



China Back in the Frame

An Early Set of Three Chinese Export Harbour Views in the Rijksmuseum

• ROSALIEN VAN DER POEL •

*‘A painting is a silent story, and the story a speaking painting’**

For centuries the Chinese harbours and anchorages in the Pearl River Delta – important focal points where knowledge and ideas were shared – were crucial to transcontinental trade. They were the only places in China open to Europeans, so it is not surprising that views of these harbours were popular souvenirs for western merchants – particularly those featuring the quays with the flags and buildings of the western trading posts, or factories.

Between 1752 and 1842 all foreign trade to and from China, with the exception of that from Russia and Japan, was concentrated in Canton, present-day Guangzhou.¹ From 1760 the rules that forbade access to China outside Canton were observed more strictly, so the western factories in Canton increasingly became the symbol of the ‘China trade’ and regularly appeared as motifs on export works of art in various materials, among them large porcelain ‘Hong’ bowls from the early 1760s (fig. 1).²

In future, three early and well-documented harbour scenes will be part of the Rijksmuseum’s permanent display. The three export oil paintings, *View of Macao*, *View of Whampoa Roads*

Detail of fig. 6

and *View of Canton Quay*, come from the collection of the Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde in Leiden, and have been transferred to Amsterdam on loan. Originally part of the collection of Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807), an amateur Sinologist from The Hague, they have been in museums since 1814 thanks to a bequest from his widow.³ Thorough conservation carried out in 2010-12 has restored the paintings to their former glory.⁴

With their exquisite detail, the harbour scenes provide a wealth of information about these locations, which were so meaningful to westerners. It is well worth while scrutinizing them closely to discover the role they played in the lives of the European travellers to China.

Fig. 1
Hong Bowl with a View of the English and Dutch Factories in Canton, China, c. 1769.
Salem (MA), Peabody Essex Museum, inv. no. 81404.
Photo: Dennis Helmar.







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Fig. 2

ANONYMOUS,
View of Macao,
 China, 1773.
 Oil on paper, laid
 down on canvas,
 52 x 76 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. SK-C-1722;
 on loan from the
 Rijksmuseum
 Volkenkunde,
 restoration with
 the support of Irma
 Theodora Fonds/
 Rijksmuseum Fonds.

View of Macao (fig. 2)

The port of Macao, a Portuguese possession from 1557 to 1999, is situated around 115 kilometres from Canton (fig. 3). When western merchants arrived in the Pearl River Delta, Macao was an obligatory first stop on the way to their trading posts in Canton. They had to apply for trading permits here, and find local pilots who could lead them to Bocca Tigris, the narrow passage in the river delta, where there was a second compulsory stop at the customs post. From February to July, outside the trading season, Macao was also a temporary home to many western merchants who did not make the long voyage home after the 'China trade' had ended. Many of their wives and children often spent the whole year in Macao as they were forbidden to show themselves in Canton.⁵

The town in the centre of this picture, viewed from Penha Hill, is home to a number of churches and monasteries, large and small, with western architecture – some with

domes and some without; some with austere façades, some lavishly ornamented (fig. 4). Familiar landmarks can be seen in the centre: the façade of St Paul's Church at the foot of Monte Forte (right of centre), the baroque church of St Domingo and the church of St Lorenzo – without the two square towers, which were not added until 1846.⁶ In the inner harbour to the west of the town there are ocean-going vessels lying at anchor with raised masts, probably there to arrange their transit papers. To the east of the town lies the Praia Grande, the elongated crescent-shaped sandy bay bordered by western-style houses and warehouses. On the hill to the north of the bay on the right stands Fort Guia. It is marked unmistakably by its fluttering eighteenth-century Portuguese flag adorned with the *escudo*, the traditional Portuguese coat of arms. At the foot of this hill is the monastery fort of San Francisco. In the distance we can see an isthmus that leads to the Chinese mainland. In the foreground of the painting there are a number of people including a westerner with a flock of sheep. Westerners often took these animals, along with cows, pigs, fruit, vegetables and cereals, as food for the long ocean voyage home.

Fig. 3
 Map of the Pearl
 River Delta.



View of Whampoa Roads (fig. 5)

The island of Whampoa is situated around a hundred kilometres to the north of Macao and fifteen kilometres south of Canton. The large western ocean-going vessels bound for Canton lay at anchor in a specially built anchorage off this island for several months every year. The flags on the sterns are good distinguishing marks to determine where the ships came from. Eight English, two Danish, one Swedish, two French (white flag) and four Dutch vessels lie at anchor with hoisted topmasts and standards flying. Other standards indicate that there are three more ships behind the hill with



Fig. 4
Detail of *View of
Macao* with the town
centre (fig. 2).

the graves. From left to right a Dutch, a Swedish and a Danish flag show just above the hill. All the vessels have their mainmasts lowered. These were struck so that the ships that lay there at anchor for months could not sail away without notice. All commodities were shipped from Whampoa to Canton and vice versa in river junks or in *chop* boats. These boats were named after the *chop*, an official stamp which indicated that the cargo had been cleared through Customs.⁷ There is a small Chinese rowing boat, a *sampan*, on each side of the merchantmen. The crew members who remained with the vessels could use them to reach their accommodation on the bank.

In mid-river lies the island of Whampoa with a strip of sand, grass and trees. On this island the proud, nine-storey Pazhou Pagoda towers above the trees, and a smaller pagoda that no longer exists can also be seen. In the centre on the strip of sand we can see the simple quarters with flags flying on the flagpoles in front of the buildings. Until 1840 there were temporary storehouses and warehouses there,

which were then increasingly replaced by permanent brick buildings.⁸ Further away we can also see the French island and Danes Island, which were used as cemeteries for westerners.⁹ Hills and rocky islands are visible in the distance on the horizon. The Pearl River flows from the left of the Pazhou Pagoda upstream to the north towards the mainland of Canton.

View of the Quay of Canton (fig. 6)

In the trading season the western trading companies rented two- or three-storey mercantile houses and places of residence as their trading posts, which were also known as factories or *hongs*.¹⁰ They were built on a special quay beside the Pearl River outside the high walls that surrounded Canton. The Chinese authorities kept a close watch on the westerners to ensure that they only stayed in and around their *hongs* and did not go into the town. The foreign merchants were allowed to do business by way of the *Co-hong*, a kind of Chinese state guild in tea, silk or porcelain.¹¹ The *Co-hong*

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Fig. 5
ANONYMOUS,
*View of Whampoa
Roads, China, 1773*.
Oil on paper, laid
down on canvas,
52 x 76 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-C-1723;
on loan from the
Rijksmuseum
Volkenkunde,
restoration with
the support of Irma
Theodora Fonds/
Rijksmuseum Fonds.









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Fig. 6

ANONYMOUS,
View of Canton Quay, China, 1773.
Oil on paper, laid down
on canvas, 52 x 76 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-C-1724;
on loan from the
Rijksmuseum Volken-
kunde, restoration
with the support of
Irma Theodora Fonds/
Rijksmuseum Fonds.

Fig. 7

Detail of *View of
Canton Quay* (fig. 6).



had the monopoly to trade in these products and in its turn was responsible for the collection of taxes, the renting of the factories and the monitoring of the westerners. The trading season usually lasted less than six months, from August to January. Western ships wanted to be on the return voyage to Europe well before the monsoon winds in February changed direction. Those who remained in China in the months when no business was done usually visited their families in Macao.

This painting shows the Pearl River with various boats and the quay with seventeen western and Chinese hong.

The western trading posts are easily identified by the flags outlined against the empty sky. To their left flies a pale flag with Chinese characters, which marks the location of a Customs post. To the east (right) of the non-western district – clearly divided by a high wall – from left to right we can see the Danish flag, the white flag of the French royal house and the Swedish, English and Dutch flags (fig. 7). To the right of the Dutch flag we can just see the Creek factory, which was named after the adjacent river, 'The Creek', which ran parallel to the west wall of Canton. To the right of the Creek there is a hong on wooden piles.

On the left of the French trading post is a gate which led to New China Street, where there were countless workshops and shops, as there were in Old China Street and Hog Lane (immediately to the left of the English factory). This was where western traders privately purchased their souvenirs and merchandise. There are a number of figures on the quay. The Europeans are recognizable by their hats and their long overcoats. Most of



the Chinese carry goods on a yoke across their shoulders. Lying side by side at the quay are small cargo vessels, which generally sold all manner of things, from timber (planks), stone slabs and coal to rice, oysters, vegetables and fruit.

In the foreground on the right and in the centre of the composition there are colourful Chinese sea-going merchantmen. On both gangways of these vessels there was a painted eye that stared forward. This practice was prompted by the superstition that this would allow the ship to look ahead and avoid danger.¹² These ships were mainly used for the transport of goods and of sundry products to the various provinces and ports of the Chinese empire, and were called 'red-headed ships' or 'big-eyed cocks'.¹³ In the centre is a *chop* boat under sail. In the foreground of the picture, right of centre, there are two rice barges lying at anchor.¹⁴

Genre with Four Scenes

The three paintings have identical frames and are therefore clearly a group.

Sets like this are far from uncommon, chiefly dating from the early nineteenth century, and are usually made up of four paintings – the three discussed here and one of *Bocca Tigris*. The fact that the set now being shown in the Rijksmuseum consists of only three paintings suggests that the view of *Bocca Tigris* may have been lost, but it may also have to do with its early date. It is possible that at the time these paintings were made the set was still in development and had not yet crystallized into the standard set of four.

These harbour scenes, which by the way they were framed and the low horizon, deliberately imitate the look of a European painting, stem from the panoramic scroll paintings of the landscape of the Pearl River (fig. 8).¹⁵ All four of the scenes are there, linked together. The form of these paintings – a horizontal scroll painting on silk – is still Chinese, but here, too, the low horizon has already been adapted to European pictorial conventions. These long scrolls, which were first made around the 1760s, were in turn based on horizontal scroll paintings of the

Fig. 8
ANONYMOUS,
View of the Pearl River and Canton, China, 1771.
Watercolour on silk, 95 x 368 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-1052. There are only Chinese ships to be seen on this panoramic painting. The western vessels lie at anchor off Whampoa.



same subject, entirely in Chinese style and technique and made for a Chinese clientele. The oil paintings of Canton and its surroundings in European style thus became a genre in a short period of time, inspired in part by a familiar Chinese tradition.

Dating

A number of elements in the paintings allow us to date them accurately. The flags on the ships near Whampoa, on the churches in Macao and in front of the trading posts in Canton, the architectural features of the buildings depicted and the number of vessels are all important pointers.¹⁶ The view of Canton can consequently be dated to 1773 with great certainty. Details of the architecture make it possible to pin this down. We know, for example, that the wall to the left of the Danish factory was built in 1772-73.¹⁷ This means that the painting is later than this, but it must have been made before 1774, as the Dutch trading post still has a short open balcony on the first floor. In the spring of 1774 the balcony was replaced with a covered porch. The flags date the paintings precisely. They were flown when the Europeans were in their trading posts. The Dutch – the last of the Europeans – arrived on 12 August 1773, and on 16 February 1774 the Danes were the first to move from Canton to Macao.¹⁸ The painting, with both the Dutch and the Danish flags, shows the situation between those two dates.

The view of Whampoa also corresponds to the situation in the 1773-74 trading season. In the spring of 1773 four Dutch East Indiamen arrived at Canton – the *Holland* and the *Voorberg* from Amsterdam, the *Europa* from Zeeland, and the *Jonge Hellingman* from Rotterdam. The latter took the place of the *Juno* from Batavia.¹⁹ There are indeed four Dutch ships shown in the painting of Whampoa.

Stylistic and Compositional Aspects

It is clear that the Chinese painter tried to make 'European' paintings. He would have had European examples to hand to assist him. There were western engravings in the Cantonese studios that gave a general sense of a landscape in European style. In the palette and atmospheric perspective, however, the painting of Macao is so similar to views of the Bay of Naples – particularly popular with the English at that time – that it is safe to assume that the Chinese painter did not have to make do with prints and sketches, but had seen an Italian painting of this kind.²⁰ It is quite possible that such paintings adorned the wall in the English captain's cabin, or the residence of the English company's senior officials.

One important European aspect that the Chinese painters of these and comparable views had to master was perspective. They seem to have adapted this in a rather singular way. In the view of Canton, the artist used the worm's eye view – the horizon is low, immediately above the bottom edge of the picture. The scene is rendered with central perspective from a low standpoint. In the view of Macao an attempt was made to employ a bird's-eye view. This is not entirely successful; for example, the horizon should be high. In the centre the viewer does indeed look down, and as a result the subject is easily visible. The dark foreground in the depictions of Macao and Whampoa reinforces the perspectival image, as do the vessels by the quay of Canton, carefully placed in the composition. The vast sky in the paintings displays little depth and minimal drawing.

It is obvious that the painter did not adopt strict linear perspective. But was this through ignorance and lack of skill or a difference in opinions about aesthetics? The Chinese painter seems to have viewed the implications of the use of linear perspective with vanish-

ing points as a problem. The advantage of ignoring these rules was that he had to sacrifice far fewer details. This blend of western and Chinese traditions often gives export paintings a strange, mysterious, disjointed, but certainly also a fascinating atmosphere.

If we compare different views of Canton's quay, we see that compositions from a particular period appear broadly identical. In many respects the placement of the buildings and the boats are the same. However, closer study reveals that the details (flags, windows, doors, columns) differ. It seems that a stencil was used for the rough outline of the buildings and the position of the boats, and then Chinese painters meticulously added the details to make the scene as topical as possible. This painstaking accuracy was essential to the painter's commercial success. The harbour views were purchased as a memento of a westerner's stay in China, and only very true-to-life paintings would sell. In that respect these maritime paintings differed from other export paintings, where the painters split the work according to a strict regime and turned out the paintings on a kind of production line. Sharing the work like this meant that painting itself had little to do with creativity. The high turnover and the thought given to increasing the speed of production were in fact the most creative aspects.²¹ These paintings, after all, had to be made during the trading season. All export paintings were first and foremost commodities that had to be sold at the best price. The requirements for harbour scenes, however, differed from those for ordinary export paintings.

The Working Methods of Export Painters in Canton

We know little about Chinese export painters' workshops in the eighteenth century. There are observations made by nineteenth-century western visitors to Canton in existence, but the extent

to which they adequately describe the situation in the eighteenth century is unclear.²²

It was on the spot in the workshops that Chinese export painters passed on painting conventions and the new western ways of working. There was no question of institutionalized training – you learned as you went along. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (1780-1830) pictures were painted primarily on imported European paper. This paper came from paper merchants like the London firms of J. Whatman and A. Cowan & Son and from the Dutch paper manufacturer Van Gelder.²³ Later on, Chinese paper (*mianlin zhi*) made from cotton or from the mulberry plant was also used. The three harbour views are painted on rice paper or *mitsumata*, which was pasted on to the canvas, a combination of cotton and jute. Both paper and canvas are tensioned over the edges of the stretcher. The painters' decision to mount paper on canvas and work on that, rather than directly on the canvas itself, tells us that knowledge and understanding of European painting were still at a very early stage. No paintings on similar supports have been found in the literature or in an extensive inventory of Chinese export paintings in the Netherlands.²⁴

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century export paintings have clearly recognizable Chinese strainers.²⁵ They are made of four sections of thin wood, held together at the corners with two or four thin bamboo pegs, a type known as a fixed-corner strainer. European stretchers of the same period had corner pieces that fitted together and wedges that made it possible to extend the device and stretch the canvas. These cheap, easily-produced fixed-corner strainers were used for the majority of export paintings for more than a hundred years, until well into the nineteenth century. The frames of the three harbour views have typical

Chinese mortise and tenon joints. In some places the strainers are fixed to the frames with small original nails (fig. 9). During conservation, the restorers discovered a layer of paper on the wooden frame, to which a black lacquer finishing coat had been applied, decorated with a gilded edge.

The three harbour views are painted in oils. Oil paint was never used in traditional Chinese painting; artists continued to use the water-based media they had worked with for generations.²⁶ Although the Italian missionary and painter Giovanni Battista Gherardini (1655-1723) introduced oil paint to the imperial court in 1699, it never became popular away from the court.²⁷ Even when it was widely used in Canton for export paintings, there was no market for oil paintings for local buyers. The thinly-applied paint on the three harbour views is mixed with very little oil and this gives it a gouache-like effect. On top of the bottommost ground, there is another brownish priming layer,

on which two more (in one case three) layers of ground and a top layer of oil paint can be identified. The elements in the composition stand side by side; virtually nothing was painted on top of anything else. Where the paint was put on more thickly in one or two places, drying has caused cracking. The medium in the oil paint is linseed oil. One of the samples also shows traces of paraffin wax. During the analysis of the pigments in the oil paint, lead white and chalk were found in the priming coats, and lead white, Prussian blue and King's yellow in the top layers. Red pigments seem to have disappeared. The palette can be described as restrained – earth pigments mixed with never more than two colours.

The painting is so delicate that some details can only be seen with a magnifying glass. An underdrawing in a water-colour medium, probably applied with a brush, was discovered in infra-red photographs. Changes relative to the underdrawing were made in the final

Fig. 9

The back of the strainer, with original nails affixed to the frame.





painting (fig. 10). This indicates that the artist was seeking an accurate composition. This discovery supports the idea that these paintings were not produced *en masse* and as quickly as possible, but that the painter took pains to find the best composition.

The Restoration

An extremely necessary restoration of the harbour views was undertaken between 2010 and 2012.²⁸ The paintings were very dirty and torn in several places. The combination of jute/cotton and paper had led to major problems. Over the years most of the damage was caused by fluctuations in relative humidity, to which paper and canvas react differently, and this had resulted in tears. Cleaning and retouching were not possible around the major areas of damage, so the paper had to be separated from the support in the views of Whampoa and Canton. First of all the paper had to be restored by a paper restorer, lined with Japanese paper and put back on the original support. It was only then that the painting restorer was able to clean and retouch these damaged areas of the paintings (fig. 11).

In 1774 Jean Theodore Royer was sent three harbour views of Canton and the surrounding area. Royer had the most eclectic collection of Chinese objects in the Netherlands at that time. It was a study collection that was designed to provide information about

Figs. 10a, b
Normal photograph (a) and infra-red photograph (b) of *View of Canton Quay*. In the top right hand corner in the infra-red photograph a little boat is visible in the underdrawing, behind the mast.

Fig. 11
Tears in *View of Canton Quay*.



China and its inhabitants. The collection included apparel, writing materials for the literary elite, instruments, utensils and a large group of illustrations of plants, animals and people of different classes and with a variety of occupations, performing various activities. Several of these illustrations had explanations in Chinese characters and in Latin, which was specially added beside the Chinese captions for him in Canton. In keeping with the ideal of Enlightenment at that time, Royer tried to amass reliable, verifiable knowledge about China. He even tried to learn Chinese so as to consult Chinese sources. He wanted his collection of illustrations and objects to provide a benchmark for what was being written and asserted about China. To a considerable extent this can be seen as a reaction to the many publications about the country, which were almost always based on the knowledge of Jesuit missionaries, publications in which this verifiability was lacking.

On his behalf, Royer's high-ranking friends in the Dutch East India Company in China bought the most interesting products they could find in the Cantonese workshops. These harbour views were new and sensational – at first glance they were European paintings with a profusion of details about the lives of the Europeans in Canton. Undoubtedly this was the reason why Royer's

friends acquired them for him, but they were actually not what Royer wanted. He was interested in learning about the 'real' China through his objects and did not care about recording European trading successes. The paintings are not so much interesting illustrations of China or of the European presence there as the remarkable result of a fascinating struggle by a Chinese painter who hoped to find a ready market for his work by incorporating the European pictorial idiom and painting conventions into his own painting tradition.

Royer's serious interest in China made him almost unique in the eighteenth century. It would not be until the middle of the twentieth century that an equally serious interest arose in the objets d'art which were the result of the meeting between China and Europe.²⁹ Royer would have paid the paintings little heed, but his harbour views are eminent examples of the genre.

NOTES

- * 'Eene schilderij is eene stomme geschiedenis, en de geschiedenis eene sprekende schilderij'. Dedication in R.P. van de Kastele, *Handleiding tot de Bezigting van het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden op Mauritshuis, in 's Gravenhage*, The Hague 1824.
- 1 P.A. Van Dyke, 'The Structure of the Canton Trade', in Cai Hongsheng and L. Blussé (eds.), *Sailing to the Pearl River. Dutch Enterprise in South China 1600-2000*, Guangzhou 2004, p. 45.
 - 2 Kee Il Choi Jr., 'Carl Gustav Ekeberg and the Invention of Chinese Export Painting', 153 *The Magazine Antiques*, no. 3, p. 429. Kee Il Choi Jr., 'A Chinese Export Painting as China Trade History', *Orientalism* 34 (2003), pp. 65-68.
 - 3 For more on Royer see J. van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer en zijn verzameling Chinese voorwerpen*, Hilversum 2000; for the later museum history of the objects see R.A.H.D. Effert, *Volkenkundig verzamelen. Het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden en het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum 1816-1883*, Leiden 2003 (diss. Leiden).
 - 4 The restoration by Pauline J. Marchand and Nico Lingbeek is discussed in detail in M. Reuss, "'Made in China". Techniques and Ethics When Approaching the Conservation of Three "China Trade Paintings"', *Journal of the Institute of Conservation* (forthcoming 2014).
 - 5 P. Conner, *The Honqs of Canton. Western Merchants in South China 1700-1900, As Seen in Chinese Export Paintings*, London 2009, p. 12. P. Conner et al., *The China Trade 1600-1860*, Brighton 1986, p. 41.
 - 6 W.R. Sargent et al. (eds.), *Views of the Pearl River Delta: Macau, Canton and Hongkong*, exh. cat. Hong Kong (Hong Kong Museum of Art)/Salem (Peabody Essex Museum) 1996, p. 54.
 - 7 Ching May-bo, 'Boats in Chinese Export Painting', in Ming Wilson and Liu Zhiwei

- (eds.), *Souvenir from Canton: Chinese Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum*, exh. cat. Shanghai (Guangzhou Museum of Art) 2003, p. 52.
- 8 M. Gregory, *A View from the East: Historical Pictures by Chinese and Western Artists 1750-1930*, London 2005, p. 93.
- 9 Conner, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 23-24. P. Conner, 'Port Scenes in the Anthony J. Hardy Collection of China Trade Paintings', *Arts of Asia* 32 (2002), p. 81.
- 10 'Hong' or 'haung' derives from 'hang', the Cantonese word for a business house. A trading post was often made up of buildings with several functions, such as warehouses, offices and accommodation.
- 11 S. Naquin and E.S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven 1987, p. 102.
- 12 W. Alexander and G.H. Mason, *China: beeld van het dagelijks leven in de 18de eeuw*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1988. [Compiled from G.H. Mason, *The Costume of China*, and W. Alexander, *The Costume of China*, 1804, 1805 respectively.]
- 13 Ching, op. cit. (note 7), p. 50. Ships with red prows came from Canton. The ships from the province of Fujian had green prows.
- 14 Ming Wilson and Liu Zhiwei, op. cit. (note 7), p. 197.
- 15 See the painting *View of the Pearl River with Canton, China, 1771*. Watercolour on silk, 95 x 368 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-1052.
- 16 The barriers on the quay, the rise of the land in front, the depiction of the skies, and the type of ships are other indicators that are used by Patrick Conner and Paul A. Van Dyke in their publications for the dating of these paintings: Conner 2009, op. cit. (note 5) and P.A. van Dyke and M. Mok, *Dating the Canton Factories 1760-1822* (forthcoming 2014). With many thanks for the perusal of the manuscript and the opportunity to make use of it for this article.
- 17 Van Dyke and Mok, op. cit. (note 16).
- 18 After the French Revolution (in other words from 1790 onwards) the white flag was replaced with the French tricolour.
- 19 C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, The Hague 1982, pp. 195-201. J.R. Bruijn et al., *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, The Hague 1979 (see also www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS).
- 20 Conner, op. cit. (note 5), p. 15.
- 21 G.H.R. Tillotson, *Fan Kwae Pictures: The Hongkong Bank Art Collection*, London 1987, p. 64.
- 22 C. Toogood Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-7*, vols. 1 and 2 (facsimile of the first print 1838), Shannon 1972, pp. 93-114. Old Nick [E.D. Forgues], *La Chine ouverte. Aventures d'un Fan-Kouei dans le pays de Tsin*, Paris 1845, pp. 56-59. M.C. LaVollée, *Voyage en Chine*, Paris 1853, pp. 358-59. C. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings, and Exotic Curiosities*, Woodbridge 1991, p. 113. Tillotson, op. cit. (note 21), p. 63.
- 23 Crossman, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 177, 386-87. C. Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours*, London 1984, pp. 49, 77.
- 24 R. van der Poel, *Rijk palet. Chinese export-schilderkunst overzee*, Leiden 2008 (doctoral thesis Leiden).
- 25 A.H.K. Bradford, 'Conserving China Trade Paintings', *Arts of Asia* 35 (2005), p. 83.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 27 M. Jourdain and R.S. Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century*, London/New York 1950, p. 34.
- 28 Reuss, op. cit. (note 4). Beforehand research was carried out on paper, fabric, glue and paint. This technical material analysis was carried out by the Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg, in collaboration with the Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed. See R. Hoppenbrouwers et al., *Three China Trading Paintings from the National Museum of Ethnology*, Maastricht 2009 (unpublished research documentation Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg).
- 29 Ming Wilson and Liu Zhiwei, op. cit. (note 7), p. 10.