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Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia

Preface

Introduction

Mediating Cultures

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.)

1 Terms of Reception

European

Gary Schwartz

2 Reconfiguring the Northern European World

Amy S. Landau

3 Dutch Cemeteries in South India

Martin Kröger

4 Coasts and Interiors of India

Early Modern Indo-Dutch Cross-Cultural Exchange

Ranabir Chakravarti

5 Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Michael North

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Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 - With Special Reference to Galle

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8 European Artists in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Martina J. Bak

9 Scratching the Surface

The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann

Amsterdam University Press

Founded in 2000 as part of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), the Amsterdam Centre for Study of the Golden Age (*Amsterdams Centrum voor de Studie van de Gouden Eeuw*) aims to promote the history and culture of the Dutch Republic during the 'long' seventeenth century (c. 1560-1720). The Centre's publications provide an insight into lively diversity and continuing relevance of the Dutch Golden Age. They offer original studies on a wide variety of topics, ranging from Rembrandt to Vondel, from *Beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic fury) to *Ware Vrijheid* (True Freedom) and from Batavia to New Amsterdam. Politics, religion, culture, economics, expansion and warfare all come together in the Centre's interdisciplinary setting.

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9 Scratching the Surface

The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann

Introduction: The Case of the Missing Chinese

The most prominent and probably the most famous artistic representation of seventeenth-century Netherlandish trade with the world appears on the façade of the Royal Palace on the Dam, the former Town Hall of Amsterdam. Sculpture on one pediment projects an image of Dutch success overseas, showing the products of the world being laid at the feet of a personification of Amsterdam.¹ But an interpretation of another lesser known monument in The Hague may help introduce a consideration of a different view of Dutch commercial and cultural relations. This is the ceiling of the *Eerste Kamer* in the Binnenhof in The Hague, a room also known as the *Trêveszaal*.

Paintings by Andries de Haen and Nicholaes Willingh executed in 1664-1665 on the ceiling of the *Eerste Kamer* constitute part of the decoration that accompanied the reconstruction designed by the architect Pieter Post. A suitably representative interior seems to have been desired for what was formerly the Assembly Hall of the Estates (*Statenzaal*) of Holland and West Friesland; it has been described as comparable to that of the *Burgerzaal* in the Town Hall of Amsterdam, and also that of the *Oranjezaal* of the Huis ten Bosch, which glorifies the House of Orange.² Like the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall, the paintings in the *Eerste Kamer* may be read as containing symbolic elements which relate

to general, contemporary situations. The end walls feature large allegorical easel paintings of war and peace by Jan Lievens and Adriaen Hanneman; these are probably meant to allude to the sort of major decisions that might have been determined by the Estates who met in the room. Although the imagery of the ceiling has not yet received much scholarly attention, it too suggests such a reading.

Many different groups of people are shown peering down from fictive openings in the ceiling. Several sorts of Europeans, including English, French, Italians, and Germans, appear among them, along with people from other parts of the world outside Europe. These include Native Americans, who may be spotted among a group of Spaniards shown with dark skin; they are identifiable as American Indians by the feathered headdress (often associated with America in the imagery of the traditional four continents) that one of them wears. Turbaned Turks and other *Oosterlingen* (as Easterners were called at the time),³ perhaps Persians, may also be seen in other separate groups on the ceiling.

Considering the original choice of theme one may infer that the ceiling was also intended to convey some sort of message. Whether the different peoples depicted were shown in order to suggest that the laws promulgated in this chamber could also be applied to other lands, or to suggest that there was universal curiosity about the welfare and doings of the Dutch, or to attest to the openness of Dutch affairs to

being viewed by the world, as may be indicated by a poetic description of 1668 by Jacob van der Does,⁴ or perhaps just simply to represent the parts of the globe with which the Dutch had commerce, in any case it seems that an association was to be established between the Netherlands and the peoples of the world at large.

It is, however, noteworthy that some important peoples are not depicted on the ceiling. Most conspicuously, Chinese are missing. It does not seem possible to account for their absence simply by reference, for example, to traditional representations of the continents where Chinese might not have stood for Asia.⁵ In addition to other Eurasian groups such as Russians who are also rarely represented in western European imagery of the seventeenth century, more than one Asian people besides the Chinese are in fact shown on this ceiling in The Hague.

The absence of Chinese seems especially significant in light of the events that had occurred soon before the ceiling was painted. Until the 1660s the Dutch East India Company (hereafter the VOC) had for several decades been intensely involved with China and especially with Taiwan, then known as the island of Formosa. However, in the mid-seventeenth century civil war in China accompanied the collapse of the Ming dynasty (1386-1644), and in 1661 the Manchu Kangxi (K'ang-hsi) emperor assumed the throne, an event that is also often taken to mark the definitive succession of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. In that year Formosa was invaded by forces commanded by Zheng Chenggong (Cheng Ch'engkung) who is often called Coxinga. Coxinga was a Ming loyalist whom the Dutch regarded as a pirate. Coxinga soon conquered most of the island. On 1 February 1662 Fort Zeelandia, the most important Dutch stronghold, which is now located in the Anping district of the southern Taiwanese city

of Tainan, was surrendered after a nine-month-long siege. Dutch traders, officials, and settlers who had not died or been captured had to be evacuated from the island. A contemporary account by the last governor of Zeelandia, Frederic Coyett, described the Dutch failure to relieve Taiwan as "neglected Formosa."⁶ Despite later attempts to recapture it, Taiwan was irretrievably lost for the VOC.⁷

The loss of Taiwan had devastating consequences for the trade network established by the VOC in the South China Sea. It abruptly initiated a decline of the Dutch East India Company in the China market. The disruption of Dutch commerce with China in the 1660s created opportunities for their European rivals. In 1664 Louis XIV and his minister Colbert founded the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* to compete with the VOC and the English East India Company, which was already a rival for the Dutch in eastern waters. This marked an upsurge of French initiatives to deal with China.⁸ In 1698 two private French companies were formed out of the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales*, one of which was specifically designated as the *Compagnie de Chine* to trade with China.⁹ Only during the course of the eighteenth century, and then to a more limited extent, when different commodities and another point of access were involved, did the VOC regain a substantial share in trade with China.¹⁰

In 1664, so soon after the Formosa disaster, it may thus have seemed inaccurate, impolitic, or simply too painful to depict Chinese among the peoples of the world. In any instance, while painters in The Hague showed other nations of the world literally admiring the Dutch, no such claim was made for China.

The case of the missing Chinese thus provides a symbolic introduction to this essay. In contrast to the imagery of the Amsterdam Town Hall, Dutch dealings with China do not

deserve such grand celebration, for they may not be counted among their most brilliant successes in terms of lasting effect, whatever may be the reasons for the absence of Chinese on the painted ceiling in The Hague. This observation not only applies to trade, but also to what here and elsewhere in the present volume is called cultural transfer or exchange, treated in relation to commerce between the Low Countries, especially the United Provinces, and other parts of the world. Cultural transfer applies here specifically to the evidence of material culture. In distinction to the use of spices or tea, this means finished objects, particularly what were regarded as luxury items in Europe, where such things later came to be called *objets d'art*, or works of art. Conversely, comparable items were called "superfluous things" in China during the Ming Dynasty, the end of whose regime provides the initial focal period for this essay.¹¹ China undoubtedly had a huge impact on European culture that was mediated through the United Provinces. Yet the converse is not true as far as it applies to the role of the VOC or Dutch culture in general on China (and Taiwan). There is simply less to be said about the impact of Dutch art, architecture, and more generally material culture on China and Taiwan, both in comparison with the Dutch presence elsewhere in the area from Cape Town to Japan, and even in comparison with the impact of other Europeans, including southern Netherlanders, in China.¹²

During the course of the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch succeeded in replacing the Portuguese as the dominant presence in the China trade, much as they ousted their Iberian rivals from other locations in East and Southeast Asia, as discussed elsewhere in this book. It might be said that Amsterdam then became the new trade center for Chinese goods for all of Europe. But even this view, as suggested perhaps by the imagery on the

Amsterdam Town Hall (which however lacks depictions of Chinese) must be tempered. Even at its acme in the mid-seventeenth century the VOC did not control commerce with China. Trade from China was largely conducted in the first place by transport on Chinese junks, hence via vessels that did not belong to Europeans, and that accordingly were not directly under VOC command. Boats coming especially from the southeastern provinces of China carried goods to VOC entrepôts, among them for several decades Fort Zeelandia on Taiwan. Nagasaki (Deshima) on Kyushu in Japan was another entrepôt for the China trade, although at first to a more limited extent, becoming more important in this regard after the loss of Formosa. Most important for the China trade was, however, Batavia, now Jakarta in Indonesia. Goods might come directly to Batavia from China (often from Fukien province), or could also be shipped on from Formosa and Japan. In Batavia, and to a degree in Japan, goods from China might be used to satisfy local demands, or be shipped onwards to other destinations in Asia, or even farther to Europe.¹³

In contrast with what occurred elsewhere in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, it is significant that the Dutch never gained a separate foothold on the Chinese mainland. They were repeatedly driven away from Macao when they assaulted it, suffering a major defeat in 1622. They were never more than briefly able to hang onto the Pescadores, islands in the strait of Taiwan. The settlements including Forts Zeelandia and Provintia (Seckam) on Formosa that the VOC did succeed in establishing may be regarded as a sort of substitute for their failure at Macao; from 1624 the Dutch gradually gained control over a large part of the island of Formosa (Taiwan). However, as noted, all Dutch sites on Taiwan had to be abandoned by 1662, and this setback ended what had been the fulcrum of VOC trade within what has been called the

Asiatic Mediterranean, which stretched from Indonesia to Japan.¹⁴

In the eighteenth century the VOC at first sent a limited number of ships directly to China in response to the increasing European demand for tea. After trading through Macao and then situating several offices (called factories) on the mainland, the VOC established a more regular trading post in Canton (Guangzhou), which was very active from mid-century.¹⁵ Yet merchants from the United Provinces were merely some among the several European nations who were represented in Canton, where they were soon to be joined by traders from the new United States of America; all provided fierce competition for Dutch interests. Furthermore, foreigners present in Canton had to work through Chinese middlemen, eventually the Hongs, in any case, so that local Chinese merchants played an essential role in the trade between China and Europe that was conducted through Canton. Restrictions placed on foreigners resident in Canton also provide an indication of their status. Access to the rest of China from the Canton factories was restricted, as freedom of movement was limited for all foreigners resident there; direct contact with the Chinese government was also forbidden.¹⁶

It was therefore impossible for the VOC ever to obtain in the China trade the kind of monopolistic position for which it in general strove, and largely attained with Japan at least in comparison with other European nations. Control over commerce with China in goods like tea or porcelain was never to be gained, even when the VOC had a grasp on Taiwan (Formosa) and hence had its hands more closely on trade in objects such as ceramics during the seventeenth century.¹⁷ Continuing conversations with officials on the coast of China, especially in Fukien province from the seventeenth century onward were to no avail. Repeated efforts to send embassies to

the imperial court, including several for which there are more or less extensive accounts, which actually rendered visits in 1665, 1667 (sic), 1686, and 1795 to the Forbidden City in Beijing, also failed. The Dutch, more particularly the East India Company, thus never succeeded in obtaining their larger goals through diplomacy. They never achieved even the more limited aim of gaining free trade, open access to the Chinese market, either.¹⁸

These circumstances provide the background for considerations of cultural transfer between China (and Taiwan) and the Netherlands. While it may often seem true that the amount and effect of exchange may be asymmetrical in cultural interactions between different groups and civilizations, the ledger here appears to have been especially unbalanced. Ships of the VOC were eventually responsible for the transportation of many millions of pieces of porcelain back to Europe, according to one estimate more than 45 million.¹⁹ In addition to silk and tea, and other items coveted from China, including lacquer, the massive transfer of objects, especially of luxury items, as porcelain and lacquer initially were considered (before Chinese porcelain was replaced by more highly desired European porcelain in the later eighteenth century, and Chinese porcelain came to be manufactured as a comparatively cheaper product²⁰) exercised a huge impact on the material culture of the Netherlands as it did of other European lands, mainly from the seventeenth, and particularly during the eighteenth century. Chinese objects, porcelain in particular, were avidly sought out and collected, and ultimately porcelain was (re)invented in Europe itself.²¹ In 1726 Augustus the Strong of Saxony notoriously referred to the taste for porcelain as the *maladie de porcelaine*.²² The vogue for Chinese gardens, Chinese rooms, and imitation of all things Chinese grew. Chinese objects and images

affected many aspects of European arts and crafts, leading to a wave of imitations that is generically described as *chinoiserie*. In the United Provinces the taste for porcelain generated emulations in ceramics, most familiarly those made in the form of Delftware and Delft tiles, for example.²³ Similarly, the taste for lacquer also led to the production of European imitations in many places, including painted boxes that simulated lacquer. China also had an impact on much more than material culture, because many Europeans became fascinated by or at least appreciated many other kinds of things Chinese. These phenomena are well known and have been well studied.²⁴

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Dutch were far from being in control of the effects, even on the commercial side, to which the endeavors of the VOC may have helped lead throughout many parts of Europe. As remarked, the VOC did not control trade in porcelain; it did not govern the production within China that was at its source; it did not begin this trade; nor even during the period of massive importation in the eighteenth century was the VOC the sole or predominant conveyor of ceramics to Europe. In China the actual production of porcelain was controlled by indigenous owners of the kilns, including the emperor, who owned many of the famous kilns in Jingdezhen.²⁵ Chinese and other Asians had carried on trade in porcelain for many centuries before European ships ever arrived in East Asia.²⁶ The Portuguese began and led other Europeans in intervening in the porcelain trade, which they dominated until the Dutch successfully competed with them, and they were never fully excluded from the intercontinental commerce in ceramics with Asia.²⁷ The wars in China that accompanied the collapse of the Ming dynasty were another factor that brought about the decline of Dutch trade with China in the later seventeenth century: the wars disrupted the

production of porcelain, and also of Chinese lacquer, and caused a boost in the production of porcelain and lacquer in Japan, where the slack was taken up – but trade was diverted to another direction.²⁸

Furthermore, even the tremendous effect that the trade in porcelain and other Chinese goods no doubt had on European material culture may be placed in the perspective of what this commerce may have meant in quantitative terms for the VOC. Trade in porcelain, considered as a commodity, never represented the bulk of merchandise imported from China, which largely consisted at first of raw silk and spices, and later tea. At first porcelain was not carried by the Dutch in large amounts. It has even been suggested that one reason for its export was that large porcelain vessels served as dry and safe places for spices during their transport, and certainly later porcelain shipments, in the eighteenth century, served as effective buffers for tea transports.²⁹

Similar estimates apply to economic questions. Data from the seventeenth century, when goods were also almost exclusively being carried away from China in the first stage of their journey by Chinese ships, indicates something of the value of porcelain at that time, before European production caused a collapse in its prices: in 1694 the amount of porcelain recorded as having been carried to Batavia (Jakarta) constituted less than 5 percent of the total valuation of goods conveyed.³⁰ Even the huge importation of porcelain to Europe that occurred especially during the eighteenth century in which the VOC participated to a good extent may be compared to the total volume of trade with China, distinct from the value of this trade.³¹ Gains made from the sale of porcelain, a measure of this value, did not constitute more than a modest portion of the total profits that the VOC derived at any time from the China trade. It has been estimated that porcelain accounted for only 5

percent of the total of all return shipments from China, and this amounted to only a very small percentage of total profits. The profits derived from the trade in porcelain were therefore never as favorable as those gained from spices or tea, and for that matter those from trade in lacquer were even less. From the late seventeenth century onwards the profitability of porcelain for the VOC also became increasingly questionable, notably so after large-scale production of European equivalents including porcelain had begun.³² The French experience with the trade in porcelain and lacquer mirrors the Dutch story.³³

The Dutch therefore assumed a role that had been started by others. They controlled neither the production of Chinese porcelain, nor the initial distribution of it nor other objects from China. This trade was not the most lucrative side of their commerce. At most the VOC played the part of mediators within Asia, an important point to which we shall return. As other essays in this volume may also suggest was the case, Intra-Asian trade conducted by the VOC with goods from other Asian lands, including in this case China, demonstrates that in this instance as in others Dutch commerce in Chinese commodities conducted with other Asian countries was more important than it was with Europe itself.³⁴

On the other hand, a large question looms: what in any event could the Dutch ever offer the Chinese in return? It is illuminating to read what a perspicacious Hollander had already recognized before the first ships were sent out directly from Holland to trade in East Asia. Some of the comments made by Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp, known as Dirck China because he had traveled to China and elsewhere in the East Indies with the Portuguese and Spanish, are very revealing in regard to what for the sixteenth-century Italian artist/biographer Giorgio Vasari were the *arti del disegno* (painting, sculpture, architecture), or what eighteenth-century writers

called *Beaux Arts* (the Fine Arts). In 1595 Pomp responded to a list of objects that it had been proposed might be brought to the kingdom of China in the expectation of great gain. He specifically said that it was senseless to send paintings and prints of landscapes or hunting scenes, because the Chinese painted themselves. He approved, or refrained from commenting on, shipping raw materials and the other sorts of things that the VOC embassies did in fact later bring to China as gifts, or otherwise traded on Taiwan.³⁵ Nevertheless, his advice seems to have been at least in part accurate, because some of the goods he approved of trading, including amber, were eagerly bought up in China.³⁶

The basic evidence from raw data for trade provides a clear sign that European interest in luxury objects or works of art, including paintings,³⁷ produced in China was not reciprocated by a Chinese taste for equivalent sorts of European items. Of course it is necessary to be careful about making generalizations about trade with Asia involving questions of both quantity and quality, because so much may have been carried unofficially, in private containers, as will be discussed below. Nevertheless, the records of what the Dutch supplied to China in return for Chinese exports indicate that they largely consisted of spices, mainly pepper, raw materials, including exotic woods and later tin, and, most important, bullion in the form of unworked silver.

If, then, the VOC never established a firm foothold in China, nor even for very long in Taiwan, if the general conditions, products, and contents of commerce indicate limited possibilities for the transfer of European luxury objects with China, if Chinese interest in such luxury goods seems to have been comparatively slight in any case, what might the Dutch impact on material culture in China have been? Could the impact of European art on Chinese culture and civilization, especially on material culture,

ever have been very great? At first glance, evidence for the transfer of Netherlandish, especially Dutch cultural goods, and for their impact on China (or Taiwan) before 1800 does indeed appear to have been relatively slight.

Yet consideration of this question within the more general context of Dutch cultural transfer in the regions of the Indian Ocean and East Asia offered in the present volume is illuminating: the evidence, both positive and negative, is revealing for several reasons. First, some traces may still be found for various sorts of the impact of material culture mediated through the Dutch in Taiwan and China. Second, even the limited response to Dutch contact such as it may be, and to the broader elements of European culture they might have offered, not only contrasts with what happened elsewhere, but with what was mediated by other Netherlanders (Flemish): this should cause reconsideration of the role of the VOC in general. Hence some insights may be obtained into the more general question of how or why the Dutch may have been more or less successful in their endeavors in the East, and consequently what favorable circumstances for cultural exchange may have been. In the end what at first glance might apparently appear to be the unrewarding topic of the Dutch impact on China thus allows for comments about larger conditions.

This essay proceeds to summarize and evaluate historical and archeological data related to the presence of the Dutch on Formosa (Taiwan). It suggests some direct and indirect traces of the possible impact there of the VOC, and of related Dutch endeavors, on material culture in Taiwan. It mentions the possible impact of Dutch demands and taste on the manufacture of Chinese goods that were to be exported to Europe. It suggests how some objects that had probably been brought by the VOC may have had an impact on production of similar sorts of items and their imitation in China. Then it turns

to further consideration of the other side of the question, that is, why the Dutch were not more successful, and did not have more of an impact in China. It suggests some evidence that may help account for why the Chinese may have lacked interest in Dutch objects and material culture, apart from a few sorts of items. Finally, it briefly contrasts the contribution of other Europeans, especially Flemish (southern Netherlanders) to Chinese civilization (and in this case contemporary evidence does allow us to draw a distinction between northern and southern Netherlanders). In conclusion, it offers some comments about what this may suggest about Dutch cultural transfer with Asia in general.

Dutch Cultural Impact on Taiwan

We may first turn to the place where the Dutch did establish, however briefly, a firm presence in the area of China: Taiwan (Formosa). Not much is left above ground anywhere on Taiwan to attest to the character of structures from the Dutch era. In the northern part of Taiwan, in the Danshui district northwest of Taipei, there stands Fort Santo Domingo. This was originally a Spanish building which was reconstructed by the Dutch, but which seems to have been rebuilt – and repainted – still later by the British. In the absence of thorough *Bauforschung* (building research) it is difficult to say what remains from the Dutch period of the seventeenth century. In southern Taiwan, Fort Zeelandia was also completely reconstructed, apparently from the ground up, by the Japanese during the period of their occupation of the island, which lasted from the end of the nineteenth century until 1945. Of all Dutch structures on Formosa, Fort Provintia (Seckam), now in the center of the city of Tainan, may be the best preserved of Dutch buildings, but it has been encased within a later Chinese temple (the Chikan Lou), and it has not been thoroughly



Fig. 9.1: View of Fort Seckam.

excavated, nor have the areas nearby where the Dutch probably lived (fig. 9.1). Only partial accounts of ongoing archeological excavations in Tainan, which might complement archival and illustrative records, have been published.³⁸

Nevertheless, some records of construction can be established through written documents, illustrations, and archeology. Fort Zeelandia was built on a regular geometrical plan that echoes that of many other Dutch forts overseas, with official and practical buildings adjacent, and

a town placed nearby. The fortification was deliberately situated on what was then easily accessible terrain so that cargoes could be loaded and unloaded without much difficulty nearby; as time would soon prove, this location was however not easily defensible. The later building of the fort, sometimes known as Fort Seckam, near the Dutch settlement of Provintia (hence it is also called Fort Provintia) seems to have resembled Zeelandia in plan, although it seems to have been smaller.³⁹ In addition, residences and warehouses



Fig. 9.2: James Thomson, *View of Fort Zeelandia*, 1871.

were laid out near the forts; their plans and appearance display similar characteristics to those found in other Dutch settlements in the East.⁴⁰ Dutch castles, towns, and the houses within them on Taiwan thus had a regular disposition. Furthermore, several decrees also determined that they were to be built in brick.⁴¹ Finally, it has also been established that some materials such as roof tiles were brought to Formosa.⁴²

A well-known photograph taken in 1871 by the Scottish photographer James Thomson also documents the appearance of a wall and portal in Zeelandia, before this part of the fort was torn or fell down (fig. 9.2).⁴³ It shows a building made of brick with an entryway that has been walled up.

This entryway has the form of a rusticated arch, with alternating horizontal and vertical blocks. It however also appears to be made of bricks, over which plaster may have been applied. Above the gateway is an inscription that states the name of the building and its date, although neither the date nor the authenticity of the inscription may be determined with certainty.⁴⁴

The most remarkable aspect of Dutch construction on Formosa is related to the use of materials: much of the permanent material (as opposed to wood, or mud) may have been transported from elsewhere, along, frequently, with the men who utilized them. Not only is this observation true for the documented transport

of roof tiles, but for stone: stone was brought from the dismantled Dutch factory at Hirado in Japan to be used to aid in building Fort Zeelandia.⁴⁵

Some bricks may have been made locally, and a map of the settlement of Provintia indicates the presence there of brick ovens,⁴⁶ which were perhaps even built by Chinese who had either settled on the island or who had come from elsewhere. However, much other building material, including bricks and other sorts of stone, was also imported, apparently often as ballast as documents indicate. Building materials were indeed also specifically requested to be shipped.⁴⁷ Along with materials came bricklayers, carpenters, and masons, who were involved in the actual construction of edifices.⁴⁸ The *Zeelandia Dag-registers* (the daily records of the Dutch factory) frequently note such shipments, which came from the Pescadores, from the Chinese mainland, and probably from Batavia as well, where brick kilns are also known to have existed. Stone is found in courses at the bottom of the brick walls at Zeelandia that has a metamorphic character unlike rocks found on Taiwan but that suggests a provenance from the Pescadores. Bricks made elsewhere than on Taiwan can also be discerned in Fort Zeelandia and probably in Fort Seckam (Provintia). Most strikingly, it can be demonstrated that some of the bricks that were used on Formosa had been transported there from as far as way as the Netherlands.

Despite the scanty remains of observable original materials, and the paucity of reports, ocular inspection of both Fort Zeelandia and of Fort Provintia provides evidence for the presence of Dutch-made bricks. These are especially visible at Fort Seckam (Provintia).⁴⁹ In contrast with Chinese-made bricks, the Dutch product may be characterized by a different size, and by the absence of fragments of coral or other marine creatures that may frequently be found in locally produced bricks. The Dutch also often use a thicker mortar, although like the Chinese

they seem to employ one that is made out of sugar, sand, seashells, and rice. Moreover, Dutch bond was used for laying bricks to build the forts: this is a process consisting of alternately laying headers and stretchers in a single course, in which the headers in the rows placed in the course immediately above lie in the middle of the stretchers in the course below. The process of laying bricks in alternating positions and courses in this manner points to the presence of Dutch masons, or at least of Dutch overseers for the building process.⁵⁰

Significantly, yellow bricks have also been uncovered (and many subsequently covered over again) in excavations at Fort Zeelandia. These bricks are indubitably Dutch in origin, because they may be recognized as "Ijsselsteenjes," whose yellow color marks their provenance from the Low Countries. Dutch-made bricks like these (and of other colors) were spread in the millions throughout Dutch overseas settlements, where they served on the outward journey as ballast.⁵¹ However, as in other places where bricks had also been sent as ballast, such as the Baltic, they were then evidently used for construction purposes on Taiwan.⁵²

Considering the rounded shape (though broken off) suggesting an arch of what was the principal entrance to the fort at Provintia that is found within its encasement by the later Chinese Chikan temple, and its rough, unfinished appearance, it is possible to speculate that a more elaborate portal may also have been intended for at least one building on Formosa (fig. 9.1). Blocks of Westphalian (Baumberg) stone have been found in the wreckage of the ill-fated *Batavia*, the VOC ship that en route to the like-named town struck a rock in 1629 off the west coast of Australia and went down. Numbering on these stones, which were initially employed as ballast, has enabled the reconstruction of an arch, which has been set up in replica in the Shipwreck Galleries of the Western Australian Museum in

Fremantle, and also using the original materials at Geraldton. The portal in Australia has forms resembling those found in Serlio and other Renaissance architectural treatises, and it was probably destined for an entry portal for the fort in Batavia, Java (see plate 9.1). The stone visible in one of the existing portals from a seventeenth-century fort rebuilt by the Portuguese at Recife in Brazil also resembles that from Westphalia, and may thus originate from the antecedent Dutch fort that had been erected during the time of Maurice of Nassau-Siegen in Brazil (fig. 9.3).⁵³ In any case it could not have come from this region of Brazil, where no such stone may be found naturally. Hence, given what seems to have been the practice of shipping whole portals overseas during the period from c. 1630 onwards, it is possible that another such portal may also have been meant to be shipped to Formosa, too; it is possible that the disastrous conflict with Coxinga meant that it never arrived.⁵⁴

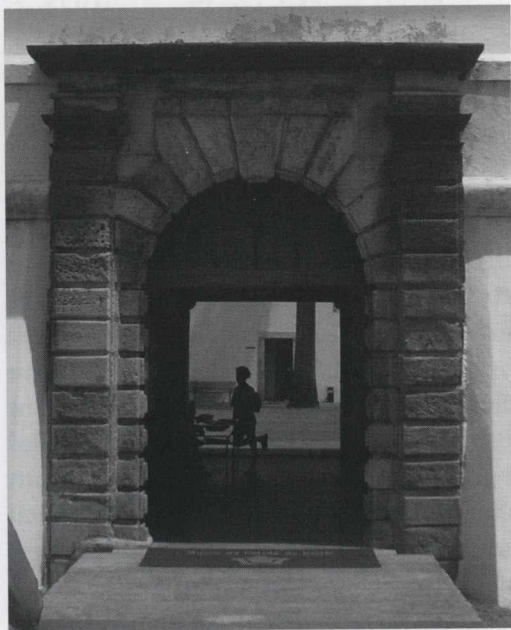


Fig. 9.3: Portal, Fort of São Tiago das Cinco Pontas, Recife, Brazil.

As the destruction of many buildings on Taiwan and their later reconstruction and even complete rededication (e.g. into the Chikan Lou temple) of others suggests, the actual reception of Dutch architecture on Formosa seems to have resonated slightly if at all with their Han Chinese successors on the island, not to mention the aboriginal inhabitants. Forts could continue to be used for military purposes; Coxinga also seems to have employed Dutch captives as surveyors.⁵⁵ In contrast with what happened in several other places in Southeast and East Asia, any further impact of Dutch architecture on local practices seems doubtful, however, especially after the conquest by the Qing dynasty in the seventeenth century.

Elsewhere traditional Asian media used for construction, including notably wood, may have been modified in emulation of European models. For example, in Siam the use of brick by Europeans stimulated local potentates to build similarly.⁵⁶ In Japan the use of brick also seems to have been inspired by Dutch professional works.⁵⁷ One might speculate that the use of brick in Chinese architecture might also have been similarly stimulated by the Dutch. Yet it may be recalled that the Great Wall and many older Chinese city walls were lined in brick, and that many houses in China were made of masonry; it may thus be argued that the idea that the Chinese built predominantly in wood is a modern myth that was championed especially by Japanese architectural historians, for they in fact often used brick and stone.⁵⁸ Hence caution about assumptions of the impact of Dutch on Asian construction practices seems in order. The Japanese twentieth-century reconstruction of Zeelandia in brick may even be interpreted as another Japanese demonstration that brick was foreign to the local environment. In any case, it is unlikely that Dutch buildings on Taiwan really changed Chinese construction

customs, except for the brief moment of their presence.

If Dutch building was never really influential, what may be said about other aspects of Dutch visual culture? It has long been known that Dutch paintings and even painters were to be found on Formosa. The inventory of the Dutch governor François Caron published in the nineteenth century contained a collection of images, and this has allowed for an analysis of the paintings and prints in his possession.⁵⁹ Twenty-eight pictures were located in the governor's house, the building that stood immediately in front of Fort Zeelandia. These included sixteen paintings of individuals or family members of the House of Orange; four paintings of geography and modern history, namely battle scenes; and eight paintings with religious subjects. Battle paintings, portraits, even religious works, are the kinds of pictures that were found in many other official VOC buildings and private collections strewn throughout Asia, as indicated by other contributions in this volume, where further commentary on the significance of their themes may also be found. The painter Joost Pauwels Noorwits (1623-1653) visited Formosa, where he executed a number of portraits that he sent back to Holland.⁶⁰

In the wake of the Dutch evacuation of Taiwan the paintings on the island were all probably removed, sent home, or lost; in any case none of them may yet be identified. The sole surviving identifiable picture that probably was painted by a Dutchman on Taiwan represents the minister Robert Junius preaching. This picture has been attributed to Noorwits, and it has also been suggested that the same artist, inspired by prints, may also have done many of the paintings in the governor's house. It has in addition been suggested that many prints, like those documented in the governor's house, were disseminated to other preachers

on the island, where they may have had an impact, and also that such prints were widely available.⁶¹

Yet while possible, these hypotheses are unlikely. Neither the painting of Junius, nor, unfortunately, its sole surviving photographic reproduction may now be located.⁶² While there is both documentary and material evidence for the shipment of Dutch prints eastwards in the early seventeenth century, this evidence does not allow us to determine if prints were ever effectively marketed in Asia.⁶³ The suggestions made by "Dirck China" cited above also make it improbable that either prints or paintings were intentionally transported by the VOC (or Dutchmen acting privately) other than to Dutch customers in Taiwan or China. The absence of their reception on the mainland (as opposed, perhaps to a different situation in Batavia) also makes it improbable that an indigenous clientele existed.⁶⁴ In any case, no evidence is to be found in the *Zeelandia Dagregisters* for such shipments of prints to Formosa. And even if such commerce did occur with Taiwan, it was probably carried on by individuals outside of the control of the VOC, and, because of the possible conduit (private chests), it must have been comparably limited.

To be sure, private commerce was effective in many other similar instances involving the circulation of goods throughout the region from Cape Town to Japan, whereby trade went on outside of "official" channels. This trade seems similar to what occurred in the instance of the British East India Company, where it is called company trade. As in the British case, in many cases it probably was conducted by individuals who had connections with the VOC. It has been noted that much of the trade in various sorts of goods with China that went through Batavia may have occurred in this form.⁶⁵ Porcelain often circulated through such private channels, as will be discussed below.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, further consideration of the painting showing Junius preaching and especially comparison with other similar depictions of Europeans preaching to indigenous people in situations outside Europe suggests that it is improbable that Dutch images were to be found connected with a religious, missionary context such as would have been the case on Formosa.⁶⁷ The use of images in the Reformed Church is in any event problematic, as is well known. In contrast, Franciscan missionaries in New Spain (Mexico), as illustrated in the *Rhetorica Christiana* of Diego Valadés, are shown preaching and teaching by pointing at images located inside churches and convents.⁶⁸ Throughout the Asian experience, Christian images were desired from Catholic missionaries, and there is evidence that there was also some attachment to images brought by such priests to Formosa as well.⁶⁹ Yet Junius is shown preaching without reference to images. Most important, not only did Dutch preachers like him combat Roman Catholicism on Formosa, but their efforts at conversion were also specifically directed against local idolatry, meaning the improper use of images for religious purposes.⁷⁰ Thus there seems to have been little reason why the Dutch would have used images for religious ends on Taiwan, and good reason why they would not have used them for missionary functions. Other circumstances also argue against the assumption that religious images were so used: no such images (aside from one illustrated frontispiece in a Bible) have been found which can be identified with a Taiwanese provenance, in contrast with the widespread preservation of Catholic images in an area in which Christianity was also for a time largely eradicated, such as occurred in Japan.⁷¹

It is not therefore in the realms of architecture, painting, or even in other sorts of more widely distributable images (e.g. prints) that the Dutch may have exercised an impact on

local material culture on Taiwan. Perhaps unexpectedly, the Dutch had an affect on both the symbolic and material aspects of the culture not of the Han Chinese who were immigrating to Formosa during the years Europeans were present and who ultimately replaced them as overlords of the island, but on those of the local population of aboriginal Taiwanese. In the first case this involves the distribution of staffs or canes (called *rottnang*) by the VOC, which were presented to local chieftains. After 1644, canes which had a silver knob inlaid with the VOC insignia were distributed from Batavia, and these objects became the sole symbol of Dutch authority with peoples on the island. Formosans readily adopted silver-headed canes as a sign of authority and control.⁷² These silver-headed canes retained their symbolic power even after the Dutch had long vanished. Remarkably, a chief's family from eastern Taiwan owned one until they presented it to the Japanese Crown prince when he visited the island in 1923; it seems as if the silver-headed cane was thought of as being returned to the then sovereign authority.⁷³

Other goods that were imported by the Dutch also seem to have had impact on local cultures: beads and pipes. These correspond to some of the sorts of trinkets of whose export "Dirck China" did approve. Objects made out of beads, including glass beads of European origin, were regularly utilized by the VOC and other Europeans (Spanish) in exchanges with the local population.⁷⁴ Along with glass, they seem to have become the objects most favored by Taiwan's aboriginal peoples. In Taiwan beads and pipes were exchanged for local products, most notably deer skins, which were desired in Japan.⁷⁵

Clay pipes are among the most frequent sort of remains encountered in the excavations at Fort Zeelandia and other sites around Tainan on Taiwan.⁷⁶ It is likely that when similar

objects are found elsewhere on Taiwan, one may assume that their source was Dutch, perhaps traded from the same settlements on the island. European pipes were imitated in other materials than their usual clay even after the Europeans had been driven off the island. Archeologists have indeed attributed pipes found in local digs of indigenous settlements to both Dutch and Spanish provenance.⁷⁷

Finally, the observation about the export of items from Dutch settlements and their subsequent impact may also apply to ceramics. Shards of Delftware, Haarlem majolica, other sorts of Delft stoneware, and Westphalian stoneware are abundantly visible in remains found in Zeelandia.⁷⁸ European ceramics were evidently appreciated by the indigenous population, because fragments of European pottery are often incorporated into locally produced ceramic objects.⁷⁹ Whether this practice of incorporation dates back to the Dutch period remains for further investigation by local archeologists and anthropologists.

China: A History of Missed Opportunities

The tremendous export of Chinese goods for the European market no doubt had an effect on production in China itself. The question is how to evaluate these conditions in relation to questions of cultural transfer. Consideration of the possible impact of Dutch (and more generally European) culture and the VOC on material culture in China must in the first instance recognize that the best-known aspects of European effects on the manufacture of Chinese objects, namely through the determination of the kinds of wares that were to be ordered or purchased when shipped, are connected directly with the making of artifacts by the Chinese themselves

for export. The assessment of market roles in this exchange must also take into account who actually derived profits from the production of ceramics: here a major share must obviously be granted to the Chinese.

The other side of supply is demand, and it is well known that in the seventeenth century the Dutch often specified the shape, form, decoration, and imagery of porcelain. Numerous records from the *Dagregisters* from Zeelandia as well as the existence of many surviving pieces attest to the character of this exchange between consumers and producers. Drawings and patterns were at times supplied to Chinese (and Japanese) merchants to submit to kilns to facilitate the manufacture of the types of pieces desired. These may be regarded as instances in which Chinese (and Japanese) producers of porcelain responded, at times directly, to market demands.⁸⁰ This process seems to represent the complement to the Dutch transformation of Delftware and other ceramics into forms that imitated Asian products: these mutual responses have been described as examples of *wisselwerkingen*; they continued into the eighteenth century.⁸¹

In the eighteenth century, when porcelain for the European market was literally mass produced, Chinese kilns seem to have anticipated their European clientele by producing imaginary scenes of life in China, or conversely of European subjects. This ceramic production may be related to the history of what is often called *Chine de commande*. This porcelain was specially ordered by foreign, particularly European clients. A striking instance of this practice involving Dutch clients is the production of porcelain with Dutch armorial bearings.⁸² Also remarkable are porcelain figurines that are portraits of clients.⁸³

The production of such porcelain sculpture represents one instance of the readjustment of traditional Chinese arts (and crafts) to the

international (intercontinental) market, the production of Chinese export paintings another. These paintings are often otherwise called China Trade paintings, after the circumstances in which they originated. They were produced, sold, and shipped primarily through Canton (Guangzhou), and came from local workshops with which European traders might have had direct contact. These pictures were executed in a variety of techniques and media, including watercolor, as *Hinterglasmalerei*, and even in oil. Chinese export paintings often incorporate European subjects, as well as local scenes or subjects. The style and pictorial devices they employ also often demonstrate a knowledge of Western images, which they seem to emulate in their use of perspective, modeling with shadows, cast shadows, foreshortening and other elements, as well as "traditional" Chinese features.⁸⁴

In addition to paintings and porcelain, many other goods, including, as is also well known, lacquer and silk were also made for individual clients. By the end of the eighteenth century all kinds of objects could be ordered on command or bought in Canton. Beyond such traditional exports as silk or lacquer, these included carvings on wood, ivory, and other materials; metalwork; and wallpaper.⁸⁵ Fans and perhaps more surprisingly furniture in fashionable forms could also be obtained by clients in Canton, who carried on their own private trade in such items there. These included not only *Hinterglasmalerei* and other sorts of paintings. Many more sorts of furnishings found Dutch clients.⁸⁶

However, it is difficult to ascribe to the Dutch a prime role in either the consumption or production of any of these goods, which were made after all for export by the Chinese themselves; most important, none of these sorts of items were made exclusively for Dutch clients or patrons. For example, specific forms and types of porcelain, as well as their decoration with coats of arms, as well as other similar

such items that were designed on command for Europe, were created for Europeans well before any Netherlanders even ventured into East Asian waters. The Portuguese had already long been involved in the trade in objects with armorial bearings, starting in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁷ English, French, and German patrons and collectors also favored them.⁸⁸ Furthermore, in the Dutch case, as has been noted for armorial porcelain, this trade remained in the hands of private traders, not the VOC. To reiterate, all these sorts of objects were products exported by the Chinese; while there may have existed a taste in China itself for the kinds of object manufactured for the Canton trade, it is difficult to estimate how much of an impact if any this production had on local material culture outside of court circles before the late eighteenth century.

Notwithstanding the difficulties attending interpretation, some specific cases of craft production do allow us to determine that East-West exchanges mediated by the VOC had a more lasting impact on Chinese material culture. It has recently been established that several craft techniques originating in Europe were adopted in China where they were used to produce objects that, while also admired by Westerners, were made primarily for local consumption. Painted enamels provide some of the best examples of this sort of reciprocal cultural exchange. During the earlier years of the Qing dynasty in the late seventeenth century the Kangxi emperor brought together craftsmen from a variety of workshops resulting in the creation of an innovative system for the manufacture of enamels. This involved the use of particular pigments, and the application of color, design, and other production techniques. These techniques had been introduced first by Westerners, and they were then emulated by Chinese artisans.⁸⁹ The enamels Chinese artisans produced, sometimes after Western

designs even specifically made by European artists, were probably first intended for the imperial court itself, since numerous examples are still visible in the successor collections to those of the emperor, now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei and in the National Palace Museum in Beijing. Of specific interest for present discussion is that by the later eighteenth century the production of painted enamels in China had evidently spread from ateliers working for the imperial court, because similar items could be obtained from local ateliers that would sell them through merchants in Canton. So it was that Dutch clients could by the end of the century obtain enamels (that are now in collections in the Netherlands) similar to those found in museums in the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, where they have an old provenance from China.⁹⁰

It may be that the VOC acted as the initial catalyst for the production of such objects in China. The Kangxi emperor is reported to have responded to a gift of weapons brought by the Dutch embassy of 1686 by urging the imperial workshops to produce objects that are described as *falang*, which may mean enamels, or something French, or of European sort.⁹¹ But the documents give no clear indication that the Chinese were imitating enamels brought by the Dutch. In fact, European enamels might often have previously been given by ambassadors or missionaries from other lands to Chinese recipients. Painted enamels in China certainly can be demonstrated to have been inspired directly by French works, which were most likely given by the French themselves.⁹² Moreover, since enamels in the Low Countries probably come from private collections assembled in the eighteenth century that arrived there through personal connections, it cannot be established the VOC, as opposed to private Dutch traders, served as the major conduit by which Chinese enamels arrived in the Low Countries, either.

A firm claim may nevertheless be made for the involvement of the Dutch, indeed specifically the VOC, in the adaptation and development of another craft technique that the Chinese did elaborate for local purposes from European sources. This involves another product that also provides evidence for reciprocal cultural exchange: the making of spheres with concentric levels within them. Balls containing concentric ivory spheres have been described as staples of the Chinese export trade in artifacts that is attested as early as the fourteenth century.⁹³ According to the testimony of an English traveler at the end of the eighteenth century, the Chinese had become by that time the world's best producers of such items in ivory. English artisans in Birmingham had apparently tried, but failed to imitate these particular Chinese products.⁹⁴ This is an excellent example of cultural interchange, because although the Chinese may have been said to excel at this craft, the source of the technique they probably used is evidently European.

The making of complicated concentric spheres in China may at first be attributed to the impact of Guandong ivory spheres, spheres that came from trade through Canton (Guangzhou, in Guandong province). While there is a long history in China of making objects with intricate openwork designs, for example in jade decoration, the intricacy of repeated patterns and the regular intervals at which holes are bored in ivory spheres that were manufactured from the seventeenth century onwards indicate the application of a technique that had not previously been used in Chinese crafts. Such features are however already to be found in ivory objects seen in European court collections of the mid-sixteenth century and later (where they are found, for example, in successor collections such as that of the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden). Yet ivories of this type do not appear to have been produced by

the Chinese until the mid- to late eighteenth century. At this time they were made by ivory carvers in Guangdong who were working for the Qing court.

While Guangdong craftsmen used traditional lathes operated by foot, the emperor seems to have stimulated the application of a new sort of lathe employing the arrangement of a bed that was based on Western technology.⁹⁵ Palace records of the Qianlong era (1736-1795) indicate the probable source of inspiration for such ideas. They record the receipt of concentric wooden cups, which indeed may be compared to a set of surviving sets of nested wooden cups of European origin (Taipei, National Palace Museum) (see plate 9.5). Several nested ivory objects of European origin from the imperial Chinese collections are also known (Beijing Palace Museum) (see plate 9.6).⁹⁶ Because the particular European objects now in Taipei and Beijing were probably made in the seventeenth century, they may have arrived in China already earlier than the eighteenth century. In any case, the production of ivory objects produced at the Qing court using Western-style lathes are mentioned during the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1722-1735), when such items may already have been made in China; they are also recorded in Qianlong era palace records; there also exist specific records of a Westerner who was involved in the manufacture of such objects in China.

It has however not yet been recognized that the VOC probably played a key role in the introduction of these European catalysts into China. The nested wood and concentric ivory objects now found in collections in Beijing and Taipei of the sort that may have inspired Chinese production may be attributed to artisans from mid- to late-seventeenth-century Nuremberg. They may be associated with objects made by members of the Zick family.⁹⁷ Nuremberg was a major emporium where locally produced as

well as wares made elsewhere were sold to customers throughout Europe.⁹⁸ Significantly, "Nuremberg wares" and "Nuremberg toys" were a staple of VOC trade.⁹⁹ Nuremberg manufactures of various sorts, including "toys," mechanical craft objects, and other similar items with intricate designs were spread by the VOC and are found in places such as Cape Town, where they were appear in private collections, and as gifts for the king of Candy in Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁰ It is thus probable that such objects, which might also be considered toys in a certain sense, were also brought by the VOC either as gifts or as trade objects to China as well.

Dutch Gifts and Their Reception in China

The reason why some objects presented by the Dutch may have resonated in China and others not has to do both with their reception by the Chinese, as well as obviously what was made available by the Dutch themselves. Chinese responses can be reconstructed from surviving objects, and their possible origins; from what may be surmised about contemporaneous Chinese taste in general; from what can be determined especially about the gifts that the Dutch actually are known to have given to Chinese; and from what the expressed Chinese reaction to them in words and images is known to have been. As is discussed elsewhere in this volume, gifts formed a key site for cultural transfer throughout Asia, because they were a *sine qua non* for successful negotiations.¹⁰¹

Let us examine more closely the European objects just discussed as an example of such successfully mediated objects, the concentric spheres. The appreciation of these objects may be associated with several terms that have been discussed in the Ming discourse on material culture – assuming that the early Qing also took

over these late Ming notions about such “superfluous things.” Concentric ivory spheres have been specifically identified with the discussion of intricately made or finely wrought objects that are associated with the concepts of *ling lang* and *ling long*. They may also be regarded as rare, marvelous, or rich and strange objects, *qi*.¹⁰² The terms *gui gong* or *gui yi* have also been connected with concentric ivory spheres, but whether these terms mean devil’s work or devilish strange, deriving from the notion that no mortal hand could have executed such objects, or these terms simply mean foreign, in the sense that the origin of such objects was not Han Chinese, is a matter of debate.¹⁰³ In any case it would seem that another critical category, *shi wan* or *bao wan*, meaning contemporary bibelots or precious bibelots, might also be applicable to the concentric spheres.

The responses recorded to the gifts presented by four embassies sent by the VOC to the imperial court, as well as the choice and treatment of the gifts, also illuminate the limits that cultural understanding (or misunderstanding) on both sides placed on the reception of any sorts of objects made available by the VOC, or by other Dutch traders acting privately. The first Dutch embassy to the Forbidden City that was led by Johan Nieuhof in 1655 presented a variety of gifts to the emperor, the empress, and the empress’s mother; the leaders of the legation, Pieter de Goyer and Jacob Keyser, separately also presented objects to the emperor. Many of the gifts were comestibles, such as spices and wines; others were cloths; others were what might best be called trinkets, albeit, as “Dirck China” had suggested, made out of rare materials such as amber, coral, and crystal; and still others were weapons and armor. Aside from weapons and armor, there were relatively few manufactured objects: a silver “optick tube,” four “looking-glasses,” one great looking-glass, eight square, one suit of tapestry hangings, and

six carpets were given to the emperor. The empress received a large looking-glass; two quilts; some tapestry hangings; two tables described as “Italian Tables of white Marble Inlay’d with Pictures of divers Colours”; a crystal cabinet; a Cabinet of Wood “of divers Figures”; and “six little chests of divers pictures.” Her mother was given a large looking-glass a tortoise-shell cabinet inlaid with silver; two ebony cabinets; a crystal *scritore* [sic]; six “Italian Tables of white Marble Inlay’d with Pictures of divers Colours”; three painted carpets, and a cabinet made after the fashion of an eagle, and “Twenty One curious Pinctadoes of Methlajatam.” De Goyer and Keyser gave the emperor four looking glasses with painting; “four marble tables of divers colours”; a marble cabinet; and “two statues engraven with divers flowers.”¹⁰⁴

The reactions of the Chinese indicate that beyond a certain amount of curiosity, they did not respond to much of what the Dutch had to offer, especially in the way of manufactured goods. When the objects were taken out of the chests in which they had been carried, they asked about where they had originated, how they were made, how they had been obtained, what had been bought, and how long the journey had been. Specifically, the Chinese asked questions about the value of the cloths that had been given, and remarked that the weapons, saddle, amber, and coral would be particularly appreciated.¹⁰⁵

The gifts did not achieve their desired effect in any event. A contemporary critique by an English Jesuit, John Adams, notes one reason why. He states:

Three things there are, whereof the Hollanders have no scarcity, which had they brought, would have been powerful Advocates for them: the First is a Harpsichord, with a skillful Player on it; second a Trumpeter; the third some Engineers and Officers to Train up and Exercise Soldiers.¹⁰⁶

Further scrutiny of the items that actually were given suggests some more reasons why the Dutch may not have been successful. Not only were relatively few of these items actually Dutch, but many do not seem to have been selected with their particular recipients in mind. Many items were optical devices – and these we might assume might have been Netherlandish in provenance, if one considers the importance of the United Provinces for their manufacture. Yet these were the sorts of things that were given in Sri Lanka and Japan as well.¹⁰⁷ More striking still is that many items brought to China were either made in India – or would have been better sent there. The first category probably included painted cloths: a clue to their identification is the description of “pinctadoes” said to come from Methlajatam, which is probably Masulipatnam, the major entrepôt on the Coromandel Coast, where many such textiles were produced.

The numerous gifts of Italian marble tables described as having colored pictures are also noteworthy. They may be regarded as another category of objects, namely items appropriate for Indian patrons. The description of these items corresponds to furniture made out of *commessi in pietre dure*, that is, compositions consisting of images out of semi-precious stones (see plate 9.4).¹⁰⁸ Elaborate objects such as tables made in this manner had their origins in Florentine craftsmanship; surviving tables of approximately similar date are known, for example, from the collections of the Prince of Lichtenstein.¹⁰⁹ The statues with “engraven” flowers may have been other such *commessi in pietre dure*, and it is possible that the “other tables made out of divers colours” might have been similar sorts of objects. While the marble tables no doubt were thus appropriate as princely gifts, it is not known that such pieces were ever appreciated in China before a taste for such stone items developed, and this occurred only much later, in the nineteenth

century. However, inlaid stone objects would have clearly been appropriate for contemporaneous India, where inlaid stone had long been in favor. At the mid-seventeenth-century court of Shah Jahan objects with *pietre dure* decoration were very much in fashion for adornment, as is to be seen at many important sites in and around Agra and Delhi (see plate 9.5).¹¹⁰

On the one hand, this raises the possibility that the Dutch might also have purveyed such objects to the Mogul court in India; on the other, it also suggests Dutch thinking about gift-giving engaged in a sort of cultural conflation, whereby the rulers of India were misidentified with those of China. When one recalls that optical devices were also carried to Sri Lanka or Japan, one might even gain the impression that the Dutch were treating the gifts they were bringing to China in the way that many objects were categorized in early modern collections in Europe – that is, simply undifferentiated as *Indisch*.¹¹¹ The use of the Dutch word *Alkatyven* in the Netherlandish text describing the Nieuhof embassy of 1655 is also suggestive in this regard, because this term, taken from the Arabic via Spanish, is used to describe carpets: one may think here of carpets that were deemed appropriate for Eastern potentates.¹¹² The Dutch may have regarded them as suitable for any *Oosterling*.

Something seems however to have been learned by the next embassy of the VOC, which paid a visit to the court of the Kangxi emperor in 1665.¹¹³ Directed by Pieter van Hoorn, the Dutch again came laden with many sorts of cloths, *naturalia* (coral, amber, rhinoceros horns, “unicorn horns”), arms, and other objects including eyeglasses and other glass and crystal objects, and a telescope for the emperor and his chief ministers.¹¹⁴ Again, however, little was brought that actually may have been made in Holland, or even in Europe for that matter. Aside from a globe, known from a contemporary drawing

of the presentation of the gifts,¹¹⁵ only copper mounts such as that for a “unicorn” horn seem to have attracted much attention among the manufactured goods. The emperor had a mandarin put questions to the Dutch legation, and from the description of their parley it is to be learned that the horn was mounted in a copper mount. This object is described as being among the “Bengale copper-works,” indicating that some other items made out of copper, perhaps meaning brass in this instance, as that is the alloy in which such pieces were in actuality produced, might also have had an Indian origin. Among these are pieces described specifically as a copper horse, a lion, and copper dogs. Otherwise specific inquiries were made about *naturalia*, namely gifts of rosewater, unicorn horn, and a cassowary.¹¹⁶

On this embassy the Dutch also brought living animals as gifts. A painting (Taipei, National Palace Museum, see plate 9.6) indicates imperial interest in them: according to its inscription, the emperor had this picture made by this court artist in 1665. It depicts horses and miniature zebu (again a creature from India, from which it is quite possible that the horses also came), together with their Dutch attendants. The lengthy inscription on this painting describes the animals and men in detail, seemingly treating them alike as curiosities.¹¹⁷ This suggests that the response to the animals (in addition to traditional imperial interest in fine horses) did not treat them as particularly Dutch, or even as especially European, but as generally what in Europe might have been called exotic – as the Dutch evidently appeared to the Chinese as well.

In 1685-1687 Vincent Paets led another embassy to the Forbidden City, on which several new sorts of gifts were presented along with the kinds of items that had previously been offered (e.g. ivory). In addition to coral, amber, and many weapons, the Dutch gave many cloths, especially of Indian and perhaps even Malaysian provenance. Goods identifiable as specifically

European were however limited to objects which may be determined to have been three telescopes (*manekykers*) and a table clock (*tafel horologie*).¹¹⁸

By 1795, the Dutch had apparently realized that in addition to the usual cloths, spices, and bibelots these latter sorts of objects, namely mechanical and optical devices, might indeed be welcome. As described by several sources, including notably Isaac Titsingh in a journal of 1794-1796, in addition to clothes, spices, and some exotic objects the embassy brought along for the emperor, his first ministers, and other mandarins not only several telescopes, but numerous clocks, watches, and other timekeepers.¹¹⁹ These gifts seem to respond to a taste for such products of “European ingenuity,” as they were called, at the Qing Court. The Qing dynasty emperors collected time pieces by the thousands.¹²⁰

But what the Dutch sent was presented in too shoddy a condition to make a good impression. The British legation that had come to Beijing laden with clocks and other such devices two years earlier was accompanied by a Swiss clockmaker, Charles-Henry Petitpierre-Boy, who could repair them if necessary. The Dutch made no such provision, nor did they check their objects soon enough before they were to be given. When they opened the mechanical pieces they had brought as gifts, they found that they were broken; there was not enough time for Petitpierre-Boy to repair them before they were to be presented to the emperor.¹²¹ In contrast, the English had impressed the Chinese specifically with the care they had taken to allow for such an eventuality; they had carried along spare material, and replaced some of the broken glass before handing over their gifts.¹²²

The Chinese took note, moreover, that the objects the Dutch offered were also inferior in both quantity and quality to those they had received from the English. Instructions given by the imperial court to supply reciprocal gifts, which were said, quite typically, to be more

munificent in any case than those initially received in their eyes as tribute, note the inferiority of Dutch presents quite specifically:

With regard to additional presents, we would observe that the tribute-articles this time presented by that country are ordinary and few in number and far inferior in value to what was presented by England when it for the first time came to Court to present tribute, but respectfully taking into consideration Our Sacred Ruler's extreme desire to treat people from afar with kindness and to let those who come with little depart with plenty, we suggest respectfully to bestow additional presents to the king of the said country, to the ambassador and to his suite and have accordingly drawn up a list, which we present herewith for our Majesty's approval.¹²³

The Dutch gifts thus came both too little and too late. Although the Dutch might previously have sent to China any number of mechanical pieces of their own manufacture, as well as having ready access to places of manufacture in Germany, as they had actually done elsewhere in Asia, they did not seem to take much care in how many they sent and what their quality was. Furthermore, by 1795 such gifts were truly superfluous in China. Lord Macartney, the leader of the English legation of the 1790s, had himself already noticed that many mechanical objects were present in the summer palace of the Yuan Ming Yuen north of Beijing.¹²⁴ The Chinese were no longer to be impressed by such gifts, if they ever had been, since by this time they owned many such items, and were fully capable of making more for themselves, including both mechanical devices and telescopes.¹²⁵ And so it is that in the famous reply to the plea to open trade relations sent by the Chinese emperor to the king of England, the Chinese ruler says that all kinds of precious things from “over

mountain and sea” have been collected here, things which your chief envoy and others have seen for themselves. Nevertheless we have never valued ingenious articles, nor do we have the slightest need of your country's manufactures.¹²⁶

Finally, it is a testimony to the few such objects purveyed by the Dutch to China that no identifiably Dutch clocks or mechanical devices are to be found in the remnants of the imperial collections in the museums of either Taipei or Beijing.¹²⁷

Southern Netherlanders versus the VOC

However, the large collection of European clocks and mechanical devices and other European-inspired objects still in the Forbidden City make it clear that the Chinese were by no means adverse to the reception or production of clocks and other mechanical devices. Western technology and science were of great interest in China. In addition, while European pictorial art seems to have enjoyed less of a reception, a scholarly debate exists about Chinese responses to Western prints and painting, too.¹²⁸

Although the general topic of European impact on material culture in China is much too large to consider more than briefly here, the case of Flemish involvement in both science and art place the Dutch failure in relief. Flemings (by which is meant people from the Low Countries below the great rivers, roughly equivalent to the present state of Belgium) may here be distinguished from the Dutch, because they often played the role of rivals both ideologically (in religion) and in commerce. The Oostende Company, which was briefly connected with the China Trade in the eighteenth century, illustrates the example of commercial competition with the VOC.¹²⁹ Ideological, that

is, religious, competition involves the role of the Jesuits (and other Catholic missionaries) in China.

From the time of Matteo Ricci, Jesuits enjoyed some noteworthy successes in China.¹³⁰ Indeed, some of the kinds of things that the critic John Adams, a Jesuit himself, says that the Chinese may have wished to receive instead of what the Dutch brought in the 1650s were brought by Ricci, notably a harpsichord. In the sciences, several members of the Society of Jesus later occupied the place of court astronomer in Beijing, among them Adam Schall, who was actually present at the imperial court, and was dressed as a Mandarin when the 1655 VOC legation came to Beijing.¹³¹ Another of these Jesuits was the Fleming Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), a native of Pittem (now in Belgium) who died in China. Several astronomical objects still visible on top of the ancient observatory in Beijing were made according to his designs, and are illustrated in contemporary Chinese prints. (As it turns out, they were fashioned after the instruments that Tycho Brahe had designed for his observatory at Uraniborg.¹³²)

The visual arts also reveal another story in which art from the southern Netherlands played a role. While it is not clear if any artist from the southern Netherlands actually worked in China, many Flemish prints clearly arrived there. They were shipped through Macao, or brought directly by priests, beginning with Matteo Ricci.¹³³ More than that: prints coming from places like Antwerp no doubt had an impact on what was produced by Chinese artists.¹³⁴ While this is not the place to enter into the vexed question of how much Chinese artists acting on their own initiative actually employed European models for their own paintings, it is probable that at least some of them did respond to European sources communicated through

prints. Among these sources are both works with religious subjects, and landscapes by Flemish artists. These latter images may have inspired Chinese painters to change the way that they depicted landscapes, one of the most traditional of Chinese genres, although this remains a point of debate.¹³⁵

Concluding Remarks

In addition to the general conditions discussed in the introduction to this essay, several reasons seem to exist for the relative Dutch success, or better put, their lack thereof, to make an impression on the material and visual culture of China and Taiwan. The particular examples (staff of office, beads, pipes) noted for Taiwan may be regarded as constituting a special situation. This sort of cultural transfer came from a Dutch position of domination; it is not comparable either to social or political circumstances they encountered elsewhere, where the Dutch usually did not have the upper hand. Nor is the cultural context of aboriginal absorption of Dutch material culture comparable to situations elsewhere, where more sophisticated luxury products were usually involved, as discussed in other essays in this volume.

As far as China is concerned, both external and internal factors played a role. The relative success of the Jesuits, and for that matter the impact of the Flemish prints they helped introduce, suggest that more than Chinese intransigence alone may have impeded Dutch impact. The previous presence and competition of other Europeans stood in the way of the Dutch. As the reactions of the Jesuits who encountered the Dutch both in 1655 and again ten years later suggests, Protestant interlopers were not always welcome.¹³⁶ European antagonists already in place at the imperial court and

elsewhere in China might have done all there was in their power to denigrate the Dutch, and they in fact did so in some cases. From a more positive point of view, the previous presence of the Portuguese in Macao, as well of the Jesuits there and at imperial Chinese court, may well have provided a conduit for what might have been sought from European culture before the Dutch ever arrived, and this conduit and the products it bore may have remained independent of what the Dutch may ever have had to offer. As the cases of astronomical objects, the harpsichord, and perhaps enamels mentioned above suggest, gifts brought by the Jesuits and other missionaries, or objects designed by them, may have already anticipated what the Dutch had to offer. The clocks and other objects brought by the English were also more attractive than the Dutch gifts. The story of the 1795 legation suggests that there were more reasons for the Dutch fiasco. The Dutch had themselves to thank for the failure of their gifts, and hence products of European material culture they purveyed, to make an impression. In part this may have been a matter of miscalculation: the Dutch did not treat the Chinese as a distinct people, but as might now be said, as an undifferentiated Oriental "other." This is suggested by the way that they presented similar bibelots to the indigenous people on Taiwan and to members of a highly sophisticated court in Beijing. In like, seemingly misguided manner, the Dutch carried gifts appropriate to India to China. All were treated as undifferentiated *Oosterlingen*. Unlike their Jesuit antagonists, the VOC seems to have made no special effort to appeal to the Chinese. This story contrasts with the history of the Jesuits, who were famous for their practice of accommodation: they learned Chinese and portrayed themselves as Mandarins.¹³⁷

Significantly, the sorts of things that the Chinese found of interest among the Dutch gifts were either *naturalia*, or often objects that were not made by the Dutch themselves. These reactions may stem from certain aspects of Chinese taste or curiosity, or aspects of especially Qing or personal (imperial) interest, but they also suggest a more general lesson about what might have been really effective in Dutch dealings in the Indian Ocean region and East Asia. The VOC acted as mediators both of European goods, and of objects (including animals and other natural products) transported from elsewhere in Asia as well. This observation applies in turn to the role that the Dutch, and indeed other Europeans, played in cultural exchanges within the Asian region itself. They transported goods from one region to another (see the Europeans holding the lacquer box in see plate 9.7). Here the example may be recalled of Persian interest in Chinese porcelain, and Persian production of imitations of Chinese ceramics. The Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the porcelain trade with Persia,¹³⁸ and also aided the export of Persian ceramics elsewhere. Though this subject needs to be investigated further, the creation of Persian ceramics echoing the characteristic *kraak* designs in blue and white made by the Chinese for the Dutch market provide some of the clearest examples of Dutch mediation in what was a cultural transfer from China to Persia.¹³⁹

To conclude: in the end the findings of this essay may not only echo what has been assumed by economic historians. It may also underscore what some of the other essays in this collection may demonstrate as well. The VOC exercised its most important impact on cultural transfer in the role of cultural mediator.

Notes

1. This view has almost become a cliché, as seen in the presentation without comment as a fitting conclusion, on the last page of L. Blussé and J. de Moor, *Nederlanders overzee. De eerste vijftig jaar 1600-1650* (Franeker 1983), 256.
2. See most fully for the decoration and interpretation of the room in J. J. Terwen and K. A. Ottenheim, *Pieter Post (1608-1669)* (Zutphen 1993), 163-172, esp. 169ff. Terwen and Ottenheim suggest that the ceiling paintings were carried out after designs by Post. See further *Eerste Kamer. Reflecties over de Vergaderzaal van de Chambre de Réflexion* (The Hague 1995), containing especially an account by K. A. Ottenheim, 'De Saal van de Staten van Holland,' 20-30, with remarks on the ceiling decoration, 28-29. The ceiling paintings are also briefly treated in the thorough account of the construction and decoration of the room by E. J. Nusselder, 'Vergaderzaal van de Eerste Kamer. 17de-eeuws interieurpragmatisme op herhaling,' in H. C. M. Kleijn, e. a., ed., *Interieurs belicht* (Zwolle 2001), 146-157; the ceiling is mentioned on 148, where the comparison with the *Burgerzaal* and the *Oranjezaal* is also made. My thanks to Margriet van Eikema for the reference to Nusselder, and to Marten Jan Bok for a general bibliography on Dutch ceiling painting of the seventeenth century, including putting me in contact with Dr. van Eikema.
3. This is the expression used by Terwen and Ottenheim, *Post*, 170.
4. Quoted and interpreted in Terwen and Ottenheim, *Post*, 171.
5. As for instance in an anonymous seventeenth-century painting in the Wassenaar City Hall, illustrated by Marten Jan Bok in an introductory lecture at the symposium held in January 2010 at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Wassenaar at which a condensed version of the present essay was first delivered.
6. F. Coyett, *'t Verwaerloosde Formosa of Waerachtig verhael, hoedangig het eylant Formosa overrompelt, vermeestert ende ontveldight ist geworden* (Zutphen 1991, first ed. Amsterdam 1675).
7. The most recent account of "colonization" by the Dutch, Spanish, and Chinese in Formosa is Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York 2008).
8. The dimensions of this initiative are most recently outlined and illuminated in *Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King Louis XIV: Sino-Franco Encounters in Art and Culture* (Taipei 2011).
9. See S. Castelluccio, 'La Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales et les importations d'objets d'art pendant le règne de Louis XIV,' in M. Favreau and P. Michel, eds., *Actes du colloque international sur L'objet d'art en France du XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle: de la création à l'imaginaire [...] 12-14 janvier 2006* (Bordeaux 2007), 117-127, esp. 117.
10. See L. Blussé, 'No Boats to China: The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,' *Modern Asian Studies*, 30 (1996): 69. The fate of this trade and its resumption in the eighteenth century are well discussed in E. M. Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia. The Trade of the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden 2006), 179-199.
11. See for this notion C. Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge 1991). In the present essay I have not dealt with silk, because silk and other woven materials were often imported to Europe since antiquity, and continued to be so, not necessarily through Dutch hands.
12. If Dutch-Chinese relations are compared with those the Dutch had with other lands, which are discussed elsewhere in this volume, they cannot be considered to represent the most brilliant aspects of the "Dutch encounter with Asia"; for this concept see the overview presented in the exhibition catalogue *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië*, ed. K. Zandvliet (Amsterdam 2002). For a good summary of Dutch relations with China over the centuries, including a section on the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth century with which this essay is concerned, see L. Blussé, *Tribuut aan China. Vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese*

- betrekkingen* (Amsterdam 1989). See also the other essays in the present book.
13. For seventeenth-century trade that passed through Formosa when it was in Dutch hands, see T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dag-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers 1602-1682* (Leiden 1954) (also as *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden*, no. 11); for Dutch eighteenth-century trade with China see C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, trans. Patricia Wardle (The Hague 1982); for the role of Batavia in the China trade see L. Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden) (Proefschrift; also Dordrecht [as *Verhandelingen, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 122 (1986): 97-155]).
 14. For this concept see F. Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique. Villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine, au Japon et en Asie du Sud-Est, xvie-xxie siècle* (Paris 2009).
 15. As documented by the *Dagregisters* from Canton: see *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1762*, trans. and annotated by P. A. Van Dyke, revisions by C. Viallé (Macau 2006); *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1764*, translation and annotations, C. Viallé and P. A. Van Dyke (Macau 2004).
 16. The limited place of the Dutch in the China tea trade of the eighteenth century, which was conducted through Canton, is pointed out by Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia, 184-199*. See further L. Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 2008), esp. 54f.
 17. See Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 75.
 18. For Dutch seventeenth-century efforts see J. E. Wills, Jr., *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622 [sic. 1662]-1681* (Cambridge, Mass. 1974); idem, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984); for later efforts, see F. Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796). Het onuitgegeven* *journaal van zijn ambassade naar Peking* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2005). The effects of these embassies in relation to material culture are discussed in the present essay. See also the essay by C. Viallé, "To Capture their Favor": On Gift-Giving by the VOC' in this volume.
 19. According to J. Kroes, 'Hoog Edelewelgebooren Heer en Neef. Bestellingen van Chinees porselein met Nederlandse familiewapens in de achttiende eeuw,' *Vormen uit vuur. Mededelingenblad Nederlandse vereniging van vrienden van ceramiek en glas*, 202 (2008): 7-19, esp. 7.
 20. For this point see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, esp. 193.
 21. I use the term "reinvention" here because (soft-paste) porcelain had already been invented in Europe in Grandducal Florence during the later sixteenth century, although this product had no immediate followers.
 22. Quoted and discussed most recently by D. Syndram, 'Jasper Porcelain, Gold Ruby Glass and Local Gemstones – On the "Transmutation" of Baroque Treasury Art,' in D. Syndram and U. Weinhold, eds., *Böttger Stoneware. Johann Friedrich Böttger and Treasury Art* (Dresden, Berlin, and Munich 2009), 58-60, 91 n. 2.
 23. See most fully for this subject M. S. van Aken-Fehmers, L. A. Schledorn, and T. M. Eliëns, eds., *Delfts aardewerk. Geschiedenis van een nationaal product* (Zwolle and The Hague 1999 and 2001), 2 vols.; see more recently Chr. Lahaussais, ed., *Delfts aardewerk* (Paris, Amsterdam, and Brussels 2008).
 24. For a good summary see L. Ledderose, 'Chinese Influences on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,' in Th. H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Monograph Series, 12) (Hong Kong 1991), 221-247.
 25. These points are made most recently in regard to Chinese control and the sixteenth-century antecedents by K. Seidl, 'Aus dem Fernen Osten,' in A. Auer et al., eds., *Fernsucht. Die Suche nach der Fremde vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, exhib. cat. Ambras (Vienna 2009), 59f.

26. See recently E. Ströber, 'Grote schotels van Chinees porselein in het Midden-Oosten. Gebruik, verzamelingen en handel,' in: S. A. Bosmans, ed., *Porseleinroutes. De verre reizen van Chinees porselein* (Amsterdam 2009): 6-15; see also idem, 'Chinese exportkeramiek voor Thailand. Bencharong, lai nam thong en gepolijste Yixing theepotten,' *Vormen uit Vuur*, 206/207 (3/2009): 64-71, esp. 65, for their early impact on Thailand.
27. See C. J. A. Jörg, *The Portuguese and the Trade in Chinese Porcelain: From the Beginning until the End of the Ming Dynasty* (Haren 2008); S. Bosmans, 'Voor kerk en thuis. Chinees exportporselein met christelijke voorstellingen,' idem, *Porseleinroutes. De verre reizen van Chinees porselein* (Amsterdam 2009), 56-63, esp. 57ff., for a most recent treatment of later Portuguese trade in porcelain, albeit with a religious theme.
28. For the disruption because of civil war, see Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 59, and for the well-known consequences that this disruption had as an impact on porcelain production in Japan see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*; for lacquer see O. Impey and Chr. Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580-1850* (Amsterdam 2005).
29. See F. Ulrichs, *Die ostasiatische Porzellansammlung der Wittelsbacher in der Residenz München* (Munich 2005), 18; for the latter point Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia*, 189.
30. Valuation was placed at 29,034 guilders out of a total of 691,597; for these figures see Blussé, 'The VOC and the Junk Trade to Batavia,' 126.
31. See Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 93ff., reiterated more recently by N. de Biscop, *De Chinese verleiding. Chinese exportkunst van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw* (Brussels 2009), 21.
32. See the summary by Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 192f.; see also the comment by Ulrichs, *Die ostasiatische Porzellansammlung*, loc. cit.
33. Castelluccio, 'La Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales.'
34. See for example Y. Crowe, *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum 1501-1738* (La Borie 2002).
- Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, passim, provides much archival data on these sorts of shipments of porcelain. See further L. Golombek et al., *Tamerlane's Tableware: A New Approach to Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Costa Mesa and Toronto 1996).
35. 'Waren die men met grote winst uit onze landen naar het koninkrijk van China zou kunnen brengen,' idem, schilderijen van landschappen, jachttafelen en prenten. *DG: Zegt dat dit niet zinvol is omdat zij self schilderen*," as cited in V. Roper, "'Waren uit het koninkrijk van China.'" Twee vragenlijsten met commentaar van Dirck Gerritsz.,' in K. W. J. M. Bossaers et al., eds., *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp alias Dirck China* (Enkhuizen 2002), 28. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the suggestion that the Dutch did not bring ivory because there was sufficient ivory transported from Goa by the Portuguese to China, ivory was nevertheless a component of the Dutch gifts to China (see below). Furthermore, repeated indications found in the *Zeelandia Dagregisters* suggest that ivory was frequently imported to China by the Dutch.
36. See the report in the *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Deel II: 1639-1655*, ed. W. Ph. Coolhaas (The Hague 1964), 171.
37. These were traded throughout the regions touched by the VOC, and entered early into European collections, starting with that of Ferdinand of the Tyrol in Ambras, as indicated by contemporary inventories (see *Fernsucht*); not only the Ambras collections, but those in Braunschweig still contain such Chinese paintings, the latter coming from the collections established by the dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; see E. Ströber, *Ostasiatika im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig* (Braunschweig 2002).
38. The researches carried on by Prof. D. Lee and his team from the university in Tainan have not yet been published. The investigations of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, have resulted so far only in conference papers and one report by

- Lin Yi-chang, Chen Kuo-feng, Wang Su-chin, and Yan Ting-yu, 'An Archaeological Study of the 17th-Century Stratigraphy and Structures of the Fort Zeelandia,' 67-87, as well as several communications on pipes and shards; see further below, notes 69 and 70.
39. For the design of Zeelandia see K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam 1998), 137-143; for the architecture of the Dutch settlements on Taiwan see C. L. Temminck Groll, *Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey: Mutual Heritage of Four Centuries in Three Continents* (Zwolle 2002), 269-274; for the place of the Taiwan forts within the larger study of Dutch fortifications overseas see K. Zandvliet, 'Vestingbouw in de Oost,' in Gerrit Knaap and Ger Teitler, eds., *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden 2002), 151-180.
40. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 106-114, passim.
41. Temminck-Groll, *The Dutch Overseas*, 269-274.
42. *Ibid.*, 270.
43. This photograph was exhibited along with other images by Thomson in an exhibition devoted to his work held in the Fine Arts Museum of Taipei in spring 2011; a reproduction of it is on permanent display in the newly opened National Museum of History in Tainan, where I saw it in November 2011. I am grateful to Prof. Kuo Chen for supplying me with a digital image of the wall with the portal.
44. The inscription seems to read: "T CASTEL ZEELANDIA/GEBOUWT ANNO 1 [?].80". This would make the inscription datable to the time of Cozinga's son, and not from the Dutch period per se, although it is known that Dutch still worked for their Chinese conquerors. Following archival references that suggest the fort was finished in 1630 (I have found no evidence to suggest that this is so, and the construction lasted longer), Prof. D. Lee reads (orally) the date as 1630, but I cannot see that the last digits read other than "80". In any case the extensive inscription indicating the name of the fort is unusual; it is not found in earlier images of the building and may be the result of a later addition that inserted the inscription into the façade at a much later date. Another argument that might support the assumption that the inscription was added later is the way that it cuts rather inelegantly across the top of the arch.
45. My thanks to Cynthia Viallé for the following references:
- VOC Archives, The Hague, NKJ 765
Nagasaki 10 october 1641
Gescheept door Le Maire in *Orangienboom*, schipper Harman Sagelsen en boekhouder Barent Rosendael, naar Tayouan aan Traudeni-
nius
schuitzilverer
kamfer
1460 viercante witte vloersteen
687 glaasen, bestaende in 50 cassen, sijnde ijder geschilderde parcken mede voor een stx gereeckent, costen tsamen met d'ijseren roeden f3449:0:8
Ongetaxeerde:
240 stx witte grauwe vloersteen vande plaets in Firando
1038 blauwe als witte gesleepe plaverij sten }
156 halve dittos } van de eetsael ende portael in Firando
2 anckers
6 cassen met glaasen van d'affgebroocke woning in Firando
7 bos ijsere roeden tot glaase ramen
119 stx deuren ende versters van d'affgebroocken packhuijesen ende woningen
2 stx groote poortdeuren
29 stx stijlen van vensters.
- 1636 voor 1637
200 ramen van goet schoon fijn glas geschilderde
200 ramen ongeschilderde ditto
100 dito van slecht glas
- 1635 voor 1636
400 ramen fijne venster glas
100 ramen slechte ditto
- Voor 1651
Batavia 31 december 1649

- 30 cassen fijn vesterglas, om tot de kerck, het stadthuys ende nieuwe wooningen te gebruiken als mede om tot een cento aen particuliere vercocht te werden
- 100 casen Frans glas, voor de kerck, stathuys ende andere wercken. Item geschildert glas, te weten het wapen van Batavia, ende het wapen van de Ed Oostindische Compa beijde inde kerkvensters gevoeght.
46. Groll, *The Dutch Overseas*, 273.
47. J. L. Blussé, M. E. van Opstall, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641* (The Hague 1986), 10 19, 92, 251, 268, 374, 452; J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel II: 1641-1648* (The Hague 1995), 205, 477, 486f.; J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel III: 1648-1655* (The Hague 1996), 88; J. L. Blussé and N. C. Everts, and W. E. Milde, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel IV: 1655-1662* (The Hague 2000), 272, 275.
48. *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel II: 1641-1648*, 151; *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel III: 1648-1655*, 91, 580; *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel IV: 1655-1662*, 138, 267. Mention is made of a "delinquent" *metselaer* in *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641*, 478.
49. Liu et al., 'An Archeological Study,' 80, note the appearance of yellow bricks in a trench that I have subsequently observed. My own observations are based on personal inspections of the excavations on Fort Zeelandia and Fort Seckam (Provintia) in Taiwan, and the examination of materials found there and elsewhere in Tainan in what in January 2008 was known as the Cozinga Museum. Complete references must wait, however, for fuller publication.
50. These observations are based on ocular inspection of Fort Zeelandia and Fort Seckam in 2008 and 2011, and on the basis of oral comments by Prof. D. Lee of Tainan; the reports of Prof. Lee and his team have still not yet been published.
51. According to Robert Parthesius, 'De Batavia, een retourschip van de VOC,' in V. Roeper et al., *De Batavia te Water* (Amsterdam 1995), 89.
52. See Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'The Baltic Area as an Artistic Region: Historiography, State of Research, Perspectives for Further Study,' in J. Harasimowicz, P. Oszczanowski, and M. Wisłocki, eds., *Po obu stronach Bałtyku/On the Opposite Sides of the Baltic Sea* (Wrocław 2006), vol. 1, 33-39; idem, 'Art and the Church in the Early Modern Era: The Baltic in Comparative Perspective,' in K. Kodres and Merike Kurisoo, eds., *Art and the Church: Religious Art and Architecture in the Baltic Region in the 13th-18th Centuries/Kunst und Kirche. Kirchliche Kunst und Architektur in der baltischen Region im 13.-18. Jahrhundert* (Tallinn 2008), 20-40.
53. See Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Low Countries at the Crossroads: A Global View,' in K. de Jonge and K. Ottenheim, eds., *Low Countries at the Crossroads* (Turnhout 2014). I am referring to a portal in the Fort of the São Tiogo das Cinco Pontas in Recife, Brazil [see fig. 9.3]. For the portal from the wreck of the Batavia, see J. N. Green, *The Loss of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie Retourschip Batavia, Western Australia 1629: An Excavation Report and Catalogue of Artefacts* (Oxford 1989), 179-189; the *Batavia* was also carrying bricks, including yellow bricks, when it sank; see p. 190. For the use of Baumberg sandstone, see *Die Weser: Ein Fluss in Europa* (Holzminden 2000), vol. 2. The photo in plate 9.1 is of the portal as it was initially set up in Fremantle, before it was moved to Geraldton.
54. After the presentation of a version of this paper in Taipei on 1 November 2011 Prof. Kuo Chen suggested that such a portal may have been intended for Zeelandia, as an arched entry appears there in the photograph by Thomson, discussed above. However, the very existence of this rusticated portal at Zeelandia makes it unlikely that another stone portal would have been necessary or could have been intended for this spot, and older images of Fort Zeelandia do not indicate that any portal is lacking on what can be seen of Zeelandia

- where another imported portal may have been fit. This contrasts with the situation at Provincia (Fort Seckam), where the curved (probably originally arched) portal within the Chinese temple lacks finish; the curvilinear portal in front of it was perhaps built by the Chinese after the Dutch portal did not arrive. More archeological research is obviously necessary. Nevertheless the shape of the portal at Fort Seckam does resemble one at Fort Vastenburg, 1775-1779, still visible at Surakarta (Solo) on Java, where I saw it in July 2012.
55. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 158.
 56. For a discussion of this issue in regard to Siam, see Kaufmann, 'Art and the Church in the Early Modern Era.'
 57. I am thankful to Yoriko Kobayashi-Soto for supplying me with unpublished notes on the introduction of brick into architecture in Japan in the nineteenth century.
 58. C. Y. Liu, 'Between the Titans: Constructions of Modernity and Tradition at the Dawn of Chinese Architectural History,' in J. Silbergeld, D. C. Y. Ching, J. G. Smith, and A. Murck, eds., *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton 2011), 185-210.
 59. See J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsporetten en compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941), vol. 1, 151-152; K. Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography in the VOC Governor's House in Taiwan,' in P. van Gerstel-van het Schip and P. van der Krogt, eds., *Mappae Antiquae. Liber Amicorum Günther Schilder* (Utrecht 2007), 579-594.
 60. See Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, vol. 1, 43f.
 61. Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography,' 590f. The source for this assertion is unclear in Zandvliet's otherwise excellent essay.
 62. The painting is known from a photograph which was in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and has been illustrated. However, the photograph was lost and has not been located, even after intense searches in the History Department in 2009. The painting has long been lost.
 63. See J. W. IJzerman, 'Hollandsche prenten als handelsartikel te Patani in 1602,' *Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan op 4 juni 1926 van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1926): 84-109; J. Braat, et al., 'Restauratie, conservatie en onderzoek van de op Nova Zembla gevonden zestiende eeuwse prenten,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 28.2 (1980): 43-79 (summary 93-95).
 64. For Chinese collectors of paintings in Batavia see the essay by M. North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
 65. See Blussé, 'The VOC and the Junk Trade to Batavia,' 127-30. See further the essay by Viallé in this volume.
 66. See Chr. J. A. Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise,' in R. E. Scott, ed., *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen* (London 1993), 183-205.
 67. See Chiu Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662* (Leiden and Boston 2008), 181ff.
 68. D. Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia 1579) (facsimile reprint and Spanish translation, Mexico City 1989).
 69. *Ibid.*, 203-206.
 70. *Ibid.*, 211f.
 71. For this story in Japan see the reference in Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London 2004), chapter 10. Bibles and prayerbooks were certainly sent in numbers to Taiwan. Some of these, including a Bible now in China with a provenance from Dutch Formosa about whose existence Prof. Kuo Chen has informed me, may have had frontispieces with printed images. This still does not alter the situation that such Bibles would have been for private use, that not all such books had either illustrations or decorated frontispieces, that the frontispieces did not serve a religious purpose as images did in a Catholic context, and that in any case they seem to have left no lasting impact or even trace on Taiwan itself.
 72. Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, 117.
 73. I. de Beauclair, 'Dutch Beads on Formosa? An Ethnohistorical Note,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica*, 29 (1970): 388,

- cited by Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, 266, n. 17. This story has continued to circulate on Taiwan, as I have learned from several scholars there.
74. Hsin-Hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, passim.
 75. See Wang Su-chin and Liu Yi-chang, 'The Import Networks of Tobacco, Tobacco Pipes, and Glass Bead Ornaments into Taiwan circa the Seventeenth Century: A New Phase of Exchange,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* (2007): 51-90 (with English summary). See further Liu Yi Chang and Wang Su-chin, 'Smoking and Its Culture Imported to the Seventeenth Century Taiwan: The Preliminary Speculation from the Archaeological Backgrounds,' [in Japanese: 'The Introduction of Tobacco and "Smoking culture" to Seventeenth-Century Taiwan: Some Preliminary Conclusions Based on the Archaeological Evidence'], in *Exchanges between the VOC and Japan: A Survey of VOC Archaeological Remains and their Relation to the Trade in Luxury Goods VOC. Conference held on the Occasion of the 400th Anniversary of the Initiation of Dutch-Japanese Relations, 26 June 2010* (Hirado 2010), 47-65. I am grateful to Cynthia Houng for deciphering the Japanese titles, and for occasional help elsewhere with Chinese.
 76. This material, as cited in the previous note, also seems to be discussed by Liu and Wang, 'Smoking and its Culture Imported to the Seventeenth Century Taiwan,' 47-65 (in Japanese).
 77. For this evidence see the papers by Liu and Wang cited in notes 75 and 76. Proper publication of material associated with the Spanish is however still lacking.
 78. I was able to observe these finds in storage in January 2008. A fairly representative (but not complete) sample has subsequently been placed on exhibit in the recently opened Fort Zeelandia Museum, where I saw them on 3 November 2011. However the mass of the material excavated is no longer accessible.
 79. These are observable in many items in the collections of the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, for example.
 80. The fundamental article establishing these practices is C. Viallé, 'The Records of the VOC Concerning the Trade in Chinese and Japanese Porcelain between 1634 and 1661,' *Aziatische Kunst*, 22 (1992): 6-34.
 81. See J. A. Jörg, *Oosters porselein. Delfts aardewerk. Wisselwerkingen* (Groningen 1983), and J. Berger Hochstrasser, 'Wisselwerkingen Redux: Ceramics, Asia and the Netherlands,' in A. Golahny, ed., *Points of Contact: Crossing Cultural Boundaries* (Lewisburg 2004), 50-79.
 82. For this subject see J. Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (The Hague and Zwolle 2007).
 83. See Kroes, 'Hoog Edeleweelgebooren Heer en Neef,' 7 and 9, fig. 4, further J. van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen van Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 53 (2005): ill. 18.
 84. For a general account of these paintings and for previous bibliography on them see R. van der Poel, *Rijk palet. Chinese exportschilderkunst overzee* (Doctoraalscriptie, Leiden 2008). Among previous works on the topics concerned especially recommended is C. Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London 1984).
 85. A good visual overview of this material is provided in C. Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London 1987).
 86. Van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen,' 18-41.
 87. See Ströber, 'Grote schotels,' and idem, 'Chinese exportkeramiek voor Thailand'; Jörg, *The Portuguese and the Trade in Chinese Porcelain*.
 88. For some German examples see Ströber, op. cit.
 89. See Shih Ching-fei, 'Evidence of East-West Exchange in the Eighteenth Century: The Establishment of Painted Enamel Art at the Ching Court in the Reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi,' *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 24 (2007): 45-78 (English summary, 78). Dr. Shih discusses these issues more in her book *日月光華: 清宮畫琺瑯, 臺北, 國立故宮博物院, 2011/Radiant Luminance: Painted Enamelware from the Qing Court* (Taipei 2011).
 90. 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): 2-27; idem, 'Painted by Fire: Jean Theodore Royer's

- Chinese Enamel Plaques, Part II: The Copper Plaques,' *Antiques Magazine* (March 2004): 68ff. My thanks to Jan van Campen for these and other references, and for alerting me to the possibility of local uses.
91. This idea was suggested by Prof. Kuo Chen in Taipei (oral communication, 1 November 2011) on the basis of documents from the Chinese imperial archives whose evidence he claims to have confirmed in Dutch archives, but did not cite. References to some of the Chinese documents are made in Shih, *Radiant Luminance*. There, however, according to Huai hai ying ling ji 24 juan/Ruan Yuan ji. 淮海英靈集: 二四卷 / 阮元輯. Yangzhou, Daoguang 22 [1842] after receiving gifts of guns from the 紅毛國 (Hongmao guo), a Qing official 戴梓 (Dai Zi) was asked by the Kangxi emperor to make "fa-lang" objects and he presented the successful result in five days. This does not indicate that they were enamels, and there is no sure indication that the guns were enameled, or that the enamels were ever given by the Dutch. Dr. Shih has indicated (in correspondence) that she has independently come to the same conclusion, which she will publish. (I am grateful to Cynthia Houg for assistance in translating the Chinese texts.) See further below for the Dutch embassy of 1686 and its gifts.
 92. The objects exhibited in the recent exhibition and recorded in the catalogue *Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King Louis XIV* provide abundant evidence for this assertion.
 93. See Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 85.
 94. See Shih Ching-fei, 'The Emerald-Jade Cabbage and the Ivory Sphere,' *National Palace Museum Monthly*, 288 (2007): 4-10. I am grateful to Anna Grasskamp for providing me with a summary of this article.
 95. This and the previous paragraph are based, with some further comments, on the important article by Shih Ching-fei, 'Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques: Canton, the Ch'ing Court and the Holy Roman Empire,' *National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 25 (2007): 87-138 (English abstract, 122). I am grateful to Shih Ching-fei for sharing her initial insights with me directly in 2008 and 2011, and to Greg Seifert for providing me with an extended summary of her article.
 96. In addition to the ivory object in the Beijing Palace Museum published by Shih Ching-fei, at her suggestion curators in Beijing have discovered three more, which will have been published in the annual periodical of the Beijing museum, 紫禁城月刊 (*Zijin Cheng Yuekan*) by the time the present essay has appeared.
 97. For members of this family see M. H. Grieb, ed., *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon. Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 2007), vol. 3, 1725-1727. I am grateful to Jutta Kappel (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe) and Thomas Eser (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) for confirming this attribution, and to Dr. Eser for this bibliographic reference.
 98. See *Quasi Centrum Europae: Europa kauft in Nürnberg 1400-1800*, exhib. cat. ed. by H. Maué et al. (Nuremberg 2002).
 99. See the remarks by F. S. Gaastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen 2006) (revised ed. 2010).
 100. For Cape Town see the inventory of goods left by IJsaac Meerkens of Amersfoort, drawn up 26 February 1711, including "twaalf Neurenburger klejne trompetjes ... een Neurenburger spiegeltje en een bril ... een dosijn Neurenburger mannetjes" (Cape Town, Masters of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 8/2.53) (I am grateful to Michael North for this reference). For gifts in Sri Lanka see the reference of goods given "tot geschenk voor de koning van Candy" from 8 November 1758 (NRA, VOC 9926), including "Neurenburger poppen" and "door raders van zelfsspeelende instrumenten en dansende poppen," cited in L. J. Wagenaar, 'Knielen of buigen? De gezantschappen van de Compagnie naar Kandy na het vredesverdrag van 1766,' in C. A. Davids, W. Fritschy, and L. A. van der Valk, eds., *Kapitaal, ondernemerschap en beleid. Studies over economie en politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 tot heden. Afscheidsbundel voor prof. dr. P. W. Klein* (Amsterdam 1996), 446 and n. 9. See further Viallé, "To Capture their Favor" in this volume.

101. See more fully the essay by Viallé in this volume.
102. See Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 85.
103. Clunas, *ibid.*, vs. Shih Ching-fei, 'Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques.'
104. This list of gifts is included in the 'Epistle of Father John Adams their Antagonist,' included with the English translation of Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China ...*, trans. J. Ogilby (London 1671), 312-314. It is not present in the original Dutch edition, Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neërlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den Grooten Tatarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen Kaizer van China* (Amsterdam 1665), nor in the German version of Nieuhof.
105. See Nieuhof, *Gezantschap*, 162.
106. See 'Epistle of Father John Adams their Antagonist,' 312.
107. See the essays by Viallé, "To Capture their Favor" and L. Wagenaar, 'The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle' in this volume.
108. See most comprehensively for this subject W. Koeppe, ed., *Art of the Royal Court: Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe* (New York 2007).
109. See for such a table top in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, J. Kräftner, ed., *Einzug der Künste in Böhmen. Malerei und Skulptur am Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag* (Vienna 2009), 134-137, no. 37, and for another chest with similar decoration, *ibid.*, 138f., no. 38.
110. See especially E. Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz 1988); and *idem*, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (New York 2006).
111. See for example the many references in R. Bauer and H. Haupt, eds., 'Die Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II, 1607-1611,' *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 72 (1976): 17-43 (fol. 33-74).
112. I am grateful to Lodewijk Wagenaar for discussion of this idea.
113. See Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 38-81.
114. These gifts are indicated in lists published in O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaardig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye, op de kust en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam 1670), 356-358.
115. See the drawing made in 1666 by Pieter van Doornik from the Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, illustrated in *Nederlandse Ontmoeting met Azië*, 116, with comment on 115.
116. These questions are most clearly indicated in the English version of Dapper, Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis: A Relation of Remarkable Passages in two Embassies from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Vice-roy Singlamong and General Taising Lipovi and to Konchi, Emperor of China and East Tartary*, trans. J. Ogilby (London 1671), 329, 334.
117. See J. Wills, Jr., 'Wat zegt een ceremonie? Gezanten van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en het Qingrijk, 1666-1680,' in G. Knaap and G. Teitler, eds., *De verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie: Tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden 2002), 245: "De interessantste van de kostbare geschenken voor de keizer waren vier Perzische paarden en twee klein Bengaalse ossen. Een exotisch dier werd gezien als het ultieme symbol voor relaties met een verre en vreemde wereld, zoal bijvoorbeeld de giraffe die aan het begin van de vijftiende eeuw naar het hof van de Ming waren gebracht en de neushoorn voor de Paus in 1515." These animals are treated in a recent article in Chinese (I am grateful to Wei Wu for translating it for me, and to Lai Yu-chi for calling it to my attention): 王靜靈，圖像證史：荷蘭國人役牛馬圖》瑣談，故宮文物月刊 336期（2011年3月，頁88-99 (Wang Jingling, 'Illustrating History from Paintings: About *Hollanders Tending Oxen and Horses*'). Wang relates this painting to traditions of depictions of animals and especially horses in Chinese painting, but misses the exotic element that the image and the accompanying text seem to emphasize. For Europeans as exotic creatures see South Bank Centre, *Exotic Europeans* (London 1991). In a lecture delivered at a conference 'The Itineraries of Art

- Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia, 1500-1900' at the Museen Dahlem, Berlin, 24 May 2013, Eugene Wang discussed a papal gift of horses to a Yuan emperor and suggested that the imperial love for horses may be pushed back to the Tang tombs and indeed to the Bronze Age (Wang, 'Why Was There No Chinese Painting of Marco Polo? The Limits of Itinerancy-Themed Art Historical Inquiry').
118. See J. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap naar China in de zeventiende eeuw (1685-1687)* (Sinica Leidensia 5), (Leiden 1946), 30-32, for the lists of gifts. As noted above, Shih Ching-fei in a book also cites a Chinese source indicating that weapons, probably with enamel decoration, were also presented.
119. These gifts are recorded in a list presented as a *Bijlage* to his diary by Titsingh, published in F. Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796), het onuitgegeven journal van zijn ambassade naar Peking* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2005), 214f.
120. See C. Pagani, *Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity: Clocks of Late Imperial China* (Ann Arbor 2001).
121. See Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China*, 125.
122. See J. L. Cranmer-Byng, ed., *An Embassy to China. Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during his Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 1793-1794* (London 1962), 99: "The Great Mandarin attended, and seemed to be much struck with the attention manifested by our bringing several spare glasses for the dome of the planetarium, one of the panes of which happened to be cracked, and which, without such a precaution, could not be repaired in China."
123. J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'Supplementary Documents on the last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court,' *T'oung Pao*, 35 (1940): 338f.
124. See Cranmer-Byng, *An Embassy to China*, 95.
125. Small Chinese telescopes from the Qing dynasty period with eighteenth-century enamel decoration are for example in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei: one was shown most recently in the exhibition 'Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King.'
126. Cranmer-Byng, *Embassy to China*, 340.
127. None is to be found in Taipei, where I have been able to make inquiries in the National Palace Museum and see what might be there. Despite personal efforts, and attempts at mediation, for which I thank Alfreda Murck, it has not yet proved possible for me to gain access to the storerooms and reserves of the Palace Museum in Beijing. Although it is possible that some identifiably Dutch (or German objects purveyed by the Dutch items) may exist in China, none is on display in the Forbidden City, nor recorded in the published catalogue of its clocks and other mechanical devices (e.g. Xiuhua Lang, Xiaopei Qin, and [Gu gong bo wu yuan], *Clocks and Watches of the Qing Dynasty from the Collection in the Forbidden City* [Beijing 2002]). Reports from the curators in Beijing communicated to me through Dr. Murck suggested that none has apparently yet been identified.
128. A good general overview is provided by C. Pagani, 'Europe in Asia: The Impact of Western Art and Technology in China,' in A. Jackson and A. Jaffer, eds., *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London 2004), 296-309, with notes leading to some of the extensive bibliography on these subjects on 373f.
129. For this see recently De Bischof, *De Chinese verleiding*.
130. Ground-breaking and perhaps sufficient to cite is J. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York 1984). Ricci continues to accumulate literature, numbering over sixty books since the appearance of the first edition of Spence.
131. For science in China see the many works of B. Elman, e.g. *On their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge, Mass. 2005). For the general question of European impact on the arts and sciences see D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800* (Lanham 2009).
132. See for this topic A. Chapman, 'Uraniborg in Beijing: The Reconstruction of Tycho Brahe's Instruments in the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Observatory,' in O. V. Krogh et al., eds., *Skatte fra kejserens Kina. Den forbudte by og det danske Kongehus/Treasures from Imperial China: The Forbidden City and the Royal Danish Court* (Copenhagen 2006), 270-277.
133. As seems first to have been noticed by P. Pel-liot, 'La peinture et la gravure européennes en

- Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci,' *T'oung Pao*, 20 (1920-1921): 1-18. For later cases of the adaptation of Flemish imagery in China through the agency of priests see P. Rheinbay, 'Nadal's Religious Iconography Reinterpreted by Aleni for China,' in T. Lippiello and R. Malek, eds., *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China* (Nettetal 1997), 323-234; N. Standaert, 'Chinese Prints and their European Prototypes: Schall's Jincheng shuxiang,' *Print Quarterly*, 23/3 (2006): 231-253. This topic is now becoming increasingly the subject of scholarship, as in the ongoing researches of Lai Yu-chi.
134. As was first indicated by J. Jennes, 'L'art chrétien en Chine au début du XVIIe siècle,' *T'oung Pao*, 33 (1937): 129-133; idem, *Invloed der Vlaamsche prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (Leuven 1943), 69-121.
135. The strongest position on this matter is taken by J. Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 1982). For other important views of the question, treating it positively, see M. Sullivan, 'Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ching Painting,' in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei 1972), 595-625; idem, 'The Chinese Response to Western Art,' *Art International*, 24 (1980): 8-31; Hsiang Ta, 'European Influences on Chinese Art in the later Ming and Early Ching Period,' trans. W. Teh-chao, *Renditions*, 6 (1976): 152-178; M. Kao, 'European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,' in Th. H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong 1991), 251-305, with further bibliography. The problem is instantiated in the discussion around the Chinese-born Jesuit literati painter Wu Li, for which see most fully *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey* (Macao 2006). In his art Western sources are hard to discern.
136. See 'Epistle of Father John Adams,' and the reactions of Schall (sighing at the Dutch gifts) recorded in Dapper, *Gedenwaardig bedryf*, and Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis*.
137. See for a general, if flawed, account, G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto and Buffalo 1999).
138. An example of porcelain transfer to Persia via Zeelandia is seen in *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641*, 287.
139. For example see Crowe, *Persia and China*, esp. 108-116.