



## **Glimpses of the Unfamiliar World:**

An inquiry into the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at country house Oud-Amelisweerd in Bunnik.



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# 1. Introduction

## Influx of Chinese Goods in the Early Modern Netherlands

The impact of trade by the Dutch East India Company on material culture in early modern Dutch households among different layers of society, has received increasing research interest over the past decade<sup>1</sup>. Previous scholarship has demonstrated how the global connectedness of the early modern Dutch Republic is articulated in the variety of ways in which global goods were imported, imitated and thereby integrated in seventeenth-century Dutch material culture<sup>2</sup>. The intertwining of local and global material culture becomes even more apparent in the production of ceramics in the early modern Netherlands as a substitute for Chinese porcelain, artefacts that became themselves known as typically Dutch<sup>3</sup>. The influence of global goods on local culture is manifested in the particular large amount of Chinese cultural goods that became not only part of the domestic space of both lower and higher income families<sup>4</sup>, but also brought China on the agenda of intellectual debates<sup>5</sup>.

In the mid-eighteenth-century, a new type of Chinese decorative art arrived in the Western world, Chinese pictorial wallpaper. These panoramic wallpapers may have been the most striking form of Chinese visual art represented in the domestic sphere of the Dutch elite around this time. Its presence and value within eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch upper-class interiors however, has occupied only a marginal place in scholarship. Concerning the presence of Chinese wallpaper in

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<sup>1</sup> Thijs Weststeijn, Eric Jorink and Frits Scholten (eds.) 'Netherlandish Art History as/and Global Art History', *NederlandsKunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Karina Corrigan, Jan van Campen and Femke Diercks (eds.) *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.) *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.) *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010); Julie Hochstrasser, *Still life and trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Marsely Kehoe has defined that the seventeenth-century Dutch identity is hybrid at root. According to Anne Gerritsen, seventeenth-century Dutchness is manifested in the early modern appropriation, integration and reinvention of goods with global trajectories in the early modern Netherlands, in a Dutch environment. Marsely L. Kehoe, 'The Nautilus Cup Between Foreign and Domestic in the Dutch Golden Age', *Dutch Crossing*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2011), pp. 275-285, esp. p. 276; Anne Gerritsen, 'Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 29 No.3 (2016), pp. 228-244, esp. p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Hochstrasser, *Still life and trade in the Dutch Golden Age*, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Anne E.C. McCants, 'Asiatic Goods in Migrant and Native-Born Middling Households', in Maxine Berg (ed.) *Goods from the East 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp. 197-215.

<sup>5</sup> Thijs Weststeijn, 'Cultural Reflections on Porcelain in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', in Jan van Campen and Titus M. Eliëns (eds.) *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain in the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), pp. 213-268, esp. pp. 227-229.

Dutch institutional collections, art historian and specialist in the field of Asian export porcelain Christiaan Jörg already noted during his inaugural lecture at the University of Leiden in 1998, that Chinese wallpapers were undeservingly underrepresented within Dutch museums and heritage institutions. It is therefore not surprising that its valuable position within the interior of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch upper-class has generally speaking been overlooked<sup>6</sup>. This research's aim is therefore to shed a light on the place and function of Chinese wallpapers within the domestic space of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch elite, in order to get a glimpse of the social function and meaning of these wallpapers for contemporary owners. The eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at country house Oud-Amelisweerd located in Bunnik close to the city of Utrecht, are taken as an exemplary case study to discuss some aspects of the contemporary appreciation of Chinese wallpapers in the Dutch domestic context. In addition, this research intends to highlight and illustrate that Chinese wallpapers are rooted in the Chinese visual culture through a study of the visual motifs that can be found on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd.

### **‘Oriental’ Walls: Lacquerware, Indian Chintzes and Chinese silks**

Before further exploring the issues involved in this research, let me illustrate a broader picture of the use of costly Asian fabrics and materials as wallcovering in the domestic sphere of the early modern Netherlands. Like Chinese wallpapers, also costly Japanese lacquerware made its mark on the Dutch interior space of the early modern era. In the sixteenth-century, the Portuguese were the first to introduce the European upper-class to Japanese lacquered objects, identifiable by and appreciated for their golden decorative motifs against a black background<sup>7</sup>. From 1610<sup>8</sup> until at least the beginning of the eighteenth-century<sup>9</sup>, exclusive and costly Japanese lacquerware was being imported by the

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<sup>6</sup> Christiaan J.A. Jörg, ‘Wisselwerkingen. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van bijzonder hoogleraar in de Materiële Geschiedenis van de Wisselwerking tussen Azië en Europa aan de Faculteit der Letteren van de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden’, *Universiteit Leiden*, 1998, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Huth, *Lacquer of the West; The History of a Craft and an Industry, 1550-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 1-17.

<sup>8</sup> Theodoor H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘Aanbesteding en Verspreiding van Japans Lakwerk door de Nederlanders in de Zeventiende Eeuw’, in *Jaarverslagen Oudheidkundig Genootschap*, 82-83 (1939-1941) (Amsterdam, 1941), pp. 54-74, esp. p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> It is not precisely clear when the last pieces of Japanese lacquerware were exported from Japan to the Netherlands. The last Dutch document which records a sale of Japanese lacquerware by the Company dates from 1693. However, remaining Japanese documentation shows that the Dutch ordered lacquerware in both 1710 and 1711. See Oliver Impey, ‘Japanese Export Art of the Edo Period and Its Influence on European Art’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1984), pp. 685-697, esp. p. 689.

Dutch Company, but remained like Chinese wallpaper primary restricted to upper-class clientele, who decorated their homes with lacquered coffer, chests and cabinets<sup>10</sup> as visible in Ludolf Backhuysen's *Portrait of Godart Verdion* (1680-1689) (fig. 1), where we find a lacquered cabinet in the background of the painting.

The court of the House of Orange-Nassau fulfilled a special function in the stimulation of the popularity of Asian goods within the Dutch domestic sphere and also set a tone in the dismantling and reincorporation of lacquerware as wallcovering<sup>11</sup>. In 1654, the first lacquer room made of parts of Japanese lacquered chests and coffer, was installed at Huis ten Bosch on request of Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), married to Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange (1584-1647)<sup>12</sup>. Also Mary Stuart II (1650-1702), the wife of Stadholder-King William (1650-1702) commissioned lacquer rooms, not made of Japanese lacquerware but of Chinese coromandel lacquered screens, since these panels were considered more appropriate as wallcovering<sup>13</sup>. A letter of 1685 written by the Dutch poet and secretary of Orange, Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687) to Mary Stuart II, illustrates that the dismantling of lacquer screens was not generally appreciated. Huygens considered the cutting up and separation of Chinese lacquer screens to be an barbarian act of blatant disrespect for Chinese arts and culture<sup>14</sup>. It is important to note that prestigious lacquer rooms were a very exclusive phenomenon, which means that the rooms of Amalia and Mary were truly unique.

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<sup>10</sup> Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, 'The (Ab) Use of Export Lacquer in Europe', *ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees*, Vol. 35 (2000), pp. 27-42; Christiaan J.A. Jörg, 'Japanese Export Lacquer for the Dutch Market', in M. Kuhlental (ed.) *Ostasiatische and europasche Lacktechniken* (Munich: Karl M. Lipp, 2000), pp. 43-46.

<sup>11</sup> Annemarie Klootwijk, 'Curious Japanese black Shaping the identity of Dutch imitation lacquer' in 'Netherlandish Art History as/and Global Art History', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 252-271, esp. pp. 260-661.

<sup>12</sup> Christiaan J.A. Jörg and Oliver Impey, *Japanese Export Lacquer* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), pp. 289-291; C. Willemijn Fock, 'Frederik Hendrik en Amalia's Appartementen: Vorstelijk Vertoon Naast de Triomf van het Porselein', in Peter van der Ploeg en Carola Vermeeren (eds.) *Vorstelijk Verzameld; de Kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia* (exhib. cat., Mauritshuis, The Hague) (The Hague/Zwolle, 1997), pp. 76-86, esp. pp. 83-84; Theodoor H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Stadhouderlijke lakkabinetten', in *Opstellen voor H. van de Waal. Aangeboden Door Leerlingen en Medewerkers 3 Maart 1970* (Amsterdam/Leiden: Scheltema & Holkema, 1970), pp. 164-173.

<sup>13</sup> As set out by Jan van Campen, the term 'coromandel lacquer' is confusing, since the Coromandel Coast where coromandel lacquerware must have been transshipped to English ships is situated in India and not in China, the place where coromandel lacquer was being created. The term coromandel lacquer thus reflects early modern misunderstandings about the geographical origins of Asian goods; Jan van Campen, 'Reduced to a Heap of Monstrous Shivers and Splinters': Some Notes on Coromandel Lacquer in Europe in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (2009), pp. 136-149, esp. pp. 137-138.

<sup>14</sup> For the original text see J.A. Worp (ed.) *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687) (Deel 6)* (The Hague: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1911-1917), p. 456. See also Willemijn van Noord, 'The "Unhappie Ruines" of Princess Mary II's Lacquer Screen: Sir Constantijn Huygens's Plea to Preserve a Chinese Artefact, 1685-1686', in Thijs Weststeijn

Next to costly lacquerware, also richly decorated and colored Indian chintzes – in Dutch called *sitsen*<sup>15</sup> – made their entrance into the Dutch domestic space as bedcovers and hangings<sup>16</sup>. The ‘lying-in’ room in the dolls’ house (1676) of the Dutch art collector Petronella Dunois (1650-1695) (fig. 2) is the earliest surviving example that gives us a glimpse of the use of Indian chintzes as wall and bed hangings in the seventeenth-century Netherlands<sup>17</sup>. Originally, Indian textiles – mainly raw materials such as raw silk and undyed cloth – functioned as a currency for the Company, exchanged for spices. From the 1660s<sup>18</sup> until the nineteenth-century, Indian chintzes were more frequently imported by the Company and remained a popular material in Dutch fashion and interior design. In most cases, these imported costly artefacts didn’t make contemporary life more comfortable in a practical sense, but luxurious objects such as chintzes were goods to flaunt with, by which social distinctions in contemporary society were automatically created<sup>19</sup>.

Another type of luxurious Asian textile that became integrated in the interior of the Dutch elite, was Chinese export silk. Successful auction in 1604 of a cargo of silk products of the captured Portuguese carrack *Santa Maria*, prompted the Company to order Chinese silk<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, the luxurious fabric remained a luxurious rarity in the late-seventeenth and early seventeenth-century Dutch domestic sphere, which was still dominated by European interior fabrics<sup>21</sup>. Chinese silk knew its heyday from the mid-eighteenth-century until the end of the eighteenth-century<sup>22</sup> and was being

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(ed.) *Foreign Devils and Philosophers: Cultural Encounters between the Chinese, the Dutch, and Other Europeans, 1590-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 148-204; Van Campen, 'Reduced to a heap of monstrous shivers and splinters', pp. 138-139.

<sup>15</sup> From the 1650 onwards, the word ‘sits’ is used by the Dutch to describe Indian textiles and thereby replaced the former name ‘Indiaens catoen’, see Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis (ed.) *Sits: Oost-West Relaties in Textiel* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1987), p. 45.

<sup>16</sup> On the presence of Indian chintz in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, see Winnifred de Vos, *Pronck & Prael - Sits in Nederland: Hoe Indiase Sits het Nederlandse Leven Veranderde* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2019); Gieneke Arnolli, *Sits, Katoen in Bloei: Sitsen Uit de Collectie van het Fries Museum* (Zwolle: Uitgeverij Wbooks, 2016).

<sup>17</sup> Melinda Watt, ‘“Whims and Fancies”: Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East’, in Amelia Peck (ed.) *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013) pp. 82-103, pp. 84-91.

<sup>18</sup> According to Gieneke Arnolli, Indian Chintzes were first officially ordered by the Dutch Company in 1664. Winnifred de Vos however, dates the first order back to 1658. De Vos, *Pronck & Prael*, pp. 80-90; Arnolli, *Sits, Katoen in Bloei*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> For an essay on the performative potential of costly artefacts such as Indian chintzes and Chinese porcelain and the various types of flaunting in the early modern Dutch household see Hester C. Dibbits, 'Pronken as Practice. Material Culture in The Netherlands, 1650-1800', in Rengenier C. Rittersma (ed.) *Luxury in the Low Countries. Miscellaneous Reflections on Netherlandish Material Culture, 1500 to the Present* (Brussel: Pharo Publishing, 2010), pp. 137-158.

<sup>20</sup> Sjoukje Colenbrander, *When Weaving Flourished. The Silk Industry in Amsterdam and Haarlem, 1585–1750* (Amsterdam: Aronson concepts, 2013), p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Jan van Campen, 'Twee Chinese beddenspreien in het Rijksmuseum', *Aziatische Kunst*, Vol.40, No. 3 (2010), pp. 17-37, esp. pp. 25-29.

<sup>22</sup> Yin Shi Zheng, ‘Textiel als Chine de Commande’, *Leidschrift*, Vol. 12 (August 1996), pp. 95-109, esp. p. 96.



used in different types of interior decoration, such as bed coverings, bedspreads, wall coverings, curtains and tablecloths<sup>23</sup>. Heeswijk Castle in the village Heeswijk-Dinther, houses a set of late eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century Chinese silk wallcovering with floral motifs, which was installed in the 1890s (fig. 3)<sup>24</sup>. Also the Rijksmuseum houses several fragments of painted Chinese export silk which can be dated to the second half of the eighteenth-century<sup>25</sup>, among which a complete ensemble of 20 lengths of Chinese silk wall covering (fig. 4) which can be dated to around 1775 and originally might have hung in the Chinese room on Kneuterdijk in The Hague, the principal residence of Carel George van Wassenaer Obdam (1733-1800) and his family<sup>26</sup>.

### Chinese Pictures and Prints as Wallcoverings

As touched upon by Chinese wallpaper expert Emile de Bruijn (2017), the use of lacquer screens and Asian fabrics such as Indian chintzes as wallcoverings informed the creation of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper. In addition, following the German Chinese wallpaper expert Friederike Wappenschmidt (1989<sup>27</sup> and 2002<sup>28</sup>) in this regard, De Bruijn has argued that also the use of Chinese pictures and prints as wallcovering inspired the Western demand for Chinese painted papers on wallpaper format in the mid-eighteenth-century<sup>29</sup>, as seen at the Study of the Saltram House in the parish of Plympton, England (fig. 5). With respect to the early modern Netherlands, Chinese pictures and prints do show up in a variety of written sources in the seventeenth-century Low Countries, such as inventory documentation, which indicates that Chinese pictures and prints were

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<sup>23</sup> Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Sleeping in Style: Chinese Embroidery and Other Bed Furnishings 1770-1850', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, Vol. 61, No.2 (2013), pp. 172-197; Christiaan J.A. Jörg, 'Vergane Glorie: Chinese zijden stoffen in het Nederlandse interieur in de achttiende eeuw', in Annemiek Ouwerkerk et al. (eds.) *Het Nederlandse Binnenhuis gaat zich te buiten. Internationale invloeden op de Nederlandse wooncultuur* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2007), pp. 180-207, esp. 186-197.

<sup>24</sup> Loutje den Tex, 'Chinese VOC-Textiel toegepast als onderdeel van achttiende- en negentiende-eeuwse interieurs' in *Jaarboek Textielcommissie Nederland 2008* (Amsterdam, 2010), pp. 44-61.

<sup>25</sup> Object numbers of figural landscape fragments ca.1775-1790: BK-16602-A; BK-16602-B; BK-16602-C. Bird-and-flower silk fragments ca. 1700-1800 : BK-1958-99; BK-1958-99-1; BK-1958-99-2;BK-1958-99-3. Thanks to Jan van Campen for making me aware of these fragments in the collection of the Rijksmuseum.

<sup>26</sup> Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Sleeping in Style', p. 183.

<sup>27</sup> Friederike Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa: Vom Rollbild Zur Bildtapete* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989).

<sup>28</sup> Friederike Wappenschmidt, 'A Friendly Rivalry: Chinese Wallpaper Paintings and Early Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs', in Anna Jolly (ed.) *A Taste for the Exotic: Foreign Influences on Early Eighteenth Century Silk Designs*, , Riggisberger Berichte (Riggisberg: Abegg Stiftung, 2007), pp. 187-196.

<sup>29</sup> Emile de Bruijn, 'The sale and distribution of Chinese wallpapers in Britain and Ireland between the eighteenth century and the present', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, Vol.4 No.3 (2018), pp. 255-277, p. 261; De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, p. 4.

represented in the domestic space of the more wealthy Dutch clientele<sup>30</sup> yet not in large numbers<sup>31</sup>. In both seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial households in Cape Town and Batavia however, Chinese pictures and prints as well as silk hanging scrolls show up more frequently<sup>32</sup>.

Concerning the use of Chinese pictures and prints as wallcoverings in the Netherlands, a Chinese print has been found during restorations in 1992 at the country estate Oud-Amelisweerd in Bunnik, representing a pair of golden pheasants (fig. 6)<sup>33</sup>, initially used as an over mantel around the 1770s when Baron Gerard Godard Taets van Amerongen (1729-1804) moved into the house<sup>34</sup>. The bird-and-flower print that represents a pair of golden pheasants accompanied by a rock with flowering peony formerly hung at Hainfeld Castle in Leitersdorf (fig. 7)<sup>35</sup>, where the print was part of a broader composition of Chinese prints and pictures. The edges of the bird-and-flower print (fig. 6) that was found at Oud-Amelisweerd show the remains of another print or prints, which suggests that the Chinese print at Oud-Amelisweerd, like Hainfeld Castle, was part of a broader composition of Chinese pictures<sup>36</sup>. During restorations in 1997-1998 and in 2012-2013, other Chinese prints were discovered behind a bird-and-flower upper-door piece in the ‘Vogeltjeskamer’, representing female figures (figs. 8-9 and 12) and a fish in a basket, hold by a hand (fig. 10). A Chinese print from the collection of lawyer and amateur-sinologist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807) (fig. 11) gives an

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<sup>30</sup>Yet not providing a systematic overview of the presence of Chinese pictures and prints in the seventeenth-century Low Countries, the recently published overview of Chinese objects and books in *Foreign Devils and Philosophers* (2020) edited by Thijs Weststeijn, shows that Chinese pictures and prints appeared regularly in the Dutch bourgeois interior. See Appendix 5.1 - Overview of Chinese Objects and Books Present in the Low Countries in the Seventeenth Century’ in Thijs Weststeijn (ed.) *Foreign Devils and Philosophers: Cultural Encounters between the Chinese, the Dutch, and Other Europeans, 1590-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

<sup>31</sup> Michael North, ‘Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.) *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), pp. 111-128, p. 126, esp. note 54; Jan van Campen, ‘Een Chinese beeldbank aan de Herengracht in Den Haag. Jean Theodore Royers Chinese albums en schilderijen’, *Aziatische Kunst*, No. 3 (2010), pp. 136-149, esp. note 22.

<sup>32</sup> As found out by Michael North who analyzed inventory documentation of colonial households in Batavia and Cape Town, the first mention of Chinese painting and pictures in Batavia dates from the 1620s, concerning Capetown the first mention dates from 1713. See North, ‘Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, pp. 114-126, esp. note 21 and 22.

<sup>33</sup> I owe a debt of gratitude to Emile de Bruijn for providing me an image of the Chinese print that was found at Oud-Amelisweerd.

<sup>34</sup> Emile de Bruijn, ‘The Use of Chinese Prints as Wall Coverings in Mid-18th-Century Europe’, in Gabriela Krist (ed.) *Investigation and Conservation of East Asian Cabinets in Imperial Residences (1700–1900)* (Böhlau Verlag, 2018), pp. 61-73, esp. pp. 63-64.

<sup>35</sup> A similar combination of motifs, a pair of pheasants on a rock, have been found in the ‘Chinesischen Zimmer’ at Schloss Wörlitz, in Ightham Mote in Kent and at Uppark in West Sussex. Ibid. p. 65.

<sup>36</sup> As explained by Emile de Bruijn, it is unclear when the scheme of Chinese prints was installed at Schloss Hainfeld, it might have been around post-1945 or it might have been part of earlier decoration, the name of Graf von Purgstall (1724-1785) has been mentioned. Currently the prints are in the collection of the Muban Foundation, London. De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, p. 63.

impression of how the latter print might have looked like in its original condition. An almost exact copy of the print that represents a female figure (fig. 12) can be found in the collage of Chinese prints and pictures in the Study at Saltram (fig. 13).

The Orangery of Sandenburg Castle in Langbroek in the municipality Wijk bij Duurstede, is one of the few, if not the only place in the Netherlands where we can still see a Chinese print used as wallcovering today. A framed Chinese print dated to the 1760s<sup>37</sup> (fig. 14) is placed above a fireplace, in the backroom of the first floor of the Orangery. It is yet uncertain whether the print was brought in the 1860s when Constantijn Theodoor van Lynden van Sandenburg (1826-1885) rebuilt the castle into its current state, or whether it formed a part of earlier decoration of former residents. If the latter, then the print might have been acquired by either Johan Matthias Singendonk (17??-1784) who bought the property in 1766<sup>38</sup>, Baron Barend Hendrik van Reede van Oudshoorn (1742-1793) who acquired the estate in 1786<sup>39</sup> or Baron Gijsbert Carel Cornelis Jan van Lynden (1767-1850), who bought the property in 1792<sup>40</sup>. From at least Baron Van Reede van Oudshoorn, we know he was connected to the VOC, as son of Pieter van Reede van Oudshoorn (1714-1773) senior official and governor-designate of the Dutch Cape Colony.

### **European Wallpapers in the Chinese Style**

Another intriguing factor that might have stimulated the development of Chinese wallpaper has been proposed by Emile de Bruijn (2017), who has suggested that European wallpapers in the Chinese style, which were already produced in about 1740 (fig. 15), may have inspired the creation of

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<sup>37</sup> The RCE (Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed) has identified the fragment as a fragment of Chinese wallpaper (see object nr. 329.815). However, it seems more likely we are dealing with a Chinese woodblock print or a painting on paper. As confirmed by Emile de Bruijn in e-mail on February 27, 2020, this type of pictures was regularly used as chimney-pieces and upper-door pieces or incorporated into room screens and fire screens. In addition, de Bruijn observed that the prints might date from the same period (ca. 1760) as the prints that were used as upper-door pieces at D'Ursel Castle in Burnem, Belgium.

<sup>38</sup> Willem A. Bachiene, *Beschryving der Vereenigde Nederlanden, de welke gevonden word in het werk van den Heer A.F. Busching, en uitmaakt het vierde deels derde stuk van dat werk (Deel 3)* (Amsterdam & Utrecht: Steven van Esveldt en Abraham van Paddenburg, 1775), pp. 1104.

<sup>39</sup> Regionaal Historisch Centrum Zuidoost Utrecht te Doorn, Dorpsgerechten, nr. 533, Transport van Sandenburg aan Barend Hendrik baron van Reede, 23-12-1786.

<sup>40</sup> Utrechts Archief, 11-1 Familie Van Lynden van Sandenburg, 222 Stukken betreffende de koop door Gijsbert Carel Cornelis Jan van de ridderhofstad Sandenburg met onderhorigheden van Barend Hendrik baron van Reede, met bijlagen, 1792.

Chinese wallpapers in China around the 1750s<sup>41</sup>. In other words, De Bruijn suggests that it might have been the case that Western wallpapers in the Chinese style preceded the original wallpapers created in China. With regards to the eighteenth-century Netherlands, wallcoverings made of paper made their entrance in the Dutch domestic context in the 1750s. Papered wallcoverings were at least not a cheap product because of the expensive and time-consuming production process of making sheets of paper and could therefore only be afforded by the Dutch elite. Between the 1760s and 1800, the Netherlands knew at least fourteen companies which were occupied with the production of paper wallcoverings<sup>42</sup>. Concerning the existence of Dutch wallpapers in the Chinese style, an advertisement in a Dutch newspaper dating back to March 13, 1749, shows that a Dutch wallpaper manufacturer and seller advertises a wide variety of painted wallpapers, among which wallpaper executed in the Chinese style:

*"Gerrit ten Naarden, makes and sells all kinds of room wallpapers, painted carpets, hunts, historical scenes, Chinese, and all kinds of painted and printed wallpapers and gilt leather, colored and black wash cloths, primed cloth, floor tarpaulins and chimney pieces etc., for a fair price, lives at Roeterseiland between the Muider- and the Weesperpoort in Amsterdam<sup>43</sup>".*

Also a Dutch wallpaper factory in Hoorn which was founded in 1770 known as the *Behangselfabriek der Vaderlandsche Maatschappij* produced wallpapers in the Chinese style, nevertheless, this was already during the time-period that Chinese wallpapers were being produced in China thus were represented in the Dutch domestic sphere. As touched upon by Jeanne de Loos-Haaxman (1961), the wallpaper designs executed in the Chinese style by the Dutch factory in Hoorn were presumably based on 22 original Chinese pictures, which were brought in by the brothers

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<sup>41</sup> In order to defend his argument, De Bruijn mentions the British bird-and-flower wallpaper in the English style, which was previously installed at Burgage House, Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, England and is now housed at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Object nr. W.93:1-67-1924. De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup> Eloy Koldewey, '1750-1800', in C. Willemijn Fock (ed.) *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), pp. 271-272.

<sup>43</sup> Dutch translation: "Gerrit ten Naarden maekt en verkoopt alle soorten van kamerbehangzels, geschilderde tapyten, jagten, historisch, Cinees, en alle soorten van geschilderde en gedrukte behangzels en goudleeren, couleurede en zwarte waschdoeken, geplumeert doek, vloerzeylen en schoorsteenvallen etc. Woont op het Roeterseyland tusschen de Muyder- en Weesperpoort te Amsterdam" *Amsterdamse Courant*, 13 maart 1749 (nr. 31).

Henning who managed the factory between 1778-1782<sup>44</sup>. Today wallpapers in the Chinese style created by a Dutch craftsman can be found at Huis Verwolde in Laren dated to 1777 and at Huis Zypendaal in Arnhem dated to 1778, made by the Dutch wallpaper manufacturer J.H. Troost van Groenendoelen.

### **Gilt-leather Wall Hangings in the Chinese Style**

As hinted at in the cited newspaper article of 1749, decorative motifs in the Chinese style can also be found on European gilt-leather wall hangings during the eighteenth-century. Wall hangings in the Chinese style were primarily produced by English gilt leather craftsmen. Also on gilt-leather screens, decorative motifs in the Chinese style were applied<sup>45</sup>. With regards to the Netherlands, eighteenth-century gilt-leather wall hangings in the Chinese style can still be seen in its original setting in the mayor's chamber of the town hall of the city of Maastricht, dated to 1737<sup>46</sup>, and in the board room of the town hall of the city of Sneek, dated to 1760-1764 (fig. 16)<sup>47</sup>. Both locations are one of the few places in the world where gilt-leather wall hangings in the Chinese style are still *in situ*.

### **Chinese Wallpapers in the Eighteenth-Century Netherlands**

Despite the given that a discussion on the origins and uses of wallpaper in the local Chinese context falls outside the scope of this study, it is important to note that eighteenth-century multicolored pictorial Chinese wallpapers were not directed at the Chinese domestic market and were therefore specifically for the Western market<sup>48</sup>. With respect to the Netherlands, Chinese wallpapers were first imported by the Dutch Company in 1753<sup>49</sup>. Being often referred to as '*papieren*

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<sup>44</sup> Jeanne de Loos-Haaxman, 'Behangselfabriek der Vaderlandsche Maatschappij te Hoorn', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 12 (1961), pp. 149-192, esp. p. 181.

<sup>45</sup> Eloy Koldewej, 'Gilt leather hangings in chinoiserie and other styles: an English speciality', *Furniture History*, Vol. 36 (2000), pp. 61-101.

<sup>46</sup> Eloy Koldewej, 'Het goudleer-behang in de burgemeesterskamer in het stadhuis van Maastricht', in Ed De Heer et al. (eds.) *Een Seer Magnifick Stadhuys* (Delft: Delftsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1985), pp.151-159.

<sup>47</sup> Koldewej, 'Gilt leather hangings in chinoiserie and other styles: an English speciality', pp. 61-101.

<sup>48</sup> Emile de Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017), p. 5; Helen Clifford, 'Chinese wallpaper: From Canton to Country House' in Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds.) *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 39-67, esp. p. 41.

<sup>49</sup> In 1753, the VOC purchased 200 'painted papers' ('geschilderde papieren') in Canton. According to Paul van Dyke, these were presumably purchased 'as an experiment or as a special order'. Paul van Dyke, 'Miscellaneous References to Artisans of the Canton Trade', *Review of Culture*, Vol. 59 (2019), pp. 121-141, p. 132; Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p. 88.

*meublementen*’ (‘paper furnishings’) and ‘*geschilderde papieren*’ (‘painted papers’) in Dutch contemporary sources such as trade records<sup>50</sup> and newspapers<sup>51</sup>, Chinese wallpapers were imported in standardized quantities thus not specifically designed to fit a particular room<sup>52</sup>. Generally speaking the Chinese wallpapers that arrived in the Western world can be divided in three distinct categories, respectively birds and flowers (1), landscape with figures that are engaged in agriculture, manufacturing and / or other daily-life activities (2) and a hybrid category that combines the two just mentioned categories (3)<sup>53</sup>.

Since almost all of the Chinese wallpapers that arrived in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, like in other Western countries, remained a small-scale private trade, VOC records do not contain much information about the exact quantities and types of wallpapers that arrived in the Netherlands. Between 1753 and at least 1789, about 17.000 sheets of Chinese wallpapers would have arrived in the Netherlands<sup>54</sup>. We know that the Company first ordered 400 pieces of Chinese wallpaper in 1753<sup>55</sup> of which 200 pieces represented ‘mosaic work’ and the other 200 pieces represented ‘*twenty different drawings, all painted with figures, houses, mountains, forests, rivers, battles, masquerades, markets, armies on the march, depictions of her cities, all essentially after the manner and fashion of her lands, nothing after the European style, and finely painted*<sup>56</sup>’.

Despite that the Company did not seem to have continued further orders of wallpapers after 1753, the Dutch started to purchase Chinese wallpapers again between the years 1775-1788<sup>57</sup>. From

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<sup>50</sup> A.M. Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder, ‘Chineesche geschilderde behangsels’, *Oud Holland*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (1941), pp. 23-33, esp. p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> I found a few advertisements where Chinese wallpaper is offered for sale as ‘Chineesche geschilderde meubel-papieren’ in Dutch newspapers, especially the *Amsterdamse Courant* and the *Haerlemse Courant*, dating from the 1760s until the beginning of the eighteenth-century.

<sup>52</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa*, p. 32; Nicole de Bisscop, ‘Aspecten van het Chinees export-wandbehang’, *Monumenten en Landschappen*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (1991), pp. 24-47, esp. p. 38.

<sup>53</sup> Emile de Bruijn, Andrew Bush and Helen Clifford, *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses* (Swindon: National Trust Publishing, 2014), pp. 5-6.

<sup>54</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa*, p. 85.

<sup>55</sup> Van Dyke, ‘Miscellaneous References to Artisans of the Canton Trade’, p. 132; Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> English translation adapted from Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 88.

<sup>57</sup> In 2015, Paul van Dyke noted in his book *Merchants of Canton* that the VOC ordered Chinese wallpapers between 1778-1788. Newly revealed historical records which were published by van Dyke in 2019 show that also in 1776 two ships left China to the Netherlands. See Van Dyke, ‘Miscellaneous References to Artisans of the Canton Trade’, pp. 132-133; Paul van Dyke, ‘Chapter Ten: Silk Weavers, Embroiderers, And Painters’ in *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade Vol. 2* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), esp. note 120.

1778 onwards, Chinese wallpapers were more frequently ordered by the Company<sup>58</sup>. Christiaan Jörg (1982) has linked this revival to the establishment of a wallpaper factory in Hoorn in 1777, known as the *Behangselfabriek der Vaderlandsche Maatschappij*, which, as highlighted before, also created wallpapers in the Chinese style<sup>59</sup>. Concerning the Company's wallpaper orders between 1778-1788, we know that two Chinese-born artists, which they called Anthonij and Seequa, were employed by the VOC to make these Chinese wallpapers<sup>60</sup>. From Anthonij we know that he was also hired by the Company to paint designs on silk. As examined by Paul van Dyke in his significant study *Merchants of Canton and Macao* (2015), Anthonij's wage figures suggest that the craftsman presumably started to paint wallpapers due to reduced silk orders. Anthony painted 100 up to 600 pieces of silk between the years 1757 and 1788<sup>61</sup>. The relationship between the two men is yet unclear<sup>62</sup>, however the high quantities of delivered Chinese wallpapers suggests that they held a monopoly position during the second half of the eighteenth-century in Chinese wallpapers at Canton (today Guangzhou).

The oeuvre of Anthony and Seequa consisted of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers, depicting daily life scenes, ritual and customs and agricultural scenes, and Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers. The cargo list of 1787 shows that this latter genre knew different variations, among which types that incorporate medallions, flowerpots and vases. In addition, the cargo lists shows that Chinese painted papers were executed in different formats like chimneypieces and smaller pictures and other types of painted papers such as decorative garlands and borders<sup>63</sup>. VOC documentation of the wallpaper order in 1786 provides interesting insights into the interplay between the client (in this case, the Dutch Company) and the artist (in this case, Anthony) in the creation of Chinese wallpaper:

*'... Anthony the painter will prepare new designs for the required painted fabrics in order to choose the most beautiful and contemporary patterns ...' '... for the painted papers*

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<sup>58</sup> Van Dyke, 'Miscellaneous References to Artisans of the Canton Trade', pp. 132-133.

<sup>59</sup> Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 88.

<sup>60</sup> A.M. Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder was the first scholar who referred to these two craftsmen in 1941. See Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder, 'Chineesche geschilderde behangsels', pp. 23-28. See also Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa*, pp. 73-78.

<sup>61</sup> Van Dyke, 'Chapter Ten: Silk Weavers, Embroiderers, and Painters', p. 204; Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 73-78; Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 88.

<sup>62</sup> Van Dyke, 'Chapter Ten: Silk Weavers, Embroiderers, And Painters', p. 204.

<sup>63</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 74-75.

*Anthony the painter will make designs, in order to choose patterns for the batch which will then be manufactured and delivered by him and Sequa<sup>64</sup>.*

As touched upon by Christiaan Jörg (2007) this documentation shows that Anthony would first execute his own painted motifs and designs on samples which he would show to the VOC merchants, hereafter VOC merchants would decide which designs they wanted to order in greater quantities. In addition, it seems very likely that Chinese artists like Anthony made use of models and other exemplary material depicting Western motifs, which were provided by the Dutch, as source material for the final design<sup>65</sup>.

A VOC cargo list of 1787<sup>66</sup> confirms the incorporation of Western motifs such as medallions, flowerpots and vases in Chinese wallpapers and thus points us to the hybrid nature of these late eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers, reflecting the interplay between Chinese and European visual cultures. In comparison to the order of 1753 in which the wallpapers are identified as '*all essentially after the manner and fashion of her lands, nothing after the European style<sup>67</sup>*', these late eighteenth-century orders show a shift in attitude towards the incorporation of Western influences in the design of Chinese wallpapers. Where in 1753 it seems to have been a specific request that wallpapers were designed according to the 'manner and fashion' of the Chinese culture, more than two decades later, respectively in 1787, Dutch merchants did not longer see any harm in the incorporation of non-Chinese motifs that derived from their own local visual world.

### **The Hybrid Nature of Chinese Wallpaper**

The interplay of both Chinese as well as Western visual culture in motifs that can be found on eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers, point us to the hybrid nature of eighteenth-century Chinese

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<sup>64</sup>... dat Anthonij den schilder nieuwe desseijnen voor de geeichte geschilderde Stoffen zal in zal in de gereetheid brengen om daaruijt de fraaijst en meest in de heedendaagse smaak vallende patronen te kunnen kiezen' en '... dat voor de geschilderde papieren Anthonij den schilder meede eenige desseijnen zal maaken, ten einde daar uit de patroonen voor de partij te kiezen welke dienna door hem en Sequa gefabriceert en geleevert zal worden'. This Dutch quotation is adapted from Jörg, 'Vergane Glorie', p. 187, see also note 25.

<sup>65</sup> This observation is based on documentation of 1793 in which a silk weaver and his successor disappeared without a trace and took designs and drawings with them that were provided by the Dutch. See Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 84.

<sup>66</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>67</sup> Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, p. 88. Part of this quotation is used as the title of this thesis.



wallpaper. Notwithstanding, Chinese wallpapers were rooted in the Chinese visual tradition, as exemplified by the earliest mid-eighteenth-century bird-and-flower wallpapers executed in the painterly style (figs. 33 and 35) that display a visual relation to Chinese bird-and-flower scroll paintings, such as Shen Quan's *Pine, Plum and Cranes* (1759) (fig. 17)<sup>68</sup>. There also appears to be a visual connection between Chinese figural landscape wallpapers depicting industrial and agricultural scenes (fig. 18) like the production of rice, silk and porcelain, and the imagery that can be found in Chinese imperial albums such as the 1696 edition of in the *御製耕織圖 Yuzhi gengzhi tu* (Pictures of Tilling and Weaving<sup>69</sup>) (fig. 19) which represent scenes of rice and silk production and the 1743 edition of *陶冶圖 Taoye tu* (Pictures of Porcelain Production) which represents scenes of the production of porcelain<sup>70</sup>.

Images derived from imperial albums such as *Gengzhi tu* can not only be found on Chinese wallpapers (fig. 17), but also on Qing dynasty Chinese ceramics (fig. 20) and lacquerware. Next to being rooted in the Chinese visual tradition, eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers also incorporated Western elements such medallions, flowerpots and vases as reflected by the earlier discussed VOC cargo list of 1787<sup>71</sup>. A fragment of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper<sup>72</sup> (fig. 21) made to an engraving of Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772), after the French painter Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), which was hung at Hampden House in Buckinghamshire around 1756, illustrates how Chinese artists were inventive in the way in which they created a coherent composition of both Chinese as well

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<sup>68</sup> Jessica Rawson has argued that Chinese bird-and-flower paintings like Shen Quan's *Pine, Plum and Cranes* (1759) directly inspired the designs of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper. On her turn, Anna Wu argued that the painting *Birds in Osmanthus and Chrysanthemum*, attributed to middle Ming dynasty court painter Lü Ji, belongs to the type of painting on which Chinese wallpaper was based in terms of composition, style as well as subject matter. See Jessica Rawson, 'Ornament as System: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Design', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 148, No. 1239 (2008), pp. 380-389, esp. p. 383; Anna Wu, *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture* (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Royal College of Art, 2018), pp. 380-381.

<sup>69</sup> Wu finds similarities between the imagery of the imperial album *Yuzhi Gengzhi tu* and the scenes of rice and silk production on the Coutts & Co. wallpaper, currently on view in the Board Room at the Coutts Bank in London. See Wu, *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture*, pp. 143-247.

<sup>70</sup> De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, p. 5; Ellen C. Huang, 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market: Jingdezhen Porcelain Production as Global Visual Culture', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, (2012), pp. 115-145; Günther Berger, Takeshi Watabe and Georges Métaillé, 'Une Chinoiserie Insolite: Etude D'Un Papier Peint Chinois', *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 51 (1996), pp. 96-116.

<sup>71</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>72</sup> Today the fragment is part of the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, see object nr. E.51-1968.

as Western motifs. Nevertheless, this specific case is the only example of such a direct transfer of motifs known today<sup>73</sup>.

## Research Aims

In light of these observations, this study aims to demonstrate how eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper has the potential to offer alternative routes of thinking about ‘global’ objects in Western domestic context. Until the pioneering study of Friederike Wappenschmidt (1989), Chinese wallpaper did not receive great scholarly attention and was primarily considered as export item with little artistic worth, mainly appreciated for its aesthetic and decorative value. Despite that the topic of Chinese wallpaper in the British domestic sphere has received increasing research interest in the past two decades, as reflected by important scholarly contributions such as the *East India Company at Home project* (2011-2014)<sup>74</sup>, the collaborative publication *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses* (2014) and Emile de Bruijn’s *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (2017), as hinted at before, attempts to cast light on the role of Chinese wallpaper in the Dutch domestic sphere have not yet been made.

Building on the scholarly work of Friederike Wappenschmidt, Clare Taylor, Helen Clifford, Emile de Bruijn, Stacey Sloboda, Anna Wu and others, this study aims to shed a light on the local function and meaning of Chinese wallpaper in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch domestic sphere. Special attention is given to the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, which are adapted as a case study in order to illustrate the contemporary function and meaning of Chinese wallpapers in the Dutch domestic context. Concerning Oud-Amelisweerd, I will concentrate on the eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.5 dated to around 1750-1770 (figs. 26 t/m 29) and the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 dated to around 1790-1800 (figs. 22 t/m 25). Furthermore, I will also examine other places in the Netherlands where Chinese

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<sup>73</sup> Margot Finn and Kate Smith, ‘The Social Life of Things’ in *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 25-88, p. 50.

<sup>74</sup> Chinese wallpapers functioned as a specific case study of the project and did also feature in a chapter of the publication. These contributions were all written by Helen Clifford. See Clifford, ‘Chinese Wallpaper: From Canton to the Country House’, pp. 39-67.

wallpapers were installed during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century and which are still *in situ*<sup>75</sup>. Next to investigating the function and meaning of Chinese wallpapers for Dutch contemporary owners and viewers, I also aim to demonstrate how Chinese wallpaper informs our understanding of the Chinese visual tradition. In order to do so, I will study the visual motifs that can be found on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd within the context of the Chinese visual tradition.

First, I want to identify the contemporary function of the interior space in which the bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.5 and the figural landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 are installed. What kind of objects and decoration accompanied the Chinese wallpapers in both rooms at Oud-Amelisweerd and how can we identify the function and meaning of these specific kind of spaces? Concerning eighteenth-century England, it is known that Chinese wallpaper was primarily viewed in a space of intimacy and the more female areas of the house, such as dressing rooms, drawing rooms, bedrooms and boudoirs, and not in the more public and representational spaces of the house<sup>76</sup>. With respect to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands however, we lack knowledge of the specific type of spaces in which Chinese wallpaper was generally speaking being hung. This study will therefore examine this issue, by identifying the type of spaces in which Chinese wallpapers were mainly installed during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands. In order to answer these questions, I will also analyze other properties in the Netherlands (of which most of them are still *in situ*) where eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were installed during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century (see Appendix I).

Second, I will study the visual motifs that can be found on the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.5 and the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 at Oud-Amelisweerd within the context of the Chinese visual culture, in order to learn more about the visual sources that were used to create the Chinese wallpapers for the Western market and the local meaning of specific kind of iconographical motifs in Chinese culture. In order to do so, I will compare the

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<sup>75</sup> The property of Jean Theodore Royer in The Hague is an exception and will also be discussed, despite that the Chinese wallpapers can no longer be seen today.

<sup>76</sup> De Bruijn et al. *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, pp. 3-4.

Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd to similar kind of imagery that can be found in the Chinese visual arts, such as Chinese (export) paintings, porcelain, lacquerware and silk. It is however important to stress that contemporary viewers would not have been aware of the Chinese origins of the specific visual motifs that can be found on these wallpapers, simply because they lacked the necessary knowledge. In other words, contemporary viewers would not have appreciated Chinese wallpaper for its iconographical meaning. Despite that the specific reasons for contemporary owners for buying these costly Chinese goods are hardly recorded, it is clear that Chinese decorative wallpapers as found at Oud-Amelisweerd would have seemed striking new and foreign to them.

### **Historiography**

Until, the outcome of Friederike Wappenschmidt's pioneering study *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa: Von Rollbild zur Bildtapete* (1989) in which she has investigated the existence of Chinese wallpaper across Europe, the topic of Chinese wallpaper created for the European export market only took a modest place within the context of studies on country houses and historic interiors. In this section, the most relevant publications that deal with the subject of Chinese wallpaper will be discussed in chronological order. Since Wappenschmidt's publication of 1989 is used consistently throughout this research, I will not discuss this publication in the following section in detail.

The earliest publications that deal with the topic of Chinese wallpaper were brought out between the 1920s and 1950s. In most of these works, the topic of Chinese wallpaper is only discussed briefly and is part of a broader study of wallpapers in the domestic context of both European as well as American households. What most of these publications have in common is that they argue that Chinese pictorial wallpapers were also used by Chinese people to decorate their houses<sup>77</sup>. In addition, most of the authors are convinced that Chinese wallpapers are completely painted thus lacking of any use of woodblock printing techniques<sup>78</sup>. During this time-period, some scholars, among which Nancy Vincent McClelland (1924), Alan Victor Sugden and John Ludlam

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<sup>77</sup> Margaret Jourdain and Soame Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Country Life Ltd, 1950), pp. 25–33; Phyllis Ackerman, *Wallpaper, its History, Design and Use* (New York: Tudor publishing company, 1938), pp. 11–20.

<sup>78</sup> Ackerman, *Wallpaper, its History, Design and Use*, pp. 11–20.

Edmondson (1926) and E.A. Entwisle (1954) are less sure about the use of Chinese wallpapers within the Chinese domestic context and argue that the eighteenth-century Chinese pictorial were specifically designed to meet Western demand<sup>79</sup>. Also some scholars reject the observation that Chinese wallpapers were fully hand-painted and hint to the use of woodblock-printing techniques<sup>80</sup>. While it was indeed thought for a long period that Chinese wallpaper was hand-painted, today it is known that this was not the standard and that Chinese artists made use of a combination of hand painting and block printing techniques<sup>81</sup>.

Moving from the first half of the twentieth-century to the second half of the twentieth-century, we observe an increasing interest in the topic of Chinese wallpaper in the European domestic sphere. In specific, the belief that Chinese wallpapers were used in the domestic context of Chinese households no longer prevails. In 1982, the historians Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton published an extensive catalogue on the wallpaper collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, describing more than 2.000 wallpapers among which some eighteenth-century Chinese export wallpapers. Within the introduction, a short section is devoted to the topic of Chinese wallpaper in which the authors note that Chinese pictorial wallpaper as known in eighteenth-century Europe, was primary developed for the European market and thereby not used in the same kind of format in the Chinese domestic sphere. In order to support their argument, the authors cite the accounts of the Jesuit missionary Father Louis Le Compte, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, William Chambers and Lord Macartney, from which it becomes clear that the Chinese presumably used plain white sheets of paper to cover their walls and thereby not the colorful and highly decorative wallpapers which were made for the European market<sup>82</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> E.A. Entwisle, *The Book of Wallpaper: a History and an Appreciation* (London: Arthur & Barker, 1954), p. 47; Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder, 'Chineesche geschilderde behangsels', pp. 23-28; Alan Victor Sugden and John Ludlam Edmondson, *A History of English Wallpaper: 1509-1914* (London: Batsford, 1926), pp. 98-99; Nancy Vincent McClelland, *Historic Wall-papers: From Their Inception to the Introduction of Machinery* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1924), pp. 89-114.

<sup>80</sup> Jourdain and Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 30; McClelland, *Historic Wall-papers: From Their Inception to the Introduction of Machinery*, pp. 89-114.

<sup>81</sup> De Bruijn et al. *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton, *Wallpapers: A History and Illustrated Catalogue of the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Sotheby's Publications, 1982), p. 58.

The in 1987 published work *Chinese Export Art and Design* by the authors Verity Wilson and Craig Clunas who both worked as curators at the Victoria and Albert Museum, offers a brief account on the topic of Chinese wallpaper which are part of the collection Chinese export art of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The authors open their short overview with a clear statement in which they try to solve the issue whether wallpaper was being used by the Chinese in their own domestic sphere before being introduced to the West or whether the Chinese developed wallpaper specifically for the Western export market. Following Oman and Hamilton (1982), Verity Wilson and Craig Clunas argue that Chinese people did use paper to cover their walls, but instead of using highly decorative and panoramic wallpapers, they used plain sheets of paper. According to the authors, the frequently cited *Description de la Chine* (1735) by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde which records that Chinese people were very skillful in covering walls with sheets of paper, is often misinterpreted by scholars, since Du Halde was (according to Wilson and Clunas) referring to plain and undecorated sheets of paper hangings<sup>83</sup>.

The German art historian Sabine Thümmler, devotes one chapter to the study of Chinese wallpaper in her publication *Die Geschichte der Tapete. Raumkunst Aus Papier* (1998)<sup>84</sup>. In the section ‘Chinesische Handgemalte Tapeten und Chinoiserien’ Thümmler notes that Chinese wallpaper was not primary admired by contemporary viewers for its material qualities (like porcelain or lacquerware) but favored for its decorative qualities, in specific its ability to represent the ‘foreign’ East. The author observes the same decorative and representative quality of wallpaper in other export products, such as lacquer-screens, chintz and Chinese export painting. To illustrate, Thümmler notes that lacquer-screens were deconstructed and adapted to decorate the walls and represent panoramic sceneries. Like Oman & Hamilton (1982) and Wilson & Clunas (1987), the author notes that Chinese export wallpaper as known in the West, was not present at the Chinese domestic market<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Craig Clunas and Verity Wilson (eds.) *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: V&A Publishing, 1987), pp. 88–89.

<sup>84</sup> Sabine Thümmler, ‘Rokoko’, in *Die Geschichte der Tapete. Raumkunst aus Papier* (Kassel, 1998), pp. 31–62.

<sup>85</sup> Thümmler, ‘Rokoko’, pp. 40–42.

When describing the manufacturing process of Chinese wallpaper, Thümmler notes that every craftsman in a workshop was responsible for adding a specific type of scene to the total composition: a specialist in landscape scenes, someone who executed the figures and so on, all working with standardized templates. Former court painters were leading the different workshops, which explains according to the author the clear relationship between high-quality wallpaper scenery and the style of painting that was present at the court of various Qing emperors. This type of court painting depicted, among others, daily life at the court, ceremonies and festivities<sup>86</sup>. It is a pity that Thümmler doesn't come up with any specific examples of Qing court paintings or sources that confirm the presence of former Qing court artists at export workshops, whereby these observations call for a deeper investigation into the visual relationship between Qing court paintings and Chinese wallpaper and further proof for the idea that former court painters ended up at export workshops in Canton.

Up to this point, apart from a study of Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder (1941) which is already discussed in the introduction, the topic of Chinese wallpaper in the early modern Netherlands has not received any in-depth attention in both Dutch as well as non-Dutch scholarship. The first attempt to provide an overview of the history of wallcoverings in the Netherlands, among which wallpapers form a compelling part, is written by J.H.P. Heesters, *Vier Eeuwen Behang: de Geschiedenis van Wandbespanning in Nederland* (1989). Since Heesters is specifically concerned on the topic of wallcoverings manufactured in the Netherlands, the topic of Chinese wallpaper is not covered in his study. In the 1990s, the Belgian art historian and expert on the topic of Chinese export art Nicole de Bisscop publishes a few articles on the topic of Chinese wallpaper in Flanders<sup>87</sup>. In her extensive study on the topic of Chinese wallpaper in Flanders 'Aspecten van het Chinees export-wandbehang' (1991) one of the core arguments made by the author is concerned with the observation that the style and subject-matter of Chinese bird-and-flowers and figural landscape wallpapers are rooted in the Chinese visual tradition. To confirm this argument, De Bisscop provides an overview of the development of more popular painting in the tradition of Chinese art, from the Zhou dynasty until the

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<sup>86</sup> Thümmler, 'Rokoko', pp. 40-48.

<sup>87</sup> De Bisscop, 'Aspecten van het Chinees export-wandbehang', pp. 500-501.

Qing dynasty. Especially De Bisscop's observations about the presumed visual relationship between Chinese wallpaper and Qing court painting provide food for thought in light of this research's purpose to study the visual motifs of the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd in the context of the Chinese visual tradition.

Another interesting point made by De Bisscop deals with the type of artists that worked in Chinese workshops. As noted by the author, workshops of Qing court painters made use of a strict task division in order to increase efficient working methods. In addition, De Bisscop explains that court painters were not appointed for life, but often worked for a relatively short period at the court to work on a specific assignment. After their time at the court, these court painters took on other jobs to make a living. Therefore, it is almost certain according to De Bisscop that some of them ended up in an export painting workshop, where export products such as album leaves and wallpapers were created. According to De Bisscop, this observation declares the stylistic and technical relationship between Qing court painting and Chinese export products like the scenery on sheets of wallpaper. De Bisscop's contribution to the study of Chinese wallpaper is valuable, since the author is specifically concerned with the technical and stylistic connection between Chinese wallpaper and the Chinese visual. At the same time, De Bisscop's study, like the study of Thümmler (1998)<sup>88</sup> confronts us with a great lack of documentation on the circumstances at the export painting workshops in Canton and the presumed visual relationship between Chinese export products and Chinese visual art<sup>89</sup>. Since Chinese craftsmen working in these workshops were not seen as artists but rather as craftspeople, there is hardly anything about their identities, their artistic process as well as about their art<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> However, like Thümmler and De Bisscop, also Joosje van Dam has observed a connection between the style and techniques of Chinese court painting and Chinese wallpaper. Like Thümmler and De Bisscop, the author doesn't come up with any sources that confirm this connection. See Joosje van Dam, *Drakenboot en Mandarijneend: de Chinese Papieren Behangsels van Oud-Amelisweerd* (unpublished bachelor's thesis, Utrecht University, 1992).

<sup>89</sup> Fellow student Yun Xie told me in person that she doubts the idea that former Chinese court artists ended up at workshops that created export products among which wallpapers. The given that these artists enjoyed a high-esteem and the given that they were often appointed for life, makes it according to Xie unlikely that these artists ended up in Canton. Xie cites the work of Chongzheng Nie in order to prove this argument. Since a discussion on this matter falls outside the scope of this study, I have decided not to elaborate on this matter further.

<sup>90</sup> De Bisscop, 'Aspecten van het Chinees export-wandbehang', pp. 30-33.



In 2002, Friederike Wappenschmidt presented her paper ‘A Friendly Rivalry: Chinese Wallpaper Paintings and Early Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs’ during a colloquium held at the textile museum and research institute Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg on the 3rd and 4th of October 2002. In this paper, Wappenschmidt’s main argument is concerned with the observation that Chinese pictures and paintings which were imported in the early modern period and use as wallcoverings can be seen as the predecessor of Chinese wallpapers. According to the author, the court architect of Daniel Marot (1661-1752) was the first interior design to develop the design of a ‘Indian closet’ in Honselaarsdijk commissioned by Princess Mary Stuart, in which he incorporated among others Chinese paintings into a decorative scheme which was published in his *Œuvres* (1702)<sup>91</sup>. Wappenschmidt’s point about the origins of Chinese wallpaper is important, since the author demonstrates how Chinese paintings incorporated in wallcoverings informed the creation of decorative Chinese wallpapers<sup>92</sup> and thereby supports the claim made by De Bruijn (2017)<sup>93</sup>.

With regards to the study of Chinese wallpapers in the European domestic context, the work of the British design historian Clare Taylor is also important. The author has published extensively over the past two decades on the topic of Chinese wallpaper in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain<sup>94</sup>. In her most recent book *The Design, Production and Reception of Eighteenth-Century Wallpaper in Britain* (2018), Taylor devotes one chapter to the topic of Chinese wallpaper. An important point made by Taylor in the introduction is concerned with the nature of Chinese wallpaper in contrast to other European wallpapers. Chinese wallpaper was not intended to function as a substitute for costly textiles but it was a luxury product at heart. At the same time, due to its costly nature and the given that the good was part of the private trade, Chinese wallpaper was not considered

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<sup>91</sup> Wappenschmidt ‘A Friendly Rivalry’, pp. 188-189.

<sup>92</sup> Wappenschmidt ‘A Friendly Rivalry’, pp. 190-196.

<sup>93</sup> De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, p. 54.

<sup>94</sup> Clare Taylor, ‘Chinese Papers and English Imitations in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in Elisabet Stavelow-Hidemark (ed.) *New Discoveries, New Research: Papers from the International Wallpaper Conference at the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, 2007* (Stockholm: The Nordiska Museet, 2009), pp. 36–53; Clare Taylor, ‘“Painted Paper of Peking”: The Taste For Eighteenth-Century Chinese Papers In Britain, c.1918-c.1945’, in Michelle Ying Ling Huang (ed.) *The Reception of Chinese Art Across Cultures* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 44–64; Clare Taylor, *The Design, Production and Reception of Eighteenth-Century Wallpaper in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2018).

to be as a threat for the European market. Following David Porter<sup>95</sup> and Stacey Sloboda<sup>96</sup>'s observed connection between the craze for Chinese furnishings and the female gender as a response to the masculine classical taste, Taylor outlines how Chinese wallpaper was mainly displayed in eighteenth-century Britain in the context of the female space.

Already in her doctoral research '*Figured Paper for Hanging Rooms*': *The Manufacture, Design and Consumption of Wallpapers for English Domestic Interiors, c.1740-c.1800* (2009), Taylor has demonstrated how paper hangings in the Chinese taste (whether imported or imitated) were used by consumers 'to define space in terms of class, gender and function'. As a result these paper hangings in the Chinese style moved by the end of the eighteenth-century from closets, dressing rooms and bedchambers to more social spaces of country houses, as well as to the homes of bankers and merchants<sup>97</sup>. Within the scope of this study, I aim to examine if Chinese wallpapers in the eighteenth- and eighteenth-century Netherlands were also installed in the more semi-private spaces of the house such as dressing rooms and bedchambers or if these wallpapers were displayed in the more representational and semi-public spaces of the house, such as dining rooms and sitting rooms intended to welcome visitors.

Another important scholar that offers alternative paths of thinking about Chinese wallpaper, is Stacey Sloboda. In the chapter 'Surface Contact: Decoration in the Chinese Taste'<sup>98</sup> (2015), Sloboda has adopted a few eighteenth-century Chinese decorative artefacts as case studies to examine how these objects shaped European experiences of cross-cultural encounter. Concerning eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper at the Saltram House in Plymouth, Sloboda argues that the disorienting effect of the unknown pictorial motifs on panoramic format, lacking geometrical balance, harmony and unity, in combination with the collaged manner in which various sheets of wallpaper were being

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<sup>95</sup> David Porter, 'A Wanton Chase in a Foreign Place: Hogarth and the Gendering of Exoticism', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Vol. 33 (2004), pp. 399-413.

<sup>96</sup> Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 85.

<sup>97</sup> See Clare Taylor, *Figured Paper for Hanging Rooms*': *The manufacture, design and consumption of wallpapers for English domestic interiors, c.1740-c.1800* (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2009), pp. 99-154. See also Taylor, "'Painted Paper of Pekin'", pp. 44-64.

<sup>98</sup> Stacey Sloboda, 'Surface Contact: Decoration in the Chinese Taste', in Petra Ten Doesschate Chu (ed.) *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges Between China and the West* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2015), pp. 244-259.

installed, emphasizes how eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers and pictures and prints were primarily valued for their decorative means instead of their iconographical value<sup>99</sup>. Precisely because of the ‘pictorial illogic and iconographic opacity’ of these wallpapers, Sloboda argues that Chinese wallpapers function as agents that foster cross-cultural encounter and provide the possibility for making sense of this encounter<sup>100</sup>.

Also the work of Chinese wallpaper expert Emile de Bruijn is important with respect to the topic of Chinese wallpapers in the context of the European domestic sphere. In 2017, his book *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* has been published in which the author examines the most significant examples of Chinese wallpaper in National Trust houses in both Britain as well as Ireland. The publication of De Bruijn could be seen as one, if not the first attempt to complement the 1989 publication of Wappenschmidt, since it is the second extensive publication that is specifically devoted to the study of Chinese wallpapers in Europe, in this respect focusing on Chinese wallpapers in Britain and Ireland. According to De Bruijn, Chinese wallpaper is a cultural hybrid, whereas the artefact is cross-cultural in nature, being manufactured in China but at the same time specifically created and intended for the Western market. At the same time Chinese wallpaper is rooted in the Chinese visual tradition, since it can be understood as an outcome of the Chinese professional painting tradition. Within the scope of this study, I am specifically interested in De Bruijn’s notion that the various motifs that can be found on Chinese wallpapers such as industrial and bird-and-flower scenery, offer a great potential to expand our knowledge of the Chinese visual tradition<sup>101</sup>.

In his study, De Bruijn is also interested in the uses and functions of Chinese wallpapers in the domestic space of British and Irish owners of these wallpapers. In this respect, De Bruijn follows Clare Taylor and Stacey Sloboda who both have demonstrated that Chinese wallpapers are also able to inform our understanding of the broader social uses and meanings of these wallpapers within the European domestic sphere. Throughout his book, the author specifically highlights the original

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 253-254.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>101</sup> De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, p. 6.

settings in which the various examples of Chinese wallpaper were installed, by which it becomes possible to say something about the specific settings in which Chinese wallpapers were displayed and to analyze the function and uses of Chinese wallpapers for contemporary owners. Following these observations, I am interested to examine the original setting and consumption of Chinese wallpaper within the Dutch domestic sphere in order to say something about its role and function for contemporary owners<sup>102</sup>.

Scholar Anna Wu is the last scholar that made a significant contribution to the study of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper in Europe. In 2018, Wu defended her PhD research *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture*. In order to examine how and why people throughout different periods in time have used Chinese wallpaper in a wider variety of cultural and geographical contexts, Wu tries to move away from a very Eurocentric approach to Chinese wallpaper. In order to do so, the author is not only concentrated on the place and function of Chinese wallpaper within eighteenth-century Europe, but also focuses on nineteenth and twentieth-century North-America, as well as present-day China. As a result, Wu understands Chinese wallpaper as a hybrid product shaped by global connections, by which the artefact articulates changes in power dynamics but is also able to shed a light on both Chinese as well as European visual culture.

Within the scope of this study, I am interested in Wu's understanding of Chinese wallpaper as an intercultural product, which has played a part in the articulation of personal, cultural and national identity for people throughout different places and periods in time. Concerning the study of Chinese wallpaper in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, Wu her research invites for new ways of looking to the ways in which Chinese wallpaper in the Dutch domestic sphere might have played a part in the creation of cultural narratives and the articulation of social, cultural and national values in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century. At the same time, the author has demonstrated that Chinese wallpapers should be studied within the context of both the Chinese visual tradition as well as in connection to other non-Western export products, such as Indian chintzes and lacquer screens, which

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

makes the study of the interrelationship between Chinese export products as well as other forms of Chinese art very valuable.

## **Theoretical framework**

### Chinoiserie

In this section, I provide an overview of the most relevant literature on the concept of *chinoiserie* that deals with objects that are hybrid in nature, manifesting Western and Asian encounter. As I aim to illustrate in the following section, scholarship on the concept of chinoiserie over the last two decades makes clear that the definition and use of the term chinoiserie is less than stable and consistent, stretching from aesthetic idealized style to political actor, covering both artefacts manufactured in the West as well in China. In this study, I will not use the more traditional sense of the term – which means that I will move away from the idea that chinoiserie is a European phenomenon – and will use the term chinoiserie primarily in relation to the study of the attitudes towards Chinese wallpapers. As this study attempts to lay bare, Chinese wallpapers as well as European wallpapers in the Chinese style – traditionally considered as chinoiserie artefacts – were both not exact copies of images that can be found in the Chinese visual tradition nor fully relying on the Western interpretation of the Chinese style; both types of wallcovering were designed to respond to the Western appeal for scenes of Chinese daily life, agriculture and nature on wallpaper format that made direct reference to the Chinese visual tradition whereas landscape- and bird-and-flower painting as well as images of agricultural scenes hold deep cultural significance to China.

Scholar Hugh Honour is among the first to provide a clear definition of the term chinoiserie in his eponymous book *Chinoiserie: The vision of Cathay* (1961). According to Honour, chinoiserie is first and foremost an European style that applies to objects which are created in Europe and not ‘an incompetent attempt to imitate the arts of China<sup>103</sup>’. Honour understands chinoiserie as part of the mid-nineteenth-century revival of rococo, informed by the desire of the mainly French and English bourgeoisie to escape into a fantasized past<sup>104</sup>. To be more specific, Honour defines the term

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<sup>103</sup> Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199-206

chinoiserie ‘as the expression of the European vision of Cathay’ the utopian and imaginative China, shaped by Western travelers’ tales such as the accounts of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric<sup>105</sup>. However, one might question how pertinent Marco Polo was in the nineteenth-century.

Following Honour in the idea that chinoiserie tells us more about the Western idea of China, than about Chinese visual and material culture, Oliver Impey has defined chinoiserie as ‘the European idea of what oriental things were like, or ought to be like’ in his book *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles and Western Art and Decoration* (1977)<sup>106</sup>. Using the clear distinction being made by Honour and Impey between Chinese goods being manufactured in China – which in their view do not fall into the category of chinoiserie, even if they are to a certain extent adapted to the Western taste – and goods that intend to represent an image of the imagined idea of China that were manufactured in Europe, and thereby do fit into the category of chinoiserie, they were sometimes part of the chinoiserie interior – as seen in the dining room at Heeswijk Castle (figs. 58-59), where late eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper is accompanied by an European imitation of a lacquered chimneypiece – but were not chinoiserie in themselves.

Within the scope of this study, I am interested in Impey’s recognition of the entangled network of relationships between different Asian visual styles in the creation of Asian export products, manufactured for the Western market. As noted by Impey, Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers recall floral motifs that can be found on Indian chintzes. On its turn, Chinese figural landscape wallpapers recall the designs of Chinese coromandel screens and *famille verte* porcelain<sup>107</sup>. In addition, Impey highlights that Chinese export products, chinoiserie artefacts and European styles such as rococo, neo-classicism and the gothic style in seventeenth- and eighteenth-interior design, are often mixed and combined in one and the same interior. The same observation is also made by Dawn Jacobson in her book *Chinoiserie* (1993), in which the author also covers the topic of Chinese wallpaper as an important part of the Chinese rococo space in eighteenth-century England, as

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-29.

<sup>106</sup> Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles and Western Art and Decoration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 9.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 162.

exemplified by the craze for female dressing-rooms and bedrooms in mid-eighteenth-century England<sup>108</sup>.

More recent publications on the study of the phenomenon of chinoiserie from the last decade, consider the style as a global phenomenon rather than a solely European phenomenon, shaped by cross-cultural encounter, and are thereby also focusing on the Asian styles that informed the creation of chinoiserie thus are understanding chinoiserie in dialogue with Asian visual and material culture. In his book *Ideographia* (2001), David Porter examined the different specific strategies of interpretation that lay behind the early modern Western responses to Chinese culture, in order to identify the ‘origins and effects of a society’s response to foreignness<sup>109</sup>’. The aesthetic chinoiserie should therefore not simply be understood as ‘an exotic twist on the rococo style’, but studied in the context of the Western tropes and ideas of China that shaped the aesthetics’ characteristics to favor irrational disorder and the simple admiration for Asian surfaces over prescribed classical norms and ideas<sup>110</sup>.

Concerning the handling of the term chinoiserie in reference to artefacts executed in the Chinese style, Porter uses the term in his book in reference to both objects manufactured in the West and objects manufactured in the East. Porter defends his flexible use of the term chinoiserie, by arguing that the contemporary viewer would not have observed any difference in terms of aesthetic value or cultural meaning between ‘authentic’ objects in the Chinese style which were manufactured in China or European objects which imitated the Chinese style. Therefore, Porter understands chinoiserie primary as an aesthetic response to Chinese culture in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, that can be compared with other types of responses and attitudes towards China in this time-period<sup>111</sup>.

Nine years after the publication of *Ideographia*, Porter’s second book *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-century England* (2010) was published, in which the author is primary concerned with the

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<sup>108</sup> Dawn Jacobson, ‘The Spread of the Style: Chinoiserie in Europe in the eighteenth century’ in *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon, 1993).

<sup>109</sup> David Porter, *Ideographia: The Chinese Chipper in Early Modern Europe* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 9.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-138.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p 137.

identification of aesthetic ideas about China that informed the fed for both imported and imitated Chinese goods in eighteenth-century England and vice versa. In the chapter ‘China and the Aesthetics of Exoticism’, Porter highlights that he is less interested in looking to the aesthetic chinoiserie as a style in relation to contemporary styles such as baroque and rococo and understands chinoiserie primary as an European substitute for Asian objects that developed in response to increased demand for artefacts in the Chinese style. In contrast to these modes of looking, Porter understands chinoiserie primary as a cultural phenomenon which took a great deal in the creation of social masculine and female identities<sup>112</sup>.

Following Porter’s notion of the social and cultural impact of chinoiserie in eighteenth-century England, Eugenia Zuroski examined the role of chinoiserie in the construction of social identity and public persona, in her book *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (2014). Like Porter, Zuroski is using literary sources to understand how literature has shaped the of selfhood in eighteenth-century Britain and uses the term chinoiserie in reference to both imported Chinese artefacts as well as European objects, executed in the Chinese style<sup>113</sup>. Following Porter understanding of chinoiserie artefacts as materialized linguistic and theological discourses<sup>114</sup>, Zuroski argues that material objects should be understood as ‘extensions of the literary text that addresses and incorporates them<sup>115</sup>’. However, one could argue that the relationship between texts and material objects is entangled, which means that literary texts on their turn, could also be seen as extensions of material objects. Nevertheless, as argued by Zuroski, objects in the Chinese taste in eighteenth-century Britain primary reflect something of the contemporary owner’s desire to relate his or her own ‘English self’ to things Chinese and thereby tell foremost a story about the relationship between people and things that shape, construct and fashion the self.

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<sup>112</sup> David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 33-36.

<sup>113</sup> Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 136.

<sup>115</sup> Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism*, p. 3.



Although Zuroski is specifically focused on the changing relationship between the British ‘self’ and Chinese things, in specific from the mid-seventeenth-century until the beginning of the nineteenth-century, her work is like the work of Porter, relevant within the scope of this study in terms of its understanding and uses of the term chinoiserie as a method to write stories about social identity. Despite that both Porter as well as Zuroski study the concept of chinoiserie from the point of English literature, their understanding of the entangled relationship between material objects and literature is fruitful and might in the context of this study, generate ideas about the production and construction of ideas of selfhood in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands.

In the field of material culture studies, art historian Stacey Sloboda has been concerned with the idea of chinoiserie artefacts as carriers of knowledge in a number of publications<sup>116</sup>. Unlike Porter and Zuroski, Sloboda does understand chinoiserie artefacts as part of the broader European feed for Chinese objects yet not all objects that are alluding the Chinese style, are chinoiserie. In other words, Sloboda makes a clear distinction between chinoiserie objects and objects in the Chinese taste. More specific, the author primarily understands chinoiserie artefacts as objects that are executed in the Chinese taste in the West. According to Sloboda, the popularity of chinoiserie artefacts can be explained by the given that Chinese iconography carried no fixed historical, cultural, political or religious meanings and thereby could be used by both amateurs and craftsmen among all layers of society as a means to fashion ‘the self’<sup>117</sup>. However, according to the author, both objects in the Chinese taste manufactured in China as well as chinoiserie artefacts created in the West, primarily functioned as ‘connective agents’ which enabled cross-cultural encounter between Chinese and European audiences. Asian objects in the Chinese taste were therefore not valued for their symbolic associations, rather they were appreciated for their potential to foster Chinese and European encounter and should therefore be understood as a site that negotiates cultural encounter<sup>118</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Sloboda, ‘Surface Contact’, pp. 248–263; Stacey Sloboda, ‘Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation: Elizabeth Montagu’s Chinese Room’, in Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (eds.) *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors* (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 129-148.

<sup>117</sup> Sloboda, *Chinoiserie*, p. 123.

<sup>118</sup> Sloboda, ‘Surface Contact’, pp. 248–263.

Following Sloboda in the observation that chinoiserie is first and foremost a European phenomenon yet developed in response to cross-cultural circulation of materials and images in eighteenth-century Europe, Christopher Johns defines chinoiserie in his book *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in a Global Context* (2016) as a ‘Western artistic style that adapted Chinese originals for its own purposes’, which was originally concerned with the imitation of ‘original’ Chinese motifs and designs put moved from the eighteenth-century onwards to the less authentic and more dehumanized representations of Chinese society<sup>119</sup>. According to Johns, this change in style was caused by the end of Catholic missions in the beginning of the eighteenth-century due to restricted policies of Kangxi.

In line with Porter and Zuroski’s understanding of chinoiserie artefacts as materialized linguistic and theological discourses<sup>120</sup>, Johns defines European chinoiserie as modes of expression, accommodating intellectual change in Western perceptions of China in the eighteenth-century. However, in contrast to Porter and Zuroski and thereby following Sloboda, Johns makes a clear distinction between objects in the Chinese style manufactured in Europe – chinoiserie – and objects in the Chinese style that were created in China. This distinction – yet not explained explicit – is important in the work of Johns, since he understands chinoiserie not as a rococo fantasy and an aesthetic choice, but really as an cultural and political agent that penetrated Western perceptions about China and its connection to the West<sup>121</sup>.

The last scholarly contribution concerning the study of chinoiserie I discuss, is *Beyond Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange Between China and the West During the Late Qing dynasty (1796-1911)* edited by Petra ten Doesschate Chu and Jennifer Milam. This study is specific concentrated on the artistic output of both China and the West during the nineteenth-century, that moved away from ‘eighteenth-century chinoiserie and européenerie, which were grounded in mutual admiration’. Concerning the understanding of the origins of chinoiserie, the authors are following Hugh Honour’s idea of the vision of Cathay that informed the creation of chinoiserie throughout the eighteenth- and

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<sup>119</sup> Christopher M.S. Johns, *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), pp. 3-4.

<sup>120</sup> Porter, *The Chinese Taste*, p. 136; Jenkins, *A Taste for China*, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> Johns, *China and the Church*, pp. 3-4.

even the nineteenth-century, thus identifying chinoiserie primary as an Western materialized utopic vision of China<sup>122</sup>. In this respect, the authors differ from Johns who argues that the representation of China in chinoiserie artefacts, underwent visual transformation in response to changes political and cultural attitudes towards China, throughout the eighteenth-century<sup>123</sup>.

As set out by the authors, the current meaning of chinoiserie – a Western style that incorporated Chinese visual motifs, forms and techniques – originates from the beginning of the twentieth-century. Codified in the third quarter of the nineteenth-century by French writers, the term was initially used in reference to small objects in the Chinese taste –manufactured in China as well as the West. In the late nineteenth-century however, chinoiserie was also used in reference in the musical context in France, in relation to musical productions. From 1911 onwards, the current meaning has been found in French archival sources.

Special attention deserves to be given to the chapter ‘Fashion, Chinoiserie and the Transnational’ by Sarah Cheang, in which the author argues that nineteenth- and twentieth- chinoiserie fashions, resulting from material and cultural translations between China, Japan and Britain, exemplify that chinoiserie is ‘a field of the culturally in-between, consisting of objects in translation<sup>124</sup>’. As a result, Cheang warns for the tendency of historians as well as curators to identify these complex and dual objects in geographical and cultural categories, which neglects the complex layer of cross-cultural contact and translation of which these artefacts result<sup>125</sup>. Within the scope of this study, I am interested in Cheang’s observations regarding the pitfalls of handling strict cultural and geographical categorization in reference to global artefacts. Since the author’s study is solely concentrated on the study of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century chinoiserie fashion and dress, it might be worth taking into account these observations with respect to the study of Chinese wallpaper within the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands.

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<sup>122</sup> Petra Ten Doesschate Chu and Jennifer Milam (eds.) *Beyond Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange Between China and the West During the Late Qing-dynasty (1796-1911)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> Johns, *China and the Church*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>124</sup> Sarah Cheang, ‘Fashion, Chinoiserie and the Transnational’, in Petra Ten Doesschate Chu and Jennifer Milam (eds.) *Beyond Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange Between China and the West During the Late Qing-dynasty (1796-1911)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 235–267, esp. p. 242.

<sup>125</sup> Cheang, ‘Fashion, Chinoiserie and the Transnational’, p. 264.

As scholarship on the concept of chinoiserie over the last two decades has demonstrated, the definition of the term of chinoiserie as understood by the discussed scholars is less than stable and consistent— stretching from aesthetic idealized style to political actor, covering both artefacts manufactured in the West as well in China – which leads me to conclude that every artefact that results from cross-cultural encounter, deserves a custom-made category, which values both the artists as well as the contemporary users of the object.

In this respect, I am following Anna Wu (2019), who already observed that Chinese wallpaper is hard to fit in a certain category since it is neither a Westernized interpretation and articulation of the Chinese style and neither Chinese decorative or fine art, since the artefacts were specifically created for the Western market thus not sold on the domestic market. Following Stacey Sloboda (2014), Wu argues that the concept of chinoiserie might nevertheless be helpful in studying the attitudes towards Chinese wallpaper. In addition, Wu calls for a more global approach of the subject, by moving away from the idea that chinoiserie is a European phenomenon<sup>126</sup>. By reviewing previous literature on the concept of chinoiserie in reference to Chinese wallpaper, I have tried to shed a different light on the ways in which we might understand the panels of Chinese wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd; not primarily a manifestation of the early modern Western perception of China, but moreover as an articulation of the multiple visual worlds of both China and the West.

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<sup>126</sup> Wu, *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture*, pp. 121-26.

## **Methodology**

### *Circulation and reception*

Within this study I aim to shed a light on the place and social function and meaning of Chinese wallpapers – in specific the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd. In order to do so, I will also explore related and comparable interiors in which Chinese wallpapers were installed between the mid-eighteenth- and the early nineteenth-century, which are still on display (Appendix I) and one places in which Chinese wallpapers have hung there but that are no longer to be seen. In specific, I am interested in the place of Chinese wallpaper within the Dutch eighteenth- and nineteenth-century interior and aim to find out if Chinese wallpapers were generally speaking intended to be displayed for public or were mainly displayed in private rooms. Who was purchasing Chinese wallpapers and for what kind of spaces were these Chinese wallpapers intended, and how did the display of Chinese wallpapers relate to the domestic spaces in which they were hung? The Chinese wallpapers themselves will function as my main source, but also archival documentation– such as Dutch newspapers, inventory documentation, notes and letters from contemporary owners and other contemporary writings – will provide a significant resource for examining the practices of owning and displaying Chinese wallpapers in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands.

### *Iconography*

In this study, I will also try to identify the specific kind of motifs and designs that can be found on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd in its local, Chinese context. In order to look for the iconographical understanding of Chinese wallpaper motifs within the Chinese visual world, I will use not only secondary sources but use material objects which represent similar kind of imagery as my primary source material. Since I am lacking the understanding of the Chinese language, I will primarily use Chinese objects created for the domestic market as well as objects that were created for the export market that represent scenes similar to the ones represented on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, as source material. As a result, I will study the visual motifs of the Chinese bird-

and-flower wallpapers as well as the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers within the context of the Chinese visual culture, the geographical place where the wallpapers were materialized.

As already hinted at before, it is important to stress that contemporary viewers would not have been able to grasp the iconographical local understanding in the Chinese visual tradition, of the various visual motifs that can be found on eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers. In other words, eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were not valued for their iconographical value but rather for their decorative potential. The reason for focusing both on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century domestic context in which the Chinese wallpapers were displayed in the Netherlands (eighteenth- and nineteenth-century gaze) and the iconographical meaning and original sources of the various visual motifs that can be found on these wallpapers (twenty-first-century gaze), can be explained by this study's aim to write art history from not only the contemporary Western owner's point of view but also from the maker's point of view. By doing so, this study aims to increase not only the understanding of the context in which these wallpapers were displayed, but also on the source material which might have been used by the artists of these wallpapers which were working from their own visual tradition in response to the Western demand for the Chinese visual world on wallpaper format.

## Chapter 2: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers in the 18th-19th Century Netherlands

Country house Oud-Amelisweerd is located along the river Kromme Rijn in the municipality and village Bunnik, close to the city of Utrecht. Despite that the history of the site can be traced back to the thirteenth-century, the mansion in its current state was built in 1770 by order of Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen in the neoclassic style. In the winter months the Baron and his family lived in the city of Utrecht along the Wittevrouwenstraat and in the summer months he enjoyed Oud-Amelisweerd as a summer residence. The way in which Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen created an ensemble of interior, country house and park, is still largely intact today and reflects his personal preferences for the natural world and the fashion of his time<sup>127</sup>.

Unfortunately, after having enjoyed Oud-Amelisweerd for more than thirty summers, Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen died in 1804. In 1806, the property was bought by his eldest son Gerard Arnoud Baron Taets van Amerongen (1754-1823). On his turn, Gerard Arnoud sold both Oud-Amelisweerd as well as Nieuw-Amelisweerd in 1808 to the King of the Netherlands Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1778-1846)<sup>128</sup>. During a short visit to both properties on December 28, 1807, Louis Napoleon had already expressed his desire to own both places. As described by the Utrecht pharmacist Hendrick Keetell, the King demanded ‘*not to save any resources, to spare any money, in order to acquire those pleasant courtyards*<sup>129</sup>’. Also the price of 100.000 gulden, which was five times as much as Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen himself had paid for the property<sup>130</sup>, was paid by Louis Napoleon to acquire the place, expresses his eager for obtaining the property.

As examined by art historian and former resident of Oud-Amelisweerd Sander Karst, the property had two important potentials. On the short term, Louis Napoleon wanted to use the country

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<sup>127</sup> For analysis on Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen’s preferences for the design and architecture of Oud-Amelisweerd see Sander Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830; 70 jaar wooncultuur in Oud-Amelisweerd* (unpublished report, Utrecht, 2011), pp. 10-30.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>129</sup> ‘geen middelen te spaaren nog gelden te ontzien, om beyde die lusthoven in bezit te krijgen’ in Hendrick Keetell, ‘Dagverhaal der gebeurtenissen binnen Utrecht 1793-1816’, *DeNavorscher* (1905), p. 70.

<sup>130</sup> Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 2.01.25., inv.nr.109 & 354 no. 4.

house as a summer residence and vacation retreat. On the long term, he wanted to transform the property into a new royal palace with a large landscape park for ceremonial and public purposes<sup>131</sup>. Unfortunately, his plans didn't work out. Louis Napoleon would visit Oud-Amelisweerd only three times and finally sold the property two days before his abdication, in July 1810 to Jan Pieter Wickevoort van Crommelin (1763-1837). On his turn, Wickevoort van Crommelin sold the property a few months later for almost twice as much as he paid for both estates to the major of Utrecht, Paulus Wilhelmus Bosch van Drakestein (1771-1834)<sup>132</sup>. Over the past 250 years, both the exterior as well as the layout of the ground- and upper floors of Oud-Amelisweerd has largely remained intact (fig. 36)<sup>133</sup>. Despite that we lack of information about Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen's building plans and the presumed involvement of a hired decorator, architect and/or contractor in the 1770s, the neoclassical interior design such as the stucco ornaments and meander motifs on the doorframes in salon 1.5 and 1.6, as well as the book collection of Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen demonstrates that he was mainly inspired by the upcoming neoclassical Louis XVI style, less opulent than the preceding Rococo and Louis XV styles, and the political ideals of patriotism<sup>134</sup>.

Despite that we do not have any documentation that indicates how the Taets van Amerongen family used the various spaces of the property and which kind of furniture was being used in the house, the inventory documentation of Oud-Amelisweerd of September 1808, drawn up by Louis Napoleon's *valet tappareur* Mr. Charpantier<sup>135</sup>, reveals how the property was decorated and how the specific rooms of the property were used, during the time-period that Louis Napoleon occupied the house between 1808-1810. In contrast to Huis ten Bosch Palace, Loo Place and Soestdijk Palace, Oud-Amelisweerd was Louis Napoleon's personal possession thus Oud-Amelisweerd was not furnished and arranged on the basis of the court etiquette, which allowed him to incorporate also neoclassical furniture next to empire style furniture<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 8.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>133</sup> Nico van der Woude, 'Een Aanzienlijk Nieuw Huis', in Nicole Baartman et al. (eds.) *Baronnen en kunstenaars: De geschiedenis van het Landhuis Oud-Amelisweerd Vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot Heden* (Utrecht, 1993), pp. 99-126, esp. p. 100.

<sup>134</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 17, note 16.

<sup>135</sup> This documentation was first published in Sander Karst his study on Oud-Amelisweerd of 2011, see Appendix I in Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.



For the most part, Louis Napoleon must have adopted the layout of the floor plan of Oud-Amelisweerd in which the interconnected rooms of the apartments were initiated by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen in 1770 (fig. 36). Of the two large salons in these two apartments, the last salon formed the most important room of each apartment. The hierarchy of the specific spaces was expressed by the upholstery and furniture. Only the four large salons of both apartments were completely furnished, existing of canapé, armchairs and a fire screen which were for each room made from the same type of wood and covered with the same costly fabric lampas. In addition, only in these four salons, the windows were covered with glass curtains, covered with large curtains of mousseline- or Chinese nankin silk, which were on their turn covered with drapery made of Asian silk.

Based on the sequence of the inventory documentation, it becomes clear that a contemporary resident or visitor of the house would have walked from the *antechamber* (main hall-way) (1.1), to the *Salon des Officiers* (1.8), from which one would pass the *Chambre del Hussiers* (1.7) in order to get the two most important salons of the apartment, the *1er Salon* (1.6) and the even more important the *Salon du Roi* (1.5). From this main salon of the apartment, one would walk through the *cabinet* (1.4) in order to get to the *Salle à Manger du Roi* (1.3)<sup>137</sup>. The other apartment was located on the second floor of the house and provided access to the matraite's bedroom and the bedroom of both the principal lackey as wells as the bedroom of the King himself<sup>138</sup>. The other rooms of the house were used by other courtiers and the concierge.

### **Oud-Amelisweerd: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers in Louis Napoleon's *1er Salon***

Salon 1.5 and salon 1.6 belonged to the two most important spaces of the apartment on the ground floor. Today salon 1.6 is covered with Chinese figural landscape wallpapers (fig. 22-25). For a long time it had been assumed that the wallpapers of both salon 1.5 as well as salon 1.6, were covered with Chinese wallpapers acquired and installed by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen or his

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>138</sup> I will not go into detail about the second floor of Oud-Amelisweerd, since I am concerned with the Chinese wallpapers that were installed on the ground-floor of the property. For more information about the second apartment on the second floor see Ibid., p. 34 and pp. 59-62.

son in the end of the eighteenth-century, since both men served as governors for the Dutch Company and alike engaged in private trade<sup>139</sup>. This idea was primarily supported by information which derived from the auction catalogue of Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen's book collection, which lists 'five sheets of Chinese colored wallpaper'<sup>140</sup>. However, material as well as technical research in 2012-2013<sup>141</sup> and a rediscovered written on behalf of Louis Napoleon<sup>142</sup>, has demonstrated that salon 1.5 was already covered with green painted linen hangings when the King bought the house in 1808 (fig. 37). On his turn, Louis Napoleon swapped the green painted linen hanging for blue empire wallpaper from the Royal wallpaper manufacturer J.G. Berger (fig. 85). These observations support the idea that the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were hung in salon 1.6 by the family Bosch van Drakestein who moved into the house in 1811<sup>143</sup>.

In 2013, restorer Ige Verslype discovered new information about the early years of the wallcoverings of salon 1.6. As part of the NWO-Vidi project 'From Isolation to Coherence' (2012–2017), Verslype adapted the green painted linen hanging with painted trompe l'oeil frames (fig. 37) in salon 1.6 as a case-study, a wallcovering which can be dated back to the first period of occupation of the house, ca. 1770-1804<sup>144</sup>. Beneath the green plain surface between the painted trompe l'oeil architectural frames, Verslype discovered a decorative painting with garlands, vases and medallions, by means of Infrared Reflectography (IRR). In addition, material-technical research demonstrated that the trompe l'oeil architectural frames originally had a different shape. In short, these findings indicate that the painted green linen hanging knew three different versions between the years 1770-1808, the period in which Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen and his family occupied the house<sup>145</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> Van Dam, 'Drakeboot en mandarijneend', pp. 150-151.

<sup>140</sup> 'Vijf vellen Chineesch gecouleerd behangpapier'. Catalogus van een uitmuntend kabinet schilderyen door de beroemdste Nederlandsche meesters, nagelaaten door wylen den Hoogh Edele Heere Gerard Godart Baron Taets van Amerongen, Heere van Oud-Amelisweerd en Oud Marschalk van 't Neederquatier, 's lands van Utrecht. Welke alle zullen verkocht worden (...) op woensdag den 3de July, 1805 en volgende dagen, ten Huize van C.S.Roos in 't Huis van Trip te Amsterdam. An exemplary of the catalogue is currently present at the Rijksprentenkabinet of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

<sup>141</sup> Claudia Junge, Anna Rupert and Nico van der Woude, *Oud-Amelisweerd. Kleurhistorisch onderzoek naar de geschilderde interieurafwerking, rapportage fase* (unpublished report, Amsterdam/Maastricht: SRAL, 2010), p. 15.

<sup>142</sup> For extensive description of proof for the claim that the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper was not displayed by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen see Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 51-55.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55.

<sup>144</sup> This information was presented by Thomas Brain at the International Conference 'Chinese Wallpaper: Trade, Technique and Taste', which was being held in London on 7-8 April 2016.

<sup>145</sup> Author unknown, 'De geschilderde behangsels in Oud-Amelisweerd: Snelle smaakaanpassingen in het interieur', accessed on April 20, 2020, <<http://www.fromisolationtocoherence.nl/casussen/amelisweerd.html>>.

Up to this point, it seems that only one of the two most important spaces of the apartment, was covered with Chinese wallpapers during the time-period that both the Taets van Amerongen family as well as Louis Napoleon occupied the house, between 1770-1810. However, Verslype also found small pieces of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper and a relative large fragment of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper on the east-wall of salon 1.6, which were applied before the linen hanging was painted green (fig. 38). This remarkable observation thus indicates that the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers must have been present in salon 1.6, before the green painted linen hanging, the blue empire wallpaper and the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were installed<sup>146</sup>. This hypothesis is further confirmed by the pink painted meander motifs that were re-found as the first decorative layer, beneath different layers of paint on the doorframes and paneling (fig. 39). The motifs echo the green painted meander motifs that were found on the doorframes of the adjoining salon 1.5 (fig. 40)<sup>147</sup>. In other words, it has become more and more likely that Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were installed in salon 1.6, during the first period in which Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen occupied the house.

The presumed presence of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the two most important rooms of the apartment located on the ground floor of the property, can be understood in light of the Baron's interests in the natural world of other non-Western countries such as Africa and Asia, which is confirmed by his book collection<sup>148</sup>. Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen's interest in non-native bird species is further confirmed by the given that he owned a menagerie where he might have kept all kinds of birds among which also different species of tropical birds<sup>149</sup>. Moreover, the bird-and-flower wallcovering of the rooms which were looking out over the garden, might also be interpreted

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<sup>146</sup> Thomas Brain and Monique Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd* (unpublished report, Leiden, 2014), pp. 10-11.

<sup>147</sup> In total there were found seven different decorative layers on the door paneling; the just described pink painted meander motif is the first decorative layer that covered the door paneling. Monique Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen: Onderzoek naar de Installatiegeschiedenis van het Chinese Jacht- en Drakenbootbehangsel in Landhuis Oud-Amelisweerd* (unpublished bachelor's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 27-28.

<sup>148</sup> His book collection included also many travel books about among others Asia and Africa. Natalie Kamphuis, 'Een Baron, Een Koning en Een jonkheer', in Nicole Baartman et al. (eds.) *Baronnen en kunstenaars: De geschiedenis van het Landhuis Oud-Amelisweerd Vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot Heden* (Utrecht, 1993), pp. 9-44, esp. p. 24.

<sup>149</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 41-42.

as an attempt to integrate indoors and outdoors by which the rooms blend art with nature. This observation is in line with remarks made by art historian Sabine Thümmler (1998), who has argued that the popularity of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in Europe during this time-period can be understood in light of the growing importance of the landscape garden in eighteenth-century Europe and a growing interest in integrating indoor and outdoor spaces<sup>150</sup>.

In addition, the combination of the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.5 and 1.6 and the neoclassical interior elements such as the geometrical meander motifs which feature among others on the doorframes, seems to be entangled thus might be understood in relation to each other. As touched upon by Kristel Smentek (2019), eighteenth-century Europeans were well-aware of China's great antiquity by which 'Chinese and Chinese-themed objects thus could connote both the sophistication of the distant imperium and its great antiquity'. According to Smentek, the accommodation of China's antiquity by objects in the Chinese style is further heightened by the juxtaposition of Chinese motifs and classicizing ornaments recalling Greco-Roman antiquity in the ornaments or the display of these objects<sup>151</sup>. As highlighted by Smentek, China's long history thereby challenged the long-held biblical view of Noah as the father of mankind<sup>152</sup>. By juxtaposing the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers with the classical motifs which are incorporated in various decorative elements of the rooms, it could be argued that salon 1.5 and salon 1.6 initially served as material sites where China's long history became imaginary accommodated to the Greco-Roman ancient world.

Returning to the green painted linen hanging with painted trompe l'oeil architectural frames (fig. 37), it seems likely that this wallcovering served as a backdrop for the display of paintings, since green colored walls were considered appropriate for the display of paintings. It might therefore have been the case that Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen decided to swap the Chinese bird-and-

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<sup>150</sup> Thümmler, 'Rokoko', pp. 31-62, esp. 42-48.

<sup>151</sup> Kristel Smentek, 'Other Antiquities: Acients, Moderns, and the Challenge of China in Eighteenth-century France', in Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan (eds.) *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds: Local and Global Geographies of Art* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp. 153-169, esp. p. 165. See also Kristel Smentek, 'China and Greco-Roman Antiquity: Overture to a Study of the Vase in Eighteenth-Century France', *Journal18*, No. 1 (2016), <<http://www.journal18.org/497>>. DOI: 10.30610/1.2016.3.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, note 10.

flower wallpapers for a display of his extensive painting collection, existing of at least 210 paintings<sup>153</sup>. In two of Adriaen de Lelie's paintings of the 1790s depicting two exceptional collector interiors, respectively the *The Art Gallery of Jan Gildemeester Jansz* (1794-1795) (fig. 41) and *The Art Gallery of Joseph Augustinus Bretano* (1798)<sup>154</sup>, we observe green wall-hangings which are densely hung with paintings in gilded frames in symmetrical disposition, which was custom at the time<sup>155</sup>. Both rooms originate from the same time-period as Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen occupation of Oud-Amelisweerd, which might explain his choice for the green painted linen wall coverings in salon 1.6, as a very representative modern background on which to display your painting collection proudly. Counting 210 paintings among which artworks made by well-known Dutch master painters, his collection must have been substantial at the time. By way of comparison, the collection of the just described Dutch collector and contemporary of Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen, Jan Gildemeester Jansz included more than 300 paintings<sup>156</sup>, the collection of the other just mentioned Dutch collector Joseph Augustinus Bretano contained about 410 paintings which was far above average at the time<sup>157</sup>.

Based on an auction list of 1805, the year in which the whole collection was sold at the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam<sup>158</sup>, we know that his painting collection mainly existed of seventeenth-century Dutch masters, such as Gerrit Dou, Jan Steen, Frans van Mieris, Anthony van Dyck and Jan Brueghel the Elder. With the use of detailed descriptions and measurements that are listed in the catalogue, I have been able to accurately identify some of the paintings<sup>159</sup>, among which Frans van

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<sup>153</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>154</sup> Also on Adriaan de Lelie's *Double-portrait of Johannes Beeldsnijder (1761-1817) and Gerard Johannes Beeldsnijder (1791-1853)*, ca. 1815-1817, oil on canvas, 77,5 x 93 cm, Sotheby's (Amsterdam) 2008-10-29, nr. 60 and *Self-portrait with Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821)*, 1813, oil on canvas, 285 x 160 cm, private collection, we observe a similar green wall hanging on which paintings in gilded frames are being hung.

<sup>155</sup> Koldewey, '1750-1800', p. 283.

<sup>156</sup> Cornelis J. De Bruyn Kops, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Jan Gildemeester Jansz', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1965), pp. 79-114, esp. p. 92.

<sup>157</sup> Richard W.A. Bionda, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar J. A. Brentano (1753-1821) en de inrichting van zijn 'zaal' voor Italiaanse kunst', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1986), pp. 135-176, esp. p. 144.

<sup>158</sup> Catalogus van een uitmuntend kabinet schilderyen door de beroemdste Nederlandsche meesters, nagelaten door wylen den Hoogh Edele Heere Gerard Godart Baron Taets van Amerongen, Heere van Oud-Amelisweerd en Oud Marschalk van 't Neederquater, 's lands van Utrecht. Welke alle zullen verkocht worden (...) op woensdag den 3de July, 1805 en volgende dagen, ten Huize van C.S.Roos in 't Huis van Trip te Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam, nr. 6985.

<sup>159</sup> In 2011, Sander Karst identified two of the paintings of the list, respectively Melchior d'Hondecoeter, *Waterfowl* (1668) (fig. 46) and Jan van der Heyden, *Room Corner with Curiosities* (1712) (fig. 47). See Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 19-20.

Mieris's *The oyster meal* (1661) (fig. 42), Abraham Mignon's *Still life with Fruits, Oysters and a Porcelain Bowl* (ca. 1660-1679) (fig. 43), Rachel Ruysch's *Still-Life with Bouquet of Flowers and Plums* (1704) (fig. 44) and Thomas Wijck's *The Alchemist* (1631-1677) (fig. 45). The inclusion of many seventeenth-century Dutch artists in his painting collection, reflects Baron Taets van Amerongen's preference for Dutch art made during the glory days of the seventeenth century.

The Baron's decision to swap the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers for the green painted linen hanging on which he could display his painting collection, raises the question as to what extent his motives for displaying his painting collection of seventeenth-century Dutch masters in salon 1.6, can be related to the presence of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the adjoining salon 1.5. What these two types of wallcovering seem to have in common, is they both indirectly recall the splendor of the Company's heyday and the cultural and economic prosperity that resulted. By doing so, the elaborate and impressive covering of the walls of both rooms with seventeenth-century Dutch paintings and Chinese pictorial bird-and-flower wallpapers, might be understood as an embodiment of not only personal accomplishment, but also as manifestations of nationalistic and nostalgic pride. Nevertheless, the suggestion that is made here that Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen's motives for covering the walls of the most important rooms of the house with the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers and later on, with his seventeenth-century collection of Dutch art, might be related to issues of national identity too, needs further in-depth research.

### **Oud-Amelisweerd: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers and Chinese Pictures in Louis Napoleon's *Salon du Roi***

The most important salon of the apartment and thereby the ground floor was salon 1.5, which is today covered with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers (figs. 26-29). The marble fireplace (fig. 48), the stucco ceiling decorated with geometrical motifs (fig. 50) and the painted paneling which are all decorated with the same meander motif (fig. 40), show that the neoclassical style left its mark on the interior design. The green colorwork of the painted paneling around the doors (fig. 40), matches with the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers. Overall, the different parts of the interior decoration are

aligned with each other. Given that neoclassicism reached its peak in the Dutch interior only in the last two decades of the eighteenth-century<sup>160</sup>, the interior design must have been exceptional modern for the 1770s thus confirms that the salon was already one of the most important rooms when Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen designed the house in 1770.

Even though we don't know who designed the neoclassical interior ensemble, the stucco ceiling decorated with geometrical motifs (fig. 50) shows close comparisons with the designs of neoclassical stucco ornaments (fig. 51) by design of the Dutch architect Jacob Otten Husly (1738-1796). On his turn, Otten Husly was inspired by the neoclassical designs of the French architect Jean François de Neufforge (1714-1791)<sup>161</sup>. In addition, the designs of the mantelpieces by Leendert Viervant (1752-1801) (fig. 49), the nephew of Otten Husly<sup>162</sup>, share similarities with the marble mantelpieces at Oud-Amelisweerd, including the mantelpiece in salon 1.5 on which we see the neoclassical meander known as the 'lopende hond' ('walking dog') motif (fig. 48)<sup>163</sup>. Based on stylistic comparisons and the given that Husly belonged to the first representatives of the neoclassic style in the Netherlands, Sander Karst (2011) has proposed that Viervant and Husly might have been responsible for the interior design of Oud-Amelisweerd in 1770<sup>164</sup>.

During the time-period that Louis Napoleon occupied the house, it is known that the room functioned as the King's *Salon du Roi* thus his living room<sup>165</sup>. In this salon, Louis Napoleon would have placed among others a set of 16 mahogany wood chairs, covered with yellow lampas in white floral motif, which were soon replaced for a set of chairs made from gilded pinewood, covered with

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<sup>160</sup> Eloy Koldewey, 'De 'nieuwsten zwier' maakt plaats voor 'à l'antique': het neoclassicistische interieur in Nederland. Veranderingen in het eind-18de-eeuwse interieurontwerp', in Miko Vasques Diaz (ed.) *18e-Eeuws Neoclassicisme in Nederland. Meubel en Interieur à l'Antique* (Haarlem: Stichting Ebenist, 2009), pp. 5-12, esp. p. 6.

<sup>161</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>162</sup> It is known that Uncle Otten Husly and nephew Leendert Viervant worked together; for instance, on the execution of the Ovall Hall behind the Fundatiehuis in Haarlem, which was built between 1780-1781 and the city hall of the municipality of Weesp, which was realized between 1772-1776.

<sup>163</sup> Koldewey '1750-1800', pp. 260-341 and p. 305.

<sup>164</sup> In addition, Karst notes that the other members of the Viervant family might have been responsible for the construction of Oud-Amelisweerd, among which Roelof Roelofsz Viervant (1755-1819) which designs for a house in Arnhem show close comparisons to the façade of Oud-Amelisweerd. See Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 16-17 and p. 112.

<sup>165</sup> Salon 1.5 functioned as the 'Salon du Roi (à l'angle)'. This documentation was first published in Sander Karst his study on Oud-Amelisweerd of 2011, see *Ibid.*, Appendix I.

thick blue satin and Chinese embroidery<sup>166</sup>. A number of armchairs and chairs of this set can today be seen at Villa Welgelegen (fig. 52) – a mansion in the city of Haarlem which was like Oud-Amelisweerd bought by Louis Napoleon in 1808 – yet the woodwork is today differently colored than its original condition<sup>167</sup>

Surprisingly, during conservational treatments in both 1997 as well as 2012, Chinese pictures and prints were found behind Chinese bird-and-flower upper-door pieces and a chimney piece. In 1997-1998, a Chinese print that depicts two female figures (fig. 8), was found behind the chimney piece on the east-wall of salon 1.5 (fig. 27), that shows two birds accompanied by a Louis XVI ornamental vase (fig. 32). In January 2011, two upper-door pieces (figs. 30 and 31) were re-found<sup>168</sup> and re-installed in 2012. Beneath these two upper-door pieces that also depict birds accompanied by Louis XVI ornamental vases, other fragments of Chinese prints were found. In specific, beneath the upper-door piece depicting blue birds (fig. 30), fragments of a Chinese print representing two female figures (fig. 9 and 12) were discovered; beneath the other upper-door piece depicting two white birds (fig. 31), fragments of a Chinese picture representing a fish in a basket, hold by a hand (fig. 10) were found<sup>169</sup>.

Beneath the chimneypiece and the two upper-door pieces (fig. 29), similar ground paper has been discovered, which differs from the ground paper that was found in 1998 beneath the bird-and-flower wallpapers in the south and east-wall of salon 1.5 (figs. 27-28)<sup>170</sup>. This observation indicates that the chimneypiece and the two upper-door pieces were installed during a later time-period and may even first have hung in a different space<sup>171</sup>. Also the visual style of these pieces, incorporating neoclassical vases, indicates that we are dealing with late eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers,

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-36.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-71.

<sup>168</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 12.

<sup>169</sup> Brain and Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd*, p. 11.

<sup>170</sup> During the conservational treatment in 1997-1998, the Chinese wallpapers on the west and north wall were not restored; Monique Staal, 'De conservering van het Chinese exportbehang in de 'Vogeltjeskamer' van Oud-Amelisweerd', *Care Conservation and Restoration*, No. 3 (1998), pp. 13-24.

<sup>171</sup> Monique Staal has proposed that the print with Chinese female figures which contains a meander motif on the corner of the print, shows close comparisons with the painted meander motifs on the wall paneling in the Chinese Salon, salon 1.6. In addition, there have also been found blank spaces above the doors of the northern wall of salon 1.6. Therefore, Staal proposes that the print with Chinese female figures might have functioned as an upper-door piece in the Chinese salon. Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, p. 40.



which is slightly later than the wallpapers on the south and east-wall of the salon<sup>172</sup>. An eighteenth-century VOC order list of 1787, shows that ‘chimney-pieces representing vases, flowers and birds’ were ordered by the Company. This description matches the representation of the chimney-piece at Oud-Amelisweerd which confirms the hypothesis that these pieces can be dated to the late eighteenth-century<sup>173</sup>. Based on the study of Friederike Wappenschmidt (1989)<sup>174</sup>, Joosje van Dam (1992) has dated the wallpapers on the north-, east- and south-wall of salon 1.5 around 1750-1760 (figs. 26 t/m 28). The wallpapers on the west-wall were dated a bit later (fig. 29), respectively around 1765-1770<sup>175</sup>. As proposed by Monique Staal, the Chinese prints depicting female figures (figs. 9 and 12) might have hung first in salon 1.6, since the geometrical meander motif on the border of the prints as clearly visible in a similar print that has been found in the study at Saltram (fig. 13), matches the pink painted meander motifs which were discovered on the first painted decorative layer on the doorframes and paneling (fig. 39)<sup>176</sup>.

### **Oud-Amelisweerd: Chinese Pictures in Louis Napoleon’s *Salle à Manger du Roi***

A small side *cabinet*, respectively room 1.4<sup>177</sup>, would have taken the visitor to the northeast corner room, salon 1.3 (fig. 53). Today, Louis Napoleon’s private dining room, is covered with green acanthus leaf wallpapers (ca. 1840-1850), presumably installed by Hendrik Willem Bosch van Drakestein who occupied the house from 1834 to 1883<sup>178</sup>. There are serious suspicions that this room was (partially) covered with a collage of Chinese pictures and prints, during the time-period that the Taets van Amerongen family and Louis Napoleon occupied the house, respectively between 1770-1810. This assumption is mainly built on the given that the earlier discussed Chinese bird-and-flower

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<sup>172</sup> As set out by Emile de Bruijn, Chinese wallpaper became more elaborative towards the end of the eighteenth-century, incorporating among others Western elements such as ornamental pots and vases. See De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 141-168.

<sup>173</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, p. 75.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-69 and pp. 176-189.

<sup>175</sup> Van Dam, ‘Drakeboot en mandarijneend’, p. 149.

<sup>176</sup> Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, p. 40.

<sup>177</sup> Salon 1.5, which is still covered with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper (fig. 26-29). Today the cabinet 1.4 is like the north corner room (1.3) covered with green acanthus leaf wallpaper. However, during the occupation of the Taets van Amerongen family and Louis Napoleon, this space would have been covered with green floral and striped wallpaper; Judith Bohan, *Rapportage behanginventarisatie Oud-Amelisweerd* (unpublished report, Haarlem, 2010), p. 7, p. 14 and p. 49.

<sup>178</sup> Bohan, *Rapportage behanginventarisatie Oud-Amelisweerd*, p. 11 and p. 49.

print has been found beneath the brunaille chimneypiece (fig. 6), which was likely to be installed by Paulus Wilhelmus Bosch van Drakestein who occupied the house between 1811-1834<sup>179</sup>.

In addition, there have also been found pigments on a door frame beneath the green acanthus leaf paper, that presumably originate from Chinese painted papers<sup>180</sup>. As touched upon by Emile de Bruijn, the edges of the bird-and-flower print (fig. 6) show the remains of another print or prints, which suggests that there were presumably more Chinese prints functioning as an over mantel covering<sup>181</sup>. In short, these observations indicate that at least the chimney in this corner room 1.3 was covered with a collage of Chinese pictures and prints, during the time that the Taets van Amerongen family and Louis Napoleon occupied the house, respectively between 1770-1810. On their turn, the family Bosch van Drakestein would have swapped this collage of Chinese pictures and prints somewhere between 1811-1883, for green acanthus leaf wallpaper and a brunaille chimneypiece (fig. 53).

## **Circulation and Reception of Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century Netherlands**

### *Chinese Bird-and-Flower Upper-door Pieces at Villa Welgelegen*

In the first decade of the nineteenth-century, Oud-Amelisweerd was not the only place where Louis Napoleon encountered Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers. On the same day that Louis Napoleon bought Oud-Amelisweerd, he bought Villa Welgelegen in the city of Haarlem from the wealthy American-born banker Henry Hope (1735-1811) in 1808. In 1769, Henry Hope bought the residence Welgelegen which was demolished shortly after the acquisition, in order to build the impressive neoclassical building that we know today as Villa Welgelegen. The property was

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 15 and p. 49.

<sup>180</sup> Van der Woude, 'Een Aanzienlijk Nieuw Huis', p. 114.

<sup>181</sup> As explained by Emile de Bruijn, it is unclear when the scheme of Chinese prints was installed at Schloss Hainfeld, it might have been around post-1945 or it might have been part of earlier decoration, the name of Graf von Purgstall (1724-1785) has been mentioned.. Currently the prints are in the collection of the Muban Foundation, London. De Bruijn, 'The Use of Chinese Prints as Wall Coverings in Mid-18th-Century Europe', p. 63.

constructed between 1785-1792 by the Dutch architect Abraham van der Hart (1747-1820)<sup>182</sup>. The private salon of Louis Napoleon was located in the private wing of the property, known as the ‘Dreefvleugel’ where six upper-door pieces of eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper (fig. 55) were installed and can still be seen today. Presumably, the Chinese wallpapers originate from the former property ‘Welgelegen’ thus originate before 1785. After the new building Welgelegen was completed in 1792, (parts of) these Chinese wallpapers were in all likelihood re-used as upper-door pieces<sup>183</sup>.

The upper-door pieces at Villa Welgelegen (fig. 55) show similarities in terms of style and motifs with the bird-and-flower wallpapers on the north-, east- and south-wall in salon 1.5 at Oud-Amelisweerd (figs. 26 t/m 28). Friedrike Wappenschmidt (1989) has attributed several Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in which we see naturalistic and carefully painted birds-and-flowers executed in modest colors against an ivory colored background to the workshop of Anthonij and Seequa<sup>184</sup>. Among these are the bird-and-flower wallpapers at Castle Hallenburg in Schlitz (Germany) (fig. 56) and Hellbrunn Palace in Salzburg (Austria) (fig. 57) and two sheets of wallpaper which are currently in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>185</sup>. Despite that the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and Villa Welgelegen are not covered in Wappenschmidt’s publication of 1989, the wallpapers could also be attributed to the same studio, more specific the studio of Anthonij and Seequa, based on their stylistic similarities in comparison to the just described wallpapers at Castle Hallenburg and Hellbrunn Palace.

As touched upon before, during the time-period that Louis Napoleon occupied the property, the room in which the upper-door pieces are situated functioned as his own private salon. During the time-period that Henry Hope occupied Villa Welgelegen however, between 1792 and 1794, the room

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<sup>182</sup> Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer, ‘Meer dan Welgelegen: Abraham van der Hart en de familie Hope’, *Bulletin KNOB*, No. 107 (2008), pp. 194-211.

<sup>183</sup> Jacqueline Heijenbrok, ‘Paviljoen Welgelegen: een interieur met twee gezichten’, in Miko Vasques Dias (ed.) *18e-eeuwse neoclassicisme in Nederland in Meubel en interieur à l’antique (Handelingen Achtste Nederlandse Symposium Hout- en Meubelrestauratie)* (Haarlem, 2010), pp. 47-67, p. 62.

<sup>184</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, p. 75.

<sup>185</sup> See object nr. E.2083-1914 in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The panels are part of a set of 10 panels in total which originally hung in Eltham Lodge and were removed in 1911.

presumably functioned as his guest room<sup>186</sup>. The base color of the room would initially have been grey, complemented with white or even gilded lists around the panels with wallpaper and around the mirrors, supplemented with blue as spot color. When Louis Napoleon occupied the property between 1808-1810, he changed the curtains made of chintz for white taffeta silk curtains garnished with fringes. Originally, the south-wall of the room would have been also covered with chintz, as well as the covering of the armchairs and matching chairs. Moreover, the ceiling was presumably initially decorated with a chinoiserie design, complementary to the wallpaper<sup>187</sup>. At least the given that Henry Hope presumably re-used the Chinese wallpapers in his newly built mansion in 1792, which was constructed according to the neoclassical aesthetic, suggests that he considered the Chinese wallpapers as suitable to the overall design of the room thus not outdated in the late eighteenth-century.

#### *Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers at Heeswijk Castle*

Finally, there are a few more places in the Netherlands where Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers can be found today. Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper, dated ca. 1750-1780 (figs. 58-59), were installed at Heeswijk Castle in Heeswijk Dinther. To be more precise, in the 1870s<sup>188</sup> these wallpapers were installed in the 'Chinese'<sup>189</sup> dining room of Heeswijk Castle, during the time-period that the brothers Louis (1826-1890) and Albéric (1829-1895) Van den Bogaerde van Terbrugge occupied the castle which functioned as their principal residence<sup>190</sup>. The combination of the Chinese wallcovering and the room's function as a space to enjoy dinner, is pretty uncommon in the

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<sup>186</sup> According to Heijenbrok, the bed coverings with matching curtains, arm-chairs and chairs which were covered with yellow moiré during the period that Hope occupied the house, which is an exception to the chintzes scheme of the rest of the room, indicates that the room might have been less private than Hope's own bedroom. See Heijenbrok, 'Paviljoen Welgelegen', p. 62.

<sup>187</sup> Jacqueline Heijenbrok and Guido Steenmeijer, *Paviljoen Welgelegen te Haarlem. Herkomst meubels Louis Napoleon* (unpublished report, Utrecht: De Fabryck, 2009).

<sup>188</sup> As part of a larger renovation of the castle between 1871-1877, the decoration of the Chinese room underwent significant changes. The room was originally constructed around 1835, as part of the constructed extension of the castle under supervision of André Jean Louis Baron van den Bogaerde van Terbrugge (1787-1855). See Jonathan Gration, *Oriëntaals Heeswijk: Bestudering & Reconstructie van een Lakwerk Interieur* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2011), pp. 68-70.

<sup>189</sup> I use the description Chinese room here in reference to the dining room with Chinese wallpapers. In contemporary sources however, the room is also referred to as a Japanese dining room. See J. Craandijk and H.M. Werner, *Beknopte Gids voor het Kasteel Heeswijk* (Den Haag, Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1896), p. 18.

<sup>190</sup> The semicircular doors and aligned service room, allowing the staff to serve and clear really quickly, indicate that the room functioned as a dining place from the date of construction in 1835 until at least the 1940s. See Author unknown, *Rapportage Kasteel Heeswijk (Part I)* (unpublished report, Amsterdam/Maastricht: SRAL, 1994) pp. 27-28.

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European domestic sphere. Concerning the period between mid-eighteenth- and mid-nineteenth-century Britain, we know that the installation of Chinese wallpapers or pictures and prints in dining rooms was very uncommon<sup>191</sup>. Concerning the Netherlands, Heeswijk Castle is the only place known today in which Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers are situated in the dining room. The given that the Chinese wallpapers were installed in the late-nineteenth-century might explain why the Chinese wallpapers at Heeswijk Castle deviate from the norm.

In comparison to the previous discussed Chinese wallpapers, the Chinese dining room of Heeswijk Castle makes a very elaborate impression. Although the specific pieces of furniture which can today be seen in the dining room are later additions, the curtains made of Chinese silk, the late eighteenth-century Venetian Murano glass chandelier and doors evoking Asian lacquer, were installed simultaneously with the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers. Material-research in 1994 made clear that the ‘lacquered doors’ are not from Chinese or Japanese origin, but were made by a local Dutch craftsman<sup>192</sup>. As proposed by Jonathan Gration (2011), the doors are likely to be made by the same craftsman who executed the ‘lacquered ceiling’ of the tower chamber, in which pieces of Chinese porcelain are incorporated (fig. 60). Originally, also a balcony which evoked a Chinese pagoda would have been situated on the outside of the castle thus would have continued and reinforced the Asian style of the interior decoration of the castle<sup>193</sup>.

Based on the guide *Beknopte Gids voor het Kasteel Heeswijk* (1896) compiled of reports by J. Craandijk and H.M. Werner, we get an impression of the original furniture that would have been present in the Chinese dining room in the late nineteenth-century: *‘(The doors are) covered with beautiful Japanese lacquerwork (...) (there) four fine Chinese pots were placed on a doorpost (so called famille verte) and many Japanese and Chinese dolls were placed on the empire mantel (...)*

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<sup>191</sup> As revealed by the National Trust Chinese Wallpaper Project, the only dining areas where Chinese wallpaper was installed were at a seat of the 4th Earl of Cardigan (1742); at Marble Hill, Twickenham (1755); at Westport House, County Mayo (1790s?); and at Bletchley Rectory, Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire (1838). See, De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, note 3.

<sup>192</sup> Author unknown, *Rapportage Kasteel Heeswijk (Part I)*, p. 28 and pp. 45-46.

<sup>193</sup> See Gration, *Oriëntaals Heeswijk*, p. 85.

(there were also) Japanese curtains (and a) beautiful chandelier of colored glass<sup>194</sup>. The given that the interior of the Chinese dining room consisted of both original as well as Western imitations of Asian artefacts, did not seem to have bothered the contemporary visitors.

#### *Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers at Marquette Castle*

Last, Marquette Castle in Heemskerk houses Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in one of the cabinets which is located at front of the property (figs. 61-62). The wallpapers are pasted on a late eighteenth-century oil painted wallcovering, made by painter Andries van der Groen (1715-1787), at the behest of former resident Pieter van Rendrop (1703-1760). The inclusion of neoclassical vases suggests that the wallpapers originate from the late eighteenth-century, like the upper-door pieces and chimney-piece at Oud-Amelisweerd. Since the greater part of the interior of Marquette Castle originates from the neighboring Assumburg Castle, it has been proposed that the Chinese wallpapers originate from this castle and were moved to Huis Marquette around 1911<sup>195</sup>. Between 1720-1870 Marquette Castle was owned by the Van Rendrop family and primary functioned as a summer-residence<sup>196</sup>.

It is at least known that Assumburg Castle has known two Chinese cabinets which adjoined the Great Hall of the property<sup>197</sup>. In one of them the ceiling has a plastered cove with motifs in the Chinese style and contains a Chinese lacquered panel with floral motifs (fig. 69)<sup>198</sup>. The fragment of eighteenth-century Chinese or European wallpaper in the Chinese style (fig. 65) which is said to be originating from the ‘Het Chineesch boudoir<sup>199</sup>’, might have hung in the other Chinese cabinet at Assumburg Castle. The existence of both Chinese cabinets indicates that the Deutz family, who

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<sup>194</sup> ‘(De deuren zijn) met een fraai Japansch lakwerk overtrokken (...) (er) stonden op eene deurpost vier fijne Chineesche potten (zoogenaamde familie verte) en op den empire-schoorsteenmantel vele Japansche en Chineesche poppertjes (...) (ook waren er) Japansche gordijnen (en een) fraaie kroon van gekleurd glas. See Craandijk and Werner, *Beknopte Gids voor het Kasteel Heeswijk*, p. 19.

<sup>195</sup> M.M. van Leeuwen-Enklaar and J. van Leeuwen, *T Huys te Heemskerk in zijn historisch decor* (Beverwijk: Fam. Scholten, 1995), pp. 84-85.

<sup>196</sup> Simon de Wit, ‘Een groet uit oud Heemskerk’ (June 7, 2004), accessed on April 22, 2020,

<<https://www.eengroetuitheemskerk.nl/een%20groet%20uit%20oud%20heemskerk%20deel%203.html>>.

<sup>197</sup> H.W.M. van der Wyck, ‘Marquette, Assumburg, Beeckesteyn en Waterland’, *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, No. 66 (1967), pp. 29-46, esp. p. 40.

<sup>198</sup> Gratton, *Oriëntaals Heeswijk*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>199</sup> Author unknown, ‘Chinees behangselpapier uit kasteel Assumburg’, accessed on April 22, 2020, <<https://www.museumbeverwijk.nl/cgi-bin/objecten.pl?ident=31202>>.

occupied the house between 1694-1867, had a preference for interior decoration in the ‘Chinese style’. If the Chinese wallpapers indeed originate from Assumburg Castle and were brought to Marquette Castle in the beginning of the twentieth-century, it is likely that they were re-installed by the couple Hugo Gevers (1858-1921) and Pauline Adrienne van Lennep (1869-1947), who occupied the property between 1889-1925<sup>200</sup>.

The written memoirs of Catharina Maria Ulrica Boreel (1889-1962), one of the descendants of the family Rendrop-Boreel and whose grandparents occupied Marquette Castle between 1792-1827, give rise to the idea that Chinese wallpapers were already present in the eighteenth-century at Marquette Castle. According to Boreel, there was a small room located next to the dining-room, decorated with Chinese wallpapers, known as the Chinese cabinet which was installed by either Pieter van Rendrop or Joachim van Rendrop (1728-1792) her great-grandfather and her great-great-grandfather<sup>201</sup>. Taking into account that Joachim as a major of the city of Amsterdam and director of the Society of Suriname from 1758 until his death was affiliated with the Dutch West India Company, it sounds reasonable that the Chinese wallpapers were acquired by Joachim and installed or stored and installed at a later time-period at Marquette Castle. Since it doesn’t seem likely that the Joachim, who was an art lover himself, would have pasted the Chinese wallpapers on top of the oil-paintings of Andries van der Groen, which were installed by his father Pieter, the descendants of Joachim may be held responsible for this.

At first glance, the wallpapers seem to consist of complete sheets of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper. When one takes a closer look however, it becomes visible that the individual birds and flowers are cut-out and pasted onto existing sheets of Chinese wallpaper (fig. 63). In addition, the blanks on the lower part of the panels are painted and do not belong to the Chinese wallpapers. Irrespective of the mysterious story of the wallpaper’s origins, the manner in which the Chinese wallpapers are applied as collages covering the oil painting, raises questions. Could this creative

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<sup>200</sup> Van Leeuwen-Enklaar and Van Leeuwen, *‘t Huys te Heemskerck in zijn historisch decor*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>201</sup> ‘In de kleine kamer naast de eetkamer op Marquette met het Chinees behang stonden vroeger Saksische aapjes van porselein tegen de muur, maar die werden reeds in den ouden tijd door de familie verkocht’. See Van der Wyck, ‘Marquette, Assumburg, Beeckesteyn en Waterland’, p. 38.

outburst be attributed to the same person who created a wallcovering of fragments of animals and flower motifs in the adjoining 'Bloemzaal' ('Flower salon'), existing from separate images of mid-nineteenth-century printed nature books? And if so, might this be an outburst of one of the female residents of Marquette Castle, Pauline Adrienne van Lennep who occupied the property with her husband Jan Hugo Gevers between 1889-1925<sup>202</sup> or Agnes Deutz, who resided in Marquette Castle with her husband Jacob Rendrop between 1827-1868<sup>203</sup>? These are yet unanswered questions.

### **Iconographical Analysis: Chinese Bird-and-Flower Wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd**

#### *A Brief History of Bird-and-Flower Painting in China*

In this section, I move away from the function and meaning of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch domestic context, in specific at Oud-Amelisweerd, and aim to map out the different connotations of the genre of Chinese bird-and-flower painting in the Chinese visual and cultural tradition. The notion that eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper is strongly rooted in the tradition of Chinese bird-and-flower painting<sup>204</sup>, motivates this study's purpose to study the bird-and-flower wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd in the context of Chinese bird-and-flower painting. By giving a short introduction of the history of bird-and-flower painting in China, I will demonstrate how flower-and-bird painting in the Chinese visual tradition performed various functions and carried social, political as well as religious connotations simultaneously.

As will become clear, Chinese artists adopted a wide range of different styles and techniques, to represent the bird-and-flower subject, varying from highly naturalistic to expressionistic styles. It is important to note however that I do not aim to provide a historical survey of the development of the genre of bird-and-flower painting in China. My aim, rather, has been to demonstrate how eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, offer great potential for forcing

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<sup>202</sup> Van Leeuwen-Enklaar and Van Leeuwen, *'t Huys te Heemskerck in zijn historisch decor*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>203</sup> Van der Wyck, 'Marquette, Assumburg, Beeckesteyn en Waterland', p. 38.

<sup>204</sup> Jessica Rawson has argued that Chinese bird-and-flower paintings like Shen Quan's *Pine, Plum and Cranes (1759)* directly inspired the designs of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper. On her turn, Anna Wu argued that the painting *Birds in Osmanthus and Chrysanthemum*, attributed to middle Ming dynasty court painter Lü Ji, belongs to the type of painting on which Chinese wallpaper was based in terms of composition, style as well as subject matter. See Rawson, 'Ornament as System', pp. 380-389, esp. p. 383; Wu, *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture*, pp. 380-381.



new pathways of thinking about and looking at eighteenth-century Chinese wallpaper. Despite that contemporary viewers would have lacked knowledge on the iconographical meaning of these motifs, studying Chinese wallpaper in the context of the Chinese visual tradition might be fruitful today, since it adds new layers to our understanding and appreciation of the variety of symbolic and literary meanings of the motifs that can still be seen on the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd<sup>205</sup>.

### *Bird-and-Flower Painting in the Song Dynasty*

Despite that the genre of birds-and-flowers was already an independent subject matter during the period of the Six Dynasties (220-589), the genre became fully established by the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) under Emperor Huizong (1101-1126)<sup>206</sup>. The imperial painter Huang Quan (903-968) is important in this regard, since he can be credited for establishing a style of bird-and-flower painting that became the standard for bird-and-flower painting in the Song dynasty for more than a century<sup>207</sup>. Concerning the depicting of birds, Huang Quan's realistic and careful colored style of painting, is embodied in the work *Birds, Insects, and Turtles Sketched from Life* (fig. 66). The painting presents the viewer a careful rendered image of a variety of birds, insects and turtles drawn from life, executed with an almost scientific precision.

As observed by Peter C. Sturman in his article 'Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong', the naturalistic representations of natural objects in painting associated with Northern Song Emperor Huizong's Painting Academy, are easily interpreted as scientifically accurate imagery, functioning as records of the natural world. However, Sturman has observed a strong political agenda behind these images, which goes beyond their identification as realistic imagery<sup>208</sup>. To illustrate, the careful rendering of Quan's imagery as seen in *Birds, Insects, and Turtles Sketched from Life* (fig. 66) was adopted in Emperor Huizong's (personal name Zhao Ji) *Five-colored Parakeet*

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<sup>205</sup> Yang Liu, 'The Symbolism of Flowers and Birds in Chinese Painting', *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLVI (2000), pp. 53-63.

<sup>206</sup> Robert E. Harrist, Jr., 'Ch'ien Hsüan's "Pear Blossoms": The Tradition of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yüan', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 22 (1987), pp. 53-70, esp. p. 53.

<sup>207</sup> Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach blossom spring: gardens and flowers in Chinese paintings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 25.

<sup>208</sup> Peter C. Sturman, 'Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong', *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 20 (1990), pp. 33-68.

on a Blossoming Apricot Tree (fig. 67) to articulate political power and China's reach, by means of the representation of a 'foreign' parakeet (the bird that was given to the Emperor as a diplomatic gift) as a subject matter<sup>209</sup>.

The writings of scholar Su Shi (1037-1101) and his circle can be partly credited for boosting this perceived shift from the objective to the subjective in painting from the Song period, since Shi regarded painting not merely as a means to record sensory experiences, but as a vehicle to articulate personal and societal values of the Chinese literati<sup>210</sup>. This attitude is reflected by the inclusion of poetry in painting as an intellectual instrument to 'construct meaning through a dialogue between image and inscription<sup>211</sup>', which demonstrates the multi-dimensional symbolic and metaphoric potential of Chinese art.

It was also in this time-period that certain flowers and trees were adopted to function as a reflection of the artist's thoughts, as visible in Southern Song and early Yuan painter Qian Xuan's (1235- after 1307) *Pear Blossoms* (fig. 68) which evokes the artist's sorrow about China's suffer under the Mongol rule<sup>212</sup>. At the same time, as noted by Richard Vinograd, one must be careful with the interpretation of literati painting as primarily self-reflective, since these artworks are often more confined by 'status, genre, and situation than (by) direct self-expression<sup>213</sup>'. Despite, following Peter Sturman and Maggie Bickford's notion of Song dynasty paintings as auspicious images, Qian Xuan's *Pear Blossoms* demonstrates 'how beauty and efficacy are inseparable<sup>214</sup>' in bird-and-flower painting of this time-period.

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<sup>209</sup> Daniel M. Greenberg, 'Taxonomy of Empire: The Compendium of Birds as an Epistemic and Ecological Representation of Qing China', *Journal18*, No. 7 (2019), <<http://www.journal18.org/3710>>.

<sup>210</sup> Sturman, 'Cranes above Kaifeng', p. 46; Harrist Jr., 'Ch'ien Hsüan's "Pear Blossoms"', p. 60.

<sup>211</sup> Maggie Bickford, 'Emperor Huizong and the Aesthetic of Agency', *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 53 (2002/2003), pp. 71-104, esp. p. 91.

<sup>212</sup> Harrist Jr., 'Ch'ien Hsüan's "Pear Blossoms"', pp. 60-67.

<sup>213</sup> Robert Thorp and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture* (New York: Abrams, 2001), p. 302.

<sup>214</sup> Bickford, 'Emperor Huizong and the Aesthetic of Agency', p. 92.

### *Bird-and-Flower Painting in the Yuan Dynasty*

Chinese suffering under the Mongol occupation as hinted at in Qian Xuan's *Pear Blossoms*, would continue to endure in bird-and-flower painting in the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). The new political reality that was created under the Mongol rule, gave a boost to the function of painting as a means of self-expression and led to the introduction of new painting techniques that enhanced the use of the brush as an outlet for emotions of suffering and loss. To exemplify, the powerful imagery of monumental landscape originating from the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song eras – in particular the Li-Guo tradition associated with Li Cheng (919-967) and Guo Xi (ca. 1000-ca. 1090) – was adopted by Southern Yuan artists who were no longer in service of the court and were now working as 'amateur elite'<sup>215</sup>. As formulated by Richard Vinograd, these artist depicted actual geographical sites – paintings that Vinograd identifies as 'landscapes of property' – implying 'metaphors of cultivation and production, of control and dispensation ... a statement about possession (or dispossession), personal properties (or character), and inheritance (or cultural and familial continuities)<sup>216</sup>', as embodied in Wang Meng's (1308 – 1385) *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (fig. 70).

The concept of painting as a vehicle of expressing feelings of grief and loss under the Mongol regime, is also represented in bird-and-flower painting of the Yuan dynasty era. In contrast to Qian Xuan's *Pear Blossoms* which can still be linked to flower painting of the Southern Song academy, Zheng Sixiao's (1241-1318) *Ink Orchid* (fig. 69) executed in calligraphic brushwork, gives us a more simplistic and sober representation of flower painting during the early Yuan era. Zheng's *Ink Orchid* represents a monochromatic image of a 'rootless' orchid, to be more specific an ink orchid, a category of painting which was at that time and also later understood as the 'exclusive domain of scholars'<sup>217</sup>.

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<sup>215</sup> Maxwell K. Hearn, 'Shifting Paradigms in Yuan Literati Art', *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 37 (2009), pp. 78-106; Jerome Silbergeld, 'The Yuan "Revolutionary" Picnic: Feasting on the Fruits of Song (A Historiographic Menu)', *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 37 (2009), pp. 9-31.

<sup>216</sup> Richard Vinograd, 'Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng's "Pien Mountains" of 1366', *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 13 (1982), pp. 1-29, esp. p. 13.

<sup>217</sup> Maggie Bickford, 'The Painting of Flowers and Birds in Sung-Yuan China', in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (eds.) *Arts of the Sung and Yuan: papers prepared for an international symposium organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in conjunction with the exhibition Splendors of imperial China, treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 293-315, p. 293.

The rootlessness of the image was later clarified by the painter himself, who explained this artistic decision by stating that ‘the earth has been taken away by the barbarians!’, a quote that confirms his loyalty to the Song in times of Mongol domination<sup>218</sup>. The adoption of the ink orchid as an instrument for literati like Zheng to express and articulate their unyielding loyalty to the Song, demonstrates how flower-imagery during this time-period carried both political as societal meaning.

### *Bird-and-Flower Painting in the Ming Dynasty*

The genre of bird-and-flower painting in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) moved, generally speaking, away from the Yuan literati tradition, and returned to the visual tradition associated with Northern Song Emperor Huizong, as displayed in *Three Friends and a Hundred Birds* (fig. 71) of court painter Bian Wenjin (1354-1428). In contrast to Song bird-and-flower painting however, Bian’s paintings are more elaborate yet still approached with a high level of technical precision as visible in for instance Huang Quan’s *Birds, Insects, and Turtles Sketched from Life* (fig. 66). Like Bian, court painter Lü Ji (1488-1505) worked in the spirit of the Song dynasties. In the case of ‘Autumn’ from his group of *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons* (fig. 72), we observe for a pair of Mandarin ducks, believed to be ‘mates for life’ and are thereby symbolizing marriage and everlasting love. In Lü’s painting *Chrysanthemum, Sweet-scented Osmanthus and Birds* (fig. 73) we see a pair of paradise flycatchers in the left corner, in combination with the signs of the mynah, sweet-scented osmanthus and autumn chrysanthemum, which refer to ‘fortune, honor, longevity and high moral principles<sup>219</sup>’. Both a pair of mandarin ducks, as well as a pair of flycatchers are represented in the bird-and-flower wallpaper in salon 1.5 at Oud-Amelisweerd, and might therefore be understood in light of the just offered symbolic associations of both birds.

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<sup>218</sup> Chu-tsing Li, ‘The Oberlin Orchid and the Problem of P’u-ming’, *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, Vol. 16 (1962), pp. 49- 76, esp. p. 52.

<sup>219</sup> Author unknown, ‘Chrysanthemum, Sweet-scented Osmanthus and Birds’, accessed on April 27, 2020, <<https://en.dpm.org.cn/collections/collections/2009-10-16/136.html>>.

### *Bird-and-Flower Painting in the Qing dynasty*

In line with painting associated with the Ming court, painters who served the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) court emulated Song painting traditions. It was also in this time-period that China experienced increased exposure to the western world, by which the Qing court was keen on representing themselves as global leaders within as well as outside the court. As visible in the Qing court production of *Peacock Spreading Its Fan* (1758) (fig. 74), China recorded a pair of foreign peacocks they received from the Western world as gifts, in painting. This record was not merely serving a decorative purpose but was adopted to articulate the reach of the Qing, reflected in the foreign ‘things’ they possessed. As the depicted foreign parakeet in Emperor Huizong’s *Five-colored Parakeet on a Blossoming Apricot Tree* (fig. 66) that functions as an allusion to political power and China’s reach<sup>220</sup>, the pair of peacocks alluded to Qianlong’s worldly knowledge and reach<sup>221</sup>.

In this context, also the peony flower (symbolizing wealth and honor) that grew in the southern parts of China, was adopted as a visual motif in Qing court art, to function as a symbol of politically legitimacy. At the same time, as we have observed earlier in Zheng Sixiao’s *Ink Orchid* (fig. 69), the peony was also adopted by southern Chinese artists in the area of Jiangnan after the fall of the Ming-dynasty, as a symbol of loyalty to their own local history<sup>222</sup>. The peony flower eventually found its way to the garden of the Qing court itself as well as in imperial imagery of the court, as represented in a portrait of the Yongzheng emperor, named *The Yongzheng Emperor Admiring Flowers* (c.1725–36) (fig. 75), made by Qing court artists. By representing the emperor – who encountered his grandson in the painting who would become the Qianlong emperor<sup>223</sup> – surrounded by a field of flourishing peonies that originally came from the south, the painting (according to Chiem) functions as a celebration of the art of possession and renders the court’s reach<sup>224</sup>.

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<sup>220</sup> Greenberg, ‘Taxonomy of Empire’.

<sup>221</sup> Kristen L. Chiem, ‘Possessing the King of Flowers, and other things at the Qing court’, *Word & Image*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2018), pp. 388-406.

<sup>222</sup> Chiem, ‘Possessing the King of Flowers, and other things at the Qing court’, p. 388.

<sup>223</sup> Alfreda Murck, ‘Silent Satisfactions: Painting and Calligraphy of the Chinese Educated Elite’, in Evelyn Sakakida Rawski and Jessica Rawson (eds.) *China: The Three Emperors, 1662–1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), pp. 306–355, esp. p.465.

<sup>224</sup> Chiem, ‘Possessing the King of Flowers, and other things at the Qing court’, pp. 388-406.

As demonstrated by Kristen L. Chiem in her article ‘Possessing the King of Flowers, and other things at the Qing court’, the act of appropriating the peony and the pair of peacocks in imperial imagery of the Qing court to function as symbols of power and authority within as well as outside the court, demonstrates the important role that bird-and-flower motifs played within the visual strategy of the Qing court. Moreover, this observation highlights the political agenda behind these, at first side, naturalist representations. As pointed out in the introduction, this brief overview of bird-and-flower painting in Chinese art from the Song to the Qing dynasty shows the extent to which artists approached the genre differently in stylistic terms and exemplifies how the genre could offer different social, religious and political purposes.

## **Conclusion**

In the first part of this chapter, I have tried to reconstruct the original setting in which Chinese wallpapers, in specific Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers, at Oud-Amelisweerd were situated during the time-period that Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen and Louis Napoleon occupied the house. Seen in the property’s overall layout, salon 1.5 and salon 1.6 belonged to the most important rooms of the house. The observation that Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen appears to have covered the walls of both salon 1.5 and 1.6 with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper during the first years in which he occupied the house, confirms that the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were intended to be seen by not himself and his family, but also by visitors. His taste for Chinese bird-and-flower imagery is further highlighted by the re-found Chinese bird-and-flower print which was used as an over mantel in salon 1.3. The Baron’s preference for Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers, reflects his interest in the natural world of other non-Western countries, which is also embodied by his book collection including many travel books and by his menagerie which was situated in the garden. Moreover, the presence of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the most important rooms of the house which were looking out over the garden, might be understood in line with the growing importance of the garden and the resulting preference for integrating indoors and outdoors.

During the years 1770-1808, Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen's swapped the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.6 for green painted linen hanging on which he could display his painting collection, primary consisting of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. This decision was not only part of a greater trend of displaying one's painting collection in prominent places of the house, but might even be understood as an attempt to recall the splendor of the Company's heyday. Another form of longing for the past is expressed by the combination of the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in both salons and the neoclassical interior elements such as the geometrical meander motifs on the doorframes and paneling. By juxtaposing the Chinese wallpapers with the classical motifs, it could be said that both rooms served as material sites where China's long history became imaginary accommodated to the Greco-Roman ancient world.

In the second part of this chapter, I have attempted to shed a light on the function and meaning of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in other related and comparable interiors of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands. It should be noted however, that these examples only provide a modest insight into the social function and meaning of Chinese wallpapers in the early modern Dutch domestic context, since (apart from the wallpapers at Heeswijk Castle) we lack some relevant knowledge concerning the circumstances in which these wallpapers were installed and the setting in which these wallpapers were displayed. Nevertheless, the property's, to be mentioned Villa Welgelegen, Heeswijk Castle and Marquette Castle, give rise to the perception that most of these Chinese wallpapers were not necessarily situated in spaces of intimacy and the more female areas, such as dressing and drawing rooms, which was the case in England at the time. The Chinese upper-door pieces at Villa Welgelegen seem to have been situated in a more semi-private context yet not in a space associated with femininity, namely in the context of a guest room during Hope's occupation of the house and as Louis Napoleon's private salon. In addition, the relatively late nineteenth-century display of Chinese wallpapers at Heeswijk Castle and Marquette Castle conveys that eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were still appreciated at the time and not considered outdated. More specific, the collaged Chinese wallpapers at Marquette Castle demonstrate that a contemporary owner

must have seen no harm in the cutting up of existing sheets of wallpaper and the addition of non-original painted supplements, in order to match the owner's own demands.

In the final section of this chapter, I have examined the various kind of interoperations of bird-and-flower imagery in the Chinese visual tradition. Instead of providing a definite interpretation of the various birds and flowers that can be found on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, I aimed to lay bare how the various motifs could connote different meanings in the Chinese visual tradition, determined by among others the type of brushwork being used and the inclusion of inscriptions and poetry. Contemporary owners and viewers, among which Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen, would however have lacked knowledge on these various meanings and may have admired Chinese wallpaper for its potential to offer a glimpse of an un-known natural world. As a result, this brief overview has pointed us to the difference in meaning and interpretation of Chinese bird-and-flower motifs between Chinese artists who created these wallpapers and European people who bought and installed these wallpapers in their houses and would have lacked the knowledge to identify these iconographical motifs. In other words, by physically moving from China to the Netherlands, the value, meaning and significance of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers and its visual motifs shifted.



## Chapter 3: Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers in the 18th-19th Century Netherlands

### Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd

Adjacent to salon 1.5 covered with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers, salon 1.6 is situated where we can encounter Chinese figural landscape wallpapers, combining hunting scenes with a boating scene (fig. 22-25). The hunting scene consists of twelve sheets of wallpaper, running from the left-side of the south-wall, to the east-wall and the north-wall (figs. 22-24). The boating scene consists of seven sheets of wallpaper which are installed on the west-wall and the right part of the south wall of the salon (figs. 24-25). During conservation treatments in 2012-2013, it became clear that the upper-right corners of the sheets of wallpapers representing the hunting scene, contained the Chinese numbers 1 up to 12. It was thereby possible to conclude that the individual sheets were installed in the correct Chinese writing and reading direction, ordered from right to left, starting with the number 1 as the first sheet on the left-side of the south wall (fig. 24). Concerning the boating scene, it has been found that the seven sheets of wallpapers include the Chinese numbers 1 up to 6 and the number 12<sup>225</sup>. I will explore the evidence in more detail in the following paragraphs.

As touched upon in the previous chapter, the Chinese wallpapers in salon 1.6 were not installed by the Taets van Amerongen family<sup>226</sup> between 1770-1808 or Louis Napoleon between 1808-1810, but presumably by the Bosch van Drakestein family who occupied the house in 1811. Material as well as technical research in 2012-2013<sup>227</sup> and a rediscovered written on behalf of Louis Napoleon<sup>228</sup>, evidenced that salon 1.6 was covered with green painted linen hangings when the Louis

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<sup>225</sup> Brain and Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd*, p. 10 and Appendix 2.

<sup>226</sup> For a long time it was thought that the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were installed by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen or his son in the end of the eighteenth-century, since both men served as governors for the Dutch Company and alike engaged in private trade. In addition, five sheets of Chinese wallpapers were mentioned in an auction catalogue of the book collection of Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen, which supported this idea; Van Dam, 'Drakeboot en mandarijneend', pp. 150-151.

<sup>227</sup> Junge et al., *Oud-Amelisweerd. Kleurhistorisch onderzoek naar de geschilderde interieurafwerking, rapportage fase*, p. 15.

<sup>228</sup> For extensive description of proof for the claim that the Chinese landscape wallpapers were not displayed by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen see Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, pp. 51-55.

Napoleon bought the house in 1808<sup>229</sup>. On his turn, Louis Napoleon covered the walls of salon 1.6 with blue empire wallpaper<sup>230</sup>, as still visible on the south wall of the room (fig. 85). Moreover, as highlighted in the previous chapter, Infrared Reflectography (IRR) has demonstrated that Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers (fig. 38) might have been the first type of wallcovering of salon 1.6 thus installed in the 1770s by Baron Gerard Godart Taets van Amerongen<sup>231</sup>.

### *Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton*

The Adelaide Corridor at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton (England) houses a similar set of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers representing among others a hunting scene and a boating scene, consisting of 23 sheets in total. Originally, these wallpapers were part of a larger set of Chinese wallpaper consisting of 64 sheets which represent four or five different themes, designed in such way that they were schematically connected and could be hang as a continuous panorama. The set of wallpapers was acquired in 1815 by the Prince of Wales, George (1762-1830) for his Royal Pavilion. After demolition in 1867 however, only 23 sheets of Chinese wallpapers have survived<sup>232</sup> which are still *in situ*, yet in a very poor condition<sup>233</sup>. At least 9 of the sheets of Chinese wallpaper at the Royal Pavilion are identical to the wallpapers in salon 1.5 at Oud-Amelisweerd, respectively 3 sheets of wallpaper representing a hunting scene (fig. 76)<sup>234</sup> and 6 sheets of wallpaper representing a boating scene (figs. 77-78)<sup>235</sup>. In contrast to Oud-Amelisweerd, the Royal Pavilion houses 4 additional sheets of Chinese wallpaper, representing the boating-scene (fig. 79)<sup>236</sup>. Finally, the Royal Pavilion also

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<sup>229</sup> As touched upon in the previous chapter, this hypothesis is further confirmed by the pink painted meander motifs that have been found on the first painted decorative layer on the doorframes and paneling (fig. 64), which echoes the green painted meander motifs that were found on the doorframes in the aligning salon 1.5 (fig. 60). The total number of finishing phases can be divided into seven different phases; the just described pink painted meander motif, belongs to the first phase. See Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55.

<sup>231</sup> Author unknown, 'De geschilderde behangsels in Oud-Amelisweerd: Snelle smaakaanpassingen in het interieur', accessed on May 20, 2020, <<http://www.fromisolationtocoherence.nl/casussen/amelisweerd.html>>.

<sup>232</sup> Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 53.

<sup>233</sup> In an e-mail dated October 2, 2019, Curator of the Royal Pavilion Alexandra Loske stated that the wallpapers are in such a bad condition, that it is difficult to make pictures of them. Luckily, Thomas Brain was able to sent me images of the wallpapers which have been taken by among others Sander Karst in the past. I owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Brain for forwarding these images to me.

<sup>234</sup> Van Dam, 'Drakeboot en mandarijneend', p. 20; Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 11.

<sup>235</sup> Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, p. 31.

<sup>236</sup> Containing the Chinese numbers 7 up to 10. See Karst, *Een baron, een koning en een burgemeester 1760-1830*, p. 53.

houses sheets of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper that represent among others acrobats and mythological figures which are also not present at Oud-Amelisweerd (figs. 80-81)<sup>237</sup>.

As highlighted before, on each sheet of the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 at Oud-Amelisweerd, there have been found Chinese numbers, by which it became possible to gain more insight into the sequence of the scenes and into the damaged and missing pieces of the two sets of Chinese wallpaper. The Chinese numbers 1 up to 12 were found on the wallpapers representing a hunting scene, running from the left side of the south-wall (fig. 24), past the east-wall (fig. 23) to the left side of the north-wall (fig. 22), arranged from right to left which is the traditional Chinese writing and reading direction<sup>238</sup>. A photo-reconstruction of the Chinese wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion makes clear that the twelfth and last sheet of the wallpaper representing a hunting scene, which is only partially visible on the most right part of the north-wall (fig. 22), gradually blends into the wallpaper representing a boating scene (fig. 77). By comparing the Chinese wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion to the chimneypiece on the east-wall (fig. 23 and 52) and the isolated fragment on the south-wall of salon 1.5 (fig. 24), it is also possible to relocate these fragments to their original position. By doing so, it becomes clear that the chimneypiece is made of a cut-out piece of wallpaper on the west-wall, which had been removed to give room to the left door (fig. 22). The other isolated fragment is made of a cut-out piece of wallpaper on the west-wall, which had been removed to give room to the left door (fig. 22)<sup>239</sup>.

Concerning the Chinese wallpapers representing a boating scene at Oud-Amelisweerd, the sheet of wallpaper most right of the west-wall (fig. 25) contains the number 12 in contrast to the other sheets of the boating scene, running from the numbers 1 to 6, starting at the second sheet of the west-wall and running to the right-side of the south-wall (figs. 24-25). If one looks closer, it becomes also visible that the colors of sheet 12 appear brighter than the colors of the sheets 1 up to 6. Despite that

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid. p. 53.

<sup>238</sup> Brain and Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd*, p. 10 and Appendix 2.

<sup>239</sup> Also in a corner-room on the first floor of Oud-Amelisweerd there has been found a fragment of Chinese wallpaper which is also made of a cut-out piece of wallpaper on the west-wall, to give room to the right door (see fig. 54). Staal, *Spuren naar Sporen*, pp. 22-24; Bohan, *Rapportage behanginventarisatie Oud-Amelisweerd*, p. 17.

sheet 12 does not feature in the set of wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion<sup>240</sup>, Sander Karst has found a similar sheet on a folding-screen which was offered for sale at Christie's in 2007 (fig. 82)<sup>241</sup>. Since this folding-screen incorporates both sheet 2 and 12 of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper representing a boating scene, this observation confirms the belief that the boating scene, like the hunting scene, consists of a set of 12 sheets of wallpaper. Presumably, sheet 12 of the boating scene at Oud-Amelisweerd was later installed in order to cover dislodged wallpaper which also explains the bright colors of this sheet in comparison to the other sheets of the boating scene including the Chinese numbers 1 up to 6 (fig. 25)<sup>242</sup>. Sheet 11 of the boating scene however, is missing at both Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion. Monique Staal (2011) has proposed that a sheet of wallpaper which is currently in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>243</sup>, might be the missing sheet 11 (fig. 83 and 98)<sup>244</sup>.

Finally, a repair piece of Chinese wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd, which was presumably used to cover loose or wavering seams of wallpaper on the north-wall, has been traced back to sheet 8 at the Royal Pavilion (fig. 84). Given that sheet 12 and at least one fragment of sheet 8 were later added to cover loose seams of Chinese wallpaper depicting a boating scene, it seems likely that sheet 7 up to 12 were initially present and stored at Oud-Amelisweerd for a certain period of time<sup>245</sup>. In addition, having noticed that the boating scene as well as the hunting scene, seem to have consisted of 12 sheets of wallpaper each and observing that the last sheet 12 of the hunting scene gradually blends into sheet 1 of the boating scene, it appears that both themes were intended to form one continuous

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<sup>240</sup> The Chinese wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion depicting the boating scene, contain the numbers 1 up to 10. Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, esp. note p. 73.

<sup>241</sup> The folding-screen consists of 2 sheets of wallpaper, respectively number 12 and 2 which are also present at Oud-Amelisweerd. Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, p. 32.

<sup>242</sup> Beneath sheet 12, a piece of wallpaper representing a hunting scene has been found. Based on Infrared Reflectography (IRR), it has become clear that the sheet represents a hunting scene. By comparing the identified scene with the Chinese wallpapers representing a hunting scene at the Royal Pavilion, it is clear that this sheet formed the left half of sheet 12 of the hunting scene. At Oud-Amelisweerd, the right half of sheet 12 is located on the most left part of the north-wall. Brain and Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd*, p. 8.

<sup>243</sup> In Wappenschmidt's publication of 1989, she identifies the two sheets of fig. 87 as representing a dragon boat race. According to Wappenschmidt, the sheet on the left represents a cheerful audience watching the dragon boat race. Moreover, both sheets were initially installed at the Victorian mansion Shernfold Park, near Sussex which was built in 1790. However, on the website of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the sheets are not identified as being part of the former interior decoration at Shernfold Park. See number E.30-1912 of the Collection of the V&A Museum and also Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>244</sup> Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, esp. note 73.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

panorama together. As we will see in the following paragraphs, the Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace confirm this hypothesis since both themes were also installed in the coffee salon of King Albert I of Saxony (1828–1902) and his wife Queen Carola of Saxony (1833–1907) at the Neoclassical New Palace which is part of Pillnitz Palace in Dresden.

Finally, attention must be given to the floral borders, representing hanging baskets and vases with flowers (fig. 85), on the south-wall of salon 1.5 (fig. 24). A similar kind of decorative border (fig. 86) can be found in the Yellow Drawing Room at the East Wing of Buckingham Palace which was built in the 1840s for Queen Victoria (1819-1901) (fig. 87). The Chinese wallpapers of this room were initially ordered in 1817 to function as wallcoverings for the Royal Pavilion in Brighton. It was during this same time-period that the just described 64 sheets of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were ordered by the Prince of Wales. After World War I, the wallpapers were rediscovered at a storage site and rehung by Queen Mary (1867-1953)<sup>246</sup>. However, in contrast to the floral borders at Oud-Amelisweerd, the borders of the Yellow Drawing Room seem to be integral and not applied borders (fig. 88)<sup>247</sup>. Since it is known that Chinese border papers were produced by Chinese artists for the Western market to complement wallpapers<sup>248</sup>, it wouldn't it be out of the question that that the border papers at Oud-Amelisweerd were produced in China to complement Chinese wallpapers. As we will discuss later on, Chinese bamboo trellis border papers<sup>249</sup> were used to complement the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at De Roode Haen in Breda. Another possibility is that the decorative borders were cut-out of existing Chinese wallpapers incorporating decorative borders such as the wallpapers at the Yellow Drawing Room.

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<sup>246</sup> Brain and Staal, *Conserveringsverslag van het Chinese Panoramabehangsel in Landhuis Oud Amelisweerd*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>247</sup> Figure 87 at least indicates that the border of the floral wallpapers at the Yellow Drawing Room is integral and not separate from the wallpaper. Thomas Brain and Monique Staal however suggest that this border is not integral but separately created and might have been intended to complement the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, since the wallpapers which are currently in the Yellow Drawing Room were acquired for the Royal Pavilion around the same time-period as the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers. Therefore, Brain and Staal propose that the borders at Oud-Amelisweerd might have been specifically intended to complement the Chinese wallpapers representing the hunting and the boating scene. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>248</sup> De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, p. 90.

<sup>249</sup> There has been found a faint Chinese stamp on the back of one of the Chinese border papers in the Chinese Bedroom at Blickling Hall, which indicates that Chinese decorative borders were indeed manufactured in China. *Ibid.*, p. 90; Emile de Bruijn, 'The multiple layers of Chinese wallpaper' (May 09, 2013), accessed on May 24, 2020, <<http://treasure351.rssing.com/browser.php?indx=8314351&item=46>>.

### *Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace*

Next to the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, there can also be found Chinese wallpapers representing a boating and a hunting scene (figs. 89-90), similar to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd at the neoclassical New Palace (Neues Palais) part of Pillnitz Palace, the former summer residence of the Saxon royal house in Dresden. In both the publication of Wappenschmidt (1989) as well as previous research executed on the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd<sup>250</sup>, the connection in terms of style and subject-matter between the wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace and the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and / or the Royal Pavilion in Brighton was not made, by which the following section is able to provide new insights into the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd. Like the wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton and Oud-Amelisweerd, the wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace were installed in the nineteenth-century, to be more precise in the 1890s.

The New Palace was built between 1819-1826 at the behest of Frederick Augustus I of Saxony (1750-1827) in order to replace the old Renaissance castle which burnt down in 1818. On his turn, King Albert I of Saxony and his wife Queen Carola of Saxony initiated a ‘Chinese coffee salon<sup>251</sup>’ in which six sheets of Chinese wallpaper representing a boating scene and six sheets of Chinese wallpaper depicting a hunting scene were installed (figs. 91-92)<sup>252</sup>. Unfortunately, around 1946, the sheets of wallpapers were put in storage and would stay there until the restoration of the wallpapers in 2013. Today the Chinese wallpapers can be seen again in Pillnitz Palace yet no longer in their original setting (figs. 89-90)<sup>253</sup>. The given that the Chinese wallpapers were only for a relatively short period of time being displayed at Pillnitz Palace, declares why the wallpapers are in a

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<sup>250</sup> Joosje van Dam (1992); Claudia Junge, Anna Rupert and Nico van der Woude (2010); Sander Karst (2011); Monique Staal and Thomas Brain (2014).

<sup>251</sup> The salon is described as ‘Chines. Café Salon’ in inventory documentation of the 1890s. Dirk Welich, ‘Der Chinesische Pavillon im Schlosspark Pillnitz’, in Hans-Peter Lühr (ed.) *Im Banne Ostasiens Chinoiserie in Dresden* (Dresden: Dresdner Geschichtsverein, 2008), pp. 30-39, esp. p. 36.

<sup>252</sup> The images date from the 1930s; only the Chinese wallpapers representing the boating scene are visible on the pictures. Between 1945 until at least 2015, the Chinese wallpapers were kept in storage. In 2013, the wallpapers were restored by Carsten Wintermann. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Iris Kretschmann for providing me this information.

<sup>253</sup> In 2013, the wallpapers were restored by Carsten Wintermann. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Iris Kretschmann for providing me this information.

much better condition in terms of clarity and color intensity, than the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion.

By comparing the six sheets representing the boating scene at Pillnitz Palace to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, it becomes clear that four sheets can also be found at Oud-Amelisweerd thus can be identified as sheet 2, 3, 4 (fig. 93) and 6 (fig. 94)<sup>254</sup>. By comparing the wallpapers depicting the boating scene with the wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion, also sheet 7 (fig. 94) can be identified<sup>255</sup>. Surprisingly, the last sheet representing the boating scene (fig. 95) is not present at Oud-Amelisweerd as well as at the Royal Pavilion. Could this be the missing sheet 11, which is not present at both properties? After having informed curator of Pillnitz Palace Iris Kretschmann about my assumptions, Kretschmann could happily confirm to me that the Chinese number 11 had been found on this sheet of wallpaper<sup>256</sup>. A reconstruction (figs. 96-97) further confirms that sheet 11 indeed convincingly blends into sheet 10 of the Royal Pavilion and sheet 12 of Oud-Amelisweerd, by which it becomes possible to get a glimpse of the original sequence and impression of the set of Chinese wallpapers representing a hunting scene, existing of 12 sheets in total. As a result, this finding rejects the hypothesis formulated by Monique Staal (2011), whereas she proposes that a sheet of wallpaper which is currently in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>257</sup>, might be the missing sheet 11 (fig. 83)<sup>258</sup>.

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<sup>254</sup> In an e-mail dated May 25, 2020, curator of Pillnitz Palace Iris Kretschmann stated that sheet SGD 1145 (fig. 90) contains the number 4 which matches sheet 4 at Oud-Amelisweerd. Sheet SGD 1144 (fig. 91) contains the number 6 which matches sheet 6 at Oud-Amelisweerd. Sheet SGD 1150 (fig. 90) does not contain a Chinese number, but matches indeed sheet 2 at Oud-Amelisweerd. Last, sheet SGD 1149 (fig. 90) contains the Chinese number 10. However, this observation might be in need of further research, since this sheet is similar to sheet 3 at Oud-Amelisweerd. As further explained by Kretschmann, a Chinese woman who visited Pillnitz Palace a few years ago has been able to identify most of the Chinese characters that were found on the Chinese wallpapers representing a boating scene at Pillnitz Palace, after which Kretschmann wrote this information down in her notebook. I owe a debt of gratitude to Iris Kretschmann for sharing this information with me.

<sup>255</sup> As stated by Iris Kretschmann in an e-mail dated May 25, 2020, Sheet SGD 1147 (fig. 91) does also not contain a Chinese number, but matches sheet 7 at the Royal Pavilion.

<sup>256</sup> As confirmed by Iris Kretschmann in e-mail May 25 2020, the Chinese number 11 was found on the middle-bottom of the sheet of wallpaper (object nr. SGD 1148).

<sup>257</sup> In Wappenschmidt's publication of 1989, she identifies the two sheets of fig. 87 as representing a dragon boat race. According to Wappenschmidt, the sheet on the left represents a cheerful audience watching the dragon boat race. Moreover, both sheets were initially installed at the Victorian mansion Shernfold Park, near Sussex which was built in 1790. However, on the website of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the sheets are not identified as being part of the former interior decoration at Shernfold Park. See number E.30-1912 of the Collection of the V&A Museum and also Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten Für Europa*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>258</sup> A reconstruction makes also visually clear that this sheet does not fit well with sheet 10 which is also part of the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 95) as well as sheet 10 at the Royal Pavilion and sheet 12 at Oud-Amelisweerd (fig. 96). Staal, *Speuren naar Sporen*, esp. note 73.

Next to the sheets of Chinese wallpaper representing a boating scene, the Chinese coffee salon also houses three sheets of wallpaper depicting a hunting scene (figs. 99-101), similar to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion. A comparison between the sheets at Pillnitz Palace and Oud-Amelisweerd makes clear that two of these three sheets also feature at Oud-Amelisweerd thus can be identified as sheet 1 (fig. 99) and sheet 9 (fig. 100). By comparing the sheets of wallpaper at Pillnitz Palace to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, the third sheet (fig. 101) representing the hunting scene does not feature at both properties. Also in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which also houses a sheet that belongs to the hunting scene (fig. 103), the third sheet of the hunting scene has not been found. It could be however that this sheet can be identified as sheet 5 (fig. 102), since the type of representation would fit into the set of 12 sheets of hunting wallpapers in terms of thematic and type of scene within the total composition of the hunting scene. Unfortunately, at Pillnitz Palace, Chinese numbers were absent on the sheets of wallpaper representing the hunting scene, which makes it difficult to confirm this hypothesis<sup>259</sup>.

In contrast to the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion, a picture of the 1930s shows that the sheets of the Chinese wallpapers of the coffee salon were put on a panel individually, framed by a bamboo border (fig. 91-92) by which the wallpapers do not form a continuous panorama. Between the panels, 46 plaster consoles were installed on which pieces of Chinese porcelain, Chinese greenware (celadon), Japanese lacquerware and European Meissen porcelain were placed<sup>260</sup>. Consequently, the interior decoration of the coffee salon not only echoes the courtly display of costly Chinese porcelain in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century porcelain cabinets<sup>261</sup>, but also exemplifies how artefacts which are produced in China are intertwined with

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<sup>259</sup> As stated by Iris Kretschmann in an e-mail dated May 25, 2020, Sheet SGD 1142 (fig. 99), SGD 1143 (fig. 98) and SGD 1146 (fig. 97) does also not contain a Chinese number, but matches sheet 7 at the Royal Pavilion.

<sup>260</sup> Christian Ruf, 'Wertvolle historische Tapetenbahnen im Neuen Palais in Pillnitz', *Dresdner Neuesten Nachrichten* (September 24, 2015), accessed on May 15, 2020, <<https://www.dnn.de/Nachrichten/Kultur/Regional/Wertvolle-historische-Tapetenbahnen-im-Neuen-Palais-in-Pillnitz>>.

<sup>261</sup> Cordula Bischoff, 'The "Japanese Palace"' in Dresden: A Highlight of European 18th-century Craze for East-Asia', *立命館言語文化研究*, Vol.30, No.3 (2019), pp. 133-148, esp. pp. 136-137; Cordula Bischoff, 'Spiegel-, Lack- oder Porzellankabinett? Der chinoise Sammlungsraum und seine Ausdifferenzierung', *Kritische Berichte*, No. 2 (2004), pp. 15-23.



European interpretations and creations of foreign styles such as the bamboo borders which frame the original Chinese wallpapers<sup>262</sup>.

We observed the same combination of original Chinese art combined with European imitations of artefacts in the Chinese style at Heeswijk Castle, where original Chinese wallpaper was combined with imitated lacquered doors executed by a local craftsman. Both examples reflect an interest in such items for the purpose of decoration and accommodating an impression of China, rather than representing such items in the context of original Chinese artefacts. By doing so, the late nineteenth-century owners of both types of wallpaper would presumably have seen no harm in combining authentic Chinese art with imitated European forms of decoration, executed in the Chinese style. In other words, European imitated goods in the Chinese style were not seen as fake or inferior to artefacts which were materialized in China itself. Concerning the Chinese wallpapers depicting a hunting scene and a boating scene at Oud-Amelisweerd, the just described Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace confirm the belief that the hunting scene and the boating scene were intended to form a continuous panorama thus are related to each other.

Apart from the just described Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion, Pillnitz Palace and a set of two panels which auctioned by Christie's in 2007, a set of two panels of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper representing a hunting scene was offered for sale by Schmidt-Felderhoff Art Dealers in Bamberg. One panel (fig. 104) can be identified as sheet 12, which is only partially visible at Oud-Amelisweerd but fully present at the Royal Pavilion. The other panel (fig. 105) includes a figure dressed in blue that shows similarities with the figure dressed in blue of sheet 1 at Oud-Amelisweerd. Apart from this figure, the panel doesn't resemble any of the 12 panels at Oud-Amelisweerd, the Royal Pavilion and Pillnitz Palace<sup>263</sup>. Last, the Victoria and Albert Museum houses a sheet of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper (fig. 103) which can be identified as sheet 10 of the wallpapers representing the hunting scene at Oud-Amelisweerd and the Royal Pavilion in Brighton.

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<sup>262</sup> Welich, 'Der Chinesische Pavillon im Schlosspark Pillnitz', pp. 36-37.

<sup>263</sup> I owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Brain for providing me this information.

## **Circulation and Reception of Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century Netherlands**

Returning to the Chinese pictorial landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, it is yet unknown how salon 1.6 functioned during the time-period that the Bosch van Drakestein family occupied the house and installed the Chinese wallpapers in this room, after 1811. The given that the Chinese wallpapers were presumably installed in the nineteenth-century, at least indicates that Chinese wallpaper was not considered as outdated but still suitable to decorate one of the most spacious thus representational rooms of the house. Moreover, in combination with salon 1.5 which was already covered with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper at the time, the presence of two adjoining rooms which walls were entirely covered with Chinese wallpapers, must have been impressive for a contemporary viewer. Assuming for one moment that Paulus Wilhelmus Bosch van Drakestein installed these wallpapers after being retired as a major of the city of Utrecht, this decision might be understood as a powerful statement of the intertwinement of both his personal successes as a major of Utrecht and the global power of the Dutch Company materialized by the imported Chinese wallpapers. This assumption might however also appear to be too far-fetched, since the former major might also simply have enjoyed the Chinese wallpapers for no other reason than its decorative value.

In the following section, I will briefly discuss the other places of which we know that Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were installed in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands. By doing so, I aim to shed a light on the function and meaning of these space for contemporary owners in order to explore the more general place of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers in the Dutch domestic sphere.

### *Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch*

In the former antechamber of Prince Willem V of Orange and Nassau (1751-1820) of Huis ten Bosch Palace, which is today known as the ‘Chinese zaal’ (‘Chinese room’) (fig. 106), we can find Chinese wallpaper showing a landscape with figures, among others engaged in aspects of the rice production. The wallpapers can be dated in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and were

presumably installed after 1804<sup>264</sup> it is unclear how the Chinese wallpapers were acquired<sup>265</sup>. The three Chinese bird-and-flower upper-door pieces (fig. 108) which were likely to be installed around the same time-period, can also be dated to the eighteenth-century. However, as observed by Loutje den Tex, the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper contains a number of unusual alterations among which collaged fragments of wallpaper, which suggests that the wallpaper may first have hung elsewhere. It is therefore uncertain whether the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers and the upper-door pieces were part of an earlier wall decoration at Huis ten Bosch or whether the wallpapers and upper-door pieces were brought by Louis Napoleon, who moved into the house in 1806<sup>266</sup>. At least the stylistic similarities between the upper-door pieces at Huis ten Bosch (fig. 108) and Villa Welgelegen (fig. 55) are striking, the latter property, like Oud-Amelisweerd, was bought by Louis Napoleon in 1808.

Between 1770-1780, the antechambers and bedchambers of both Willem V and his wife Wilhelmina of Prussia (1751-1820), were already furnished in the Chinese style. The antechamber of Willem V is decorated with among others a stucco ceiling in the Chinese style, black-painted paneling with gold painted details of Chinese motifs, Chinese figural landscape wallpaper and a Chinese reverse painting on glass which is incorporated in a lacquered over mantel, which can be dated to the mid-eighteenth-century<sup>267</sup>. The furniture of the room initially existed of twelve armchairs and two canapes executed in the Louis XVI style but was swapped in 1791 for a set of ten armchairs, two marquises and two canapes made of lacquer work covered with Chinese embroidered silk which were gifted by the VOC official and former director of the Company's operation in Canton, Ulrich Gualtherus Hemmingson (1741-1799) in 1791<sup>268</sup>. The set of furniture representing figures engaged in daily life activities and agriculture embroidered on Chinese silk, complement the Chinese figural

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<sup>264</sup> During conservation treatments, there were found pages from two publications which can be dated to 1796 and 1804. This observation led to the conclusion that the wallpapers were installed after 1804. Nico van der Woude, *Pilot Project Behangsel Chinese Landbouw* (unpublished report, Amsterdam / Maastricht: SRAL, 1995).

<sup>265</sup> Loutje den Tex, 'Antichambre "Chinese landbouw": De Geschiedenis van een chinoiserie-interieur in Huis ten Bosch', *Antiek* (March 1997), pp. 346-361.

<sup>266</sup> Den Tex, 'Antichambre "Chinese landbouw"', pp. 356-357.

<sup>267</sup> Marten Loonstra, *Het Huijs int Bosch het Koninklijk Paleis Huis ten Bosch historisch gezien* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985), pp. 86-88.

<sup>268</sup> M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, 'Ulrich Gualtherus Hemmingson: V.O.C. dienaar en verbindingsschakel tussen China en Nederland', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 31 (1980), pp. 456-474.

landscape wallpapers in terms of style and subject-matter (fig. 107). Nevertheless, the set of furniture arrived before the display of the Chinese wallpapers in the antechamber. Next to the furniture, the gift also included 1.454 pieces of Chinese porcelain and pieces of lacquerware<sup>269</sup>.

At least the matching set of lacquered furniture, suggests that Hemmingson must have been aware of the newly designed interior design in the Chinese style of the adjoining rooms at Huis ten Bosch. Despite that his involvement is not explicitly mentioned in written source material, the friend of Hemmingson<sup>270</sup>, lawyer and amateur-sinologist Jean Theodore Royer might have inspired the VOC official to commission this costly set of furniture matching the interior decoration in the Chinese style of the two adjoining rooms. Royer who was recognized as a specialist of the Chinese language and culture<sup>271</sup>, was an acquaintance of the House of Orange and Nassau<sup>272</sup> thus most likely familiar with the newly designed interior of the antechamber and the audience room. It seems therefore plausible that Royer informed Hemmingson about the interior design of Huis ten Bosch and even recommended his friend to commission the set of furniture for Willem V and Wilhelmina<sup>273</sup>.

Despite that it is uncertain which kind of wallcovering was used in the antechamber of Prince Willem V of Orange and Nassau (1748-1806) before the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were installed thus before 1804, it is known that there were more Chinese wallpapers present at Huis ten Bosch. Also the antechamber of the wife of Prince Willem V, Princess Wilhelmina was covered with Chinese wallpapers, depicting scenes of a Chinese wedding and the homecoming of a successful

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 456.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., p. 466.

<sup>271</sup> This is among others emphasized by his contemporaries the Swedish philologist Jacob Jonas Björnstål (1731–1779) and Jona Willem te Water (1740-1822), a professor at Leiden University, who wrote about his collection and knowledge of Chinese art and language. See Jonas J. Björnstahl, *Reize door Europa en het Oosten, Deel v bevattende het dagboek der reize door Zwitserland, Duitsland, Holland, Engeland* (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1783), p. 371, p. 377 and p. 380; Jona W. te Water, 'Levensbericht van Jean Theodore Royer' in *Handelingen der Jaarlijksche vergadering van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde (gehouden 5 hooimaand 1808)*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>272</sup> Royer was the son of the French court pastor of Orange and Nassau, Jean Royer (1705-1783). It is also known that Royer visited Willem V and Wilhelmina of Prussia with the Chinese servant Tan Assoy of Royer's befriended VOC employee Certon, in 1775. For more information about the relationship between Royer's father and the Orange of Nassau-Family see Janneke de Jong-Slagman, *Hofpredikers in de negentiende eeuw. Een carrière bij de koning* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 25-28. For more information about the visit to the court see Jan van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807) en zijn verzameling Chinese voorwerpen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000) pp. 81-82.

<sup>273</sup> Van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807)*, pp. 220-221.

Chinese academic (fig. 110)<sup>274</sup>. It is assumed that these wallpapers were installed somewhat earlier than the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch, since the existence of Chinese wallpapers in the antechamber of Wilhelmina is already described in a city guide of 1785<sup>275</sup>.

Especially Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia seems to have had a consistent preference for Asian objects and wallcoverings, as visible in the rooms decorated with Chinese wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch, as well as the Stadtholder's Quarter at the Binnenhof in The Hague. Already in the first year of marriage, cashier Abraham Deel delivered 'Chineesche geschilderde en andere papiere behangsels' ('Chinese painted and other paper hangings') to couple, intended for the decoration of the Stadtholder's Quarter<sup>276</sup>. Also in a letter to her daughter Louise of May 28, 1791 the Princess writes that one of the rooms of the two apartments at the Oude Hof (today known as Noordeinde Palace) of her son Willem I (1772-1843) and his future wife, is decorated with 'd'un papier des Indes fond verd, très joli' ('a paper of India with a green background, very pretty'<sup>277</sup>).

It is also known that Wilhelmina herself executed embroidered wall coverings depicting scenes in the Chinese style. For instance, one of her embroidered wall coverings hung in the cabinet known as the 'geborduurde kabinet' ('embroidered cabinet') or the 'blauwe kabinet' ('blue cabinet') located in the new wing of the Stadtholder's Quarters. In his travel report *Trip to Holland* (1785), Bransby Cooper noted that he saw in this room 'a kind of tapestry, an imitation, with Chinese figures, the faces of which were painted and the drapery and other parts of the composition charmingly worked in silks by the Wilhelmina of Prussia herself'<sup>278</sup>. In addition, it has been proposed that the Princess might even have been responsible for the execution of the embroidered wallcoverings, made of Japanese and Dutch appliques on silk in the 'Chineesche zaal' ('Chinese room') which is today known as the

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<sup>274</sup> This room was located in front of the antechamber of Prince Willem V, in the room which is on the left of the vestibule. Already in the nineteenth-century the wallpapers were removed due to their bad condition. Currently the twelve sheets of wallpaper are housed in the depot of Het Loo Palace in Apeldoorn. I owe a debt of gratitude to Liesbeth Schotsman for sharing this information with me.

<sup>275</sup> Den Tex, 'Antichambre "Chinese landbouw"', p. 353.

<sup>276</sup> Trudie Rosa de Carvalho-Roos, 'Hoe houdt de stadhouder hof? Een speurtocht naar het decor waartegen het dagelijks leven van de stadhouders Willem IV en Willem V ziele afspeelde in de Stadhoudelijke Kwartieren van het Haagse Binnenhof', *Oud Holland*, Vol. 116, No. 3/4 (2003), pp. 121-223, esp. p. 200.

<sup>277</sup> Johanna W.A. Naber (ed.) *Correspondentie van de Stadhoudelijke familie 1777-1795 (Deel 1)* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), pp. 152-153.

<sup>278</sup> De Carvalho-Roos, 'Hoe houdt de stadhouder hof?', p. 165.

‘Japanese zaal’ (‘Japanese room’) of Huis ten Bosch<sup>279</sup>. Even amateur-sinologist Royer might have been responsible for supplying the Japanese appliques to the court<sup>280</sup>.

The extensive use of wallcoverings and interior decoration in the Chinese style at Huis ten Bosch, continues a longer tradition of collecting and displaying Chinese art, in particular blue-and-white ceramics, in the interior space, functioning as a symbols of imperial self-representation thus linking the House of Orange to the mercantile successes and achievements of the Dutch overseas<sup>281</sup>. The association of the Orange the House of Orange and porcelain which was employed by Amalia van Solms (1602-1675) her collecting practices<sup>282</sup> and innovate use of porcelain as an integral element of the domestic space<sup>283</sup>, becomes explicitly apparent in the still-life painting known as *Vivat Oraenge* (ca. 1667-1672) attributed to Jan Davidsz de Heem (fig. 109), where we see the oranges and the inscription ‘Vivat Oraenge’ on the cartouche at the bottom, combined with a porcelain dish in the center of the painting. By executing her own embroidered wall coverings in the Chinese style, Wilhelmina places herself in the tradition of elevating the standing of the House of Orange by means of material and artistic surroundings in the Chinese style as introduced by the female members of the House of Orange in the early modern period<sup>284</sup>. In addition, by personally creating embroidered wallcoverings, Wilhelmina continues a longer European tradition of princesses who create unique pieces of handwork by themselves and even gifted these items to loved ones and intimate friends which highlights the significance and value of these embroideries<sup>285</sup>.

As touched upon by Reinier Baarssen, at first glance, the interior decoration of these important rooms of Huis ten Bosch, marked by an extensive use of interior decoration in the Chinese style, might appear remarkable in light of the representative function of the rooms. However, the

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<sup>279</sup> Nicole Ex, *Het brokaten paradijs, de Wanden van de Japanse Kamer in het Paleis Huis ten Bosch* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1997), pp. 33-45, esp. 45.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>281</sup> Virginia Treanor, “‘Une abondance extra ordinaire’: The Porcelain Collection of Amalia van Solms”, *Early Modern Women*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2014), pp. 141-154.

<sup>282</sup> Cordula Bischoff, ‘Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet’, in Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (eds.) *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), pp. 171-189, esp. p. 181.

<sup>283</sup> C. Willemijn Fock, ‘Interieuropvattingen van Amalia van Solms: een Frans Getint Hof in de Republiek (ca. 1625–1675)’, in *Gentse bijdragen tot de interieugeschiedenis*, Vol. 34 (2005), pp. 25-45.

<sup>284</sup> Bischoff, ‘Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet’, p. 181.

<sup>285</sup> Cordula Bischoff, ‘Presents for Princesses: Gender in Royal Receiving and Giving’, *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Fall-Winter 2007-2008), pp. 19-45.

elaborate use of Chinese elements in the antechambers of both Willem V and Wilhelmina, as well as the audience room decorated with Japanese and Dutch appliques, can according to Baarssen be understood in light of the residence's function as a country residence intended for private habitation by the Stadtholder family in contrast to the public function of a city palace<sup>286</sup>. Nevertheless, it is known that Asian collectables and also Chinese wallpapers did feature frequently in the interior decoration of the Stadtholder's Quarter, the property in which the greater part of the Royal family's official court life took place<sup>287</sup>. Next to the 'embroidered cabinet' which was covered with Wilhelmina's own made embroidered wall hangings in the Chinese style, also the antechamber of Wilhelmina, was covered with 'tapestries and furnishings of white satin embroidered with Chinese flowers'<sup>288</sup>. In any case, there is no doubt about the preference of both Willem V and Wilhelmina for Chinese collectables.

#### *Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers on Herengracht 17, The Hague*

Fewer than two kilometers away from Huis ten Bosch, the home of Jean Theodore Royer was located, more precisely Herengracht 17. In 1778, Royer and his wife Johanna Louisa van Oldenbarneveld named Tulling, moved from the Maliestraat to the Herengracht<sup>289</sup>. The Remonstrant pastor Gerbrand Bruining (1764-1833) wrote in his *Description de la Haye* (1816) that he saw several rooms at Royer's house, covered with Chinese painted wallcoverings representing among others a Chinese market and scenes showing the production of porcelain<sup>290</sup>. Despite that it is unknown in which rooms of Royer's house the wallpapers were installed, Jan van Campen (2000) has proposed that the latter type of wallpaper, representing scenes of the production of porcelain, might have covered the walls of Royer's porcelain room. This room was located in the front-room of the first-

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<sup>286</sup> Reinier Baarssen, 'In de commode van Parijs tot Den Haag' Matthijs Horrix (1735-1809), een meubelmaker in Den Haag in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', *Oud Holland*, Vol. 107, No. 2 (1993), pp. 161-255, esp. p. 216; Reinier Baarssen, 'High Rococo in Holland: William IV and Agostino Carlini', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 140, No. 1140 (1998), pp. 172-183, esp. p. 175.

<sup>287</sup> De Carvalho-Roos, 'Hoe houdt de stadhouder hof?', pp. 161-162.

<sup>288</sup> "la salle d'audience de la princesse, qui est une grand chambre, très richement meublée. La tapisserie et le reste de l'ameublement sont de satin blanc brodé en fleurs à la chine" published in *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>289</sup> Van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807)*, p. 23.

<sup>290</sup> 'On s'y souvient cependant toujours du dernier habitant, en voyant dans plusieurs chambres des tapisseries peintes dans la Chine, et représentant un marché Chinois, und grande fabrique de porcelaine, etc' in Gebrand Bruining, *Description de la Haye, et de ses environs* (Rotterdam: Immerzeel, 1816) p. 297.

floor and primary intended to display his collection of Japanese and Chinese porcelain<sup>291</sup>.

Unfortunately, the Chinese wallpapers at Royer's former house are no longer *in situ*. The wallpapers on silk at Castle Dyck in Germany which originally hung at Halbturn Castle in Austria, give us a glimpse of how such a wallpaper representing the various stages of the production of porcelain, might have looked like (figs. 111-112).

The porcelain room also included twelve special tables and two corner cupboards on which the pieces of porcelain were installed. If, for one moment, we consider the Chinese wallpaper showing a landscape with figures engaged in production of porcelain to be installed in the porcelain room, it must at least have been impressive as well as informative for a contemporary viewer, to see Chinese pieces of porcelain displayed against a panoramic background representing the various stages of the production of the artefacts themselves. It seems likely however, that Royer's wallpaper depicting scenes of the production of porcelain might also have incorporated scenes of the cultivation of rice, silk and/or tea, since industry themed wallpapers often incorporated multiple cultivation and production stages<sup>292</sup>. In light of Royer's interest in Chinese material culture as a means to gain a better understanding of China, this room would form a compelling case of eighteenth-century interest in Chinese wallpapers as bearers of knowledge about an unfamiliar world.

Today we know that the idyllic and romanticized representations of the various agricultural production phases as seen on Chinese wallpapers<sup>293</sup> as well as export paintings and watercolors (fig. 113) are constructed images, leaving out the bitter reality of the labor intensive work processes about the various stages of production<sup>294</sup>. Not only was this type of imagery responding to the Western desire to gain knowledge about the miraculous wonders of the production of products such as porcelain, moreover, these agricultural scenes were based on imperial illustrated albums such as the 1743 edition of imperial album known as *Taoye tu* which was commissioned by the Qianlong

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<sup>291</sup> Van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807)*, p. 48.

<sup>292</sup> The wallpapers at Schloss Dyck (dated ca. 1765) depict the production of porcelain in combination with the cultivation of rice, silk and tea. Also the Chinese wallpapers representing the production of porcelain at the British bank Coutts & Co (dated ca. 1790s) combine these scenes with images of the cultivation of rice, silk and tea.

<sup>293</sup> Berger et al., 'Une Chinoiserie Insolite', pp. 181-205.

<sup>294</sup> Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum Publications, 1984), p.27.



Emperor (1711–1799). Rather than representing a realistic overview of the artefact's production phases, these images were intended to glorify the sequential and chronological process of the creation of porcelain<sup>295</sup> which contradicted the reality of the porcelain production which was, as touched upon by Ellen Huang (2012), anything but a linear process of production<sup>296</sup>. For Royer, the wallpapers might have corresponded to his desire to gain more knowledge about far-away China yet he could not escape the fact that the Cantonese artists had provided him with a view of the porcelain production, painted through rose-tinted glasses.

*Chinese Figural Landscape Upper-door Pieces on Lange Voorhout 32, The Hague*

Less than one kilometer away from Royer's former house on Herengracht 17, the Lange Voorhout 32 is situated where three upper-door pieces (fig. 115) and one chimney-piece (fig. 116) made out of sheets of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper are still *in situ* (fig. 114). Like the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch, the upper-door pieces and chimney-piece show a landscape with figures engaged in the growing and treating of rice. The room in which the Chinese wallpapers are installed, is located on the first floor of the building, in the left-front room<sup>297</sup>. The stylistic similarities with the wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch, indicate that the wallpapers can be dated to the third quarter of the eighteenth-century. It is however unknown how and when the wallpapers were acquired and installed in the left-front room of the building. It might have been the case that the Chinese upper-door pieces were installed by lawyer Cornelis van Heemskerck (1734-1783), who occupied the house in 1771 and thereafter thoroughly renovated and rebuilt the house<sup>298</sup>.

Another intriguing hypothesis might be that later residents, the Dutch sugar merchant Philippe Frederic Tinne (1772-1844) and his wife Henriette Marie Louise van Capellen (1796-1863), installed the Chinese upper-door pieces and chimney-piece in the left-front room. Before moving into the

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<sup>295</sup> Rosalien van der Poel, *Made for trade - Made in China. Chinese export paintings in Dutch collections : art and commodity* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 2016) pp. 147-151; Ming Wilson, 'As true as photographs: Chinese paintings for the Western market', *Orientalism*, Vol. 31 (2000), pp. 89-93.

<sup>296</sup> Huang, 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market', pp. 115-145, esp. p. 132.

<sup>297</sup> In 1996, the upper-door pieces and chimney-piece were refound after having been lost for a certain period of time. The wallpapers were subsequently re-installed. Frans van Beurkom et al., *Leven in toen. Vier eeuwen Nederlands interieur in beeld* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001) p. 135.

<sup>298</sup> Eric-Jan Sluijter, 'Hendrik Willem Schweickhardt (1746-1797); een Haagse schilder in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', *Oud Holland*, Vol. 89 (1975), pp. 142-212, esp. note 26.

property on Lange Voorhout 32 in 1838, the family lived at Royer's former house on Herengracht 17, respectively between 1832-1838<sup>299</sup>. After Royer's death, his wife Johanna Louise lived on Herengracht 17 until 1814 after which the property was sold in 1815<sup>300</sup>. Observing that the Chinese upper-door pieces and chimney-piece were made out of existing sheets of Chinese wallpaper showing a landscape with figures engaged in the growing and treating of among others rice, could it have been the case that the Tinne family transferred and re-cut Royer's wallpapers into upper-door pieces and a chimney-piece and brought them to their new residency on Lange Voorhout 32? Despite that this suggestion lacks of documentary evidence, the re-use of panoramic Chinese wallpapers as upper-door pieces and a chimney-piece at least says something about the contemporary appreciation for Chinese painted wallpapers. This treatment of the wallpapers reflects an interest in such collectables for the purpose of decoration which declares why one might have seen no harm in the re-cutting of panoramic landscape wallpapers into upper-door pieces and a chimney-piece to suit the owner's demands.

#### *Chinese Figural Landscape Upper-door Pieces at Park Sparrendael*

Like the Chinese upper-door pieces and chimney-pieces at Lange Voorhout 32, also the three upper-door pieces at Park Sparrendael in Driebergen-Rijssenburg, are made of existing sheets of Chinese panoramic wallpaper which are collaged together (figs. 118-120). Built in 1754 by Mr. Jacob van Berck (1694-1762), former major of the city of Utrecht, the mansion was built in the Louis XV-style. From the hallway, one could walk straight-forward to the most spacious room of the house, which was located in the back of the building (fig. 117). In this main salon, we can see a richly decorated white marble fireplace with heavy curved rods, rocailles and a cartouche in the middle. The stucco ceiling is decorated with among others rocaille. The wallcoverings consist of four painted representations of the four seasons in trompe l'oeil technique along the long walls and two naval paintings next to the double doors to the corridor. The three collaged Chinese upper-door pieces are placed above the three doors of the room and are framed in rocaille frames. Like the painted

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<sup>299</sup> Robert Joost Willink, *Reis naar het noodlot: Het Afrikaanse avontuur van Alexine Tinne (1835-1869)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012) p. 11.

<sup>300</sup> Van Campen, *De Haagse jurist Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807)*, p. 50.

wallcoverings depicting the four seasons and naval scenes, the Chinese upper-door piece can be dated in the second half of the eighteenth-century<sup>301</sup>.

Between 1750s and the 1850s, the property was inhabited by several different families. After the wife of Jacob van Berck died, the descendants of his wife sold the property to Abraham Veerman Senserff (1769-1804). On his turn, Veerman Senserff sold the property in May 27, 1791 to David Cornelis van den Bergh (1764-1826). In 1805, Petrus Judocus van Oosthuysen (1763-1818) bought the property from Van den Bergh. Park Sparrendael would stay in the possession of the family Van Oosthuysen until the 1850s<sup>302</sup>. Inventory documentation of 1846, makes clear that the spacious salon functioned as a dining room, during the time-period that the Van Oosthuysen family were in the possession of the property<sup>303</sup>. Despite that it is unclear how the large salon has functioned between 1750s and the 1850s, the size and place of the room within the overall floorplan of the house, indicates that the room had without exception a representative function.

The collaged upper-door pieces made out of cut-out fragments of Chinese panoramic wallpaper, confirms that Chinese decorative wallpapers were primarily functioning as a decorative artefacts that could be adapted to suit the owner's own demands. Moreover, the re-cutting of the panoramic wallpapers into small scenes, might reflect something of the early modern European preference for looking at landscapes in a horizontal frame instead of a panoramic format. If, for one moment, we consider the Chinese upper-door pieces being intentionally cut-out from Chinese panoramic wallpapers by contemporary owners, this act of appropriation might reflect how contemporary European viewers were tied to their own standards of looking at landscape painting in a horizontal frame, by which they transformed the continuous panorama into a format that matched their own mode of looking at landscapes. As a result, the upper-door pieces at Park Sparrendael reflect something of the different gradations of acceptance of certain contemporary modes of looking at Chinese visual art.

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<sup>301</sup> Catharina L. van Groningen, *De Utrechtse Heuvelrug. De Stichtse Lustwarande. Buitens in het groen* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), pp.178-180.

<sup>302</sup> Wim Harzing, 'De buitenplaats Sparrendael te Driebergen', *KNOB* (1964), pp. 107-122.

<sup>303</sup> Van Groningen, *De Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, pp.180-182.

### *Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at De Roode Haen*

Two Chinese wallpaper panels showing a landscape with figures engaged in daily-life activities (figs. 121-122) which are currently in the collection of Stedelijk Museum Breda, originate from a building demolished in 1961 on Ginnekenstraat 10 in Breda, which was called 'De Rode Haen' or 'De Rooden Haen'. Until 1718, a brewery was established in the building, thereafter the property was owned by the wine merchants Van Gool. As described by conservator of the Breda Museum Pierre van der Pol, the Chinese wallpapers were presumably installed by the Van Gool family, who occupied the house between 1718 and 1783. According to Van der Pol, the Chinese wallpapers were specifically intended for a Chinese salon<sup>304</sup>. In 1800, the pharmacist Arnoldus Josephus Ingenhousz (1766-1858) bought the house on behalf of his mother who ran a pharmacy at the property. After his mother's death in 1810, Arnoldus abandoned the pharmacy in light of his political duties<sup>305</sup>. Until 1960, a cabinetmaker used the building as his home and workshop. Soon after the building was demolished in 1961, the paneling of the Chinese room was found by the antique dealer and neighbor, Groneman, who transferred the paneling to the museum<sup>306</sup>.

Despite that it is unknown when the Chinese wallpapers were acquired and hung, the Chinese wallpapers are unique in a sense that they are the only examples that have survived in the Netherlands, including a faux bamboo trelliswork paper border around the Chinese wallpapers and added new, extended skies. The combination of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers with a faux bamboo trelliswork paper, can also be seen in the Chinese wallpapers installed in the Chinese bedroom at the stately home Blickling Hall, England (figs. 123-124). Also the Victoria and Albert Museum houses three fragments of a faux bamboo trelliswork paper border<sup>307</sup>, which originally hung at country estate Hampden House, England<sup>308</sup>. As highlighted by Emile de Bruijn (2017), trompe l'oeil representations of speckled bamboo trellis can also be found in Chinese garden designs as

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<sup>304</sup> Henny de Lange, 'Hollandse horizon boven een Chinees landschap', *Trouw* (January 8, 2013), accessed on June 2, 2020, <<https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/hollandse-horizon-boven-een-chinees-landschap-be3d7dd7/>>.

<sup>305</sup> G.J. Rehm, 'De Bredase Apothekers van de 15e- tot het begin van de 19e eeuw', *Vervolg van Bulletin*, No. 25 (1961), pp. 1-22, esp. pp. 9-10.

<sup>306</sup> Author unknown, 'Chinese behangschildering', accessed on June 2, 2020, <<https://www.brabantserfgoed.nl/collectie/object/stedelijk-museum-breda/99fb0068a4bc2b8dbc8f809262cedc6cb1e49f01>>.

<sup>307</sup> Object nr. E.948A-C-1978 of the collection of the V&A Museum, London.

<sup>308</sup> De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, pp. 18-19.

exemplified in the painted ceiling in the Retirement Studio, which is part of the Qianglong Garden within the Forbidden City in Beijing (fig. 125)<sup>309</sup>.

Like the wallpapers originating from the property on Ginnekenstraat 10 in Breda, the wallpapers at Blickling Hall also include the incorporation of an added, extended sky<sup>310</sup>. Next to Blickling Hall, there can also be found added skies in wallpapers at the Georgian mansion Copped Hall<sup>311</sup> and country house Harewood House in England, which can be dated to the 1750-1770s<sup>312</sup>. Despite that it is unknown when the extended sky was added to the Chinese wallpapers at 'De Rooden Haen', the addition at least reflects a certain kind of attitude towards this type of painted wallpapers. It seems almost as if the presence of the bamboo trelliswork paper border, which could be used as a frame, invited a contemporary owner to add a sky by which a lower horizon is created. The extended sky in combination with the use of the faux bamboo trelliswork paper border as a frame, literally frames the Chinese wallpapers as being horizontal landscape paintings thus pleasing to the Western eye instead of panoramic wallpaper which would have covered the walls and fill up to room.

As set out by Paul van Dyke (2015), 'Chinese art deals with the idea of pictorial depth differently. Unlike their Western counterparts, Chinese artists did not strive to give a convincing description of the external world on a two-dimensional surface. By means of a moving or multiple perspective they created a viewing experience that allows the eye to explore the pictorial space and the painted objects from shifting angles<sup>313</sup>'. By adding an extended sky on the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers and using the border paper as a frame, the original Chinese convention of a high horizon line is deposited in a lower horizon, which hints at the idea that the contemporary owner would have preferred to see the Chinese vertical panoramic landscape wallpapers in a framed horizontal format which might have been more in line with the owner's standard mode of perception.

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<sup>309</sup> De Bruijn, *Chinese wallpaper in Britain and Ireland*, esp. note 20. The ceiling is described in Kristina Kleutghen, 'The Beauty in the Garden', in *Imperial Illusions: Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015) pp. 221-270.

<sup>310</sup> Also the Chinese wallpapers which originally hung in the Chinese Drawing room at Headfort House, include a Westernized added sky and a faux bamboo trelliswork paper border. The wallpapers were sold in the 1960s presumably to an American buyer. De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, pp. 18-19, esp. note 11.

<sup>311</sup> Wallpaper at Copped Hall was unfortunately lost in a fire in 1916. See *Ibid.*, note 12.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>313</sup> Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok (eds.) *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), p. 49.

In other words, the contemporary owner might have wanted to see the scenes of the unfamiliar world through familiar glasses.

### **Iconographical Analysis: Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd**

As touched upon throughout the previous sections, apart from the given Chinese decorative wallpapers that were specifically developed for the Western market, the imagery that can be found on eighteenth-century Chinese decorative wallpapers, was rooted in the Chinese visual tradition<sup>314</sup>. In the following section, I will study the visual motifs that can be found on the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd representing the hunting scene and the boating scene, in the context of Chinese visual culture. By doing so, I aim to shed a light on the local Chinese meaning and understanding of the motifs that can be found on these wallpapers. First, I will discuss the 12 sheets of wallpaper representing the boating scene. Secondly, I will examine the 12 sheets of wallpaper that depict the hunting scene.

#### *The Boating Scene on the Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd*

Despite that the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd are not covered in Wappenschmidt's publication of 1989, Wappenschmidt has identified the boating scene that can be found on the wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton (figs. 77-79) and the two sheets of wallpaper at the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 103)<sup>315</sup>, as representations of the dragon boat race which is yearly being held on occasion of the traditional Dragon Boat Festival (端午节). The event is also known as the Duan Wu Jie Festival, which commemorates the death of the Chinese patriotic poet

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<sup>314</sup> Concerning the imagery that can be found on eighteenth-century Chinese figural landscape wallpapers representing daily life activities among which agricultural scenes, were based on among others imagery that can be found in imperial albums such as the 1696 edition of in the *Gengzhi tu* (fig. 17) – representing scenes of rice and silk production – and the 1743 edition of *Taoye tu* which represents scenes of the production of porcelain. See Wu, *Chinese Wallpaper, Global Histories and Material Culture*, pp. 143-247; De Bruijn et al., *Chinese Wallpaper in National Trust Houses*, p. 5; Huang, 'From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market', pp. 115-145; Berger et al., 'Une Chinoiserie Insolite', pp. 96-116; Biscop, *Aspecten van het Chinees export-wandbehang*, p. 33.

<sup>315</sup> Originally, the wallpapers at the Victoria & Albert Museum hung at Shernfold Park, Sussex. Next to the wallpapers listed in the publication of Wappenschmidt and apart from the wallpapers which I found at Pillnitz Palace, I have also found representations of the boating scene depicting dragon boat racing at the auction of Bonhams (November 17, 2020, lot 30; presumably originating from Moor Park, Hertfordshire) and a fragment of the dragon boat race at the online auction of Everything But The House (March 12, 2017, item 17CIN091-228). See Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 49-50.

Qu Yuan (340-278 BC) on the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar<sup>316</sup>. The theme of the dragon boat festival, in specific the depiction of the dragon boat race, as represented on the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, is based on longstanding Chinese traditions of visual culture<sup>317</sup>, as expressed by the frequently copied handscroll *Dragon Boat Race in Jinming Lake* by Yuan dynasty court painter Wang Zhenpeng (active ca. 1280-1329) (fig. 126). Returning to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, we see many spectators watching and cheering during the dragon boat race. These figures appear to be all Manchu (fig. 127) as shown by the horse-hoof shoes of the women (instead of binding their feet) and the distinctive hairstyle of both men (shaved forehead a long braid on the back of their head) and women (long hair bundled up in various styles) (fig. 128)<sup>318</sup>. The ethnic minority Manchu who came from north east China, established and ruled the Qing dynasty (1636-1912) thus were ruling China when these wallpapers were created.

Concerning the Qing dynasty, the period in which Chinese decorative wallpapers were materialized, there can be found different kinds of artefacts in which the theme of the Chinese dragon boat race is represented. In *famille rose* and *famille verte* porcelain, the boating scene is represented as a continuous scene<sup>319</sup>, often bearing the ‘hundred boys at play<sup>320</sup>’ motif featuring boys engaged in dragon boat racing (fig. 129). Also Chinese embroidered silk hanging scrolls (*kesi*), depict scenes of the dragon boat race. Although examples of this type of hanging scroll are particularly rare, examples can be found in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>321</sup> and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 130-131)<sup>322</sup>. As exemplified by the Qing dynasty lacquered folding screen (fig. 132) from the collection of the Guangdong Museum in Guangzhou, which was also exhibited at Oud-Amelisweerd in 2017-2018 (figs. 133), the depiction of the dragon boat race also occurs as a motif on

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-50.

<sup>317</sup> Xiaosong Gao, *Reflecting Domestic Genre Paintings: Chinese Reverse Paintings on Glass in Museum Volkenkunde* (unpublished master’s thesis, University of St. Louis, 2020), pp. 34-36.

<sup>318</sup> Johan Elverskog, ‘Things and the Qing: Mongol Culture in the Visual Narrative’, *Inner Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2004), pp. 137-178, esp. p. 148.

<sup>319</sup> See for instance a *famille verte* vase in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (object nr. 14.40.85). In 2018, Sotheby’s offered a similar vase for sale. See Sale March 20, 2018, Lot 366.

<sup>320</sup> Terese Tse Bartholomew, ‘One Hundred Children: From Boys at Play to Icons of Good Fortune’, in Ann Barrot Wicks (ed.) *Children in Chinese Art* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2002), pp. 57-83, esp. p. 76.

<sup>321</sup> Verity Wilson, *Chinese Textiles* (London: V&A Publications, 2005). pp. 112-113.

<sup>322</sup> In 2012, also a set of Qing-dynasty imperial *kesi* depicting the dragon boat festival was offered for sale at Sotheby’s. See Sale October 9, 2012; Lot 3018. In 2013, Sotheby’s also offered a *kesi* panel depicting the dragon boat festival for sale. See Sale April 27, 2003; Lot 317.

lacquered screens<sup>323</sup>. Also on a rare Qing dynasty carved ivory panel which was offered for sale at Sotheby's in October 2018, the theme of the dragon boat race is represented (fig. 134).

What the just described Qing dynasty representations of the dragon boat race executed in silk, lacquer and ivory have in common, is that they all represent the event of the dragon boat race in combination with other activities among which agricultural events such as fishing, shipping of goods by boat, but also general street activity and people at leisure. Returning to the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd (fig. 135), next to the five boats in the shape of a dragon<sup>324</sup>, we see several groups of spectators who are watching and cheering and also multiple other scenes among which the transportation of goods in small boats (figs. 136 t/m 139) and two men who are fishing (fig. 140). The representation of local vessels was a popular theme in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chinese export paintings<sup>325</sup>, which can be linked to contemporary interest in Chinese daily life<sup>326</sup>. Executed in gouache on thin paper such as Chinese bamboo paper, different types of boats were painted on individual sheets of paper intended to be bound into albums and books, as exemplified by an album consisting of 50 paintings depicting a great variety of boats among which a dragon boat from the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 141)<sup>327</sup>.

In the same album, there can also be found variants of similar kind of boats that are represented on the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, among which a fishing junk (fig. 142) and a tail boat (fig. 143). Especially the latter painting shares similarities with a scene that can be found on sheet 5 at Oud-Amelisweerd (fig. 137). Like eighteenth- and nineteenth-century watercolor albums

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<sup>323</sup> Next to the folding screen from the collection of the Guangdong Museum, I have also found a set of two cabinets made of re-used Chinese lacquered screens where we can find a scene which represents the dragon boat racing offered for sale at Christie's in 2019. See Christie's Sale 17737, Lot 336. Also in the King's Closet at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh a late eighteenth-century lacquer screen can be found. See object nr. RCIN 28207 of the Royal Collection Trust. Last, also in the Yellow Room of the Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm Palace in Stockholm, a Chinese lacquer room features scenes of the dragon boat race. I am thankful to Jan van Campen for providing me the latter reference.

<sup>324</sup> Since the pictures of the Chinese wallpapers at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton are not in good condition (due to the wallpaper's bad condition), it is hard to see if the boat on sheet 8 is also part of the dragon boat race. At least this boat doesn't have the shape of a dragon. Nevertheless, the figures which take a seat in the boat are similar to the figures of the other boats.

<sup>325</sup> The collection of Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden also houses a Chinese reverse painting on glass, which depicts a scene of the dragon boat race. An image of this painting is published in Gao, 'Reflecting Domestic Genre Paintings: Chinese Reverse Paintings on Glass in Museum Volkenkunde', p. 35.

<sup>326</sup> Van der Poel, *Made for trade*, pp. 135-140, esp. pp. 139-140.

<sup>327</sup> As listed by Van der Poel, similar kind of albums can also be found in Dutch collections. Tropenmuseum: inv.no. A-7780e; Museum Volkenkunde: inv. nos. 328-4a to 4l, 2133-2a to 2l and 2133-3a to 3l. Wereldmuseum Rotterdam: inv.no. 29476-1; Maritime Museum Rotterdam: inv. nos. P4411, P4412, P4413 to P4422. and P4424 to P4426; *Ibid.*, p. 139, note 91.



showing a great variety of Chinese vessels, the inclusion of different types of boats on the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd responds to the same desire for visual images of Chinese daily life and local customs and uses. Western buyers however, would have been unfamiliar with the specific cultural significance and meaning of the dragon boat race in China. In contrast, the iconographic motifs of the dragon boat race would have been recognized and understood by contemporary Chinese viewers. In other words, although Chinese decorative and panoramic wallpapers were specifically designed for Western consumers, the imagery that can be found in these wallpapers derived from popular motifs rooted in the Chinese visual tradition.

The same goes for the inclusion of different mythological figures on the boating scene. Sheet 10 of the boating scene, which is absent at Oud-Amelisweerd but present at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton (fig. 76) as well as kept in storage at the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 83), represents seven of the Eight Immortals 八仙, a group of legendary xian ("immortals") in Chinese Taoist religion. Also on sheet 5 and 6 of the panels of Oud-Amelisweerd there can be found mythological figures (fig. 144)<sup>328</sup>. According to Wappenschmidt, the two Immortals on the upper-part of the sheet can be identified as Zhang Guolao 張果老 who is often depicted seated on a white donkey and with a fish drum (bamboo-tube drum) in his hand. Next to him, Han Xiangzi 韓湘子 is seated which can be characterized by his flute. Below five other Immortals are seated on a cloud, respectively Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 who holds a large fan, Li Tieguai 李鐵拐 who can be characterized by his iron crutch, Lan Caihe 藍采和 who holds a basket with flowers and last, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 who is dressed like a scholar and wears a sword. According to Wappenschmidt, their inclusion in the scene can be explained by the given that they function as spectators of the dragon boat race<sup>329</sup>.

However, the presence of seven of the Eight Immortals on sheet 11 as spectators of the dragon boat race is uncommon in representations of the dragon boat race. In none of the earlier discussed

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<sup>328</sup> The mythological figures that can be found on sheets 5 and 6 at Oud-Amelisweerd (fig. 124) have been identified by Joosje van Dam (1992), as representing the Goddess of Mercy and Compassion Quan Yin and his attendant Lung Nü (sheet 5) both standing on a lotus bloom and a female figure accompanied by No Cha (sheet 6). I have not been able to verify this identifications; in specific, I did not find any reference to No Cha. Van Dam, 'Drakeboot en mandarijneend', p. 18.

<sup>329</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 49-50.

Qing dynasty artefacts which represent images of the dragon boat race, the inclusion of (some of) the Eight Immortals can be found. In addition, I didn't find any relation between the inclusion of the Eight Immortals and the dragon boat race in secondary sources. Floating above the water, this type of motif of the Eight Immortals can however be found in the representations of the mythological story of *The Eight Immortals crossing the sea*, represented as a decorative motif found on among others eighteenth-century *famille verte* porcelain (fig. 145)<sup>330</sup>. As highlighted by Yeewan Koon (2019) in her discussion of a Chinese manuscript album showcasing various costumed figures, the making of an assemblage of different popular Chinese iconographic motifs in eighteenth-century Chinese export art is common and can be understood in light of the methods of making performed by Chinese artists, which made use of a circulating network of Chinese popular imagery<sup>331</sup>. As a result, the coming-together of various Chinese pictorial sources in the boating scene of the set of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, might be understood in light of Koon's observations.

Already in 1987, the authors Wilson and Clunas were among the first to identify a direct relationship between the scenes of Chinese wallpaper and export painting, like the production of rice. Despite that the authors do not offer a direct comparison in which they visualize the relationship between Chinese wallpaper and Chinese export painting, the observed connection between two artefacts leads the two authors to argue that 'two or more workshops might have been responsible in Canton for what, despite its impact on Western sensibilities, remained very much a sideline occupation in the scope of the total export economy'<sup>332</sup>. In 1989, Friederike Wappenschmidt also observed a relationship between Chinese wallpaper and watercolor albums with paintings and argues that both artefacts may have been created by the same workshop<sup>333</sup>. Also Jan van Campen (2010) has highlighted the relationship in terms of style and subject-matter between Chinese wallpapers and Chinese watercolor albums with paintings intended for decorative use<sup>334</sup>. In line with Van Campen,

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<sup>330</sup> Mention other (export) art examples that represent this particular scene.

<sup>331</sup> Yeewan Koon, 'A Chinese Canton? Painting the Local in Export Art', in Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan (eds.) *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds Global and Local Geographies of Art* (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019) pp. 71-94, esp. pp. 76-82.

<sup>332</sup> Clunas and Wilson, *Chinese Export Art and Design*, p. 112.

<sup>333</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>334</sup> Van Campen, 'Een Chinese beeldbank aan de Herengracht in Den Haag', pp. 44-46.

Rosalien van der Poel (2016) confirms this relationship by mentioning an unused fragment of Chinese wallpaper that shows a strong visual relationship with the pictures that originate from an album from the collection of Royer<sup>335</sup>.

### *The Hunting Scene on the Chinese Figural Landscape Wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd*

The other set of Chinese wallpaper consisting of 12 sheets (figs. 22-24) at Oud-Amelisweerd which gradually blends into the boating scene, represents a hunting scene with figures in a landscape. Similar to the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, there can be found hunting scenes at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton (fig. 76), one sheet at the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 103) and three sheets at Pillnitz Palace (figs. 99-101). In 2012, two panels of Chinese wallpapers were offered for sale by Schmidt-Felderhoff Art Dealers in Bamberg, Germany (figs. 104-105) which can be partially traced back to the hunting scene at Oud-Amelisweerd. As listed by Wappenschmidt (1989), there can also be found Chinese wallpapers representing hunting scenes on a wallpaper formerly at Schloss Hof, Austria, and now in Riegersburg Castle, Austria, and also on a wallpaper at the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna, and wallpapers at Nymphenburg Castle in Munich<sup>336</sup> and Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin<sup>337</sup>.

Looking at the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, both male as well as female hunters are participating in the hunting scene. On the first three sheets on the right of the east-wall, we can see several groups of participants of the hunt and their attendants arrive (fig. 146). On the following sheets, sheet 4 up to 12 (figs. 147-149), several groups of people are engaged in the hunting of among others deer's and birds. The dress of these horse riders indicates that we are dealing with high-ranked Manchu people, such as black velvet cap with a knob on top which was worn during winters by Qing dynasty officials, but also the fashion of the Manchu ladies, such as the headdress (*dianzi*), necklace made of precious stones such as jade, hair ornaments and the drop earrings which are worn by the Manchu noblewomen (fig. 150). On several of the caps of Manchu officials we can see peacock

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<sup>335</sup> Van der Poel, *Made for trade*, pp. 127-128.

<sup>336</sup> See fig. 11 in Rosalien van der Poel, 'Tien 'stuks wintergezigten in Tartarijen op doek geschilderd': Chinese exportwinterlandschappen in Museum Volkenkunde', *Aziatische kunst*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2011), pp. 2-18, esp. p. 8.

<sup>337</sup> Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, p. 46.

feather plumes attached to the hats' rear (fig. 151), which allude to the high-rank of these men<sup>338</sup>. Riding horse and hunting with archery equipment such as arrows and bows, formed an important marker of Manchu identity. Unlike Han women (Han people were in contrast to the ruling Manchus, the largest ethnic group in China concentrated in the mainland of China), Manchu women participated in the tribe like Manchu men<sup>339</sup>. The inclusion of Manchu women who are taking part in hunting, functions as a cultural marker: in contrast to Han women, Manchu women could take part in hunting.

As proposed by art historian Paula Swart (2015), the hunting scene at Oud-Amelisweerd is based on the Qing imperial hunt which was annually held in the autumn, as represented in imperial art such as *The Qianlong Emperor Attending Imperial Hunting Games* attributed to the Qing dynasty court painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) (fig. 152)<sup>340</sup>. With respect to eighteenth-century lacquer screens which were (like the wallpapers) also made in Canton, Györgyi Fajcsák has argued that the Chinese hunting scene as depicted in the work of among others Giuseppe Castiglione, functioned as a typical iconographical format for the designs of these screens<sup>341</sup>. Looking at the hunting scenes of the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd however, we also see figures who wear swords and shields ornamented with the head of a tiger on sheet 5 (fig. 153) and sheet 6 (fig. 154), attributes that cannot be found in traditional imperial representations of the hunting scene intended for the Chinese domestic audience<sup>342</sup>. Representations of similar shields can be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular images of theatre performances such as a nineteenth-century Chinese painting depicting *A Drama Showing Ma Chao and Zhang Fei Fighting* (fig. 155), which is today part of the collection of National Library of Australia. In this type of imagery, also women horse riders can be found, wearing swords and spears (fig. 156).

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<sup>338</sup> Györgyi Fajcsák, 'Lacquer Cabinets in Esterháza/Fertőd, Hungary – 18th Century Chinese Lacquer Screens in the Palaces of the Esterhazy Family', in Gabriela Krist (ed.) *Investigation and Conservation of East Asian Cabinets in Imperial Residences (1700-1900): Lacquerware & Porcelain* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), pp. 25-40, esp. pp. 30-32.

<sup>339</sup> Shengfang Chou, 'Manchu horse-hoof shoes: Footwear and cultural identity', *V&A Online Journal* (No. 2, Autumn 2009), accessed on June 3, 2020, <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-02/manchu-horse-hoof-shoes-footwear-and-cultural-identity/>>.

<sup>340</sup> Paula Swart, 'Chinese wallpaper in Holland', *Arts of Asia November-December issue* (2015), p. 18.

<sup>341</sup> Fajcsák, 'Lacquer Cabinets in Esterháza/Fertőd, Hungary', p. 32.

<sup>342</sup> I owe a debt of gratitude to fellow RMA student Yun Xie for sharing this observation about the hunting scene at Oud-Amelisweerd with me.

As touched upon by Rosalien van der Poel (2016), different types of images of theatrical scenes and other types of Chinese performances, which she counts to the genre of daily life scenes, were a popular theme in Chinese export painting<sup>343</sup>. Also on various types of *famille rose* porcelain such as plates and jars, theatrical performances in which hunting scenes feature can be found, which are similar to the hunting scene at the wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd (fig. 157). Even though swords and shields feature in popular imagery of theatrical performances (figs. 155-156), this type of equipment was also worn by Chinese imperial troops, also during the Qing dynasty. *The Costume of China* (1805) of the British artist William Alexander (1767-1816)<sup>344</sup>, included an image of a Chinese soldier wearing a shield ornamented with the head of a tiger (fig. 158), similar to the shields depicted in the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd (figs. 153-154). Alexander's images of Chinese costumes and scenes were frequently copied and spread throughout Europe, which demonstrates the Western appeal for this kind of imagery<sup>345</sup>.

As we saw with the set of Chinese wallpaper representing the boating scene, it seems likely that Chinese artists creating wallpapers used motifs from various contemporary pictorial sources among which, in this specific case, images of annual Manchu hunting trips as well as theatrical performances deriving from popular Chinese novels and dramas and images depicting Chinese imperial troops. As touched upon before, Koon (2019) her analysis of a eighteenth-century Chinese album of watercolors depicting Chinese figures shown in various costumes, has demonstrated that various Chinese popular pictorial sources were used to create the different pictures included in the album<sup>346</sup>. Concerning the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, the just set out iconographical analysis of the various scenes that can be found on these wallpapers, seems to indicate that these wallpapers consist of an assemblage of various types of popular Chinese imagery,

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<sup>343</sup> Van der Poel, *Made for trade*, pp. 135-139, esp. 138.

<sup>344</sup> Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), pp. 103-105.

<sup>345</sup> Peter J. Kitson, *Forging Romantic China: Sino-British Cultural Exchange 1760-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) pp. 221-222.

<sup>346</sup> Koon, 'A Chinese Canton? Painting the Local in Export Art' pp. 71-94, esp. p. 84. See also Koon's pioneering study *A defiant brush: Su Renshan and the politics of painting in early 19th-century Guangdong* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014).

specifically intended for an audience who was unaware of the symbolic values and the meanings of specific motifs and themes in the Chinese visual tradition.

In her discussion of the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at Saltram House in Plymouth which were installed in Neoclassical rooms in the 1770s by John Parker (1734/5-1788) and his second-wife Theresa Parker (1744/5-1775), Stacey Sloboda (2014) highlights that the lack of pictorial and spatial coherence of these Chinese wallpapers explains its contemporary appreciation. This can be explained by the unfamiliarity of Western viewers with Chinese iconography, but also by the manner in which these Chinese wallpapers were installed by means of cutting and affixing these wallpapers onto walls. As a result, ‘instead of presenting a pictorial illusion of Chinese culture, these wallpapers offer a fragmented material trace of an ambivalent cross-cultural encounter<sup>347</sup>. This literal cutting and pasting resonates with the more abstract “mixing and matching” quality that characterizes early modern European art representing non-Western materials and /or objects, characterized by its mix of various non-Western visual elements in order to create an ‘agreeable product - an image of the world as commodity, an affordable form of consumable globalism<sup>348</sup>’.

As a result, the iconographical analysis of these eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers points to the difficulty of pointing out a single ‘original’ meaning of each motif, since the boating scene as well as the hunting scene consist of a coming together of different types of Chinese popular iconographic motifs. Nevertheless, the Chinese wallpapers prove to be anything but a minor art form, but instead, consist of a coming-together of various iconographical motifs rooted in the Chinese visual tradition.

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<sup>347</sup> Sloboda, ‘Surface Contact’, p. 254.

<sup>348</sup> Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism. Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), p. 18.

## Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter, I have tried to understand the sequence of the sheets of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 at Oud-Amelisweerd and explored to what extent the hunting scene and the boating scene were related to one another, by comparing the wallpapers to similar sheets which can be found at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, Pillnitz Palace in Dresden and the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and panels which were sold at Christie's in the year 2007. The Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace which were re-installed in 2015 after having been kept in storage for more than 75 years, confirm that the parts in Amelisweerd representing the hunting and the boating scene are related and were intended to form a panoramic landscape of 24 sheets in total. Moreover, it has been possible to demonstrate that a sheet of the boating scene that has been found at Pillnitz Palace and does not feature in the wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and at the Royal Pavilion, is the missing sheet 11 of a set of 12 sheets representing a boating scene.

As hinted at before, salon 1.6 belonged to the most important rooms of Oud-Amelisweerd. Even though it is unknown when and how the set of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were acquired and installed at Oud-Amelisweerd, it seems very likely that the Bosch van Drakestein family may be held responsible for this and installed the wallpapers after 1811. If we consider that the former major of the city of Utrecht Paulus Wilhelmus Bosch van Drakestein installed this set of wallpaper somewhere between 1811-1834, his decision reflects not only how eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were still valued in the nineteenth-century but also how these wallpapers were still able to articulate social standing. The display of the Chinese wallpapers in salon 1.6, might demonstrate how the former major used his wealth and status to display objects that did not only propagate the Company's overseas successes but also indirectly linked his own achievements as a major of the city of Utrecht between the years 1803-1808, to the former global power of the Dutch Republic.

In the second part of this thesis, I have examined to what extent Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were generally speaking intended to be displayed for public or were mainly displayed in

private rooms in the Dutch domestic context. Taking into account the conclusions of the previous chapter concerning the presence of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch domestic sphere, it seems that Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were generally speaking also not installed in the semi-private and semi-informal spaces of the house, such as bedrooms and dressing rooms, thus were not primarily associated with femininity like in Britain. Although we lack precise knowledge on the specific time-periods in which the discussed Chinese figural landscape wallpapers were acquired and installed by contemporary owners, the position of the rooms within the overall lay-outs of the properties, confirm the belief that eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were generally speaking, intended to be displayed in the more representational and semi-public domestic sphere of the Dutch elite.

Chinese wallpapers also seem to have featured in the interior space of the Dutch elite to confirm and articulate social standing. Concerning the wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch, the display of the Chinese wallpapers can be understood in light of a broader tradition of linking the House of Orange with Chinese artefacts in order to connect the family's name to the East India Company's reach, as embodied by the artwork *Vivat Oraenge* attributed to Jan Davidsz de Heem (fig. 109) which was displayed in the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch. Even though we lack knowledge about the precise location of the wallpapers in the house of Jean Theodore Royer on Herengracht 17, the existence of many rooms covered with Chinese wallpapers in his house as described by a contemporary visitor, at least confirms that these wallpapers must have formed an important part of the overall interior decoration of the house. Moreover, the presumed presence of Chinese wallpaper depicting the various stages of the porcelain production in the porcelain room, can be understood in light of his eagerness for knowledge about China. With respect to the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Lange Voorhout 32, Park Sparrendael and de Rode Haen, the different customizations which were executed (such as the addition of an extended sky and the re-cutting of panoramic scene), reflect an interest in Chinese wallpapers for the purpose of decoration. Moreover, these acts of appropriation reflect how contemporary European viewers were tied to their own standards of looking at landscape painting in a



horizontal frame, by which they seem to have transformed the continuous panoramas into representations that matched their own mode of looking at landscapes.

In the third part of this chapter, I have aimed to trace the different iconographical motifs that can be found in the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd. This endeavor pointed me to some difficulties, since it already became clear to me in the early stages of my research that the different scenes that can be found on these wallpapers are rooted in different kind of themes and motifs which are represented in the Chinese visual tradition. Nevertheless, my iconographical analysis has demonstrated that the wallpapers consist of a coming together of various sources, stretching from images that hold a long-standing meaning in Chinese imperial art to motifs that derive from more popular imagery. The combination of the hunting scene and the boating scene, which were specifically intended to form one continuous panorama, further confirms the hypothesis that the Chinese figural landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd form an assemblage of various Chinese iconographical motifs, since the hunting and the boating scene are originally not represented in relation to each other in the Chinese visual tradition. By doing so, these coming together of various unrelated visual elements corresponds to the early modern Western practice of using various elements in order to create an image of a foreign geographical place that matches their own concept of an exotic place. As a result, Chinese artists were catering to a European taste that was characterized by mixing & matching of sometimes completely unrelated elements in order to create an image that resonates closely with the Western' concept of China.

## Conclusion

The central question of this research was concentrated around the investigation of the uses of eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers in terms of function and meaning for contemporary owners and viewers in the Dutch domestic context, in specific Oud-Amelisweerd. In addition, the visual motifs of the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd were studied within the context of Chinese art, the place where the panels were materialized, in order to gain more understanding about the origins of the motifs that appear on these panels in Chinese art. In the first part of this thesis, I have reconstructed the original setting in which the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers, in specific the bird-and-flower wallpapers, at Oud-Amelisweerd were installed. Based on infrared examination in 2012, it appears that the initial wallcovering of the two most important rooms of the apartment located on the ground-floor, respectively salon 1.5 and salon 1.6, consisted of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers.

Baron Gerard Godard Taets van Amerongen's preference for the floral wallpapers can be understood in light of his interest in the non-Western natural world, as embodied by his book collection and menagerie, and the desire to integrate indoors and outdoors. The decision to cover the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers of salon 1.6 with green linen hanging on which he could display his painting collection of seventeenth-century Dutch art, might be seen as an attempt to recall the splendor of the Company's hey-day, as an expression of his desire to keep up with the latest trends in interior-design and/or simply as a reflection of his own taste. Despite that Oud-Amelisweerd was functioning as the summer-residence for Baron Gerard Godard Taets van Amerongen, the prominent place within the overall layout of the residence demonstrates that Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were installed in the more representational areas of the house.

An modest analysis of other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century related and comparable interiors in which eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers can still be seen today, to be mentioned Villa Welgelegen, Heeswijk Castle and Marquette Castle, give rise to the perception that most of these Chinese wallpapers were not necessarily situated in spaces of intimacy and the more

informal areas of the house, such as dressing and drawing rooms, which was the case in England at the time. Nevertheless, since we lack of some relevant knowledge concerning the circumstances in which these wallpapers were installed and the setting in which these wallpapers were displayed, further research is needed in order to examine to what extent Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were indeed installed in the more public and representational areas of the house. In addition, it would be interesting, if possible, to find out if there are more indications of places in the Netherlands of which it is known that Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were installed during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century.

The last section of the first part of this thesis provided a modest overview of the various kind of interpretations of bird-and-flower imagery in the Chinese visual tradition. As already hinted at before, it is important to note that contemporary viewers did not recognize and understood the iconographical meaning of bird-and-flower motifs. Therefore, another direction that is worth considering in future research is to examine the contemporary Dutch responses to Chinese wallpaper in the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Netherlands, in specific the naturalistic depictions of bird-and-flower motifs. To what extent was Chinese wallpaper admired by Dutch contemporary viewers for its painterly quality and material quality? It might therefore also be useful to study eighteenth-century newspaper articles, in order to analyze the key words that are used in order to advertise the Chinese wallpapers. Also the study of contemporary travel books and other testimonial reports might provide more insight into the contemporary reception of these wallpapers.

The second part of this thesis started with a reconstruction of the original sequence of the sheets of Chinese figural wallpaper, depicting a boating and hunting scene at Oud-Amelisweerd. Based on comparison to similar sheets of wallpaper that were found at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, Pillnitz Palace in Dresden, the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and panels which were sold at Christie's in the year 2007, it became possible to confirm that the hunting scene, consisting of 12 sheets in total, and the boating scene, consisting of 12 sheets in total, belong together thus were intended to form a panoramic landscape. In specific, it has been possible to reconstruct the total composition of 12 sheets which represent the hunting scene, which was not done in previous

scholarship. The landscape wallpapers in salon 1.6 were likely to be installed by the former major of the city of Utrecht Paulus Wilhelmus Bosch van Drakestein, somewhere between 1811-1834, and might not only reflect his own preference for Chinese wallpapers but also indirectly links his own achievements to the former successes of the Company and former residents of the house, in specific Taets van Amerongen.

A modest examination of other related eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch interiors in which Chinese landscape wallpapers were displayed, confirms the belief that eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers were generally speaking intended to be installed in the more representational and semi-public spaces of a property. In specific, the Chinese landscape wallpapers at Huis ten Bosch can be understood in light of a broader tradition of linking the House of Orange with Chinese artefacts in order to connect the family's name to the East India Company's reach. On their turn, the Chinese wallpapers at Jean Theodore Royer's home in The Hague, which are unfortunately no longer present, hint to the idea that Chinese wallpapers could also transfer knowledge about the unknown world. However, as already hinted at before, future research is needed in order to confirm the hypothesis that Chinese landscape wallpapers were generally speaking being installed in the more representational and semi-public spaces of the house. For example, it would be interesting to further analyze the different properties in which Chinese landscape wallpapers can still be seen today or in which Chinese landscape wallpapers were installed in the past. Future research could also focus on the Chinese landscape wallpapers which were re-cut in order to fit a horizontal frame. What might these adjustments tell us about contemporary perceptions and understandings of Chinese art, in specific about Chinese panoramic landscape scenes?

The last section of the second part of this thesis was concerned with the study of the various iconographical motifs that were found on the Chinese landscape wallpapers representing the hunting and the boating scene, at Oud-Amelisweerd. The iconographical analysis has demonstrated that the wallpapers consist of a coming together of various Chinese visual motifs, stretching from images that hold a long-standing meaning in Chinese imperial art to motifs that derive from more popular imagery. Future research could focus on the relationship between hunting and boating scenes on other

types of Chinese export products, in specific *famille verte* and *famille rose* porcelain, lacquerware and export paintings. In addition, we lack of knowledge on the workshop practices in Canton and the specific kind of artists who were working in these workshops. Which sources did Chinese wallpaper artists use and how might the relationship between the various motifs and scenes that can be found on different Chinese export products be defined? Did they work from the same source-materials and how did the transfer of visual sources happen? These questions could be addressed in future research.

### *Chinoiserie*

As set out in the introduction on the concept of chinoiserie in the first part of this thesis, the definition of the term of chinoiserie as understood by the discussed scholars is less than stable and consistent, stretching from aesthetic idealized style to political actor, covering both artefacts manufactured in the West as well in China. Since Chinese wallpapers are generally speaking not discussed by scholarship in the context of chinoiserie (when understood as a Western creation in the Chinese style) and also not considered as a piece of Chinese fine art, Chinese wallpapers are hard to fit into a specific category or geographical context (created in China yet not consumed in China itself). Nevertheless, since Chinese wallpapers did play a role in Western interiors in the Chinese style which included both Western as well as non-Western artefacts in the Chinese style, scholar Anna Wu (2019) argues that the concept of chinoiserie is beneficial in studying the attitudes towards Chinese wallpaper. In addition, Wu calls for a more global approach of the subject, by moving away from the idea that chinoiserie is a European phenomenon. By doing so, Wu aims to recognize the global network in which objects in the Chinese style were created, which stretches far beyond the borders of the Western world<sup>349</sup>.

Throughout this study, I have aimed to apply the ‘global’ approach of chinoiserie, by means of looking at the specific context in which eighteenth-century Chinese landscape and bird-and-flower wallpapers were installed, in specific at Oud-Amelisweerd and other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century related Dutch interiors, and by trying to identify the visual motifs that could be found on the

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<sup>349</sup> Wu, *Chinese wallpaper, global histories and material culture*, Diss. Royal College of Art, 2019, pp. 121-26.

Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd. With respect to Oud-Amelisweerd, it seems that the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers were installed in the 1770s in the two most important salons of the apartment located on the ground-floor of the property, yet we lack of information about the function of the rooms and information about other related objects that were housed in these rooms, by which it is not possible to identify if Baron Gerard Godard Taets van Amerongen displayed his wallpapers in a room which was furnished with other artefacts in the Chinese style. With respect to Louis Napoleon who occupied Oud-Amelisweerd between 1808-1810, it seems that the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.5 were not accompanied by other objects or furniture in the Chinese style. With respect to the time-period when the Bosch van Drakestein family occupied the house which they acquired in 1811, it is also not clear if the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in salon 1.6 and the Chinese landscape wallpapers in salon 1.5 were shown in the context of a Chinese room, which also included other objects in the Chinese style. In sum, with respect to Oud-Amelisweerd it is difficult to say if the Chinese wallpapers were brought together with other objects in the Chinese style thus to argue to what extent Chinese wallpapers contributed to Western interiors in the Chinese style which are also known as chinoiserie interiors.

The other related eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch interiors which I have addressed in this thesis, have more to say about the extent to which Chinese wallpapers were displayed in Western interiors in the Chinese style which housed both non-Western as well as Western objects in the Chinese style. In specific the eighteenth-century Chinese landscape wallpapers of Huis ten Bosch Palace which were installed in the former antechamber of Prince Willem V, presumably after 1804, and the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers in the dining room of Heeswijk Castle which were installed in the 1890s, show that original Chinese wallpapers (that is to say objects in the Chinese style which were created in China and not in the West) were installed in combination with Western imitations of Asian lacquerware, namely lacquered door paneling and paneling above the fireplace (only at Huis ten Bosch). This observation confirms the idea that contemporary owners and viewers would not have seen a problem in combining original Chinese artefacts with Western artefacts in the

Chinese style in interior decoration, thus had an interest in eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers for the purpose of decoration.

This observation is further highlighted by the re-cutting of Chinese landscape wallpapers into upper-door and chimney pieces at Park Sparrendael and Lange Voorhout 32. Despite that we do not know when these upper-door and chimney pieces were installed, the various alterations give rise to the observation that contemporary owners and viewers might have wanted to see the unfamiliar world through familiar glasses thus swapped the panoramic wallpapers for horizontal, framed landscape scenes. The two panels of Chinese wallpaper originating from 'De Rooden Haen' in Breda which are currently part of the collection of the Breda Museum, further confirm the idea that Chinese wallpapers were primarily admired for their decorative potential. By framing the Chinese wallpapers with a border in a horizontal composition and adding an extended sky to the overall composition, it seems that contemporary viewers would indeed have preferred to see the Chinese vertical panoramic landscape wallpapers in a framed horizontal format which might have been more in line with the owner's standard mode of perception.

The eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers at Marquette Castle further confirm the idea that Western eighteenth- and nineteenth-century owners of these wallpapers viewed Chinese pictorial wallpaper primarily as a decorative piece rather than as a materialized evocative of a foreign and distant culture which must remain intact. Looking at the Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers at Marquette Castle, we can see that various species and flowers are cut from sheets of wallpaper in order to give the wallpapers a more elaborate impression. Moreover, on the lower part of the wallpapers, extended water is added in order to create a water pool in which the different birds can bathe. The just described alterations of the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at Park Sparrendael, Lange Voorhout 32, 'De Rooden Haen' and Marquette Castle, demonstrate that Chinese wallpapers were appropriated in order to create a new composition by means of picking and mixing various motifs and / or to showcase a local concept of what a distant, Chinese world looked like. As with seventeenth-century Dutch delftware painters which created their own visual style by using different elements of Asian ornamentation, it is precisely because of the lack of knowledge on the

Chinese visual world, that Chinese contemporary viewers were invited to create their own assemblage.

As touched upon by Stacey Sloboda (2018) in her discussion on the Chinese wallpapers at Saltram, 'By cutting, pasting, and repeating pieces of paper upon the walls, the wallpaper loses its status as image-bearer and becomes a fully material presence within the room. As such, instead of presenting a pictorial illusion of Chinese culture, it offers a fragmented material trace of an ambivalent cross-cultural encounter<sup>350</sup>'. By doing so, the eighteenth-century Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd and other properties in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Netherlands can be linked to the more general notion of 'exoticism' that is characterized by the mixing and matching of various geographical and cultural motifs in order to showcase a contemporary Western concept of a foreign cultural and geographical place. Moreover, Dutch image(s) of China were sometimes even expressions of their own self-images, or at least the self-images of the aristocracy, which is with respect to the Netherlands, embodied by the connection of the House of Orange to Chinese material culture.

The examination of the specific visual motifs which can be found on the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd, in specific on the Chinese landscape wallpapers representing a boating and a hunting scene, which I executed in order to get a sense of their meaning and value in the context of the Chinese visual tradition, laid bare that the various motifs derived from Chinese popular imagery which held cultural significance in the Chinese visual culture. As hinted at before, this meaning and value was not recognized by contemporary European viewers, since they lacked knowledge of the Chinese visual tradition. Nevertheless, the given that Chinese wallpapers were specifically produced and intended for the Western market thus not consumed by the Chinese themselves, might also declare why Chinese export artists were mixing different Chinese iconographical motifs since their audience was not aware of the given that the various visual motifs formed an assemblage, existing of a coming together of various Chinese popular elements.

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid., p. 254.



This brief exploration of the various Chinese visual motifs that informed the creation of the Chinese landscape with figures wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd thereby lays bare that the Chinese wallpapers that arrived into the Western world, were already colored by the given that they were specifically intended for the Western market. In other words, if we consider chinoiserie as a global phenomenon thus not limited to artefacts in the Chinese style, produced in the Western world, we might, as I have tried to demonstrate, get a sense of the ways in which Chinese artists adopted popular Chinese imagery in order to create assemblages such as the Chinese landscape wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd. Despite that the Chinese wallpapers at Oud-Amelisweerd were created by Chinese artists who used images which had domestic appeal, the boating and the racing scene are images 'in the Chinese style' as such that these kind of overall composition cannot be found in the Chinese visual tradition nor was used in the Chinese domestic context. De Bruijn's (2017) hypothesis that Western chinoiserie wallpapers might have informed the creation of Chinese wallpapers in China, further demonstrates that both Western as well as non-Western objects in the Chinese style (which is generally speaking considered as chinoiserie) which were created around the same time-period, should be seen as entangled rather than separated phenomenon's. As a result, the concept of chinoiserie should be seen as a decorative style informed by cross-cultural encounter rather than as a primarily European invention.

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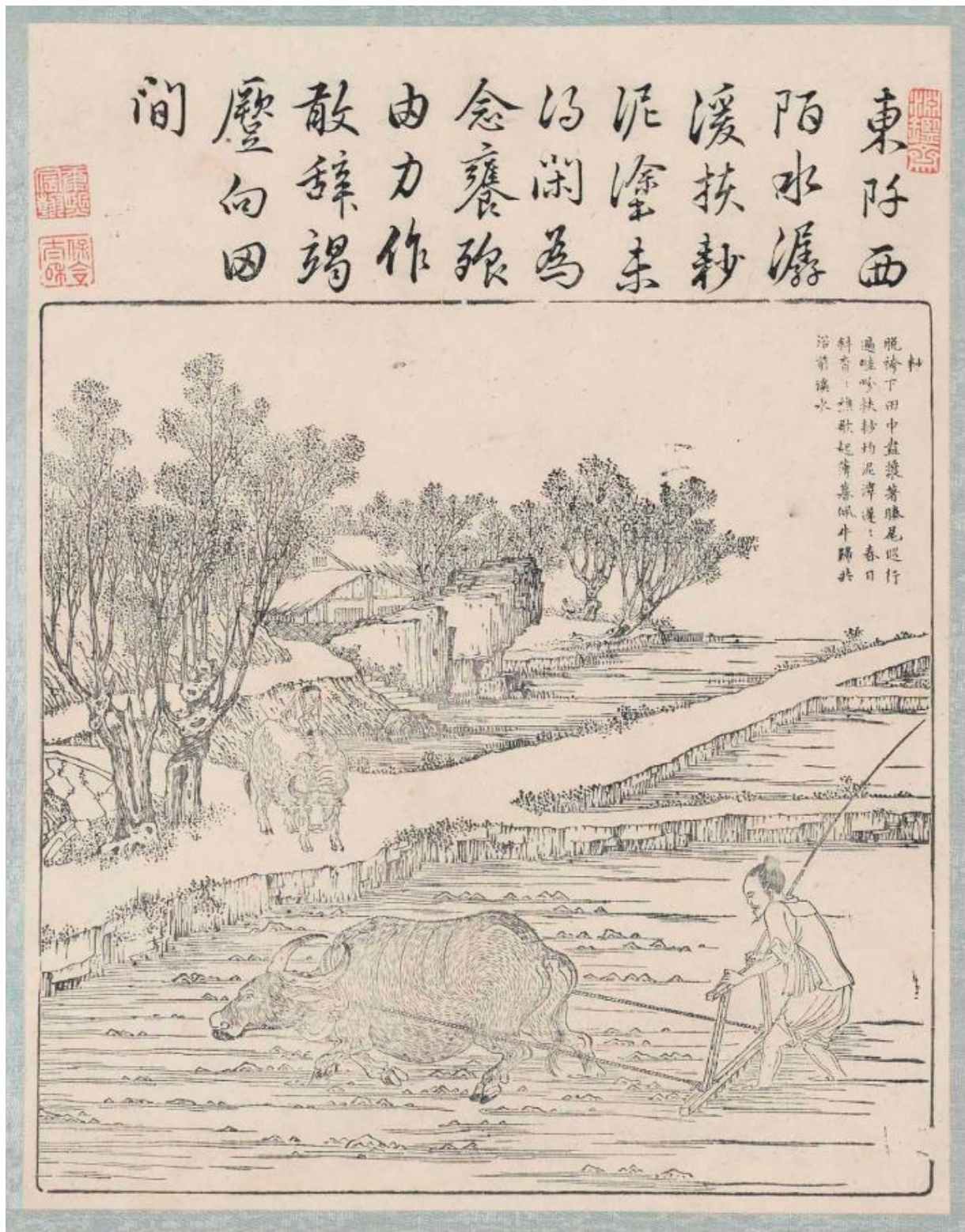


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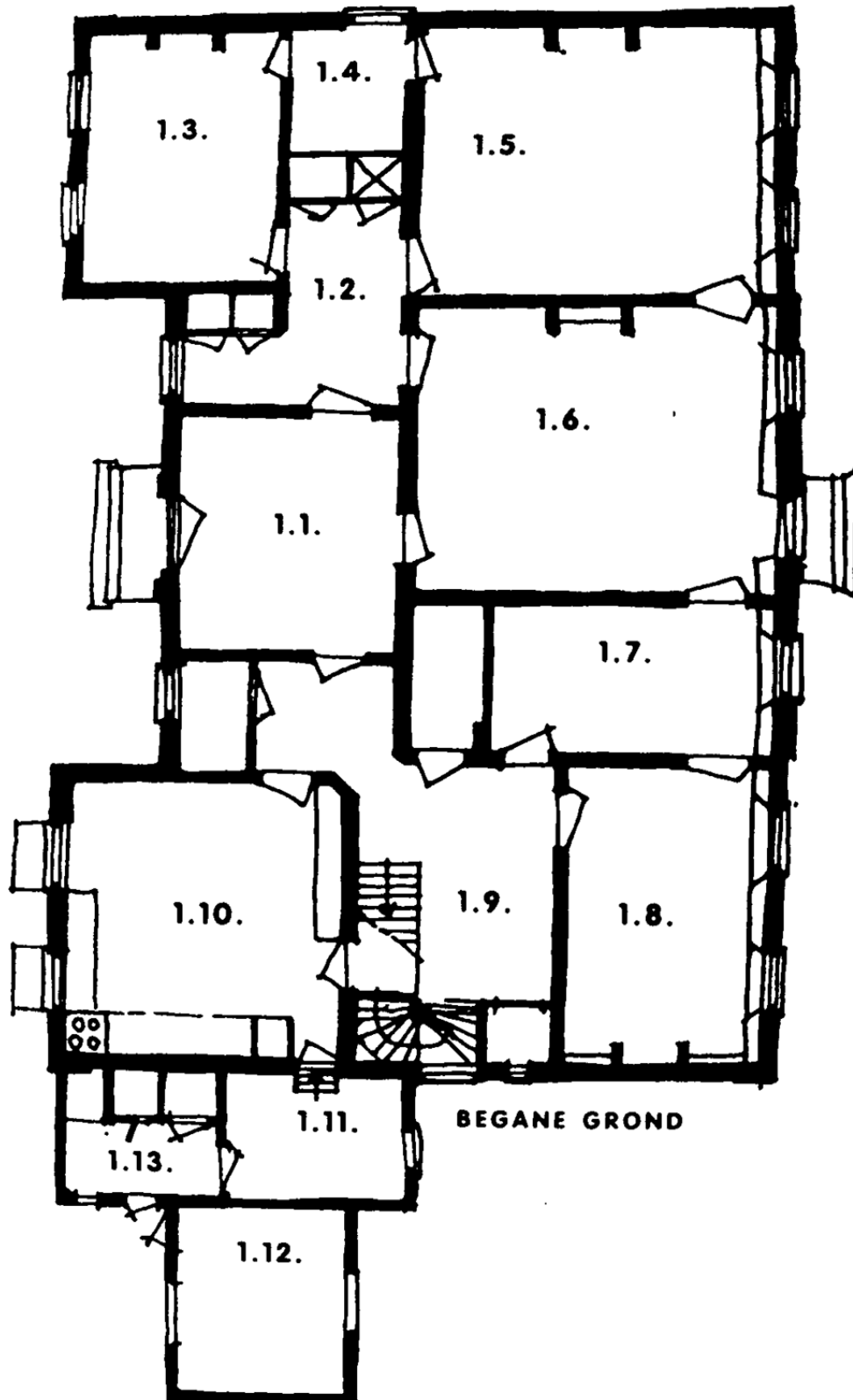


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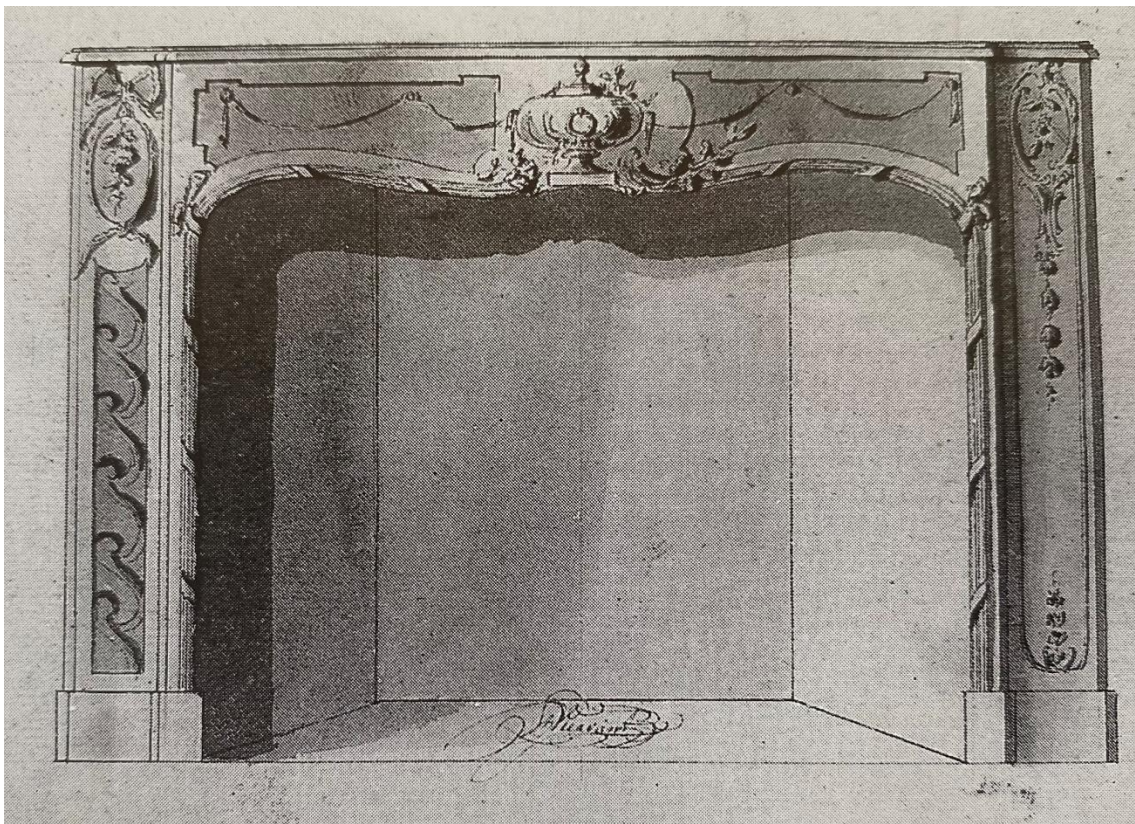


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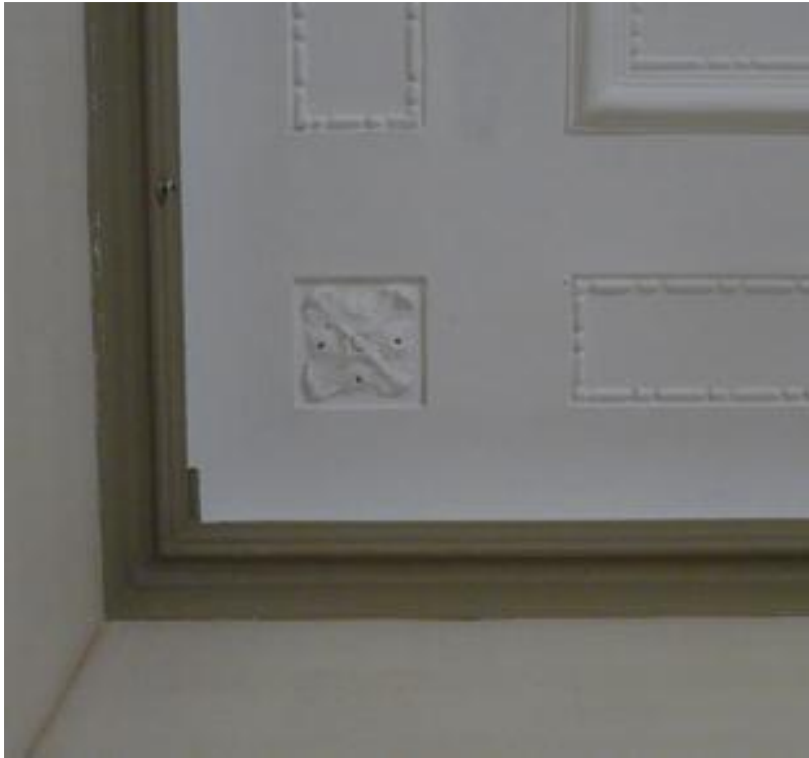


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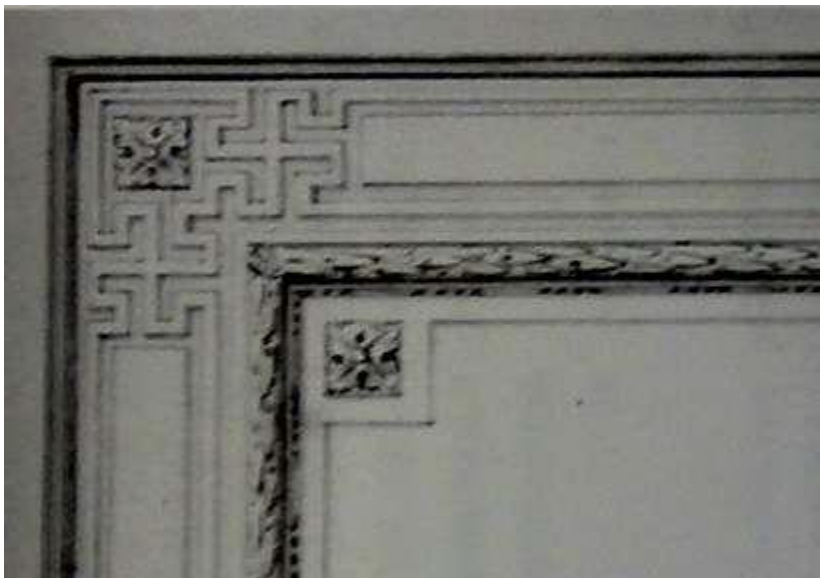


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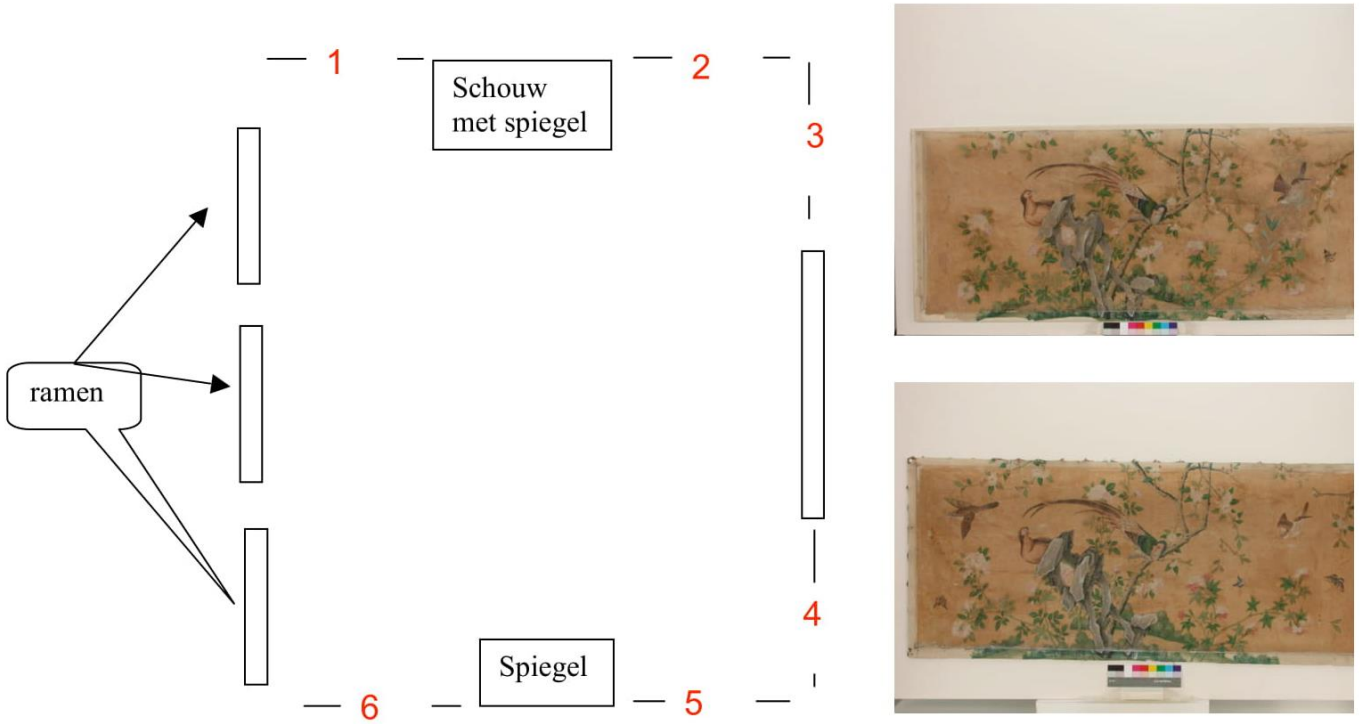


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Fig. 81 – Sheets of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper, representing among others acrobats and mythological figures © Sander Karst.



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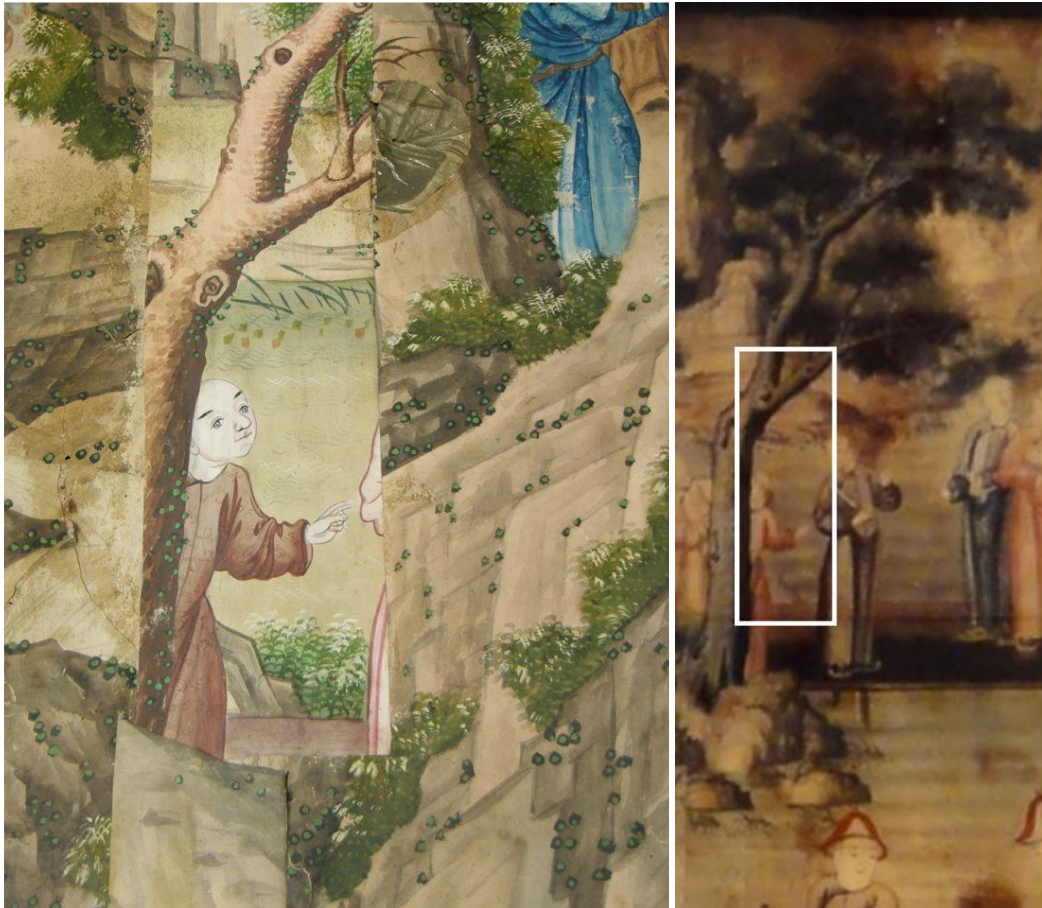


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Fig. 91 – Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Castle installed in the 'kaffeezimmer' ('coffee room'), ca. 1930  
© Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.



Fig. 92 – Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Castle installed in the 'kaffeezimmer' ('coffee room'), ca. 1930  
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Fig. 93 – Sheets of Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace, from right to left sheet 2 (SGD 1150), sheet 3 (SGD 1149) and sheet 4 (SGD 1144). Since the sheets were not installed in the right sequence and framed and put on a panel individually, the sheets do not match up fluently. In order to create this composition, the author has followed the sequence of the Oud-Amelisweerd wallpapers © Carsten Wintermann.



Fig. 94 – Sheets of Chinese wallpapers at Pillnitz Palace, from right to left sheet 6 (SGD 1145) and sheet 7 (SGD 1147). Since the sheets were not installed in the right sequence and framed and put on a panel individually, the sheets do not match up fluently. In order to create this composition, the author has followed the sequence of the Oud-Amelisweerd wallpapers © Carsten Wintermann.





Fig. 95 – Sheet 11 (SGD 1148) of Chinese wallpaper depicting a boating scene at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



Sheet 6

Sheet 5

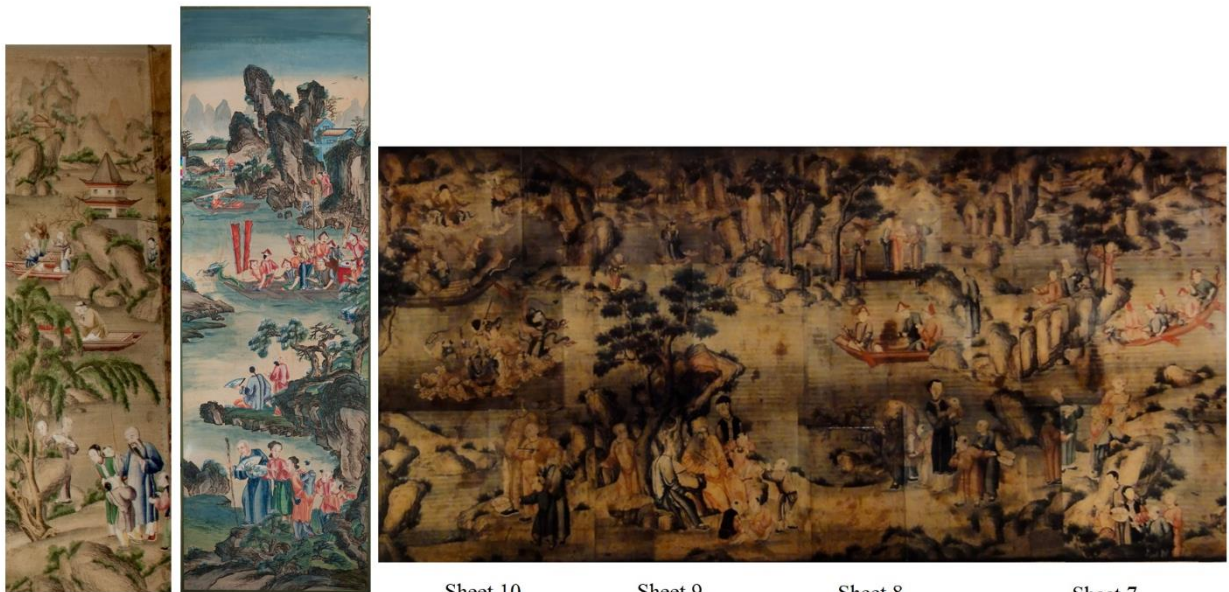
Sheet 4

Sheet 3

Sheet 2

Sheet 1

Oud-Amelisweerd



Sheet 12

Sheet 11

Sheet 10

Sheet 9

Sheet 8

Sheet 7

Oud-Amelisweerd

Pillnitz Palace

Royal Pavilion

Fig. 96 – Reconstruction of Chinese wallpaper series consisting of 12 sheets, representing a boating scene © Hilda Groen.



Sheet 12

Oud-Amelisweerd



Sheet 11

Pillnitz Palace



Sheet 10

Royal Pavilion

Fig. 97 – Detail of sheet 10, 11 and 12, part of reconstruction of Chinese wallpaper series consisting of 12 sheets, representing a boating scene © Hilda Groen.



Sheet 12

Oud-Amelisweerd



Sheet 11 (?)

Victoria & Albert  
Museum



Sheet 10

Royal Pavilion

Fig. 98 – Sheet 10, 11 and 12 of Chinese wallpaper series consisting of 12 sheets, representing a boating scene  
© Hilda Groen.



Fig. 99 –Sheet 1 (SGD 1146) of Chinese wallpaper depicting a hunting scene at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



Fig. 100 – Sheet 9 (SGD 1143) of Chinese wallpaper depicting a hunting scene at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



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Fig. 107 – Canapé covered with Chinese embroidered silk in the Chinese salon at Huis ten Bosch, The Hague © RVB - Corné Bastiaansen.



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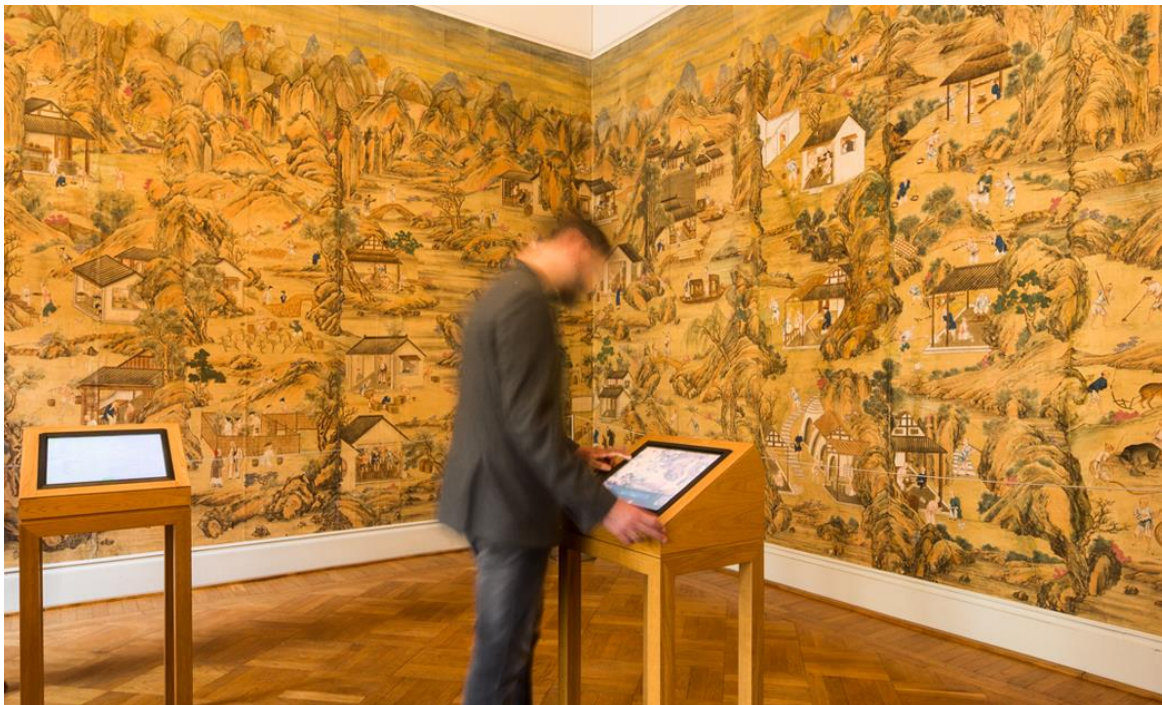


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Fig. 114 – Left-front room at Lange Voorhout 32, The Hague © Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE).

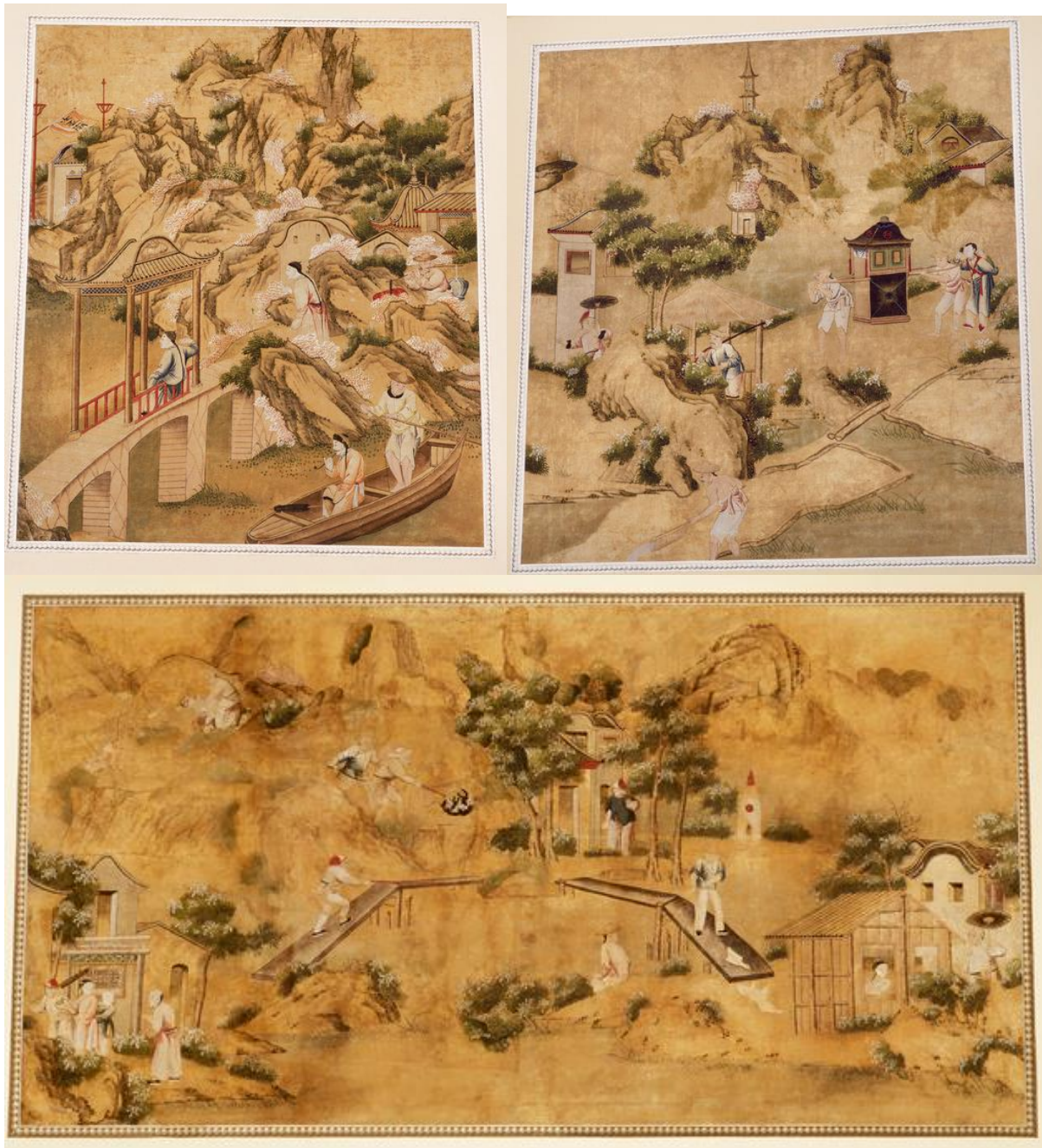


Fig. 115 – Three Chinese figural landscape upper-door pieces at Lange Voorhout 32 © Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE).

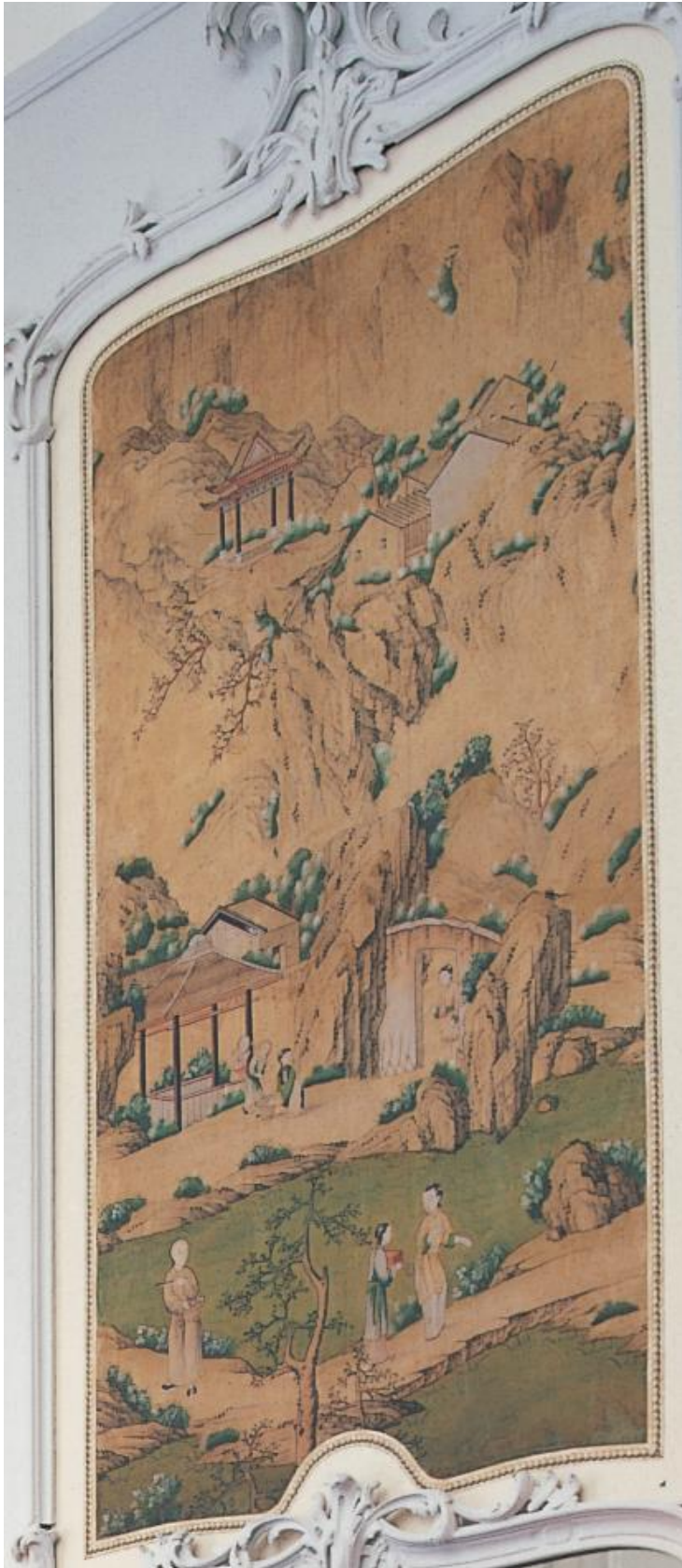


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Fig. 117 – Park Sparrendael, large room located on the ground-floor at the back of the house, which looks over the garden © Swijnenburg.



Fig. 118 – Chinese upper-door piece at Park Sparrendael, ca. 1750-1800, 88 x 200 cm © RKD - Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis.



Fig. 119 – Chinese upper-door piece at Park Sparrendael, ca. 1750-1800, 117 x 120 cm © RKD - Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis.



Fig. 120 – Chinese upper-door piece at Park Sparrendael, ca. 1750-1800, 117 x 120 cm © RKD - Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis.



Fig. 121 – Chinese wallpaper showing a landscape with figures engaged in daily-life activities, which originally hung at De Roode Haen in Breda, ca. 1750-1800, 217 x 240 cm, Stedelijk Museum Breda.



Fig. 122 – Chinese wallpaper showing a landscape with figures engaged in daily-life activities, which originally hung at De Roode Haen in Breda, ca. 1750-1800, 217 x 365 cm, Stedelijk Museum Breda.



Fig. 123 – Wallpaper representing a panoramic landscape including figures engaged in daily life activities installed in the Chinese bedroom at Blicking Hall (England), ca. 1760 © National Trust.



Fig. 124 – Detail of a faux bamboo trelliswork paper border at the Chinese bedroom at Blicking Hall (England), ca. 1760 © National Trust.



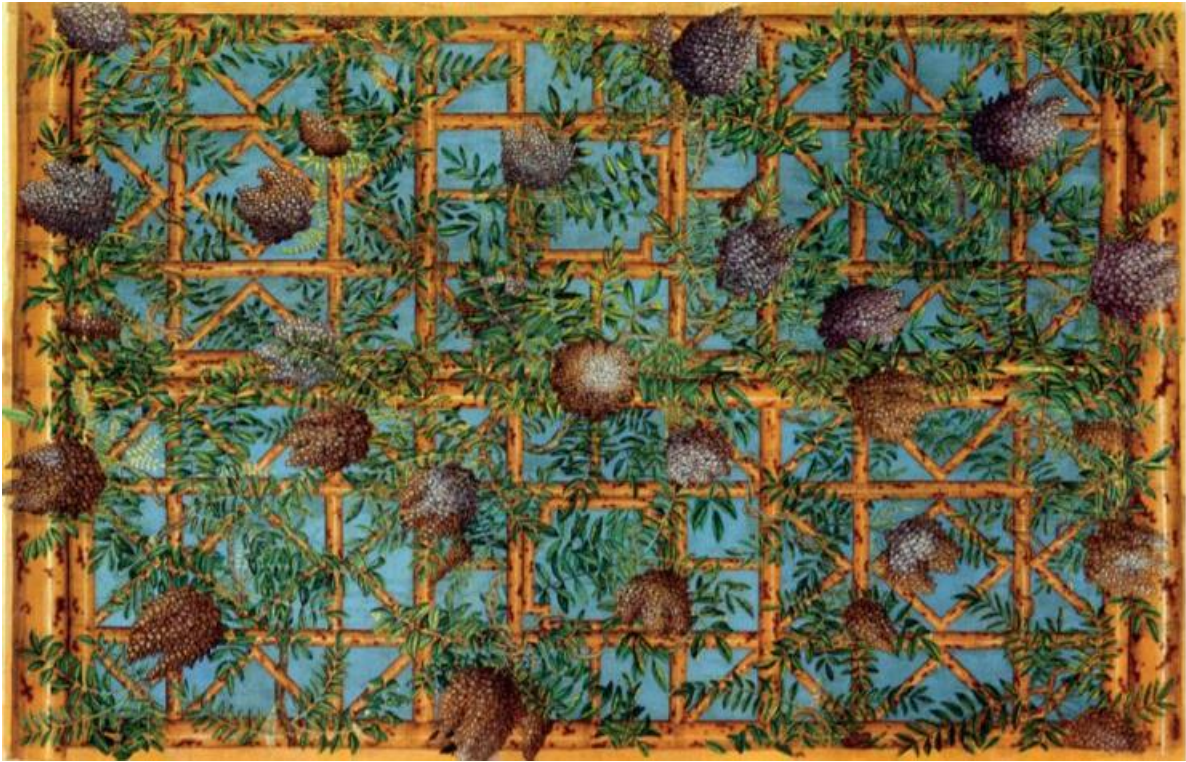


Fig. 125 – Detail of painted trellis ceiling in the Retirement Studio with cluster of wisteria viewed from directly below, marking viewing position. © Kleutghen (2015).



Fig. 126 – Wang Zhenpeng (fl. ca. 1280-1329), *Regatta on Dragon Lake*, Yuan dynasty Handscroll, ink on silk, 30.2 x 243.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 127 – Detail of sheet 7 (SGD 1144) at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



Fig. 128 – Detail of a Lady holding a cattail leaf fan (left) and a Man holding a cattail leaf fan (right) (both pictures are part of a set of paintings on daily life in Qing dynasty China), ca. 1800-1899, watercolor, 13 x 10 cm (size of whole sheet of paper), National Library of Australia.



Fig. 129 – *Famille rose* ‘one hundred boys’ vase depicting boys play-acting dragon boat racing, Jiaqing seal mark and period (1796-1820), diameter 35.5 cm, Sotheby’s sale 2018, lot 14 © Sotheby’s.



Fig. 130 – Chinese silk and metal thread tapestry depicting dragon-boat festival performance, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), 76.2 × 108 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 131 – Detail of Chinese silk and metal thread tapestry depicting dragon boat racing, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), 76.2 × 108 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



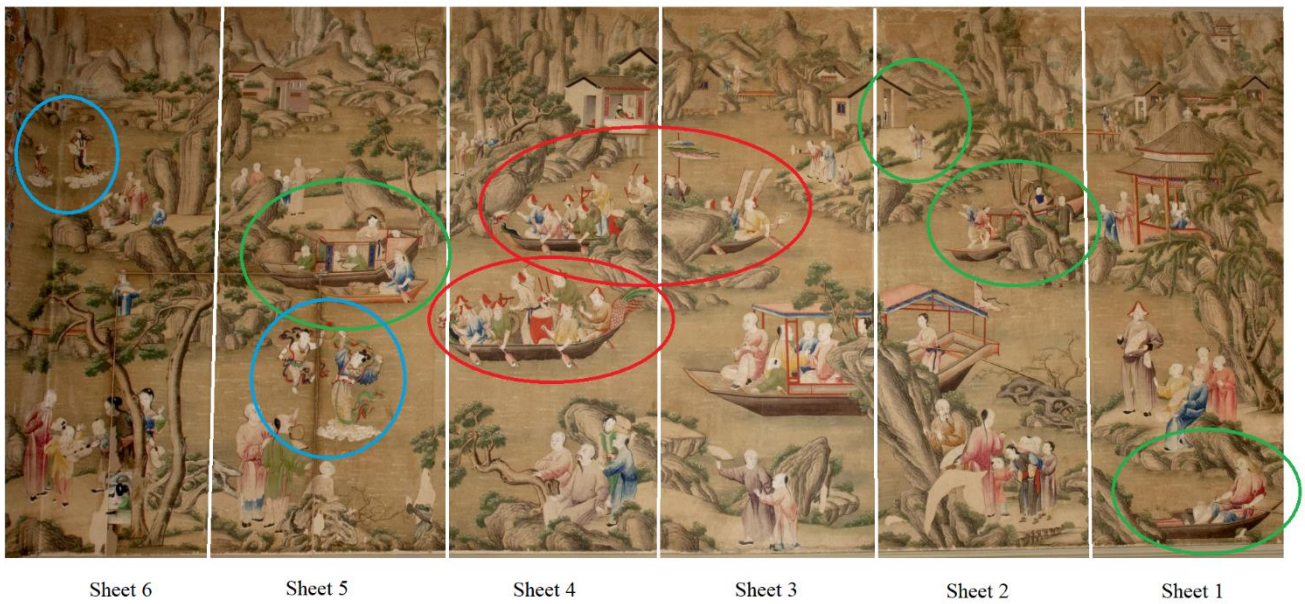
Fig. 132 – Chinese lacquered folding screen, Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), 215,5 x 448 cm, Guangdong Museum, Guangzhou © Guangdong Museum.



Fig. 133 – Chinese lacquered screen displayed in the Chinese salon at Oud-Amelisweerd, on the occasion of the exhibition 'Made in China', September 23, 2017 until March 18, 2018 © MOA.



Fig. 134 – One panel, part of set of carved stained ivory and applique-decorated ‘dragon boat festival’ panels in Huanghuali frames, Qing Dynasty, 98.5 x 136.5 cm each. Sotheby’s sale 2018, lot 3425 © Sotheby’s.



Sheet 6

Sheet 5

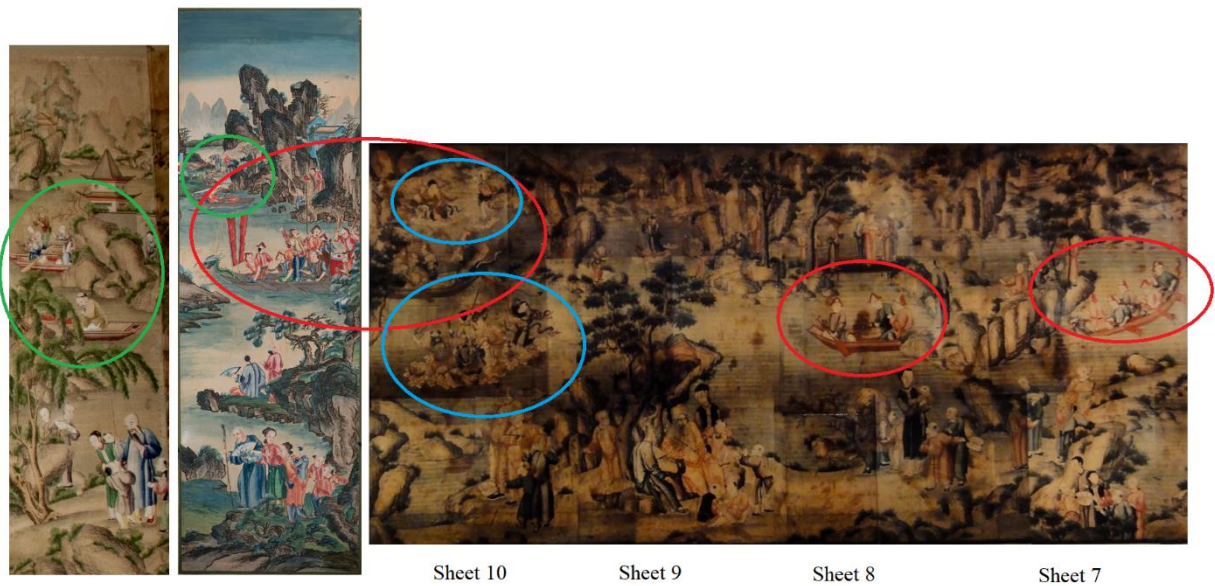
Sheet 4

Sheet 3

Sheet 2

Sheet 1

Oud-Amelisweerd



Sheet 12

Sheet 11

Sheet 10

Sheet 9

Sheet 8

Sheet 7

Royal Pavilion

Oud-Amelisweerd

Pillnitz Palace

- Agricultural scenes
- Mythological figures
- Dragon boat racing

Fig. 135 – Reconstruction of boating scene, consisting of 12 sheets, highlighting the various scenes that can be discovered.



Fig. 136 – Fragment of sheet 12 at Oud-Amelisweerd, representing men in boat carrying among others rice.

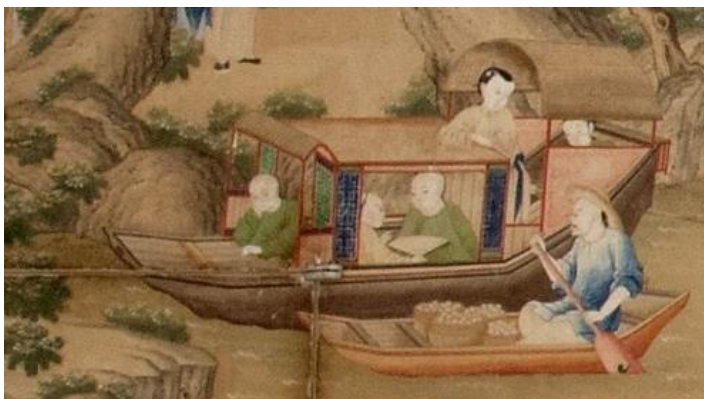


Fig. 137 – Fragment of sheet 5 at Oud-Amelisweerd, representing man in a boat carrying among others rice.



Fig. 138 – Fragment of sheet 1 at Oud-Amelisweerd, representing man in a boat carrying among others rice.





Fig. 139 – Detail of boating scene (sheet 11, SGD 1148) of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



Fig. 140 – Detail of boating scene (sheet 2, SGD 1150) of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.

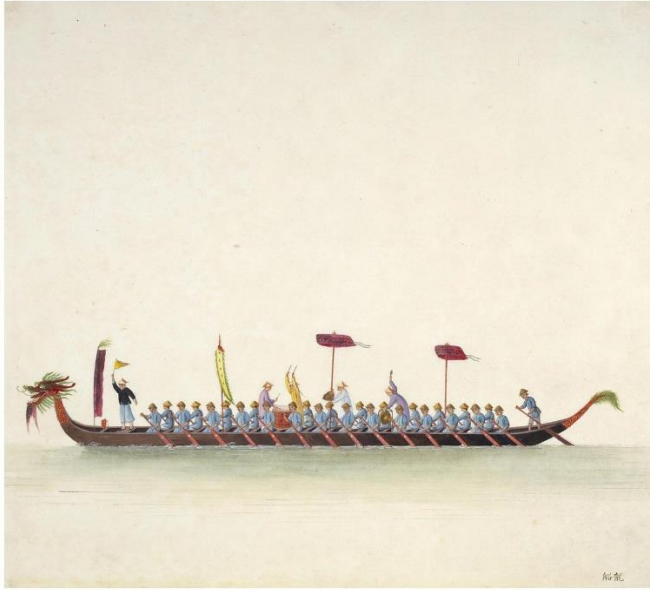


Fig. 141 – Chinese painting depicting a dragon boat, part from a set of 50, ca. 1800-1820, watercolour and ink on paper, 32 x 38 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 142 – Detail of Chinese painting depicting a fishing junk, part from a set of 50, ca. 1800-1820, watercolour and ink on paper, 32 x 38 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

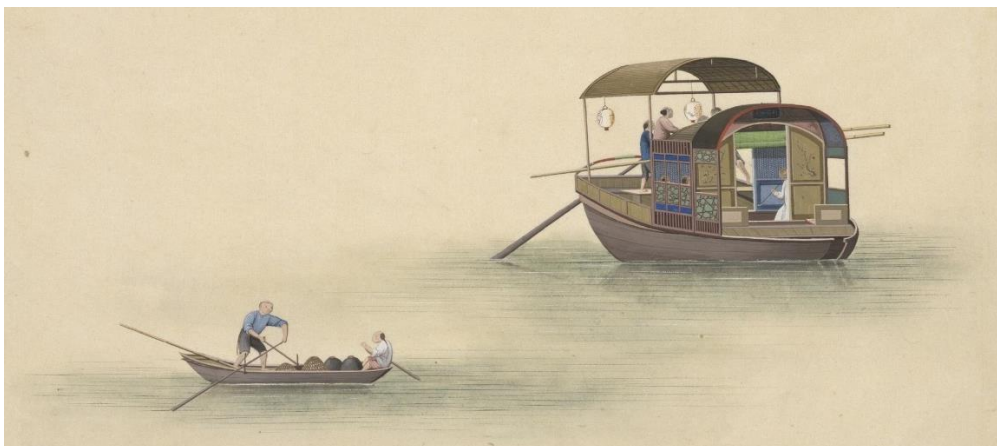


Fig. 143 – Chinese painting depicting a tail boat, part from a set of 50, ca. 1800-1820, watercolour and ink on paper, 32 x 38 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 144 – Sheet 5 (right) and 6 (left) at Oud-Amelisweerd, representing fragments of the boating scene.



Fig. 145 – Chinese *famille verte* plate, representing the Eight Immortals crossing the sea, , 18<sup>th</sup> century, diameter 20 cm, Hindman Auctions' sale 2019, lot 85 © Hindman Auctions.



Fig. 146 – Sheet 1 up to 3 (from right to left) of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.



Fig. 147 – Sheet 4 up to 6 (from right to left) of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.



Fig. 148 – Sheet 7 up to 9 (from right to left) of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.



Fig. 149 – Sheet 10 up to 12 (from right to left; sheet 12 is only partially visible, since the sheet is mostly covered by sheet 12 of the boating scene) of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.





Fig. 150 – Detail of sheet 3 of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.



Fig. 151 – Detail of Sheet 9 (SGD 1143) of Chinese figural landscape wallpaper depicting a hunting scene at Pillnitz Palace © Carsten Wintermann.



Fig. 152 – Giuseppe Castiglione (Chinese name Lang Shining, 1688-1766), *The Qianlong Emperor Attending Imperial Hunting Games*, Qing dynasty, 115 × 181.4 cm, ink and color on silk National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 153 – Detail of sheet 5 of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief



Fig. 154 – Detail of sheet 6 of the Chinese figural landscape wallpaper at Oud-Amelisweerd © Het Utrechts Archief.



Fig. 155 – Detail of a Chinese painting depicting a drama showing Ma Chao and Zhang Fei fighting, 23 x 33.5 cm (picture is part of an Album of Chinese theatrical scenes), ca. 1880-1910, watercolor, 23 x 33.5 cm (size of whole sheet of paper), National Library of Australia.



Fig. 156 – Detail of a Chinese painting depicting Princess Shuangyang, (picture is part of an Album of Chinese theatrical scenes), ca. 1880-1910, watercolor, 23 x 33.5 cm (size of whole sheet of paper), National Library of Australia.







Fig. 157 – Detail of a large *famille rose* baluster jar and cover, Qianlong period, 80 cm, Christie's sale 2016, lot 952 © Christie's.






Fig. 158 – ‘A Soldier of the Chinese Infantry’ or ‘Tiger of Wart’ part of *Costumes of China* (London: William Miller, 1805), by William Alexander, consisting of 48 colored engravings in total. Sotheby’ sale 2016, lot 1 © Sotheby’s.

## Appendix I: Overview<sup>351</sup> Locations Chinese Wallpaper in the Netherlands (installed during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>352</sup>)





Location	In situ	Date	Installed	Type of room	Type of wallpaper + function room.	Image
<b>Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum</b>	No	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Chinese bird-and-flower wallpaper, presumably originating from a property on the Schiekade in Rotterdam but now lost (published in <i>Lubberhuizen - Van Gelder</i> , 1941).	
<b>Apeldoorn, Collectie Paleis het Loo</b>	No	Ca. 1750-1780.	Ca. 1770-1780 at Huis ten Bosch.	Antechamber of Wilhelmina of Prussia (1751-1820) (semi-private / semi-informal space).	Chinese figural landscape paper wallpapers, 2 x set of 6 sheets, respectively called 'the Chinese wedding' and 'the academic', originally hung at Huis ten Bosch in the Hague.	 
<b>Beverwijk, Museum Kennemerland</b>	No	1790s.	Unknown, originating from Castle Assumburg.	A Chinese boudoir. (presumably a semi-private / semi-informal space).	Fragment of Chinese wallpaper, originating from Castle Assumburg in Heemskerk and now part of Collectie Museum Kennemerland, Beverwijk.	




<sup>351</sup> This overview builds on the overviews provided by Monique Staal (2013) and Joosje van Dam (1992).

<sup>352</sup> In 2011, a set of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers was installed at a property on the Keizersgracht 207 in Amsterdam. The house is now sold and it is unknown where the wallpapers went. Between 1960-1980 also a set of eighteenth-century Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers was installed at Drakensteyn Castle in Lage Vuursche. Since the both cases deal with Chinese wallpapers that were installed in the twentieth-century (both examples fall beyond the scope of this study), I have not included these examples in this table.

<b>Breda, Museum Breda</b>	No	Ca. 1775.	Unknown, originating from 'De Rooden Haen' in Breda.	Chinese room (presumably) (semi-public / representational space).	Two panels of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers originating from 'De Rooden Haen' (Ginnekenstraat 10) that was demolished in 1961.	
<b>The Hague, Herengracht 17</b>	No	Ca. 1750-1800	Unknown, presumably between 1778-1807, on the Herengracht 17.	(Suggested by Jan van Campen (2000) porcelain room (semi-public / representational space)).	It is known that the amateur-sinologist Jean-Theodore Royer (1737-1807) had different types of Chinese wallpapers represented in his house, among which a set of wallpaper representing stages of the production of porcelain.	Not available.
<b>Bunnik, Pop-up Museum Oud-Amelisweerd</b>	Yes	Ca. 1750-1770	Ca. 1770	Large, representational room, adjacent to the garden. (semi-public / representational space).	Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers.	
<b>Bunnik, Pop-up Museum Oud-Amelisweerd</b>	Yes	Ca. 1790-1800	After 1811	Large, representational room, adjacent to room that is decorated with Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers. (semi-public / representational space).	Chinese figural landscape wallpapers.	



<b>Driebergen-Rijssenburg, Park Sparrendael.</b>	Yes	Ca. 1750-1799	Unknown (likely to have been applied during the second half of the eighteenth-century).	Large, representational room, adjacent to the garden. (semi-public / representational space).	Three collaged upper-door pieces depicting figural landscape scenes.	
<b>The Hague, Huis ten Bosch</b>	Yes	Ca. 1796-1804	Unknown (after 1804).	Former antechamber of Prince Willem V of Orange and Nassau (1751-1820) (semi-public / representational space).	Landscape figural wallpapers illustrating aspects of rice production and two bird-and-flower upper door pieces and chimney piece (which looks like a Chinese export reverse mirror painting).	
<b>The Hague, Lange Voorhout 32</b>	Yes	Ca. 1780	Unknown (likely to have been applied during the second half of the eighteenth-century).	Unknown, room located on the first floor of the property (presumably a semi-private / semi-informal space).	Fragments of Chinese figural landscape wallpapers used as a chimney-piece and three upper-door pieces, representing daily life scenes. Pieces were re-found in 1996 and restored.	
<b>Haarlem, Paviljoen Welgelegen</b>	Yes	Ca. 1750-1785.	After 1792.	The room has been identified as the former private saloon of King Louis Louis Napoleon, who bought the property in 1808 (semi-private / semi-informal space).	Six fragments of Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers, used as upper-door pieces.	

<b>Heemskerk, Huis Marquette</b>	Yes	Ca. 1750-1850.	Unknown, presumably nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century.	Unknown, small room located at the front of the house (semi-public / representational space).	Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers (incorporating ornamental vases). Presumably, the wallpapers came originally from Castle Assumburg in Heemskerk.	
<b>Heeswijk-Dinther, Kasteel Heeswijk</b>	Yes	Ca. 1750-1780.	The 1890s.	Dining room (semi-public / representational space).	Chinese bird-and-flower wallpapers.	
<b>Langbroek, Sandenburg Castle (Orangery)</b>	Yes	Ca. 1760	Unknown, presumably late eighteenth-century.	Unknown, small room located at the front of the house (semi-private / semi-informal space).	A Chinese print / picture depicting two female figures dated to around 1760.	

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