures[49] as well as Buddhist and/or Taoist monks[50] and pairs of female warriors who become mistress and maid.[51]

A maid and a mistress are depicted on another pair of enamelled plaques attributed to the same workshop as the warrior women panel (fig. 17). Again we see a slightly distracted 'reading beauty', surrounded by further suggestive objects, a pair of identical stools, a couple of mandarin ducks and two hares in the foreground (fig. 17b). In the scroll painting *Scholar and Beauty with Peonies and Rabbits* (fig. 18) two hares appear seated on their haunches, one strikingly different from the other

in fur colour, size and sex, analogous to the corresponding male and female lovers in the image, who gaze at them.[52] The plaque in fig. 17, however, shows two running animals that look alike.

In an eighteenth-century drama version of the story of the female warrior Mulan, a pair of hares, her childhood pets, marks her home once she returns from cross-dressed adventures to re-enter the life of a woman dressed as a woman.[53] Entitled 'A Couple of Hares' (*Shuangtu ji*), this comparatively late drama version of the story, as well as its earlier predecessors, employs the metaphor of the two hares to illustrate the fact that the sexes in humans and animals can usually be told apart, but, as the last lines of the Mulan poem ask, 'when a pair of hares runs side by side / Who can distinguish whether I [Mulan] in fact am male or female?'[54] In the panel shown here the maid is looking at the mistress, whose gaze is directed at her reading, but in extension also towards the hares, one chasing the other in heat, the other waiting for the first one; who can tell whether the animals running around freely outside the limiting framework of their opened cage are male and female or, in fact, both females – as the maid and her mistress are?

Fig. 18
ANONYMOUS, *Scholar and Beauty with Peonies and Rabbits*, China, mid-17th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk. Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum, inv. no. y1947-279; gift of DuBois Schanck Morris, Class of 1893.

A similar pair of white hares whose sex cannot be recognized also appears in an eighteenth-century album dedicated to the depiction of female same-sex activities.[55] Indistinguishable, the hares also reference the potential of homosexual erotic encounter in the pictorial space of the enamelled plaque: the personal attendant holds a remarkably shaped fan in her right hand, while her left toys with her girdle; her mistress's hand presents an unfolding hibiscus leaf poking out of the opening of a garment that, like similar ones in other paintings, 'by the unsubtle resemblance of the sleeve, in its shape and multi-layered formation, [evokes parallels] to the vulva'.[56]

The two panels feature different backgrounds: the cross-dressed warrior women mingle in strikingly foreign spaces, while the mistress and her maid linger in the 'female' inner quarters of a traditional house. According to Van Campen, the foreign-style backdrop of the warrior women scenes can be read as a depiction of the Pearl River Delta.[57] While this interpretation is plausible but difficult to prove, the backdrop scenery, in which European ships and architectural elements blend into Chinese scenes, provides waterscapes that lie between 'Europe' and 'China' in ways similar to the (warrior) women depicted, who are between 'male' and 'female'. These pictorial spaces are as ambivalent or perhaps even 'queer' as the snake ladies or Mulan

herself, who in the title of one of the Qing dynasty adaptations of the narrative, the *Mulan qinü zhuan*, is denoted as a 'rare', 'strange' or 'exceptional' woman through the use of the term *qi* 奇, an adjective equally applied to specify things from geographically distant areas.[58]

The warrior women panels explicitly reference scenes from a play, but all the other panels discussed likewise present theatrically coded (erotic) performances, their changing backdrops revealing obvious parallels to the painted panels of actual stage props. While curtains could be used during the Ming dynasty to frame theatrical spaces that presented 'foreigners',[59] the eighteenth century witnessed the advent of fixed stages in Beijing and elsewhere, Emperor Qianlong explicitly commissioning picture planes designed in European styles 'for theatre backdrops in numerous spaces'.[60] The enamelled panels, produced in Guangzhou, not Beijing, reference commercial performances potentially staged in brothels or wine shops rather than Qianlong's exclusive spaces, but in their use of Western-style motifs employed as backdrops they echo the architecture of stage props resonating with diverse transcultural potentials of *ceng* 層. Used in an architectural context, *ceng* 層 means 'layer' or 'storey' in the sense of a building's diverse horizontal floors. In eighteenth-century terminology *ceng* 層 furthermore denoted the vertical 'layers' of theatrical realms in Beijing. This included Emperor Qianlong's fake European cityscapes, in which vertical layers of picture planes mounted on walls created the illusion of a European village,[61] as well as the performative spaces of processions in the city, where all sorts of real and illusionistic Western-style architectural devices were erected for 'the eye [to be] penetrating layer upon layer of great depth'.[62]

In the realm of objects that came in less monumental sizes, the term *ceng* 層 appears in 1735's *The Study of Vision* by Nian Xiyao 年希堯 (1671-1738),[63] linked to the Chinese re-framing of a miniature paper perspective theatre in the style of those made by the Augsburg workshop of Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1756).[64] This item is the only Chinese re-framing of a Northern European object in a treatise that otherwise combines Italian imagery appropriated from Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva pictorum atque architectorum* with depictions of Chinese artefacts, animals and people. While the comment on the pictorial re-framing of the miniature theatre states that 'the picture layers [*ceng* 層] are piled up in the spatial recession method [*yuanjin zhi fa*, literally method of nearness and distance]',[65] elsewhere in the treatise Nian uses the term 'line method' (*xianfa*) and describes a way of 'fixing a point and extending lines'.[66] Clearly, the Northern European miniature theatre's layering opposes the Italian one-point perspective featured in the other images, the use of *ceng* 層 and the 'spatial recession mode' forming an alternative to the hierarchically organized pictorial space dominated by one point. In the layered stage's Chinese depiction, several *ceng* 層 form a non-hierarchical space, inhabited by playing children and allowing for the multi-levelled dynamic interactions of a performance, rather than the static one-point fixation of a moment frozen in time.

Like the mathematically oriented dissections of a miniature theatre in Nian's treatise, the three-dimensional theatrical sites of Beijing and the 'queer' spaces inhabited by the Guangzhou warrior women show vertical stage prop-like layers that form indispensable components in the creation of three-dimensional, as well as two-dimensional, transcultural theatrical spaces. What makes the enamelled panels' layering different from that of monumental stages or miniature stages as depicted in print is that it is tangible, within reach. The pictorial spaces of the plaques with the 'fake' curtains and the inserted

paper layer backgrounds are accessible to the gaze as well as the hand, they are collectible.

Multi-Layered Experiences: Collections of the Body and the Mind

In recent years, scholars have published extensively on the importance of multi-layered collectibles in the context of transcultural objects made in China. Shih Ching-fei has not only discussed various aspects of imperially-owned multiply-nested ivory spheres in relation to Chinese and non-Chinese prototypes,[67] but also examined traces of the use of European-style rose engines at the Qing court.[68] A recent article presents the exceptional case of 'the wooden multi-layered goblet from the Western Ocean', one of the multi-level cups made in Germany that found its way to eighteenth-century China, where it has been preserved in the Qing Imperial collections.[69] Yu Pei-chin, too, has added an important item to the list of transcultural layered objects and revealed some of the European elements in the conceptualization and the making of revolving vases – porcelain vessels that consist of a vase in a vase.[70] While these multi-layered artefacts present evidence of styles, ideas and technologies that entered China from foreign sources, all these objects' layers consist of one material, ivory in the example of the intricate 'immortals' works', porcelain in the case of the revolving vases, and wood for the 'hundred-layered goblet' that travelled from Germany to Beijing. But what about layered objects that combine different materials and display a more pronounced difference between inner and outer layers, work and by-work, *ergon* and *parergon*?

Such relations can most strikingly be seen in metal-mounted early modern items as well as objects that playfully appropriate the aesthetics of metal-mounted artefacts. As 1671's *Atlas Chinensis* reports, on one occasion the Dutch presented Emperor Kangxi with:

> … four Strings of Amber Beads, one Amber Box, one Silver Charger, one Silver Box with Mother of Pearl, four *Casuaris* Eggs, ten Pieces of yellow Cloth, two double Barrel'd Pistols, two Pocket Pistols, two Sword Blades, one Buff Coat, twenty Flasks of Rose-Water, four Perspective Glasses, six Pieces of *Calamback* Wood, two Unicorns Horns, one Piece of Amber, one Copper Horse upon a Pedestal, one Copper Lyon, two Copper Dogs, one Copper Mount, one *Persian* Quilt, two small Mortar-Pieces.[71]

Some of the items triggered the emperor's questions:

> The sixth in the Afternoon came four *Mandarins* to the Ambassador, to tell him that they were expressly sent from the Emperor, to have his Answer to the following Questions, *viz*. First, from whence the Rose-water came, and what it was for? likewise the Unicorn Horns and the Copper Mount, which were amongst the *Bengale* Copper-works? Moreover, what Birds the *Casuaris* were? all which the Ambassador answer'd to the best of his knowledge.[72]

Based on the presentation of twenty-one different object types, Emperor Kangxi's inquiries focus on 'rosewater', the 'unicorn horns', the birds that produced the cassowary eggs, and a single man-made item, the 'Copper Mount' among the 'Bengale Copper-works'.

While Portuguese and Dutch period sources highlight 'Bengal' as 'a country in which marvellous things were made with needles',[73] the 'Bengale Copper-works' donated to Emperor Kangxi were probably pieces of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Indian metal-work attributed to goldsmiths active in Gujarat and Goa.[74] Such items include a variety of mounted natural objects, bezoar stones as well as, most prominently, rhinoceros horns, also known

as 'unicorn' (*unicornio* in Portuguese).[75] The mounts are formed out of intricate silver and gold filigree that shines ambivalently when combined and perhaps appeared copper-like to the early modern European eye (fig. 19). It is therefore reasonable to assume that 'the Unicorn Horns and the Copper Mount, which were amongst the *Bengale* Copper-works' denote a rhinoceros horn with its Indian, potentially Goan or Guajarati, mount, alongside other items in the list that are likely to have come from India.[76] Unfortunately, the Dutchmen's reply to Emperor Kangxi's question on the function of such mounts has not survived. What was their use?

In the case of Goan or Gujarati mounts applied to 'unicorns', the metal transformed an organically shaped 'cup-like' object into an even more pronounced cup, aesthetically and materially framing a rare fragment of foreign nature. Generally speaking, mounted Indian objects were made for sixteenth-century Portuguese patrons, who would export them to Lisbon, from where they reached other places in Europe through trade or exchange of gifts. While examples of natural tusks put in Goan mounts exist throughout Northern European collections, the one illustrated here is a cup carved in Ming China, which would have been 'complete' to a Chinese collector, but was subsequently given a frame of additional mounts in India. The transformed item reached Europe through Portuguese channels and ended up as a

Fig. 19
ANONYMOUS,
Rhinoceros Horn Cup,
China, Ming dynasty,
early 17th century;
mounted in Goa,
India, second half
of the 17th century.
Rhinoceros horn,
gold filigree.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Wien, Kunstkammer
Wien, KK 3757.

collectible in an Austrian *Kunstkammer* among other objects put in Middle Eastern and European metal mounts.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, it was not only selected natural objects that were set in mounts. Certain man-made pieces were also given metallic frames, among them some Chinese porcelain vessels (fig. 20).[77] Many seventeenth-century examples still exist today in collections throughout the Netherlands, and are documented in numerous Dutch paintings.[78] The contrasting aesthetics of golden mounts

Fig. 20
ANONYMOUS,
Ewer, China,
Ming dynasty, Wanli
reign (1572-1620).
Porcelain, painted
in underglaze blue,
h. 190 mm.
With European
metal mounts by
Georg Berger (active
c. 1547-77), Erfurt.
Berlin, Staatliche
Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz,
inv. no. 1889,305.
Photo: bpk / Kunst-
gewerbemuseum,
SMB / Funke.

on blue-and-white porcelain seems to resonate in a series of enamelled copper vessels, the first of which appeared during the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735) and several similar ones were made during the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1735-1796) (fig. 21).[79] The blue-and-white part of the item is decorated in imitation of porcelain, while the handle, lid opening device, knob and spout have shiny metallic surfaces that are gilded and incised. The resemblance between this object and European metal-mounted blue and white porcelain is striking, not only in terms of colour and material, but also because both items are two objects in one: the central blue and white porcelain bottle is transformed by metal *parerga* into a European-shaped handled and lidded ewer, while the blue and white decorated part of the Chinese vessel is shaped like a porcelain stool but transformed into a vessel by its marginal metallic constituents.

A similar combination of two objects in one appears in another ewer (fig. 22). A central, gaudily coloured and lidded bottle is framed by a handle, a spout, a chain and a small connecting element, all displaying a shining surface that contrasts with the decoration on the body of the piece. Metallic handles that contrast with differently coloured main bodies appear throughout enamel production during the reign of Qianlong; further examples include a bowl with handles and a vase (figs. 23, 24). In both cases, a traditional Chinese shape is aesthetically 'framed' by elements that appear to be gold mounts. While Kristel Smentek convincingly suggests that the aesthetics of Chinese porcelain framed by French ormolu mounts were adapted in Guangzhou workshops during the Qianlong period,[80] these examples reveal Chinese re-framings of types of mounted objects that predate eighteenth-century French fashions.

In the words of sociologist Georg Simmel handles provide a 'connecting bridge'[81] between object and beholder/user, functioning as a 'mediator of the artwork to the outside world'.[82] Through their heavily incised metallic handles

Fig. 21
ANONYMOUS,
Ewer with Blue-and-White Design, China, Yongzheng period (1723-35).
Painted enamel on copper, 104 x 60 x 46 mm.
Taipei, National Palace Museum, inv. no. 229/496.

Fig. 22
ANONYMOUS,
Champlevé Ewer with European Figures,
China, Qianlong period (1736-95).
Painted enamel on metal body,
49 x 547 x 28 mm.
Taipei, National Palace Museum,
inv. no. 129/375-3-3.

that form the first point of physical encounter, these objects offered layered experiences to those who engaged with them. Further interfaces were provided by the objects' metal-lined rims at the upper and lower edges, where a mouth would touch a cup to drink or a hand could support a vase, through surface engravings or, more nuanced, hardly visible, but clearly tangible incisions, for example on the vase's neck; even subtle touchable differences between layers of enamel colour application on the surfaces of all the items formed part of the panorama of layered surface experience.

It was not only the hand touching the object that encountered a variety of sophisticated layers, the viewer's eyes, too, travelled a variety of pictorial surfaces. The imagescape of the vase is divided into several pictorial fields (see fig. 24). Several horizontal bands, some marked by elevated surfaces, structure the vessel, while on each side of the vase two image frames are positioned against a backdrop of floral decorations on a yellow ground. As Yu Pei-chin indicates, the images in the cartouches on the upper part of the vase resemble bird paintings made by the Jesuit court painter Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧) (1688-1766).[83] Mistakenly identified as an animal from a 'flock [that] grazes nearby',[84] the dog positioned next to the female figure in the large central image is the key to the identification of the picture on the body of the vase. The scene is a re-framing of depictions of Granida, a figure in the Dutch drama *Granida – A Dream Marriage (Granida - een droomhuwelijk*) by Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647). Finished in 1605, the stage play revolves around princess Granida of Persia, who gets lost in the woods with her dogs, where she encounters the shepherd Daifilo and immediately falls in love with him. A frequent motif in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings and prints (fig. 25), Granida is presented as holding a pomegranate (a reference to her name), or, more often, an oyster shell for drinking, given to her by Daifilo and filled with well water when she arrives, thirsty, in the woods – shells also evoking an openly erotic iconographic

Fig. 23
ANONYMOUS,
Cup with European Figures, Qianlong period (1736-95).
Painted enamel on metal body, 38 x 46 x 20 mm.
Taipei, National Palace Museum, inv. no. 273/2152

Fig. 24
ANONYMOUS,
Vase with European Figures, China, Qianlong period (1736-95).
Painted enamel on copper, h. 206 mm.
Taipei, National Palace Museum, inv. no. 427-9/1977.

Fig. 25
JUSTUS BROUWER,
Granida – A Dream Marriage, c. 1635-90.
Etching,
245 x 200 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1878-A-701.

meaning. While oyster shell and pomegranate are optional attributes, the majority of images present Granida alongside her dogs and signal that the princess is either erotically involved or, as a prelude to that, openly speaking with the socially subordinate but smitten shepherd Daifilo.

In the Chinese framing of the motif, her dog and body language render Granida identifiable. The man on the left has taken his shepherd's hat from his head, identifying him as Daifilo, who is seated on the ground, a position in which he rarely appears throughout European imagery, where he is often represented in a kneeling position. Clearly, the two figures in the centrally framed image on the vase are not literally Granida and Daifilo, but reframings loosely based on these two figures, one of many images 'pasted' on to the surfaces of Chinese vessels that meditate on the European theme of pastoral (erotic) encounters in the open countryside. While the frame of the cartouche that contains the two 'lovebirds' on the vase's neck is rendered in a simple, linear manner reminiscent of traditional Chinese cartouches on

porcelain, 'Granida and Daifilo' are enclosed by a frame that brings the aesthetics of wooden picture or mirror frames to mind. Similar framings appear in two complementary pieces from the imperial collections (fig. 26),[85] as well as in earlier, unrelated objects.[86] In all the examples, the European content of the images determines the picture's transcultural frames. In the cases illustrated, the central roundels are placed on floral designs, the ceramic vase's decorations explicitly referencing European flower depictions.[87] The metal handles discussed above (see fig. 24) also appear in the porcelain vase, but in a slightly transmuted way. Similar in shape, they have migrated from the neck to the shoulders of the vase body, not glittering in gold, but covered with colours from the surface of the vase's body: the brown

Fig. 26
ANONYMOUS,
Vase with European Figures, China, Qianlong period (1736-95).
Painted enamel on porcelain, 190 x 63 mm.
Taipei, National Palace Museum, inv. no. 392/-17599.

of the roundel frame, the bright yellow and pink of the flowers. While the handles of the metal vase appear as a shiny frame to the vase's body and its painted neck (see fig. 24), those of the porcelain vase seem to be an extension growing out of the body of the main piece, covered by the 'skin' of the same colour scheme. In both cases the uneven surfaces of the protruding handles are invitations to touch; while the eye is guided by several pictorial arrangements into the scenes of the centrally framed roundels, the handles directly appeal to the body and the sense of touch.

According to Richard Vinograd, such objects can be understood as 'portable and transportable objects whose materiality becomes a site of cultural encounter, and which bear pictorial portals that open up to scenes of cultural difference'.[88] Yet, I would argue, the very same artefacts also embody elements that bridge 'cultural difference'. As Granida and Daifilo were staged in actual theatres and framed on the stages of European pictorial representation, so they appear on a Chinese vase's surface decoration as pasted into unreal theatrical spaces – what is culturally different are the places of production and the exact rendering of the figures, not their coded body language as such and their belonging to staged fictive spaces, their inherent artificiality. To the Qing court members, women like 'Granida' might have appeared as 'culturally different' as the Chinese warrior women on the enamel panels discussed above, qualifying as rare (*qi* 奇) and positioned on the background of equally 'rare' spaces. The association of cross-dressing ladies with the liminal spaces of the Chinese empire further appears in *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, which refers to a 'Western sea-port' in China with a 'girl from the country of Ebenash. She was just like the foreign girls you see in paintings: long, yellow hair done into plaits, and her head was smothered in jewels … She was wearing a corselet of golden chain-mail and a dress of West Ocean brocade and she had a Japanese sword at her side.'[89] As evidenced by the motif of a Chinese lady costumed in the clothes of a European shepherdess, whose image appears on Qianlong era paintings and artefacts,[90] and the oil portrait of a Chinese lady cross-dressed in European armour (fig. 27),[91] 'rare' women were also an attractive component in the visual and material collections of imperially possessed females.

Whereas the enamelled surfaces of the court collectibles illustrated here present subtle re-framings of 'Western women' with hardly recognizable and often entirely covered cleavages, erotically charged and even sexually

Fig. 27
Attributed to GIUSEPPE CASTIGLIONE, *Image of Xiang Fei in Armour*, 18th century. Oil on Korean paper, 94 x 52.5 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.

explicit European print motifs of barely covered, half-naked and entirely naked females can be found on Guangzhou products not destined for imperial use.[92] Despite the fact that the court collectibles present chaste meditations on the theme of 'rare' women, such imagery was inherently erotically charged, and understood and collected as such. In the same way as a painting or a print of 'Granida and Daifilo' provided a European beholder with an invitation to enter the spaces of imagination and follow in his mind the erotic hints given by the motif of the love-sick Persian princess and her shepherd, Qianlong's vases, too, formed material invitations to a space of potential erotic encounter with an 'exotic princess', made accessible to the gaze and the mind through the suggestive possession of a woman's image on the smooth surfaces of a touchable vase.

Conclusion

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century sophisticated visual and material nuances presented in objects labelled as 'Western' (*xiyang*)were selected and modified by Chinese artists and artisans, who in the process re-framed and re-layered many of the surfaces they encountered. The resulting EurAsian layers escape binary divisions into 'European' and 'Asian' elements, clear-cut 'Netherlandish' or 'Chinese' components. They instead materialize a complex interweaving of transcultural authorships.

The artefacts and images entangle 'exotic' and erotic layers, blur boundaries between foreign sites and theatrical spaces while offering contrastingly visible and clearly demarcated surface planes: handles, lids and rims that invite the viewer's touch, connecting his world to that of the objects, as well as sculpted, painted or printed frames that fix pictorial layers and guide the gaze, mediating surfaces as well as (object) identities. Printed framing devices, painted or sculpted curtains, internal or externally applied encasings as well as background designs and stage props constitute EurAsian pictorial spaces, in which Persian princesses appear and biblical kings transcend all kinds of borders. Considering these marginal (or, in the case of the backdrops, underlying) elements as essential constituents of transcultural visuality allows for a better understanding of the early modern construction of pictorial spaces in which central motifs attractive for their 'rarity' would be made visually accessible, where Western merchants or cross-dressing warrior women could be staged.

Studying the surfaces and margins of EurAsian objects and images also allows for an interpretation of agencies that goes beyond the analysis of Flemish Jesuit or Dutch East India Company 'mediation' in China offering an alternative that enables the consideration of object agency opposed to approaches that prioritize man-made systems of taste. Labels such as chinoiserie, export or company art and categories like 'Euroiserie', 'Européenerie' or 'Chinese Occidenterie' flag oppositions between 'Chinese' and 'European' market demands and highlight differences in ways of looking and systems of collecting and consumption. As artful results of creative actions, objects are doubtlessly subject to interpretation and projection; they can be consumed in a variety of ways and are collectible. Yet, they are also communicative in their own right and have the potential to create unpredictable actions in unforeseen spaces, for example as material stimuli to artists and artisans, who re-frame and re-layer the plain and the conventional in order to create the innovative and complex.

NOTES

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1 A recent example is J. van Campen and E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, *Asian Splendour: Company Art in the Rijksmuseum*, Zutphen 2011. For a recent reassessment of the term chinoiserie see S. Sloboda, 'Introduction: Reassessing chinoiserie', in S. Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Manchester/New York 2014, pp. 1-17.

2 M. North and T. Da Costa Kaufmann (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, Amsterdam 2014.

3 'Européenerie' has been used since the 1950s, while Jonathan Hay introduced 'Euroiserie' as an alternative during the 1990s and Kristina Kleutghen suggested 'Chinese Occidenterie' in an article of 2014, see P. ten-Doesschate Chu and N. Ding, 'Introduction', in P. ten-Doesschate Chu and N. Ding (eds.), *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, Los Angeles 2015, pp. 1-6, esp. p. 6, note 4, and K. Kleutghen, 'Chinese Occidenterie: the Diversity of 'Western' Objects in Eighteenth-Century China', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 47 (2014), no. 2, pp. 117-35.

4 G.C. Gunn, 'Mapping Eurasia', in G.C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800*, Lanham 2003, pp. 113-44.

5 N. Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1991. On 'entangled histories' see M. Werner and B. Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45 (2006), pp. 30-50.

6 C. Pinney, 'Things Happen: Or, From Which Moment Does That Object Come?', in D. Miller (ed.), *Materiality*, Durham 2005, pp. 256-72, esp. p. 266.

7 The seminal study on this treatise is L. Lin 林麗江, *The Proliferation of Images: The Ink-Stick Designs and the Printing of the Fang-Shih mo-p'u and the Ch'eng-shih mo-yüan*, Princeton 1998 (diss. Princeton University).

8 Lin, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 200-25, esp. p. 204.

9 On by-works or *parerga* in early modern Sino-European visual and material culture see A. Grasskamp, 'Frames of Appropriation: Foreign Artifacts on Display in Early Modern Europe and China', in Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ding, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 29-42.

10 Lin, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 214-25.

11 T.D. Kaufmann and V. Roehrig Kaufmann, 'The Sanctification of Nature', *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991), pp. 43-64.

12 M. Ma 馬孟晶, 'Fragmentation and Framing of the Text: Visuality and Narrativity in Late-Ming Illustrations to the Story of the Western Wing', Stanford 2006 (diss. Stanford University), p. 193.

13 Pinney, op. cit. (note 6), p. 266.

14 This term was coined in relation to Chinese objects in J. Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*, Honolulu/London 2010, pp. 67-68, 71, 75, 77; for a broader discussion of recent issues related to surfaces of all kinds see also V. Kelley, 'A Superficial Guide to the Deeper Meanings of Surface', in G. Adamson and V. Kelley (eds.), *Surface Tensions: Surface, Finish and the Meaning of Objects*, Manchester/New York 2013, pp. 13-25.

15 J. Braat et al., 'Restauratie, conservatie en onderzoek van de op Nova Zembla gevonden zestiende-eeuwse prenten', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 28 (1980), pp. 43-79.

16 Primary sources include J. Da Rocha, *Song nianzhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程, Nanjing ca. 1619-23; J.T. Schreck and Z. Wang 王徵, *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最, [S.l.] 1627; A. Schall von Bell, *Jincheng Shuxiang* 進呈書像, [S.l.] 1640; B. Jiao 焦秉貞 and F. Verbiest, *Xinzhi lingtai yixiang tu* 新製靈臺儀象圖, Beijing 1674. The body of literature on printed imagery produced in collaboration between Jesuits and Chinese agents is vast and includes the following selection that is by no means comprehensive and gives preference to publications that specifically address Flemish Jesuits or prints designed or printed in contemporary Belgium and the Netherlands. H. Chen 陳慧宏, 'The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility in Jesuit Cartography in China', *The Catholic Historical Review* 93 (2007), no. 3, pp. 517-52; G. Song and P. Demattè, 'Mapping an Acentric World: Ferdinand Verbiest's *Kunyu Quantu*', and P. Demattè, 'Christ and Confucius: Accommodating Christian and Chinese Beliefs', in M. Reed and P. Demattè (eds.), *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Los Angeles 2007, pp. 29-52, 71-88; N. Golvers, 'A Chinese Imitation of a Flemish Allegorical Picture Representing the Muses of European Sciences', *T'oung Pao* 81

(1995), pp. 303-14; N. Golvers, 'Zuid-Nederlandse drukken en prenten in China (17e-1e helft 18e eeuw)', in E. Stols and W. Thomas, *Een wereld op papier. Zuid-Nederlandse boeken, prenten en kaarten in het Spaans-Portugese wereldrijk*, Louvain 2009, pp. 299-318; N. Halsberghe, 'Xinzhi Lingtai Yixiang Zhi Tu: Origins of the Xylographic Prints and Their Relation to the Constructed Instruments of Ferdinand Verbiest', *The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology* 31 (2010), no. 4, pp. 471-500; J. Jennes, *Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, Louvain 1943; J.E. McCall, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East IV: In China and Macao before 1635', *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948), nos. 1-2, pp. 45-69; N. Standaert, *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor: The History of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)*, Nettetal 2007.

17 G. Nadal, *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, Antwerp 1596. The appropriation of images from this treatise in China has been studied by many scholars, recent publications include H. Chen 陳慧宏, '「中國性」的歐洲解釋: 耶穌會中國傳教區的「風格」問題初探 [A European Distinction of Chinese Characteristics: A Style Question in Seventeenth-Century Jesuit China Missions]', *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies* 5 (2008), no. 1, issue 9, pp. 1-32; Y. Qu 曲藝, '*Song nianzhu guicheng* (Die Anweisung zur Rezitation des Rosenkranzes): Ein illustriertes christliches Buch aus China vom Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Monumenta Serica Journal of Oriental Studies* 60 (2012), pp. 195-290.

18 On Wang Zheng see Ren Dayuan, 'Philippe Wang Zheng: A Scientist, Philosopher, and Catholic in Ming Dynasty China', in R. Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The Contributions and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell*, Nettetal 1998, pp. 339-68; on Jiao Bingzhen's collaboration with the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest see Halsberghe, op. cit. (note 16).

19 On marginalia in Dutch map making see S. Saenz-Lopez Perez, *Marginalia in Cartography*, exh. cat. Madison (Chazen Museum of Art) 2014; on Ferdinand Verbiest's map see Song and Demattè, op. cit. (note 16).

20 S. Little, 'The Lure of the West: European Elements in the Art of the Floating World', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 22 (1996), no. 1, pp. 74-96. Also see C. French, 'Chapter Four: Perspective Views: Western Technique in Popular Art Styles', in C. French et al. (eds.), *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art, 1639-1835*, Ann Arbor 1977, pp. 95-120.

21 For Japan see M. Mochizuki, 'The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan', in M. North (ed.), *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges Between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900*, Farnham 2010, pp. 109-34. For China see Y. Lai 賴毓芝, 'Tuxiang diguo: Qianlongchao *zhigongtu* de zhizuo yu didu chengxiang 圖像帝國: 乾隆朝《職貢圖》的製作與帝都呈現' [Picturing Empire: Illustrations of 'Official Tribute' at the Qianlong Court and the Making of the Imperial Capital], *Zhongyang Yanjiyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan*中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 75 (2012), pp. 1-76.

22 S. Ayusawa, 'Geography and Japanese Knowledge of World Geography', *Monumenta Nipponica* 19 (1964), nos. 3-4, pp. 275-94, esp. p. 281.

23 Sun Yunqiu 孙云球, *Jingshi* 镜史 [History of Lenses], c. 1680, postscript, 1681. For an in-depth study of the treatise in which this image appears see C. Sun 孙承晟, 'Ming Qing zhi ji xifang guangxue zhishi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo ji qi yingxiang - Sun Yunqiu 'jing shi ' yanjiu 明清之际西方光学知识在中国的传播及其影响—孙云球《镜史》研究 [The Diffusion and Impact of Western Optical Knowledge in Late Ming and Early Qing: A Study of Sun Yunqiu's *Jingshi*]', *Studies in the History of Natural Sciences* 自然科学史研究 26 (2007), no. 3, pp. 363-76.

24 C. Wang 王正华, 'Whither Art History? A Global Perspective on Eighteenth-Century Chinese Art and Visual Culture', *The Art Bulletin* 96 (2014), no. 4, pp. 379-94, esp. p. 386.

25 For a discussion of the term *xiyang* as applied to goods from afar and from the seventeenth century onward to European objects in particular see Y. Zheng, *China on the Sea: How the Maritime World Shaped Modern China*, Leiden 2012, pp. 207-43.

26 J. Hay, 'Culture, Ethnicity, and Empire in the Work of Two Eighteenth-Century Eccentric Artists', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 35 (1999), pp. 201-23, esp. pp. 219-22.

27 The book was published in Basle in 1543, and reprinted in various revised versions, among them a 1617 Amsterdam edition.

28 Hay, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 217-18.

29 Y. Braester, catalogue entry in R. Barnhart et al. (eds.), *The Jade Studio: Masterpieces of Ming and Qing Painting and Calligraphy from the Wong Nan-p'ing Collection*, New Haven 1994, pp. 238-41.

30 Quoted from Caroline van Eck's analysis of Alfred Gell's posthumously published *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* of 1998, C. van Eck, 'Living Statues: Alfred

Gell's Art and Agency, Living Presence Response and the Sublime', *Art History* 33 (2010), no. 4, pp. 643-59, esp. p. 644.

31 J. Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure. Vernacular Painting in High Qing China*, Berkeley 2010, p. 84.

32 Ibid., p. 82.

33 Ibid.

34 J. van Campen, '"In't vuur geschilderd": geëmailleerde platen van koper en porselein uit de collectie J. Th. Royer (1737-1807)', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 50 (2002), pp. 2-27.

35 Attributed to Spoilum, *Portrait of a Western Merchant on the China Coast*, late eighteenth century, reverse glass painting, 25.9 x 20.6 cm, Hong Kong Museum of Art; attributed to Spoilum, *A Western Gentleman Involved with the China Trade*, private collection, reproduced in F. McQueeney-Jones Mascolo, 'The History within', *Antiques and Fine Art* 7th Anniversary (2007), pp. 236-49, esp. p. 240; attributed to Spoilum, *Merchant*, available online: http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/rise_fall_canton_01/image/cw_1890s_MechantBySpoilum.jpg (consulted 15 April 2015).

36 V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 60-64; W. Kemp, *Rembrandt. Die heilige Familie oder die Kunst einen Vorhang zu lüften*, Frankfurt am Main 1986.

37 H. Wu, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting*, London 1996.

38 Such exceptional examples are illustrated in Wu, op. cit. (note 37), pp. 177, 254.

39 Van Campen, op. cit. (note 34), p. 19.

40 Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), p. 180.

41 Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 179-81, 186.

42 Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 175-97.

43 Translation quoted from X. Cao, *The Story of the Stone: A Novel in Five Volumes* (trans. D. Hawkes), Bloomington 1979 (first ed. 1791), vol. 2, chapter 41, p. 318. The story of Granny Liu is discussed in K. Kleutghen, *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces*, Seattle/London 2015, pp. 238-40. Previously James Cahill had pointed to the importance of the Qing literature motif of the 'voyeur's dream ... to be physically drawn into the painting' for understanding erotic imagery in early modern China, Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), p. 158.

44 R. Barnhart, 'Dong Qichang and Western Learning – a Hypothesis in Honor of James Cahill', *Archives of Asian Art* 50 (1997/98), pp. 7-16, esp. pp. 12-13.

45 Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 260-66.

46 Van Campen, op. cit. (note 34), p. 21.

47 Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), p. 84.

48 J. van Campen, 'Painted by Fire: Jean Theodore Royer's Chinese Enameled Plaques', *Magazine Antiques* 165 (2004), no. 2, pp. 68-77, esp. p. 72.

49 Such cross-dressing figures commonly include female warriors in male attire, but a Qing version of Mulan's tale also refers to her sister cross-dressed as 'a handsome [male] scholar rather than a warrior'. M.W. Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu 2006, pp. 113-34, esp. p. 125.

50 Monk Fahai has a pivotal role in the *Story of the White Snake* and 'Buddhist and Taoist monks with supernatural powers' are crucial in a Qing version of the Mulan tale. L. Edwards, 'Transformations of the Woman Warrior Hua Mulan: From Defender of the Family to Servant of the State', *Nan Nü* 12 (2010), pp. 175-214, esp. p. 190, on Yingyuan jiuzhu 瀛園舊主, Ah Yi 阿毅 (ed.), *Mulan qinü zhuan* 木蘭奇女傳 [Legend of the Exceptional Woman Mulan], Qing dynasty, Ji'nan 1987 (repr.), chapters 11, 13.

51 The White Snake Woman becomes the mistress of the Green Snake Woman after a fight in Qing versions of the *Story of the White Snake*, see P. Wu, *The White Snake: The Evolution of a Myth in China*, New York 1969 (diss. Columbia University). Hua Mulan and female warrior Dou Xianniang appear as mistress and maid in Chu Renhuo 褚人獲, *Sui Tang yanyi* 隋唐演義 [The Romance of the Sui and Tang Dynasties], 1695, Shenyang 2008 (repr.), chapters 56-61; for English summaries see 'Appendix 2: Mulan in Three Novels of the Qing Dynasty', in S. Kwa and W. L. Idema (eds. and trans.), *Mulan: Five Versions of a Classic Chinese Legend, with Related Texts*, Indianapolis 2010, pp. 119-26, esp. pp. 119-20; Edwards, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 188-90; Huang, op. cit. (note 49), pp. 119-34.

52 See Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), p. 171.

53 (Prince) Yong'en 咏恩, *Shuangtu ji* 雙兔記 [A Couple of Hares], before 1795, summarized and discussed in S. Kwa and W.L. Idema, 'Introduction', in Kwa and Idema, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 11-32, esp. pp. 21-22, and 'Appendix 1: Summaries of Selected Pre-1949 Plays', in ibid., pp. 105-17, esp. pp. 105-08.

54 Anonymous, 'Poem of Mulan' (trans. W. Idema), in Kwa and Idema, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 1-3, esp. p. 3. Interpretation of the motif in S. Kwa and W.L. Idema, 'Introduction', in ibid., pp. 6-32, esp. p. 14.

55 Attributed to Meng Lu Jushi (Master of the Lingering Dream), 'The Secret Spring

Album', before 1821, ink and colour on paper, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, leaf 8 in an album of 12 leaves, available on http://jamescahill.info/photo-gallery/chinese-erotic-art/category/4-album-t (consulted June 2015).

56 Cahill, op. cit. (note 31), p. 156.

57 Van Campen, op. cit. (note 34), pp. 9-11.

59 The term *qi* 奇 carries a wide range of meanings, of which the ones cited are merely examples. Craig Clunas points to the use of the term in relation to Ming objects qualifying as collectibles, among other reasons, due to their foreign origin, in C. Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, Honolulu 2004 (first ed. 1991), p. 85. While scholars in the field of early modern Chinese art and material culture have translated *qi* 奇 as 'exotic' (e.g. Hay, op. cit. (note 14), p. 164), the complex implications of the term within Ming dynasty artistic discourses have been analyzed by K. Burnett, 'A Discourse of Originality in Late Ming Chinese Painting Criticism', *Art History* 23 (2000), no. 4, pp. 522-58, esp. p. 539. Further relevant discussions appear in A. Plaks, 'Aesthetics of Irony in Late Ming Literature and Painting', in *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting*, New York 1991, pp. 487-500; S. MacDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain: Traces of a Late-Ming Hatchet and Chisel*, Hong Kong 2009, pp. 16, 45-46, 61, 87; S. Shih 石守謙, 'You qiqü dao fugu: shiqi shiji jinling huihua de yige qiemian 由奇趣到復古–十七世紀金陵繪畫的一個切面 [From the rare to patina: a facet of seventeenth-century Jiling School paintings]', *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 15 (1998), no. 4, pp. 33-76.

59 For the example of a theatrical performance in 1629 Yangzhou that employs six-metre-long inscribed curtains to frame a theatrical space that stages foreign 'barbarians' (*man*), see Zhang Dai 張岱, *Tao'an Mengyi* 陶庵夢憶 [Reminiscences in Dreams of Tao'an] (ca. 1665), ed. Tu Youxiang 屠友祥 (Shanghai 1996), *juan* 2, section 4, p. 45, translated and annotated in B. Teboul-Wang, *Souvenirs reves de Tao'an, traduit du chinois, presente et annote par Brigitte Teboul-Wang*, Paris 1995, p. 41.

60 Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), p. 214.

61 Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 209-15.

62 Lei Chun 雷純, '*Tushuo* 圖說 [Explanation]', c. 1790 (?), in *Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 [The Wenyuange {Palace} Edition of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature], Taipei 1986 (photographic ed.), *juan* 661, pp. 246-55, p. 253b (80:6), translation quoted from E. Uitzinger, 'For the Man Who Has Everything: Western-style Exotica in Birthday Celebrations at the Court of Ch'ien-lung', in L. Blussé and E. Zürcher (eds.), *Conflict and Accommodation in Early Modern East Asia*, Leiden 1993, pp. 216-39, esp. p. 222.

63 Nian Xiyao 年希堯, *Shixue* 視學 [The Study of Vision], 1735.

64 Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 84-87. The term *ceng* 層 appears in the inscriptions of both frontal views as well as the accompanying comment, Nian, op. cit. (note 63), p. 54v., illustrated in ibid., pp. 84-85.

65 Nian, op. cit. (note 63), p. 54v., translation quoted from Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 83, 282.

66 Kleutghen, op. cit. (note 43), p. 94.

67 See C. Shih 施靜菲, 'Xiangya qiu suojian zhi gongyi jishu jiaoliu-Guangdong, Qinggong yu shensheng luoma diguo 象牙球所見之工藝技術交流-廣東, 清宮與神聖羅馬帝國 [Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques: Canton, the Q'ing Court and the Holy Roman Empire]', *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 25 (2007), no. 2, pp. 87-138.

68 C. Shih 施靜菲, 'Yeshi bolaipin: Qinggong zhong de huashi xuanchuang 也是舶來品: 清宮中的花式鏇床 [Another Item from Over the Sea: Ornamental Lathes at the Qing Court]', *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 32 (2012), pp. 170-238.

69 C. Shih 施靜菲, '17, 18 shiji liuxing quanqiu de waijiao lipin: Qinggong jiucang duoceng mutaobei 17, 18 世紀流行全球的外交禮品: 清宮舊藏多層木套杯 [17th and 18th Century Global Exchange Items: Multi-layered Wooden Cups in the Qing Imperial Palace Collections]', *Diancang gu meishu* 典藏古美術 263 (2014), pp. 152-57.

70 P. Yu 余佩瑾, 'Tang Ying jianzao zhuanxinping ji qi xiangguan wenti 唐英監造轉心瓶及其相關問題 [Tang Ying's Supervision of the Making of Revolving Vases and Related Issues]', *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 31 (2014), no. 4, pp. 205-49.

71 A. Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis*, London 1671, p. 329.

72 Montanus, op. cit. (note 71), p. 334.

73 Gaspar Correia (1495-1561) and Jan H. van Linschoten (1563-1611) refer to Bengal. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India: livro primeiro*, written before 1561, published posthumously, Lisbon 1858-66, p. 287, translation quoted from B. Karl, '"Marvellous things are made with needles": Bengal *colchas* in European inventories, c. 1580-1630', *Journal of the History of Collections* 23 (2011), no. 2,

pp. 301-13, esp. p. 303. For a citation and an English translation of the relevant Dutch paragraph first published in 1596 from H. Kern and H. Terpstra (eds.), *Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, Itinerario*, The Hague 1955, vol. 1, p. 72, see Karl, op. cit. (note 73), pp. 303-04.

74 For examples see J.J. Felgueiras, 'A Family of Precious Gujarati Objects', in N. Vassallo e Silva, *The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, exh. cat. Lisbon (Museu de São Roque) 1996, pp. 129-55.

75 Two such rhinoceros horn cups in mounts are illustrated and discussed in ibid., pp. 217-218.

76 The assumption that 'one Silver Box with Mother of Pearl' was from India is based on the fact that caskets of this kind were made in Goa and Gujarat, see Felgueiras, op. cit. (note 74). The 'ten Pieces of yellow Cloth' were also most likely from India, the leading provider of textiles in Asia; on early modern trade in bulk textile as well as crafted wares see Karl, op. cit. (note 73), p. 301.

77 A. Grasskamp, 'Chapter One: Porcelain in Frames: The Europeanization of Chinese Ceramics through Sixteenth-Century Metal Mounts', in *Cultivated Curiosities: A Comparative Study of Chinese Artifacts in European Kunstkammern and European Objects in Chinese Elite Collections*, Leiden 2013 (unpub. diss. Leiden University), and Grasskamp, op. cit. (note 9).

78 Examples can be found in D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und japanisches Porzellan in europäischen Fassungen*, Braunschweig 1980.

79 C. Shih 施靜菲, *Ri yue guang hua. Qinggong hua falang* 日月光華. 清宮畫琺瑯 [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamel Ware of the Qing Court], Taipei 2012, pp. 98-101, 189. Complex issues concerning the sites of production of enamelled wares kept in the imperial collections were discussed more recently in C. Shih 施靜菲 and C. Wang 王崇齊, 'Qianlongchao yuehaiguan chengzuo zhi 'Guang falang' 乾隆朝粵海關成做之「廣琺瑯」 [Imperial 'Guang falang' of the Qianlong Period Manufactured by the Guangdong Maritime Customs]', *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 36 (2014), pp. 87-184.

80 K. Smentek, 'Global Circulations, Local Transformations: Objects and Cultural Encounter in the Eighteenth Century', in Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ding, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 43-57, esp. p. 43.

81 'Vermittelnde Brücke'. G. Simmel, 'Der Henkel', in G. Simmel, *Philosophische Kultur. Gesammelte Essais*, Leipzig 1919, pp. 116-24, esp. p. 119.

82 'Der Vermittler des Kunstwerkes zur Welt hin'. Ibid., p. 119.

83 P. Yu 余佩瑾, 'Lang Shining yu ciqi 郎世寧與瓷器 [Giuseppe Castiglione and Porcelains]', *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊32 (2014), no. 2, pp. 1-37, esp. pp. 6-7, 32.

84 R. Vinograd, 'Hybrid Spaces of Encounter in the Qing Era', in Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ding, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 11-28, esp. p. 19.

85 One of them is illustrated, the other appears in P. Yu 余佩瑾, 'Linlangmanmu xin shiye: shengshi gongyi cezhan shuoming 琳瑯滿目新視野 – 盛世工藝策展說明 [A New Level for a Dazzling Line-Up: Curatorial Plans for Exhibiting Arts and Crafts of the Golden Age]', *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 275 (2006), pp. 26-37, esp. p. 33.

86 F. and N. Hervouët and Y. Bruneau (eds.), *La Porcelaine des Compagnies des Indes à Décor Occidental*, Paris 1986, p. 85, object 4.12.

87 Jonathan Hay convincingly suggests European watchcases' floral decorations as the model, Hay, op. cit. (note 14), p. 164. Examples of such European watchcases are illustrated and discussed in C. Vincent, 'Some Seventeenth-Century French Painted Enamel Watchcases', *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37, pp. 89-106, esp. pp. 97-99.

88 Vinograd, op. cit. (note 84), p. 19.

89 Translation quoted from Cao, op. cit. (note 43), chapter 52, pp. 539-40.

90 Liu, '*Shiquan laoren yu xiangfei* 是全老人与與香妃 [Emperor Qianlong and Empress Xiangfei]', *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan* 故宮文物月刊6 (1983), pp. 48-52. A Chinese lady dressed in what seems to be a variation of a European shepherdess costume also appears on a snuff bottle with European motifs on its sides, illustrated in Y. Hou 怡利 (ed.), *Tong ti qingyang: biyanhu wenhua tezhan* 通嚏輕揚 : 鼻煙壺文化特展 [Lifting the Spirit and Body: The Art and Culture of Snuff Bottles], exh. cat. Taipei (National Palace Museum) 2014, p. 126.

91 L. Lin 林莉娜, 'On the Portrait of a Lady in Armour in the Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei', *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 39 (2006), pp. 95-117.

92 Plenty of examples are illustrated and discussed in Hervouët and Bruneau, op. cit. (note 86), pp. 121-38, 157-81.

Detail of fig. 14