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Netherlandish Art in its Global Context



Netherlandish Art in its Global Context
De mondiale context van Nederlandse kunst

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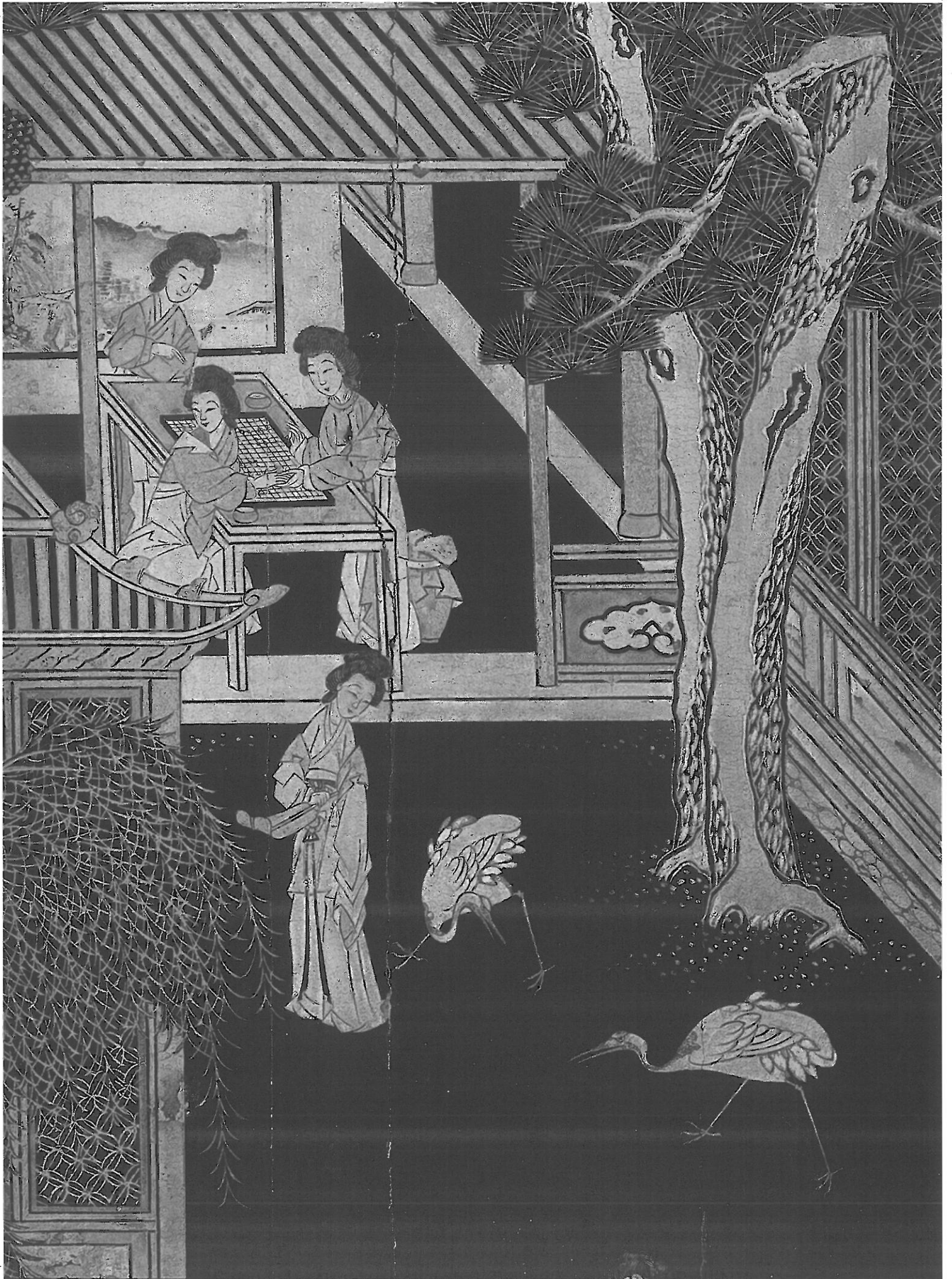
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A Dutch model for a Chinese woodcut

On Han Huaide's *Herding a bull in a forest*¹

Ching-Ling Wang

Introduction: A newly discovered type of Suzhou print

In the collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin is an unusual eighteenth-century Chinese polychrome woodcut print, titled *Herding a bull in a forest* (*Mulin teli tu* 牧林特立圖) by Han Huaide 韓懷德.² This type of print is called a 'Suzhou print', after the city of Suzhou where many printmakers, including Han Huaide, were based in the early eighteenth century. The print was previously owned by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817) and came into the collection in 1817 together with the so-called Diez Albums, a five-volume collection of Persian and Islamic miniature paintings and manuscripts.³

The woodcut, measuring 61.2 by 113.8 cm, was printed in sections using three woodblocks that were joined to imitate the format of a Chinese hanging scroll. The entire print comprises three parts. The upper part is printed with an inscription written by the artist, Han Huaide; the middle part bears an image of a cow standing in the foreground gazing at the viewer, while the background shows European figures in a landscape. The lower part is a framed blank (fig. 1).

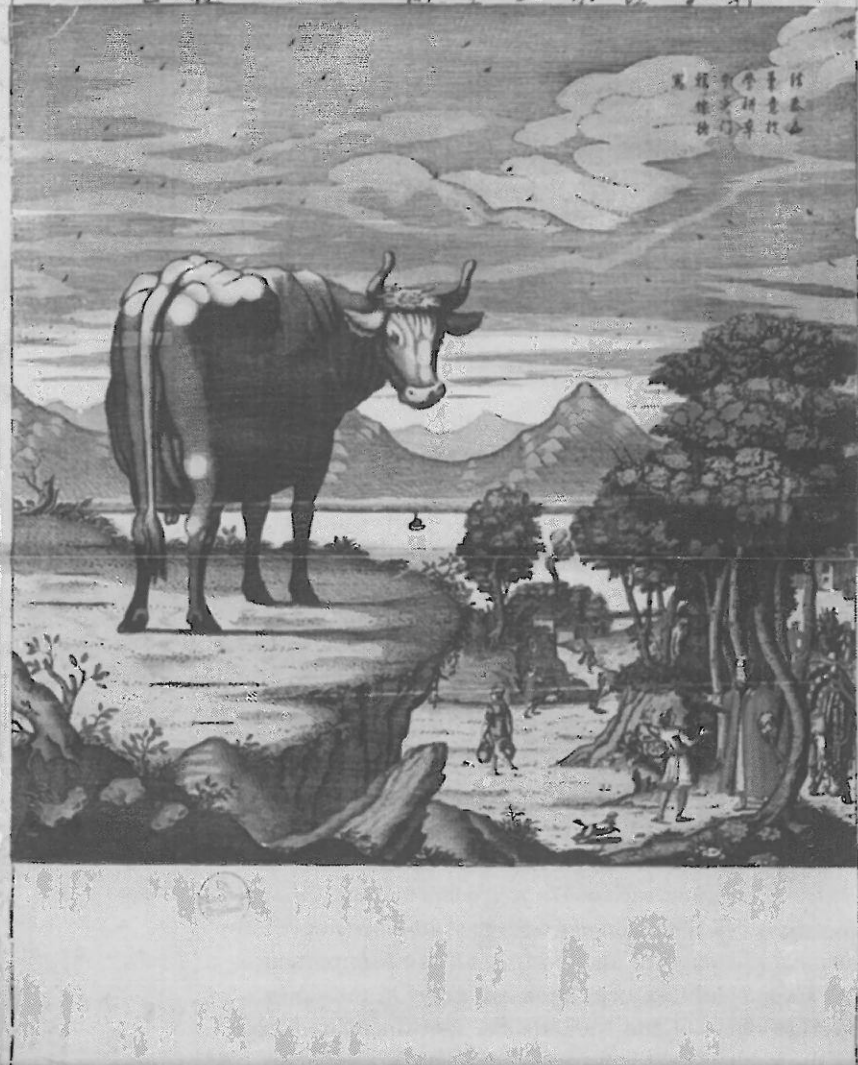
Let us first review the conventional understanding of Suzhou prints. Popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Suzhou prints have been seen as Chinese objects intended for export, since most of the extant examples are in collections in Europe and Japan. The city of Suzhou was one of the wealthiest metropolises in China during this time, its urban affluence nurturing the development of popular art and culture. At the end of the seventeenth century, the style of Suzhou prints underwent major changes, employing the woodcut to emulate the texture of European copperplate engraving. In the field of Chinese art history, both this stylistic feature and the use of linear perspective are conventionally considered to be influences from European artworks, which were brought to China by Jesuit missionaries from the late sixteenth century onward.⁴ However, although European engraving techniques were introduced into China in 1583 by Father Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), they were not communicated outside the imperial circle. At the beginning of eighteenth century, copperplate engraving was done only at the Qing court by Jesuit missionaries – for example, the series *The thirty-six views of the Summer Palace in Jehol* (*Bishu shanzhuang sanshiliu jing* 避暑山莊三十六景) by Matteo Ripa (1682-1746) printed in 1712-1714; by 1781 Chinese craftsmen at the court mastered the technique as well.⁵ Suzhou artists, by contrast, used woodcuts to imitate engravings.

Detail fig. 7

牧林特云圖

唐代開元想幹於解脫應召軒軒
 汗血照夜蒼龍驚咤尾策持徽生
 寒怕喇奔欽黃號騰狀躍出天極
 到而今千金難購一幅出韓不
 寸宗西正漢骨首毛羽人物山
 原物奪生情人傳妙態意態轉主
 麟警運初林畫最亦教掌家學開
 源後至純你狂游能品作秀初
 右浦去廷天上來
 興錄夢紀一絕
 候瑞溪沙浪說仙掛畫翁上山徒
 然何必潤牧老山時特主喜感三
 自至

吳越韓懷德畫



Extant eighteenth-century Suzhou prints can be categorized into several types based on their subject matter:⁶ (1) images of cities, usually representing Suzhou;⁷ (2) topographic images of tourist attractions, usually West Lake (Xihu 西湖) in Hangzhou, or Mount Tiger (Huqiu 虎丘) in Suzhou; (3) historical narratives, such as 'Lady Wenji's return to China' (*Wenji guihan* 文姬歸漢); (4) theatrical illustrations, such as the romance play *Story of the western chamber* (*Xixiang ji* 西廂記) written by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (c. 1260-1336); and (5) images of female figures and children within architectural spaces. Interestingly, the subject matter of the Berlin print is different: it includes a subject from Western art. To my knowledge there are only a few existing Suzhou prints that represent non-Chinese themes, another example being *European theater* (*Xiyang juchang tu* 西洋劇場圖) by an anonymous artist, which was brought to light in 1932 by Kuroda Genji.⁸

My analysis of the Berlin work will first identify its European prototype. Second, the intentions of the artist, Han Huaide, will be explored as expressed in the Chinese inscription. Third, I will examine Han's marketing strategy by sketching the role of Suzhou prints in the domestic market and the market for export art.

Herding a Bull in a Forest and its European prototype

The Berlin image features a printed inscription in the upper right corner:

Following the Western [European] manner, [this print is made] in the *Xuegeng caotang* [Cottage of Learning and Cultivating] by Han Huaide from Wumen [Suzhou].

法泰西筆意於學耕草堂、吳門韓懷德寫。

This statement confirms that the print uses the woodblock technique to imitate the texture of a European copperplate engraving. But there are other elements that may have been intended as references to the 'Western' or 'European' manner. A striking element is the shadow cast by the legs of the cow in the foreground. This is unusual in Chinese pictorial representation.⁹ When a Chinese artwork includes a shadow, there is usually a particular reason. When, for example, Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲常 (active in the twelfth century) painted cast shadows on the ground of three figures in the handscroll *Illustration to the Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff* (*Hou chibi fu tu* 後赤壁圖; fig. 2), these had to illustrate the famous lyrics of the *Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff* (*Hou chibi fu* 後赤壁賦) composed by the great contemporary scholar and poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) in 1082.¹⁰

In the Berlin print, the cow forms the most important compositional motif. This type of representation is reminiscent of animal portraiture in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, such as *The young bull* painted c. 1647 by Paulus Potter (1625-1654). The depiction of four-legged animals (notably cows and bulls, but also sheep, goats and pigs) signifies an important painting tradition in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Cows in meadows, one of the characteristic sights of the Netherlands, were integrated in landscape paintings even when they featured mythological or religious

1

Han Huaide, *Herding a bull in a forest*, first half of the 18th century, woodcut print, 113,8 x 61,2 cm, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (c) Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.



2

Qiao Zhongchang, *Illustration to the Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff*, c. 1123 (detail), ink on paper, 29,53 x 560,39 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

narratives. Although contemporary writings do not individuate cattle as an independent genre, it was clearly an artistic specialization that was practiced with great success and became one of the signatures of the Dutch painting tradition.¹¹ In fact, Han Huaide's image was appropriated from a Dutch model. The cow in the foreground is similar to an image by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) on the second page of his print series of animals of 1610-1611 (fig. 3).¹² The cow's pose, the structure of its muscles and even the highlights are similar to Bloemaert's depiction, in the mirrored image that occurred when the woodcut was printed.

Another unusual aspect of the Berlin work is the landscape in the background, in which a young man is represented speaking to an older man. It is perhaps insightful to compare it to the depiction in *Return of the Prodigal Son* (fig. 4) painted by Herman van Swanevelt (1603-1655) in 1627, which even offers coloristic parallels.¹³ According to the Gospel of St. Luke, a younger son returned home after having squandered his share of the family fortune; however, his father met him on the road and immediately welcomed him back. Van Swanevelt included a cow as reference to the fatted calf that is about to be killed for the feast to celebrate his homecoming.¹⁴ The Chinese artist may have (wittingly or unwittingly) imitated the iconography of the fatted calf from a similar work that circulated in print (perhaps from the circle of Bloemaert or Van Swanevelt), which I have been unable to locate.¹⁵ Some themes from Christian art were known in China because of the involvement of Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁶

Han Huaide's intention

The inscription above the painting consists of four parts, from right to left: (1) the title of this print, (2) a commentary composed by Han Huaide, (3) a poem composed by Han and (4) Han's signature. It reads:

Herding a bull in a forest

Thinking of [the steeds painted] by Han Gan [fl. 742-755] and his school during the Kaiyuan era [713-741]¹⁷ of the Tang dynasty [618-907], the horse Hualiu¹⁸ looks lofty when it is summoned; the steeds Hanxie [Sweat-blood, a.k.a. Akhal-Teke] and Zhaoye [Night-Shining White]¹⁹ look startled under [Han's] brushwork. [Their] tails and manes are trembling; [it makes one] shiver and feel cold. [It is as if they] are about to burst into neighing, valiantly jumping out [from the painting] to the sky. Nowadays it is difficult to buy a genuine Han Gan painting even with a great fortune.

I, the worthless person [who] followed the authentic Western

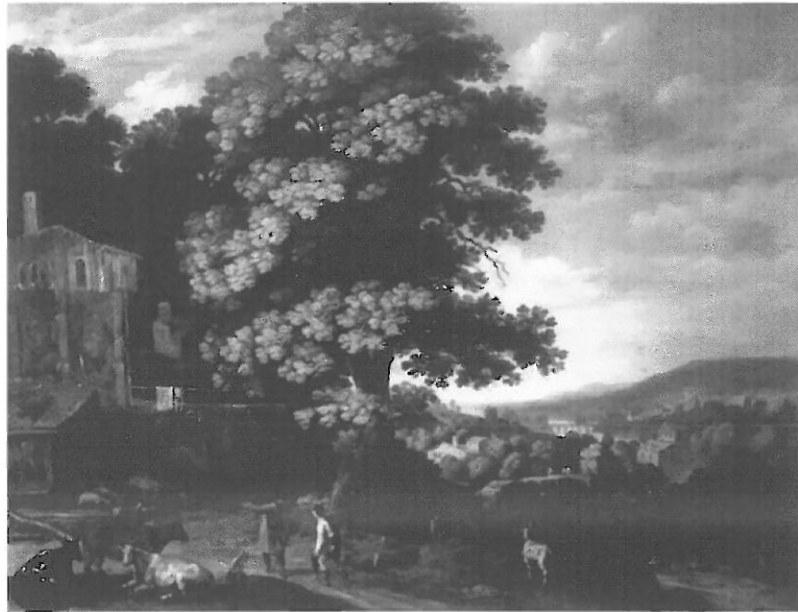
3

Abraham Bloemaert, engraved by Boetius à Bolswert, *Animal series*, page 2, 1610-1611, published by Boetius Adams Bolswert copperplate engraving, 10,8 x 13,8 cm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam



4

Herman van Swanevelt, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1627, oil on panel, 50 x 65 cm, private collection, France. Photo: RKD, The Hague.



methods to copy [the depictions] of animals, birds, figures and landscape. [Thus in my work] the animals look vivid and the figures are lifelike. [Like in this picture] the bull [looks] so lively standing on a massive rock. [My work] elicits applause from scholars and painters. [This depiction] is [actually] my family tradition. [I] laugh that [it was made] for no reason, it is just [my] accidental work for [my own] amusement, [but] it is seen as spectacle!

The commentary [written] at the right [has been composed] in the spring for inspiration. With extra enthusiasm [I] composed another poem:

[I wanted to] become immortal [like Laozi²⁰] but in vain;
it is useless even [if I] study hard [like Li Mi²¹].
Why don't [I] just herd a bull next to the green mountains
and enjoy the spring breeze in the third month?

Painted and inscribed by Han Huaide from Wuyü [Suzhou, a.k.a. Wumen].²²

Judging by the title given to the print by Han Huaide, he misidentified the cow portrayed by Bloemaert as a bull; he also ignored any reference to the iconography of the fatted calf. The herding of cattle is an old motif in the Chinese painting tradition since the Tang dynasty. For example, Han Huaide may have been familiar with a work like *Returning home from herding in snow* (*Xuezhong mugui tu* 雪中歸牧圖) painted by Li Di 李迪 (active twelfth century), now in the Yamato Bunkakan collection.

Interestingly, Han Huaide deliberately claimed that through imitating the 'authentic Western method', his print is a 'spectacle' of lifelikeness. This is all the more remarkable against the background of the Chinese

appreciation of the realism that was attributed to European oil painting. When Matteo Ricci came to China he brought an oil painting, *Holy Mother and Son*, which amazed the Chinese scholars who praised its lifelike appearance. Compare, for instance, a statement of Jiang Shaoshu 姜紹書 (?-c. 1680) in his *History of a silent poem* (*Wusheng shishi* 無聲詩史), published in 1646: 'Li Madou [Matteo Ricci] brought with him an image of the Lord of Heaven in the manner of the Western countries; it is a woman bearing a child in her arms. The eyebrows and the eyes, the folds of the garments, are as clear as if they were reflected in a mirror, and they seem to move freely. It is of a majesty and elegance which Chinese painters cannot match.'²³

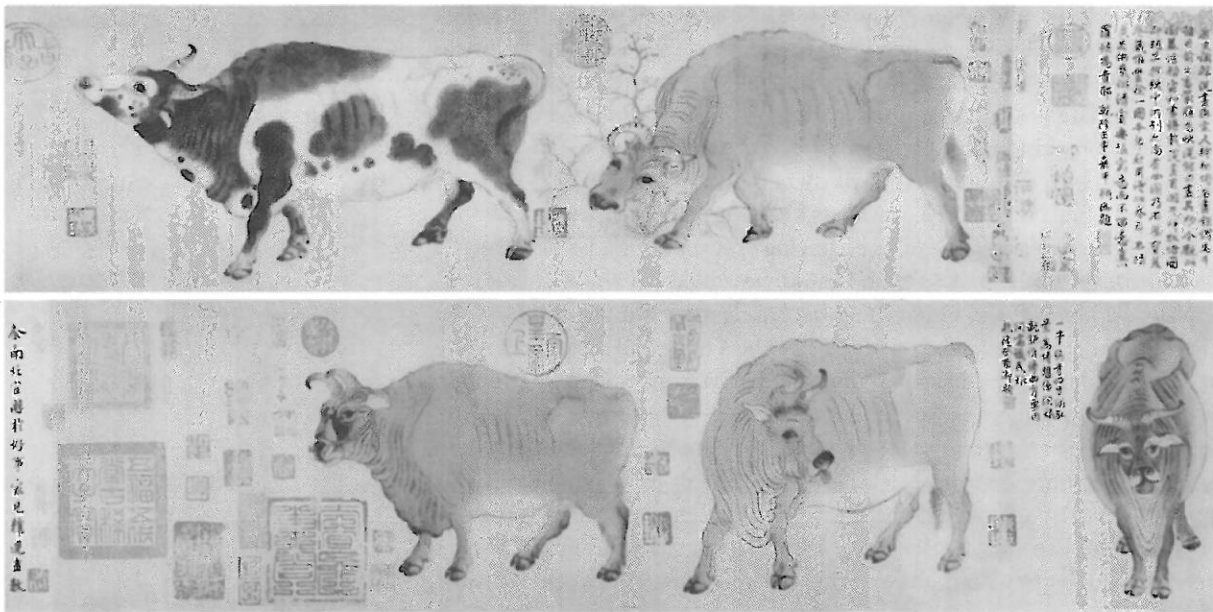
Furthermore, the 'vivid' European image that Han Huaide encountered reminded him of the ancient Chinese painting tradition, in particular the animal portraiture of Han Gan 韓幹. He may have recalled images of horses such as *Portrait of Night-Shining White* (*Zhaoye bai tu* 照夜白圖; fig. 5), a rare extant example of lifelike animal portraiture in early Chinese painting.²⁴ Another well-documented ancient master, Han Huang 韓滉 (723-787), could also have come to Han Huaide's mind. In Han Huang's work *Five bulls* (*Wuniou tu* 五牛圖; fig. 6) painted in 785, the artist represents five different bulls in different poses; the third one is particularly rare in Chinese art since it is portrayed with frontal foreshortening.²⁵

It is rather unlikely that Han Huaide had seen either Han Gan's or Han Huang's original painting. Most likely, his sources are painting manuals printed in woodcut and encyclopedias of common knowledge, in which information about painting and calligraphy was circulated widely. They became a kind of cultural commodity for a wide audience in seventeenth-century China.²⁶ *Master Gu's painting manual* (*Gushi huapu* 顧氏畫譜),

5

Han Gan, *Portrait of Night-Shining White*, 8th century, ink on paper, 30,8 x 34 cm, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





6

Han Huang, *Five bulls*, 8th century,
Ink and color on paper, 20,8 x 139, 8 cm,
Palace Museum, Beijing.

published by Gu Ping 顧炳 (active seventeenth century) in 1603, could be a possible source for Han Huaide's knowledge of Han Gan's painting style. Gu selected 106 master painters from throughout Chinese art history. For each painter there is a printed image of his work and a short text to introduce his style. A famous painter such as Han Gan would undoubtedly have been included in Gu's manual. However, in many cases the published images in *Master Gu's painting manual* are fabricated: for example, instead of a genuine work by Han Gan, the publisher used a horse painting by a court painter, Hu Cong 胡聰 from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), to illustrate his manner.²⁷

When Han Huaide encountered his European example, he would have been able to connect its ambitions at lifelike representation to the reputation of Han Gan's ancient art. The print's inscription not only praises the vivid visual effect of Han Gan's portrayal of horses but also claims that Han Huaide inherited the 'family tradition', since they share the family name Han. Imitating the Western image provided Han Huaide a shortcut to achieve the 'spectacular' likeness that was associated with his purported ancestor and to restore, and perhaps emulate, the latter's artistic ideals.

Han Huaide's marketing strategy

Suzhou prints had different functions: some were calendars, others greetings posters for special occasions and festivals, but most were New Year's pictures (*nianhua* 年畫) that families would paste on doors or walls during the lunar New Year. Befitting the New Year celebration, they all expressed auspicious wishes towards longevity, success and wealth. Because these works of popular art were typically burnt when the year came to an end, very few have survived in China.

The intended customers of Suzhou prints were mainly the urban citizens and local people in Suzhou (and possibly other cities in China).

Han Huaide's *Herding a bull in a forest* was, likewise, a popular print, which must have been devised to maximize profit by selling as many prints as possible. The imitation of a Western model was one strategy to attract customers. The procedure is similar to an earlier example, the catalog of an ink-stick-making workshop, *Ink garden of the Cheng family* (*Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑) published by its owner, Cheng Junfang 程君房 (1573-1620): in the first edition, in 1605, Cheng's catalog included three woodblock copies of a European copperplate engraving of stories from the *New and Old Testament*. In the second edition, in 1610, he added (in woodblock print) another version of *The Virgin Mary and Jesus* after Matteo Ricci's work. The original copperplate of this image of the Virgin and Child was made in Nagasaki, Japan, and based on the image of *Nuestra Señora de l'Antigua* in Seville.²⁸ The images in the catalog serve no religious function, they are simply samples or references for customers to choose which design would be impressed onto their ink-sticks. It is not difficult to imagine that these rare European images would be attractive to Chinese consumers.

The European images that were initially brought to China by Jesuits were not widely circulated, although by the early seventeenth century some Christian images were adapted by local artists for missionary publications in Chinese, imitating in woodcut the original copperplate technique. For instance, the 1608 book *Method of the Rosary* (*Songnian zhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程) by the Jesuit João da Rocha (1565-1623) contained a print of *Agony in the Garden*.²⁹ The Jesuits' strategy in China explains why these images did not circulate widely. In China, unlike in other countries, the Jesuit missionaries decided to focus their proselytization on the literati and local elites and, through their recommendations, they even gained entrance to the imperial court.³⁰ European images, such as oil painting and copperplate engraving, thus remained within the upper class of Chinese society, and ordinary people would not have had access to this material. Han's claim of using the 'Western method' is probably aimed at satisfying a general audience's curiosity for new and foreign art.

Han Huaide apparently used the inscription to distinguish his product even more from those of his many competitors. A similar strategy was used by almost all the Suzhou workshops: many existing eighteenth-century Suzhou prints contain a short inscription. As previously discussed, Han's intention was to claim legitimacy by presenting himself as successor to the ancient master Han Gan. This strategy of distinction, one can assume, was directed not only at the general public but also at the educated elite, the so-called literati who would recognize the painting tradition of the 'Han family'.³¹

This can be further verified by the format of the Berlin print, which was purposely made to look similar to a hanging scroll painting. A popular print like this was much more affordable than a real hanging scroll. It represented good value for the general urban public. But the inscription above the print also addresses the issue of connoisseurship, welcoming the class of the literati to appreciate Han's print as they do classical Chinese painting and calligraphy.

Tellingly, below the printed image Han also leaves a spare column. This blank space is intentionally left for his audience to write their own commentary as inscriptions or colophons.³² The action of writing a long

inscription imitates literati and educated elites' connoisseurship activities; and Han's claim that the image is an 'accidental work for amusement' also associates the print with 'literati painting', the playful calligraphic art that fitted the educated connoisseurship of the elite.³³ Moreover, Han's claim that his work was appreciated by scholars would also appeal to his larger audience of urban citizens who wanted to demonstrate their artistic taste by imitating those cultural elites. These different clues suggest that the Berlin print was produced for the local and domestic markets.

Suzhou prints in a global context

The Berlin print's explicit appeal to the domestic market contradicts the view, generally held nowadays, that Suzhou prints were intended for export. This view is furthermore ill at ease with the fact that most of the existing Suzhou prints are in Japanese and European collections.

One example is the collection of 29 late seventeenth-century Suzhou prints in the British Museum, which were originally purchased by the German doctor Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) in 1690-1692, when he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company in Nagasaki.³⁴ After 1641, Japan's national isolation (*sakoku* 鎖国) policy allowed only the Dutch and Chinese to trade in Nagasaki. Chinese residents in the city bought Suzhou prints for their own use (for celebrating New Year or other festivals), and hence the prints accompanied the major trade goods that arrived in Japan. These examples illustrate how the prints were brought to other countries as personal items rather than trade goods.

An instructive comparison can be made with the so-called Coromandel lacquer, or Bantam lacquer, that frequently appeared in European interior displays from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries – for instance, the lacquer cabinet originally from the palace of Prince Willem Karel Hendrik Friso (1711-1751) in Leeuwarden, now preserved in the Rijksmuseum collection (fig. 7).³⁵ Although this has conventionally been dubbed an 'export' product, Jan van Campen pointed out recently that in fact it was primarily an object of private trade, of which obviously no traces can be found in the shipping company's archives.³⁶ Coromandel is a region of the east coast of India between the Godava River and Nagapatnam; 'Coromandel lacquer' refers to a specific type of Chinese lacquerware developed in the sixteenth century that applied the *kuancai* 款彩 technique, based on cutting out shapes in the surface that were then filled with color pigments. The term 'Coromandel lacquer' results from a misunderstanding by European dealers that this trading port was the source, rather than the transshipment depot of these lacquer goods; in Britain it was also known as 'Bantam lacquer' (a term still in use in the twentieth century).³⁷ This type of lacquer was very popular in Europe.³⁸ In the Chinese context, however, it was originally aimed at the local and domestic markets. Lacquer screens were mostly used as birthday presents and contained a wish for longevity, with decorations often involving the '*shu* 壽' (longevity) character and auspicious patterns along the border. Sometimes long inscriptions on the reverse of the screen document the occasion, giver and receiver. The Rijksmuseum has another 12-panel screen (purchased in China in 1906) that depicts the arrival of



7

Lacquer cabinet, before 1695, Coromandel lacquer, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Dutch ships and a hunting scene featuring Dutchmen, who are represented in an exaggerated, almost caricature-like fashion; some of the tools they are using to hunt are eccentric too.³⁹ These elements suggest that the image was created to satisfy the curiosity of a Chinese public.⁴⁰

Another interesting observation is that there are (to my knowledge) no ancient collections of Suzhou prints in the Netherlands. Although scholars like Wang Cheng-hua are of the opinion that the Dutch East India Company's role in the export of Suzhou prints should not be neglected, no relevant documents have, as yet, been found in the company archives. Proving how exactly Suzhou prints made their way to Europe requires further investigation.⁴¹ It seems that the terms 'export' and 'export good' should be used in a nuanced manner when addressing Suzhou prints. Scholars have often assumed that Chinese goods were intentionally made for export, when in fact more complex economic, social, political, cultural and artistic networks may have been involved.

As a consequence of greater contact through global trade, eighteenth-century Europe saw increased interest in Asiatica. The Chinese themes



8

Peter Schenck the Elder, *Chinese antiquities and curios*, engraving from *Picturae Sinicae ac Surattanae* (Amsterdam 1702), 27,2 x 11,6 cm, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

9

Gabriel Huquier, *Vases with flowers, fruits and peacock feathers*, illustration from *Recueil des différentes espèces d'oiseaux, fleurs, plantes et trophées de la Chine* (Paris, c. 1745), Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, J. Doucet Collection, Paris.



and styles that became increasingly fashionable were later labeled as 'Chinoiserie'.⁴² Interest in Chinese objects in the Netherlands is evident in the engravings of Peter Schenck the Elder (1660-1711) in his *Picturae Sinicae ac Surattanae* (Amsterdam 1702, Fig. 8). The amount of detail in Schenck's engraving suggests that he worked after a Chinese prototype, most likely a Chinese woodcut print.⁴³ When his son Peter Schenck the Younger (1693-1775) published *Nieuwe geinventeerde Sineesen* around 1725, its images were used by many European ceramic factories for their 'Chinese' designs. A similar example can be found in the *Schulz-Codex* designed between 1723 and 1726 by Johann Gregorius Höroldt (1696-1775), whose inventions served as a decoration pattern for Meissen porcelain.⁴⁴ Likewise the print *Vases with flowers, fruits and peacock feathers* from *Recueil des différentes espèces d'oiseaux, fleurs, plantes et trophées de la Chine* published around 1745 by Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) shows the engraver's skill in portraying



10

A wall panel decorated with Suzhou prints in the second Chinese Room in the Schloss Wörlitz, c. 1770 (photo: author)

one of the most popular motifs in Chinese art, the flower still life (fig. 9).⁴⁵ His prototype was probably a Chinese Suzhou woodcut print of the late seventeenth century, perhaps a print made by the workshop of Ding Liangxian 丁亮先 (active late seventeenth century). The presence of Suzhou prints in early eighteenth-century Europe is furthermore evident in the catalogs of collections, of which the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden is the most sizeable. Its first inventory of 1738 included a description of a cabinet entitled *'La Chine'* with approximately 800 Chinese prints.⁴⁶ Other examples are the 'Chinese rooms' in Schloss Lichtenwalde and Schloss Wörlitz in Saxony-Anhalt, in which Suzhou prints were used as wallpaper (fig. 10).⁴⁷

Han Huaide's print, which arrived in Berlin in 1817, may likewise have come to Europe as early as the eighteenth century. Western viewers could have recognized the Western pedigree of the image and perhaps even

thought of the biblical iconography of the fatted calf – evidence of the success of the Christian missions in remote countries.⁴⁸ They may also have overlooked the presence of Bloemaert's cow, being rather intrigued by the Chinese inscription and the image's foreignness.

Conclusion

The Berlin print by Han Huaide is an extraordinary case, a new type of Suzhou print that borrowed from a Western model. The inscription, furthermore, reveals that the artist appreciated the 'authentic Western methods' for the 'spectacle' of their lifelikeness. But at the same time, he portrayed himself as a successor to the ancient Chinese master Han Gan. Thus Han Huaide appealed to different Chinese publics among urban citizens and the educated elite. Like other Suzhou prints, the work may not have been made for export: the Western elements were rather intended to satisfy Chinese customers' interest in the foreign. When the print arrived in Europe, most likely as a personal possession, it became an object of fascination for a different public. Like their Chinese counterparts, Western viewers may have recognized and appreciated the hybrid combination of traditional and foreign elements.

Notes

- 1 Ching-Ling Wang is curator of Chinese art in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. His research interests mainly focus on Chinese painting and material, cultural, artistic interaction and exchanges between China and Europe in the 17th and 18th century. During the period of writing, I received a lot of help from my colleagues, especially Frits Scholten, Duncan Bull, Jan van Campen, Menno Fitski, Huigen Leeftang and Femke Diercks. It would not have been possible to complete this research without their guidance and support. I would like to take this opportunity to dedicate this article to all my colleagues at the Rijksmuseum, in gratitude for their help, friendship and encouragement. I also thank Lennert Gesterkamp, who kindly offered his suggestions and comments to help me finalize this article.
- 2 No biographical information has been discovered so far regarding Han Huaide. There are two other woodcut prints carrying his signature in the collection of Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, one depicting the topographic scenery of West Lake and the other depicting court ladies within architectural spaces. They were transferred from the Kunstbibliothek collection in the early 20th century. Their earlier provenance requires further research, but it is clear nevertheless that they have

been in Europe for a long time. Judging from this group of prints carrying his signature, Han Huaide would have been a woodcut print master or a workshop owner in Suzhou, like many others, such as Ding Liangxian 丁亮先, Ding Yuntai 丁允泰, Molangzi 墨浪子, Xingtaozi 杏濤子, Songzhai 松齋, Taowu jushi 桃塢居士, Molin jushi 墨林居士, Guilaixuan zhuren 歸來軒主人, Baohuixuan zhuren 寶繪軒主人, Taoxi zhuren 桃溪主人, Songfeng zhuren 松風主人, Moqiao zhuren 墨樵主人, Junru 鈞如, Chunhui 春暉 and others, whose signatures also appear on the Suzhou prints.

- 3 This unusual image was first published in color with detail illustrations and documentation by Walter Fuchs in 1966, but it never caught scholars' attention; see Fuchs 1966, 73-75. *The Die: Albums*, on the other hand, have been an object of study in the field of Islamic art history since the 1950s; see Roxburgh 1995.
- 4 Kuroda 1932, 10-17; Sullivan 1972; Sullivan 1973, 46-89; Cahill 1982; Butz 1996; Cahill 2010, 67-98; Kleutghen 2014; C.H. Wang 2014.
- 5 For the European engraving brought by Matteo Ricci, see Pelliot 1921. For the research on making copperplate engraving at the Qing court, see Aoki & Kobayashi 1995, 276-279, J.H. Wang 2006, and Li 2012, 29-53. The use of linear perspective in Chinese pictorial representation has been

studied since the early 20th century; see March 1931; for a recent study see Kleutghen 2015.

- 6 This is my own categorization. John Lust categorizes Chinese popular prints in a much more detailed way; see Lust 1996, 212-238.
- 7 For research of portraying Suzhou city and its urban life in the Suzhou prints, see C.H. Wang 2005 and Kobayashi 2009.
- 8 Anonymous, *European Theater*, 18th century, woodcut print on paper, 92,8 x 47,4 cm, Okada collection. See: Kuroda 1932, pl. 27. Kuroda also suggested that this print is probably after an engraving of the Italian Venetian school. As of publication I have not managed to locate the European prototype of the print, I will proceed with further investigation on this work in my future research.
- 9 For shadow and reflection depicted in Chinese painting, see Lu 2007 and Liu 2015. For shadow in Western art see, among others, Baxandall 1995.
- 10 Su Shi composed two versions of the *Prose Poem on the Red Cliff* in the same year, the first one in the seventh month, the second in the tenth month. For the English translation of Su's texts, see Watson 1994, 94-98. For the relationship between the text and image of Qiao Zhongchang's *The Red Cliff*, see Kent 2001, Itakura 2001 and Lin 2006.
- 11 Van Heugten 1988.

- 12 Roethlisberger & Bok 1993, vol. 1, 166-169, and vol. 2, pl. 227-240; Bolten 2007, vol. 1, 265-266, and vol. 2, 315-316.
- 13 For the research of this specific painting, see Steland 2013. Although there is as yet very little knowledge as to the colors applied on the Suzhou prints, it is possible to argue that the colors were added in Europe. Two prints made by Han Huaide in the collection of Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, feature similar colors, and I tend to conclude that they are authentic. For coloration of Chinese popular prints, see Lust 1996, 156-162.
- 14 Luke 15:11-32. I owe a debt of thanks to my dear friend and colleague Jan Kosten from Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) in The Hague, who explained the biblical iconography when I discussed this image with him.
- 15 For the influence of Bloemaert or Van Swanevelt, see Hardin 2000, Helmus & Seelig 2011 and De Graaf 2007.
- 16 According to the letter of the French priest François Xavier d'Entrecolles (a.k.a. Yin Hongxu, 1664-1741), the Qing officials he met in Jingdezhen, where the imperial porcelain kiln was located, kept asking him to provide European models for designs and shapes of porcelain manufacturing. In this case, those so-called European models may very well have been prints. See C.H. Wang 2014, 438. There is also a type of Chinese export porcelain that contains Christian religious and mythological subjects. This type of porcelain was no doubt after European models, mostly prints; however, these models could have been provided by the Jesuit missionaries and also may have been provided by the European company that placed the order. See Howard & Ayers 1978, 306-322.
- 17 Han Huaide's inscription is incorrect regarding Han Gan. Han Gan was called to the court of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756) of the Tang dynasty in the Tianbao era (742-755); see Acker 1954, 166, footnote 7.
- 18 The name of one of the eight steeds owned by King Mu (r. 976-922 BC or 956-918 BC) of the Zhou dynasty (c. 1046-256 BC). Later this term is used to refer to a red steed.
- 19 The name of a favorite charger of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty.
- 20 According to the legend, Laozi 老子 (c. 6th-5th century BC) crossed the desert heading towards the west to convert the barbarians and became immortal.
- 21 Li Mi 李密 (582-619) was a general in the Sui dynasty (581-618). He studied diligently, so he seized every possible time to read; even when he rode on an ox to visit a friend, he balanced books on its horns to study.
- 22 牧林特立圖
唐代開元想幹流，驪駒應召軒軒：汗血、照夜落筆驚喧。尾鬣抖擻生寒，怕嘶聲欲發，驍騰狀，躍出天垣。到而今，千金難購一幅真韓。
不才宗正法，幕骨角、毛羽、人物、山原。物奪生情，人傳妙態，若然特立驪驂。逗詞林、畫藪齊鼓掌。家學淵源，笑無端偶然遊戲，品作奇觀。
右調春從天上來，興餘覺紀一絕：悞躡流沙浪說仙，挂書角上也徒然。何如閒牧青山畔，特立春風三月天。吳趨韓懷德畫並題
A German translation of the inscription is provided by Walter Fuchs; however, he misplaced the periods and the commas in some sentences and caused mistranslations in certain parts. See Fuchs 1966, 73-75.
- 23 The English translation of Jiang's commentary is by Michael Sullivan; see Sullivan 1973, 48.
- 24 Harrist 1997, 78-79.
- 25 Cai 2006, 640; Cat. Shanghai etc. 2002, 104-105.
- 26 For the research of the circulation of cultural knowledge and the use of household encyclopedias, see C.H. Wang 2003.
- 27 C.L. Wang 2008, 188.
- 28 The copperplate of the image of the Holy Mother and Son was made in Nagasaki, Japan; it was based on the image of *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua* in Seville, Spain. For the visual objects brought by Matteo Ricci, see Chen 2010. For research of the ink-stick catalog *Ink garden of the Cheng family*, see Lin 1998.
- 29 Bailey 2005, 340-341.
- 30 For research of the Jesuits' strategy at different times, see Brockey 2007.
- 31 The literati were a privileged class in ancient China. A deep knowledge of Confucius's classic works helped them succeed in the imperial examinations for the civil service. During their leisure time, the literati indulged in poetry, painting and calligraphy.
- 32 In Chinese painting connoisseurship, viewers often write down their commentary on the blank part of a painting as colophons; thus, often when a painting is mounted, a blank sheet of paper is added above or under the painting (in vertical hanging scroll format), in front or after the painting (in horizontal hand-scroll format); or across page (in album format).
- 33 For discourse of Chinese literati painting, see Bush 1971.
- 34 Goepper 1959, 11-12; Butz 1996, 30; Lust 1996, 49. For the Suzhou prints in the British Museum collection, see Von Spee 2009.
- 35 For the Leeuwarden Lacquer Room, see De Haan 2009.
- 36 Van Campen 2009, 139-140.
- 37 De Kesel & Dhondt 2002, 9-29.
- 38 Collecting Coromandel lacquer pieces, especially using Coromandel lacquer panels to decorate the wall was fashionable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in European courts. For instance, in the Berliner Schloss was also a Coromandel lacquer cabinet. These Coromandel lacquer wares served also as an inspiration source for the European lacquer craftsmen. See: Kopplin 2015, 31-45.
- 39 Anonymous, *Panel Screen Depicting Dutchmen in a Hunting Scene*, ca. 1685-1700, Coromandel lacquer, 321 x 624 cm, Rijksmuseum. Inv.-Nr.: BK1959-99.
- 40 Fontein 1959; Van Campen 2009, 145.
- 41 C.H. Wang 2014, 447-448.
- 42 For an overview of Chinoiserie in Europe, see Honour 1961, Impey 1977, Jarry 1981, Jacobson 1993 and Morena 2009, esp. ch. 2, 64-107.
- 43 Bischoff & Hennings 2009, 73.
- 44 For the impact of *Schulz-Codex* on Meissen porcelain, see Rudi 2010.
- 45 Morena 2009, 73.
- 46 For the inventory documentation of Chinese prints in Dresden, I am indebted to Cordula Bischoff, curator at the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, for kindly showing me her proposal for a research project, 'Early Asiatic works and Chinoiseries at the Saxon Court', in September 2013. For the collection of Chinese prints at the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden, see Holler 1995, Butz 1996 and Lust 1996, 16.
- 47 Butz 1996, 41, and Wappenschmidt 1989, 37-41, although Wappenschmidt falsely identifies those woodcut prints as being produced in Guangdong.
- 48 For the discussion of the reception of the so-called Jesuit porcelain in Europe, see Howard & Ayers 1978, 306-307.

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