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Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands

Abstract

This essay is based on the notion that the early modern world was shaped by connections that stretched across geographical, political and cultural boundaries. The mobility of early modern people, ideas and things, and the networks they created and relied on, facilitated flows of material and immaterial interactions. Within that early modern connected world, material culture played a key role. Goods ranging from treasured, unique objects to commodities traded in vast quantities always accumulate layers of meanings as they move through time and space. By looking at a number of things in circulation in the early modern Netherlands, we can identify them both as *global*, in the sense of having travelled across long distances, having accumulated associations with the exotic, and as *local*: part of the cultural practices we have come to think of as Dutch. Methodologically, this essay combines a close reading of the idealized representations of things in domestic spaces we encounter in paintings with an analysis of the materiality, design and historical trajectories of the things themselves. Tracing global and local aspects of design as it appears in idealized representations and in early modern Dutch historical objects, I argue that embodied experiences play key roles in the domestication of goods from overseas. I seek to show that through vision and touch, and the proximity of objects to bodies in domestic environments, goods from all over the world become part of the material culture of the seventeenth-century Netherlands. As exotic goods and materials become part of the domestic environment, global goods gain local meanings, and simultaneously bestow new layers of meaning on the material culture of the early modern Netherlands.

Keywords

material culture, global design, early modern, Netherlands, circulation, embodied experience.

Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands¹

Introduction

This essay takes as its starting point the assumption that the early modern world was shaped by connections that stretched across geographical, political and cultural boundaries. The mobility of early modern people, ideas and things, and the networks they created and relied on, facilitated flows of material and immaterial interactions. Within that early modern connected world, material culture played a key role, especially because all goods, ranging from treasured, unique objects to commodities traded in vast quantities, always accumulate layers of meanings as they move through time and space. By looking at a number of things in circulation in the early modern Netherlands, we can identify them both as global, in the sense of having travelled across long distances, or having accumulated associations with the exotic, and as local: part of the domestic interior we have come to think of as Dutch. Methodologically speaking, this essay combines an exploration of the idealized representations of things in domestic spaces we encounter in paintings with an analysis of the materiality, design and historical trajectories of the things themselves. Of course paintings cannot be read as evidence of historical practice; paintings are imaginations and idealizations. A close reading of the ways in which objects are presented by the different painters, and the traces of bodily touch their depictions reveal, however, can tell us something about the imagination of embodied experience they represent.

In fact, the main contribution this essay seeks to make is to highlight the key role that embodied experiences such as vision and touch play in this process

of domestication from exotic to Dutch, from global to local. While the importance of embodied experience in material culture has long been recognised, especially in the field of archaeology and food studies, to my knowledge it has not been used as a way of thinking about translating and domesticating goods. I seek to use the concept here to show how, in the seventeenth century, goods from all over the world became part of the material culture of the Netherlands, and by being seen, worn, and touched, they simultaneously gained local significance and bestowed global meanings on the material culture of the early modern Netherlands.

Thomas Hees and the representation of the exotic

In 1687, the diplomat Thomas Hees (1634-1692) asked to be portrayed by Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705), at the time Amsterdam's foremost portrait painter.²

[insert Figure 1 near here]

Thomas Hees opted for a full-length portrait, showing him seated at a table, accompanied by the two sons of his brother Johannes: to his right the 24 year-old Andries (1662-1720), son of Johannes and his first wife, and behind the table sixteen year-old Jan (1670-1714), son of his brother's second marriage. Andries bends down to hand his uncle a letter, while Jan appears behind his uncle's shoulder offering a large pot on a saucer. At Thomas' other shoulder stands a black man, who, as we learn from the inscription, is the 17 year-old servant Thomas.³ The seated man exudes wealth and power, through his casual pose, the submissive stance of those around him, the lush and colourful textiles that cover

his body, the table and the floor, and the confident gaze with which he faces the beholder.

On the wall behind Thomas Hees hangs a large, ornately framed mirror, and above the mirror the crest of the Dutch Republic: a rampant lion, holding a sword and a clutch of arrows, over the words *Concordia res parvae crescunt* ('small states will flourish with harmony').⁴ That mirror and crest, perhaps together with the black-and-white marble floor we often see in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings, are the only obvious pointers to a Dutch context.⁵ Most other visual references hint at a world beyond the Dutch Republic: the sitter's clothing and shoes look Turkish, as do the heavy carpets on the table and floor; the architecture of the buildings reflected in the mirror with three figures looking into the room looks extra-European; the bunches of coral dangling from the wall, the open atlas, the globe behind it, the book with the title in Arabic script, the long pipe in Hees' left hand, the guns, swords and horns displayed on the wall, flanking the pair of bags with golden stitching on a leather belt—all of these depicted items point to worlds located beyond the Dutch Republic.

Even without situating the painting more precisely in time and space, it is clear that we are looking at an assemblage of people and objects, carefully constructed to suggest a well-travelled life, a cosmopolitan attitude, indeed, a global perspective. The sitter, Thomas Hees, was a diplomat, and in that capacity, represented the States General of the Dutch Republic in the Ottoman governments of Algiers, Tunis en Tripoli between 1675 and 1685.⁶ The peace treaties he succeeded in negotiating during this time in the 'Turkish' lands of northern Africa were intended to spell the end of the threat posed by corsairs to Dutch shipping.⁷ Before he returned to Amsterdam, he redeemed several Dutch

captives and slaves, and, as the group portrait shows, acquired at least one black slave by the name of Thomas.⁸ Together, the sitter, Thomas Hees, and the painter, Michiel van Musscher, created a portrait that conjures up a culturally and politically connected world. Each and every person and object on display in the painting has been carefully chosen to help construct a representation of a cosmopolitan man, surrounded by 'global' objects.

Globalization, global connections and globality

The global connectedness of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was not merely a painter's representation but a well-documented historical fact. Historians no longer think that something we might call globalization — socio-political, cultural and economic interactions and connections that stretched across divergent parts of the world — emerged only from the late eighteenth century onwards. Of course developments like the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of European empires, built on the exploitation of human and material resources located in the overseas territories they controlled, were important for the growth of globalization. Ultimately, they led to a divergence between the 'West' and the rest, while convergences emerged in the form of global communication (e.g. the telegraph), transport (e.g. container shipments), and the consumption of consumer goods (e.g. the so-called colonial groceries like sugar and coffee).⁹ But, as medieval and early modern historians have pointed out, global connections have a much longer history. If we reserve the term globalization for the developments from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, then we might use the term 'global connections' for what shaped the early modern world.¹⁰ As Janet Abu-Lughod has shown, as early as

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such global connections created connected and overlapping zones.¹¹ Connections stretched across the globe in multiple forms: travel and explorations; the spread of religion across cultural boundaries; global migrations of humans, animals and plants; multi-national trading companies; empires that stretched across landmasses and oceans, and so forth. From around 1500 onwards, the intensity of these connections, and the volume of goods, people and ideas that moved beyond the boundaries of cultural and political zones increased and began to encircle the entire globe, a development we might refer to as early modern globality.¹² As has been well established, the Dutch Republic (1581-1795) played an active part in this early modern globality through the creation of the economic and political connections that linked the Dutch Republic to the Americas, Africa and Asia, and through the circulation of knowledge in textual and visual culture.¹³

Material culture in global context

If the globality of the Dutch Republic is widely known, the significance of visual and material culture in that globality is a more recent insight. Benjamin Schmidt and others have shown how widespread the taste for the exotic was during the Dutch Golden Age: goods from beyond the Republic were highly visible, desirable and widely available. In many ways, the painting of Thomas Hees by Michiel van Musscher exemplifies this taste. A man of high status, who was an active participant in the development of political, economic and cultural connections between the Netherlands and northern Africa, positions himself in his portrait in such a way that his global connections are amply visible in the material goods with which he surrounds himself. His style of clothing, his personal attendant,

the things he holds close to hand, and the goods on display on his wall: they are all chosen to put on to display a persona that is global. Significantly, these are not remote trophies selected to form part of a collection of global goods; the proximity of the clothes to his body, the suggested intimacy of the young servant and the hint of the touch of his hands on the briefcase, the pipe, the dagger and the cup all point to what I will refer to below as embodied experience in the creation of a globally-shaped selfhood.¹⁴

The idea of a 'meeting' of 'Eastern and Western art', as Michael Sullivan famously called it, and knowledge of what might once have been referred to as the 'influence of the Near East' on the art of Europe have circulated for a long time.¹⁵ There have been various ways of conceptualising what has been called the meeting, or interaction or mutual influence of elements from different parts of the world.¹⁶ In a recent study of the nautilus cup in early modern Dutch culture, for example, Marsely Kehoe points to the apparent separation between studies of the domestic realm and the scholarship of the globally connected economy of the Golden Age. She suggests that both in many historical studies of the period and in intellectual histories of the 'Early Modern Dutch mind', the domestic and the global or overseas worlds are often not seen as connected. For Kehoe, material culture in general and the nautilus cup, specifically, with its origins in the Spice Islands and the Dutch craftsmanship visible in the silver mount, allow us to see the 'juxtaposition of the foreign and domestic in the Dutch Golden Age'. She sees the nautilus cup as an example of hybridity, which she defines as a 'process', in which 'two or more identities compete within an object'.¹⁷ Whether or not hybridity is a valuable conceptualisation of the ways in which foreign and domestic blend together in the Dutch Golden Age is less

relevant than Kehoe's point that material culture is a useful medium for seeing the importance of global connections for the emergence of Dutch design, style and identity.¹⁸

I would push her argument further, and claim that the domestication of exotica within local contexts was crucial for the emergence of what, over the course of the eighteenth century, became a pan-European taste for so-called 'global goods'.¹⁹ This contribution has focused on the Dutch case, where both the Dutch interior and the people within those Dutch domestic spaces became dressed with goods from Asia.²⁰ From specific local contexts, such as the Portuguese and the Dutch, domesticated goods from overseas travelled to the rest of Europe, and went on to become a Europe-wide taste for the exotic.

Furthermore, what I would like to argue in this contribution is that the process of consumption, and specifically bodily experiences of consuming goods like seeing, touching, and wearing close to the body, are significant for this domestication. Out of the close proximity of global goods and bodies that is constructed in the idealized interiors, portraits and still lifes of the Dutch Golden Age emerges a new kind of Dutchness in the late seventeenth century. I seek to show that it is through this representation of physical proximity between global goods and their consumers—their depiction within domestic spaces, their adornment of bodies, their closeness to the hands and feet that touch them—that these global goods become domesticated. They are appropriated, integrated and reinvented as goods that belong in a Dutch environment, thereby constructing a seventeenth-century Dutchness that is not refined to the geographical space of the Netherlands, but incorporates overseas territories, possessions and connections.²¹ Through physical proximity, these global goods produce a version

of Dutchness that is global yet domesticated, exotic yet familiar, 'other' in the past, but self in the present. Rather than seeing a series of exotic or 'global' objects in a contrastingly 'Dutch' context, I argue for a significant coming together, a mutual re-enforcement, and a creative combination of global and local in what from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards is known as Dutch.

Dress and clothing

Thomas Hees clearly chose his clothing carefully before sitting for Michiel van Musscher. In the painting, he wears a deep-red kaftan over a closer fitting black tunic or *entari*.²² Both are represented in minute detail, including small rows of pearl-shaped buttons and embroidered buttonholes on the open kaftan, closed buttons on the tunic, embroidery and more buttons on the cuffs of the kaftan, and green silk edging on the kaftan. A wide sash holds the kaftan closed, and a leather-clad dagger and colourful handkerchief have been tucked into the sash. His legs are covered in wide red-velvet trousers, and his yellow leather, pointy ankle-boots draw the eye to the feet and the colourful carpet they rest on. The nephew with the letter, Andries, is wearing what might be called typical Dutch dress, with a long overcoat over tight-fitting breeches and a white silk neckerchief, but he, too, is wearing Turkish-style red slippers. Hees looks entirely at home in his clothing; the soft folds in the rich textile, rumped around the waist and the lower arms, suggest the kind of shaping to Hees' body that comes from regular wear. The absence of a collar or cravat adds to the sense of informality of the main sitter in the portrait. His chosen costume, together with the trophies from his travels on the wall, the globe and open atlas on the carpet-

covered table all combine to emphasize the otherness of the world he has surrounded himself with.

Hees was not alone in choosing a specific costume for his portrait; posing in costume was favoured by many sitters of the seventeenth century.²³ Rembrandt van Rijn made the so-called 'Turkse tronies' famous: full-length or head-only depictions of men in exotic clothing, identified as Turkish by their turban, soft and loose clothing, and pointed slippers.²⁴ These depictions of costumed men dwell on their otherness, and transport the viewer to a world that is distant from his or her own. That distance can be spatial, pointing to a physical world that is located elsewhere, or it can be temporal, using the costume to show the historic nature of the painting's subject matter.²⁵ As Marieke de Winkel has shown, Rembrandt owned a number of items of clothing and armament in his studio to use as props in his work.²⁶ Turkish clothing served as a kind of shorthand for the exotic 'other' from all over the world, not only or even specifically the Ottoman empire.²⁷

At some point, however, the appearance of Turkish, or Chinese or Japanese items of clothing in early modern Dutch portraiture stopped signalling the exotic or other, and, arguably, began to be domesticated into signalling Dutchness.²⁸ In the second half of the seventeenth century, numerous portraits of intellectuals and professionals show that choosing to be portrayed in a Japanese-style gown or housecoat signalled membership of the Dutch elite rather than solely serving as a reference to overseas experience.²⁹ The oeuvre of Hees' portrait painter, Michiel van Musscher, for example, provides plenty of evidence to support this notion of the Dutch domestication of exotic dress. For example, in a famous portrait of the VOC director and burgomaster of Amsterdam Johannes

Hudde (1628-1704), Musscher depicts his sitter in a thickly padded Japanese-style dressing gown, known as a Japone rok.³⁰ Like in Musscher's group portrait with Thomas Hees, Hudde's portrait features the symbols of learning and status of seventeenth-century Dutch society: books, globes, heavy drapes, and the scholarly attributes of the writing desk.³¹ But in the Hudde portrait, there are no objects that point to Hudde's personal travels abroad, nor are there any trophies of overseas hunting and gathering. Hudde's gown has blended into an otherwise Dutch background.

[insert Fig 2 near here]

The VOC imported a small number of these heavily-padded Japanese-made silk gowns into the Netherlands, but nowhere near enough to meet the rapid rise in demand.³² Many Japone rokken, like the one in Figure 2, were made in the Netherlands, using silk cloth and thread initially from China and later from cloth produced to European specifications in India. From 1684, the VOC also ordered such gowns to be made from chintz in India. Several terms circulated, all referring to similar items of clothing with wide sleeves, open at the front, and reaching to the floor: chamberlouc or sjamberloek, Japone rok, and sometimes *cambaay*. All were widely worn throughout the Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fig. 2).³³ Examples of prominent members of the seventeenth-century Dutch elite sitting for their portraits in Japanese gowns or banyans abound. Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717), burgomaster of Amsterdam, the antiquarian Gijsbert Cuper (1644-1716), the protestant parson J. Schuit, the schoolteacher Antonius Roessingh (1653-1713), the lawyer Paulus Buys (1625-1717), the Friesian gentleman Edzard Duco van Harinxma Thoe Slooten (-1693), the provincial merchant David Thomassen à

Thuessink (1655-1689), the paper merchant Gillis van Hoven (1660-1722), and so on and so forth; they all opted to be portrayed wearing a Japanese rok. Some of these were men who gained experience overseas through the VOC or WIC, or as representatives of the States General, but just as often they were men who held positions of standing in the administration of the provinces of the Netherlands, merchants and traders, lawyers, and secretaries. The number of paintings of now unidentifiable men wearing a Japanese rok serves to underscore how common this practice had become: even men of lesser socio-economic stature—men whose stories and portraits have not entered the (art) historical record, or whose stories have become separated from their paintings—chose to depict themselves in a Japanese rok.

Whether the men depicted wearing a Japanese rok were famous or not, they all share one thing: they are indoors. We know that such items of clothing were also worn outdoors, famously by Leiden students, as we know from observations by visitors to the University, but it is the surprise expressed by these observers that such clothes were worn outdoors that suggests in fact the indoor nature of such robes.³⁴ In portrait paintings, at least, the Japanese rok was an item of clothing one wore close to the body in the privacy afforded within the house.³⁵ That practice, depicted throughout the paintings of the seventeenth century enhances the intimacy of the portrait. The housecoat signals that the viewer is invited in, to share the personal space with the sitter. That an originally Japanese item of clothing is chosen to perform that function signals the domestication of the practice. Via the intimate indoor space and the personal, bodily practice of wearing the coat, what had once been exotic becomes ubiquitous, ordinary, and perhaps even 'Dutch'.³⁶

Carpets from the East in the Dutch Interior

On the table in Thomas Hees' portrait, we see a so-called Kirman-carpet, made in the Persian province of Kirman or Kerman, where some of the finest carpets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were produced.³⁷ Together with the Turkish outfit of the main sitter and the trophies from northern Africa on the wall, the carpets on the table and the floor seem to point to a bright and colourful other world, located beyond the Netherlands. A quick glance at other paintings by Van Musscher, however, shows that several feature so-called 'oriental carpets'. In Musscher's 1679 self-portrait, an eastern carpet covers the table, and carpet drapes frame our view into his atelier, and several of his other paintings also feature eastern carpets. In fact, not only Van Musscher liked to feature carpets in his paintings: brightly-coloured carpets made from wool or silk were an extremely popular feature across Dutch paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁸ The famous still-life paintings produced in such vast quantities in the Netherlands frequently feature carpets as the base for the composition in the form of the cover of a table on which fruit, flowers and vegetables are placed, or as a drape framing the picture. Similarly, individual portraits often feature a set of attributes placed on a table covered with a carpet. Johannes Vermeer's *Procuress*, *the Lady at the Virginals with a Gentleman*, *The Concert*, and *The Astronomer*, for example, all feature a prominently placed carpet. Group portraits often have a carpet-covered table as a way of organising the space around which the individuals are placed. Finally, domestic settings often feature a table covered with a carpet.³⁹

Many of the carpets that featured in depictions of the Dutch interior had been imported from the Near East.⁴⁰ The floor carpet underneath Hees' yellow-clad feet is a 'Smyrna' carpet made in the Turkish centre of carpet production in Ushak, not unlike the carpet in Figure 3, an Anatolian (Ushak) carpet dated to the seventeenth century.⁴¹

[Insert Figure 3 near here]

Undoubtedly, such carpets were precious luxuries that had been imported into the Netherlands from remote locations.⁴² Apart from Ushak in Anatolia, such carpets, referred to as 'oriental carpets', came from Egypt, Armenia, Syria, Persia and further afield in Central Asia, as well as from Northern India. They were largely brought to the Netherlands by sea, brought back on VOC ships, purchased in ports along the Indian Ocean such as Suratte in Northern India, but some were also traded overland via the Ottoman Empire, in particular Istanbul.⁴³ Julie Berger Hochstrasser's research on seventeenth-century Dutch inventories has shown that such carpets were expensive: it was often cheaper to own a painting depicting a brightly coloured carpet than possessing such a piece oneself.⁴⁴

In similar fashion to the Japanese rok, however, the ubiquity of carpets on display in Dutch interiors of the second half of the seventeenth century suggests that their purpose is not only to display otherness and distance, but also, or perhaps more so, a certain style of Dutch domesticity.

[insert Fig 4 near here]

In this painting by Gabriël Metsu (1629-67), a man and a woman sit at a table to eat. The table is covered with a white cloth, with a plate of bread, a knife, and a glass, while the woman holds a stoneware carafe in one hand, and a tall fluted glass in the other.⁴⁵ The man and the woman are simply dressed, and the

painting suggests a simple, unostentatious domesticity. The red carpet that covers the table is not given much detail, but the brushstrokes suggest the thick and slightly coarse nature of the weave, and the red, blue and yellow colours suggest a broad pattern. Metsu frequently covered pieces of furniture in his paintings with carpets, and he may even have owned such a carpet himself, but its presence does not transform the setting, which remains intimate, modest, simple, and domestic.⁴⁶ The carpet is there for its colour, but also its texture. The roughness of the weave of the carpet, the crumpled white linen seemingly casually tossed over the carpet, the slight angle of the glass, and the hand holding the plate resting on the carpet all serve to emphasize physical contact between materials and of hand on cloth. I would argue that it is not merely in the unostentatious domesticity of the scene, but also in the presence of the sense of touch, that what might be classified as an 'oriental carpet' becomes in fact identified with and appropriated into the Dutchness of the scene.⁴⁷

Ceramics

In Michiel van Musscher's painting, to return briefly to where we began, we see behind Thomas Hees a young boy who uses both hands to offer his uncle a covered pot.⁴⁸ It is a lidded, gadroon-shaped lusterware pot on a saucer, decorated with gold and reddish-pink flowers, possibly tulips, on a cream-coloured base.

[insert detail of Fig 1 here]



Detail of Figure 1. Lidded cup or box held in the hands of the younger of the two nephews of Thomas Hees.

Such covered cups or pots were highly unusual in the Netherlands and rarely depicted in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. The cup serves as one of the markers of the wide-ranging exotic goods Hees acquired while serving overseas, together with the hunting paraphernalia on the wall, his outfit, and the dagger and coloured handkerchief on his body. But the two hands on the ceramic body here, too, flag up the importance of touch.

The depiction of ceramics in general and of porcelains in particular, is almost ubiquitous in paintings of the Dutch Golden Age. The sheen of their glossy surface, the striking and contrasting colours, and their pleasing shapes made them favoured subjects for the Netherlandish painters of this period.⁴⁹ Most of the depicted pieces are Chinese and Japanese porcelains. For example, the so-called Wanli bowl, a blue-and-white porcelain bowl named after the emperor of late sixteenth-century Ming China, is a frequent presence in still lifes, kitchen and banquet pieces, portraits and scenes of domestic life.⁵⁰ In paintings, porcelains serve multiple purposes. They are there to provide colour and contrast, to allow painters to show off their skill in representing different surfaces and reflections of light, and to convey a complex set of meanings: desire and ambition, status and distinction.

Obviously, the many Wanli bowls and other fine porcelains depicted in paintings do not translate directly into ownership and circulation of pieces of porcelain. Nevertheless, the influx of Chinese and Japanese porcelain onto the Dutch markets from around 1600 onwards has been amply demonstrated.⁵¹ Many households in the Netherlands, even those of lower status and means, owned porcelain from Asia.⁵² As Anne McCants has recently shown, Asiatic goods such as Indian textiles, Chinese porcelains, and globally traded products like tea, coffee and chocolate, circulated surprisingly widely throughout the poorer households of eighteenth-century Amsterdam, notably also in the households of recent immigrants in Amsterdam.⁵³ Clearly, porcelains found their way into the Dutch domestic interior over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Almost as soon as porcelains from China became available with the first VOC ships, the Netherlandish ceramics manufacturers, based in places like Antwerp and Delft, began to adjust the goods they made to look more like Chinese imports. This transformation of Dutch, and especially Delft, ceramics manufactures, like the influx of porcelain from Asia, is well known. The potters in Delft began to change their production of earthenware to make tin-glazed ceramics that looked more like what came from China and Japan: thinner pieces than the Delft potters made before, with blue decorations on a white background in patterns and designs that were inspired by what came directly from Asia.⁵⁴ This emulation went both ways: while Dutch potters produced Asian-inspired goods, Chinese and Japanese potters began to take shapes and designs from European-made examples to make goods attractive for the Dutch market. This

process has been referred to as 'wisselwerkingen' in Dutch, referring to multiple flows in both directions, or interculturalisation in English.⁵⁵

[insert Fig 5 near here]

This round ceramic box with lid serves as a good example of such 'wisselwerkingen'. It was made in the early eighteenth century in Delft, but in its shape and colourful decorations that cover the whole surface, it was clearly inspired by Japanese porcelain examples.⁵⁶ The shape was probably copied from a wooden box or bucket, with the narrow panels reminiscent of the wooden staves of a bucket.⁵⁷ The Delft example was most likely copying a Japanese porcelain box, which, in its turn, had copied a wooden example, complete with the ropes stringing the bucket together represented in porcelain.⁵⁸ Once again, we see a process of appropriating ideas, examples, designs and styles from elsewhere, and creating something made in Holland for the Dutch market that we saw before.

Furniture

Thomas Hees' left arm rests on the bright red arm of a velvet-covered wooden chair. Such chairs were unusual in the Dutch seventeenth century, which confirms once again the emphasis on the exotic in this painting.⁵⁹ The chairs that were most popular in the Dutch interior of the first half of the seventeenth century were so-called Spanish chairs: wooden chairs that improved upon loose coverage with tapestries and cushions by fixing a cover to the chair with decorative nails.⁶⁰ On the whole, such chairs were placed against the walls. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the VOC started to bring different kinds of wood into the Netherlands, most notably ebony and teak.⁶¹

Chairs, tables, cabinets, wall panels and mirror frames began to be made from these tropical hardwoods, with their deep colours and high gloss finish.⁶² The famous linen cupboard depicted in the 1663 painting by Pieter de Hooch that is held in the Rijksmuseum, looks like it was made of oak, inlaid with ebony.⁶³ Imported woods from Brazil, Africa, India and Indonesia transformed the practice of European furniture makers, as we see in the fine cabinets, wardrobes, boxes and chairs of the period. Made from combinations of different types of wood, and decorated with fine geometric and floral patterns in inlaid woods, almost all sourced from remote locations, these highly prized pieces of furniture show how the principles of design and taste make invisible the exotic origins of the wood. During the seventeenth century, the fine skills of the Dutch and English furniture-makers benefitted from the high quality of hardwood imported from Asia.

The Dutch imported not only woods from Asia, but also the chairs themselves. In their role as colonial administrators, the VOC officers also ordered furniture to be made locally to furnish their offices and residences. The term 'colonial furniture', or 'Company furniture' refers to these pieces: made in Asia, of locally-grown hardwoods such as ebony, often with a caned seat and an opening between the back and the seat of the chair to allow for more comfortable seating in hot climates, they were decorated with twist-turning and elaborate floral carvings. The Dutch brought finely carved chairs from Ceylon and the Coromandel coast to Batavia, as well as the raw materials such as ebony and teak for the Chinese and Indian craftsmen to work with locally. The chairs made in Batavia were similar to the examples made in India, though often with slightly less elaborate decorations, with simpler carving and usually only flowers and

leaves, while the Indian examples often featured animals.⁶⁴ The category of colonial furniture as a whole was often considered difficult to classify because of its so-called hybrid nature. Made from woods imported by the VOC from the Coromandel Coast to Batavia, crafted by Chinese workers to the specifications of the colonial rulers, and eventually shipped to the Netherlands, such chairs can be seen as part of a broadly shared material heritage, or, perhaps more accurately, as the material heritage of the Dutch colonial presence in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Asia.⁶⁵

[insert Fig 6 here]

The chair in Figure 6 is an example of the kind of chairs that the Dutch colonials ordered to be made by Chinese craftsmen based in Batavia in the early eighteenth century. Such chairs were in demand both in the Netherlands and in England, and were sometimes shipped back by the VOC.⁶⁶ As Jan Veenendaal has shown, the fashion for furniture from Asia circulated between the Netherlands, England, and extended also back to Indonesia, where Asian-inspired furniture from Europe vied with the latest developments of furniture-making in China.⁶⁷ In the Netherlands and in England, caned chairs overtook the upholstered 'Spanish' chairs in popularity. Made from a plant material unknown in Europe before the seventeenth century, and brought from Asia on VOC ships, caned or rattan seats and backs were cheaper to produce than their upholstered equivalents.⁶⁸ But they also had a significant advantage in hot climates; caned or rattan seats aided the circulation around parts of the body prone to sweating like the back and the bottom. Like clothes and carpets, chairs can be highly personal objects, placed in private spaces, and intimately connected to their users' bodies. They can also furnish public spaces, and serve largely decorative purposes. When the sitter

feels the materiality of the chair against his or her hands, back and bottom, their physical characteristics are brought to his or her attention, especially the circulation of air around intimate parts of the body. Arguably, even the viewer might imagine that sensation when seeing a caned rather than a leather-seated chair. The embodied experience of using a chair, whether one sits on or imagines the same, integrates the chair and the materials it is made of into its immediate context.

[Insert figures 7a and 7b here]

The box in Figure 7 provides a final example of the way in which materials from the wider world become part of a material culture we might refer to as Dutch. Here, too, the piece is a conglomeration of materials, designs, crafts from numerous geographical locations. Made in Batavia by Chinese furniture makers from Chinese huali wood (also known as padauk) and satinwood sourced in all likelihood from Amboyna, the box has been mounted with silver decorated with Chinese motifs.⁶⁹ Such silver, known as VOC silver or silver from Batavia, may well have been sourced in China, where silver was in high demand both as a material and as currency. It is entirely possible, however, that the silver was mined not in China but in the mines of Potosí in Spanish America.⁷⁰ The globally sourced materials and the Chinese craftsmanship that combined to create this box are rendered invisible, however, the moment it comes into being as a box. At that moment, it begins its life as a Dutch object, passing through the hands of its colonial owners in Asia, who possessed not only the final object, but also the labour that produced it and the raw materials that made it, and its ultimate consumers in the Netherlands. Even if we do not know whose hands touched it and who treasured the box (and its contents), the traces of use are visible on the

box, especially on the inside. A close look reveals damage sustained from use visible around the part of the lock in the lid, scratches on the inside where the inner lid rubbed against the back of the box, and dents in the silver edging of the box, all of which suggest the hands of those who made and used the object. It is precisely this embodied experience, the process of touching and possessing the box, that, I argue, subsumes its foreign constituent elements and makes it a Dutch object.

Conclusion

The examples of material culture we have explored here, from the Japanese rok and the Turkish carpet, to the ceramic bowl, the chair, and the silver-mounted box, were all, in different ways, exotic things. Because of the location where they were made, the materials they were made from, or the craftsmanship that produced them, they were and are objects with global trajectories. Those global trajectories made them desirable objects, and the association with invisible and remote worlds attractive choices for display in visual culture. The painting of Thomas Hees by Michiel van Musscher exemplifies this desirability and visibility of the material worlds located beyond the Republic.

But in a variety of ways, these objects also became part of the domestic realm in the early modern Dutch world. I have sought to show that this process of domestication occurred in important ways through bodily proximity. It is the bodily experiences of vision and touch—both in different ways experiences of possession—that shape these global objects and transform their globality into Dutchness. To my knowledge, the importance of embodied experience has not been used as a way of thinking about translating and domesticating goods, but in

each of the examples the physical proximity and bodily experience of consumption has mattered in the process of gaining local significance. Seeing, wearing and touching things played a role in creating an early modern material world that is global as well as domestic, exotic and yet, ultimately, Dutch.

Captions:

Figure 1. Thomas Hees with his Nephews Jan and Andries Hees and a Servant. Oil on canvas, 1687, by Michiel van Musscher. H 76 cm × W 63 cm. Mauritshuis, from the bequest of Jonkheren Jacob Hendrik and Wiardus Hora Siccama, The Hague, 1914; since 1932 on loan to Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-1215.

Figure 2. Dressing gown (banyan). Coromandel Coast, India, 1720-1730, assembled in the Netherlands. L 134 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-NM-13107-A.

Figure 3. Star-Ushak carpet, made in Anatolia. 1600-1699. Wool. H 239 cm × W 172 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-1975-195.

Figure 4. Gabriël Metsu, 'Man and Woman at a Meal', 1650-1660. Oil on canvas. H 35.5 x W 29 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-249.

Fig 5. Faience box with lid, decorated in underglaze blue and overglaze red and gold. Delft, ca. 1700-1720. H 13.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-NM-12400-323.

Fig 6. Wooden armchair with rattan seat. H 114cm × W 60cm × D 56cm. Made in Indonesia, 1700 – 1725. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-1970-107-A.

Fig 7a. Satinwood box with silver (closed). Eighteenth century. H 16.5cm × W 35cm × D 20cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-1994-56.

Fig 7b. Satinwood box with silver (open). Eighteenth century. H 16.5cm × W 35cm × D 20cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-1994-56.

¹ I am grateful for the very insightful comments on earlier versions by Giorgio Riello, Susan Miller, the two editors of this special issue, and the anonymous reviewers.

² Robert E. Gerhardt, 'Rediscovered: Michiel van Musscher's "lost" Portrait of Nicolaas Witsen', *Oud Holland - Quarterly for Dutch Art History* 128, no. 2–3 (2015): 139–46.

³ Elmer Kolfin, Vincent Boele, and Michèle Hendricks, *Black is beautiful: Rubens tot Dumas* (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk ; Zwolle, 2008), 92.

⁴ Mirrors were common but expensive, as Fock has shown. C. Willemijn Fock and Titus M. Eliens, *Het Nederlandse Interieur in Beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 109; The colors of the emblem date this to prior to 1650. See Robert E. Gerhardt and Francis Griep-Quint, *Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705): The Wealth of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Wbooks, 2012), 47.

⁵ See also Laura J. Snyder, *Eye of the Beholder : Johannes Vermeer, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, and the Reinvention of Seeing*, First edition.. (New York: WWNorton & Company, 2015); Willemijn Fock has shown that despite their prevalence in paintings, such patterned marble floors were highly unusual in Dutch interiors of the second half of the seventeenth century. See Fock and Eliens, *Het Nederlandse Interieur in Beeld 1600-1900*, 98–99.

⁶ H. Hardenberg, *Tussen zeerovers en christenslaven: Noordafrikaanse reisjournalen* (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1950); Caroline Coffrie, 'Gezant in Barbarije: Thomas Hees, Commissaris van de Staten-Generaal in Algiers, 1675-1680' (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2010).

⁷ Hardenberg, *Tussen zeerovers en christenslaven*; Alexander H. de Groot, 'Ottoman North Africa and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de La Méditerranée* 39, no. 1 (1985): 131–47; Thomas Hees and Jaco de Paz, *Traitté de paix & de commerce, entre les Tres-hauts & Tres-puissans Seigneurs Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas, & le Tres-Excellent & Tres-Illustre Prince d'Orange d'une part ... par les soins & l'entre-mise des Sieurs Thomas Hees & Jacob de Paz ..* (La Haye: Scheltus, 1680).

⁸ Bringing slaves into the Dutch Republic was heavily discouraged and subject to strict regulation. Permission could be requested, and Matthias van Rossum suggests annually, several slaves were brought back by VOC servants. See Matthias Rossum, *Kleurrijke Tragiek : De Geschiedenis van Slavernij in Azië Onder de VOC* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2015); see also Kolfin, Boele, and Hendricks, *Black is beautiful*.

⁹ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, *The Princeton Economic History of the Western World*; Variation: *Princeton Economic History of the Western World*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Chris Bayly, 'From Archaic Globalization to International Networks, circa 1600-2000', Ed. Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Anand Yang, Honolulu, 2005., in *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History*, ed. Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Anand Yang (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 14–29; David Northrup, 'Globalization and the Great Convergence:

Rethinking World History in the Long Term', *Journal of World History* 16, no. 3 (2005): 249–67, doi:10.1353/jwh.2006.0010.

¹¹ Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York, NY, etc: Oxford University Press, 1989).

¹² Flynn and Giraldez have described these developments as Globalization, for example in Dennis Owen Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, *China and the Birth of Globalization in the 16th Century* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Burlington, VT : Ashgate Variorum, 2010).

¹³ Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*, Material Texts; Variation: Material Texts. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

¹⁴ Beverly Lemire, 'Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East India Calico Trade with England, C. 1600–1800', *Textile: Journal of Cloth and Culture* 1, no. 1 (1 January 2003): 71, doi:10.1080/17518350.2003.11428632.

¹⁵ The classic study is Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day: With 159 Illustrations, 12 in Colour* (London, 1973).

¹⁶ Anna Grasskamp, 'EurAsian Layers: Netherlandish Surfaces and Early Modern Chinese Artefacts', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, 2015, 363–98.

¹⁷ Marsely L Kehoe, 'The Nautilus Cup Between Foreign and Domestic in the Dutch Golden Age', *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 3 (November 2011): 276.

¹⁸ For a useful discussion of the ways in which hybridity can create a false impression of an original purity, see Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, 'Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America*', *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–35.

¹⁹ See the discussion of a similar trend in Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 13–17.

²⁰ The sixteenth-century Portuguese enthusiasm for goods from Asia such as porcelains and Japanese screens (*namban*) offers an earlier, but similar example. Akio Okada, "'Southern Barbarian" Screens', *Japan Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1 October 1959): 453–465; Teresa Canepa, 'The Iberian Royal Courts of Lisbon and Madrid, and Their Role in Spreading a Taste for Chinese Porcelain in 16th-Century Europe', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 17–36; Teresa Canepa, 'Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer : China and Japan and Their Trade with Western Europe and the New World 1500-1644 : A Survey of Documentary and Material Evidence' (PhD, Leiden University, 2015).

²¹ Benjamin Schmidt observes a similar shift away from geographic specificity, both in terms of what he calls 'parochial' viewpoints to universally European perspectives, and in terms of an unspecific non-European 'exotic'; Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 15.

²² Martha Hollander, 'Vermeer's Robe: Costume, Commerce, and Fantasy in the Early Modern Netherlands', *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 2 (July 2011): 187; See also the description of Ottoman costume in Margaret Breukink-Peeze, 'Eene Fraaie Kleeding, van Den Turkschen Dragt Ontleent : Turkse Kleding En Mode À La Turque in Nederland', in *Topkapi & Turkomania : Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, ed. Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989), 130.

²³ Gerhardt and Griep-Quint, *Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705)*, 47; See also Hilde Kurz and Otto Kurz, 'The Turkish Dresses in the Costume-Book of Rubens',

Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 23, no. 1 (1 January 1972): 275–90; Breukink-Peeze, 'Eene Fraaie Kleeding, van Den Turkschen Dragt Ontleent', 132.

²⁴ Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt : zijn leven, zijn schilderijen : een nieuwe biografie met alle beschikbare schilderijen in kleur afgebeeld* (Maarsse: Gary Schwartz, 1984).

²⁵ Hermann Goetz, 'Persians and Persian Costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century', *The Art Bulletin* 20, no. 3 (1938): 280–90.

²⁶ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam U.P, 2006), 170, 311, 329.

²⁷ Breukink-Peeze, 'Eene Fraaie Kleeding, van Den Turkschen Dragt Ontleent', 134; The difficulties of defining Persian, Turkish and Indian dress in early seventeenth-century paintings is also discussed in Goetz, 'Persians and Persian Costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century', 284.

²⁸ This process has been discussed in detail by Beverly Lemire. See Beverly Lemire, 'Fashioning Global Trade: Indian Textiles, Gender Meanings and European Consumers, 1500-1800', in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009), especially 373-381.

²⁹ Ronni Baer et al., *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, First edition (Boston: MFA Publications, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2015), 153.

³⁰ Michiel van Musscher, 'Johannes Hudde (1628-1704). Burgemeester van Amsterdam En Wiskundige', 1686.

³¹ Gerhardt and Griep-Quint, *Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705)*, 45.

³² Els M. Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia : The Trade of the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2006), 151.

³³ Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, *Asia in Amsterdam : The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age* (Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Essex Museum ; Amsterdam, 2015), 195; See also Charlotte van Rappard-Boon and Reinier J. Baarsen, *Imitatie En Inspiratie: Japanse Invloed Op Nederlandse Kunst van 1650 Tot Heden* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992), 58; Myranda Hoogen, 'Japanse Rocken En Andere Zeldzaamheden: De Handel Van Bartel Jansen Bruijnvis, Koopman En Oostindisch Winkelier in De Amsterdamse Warmoesstraat', *Amstelodamum : Orgaan Van Het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 101, no. 2 (2014): 78–101; A.M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'Japonsche Rocken', *Oud Holland*, 1947, 137–152; Susan Miller, 'Europe Looks East: Ceramics and Silk, 1680-1710', in *A Taste for the Exotic, Foreign Influences on Early Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs*, ed. Anna Jolly and Clare Woodthorpe Browne, vol. 14, *Riggisberger Berichte* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2007), 155–73.

³⁴ Willem Otterspeer, *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid: De Leidse universiteit in heden en verleden* (Leiden University Press, 2008), 88.

³⁵ See the discussion of public and private in seventeenth-century Dutch culture in Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (University of California Press, 1988).

³⁶ Hoogen, 'Japanse Rocken'; Willemijn Van Noord and Thijs Weststeijn, 'The Global Trajectory of Nicolaas Witsen's Chinese Mirror', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 2015, no. 4 (2015): 325–61.

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- ³⁷ Onno Ydema, *Carpets and Their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings 1540-1700* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1991), 74; See also May Hamilton Beattie, *Carpets of Central Persia: With Special Reference to Rugs of Kirman* ([London, 1976).
- ³⁸ Ydema, *Carpets and Their Datings*; See also Onno Ydema, 'Turkse Tapijten Op Nederlandse Schilderijen', in *Topkapi En Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989), 147.
- ³⁹ See the discussion of textiles on tables, chairs and beds in Giorgio Riello, 'Fabricating the Domestic: The Material Culture of Textiles and Social Life of the Home in Early Modern Europe', in *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*, ed. Beverly Lemire (Farnham ; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2010), 47 and 56.
- ⁴⁰ Jan van Campen, *Asian Art* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2014).
- ⁴¹ Ydema, *Carpets and Their Datings*, 74–75; See also Donald King, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century* (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983).
- ⁴² Jon Mildh Thompson and Daniel Shaffer, *Carpets and Textiles in the Iranian World 1400-1700* (Oxford : May Beattie Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford ; Genoa : in association with the Bruschetti Foundation for Islamic and Asian Art, 2010).
- ⁴³ Ydema, *Carpets and Their Datings*; Carol Bier, *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart : Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran, 16th-19th Centuries* (Washington, DC: Textile Museum, 1987).
- ⁴⁴ Julie Berger Hochstrasser, 'Imag (in) Ing Prosperity Painting and Material Culture in the 17th-Century Dutch Household', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art/Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek Online* 51, no. 1 (2001): 195–236.
- ⁴⁵ Adriaan E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu : Life and Work : A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven etc: Yale University Press, 2012).
- ⁴⁶ See the listing of Metsu depictions in Ydema, *Carpets and Their Datings*, 138–39.
- ⁴⁷ Fock points out that the placement of what she calls oriental carpets on floors was a very late development in the Dutch interior. Fock and Eliens, *Het Nederlandse Interieur in Beeld 1600-1900*.
- ⁴⁸ Fock suggests this is an 'eastern tobacco pot'. Ibid., 160.
- ⁴⁹ Thijs Weststeijn, 'Cultural Reflections on Porcelain in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', in *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus M. Eliens (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 213–29.
- ⁵⁰ Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 128–32; Corrigan, Campen, and Diercks, *Asia in Amsterdam*; Jan van Campen and Titus M. Eliens, *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014).
- ⁵¹ The classic study of the VOC imports of porcelain into the Netherlands is T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company: As Recorded in the Dag-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers; 1602-1682* (Brill Archive, 1954); it should be read in conjunction with the chapter by Cynthia Viallé in Campen and Eliens, *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*; See also C. J. A. Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise', in

Porcelains of Jingdezhen, ed. Rosemary E Scott (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1993), 183–205.

⁵² Anne E. C. McCants, 'Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World', *Journal of World History* 18, no. 4 (2007): 433–62.

⁵³ Anne E. C. McCants, 'Asiatic Goods in Migrant and Native-Born Middling Households', in *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia*, ed. Maxine Berg (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 197–215; See also McCants' contribution in Laura Cruz and Joel Mokyr, eds., *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400-1800: Essays in Honor of Jan de Vries* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010).

⁵⁴ Jan Daniël van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne: Delfts Aardewerk 1620-1850* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 9–25.

⁵⁵ C. J. A. Jörg, *Oosters porselein, Delfts aardewerk: wisselwerkingen* (Groningen: Kemper, 1983).

⁵⁶ Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne*.

⁵⁷ Rappard-Boon and Baarsen, *Imitatie En Inspiratie*, 34.

⁵⁸ See the example in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no BK-NM-6355, as discussed in *ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁹ Fock and Eliens, *Het Nederlandse Interieur in Beeld 1600-1900*, 160.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶¹ Jan Veenendaal, Titus M. Eliens, and Loes Visch, *Asian Art and Dutch Taste* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 23–33.

⁶² J. Terwen-de Loos, *Het Nederlands Koloniale Meubel: Studie over Meubels in de Voormalige Nederlandse Koloniën Indonesie En Sri Lanka* (Franeker: Wever, 1985), 29.

⁶³ Pieter de Hooch, 'Interior with Women Beside a Linen Cupboard', 1663. Oil on canvas, H 70cm × W 75,5cm. Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-1191. See Reinier J. Baarsen, *Wonen in de Gouden Eeuw: 17de-Eeuwse Nederlandse Meubelen*, Rijksmuseum Dossiers (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Nieuw Amsterdam, 2007); See also Riello, 'Fabricating the Domestic', 64.

⁶⁴ Veenendaal, Eliens, and Visch, *Asian Art and Dutch Taste*, 24.

⁶⁵ See the insightful critique of the idea of shared heritage in Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, "Travelling Far On" rather Short Legs". Company-Furniture on the Move and the Problem of Shared Heritage', *IIAS Newsletter* 2012 (2012), http://depot.knaw.nl/12524/1/IIAS_NL59_3031.pdf.

⁶⁶ For VOC shipments of furniture, especially lacquer cabinets, see Corrigan, Campen, and Diercks, *Asia in Amsterdam*, 155–59.

⁶⁷ Jan Veenendaal, *Furniture from Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India During the Dutch Period* (Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara, 1985), 92–109.

⁶⁸ Laurie A. Lindey, 'The London Furniture Trade, 1640-1720' (PhD, University of London, 2015), 77–78.

⁶⁹ Veenendaal, Eliens, and Visch, *Asian Art and Dutch Taste*, 67; See also Veenendaal, *Furniture from Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India During the Dutch Period*, 86.

⁷⁰ There is an extensive literature on this subject, some of which is brought together in Flynn and Giráldez, *China and the Birth of Globalization in the 16th Century*.