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*Susan Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse at Chantilly: French Images of Asia", The East Asian Library Journal 9, no. 1 (2000): 78-222, accessed January 14, 2017, [https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/miller\\_susan.EALJ.v09.n01.p078.pdf](https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/miller_susan.EALJ.v09.n01.p078.pdf)*

L I V R E  
D E  
DESSEINS CHINOIS ,  
*TIRÉS D'APRÈS DES ORIGINAUX*  
D E  
PERSE, DES INDES, DE LA CHINE  
ET DU JAPON ,  
*DESSINÉS ET GRAVÉS EN TAILLE-DOUCE*  
PAR LE S<sup>r</sup> FRAISSE, PEINTRE DES A. S.  
MONSEIGNEUR  
L E D U C ,  
*DEDIÉ A SON ALTESSE SERENISSIME.*



A P A R I S ,  
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à la Vérité.

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M. DCC. XXXV.  
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

1. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Title page from *Livre de desseins chinois* (1735).  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

# Jean-Antoine Fraise at Chantilly

## French Images of Asia

SUSAN MILLER

Jean-Antoine Fraise's printed and drawn images, reflections of early-eighteenth-century France's fascination with the East, were first published in 1735 in Paris as the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Issued in folio format, the images encapsulate various modes through which France at that time viewed the vast expanse it collectively designated as "the Orient." The *Livre de desseins chinois* constitutes a visual correlative to ambivalent views of the East memorably presented by Charles Louis de Montesquieu (1689–1755) fourteen years earlier in his satirical novel *Les lettres persanes*, a story of two men living in Paris identified as "Orientals" by the people around them. Complementing Montesquieu's prose, Fraise's images both reproduce and confront Western perceptions of the exotic East.<sup>1</sup>

By the early 1730s, when Fraise was preparing his work, increased trading by the East India companies had generated immense Western interest in material from the East. Responding to market demand, early-eighteenth-century French artisanal workshops produced adaptations and imitations of objects of Eastern origin. Interpreted Eastern styles are seen in Western-produced embroidery, weave-patterned silk, pigment-painted silk, block-printed cotton, imitation lacquer, marquetry,

ceramics, and wallcoverings. The *Livre de desseins chinois* offered collectors, designers, and artisans detailed images traceable to Japan, China, India, and Persia.

#### CHANTILLY, THE PLATES, AND THE CONDÉ COLLECTIONS

The story of the *Livre de desseins chinois* begins at Chantilly, the location of both an imitation-lacquer and a painted-and-printed-fabric workshop financed by Louis-Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1692-1740) and cousin to Louis xv. The two workshops were located in the château of the Condés; to date, imitation lacquer and fabric from the Chantilly workshops have not been identified. The porcelain manufactory at Chantilly was housed near the château in buildings owned and provided by Condé. Jean-Antoine Fraise (1680?-1738 or 1739) published his images while he lived and worked in the château as a "*faiseur de toile peinte*"; he was also called a "*compositeur*," probably a reference to his work as a designer of images. Others who lived in the château while in the service of Condé were: from 1732, François De La Porte, "*maître peintre et vernisseur de S.A.S. le Duc de Bourbon*," and, from 1734 situated in a workroom next to Fraise's, the accomplished Henry-Nicolas Cousinet (d. ca. 1768), sculptor, engraver, and silversmith, engaged as "*sculpteur des menus plaisirs de S.A.S.*," and instructed to "*imiter les ouvrages de la Chine*."<sup>2</sup>

Little biographical information about Fraise exists. He was born in Grenoble and worked there until 1718, becoming a master embroiderer and fabric painter. Although it was unusual at the time, he apparently became a designer as well.<sup>3</sup> He arrived at Chantilly about 1729. Presumably he was hired to direct a fabric-painting-and-printing workshop. He called himself "painter" to the duke on the title page of the *Livre de dessins chinois* (see figure 1), probably a reference to his status as a fabric designer and painter of designs for fabric. Fraise's dedication of the *Livre de dessins chinois* to Condé refers to "une Fabrique de Porcelaine" and to "des Toiles peintes si semblables à celles des Indes." The concentration of manufactories at Chantilly, however small in scale, constituted a microcosm of early-eighteenth-century Western interest in adapting and imitating Asian porcelain, lacquer, and fabric.

I have examined nine of the twelve recorded albums of the *Livre*

*de desseins chinois* with a 1735 title page (see the appendix and figure 1).<sup>4</sup> The plates are unsigned, unnumbered, and in varied order. In three of the albums all the plates are hand colored. Fraisse did not identify himself as a painter of a particular compilation of images, and no painted work by him is known. The original bindings range from luxury morocco with gold-tooled decoration to the conventional full calf with undecorated covers. In seven albums, various weights of hand-made paper were bound together; in two albums identically bound in red morocco with gold tooling, the paper is of consistent weight. The two identically bound albums come from an earlier printing and assembly, and together contain all known images.

Fraisse's involvement in the printing, painting, and compilation of the albums probably ended in June 1736, when he was accused of minor theft, stealing a cane with a gilded handle containing eyeglasses.<sup>5</sup> Formally interrogated in 1737, he was eventually imprisoned. Fraisse's widow is recorded to have died on December 16, 1739, indicating that he had already died, apparently in 1738 or 1739.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* includes etchings of various sizes, etchings with small woodcuts and hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing that extend the pictorial image, and woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Four etched plates are printed on sheets of paper joined to form fold-out illustrations. Two of the fold-out plates consist of etchings only and thus provide no indication of different stages of production. Two fold-out plates in the earlier albums contain woodcut and hand-drawn additions; later plates contain replacement woodcuts only. No album contains all the known images, and additions to the same etching may vary from album to album. In all, the nine albums have sixty-five plates; fifty-seven are etchings, with and without additions; and eight are woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Five albums have the same fifty-seven plates, although not always with the same additions to the same etching. Only the album at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City includes the eight woodcut-printed plates.

Fifty etchings have no additions in any of the nine albums and display a range of technical proficiency.<sup>6</sup> The most accomplished etchings belong to a group of twenty-nine without additions: twenty-four, including a fold-out illustration, are of fantastical vegetation and other

images of nature representative of a seventeenth-century textile-trade vocabulary; five basket-with-flowers compositions relate to European and Chinese-derived images. Several of the twenty-nine images exhibit shading techniques and carefully rendered detail. Etchings that are tentatively executed, with less design sense and drawing skill include five landscapes, fifteen figural scenes, and a fold-out procession. Figures and perspective views are awkward. The landscapes depict Chinese-style rocks and plants, the figural scenes are predominantly Chinese- and Japanese-style composites, two landscapes and one figural scene represent Dutch renditions of Chinese images, and the procession derives primarily from Chinese sources.

Combined techniques of etching and woodcut; etching and ink drawing; or etching, woodcut, and ink drawing were used for five figural scenes, including one that folds out, and a procession that derives primarily from Japanese sources. Etchings with additions include woodcuts only, hand-drawn elements only, or woodcuts and hand-drawn elements. Woodcuts add to a landscape, a figural scene, or a building and also expand etched compositions, sometimes beyond the plate line. Hand-drawn additions provide detailed patterning to a woodcut-printed outline; extend a woodcut-printed floral image; connect separately printed woodcuts, etchings, or woodcuts and etchings to create a single unified composition; or contribute new images that expand and elaborate on a printed scene, sometimes extending beyond the plate line of an etching. Outlines and partial images in pencil are visible on otherwise finished compositions.

Some aspects of the *Livre de desseins chinois* relate directly to Fraise's experience in fabric workshops. Thirty-seven images — eight woodcuts and twenty-nine etchings — could be interpreted as designs for painted, printed, or embroidered fabrics. These images reflect knowledge of Indian, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, and European fabrics. Furthermore, fabrics are prominent in Fraise's twenty figural scenes and two processions. The variety of patterns on costumes and furnishings serves to highlight the fact that fabric designs are an integral part of his compositions.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals that Fraise's accomplishments as a designer were limited to nonfigural fantastical images representative

of Indian dye-painted and embroidered trade fabric. His deficiencies are reflected in the unconventional combinations of printing techniques, the hand-drawn additions, his inability to scale proportionately, and his awkward drafting of figures and architectural elements. Fraisse's confident adaptations of East Asian material to the French design repertoire, however, stand in striking contrast to his lack of learned and refined techniques. Eastern fabric was not his only model; the decoration on Chinese and Japanese porcelain and lacquer also provided models for his images. However, the variety of figural scenes, the amount of detail, and the horizontal fold-out format for three plates reflect his knowledge of printed, drawn, or painted Chinese and Japanese scrolls and other pictorial material. Minor references to Islamic and Indian paintings are also discernable.

The two early albums presumably assembled in Fraisse's workshop preserve his decision-making process for creating designs. Plates in the other seven albums I examined contain woodcuts that copy hand-drawn additions in the two earlier, luxury-bound albums. Looked at collectively, the albums reveal the stages of production of an image, the first being an etching or woodcut followed by the same print expanded by additions. The early woodcuts are not technically successful as prints on paper. The woodblocks did not make clear, even impressions, and lines are reinforced by hand. Like motifs on printed fabric, the images are merely outlines. Fraisse's woodblocks probably contained a residue used for printing on fabric. Unlike the earlier plates, the later plates with replacement woodcuts could be reused successfully; woodcuts with detail replace hand-drawn additions, and earlier woodblocks are eliminated. Five albums belonged to four collectors and bibliophiles who were contemporaries of Condé; the whereabouts of only three of the five are known, and these three contain later plates.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Fraisse's images owe their preservation to their association with Monseigneur le Duc.

Fraisse's etched plates, probably with and without replacement woodblocks, were reused. Without crediting Fraisse, Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) may have reissued Fraisse's etchings, as well as etchings with replacement woodcut additions, perhaps between 1742 and 1750. Huquier's catalogue of his inventory (1757) cites a group of sixty prints "de la chine."<sup>8</sup> Two sets of plates catalogued by the Metropolitan Museum of

Art as by Huquier were, in fact, etched by Fraise.<sup>9</sup> Forty-eight plates were reused around 1760 by Mondhare, a minor print publisher, and attributed to “Mr. de Devonhire Ingénieur envoyé par la Compagnie Angloise des Indes.”<sup>10</sup> Numbers are etched in the corner of each plate, indicating a later printing. No etchings in the Mondhare publication contain additions, probably because he did not own the woodblocks.<sup>11</sup> Fold-out plates are not included. Twenty-five etchings in the Mondhare publication reflect a textile-trade vocabulary, fifteen are figural scenes, and the remaining eight are rock-foliage landscapes and basket-with-flowers images.

The title page (see figure 1) reveals that Fraise’s images were inspired by material from Persia, India, China, and Japan. Since no evidence suggests that Fraise had been to the East, he must have been relying on material collected by others. In his dedication, Fraise writes of his access to the collections located in the Condés’ château: “Mais quel lieu dans le monde pouvoit me fournir une plus belle collection de ce qui est sorti de plus précieux de la Chine et des Indes, que le Château de Chantilly?” Although Fraise dedicated his work to “Monseigneur Le Duc,” incongruous aspects of the publication suggest the possibility that Condé did not commission it. One explanation for Fraise’s dedication may be that Condé paid part or all of the prints’ production costs, or Fraise may have hoped that the association with Monseigneur le Duc would stimulate future sales.

The Condés came into possession of Chantilly in 1643. Thus the collections and library that were present in 1735 presumably contained material that had been preserved by the family since at least the mid-seventeenth century. Some of the material was no doubt part of the important collections and library of Louis II de Bourbon (1621–1686), le Grand Condé, great-grandfather of Louis-Henri, and cousin of Louis XIV. An intellect and connoisseur, le Grand Condé commissioned improvements to the property that were designed by André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) and Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708). In 1676, following a distinguished military career, le Grand Condé retired to Chantilly. Most of the porcelain in the Condé collections was probably purchased after 1680, when trade with the East had become more active and French acquisitions increased accordingly. In 1673, however, le Grand Condé

purchased porcelain in the Netherlands, and at least some of these pieces were very likely part of the inventories of his son, Henry-Jules de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1643–1709), grandfather of Louis-Henri; and his grandson, Louis III de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1668–1710), father of Louis-Henri.<sup>12</sup> Part of the noted collections of Louis-Henri's mother and grandmother was probably also at Chantilly in 1735. During the 1720s and 1730s Louis-Henri de Bourbon made further improvements to the property, added to the collections, and was frequently host to Louis xv. Little is known of the contents of the library at Chantilly. Fraisse's dedication of the *Livre de desseins chinois* describes the rich variety of material to which he had access:

Mais en même-tems [*sic*] que V.A.S. fait voir à l'Europe qu'il n'y a rien dans les autres parties du monde qu'Elle ne puisse imiter, et même surpasser, Elle a voulu qu'on fût à portée d'en faire la plus exacte comparaison: car la Perse, la Chine, le Japon, les Indes n'ont rien produit en particulier qui ne se trouve réuni dans Chantilly; Etoffes des Indes les plus magnifiques, Toiles peintes et Perses du goût le plus exquis, Porcelaines de la Chine et du Japon de la premiere ancienneté, Ouvrages de Laque et de Vernis de tous les Pays où cet Art a été porté à sa plus grande perfection, toutes ces merveilles se trouvent répandues avec profusion dans ce magnifique Château.<sup>13</sup>

THE "PRIVILÈGE GÉNÉRAL," LOTTIN'S ALBUM,  
AND THE ADVERTISEMENT

The *Livre de desseins chinois* is Fraisse's only known work. On December 2, 1734, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse, Peintre," was granted a fifteen-year "Privilège Général . . . dessiner et graver un Livre de plusieurs Desseins de la Chine dessinés et gravés par lui."<sup>14</sup> Fraisse may have applied for the privilege on November 16, 1734.<sup>15</sup> Because the application and privilege were in his name, he would benefit financially from sales of the prints. The "Livre de plusieurs Desseins de la Chine" was published as the *Livre de desseins chinois* in 1735 by a prominent Parisian book publisher, Philippe-Nicolas Lottin (1685–1751).<sup>16</sup>

Lottin's legal deposit for the Bibliothèque royale, the public royal library, contains fifty-four (once probably fifty-seven) etchings, two of which have small woodcut additions; four fold-out illustrations were originally bound in the album.<sup>17</sup> The woodcut additions in Lottin's album are copies of the hand-drawn images in the Metropolitan's album. Like their earlier hand-drawn counterparts, the replacement woodcuts extend beyond plate lines. The impressions of the replacements are clear and detailed.<sup>18</sup> The woodcuts fill specific, oddly shaped spaces and copy hand-drawn additions to the same etchings in the two luxury-bound albums.

Lottin's and six other albums were undoubtedly assembled at least partly with plates produced after those used for the Metropolitan's and the BnF's hand-colored albums. Moreover, the second group of plates was probably produced in a workshop other than Fraise's. Lottin or someone else may have commissioned the production of replacement woodcuts and hand-drawn additions, as well as hand coloring. Since Lottin's album was bound in 1737,<sup>19</sup> the year after Fraise was accused of theft, the assembly of plates from a later production was possible and likely.

Neither the working relationship between Fraise and Lottin nor the contents of their contract is known. The publication of prints in eighteenth-century France was commonly undertaken by print publishers, not book publishers.<sup>20</sup> Fraise or someone else at Chantilly — perhaps a collaborator — may have had a prior relationship with Lottin. Also, if Fraise could not afford to finance production of the *Livre de desseins chinois*, or did not have the time, he might have sold his etched plates and woodblocks to Lottin. The fifteen-year privilege granted to Fraise was a commercial protection and would have been perceived as an advantage to a prospective buyer of the plates. Differences between the two early albums and the later ones certainly provide evidence to suggest that the plates had changed hands.

A recently discovered advertisement for the *Livre de desseins chinois* appeared in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* on February 8, 1735.<sup>21</sup> The advertisement was placed by Lottin and offers four options and three prices for purchasing Fraise's work, "grand in Fol., papier colombier." The most expensive is for the collection of images bound in a conventional full-calf binding, "relié en veau." The second is for the images, unbound, and

printed on the same quality of paper, "*livre en blanc, même papier*"; the third is for the unbound images, but printed on a thinner, lesser quality of paper, "*petit papier*." The last option, for which no price is indicated, is for individually selected prints: "*les feuilles se vendent separement*." Curiously, hand coloring, and presumably by the "*peintre de S.A.S. [Son Altesse Serenissime] Monseigneur Le Duc*" (see figure 1), is not offered. The advertisement does not disclose the total number of plates, and no extant example of the advertised bound album is known. Because Fraisse did not sign or number his plates, loose plates not previously bound may exist but may not be known to be from the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Undoubtedly prints continued to be sold individually and to be bound as ordered. The reuse of the plates prevents definitive dating of unbound prints.

The advertisement confirms what the privilege application indicates. Publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois* was a commercial venture from which Fraisse would benefit, and Fraisse, perhaps with a collaborator, probably initiated the venture. Condé may have had no connection to Fraisse's work other than granting him permission to publish designs derived from source material at Chantilly. He may also have agreed to contribute financially to production costs for the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Condé was a major investor in the *Compagnie des Indes*,<sup>22</sup> the French trading company that was founded in 1664, well after the English (1600) and Dutch (1602) companies. Condé's investment is evidence of his dual interest in acquisitions and manufacture. A proposal to publish designs that reflected collections at Chantilly and that could be sources for his own or Asian workshops may have been extremely appealing.<sup>23</sup>

#### THE TWO EARLY ALBUMS: WOODCUTS AND BINDINGS

The Metropolitan Museum's *Livre de desseins chinois* is an especially informative and complex document. It was printed on heavy, consistently fine quality off-white laid paper, with gilt edges, and bound in gold-tooled red morocco, the same luxury material that was most often ordered for bindings for the *Bibliothèque royale*. The poorly printed impression of the title, the dedication, and the privilege, combined with

ink marks on the paper, is unusual in a luxury-bound album.<sup>24</sup> Of the nine examined albums containing the 1735 title page, the Metropolitan's sixty-three-plate album has both the greatest number of plates and the greatest variety of illustrative techniques.<sup>25</sup> Because the Metropolitan's album remained uncolored, the techniques and range of proficiency are particularly exposed.

One of the eight woodcut plates is a boating-party scene derived from Chinese images. Two plates are basket-with-flowers designs relating to those seen in late-Ming woodcuts, late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century East Asian porcelain and export lacquer, eighteenth-century European ceramics and imitation lacquer, and early-eighteenth-century Indian trade fabric. Five woodcut plates are floral and vegetal designs adapted from Islamic silks as well as from Chinese and Japanese images. Whatever their use, skillfully carved detail had not been required of the woodblocks, nor had a high standard of design.

The composition for one of the plates is centered on a woodcut of a basket with flowers (see figure 2). The outline of the basket in figure 2 — the horizontal and vertical lines — and most of the flowers and leaves are a woodcut; the bird is another woodcut that may or may not be carved from the same block. The woven pattern of the basket, the ribbon, the two elongated stems — one to the right and one to the left — with flowers and leaves, the landscape supporting the basket, the rock supporting the bird, the chrysanthemum and Chinese Buddha's hand citron to the left are all added by hand in ink over pencil underdrawing. Partial additions in pencil are faintly visible.

After the woodcut was printed, perspective and detail were added, lines were extended, and the pictorial image was expanded. The woodblock-carved images clearly did not originate as designs for reproduction on paper. Like figure 2, the other seven woodcut-printed plates contain minimal printed detail; the printed lines are reinforced by hand in ink, and all detail is in ink. Fraise's woodcuts, without additions, resemble simply drawn printed motifs on fabric. Oddly, no etched plates to replace the eight woodcuts appear to have been made. Etchings would have been more accomplished in appearance, as well as more efficiently reproducible. The images were evidently abandoned at some point, another indication that plates for future albums may have been produced elsewhere.



2. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 5 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcut with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

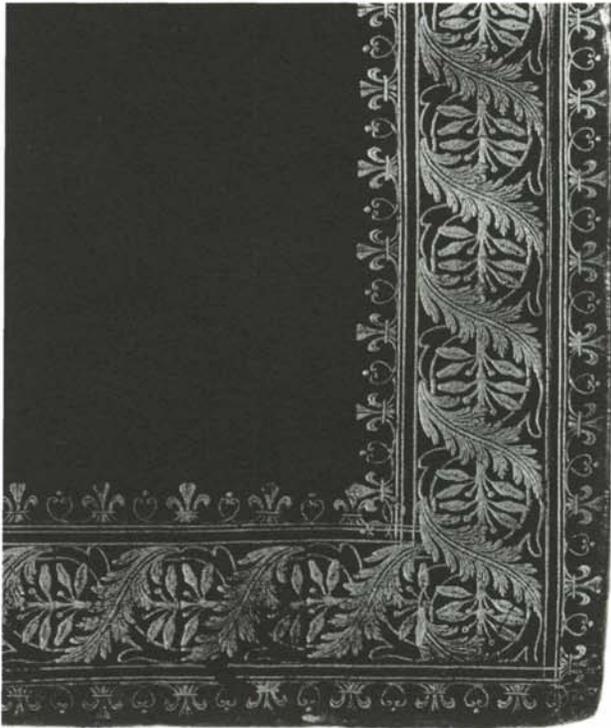
The BnF's extraordinary hand-colored album complements the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois*. The Metropolitan's album exposes Fraise's techniques and talents clearly, whereas the BnF's presents a finished product, with Fraise's deficiencies camouflaged by beautiful painting. The BnF's album contains fifty-four plates, fifty-three with contemporary hand coloring of exceptional quality and a pasted-down section of a Chinese painting in ink and color on paper. Forty-seven plates are etchings without additions. Twenty-seven of the etchings are images derived from a textile-trade vocabulary and include two etchings not in the Metropolitan's album. Four etchings have additions in ink, and two etchings contain woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Additions differ from those in the Metropolitan's album. For example, instead of woodcuts, hand-drawn additions expand the same three etchings that are in the Metropolitan's album. Four poorly printed woodcuts not in the Metropolitan's album expand two other etchings. The identical

characteristics of the printed impression in both albums suggest that the woodcuts were from the same workshop.

The BnF's and the Metropolitan's albums were printed on a similar quality of paper, both have blue silk moiré doublures and gold-tooled red morocco bindings, and the bindings have the same features. The "Bordure du Louvre" framed by a fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll on the covers of the Metropolitan's album (illustrated in figure 3) matches the decoration on the covers of the BnF's, indicating that the two albums were probably bound in the same bindery.<sup>26</sup> The "Bordure du Louvre" was used to decorate luxury bindings from the late-seventeenth through the early-eighteenth century and was typically reserved for important personages connected to the French court.<sup>27</sup>

The fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll illustrated in figure 3 was an uncommon motif. According to recent archival research, a small fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll decorates the spine of a group of bindings made for the Bibliothèque royale between 1738 and 1745. The group is from the bindery of Guillaume Mercier (d. 1763?), who produced bindings for the Bibliothèque royale from 1721 to 1762.<sup>28</sup> Mercier was also the binder for the king's libraries at Versailles and Choisy le Roi, and in 1733 he was granted the official title of "*relieur du roi*."<sup>29</sup>

The Bibliothèque royale gave Lottin's privilege album of the *Livre de desseins chinois* to Mercier to be bound on February 12, 1737 (see note 19). Although Lottin's album has a luxury binding, the gold tooling is less elaborate than that on the bindings of the Metropolitan's and the BnF's albums. The red morocco for Lottin's album is decorated only with the conventional gold-tooled royal monogram on the spine and the library's royal arms on the covers along with three gold fillets. Although the gold tooling has nothing in common with that in figure 3, that Mercier was the binder is worth noting and may be a fact to consider in connecting him to the bindings of the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums. Because Mercier used the fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll to decorate the spine of bindings for the Bibliothèque royale, and because he was working at the time the *Livre de desseins chinois* was published, a strong possibility exists that the larger fleur-de-lis-and-heart roll illustrated in figure 3 was also used by him. He may have been the binder of the two luxury albums owned by the Metropolitan and the BnF.



3. Detail of binding of *Livre de desseins chinois*. Red morocco with gold tooling. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

The “N.Emig. CONDE. C.” printed on a paper label pasted to the silk doublure of the BnF’s album indicates that the album was confiscated from the Condé family, probably from Chantilly, during the Revolution and subsequently presented to the Bibliothèque royale.<sup>30</sup> The label does not, however, indicate the year the album came into the Condé family’s possession. The Metropolitan’s *Livre de desseins chinois* may have been in Condé’s possession as well, as his personal album or as a presentation album. Also, it may have been an album for the king to present to members of his court and to foreign ambassadors, or it may have been ordered independently by a wealthy aristocrat who could afford to order a luxury binding, perhaps from the “*relieur du roi*.”<sup>31</sup> That the Metropolitan’s album, uncolored and with images less expertly executed, was bound in the same luxurious manner as the BnF’s album is curious, for the contrast highlights Fraisse’s lack of technique.

The BnF’s hand-colored *Livre de desseins chinois* is a singularly significant album. Its characteristics suggest that Fraisse may have drawn the additions, painted the colors, and assembled the plates with the intention of presenting the album to Condé. The additions in ink were

carefully drawn with a skill superior to that exhibited in the Metropolitan's album.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the images reflect the expertise of an accomplished colorist; they were meticulously painted and harmoniously colored and shaded. Fraisse would have acquired expertise as a colorist from his work as an embroiderer and painter in fabric workshops. As might be expected in a presentation album, gold appears, although sparingly, in one of the plates (folio 15), a fold-out etched procession; gold is not used in the two other hand-colored albums. Viewers of the BnF's album can readily accept Fraisse's identification of himself as "Peintre de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Duc." When seen alongside the uncolored plates, the images in the BnF's album suggest that the *Livre de desseins chinois* was intended to be colored. The BnF's album may be the only one — or the only extant one — drawn, colored, and assembled by Fraisse.

#### COLORS

The colors of the BnF's album relate to the decoration on Chinese-style costumes of contemporary Chantilly porcelain figures. Colors decorating both the album and the porcelain reflect similar responses to the same source material: Chinese pigment-painted and painted-and-printed silk; Chinese painted wallpaper; Indian dye-painted and embroidered trade fabric; Japanese fabric; Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (porcelain produced in the Arita district of Hizen Province, Kyushu Island, primarily for export, from about 1660 through the 1690s and then declining); and late-Ming *wucai* (five-color) through early *famille-rose* porcelain. Turquoise is a dominant color for costumes, flowers, and architecture throughout the BnF's album, and is undoubtedly a reference to Chinese porcelain. Flowers of delicately shaded pinks and pink-reds reflect then current European taste for *famille-rose* porcelain.

Color-printed Chinese woodcuts may also have been a source for the particular colors seen in the BnF's album.<sup>33</sup> Popular prints were created for New Year's and other auspicious greetings, festivals, and celebrations. Early examples have not survived in China because they were typically used for interior decoration and were not collected or preserved. The prints contain imaginative coloration of natural forms, for example blue and pink tree trunks; blue rocks; and pink, yellow, orange, brown, and white stone walls.<sup>34</sup>

Popular prints were widely available in China during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and were bought by Westerners and Japanese alike. The range in quality of the color printing varies greatly. The German Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), physician to the Dutch embassy from 1690 to 1692 on Japan's artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor, purchased twenty-nine popular prints in Nagasaki.<sup>35</sup> Now in the collection of the British Museum, the prints purchased by Kaempfer are of exceptional quality. Other examples owned by Westerners prior to 1738 have been identified in the collection of the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden.<sup>36</sup> Descriptions of two items in the 1743 inventory of prints and drawings from the comte d'Egmont's library in Paris suggest that he and Condé may have owned examples of this genre: "no. 33, un album oblong en parchemin contenant 22 desseins chinois imprimés en couleurs" and "no. 61, Paquet contenant nombre d'épreuves de pièces chinoises de chez Monseigneur le Duc quelques unes colorés."<sup>37</sup>

Comparisons among the hand-colored albums owned by the BnF, the Bibliothèque du musée Condé in Chantilly, and the Bibliothèque royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> in Brussels expose conspicuous differences in palette and painting style. The painter of the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's fifty-seven-plate album was clearly not familiar with the particular East Asian source material that was available to Fraisse and to the porcelain decorators at Chantilly.<sup>38</sup> The carefully chosen radiating shades characteristic of the flower painting in the BnF's album are not to be found here. Furthermore, the painter was apparently not aware of the colors decorating costumes on contemporary Chantilly porcelain figures. Also, the paint was not skillfully or evenly applied. The colorist's inability to juxtapose harmoniously balanced hues produced aesthetically unpleasing results. Colors are not clear; greens are muddy; and the use of a sudden, strong almost opaque royal blue next to pale, watery colors is visually disturbing.

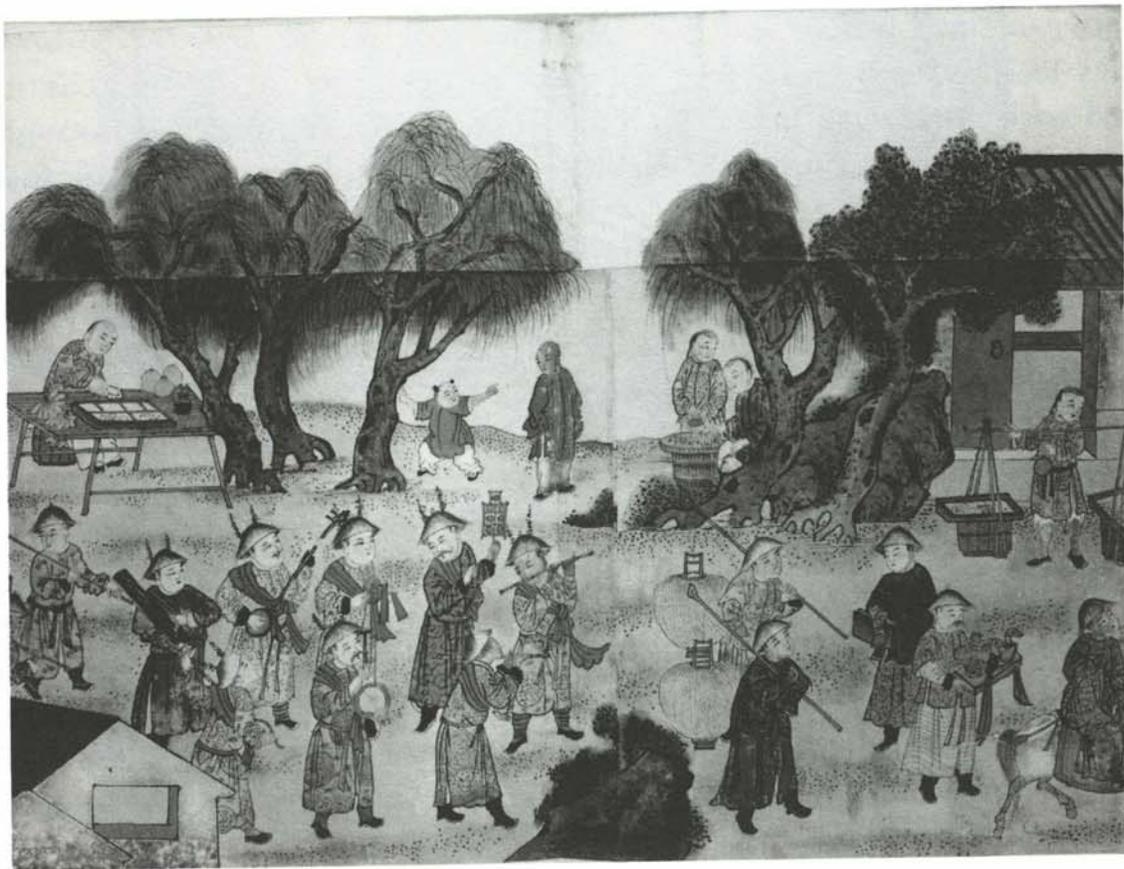
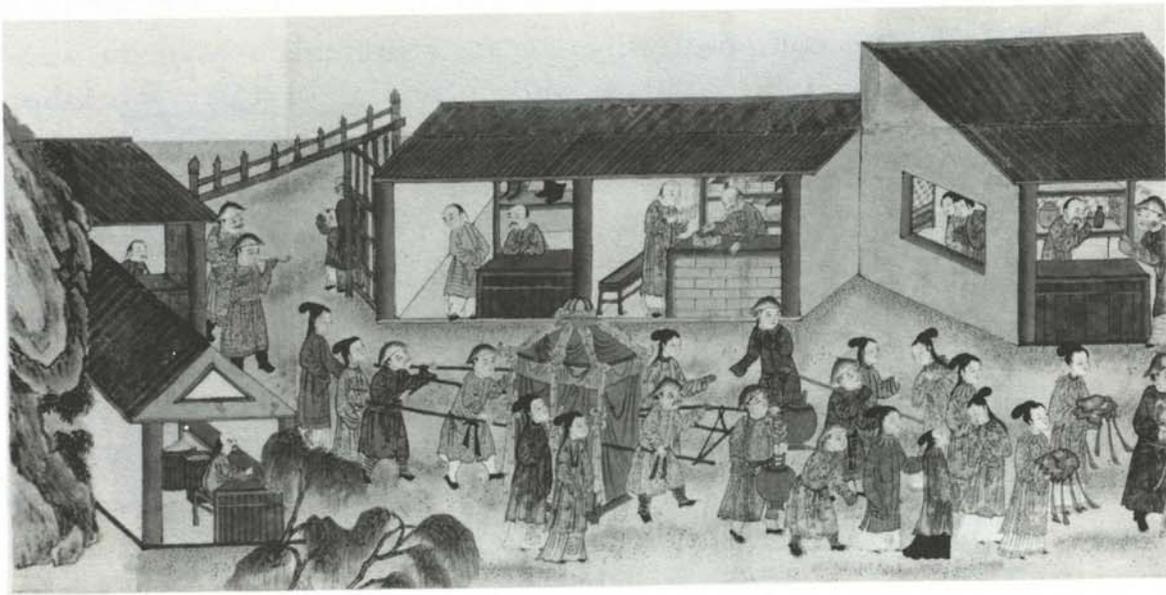
In contrast to the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's album, the forty-four-plate album owned by the Bibliothèque royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> is expertly painted with meticulous attention to colored detail, in a palette evoking *famille-verte* and *famille-rose* porcelain. Dominant colors in the album are green, yellow, pink, and shades of gray-blue and dark blue; secondary colors include red, aubergine, and shades of apricot and brown; and occasionally, a particularly deep turquoise. As beautifully

painted as the images are, the colors do not reflect the broader range of sources reflected in the decoration of contemporary Chantilly porcelain. Of the three hand-colored albums, only the BnF's relates to contemporary manufactures of Chantilly and to particular concentrations of the Condé collections that are revealed in Fraisse's images. Only the painter of the BnF's album was likely to have been working at Chantilly.

#### A CHINESE PAINTING AT CHANTILLY

The BnF's hand-colored album is distinguished by the inclusion of a section of a Chinese painting (see figure 4a–b). The painting was bound with the prints in the original binding. So that the painting could be incorporated into the folio, its format was converted into a fold-out illustration.<sup>39</sup> The painting was mounted first to a blue paper and then to the folio paper, sheets of which had been joined to accommodate the painting's three-meter, thirty-three centimeter length. A European hand — Fraisse's? — “completed” the original by painting additions on the folio paper immediately above the Chinese painting. The colors of the additions match those of the Chinese painting closely, but the hand of the additions and the paint formula itself are recognizably different.

The BnF's folio 54 (see figure 4a–b) is part of a larger painting; cut left and right edges are evident, and the top of the composition is not finished as it would have been by the Chinese artisan. Furthermore, the painting is in two sections. The composition is not continuous where the sections join (see figure 4b), indicating a cut and perhaps a missing section; an unsuccessful attempt was made to correct the interrupted continuity. A close look at figure 4 reveals that more than one Chinese painter worked on the composition, which is typical of workshop production of export paintings. The brush strokes of the rocks and foliage seen on the far left of figure 4a are different from those in the rest of the composition, and the ground color of the small section is noticeably paler. The small section is probably a fragment of a large area completed by another painter. The physical characteristics of the painting and its mounting raise several issues. Some export paintings may have been deliberately cut into smaller sections in order to be sold more profitably, possibly in China, in the West, or in both places.

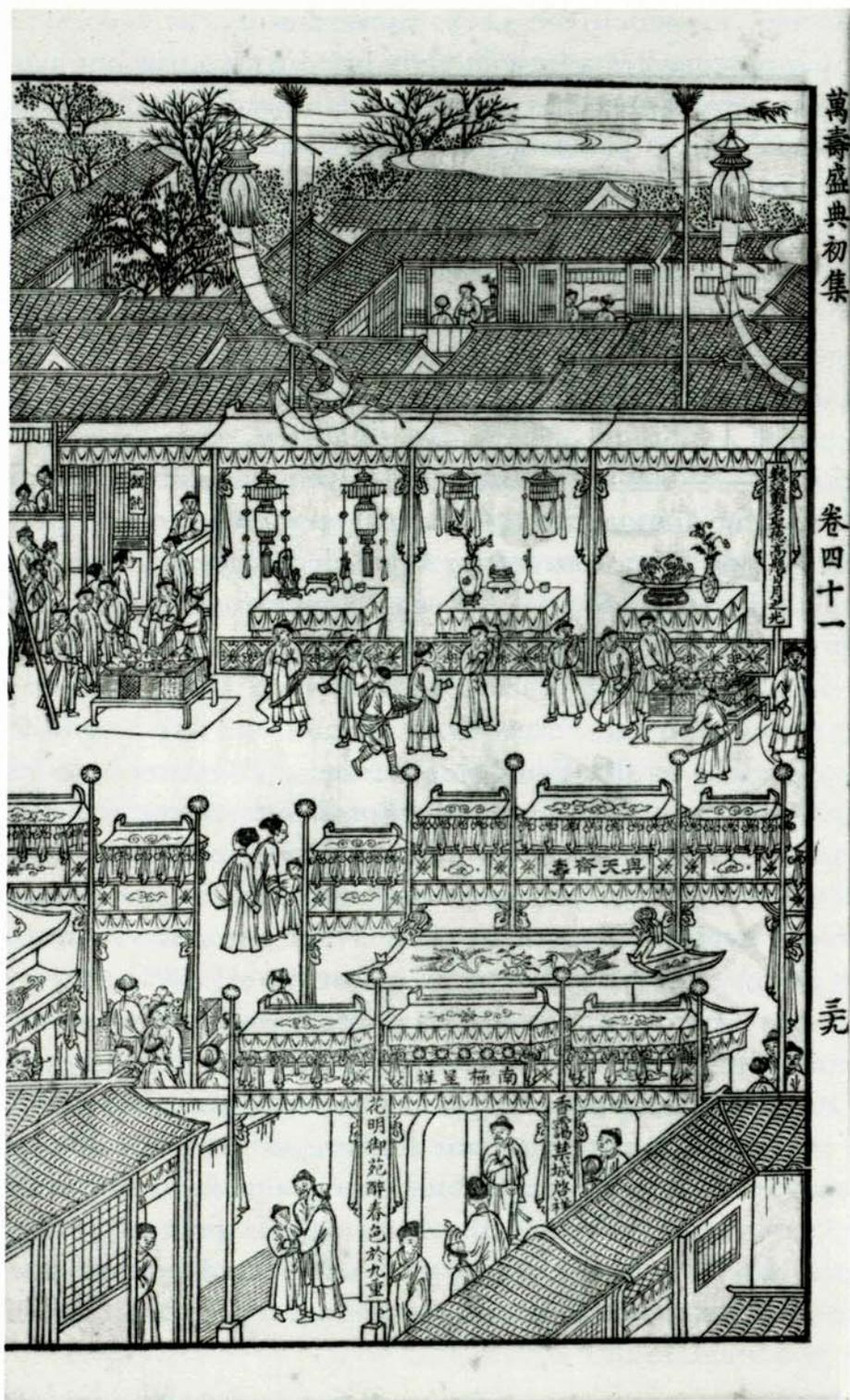


4a-4b. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 54 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Details of section of Chinese painting, ink and color on paper (ca. 1730). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.

The Chinese composition, ca. 1730, represents a Manchu wedding procession through a village and is typical of Qing workshop production made to Western order. Views of cities and villages, often with festival processions, were themes for court paintings from the Northern Song (960–1127) through the Qing (1644–1912) dynasties.<sup>40</sup> Daily activities of people in villages were also popular subjects for Qing workshop paintings completed by anonymous artisan-painters and designed for export to the West.

A distinct export-market painting style evolved in China, typified by the round faces in figure 4. The exchange of images with Western missionaries, emissaries, and traders taking place in sixteenth-century China certainly contributed to the development of the export style. At the instigation of the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) in 1580, for example, Western illustrated books were ordered for China.<sup>41</sup> Contact between the Chinese and the Jesuits was complex and of use to both; they learned from each other. The exchange of pictorial images continued with the arrival of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in 1583, and throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, increasing significantly when Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) came to the court in 1715. Although seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese paintings for the domestic market contain references to Western paintings and prints, the export style catered to a Western market that was well established by the 1730s.<sup>42</sup> Figure 4 was probably part of a larger Chinese export painting that had been modeled on a late-Kangxi (1662–1722) to early-Yongzheng-period (1723–1735) painting.<sup>43</sup>

The inclusion of an enhanced original with his own “*desseins après des originaux*” suggests that Fraise painted and assembled this special album for Condé. Moreover, the Chinese painting’s presence supports the argument that the *Livre de desseins chinois* was intended to be marketed as adaptations of Asian images for production catering to the West. The painting is probably a fragment of a Chinese wallpaper. In the late-seventeenth century, Chinese painted paper was exported to England and from there to Europe and America.<sup>44</sup> Extant Chinese wallpapers dating from around 1730 through the 1780s contain compositions related to figures 4 and 5.<sup>45</sup> The scale of the figures in figure 4 is reminiscent of that in the upper part of an eighteenth-century Chinese paper installed



5. *Wanshou shengdian chujì* (1716–1717), *juan* 41. Woodcut.  
 Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Chinois 2314.

in the Louvre, in which the scale diminishes as the scenes reach the ceiling.<sup>46</sup> Chinese papers were generally lined with a bamboo paper, and, like figure 4, were painted by more than one individual. Sections were mounted and hung as paintings, and paper also covered walls. Western artisans typically imitated and added to Chinese paper that did not completely cover wall surfaces. Figure 4 in the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois* is probably evidence of the pre-1735 use in France of Chinese paper for walls, with Western additions.

#### REFERENCES TO JAPAN: FRAISSE AND CHANTILLY PORCELAIN

Information gleaned from the BnF's album supplements that provided by the Metropolitan's more complete, although uncolored, example. A discussion of East Asian sources for Fraisse's images begins here with an exploration of Japanese material. The early porcelain produced at Chantilly derived primarily from the collection of Japanese porcelain located in the château. In addition to imitating and adapting Kakiemon-style Hizen ware, the manufactory also drew from Chinese and Asian-style decorated Meissen porcelain in the Condé collections. The late-1730s porcelain production at Chantilly included sculpted interpretations of Chinese figures, and innovative rococo models derived from designs by Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750). Condé was one of Meissonnier's earliest patrons, beginning in the 1720s.<sup>47</sup> The porcelain manufactory at Chantilly began ca. 1730 under the directorship of Cicaire Cirou (1700–1755). In 1723 Cirou was recorded to have been at Saint-Cloud for several years, employed as a "faïencier" and "peintre en porcelaine [*sic*]." From 1726 to 1729 he was in Paris as a painter of porcelain and faïence.<sup>48</sup> In 1735 royal letters patent granted permission to Cirou to produce porcelain at Chantilly, specifically "de la porcelaine fine de toutes couleurs, espèces, façons et grandeurs à l'imitation de la porcelaine du Japon"; Cirou sold the manufactory in 1751.<sup>49</sup> Cirou's adaptations for French porcelain of Japanese-derived images undoubtedly began while he was working at Saint-Cloud.<sup>50</sup>

The early porcelain of Chantilly was unmarked, and that in the Japanese style may have been intended to pass for Japanese originals.<sup>51</sup> The Chantilly manufactory, a Meissen production of December 1729–

March 1731, and to a much lesser extent Saint-Cloud reflected a then particular French taste for Japanese porcelain. Meissen porcelain in imitation of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware from the collection of Augustus the Strong was commissioned by a French dealer, Rudolph Lemaire (b. 1688), to be sold in France and the Netherlands.<sup>52</sup> As suggested in the letters patent, Cirou's Chantilly imitations of Japanese porcelain would replace the Meissen porcelain ordered for France: "qu'il n'y a aucun lieu de douter que sa porcelaine ne soit au-dessus de celle de Saxe." The early manufacture of Chantilly porcelain coincided with Fraisse's preparations for and publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Representations of Japanese material, then, would be expected to surface in Fraisse's work. Undoubtedly, Cirou, like Fraisse, had access to the Condé collections, and the two contemporary productions — porcelain and the *Livre de desseins chinois* — clearly shared categories of sources and complement each other as representations of French taste for East Asia during the 1730s.

Images from the Metropolitan's album provide the most instructive point of departure for a close look at the *Livre de desseins chinois*. A group of figural scenes and a procession relate to late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth-century Japanese pictorial material. Regardless of the awkwardness of Fraisse's drawing, an etching (see figure 6) corresponds in many respects to a picnic, music-making, and dancing scene from the third-quarter-of-the-sixteenth-century painting by Kanō Hideyori (d. ca. 1576–1577), "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" (see figure 7).<sup>53</sup> Fraisse's etching is in nine albums with the 1735 title page and the Mondhare publication. Changing seasons were a characteristic theme for late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Japanese paintings. The popular activity of seasonal viewing, often including a picnic, was a favorite extension of this theme.<sup>54</sup> Fraisse's etching may be modeled on a seventeenth-century Japanese image similar to figure 7.

Although it evokes Chinese styles and images, "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" remains essentially Japanese and is representative of a Japanese pictorial aesthetic.<sup>55</sup> For this article the relevance of "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao" lies in its Japanese characteristics in the context of Fraisse's response to those characteristics; Fraisse would have been looking at a later, but related, composition. The viewer of Japanese



6. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 54 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

pictorial material experiences a rhythmic tension resulting from interplay between positive and negative, or hidden and visible. Shifting contiguous planes; a shortening of distance between foreground and background; and deliberate, sometimes brief and sporadic, sometimes continuous, suggestions of foreground and background contribute to a tension and gently keep the viewer's eye in continuous movement with periodic pauses. For early-eighteenth-century France, Fraise exhibited an extraordinary attempt to incorporate the Japanese pictorial aesthetic into the French design repertoire.

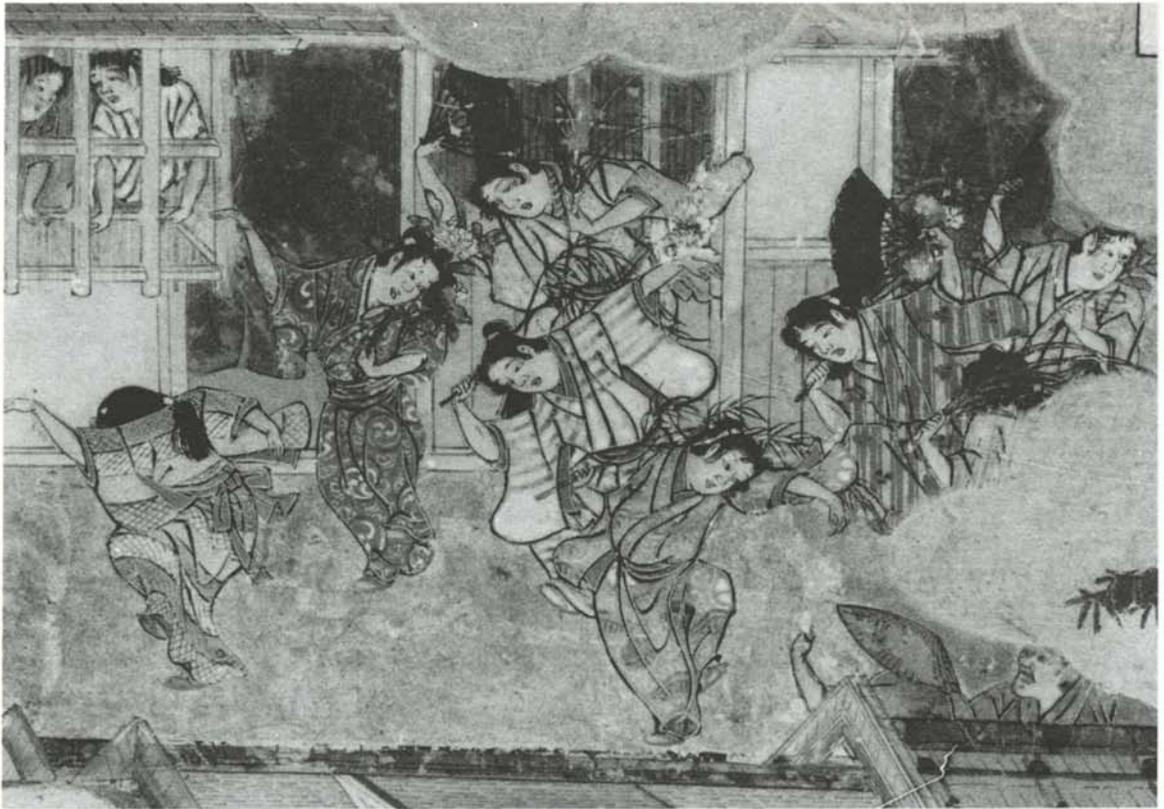
With strangely detailed bark relating to Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery and needles shaped into compact oval leaf forms resembling a style of lacquer painting,<sup>56</sup> the pine tree in figure 6 is planted in the same left-side foreground location as in figure 7.<sup>57</sup> The six participants in figure 6, picnicking and dancing and greeting an onlooker, relate



7. Kanō Hideyori. Japanese painting. Detail from "Maple Viewing at Mount Takao," ink and color on paper. Muromachi period (sixteenth century). Collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

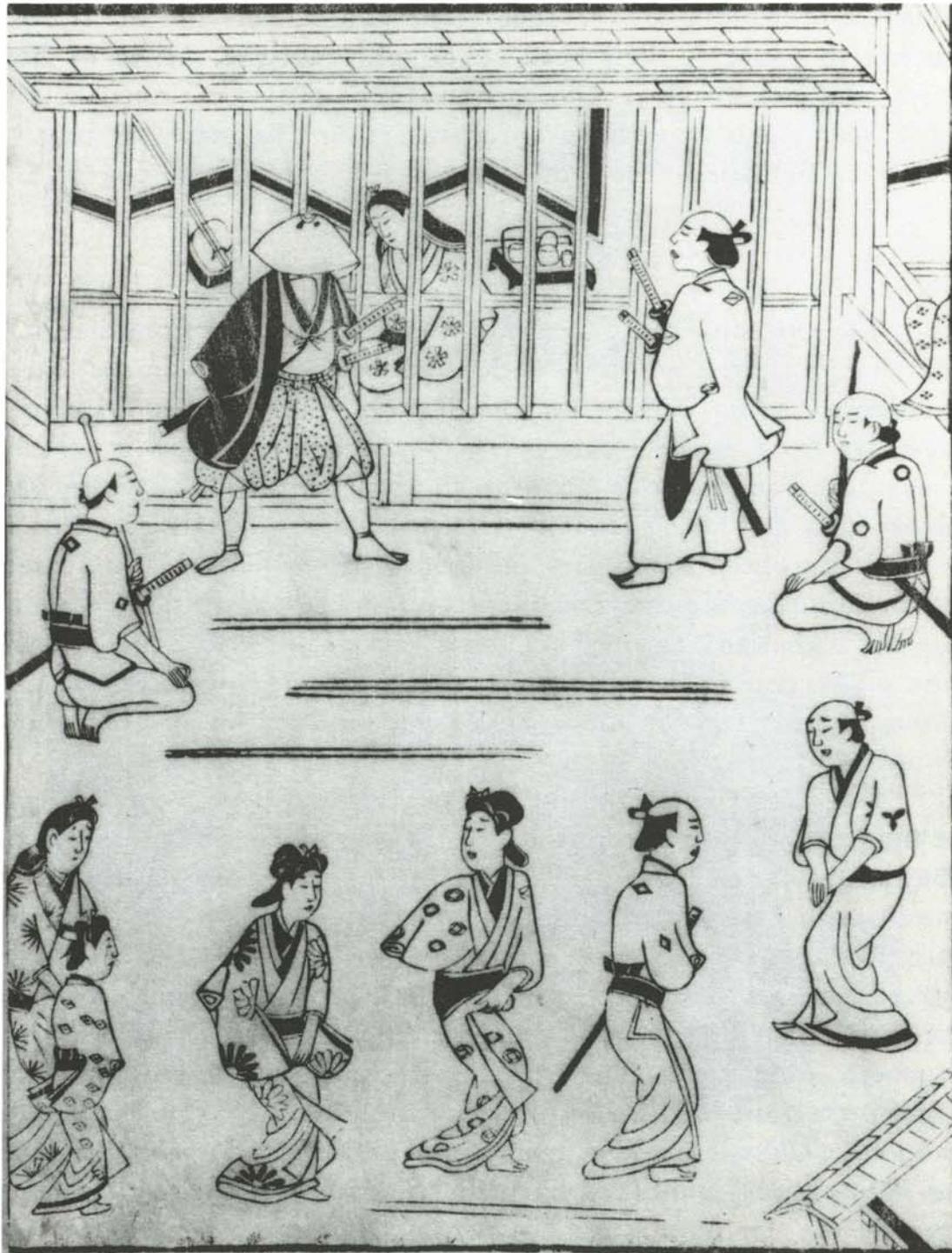
to the six in a circular arrangement in figure 7. The pine tree to the left, faceted rocks, and grasses provide a foreground contributing to a shallow depth in figure 7; dark shading and the thin line rising behind the figures suggest a background. Fraisse's etching (figure 6) expresses an attempt to emulate the Japanese rendering of perspective. Instead of rocks and grasses, a fragment of a dead tree contributes to the definition of a foreground, and thin lines for mountains and land behind the figures suggest a background.

A dancer with a fan is a prolific image in the pictorial material and decorative arts of seventeenth-century Japan.<sup>58</sup> In the late-seventeenth century, Japanese porcelain dancers with fans were produced for export



8. Anonymous artist. Japanese painting. Detail from “Rakuchu Rakugai Zu” (Genre Scenes in Kyoto), Funaki version, ink, color, and gold on paper. Momoyama period (early seventeenth century). Collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

to the West.<sup>59</sup> Fraisse’s dancer holding the fan and standing on one foot in figure 6 certainly derives from a pictorial image similar to the dancer in figure 7. The dancer holding the fan in one hand and a branch in the other in figure 6 relates to branch-holding dancers seen in a detail from an early-seventeenth-century Japanese painting by an anonymous artist, “Genre Scenes in Kyoto” (figure 8). The three-quarter-turned, slightly curved, standing male onlooker in the lower right corner of figure 6 is dressed in Fraisse’s rendition of early-Edo-period-style *kosode* (“small sleeves,” referring to the size of the wrist opening). Fraisse included an accurately drawn small opening for the wrist in the wide sleeve panel and an early-seventeenth-century-style obi.<sup>60</sup> Fraisse’s onlooker imitates the frequently depicted Japanese stance of the standing male carrying a sword, seen reversed in the foreground of figure 9, a book illustration by



9. Scene from *Zōho Edo banashi* (Tales of Edo, 1694). Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

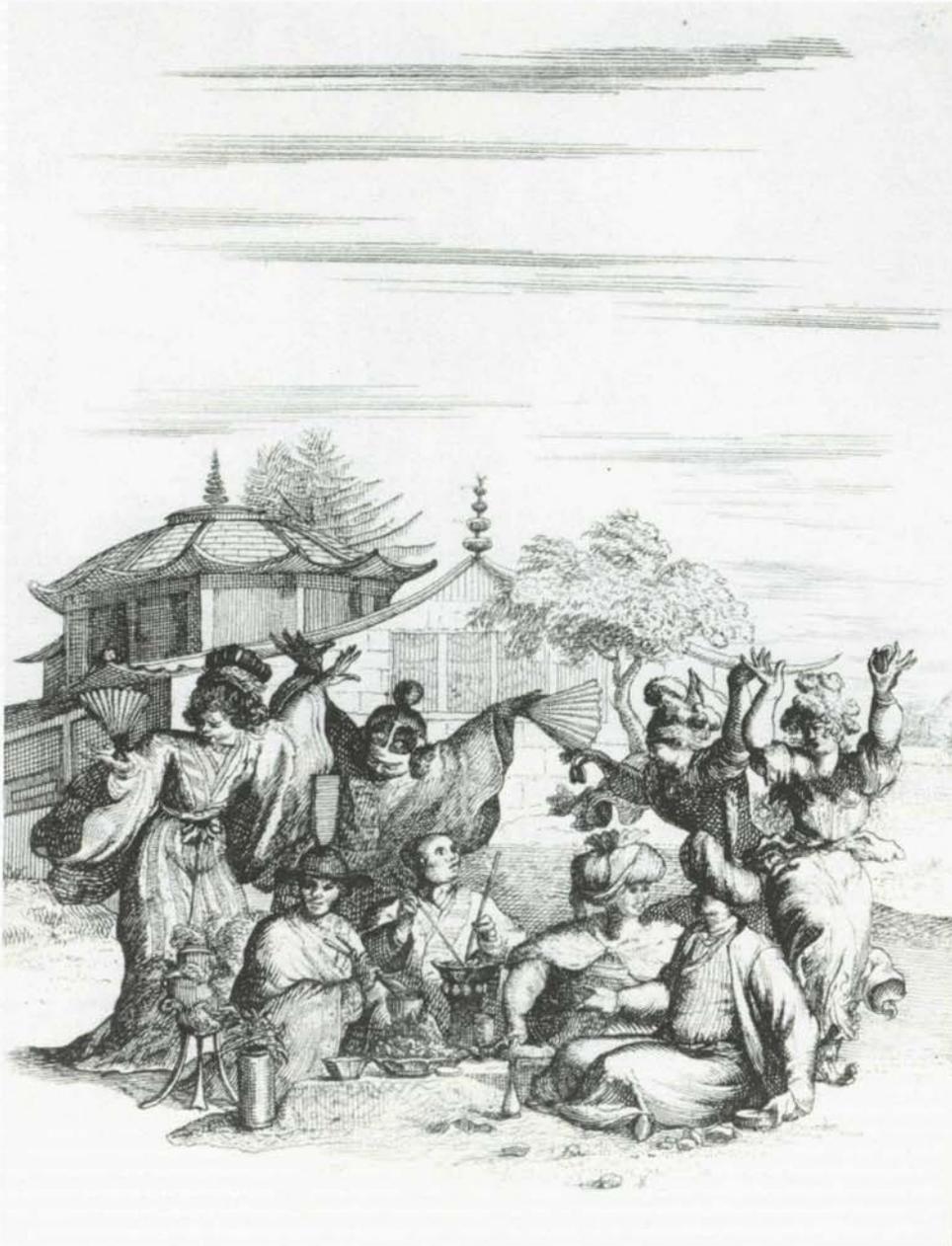
Hishikawa Moronobu (1618?–1694). The two dancers and the standing onlooker in figure 6, their head coverings,<sup>61</sup> and the variety of fabric patterns and jacket styles — no pattern is repeated — are representative of a late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth-century Japanese painting vocabulary, which itself reflected non-Japanese sources.

#### THE ORIENTALIST CONTEXT

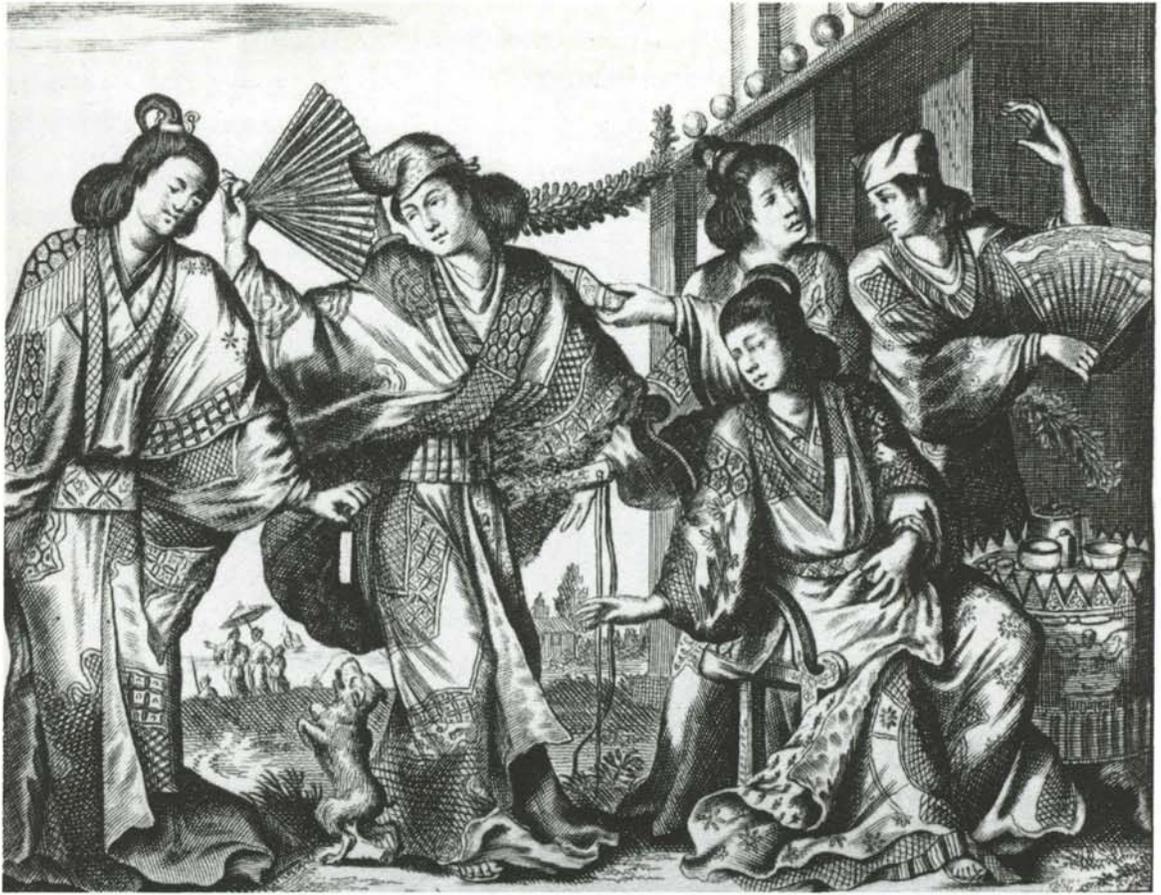
The descriptive context in figure 6 illustrates a departure from the ancien régime's Eurocentric world view expressed, for example, in the texts of Tavernier's *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, qu'il a faits en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes pendant l'espace de quarante ans et par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir* (1676–1677) and Chardin's *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (1686).<sup>62</sup> Unusual for 1735, Fraisse's etching is devoid of European accessories and landscape elements. He presented a bold direction for Western visual representations of East Asia. Tavernier's "oriental barbarian" in need of being Europeanized is not present in figure 6. Tavernier's popular work was republished in France in 1724, following earlier republications, but Fraisse's images did not complement this mainstream view.

Two Dutch engravings of themes related to figure 6, one ca. 1700 (see figure 10) and one from the English *Atlas Japannensis* (1670),<sup>63</sup> first published by Arnold Montanus (1625?–1683) in 1669 (see figure 11), contrast with Fraisse's etching. The engraving published by Montanus was reproduced around 1729 by a bookseller and publisher, Pieter van der Aa (or Pierre Vander Aa, 1659–1733), in *La galerie agréable du monde*. Like Fraisse's etching, the scene illustrated in figure 10 may derive from a Japanese composition. The spatial organization of the crowded image in figure 10 is, however, Western, and the buildings relate to Western renditions of Chinese architecture illustrated in *Beschryving van het Gezantschap naar Peking* (1665) published by Joan Nieuhof (1618–1672) and republished by van der Aa.

Distinctions among the figures allude to a vaguely Eastern-inspired *mélange*. Two fleshy women on the right are dancing with two Japanese-style dancers with fans and dressed in hybrid exotic costumes on the left, while two Asian men and a European who sit on the ground are



10. Romain de Hooghe. "Sitten und Gebräuche der Chinesen (bei der Mahlzeit)" (Chinese eating customs and habits). Engraving. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, VIII 393.424.



11. Plate from Arnold Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-Indian Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan* (1670), translation by John Ogilby of *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen* (1669). Engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

being served food in Asian-style lacquer containers by an Asian-style figure. Although well delineated, the scene is Europeanized, and the Asian-style elements are out of context and distorted. Thus the significance of the dancers with fans and the picnic scene as ultimately derivative of Japanese pictorial material is not apparent until viewed alongside Fraisse's image (figure 6) with its Japanese sources.

Montanus's engraving (figure 11) is a lame, stiffly drawn attempt to portray Japanese women; two are holding fans while dancing. The scene is drawn with Western perspective and contains Western scenic elements. The women are sumptuously clothed in a rendition of Japanese *kosode* and costume contemporaneous with the 1660 publication; pat-

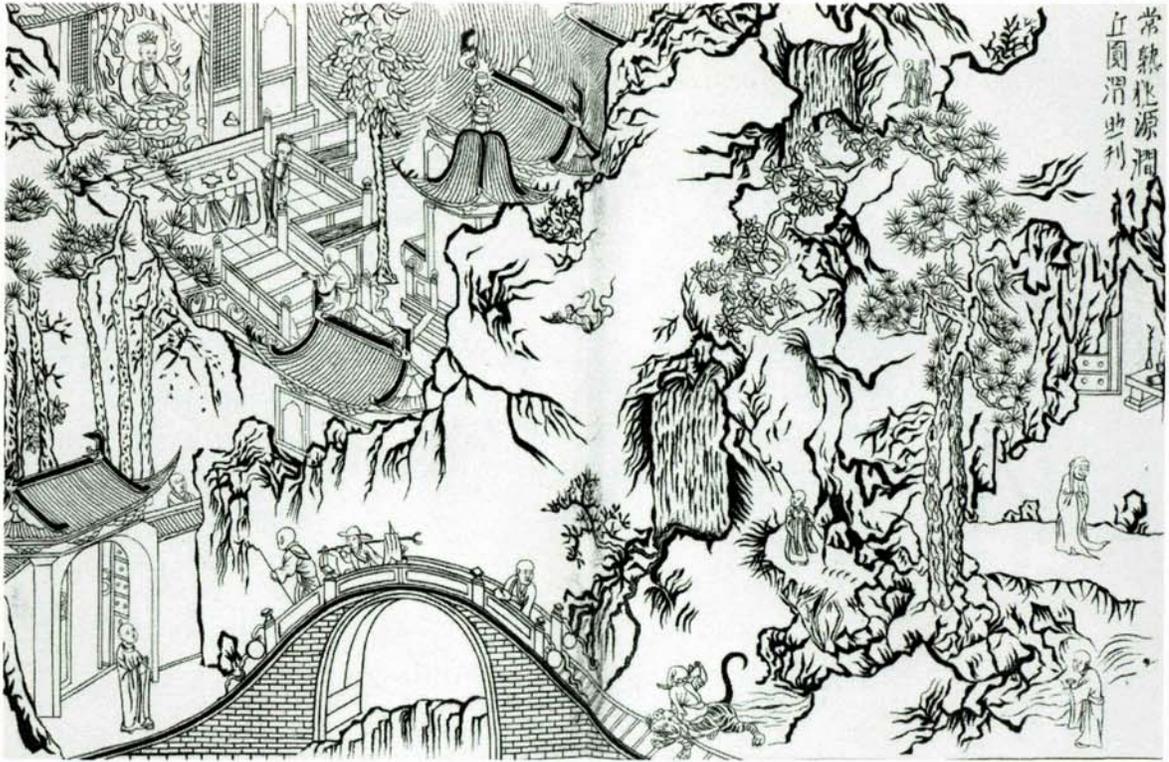
terned narrow obis and under robes are visible.<sup>64</sup> Montanus's robes close incorrectly, evidence of the likelihood that the costumes were copied in reverse from Japanese pictorial material. Since Montanus had never been to Japan, his models were images that had been brought back by the Dutch working for the United East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC).<sup>65</sup> However, he made no effort to create a Japanese context for the dancers. In his crowded and discordant image of European women wearing Japanese-style costumes, the woman with a fan is not recognizable as a Japanese dancer unless the viewer has already seen Fraisse's etching alongside the Japanese originals. Montanus's popular Eurocentric view, expressed in his reference to the Japanese as "these bestial people, rather than humane,"<sup>66</sup> is in stark contrast to Fraisse's images.

#### BUDDHIST SUTRAS, AN ETCHING, AND EUROCENTRIC DISTORTIONS

My search for East Asian sources for the *Livre de desseins chinois* resulted in the discovery of an unexpected category of Chinese pictorial material that had been circulating in the West since at least 1670. "Le tome second de Chine & Grand Tartarie," volume fifteen of van der Aa's ca. 1729 publication, contains four European etchings of woodcut images from Chinese Buddhist sutras (see, for an example, figure 12).<sup>67</sup> The etchings were first published by Olfert Dapper (1639?–1689 or 1690?) in 1670 and bound with engraved European images.<sup>68</sup>

In Fraisse's Chinese-style scene (figure 13) the standing figure to the right with a crown of lotus petals echoes the solitary figure to the right of the table in the upper-left section of one of the sutras. (See figure 14 for a detail from the sutra shown in figure 12.)<sup>69</sup> Monks similar to those in the sutra (figure 12) may have been models for Fraisse's two monks in undecorated robes that are flanking the Buddhist image in figure 13.

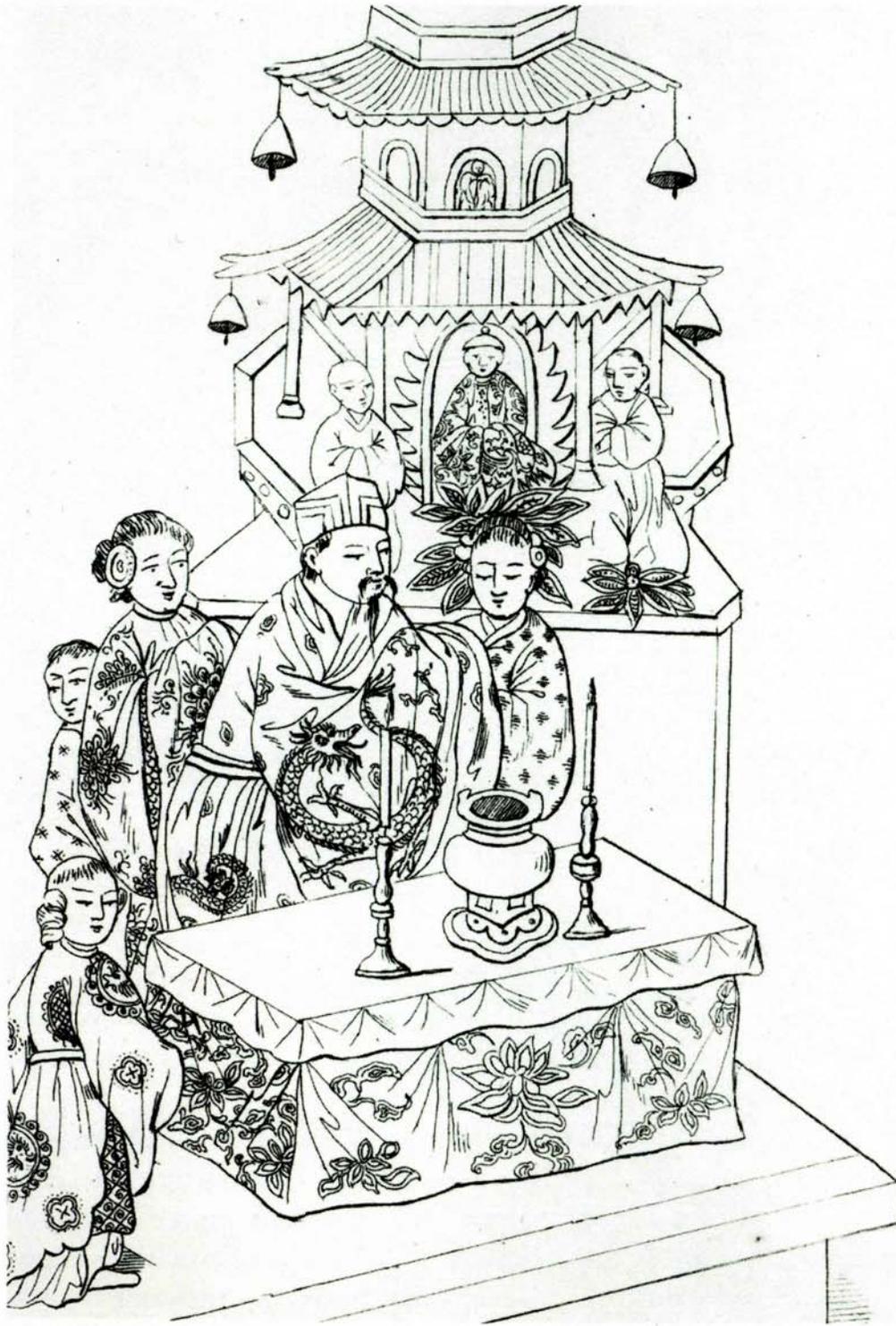
Fraisse did not quite know what to do with the lotus petals: the scale of the petals is too large for the composition, particularly for the head and face of the figure, and a section of petals to the right is floating in space. Stabilization of three-dimensional spatial planes is tentative. The small pillar to the right is not grounded. The sides of the polygonal



12. Plate 62 from Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde* (ca. 1729), vol. 15. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

pagoda base are different dimensions. Fraisse experienced obvious difficulty in translating the visual material. The unskilled drawing and confusing perspective of figure 13, apparent to the twentieth-century eye, may have been interpreted as exotic in the eighteenth century, since the etching remained a popular image and was published by Mondare around 1760.

Nine albums with the 1735 title page contain the etching of which figure 13 is a detail. Only the BnF's hand-colored example (figure 15) contains an addition: the pagoda is completed by hand above the plate line. Here the building becomes fantasy, painted in startling but compatible shades of aubergine, yellow, red, green, and turquoise. Striped roofs, either in blue and white or conventional polychrome enamels, are common to architectural scenes of Kangxi porcelain; European imitations appear on early- and mid-eighteenth-century ceramics. Roofs of buildings in the section of the Chinese painting bound in the BnF's



13. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 38 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



14. Detail of figure 12, plate 62 from Pieter van der Aa, *La galerie agréable du monde*, vol. 15. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

album (figure 4) exhibited this convention, but in subdued shades of blue and gray. Fraisse's departure from conventional colors seen in figure 15 and in etchings throughout the BnF's album may refer to similar departures seen in color-printed Chinese woodcuts.

Other elements in figure 15 relate to those from illustrated Chinese books. For example, a cloth-covered table with a pair of candlesticks or vases flanking a centerpiece is a common image throughout *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), published in 1600 by Wang Tingna (fl. 1596–1611).<sup>70</sup> Children reading or studying together, as seen in the lower section of figure 15, are popular images in Chinese painting, illustrated books, and Ming through early-Qing porcelain. The kneeling figure on the left in Fraisse's etching (figure 15) may derive from a variant of the one illustrated in figure 16.



15. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 8 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etching with hand-drawn addition. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.



16. Wang Tingna. Scene from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies, 1600), part 2. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

The innovations inherent in Fraisse's images are clear when presented in the context of the fantastical visions of Asia seen in contemporary Western decorative arts. References to the illustrated seventeenth-century travel accounts of Dapper, Montanus, Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), and Nieuhof are notably absent from Fraisse's work. These representations of Asia were sources for decoration throughout the eighteenth century and were used by major artists.<sup>71</sup> Some of François Boucher's compositions, for example, reflect images of China first published by Montanus and Nieuhof.<sup>72</sup> Jean-Baptiste Pillement's fantastical chinoiseries are rooted in Europe and, like Boucher's, bear no resemblance to authentic representations.<sup>73</sup> Eurocentric images, exemplified by those drawn by Boucher (1703–1770) and Pillement (1728–1808), do not flatter Asia; they flatter Europe. Eurocentric representations of the East appear earlier, with more restraint, in the work of Jean Bérain (1637–1711) and Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). Fraisse's images confront the simplistic reductionist formula favored by the ancien-régime culture for presenting a single Europeanized "Orient" to the West.

Volumes 15 and 16 of van der Aa's *La galerie agréable du monde* republished many engraved Europeanized images of Japan and China, and preceded, but were not sources for, the *Livre de desseins chinois*. Ironically, an engraving published by Dapper in 1670 and republished by van der Aa was the source for decoration painted on a Chantilly porcelain bottle cooler, ca. 1735, the opposite side of which illustrates a scene from Fraisse's work.<sup>74</sup>

During the 1720s and 1730s numerous books about China and Japan were published in France. Some reissued seventeenth-century images and text, some contained both new and already published information, and others offered information not previously published. The *Livre de desseins chinois* reflected the then heightened curiosity about the East. Montanus's writings on Japan were reissued in 1722, evidence of continued French interest in his accounts.<sup>75</sup> Tavernier's writings about Japan, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne, qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages* (1679), were again republished in 1724. Van der Aa's ca. 1729 publication reflected the continuing mainstream taste for Europeanized representations of foreigners. The French Jesuit Jean-

Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743) published his work on China, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise . . .*, in 1735. His introduction of Chinese culture to France included on-site reports from Jesuits; newly edited versions of earlier French Jesuit maps of China;<sup>76</sup> translations of Chinese fiction; and information on silk weaving, porcelain production, and lacquer. Nevertheless, Du Halde presented China through French eyes and neglected to give adequate credit to the indispensable Chinese contributors to Jesuit cartography.<sup>77</sup>

In a letter to the secrétaire-perpétuel de l'Académie française in 1714, the reformist prelate François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) argued that historical accounts of foreigners should be accurate.<sup>78</sup> Earlier, in *Pensées sur la comète* (1695–1697), Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) urged that ambassadors and other foreign visitors to France report more accurately to their respective countries.<sup>79</sup> The popular genre devoted to the foreign observer in France, represented by Giovanni Marana's *L'espion du Grand Seigneur et ses relations secrètes* (1684), Montesquieu's *Les lettres persanes* (1721), and Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747), was a vehicle through which writers criticized the ancien régime's cultural values and depictions of foreigners.<sup>80</sup> Although eighteenth-century publications of the type of seventeenth-century historical accounts of which Fénelon had been critical were still popular, interest in new, more accurate accounts emerged as well.

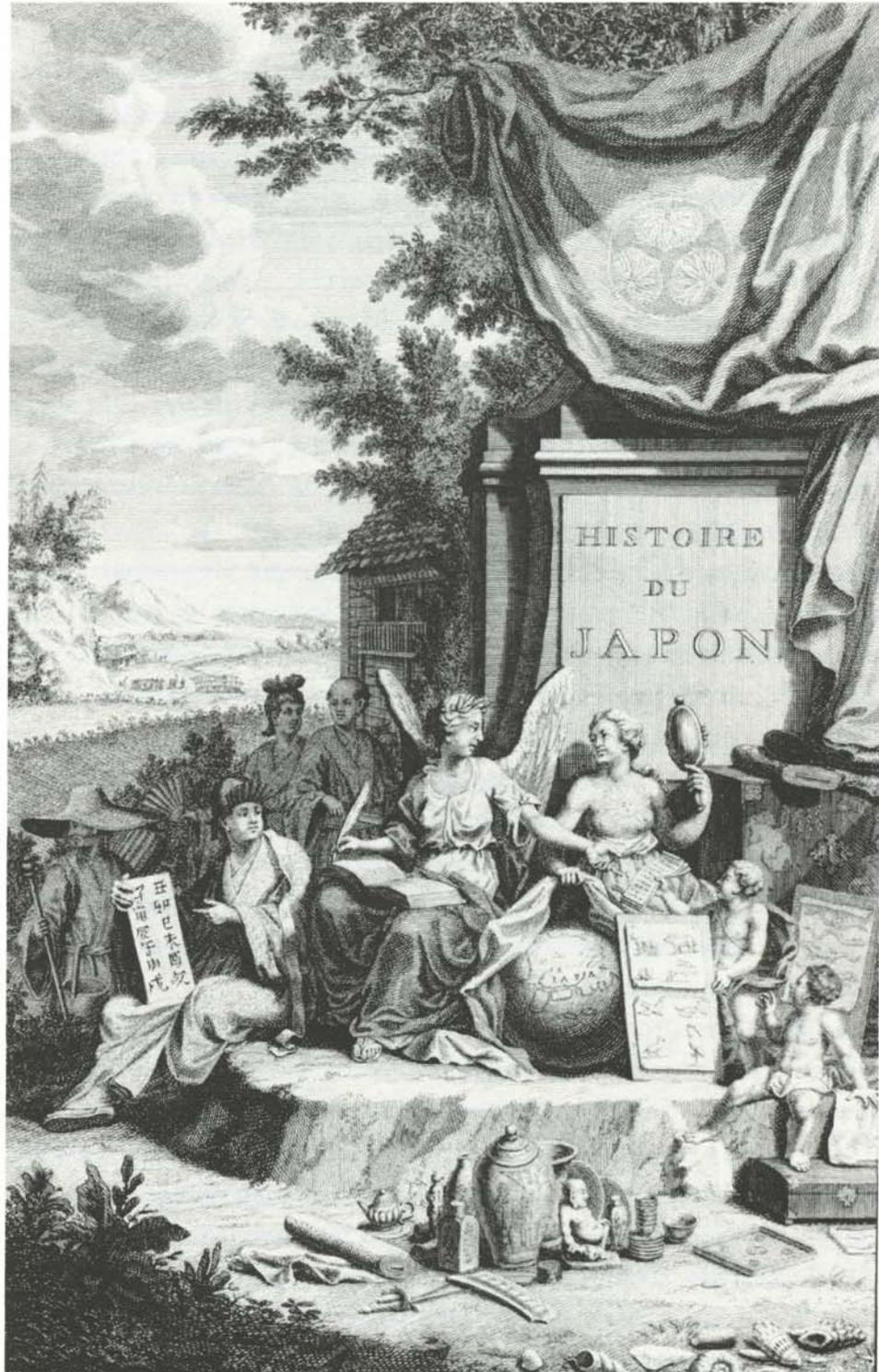
#### KAEMPFER: A COMMERCIAL CONTEXT FOR FRAISSE

The most innovative new French publication on Japan was *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon*, published in 1729 in the Hague. It was a translation of *The History of Japan*, the posthumous English-language publication of Engelbert Kaempfer's manuscript "Heutiges Japan" (Today's Japan). *The History of Japan* was first published in 1727, in London, and then again in 1728 (with an appendix) by Sir Hans Sloane (1650–1753).<sup>81</sup> The Swiss Johann Caspar (or John Gaspar) Scheuchzer (1702–1729), Sloane's young amanuensis, translated Kaempfer's original German manuscript, which Sloane had acquired from Kaempfer's heirs. In the late-seventeenth century the VOC had instructed Kaempfer and

others to collect Japanese material and information about Japan. Kaempfer is supposed to have written "Heutiges Japan" during his two-year stay there. However, he clearly had assistance from others who had prior knowledge of Japan and of Japanese books.<sup>82</sup> The 1727 English translation contains illustrations by Scheuchzer, who worked from Kaempfer's collection of Japanese pictorial material, from drawings done for Kaempfer in Japan, and from Kaempfer's own sketches and drawings. Various commercial printmakers then made etchings of Scheuchzer's drawings. Some of the etchings in *The History of Japan* are reconfigurations of Japanese woodcuts from Kaempfer's copy of the Japanese pictorial encyclopedia *Kinmō zui*, compiled by Nakamura Tekisai (1629–1702) in 1666.<sup>83</sup> Other prints were based on Kaempfer's own drawings after his collection of *meisho-e*, paintings of famous places.<sup>84</sup> Scheuchzer designed a title page and added decorative borders to his illustrations with elements adapted from *Kinmō zui* and other Japanese books.

The French translation of *The History of Japan* contains all the etchings after Scheuchzer's illustrations as well as the appendix from the 1728 English edition. A second French edition was published in the Netherlands in 1732; Dutch-language editions were published in 1729 and 1733.<sup>85</sup> The two French-language publications of Kaempfer's late-seventeenth-century on-site report reflect a focused curiosity in France about Japan, coinciding with the early Chantilly porcelain manufactory and the 1729–1731 Meissen production for the French market, as well as publication of the *Livre de desseins chinois*.

The emblematic engraved pictorial half-title by Jan Caspar Philips (1700?–after 1773), a Dutch engraver,<sup>86</sup> for both the 1729 French and Dutch translations of *The History of Japan* (see figure 17), expresses visually the book's challenge to established views of Japan. The porcelain, fabric, lacquer, and shells on the ground; the large lacquer cabinet on the right with rolls of fabric on top; the three European engravings held by the cherubs depicting animals, birds, and sea creatures; and the Japanese silk draped across the tree showing the *futaba aoi* (*Asarum caulescens*) Tokugawa crest emphasize trade and an interest in natural history.<sup>87</sup> The two centered female figures seated on a raised platform represent personifications of European culture. The winged female, crowned with a laurel wreath and writing on a tablet, may personify



17. Jan Caspar Philips. Pictorial half-title from *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon* (1729). Engraving. New York Public Library, Oriental Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

European history. She is about to read a book held out by the cherub — perhaps a Japanese history of Japan.<sup>88</sup> The figure with the sun motif on her chest and holding a mirror relates to truth, light, wisdom, and knowledge as she uncovers the terrestrial globe in front of her showing “Japan.”<sup>89</sup> The engraving suggests the implicit superiority of the West. The Japanese-style figures to the left, beneath, and behind in shadow are secondary and beholden to the two personifications of European culture, who appear to control truth, knowledge, and trade, and are about to disseminate a new European history of Japan.

Philips’s pictorial half-title, “L’Histoire du Japon,” with its terrestrial globe, echoes Western attitudes toward China that had already been expressed. By 1729 European pictorial representations of both the terrestrial and the celestial globes had often come to signify for the West a perceived cultural superiority to the East. The Jesuits had been both influencing and learning from Chinese scientific thought since the late-sixteenth century. In 1584 Ricci created a world map in Chinese that was modeled on the wall map he had brought with him, a flattened version of the Western terrestrial globe.<sup>90</sup> Until his death Ricci continued to introduce Western clock making, astronomy, mathematics, and cartography to Chinese literati.

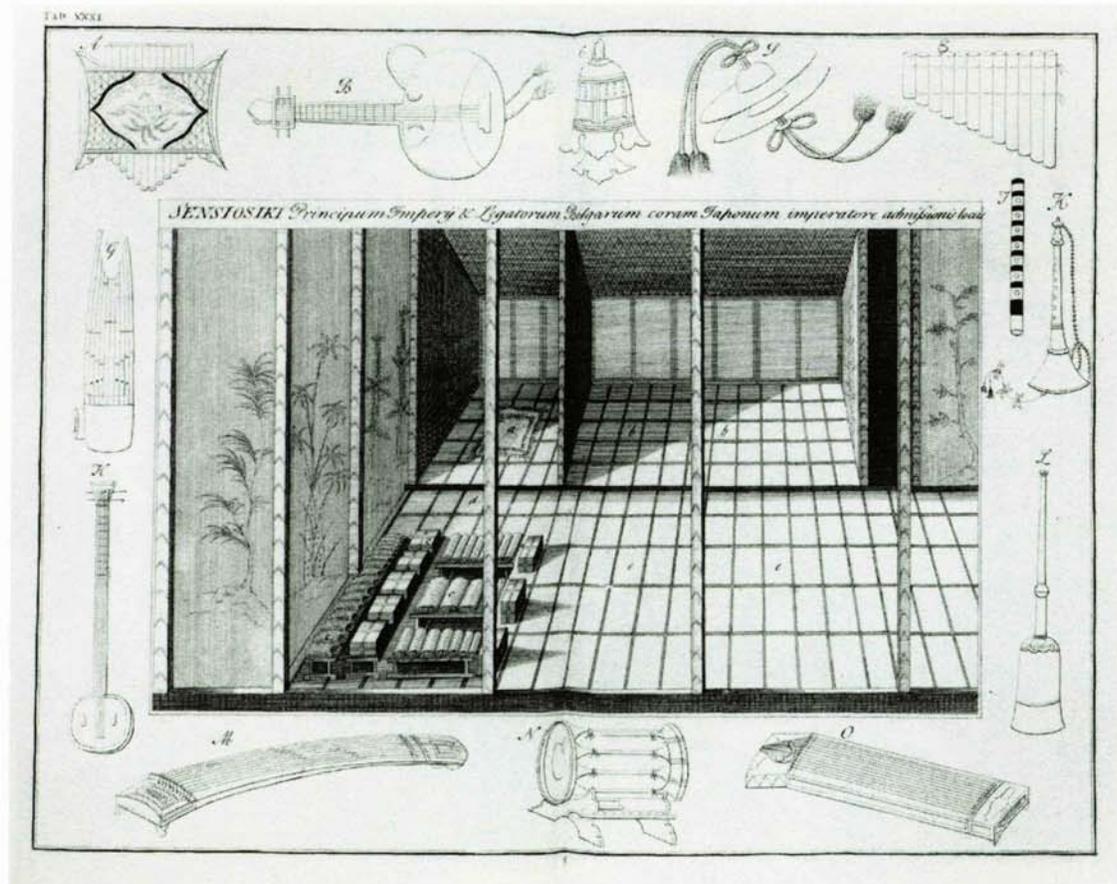
During the 1630s the Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) supervised the design of new Chinese astronomical instruments and a celestial globe, all with Western specifications. At the request of the Kangxi emperor, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), S.J., directed the construction of Western-modified Chinese instruments for the Peking Observatory, completed in 1674. Chinese woodcuts of the new observatory, celestial globe, and astronomical instruments were issued in the *Yixiangtu* (1674).<sup>91</sup> Engraved versions of the woodcut of the observatory continued to be published and include Du Halde’s embellished image, in reverse, of 1735. Among the clocks engraved by Johann August Corvinus (1683–1738) in the 1720s is one with a celestial globe.<sup>92</sup> Contemporaneous with Du Halde’s publication is a Chantilly porcelain Chinese-style figure sitting in front of a celestial globe (ca. 1735–1740).<sup>93</sup> French glorification of Western power in China is depicted earlier in the Beauvais tapestry “Les astronomes” (ca. 1697–1705), in which two Jesuits are prominent, along with the new celestial globe and an ecliptic Hellenistic

armillary sphere. The cartoon for the tapestry probably dates to between 1685 and 1690.<sup>94</sup> Unlike the celestial globe, the terrestrial globe as a comparably scaled, independent unit had no tradition in China and was not created by the Chinese until introduced by the Jesuits; Ricci described one in 1603.<sup>95</sup>

In late-seventeenth-century France the terrestrial globe became a significant symbol of French knowledge and influence in China. Because of initiatives originally taken by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), Paris had become a major cartographic center in the West.<sup>96</sup> Following the visit of Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623–1693), to Louis XIV's court in 1684, French Jesuit specialists in mathematics and cartography were sent to China. They arrived in 1687 and had unprecedented independence from other European Jesuits and a singular closeness to the Kangxi court.<sup>97</sup> Together with Du Halde's reproduction of French Jesuit maps and the engraving of the Peking Observatory, Chantilly porcelain Chinese-style figures with terrestrial globes, ca. 1735–1740, celebrate French Jesuit influence in China.<sup>98</sup> The engraved half-title *Histoire du Japon* indicates that French attitudes of superiority over Eastern culture included Japan. Perhaps an interest in Japanese books and in learning about the actual — not the fictionalized — Japan is symbolized by the figure on the left holding the tablet and the cherub on the right holding the open book.

In his introduction to the 1727 English edition of *The History of Japan*, Scheuchzer referred to Kaempfer's criticism of Montanus's theories and illustrations.<sup>99</sup> For example, Kaempfer had compared his "Hall of Audience" (see figure 18, the etching after Scheuchzer's adaptation of Kaempfer's sketch) with Montanus's fantastical image (figure 19):

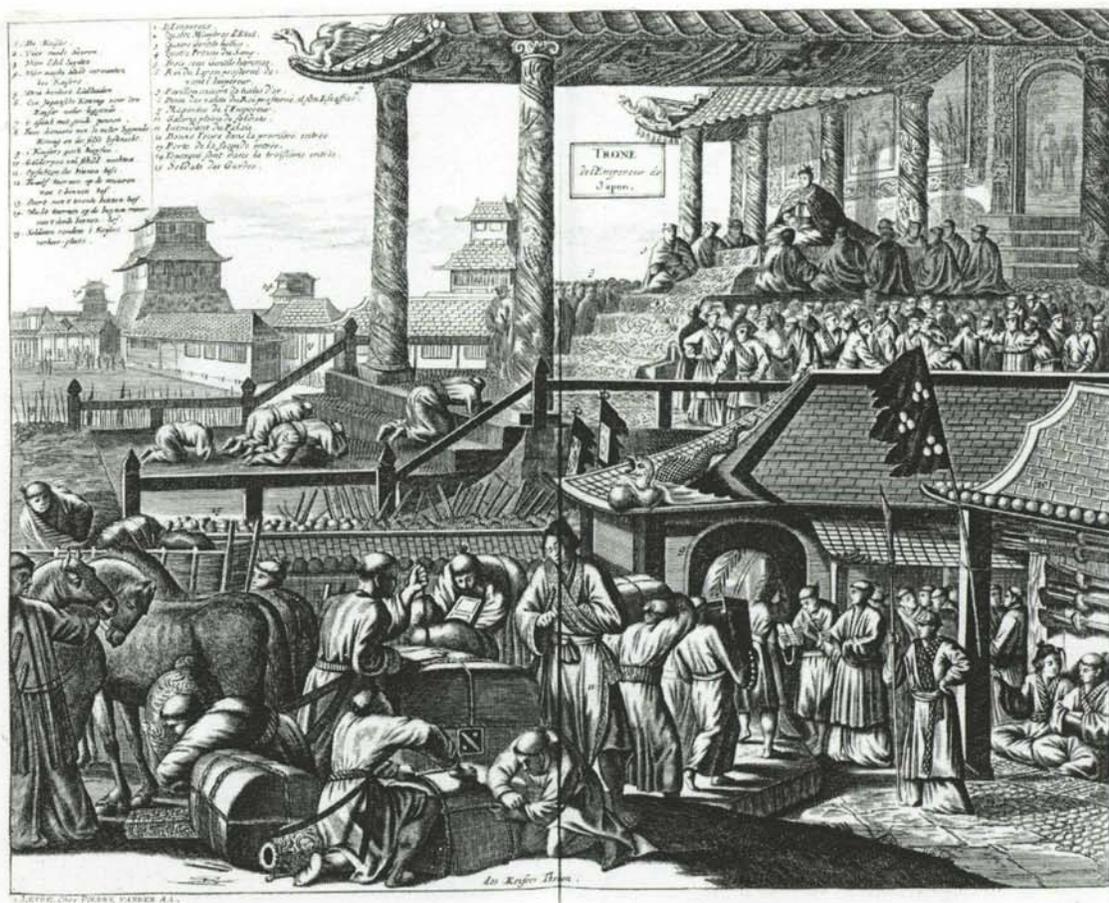
The hall of audience, otherwise the hall of hundred mats, is not in the least like that which hath been described and figured by Montanus, in his memorable embassies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan. The elevated throne, the steps leading up to it, the carpets pendent from it, the stately columns supporting the building which contains the throne, the columns between which the Princes of the Empire are said to prostrate themselves before the Emperor, and the like, have all no manner of foun-



18. "Hall of Hundred Mats, Where the Princes of the Empire and the Dutch Ambassadors Are Admitted to an Audience of the Emperor." Plate 31 from Engelbert Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*, vol. 2 (1728). Unsigned etching after illustration by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

dation, but in that author's fancy. Every thing indeed is curious and rich, but not otherwise than my draught represent it.<sup>100</sup>

The interest in accurate information about the East coincided with intense commercial activity. Domestic manufacturers interpreted and imitated imported Chinese pigment-painted silk, Chinese wallpaper, Chinese and Japanese porcelain and lacquer, and Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery. About 1734, Captain Antoine de Beaulieu (1699–1764) of the *Compagnie des Indes* wrote an account of the Indian dye process for cotton, apparently at the request of Charles-François Dufay



19. "Hall of Audience." Plate from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*. Engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.

(1698–1739), inspector of dye-works and mines and inspector of the Botanical Gardens of Paris.<sup>101</sup> The information was intended to provide French fabric workshops with the technical procedures that would ensure successful dyeing of cotton.

Eighteenth-century French furniture makers excelled in the art of incorporating seventeenth-century Chinese and Japanese lacquer panels into their furniture.<sup>102</sup> The reuse of East Asian lacquer was often combined with painted and varnished enhancement. At the same time that imports were being reused, production of lacquerlike varnishes that had begun in the early seventeen hundreds intensified in France and throughout the West as imports of lacquer goods declined. Early-eighteenth-century French imitation-lacquer production at the Gobelins workshop

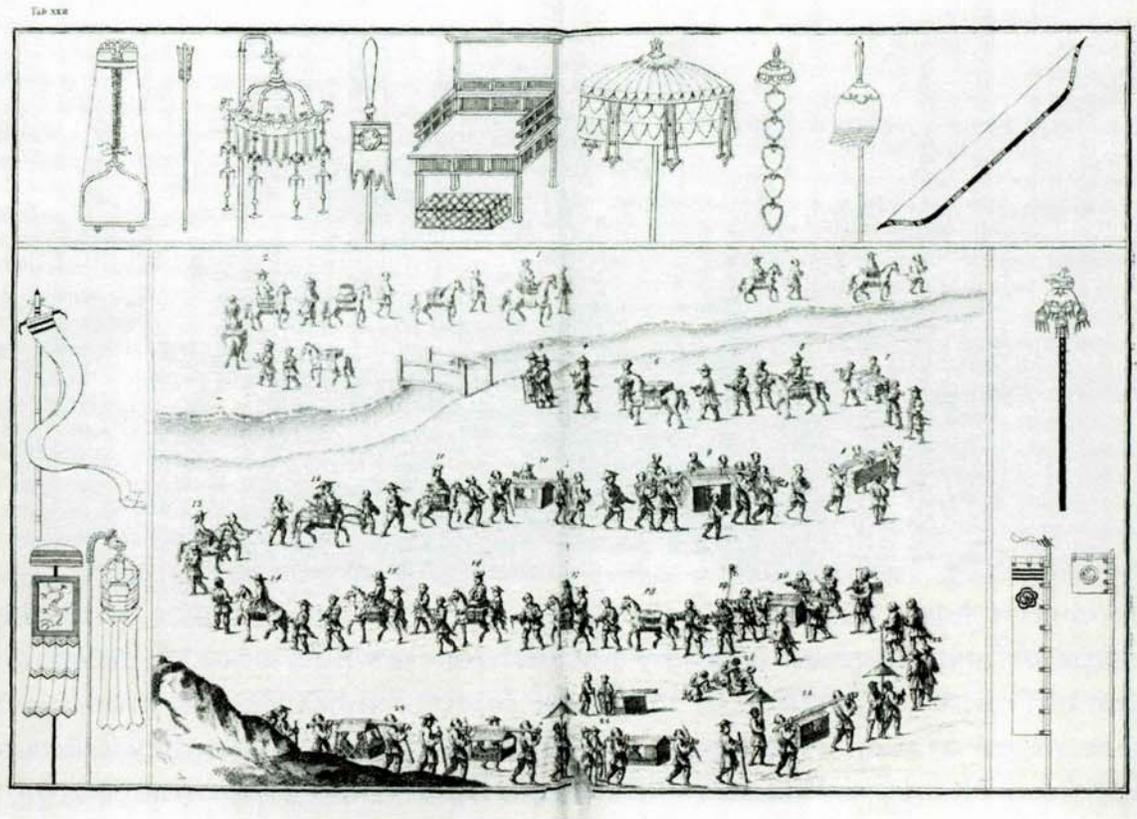
included — in addition to wood — coated leather, cloth, and canvas with Asian-style decoration.<sup>103</sup>

Between about 1720 and 1740, along with the increasing needs of fabric workshops for dyeing formulas, workshops producing imitation East Asian porcelain and lacquer required information about manufacturing methods. French publications of formulas for lacquer and porcelain addressed domestic production requirements; the formulas were not of practical use, however, because the necessary ingredients were not available. Filippo Buonanni's recipes for Chinese lacquer, first published in Italy in 1720, were translated and published in Paris in 1723 and 1733. In 1736 the *Mercure de France* reprinted formulas for Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer from Du Halde's *Description géographique* (1735).<sup>104</sup> Fraisse's visual representations "*après des originaux*" offered collectors and workshops new images of East Asia that told them something about the East. As a decorative arts manual, the *Livre de desseins chinois* complemented Du Halde's work and Kaempfer's *Histoire naturelle*.

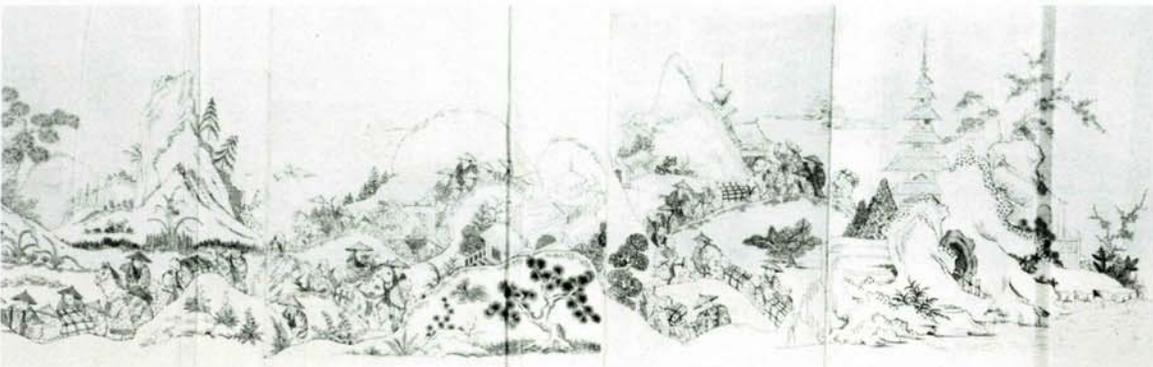
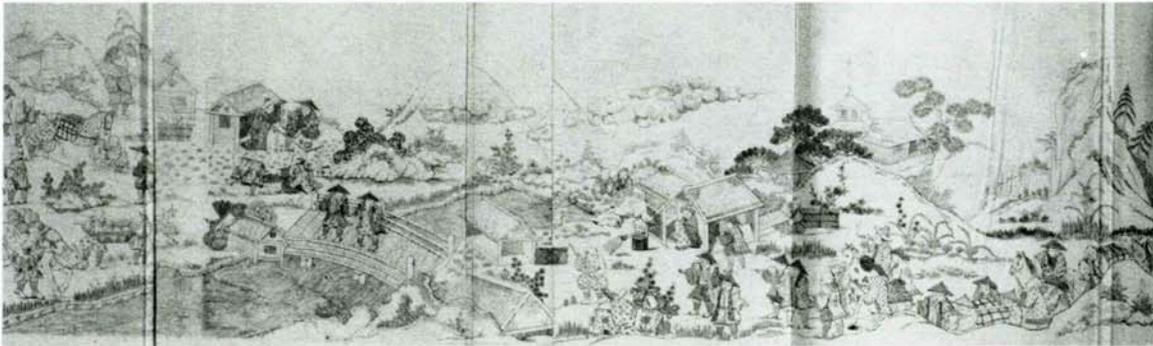
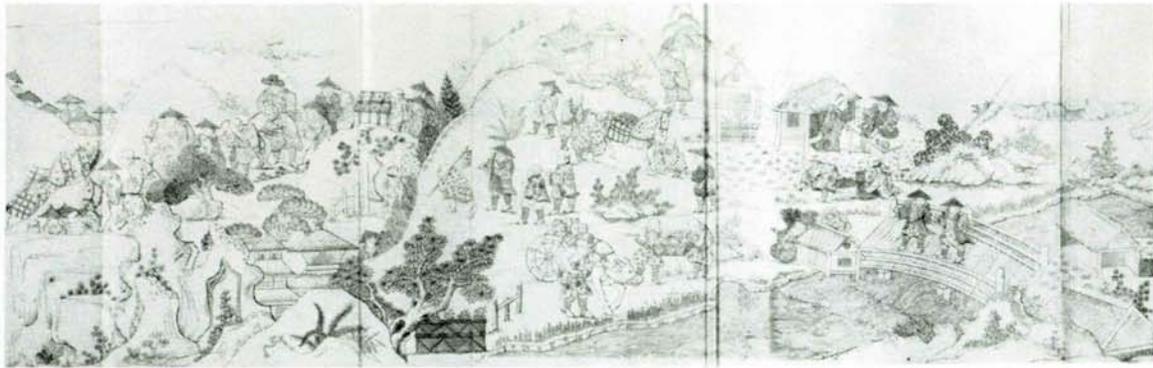
#### A JAPANESE PROCESSION; A JAPANESE SCENE

Significantly, Fraisse's work is not indebted to any of the prints in *The History of Japan*. Kaempfer's journey to Edo for an audience with the emperor is interpreted stiffly by Scheuchzer (see figure 20). A comparison of Fraisse's adaptation of a Japanese foreign embassy travel procession (see figure 21a-c) with figure 20 illustrates that although they contain identical elements, Fraisse's extraordinarily detailed procession was not modeled on Scheuchzer's minimal, Western-style composition. In Kaempfer's and Scheuchzer's winding single-direction procession, the entire image is seen at once (figure 20). The eye then travels laterally from one point to another.<sup>105</sup> An East Asian travel procession, for example, is viewed and experienced from right to left, while the viewer's eye travels forward and backward and up and down, taking in a section at a time (for a different example of this treatment, see figure 22).<sup>106</sup> Remarkably, as figure 21a-c reveals, Fraisse recognized this inherent characteristic.

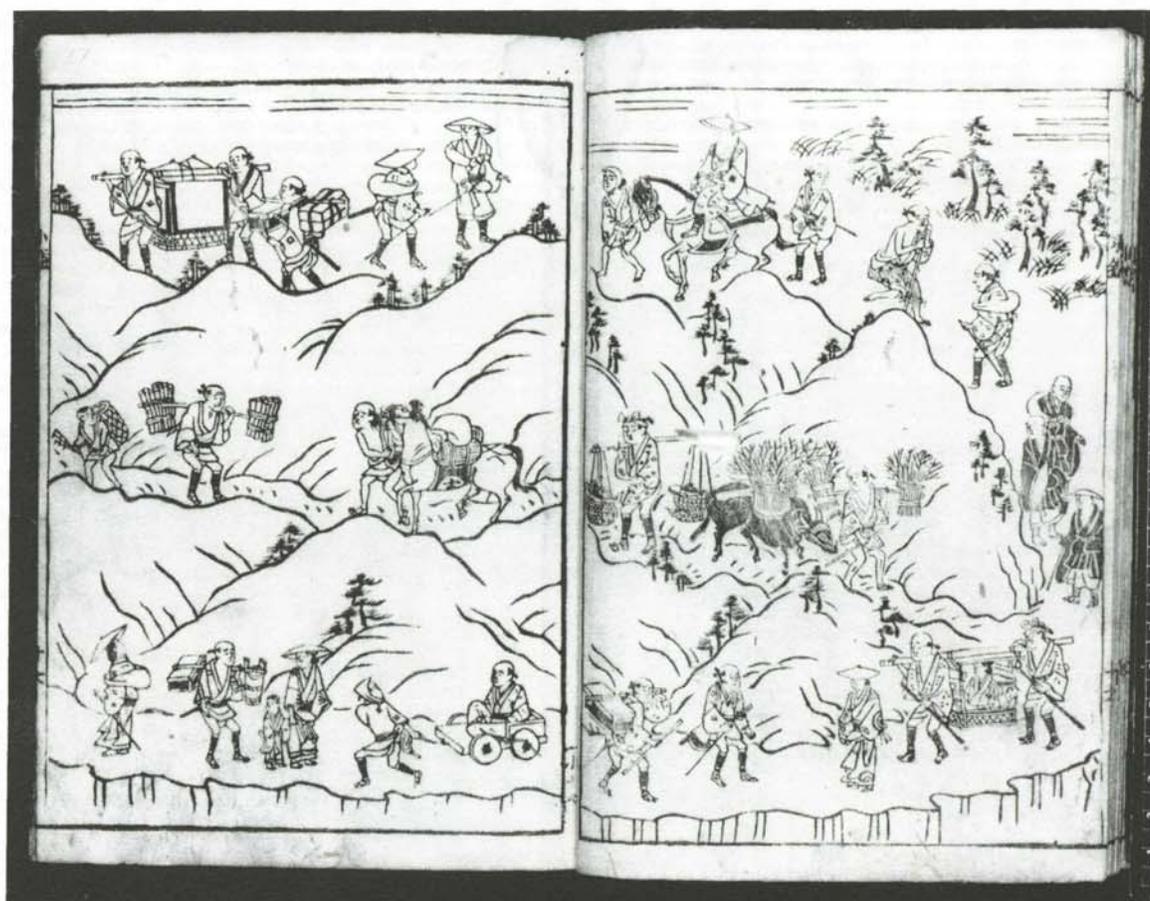
Unlike Kaempfer's procession, Fraisse's is filled with information derived from Japanese pictorial sources. The etching of Scheuchzer's adaptation of Kaempfer's sketch (figure 20) illustrates the 1691 journey



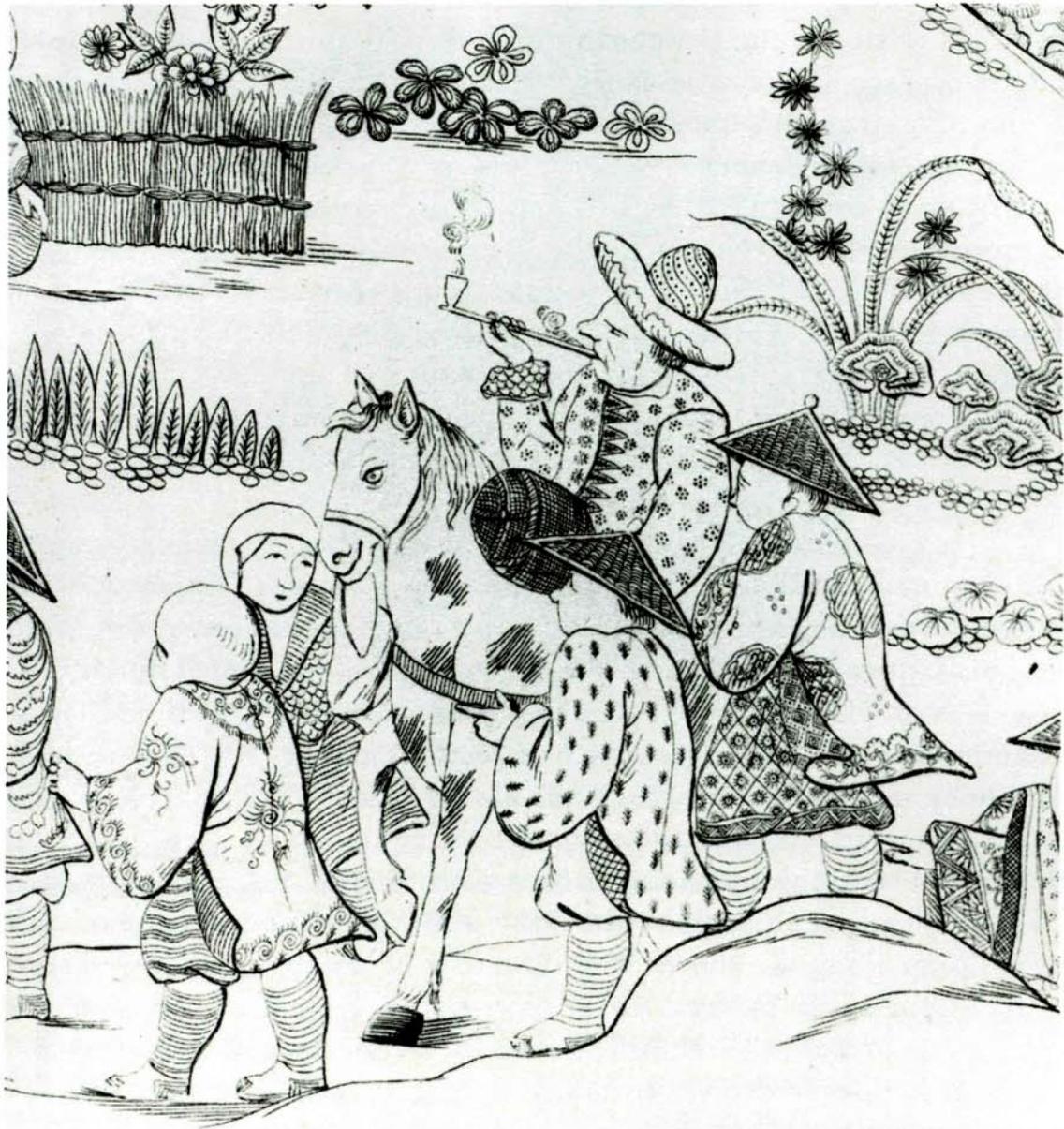
20. "Journey to Edo." Plate 22 from Engelbert Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*, vol. 2. Unsigned etching after illustration by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library.



21a–21c. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etchings with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



22. Yoshida Hanbei. Illustration from the *Arima ko-kagami* (Guide to the Arima Area Near Kobe, 1685). Woodcut. By permission of the British Library, 16107.g.41 f17r.

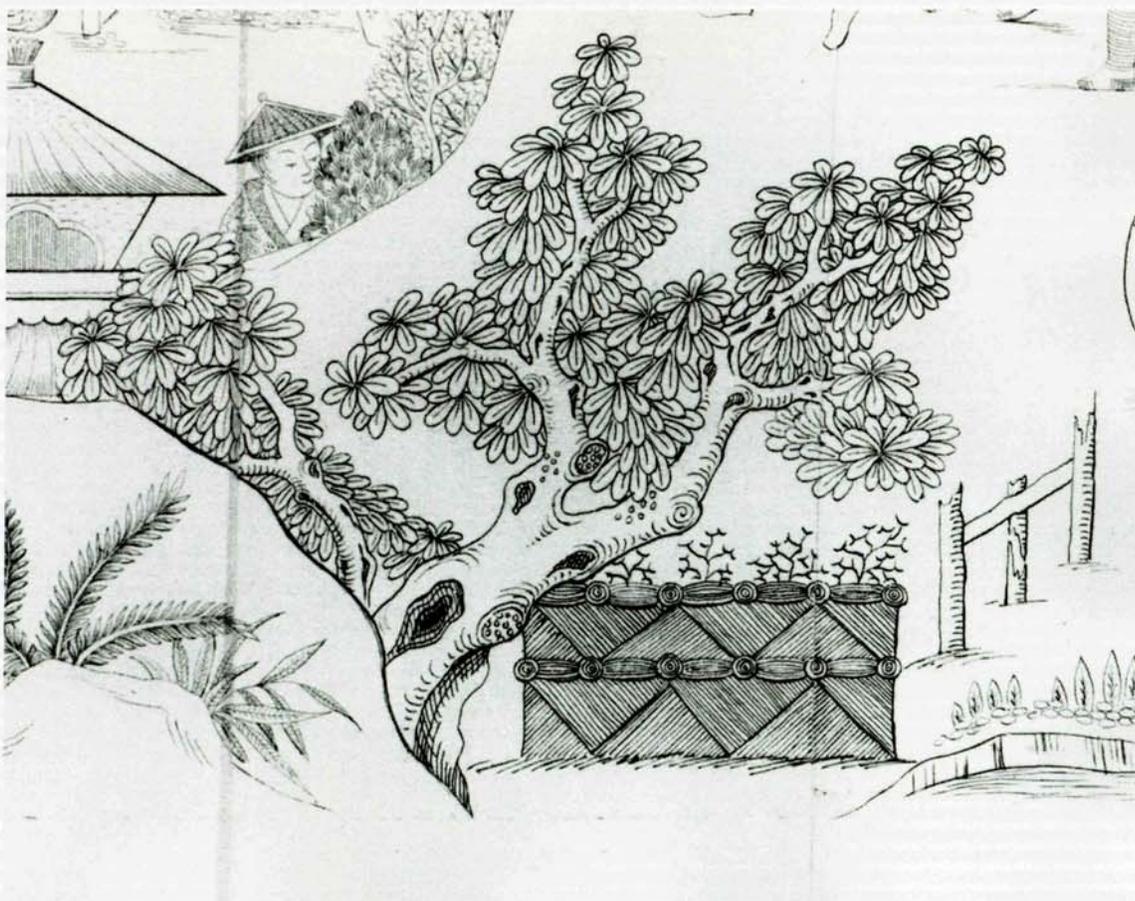


23. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21b, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

in which Kaempfer participated. Kaempfer on horseback (number 15 in figure 20) relates to the Dutchman on horseback in the detail of Fraisse's procession (see figure 23), except that Fraisse's European is smoking, common in Japanese depictions of Westerners, probably because tobacco was introduced to Japan by Western traders.<sup>107</sup> Selected elements in both compositions are compatible, but only Fraisse conveyed Japanese pictorial conventions. Missing from the print after Scheuchzer's illustration are the references to Japanese landscapes and costumes and the variety of Japanese activities represented in Fraisse's procession. The model of a Japanese painting or scroll for figure 21a-c is obvious, even though Fraisse's renditions of Japanese conventions are combined with Chinese cloud forms and fantastical landscapes, figural elements, and costumes interpreted from different Asian sources.

Fraisse's "scroll" is made up of five sheets of paper of various widths joined together to form one continuous image. The image is one of two processions in the *Livre de desseins chinois* presented as long fold-out illustrations. Six individually etched plates — one sheet contains two plates — complete figure 21a-c. The plates are different sizes, perhaps to accommodate the varying heights of sections of the procession.<sup>108</sup> The plate lines are faint but visible. After the six plates were printed, a hand-drawn image in ink was added to fill an empty space (see figure 24). Besides the tree, the additions include a brushwood fence, a fragment of a wooden fence at an angle to the right, and stones and leaves next to the etched ones along the shore. The rigid row of leaves may be a reference to the ubiquitous banana leaves decorating Chinese porcelain. The etched line of the hill hiding the base of the tree is reinforced in ink.

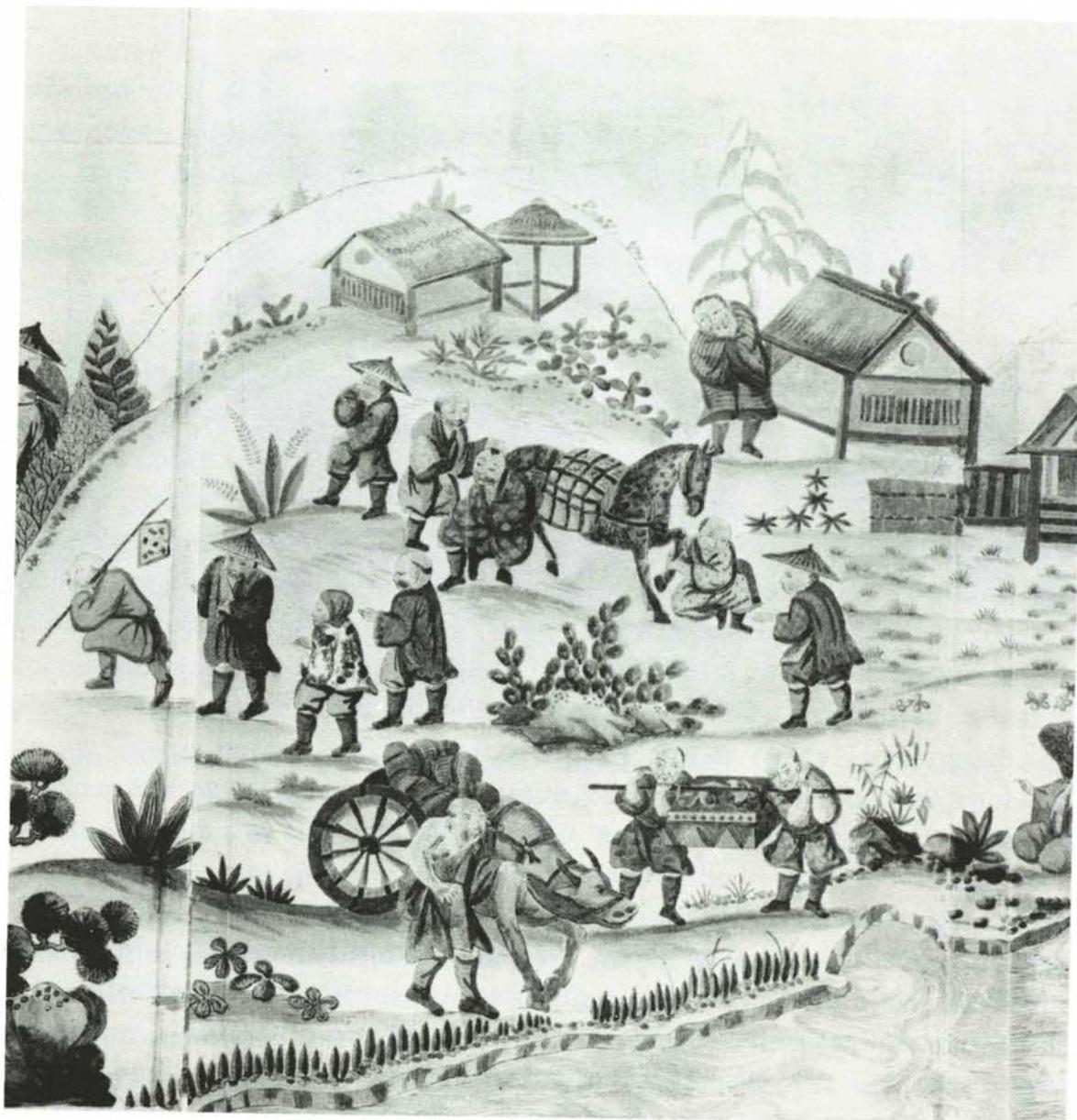
In the BnF's hand-colored album the etching contains a different hand-drawn image (see figure 25). Also, two consecutive plates are spaced apart only in the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums (figures 21a and 25). Thus hand-drawn additions fill the space between the two buildings in both albums. If the plates are aligned, the two small buildings at opposing plate lines touch. Although eight albums with the 1735 title page include the fold-out procession, six contain the successive etchings without space in between and the same, clearly printed woodcut addition (figure 26) instead of a hand-drawn image.<sup>109</sup> The woodcut must have been made specifically for the oddly shaped space illustrated in figures



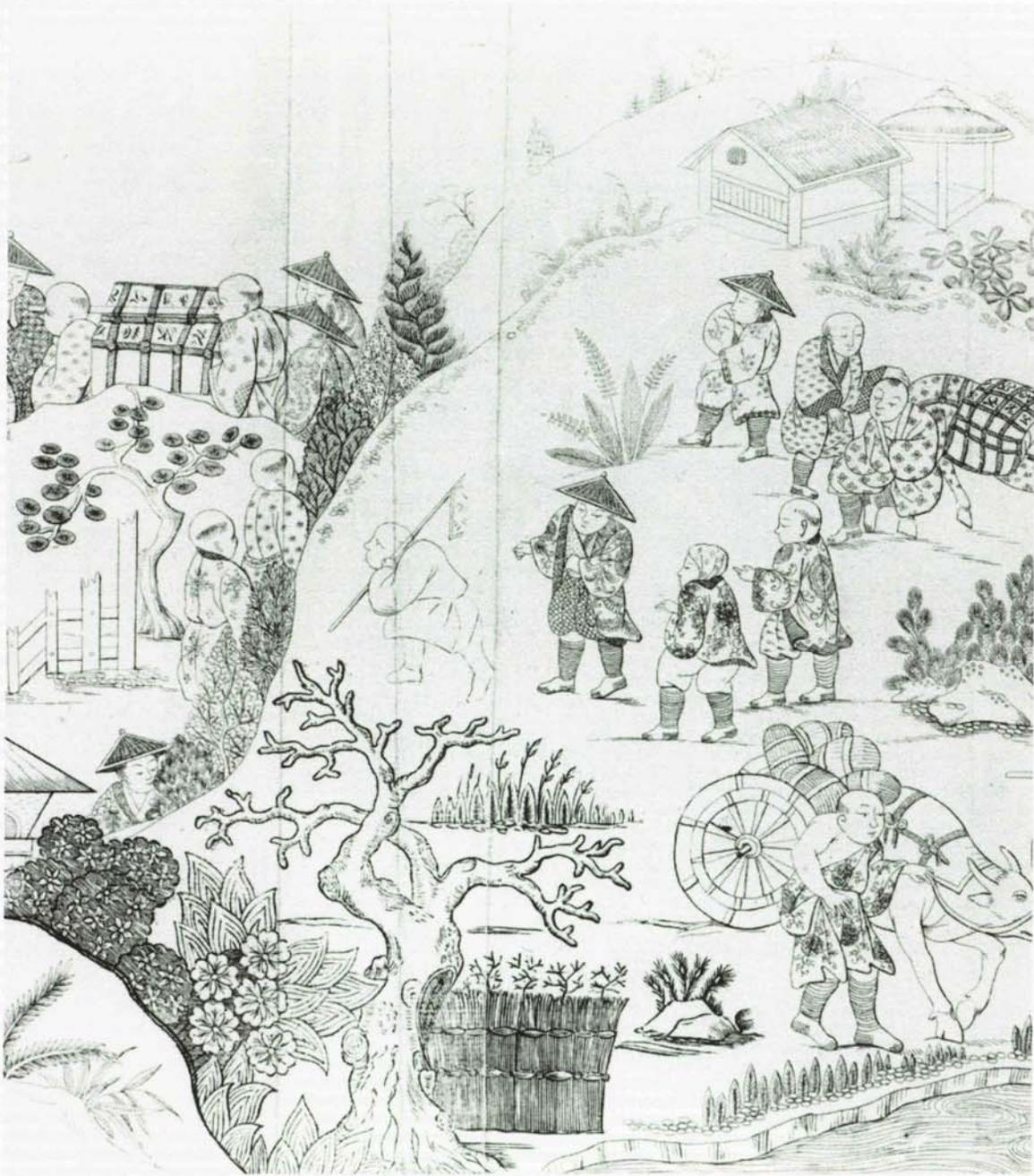
24. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21a, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching and hand-drawn addition. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

21a and 25. The sign held by the etched figure walking above the woodcut in figure 26 remains incomplete in the six albums, whereas the sign is completed in ink in the Metropolitan's and BnF's examples (figures 25 and 27). The expedient decisions to replace the hand-drawn image with a woodcut, to eliminate hand-drawn additions connecting two plates, and to leave the sign incomplete suggest a later stage of printing and the likelihood of a different site for production.

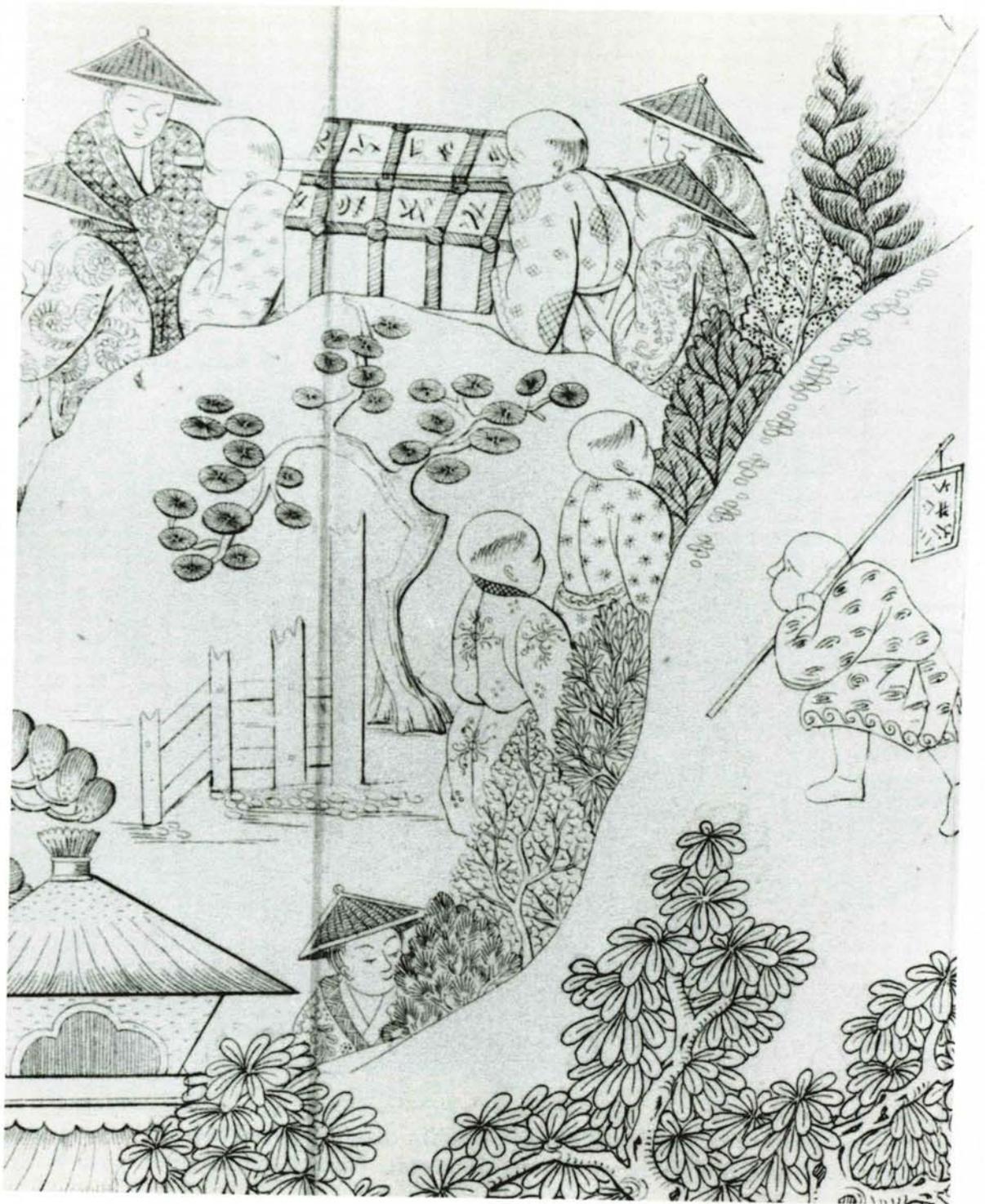
The variety of costumes and patterns in Fraise's procession suggests knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese genre paintings or scrolls. On the other hand, the round-faced, benign, generic Asians are neither Chinese nor Japanese. Their costumes and patterns are



25. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 24 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etchings and hand-drawn additions. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.



26. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of folio 30 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etchings and woodcut addition. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63.



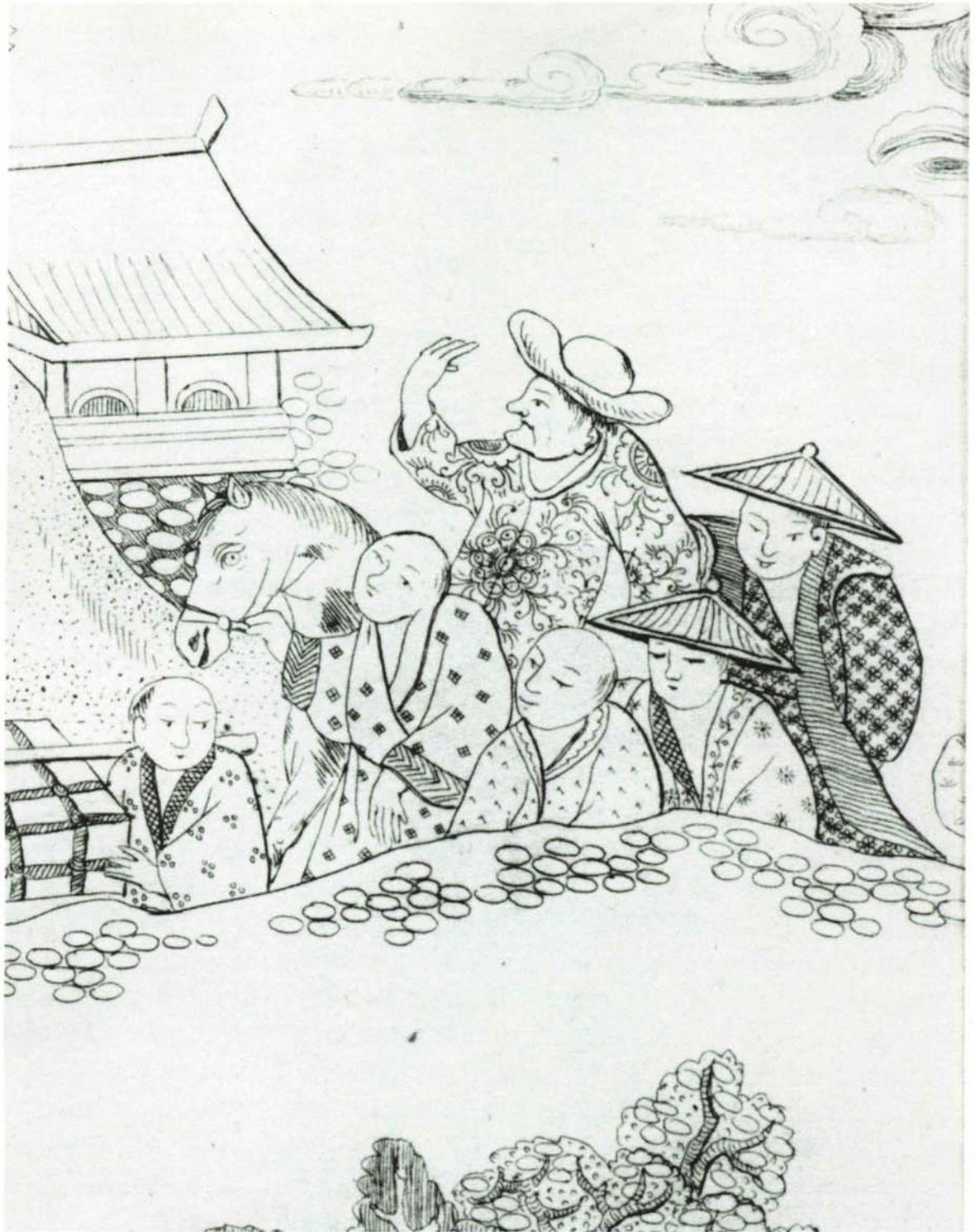
27. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21a, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

Fraisse's adaptations of Chinese and Japanese designs and Indian trade fabric; turbans, kerchiefs, and hats of straw alternate with bare heads and, along with mustaches, are independent of any relationship to the costumes or national identity of the people. Fraisse is unlikely to have had contact with Asians, and he must have relied on printed or drawn images. The individualized facial detail and expressiveness of Fraisse's Westerners (figures 23 and 28) contrast with the suppliant, childlike faces of the attendants. Representing then current Western fashion, the Europeans in figures 23 and 28 are dressed in exotic costumes. The Dutchman in figure 28, for example, wears a rendition of a Chinese robe.

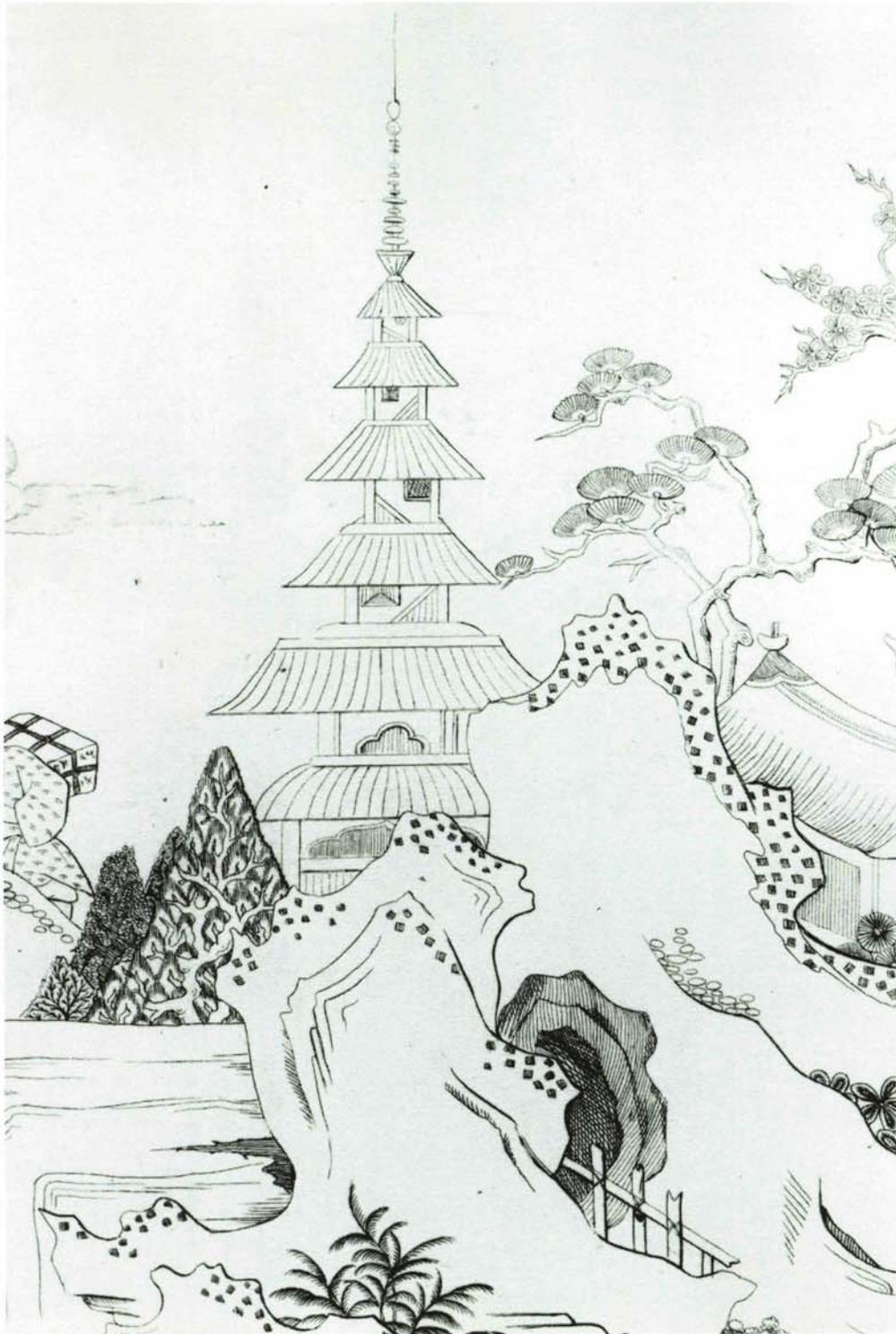
Fraisse's "scroll" reflects various Japanese pictorial conventions. For example, the landscape is characterized by the use of mountains to shield parts of figures, trees, and buildings. In Japanese imagery both mountains and clouds are devices that provide a complex balance of hidden and visible as well as spatial relief between scenes. Grouped rows of trees, many conical, going up the side of a mountain, illustrated in the detail (figure 27), is also a typical convention in the Japanese pictorial vocabulary.<sup>110</sup> Another detail (figure 29) is a composite of interpreted elements, here altered and exaggerated, and illustrates the pagoda eclipsed by an angular landscape. A woodcut from a travel guide (figure 30) is the type of image relating to figure 29. The traveler perched on the bench being served tea (figure 31) is a variant of a common scene.

Travel processions and foreign-embassy processions to Edo were featured in the decoration of Japanese lacquerware that was made around 1680 for export to the West. The composition of figure 21a-c relates to that of a procession decorating a lacquer cabinet made for Louis XIV.<sup>111</sup> Even the placement of the bridge in relation to nearby scenes is similar in both processions. The amount of detail in Fraisse's procession and the fold-out format, however, indicate a painted scroll as a source.

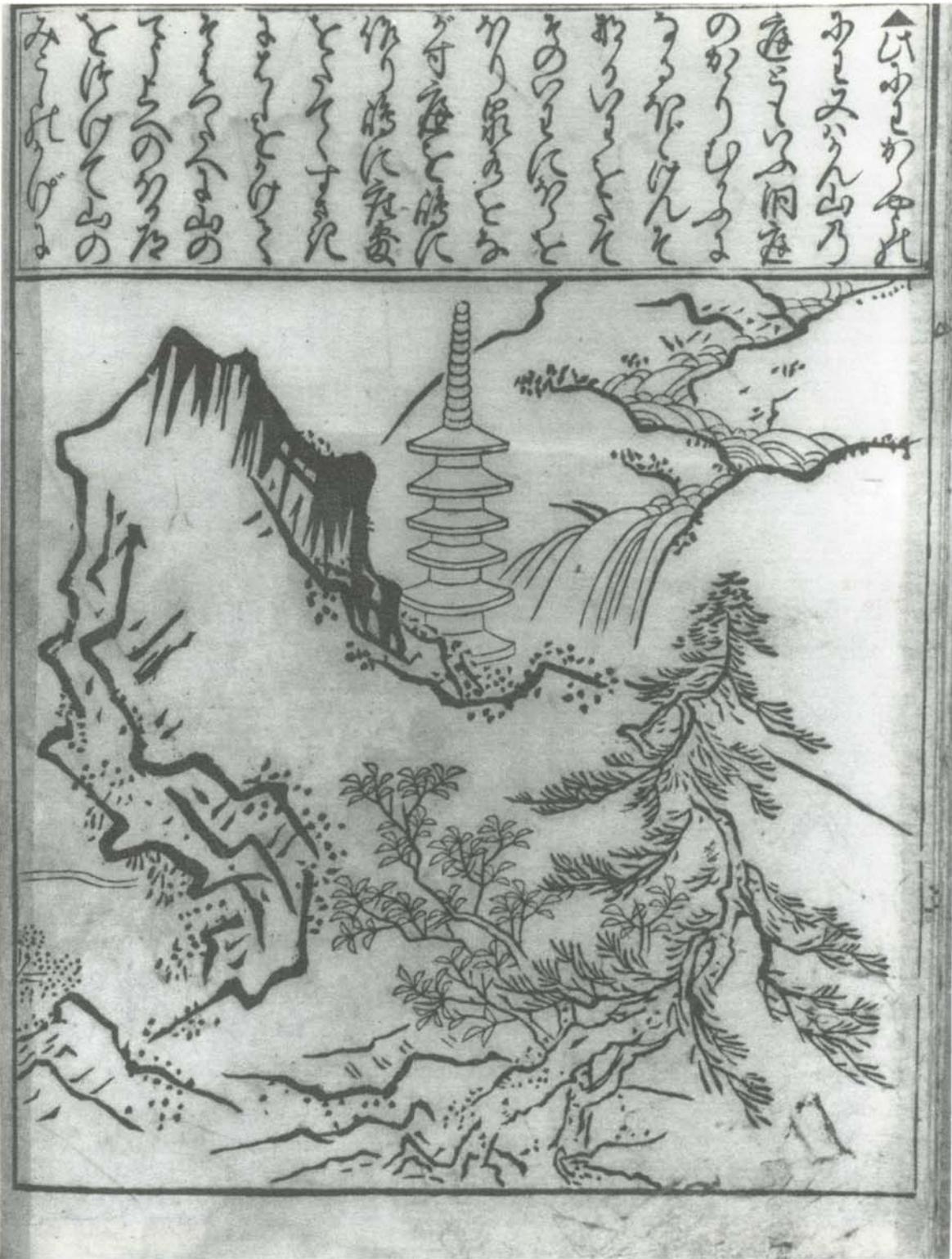
References to the Japanese lacquer technique of *maki-e* (sprinkled picture) appear throughout the landscape areas of Fraisse's procession. *Maki-e* consists of gold and silver flecks sprinkled on lacquer while it is still wet; one type is identified by small square shapes seen, for example, decorating the rocks in figures 26 and 29. A detail of a sixteenth-century Japanese lacquer box exhibits the type of decoration copied by Fraisse (see figure 32).<sup>112</sup> The gold and silver squares inlaid in the rocks and



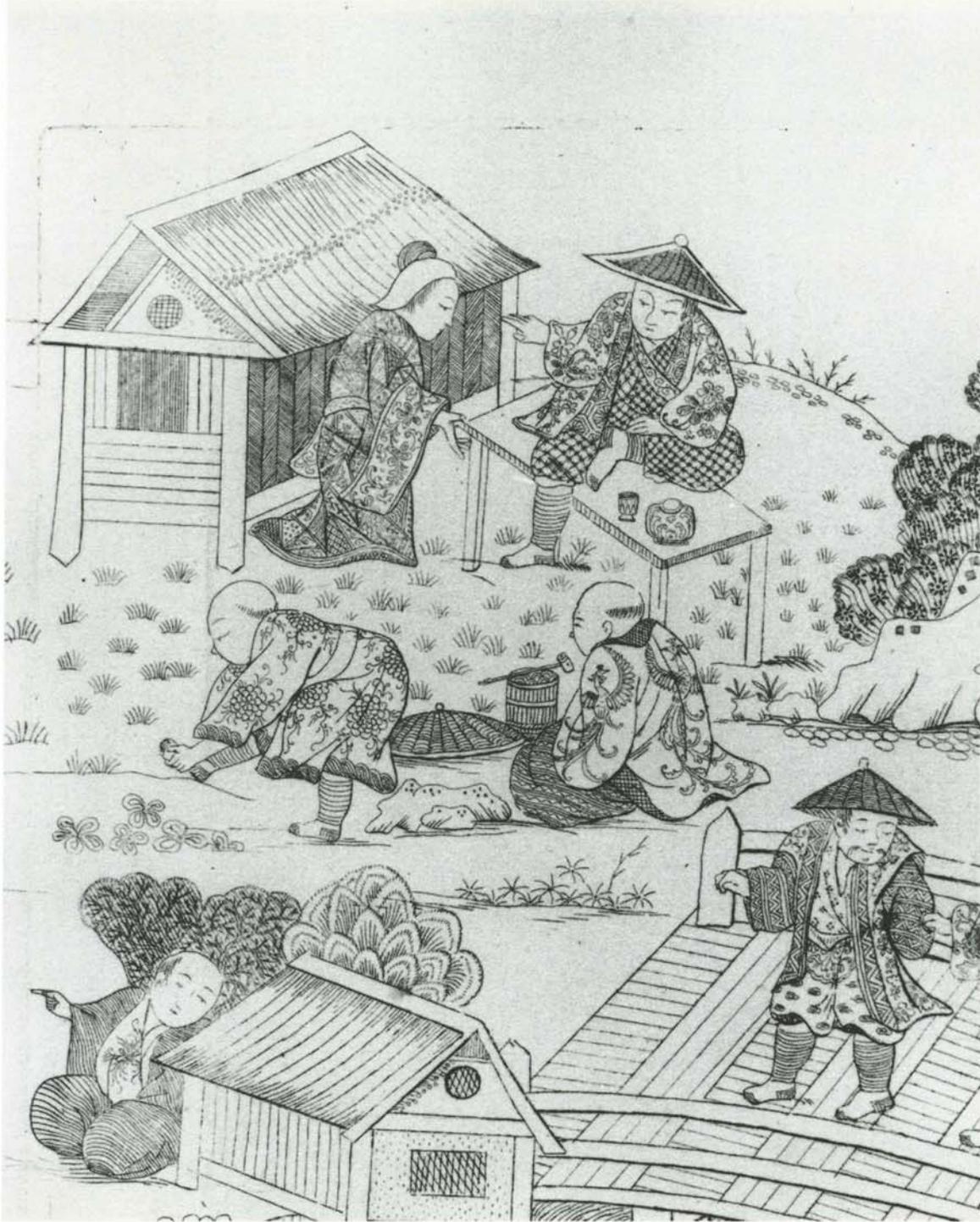
28. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21c, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



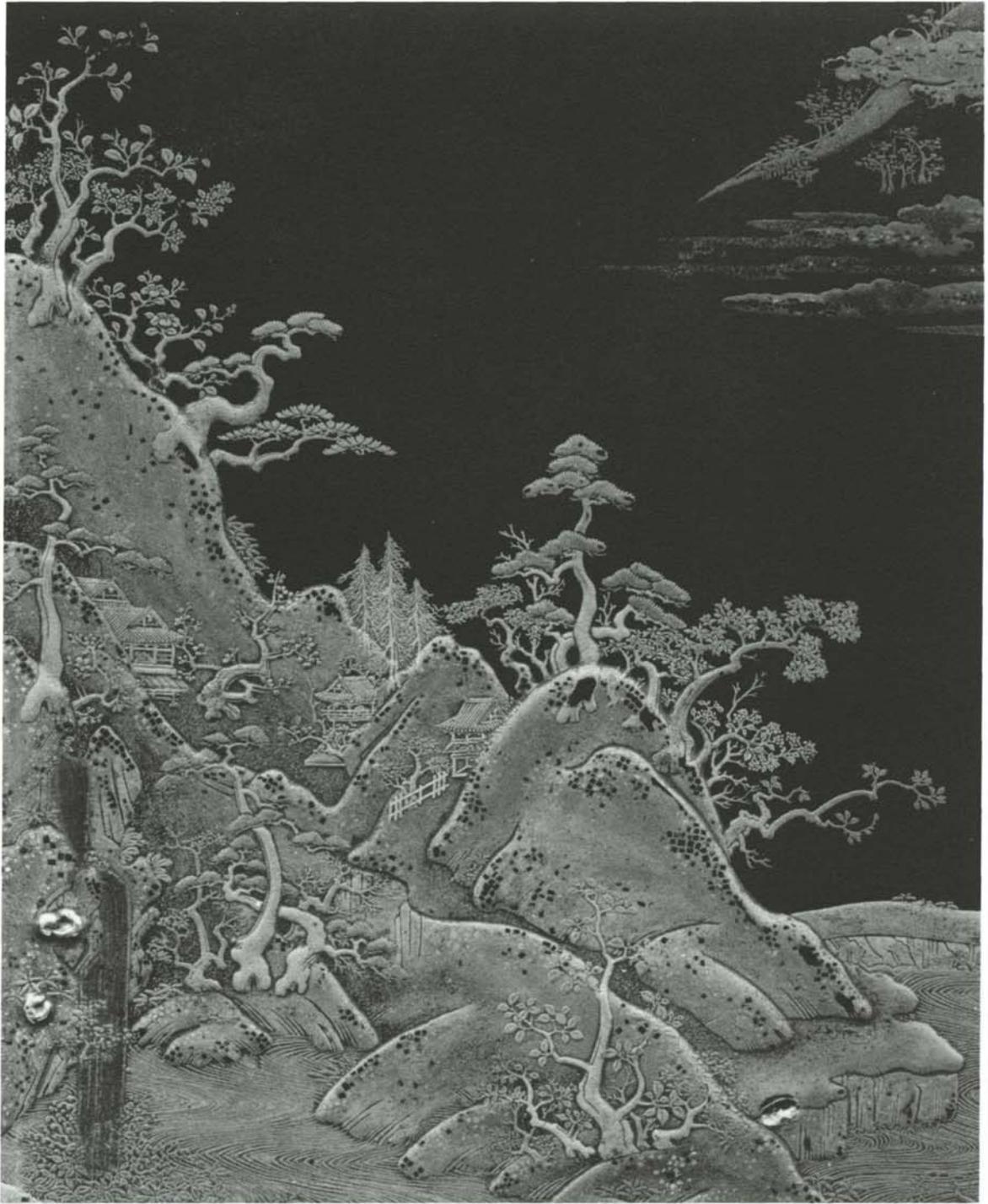
29. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Detail of figure 21C, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



30. Scene from *Yokei tsukuriniwa no zu* (Pictures of Scenic Gardens, 1691). Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



31. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 21b, folio 41 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



32. Detail of box for books. Japanese lacquer, Muromachi period (sixteenth century), gold and silver *maki-e* on black lacquer. From the Florence and Herbert Irving Collection.

mountains are particularly prominent in figure 32 and can be seen to relate to the squares in figures 26 and 29. *Maki-e* is visible throughout the *Livre de desseins chinois*, in the mainly Chinese-style as well as Japanese-style scenes. Fraisse's images expressed taste for the favored Japanese lacquer that undoubtedly was in the collections of the Condés and to which he refers in his dedication.

In Japan the technique of *maki-e* decoration evolved after the Japanese were exposed to Chinese lacquer with sprinkled-gold decoration; *maki-e* became a dominant technique in Japan during the Heian period (794–1185). The Chinese preferred a different style of using gold in decoration, a style that can be seen in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese lacquer for both the domestic and export markets; examples of this style would have been in the Condé collection.<sup>113</sup> Apparently the Yongzheng emperor (1722–1735) favored *maki-e* decoration, but the technique was not widely used in China.<sup>114</sup> Fraisse's reference to *maki-e* most likely derived from Japanese, not Chinese, examples. By 1735 similarly decorated rocks were already in the Western decorative-arts vocabulary. A rock in an etching published by Peter Schenk Jr. in the early 1720s has corresponding decoration.<sup>115</sup> Late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century English imitation-lacquer decoration ("japaning") exhibits small square shapes decorating rocks.<sup>116</sup> Predictably, the decoration appears on polychrome Saint-Cloud and Chantilly porcelain.<sup>117</sup>

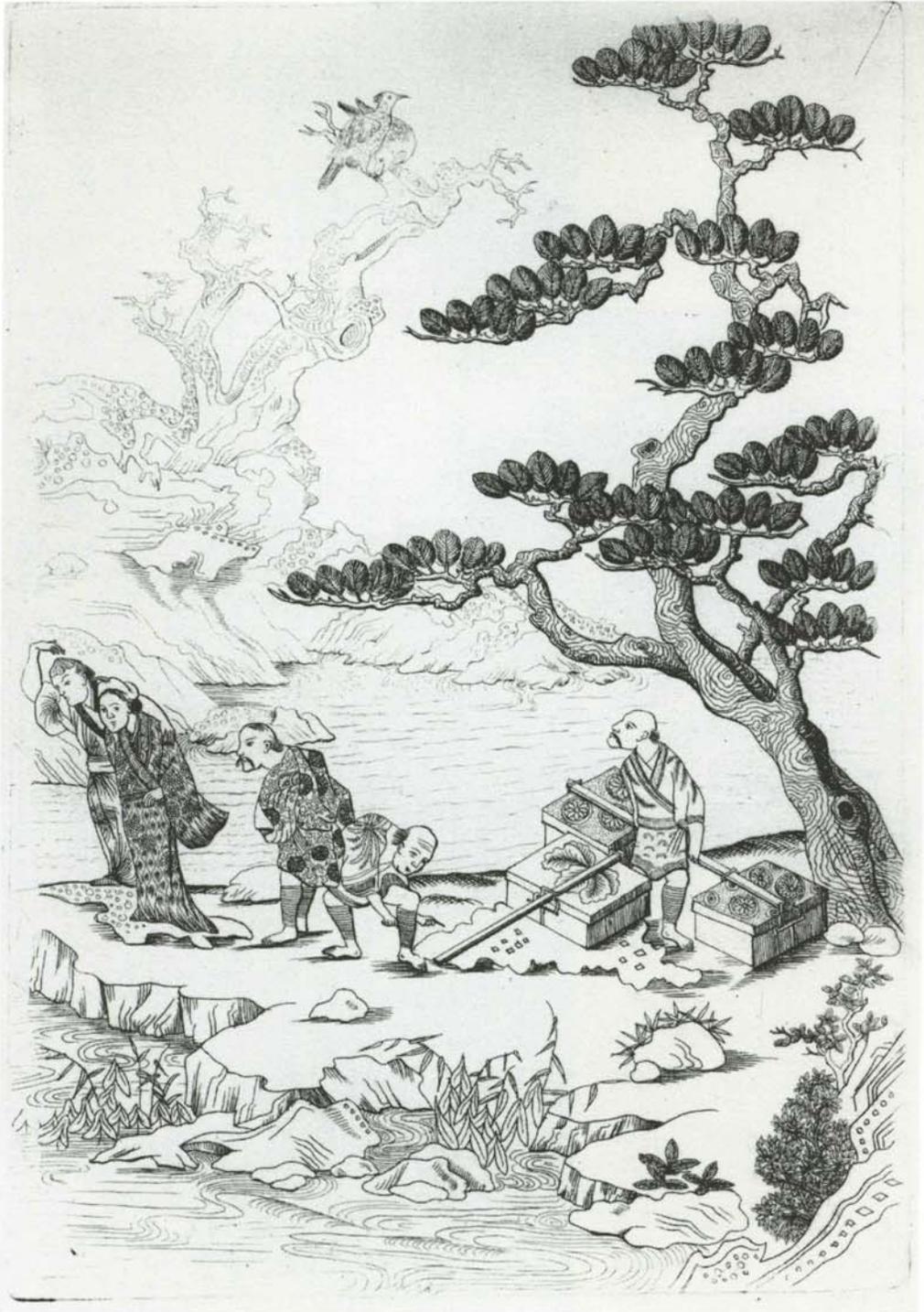
Figure 33, a single etching, is another composite of elements representative of a seventeenth-century Japanese painting vocabulary. The etching is in nine of the albums with the 1735 title page and was reproduced by Mondhare. In its construction of space and of shortened foreground and background, Fraisse's etching evokes another Japanese interpretation of a Chinese painting style. The birds are rendered in a Western style, but the dead tree in the background evokes the single large tree, sometimes bare, growing from rocks at the water's edge, often with a single bird or a pair of birds on a high branch, seen in seventeenth-century Japanese paintings that draw from Chinese imagery.<sup>118</sup>

Fraisse attempted to convey perspective. The living pine tree, full of foliage but leaning back because of the clean cut at the base, best illustrates his awkwardness. Whether or not part of the pine tree is rooted is not clear. The darkness of reinforced etched lines in the foreground of

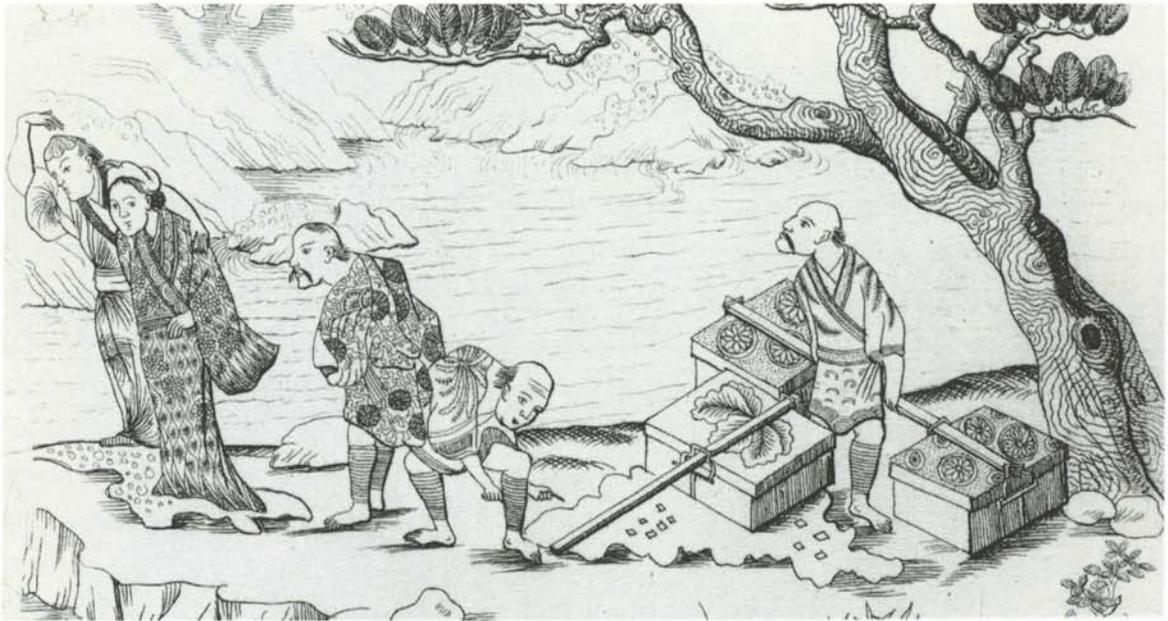
figure 33 contrasts with the lighter lines of the background, probably to distinguish foreground from background. The hand-colored version of figure 33 from the BnF's album reinforces the etched effort with intense coloration in the foreground and pale shades in the background.

The pair of lovers standing at the land's edge in figure 34 resembles a pair in a seventeenth-century Japanese painting (see figure 35). The three male attendants in Fraisse's etching are either members of a daimyo procession, or attendants accompanying travelers in and out of a city.<sup>119</sup> In figure 34 the attendants carry three lacquer chests, one decorated with an incomplete but recognizable rendition of paulownia, the other two with the chrysanthemum crest.<sup>120</sup> Both crests were common decoration on Japanese lacquer. A seventeenth-century hanging scroll illustrates a lacquer chest decorated with the chrysanthemum crest (see figure 36). The dotted surface of two of the chests in figure 34 imitates sprinkled gold, a reference to *maki-e*, which also appears in the squares on the rocks along the lower right corner and on the bizarre flat, seemingly floating, rock or land underneath the crested chest. The floating rock-land resembles pieces of land on which figures stand that decorate a group of Saint-Cloud porcelains.<sup>121</sup> Again, the costume styles and patterns in figure 34 — for example, the peacock-feather pattern on the leftmost figure — probably derive from images of seventeenth-century Japanese costumes. The *kosode* worn by the figure to the right is decorated with Fraisse's rendition of a common vertical curvilinear design for fabric, *tatewaku* (opposing vertical serpentines), seen in screens, prints, and book illustrations.<sup>122</sup>

The robes on figures in Fraisse's prints reflect his knowledge of East Asian fabric. Similarly, the figural scenes themselves are composites reflecting his knowledge of East Asian pictorial material. In both instances he composed from what he saw, and he presented more or less imaginative adaptations of primary East Asian sources. The decoration of robes on a group of Chinese-style Chantilly porcelain figures contemporaneous with the *Livre de desseins chinois*, however, reflects Fraisse's work as a creative fabric designer. Sources for the robe decoration probably originated in Fraisse's workshop at Chantilly. No Japanese-style figures or robes have been recorded in Chantilly porcelain, but composite East Asian characteristics are present in the robe decoration, as they are in



33. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 33 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

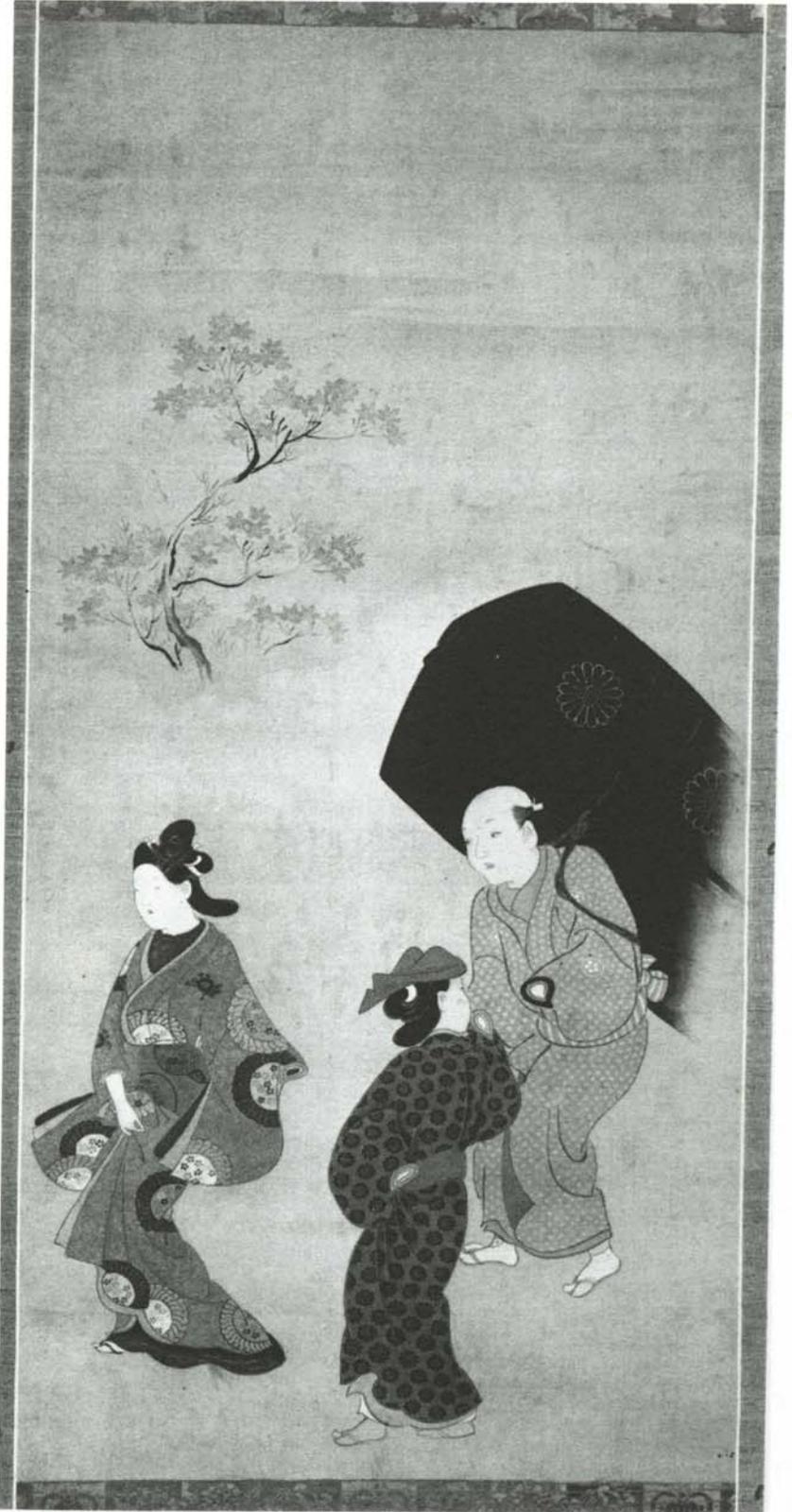


34. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 33, folio 33 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



35. School of Iwasa Matabei. Japanese painting, "Lovers with Attendant" (late-seventeenth century). Color and gold on paper. Courtesy, Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, 1105.014.

36. Hishikawa Moronobu. "Procession of a Courtesan." Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Fenollosa-Weld Collection, 11.4618. Reproduced with permission. ©1999 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved.



Fraisse's scenes. Whereas robes in the prints are more or less faithful to primary sources, the porcelain robes are creative designs originating in a fabric workshop.

#### EROTIC CHINESE COUPLES PRODUCED AT CHANTILLY

The Chantilly porcelain manufactory turned to Chinese sources for a group of figural sculptures contemporary with the *Livre de desseins chinois*.<sup>123</sup> A pair of expertly modeled and painted sculptures was produced at Chantilly, probably between 1735 and 1740 (see figure 37).<sup>124</sup> Figure 37 is unique among extant examples in the quality of its sculpting and painting, the originality of the model and decoration, and the engaging appeal of the male and female.

Fully dressed in Chinese-style costumes, the Chantilly couples are engaged in sexual play. The standing male holds a female close to him while looking pointedly at her, with one arm under her lifted outer robe and around the front of her body. His knee is bent, and his brown shoe is visible from under his white ground robe; she also bends one knee, and her smaller orange-red slipper protrudes from under her pale yellow-ground under robe. Subtle differences exist between the couples. For example, the left arm of the male belonging to the couple on the right holds the female at the waist, his hand visible from the back and side of the sculpture; the front border of her outer robe is hidden because it is pulled up from underneath. She looks straight ahead whereas the female belonging to the couple to the left turns toward her lover, whose right hand is not visible. The stiff posture of the arms and hands of both females could reflect surprise. The faces have doll-like, idealized features.

Significantly, contemporary examples from other French porcelain manufactories of Western couples similarly positioned do not appear to have been recorded. The Chantilly sculptures may represent an ambivalent French attitude toward Asian and other foreigners, in which erotic attributes often characterize the non-French, who thus have a titillating appeal.<sup>125</sup>

Chinese erotic sculptures and scenes were popular in the West. The Chantilly couples relate closely to two published examples of seventeenth-century Chinese erotic sculptures carved in ivory, as well as to



37. Pair of Chinese-style couples. Chantilly manufactory (ca. 1735–1740). Soft-paste porcelain with overglaze enamels. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.950A–951A.

a Kangxi-period *blanc-de-chine* couple.<sup>126</sup> In these three cases, males and females are fully dressed, and the males wear hats. In the ivory examples, the males stand behind the females; both bodies face forward, the arms of the males encircling the females, but around the outer robes. The *blanc-de-chine* female is slightly separated from her lover, turning her head toward him, as does the one Chantilly female. Ming paintings that illustrate an erotic sixteenth-century novel, the *Jin Ping Mei* (The Plum in the Golden Vase), depict the same position of a male and female, both fully dressed, the men in hats, the arms of the male around and under the robes of the female. Comparable Ming and Qing album leaves and prints undoubtedly also existed and were likely to have been in the Condé

collections.<sup>127</sup> A late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century model for figure 37 in Chinese porcelain has not been identified, nor has an example of Chinese porcelain decorated with an erotic scene that illustrates figure 37.<sup>128</sup> Published examples of erotic Chinese porcelain for export from around 1770 are not relevant to figure 37.

The hand that produced figure 37 is undoubtedly responsible for another pair of Chantilly sculptures, consisting of a slender, seated Chinese-style male and an opposing seated female, the figures closely resembling an eighteenth-century ivory model.<sup>129</sup>

The standing Chantilly males wear adaptations of the style of hat worn by scholar-officials, commonly depicted in Chinese book illustrations and seen, for example, on a Ming figure (see figure 38). The small piece of white fabric lying on top of the turquoise hat of one of the males in figure 37 also relates to head coverings seen in Chinese woodcuts. The boldly decorated costumes worn by the four Chantilly figures are tailored in an adaptation of Chinese styles common to soapstone and Kangxi *famille-verte* figures.<sup>130</sup> Robes worn by figures painted on Chinese seventeenth-century polychrome porcelain also relate to the style of the Chantilly figures' robes.

The fantastical decoration of the robes is a mélange of images recreated from East Asian sources and an Indian textile-trade vocabulary. Indian fabric for various markets often ended up elsewhere, bringing new motifs and decorative styles to unintended receivers. The seventeenth-century Dutch and English trading companies joined an existing intra-Asian trade in Indian dye-painted cotton, and contributed to an already complex product.<sup>131</sup> Designs decorating seventeenth-century Indian dye-painted cotton and embroidery evolved from trade and are not indigenous to any single area. As a source for Fraisse's *Livre de desseins chinois*, his fabric workshop, and the decoration of the Chantilly porcelain robes, seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Indian trade fabric presented a hybrid, exotic decorative vocabulary.

The continuous patterns without repeats, illustrated in figure 37, reflect the point of view of an embroiderer or fabric painter rather than a weaver or designer of woven fabric, whose patterns are constrained by technique and must repeat. East Asian-derived motifs are juxtaposed with motifs representative of a European textile vocabulary. Actors in



38. Chinese scholar-official. Porcelain, Ming dynasty (mid-sixteenth century), blue and white. Courtesy of Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt am Main, 10918/PL.6498.

Chinese-style costumes produced at Saint-Cloud in the 1730s and Chinese-style figures from the Villeroy manufactory (beginning in 1737) wear similar robes, perhaps also derived from Fraisse's workshop and the Chantilly porcelain production.<sup>132</sup> Robes from the three manufactories probably represent actual garments produced in Fraisse's workshop, perhaps for Condé as well as for actors participating in the then popular theatrical events with Chinese-style themes. To save time and cost, theatrical costumes were usually painted instead of woven or embroidered, and Fraisse's talents would have been in demand.

The decoration of the robes on the Chantilly figures does not imitate a specific Chinese or Japanese design for decoration of porcelain or fabric. The motif-covered grounds exhibiting unrestrained exuberance are not characteristic of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware. However, the bold disregard for a similar scale of motifs reflects a Japanese approach to the decoration of surfaces. Although the dragon, pomegranate, and several other motifs may typify Chinese decoration, the manner in which the motifs decorate the robes evokes a Japanese adaptation. The roundels, abstract-shaped motifs, bird, dragon, flowers, and pomegranate relate to decoration of Chinese Shonzui ware, Japanese porcelain, *kosode* seen in seventeenth-century *hinagatabon* (textile pattern books) and other illustrated books, and Indian dye-painted cotton for Japan and Indonesia.<sup>133</sup> Some individual elements also relate to those decorating late-seventeenth-century Japanese porcelain figures that were produced for export to the West. The recreated Chinese-, Japanese-, and Indian-trade elements covering the robes of the Chantilly figures evoke the spirit of Fraisse's composites. The inspired decoration of the robes also echoes the emphasis on designs for fabric seen in Fraisse's images.

The chevron-patterned borders of the robes correspond to decorative bands common to sixteenth- through early-eighteenth-century underglaze-blue and polychrome Chinese porcelain. Robes on Kangxi *famille-verte* figures are decorated with corresponding borders.<sup>134</sup> Figures in *Renjing yangqiu* and in various Chinese- and Japanese-style scenes in the *Livre de desseins chinois* wear robes with identical borders. A chevron-patterned border decorates a robe worn by a Chinese-style Delft figure and a figure painted on a polychrome example of Saint-Cloud porcelain.<sup>135</sup> The chevron became part of the decorative vocabulary first at

Saint-Cloud and then at Chantilly, where it appears on robes of Chinese-style figures.<sup>136</sup> Chevron-patterned borders decorate the robe of a French imitation-lacquer Chinese-style figure from about 1740,<sup>137</sup> and clearly became part of the French decorative-arts repertoire. The startling originality of the robes worn by the Chantilly figural sculptures lies only in the central designs. The borders represent a standard Chinese design solution (see figure 37).

First developed by Chinese potters, the colors of the costumes — green, turquoise, aubergine, red, yellow, blue, and brown — appear on both Chinese and Japanese porcelain.<sup>138</sup> The recreation of the colors in the decoration of the French porcelain sculptures achieved a harmonious synthesis that corresponds with Fraisse's coloration in the BnF's album. Because turquoise was not part of the classic Kakiemon-style Hizen-ware palette, its appearance on the Chantilly costumes, and in the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois*, is undoubtedly a reference to Chinese porcelain in the Condé collections. The green ground of the robes worn by the Chantilly females probably also derives from decoration on Chinese porcelain, since figures in green-ground robes are common on seventeenth-century *wucai* ware through Kangxi *famille-verte* ware.<sup>139</sup>

#### EAST ASIAN BOOKS

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals that Fraisse had access to Chinese and Japanese pictorial material at Chantilly. Although Japanese books were not readily available, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Westerners did acquire them. Recent evidence documents the presence of Japanese books in seventeenth-century England, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as in late-eighteenth-century Russia.<sup>140</sup> Most of the Japanese books in seventeenth-century England arrived via the employees of the English factory in Hirado prior to its closing in 1623. Those working for the VOC also purchased books. Kaempfer owned not just the encyclopedia *Kinmō zui*, but librettos of No plays, illustrated travel guides and accounts of military campaigns, an illustrated Joruri tale, and selections from the *Ise monogatari* (*Ise monogatari sho*) with illustrations by Moronobu.<sup>141</sup> Nicholas Witsen (1641–1717), who served as mayor of Amsterdam, owned Japanese books, drawings, maps, and an illustrated scroll. A 1738

inventory from the important collection in the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden lists in addition to the Japanese books owned by Andreas Müller (1630–1694), librarian to the great elector of Brandenburg, Japanese pictorial material along with Chinese.<sup>142</sup>

Little is known about early collections of Japanese books in French libraries. Fraisse's images are, however, concrete evidence that Japanese books and other pictorial material were in France before the 1730s.<sup>143</sup> One of the obstacles to research is that Japanese books were often included in catalogues of Chinese books. It is puzzling, for example, that we have records of the Jesuit missionaries' Chinese books but little evidence of their Japanese books.

From about 1603 to 1700 secular illustrated book publication in Japan increased sharply, especially during the last third of the seventeenth century and continuing into the eighteenth. During the early-seventeenth century, Kyoto emerged as the commercial book publishing center and remained so throughout the century. By the mid-seventeenth century the increased availability of books resulted in the publication of book catalogues.<sup>144</sup> Although 1671 is the earliest known date of a publication in Osaka,<sup>145</sup> Kyoto and especially Osaka were the commercial centers in late-seventeenth-century Japan where published material was both in demand and available for purchase. The tastes and interests of the growing, newly powerful and literate merchant class, who became the major patrons of the arts, drove the expansion of book production.<sup>146</sup>

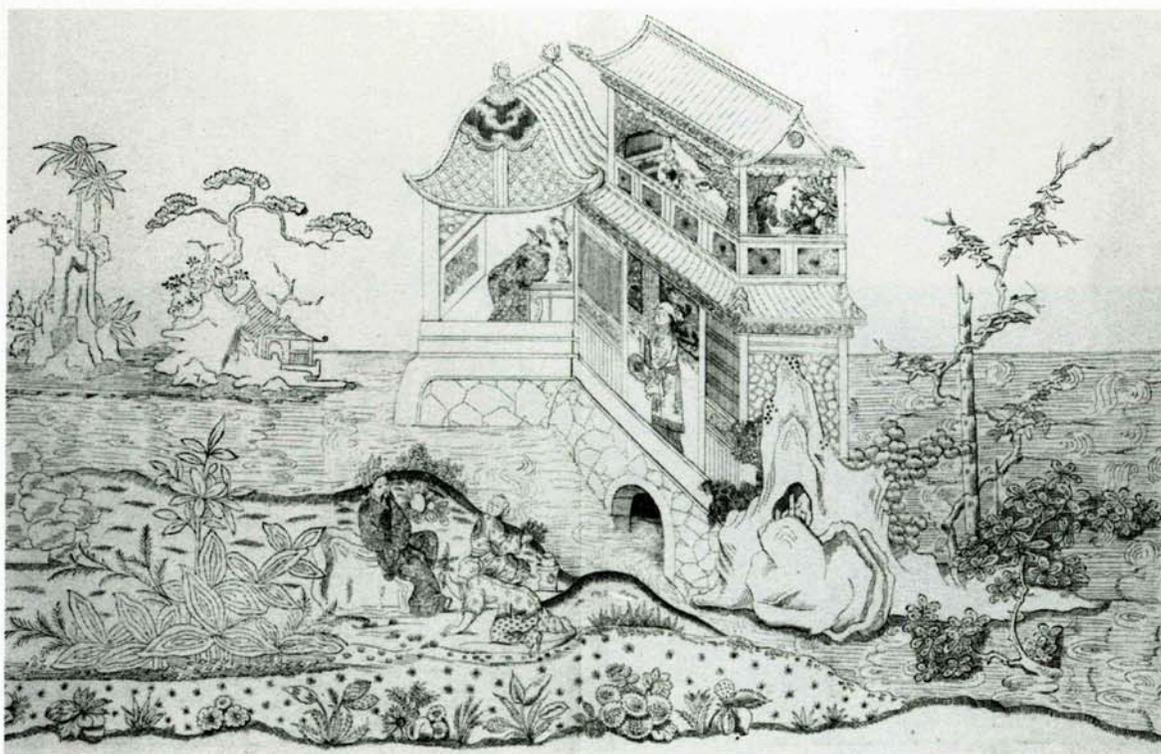
The *Livre de desseins chinois* also represents a sampling of the types of Chinese illustrated books that were available in the seventeenth century. Fraisse's figural scenes, landscapes, and basket-with-flowers images are adapted from late-Ming woodcuts as well as from East Asian porcelain and lacquer. Pictorial records of events may also have been available to him; these were not widely circulated in China, but the Jesuits would have had access to them.<sup>147</sup> In late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century China, book production increased as publishers of secular illustrated books responded to an unprecedented demand for such material by the Chinese. Publication and circulation of these books continued throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Illustrated encyclopedias and manuals for the decorative arts, such as manuals for painting and ink-cake designs, continued to be particularly popular.

Chinese manuals were basically of two types: those that were meant to be studied and copied as catalogues of existing paintings and decorated objects, and those providing different views of individual elements to be studied and copied.<sup>148</sup> Subjects of illustrations in encyclopedias, novels, and plays were also subjects for decoration. Scenes from woodblock-printed dramas relate to decoration on Yüan (1280–1368) porcelain, for example.<sup>149</sup> Images in manuals and other illustrated secular material relate to those decorating porcelain, fabric, and lacquer.<sup>150</sup> Books were in great demand in seventeenth-century China and consequently frequently reprinted. All categories of Chinese books were exported to Japan, where many were either replicated and reprinted or adapted and reprinted. The Japanese *Hasshu gafu*, facsimile woodcuts of Chinese poems and images (originally issued around 1620–1621 in China and first published collectively in 1672 in Japan), became a decorative source for Japanese paintings and porcelain.<sup>151</sup> Decoration for Kakiemon-style Hizen ware was generally derived from images in Chinese manuals.

The continued publication and availability of Chinese secular illustrated books during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries coincided with the growth of the major collection of Chinese books acquired by Jesuit missionaries for the Bibliothèque du roi. The holdings of seventeenth-century Chinese books by the BnF, many of which entered France well before 1730, reflect the diversity of subject matter then being published in China.<sup>152</sup> While Jesuits were acquiring Chinese books for Louis XIV, French private libraries were undoubtedly being filled with foreign manuscripts from China and elsewhere.<sup>153</sup> By 1730, the library at Chantilly could well have contained a varied and sizable collection of Chinese books accumulated by the Condés.<sup>154</sup>

#### WOODCUTS: TWO EARLY PLATES

Two of Fraisse's expanded images from the same etching, figure 39 from the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois* and figure 40 from the BnF's, are composites derived from Chinese sources. Both images were constructed around an etching on a single sheet, reproduced in figure 41 from Lottin's album. Only the etching appears in six other albums with the 1735 title page, and it was not reproduced by Mondhare. The



39. Jean-Antoine Fraisse. Folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

expanded images (figures 39 and 40) fill two folio sheets in each album. Figure 39 contains four woodcuts and hand-drawn additions in ink. From where the etching ends on the right, the remaining scene is in ink with a small woodcut of a plant added below the hand-drawn bamboo. The broken stalk of bamboo encircled by a vine (see figure 42) closely resembles an image from the Chinese encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui*, first published around 1610 (see figure 43). The scene to the left of the etching includes three small woodcuts connected with hand-drawn additions in ink. In figure 39 the large-scale leafy plant on the lower left and the two islands on the upper left (see the detail in figure 44) are woodcuts. The geography section of *Sancai tuhui* contains various images — with and without buildings — of rock islands with trees growing from them. However, Fraisse's woodcut to the right in figure 44 relates closely to a Japanese image, a pine tree growing from a rock in the Japanese

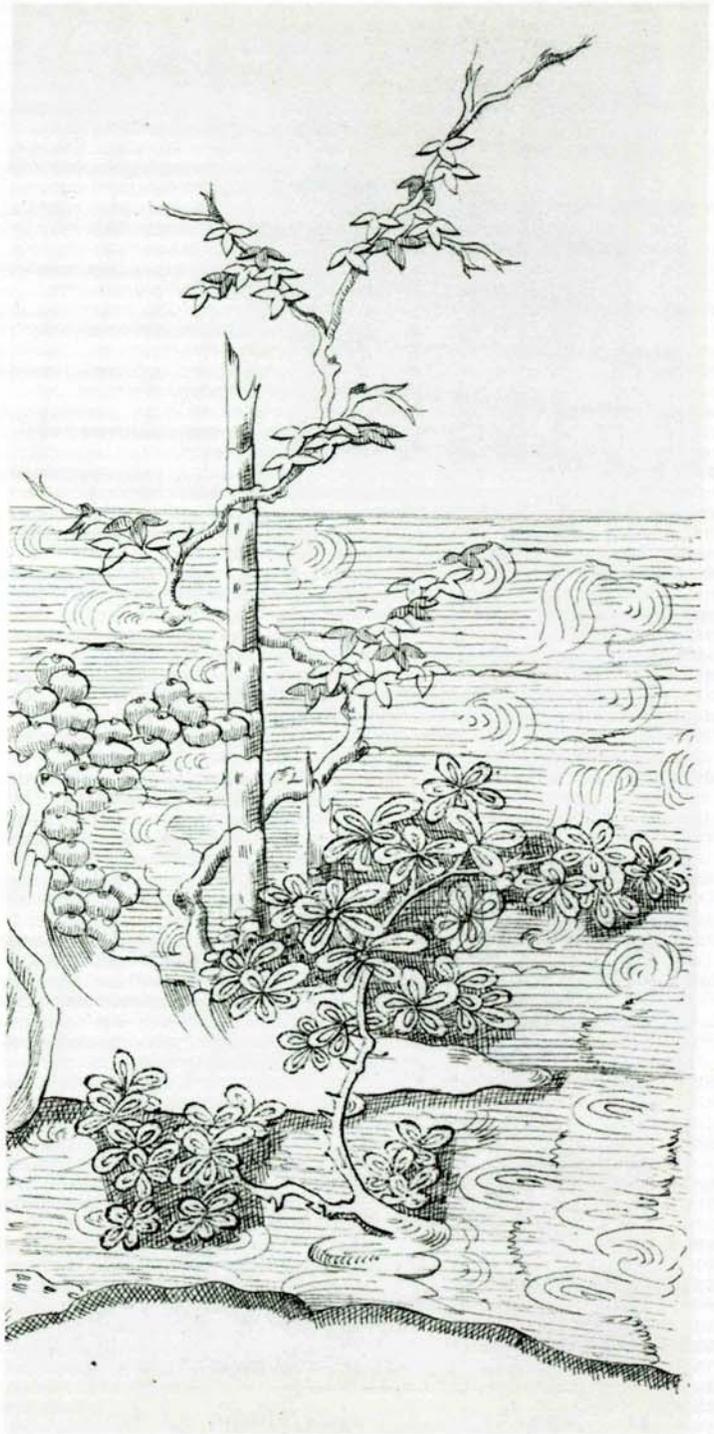


40. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 43 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Colored etching with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. V. 86.

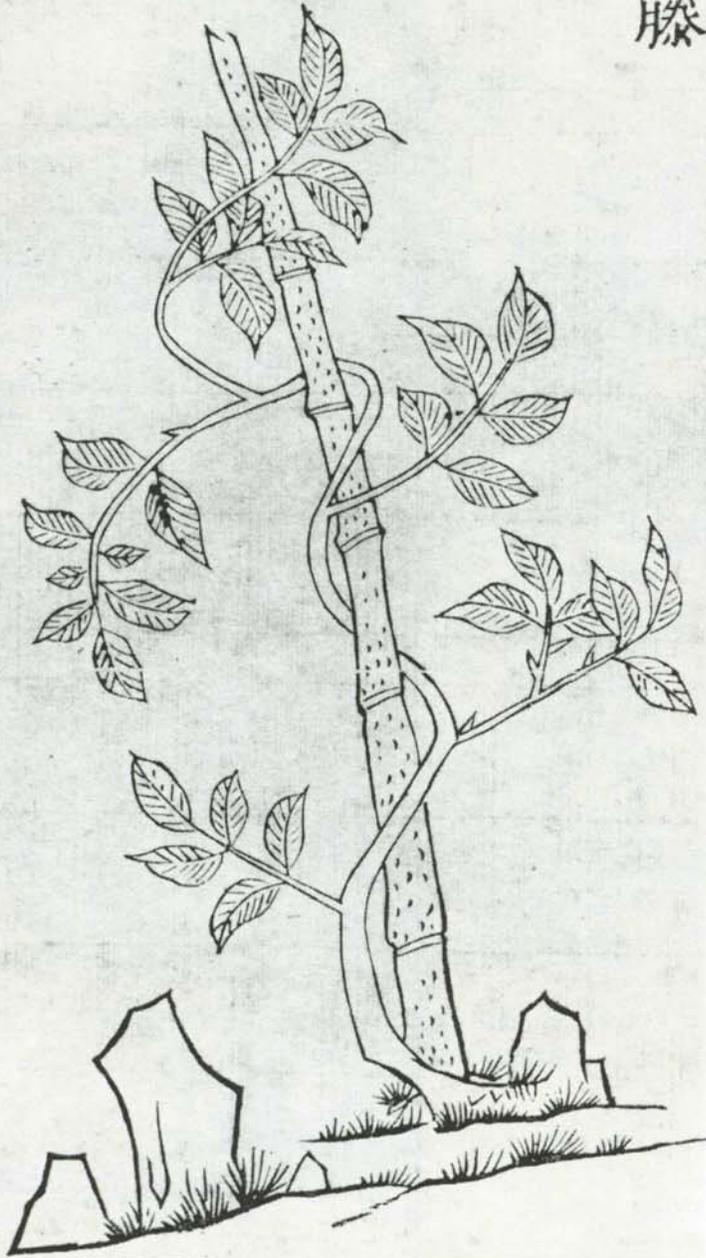


41. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 53 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Oe. 147.

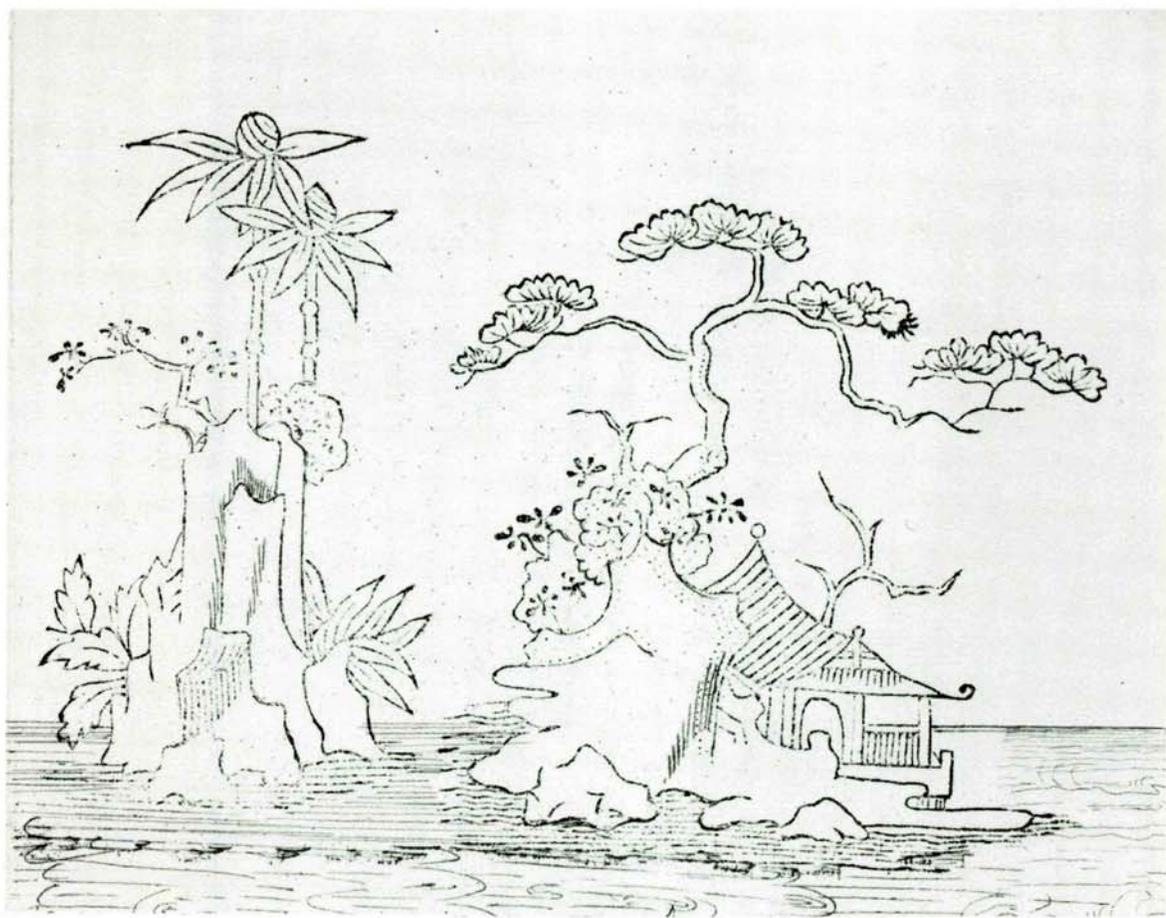
42. Jean-Antoine Fraisse.  
Detail of figure 39, folio 62  
from *Livre de desseins chinois*.  
Hand-drawn image and  
woodcut. Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, Harris  
Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940  
(40.38).



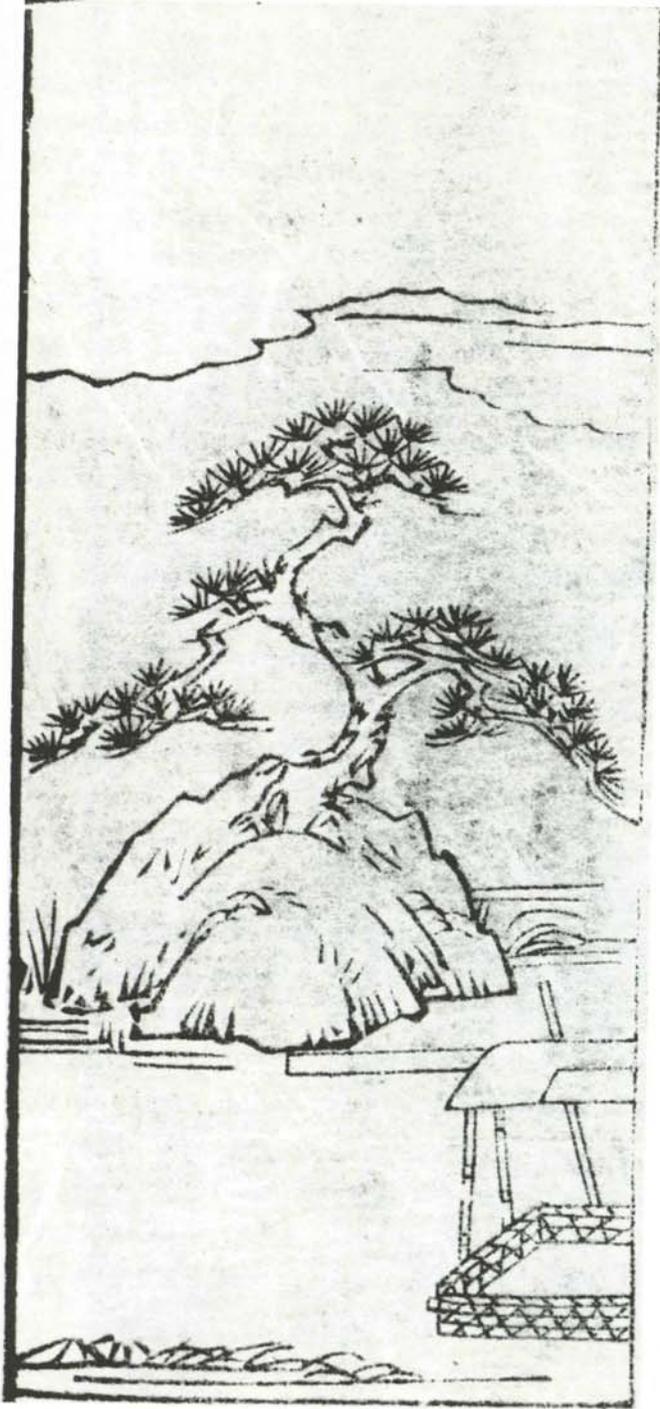
石南藤



43. Plate from *Sancai tuhui*. Woodcut. New York, Columbia University.



44. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcuts. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



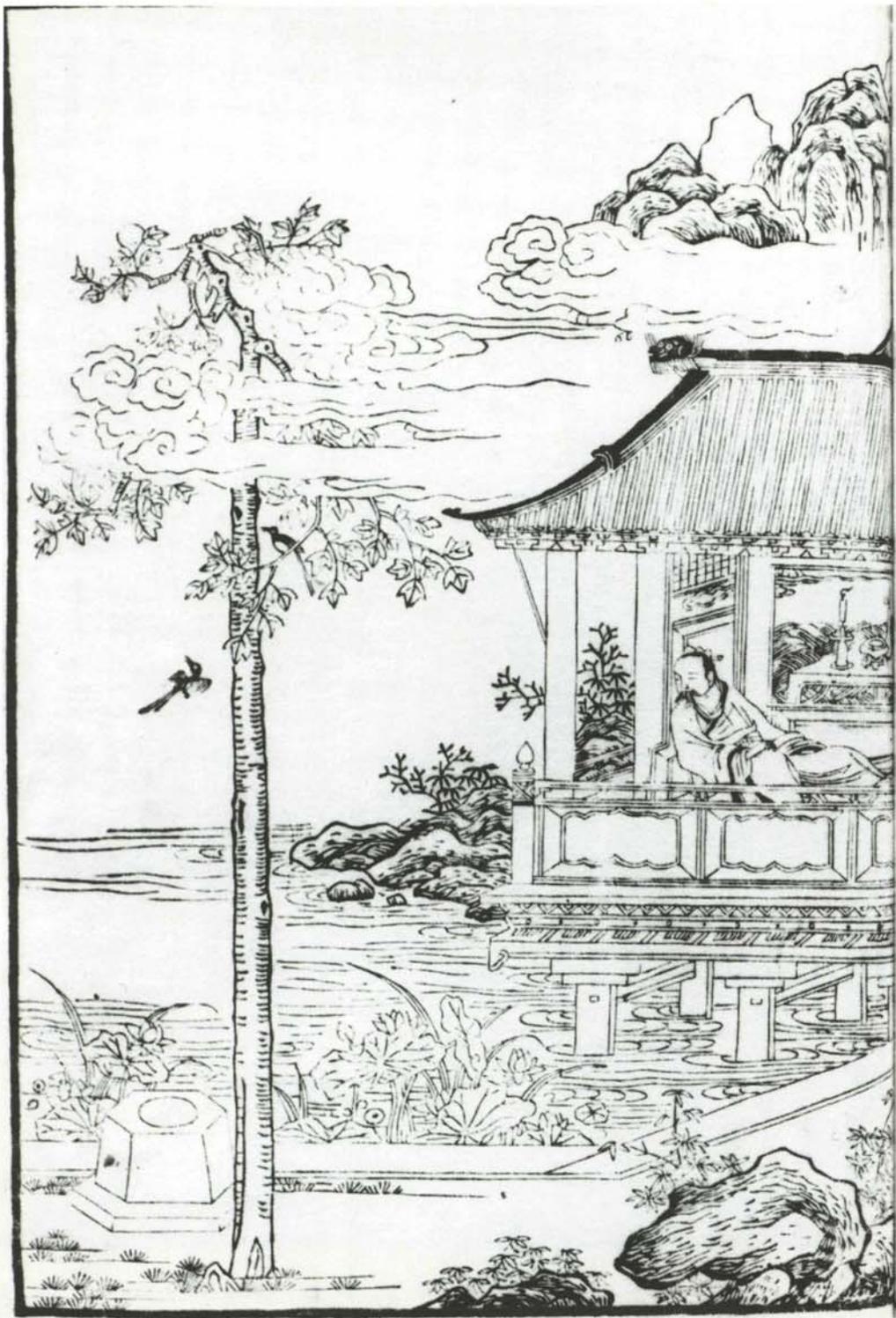
45. Plate from *Wa-Kan sansai zue*. Woodcut. New York, Columbia University.

adaptation of *Sancai tuhui*, *Wa-Kan sansai zue*, first published in the late-seventeenth century (see figure 45).<sup>155</sup>

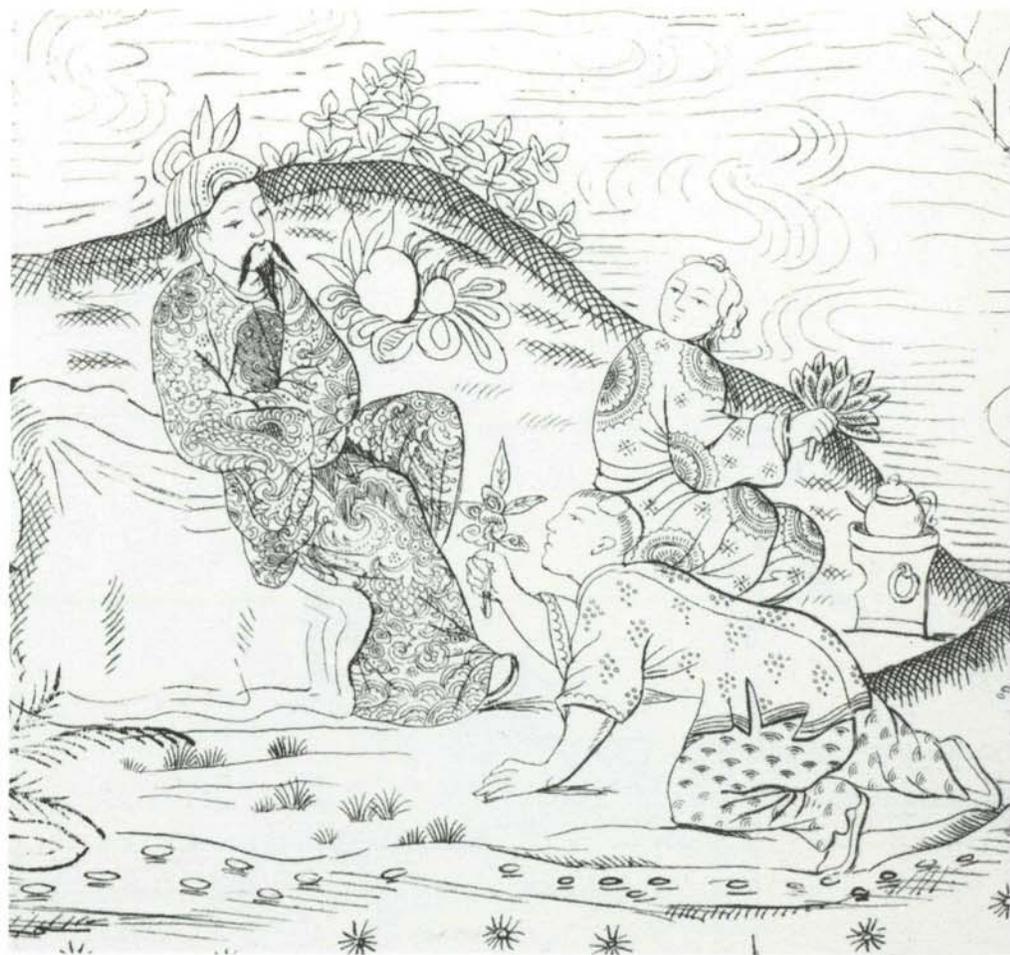
Figure 40 includes five woodcuts. That of a boat with figures replaces the hand-drawn bamboo to the right of the etching in figure 39, and a different woodcut of a plant appears below the boat. To the left of the etching in figure 40 only the woodcut of the rock-pine-tree-house appears, and the pine tree is extended by hand. Painted Chinese-style clouds fill the space between the woodcut and the building, resembling an image from *Hasshu gafu* (see figure 46), in which the clouds are immediately to the left of the building with the seated figure in the window. The two leaning, partially reclining figures in Fraise's image (one seated on the rock in the foreground, the other in the house) relate to the Chinese seated figure in figure 46. A woodcut of a figure standing rigidly, holding a basket of flowers, and another woodcut of a plant are to the left of the seated etched figure. The crouching figure fanning the teakettle in figure 47 relates to various commonly depicted figures in Chinese illustrated books (see, for example, figure 48).

The boat-rock-tree to the right of the building in figure 40 is also in Fraise's woodcut boating-party scene from the Metropolitan's *Livre de desseins chinois* (see figure 49). That the woodcut of the boat was used in two different compositions that are in the BnF's and Metropolitan's albums suggests that plates for the two albums were completed and assembled in the same workshop at approximately the same time. Figure 49 consists of three woodcuts arranged in a triangle. Hand-drawn water and landscape in ink with pencil underdrawing connect the woodcuts and unify the composition. As the scene was expanded, the curved printed line of the boat on the lower right was turned into a line of the extended hand-drawn rock. The three woodcuts and the final composition reflect knowledge of various boating-party images common to late-Ming book illustrations. For example, the illustration from *Hasshu gafu* (see figure 50) may have been a source for figure 49.

The boat-rock-tree woodcut to the upper left in figure 49 includes the pine tree and most of the rock, with a reference to *maki-e*. An additional rock and branch extending to the right are hand drawn in ink with pencil underdrawing. Only the woodcut appears in figure 40. The woodcut of the woman walking and carrying the basket and a closed



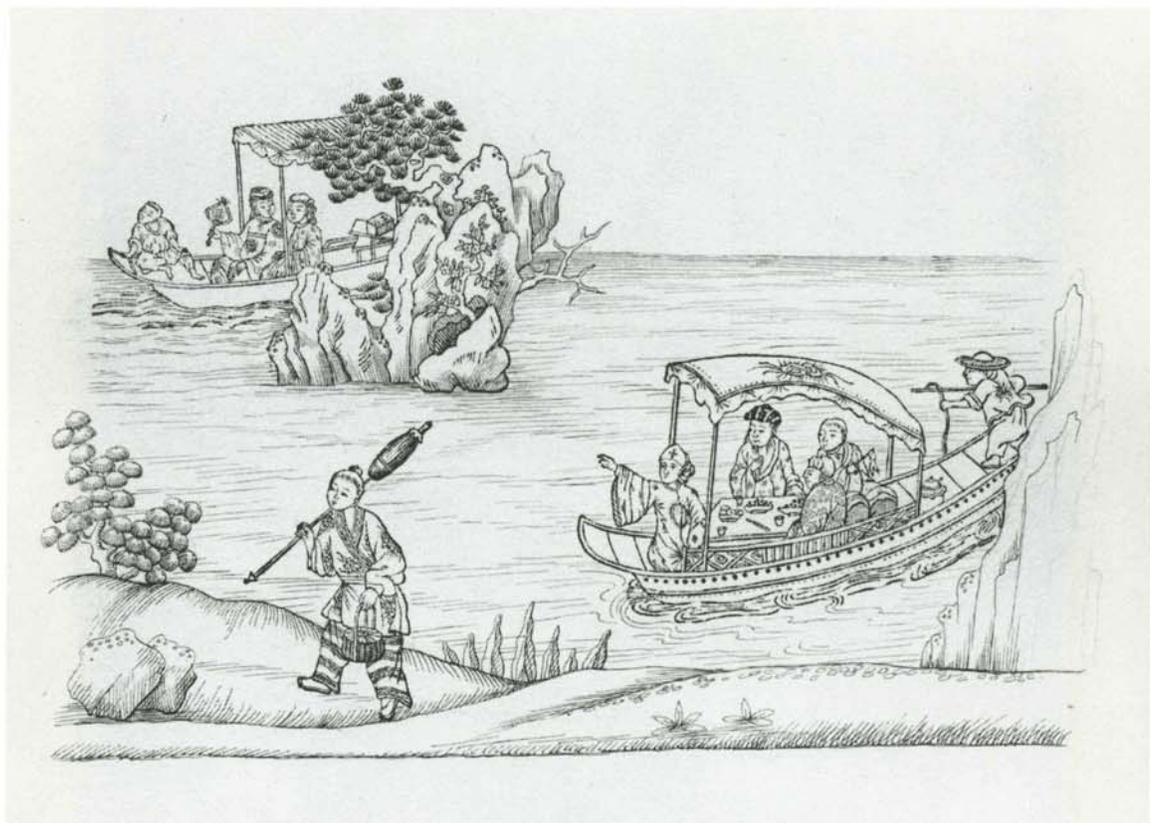
46. Plate from *Hasshu gafu*, vol. 5. Woodcut. Private collection, U.S.A.



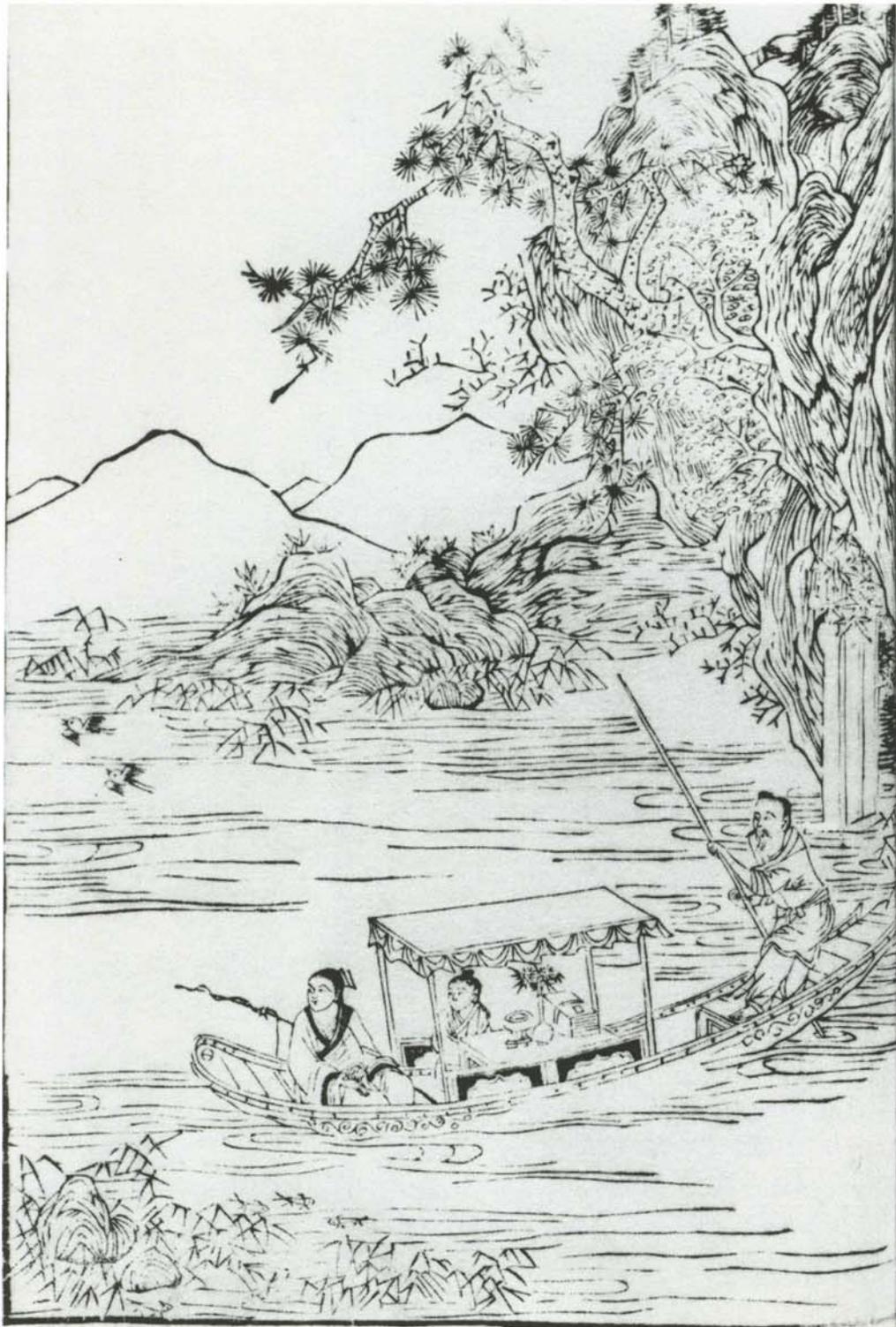
47. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



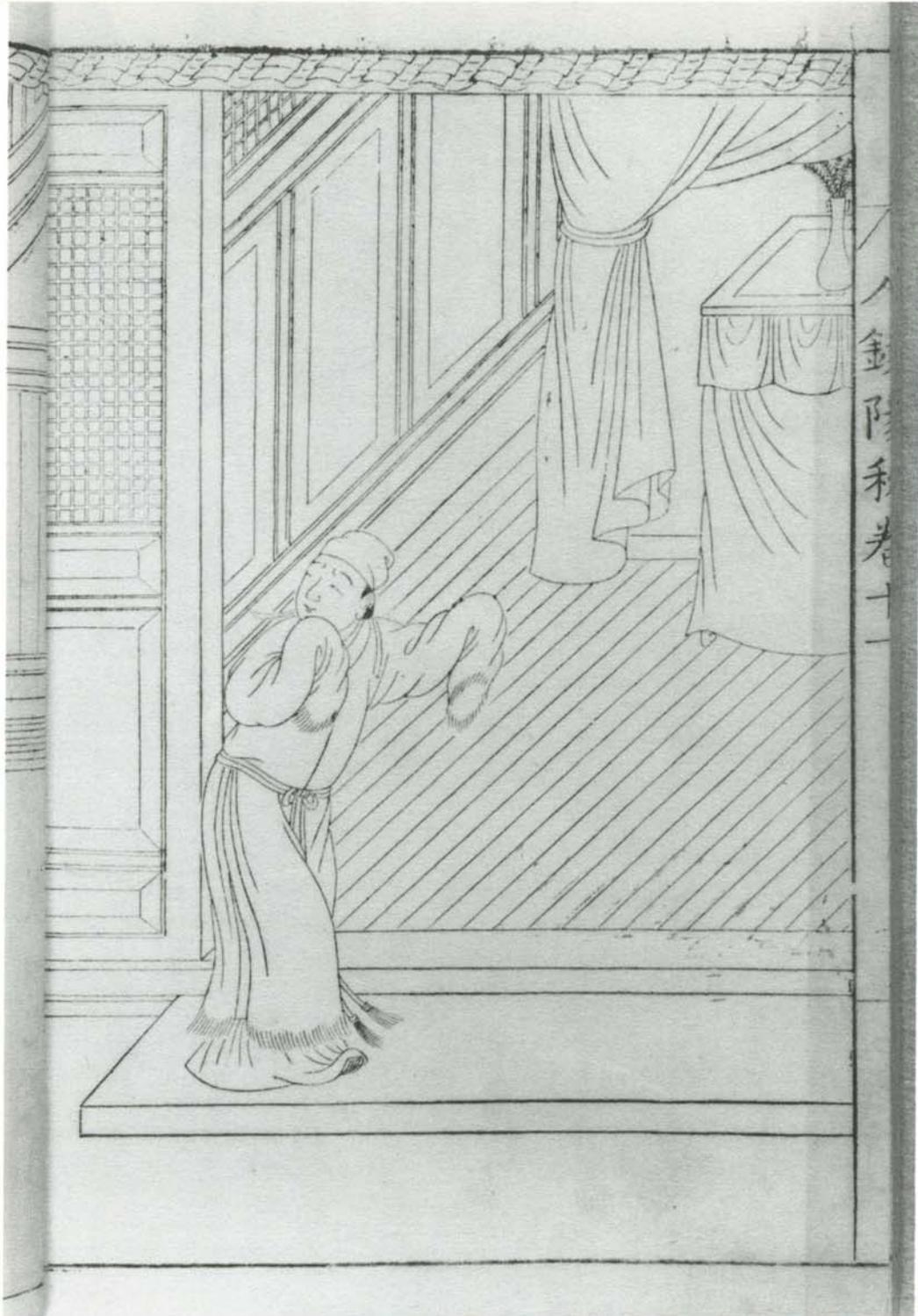
48. Wang Tingna. Scene 44 from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 6. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



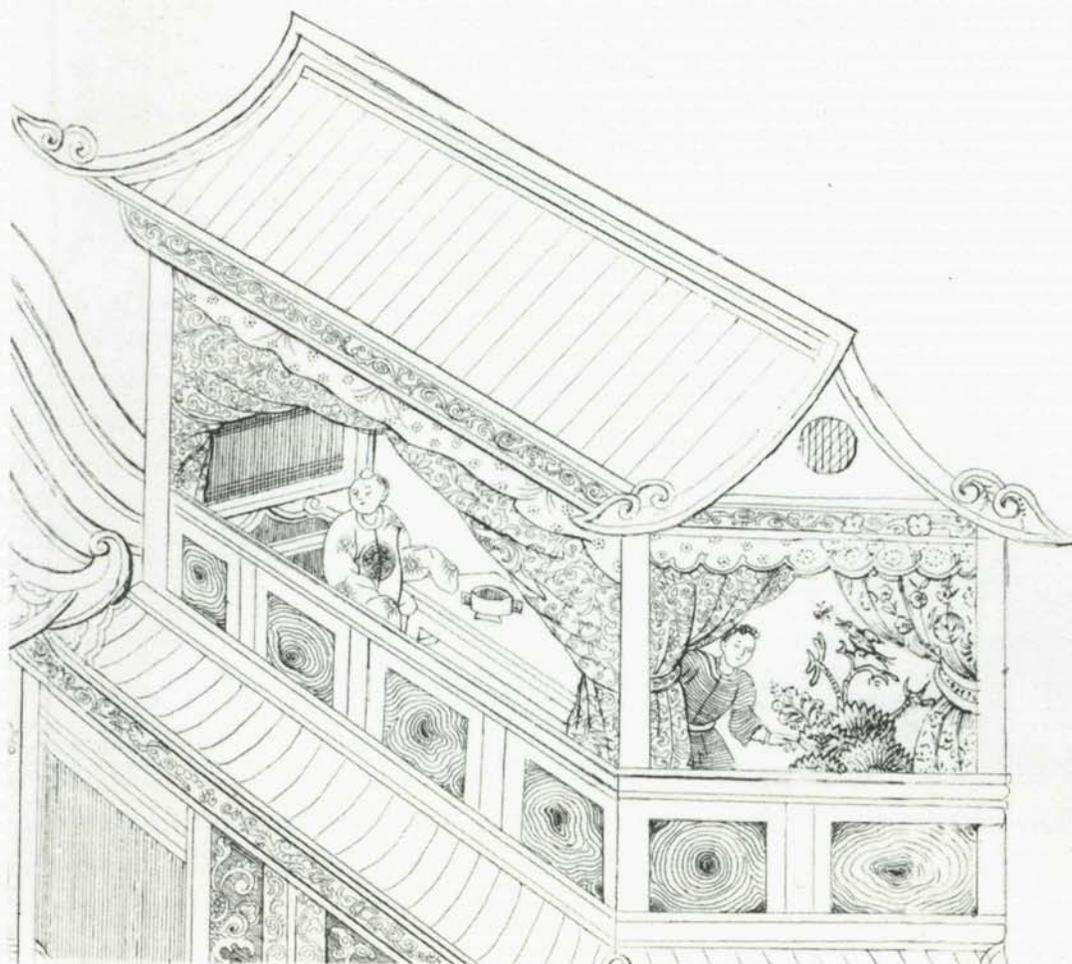
49. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 8 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Woodcuts with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



50. Plate from *Hasshu gafu*, vol. 9. Woodcut. Private collection, U.S.A.



51. Wang Tingna. Scene 38 from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 6. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



52. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Detail of figure 39, folio 62 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching with hand-drawn additions. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

parasol in figure 49 and the woman standing and holding the basket in figure 40 represent variants of a common image in Chinese book illustrations. Like the eight woodcut plates in the Metropolitan's album, the group of small woodcuts with poor impressions in the Metropolitan's and BnF's albums was undoubtedly printed from woodblocks used in Fraise's workshop for printing on fabric.

The image of part of a window with a single curtain in the plate from Lottin's album (figure 41) appears on Chinese porcelain and in many Chinese woodcuts (see, for example, figure 51). Once printed, the

window was completed by hand, as in figure 52, but carelessly; the hand-drawn pattern of the curtain to the right does not match the etched pattern. In contrast, the hand-drawn and etched curtain patterns are identical in the BnF's album (figure 40). Also, the hand-drawn urn in the center of the window is more appropriate and better proportioned than the ludicrous overscaled foliage of figure 52, with a bird on a branch, beak open, about to snatch what looks like a bee or a butterfly. Like Lottin's, the Bibliothèque du musée Condé's *Livre de desseins chinois* contains the etching only but with a hand-drawn addition to the window section that creates a Western three-dimensional room in disregard of the Chinese source. In the third hand-colored album the etching contains no additions.

#### CHINESE CHILDREN

Chinese woodcuts as well as decorative-art objects may have been sources for figure 53, Fraise's composite of Chinese children at play. The etching is not in the BnF's hand-colored album, but it is in seven other albums with the 1735 title page as well as in Mondhare's publication. The children in Fraise's etching are grouped in space with the suggestion of a landscape setting. The subject of Chinese children at play was particularly popular for decoration on Ming blue-and-white and overglaze enamel porcelain.<sup>156</sup> Examples are also found on Chinese porcelain made for the Japanese market, some of which reached the West.<sup>157</sup> Elements related to the composition of figure 53 can be seen on large pieces of porcelain where the entire field is allocated to Chinese children at play.<sup>158</sup>

Fraise illustrated typical Chinese conventions: the child standing in the upper left corner dressed as an adult, the two riding a hobby-horse stick in the upper right corner, the two playing small drums on the lower right, and the running motion and position of arms held up in the air with one knee raised. Some of these conventions are illustrated in figure 54 from the manual for ink-cake designs *Fangshi mopu*, first published in 1588.<sup>159</sup> The particular activities and games seen in figure 53 also appear on lacquer, color-printed New Year's greetings, and other popular prints.<sup>160</sup>

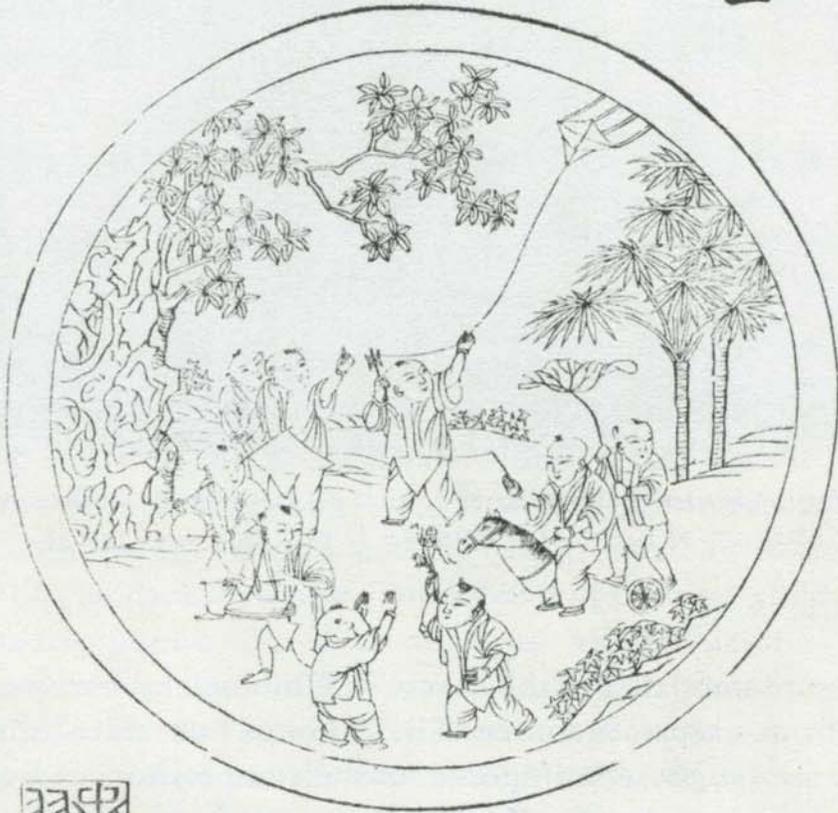


53. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 27 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).

A figure unrelated to the theme of Chinese children was probably borrowed from a separate source. The “God of Literature” illustrated in figure 53 is seemingly superimposed on the composition, as it was on the title page of Chinese books. One foot appears about to kick the face of the figure on the right; the other foot is placed at the head of the figure below. The random placement of the “God of Literature” may have been suggested to Fraise by Chinese books in which the image is stamped on the title page without regard to what is already on the page.<sup>161</sup>

Chinese children were a popular theme in Japanese decorative arts. Fraise’s etching of children playing in a landscape setting may derive from Japanese representations of Chinese images (see figure 55).<sup>162</sup> Figure 55 is in the nine examined albums with the 1735 title page and was reproduced by Mondhare. Figure 56 from the Momoyama period (1568–1615) is an early example of Chinese children in a Japanese painting. The

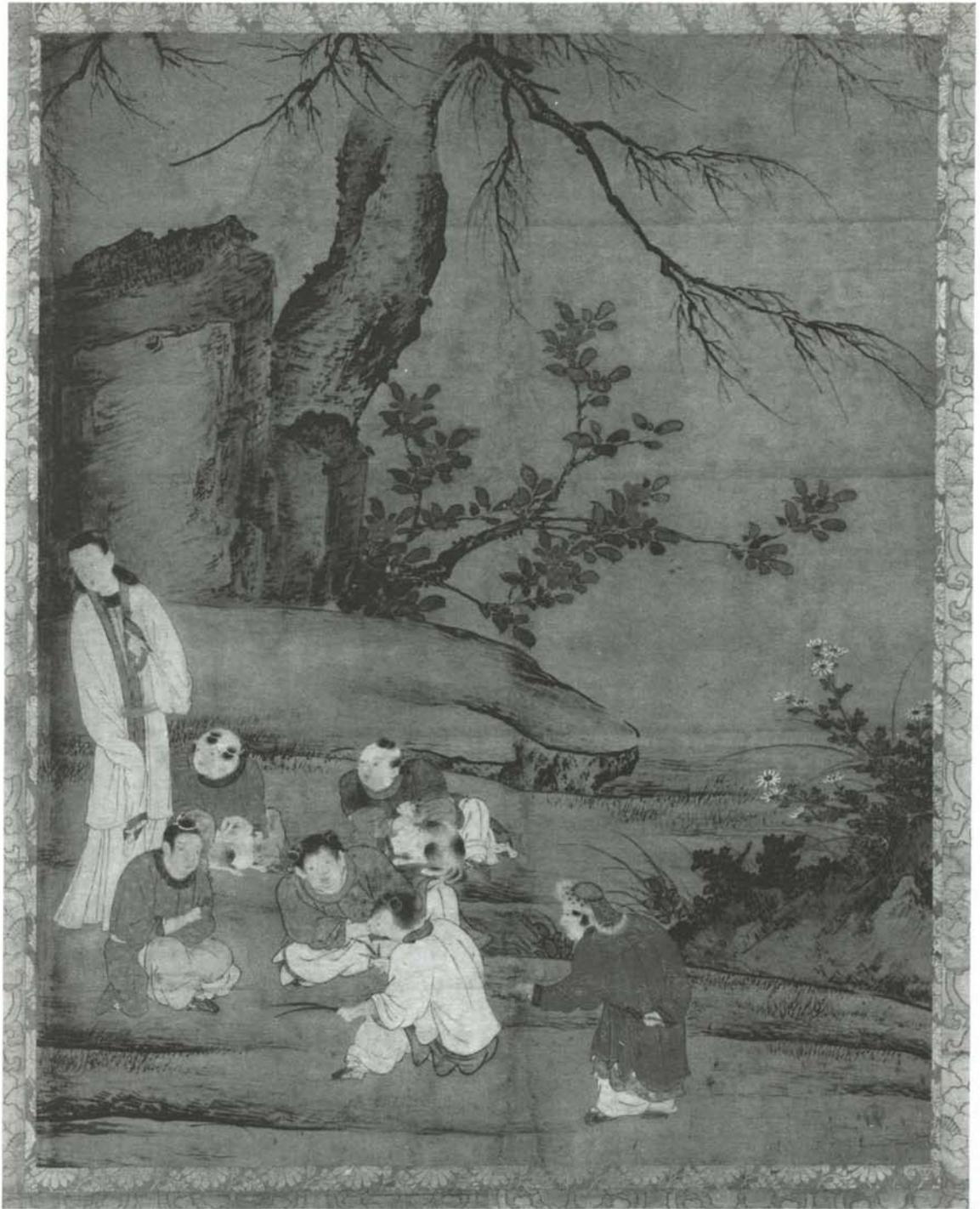
九子墨



54. Fang Yulu. Ink tablet, "The Nine Sons," from *Fangshih mopu*, Ming edition (ca. 1588). Woodcut. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1930 (30.76.200).



55. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 58 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



56. "Chinese Beauties and Children." One of a pair of panels (seventeenth century), formerly attributed to Kano Eitoku (1543-1590). Ink, color, and gold on paper. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 17.683.

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two children sitting on the ground in the upper right corner of Fraisse's etching may have been inspired by a Chinese image or by one similar to that in figure 56. The fur hat worn by the child dressed as an adult in the lower right section of the painting relates in shape to Fraisse's creations worn by four children in figure 55. The variety of costumes and the sash on the child in figure 55 relate to those seen in other Japanese renditions of Chinese children.<sup>163</sup> Given that Japanese pictorial material was present at Chantilly, the possibility exists that Fraisse's sources for figure 55 were Japanese. Unraveling the sources for Fraisse's two etchings exposes the complexity inherent in exploring manifestations of the attraction that Chinese culture held for the Japanese.

#### FRAISSE AND THE PORCELAIN TRADE

Trade between Japan and foreigners continued during the official period of closure, or *sakoku* (chained country), which began with the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639 and was followed by the forced transfer of the Dutch trading post from Hirado to Deshima in 1641.<sup>164</sup> Japan's interaction with foreigners is an extremely complex topic. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Japanese were attracted to foreigners and foreign things and wanted to collect books, fabrics, decorative objects, gunpowder, and firearms; learn about Western cartography and science; and trade.<sup>165</sup> The Genroku period (1688–1704) represented a peak of aesthetic accomplishment in Japan. The merchant class was dominant, and the motivation to profit from trade was shared by East and West. Nagasaki was a pivotal center of trade at this time. A character in *The Uprooted Pine*, written in 1718 by the prominent playwright for puppet theater Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1725), pointedly distinguishes between the values of the samurai and those of the then powerful merchants: "A samurai seeks a fair name in disregard of profit, but a merchant, with no thought to his reputation, gathers profits and amasses a fortune."<sup>166</sup>

After his return to England in 1614, Captain John Saris, sent to Japan by the English East India Company in 1612, was formally criticized for having profited too much from private trading.<sup>167</sup> The shogun presented gifts selectively to Jesuits, ambassadors, and emissaries. In 1584

four Japanese emissaries presented screens to King Philip II in Madrid, and in 1585 they offered two screens to Pope Gregory XIII.<sup>168</sup> While in Kyoto on October 19, 1613, “the greatest Citie of Japan, consisting most upon merchandizing,”<sup>169</sup> Saris received “ten Beobs,” or screens, from Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) to give to King James I on his return to England in 1614.<sup>170</sup> Saris writes of buying “Eight Beobs” for the company on September 21, 1613.<sup>171</sup> Transcripts from the court minutes of the East India Company, dated March 17, 1615, of a sale of goods from Japan, read: “A ‘Biobee or Skreene gilded and painted with some resemblances of warfare’ was knocked down to the Governor for 6*l.* ‘Annother Biobee, . . . portrayde full of horses,’ was sold to him for 4*l.* 13*s.* *od.*, with a duplicate for 4*l.* 11*s.* *os.* Three other ‘Biobees of warfare’ sold for 5*l.* 12*s.* *od.*, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and 6*l.* 15*s.* *od.* Two ‘portrayde with fowles’ fetched 3*l.* 3*s.* *od.* and 4*l.* 7*s.* *od.*; and three ‘of huntinge,’ 10*l.*, 8*l.* 1*s.* *od.* and 8*l.* 5*s.* *od.*”<sup>172</sup>

While stationed on Deshima, Kaempfer purchased Chinese woodcuts and artifacts and Japanese illustrated books, drawings, paintings, and artifacts. *The History of Japan* describes the profitable private trade that was conducted by directors of the VOC and Japanese interpreters who were assigned to the company. The private trade in porcelain peaked during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.<sup>173</sup> According to Kaempfer the Japanese were “addicted” to smuggling despite its being a crime punishable by death.<sup>174</sup>

In 1691, Kaempfer wrote of Miaco (Kyoto):

There are but few houses in all the chief street, where there is not something to be sold, and for my part, I could not help admiring, whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods. 'Tis true indeed, there is scarce any body passes through Miaco, but what buys something or other of the manufactures of this city.

And of Osacca (Osaka):

It is the best trading town in Japan, being extraordinary well situated for carrying on a commerce both by land and water. This is the reason, why it is so well inhabited by rich merchants,

artificers and manufacturers. . . . The Japanese call Osacca the universal theater of pleasures and diversions. Plays are to be seen daily both in publick and in private houses. . . . Numbers of strangers and travellers daily resort thither, chiefly rich people, as to a place, where they can spend their time and money with much greater satisfaction, than perhaps any where else in the Empire.<sup>175</sup>

As the volume of trade between East and West increased from the late-sixteenth through the seventeenth century, images targeting Western market demands emerged for the decoration first of Chinese and later of Japanese porcelain. A group of Fraisse's etchings, the Chantilly porcelain manufactory of 1730–1740, and particular examples of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western collections, are inextricably bound to and reflect the porcelain trade. The crumbling of the Ming dynasty affected the profitability of Chinese porcelain production for domestic use. To replace declining imperial patronage, porcelain factories turned more to foreign markets. Late-Ming through early-Qing ceramic production reflected the demands of the continuing trade with the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia, as well as trade with the West and Japan.<sup>176</sup>

Competing with Chinese porcelain, mid- to late-seventeenth-century Japanese porcelain for the West reflected Chinese models and decoration catering to Western taste. However, the Japanese contributed their own aesthetic values to their trade ware. One of Fraisse's etchings, discussed below, corresponds to an image common to much late-seventeenth-century Western-shaped Hizen ware produced for export to the West. Defining the image in the context of Japanese porcelain production is the first step toward identifying Fraisse's etched version. As is the case with so much Japanese art, Japanese porcelain must be discussed in conjunction with Chinese production.

In a development that was independent of their involvement with the West, the Japanese began collecting Chinese porcelain in the late fifteen and early sixteen hundreds and began to order it from China about 1620. The Japanese bought sixteenth- and seventeenth-century blue-and-white Kraak (from the Dutch "*kraken*," adapted from the

Portuguese “*caracas*,” or merchant ship, and related to the English “carrack”) export ware, typified by divisions of panel decoration; variously decorated southern Chinese Swatow ware made primarily for export to the Middle East and Southeast Asia; Wanli-period (1573–1620) *wucai* and blue-and-white porcelain; a post-Wanli Chinese domestic ware now called *Kosometsuke* (old blue decorated ware); and seventeenth-century Japanese-taste Shonzui ware, characterized by roundels and juxtaposed geometric ground patterns.<sup>177</sup> Much *Kosometsuke* porcelain was tailored to Japanese taste. Shonzui ware was designed for the Japanese market during the 1630s and 1640s. The Japanese began to manufacture porcelain — they called it *karamono* (Chinese goods) — about 1610 and recreated Chinese images for their own early production.<sup>178</sup> The Dutch trading company established its first office in Japan in 1609 at Hirado.<sup>179</sup> Awareness of Japanese admiration for and integration of Chinese cultural symbols into their own is essential to appreciating the aesthetics inherent in the Kakiemon-style Hizen ware that developed during the 1660s. Stylistic interpretations of Chinese bird-and-flower images and figures in landscapes generally characterize the decoration. The large increase in VOC orders for Japanese porcelain that began in the 1650s also had an impact on design. Production peaked from the 1670s through the 1680s and possibly into the 1690s, although filling orders was always problematic. The private trade in porcelain was especially active during the late-seventeenth through the early-eighteenth centuries.<sup>180</sup>

The Kakiemon-style Hizen ware developed for export was prized in the West. A cream-white body, *nigoshi-de*, distinguishes the overglaze enameled ware that was particularly coveted, and this type does not include underglaze-blue decoration.<sup>181</sup> Japanese-taste Kakiemon-style ware decorated only in underglaze blue was mostly consumed domestically. A group of enameled Kakiemon-style Hizen wares in Western royal collections — some with underglaze-blue lines — is decorated in a style that is not indigenously Japanese, but instead represents export-market taste for Chinese-derived images.

Japanese porcelain imported by the Dutch also included undecorated bodies later painted in the Netherlands. Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain further represents Western taste for Kakiemon-style images and palette.<sup>182</sup> East Asian ware with Kakiemon-style decoration painted

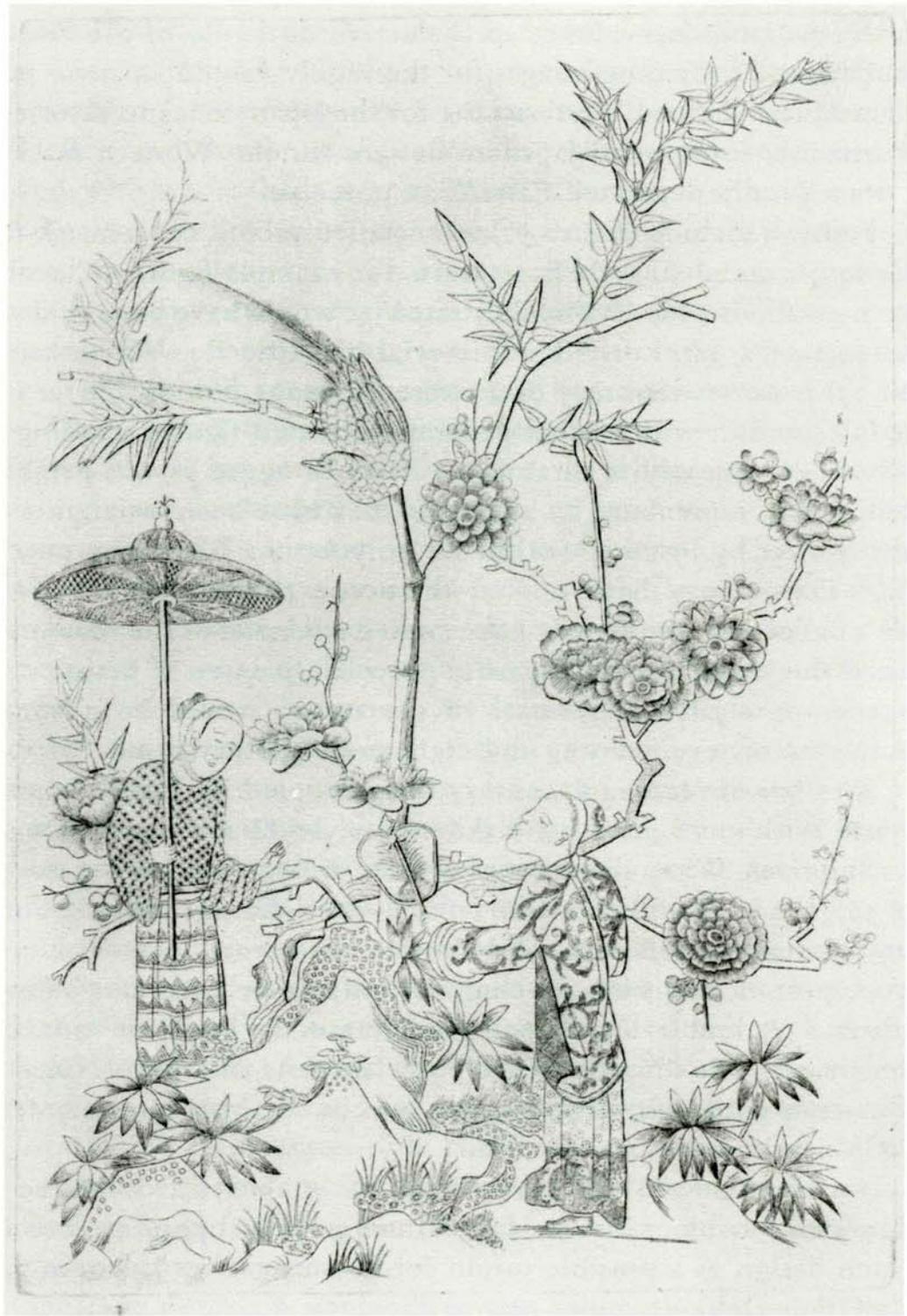
in the Netherlands is evidence of the active dual role of the Dutch in influencing and providing images for the highly valued Japanese porcelain. The Dutch defined Western taste for the Japanese manufactories and simultaneously interpreted Japanese designs for the Western market in their domestically decorated East Asian porcelain.

Fraisse's etching (figure 57) is a detailed variant of an image found on Western-commissioned Hizen ware, for example figure 58, probably dating from about 1690.<sup>183</sup> The illustrated jar would have been sold singly and as part of a garniture. The pictorial half-title for *Histoire naturelle* (figure 17) features what may be a reference to the fashionable jar in the lower foreground, with related decoration of two figures standing next to each other, one with a parasol. A variant of figure 58 was painted on the ceiling at Oranienburg by 1695, and may have been ordered in 1688 or shortly after by Friedrich III for his polychrome East Asian porcelain room.<sup>184</sup> Fraisse may have copied the scene painted on a variant in Condé's collection; or, he may have copied a version of the drawing that had been the source for the Japanese porcelain painter. If Fraisse copied the scene on a jar, his reversal of the image would be a common characteristic of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints.<sup>185</sup>

The late-seventeenth-century image copied by Fraisse is painted with and without figures on Kakiemon-style Hizen ware of various shapes and sizes. When decorating surfaces of large jars (as, for example, figure 58), the image fills a leaf-and-floral-scroll-framed panel. Figureless versions containing different combinations of the rock form with broken bamboo, prunus, and bird are centered on smaller porcelain holloware and plates.<sup>186</sup> A double-line shaped panel frames the image on some of the smaller shapes. The division of the porcelain field into panels filled with Chinese-style garden-landscape scenes is a convention ultimately derived from Chinese *Kraak* ware.<sup>187</sup>

An eight-sided Delft covered jar, ca. 1695–1705, decorated with the figureless version within related framed panels, supports a direct link to Dutch design as a possible origin for the images on Japanese porcelain.<sup>188</sup> Other Delft examples may surface.

The female on the left in figure 59, holding the parasol with one hand, the other hand facing forward, palm outward and fingers upward, relates to various similarly positioned women illustrated in Chinese



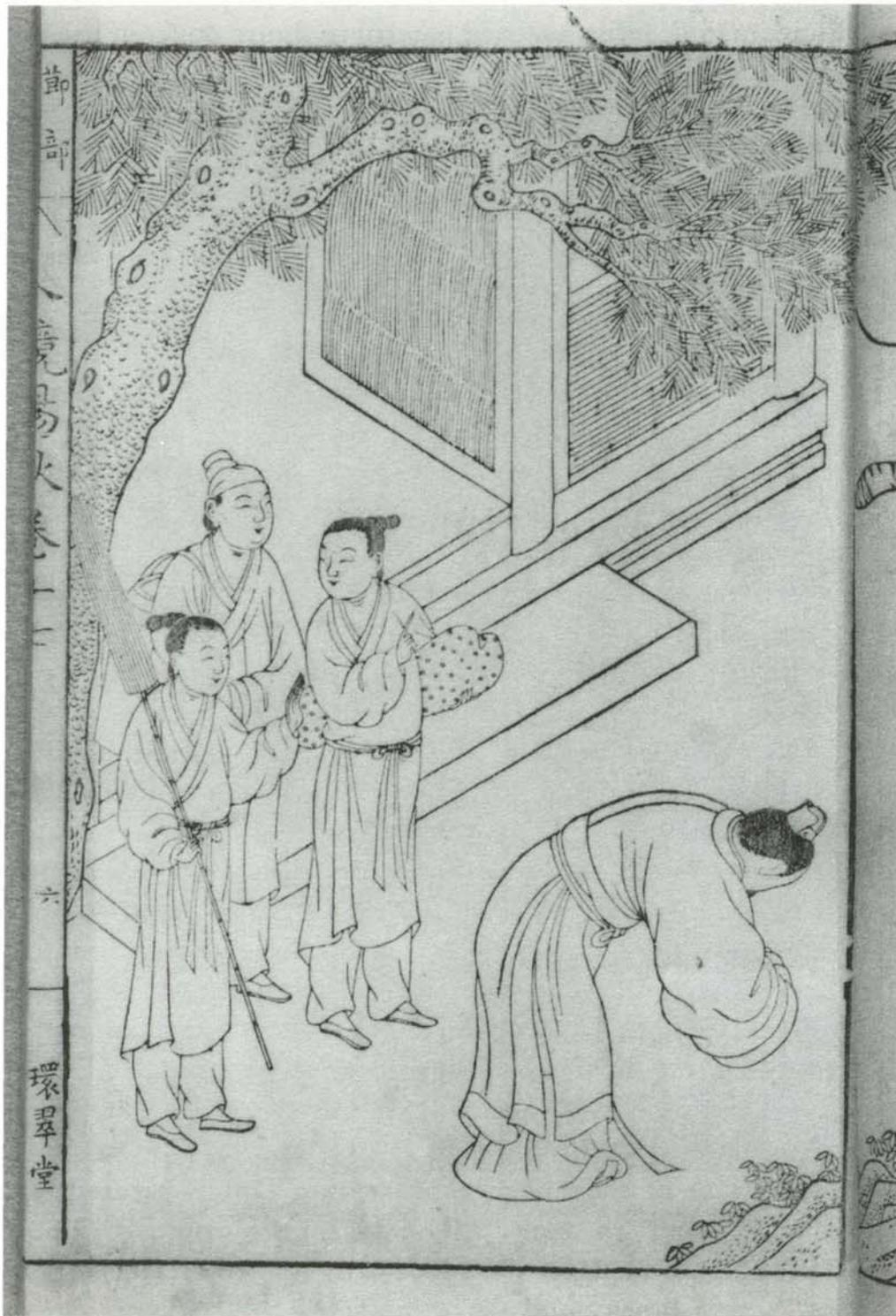
57. Jean-Antoine Fraise. Folio 31 from *Livre de desseins chinois*. Etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).



58. Jar (cover missing). Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (ca. 1690). Porcelain with underglaze blue and overglaze enamels. Victoria and Albert Museum; ©V&A Picture Library, 1736–1876.

59. Jean-Antoine  
Fraisie. Detail of figure  
57, folio 31 from *Livre de  
desseins chinois*. Etching.  
Metropolitan Museum of  
Art, Harris Brisbane  
Dick Fund, 1940 (40.38).





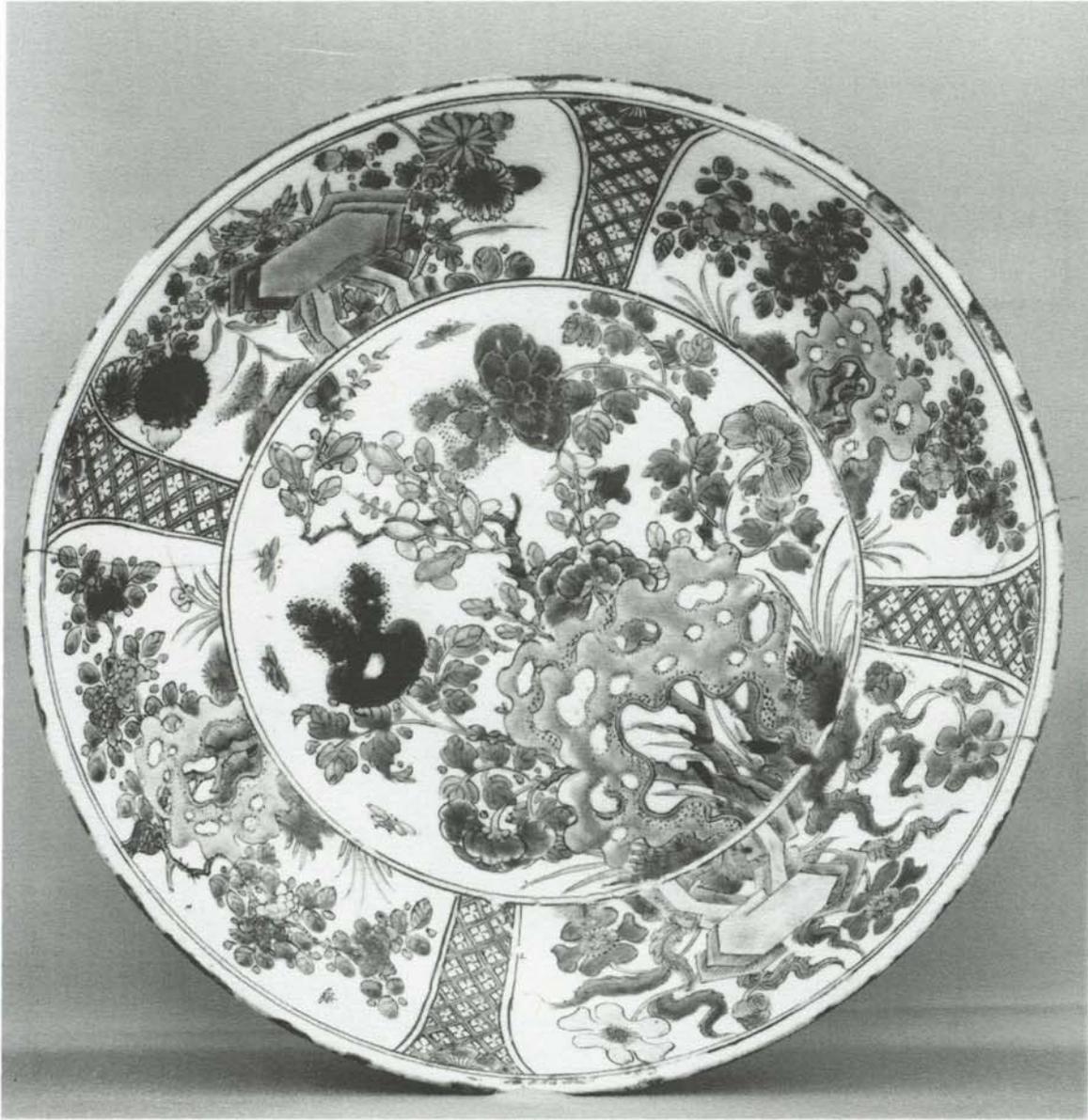
60. Wang Tingna. Scene 3A from *Renjing yangqiu* (Stories of the Ancient Worthies), vol. 10. Woodcut. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

books. The woman holding a closed parasol in figure 60 from the popular *Renjing yangqiu* is a related image.

The composition decorating the jar is no more fluid than Fraise's. The stiff stance of Fraise's figures corresponds to the unnatural straightness of the figures painted on the porcelain. The rigid verticality of the entire composition decorating the jar suggests the possibility of a Western-drawn image as a model for the Japanese porcelain painter. The scene illustrated in figure 58 contains no references to a Japanese pictorial vocabulary. The relative symmetry of the two figures flanking the rock-bamboo-prunus-bird motif is Chinese rather than Japanese in aesthetic sensibility.<sup>189</sup> Elements from a Chinese pictorial vocabulary were probably translated and refigured by the Dutch to appeal compositionally to Western taste. Sources for the scene illustrated in figure 58 are ultimately Chinese in origin.

The decoration of figure 58 is representative of a Chinese-derived style that remained popular on porcelain for the West well into the eighteenth century. An early-eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain dish exhibits characteristics of the enduring style related both to *Kraak* ware and to the paneled decoration of the Japanese jar and its variants. Landscapes and garden-related images typically fill the center field as well as the panels of *Kraak* ware. Derivative variants of the style decorate the late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century dish shown in figure 61.

A petal-rimmed Japanese dish (figure 62), ca. 1670–1690s, presents an interpretation of the Chinese rock-tree-bird image that contrasts with the centralized image in figures 57 and 58. In figure 62, the delicately drawn rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird is placed to one side on the porcelain field, allowing the white space to have prominence. Unlike in figure 58, in figure 62 the placement of the more fluid, asymmetrical interpretation on the porcelain field is compatible with the Japanese aesthetic. A variant of the image appears on a Dutch-painted Japanese porcelain bottle, ca. 1710–1725.<sup>190</sup> The rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird composition in figure 62 decorates identically shaped Hizen-ware dishes, 1670–1690s, with a brushwood fence replacing the rocks.<sup>191</sup> The brushwood-fence version also appears on seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain later decorated by the Dutch.<sup>192</sup> The formulaic rock- or brushwood-fence-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird images proliferated on exported



61. Dish. Chinese porcelain, Kangxi period, *famille-verte* overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. Maria P. James, 1911 (11.60.99).



62. Dish. Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (1670–1690s). Porcelain with overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hans Syz Collection, Gift of Stephan B. Syz and John D. Syz, 1995 (1995.268.109).

Hizen ware and are common to Dutch-decorated East Asian porcelain; Japanese examples range widely in quality.

In Fraisse's etching (figure 57) and the scene illustrated in figure 58, tall bamboo replaces the pine tree of the Japanese dish. The distinctly curved prunus branch growing to the left in figure 62 relocates to the center of the rock and grows upward in figure 58. A version of the rock-pine-prunus-bamboo-bird image illustrated in figure 62 was probably a source for figure 58.

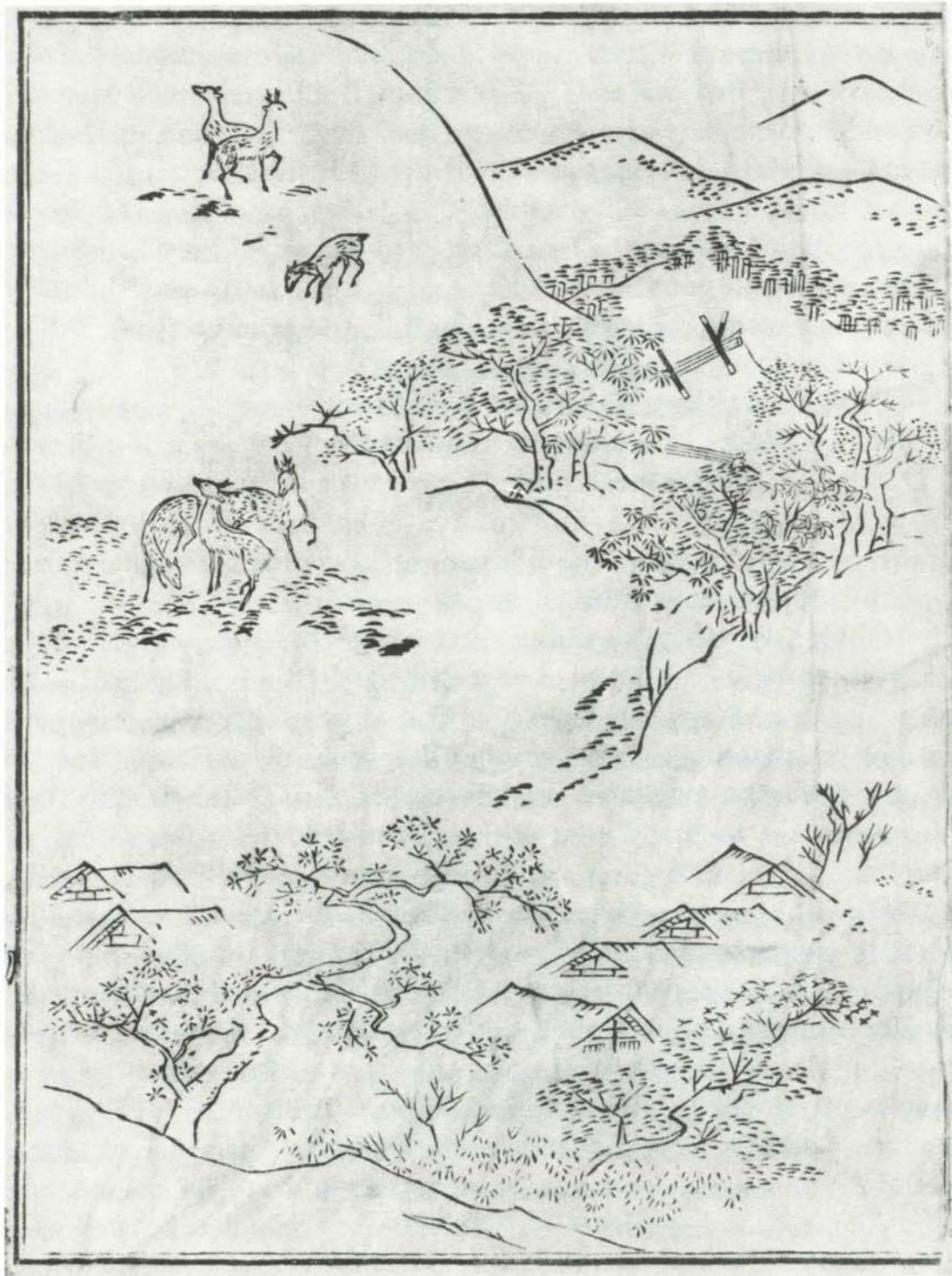
A delicately painted Kakiemon-style Hizen-ware dish is an example of indigenous Japanese taste (see figure 63). The restrained decoration of a peony spray and bamboo fence placed against a large white field creates an interplay of hidden and visible. The dish's graceful shape of overlapping floral petals is a tribute to its Chinese model originating in Song (960–1279) Ding ware and contemporary Chinese lacquer. Even though the porcelain rim of figure 63 does not repeat the undulations of the lacquer and Ding-ware models, the molded floral petals on the interior rim are all the same.<sup>193</sup> In its mere suggestion of substance, figure 63 echoes the same aesthetic seen in a book illustration by Moronobu (see figure 64).

The comparisons of Chinese and Japanese porcelain demonstrate the independence of Fraisse's etching (figure 57) and the scene decorating the Japanese jar (figure 58) from an indigenous Japanese pictorial vocabulary. In contrast to the jar, figure 63 presents export ware in refined Japanese taste, revealing the range of aesthetics attributable to Kakiemon-style Hizen ware.

The contract of 1734 between the "Heeren xvii" (directors of the VOC) and Cornelis Pronk (1691–1759), "painter and drawing master," directed him to "make and deliver all the drawings and models to our satisfaction of such porcelain as will be ordered from time to time in the Indies."<sup>194</sup> Pronk was surely one of many who had been and were continuing to create designs and models for Chinese porcelain. In 1635 the VOC ordered Dutch-painted wooden models to be sent to China and copied in Chinese porcelain,<sup>195</sup> and in 1736 Pronk's famous "Parasol" design was sent to both China and Japan for reproduction.<sup>196</sup> The cost of the Japanese version was, however, considered prohibitive. Production was minimal and was probably limited to private orders of VOC employees.



63. Dish. Kakiemon-style Hizen ware (1670–1690s). Porcelain with overglaze enamels. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hans Syz Collection, Gift of Stephan B. Syz and John D. Syz, 1995 (1995.268.189).



64. Hishikawa Moronobu. *Ise Monogatari kashiragaki sho* (Tales of Ise with Annotations), vol. 2 (1679). Woodcut. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Howard Mansfield Collection, Gift of Howard Mansfield, 1936 (JIB 85).

Before Pronk's commission Dutch designs must have been sent to Japan as they were to China. In 1661 decorated Dutch models of some not clearly specified material — certainly Delftware itself, as well as wood and stoneware — were sent to Japan.<sup>197</sup> Comparison of Delft and Japanese porcelain provides evidence that Japanese potters had Delft models. Furthermore, Delft circulated in Japan via officials of the *voc* who were stationed there. The Dutch used the wares they had brought with them and also presented Delft as gifts to the Japanese. About 1630 the Japanese began to order Delft; the bulk of the orders was filled during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Designs for some Kakiemon-style Hizen ware, especially during the 1680s and 1690s, undoubtedly resulted from collaboration between the Dutch and the Japanese. Some wares became trade wares because they were purchased at a foreign site, then ordered and reordered, probably with and without modifications.<sup>198</sup> Eventually, Western-drawn images would also have been ordered.

Obviously, designs existed for early-eighteenth-century Dutch-decorated Japanese and Chinese porcelain, and Dutch designs may have been available to Fraise at Chantilly. The source for figure 57 may have been a Dutch drawing that had reached Chantilly. Early Saint-Cloud and Chantilly porcelain may have been decorated with Dutch designs similar to those sent to Japan and used in the Netherlands. Antoine Gremy, for example, a porcelain painter at Chantilly in 1734, was born in Delft in 1705 and probably worked in the Netherlands before arriving at Chantilly.<sup>199</sup> The early faïence manufactory of Saint-Cloud was founded in 1664 by an importer of Delft, and relocated Dutch artisans who worked there probably brought designs from the Netherlands.<sup>200</sup> A parrot decorating a Saint-Cloud water jug and basin (ca. 1720–1725) corresponds to one on examples of Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain from ca. 1715–1720.<sup>201</sup> The parrot derives from a Flemish engraving by Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618).<sup>202</sup> Dutch designs were definitely sources for some designs used at Saint-Cloud, perhaps via the migrant enamelers as well as the Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain itself. Cicaire Cirou may have taken with him Dutch designs — perhaps a variant of figure 57 — when he left Saint-Cloud.

Figure 57 illustrates the recycling of popular images resulting from

the impact of trade. Although little documentation of their use survives, trade-vocabulary images circulated in both foreign and domestic workshops and manufactories. The West also exported designs to China for wallpaper and silk, to China and Japan for lacquer, and to India for dye-painted cotton and embroidery.<sup>203</sup> For example, contemporaneous with Fraisse's work, an etching by Huquier from about 1730, after an image by Watteau from about 1710–1720, was sent to China as a pattern for wallpaper.<sup>204</sup> On occasion the same design was sent to more than one country. Cited examples include Pronk's "Parasol" pattern and a textile design sent to India and China.<sup>205</sup> Many of Fraisse's etchings reiterate images found on Eastern-produced fabric as well as porcelain.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Livre de desseins chinois* is a resource for exploring the complex origins of trade-vocabulary images and the ways in which particular ones had evolved by 1735. Variants of the basket-with-flowers design (figure 2) proliferated internationally as designs on fabric, ceramics, lacquer, and imitation lacquer. Eastern-derived vegetal designs and fantastical images of nature decorated domestic and imported fabric as well as ceramics. As early-Qing export paintings demonstrate, trade-vocabulary images permeated Eastern and Western decorative arts. Chinese export paintings are an example of a style that was independent of both an indigenous Chinese and a Western decorative-arts vocabulary. Ironically, study of a French print (figure 57) uncovers Kakiemon-style Hizen ware decorated with Western-drawn Chinese-derived designs. Where an object is made represents only a fraction of its identity. "*Après des originaux*" becomes ambiguous when applied to primary sources indigenous to China, Japan, India, and Persia, as well as to material reflecting the taste of export markets.

Fraisse's figural scenes and processions are particularly instructive to study. They reflect the variety of East Asian sources that were accessible to him. The degree and variety of detail in his scenes and the playing with East Asian perspective are evidence of printed, painted, or drawn Chinese and Japanese pictorial material. The Condé collections and library were clearly a microcosm of Western holdings of East Asian

pictorial material that had been entering the West for a long time. Although I know of no evidence from inventories, Fraise's scenes (figures 6 and 33) and the procession (figure 21a-c) document the presence of Japanese pictorial material in France before 1735. His two etchings of Chinese children (figures 53 and 55) expose the complexity of Japanese fascination with Chinese culture and the occasional difficulty of distinguishing the original from the imitation. Another French image (figures 13 and 15) and Dapper's etching (figures 12 and 14) demonstrate that Chinese Buddhist sutras were circulating in the West in the seventeenth century. East Asian pictorial material played a major role — perhaps as important as that played by porcelain, lacquer, and fabric — in the dissemination of Asian-inspired images throughout the West. Trade, book publication, and the manufacture of Western decorative arts were tightly interrelated, and the *Livre de desseins chinois* exposes the impact of their shifting influences, one upon the other.

Fraise's recreation of the East expresses his own perceptions. He took a closer look and presented information rejected by others. As an artistic synthesis of Asian elements resulting in an ultimately French aesthetic statement, the Chantilly porcelain sculptures (figure 37) surpass Fraise's figural composites. However, the decoration of the robes is undoubtedly representative of Fraise's creative designs for fabric. The sculptures realize Fraise's suggestion that Asian images could accommodate French taste without becoming Eurocentric distortions.

That Chinese and Japanese printed, drawn, and painted images were present in Western collections by 1735 has been documented, but the interesting question is how the sources were perceived in the West. Astonishingly, Chinese woodcut illustrations that served as models for some of Boucher's images did not have an impact on his Europeanized representations of China.<sup>206</sup> He adapted elements from the woodcuts interchangeably with images from Montanus to create a decorative, fantastical China.<sup>207</sup> The criteria established by the ancien régime's Eurocentric world view characterize Boucher's pictorial language. At Chantilly, however, the use of Asian sources was an innovative departure from European convention. The porcelain sculptures and Fraise's work reflect a climate that allowed for curiosity, originality, and creative expression. One cannot help but wonder what an artist with Fraise's attitude and Boucher's skilled hands might have produced in 1735. Fraise's

thoughtful, intelligent approach to the foreign establishes a point of contact between West and East that contributes meaningfully to a vision of both.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* reveals the creative process of a minor yet innovative artisan and designer who for a brief period lived and worked in the artisanal community of Chantilly during a productive decade for porcelain, imitation lacquer, and decorated fabric. The figural scenes and processions in the two early albums reveal the evolution of Fraisse's compositions and his perseverance in introducing the unfamiliar. These two albums also provide insight into Fraisse's particular expertise as a textile artisan, colorist, and designer, and the use of woodblocks at Chantilly for printing on fabric. That Fraisse freely placed woodblocks around etchings (figures 39 and 40) or arranged them in a composition (figure 49) is representative of his work as an embroiderer, fabric printer, painter, and designer. His woodcuts are outlines, intended to be filled in with color, either painted or stitched. Although the results are somewhat crude in appearance, Fraisse's additions in ink caused the woodcuts to resemble more closely contemporary ornament prints. The nature of his additions to his woodcuts suggests that he knew that by the 1730s engraving and etching were the methods of choice for printing on paper. Colors of images in the BnF's album are compatible with colors of early Chantilly porcelain. The confident, imaginative use of color in the album complements the artistry employed by the porcelain painter of the figural sculptures (figure 37). The decoration of the robes, however, clearly originated with a fabric designer, not a porcelain painter. Certainly, the decoration reflects Fraisse's most stunning efforts as a fabric designer at Chantilly.

The *Livre de desseins chinois* provides a pictorial point of view to be studied in conjunction with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European literature and travel writing. The most startling and instructive visual statement made by Fraisse in 1735 was to announce that other cultures, specifically the Chinese and Japanese, were of value on their own terms. He demonstrated that settings for depicting foreigners did not have to be French, that accessories did not have to be French, and that the world beyond Europe possessed an integrity and dignity of its own. Unlike traditional chinoiseries, Fraisses's visions are a positive link to nineteenth-century Europe's discovery of eastern culture.

## Appendix

*Nine Albums of the Livre de desseins chinois with 1735 Title Page*

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 40.38. Sixty-three plates, eight woodcuts with hand-drawn additions; fifty-five etchings, with and without woodcut and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations; red morocco binding, the covers decorated with gold-tooled "Bordure du Louvre," blue silk moiré doublures.
2. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des estampes et photographie, Oe.147. Fifty-four plates (one fold-out illustration plate conserved separately), etchings, and two etchings with replacement woodcuts, publisher's legal deposit for the royal library; red morocco binding by Guillaume Mercier in 1737, the covers with simple gold tooling, marbled paper end leaves.
3. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, Paris, Est.77. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; owned by Henri Reinecke, comte de Calenberg (1685-1772); dark blue morocco, the covers decorated with his coat of arms and a border in gold tooling, all edges gilt, marbled paper end leaves.
4. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, Paris, Est.813. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; one plate from an earlier production with original woodcuts and hand-drawn addition; owned by Louis-César de La Baume-Leblanc, duc de La Vallière (1708-1780); dark tan full-calf binding, the covers with blind tooling of three fillets, the spine with gold tooling, marbled paper end leaves.
5. Bibliothèque de l'école nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Les.1900. Fifty-seven plates, etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; rebound in the late-nineteenth century by Joseph-Michel-Anne Lesoufaché (1809-1887), a Parisian architect.
6. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris. Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63, inventoried in library of Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, 1736. Fifty-seven

plates, etchings with and without woodcut replacements, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, no fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

### THREE HAND-COLORED ALBUMS

7. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Réserve des livres rares, Rés.V.86. Fifty-four plates, fifty-three etchings with and without woodcut and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations; one fold-out section of a Chinese painting; red morocco binding, covers decorated with gold-tooled "Bordure du Louvre," blue silk moiré doublures.

8. Bibliothèque du musée Condé, Chantilly. Fifty-seven plates, hand-colored etchings with and without replacement woodcuts and hand-drawn additions, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, covers decorated with three gold fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

9. Bibliothèque royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, Brussels. Coll. Van Hulthem, V.H.9319D. Forty-four plates, hand-colored etchings with and without replacement woodcuts, including four fold-out illustrations, one with replacement woodcut; dark tan full-calf binding, covers decorated with three gold fillets, marbled paper end leaves.

*Two Albums (Mondhare: Paris), ca. 1760, Title Page of Mr. de Devonhire*

Title page of Mondhare publication, ca. 1760:

Recueil, de différentes / fleurs et figures / chinoises / les plus  
intéressantes. / Ouvrage / Utile, curieux, et intéressant à toutes  
/ les personnes qui s'adonnent à la / Peinture, Sculpture, et au  
Dessain. / Dessiné sur les lieux d'après nature, par / Mr. de  
Devonhire Ingénieur envoyé / par la Compagnie Angloise des  
Indes. / A Paris / Chez Mondhare rue St. Jacques à l'Hôtel  
Saumur

1. Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1951-69-1. Forty-eight etchings, no additions, with number etched in corner of each etching; later binding.

2. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Department of Drawings and Prints, E.949.1-48 and E.949.A-1978 (title page). Forty-eight

etchings, pasted down and in a nineteenth-century binding when acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, conserved and rebound by the museum. The title page is reduced, the remainder identical to the title page of the Cooper-Hewitt album. Ten sheets, including the title page, share a watermark indicating a post-1742 manufacture; a scratch on "No. 3" indicates a printing after its unscratched counterpart, 25452.3-48. Sheets 8 11/16 x 13 11/16 in.; title page 8 11/16 x 9 7/16 in.

*Three Sets of Plates without a Title Page*

1. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Department of Drawings and Prints, 25452.1-48. Forty-eight etchings, identical to those in the two Mondhare albums, purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum as a group of unbound plates without a title page and bound by the museum after purchase. Sheets 10 x 14 3/4 in.

2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 33.29. Seventeen etchings, hand-colored; later binding. Sheets 13 x 17 3/8 in.

3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints, 39.104.3. Twelve etchings, later binding. Sheets 11 1/2 x 18 in.

NOTES

For invaluable suggestions and guidance, I am grateful to Didier Cramoisan, Joyce Denney, Bernard Dragesco, Sören Edgren, Barbara Brennan Ford, Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Nancy K. Miller, Sandy Petrey, Nicole Rousmaniere, and Milton Sondag. I am indebted to Clare Le Corbeiller for bringing Fraisse's work to my attention and for her generous support of my research on the Metropolitan Museum's album. Assistance from Armin Kunz was indispensable to my study of Fraisse's prints. With appreciation for sharing knowledge and expertise I thank Suzanne Boorsch, Joseph Chang, Mindell Dubansky, Peter Kornicki, Christine Lahaussais, Fabienne Le Bars, Corinne Le Bitouzé, Jean-Marie Métivier, Hiroshi Onishi, Bertrand Rondot, Elizabeth E. Roth, Christine Shimizu, Wai-fong Anita Siu, Jan-Daniël van Dam, and Donna Welton. I have also benefited from consulting with Nobuko Kajitani, Andrew J. Miller, Myrna Myers, Lauren Nemroff, Arlene Palmer Schwind, Linda R. Shulsky, and Masako Watanabe. I thank Eileen Travell for her expert photography of the Metropolitan's album of Fraisse's images.

1. For discussion of eighteenth-century Eurocentric attitudes presented in French

- literature, European historical accounts, and travel writings, see Julia V. Douthwaite, *Exotic Women: Literary Heroines and Cultural Strategies in Ancien Régime France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). For a seventeenth-century French definition of the "Orient," see pp. 26–27.
2. For information about Chantilly-produced imitations of Indian dye-painted cotton; a "Salle aux toiles peintes" recorded in the 1740 inventory made on Condé's death; artisans besides Fraisse who worked at Chantilly 1733–1740, including two "graveurs," Leroux and Roguet; "peintres-dessinateurs"; and a "ciseleur"; see Paul-Raymond Schwartz, "La fabrique d'Indiennes du duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) au château de Chantilly," *Bulletin de la Société industrielle de Mulhouse* 722.1 (1966), pp. 17–29, esp. pp. 20–21. For biographical information about Fraisse; location of the imitation-lacquer and fabric workshops; information about others who lived and worked in the château; and artisans who worked with Fraisse, including the woodblock printer identified by Schwartz, Jean-Baptiste Leroux; see Geneviève Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 1996), pp. 31, 44, 99, 114–115; p. 386, nn. 56–65; also, Geneviève Le Duc, "Chantilly, un certain regard vers l'Extrême-Orient, 1730–1750," *French Porcelain Society* (London: French Porcelain Society, 1993), pp. 11–12, 30–33.
  3. I thank Patricia Wardle Griffiths for sharing her knowledge of eighteenth-century European embroiderers and designers. For a French embroiderer who became designer of the wardrobe of Louis xv, see Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Designer to the King, Art of the Embroiderer* (1770), translated and annotated by Nikki Scheuer with notes and commentaries by Edward Maeder (Boston: David R. Godine, 1983).
  4. One album that I learned of recently is in the library of the Danske Kunstindustrimuseum in Copenhagen. I thank Charlotte Paludan for providing me with the following information about the album. It has fifty-four plates (some cut, with stains and marks), including two fold outs (one mended), and a later paper binding; the plates appear to be survivors from a workshop. See also Svend Eriksen and Eva Steinaa, "Biblioteket og billedsamlingen," *Virksomhed 1964–1969* 4 (Copenhagen: Danske Kunstindustrimuseum, 1969), pp. 214, 216–217. For two albums cited by Le Duc, one in Lyon, one in Troyes, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 115 and 385–386, n. 53; also, Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 13.
  5. See Le Duc, "Chantilly," pp. 31–32.
  6. For published examples of Fraisse's etchings, see Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—II," *Print Quarterly* 3.1 (March 1986), p. 30, fig. 20; *China und Europa* (Berlin: Die Verwaltung, 1973), p. 111, fig. 20; *Décorations japonaises, chinoises et de goût chinois*, ed. Armand Guérinet, *Recueil de décorations chinoises de goût chinois au Musée Guimet, collections particulières*, ser. 3 (Paris: A. Guérinet, n.d.), with five of Fraisse's etchings, mistakenly attributed to Huquier: figs. 12, 23, 28.
  7. Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque des arts

- décoratifs, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63; Henri Reinecke, comte de Calenberg (1685–1772), fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Est.77; Louis-César de la Baume-Leblanc, duc de la Vallière (1708–1780), fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Est.813; Procope Ulysse, prince de Pignatelli, duc de Bisacce, comte d’Egmont, cited by Le Duc, “Chantilly,” p. 16, whereabouts not identified; a second album owned by the duc de la Vallière, cited in *ibid.*, p. 16, whereabouts not identified.
8. See Huquier’s catalogue of 1757, coll. New York Public Library, Prints and Photographs: “Catalogue / d’Estampes. / Ce Catalogue est composé d’estampes utiles à tous ceux qui veulent s’élever dans toutes les parties du Dessin, & à ceux qui l’exercent dans tous les différens genres. On trouve aussi dans le même Magasin des Dessesins de tous les grands Maîtres, des différentes écoles, anciens & modernes, également que les Oeuvres, & des Estampes détachées de ces Maîtres des meilleures impressions & de la plus parfaite conservation.” Under a heading entitled “Par différens Maîtres: 60 — Une suite en 4 parties d’Oiseaux, Plantes, Fleurs & Trophées de la Chine, tiré du cabinet du Roi.”
9. See Susan Miller, “Jean-Antoine Fraise: ‘Gravé par Huquier,’” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* (cited hereafter as *MMJ*) 31 (1996), pp. 127–130. I relied on information catalogued in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Department of Drawings and Prints, attributing twenty-nine of Fraise’s plates to Huquier; see 33.29 and 39.104.3 (hand colored). Another attribution of Fraise’s plates to Huquier supports the Metropolitan’s. “Décorations japonaises, chinoises et de goût chinois” reproduces five etchings from Fraise’s *Livre de desseins chinois* and attributes them to Huquier’s publication in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF). Unfortunately, neither the Metropolitan’s cataloguer or Guérinet provides the BnF reference, and the information cannot be verified. Although Huquier’s 1757 catalogue may cite Fraise’s work, Fraise’s prints published by Huquier remain to be identified. I thank Corinne Le Bitouzé for suggesting the following possibility. Given that an eighteenth-century practice was to include more than one group of prints under the same title, the question of whether or not Huquier did reuse Fraise’s plates and woodblocks is unresolved. The 1772 sale catalogue of Huquier’s plates (November 4–7, Paris; see Lugt, no. 2073) identifies lot 157 as “soixante d’oiseaux, plantes, fleurs & trophes de la Chine, tirées du Cabinet du Roi: une suite reliée: sept suites en feuilles: huit suites des oiseaux, première partie: trois suites de fleurs, deuxième partie: quatre suites de fleurs, quatrième partie: Deux cent quarante feuilles d’imperfections.” Lot 157 was sold to Petit, a minor print publisher. The sixty plates, close in number to Fraise’s known fifty-seven etched plates, some with replacement woodblocks, may have contained Fraise’s etched plates and woodblocks. If Petit owned Fraise’s plates, he might have sold them to Mondhare, a lesser publisher than Petit. Mondhare might have bought only the etched plates from Petit. Figure 3 in Miller, “Jean-Antoine Fraise,” p. 129, is identical to a plate in Lottin’s legal deposit owned by the BnF, Estampes, Oe.147, evidence that although the date

- of publication of the plate is unknown, if it was published by Huquier, then he clearly owned Fraisse's etched plates and replacement woodblocks.
10. See Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1951-69-1; also, two sets of plates, one with reduced title page, coll. V&A, E.949.1-48, E.949.A-1978 (title page); and 25452.1-48. For an example of an etching published by Gaillard in the mid-eighteenth century with a title, "L'arbre chinois," added to the plate, see *China und Europa*, p. 30, fig. 17.
  11. A plate from Mondhare's album in the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum is shown in Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," p. 128, fig. 1, where it is compared to plates in the Metropolitan's and the BnF's albums.
  12. Both the collections and the libraries of le Grand Condé, his heirs, and their wives, are important subjects of study as possible source material for Fraisse and the workshops at Chantilly. For information about le Grand Condé and the 1709 inventory of his son, Henry-Jules, see Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2, Oeuvres d'art series, Série Art, Histoire, Société, ed. Pierre-Michel Menger and Alain Mérot (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), pp. 362-365. For discussion of the collections inherited from Louis-Henri's father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, and first wife's family, see Christina Nelson, Oliver Impey, and Clare Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage: The Foundation of the Bourbon-Condé Ceramics Collection," *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, 1994), pp. 36-43. For discussion of a post-mortem inventory of Louis-Henri de Bourbon's personal collections at Chantilly, made by the marchand-mercier Thomas-Joachim Hébert in 1740, see *ibid.*, pp. 38-42.
  13. I thank Bernard Dragesco for his assistance in the following translation of the third paragraph of Fraisse's dedication. "But while your most serene highness has shown Europe that there is nothing in other parts of the world that your highness cannot imitate, and even outdo, he has also desired to make it possible for the most exact comparisons to be made, for Persia, China, Japan, and India have not individually produced anything that is not to be found all together at Chantilly: the most magnificent fabrics of the Orient, painted fabrics and Persian-style fabrics of the most exquisite taste, the finest antique porcelain from China and Japan, lacquer and imitation lacquer from all the countries where this art has been carried out to greatest perfection — all these marvels are found in profusion in this magnificent château."
  14. For a study of eighteenth-century French privilege applications to publish prints of ornament and architecture, see Peter Fuhring, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France—I," *Print Quarterly* 2.3 (September 1985), pp. 174-193; and "The Print Privilege—II," pp. 19-33.
  15. See Fuhring, "The Print Privilege—II," p. 27; in the list of privilege-application dates a question mark appears next to the date for Fraisse.
  16. Although Lottin was not an "imprimerie royale," his son Jean-Roch, author of *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* (Paris: Lottin, 1789), succeeded in becoming one; see p. 115 for biographical information about Philippe-Nicolas Lottin.

17. The bound album now contains fifty-three plates; one fold-out plate was removed and is preserved separately as AA-6. According to a handwritten note "en février 1848 quatre pièces de grand dimension ont été enlevées à ce album et portées AA4-Fraisse; AA5-Fraisse," but the location of these four removed plates is not AA4 or AA5. Only four fold-out illustrations exist among nine albums. The plate preserved as AA6 is one of the four known fold-out illustrations. Evidence does not suggest that an additional fold-out illustration was printed that would not have been included in the two early albums or in any of the others. AA6 was probably one of the four plates removed in 1848; originally there were probably fifty-seven plates. For the history of the royal library see Antoine Coron, "The First Libraries: Blois, Fontainebleau, Paris," in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 151-166.
18. For an illustration of an etching with clearly printed woodcuts, identical to the plate in Lottin's album (BnF, Estampes, Oc.147) but from a plate in a later binding owned by the Metropolitan, see Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," p. 129, fig. 3.
19. I thank Jeanne-Marie Métivier for this information.
20. I thank Corinne Le Bitouzé for information about print-publishing practices in eighteenth-century France.
21. I thank Peter Fuhring for bringing the advertisement to my attention: "Le livre de desseins chinois tirez d'après des originaux de perse, des Indes, de la Chine & du Japon, dessinés & gravés en taille-douce par le Sr. Fraisse, peintre de S.A.S. Mr le Duc, dédié à S.A.S., grand in Fol., papier colombier, relié en veau, Se vend 50. liv. à Paris, Chez Ph.N. Lottin, Libraire, Rue St. Jacques, ce livre en blanc, même papier, 40. liv., & petit papier 30. liv. les feuilles se vendent separement." Amsterdam, xi, du mardi, 8 Février 1735, p. (4). According to E. J. Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Paper and Paper-Making, with Equivalent of the Technical Terms in French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish* (2d ed.; London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 53, "colombier" or "columbier" refers to "a size of drawing paper of about 34 1/2 in. x 23 1/2 in." I thank Fabienne Le Bars and Corinne Le Bitouzé for assistance in interpreting the advertisement.
22. See Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 42.
23. Examples of French porcelain with decoration derived from three of Fraisse's images include: Chantilly vase, ca. 1735-1740, Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter referred to as MMA), Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, 50.211.121, illustrated in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 118; Chantilly vase, variant of preceding, *ibid.*, p. 117; Chantilly vase, also variant of preceding, Christie's sale catalogue *British and Continental Ceramics*, London, February 24, 1997, lot 190, pp. 70-71; Chantilly bottle cooler, ca. 1740, one example, coll. Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art, OA 10299, and another example, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, 33065, illustrated in

- Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, *Catalogue des porcelaines françaises*, vol. 1, Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 60–62, figs. 10, 10a, 10c, last also shown in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 121; Villeroy bottle cooler, 1737–1742, Cleveland Museum of Art, 47.60, shown in *The World of Ceramics: Masterpieces from the Cleveland Museum of Art*, ed. Jenifer Neils (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1982), p. 59, fig. 61, color plate following p. 54.
24. Isabelle de Conihout examined the MMA's album; I thank her for this observation.
  25. There are eight woodcuts with hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing, forty-nine etchings, four etchings with hand-drawn additions in ink over pencil underdrawing, one with woodcut additions, and one with woodcut and hand-drawn additions. Mindell Dubansky has determined that the MMA album, Department of Drawings and Prints, 40.38, is complete as bound and that no plates have been removed.
  26. I am grateful to Mindell Dubansky and Fabienne Le Bars for examining the two bindings.
  27. For discussion and examples of the seventeenth-century "Bordure du Louvre," see Jeanne-Marie Métivier, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque du roi de 1672 à 1786," *Mélanges autour de l'histoire des livres imprimés et périodiques*, ed. Bruno Blasselle and Laurent Portes (Paris: BnF, 1998), pp. 133–139, figs. 1, 2, 4, color plate 9. See also Giles Barber, "La reliure," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1984), pp. 162–171. For discussion of red morocco bindings for the royal library, see Métivier, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque," p. 166.
  28. For information about Guillaume Mercier as the binder for the Bibliothèque royale and his use of the "fleur de lis et coeur" roulette, I am indebted to Jeanne-Marie Métivier. I thank her for sharing information with me from a then-unpublished manuscript, "La reliure à la Bibliothèque," p. 153, fig. 8, no. 15; color plate 15.
  29. For information about Mercier within the context of binders to the royal library, see *ibid.*, pp. 131–177, esp. pp. 141–142, 152, 166–167, 171–175; also, Françoise Bléchet, "Un siècle de reliure à la Bibliothèque du Roi (1670–1789)," *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 37 (Bordeaux, 1982), pp. 573–597.
  30. See Isabelle de Conihout in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, p. 318. For information on the collections seized from the Condé family that were stocked together in the "dépôt de Nesles" in Paris, see J.-B. Labiche, *Notice sur les dépôts littéraires et la révolution bibliographique de la fin du dernier siècle, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: A. Parent, 1880). The album was officially catalogued by the library between 1833 and 1848, as evidenced by the "Bibliothèque royale" stamp on the title page. See Pierre Josserand and Jean Bruno, "Les estampilles du département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à M. Calot* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1960), pp. 261–298.

31. For reference to a 1743 inventory of the comte d'Egmont's collection of prints and drawings stating that his album was "relié en maroquin rouge avec le cordon du Louvre," see Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 19.
32. See the comparison between an etching from each album in Miller, "Jean-Antoine Fraisse," pp. 128-129, figs. 2, 4.
33. For the history, description of the range of subjects for popular prints, and illustrations, see John Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996). For other examples, including several like those purchased by Engelbert Kaempfer, see Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1992), pp. 159-171, figs. 99-105; also, Marian Densmore, "Essai pour servir à l'étude de la gravure chinoise," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 11, *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1937), pp. 13-20.
34. See, for example, 1906-11-28-16 and 1906-11-18-028 in the British Museum's Department of Chinese Antiquities. The prints purchased by Kaempfer are an exceptional example of this genre, with clear, strong colors and embossing. I thank Anne Farrer for information about them and this genre.
35. For discussion of the prints purchased by Kaempfer, see Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints*, pp. 53-54. For discussion of the importance of trade through Nagasaki and especially of China's role in the trade, see Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 8-13, 23-24, 71-76.
36. See Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints*, p. 53.
37. For quotations from the inventory of Procope Ulysse, prince de Pignatelli, duc de Bisacce, comte d'Egmont, see Le Duc, "Chantilly," p. 19.
38. For example, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 120-121, for the contrast between the colors of folio 4 and an example of Chantilly porcelain.
39. I am grateful to Fabienne Le Bars for confirming that the Chinese painting was bound with Fraisse's plates and that its inclusion was determined in advance of the binding. For a color illustration of folio 54, see Jean-Marc Chatelain in *Des livres rares, depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie*, ed. Antoine Coron (Paris: BnF, 1998), pp. 192-193, fig. 151.
40. For detail from a Song example, "Spring Festival on the River," see Wen C. Fong, "The Expanding Literati Culture," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, ed. Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1996), p. 406, fig. 145; for a Ming example, p. 406, fig. 206a. For a Qing example, see Maxwell K. Hearn, "The Qing Synthesis," in Richard M. Barnhart, Wen C. Fong, and Maxwell K. Hearn, *Mandate of Heaven: Emperors and Artists in China* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg Zurich, 1996), pp. 183, 185, fig. 30; pp. 186-193, figs. 38a-d. For an example in the MMA's collection, see Wang Hui (1632-1717) and assistants, "The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Three: Ji'nan to Mount Tai," datable to 1691-1698; Department of Asian Art, 1979.5.
41. See Harrie Vanderstappen, S.V.D., "Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking," in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan, S.J.

and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), p. 103. I thank Linda R. Shulsky for bringing this book to my attention.

42. For discussion and examples of late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century paintings for the domestic market, with references to Western pictorial styles, see James Cahill, "The Three Zhangs, Yangzhou Beauties, and the Manchu Court," *Oriental Arts* 27.9 (October 1996), pp. 59–68; for general comments on Chinese appropriations of Western pictorial styles, see Cahill, "Misdirected Scruples," *ibid.*, pp. 93–94. For a description of the distinction in China between paintings as art and paintings for export, see Craig Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), p. 116. For information about paintings for foreign markets and a trade that began with England in the 1720s, see Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), pp. 11–12; for illustrations of later examples (1780–1790) with a style of figures related to those in figure 5, see *ibid.*, pp. 24–25, figs. 6, 7.
43. For additional illustrations from *Wanshou shengdian chujì*, related in format to figure 5, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, pp. 135–139, fig. 84. For a late-Ming scroll in a royal Swedish collection, "Beautiful Places in the Ho Yang District," in ink and color on paper, dated to 1619, related in subject to the popular genre of views of village life, and probably having arrived in Sweden during the 1690s, see Åke Setterwall, Stig Fogelmarck, and Bo Gyllensvärd, *The Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm* (Malmö: Allhelm, 1974), p. 208.
44. See Gill Saunders, "The China Trade: Oriental Painted Panels," in *The Papered Wall*, ed. Lesley Hoskins (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp. 42, 245, n. 1.
45. For examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 42–55, figs. 54, 57, 58, 59; also, Friederike Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989), figs. 18–25, 29–30, 32–33; and Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton, *Wallpapers* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982), p. 230, fig. 655; p. 234, fig. 666.
46. See OAR 494, coll. Musée du Louvre, Paris, six panels illustrating the production of tea and the manufacture of porcelain.
47. Meissonnier also prepared designs for Condé's mother, Louise-Françoise de Bourbon; see Peter Fuhring, "Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: The Artist and His Work," in Sotheby's sale catalogue, *The Thyssen Meissonnier Tureen*, New York, May 13, 1998, pp. 12–13, fig. 2; pp. 20–21, figs. 13, 14. See also Gillian Wilson, *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), pp. 187, 189–194, figs. 14A–15. For designs listed in the 1740 inventory of Condé's collection of Chantilly porcelain that may be rococo, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 399: "deux pots a [sic] oeil a [sic] branchages avec leurs couvercles dans chacun leur plat le tout de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly"; "deux pots pouris de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly sur une terrasse à tronc d'arbre"; "deux ecuelles sans anses dans leurs souscoupes le tout de porcelaine blanche de Chantilly travaillée en forme de feuille."

48. See Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 35–37, 45, 430; also, Geneviève Le Duc and Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, “Contribution à l’étude de la manufacture de faïence et de porcelaine de Saint-Cloud pendant ses cinquante premières années,” *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz Mitteilungsblatt* 105 (March 1991), p. 21. For the exact location and origin of the Chantilly manufactory, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 44–46.
49. The contents of the royal letters patent quoted below are from Xavier de Chavagnac and Gaston de Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine* (Paris: Macon, Protat Frères, 1906), pp. 59–60: “Notre bien-aimé Ciquaire Cirou, nous a fait représenter que depuis plus de dix ans, il s’est appliqué à la fabrique de la porcelaine pareille à celle qui se faisait antérieurement au Japon; que ses peines et les dépenses qu’il y a faites ont eu un succès si favorable, qu’il n’y a aucun lieu de douter que sa porcelaine ne soit au-dessus de celle de Saxe, qui néanmoins avait trouvé un grand crédit en France et dans le reste de l’Europe; que les différents ouvrages qu’il en a produits, et l’empressement avec lequel les pays étrangers tels que l’Angleterre, la Hollande et l’Allemagne en demandent, tendent à assurer la supériorité de sa porcelaine sur tout ce qui a paru jusqu’à présent en ce genre, et qu’il était en état de donner à cette fabrique, dont le commerce serait très avantageux au royaume, toute l’étendue qu’elle peut avoir . . . permettons et accordons audit Ciquaire Cirou, ses hoirs et ayant cause, de faire dans la manufacture qu’il a établie à Chantilly, de la porcelaine fine de toutes couleurs, espèces, façons et grandeurs à l’imitation de la porcelaine du Japon et ce, pendant l’espace de vingt années consécutives.” In drawing an analogy to Vincennes, Bernard Dragesco suggests that prior to 1735 the Chantilly porcelain production was probably more experimental than commercial in nature; see Bernard Dragesco, *English Ceramics in French Archives* (London: B. Dragesco, 1993), p. 16.
50. For imaginative adaptations at Saint-Cloud in a *famille-verte* palette, see *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory, ca. 1690–1766*, ed. Bertrand Rondot (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 197, fig. 124; p. 201, fig. 129; p. 204, figs. 132, 133; p. 206, figs. 136, 137; p. 210, figs. 146, 147.
51. I am grateful to Bernard Dragesco for sharing his insights with me regarding the origin of the Chantilly porcelain manufactory “à l’imitation de la porcelaine du Japon,” that the unmarked early examples may have been intended to pass for Japanese originals.
52. For information about Rudolph Lemaire’s orders for Meissen porcelain, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Returning to ‘Hoym, Lemaire und Meissen,’” *Keramos* 146 (October 1994), pp. 4, 6, 8; also, J. V. G. Mallet, “European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan,” in *Porcelain for Palaces*, ed. John Ayers (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1990), pp. 45–47; Geneviève Le Duc, “Rodolphe Lemaire et la manufacture de porcelaine de Meissen: Style extrême-oriental ou goût français?,” *Revue de l’art* (1997), pp. 54–60; and Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Meissen and Saint-Cloud, Dresden and Paris:

- Royal and Lesser Connections and Parallels," in *Discovering the Secrets*, pp. 105, 107.
53. For a recent discussion and illustrations of the painting, see Christine Guth in *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, ed. Money L. Hickman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 114, fig. 27. For another discussion in the context of "yamato-e" and Kanō styles, see Yuzo Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1973), pp. 38–51.
  54. For discussion of daily human activities and seasonal changes as subject matter for Japanese narrative painting, see Miyeko Murase, *Jewel Rivers: Japanese Art from the Burke Collection* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 122.
  55. For discussion of Japanese interpretations of Chinese painting styles, see *ibid.*, pp. 45–49; for discussion of Japanese aesthetics in painting, see pp. 121–125. See also Michael R. Cunningham, *The Triumph of Japanese Style: Sixteenth-Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), esp. pp. 1–13, 18–21, fig. 1. For discussion of late-Ming and early-Qing painters living in Nagasaki and inspiring Japanese painters, see Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, pp. 60–64. For discussion of Japanese terminology for Chinese things, including Chinese painting, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence: Chinese Ceramics Imported into Japan and the Formation of the Porcelain Industry" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), p. 2.
  56. For examples, see Christine Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), pp. 161, 163, 182.
  57. For examples of related pine-tree images in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese painting and lacquer, see *Heritage of Yamato-e: Kamakura to Early Edo Periods* (Osaka: Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, 1994), esp. pp. 137, fig. 133; 115, fig. 98; 62–63, fig. 55; 54, fig. 51 (lacquer).
  58. For related seventeenth-century female dancers with fans, see Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, p. 110, fig. 92; also, Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age*, pp. 122–125, fig. 31; and John T. Carpenter, "The Human Figure in the Playground of Edo Artistic Imagination," in *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*, ed. Robert T. Thomas Singer (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998), pp. 418–419, fig. 232.
  59. See, for example, Mark Hinton and Oliver Impey, *Kakiemon Porcelain from the English Country House* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1989), pp. 46–47, figs. 20, 21.
  60. For a history, definition, and examples of *kosode*, see Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. Armin Nikovskis (New York: John Weatherhill, 1974), pp. 13–52. For evolution of obi styles in relation to *kosode*, see pp. 25–26; for a description and the dates of obi styles, see Dale Gluckman, Sharon Takeda, et al., *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1992), p. 338.
  61. See Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, p. 167, fig. 139, for fabric around the head tied under the chin as in figure 6.

62. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, pp. 78–79; for discussion of illustrations from Chardin's *Travels in Persia* (London, 1720), see pp. 82–83, fig. 6.
63. *Atlas Japannensis being Remarkable Addresses by way of Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan* (London, 1670), a translation by John Ogilby of *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aan de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: J. Meurs, 1669).
64. For a contemporary model of the style, see Miyeko Murase, *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (New York: MMA, 1975), pp. 288–289, fig. 87.
65. See Jörg Schmeißer, "Changing the Image: The Drawings and Prints in Kaempfer's History of Japan," in *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan*, ed. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella (Sandgate: Japan Library, 1995), p. 150. For the organization of the VOC, see Hiroko Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1974), pp. 74–75.
66. *Atlas Japannensis*, p. 12.
67. I am grateful to Sören Edgren for identifying the four images as Buddhist sutras.
68. Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig Bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappij op de Kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670).
69. For an example of a Delft plate, ca. 1700, with a related Buddhist scene, see F. T. Scholten and C. J. A. Jörg, *Delfts aardewerk in het Groninger Museum* (Groningen: Groninger Museum, 1990), p. 20, fig. 26; Jörg suggests a connection between the Delft image and Dapper's publication. The scene decorating the plate may support evidence of the presence in the West of Chinese Buddhist sutras and resulting etchings of the woodcut images.
70. For examples from a 1610 edition, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, pp. 104–107, fig. 68.
71. Publications citing seventeenth-century travel accounts as sources for late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century decorative arts include Edith A. Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series," *MMJ* 11 (1976), pp. 103–117, figs. 1–19; Edith A. Standen, "English Tapestries 'After the Indian Manner,'" *MMJ* 15 (1981), pp. 135–137, figs. 28–31; Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "'Cutting up Berchems, Watteaus, and Audrans': A *Lacca Povera* Secretary at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 31 (1996), pp. 92–94, figs. 43–49; Leslie B. Grigsby, "Johan Nieuhoff's *Embassy*: An Inspiration for Relief Decoration on English Stoneware and Earthenware," *Antiques* (January 1993), pp. 172–183; Siegfried Ducret, "Die Vorbilder zu einigen Chinoiserien von Peter Schenk," *Keramos* 31 (January 1966), pp. 19–28, figs. 1–27. For etchings by Peter Schenk Sr. imitating Chinese woodcuts, published in 1702, see J. Fontein and A. L. Den Blaauwen, "*Picturae Sinicae ac Surattanae* von Petrus Schenk Sr.," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 12.3,4 (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 91–101 (also in *Keramos* 31 [January 1966], pp. 29–39). According to

Fontein and Den Blaauwen, the etchings were rarely used for decoration of Meissen porcelain and were not as popular as the Europeanized representations derived from Dapper by Peter Schenk Jr., *Nieuwe Geinventeerte Sineesen*, published in the early 1720s, more typically used by Meissen decorators. See also Hollstein's *Dutch and Flemish Etchings: Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 25, ed. K. G. Boon (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1981), p. 302. According to Hugh Honour in *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 21, engravings published in 1721 by Fischer von Erlach were based on Nieuwhof's renditions of Chinese architecture.

72. See Perrin Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries: Some New Sources," *Burlington Magazine* (September 1996), p. 599, figs. 22-24, p. 601, figs. 27-28, pp. 603-604, figs. 36-43; also, Alain Gruber in *L'art décoratif en Europe: Classique et baroque*, vol. 2, ed. Alain Gruber (Paris: Editions Citadelles & Mazenod, 1992), pp. 290-294.
73. For a japanned secretaire, ca. 1770-1775, with decoration derived from images of Boucher and Pillement, see Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A Japanned Secrétaire in the Linsky Collection with Decorations after Boucher and Pillement," *MMJ* 21 (1986), pp. 85-95. For discussion of chinoiseries decorating Meissen porcelain, some of which derived from Pillement, Höroldt's etchings, and his interest in Chinese woodcuts, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives," *MMJ* 31 (1996), pp. 99-126, figs. 12-16, 39-41. For Sèvres porcelain with decoration inspired by images of Boucher and Pillement, see Tamara Préaud, "Sèvres, la Chine et les 'chinoiseries' au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 47 (1989), pp. 39-52, figs. 1, 2, 13, 14, 16-19.
74. For two bottle coolers, ca. 1735, with decoration on one side derived from Fraisse, and on the other side from Dapper, see Guillebon, *Catalogue des porcelaines françaises*, vol. 1, pp. 60-62, figs. 10, 10a-e.
75. According to Anthony Bliss, the rare book librarian at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, the 1722 edition of *Ambassades de la Compagnie hollandaise des Indes d'Orient vers l'empereur du Japon* (Paris: Chez Pierre Witte) in the Bancroft Library appears to be a popular version, not expensively produced.
76. See Theodore N. Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography," in Ronan and Oh, eds., *East Meets West*, p. 236.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.
78. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, pp. 9, 22, n. 19. For discussion of Fénelon's reformist writings in *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699), see Michèle Sacquin in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, pp. 310-311, fig. 125.
79. See Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, p. 84.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-139. See also Nancy K. Miller's introduction to David Kornacker's translation, *Letters from a Peruvian Woman* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1993), pp. xvii-xxii.
81. Kaempfer's manuscript has been retranslated by Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey; see *Kaempfer's Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); for the original

- German title, see pp. 7, 451, n. 38. For a description of "journeys to the court" and discussion of Kaempfer versus Montanus, see Wolfgang Michel, "Travels of the Dutch East India Company in the Japanese Archipelago," in *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*, ed. Lutz Walter (Munich and New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), pp. 33-37.
82. See Peter F. Kornicki, "European Japanology at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 502-524.
83. Kaempfer's copy was apparently an unrecorded edition from the 1660s or 1670s; see Gerhard Bonn, "Der wissenschaftliche Nachlass des lippischen Forschungsreisenden Engelbert Kaempfer im Britischen Museum," *Lippische Mitteilungen aus Geschichte und Landeskunde* 48 (1979), p. 102.
84. For information about and examples of Scheuchzer's illustrations, as well as information about Kaempfer and his collections, see Yu-Ying Brown, "Japanese Books and Manuscripts: Sloane's Japanese Library and the Making of *The History of Japan*," in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: British Museum Press, 1994), pp. 278-290; also Schmeißer, "Changing the Image," pp. 132-151. For an illustration of one of Scheuchzer's prints after one of the *meisho-e* paintings, see Doris Croissant, Lothar Ledderose, et al., eds., *Japan und Europa* (Berlin: Argon, 1995), p. 370, figs. 331 and 332; pp. 375, 379-380. For illustrations and discussion of the *meisho-e* paintings, see Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, "The Most Magnificent Monastery and Other Famous Sights: The Japanese Paintings of Engelbert Kaempfer," *Japan Review* (Kyoto, 1992), pp. 25-44.
85. For two Dutch-language editions, see Croissant, Ledderose, et al., *Japan und Europa*, p. 378. For biographical information about Kaempfer and material collected by him, see Yu-Ying Brown, "Engelbert Kämpfer: First Interpreter of Japan," published for the British Library exhibition, October 11, 1991-May 17, 1992. I appreciate Wolfgang Michel's communication to me confirming that previously published assertions that Du Halde published excerpts from Kaempfer are erroneous; an excerpt from Kaempfer's *History* was first published in volume 4 of a 1749 German translation of Du Halde's 1735 work. Professor Michel is in the process of determining whether the German-language excerpt is a translation of the 1727 English *History* or the 1729 French *Histoire naturelle*. For a chronological bibliography of *The History of Japan*, see Michel's web site, "Engelbert-Kämpfer-Forum, web-site, Kyushu University."
86. I thank Roberta Waddell for assistance in this identification; see Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1968), p. 326; M. Ch. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vol. 3 (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1888), p. 189; an engraved half-title by Philips with a related allegorical composition dated 1744, in the clippings file, New York Public Library, Prints and Photographs. Philips's engraved pictorial half-title for the

- 1729 Dutch translation of *The History of Japan* is illustrated in Croissant, Ledderose, et al., *Japan und Europa*, p. 378, fig. 10/19.
87. See Ann Yonemura, "Art and Authority: A Tokugawa Palanquin," *Asian Art* (Winter 1989), p. 18, fig. 9, p. 26, n. 12.
88. I thank Elizabeth Roth for assistance in researching allegorical imagery in prints. For the identification of History, a winged figure writing on a tablet, see James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (rev. ed.; Boulder, Col. and Oxford: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 342, 344-345. For discussion of the personification of Europe seated next to a globe and two cherubs, see Edward A. Maser, ed., *Cesare Ripa Baroque and Rococo Imagery* (New York: Dover, 1971), p. 102, fig. 102.
89. For the sun as truth and various other attributes of truth, see Hall, *Dictionary*, pp. 292, 313; for truth holding the sun, see Maser, *Cesare Ripa*, p. 50, fig. 50, for the sun as symbol of light and truth, p. 83, fig. 83, for wisdom, p. 136, fig. 136, and for knowledge, p. 188, fig. 188.
90. See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 583; Theodore N. Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography," in Ronan and Oh, *East Meets West*, p. 211, fig. 8.2; John D. Witek, S.J., "Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV," in *ibid.*, pp. 70-71; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), p. 32; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 96-97; and, L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 1138. For information about the Jesuits in China before Ricci, see Joseph Sebes, S.J., "The Precursors of Ricci," in Ronan and Oh, *East Meets West*, pp. 2-61. For discussion of the Jesuits in China and the early porcelain trade, see Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky, "The 'Fountain' Ewers: An Explanation for the Motif," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 67 (Stockholm, 1995), pp. 51-78.
91. For information on Schall's contributions and publications, see Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 1153-1157. For woodcuts and discussion of the *Yixiangtu*, see Noel Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 28 (Nettetal, 1993), pp. 25-26, pp. 468-474, figs. 13-19, p. 455, fig. 5, p. 478, fig. 23; also, see Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, p. 125, fig. 78. For discussion of Western ecliptic and Chinese equatorial armillary spheres, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, pp. 339-382.
92. For the observatory in Du Halde, see *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulières de ces pays, de la carte générale et des cartes particulières du Thibet, et de la Corée, et ornée d'un grand nombre de figures et de vignettes gravées en taille-douce* (Paris: P.G. Le Mercier, 1735), vol. 3,

- p. 280. Engraving of clock and celestial globe by Corvinus, published by Jeremia Wolff, coll. Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1997-22-4.
93. Coll. George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto, Canada, G. 83.1.1069; the top half of the globe is now missing. I thank Patricia Ferguson for the identification of the globe.
94. See Charissa Bremer-David's discussion of the tapestry in relation to the Jesuit mission in *French Tapestries and Textiles in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), pp. 82, 84; p. 85, fig. c.; pp. 90-92; also, Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China," pp. 103-117. For a discussion of the French Jesuits sent to China in 1687, see Witek, "Understanding the Chinese," pp. 62-102.
95. See Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 584-587, figs. 1001-1004; also, Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 326.
96. See Foss, "A Western Interpretation of China," pp. 219-251.
97. For specific contributions of French Jesuits, 1707-1717, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, p. 585.
98. For examples, coll. MMA, 1982.60.84, see William Rieder, "Clocks, Gilt Bronzes, and Mounted Porcelains," in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: MMA, 1984), pp. 238-239, fig. 147. For a pair of seated Chinese-style figures, each with a terrestrial globe, see Christie's London sale catalogue *Highly Important Continental Porcelain, French Furniture and Objects of Art*, November 29, 1973, lot 49.
99. See Kaempfer, "Introduction," *The History of Japan* (London, 1728), vol. 1, p. xliij [43].
100. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 531.
101. See Paul-Raymond Schwartz, "French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting: (1) The Beaulieu ms., c. 1734," *Journal of Indian Textile History* 2 (Abmedabad, 1956), pp. 5-23; reprinted in John Irwin and Katherine B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz* (London: H.M.S.O., 1970), pp. 36-41.
102. For a French *médailleur*, ca. 1730, with Chinese lacquer panels and French embellishments, owned by Joseph Pellerin (1684-1782), see Irène Aghion, "Pellerin, voyageur immobile," *Trafic d'influences* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989), p. 15. For a French *médailleur*, ca. 1715, owned by Pellerin, with interior decoration of reused Japanese lacquer panels, see Christine Shimizu, "Laques et faucons dans le goût japonais," *ibid.*, pp. 31-35. See also Oliver R. Impey and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "The Japanese Connection, French Eighteenth-Century Furniture and Export Lacquer," *Apollo*, n.s., 139.383 (January 1994), pp. 48-61; Oliver Impey and John Whitehead, "From Japanese Box to French Royal Furniture," *Apollo*, n.s., 132.343 (September 1990), pp. 159-165. For a French commode, ca. 1730-1735, with seventeenth-century Japanese lacquer panels, coll. Louvre, 11745, and examples of related furniture, see Daniel Alcouffe, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des objets*

- d'art 1990-1994 Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1995), pp. 130-133, fig. 46. For the role played by Parisian *marchand-merciers* in the reuse of Chinese and Japanese lacquer panels and as customers of "*vernisseurs*" see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), pp. 79-90.
103. See Thibaut Wolvesperges, "The Royal Lacquer Workshop at the Gobelins, 1713-1757," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* (Spring 1995), pp. 55-76; the two lacquer overdoor panels, ca. 1730, coll. Musée Carnavalet, illustrated in Jacques Wilhelm, "The Parisian Interior in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Apollo*, n.s., 101.158 (April 1975), p. 288, are identified by Wolvesperges, "The Royal Lacquer Workshop," p. 64, fig. 3, as from the Gobelins workshop; for reference to lacquered leather and canvas, see pp. 62-64.
104. See excerpts from *Description géographique*, published in *Mercure de France*, August 1736, pp. 1842-1860, for lacquer; September 1736, pp. 2055-2070 and October 1736, pp. 2280-2291, for Chinese porcelain.
105. For an illustration of Kaempfer's sketch and description of the journeys to court, see Michel, "Travels of the Dutch East India Company," pp. 33-37, fig. 25. For a comparison between Kaempfer's sketch and an engraving of a German funeral procession, see Schmeißer, "Changing the Image," p. 146, figs. 11a-c. A shorter but related procession was published by Robert Sayer in *The Ladies Amusement* (1762 edition), plate 30, illustrated in Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "A Japanned Cabinet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *MMJ* 19-20 (1986), p. 92, fig. 14. For Europeanized Chinese processions published by Du Halde, contrasting with Fraisse's processions, see *Description géographique*, vol. 2, pp. 30, 120, 126.
106. For an example of a late-sixteenth-century Japanese picture scroll and the intermingling characteristics of successive pages, see Sören Edgren, "Illustrated Early Japanese Fiction in the Nordenskiöld Collection," *Biblis* (1970), p. 17, fig. 1.
107. See Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, trans. Ronald K. Jones (New York: John Weatherhill, 1972), p. 73, fig. 56.
108. The sizes of the etched plates, reading from left to right: 44 cm. 5 mm. x 32 cm. 5 mm.; 26 cm. 5 mm. x 38 cm.; 36 cm. 5 mm. x 27 cm.; 66. cm. 5 mm. x 29 cm. 7 mm.; 34 cm. 5 mm. x 27 cm.; 59. cm. x 35 cm.
109. I am grateful to Maxime Préaud for confirming the identification of the woodcut in the two albums at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. See (1) fifty-seven-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque du musée Condé, Chantilly, folio 26; (2) fifty-seven-plate album owned by the comte de Calenberg, coll. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Est.77, folio 1; (3) fifty-seven-plate album owned by the duc de La Vallière, coll. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Est.813, folio 16; (4) forty-four-plate album, coll. Bibliothèque royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, Brussels, folio removed from album and conserved separately; (5) fifty-seven-plate album, coll. l'Ecole nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Les.1900 (not numbered); (6) fifty-seven-plate album owned by Jean-Baptiste du Tilliot, coll. Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris, Coll. Poterlet, 3558 R.63, folio 30.

110. For example, see Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age*, p. 94, fig. 53.
111. See Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, pp. 17–18. For discussion of the cabinet model and illustrations of a pair with related scenes of travelers, mountains, and buildings, see Peter Hughes, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Furniture*, vol. 1 (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1996), pp. 291–297, figs. F18, F19. For one of another pair decorated with a related procession, see Martha Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1959), plate 60, fig. 61; p. 104.
112. See Barbara Ford in James C. Y. Watt and Barbara Brennan Ford, *East Asian Lacquer: The Florence and Herbert Irving Collection* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991), pp. 209–211, fig. 95; for discussion of *maki-e*, see Ford, “Japanese Lacquer: Maki-e and Negoro,” *ibid.*, pp. 153–160; and Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, pp. 35–39. For a description, examples, and the history of *maki-e* see Beatrix von Ragué, *A History of Japanese Laquerwork*, trans. Annie R. de Wassermann (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 17–19, 25–35. I thank Barbara Ford for suggesting the reference. Also, see Ann Yonemura, “Decoration and Representation in Japanese Lacquer,” *Oriental Art* 45.3 (1999), pp. 16–22.
113. I am grateful to Wai-fong Anita Siu for sharing her research with me and for translating relevant information from *Xiushilu jieshuo* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983), a reprint of a 1927 edition of a handwritten copy annotated by Wang Shixiang, in turn a printing of an earlier handwritten copy. The 1983 reprint includes original writings by Huang Cheng (active mid- to late-sixteenth century), annotated by Yang Ming in 1625 (published in 1927 on the basis of a handwritten copy preserved in Japan), and finally, annotations by Wang Shixiang. The original date of Huang Cheng’s mid-sixteenth-century informal writings is not known. A 1625 annotation by Yang Ming may express a response to the success of Japanese *maki-e*: “recently many people use gold or silver flakes called fake sprinkled gold.” For typical examples of eighteenth-century gold-decorated Chinese export lacquer, not exhibiting the technique of *maki-e*, see Clunas, *Chinese Export Art*, pp. 84–85, figs. 64, 65; pp. 86–87, fig. 66; pp. 88–89, figs. 67–68.
114. See Wang Shixiang, *Zhongguo gudai qiqi* (Ancient Chinese Lacquer; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), fig. 82, Qing dynasty, “influence from Japanese lacquer.” Also, Watt, “Lacquer of China,” in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, p. 37.
115. See A. L. Den Blaauwen, “Keramik mit Chinoiserien nach Stichen von Petrus Schenk jun.,” *Keramos* 31 (January 1966), p. 10, fig. 4.
116. A japanned cabinet, ca. 1690–1700, shows *maki-e*; coll. Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, 1970.126. Also, see one of a pair of japanned cabinets, ca. 1710, Christie’s sale catalogue, *Important English Furniture: Objects of Art and Clocks*, New York, April 16, 1998, lot 120, pp. 72–73.
117. See a Saint-Cloud sugar bowl, ca. 1730, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 34284, illustrated in Christine Lahaussais, *Porcelaines de Saint-Cloud* (Paris: Union

- centrale des arts décoratifs, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997) p. 139, fig. 177; the side with *maki-e* decoration is not illustrated; a Saint-Cloud tobacco jar, ca. 1720–1730, coll. Musée national Adrien Dubouché, Limoges, ADL 1244, illustrated in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 204, fig. 133; a Chantilly teapot, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 8850; see also Sophie de Juvigny, *La porcelaine à Saint-Cloud* (Saint-Cloud: Musée de Saint-Cloud, 1997), p. 51, fig. 74.
118. For examples see *The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period 1600–1868*, ed. William Watson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), pp. 50–51, fig. 13A, Kanō Sanraku and Kanō Sansetsu, “Flowering Plum with Pheasants,” ca. 1631; also, Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* (New York: MMA, 1975), pp. 30–31, fig. 14, Hasegawa Tohaku, “Landscape,” ca. 1599; pp. 46–47, fig. 21, Soga Chokuan, “Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons,” late-sixteenth century.
119. For related images of attendants with lacquer boxes, see *The Great Japan Exhibition*, pp. 102–103, fig. 68, from a handscroll, Miyagawa Choshun (1683–1753), “Scenes of Popular Entertainment,” ca. 1720.
120. For examples with decoration of paulownia, see Ford in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 220–221, fig. 101; pp. 224–225, fig. 104; pp. 237–238, fig. 113. For a sixteenth-century example with both crests, see Shimizu, *Les laques du Japon*, p. 184.
121. For examples, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 32755, 30369, and 30267, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 216, figs. 157–159.
122. For discussion and examples of the design, see Seiroku Noma, *Japanese Costume and Textile Arts*, trans. Armins Nikovskis (New York: John Weatherhill, 1974), pp. 162–164, fig. 184.
123. I am grateful to Clare Le Corbeiller for giving me an opportunity to study the models and costumes for a group of Chantilly figural sculptures. For discussion and examples of porcelain sculptures from Chantilly and their derivation from Chinese models, see Clare Le Corbeiller in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection*, pp. 317–320, figs. 290, 291, 293; p. 240, fig. 148; also, Clare Le Corbeiller, “The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Addenda to the Catalogue,” *MMJ* 21 (1986), pp. 175–176, fig. A.11; p. 177, figs. a, b; see also Jeffrey H. Munger in *The Forsyth Wickes Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), pp. 218–219, fig. 171; and Vivian S. Hawes in Vivian S. Hawes, Christina S. Corsiglia, et al., *The Rita and Frits Markus Collection of European Ceramics and Enamels* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), pp. 163–165, fig. 54.
124. For a color illustration, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, the cover and pp. 96–97. An undecorated white-porcelain example is illustrated in the sale catalogue of Paul Renaud, June 18, 1999, Drouot Richelieu, Paris, lot 43A.
125. Consult Douthwaite, *Exotic Women*, for examples in eighteenth-century French literature of eroticizing the “Other”; also see Rebecca Zorach, “The Matter of Italy: Sodomy and the Scandal of Style in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28.3 (Fall 1998), pp.

- 581–609. For an erotic rendition in Chantilly porcelain of a lounging Chinese woman, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 161.
126. For two seventeenth-century ivory examples, one in the Danish collection of Dr. Ole Worm (1588–1654) and published in a catalogue in 1655, see Craig Clunas, *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1984), pp. 112–113, color plate 5, figs. 131, 132. For the blanc-de-chine example, coll. Landesmuseum, OP 285, see *Porzellan aus China und Japan: Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1990), p. 554, fig. 325.
127. See Michel Beurdeley, *Chinese Erotic Art* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), pp. 97, 107. For a discussion of Ming erotic illustrations, including paintings, prints, and books, see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press: 1997), pp. 149–158. For a study of representations of women in urban studio paintings in late imperial China, see Cahill, “The Three Zhangs.”
128. For erotic Chinese porcelain for export, ca. 1770, see David S. Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), p. 257, fig. 306; William R. Sargent, *The Copeland Collection* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1991), p. 66, fig. 21; pp. 118–120, fig. 53; pp. 130–131. For examples and discussion of Kangxi-era plates with erotic scenes, see Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, p. 43, fig. 9.
129. Two male Chinese-style figures seated at the base of a tree, shown in color by Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 95, are each a member of a pair of male and female seated Chinese-style figures, attributable to the artist who produced figure 37. An example of the female counterpart seated at the base of a tree facing in the opposite direction with the opposite arm raised, unfortunately with a replaced head, is shown in color in Christie’s sale catalogue *Important Continental Ceramics*, London, March 25, 1985, lot 8, cover and p. 7. An example of the male and female pair in undecorated white porcelain, coll. Sèvres, Musée national de céramique, is in Françoise Boisgibault, “L’influence de l’Extrême-Orient sur la petite statuaire française,” *Estampille: L’objet d’art* 338 (July–August 1999), p. 48. For an illustration of the male and female mounted on a base for an incense burner, see Paul Alfassa and Jacques Guerin, *Porcelaine française* (Paris, [1932?]), p. 43, plate 28. For an ivory model in the same position as the slender figure seated at the base of a tree, see *The Catalogue of Sassoon Chinese Ivories*, compiled by S. E. Lucas (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1950), vol. 2, pp. 495, 499, fig. 396.
130. For a Chinese soapstone figure from the 1721 inventory of Augustus the Strong, dressed in a similarly modeled costume, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Rediscovering the *Specksteinkabinett* of Augustus the Strong and Its Role at Meissen: An Interim Report,” *Keramos* 145 (July 1994), p. 7, fig. 4; for a detailed report on the soapstone figures, including some color illustrations, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Changing Attitudes towards Ethnographic Material: Re-Discovering the Soapstone Collection of Augustus the Strong,” *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 48

- (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 7–98. Chinese soapstone figures were in the Condé collections and may have been sources for costumes on 1917.950, 951, and other Chantilly figural sculptures; see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Forgotten Sources for Early Meissen Figures: Rediscovering the Chinese Carved Soapstone and Dutch Red Earthenware Figures from the Japanese Palace of Augustus the Strong,” *American Ceramic Circle Journal* 10 (1997), p. 68, n. 3.
131. See Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1982), pp. 137–138.
132. For two related examples of painted or embroidered non-repeating continuous patterns, see Santina M. Levey, *Elizabethan Treasures: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998), pp. 36–37, fig. 28, Elizabeth I’s dress; M. Breukink-Peeze in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art from 1650 to the Present*, ed. Nanne Dekking (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1991), p. 93, fig. 59, portrait of a Dutch merchant in a painted or embroidered Japanese-style robe. For Saint-Cloud examples, ca. 1735, coll. MMA, 54.147.10, 11, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 227, fig. 173; for a Villeroy example, 1737–1742, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 36277, p. 228, fig. 174, and for a related Chantilly example, ca. 1735, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 33189, p. 228, fig. 175. For the suggestion that the Saint-Cloud figures are actors, see Clare Le Corbeiller, “Oriental-Inspired Figure Sculpture,” in *ibid.*, p. 293.
133. For examples of related roundels on Shonzui ware, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, “Recreating China: An Examination of Design Motifs on Imported Chinese Porcelains and Their Early Japanese Counterparts,” *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, 1996), p. 16, fig. 8; Henry Trubner, *Treasures of Asian Art from the Idemitsu Collection* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1981), pp. 88–89, fig. 34. For woodcuts, see Helen C. Gunsaulus, *The Clarence Buckingham Collection of Japanese Prints*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1955), p. 16, fig. 1; p. 22, fig. 2; Howard A. Link, *Primitive Ukiyo-e from the James A. Michener Collection in the Honolulu Academy of Arts* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p. 8, fig. 1. For seventeenth-century Indian cottons for Indonesia and Japan, see Shinobu Yoshimoto and Jun Ato, *Newly Discovered Printed Cottons Found in Indonesia* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1996), pp. 48–49, fig. 37; pp. 78–79, fig. 66; also, Tsuneo Yoshioka and Shinobu Yoshimoto, *Sarasa of the World* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1980), p. 12, figs. 19–24; p. 22, fig. 52; p. 63, fig. 106.
134. For figures, see Sargent, *The Copeland Collection*, p. 102, fig. 46; coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 63.213.7, 8 and 61.200.31; *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1975), p. 14, fig. 112.
135. For the Delft figure, first quarter of the eighteenth century, see Christina S. Corsiglia in Hawes, Corsiglia, et al., *Rita & Frits Markus Collection*, pp. 46–47, fig. 2. For a Saint-Cloud tobacco jar, ca. 1720–1730 (see n. 117), decorated with two Chinese-style figures in green robes, one with a chevron-patterned border, see Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 204, fig. 133.

136. See a Chantilly seated Chinese-style figure, private coll., in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 93; also, the robe of a figure painted on Chantilly bottle coolers shown by Guillebon, *Porcelaines françaises* 1, pp. 60, 62, figs. 10, 10c.
137. See *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Decorative Arts*, ed. John Harris (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Museum, 1997), pp. 78–79, fig. 59.
138. See, for example, Ōhashi Kōji, “Overglaze Enamel Hizen Ware in the Early Edo Period,” trans. Nicole Rousmaniere, *Daiei Hakubutsukan no Nihon jiki* (Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum; Arita: VOC, 1994), pp. 41–45; also, Akihiko Shibata, “Arita Porcelains in the Mid-17th Century,” *Shibata Collection*, pt. 2, vol. 2 (Arita-machi: Saga Kenritsu Kyūshū Toji Bunkakan, 1991), pp. 85–86.
139. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for information about turquoise on Kakiemon-style ware, and for pointing out that a Japanese word for “turquoise” does not exist. For other Chantilly Chinese-style figures in colored-ground robes, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, pp. 95, 118, 119, 164, 165, 214. For examples of green and other color ground robes worn by figures decorating mid-seventeenth through early-eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain, see Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996), esp. pp. 162–163, fig. 81; pp. 176–177, fig. 90; p. 180, fig. 92; pp. 184–185, fig. 95; also Kangxi *famille-verte* vase, coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 61.200.67.
140. I thank Peter Kornicki for sharing information from *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) before it was published; see pp. 313–314, 316–317. For a proper perspective on Kaempfer and the late-seventeenth-century interest in Japan and Japanese books, see Kornicki, “European Japanology.”
141. For a list of Japanese material, see Bonn, “Der Wissenschaftliche Nachlass,” pp. 100–108.
142. See Wolfgang Holler, “The Collection of Japanese Art at the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden,” in Rose Hempel, *Gems of the Floating World: Ukiyo-e Prints from the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett* (New York: Japan Society, 1995), pp. 6–8.
143. According to information published by Keiko Kosugi, “Pari kōkuritsu toshokan ni okeru jūkyū seiki shūshū wakanjō mokurokukō,” *Nichiran gakkai kaishi* 17.1 (1992), p. 91; in 1742 Etienne Fourmont published a catalogue of Chinese books in the collection of the Bibliothèque du roi and listed three unillustrated Japanese books.
144. See Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p. 176.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–210; also, Donald H. Shively in *Early Modern Japan, The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ed. John Whitney Hall, pp. 725–733; and Richard Lane, “The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: Kana-Zōshi, 1600–1682,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20.3,4 (December 1957), pp. 644–701, for discussion of the types of Japanese books.

147. I thank Joseph Chang for information about the historical tradition in China of recording events pictorially. For examples, see *The Vestiges of Magnanimity and Wisdom: Treasures of Kyonggi Province* (Yongin: Kyonggi Provincial Museum, 1997), p. 27, fig. 26, "Party Album Awarding a Chair and Sticks," 1668; p. 30, fig. 31, "The Record of the Superintendency for Copying Royal Portraits," 1748.
148. For discussion of late-Ming and early-Qing book production and categories of books published, see Wang Fang-yu, "Book Illustration in Late Ming and Early Qing China," in *Chinese Rare Books*, ed. Sören Edgren (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), pp. 31-43.
149. See Henry Trubner and Tsugio Mikami, *Treasures of Asian Art from the Idemitsu Collection* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1981), pp. 68-69, fig. 23.
150. How direct the correlation is between Chinese book illustration and porcelain is unresolved, and questions about the distribution of images remain to be explored; I thank Anne Farrer for sharing her insights with me. For discussion of woodcuts as sources for porcelain decoration, see Julia B. Curtis, "Markets, Motifs and Seventeenth-Century Porcelain from Jingdezhen," in *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 16 (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, University of London, 1993), pp. 123-145. For publications citing examples of Ming-through-Kangxi porcelain with decoration relating to woodcuts, see Stephen Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period: 1620-1683* (New York: China Institute in America, 1983); Sir Michael Butler, Margaret Medley, and Stephen Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 1990); Robert D. Mowry, "Chinese Ceramics," in *The Forsyth Wickes Collection*, pp. 289-290; Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholars' Motifs and Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Watt, "Official Art and Commercial Art," in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 448, fig. 245; p. 504, fig. 289. For examples of lacquer decoration derived from late-Ming woodcuts, see Iris Reepen and Edelgard Handke, *Chinoiserie: Möbel und Wandverkleidungen* (Bad Homburg and Leipzig: Ausbildung und Wissen, 1996), pp. 16-17, figs. 12, 13; also, Watt in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 59-60, fig. 60; pp. 60-61, fig. 61; p. 141, fig. 65; Stephen Little, "Japanese Lacquer in the Collection of Edmund J. Lewis," *Oriental Art* 27.11 (December 1996), p. 40, figs. 4a-c, lacquer cabinet by Ogawa Haritsu (1663-1747). For textiles, see Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 39-40, figs. 24, 25; pp. 112-113, fig. 34; also, Rosemary E. Scott, "Decorative Links between Porcelain and Silk in the Qing Period," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 58 (1993-1994; London, 1995), pp. 63-75.
151. I thank Sören Edgren for publication information about *Hasshu gafu*. See Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," p. 181; also Rousmaniere, "Recreating China," pp. 14-15, figs. 6, 7.
152. See Cohen and Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, for documentation of Chinese

- books in the Bibliothèque du roi before 1735: p. 35, fig. 17; pp. 79–86, figs. 49–54; pp. 96–99, figs. 63, 64; pp. 103–107, figs. 67, 68; p. 132, fig. 81; pp. 134–135, fig. 83; p. 151, fig. 93. Chinese books owned by Cardinal Mazarin entered the Bibliothèque du roi in 1668; see Monique Cohen, “Livres et laques de Chine, le même voyage,” in *Trafic d’influences*, p. 20.
153. For information about Chinese books acquired for Louis XIV by the Jesuits Couplet in 1687, Bouvet in 1697, and Fontaney in 1708, see H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Slatkine Reprint, 1970), pp. 235–236, n. 3.
154. In addition to the Chinese books recorded in the 1738 inventory from the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden, fragments of Chinese novels published prior to 1670 are listed in a 1737 royal Danish inventory; see Bente Gundestrup, *The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1737* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet; Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1991), pp. 42–43, figs. 806/135, 806/136. For discussion of Chinese woodcuts as a source for Meissen decorators, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, “Engraved Sources for Early Höroldt Decoration: From a Lecture Delivered in Dresden on October 26, 1996,” *Keramos* 161 (July 1998), pp. 3–32 (English translation, pp. 33–35).
155. A Chantilly teapot, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, 8850, is decorated with a tree relating to Fraise’s woodcut and to the Japanese woodcut; it is difficult to know whether the source for the porcelain decoration was Fraise’s image or the Japanese woodcut. The teapot is illustrated in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 124.
156. See Watt, “Official Art and Commerical Art,” p. 440, fig. 236. For an illustration of one of twenty-five hundred dishes produced in 1545 decorated with children at play, see Margaret Medley, “Organization and Production at Jingdezhen in the Sixteenth Century,” in Scott, *Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, p. 70, fig. 2.
157. See Christie’s London sale catalogue, *The Peony Pavilion Collection: Chinese Tea Ceramics for Japan (c. 1580–1650)*, June 12, 1989, lots 312–314, p. 74; lot 325, p. 82. For a Delft dish, ca. 1680–1690, modeled on an example of *Kosometsuke*, see J. D. van Dam in Dekking, *Imitation and Inspiration*, p. 27, fig. 1.
158. See Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, pp. 84–85, fig. 27, detail p. 10, blue-and-white Ming dynasty, Jiajing period (1522–1566); for an export example dated 1541, see Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, *Ming Porcelain* (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), p. 152, fig. 133a.
159. For discussion of and examples from *Fangshi mopu*, see Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books*, pp. 102–103; also, see Wai-fong Anita Siu, “Ink,” in Denise P. Leidy, Wai-fong Anita Siu, and James C. Y. Watt, “Chinese Decorative Arts,” *MMA Bulletin* (Summer 1997), p. 54.
160. For a porcelain example with one child on a hobby horse dressed as an adult with a hat similar to the hat in figure 53, see Rosemary E. Scott, *Elegant Form and Harmonious Decoration: Four Dynasties of Jingdezhen Porcelain* (London: Percival David Foundation, 1992), p. 75, fig. 74, blue-and-white ewer, Jiajing period. For a Song album leaf of “one hundred children at play,” with ele-

- ments relating to those in Fraisse's etching, see Howard Rogers in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 55, fig. 39. For a related fourteenth-century lacquer example in the MMA's collection, see Siu, "Lacquer," in Leidy, Siu, and Watt, "Chinese Decorative Arts," pp. 62, 66; also in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 76-77, fig. 23. For New Year's greetings see *Taohuawu nianhua* (Woodblock New Year Pictures of Taohuawu; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), fig. 27, p. 23.
161. I thank Sören Edgren for suggesting the following reference: R. H. van Gulik, "On the Seal Representing the God of Literature on the Title Page of Old Chinese and Japanese Popular Editions," *Monumenta Nipponica* 4.1 (January 1941), pp. 33-52, figs. 2-10.
162. For a color illustration of the etching from the BnF's *Livre de desseins chinois*, Rés.V.86, fol. 23, see Conihout in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, p. 318, fig. 130. MMA plate 58, 40.38, Department of Drawings and Prints, was the source of decoration for a Chantilly bottle cooler, ca. 1740, coll. Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, 33065, and coll. Musée du Louvre, OA 10299.
163. For example, see Tachibana Yuzei (1679-1748), *Illustrated Encyclopedia of China*, vol. 1 (1719); also two seventeenth-century panels, ink and color on paper, attributed to Kanō Eitoku, coll. MMA, Department of Asian Art, 29.100.450, 451.
164. For the origin and definition of "sakoku," see Henry D. Smith II, "Putting Yokohama in Place," *Asian Art* (Summer 1990), p. 3; also, Henry D. Smith II, "Five Myths about Early Modern Japan," in *Asia in Western and World History: A Guide for Teaching*, ed. Ainslie Embree and Carol Gluck (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 514-522; also, Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," p. 13. For discussion of the complexity and profitability of trade during "sakoku," see Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*. See also Timon Screech, *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan: The Lens within the Heart* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1, 8-18. For information about the first recorded entry of Japanese prints, lacquer, and other decorative objects in an American collection during sakoku, see Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Apollo*, n.s., 145.421 (March 1997), pp. 23-29; these items had been purchased in Nagasaki in 1799 and were recorded in 1800.
165. For discussion and examples of the attraction the West held for Japan, see Cal French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639-1853* (Kobe: Kobe City Museum of Namban Art; Rochester, Mich.: Oakland University, 1977); also, Yoshinobu Tokugawa, "Japan and Europe: Early Encounters," in *The Burghley Porcelains*, ed. Alexandra Munroe and Naomi Noble Richard (New York: Japan Society, 1986), pp. 52-59; G. B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), pp. 434-437. For Japan as a receiver rather than a transmitter of Chinese, Korean, and Western books, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 277-306.

166. Chikamatsu, *Nebiki no kadomatsu*, act 2, trans. Donald Keene; see Keene, *Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 151.
167. See *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, ed. Sir Ernest M. Satow, K.C.M.G. (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1967; from edition published by Hakluyt Society, 1900, ser. 2, vol. 5.), p. lxiii.
168. See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, bk. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 14, 42, 89, n. 171.
169. See Satow, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris*, p. 140.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. liv, 141.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
172. *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.
173. See Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 237. For discussion of the private porcelain trade, see Hiroko Nishida, "A History of Japanese Porcelain and the Export Trade," in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 63–65.
174. Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 243.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 476.
176. See Margaret Medley, "Trade, Craftsmanship, and Decoration" in Butler, Medley, and Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain*, pp. 11–20; also, Medley, "Organization and Production at Jingdezhen," pp. 69–82; Christiaan J. A. Jörg, "Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise," in Scott, *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen*, pp. 183–205; Stephen Little, "Economic Change in Seventeenth-Century China and Innovations at the Jingdezhen Kilns," *Ars Orientalis* 26 (1996), pp. 47–54.
177. For the origin and a description of terms and for examples of Swatow, Kraak, Kosometsuke, and Shonzui, see Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 58–63; for Swatow, see also Regina Krahl, "'Swatow' Wares and 'Martaban' Jars," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*, vol. 2, ed. John Ayers (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), pp. 883–884.
178. Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 18–20; also, Rousmaniere, "Recreating China," pp. 10–17, figs. 5, 6, 9; Ohashi, "Overglaze Enamel Hizen Ware," pp. 39–48; Akihiko Shibata, "An Overview of Changing Techniques in Arita Porcelains," trans. Nicole Rousmaniere, *Techniques and Decorative Methods Used in the Edo Period*, Shibata Collection 6, pt. 5 (Saga Prefecture: Kyushu Ceramic Museum, 1998), p. 280. For additional examples of Japanese blue-and-white porcelain, more representative of Japanese than of export-market taste, dating from ca. 1650–1660 to the early-eighteenth century, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 104–139, figs. 18–43. For examples of Chinese porcelain for the Japanese market beginning in the 1620s, see Sir Michael Butler, "Porcelains for the Japanese Market," in Butler, Medley, and Little, *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain*, pp. 45–73, figs. 9–34; also Richard S. Kilburn, *Transitional Wares and Their Forerunners* (Hong Kong:

- Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, 1981), pp. 132–144, figs. 139–169; pp. 160–184, figs. 120–169.
179. For information about the establishment of the Dutch trading company in Japan, see Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," pp. 62–65.
180. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for her communication to me regarding production of Kakiemon-style Hizen ware. For information about the private trade in porcelain and discrepancies in official Dutch records, see Nishida, "History of Japanese Porcelain," pp. 63–65. For the distinction between Kakiemon-style Hizen ware for export and Koimari-style Hizen ware for the Japanese market, see Rousmaniere, "Ornamental Culture: Style and Meaning in Edo Japan," in Singer, *Edo: Art in Japan 1615–1868*, pp. 80–81, figs. 15, 16.
181. I thank Nicole Rousmaniere for technical information; also, see Rousmaniere, "Vessels of Influence," pp. 85–86.
182. For discussion of Dutch enamellers, see J. V. G. Mallet, "European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 39–44. For examples, see van Dam in Dekking, *Imitation and Inspiration*, p. 41, fig. 15; p. 42, fig. 16. Also, Impey, "The Independent Decorators of Porcelain," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 240–241, figs. 262–265, 270; an example from the Ashmolean Museum in Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 38, fig. 3; W. B. Honey, "Dutch Decorators of Chinese Porcelain," in *Chinese Export Porcelain: An Historical Survey*, ed. Elinor Gordon (New York: Main Street, Universe Books, 1977), pp. 102–104, figs. 4, 7, 9. For discussion and examples of Dutch-enameled East Asian porcelain decorated before 1730 and in the collection of Augustus the Strong at Dresden, see Helen Espir, "Pretty China: Oriental Porcelain Decorated in Europe in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 62 (1997–1998), pp. 39–50.
183. Soame Jenyns questioned the origin of this image as indigenously Japanese in *Japanese Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 72–73, fig. 57B, and noted that the design is Dutch; he quotes a Japanese source who agreed. For variants of figure 58, see D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan in Europäischen Fassungen* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1980), p. 425, fig. 482, from Blenheim Palace, with early-eighteenth-century gilt bronze mounts; Oliver Impey, "Kakiemon," in Ayers, *Porcelain for Palaces*, pp. 160–162, fig. 138, from Porzellansammlung, Dresden; L. Reidemeister, "Die Porzellankabinette der brandenburgisch-preussischen Schlösser," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin: Weidman, 1933), p. 271, fig. 7, now at Charlottenburg, probably originally at Oranienburg; *Porzellan aus China und Japan*, pp. 428–430, figs. 210a–e (pp. 445–446 in color), a garniture of two jars, three vases from Landesmuseum Wilhelmstal.
184. For examples of ceiling painting, see Reidemeister, "Die Porzellankabinette der brandenburgisch-preussischen Schlösser," p. 272, fig. 8; for discussion of the collections and ceiling paintings at Oranienburg, see Nishida, "Japanese Export Porcelain," pp. 130–132, 168–169; also, Phillip Allen, "Porcelain in the

- Clouds: Oriental Ceramics Depicted on the Ceilings at Charlottenburg," *Oriental Ceramic Society Newsletter* 5 (January 1997), pp. 18–19.
185. I thank Suzanne Boorsch for information about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reproduction practices. Peter Schenk Jr.'s prints from the early 1720s reverse the originals by Dapper (illustrated in Ducret, "Die Vorbilder zu einigen Chinoiserien von Peter Schenk"; see n. 71).
186. For plates with figureless decoration, see *Porzellan aus China und Japan*, pp. 452–453, figs. 226a–d (p. 46, one in color), four plates with rock-bamboo-prunus-bird image only, flanked by flowers instead of figures; for a related ewer without the bird, see Impey, "Kakiemon," p. 141, fig. 101; for a jar with a variant image with two birds, see Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, fig. 57A. For smaller holloware items decorated with variants of figure 58, including figures, see Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan*, p. 432, fig. 495, ewer with late-seventeenth-century Dutch silver mounts; for a variant ewer without mounts, see *Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum*, p. 77, fig. 26 and p. 126; for a bowl with a cover from a French collection, now in the Louvre, OA 5488, and with French gilt bronze mounts, ca. 1770, see Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und Japanisches Porzellan*, p. 426, fig. 483 (in color in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 123); for a variant bowl with cover without mounts, see Luisa Ambrosio, *Kakiemon e Imari: Porcellane giapponesi del Museo Duca di Martina di Napoli* (Naples: Electra, 1984), p. 21, fig. 7.
187. For an example of floral-and-vine-framed panels on a late-Ming *Kraak*-ware bowl, see Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain* (London: Bamboo, 1989), p. 160, fig. 196. For Japanese examples with filled fields enclosed by floral-and-vine-framed panels, relating to the style of figure 58, and decorating shapes ordered by the Dutch, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 140–141, fig. 44; pp. 142–143, fig. 45; also, Barbara Brennan Ford and Oliver R. Impey, *Japanese Art from the Gerry Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: MMA, 1989), p. 72, figs. 40a, 40b.
188. See BK-1993.4, Grieksche A under Adriaen Kocks, coll. Rijksmuseum; I am grateful to Jan-Daniël van Dam for bringing the Delft jar to my attention.
189. For Ming blue-and-white porcelain decorated with related but fluid symmetrical compositions in which two figures flank a central figure, a tree and plants, or a rock-tree image, see Jean-Paul Desroches, *Le Jardin des porcelaines* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987), pp. 102–105, fig. 27, Ming ewer, Jiajing period; He Li, *Chinese Ceramics: A New Comprehensive Survey from the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), pp. 222–223, fig. 412, jar, Jingtai and Tianshun reign periods (1450–1464); Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi*, vol. 2, p. 422, fig. 612 (both sides); Rita C. Tan, "A Note on the Dating of Ming Minyao Blue and White Ware," *Oriental Art* 44.4 (1998–1999), p. 76, fig. 17.
190. For an example, see Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, "Oriental Art and French Patronage," p. 38, fig. 3.
191. For variants, see *Japanese Porcelain from the British Museum*, p. 81, fig. 30; also,

- Hinton and Impey, *Kakiemon Porcelain*, p. 52, figs. 28, 29; p. 55, fig. 33 (without bird).
192. For a Dutch-decorated Chinese example and its Japanese counterpart, see Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, figs. 77A, 77B; another Dutch-decorated Chinese example is in David Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West*, vol. 2 (London and New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), p. 529, fig. 540. For three Chinese wine cups, ca. 1640, decorated later, see S. Marchant & Son, exhibition catalogue, London, 1985, p. 36, fig. 88; for a Chinese mug, ca. 1700–1722, see Regina Krahl and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum, London* (Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1994), pp. 328–329, fig. 148. As John Mallet points out in “European Ceramics and the Influence of Japan,” pp. 40–42, unfortunately little research has been done on Dutch enamellers, and thus it is difficult to date the decoration on the above-cited Chinese porcelain. Dutch-decorated Chinese porcelain was listed in the Condé inventory of 1740; see Nelson, Impey, and Le Corbeiller, “Oriental Art and French Patronage,” p. 40.
193. For an example of a Chinese lacquer model dated to the Southern Song (1127–1279) and discussion of aesthetics shared by Song-dynasty porcelain potters and lacquer craftsmen, see Clarence F. Shangraw, “Chinese Lacquers in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco,” *Oriental Art* 17.4 (April 1986), p. 26. For a lacquer model given a date of thirteenth to fourteenth century, see Watt in Watt and Ford, *East Asian Lacquer*, pp. 42–43, fig. 2. A Northern Song (960–1127) lacquer example is in the British Museum, OA 1974.2–26.1. For a Northern Song Ding-ware model, see Jan Wirgin, *Sung Ceramic Designs* (London: Han-Shan Tang, 1970), p. 143, plate 61:k.
194. For the resolution of the “Heeren xvii,” see C. J. A. Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain: Porcelain after Designs by Cornelis Pronk* (Groningen: Groninger Museum, 1980), p. 49; see also the letter from the VOC to the government in Batavia, pp. 51–52.
195. See Jan-Daniël van Dam, “Vroege uit Delft (1625–55) en de Invloed op Japans Porselein (1660–1670)” (Early Faience from Delft [1625–1655] and Its Influence on Japanese Porcelain [1660–1670]), *Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van de Ceramiek* 135 (1989/3), p. 29.
196. See Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain*, pp. 14–18, figs. 3a, 4b, 4c; also, Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, pp. 73–76, figs. 53–57; Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1974), pp. 54–57, figs. 19–22 and 24. For a discussion of possible Chinese and Japanese sources for Pronk’s pattern, see Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain*, pp. 24–26, 61, figs. 6a, 6.
197. For discussion and examples of Dutch influence on Japanese porcelain via Delft versions of Chinese porcelain sent to Japan to be copied, see van Dam, “Vroege uit Delft,” pp. 4–18 and 29–30; figs. 13–18 (plates are not numbered correctly on p. 30). For examples of Delft ordered by Japanese, see Hiroko Nishida, *Oranda: European Ceramics Imported into Japan during the Edo Period*

- (Tokyo: Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, 1987), pp. 2-4, figs. 1-14, 42-43, 56-68. For late-seventeenth-century blue-and-white Japanese porcelain presumably decorated with designs derived from Delft sent to Japan, see Nishida in Munroe and Richard, *The Burghley Porcelains*, pp. 158-177, figs. 54-64.
198. See Kilburn, *Transitional Wares*, pp. 24-25, for descriptions of early Dutch and French purchases of Chinese porcelain.
199. Mallet makes this point in "European Ceramics," p. 43; see Chavagnac and Grollier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine*, p. 71; for more information about Gremy, see Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 436; also, Chantal Soudée-Lacombe, *La faïence de Sinceny 1737-1775* (Saint-Omer: Musée de l'Hotel Sandelin, 1990), p. 9.
200. I thank Christine Lahaussais for sharing research with me from her then forthcoming catalogue on Delft, *Faïences de Delft* (Paris, 1998). See Lahaussais, *Porcelaines de Saint-Cloud*, p. 15; Geneviève Le Duc, "La Manufacture de Faïence et de Porcelaine de Saint-Cloud 1664-1766," in Juvigny, *La porcelaine à Saint-Cloud*, pp. 11-17; Christine Lahaussais, "Saint-Cloud and Delft: Two Interpretations of Chinese Porcelain," in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 50; Bertrand Rondot, "The Saint-Cloud Porcelain Manufactory: Between Innovation and Tradition," in *ibid.*, p. 24.
201. See Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 193, fig. 118, and Clare Le Corbeiller, "Grounds in Color," in *ibid.*, p. 279. For the related Dutch-decorated Chinese example, ca. 1720, see Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, p. 60, fig. 34. Clare Le Corbeiller further discusses the Saint-Cloud example in a forthcoming catalogue of the French porcelain collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum.
202. See D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Opnieuw een décor met twee papegaaien en een versiering van bloemenmanden," *Antiek* 8 (October 1973), pp. 234-241, figs. 1-8.
203. For orders sent to India in 1662 and 1669 by the English East India Company, see Honour, *Chinoiserie*, pp. 49-50.
204. For examples of paper dated ca. 1730-1740, see Hamilton and Oman, *Wallpapers*, pp. 229-231, fig. 653; also Friederike Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1989), plates 47-48, figs. 94-97, examples dated ca. 1756; also Reepen and Handke, *Chinoiserie*, p. 20, fig. 16; p. 236, figs. 63a-e.
205. See Ebelteje Hartkamp-Jonxis, *Sitsen uit India* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1994), pp. 44-45, fig. 15.
206. For examples, see Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries," pp. 598-604.
207. See Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France 1700-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 164.

## GLOSSARY

- Arima ko-kagami 有馬小鑑  
 Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門  
 Fangshi mopu 方氏墨譜  
 Fang Yulu 方于魯  
 Hasshu gafu 八種画譜  
 Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣  
 Huang Cheng 黃成  
 Ise monogatari sho 伊勢物語抄  
 Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛  
 Jin Ping Mei 金瓶梅  
 Kanō Hideyori 狩野秀頼  
 Kanō Sanraku 狩野山樂  
 Kanō Sansetsu 狩野山雪  
 Kimmō zui 訓蒙圖彙  
 Miyagawa Choshun 宮川長春  
 Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕齋  
 Renjing yangqiu 人鏡陽秋  
 Sancai tuhui 三才圖會  
 Soga Chokuan 曾我直庵  
 Tachibana Yuzei 橘有稅  
 Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康  
 Wa-Kan sansai zue 和漢三才圖會  
 Wang Hui 王翬  
 Wang Shixiang 王世襄  
 Wang Tingna 汪廷訥  
 Wanshou shengdian chujī 萬壽盛典初集  
 Xiushilu jieshuo 髹飾錄解說  
 Yang Ming 楊明  
 Yixiangtu 儀像圖  
 Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛  
 Zōho Edo Banashi 增補江戸咄

