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“Inhabitants of rustic parts of the world”: John Locke’s collection of drawings and the Dutch Empire in ethnographic types

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses a collection of 26 watercolour drawings which portray ethnographic types from the Americas, Asia, and Africa. These drawings, presently kept at the British Library, were made for John Locke by his servant Sylvester Brounower during Locke’s exile in the Netherlands in the 1680s.

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Introduction

... last weeke put into the hands of Mr Smith a bookseller living at the Princes Armes in Pauls Churchyard 26 Draughts of the inhabitants of severall remote parts of the world espetically the East Indies they are marked thus .2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.14.15.16.17.18.19. 20.21.22.24.25.26.27. 28.29.30. and the names of most of them writ on the backside with my hand, those whose names are not writ if you know them not I will get explaind here. the Brasilian Canibals (of which there are one or two) are easily known, but since there was not the name of the particular nation from which they were taken I would not adde them my self. (John Locke to William Courten, 12 August, 1687 in De Beer 1989, vol. 3, 240)¹

In the summer of 1687, John Locke (1632–1704) corresponded with William Courten (1642–1702, also known as William Charleton) about a set of rarities he would send from the Netherlands to the collector in London. During a significant part of his stay in that country, Locke was in frequent contact with Courten and sought to provide him with books, natural specimens, and all sorts of rarities for his collection. In return, Courten would send books and other items upon Locke’s request. The voluminous correspondence between them, dated from 1677 to 1688, attests to this connection and their shared interest in natural history and the sciences.² In the particular letter quoted above, Locke informs Courten about the shipment of yet another packet of rarities accompanied by a series of twenty-six watercolours depicting indigenous peoples from Brazil, Angola, the Cape of Good Hope, Japan, China, the Indonesian archipelago (Java, Ternate, Amboine, Macassar), Malaysia, and a person labelled as “Tunquinese” (probably referring to the Gulf of Tonkin, an arm of the South China Sea, currently part of Vietnam). These images were made by Locke’s amanuensis, the Swiss Sylvester Brounower (?–1699), who modelled them after different sources during Locke’s time in the Netherlands.

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Eventually, these images would be incorporated into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) upon his inheritance of William Courten's collection in 1702 (Gibson-Wood 1997, 61). In a very illuminating chapter on Sloane's collection of pictures and drawings, to which the Locke series now belongs, Sloan (2012) has argued that this extensive collection reflects Sloane's interest in the manners and customs of peoples of Europe and the world as part of his activities as a natural philosopher. The albums, now divided between the British Museum and the British Library, were put together by Sloane and his librarians based on Sloane's continuing acquisitions of loose prints and drawings, as well as small and large collections of images by a number of different artists, throughout his life. These materials were "constantly being re-organized, catalogued, listed, and identified" (Sloan 2012, 186). This means that the current location and arrangement of the Locke drawings series must be understood in this wider collecting context. In the course of the first half of the eighteenth century, another 51 images would be added to Locke's initial series, comprising the album of ethnographic images that is now housed at the British Library under signature Add MS 5253 as part of Sloane's massive collection. In scholarly literature, the initial set of images commissioned by John Locke is referred to as the "Locke Drawings" (Whitehead and Boeseman 1989, 85; Gallop 1995, 63; van Gelder 1997, 95). For the purposes of this article, and to facilitate understanding, I will use the term *Locke Drawings* to refer specifically to that initial series of images, and *Add MS 5253* to refer to the entire album where the images are now placed.

The Locke drawings have been known to scholars since at least the 1950s, when political scientist Maurice Cranston mentioned them in his biography of John Locke (Cranston 1957, 286–88).³ So far, scholarly attention devoted specifically to the Locke drawings has been rather modest. One of the most significant contributions was done by Whitehead and Boeseman (1989, 86), who have looked at the images of Brazilians and Africans and compared them to those produced by Dutch artist Albert Eckhout (c.1610–1666) – a topic to which this article will return. Other specialists have either dedicated a few sentences or a couple of pages to the description of the album or have used some of its folios as illustrations, assuming their belonging to the Locke series, as well as Brounower's authorship, without further questioning. Dominik Collet (2007, 251–252) has written about Courten's collecting practices, and in this framework studied his correspondence with Locke as well as the drawings. His book, like that of Whitehead and Boeseman, includes reproductions of the images of the Brazilians; Whitehead and Boeseman (1989, 285–287) also include two depictions of West Africans. Talbot (2010, 51–54) mentions the drawings of Sami peoples in the Add MS 5253 album and includes a reproduction of those in her study of Locke and travel literature. Likewise, Annabel T. Gallop deals exclusively with the images of Indonesian peoples, and also reproduces them in her books (Gallop 1994, 16, 124, 1995, 61–63). Historian van Gelder (1997, 95) mentions the Locke drawings in a footnote, as does historian Carey (2006a, 25). In fact, in all cases authors have chosen to analyse only a subgroup of images in the album, separating the different native groups into national categories. However, in the early modern period, depictions of indigenous peoples were produced as part of a wider description of the foreign world that early modern scholars were eager to explore – most of the time, from a distance. The division according to national boundaries is a result of later historical developments and does not do justice to the original contexts in which such materials were produced and used, which were in fact global colonial contexts.

In addition, while John Locke's interest in and use of travel literature has been widely discussed by scholars, the drawings at the British Library have never been acknowledged as part of the philosopher's investment in learning about the customs and habits of non-European peoples.⁴ The relevance of these drawings becomes more evident if we consider the role of travel literature in Locke's writings about the state of nature. Arneil (1996, 23) has pointed out that Locke's perception of the New World derived from his collection of travelogues and his practical involvement with colonial administration. This article will expand the argument to show that the Locke drawings set were part and parcel of Locke's studies of the natural history of the non-European world, and therefore may have helped to inform his ideas on the natural man. While this article will not delve into the historical anthropology and the political philosophy of John Locke, it aims to bring the Locke drawings collection to light by contextualizing their production as a direct consequence of Locke's six-year stay in the Netherlands. As this article will show, Locke's frequent contacts with scholars, artists, travellers, and their accounts of the native peoples encountered in the Dutch commercial and colonial settlements in Asia, Africa, and South America were the direct source of inspiration for this collection of ethnographic images.

This article is divided into three parts. First, by means of a visual analysis of the drawings, it will attempt to reconstruct the original Locke drawings series by identifying which images of the Add MS 5253 album originally belong to Locke, and proposing the order in which they were organized when sent to Courten. Second, it will contextualize the production of these ethnographic images as part of John Locke's stay and travels in the Dutch Republic, relying on primary information retrieved from Locke's diaries as well as secondary literature about the network of scholars and travellers to which he was connected while in the country. In doing so, the article will discuss the possible sources that may have inspired some of the Locke drawings, specifically the Hottentots, Brazilians, Angolans, and the Javanese. Finally, the article will conclude by situating the Locke drawings series alongside two other rare series of drawings of ethnographic types made in the Dutch Republic in the second half of the seventeenth century, namely the albums by Andries Beeckman (1628–1664) and Caspar Schmalkalden (1616–1673). In all cases, the series of images illustrate an attempt to create a set of ethnographic images of the peoples in the Dutch East and West Indies. These rare sets of images have recently been rediscovered in archives and private collections. Their uniqueness lies in the fact that only a handful of such (similar) watercolour ethnographic depictions of the Dutch Empire are presently known, and as such this article will show how the Locke series belongs in this select group of artwork.

Locke's drawings and the album Add MS 5253

At present, the album Add MS 5253 consists of 77 single-page watercolour drawings on heavy paper, measuring ca. 20–30 × 13–20 cm, mounted on album folios measuring 52.2 × 34.8 cm. They depict peoples from Ireland, Scotland, Lapland, North America, South America, Africa, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, and Japan, according to the labels pasted on the bottom part of each drawing. Most pages contain only one drawing pasted centrally. In the final section of the volume, drawings 56–73 are pasted two per folio, and drawings 75–77 are pasted three in one folio. They are scenes from China and

of Tartar men and women. Drawings 74 and 78 are missing from the album. In their respective folios, a small handwritten note by J. P. Gibson, then keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum, indicates they were transferred to the Department of Prints and Drawings, sub-department of Oriental Art, on 20 June 1913; an addition to that note, signed by English scholar Laurence Binyon, indicates they are presently catalogued under “Chinese woodcuts”. This pair of drawings is kept by the Asia Department at the British Museum.⁵

Below 69 of the 77 drawings, there is a handwritten label that names the geographical or ethnic origin of the figure portrayed. All labels are in the same handwriting, noted on strips of paper with red borders. They do not correspond to either Locke’s or Brounower’s handwriting style. These labels can actually be found in most of Sloane’s albums of drawings. According to Kim Sloan, they were part of a consistent attempt made at classifying all images belonging to Sloane, but on certain occasions, the cataloguer “gave up at the end of one of the albums and just pasted the leftovers on the last page” (Sloan 2012, 186). This means that these labels do not always correspond to the intended geographical or ethnic origin of the person depicted in the drawing.

The first internal cover of the album contains a note with information supplied by E.S. de Beer and written down by a librarian. According to E.S. de Beer, folios 26, 27, and 31–56 belonged to the Locke drawings set. That makes a total of 28 drawings. However, according to Locke’s letter, he originally sent a total of 26 drawings to Courten. The watercolours were numbered from 2 to 30, but excluded numbers 12, 13, and 23. The reason why these are missing is unknown. Locke, to our knowledge, never sent a list of captions or explanations for the drawings but, as he informed Courten, wrote the names of most of them on the back of the drawings. Because these are now entirely pasted onto the larger sheets of paper in the album, it is not possible to look at the back of the drawings to find their original descriptions. Locke wrote the numbers of the drawings in black ink on either the lower centre or lower right-hand front side of the drawings, but these can no longer be found on all 26 drawings. Moreover, as mentioned before, the labels on the lower part of the drawings are not originally by Locke, but have been added later. The only drawings we can know for sure were sent by Locke are those of the “Brazilian cannibals” (Figures 1 and 2) as mentioned by Locke in his letter. They are identified as numbers 27 and 28 in the original set, and as numbers 26 and 27 in the present album.

Sylvester Brounower (also spelled Brownover or Brounover), Locke’s servant, was the (amateur) artist responsible for the drawings. In Locke’s own words, this is the reason why the images were not of high quality:

For the excellency of the drawing I will not answer they being don by my boy who hath faithfully enough represented the originals they were copyed from, soe that one may see the habits and complexion of the people which was the main end they were designd for and therefor you must excuse them if they be not excellent peices of painting. (John Locke to William Courten, 12 August, 1687 *in* De Beer 1989, vol. 3, 240)

Milton (1994) reports that Brounower came originally from Switzerland and worked for Locke between November 1674 and the autumn of 1696 as his amanuensis and secretary. So far, however, nothing is known about his artistic training. Besides the Locke drawings series, the only other piece of artwork that has so far been attributed to Brounower is a portrait of Locke, currently kept at the National Portrait Gallery in London.⁶



Figure 1. Sylvester Brounower, *A Brazilian Cannibal*, ca. 1683–1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.26).

By comparing the artistic style of the drawing, the colours employed, the size of the paper upon which the drawings were made, and the presence or lack of Locke's numbering system, a few educated guesses can be made about the initial Locke drawings collection. E.S. de Beer suggested 28 drawings would have been part of Locke's set, and most scholars have since then simply assumed that the attribution is correct. In general, all 28 images can be grouped together as they present the same style of ethnographic depiction: there is one central figure standing on top of a green or yellowish small mound; the figure wears clothes and carries artefacts that indicate their belonging to a specific ethnic group; the legs are spread apart and at least one of the arms is bent. Furthermore, in terms



Figure 2. Sylvester Brounower, *A Brazilian Cannibal*, ca. 1683–1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.27).

of accuracy, all figures are slightly roughly drawn, with the legs somewhat disproportionately thicker than the rest of the body. All of them are drawn on rectangular-cut pieces of paper with more or less the same measurements. I would like to suggest, however, that two of these drawings do not belong in the Locke set.

Image number 38 in the album, labelled “A Prince from the Island Gilolo in the East Indies”, is unlikely to have been part of the Locke series (Figure 3) for two reasons. First, the superior technical qualities of the drawing – the body is in proportion, limbs and muscular groups have more definite and detailed characteristics – suggest it is not from Brounower’s hand. It also differs from the other images in that it is made upon a much larger piece of paper; hence, it is itself a larger image than the others. Second, and more importantly, this image closely resembles a late-seventeenth-century engraving by John Savage



Figure 3. Artist unknown, *A Prince from the Island of Gilolo in the East Indies*. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.38).

of then-famous Prince of Giolo, a native of the Island of Gilolo (or Halmahera) in the Indonesian archipelago, who alongside his mother had been taken as prisoner on board an English ship in the late 1680s (Figure 4) and arrived in England in the early 1690s.⁷ This engraving, however, was only published in 1692, almost a decade after Locke prepared his set of ethnographic drawings, as part of a small booklet about the Prince of Giolo, supposedly “written from his own mouth”, but in fact authored by Orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) (Hyde 1692).⁸

The engraving shows the prince with full-body paintings and a scarf around his waist. He is standing in front of a tropical landscape with his legs bent to the left; left hand on his



Figure 4. John Savage, *Prince Giolo, Son to the King of Moangis or Gilolo: Lying Under the Equator in the Long; of 152 Deg. 30 Min. A Fruitful Island Abounding with Rich Spices and Other Valuable Commodities ...*, c. 1692, engraving, 37.8 × 27.8 cm [National Gallery of Australia, Canberra].

waist and the right arm lifted. The image in the Add MS 5253 album presents a corporal posture in reverse of the original engraving. It is thus likely that the image in the Add MS5253 album was copied from the 1692 booklet either upon Courten's or Sloane's commission. Given the fame of Giolo in London at that time, it is very plausible that Courten or Sloane would have been interested in acquiring a copy of the engraving. This image should therefore be ascribed to Courten's or Sloane's collecting interests rather than to Locke's – and Brounower's – access to the original Savage engraving, which can only have happened after the Locke series had already been sent to Courten.

The second case in point, number 45 in the album and labelled “A Ternatine?” (Figure 5), is not as easily distinguished from the Locke series as the Prince of Giolo. Here, we have the figure of a woman dressed in a long pink skirt and a white shirt, with a blue scarf around her neck. She is gently lifting her skirt with her left hand, showing



Figure 5. Artist unknown, *A Ternatine?* © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.45).

her uncovered ankle, and gazing at the viewer. There are again two reasons to suggest that it does not belong in the Locke series. First, the choice of colours for the body differs from the other images in the series. The pieces of skin that are uncovered – the face, hands, and left ankle – are painted in different colours, in different grades of white (face), grey (hands), and beige (ankle). This variation does not appear in any of the other 26 drawings, which are all thoroughly painted in shades of yellow or brown. Second, in terms of artistic quality, the depiction of the face is very well done, portraying a delicate complexion which may even suggest this is a portrait of a specific individual instead of a general depiction of a female character. The question mark in the label may indicate that the person who bound the Add MS 5253 album together was unsure whether this image actually depicted a native from Ternatine in the first place. This

doubt can be explained by the choice of costume: the white shirt is shorter than the long, V-necked shirts worn by typical female Indonesian or Malay figures (as seen in the Locke series) and looks rather like a European *chemise*. Likewise, the scarf is worn around the neck in a European fashion. Although more in-depth art-historical and comparative analysis would be necessary to prove this point, I would like to tentatively suggest that this drawing may belong in a different series and not in the Locke set.

Conversely, two scenes of life in Lapland – “The manner of the Laplanders living in the Summer” (album number 6) and “The manner of the Laplanders living in the Winter” (album number 7) – should in fact be ascribed to Locke’s collecting practices, but not to Brounower’s making. In the early 1670s, William Allestree, a graduate of Magdalen College at Oxford, travelled to Sweden as part of an English diplomatic mission. There he corresponded with Locke and others, sending them accounts of what he saw in Sweden. By that time, Locke was collecting information on witchcraft and on shamanism. In 1672, Locke corresponded with Allestree asking for specific information on these matters, and Allestree sent Locke two panoramas depicting the ways of life of the Sami.⁹ These two panoramas are now part of the Add MS 5253 album. While they are considered to have been part of the August 1687 gift from Locke to Courten and, moreover, to have been made by the same artist who produced the ethnographic drawings (Talbot 2010, 52), I would like to suggest otherwise. The panoramas are beautiful depictions of life in Lapland that resemble none of the other 26 ethnographic drawings. The figures are drawn in miniature; the detail and carefulness with which faces and hands are depicted do not match the rather rough style of the ethnographic drawings. Perhaps Locke sent the original Lapland panoramas he received from Allestree directly to Courten, so that the ones now in the Add MS 5253 album are the Allestree originals and not Locke’s copies. The scenes of life in Lapland may have later served as models themselves: according to E. de Beers’ handwritten note, copies of these images were published at M. Pitt’s *English Atlas* around 1680 (Pitt 1680–1682).¹⁰

The table below presents the 26 drawings that, according to this examination, were part of the initial gift that Locke sent to Courten in 1687.

Locke n.	Label	Add MS 5253 Album n.
2	An Inhabitant of Java	37
3	A Citizen of China	53
4	An inhabitant of Japan	49
[5?]	A Woman of Japan	50
6	A Ternatine	44
[7?]	A Japonese	51
8	An Hottentott or Inhabitant of Cape of Good Hope	33
9	An Hottentott	34
10	An Hottentott with the Gutts of Sheep wore about their legs for Ornament which they afterwards eat	35
11	A Chinese	54
14	A Tunquinese	48
15	A Chinese Pope	52
16	A Ternatine or Amboinese	43
[17?]	An Inhabitant of Java	36
18	A Malaysese	42
19	An Amboinese	46
20	An Amboinese	47
21	An Inhabitant of Macassar	41
22	A Chinese	55

(Continued)

Continued.

Locke n.	Label	Add MS 5253 Album n.
24	A Tartar	56
25	An Amboinese [Brasilian –Tupi man]	39
26	(no label) [Brasilian – Tupi woman]	40
27	A Brasilian Cannibal	26
28	A Brasilian Cannibal	27
29	An Inhabitant of Angola	31
30	Another Inhabitant of Angola	32

The labels do not always correspond to the visual description of the ethnographic types. For instance, album number 39 (Locke n. 25), “An Amboinese”, is clearly a variation of the Tupi man by Albert Eckhout – an issue to which this article will return. Likewise, according to Annabel Gallop, two pictures purportedly of Japanese women – album numbers 50 and 51, or Locke presumably 5 and 7, –bear Malay or Indonesian characteristics (Gallop 1994, 125).

By following Locke’s numbering system, one gets a tentative view of how the gift to Courten was put together. First, images of inhabitants of China and Japan – or China and Malaysia – according to the correction above (numbers 2–7); three images of Hottentots (numbers 8, 9, 10); a set of Chinese, Malay, and Amboinese peoples (11–24); and finally four Brazilians and two Angolans (25–30). The order of the numbering could indicate the order in which the drawings were made. This ordering would contribute to Whitehead and Boeseman’s hypothesis that Locke collected all images during a period of a year or longer and waited until “the last few days of his fortnight in Amsterdam” in August 1687 to send the gift to Courten (Whitehead and Boeseman 1989, 88). In fact, it is likely that Locke had at least some of the drawings made during his series of travels around the Netherlands in 1684. Let us now turn to the circumstances in which these drawings were produced.

John Locke in the Netherlands

John Locke lived in the Netherlands between 1683 and 1689. During this period, he engaged in long conversations – via correspondence and personal contacts – with collectors, natural historians, medical doctors and humanists, on matters relating to natural history and ethnography. Likewise, he was in close contact with painters and artists active in the Dutch Republic. In fact, Locke’s presence and travels in the Netherlands put him in direct connection with the Dutch colonial presence in the West and East Indies, both through contact with people who had travelled to the Americas, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, and via the books, travel accounts, and visual depictions of the non-European world that circulated in the Dutch Republic during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Locke’s increasing familiarity with the Dutch overseas empire is well exemplified by Locke’s visit to the VOC houses located in main Dutch port cities, where he witnessed this powerful architectural representation of the Dutch colonial enterprise abroad. When travelling in the province of Holland, Locke wrote that “Enkhuisen is almost as big as Hoorn but not so well built. They have each of them a very fair East India House, which looks the most (...) stable of anything in this town” (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.109).

Once in the Netherlands, Locke was quickly welcomed into a circle of learned men, medical doctors, and collectors, with whom he exchanged information on diseases,

treatments, drugs, and techniques. This circle included men like Egbert Veen (1629–1704?), doctor and inspector of the *Collegium Medicum* in Amsterdam, at whose house in Amsterdam Locke spent some time, and his son-in-law, Pieter Guenellon (1650–1722), also a medical doctor who worked for the Admiralty college and taught medicine to the doctors travelling with the Dutch East and West India companies (Degenaar 2001, 5–6, 12; Kooijmans 2004, 190). In this context, Locke was directly exposed to the knowledge about the non-European world collected and discussed by such learned men. In the same manner, Locke came into contact with Paul Hermann (1646–1695), Professor of Botany at Leiden University who had lived for a few years in Ceylon at the service of the Dutch East India Company and who provided Locke with information about tropical plants. Likewise, through his Leiden connections, Locke had the opportunity to visit the collection of the by then deceased Dutch naturalist and microscopist Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680) (Thijssen-Schoute 1967, 95; Degenaar 2001, 6).

Next to his medical notebooks studied by Degenaar (2001), Locke's diaries for the years he lived in the Dutch Republic also contain notes about the people he met and conversed with while in the country. The diaries (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 7 and F 8) include a number of notes about the habits, physical characteristics, and peculiarities of peoples from foreign lands, either transcribed from books Locke read or noted down from conversations he had in the aforementioned scholarly and artistic circles. In this context, a closer look into Locke's activities in the Netherlands, his travels through the country, and the people he met and corresponded with can help to shed light into the possible inspirations for the ethnographic types depicted in his series.

From August to October 1684, Locke undertook a two-month journey through different cities in the Netherlands, from Amsterdam to Alkmaar in Holland, then on to Leeuwarden in Friesland and to Deventer in Overijssel. On the way back, he stopped in Arnhem and Nijmegen in Gelderland, and finally in Utrecht before returning to Amsterdam. Sylvester Brounower accompanied Locke on this journey (Thijssen-Schoute 1967, 94; Degenaar 2001, 6). The reasons for this long trip are unknown, but as C.D. Van Strien has noted, the diaries contain many of Locke's remarks about the Dutch landscape, its countryside, and its peoples (van Strien 1993, 300–301; Thijssen-Schoute 1967). They also contain a few notes regarding Locke's visits to scholars, medical doctors, and other learned men who shared with him information about the natural world, medicines, and peoples encountered by the Dutch in the West and East Indies.

In this sense, one of Locke's most important contacts was with the medical doctor Caspar Sibelius van Goor (1646–1696), who had trained in Leiden, practised medicine in Amsterdam, and by the time of Locke's visit was living in Deventer. Sibelius corresponded with a network of doctors, humanists, and naturalists – especially Dutch ones – who explored the natural features of the East and West Indies. It was in fact through Caspar Sibelius that Locke had access to the writings of Willem Ten Rheyne (1647–1700), a Dutch physician who had worked for the Dutch East India Company in Japan and Batavia (Carey 2006b, 110). On his way to Java, he spent nearly four weeks at the Cape of Good Hope, where he collected information about botany as well as about the native Khoikhoi, then named Hottentot by the Dutch. According to anthropologist Isaac Schapera (1933, 81), Ten Rheyne had the chance to engage in conversation with a few Hottentots who spoke some Dutch. His papers about the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots were published first in Switzerland 1686 and later in England as part of Churchill's

collection of voyages in 1732 – historian Cook (2007, 375–376) suggests John Locke himself translated the book into English.¹¹ According to Daniel Carey, some of the inquiries Sibelius sent to Ten Rheyne may have been questions posed by Locke (Carey 2006b, 110); Locke’s biographer K. Dewhurst furthermore points out that Ten Rheyne sent Locke “... general notes on the customs of the natives” from the East Indies (Dewhurst 1963, 230).

Ten Rhyne’s writings certainly made an impression on Locke, for his diary for 1684 includes about 25 pages containing excerpts from Ten Rheyne’s work (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.177–203). It is in these pages that we find an important indication as to the possible inspirations for the Locke ethnographic drawings. The segments on the Hottentots describe their physical appearance and clothes in a way that matches details of drawings 8 and 9 in Locke’s drawing set: “They cut large holes in their ears and then out sticks of tobacco (...) or which is most in fashionable coral in them”; “They have no other clothing but a Colobium made of one sheep’s skin” (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.181).¹² Drawing number 10 in particular (Figure 6), “a Hottentot with the guts of sheep ...”, in which a woman is carrying a piece of intestine, repeats the stereotypical formula of a Hottentot eating raw cattle bowels, an image popularized in early modern Europe via the De Bry collection of voyages (van Groesen 2008, 180–183). In fact, images of the Hottentots had already been circulating in printed form in Europe since at least the time of De Bry’s publications. Bassani and Tedeschi (1990) have identified two collections of drawings of Hottentots dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, currently kept in Florence and Dresden. They argue that there was a “complex network of related images” (164) of Hottentots spread throughout Europe that could have served as inspiration for one another. The Locke’s drawing set was part of this network of related images.

When visiting Sibelius in 1684, Locke also met two times with a certain Mr Bremen, who had lived in Japan for eight years. So far, little information has been located about the identity and the activities of this Mr Bremen (Carey 2006b, 110). Through Locke’s diary, however, we know that he showed Locke the Japanese way of making tea as well as a pair of Chinese women’s shoes that Locke then described in his diary, adding a small sketch of the shoes: “All the women in the country are very little but not in proportion to their feet which by binding they make thus little” (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.62–63). This passage reveals Locke’s interest in ethnographic details. Mr Bremen likewise showed Locke “the draughts of several people in the East drawn to the life in their usual habits” (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.58–59). These drawings included images of men from Papua and “the Kakerlacks”. For both groups of people, Locke notes down a series of wondrous descriptions: the Papuan have a tail “which was as long as a dears, a little turning up crooked” and the Kakerlack “had a very white skin but [are] dappled all over the body with darker coloured slashes as if he had been scarified”. The credibility of these drawings was an important aspect of the experience: according to Locke, Mr Bremen “had been assured by several credible Hollanders who had seen them, that several of them had such tayles”. As for the Kakerlacks, “He [Mr Bremen] said he himself had seen one of these Kakerlacks at Batavia” (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.63–65). While there are no images of “Kakerlacks” or Papuan peoples in the Locke drawings set, the pictures shown by Mr Bremen may have included other types from the Dutch East Indies that served as inspiration to Brounower for the drawings ns. 16–21, all of which depict inhabitants from the Indonesian and Malay archipelago. This



Figure 6. Sylvester Brounower, *An Hottentott with the Gutts of Sheep ...*, ca. 1683–1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.35).

hypothesis could be confirmed by future scholarly work once more knowledge is gained on the identity of Mr Bremen.

During the winter of 1686, Locke lived in the city of Utrecht at the house of painter Jacob van Gulick (c.1636–1701). Gulick was a still-life painter who specialized in painting fish, occasionally making portraits as well (Willigen and Meijer 2003, 91–92). The Dutch tradition at still-lifes and portraiture, and Locke's familiarity with it, is of great importance in situating the origins of the Locke Drawings series, particularly drawings ns. 25–30, namely the images of Brazilian and Angolan men and women, which are inspired by Dutch (visual)

narratives of the overseas world. They are unequivocally connected to Locke's contact with the visual materials produced by diverse Dutch and German artists during the time of the Dutch colonial rule in Northeastern Brazil (1630–1654) – a contact which may have been facilitated by Locke's connection to the Dutch artistic circle via Jacob van Gulick. Whitehead and Boeseman (1989, 85–86) rightly pointed out that the Locke drawings ns. 25–30 very closely resemble the ethnographic oil paintings by Dutch painter Albert Eckhout.¹³ Eckhout was a court painter to count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679), governor of Dutch Brazil between 1637 and 1644. During that time, Eckhout executed a number of paintings depicting the inhabitants of the colony governed by Johan Maurits, including eight life-sized ethnographic depictions of indigenous Tupi and Tapuia men and women, an African man and an African woman, as well as a mestizo man and a mameluca woman. After his return to the Netherlands in 1644, Johan Maurits did not keep the Eckhout paintings to himself. In 1654, he gave them as a gift to King Frederick III of Denmark. This means essentially that Locke and Brounower could not have seen the original paintings, but rather sketches thereof.

The legacy and the artistic importance of the Eckhout paintings have been the subject of much scholarly inquiry (Brienen 2006), not least because of the existence of at least three collections of drawings that resemble his work in detail. Zacharias Wagener (1614–1668) and Caspar Schmalkalden, both of whom were in Brazil in the late 1630s and early 1640s as employees of the Dutch West India Company, produced sets of drawings that are considered to have been modelled directly after Eckhout's sketches. The third one is a collection of drawings on oil, pencil, and watercolour known as *Libri Picturati* whose authorship has tentatively been attributed to Eckhout himself, George Marcgraf (1610–1644), the count's physician and naturalist, or other artists who may have been in Brazil at the time (Whitehead and Boeseman 1989, 33–43; Brienen 2001; Brienen 2006, 49–54).¹⁴ Locke was certainly familiar with the political and cultural achievements of the Dutch in Brazil – thirty years after the fall of the colony, in 1684, Locke met Christian Marcgraf in Leiden, the brother of Georg Marcgraf (Dewhurst 1963, 227). It is unlikely, however, that Locke and Brounower had the opportunity to see George Marcgraf's drawings at the *Libri Picturati*, since these materials had been given by Johan Maurits as a gift to the Elector of Brandenburg already in 1652 (Françoço 2014).

While Boeseman and Whitehead claim that the Locke Drawings series was modelled after the Eckhout sketches (which Locke and Brounower could have seen either in Amsterdam or in Cleve in 1685/86) (Whitehead and Boeseman 1989, 87–88), these two authors themselves provide a clue to the more likely hypothesis of Zacharias Wagener as the source of Brounower's inspiration. The image of the African woman ("molher negra") by Wagener has a brand mark above her left breast which shows a capital M with a stroke and five vertical lines above it. The Locke drawings version (n.30; Figure 9), titled "Another inhabitant of Angola", shows a brand mark above the woman's left breast, this time a letter W with the line and strokes above it. Eckhout's African woman (Figure 8) does not have such brand marks. The meaning of the letter "M" in Wagener's drawing is unknown; the letter "W" in Locke's, together with the line and strokes, may be a shortened reference to the name of the Dutch West Indian Company (WIC). This visual evidence indicates that, even if Locke and Brounower saw Eckhout's sketches as proposed by Whitehead and Boeseman, they were also familiar with Wagener's drawings. Wagener died in Amsterdam in 1668, and it is not unlikely that his belongings were

kept in the city either by a family member or by a collector before being taken to Dresden by his brother-in-law Christian Bothe, merchant at that city.

Next to Locke's travels and personal visits in the Dutch Republic, his notes about his readings suggest specific literature that inspired some of the drawings in his collection. The Chinese characters, for instance, can derive from Athanasius Kircher's 1667 *China Illustrata*, which Locke briefly mentioned on 5 August 1684 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F 8, f.106).¹⁵ Likewise, in his diary Locke writes about the habits of the people of Madagascar, Java, Siam, Formosa, and Japan as described in *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (Glanius 1682).¹⁶ While there are no images in this small, 12o book, descriptions of the Formosans and Javanese abound, which certainly inspired Locke to include depictions of peoples from the (Dutch) East Indies in his series. Another important source of inspiration was Johan Nieuhof's illustrated *Gedenkwaardige zee en lantheize* (1682). Nieuhof's writings and illustrations were in fact a great source of inspiration for European *chinoiserie* in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly so through the images developed for his books by Jacob Van Meurs (Schmidt 2015a, 2015b). This can be seen in the Add MS 5253 album as well: the 17 drawings of Chinese and Tartar scenes pasted in the album right after the last one of Locke's drawings are clearly inspired by the illustrations in Johan Nieuhof's *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China*, published in London as a translation of the original 1665 Dutch edition (Nieuhof 1669).¹⁷ While Locke's reading notes do not attest to a direct relationship between these books and the drawings series, they however point to the importance of ethnography and travel books as part of Locke's scholarly interests while in the Netherlands. In this sense, and notwithstanding the difficulties in pinning down exact origins for each of the drawings in Locke's series, it is possible to conclude that his presence and travels in the Netherlands and the conversations and contact he had with learned men and artists, there provided the intellectual context as well as the visual and textual material in which his series was inspired.

Collecting the Dutch Empire in ethnographic types

Precisely because of its inspiration in Dutch sources, the 26 images in this rather small collection in fact represent a large portion of the world and portray a picture of the inhabitants of the Dutch colonial empire. The images of the Brazilians, Africans, and Southeast Asian peoples were modelled after an assemblage of visual and textual descriptions that, mostly but not exclusively, had been composed by Dutch hands, in the service of the Dutch East and West India companies. Such are the cases of the images of the Brazilians and Angolans, the Hottentots, and Javanese that can be connected to the works by (respectively) Albert Eckhout, Willem Ten Rheyne, and Johan Nieuhof. Moreover, while in the Netherlands, Locke and Brounower had frequent contact with scholars and travellers who provided them with information about "the inhabitants of rustic parts of the world", that is to say, native peoples from the diverse parts of the world where the Dutch traded during the seventeenth century.

The most compelling example of how the Locke drawings collected and represented the Dutch Empire is drawing n. 6 (album n.44) (Figure 7), labelled "A Ternatine" – in fact, the same label as drawing n.4 (Figure 5), whose belonging to the Locke series this



Figure 7. Sylvester Brounower, *A Ternatine*, ca. 1683–1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.44).

article has questioned. This “second” Ternatine (without a question mark in the label) depicts a woman wearing a long V-necked purple shirt, a long yellow skirt with red prints, with dark skin and long dark hair tied up in a bun. She is facing forward, with her left arm on her waist. She is accompanied by a little boy, and she rests her right hand on his head. The little boy is remarkably similar to the little boy depicted by Albert Eckhout in his portrait of an African woman (Figure 8). In “A Ternatine” (n.6), the boy is naked except for a small garment covering his penis. He is carrying a bird that looks like a parakeet and is offering the bird to the woman. The Locke drawings’ version of the Eckhout painting – drawing n. 30 (album n.32) (Figure 9), “Another inhabitant of Angola” – also includes a little boy offering a bird to the woman, but in this case he also carries a corn cob in his right hand, following Eckhout’s composition with more



Figure 8. Albert Eckhout, *African Woman*, 1641. National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collections, inv. N38A8.

precision. The inclusion of this child in the composition of “A Ternatine” proves that Brounower can only have made this drawing after seeing the Eckhout sketches and/or the Wagener drawings. This shows that the images in the series are related to each other, were made in more or less same period, and were definitely meant to form a coherent group of images – in other words, a set of drawings that would portray the inhabitants of the Dutch East and West Indies.

Despite having been ordered by an Englishman (Locke) for the collection of another Englishman (Courten), the Locke series has more in common with the Dutch production



Figure 9. Sylvester Brounower, *Another Inhabitant of Angola*, ca. 1683–1687. © British Library Board (Add MS 5253 n.32).

of books, maps, prints, texts, and images of the non-European world, than with English representations of the British overseas Empire. In his study of the production of exoticism in early modern Europe, Benjamin Schmidt has pointed out the prominence of the Netherlands as a centre in which exotic images and narratives were produced, sold, exchanged, and consumed at an European market. One of the most eloquent examples of the workings of such market is the case of Dutch painter Frans Post (1612–1680), who produced dozens of “exotic” landscape paintings in the decades after his return from Dutch Brazil in 1644. Benjamin Schmidt convincingly argues that Post’s paintings are Dutch “in terms of their form and production (...) yet hardly in terms of their content and consumption; they were broadly European in their market and meaning”, in the sense that they do

not necessarily depict the Dutch conquest of or presence in Brazil, but rather non-specific images that “reflect the space of the Atlantic world” (Schmidt 2014, 272). It is to this market of images of the non-European world, produced by Dutch hands to an European audience, that the Locke drawings belong.

Schmidt furthermore identifies a “division of labour” in the production of illustrations for books on (exotic) geography that included the author of the narrative, the author of the illustrations, and the printer. The printer would often shop for “fresh (or sometimes not so fresh) manuscript material, an increasingly valuable commodity as the market for geography and travel literature expanded in the second half of the seventeenth century” (Schmidt 2015b, 89). In such a market, sketchbooks with ethnographic illustrations produced by men returning from travels overseas were of great value. In this sense, Locke’s set should be placed alongside two other series of ethnographic drawings that were produced in (or for) the Dutch Republic in the second half of the seventeenth century as part of a deliberate policy of the Dutch East and West Indian companies to have their employees depict, collect, and classify the inhabitants of Dutch colonies abroad.

One of the earliest examples of such a series is the collection of watercolours by the Dutch artist Andries Beeckman, recently rediscovered and studied by Jonker, de Groot, and de Hart (2014). Born in Hasselt, in the East of the Netherlands, Beeckman worked as an artist until the early 1650s, when he enlisted as soldier in the VOC and left for Batavia in 1657. He also travelled to Japan and spent some time in Madagascar and the Cape of Good Hope on his way back to the Netherlands in the late 1650s. Between 1658 and 1664, Beeckman produced at least two series of watercolour drawings depicting peoples of Java, Bali, Timor, Amboine, Malaysia, Ceylon, Malabar, China, Japan, and Africa, in addition to some natural history drawings. A collection kept at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris that had belonged to the Marquis of Paulmy was recently rediscovered and identified as one of two series, whose origins lay in the sketches that Beeckman had made during or after his travels. The second series is an album of 55 watercolours that was sold by Christie’s in Amsterdam in 1998 that included works by Beeckman and other artists depicting peoples from Asia, America, and Africa.¹⁸ A comparison between Beeckman’s and Locke’s series reveals similarities in the choice of ethnicities depicted, but the artistic style of Brounower’s drawings is more refined than that of Beeckman’s. The trajectory of Beeckman’s drawings from their production in the early 1660s until their incorporation in Paulmy’s collection in the late eighteenth century is unknown. If Beeckman’s series indeed remained in Amsterdam with a collector until Locke’s time in the Netherlands, one could speculatively suggest that Brounower modelled some of his drawings after Beeckman’s. While there is no evidence (thus far) to support this hypothesis, the existence of Beeckman’s two series of watercolours, as well as the history and trajectory of their ownership, provides further example of the artistic and cultural context of the Locke drawings series, in which the compilation and consumption of albums of ethnographic illustrations were part and parcel of the Dutch colonial experience abroad and at home.

The second such example of series of ethnographic drawings is the manuscript by the German soldier Caspar Schmalkalden, likely produced during the 1660s in Gotha. Schmalkalden worked for both the Dutch East and West India companies, travelling to Brazil and Chile in 1642–1645 and Java, Japan, and Taiwan in 1646–1652. Upon his return to his native city of Gotha, he was employed by Duke Ernst of Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg

(1601–1675) as curator of the duke’s *Kunstkammer*. In this position, he wrote a manuscript – often called a “diary” – recounting facts about the places he travelled to in the New World and Asia, including pictures of the indigenous inhabitants of these places.¹⁹ The textual parts are largely copied from earlier travel accounts, and historian Collet (2007, 94–130) has revealed that the diary was meant as a sort of guide for the visitors to the duke’s collection – so much so that some of the images include objects that could be found in the duke’s collection. In many ways, the choice of ethnic types portrayed is very similar to Locke’s series both in terms of the ethnicities depicted (Brazilians, Chileans, Hottentots, Javanese, Malay, Chinese, Formosan, and Japanese peoples) and the style of the drawings. There is no evidence, however, that either Locke or Brounower had any contact with Schmalkalden or that his drawings ever left the city of Gotha.

Both Beeckman’s and Schmalkalden’s albums are part of what Roelof van Gelder has properly characterized as a number “of series of drawings that circulated in Europe between 1660–1690” (van Gelder 1997, 94). Other series include the album of drawings by the German VOC-soldier Jörg Franz Müller, now kept at the *Stiftsbibliothek* in Saint Gallen, Switzerland, and a manuscript produced in 1694 by Heinrich Muche and lost after the Second World War (van Gelder 1997, 95, 310). The aforementioned manuscript by Zacharias Wagener can also be understood in this context as a mixture of travel diary and series of illustrations. All of these series feature watercolour depictions of the peoples encountered by traveller-artists who had come in direct contact with the diverse indigenous peoples in the locations and sites targeted by the Dutch colonial enterprise. The aesthetic quality of such drawings varied according to the skills of the artists with an eye for ethnographic detail. While Brounower himself never travelled to the East and West Indies, his drawings in the Locke drawings series should now also be considered as part of this effort to paint a picture of the diversity of the non-European world. However, because of its heavy reliance on the artistic output produced by men who travelled with the VOC and WIC, the picture painted was in fact one of the Dutch colonial world itself.

In the course of time, the Locke drawings set would become what Egmond (2013) has called “a collection within a collection”: merged together in albums with other ethnographic drawings and watercolours belonging first to William Courten’s and subsequently to Hans Sloane’s collections, Brounower’s initial 26 ethnographic images are both the witnesses and the material results of an intense network of scholarly interest in the natural history (broadly conceived) of the New World, Africa, and Asia in the early modern period. Much like the album Add MS 5253 in which they are placed, as well as the entire collection of ethnographic images in Hans Sloane’s albums, these drawings are an outstanding source for understanding the process through which such images of ethnographic types were produced and consumed, and a particularly eloquent example of John Locke’s intellectual and visual engagement with the non-European world.

Conclusion

It is thus far unclear whether or not Courten commissioned Locke to create this series of images. In their correspondence, Courten often ordered particular objects and samples of natural specimens to be bought in the Dutch Republic, sometimes referring specifically to how much he would pay for them or in whose collection they could be found. The first

reference to the drawings is a letter dated 12 April 1687, in which Courten thanks Locke “for your designed kindness as to the draughts of the several East Indian habits”, adding that he would soon send Locke “a catalogue of such Curiosities as I want” (De Beer 1989, vol. 3, 171–178). Although very much prized, the drawings were not the essential reason for their correspondence, but rather one part of a longer chain of exchanges in books and natural specimens between the two men. Some of the items Courten insisted on acquiring were, for instance, “the branch of the cinnamon tree”, the “branch of the nutmeg tree with the fruit on”, “the great Phalangium spider, and the Tarantula of the Kingdom of Naples” (De Beer 1989, vol. 3, 17, 32). Likewise, in a letter dated 24 March 1684, Courten refers specifically to the catalogue of the collection of Jan Swammerdam: “In Swammerdams collection (a catalogue of which I have seen) there are severall things that I have already, so that if they be not to be sold a part I shall not think of them (...)” (De Beer 1989, vol. 2, 704). By October 1687, Courten had received Locke’s drawings gift, which he esteemed as “amongst the chiefest rarities of it, not only upon the account of the Donor, but in consideration of the greatness of their curiosity” (De Beer 1989, vol. 3, 283). He placed it in his collection, but unfortunately there is no account of these specific drawings having been seen by any of the visitors to Courten’s residence at Middle Temple.²⁰ Upon Courten’s death in 1702, his entire collection was bequeathed to Sir Hans Sloane.

John Locke’s copious correspondence proves that he was in close contact with a number of collectors and travellers throughout his life, and that exchanging rarities, natural specimens as well as information on the non-European world formed a central part of his intellectual activities. The Dutch Republic played a central role in this effort. By the seventeenth century, it was one of the main hubs in the international exchange of goods and knowledge about the overseas world (Dupré and Lüthy 2011). In addition to Locke and Courten, Hans Sloane himself also owed much of his collection to his connections in the Dutch Republic. As Erik Jorink has shown, there was an intense “circulation of objects, books, manuscripts, images and letters between London and the Republic” (2012, 57, 69).

In this context, the Locke Drawings series provides further example of this connection between scholars and collectors in London and the Dutch Republic, as well as of their intense correspondence and detailed trading in collectibles.²¹ Moreover, when contextualized next to other contemporaneous albums of ethnographic illustrations – such as Beeckman’s, Schmalkalden’s, Wagener’s, among others – which were produced mainly as part of the Dutch colonial enterprise abroad, the Locke drawings series reinforces the centrality of the Netherlands in the project of describing, picturing, and collecting the non-European world during the early modern period. When assembling his gift to Courten, John Locke may not have intended to produce such a particular image of the inhabitants of the Dutch Empire. Nonetheless, as this article has argued, it is precisely the reliance and inspiration on Dutch visual sources that make those 26 images stand out in the album Add MS 5253: taken together, they illustrate part of the ethnic diversity of the Dutch colonial world.

Notes

1. In this article, I have chosen to keep the names of ethnic groups as described by these seventeenth-century sources, such as Hottentot, instead of the more accepted Khoikhoi, *Tapuia* as a

- generic term for Gê-speaking indigenous peoples in Brazil, etc. While I fully acknowledge the problematic colonial legacy embedded in such terms, for the purposes of this historical-anthropological analysis, it is important to keep the discussion as close as possible to the terms of the original sources that ultimately helped to shape the nomenclature and classification of indigenous peoples as they became known in the historical record.
2. Locke and Courten had met in Lyon in 1675. For more on their relationship and their correspondence, as well as on Courten's collecting activities, see Collet (2007, 209–266) and Kusukawa (2016). On Courten's collection itself, see Gibson-Wood (1997).
 3. Cranston mentions the exchange of letters between John Locke and William Courten, quoting long passages that concern the drawings. However, there is no specific analysis of the drawings or reproductions.
 4. For an overview of Locke's library holdings, Harrison and Laslet (1965) and Talbot (2007). For different analysis of the influence of travel literature on Locke's philosophy, see Arneil (1996, 21–44), Carey (2006a), Talbot (2010), and Connolly (2013).
 5. The drawings can be found under inventory numbers 1913,0620,0.1 and 1913,0620,0.2. Both drawings depict a "Quarrel over a game". This subject matter suggests they were not part of the original Locke series, which did not include group scenes but rather ethnographic figures in a portrait-like depiction; moreover, the artistic style is completely different from Brounower's style. I would like to thank Kim Sloan and Mary Ginsberg of the British Museum for assisting me in locating these drawings, as they are not part of the reference catalogue by L. Binyon (1916) on the Japanese and Chinese woodcuts at the British Museum.
 6. For a digital copy of the portrait, see the NPG database: <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw03963/John-Locke?LinkID=mp06732&role=art&rNo=0> [last accessed 13 October 2015].
 7. This resemblance was first mentioned by Annabel T. Gallop. However, she does not question the attribution to Brounower. See Gallop (1995, 63). Giolo was displayed to the public in London as a curiosity, especially because of the tattoos on his body. According to the few studies on the matter, he died of smallpox in Oxford in 1692. For a critical examination of the multiple ways in which Giolo was portrayed and narrated in early modern literature and print, as well as for the circumstances of his life and death in England, see Barnes (2006). William Dampier's encounter with the Prince of Giolo as a slave is recounted in a popular biography of William Dampier (Preston and Preston 2004, 286–299).
 8. The booklet narrates Giolo's supposed account of his own life, as told by him to "a Dutch Merchant" who could communicate with him in "the language of the Celebeans" (Hyde 1692, 1).
 9. On Willem Allestree's activities in Sweden, as well as his correspondence with Locke, see Talbot (2010, 49–52).
 10. Locke made a note taken from this atlas in his diary for May 17, 1683 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Locke F7, f.100).
 11. For Ten Rheyne's work, see Ten Rheyne (1686, 1732). See also den Besten (2007).
 12. These excerpts replicate with accuracy Ten Rheyne's writings that were later published in printed format. See Schapera (1933, 115–117).
 13. On Eckhout's life and work, see Brienen (2006).
 14. For fac-similar editions of these albums of drawings, see respectively Wagener (1997), Schmalkalden (1998), *Theatrum* (1993), and *Libri Principis* (1995). Wagener's diary is called the Thierbuch due to the zoological drawings it contains, and is now kept at the Kupferstich-Kabinet in Dresden. Schmalkalden's manuscript is located at the Gotha Forschungsbibliothek in Gotha, Germany. The Libri Picturati collection is kept at the Jagellion Library in Krakow, Poland.
 15. Locke is referring to Kircher (1667), *China monumentis ... illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667).
 16. This book is a translation of Jan Janszoon Strauss' first travel account – Glanius seems to have been the pseudonym of the translator (Lach and Van Key 1993, 586).
 17. This book contains as an appendix some excerpts and images from Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata*.

18. Auction at Christie's Amsterdam, 9 November 1998, sale 2395, lot 143. For the results of the sale, see Christie's website <http://www.christies.com/Dutch-Flemish-and-German-8716.aspx?saletitle=> [last accessed 22 August 2016]. A third series of 18 watercolours has also been identified as being copied from Beeckman's drawings. They belong to a Dutch family's private collection (de Groot 2014, 21, n.49).
19. For a facsimile reproduction of Schmalkalden's diary, see Schmalkalden (1983).
20. Amongst those who visited Courten and wrote about his collection is writer and scholar John Evelyn (1620–1706), who mentions four different visits in his diary in the years 1686, 1690, 1691, and 1695. On the last three occasions, he could have seen the drawings, but the accounts of the visits are rather vague (De Beer 1955, vol.4, 531–532, vol. 5, 13, 81, 224). Likewise, Ralph Thoresby, antiquarian from Leeds, visited William Courten's collection in 1695, but he was mostly impressed by the coins and medals, and wrote nothing about the drawings (Hunter 1830, 299). According to Sachiko Kusakawa, in fact, there are "no contemporary descriptions of the interior of Courten's collection" (Kusakawa 2016, 5).
21. For more on the history of English–Dutch cultural connections in the seventeenth century, see Jardine (2008).

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