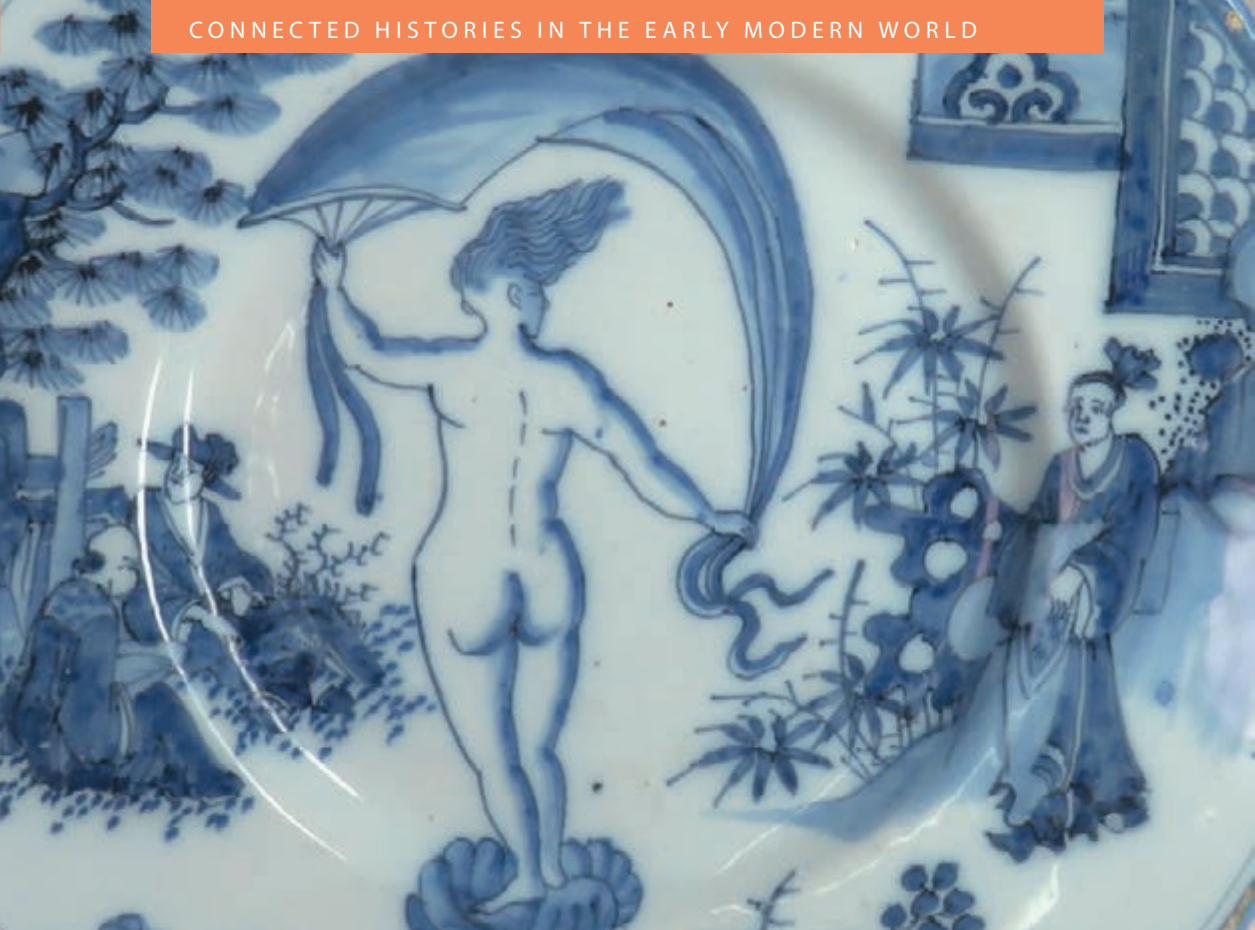


CONNECTED HISTORIES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



Anna Grasskamp

Art and Ocean Objects of Early Modern Eurasia

Shells, Bodies, and Materiality

Amsterdam
University
Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

Art and Ocean Objects of Early Modern Eurasia

Connected Histories in the Early Modern World

Connected Histories in the Early Modern World contributes to our growing understanding of the connectedness of the world during a period in history when an unprecedented number of people—Africans, Asians, Americans, and Europeans—made transoceanic or other long distance journeys. Inspired by Sanjay Subrahmanyam's innovative approach to early modern historical scholarship, it explores topics that highlight the cultural impact of the movement of people, animals, and objects at a global scale. The series editors welcome proposals for monographs and collections of essays in English from literary critics, art historians, and cultural historians that address the changes and cross-fertilizations of cultural practices of specific societies. General topics may concern, among other possibilities: cultural confluences, objects in motion, appropriations of material cultures, cross-cultural exoticization, transcultural identities, religious practices, translations and mistranslations, cultural impacts of trade, discourses of dislocation, globalism in literary/visual arts, and cultural histories of lesser studied regions (such as the Philippines, Macau, African societies).

Series editors

Christina Lee, Princeton University

Julia Schleck, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Advisory Board

Serge Gruzinski, CNRS, Paris

Michael Laffan, Princeton University

Ricardo Padron, University of Virginia

Elizabeth Rodini, American Academy in Rome
Kaya Sahin, Indiana University,
Bloomington



Amsterdam
University
Press

Art and Ocean Objects of Early Modern Eurasia

Shells, Bodies, and Materiality

Anna Grasskamp

Amsterdam University Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

The publication of this book is made possible by funding support from the Hong Kong Baptist University Research Committee.

Cover illustration: Anonymous, *Plate*, ca. 1680–90, Delft. Delftware, tin-glazed earthenware. Museum für Angewandte Kunst Köln, E3783. Photo: Karl Tobias Friedrich.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Layout: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 115 8
e-ISBN 978 90 4855 330 3
DOI 10.5117/9789463721158
NUR 654

© A. Grasskamp / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2021

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Table of Contents

Introduction	7
1 Shell Connections:	
The Exoticization and Eroticization of Asian Maritime Material Culture	23
From Guangzhou to Florence: Parrot Cups as “Actors”	25
Layers of Exoticization: Chinese and European Shell Surfaces	33
Surfaces and Skins: The European Eroticization of Asian Shells	50
Conclusion – Shell Connections	58
2 Shell Bodies:	
The Creative Agency of Molluscs across Cultures	67
Clever Objects	69
Shell Agency	74
Clam Creations	82
Female Features	91
Bird Bodies	94
Cultured Connections	98
Conclusion	101
3 Shell Worlds:	
Maritime Microcosms in EurAsian Art and Material Culture	109
Shells in Flux	110
Coralscapes	128
Conclusion	139
4 Woman with a Shell:	
Transcultural Exchange, Female Bodies and Maritime Matters	147
Women on Shells	149
Women in Shells	156
Women with Shells	166
Women with EurAsian Shells	173
Conclusion – Woman with a Shell	178



Conclusion	183
Cited Primary and Secondary Sources	193
Acknowledgments	213
Index	215

Introduction

Abstract

Laying the groundwork for a study of Sino-European exchanges in art and maritime material culture between 1500 and 1700, the introduction outlines the framework in which the book positions itself. As the early modern interest in shells and pearls was rooted in material, aesthetic, artisanal, sensual and scientific interests, the introduction highlights relevant scholarship in the fields of ecology, art history, animal studies, anthropology, gender studies, political science and the history of science that engage with the conceptualization of EurAsian matter and situates the monograph within the interdisciplinary field of material culture studies.

Keywords: material culture studies, art history, history of science, gender studies, EurAsian matters, maritime material culture

In 1705, the first treatise on Asian shells and molluscs was published posthumously. Its author was a man known as Rumphius (1627–1702), who was of German origin and had worked for the Dutch East India Company and spent many years in Indonesia studying maritime material culture and marine organisms.¹ Rumphius's work marked the beginning of the transcultural and systematic study of Asian molluscs before which the collecting and study of conches had been the preserve of emperors and merchants, artists and artisans, and naturalists and amateurs in China as well as Europe.² This book focuses mainly on Asian shells in early modern artefacts and paintings before 1705, considering them “things that talk,”³ and takes shells as a point of departure for transcultural “object lessons” in the study of art and material culture that teach us about aesthetics, craftsmanship and ecology in early modern Eurasia.

1 Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer*.

2 Before Rumphius, Martin Lister (1639–1712) and his daughters had also already published on molluscs but with a focus on local specimens. See Roos, *Martin Lister*.

3 Daston, *Things That Talk*.

Research on the material culture of the early modern world has taken approaches that do justice to the period's globalized networks of mercantile and artistic exchange.⁴ Historians have written about the “global lives of things,”⁵ adding culture as one of the defining agents in the conceptualization of an object's “social life.”⁶ Early modern Europe has been conceptualized as a space whose object worlds were as “European” as they were “creole,”⁷ while the transcultural dimensions of Ming and Qing dynasty material culture have been widely acknowledged.⁸ Recently, historians of science have taken the idea of “material complexes” to investigate the entanglement and transfer of matter and knowledge across Eurasia,⁹ while art historians have started to think with and through transcultural things using the notion of EurAsian matters and objects.¹⁰ All of these approaches allow scholars to refrain from qualifying artefacts as essentially “European” or “Asian” according to their geographical origins, or in terms of historical attributes that could be read as characteristics of particular styles or representing individual “cultures.”¹¹

The study of things such as shells, whose importance during the early modern period was rooted in their commercial as well as aesthetic, sensual and scientific values, stands at the intersection of the histories of art and science, whose boundaries have become porous in the study of EurAsian objects, matter and materiality.¹² In the interdisciplinary field of globalized material culture studies, research on the relations between aesthetic practices and the collecting of shells and pearls has been undertaken by scholars of art history, English literature, science and the history of science, as well as other disciplines.¹³ In addition, museum work has contributed significantly to the field through the online publication of object files,

4 The literature on early modern material culture in a global context is growing and includes but is by no means limited to: Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*; Findlen, *Early Modern Things*; Cook, *Matters of Exchange*; Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*; Smith and Findlen, eds. *Merchants and Marvels*; Bronsen and Vanhaelen, “Introduction”; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; Um and Clark, “Introduction.”

5 Gerritsen and Riello, eds. *The Global Lives of Things*.

6 Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*.

7 Pinney, “Creole Europe.”

8 Clunas, “Connected Material Histories”; Clunas et al, eds. *Ming*; Wang, “A Global Perspective”; Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White*, esp. 195–215; Pierson, “The Movement of Chinese Ceramics”; Shih, *Riyue Guanghua*; Shih, “Shiba shiji dongxi jiaoliu de jianzheng”; Shih, “The Wooden Hundred-Layered Goblet from the Western Ocean”; Shih, “Unknown Transcultural Objects”; Shih, “Xiangya qiu suojian zhi gongyi jishu jiaoliu”; Shih, “‘Xuanzi’ ji ‘zhuanyi’.”

9 Smith, ed. *Entangled Itineraries*; Smith, “Itineraries of materials and knowledge.”

10 Grasskamp and Juneja, eds. *EurAsian Matters*, esp. 12; Grasskamp, “EurAsian Layers,” esp. 363.

11 Juneja and Grasskamp, “Introduction,” 12, with reference to Pinney, “Things Happen,” esp. 266.

12 Grasskamp and Juneja, eds. *EurAsian Matters*, esp. 12; Smith, ed. *Entangled Itineraries*.

13 See for example Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea*; Leonhard, “Shell Collecting”; Pointon, “Something Rich and Strange”; Kelley, “Shells, Pericles, and the Fantasy of Shell-Dwelling”; Smeesters, “The Secretion of a Pearl”; Van de Roemer, “Neat Nature”; Spary, “Scientific Symmetries”; Dietz, “Mobile Objects”; Duncan

as well as exhibitions and accompanying publications.¹⁴ Among all the scholarly and curatorial contributors to the field, historians of Netherlandish art and culture have played an important role through their research into objects imported by the seventeenth-century Dutch East and West India Companies, which supplied much of Europe with shells from Africa, India, Indonesia, and the Moluccas via Amsterdam.¹⁵

Before Dutch domination of world trade in the seventeenth century, Asian shells had reached Europe on board Portuguese vessels.¹⁶ From Lisbon and later other harbour cities, most importantly Amsterdam, Asian shells were traded and exchanged as gifts across Europe and appear in a number of early modern treatises on natural history published in Italy, France and Germany and translated into a number of European languages.¹⁷ Asian shells have also been researched in the context of Northern European cabinets of curiosity, *Kunstkammer* or *konstkamer*, using, for example, inventories and period correspondence as source materials, and discussed in relation to collecting and gift exchange practices associated with Italian collections.¹⁸ In European collections, unpolished and untreated Asian shells were included for display and handling, but some, especially those of the nautilus and turbo types, were further processed by goldsmiths who transformed them into precious drinking cups.¹⁹ While Asian shells were considered rarities in Europe and some of them were pricey luxury objects embellished with gold mounts, in Chinese harbour cities such as Guangzhou, nautilus and turbo snail shells among others were widely available and considered “rather cheap”

and Ghys, “Shells as Collector’s Items”; Kisluk-Grosheide, “Dirck van Rijswijk (1596–1679)”; Ritchie, *Shell Carving*.

14 An excellent example of museum research made accessible online is provided by The British Museum’s web page on a shell cup: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_WB-114 (accessed 11.1.2021). Exhibition catalogues dedicated to shells include: Möller, ed. *Schimmern aus der Tiefe*. Numerous shells are also discussed in the exhibition catalogues Corrigan et al, eds. *Asia in Amsterdam*, Seipel, ed. *Die Entdeckung der Natur* and Bergvelt and Kistemaker, eds. *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Catalogus*; Bergvelt and Kistemaker, eds. *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Essays*.

15 Van der Veen, “Dit klain Vertrek”; Van der Veen, “East Indies Shops in Amsterdam”; Coomans, “Schelpenverzamelingen”; Roelofs, “Painting Asia”; Bergvelt and Kistemaker, eds. *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Essays*; de Jongh, “Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice”; De Girolami Cheney, “The Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings.”

16 Lightbown, “Oriental Art”: 240; Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 35.

17 Early examples include Aldrovandi, *De reliquis animalibus*; Belon, *L’histoire naturelle des estranges poisons marins*; Lonitzer, *Naturalis historiae opus nuvom*; Gesner, *Icones animalium*; Guillaume Rondelet, *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera*. For more examples see Leonhard, “Shell Collecting,” 188–96.

18 See for example: Rijks, “A Painter, a Collector, and a Horseshoe Crab,” 344–45; Gigante, “Medici Patronage and Exotic Collectibles,” 58–61.

19 Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*; Kehoe, “The Nautilus Cup”; Zuroski, “Nautilus Cups and Unstill Life.”

according to a source from 1388.²⁰ Consequently, the majority of research on maritime material culture in early modern China does not focus on patterns of elite collecting, but investigates the attribution of meanings to marine matter through the study of treatises on materia medica, geography, marine organisms and “sea oddities.”²¹ An exception is scholarship on coral, which not only studies maritime material culture in global trade networks, but also considers aspects of elite collecting including the use of Mediterranean coral in the workshops of early modern Guangzhou and its presence in the imperial collections of Ming and Qing dynasty Beijing.²²

Research on the historical perception of molluscs and their ability to produce pearls has also been undertaken within transcultural frameworks. Adding to studies that mention the transcultural genesis of tales on pearls’ origins in shells, recent scholarship has contributed global stories of pearl cultivation and human exploitation in a postcolonial attempt to decentre history and do justice to the labour involved in the processes of grafting and biomineralization in shells.²³ In addition, comparative studies can draw on extant literature in Asia and Europe, using works that discuss giant clams in Chinese treatises and studies of gastropods, univalves and bivalves in seventeenth-century Britain respectively.²⁴ The growing field of animal studies has not only changed our understanding of transcultural connections in trade and gift exchanges during the early modern period, but has also transformed art history by enabling non-anthropocentric approaches, for example through the study of “animal portraits.”²⁵

Similarly, in recent years, art history has been impacted by non-anthropocentric approaches that focus on matter and its potential to have, carry or exert agency. Informed by anthropological approaches, historians have started to see paintings, sculptures and artefacts “in performative terms as systems of actions, intended to

20 Cao, *Gegu yaolun*, 34b–35a, also discussed in chapter 1. Hsieh, “Yingwubei jiqi ta.” The entry on “parrot shell cups” is included in the first version of the *Gegu yaolun* from 1388 (and was not added by a later editor) according to a facsimile of the 1388 version in David, *Chinese Connoisseurship*, 311, 34b. On the dating of the treatise’s publication and a discussion of its later editions see David, *Chinese Connoisseurship*, xliii–lx.

21 Li, *Bencao gangmu*; Nie, *Haicuo tu*; Wu, “Haicuo tu”; Anonymous, *Haiguai tu*; Greenberg, “Weird Science”; Ptak, “Riesenmuscheln”; Ptak, “References to the Coral Islands.”

22 Lacey, “The Coral Network”; Grasskamp, “Branches and Bones”; Grasskamp, “Kuangjia ziran”; Grasskamp, *Objects in Frames*, 127–62; Raveux, “Du corail de Méditerranée pour l’Asie”; Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*; Trivellato, “From Livorno to Goa and Back.”

23 Donkin, *Beyond Price*; Warsh, *American Baroque*; Domínguez-Torres, “Pearl Fishing in the Caribbean”; Machado, Mullins, and Christensen, eds, *Pearls, People and Power*.

24 Ptak, “Riesenmuscheln”; Roos, *Martin Lister und His Remarkable Daughters*.

25 Liscomb, “How the Giraffe Became a Qilin”; Lai, “Domesticating the Global and Materializing the Unknown”; Lai, “Images, Knowledge and Empire”; Greenberg, “Weird Science”; Wu, “Haicuo tu”; Groom, *Exotic Animals*; Jordan Gschwend, *The Story of Süleyman*.

change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it.”²⁶ In addition, the study of early modern craftsmanship has drawn on anthropological research that sees matter and objects as “active not because they are imbued with agency but because of ways in which they are caught up in ... currents of the lifeworld.”²⁷ “New Materialism” and the perception that matter can be understood as “vibrant” have further informed the repositioning of the human among non-human actants in the study of art and ecology in historical and contemporary contexts.²⁸ Of particular relevance to the understanding of the early modern period are studies on nature as a productive agent whose potential to shape matter was perceived as comparable to the agency of craftsmen.²⁹

Anthropological approaches have also inspired the art historical shift towards studies that do justice to the human body and its senses. Scholars have discussed the human capacity for erotic response to objects that “think materially” with the body of the early modern collector and studied the sense of touch in and through early modern art.³⁰ The haptic encounter with shells is also central to philosophers’ reflections on shells, which conclude that in order to explain shells, we need to “remake their form in thought.”³¹ “Thinking through craft,”³² natural objects such as shells were studied and understood by artisans, whose bodies, especially their hands, were essential in the study, appropriation and imitation of matter.³³

This book adds to literature in the field by tracing Sino-European “shell connections,” for example, through a detailed discussion of Chinese shell cups in Germany and Italy in chapter 1 and the analysis of European shell imagery in Qing dynasty Guangzhou in chapter 4. In addition to its transcultural approach, which focuses on material entanglements and aspects of technological and artistic exchange, the chapters also use comparison as methodology, for example in discussing locally defined understandings of the relationships between matter, its natural transformation through craftsmanship and its agency in chapter 2. Drawing on artworks and artefacts, collection inventories, correspondence, and travel records, as well as natural history treatises that address aspects of oceanic and subterranean

26 van Eck, “Living Statues,” 644, which refers to Alfred Gell’s posthumously published *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, 1998; van Kessel, *The Lives of Paintings*; Kuechler, *Return to the Object*.

27 Ingold, “Materials against Materiality”; Ajmar, “Mechanical Disegno”; Smith, “Nodes of Convergence.”

28 Benett, *Vibrant Matter*; Bachelard, *Water and Dreams*; Smith, “New Bachelards?”; Baader, Wolf and Ray, eds. *Ecologies, Aesthetics and Histories of Art*.

29 Daston, “Nature by Design”; Goldgar, “Nature as Art”; Findlen, “Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge”; Kemp, “Wrought by No Man’s Hand”; Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*; Schäfer, “Things (Wu)”; Schafer, “The Idea”; Shalem, “Treasures of the Sea.”

30 Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces*; Harvey, ed. *Sensible Flesh*; Pollaki and Hub, eds. *Images of Sex and Desire*.

31 Valéry, *L’homme et la coquille*; Bachelard, “Shells.”

32 Adamson, *Thinking through Craft*.

33 Smith, *Body of the Artisan*. Smith, “Giving Voice to Hands.”

exploitation, the book connects microhistory with macrohistory, for example in chapter 3, which discusses selected pictorial representations of shells as entangled with networks of European colonization and Chinese tributary systems. Defining China and Europe as spaces entangled with South and Southeast Asian sites of knowledge production and trade between 1500 and 1700, the book understands oceanic goods and networks as transcending and subverting territorial and topographical divisions. In other words, the book studies Asian mollusc products such as shells and pearls and their representations in early modern EurAsian exchange with a focus on their artistic, technological and ecological implications, linking the study of globally connected port cities to local ecologies of oceanic exploitation and art histories.

Chapter 1, titled *Shell Connections*, maps the geography of EurAsian trade connections in maritime material culture and discusses shells, in particular nautilus shells, in relation to the bodies of early modern artisans and collectors. It addresses period associations of shells with ceramics and examines how motifs from Chinese porcelain and engraved Asian shells inspired European craftsmen. The chapter argues that knowledge of shell carving technologies travelled from Asia to Europe, changed the physical manipulation of materials by craftsmen through non-verbal means, and resulted in the exoticization and eroticization of shells across Eurasia where they were fundamental to the intersection of material collecting and visual fantasies of oceans and foreign spaces in both cultures.

Chapter 2, *Shell Bodies*, considers the creative agency of those organisms that create shells – molluscs – as reflected in European and Chinese thought, art, and material cultures. It discusses shells, in particular those of sea snails, as “clever” and “difficult objects,”³⁴ whose complex inner structures inspired the invention of games and “taught” mathematicians and artisans alike. Early modern craftsmen engaged with natural objects, not informed by the modern dichotomies between the natural and the artificial, the animate and the inanimate, but attributing them with a certain sense of agency; imitating ocean objects in clay, artisans were thinking with shells through craft. Period treatises on marine creatures presented shells and molluscs as artisan-like organisms and active participants in the shaping of matter that could even, under certain circumstances, appropriate political meanings in the context of early modern globalization. In Europe and Asia, clams were considered human-like in their abilities to design and construct proto-architectural geometric shapes. Likewise, striking images of birds hatching from shells feature prominently in sources from both cultures before 1700, evoking associations between the materiality of shells and eggshells, and between molluscs

34 Rothstein, “Making Trouble”; Rothstein, *The Shape of Difficulty*; Rothstein, “Visual Difficulty as a Cultural System”; Hunter and Lucchini, “The Clever Object.”

that can craft their own houses and birds that can build their own nests. Against the background of transcultural narratives on the generation of pearls throughout Chinese, Middle Eastern and European period sources, which attribute molluscs with female features, chapter 2 argues for a shared ecological understanding of shells throughout Eurasia that conceptualizes them as “birthplaces” and “houses” equivalent to women’s wombs and birds’ eggs and nests.

As early modern texts and images show, clams were also thought to contain parallel miniature universes inhabited by beautiful women and monstrous creatures. Accordingly, chapter 3, *Shell Worlds*, discusses Chinese and European visual and sculptural representations of underwater microcosms and argues that, in both cultures, shells were imagined as gateways to maritime worlds full of unknown rarities. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Asian shells were highly desired by collectors in early modern Europe, while coral from the Mediterranean was eagerly sought after in Asia. In both locations, artists and artisans created EurAsian objectscapes that placed maritime material appropriated from abroad alongside local matter. Such painted and crafted shell and coralscapes were highly ambiguous, belonging to oceanic and terrestrial, global and local, commodified and sacred realms, but they unambiguously materialized ideas on the generation and transformation of matter. Hand-sized pieces of mineral or metal ore (*Handstein*) found in German mines, for example, decorated with fragments of maritime material culture such as coral and shells to represent miniature landscapes, were included in early modern courtly collections. Likewise, numerous Chinese miniature landscapes (*penjing*) employed rocks as miniature mountains and coral pieces as trees.

These artefacts connect to early modern Chinese and European texts that feature descriptions of diving and fishing for maritime goods that hold terminological and conceptual equivalences to descriptions of digging and mining. Such texts present the ocean as a treasury and a nautical counterpart to subterranean spaces full of riches. Investigating the connections between ocean objects and mined minerals, underwater landscapes and islands, and natural and artificial landscapes from a transcultural perspective, chapter 3 compares the cosmological ideas and material constituents that underlie artistic maritime microcosms and shows how shells and coral resonated with the material mapping of foreign spaces in the frameworks of European colonialism and Chinese tributary systems. Despite the association of shells and coral with culturally specific tropes found in Greek mythology and Christian writings on the one hand and Daoist and Buddhist belief systems on the other, the chapter argues that across Eurasia maritime material culture not only formed a gateway to imaginary foreign worlds full of collectable rarities, but also to unusual creatures, including women of great beauty.

Representations of women on, in and alongside shells are at the heart of chapter 4, *Woman with a Shell*. While some of the works discussed, for example Sandro Botticelli’s

The Birth of Venus of 1485–1486 and Jan Gossaert's *Neptune and Amphitrite/Venus* of 1516, are well-known representations of the goddess of love surrounded by sexualized objects, the chapter adds less familiar works such as Saint Mary inside a scallop shell carved out of ivory and an earthenware plaque of Caritas framed by shells. It also presents little-known images of women in shells painted in early modern China, for example in two Buddhist scroll paintings, each of which depicts a female figure – half woman, half animal – emerging from an enormous bivalve shell, and images of Galatea on her shell-shaped vehicle painted in eighteenth-century Guangzhou. Regardless of whether we look at representations of Venus or a shell-woman in a Buddhist underwater world, at depictions of Galatea or Bodhisattva Guanyin, the shells that are paired with these female figures' bodies are all of gigantic size – snail shells and giant clams native neither to Europe nor to China. In addition to aspects of materiality and corporality, objectification and sexual agency, the subjects of intimacy and distance in both physical and geographical senses are central to the painterly negotiation of images of women with shells across Eurasia, which all link a woman's body to an object of foreign material culture. Building on the previous chapters, chapter 4 argues that images of women with shells are visual and material reflections of foreign (underwater) spaces full of riches, paradise-like realms that not only promise material affluence but also erotic fulfilment.

Rooted in the interdisciplinary field of material culture studies, the chapters draw on art historical methods in their analysis of images and objects in a global context, but equally on the history of science as the early modern engagement with shells was rooted in aesthetic, sensual and scientific interests. Furthermore, studies on ecology have shaped this text, especially discussions on the agency of matter to which anthropologists and political scientists have contributed. Informed by work on the correlations between artificial and natural objects in early modern Europe, the book's understanding of objects in relation to human bodies is also enabled by recent studies on art and sensuality. Within these frameworks and in line with recent volumes on the global lives of things and EurAsian matters, the chapters examine the relationships between artists, collectors, materiality, and thingness in the transculturally connected art worlds and ecologies of the early modern period, with a special focus on maritime material culture and the female body.

Cited Primary and Secondary Sources

Adamson, Glenn. *Thinking through Craft*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.

Ajmar, Marta. "The Renaissance in Material Culture. Material Mimesis as Force and Evidence of Globalization." In *The Routledge Handbook of Globalization and Archaeology*, edited by Tamar Hodos, 669–686. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.



- . “Mechanical Disegno.” *RIHA Journal* 84 (2014): n. p.
- Aldrovandi, Ulisse. *De reliquis animalibus*. Bologna: Ioannem Baptistam Bellagambam, 1606.
- Allsen, Thomas. *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.
- Anonymous, *Haiguai tu 還怪圖* [Manual of Sea Oddities], 1688. National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Baader, Hannah, Gerhard Wolf and Sugata Ray, eds. *Ecologies, Aesthetics and Histories of Art*. Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2021.
- Bachelard, Gaston. “shells.” In *The Poetics of Space*, 104–235. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.
- . *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter*, 3rd edition. Dallas: Institute of Humanities and Culture, 1999.
- Belon, Pierre. *L’histoire naturelle des estranges poisons marins, avec la vraie peinture & description du daulphin, & de plusieurs autres de son espece*. Paris: Regnaud Chaudiere, 1551.
- Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bergvelt, Ellinoor, and Renée Kistemaker, eds. *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Catalogus*. Zwolle: Waanders; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992.
- , eds. *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Essays*. Zwolle: Waanders; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992.
- Cao Zhao 曹昭, Gegu yaolun 格古要論 [Essential Criteria of Antiquities], 1388, facsimile reproduced and translated in Sir Percival David, *Chinese Connoisseurship: The Essential Criteria of Antiquities, Being a Translation of the Ko Ku Yao Lun*, 295–344. New York: Praeger, 1971. Included in a later edition in *Wenyuange sikuquanshu 文淵閣四庫全書*, [The Wenyuange {Palace} Edition of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature] (Beijing 1773–1782).
- Clunas, Craig. “Connected Material Histories: A Response.” *Modern Asian Studies* 50 (2016): 61–74.
- Clunas, Craig, Jessica Harrison-Hall and Luk Yu-ping, eds. *Ming: Courts and Contacts*. London: The British Museum, 2016.
- Cook, Harold. *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press: 2008.
- Coomans, H. E. “Schelpenverzamelingen.” In *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Essays*, edited by Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, 192–203. Zwolle: Waanders; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992.
- Corrigan, Karina, Jan van Campen, and Femke Diercks, eds. *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age*. Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2015.

- Daston, Lorraine. "Nature by Design." In *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, edited by Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison, 232–252. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- , ed. *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Daston, Lorraine, and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- David, Sir Percival. *Chinese Connoisseurship: The Essential Criteria of Antiquities, Being a Translation of the Ko Ku Yao Lun*, New York: Praeger, 1971.
- De Girolami Cheney, Liana. "The Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings: Moral or Erotic Symbolism." *Artibus et Historiae* 8, 15 (1987): 135–158.
- Dietz, Bettina. "Mobile Objects. The Space of Shells in 18th-Century France." *British Journal for the History of Science* 39, 3 (2006): 363–382.
- Domínguez Torres, Monica. "Pearl Fishing in the Caribbean: Early Images of Slavery and Forced Migration in the Americas." In *African Diaspora in the Cultures of Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States*, edited by Persephone Braham, 73–82. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015.
- Donkin, Robin A. *Beyond Price: Pearls and Pearl Fishing: Origins to the Age of Discoveries*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998.
- Duncan, Peter, and Arne Ghys. "Shells as Collector's Items." In *Goods and Services of Marine Bivalves*, edited by Aad C. Smaal et al., 381–411. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- van Eck, Caroline. "Living Statues: Alfred Gell's Art and Agency, Living Presence Response and the Sublime." *Art History* 33, 4 (2010): 642–659.
- Findlen, Paula, ed. *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500–1800*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- . "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, 2 (1990): 292–331.
- Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Gerritsen, Anne. *The City of Blue and White. Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Gerritsen, Anne, and Giorgio Riello, eds. *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Gesner, Conrad. *Icones animalium*. Zurich: Froschauer, 1553.
- Gigante, Federica. "Medici Patronage and Exotic Collectibles in the Seventeenth Century: The Cospi Collection." In *Art, Mobility, and Exchange in Early Modern Tuscany and Eurasia*, edited by Francesco Freddolini and Marco Musillo, 48–66. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Goldgar, Anne. "Nature as Art: The Case of the Tulip." In *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, 324–346. New York: Routledge, 2002.

- Grasskamp, Anna. "Branches and Bones: The Transformative Matter of Coral in Ming Dynasty China." In *Gems in the Early Modern World: Materials, Knowledge, and Global Trade, 1450–1800*, edited by Sven Dupré and Michael Bycroft, 118–147. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018.
- Grasskamp, Anna. "EurAsian Layers: Netherlandish Surfaces and Early Modern Chinese Artefacts." *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 63, 4 (2015): 363–398.
- . "Kuangjia ziran: Cong Qinggong zhong de san jian shanhu yishupin lunqi 框架自然：從清宮中的三件珊瑚藝術品論起 [Framing Nature: Three Coral Objects from the Qing Imperial Collections in Context]." *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan* 399 (2016): 108–117.
- Grasskamp, Anna, and Monica Juneja, eds. *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe and the Transcultural Object, 1600–1800*. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- Greenberg, Daniel. "Weird Science: European Origins of the Fantastic Creatures in the Qing Court Painting, the Manual of Sea Oddities." In *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture*, edited by Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang, 379–400. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2016.
- Groom, Angelika. *Exotic Animals in the Art and Culture of the Medici Court in Florence*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Harvey, Elizabeth D., ed. *Sensible Flesh. On Touch in Early Modern Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Hay, Jonathan. *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*. London: Reaktion, 2010.
- Hsieh Ming-Liang 謝明良. "Yingwubei jiqi ta" 鸚鵡杯及其他 [Parrot Cups, etc.] *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan* 358 (2013): 64–77.
- Hunter, Matthew C., and Francesco Lucchini. "The Clever Object: Three Pavilions, Three Loggias, and a Planetarium." *Art History* 36 (2013): 474–497.
- Ingold, Tim. "Materials against Materiality." *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, 1 (2007): 1–16.
- Jardine, Lisa, and Jerry Brotton. *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East & West*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Jordan Gschwend, Annemarie. *The Story of Süleyman: Celebrity Elephants and Other Exotica in Renaissance Portugal*. Philadelphia: Pachyderm, 2010.
- de Jongh, Eddie. "Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice." *Simiolous* 8, 2 (1974/75): 69–97.
- Juneja, Monica, and Anna Grasskamp. "EurAsian Matters: An Introduction." In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe and the Transcultural Object, 1600–1800*, edited by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja, 3–33. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- Kehoe, Marsely L. "The Nautilus Cup between Foreign and Domestic in the Dutch Golden Age." *Dutch Crossing* 35, 3 (2011): 275–285.
- Kelley, Shannon. "Shells, Pericles, and the Fantasy of Shell-Dwelling." In *The Shakespearean International Yearbook. 15: Special Section: Shakespeare and the Human*, edited by Tiffany Jo Werth, 167–183. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.

- Kemp, Martin. "Wrought by No Artist's Hand: The Natural, Artificial and Exotic in Some Artefacts from the Sixteenth Century." In *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, edited by Claire Farago, 177–196. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- van Kessel, Elsje. *The Lives of Paintings: Presence, Agency and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017.
- Kisluk-Grosheide, Daniëlle. "Dirck van Rijswijck (1596–1679), a Master of Mother-of-Pearl." *Oud Holland* 111, 2 (1997): 77–94.
- Kuechler, Susanne, and Timothy Carroll. *A Return to the Object. Alfred Gell, Art, and Social Theory*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Lacey, Pippa. "The Coral Network: The Trade of Red Coral to the Qing Imperial Court in the Eighteenth Century." In *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 81–102. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Lai Yu-chih. "Domesticating the Global and Materializing the Unknown: A Study of the Album of Beasts at the Qianlong Court." In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600–1800*, edited by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja, 125–171. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- . "Images, Knowledge and Empire: Depicting Cassowaries in the Qing Court." *Transcultural Studies* 1 (2013): 7–100.
- Leonhard, Karin. "Shell Collecting: On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 177–214. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Li Shizhen 李時珍, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, 1596, published in *Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, [The Wenyuange {Palace} Edition of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature]. Beijing, 1773–1782.
- Lightbown, Ronald W. "Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 228–279.
- Liscomb, Kathlyn. "How the Giraffe Became a Qilin: Intercultural Signification in Ming Dynasty Arts." In *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture*, edited by Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang, 341–378. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Lonitzer, Adam. *Naturalis historiae opus novom*. Frankfurt: Christopher Egenolff, 1551.
- Machado, Pedro, Steve Mullins and Joseph Christensen, eds. *Pearls, People and Power: Pearl and Indian Ocean Worlds*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2020.
- Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: Wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen*. Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1995.
- Möller, Karin Annette, ed. *Schimmern aus der Tiefe: Muscheln, Perlen, Nautilus*. Petersberg: Imhof, 2013.

- Nie Huang 聶璜. *Haicuo tu* 海錯圖 [Illustrated Catalogue of Marine Creatures], 1698, 3 vol. Palace Museum, Beijing.
- Pierson, Stacey. "The Movement of Chinese Ceramics: Appropriation in Global History." *Journal of World History* 23, 1 (2012): 9–39.
- Pinney, Christopher. "Creole Europe: The Reflection of a Reflection." *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 20 (2002): 125–160.
- . "Things Happen: Or, From Which Moment Does That Object Come?" In *Materiality: An Introduction*, edited by Daniel Miller, 256–272. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Pointon, Marcia. "Something Rich and Strange." In *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery*, 107–144. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Pollali, Angeliki, and Berthold Hub, eds. *Images of Sex and Desire in Renaissance Art and Modern Historiography*. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Ptak, Roderich. "Notes on the Word 'Shanhu' and Chinese Coral Imports from Maritime Asia, c. 1250–1600." *Archipel* 39 (1990): 65–80.
- . "Riesenschnecken: Notizen zur Bezeichnung chequ." In *Marine Animals in Traditional China: Studies in Cultural History/Meerestiere im traditionellen China*, edited by Roderich Ptak, 121–144. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.
- . "References to the Coral Islands in Huang Zhong's Hai yu 海語." *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 23, 1 (2019): 39–72.
- Raveux, Olivier. "Du corail de Méditerranée pour l'Asie. Les ventes du marchand marseillais François Garnier à Smyrne vers 1680." In *La mer en partage. Sociétés littorales et économies maritimes (XVIe–XIXe siècle). Études offertes à Gilbert Buti*, edited by Xavier Daumalin, Daniel Faget and Olivier Raveux, 343–359. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2016.
- Rijks, Marlise. "'Unusual Excrescences of Nature': Collected Coral and the Study of Petrified Luxury in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp." *Dutch Crossing* 41.2 (2017): 1–29.
- Ritchie, Carson I.A. *Shell Carving: History and Techniques*. South Brunswick: A.S. Barnes, 1974.
- Roelofs, Pieter. "Painting Asia: Oriental Luxury Goods and Exotic Curiosities in Dutch Paintings." In *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen and Femke Diercks, with Janet C. Blyberg, 229–244. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.
- van de Roemer, Bert. "Neat Nature. The Relation between Nature and Art in a Dutch Cabinet of Curiosities from the Early Eighteenth Century." *History of Science* 42 (2004): 47–84.
- Rondelet, Guillaume. *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera*. Lyon: Bonhomme, 1555.
- Roos, Anna Marie. *Martin Lister and His Remarkable Daughters: The Art of Science in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Bodleian Library/Oxford University, 2019.
- Rothstein, Bret. "Making Trouble: Strange Wooden Objects and the Pursuit of Difficulty ca. 1596." *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, 1 (2013): 96–129.

- . *The Shape of Difficulty: A Fan Letter to Unruly Objects*. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.
- . “Visual Difficulty as a Cultural System.” *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 65/66 (2014/2015): 332–347.
- Rumphius, Georgius. *D’Amboinsche rariteitenkamer*. Amsterdam: François Halma, 1705. 2nd ed., 1711.
- Schäfer, Dagmar. “Things (*Wu*) and Their Transformations (*Zaowu*) in the Late Ming Dynasty: Song Yingxing’s and Huang Cheng’s Approaches to Mobilizing Craft Knowledge.” In *Entangled Itineraries. Materials, Practices, and Knowledge across Eurasia*, edited by Pamela Smith, 63–78. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019.
- Schafer, Edward. “The Idea of Created Nature in T’ang Literature.” *Philosophy East & West* 15, 2 (1965): 153–160.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe’s Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Seipel, Wilfried, ed. *Die Entdeckung der Natur. Naturalien in den Kunstkammern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, exhibition catalogue. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2006.
- Shalem, Avinoam. “Treasures of the Sea: Art Before Craft. An Introduction,” in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma: Serie VII. Historia del Arte* 5 (2017): 15–34.
- Shih Ching-fei. *Riyue guanghua: Qinggong huafalang* [Radiant Luminance: The Painted Enamelware of the Qing Imperial Court]. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2012.
- . “Shiba shiji dongxi jiaoliu de jianzheng: Qinggong huafalang zhizuo zai Kangxi chao de jianli [Evidence of East–West Exchange in the Eighteenth Century: The Establishment of Painted Enamel Art at the Qing Court in the Reign of Emperor Kangxi].” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 24, 3 (2007): 45–95.
- . “Unknown Transcultural Objects: Turned Ivory Works by the European Rose Engine Lathe in the Eighteenth-Century Qing Court.” In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600–1800*, edited by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja, 57–76. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- . “The Wooden Hundred-Layered Goblet from the Western Ocean.” *Orientations* 48, 4 (2015), 60–64.
- . “Xiangya qiu suojian zhi gongyi jishu jiaoliu: Guangdong, qinggong yu shensheng luoma diguo [Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques: Canton, the Ch’ing Court and the Holy Roman Empire].” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 25, 2 (2007): 87–138.
- . “‘Xuanzi’ ji ‘zhuanyi’: quanqiushi shiye xia de ‘xiyang’ duo ceng mu tao bei [Global Visual Studies Perspectives on Multi-Layered Wooden Cups from the “Western Ocean”].” *Yishuxue Yanjiu* 21 (2017): 1–76.
- Spary, Emma. “Scientific Symmetries.” *History of Science* 62 (2004): 1–46.
- Smeesters, Aline. “The Secretion of a Pearl as a Symbol for the Birth of a Prince.” In *Emblems and the Natural World*, edited by Karl Enekel and Paul Smith, 454–472. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

- Smith, James L. "New Bachelards? Reveries, Elements and Twenty-First Century Materialism." *Altre Modernità/Otras modernidades/Autres modernités/Other Modernities* (2012): 156–167.
- Smith, Pamela H. *The Body of the Artisan. Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- , ed. *Entangled Itineraries: Materials, Practices, and Knowledge across Eurasia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019.
- . "Giving Voice to Hands: The Articulation of Material Literacy in the Sixteenth Century." In *Popular Literacy: Studies in Cultural Practices and Poetics*, edited by John Trimbur, 74–93. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001.
- . "Itineraries of materials and knowledge in the early modern world." In *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 31–61. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Smith, Pamela, and Paula Findlen, eds. *Merchants and Marvels. Early Modern Merchants as Collectors*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Trivellato, Francesca. *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . "From Livorno to Goa and Back: Merchant Networks and the Coral-Diamond Trade in the Early Eighteenth Century." *Portuguese Studies* 16 (2000): 193–217.
- Um, Nancy, and Leah R. Clark. "Introduction. The Art of Embassy: Situating Objects and Images in the Early Modern Diplomatic Encounter." *Journal of Early Modern History* 20, 1 (2016): 3–18.
- Valéry, Paul. *L'homme et la coquille*. Paris: Gallimard, 1937. Translated as "Man and the Sea Shell." In *Paul Valéry: An Anthology*, selected, with an introduction by James R. Lawler, 108–135. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- van der Veen, Jaap. "Dit klain Vertrek bevat een Wereld vol gewoel. Negentig Amsterdammers en hun kabinetten." In *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en raritenverzamelingen, 1585–1735. Essays*, edited by Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, 232–258. Zwolle: Waanders; Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992.
- . "East Indies shops in Amsterdam." In *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen and Femke Diercks, with Janet C. Blyberg, 134–141. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Wang, Cheng-hua. "A Global Perspective on Eighteenth Century Chinese Art and Visual Culture." *The Art Bulletin* 96, 4: 379–94.
- Warsh, Molly A. *American Baroque: Pearls and the Nature of Empire, 1492–1700*. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

- Wu Song-feng 吳誦芬, "Haicuo tu 海錯圖," *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 363 (2013): 66–73.
- Wilson, Bronwen, and Angela Vanhaelen. "Introduction: Making Worlds: Art, Materiality, and Early Modern Globalization." *Journal of Early Modern History* 23, 2–3 (2019): 103–120.
- Zuroski, Eugenia. "Nautilus Cups and Unstill Life." *Journal* 18 3 (2017): <http://www.journal18.org/1493>.