VISUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE, 1300-1700

Edited by Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
and Stefan Hanß

In-Between Textiles, 1400-1800

Weaving Subjectivities and Encounters

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"At a time when the fabric of democracy is rent by xenophobic zealotry, this outstanding volume provides us with the warp and woof of historical exchange and cultural co-existence. These enthralling essays engage with material practices of weaving across genres and geographies, displaying the travelling world of textiles as they record the shifting global communities of a 'woven imaginary.' Reading *In-Between Textiles*, brought to life the migratory memory of my mother's Parsi *garas*: a traditional sari, commissioned in Bombay from Chinese sailors who offered her a range of silks and motifs, and brought her the sari, months later, when they docked again in Bombay harbor. Set out on this wondrous voyage of the woven world."
Homi K. Bhabha, Harvard University.

"Ranging across five centuries, six continents, and an impressive range of fields, from chemistry-based technologies to ethnographic fieldwork, this broad collection of textile studies recovers the place of subalterns in history, and the varying meanings that early modern textiles took on depending on the communities that used them. Employing the concept of 'in-betweenness,' this volume includes the agency of the excluded and allows historians to move away from glorifying metropolitan 'culture' without a clear consciousness that it is a culture of imperialism."
Suraiya Faroqhi, Ibn Haldun University.

"What happens when a material methodology is used to investigate subjectivities? This remarkable collection of sixteen essays considers the ways in which textiles and clothing serve to unlock the space 'in-between,' one of negotiation, translation, and sometimes subversion of identities. In this book early modern cloth, but also dress, embroideries, and carpets are interrogated to create a new conceptualization of the global. Here material exchange, cultural connections, and the encounters of ideas are woven together in a rich tapestry traversing the entire world."
Giorgio Riello, European University Institute Florence.

"This pioneering volume offers sixteen case studies that consistently cross-fertilize Homi Bhabha's postcolonial theory with the new history of material practices to show how dress and textiles produced difference and mimicry in cultural struggles that remade subjectivities in the early modern world. A remarkable feat and excellent read. Beautifully illustrated, incisive, and original, this book presents cutting-edge scholarship."
Ulinka Rublack, University of Cambridge.

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Cambridge and Manchester, October 2021.

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1. Subjectivities In-Between Early Modern Global Textiles

Beatriz Marín-Aguilera and Stefan Hanß

Abstract
Between 1400 and 1800, intensifying cultural, economic, and colonial connections turned textiles into global artefacts. In a world as globalised as never before, this chapter shows, experiences and strategies of cultural positioning put textiles centre-stage for the negotiation of ever more ambivalent identity politics across the world. This chapter introduces the concept of "in-between textiles," building upon Homi K. Bhabha's notion of in-betweenness as the actual material ground of the negotiation of cultural practices and meanings, as well as a site for elaborating material strategies of subjectivity.

Keywords: in-between textiles; postcolonial theory; identity politics; critical material culture studies; Critical Indigenous Studies

Introduction

Between 1400 and 1800, intensifying cultural, economic, and colonial connections turned textiles into global artefacts. One fourteenth-century cloth bore Chinese floral designs, but was woven in Mongol Iran and processed into a clerical vestment in Europe (Fig. 1.1a). In Christian symbolism pelicans were associated with the offering of blood to the bird's offspring, which evoked associations with the sacrifice of Christ. In European services, therefore, Asian textiles could materialise core principles of faith. From a Mongol perspective, this textile's transcontinental mobility was imbued with spirituality since "Steppe nomads [...] understood circulation as a spiritual necessity. Sharing wealth mollified the spirits of the dead, the sky, and the earth."[1] At the same time, the sub-arctic trade in furs further channelled

1 Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), 5; Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

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Figure 1.1 Left (a): Dalmatic, fourteenth-century Italy/Germany, Iranian cloth. © Victoria & Albert Museum, 8361-1863. Right (b): Tlingit armour with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese coins. Museum Purchase, 1869. Image © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 69-30-10/2065.

the global mobility of Asian artefacts. An eighteenth-century armour made by the Tlingit, Northwest Coast Indigenous Americans, is covered with Chinese coins (Fig. 1.1b).[2]

Little is known about what it meant for European priests to administer the Eucharist wearing Asian textiles, or for Pacific Coast Indigenes to cover their body with metals minted with East Asian signs when going to war. Shimmering metals might have enlivened the light of Christ and Indigenous guardian spirits alike; however, wearing alien textiles also elicited experiences of displacement and dissimilitude.[3] Sixteenth-century European Jesuits active in China consciously started wearing Asian clothing to employ the self-fashioning of Chinese scholars, thereby increasing the success of their proselytising mission in China and the readiness to donate money in Catholic Europe (Fig. 1.2). The Jesuit *modo soave*, the "gentle" way of conversion, had its ambivalences and perils in a time when cross-dressing was

2 John C. Yerbury, *The Subarctic Indians and the Fur Trade, 1680–1860* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986); Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c. 1500–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2–3, 30–86.

3 Caroline W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone, 2011); Robert Bringhurst, *A Story as Sharp as a Knife: The Classical Haida Mythtellers and Their World*, 2nd ed. (Madeira Park, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 2011).

considered to potentially change a person's sex.[4] Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) therefore wrote to Italy in 1585, "I have become a Chinaman. Already you will be aware that in clothing [...], in ceremonies, and in all exterior matters, we are now Chinese."[5] Although surely envisaged as a "half-joking declaration," this textile strategy, in practice, was meant to exploit cultural in-betweenness with the consequence of not only pretending to be, but facing the possibility of gradually becoming different.[6] Today, we hardly get the full pun of Ricci's half-joking, half-concerned statement. This makes such a comment, according to Robert Darnton, worth an entry point for further enquiries presented in this volume, which applies critical cultural theory to examine the extent to which globally traded textiles reshaped what it meant to live in particular local settings in the early modern period.[7] In a world as globalised as never before, experiences and strategies of cultural positioning put textiles centre-stage for the negotiation of ever more ambivalent identity politics.

This volume is a decentred, methodologically innovative, and analytical study of how early modern textiles shaped, disrupted, and transformed subjectivities in the age of globalisation.[8] We present a radically cross-disciplinary approach that brings together world-leading anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, historians, conservators, curators, scientists, and weavers to reflect on the power of textiles to reshape subjectivities on a global scale between 1400 and 1800. This volume establishes a new conversation between textile studies, critical theory, and material culture studies that positions textile researchers of different disciplinary backgrounds at the forefront of debates on the relationship between artefacts and subjectivities. We initiate a conversation about early modern links between textile economies, globalisation, and identity politics between 1400 and 1800—a period referred to as "the cloth age," a time of intensified commerce in textiles that engendered, channelled, and changed the dynamics of intercultural

4 Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 126–29; Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

5 Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), 45. Cf. Alice Yeh, "The Hermeneutics of Silk: China and the Fabric of Christendom according to Martino Martini and the Early Modern Jesuit 'Accommodationists,'" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61, no. 2 (2019): 419–46.

6 Laven, *Mission*, 45.

7 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 77–78.

8 Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds., *The Cambridge World History*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Jan de Vries, "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World," *Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 710–33.

Figure 1.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, Antwerp, 1617. Drawing, 44.6 × 24.8 cm. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.222.

connectedness and colonial encounters in an increasingly "interwoven globe."[9] Expanding on such research, this volume unravels the ambivalent identity politics behind an ever more globalised early modern world of textiles. We develop a novel

9 Lemire, *Global Trade*, 32; Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013).

cross-disciplinary approach to the study of how textiles created and challenged experiences of subjectivity, relatedness, and dis/location that transformed social fabrics around the globe.

We posit the concept of "in-between textiles," building upon Homi K. Bhabha's notion of in-betweenness as the actual material ground of the negotiation of cultural practices and meanings; a site which has been identified by anthropologists and cultural theorists as a driving force of the production of notions of personhood. This volume explores the material dynamics of Bhabha's dictum that "'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself."[10] Addressing early modern textiles in these terms helps unravel the significance of fabrics for the articulation, negotiation, and subversion of increasingly contested identities.

Textiles, we argue, established and eroded a world of "third matter" that reshaped subjectivities on a global scale. This volume explores how early modern fabrics produced what Philippe Descola calls "intersubjective ambience[s] in which regulated relations between one person and another flourish."[11] The power of in-between textiles to mould early modern subjectivities did not result from the mere discursive attribution of cultural meanings; rather, meaningfulness was derived from the embeddedness of these fibres in life-worlds penetrated by the global rise of colonialism and consumerism. These textiles, as Tim Ingold states, "[partook] in the very processes of the world's ongoing generation and regeneration."[12] As relational matter, early modern textiles span the matter of relations. We reconstruct this embeddedness in early modern life-worlds to examine how fabrics produced a sense of (dis)connectedness that remade societies around the world.

In-Between Textiles

Early modern textiles shaped global economies and were thus at the very centre of profound historical transformations. As Beverly Lemire states, "textile manufacturing employed vast populations," with more and more people drawn into new ambits of cultural expressions. "In every quarter of the world, fibres of all kinds were manipulated into media suitable for garments, embellishments and furnishings [...] textiles evoked their origins and encouraged multiple meanings through their use,

10 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 2.

11 Philippe Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 5.

12 Tim Ingold, "Materials against Materiality," *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 1 (2007): 9.

while augmenting rivers of commerce."[13] Travelling the world, textiles channelled the realm and nature of global connections. Regional economies became enmeshed in globally coveted silks, which provoked the spread of sericulture and technological innovation.[14] Colonialist drive and environmental intrusion further channelled the exploitation of dyestuffs.[15] As Giorgio Riello shows, cotton, above all, radically transformed the nature of globalisation by giving birth to the hegemony of "a centripetal system, one based on the capacity of the centre to 'exploit' resources and profits towards its productive and commercial core, rather than a centrifugal system based on the diffusion of resources, technologies, knowledge and the sharing of profits."[16] The exchange of cotton for Asian spices and enslaved Africans shaped global dependencies, human hegemonies, and "the early globalization of style."[17] The interplay between local economies and global tastes stimulated the early modern drive of fashion, turning fashion novelty itself into a marketing concept.[18] Textiles, thus, were the arena of change.

Early modern global textiles reshaped what it meant to live in a globally connected world. Seventeenth-century Vietnam, for instance, was a marketplace for the export of raw silks to Portugal, Castille, the Netherlands, England, and, via Chinese merchants, to Japan.[19] Ottoman luxury silks, too, were traded widely across Eurasia.[20] Fibres like silk, cloths like cotton, and dyestuff like indigo were highly mobile; so too were merchants, artisans, and imperial agents with special interests in textiles. European East India Company officials ran surveys on the production of Indian

13 Lemire, *Global Trade*, 32.

14 Dagmar Schäfer, Giorgio Riello, and Luca Molà, eds., *Threads of Global Desire: Silk in the Pre-Modern World* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

15 Elena Phipps, "Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade," in Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 120–35; John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

16 Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 7.

17 John Guy, "'One Thing Leads to Another': Indian Textiles and the Early Globalization of Style," in Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 13–27; Riello, *Cotton*, 135–59.

18 John Styles, "Product Innovation in Early Modern London," *Past & Present* 168 (2000): 124–69; Maxine Berg, "From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Economic History Review* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–30; Evelyn Welch, "Introduction," in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Evelyn Welch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–30.

19 Samuel Baron, "A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on Cochinchina and Samuel Baron on Tonkin*, ed. Olga Dror (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 210.

20 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Early Modern Commodity Routes: Ottoman Silks in the Webs of Word Trade," in *Handbook of Commodity History*, ed. Jonathan Curry-Machado et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Figure 1.3 Dutch-style pattern of Indian calicoes (top left) in a Japanese pattern book, no date. © National Diet Library, Tokyo, Ms. 1 v (わ753-2), *Kowatari sarasa fu*.

cloths to broaden knowledge about materials and technologies.[21] Concurrently, Japanese merchants studied Indian designs like the "continuous Dutch-style pattern" (*Oranda tsunagi*, 阿蘭陀ツナギ, Fig. 1.3).[22] Chinese travellers praised Siamese women active in Cambodian silk production.[23] Among mobile craftspeople and imperial agents, textile expertise and actual fabrics circulated. Entrepreneurs like Afanasy Nikitin (1433–1472), a Russian merchant travelling Persia and India, the land "where the indigo grows," and from which damasks, silks, and cottons originate, contributed to the flourishing of new trade routes.[24] So did Asian, European, and American First Nations fur traders in ever more competitive colonial settings across early modern Siberia and North America.[25] The mobility of textile agents and textile

21 Riello, *Cotton*, 160–84.

22 We thank Erica Baffelli (Manchester) for her translation.

23 Zhou Daguan, *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People*, ed. Peter Harris (Suthep: Silkworm, 2007), 75.

24 Afanasy Nikitin, "The Travels of Athanasius Nikitin, of Twer: Voyage to India," in *India in the Fifteenth Century* (...), ed. R. H. Major (New York: Franklin, n.y. [1970]), 8, 19.

25 Richards, *Unending Frontier*, 463–546, Yerbury, *Subarctic Indians*.

matter also dynamised the forced migration of manpower—plantation slaves and artisans. From early on, the Portuguese took Asian needleworkers captive, predominantly women but also men from the Philippines, China, Malacca, and Sumatra. Asian, African, and creole needle-working slaves and servants also shaped colonial textile-businesses in Dutch Asia or the French Caribbean.[26] Textiles were on the move, and moved people, knowledge, and the sense of belonging.

The cloth age engendered violence, displacement, and the ambivalence of embodied cultural positioning. Therefore, this volume builds on and goes beyond economy- and consumption-focused research. We follow Ingold's call to study consumption and production to examine the enactment of matter, and its power to negotiate encounters.[27] Ulinka Rublack in particular shows the close links between fabrics and identity performances in early modern Europe, where textiles functioned as innovative visual acts that helped with staging and claiming identities.[28] "Renaissance dress," Rublack argues, must be understood as "thick in sensorial and affective experience that related as much to the materials that were used as to the shapes that were achieved. […] The body, bodily memory, and aspects of subjectivity thus were known and experienced in relation to matters of dress."[29] If "[a]ffect arises in the midst of *in-between-ness*," how did circulating textiles shape global in-betweenness as the realm within to situate and negotiate "the capacities to act and be acted upon"?[30] This line of research brings the study of early modern textiles, for the first time, into a conversation with critical cultural theory and Bhabha's work in particular. Textiles, we show, became the material ground onto which to negotiate in-betweenness. As in-between artefacts, textiles contributed to the negotiation of what cultural practices meant and did in the early modern world.

Early modern global textile flows embodied human *inter-est*, a term which Bhabha discusses in reference to Hannah Arendt as "an exploration of what lies

26 Lemire, *Global Trade*, 255–56, 262; Karol K. Weaver, "Fashioning Freedom: Slave Seamstresses in the Atlantic World," *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 1 (2012): 44–59; Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Threads of Imperialism: Colonial Institutions and Gendered Labour Relations in the Textile Industry in the Dutch Empire," in *Colonialism, Institutional Change, and Shifts in Global Labour Relations*, ed. Karin Hofmeester and Pim de Zwart (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 135–72.

27 Ingold, "Materials," 9, 11.

28 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21–26.

29 Ulinka Rublack, "Renaissance Dress, Cultures of Making, and the Period Eye," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 23, no. 1 (2016): 7. See also Ann R. Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34–58.

30 Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg, "An Inventory of Shimmers," in *Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 1.

in-between (inter-est) these distinct, even disjunct moments that allow them to become affiliated with one another in the spirit of a 'right to difference in equality.'"[31] By examining early modern textiles in terms of their in-betweenness, this volume's contributors acknowledge the role of fabrics and dyes in shaping the "borderline conditions to 'translate,' and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary," thus, these textiles' significance in mapping a "Third Space [...] which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew."[32]

Bhabha's concepts of Third Space and hybridity depart from Mikhail Bakhtin's intentional hybrid, which highlights the fusion into a single utterance of two or several utterances that are opposed and socially distinct.[33] As such, Bhabha's hybridity does not dwell in a cultural mixture with racial overtones, unlike concepts such as mestizaje, syncretism, pidginisation, or creolisation.[34] Hybridisation, *sensu* Bhabha is not a "consensual mix of diverse cultures," but the transfer of power "from an authoritative system of cultural hegemony to an emergent process [...] that changes the very terms of interpretation and institutionalization, opening up contesting, opposing, innovative, 'other' grounds of subject and object formation."[35]

Foregrounding the in-betweenness of early modern textiles, hence, encourages a closer study of material translation as cultural practice. Instead of taking for granted that textiles represented or mixed cultural identities, contributors examine how textiles constituted practices that opposed and negotiated boundaries and belonging.[36] In-between textiles are far from being part of an untroubled melting pot, as this volume shows, but are situated *between* assimilation and expression, submission and aggression, obedience and rebellion; it is from this "supposedly empty, clandestine location" that their constitutive power emerges.[37]

31 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, xx (quote), 271–72. Cf. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998 [1958]), 7–17, 188–89.

32 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 9, 55.

33 Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 358–66.

34 Cf. Charles Stewart, "Syncretism and Its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture," *Diacritics* 29, no. 3 (1999): 40–62; Ulf Hannerz, "The World in Creolisation," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 57 (1987): 546–59.

35 Homi Bhabha in Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, "Surviving Theory: A Conversation with Homi K. Bhabha," in *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 370, as a response to Aijaz Ahmad, "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality," *Race & Class* 36, no 3 (1995): 1–20.

36 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 13.

37 Silviano Santiago, "O entre-lugar do discurso latino-americano," in Silviano Santiago, *Uma Literatura nos trópicos: Ensaios sobre a dependência cultural* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1978), 11–28, 28.

Critical theories of in-betweenness therefore serve as important correctives to the primary focus on early modern global textile economies, consumerism, and styles in current debates. Textiles materialised connections anchored in and leading to the further articulation of disconnections.[38] This volume brings a fresh theoretical perspective to the study of the enmeshment of textiles, power, and identities. We build on recent anthropological work on modern fashion and fashion theory, as well as historians' new interest in the politics of early modern "global textile encounters" and "global bodies," bringing Bhabha's theoretical concepts to the fore of an incisive, methodological discussion about early modern textiles' role in the formation of subjectivities and the negotiation of identity politics.[39] Examining early modern fabrics as in-between textiles reveals the often subtle negotiation of subject formation; the complexity of scale manifest in the local/global translation of textiles into identity effects; the agency, creativity, and resistance of textile performances; strategic investments into the articulation and subversion of contested subjectivities; and novel approaches across disciplines to put textiles centre-stage for a discussion of material culture and critical theory.

Introducing Bhabha's concepts to debates on early modern history, we argue, allows to unravel the significance of material culture(s) for the articulation of new identities in a time of manifold contestations. The rise of consumerism, economic dependencies, and social inequalities across the world; the shock and novelty of global encounters; the violence of colonialism; the displacement, discrimination, and deprivation resulting from forced migration and slavery; the shock of religious uncertainties resulting from confessional upheavals in Europe and across the world—all these processes of historical transformations unsettled notions of belonging and shook off the certainty of identities. By challenging, corroding, and contesting long-held systems of identifications, the early modern period provoked the articulation of new identities. Focusing on the troubled and troublesome performance of identity in postcolonial times, Bhabha's work provides a powerful and refreshing methodological approach to unbundle the unsettling complexities behind the ways in which such fundamental historical transformations interrelated with the negotiation of difference and belonging, subjectivity and community,

38 Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, "Subaltern Debris: Archaeology and Marginalized Communities," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 31 (2021): 6–8.

39 Joanne B. Eicher, ed., *Dress and Ethnicity: Chance across Space and Time* (Oxford: Berg, 1995); Joanne B. Eicher, ed., *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, 10 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2010), here vol. 10: *Global Perspectives*; Marie-Louise Nosch, Feng Zhao, and Lotika Varadarajan, eds., *Global Textile Encounters* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014); Joanne B. Eicher and Sandra L. Evenson, eds., *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture and Society*, 4th ed. (New York: Fairchild, 2015); Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Dressing Global Bodies: The Political Power of Dress in World History* (London: Routledge, 2020).

identification and identity. Steering historical debates about such question towards Bhabha's oeuvre is thus an excitingly new and promising endeavour.

Bhabha's work has been widely used in cultural, literary, political, ethnic, and postcolonial studies, but the application of the concept of in-betweenness to material culture studies charts new territory. This neglect might result from the fact that Bhabha's analysis, as postcolonial archaeologists have noted, largely focuses on texts without regard for the role of artefacts in discursive and material acts of cultural enunciation.[40] Putting forward the potential of material culture studies when applying Bhabha's concepts, archaeologists have mostly discussed mimicry, the Third Space, and hybridity, emphasising resistance and the creative agency of people facing colonial oppression.[41] Art historians and museologists have too examined hybridity in length, mostly interrogating "hybrid objects," going beyond the two-cultures divide and exploring how newness enters the material world—not as a clash of cultures but as something that evolves in its own right.[42]

These analyses, however, rarely narrate for the sense of intersubjectivities, confusion, relatedness, and creativity evolving thereof, and do not relate shifting materialities with shifting subjectivities, and the longer-term consequences of such. In consequence, the potential of material culture in general, and textiles in particular, to negotiate the enactment, translation, and subversion of in-between

40 Peter van Dommelen, "Colonial Matters: Material Culture and Postcolonial Theory in Colonial Situations," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), 104–24.

41 Martin Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and Chesapeake* (London: Routledge, 2000); Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007); Peter van Dommelen, ed., *World Archaeology: Postcolonial Archaeologies between Discourse and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2011); Matthew Liebmann, "Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico," in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, ed. Jeb J. Card (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2013), 25–49; Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Considering Mimicry and Hybridity in Early Colonial New England: Health, Sin and the Body 'Behung with Beades,'" *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (2013): 151–68; Alicia Jiménez Díez, "Mímēsis/Mimicry: Teoría arqueológica, colonialismo e imitación," in *El problema de las imitaciones durante la protohistoria en el mediterráneo centro-occidental: Del concepto al ejemplo*, ed. Raimon Graells i Fabregat et al. (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2014), 27–40; Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, "Food, Identity and Power Entanglements in South Iberia between the 9th–6th Centuries BC," in *Creating Material Worlds: The Uses of Identity in Archaeology*, ed. Louisa Campbell et al. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 195–214; Peter van Dommelen, "Classical Connections and Mediterranean Practices: Exploring Connectivity and Local Interactions," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 618–33.

42 Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12 (2003): 5–35; Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

spaces and subjectivities remains largely unexplored.[43] Neither Bhabha's sensibility for "historical specificities" nor his general call for historical contextualisation have been taken fully seriously in research thus far: "We must rehistoricize the moment of 'the emergence of the sign,' or 'the question of the subject,' or the 'discursive construction of social reality.'"[44] Foregrounding the experiences and material dimensions of such questions, historical research on material culture, as assembled in this volume, provides a crucial contribution to the historicisation and contextualisation of the production of the self and society in times of change. Such insights, in turn, will help refining interdisciplinary and methodological debates connecting materialities with shifting subjectivities, contributing to what Robert Preucel has aptly called "a hermeneutics of generosity."[45]

Scholars working on migration, racial, and ethnic studies in particular have successfully explored becoming-selves by using the concept of in-betweenness when exploring transnational movements, exclusion, racism, and transcultural literacies.[46] They focus on the identities that arise from living in a specific interstitial and marginal space, what Patricia Hill Collins calls "the outsider within," and Gloria Anzaldúa being in a "state of perpetual transition" and "facing the dilemma of the mixed breed"—being a Mestizo.[47] In the field of gender studies, and centring on body politics, researchers have also investigated in-betweenness in relation to transgender identities and feminism, and the marginality and oppressions that those "complicated locations" entail.[48] Rosi Braidotti draws on Gilles Deleuze to

43 Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects* (London: Routledge, 2010); Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, Leonor Adán Alfaro, and Simón Urbina Araya, "Challenging Colonial Discourses: The Spanish Imperial Borderland in Chile (16th–19th Centuries)," in *Transnational Perspectives on the Conquest and Colonization of Latin America*, ed. Jenny Mander, David Mindgley, and Christine D. Beaule (New York: Routledge, 2019), 85–98; Carrie Brezine, "A Change of Dress on the Coast of Peru: Technological and Material Hybridity in Colonial Peruvian Textiles," in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, ed. Jeb J. Card (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2013), 239–59; Paul Basu, *The Inbetweenness of Things* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

44 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 15, 47.

45 Robert W. Preucel, "In Defence of Representation," *World Archaeology* 52, no. 3 (2020): 395–411.

46 Marcelo Diversi and Claudio Moreira, *Betweener Talk: Decolonizing Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Praxis* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2009); Susanne Korbel, "From Vienna to New York: Migration, Space and In-Betweenness in Im Weißen Rößl," *Jewish Culture and History* 17 (2016): 233–48; Leslie K. Wang, "The Benefits of In-Betweenness: Return Migration of Second-Generation Chinese American Professionals to China," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (2016): 1941–58; Tom Brocket, "From 'In-Betweenness' to 'Positioned Belongings': Second-Generation Palestinian-Americans Negotiate the Tensions of Assimilation and Transnationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43 (2020): 135–54.

47 Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands = La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute, 1987), 78; Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems* 33 (1986): S14–32.

48 Sonny Nordmarken, "Becoming Ever More Monstrous: Feeling Gender In-Betweenness," *Qualitative Inquiry* 20 (2013): 37–50; Laura Fantone, *Traces and Visions of In-Betweenness* (New York: Palgrave, 2018), 63–92.

define in-betweenness: "the enfleshed Deleuzian subject is rather an 'in-between': it is a folding-in of external influences and a simultaneous unfolding outwards of affects."[49] The effects and affects of material culture in fleshing the in-between subject are, however, absent in feminist, migration, and ethnic studies, save for a general approach to historical contexts. Hence, the contributors' focus on material cultures offers a novel perspective to postcolonial debates.

This volume brings together perspectives on material culture studies and migration, ethnic, and feminist work for the first time in a cross-disciplinary endeavour. Contributors interrogate the in-betweenness of textiles as material culture, and their effective and affective entanglements with subjects-in-becoming as "an interrogatory, interstitial space."[50] Applying Bhabha's inter-est/in-betweenness to early modern textiles allows researchers to examine how such folding-in and unfolding takes place in relational and processual terms with regard to a complex historical world of matter. What follows ties some of the main concepts of Bhabha's critical theory of in-betweenness towards the world of early modern textiles as discussed in the four different sections of this volume. Each part is grouped around key concepts in Bhabha's work, which open new perspectives on crucial early modern developments affecting notions of subjectivity. Part I introduces the concepts of unhomeliness, mimicry, and mockery to the debate on the violence of displacement, dislocation, and disruption of belonging resulting from early modern forced migration, slavery, and colonialism. Part II links Bhabha's notion of the enunciation of difference with the articulation of racial and religious differences in the early modern period, revealing the material dimensions of the human politics of cultural difference. Part III's focus on Bhabha's concept of identity effects sheds a new light on early modern processes of globalisation, recovering the significance of the local for the articulation of new subjectivities in a connected world. Part IV, then, puts forward the notion of material translation to address the merging qualities of global consumerism and their consequences for the performance of identities. While chapters are grouped under these concepts, themes like resistance and agency also cut across the chapters. The contributors' goal to bring the perspectives of often forgotten protagonists, slaves and Indigenes for instance, and geographies like north, southeastern, and the Horn of Africa, Oceania, the Andean Highlands, the Deccan, and Russia, to name only a few, towards often still surprisingly coarse-cut stories of early modern globalisation similarly shapes the volume's overall appearance. Cross-references and the following more detailed outline of the argument will help readers navigate the topics and concepts that traverse the chapters.

49 Rosi Braidotti, "Teratologies," in *Deleuze and Feminist Theory*, ed. Ian Buchanan and Claire Colebrook (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 159.

50 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 5.

Unhomeliness, Mimicry, and Mockery

The first part of this volume examines the relationship between textiles, in-betweenness, and "the 'unhomely'" in relation to early modern migration, slavery, and colonialism.[51] Textiles, we show, held a pivotal role in the negotiation and relocation of early modern experiences of unhomeliness, thus, the sense of estrangement, dislocation, and in-betweenness that could result from globalisation, colonialism, and forced migration. "To live in the unhomely world," Bhabha notes, also means "to find its ambivalences and ambiguities enacted in the house of fiction, or its sundering and splitting performed in the work of art."[52] As the contributors in this volume argue, such "sundering and splitting" performances in the early modern period were not limited to texts; textiles also echoed the "ambivalences and ambiguities" of unhomeliness. Textiles relocated subjectivity, anchored cultural positioning, and expressed a sense of solidarity connecting "these lonely gatherings of the scattered people."[53] This volume's first part therefore addresses the significance of textiles in the remaking of communities and belonging in an unhomely early modern world, disrupted by migration, slavery, and colonialism.

Textiles negotiated inter-est as the experience of "cultural contemporaneity."[54] "[T]o live together in the world," Arendt states, "means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common [...]; the world, like every in-between, relates and separates [people] at the same time."[55] Textiles therefore sparked prominent interest during first encounters, for instance, between Indigenous people of the Caribbean and Columbus in the late fifteenth century, and Indigenous Australians and the British in the early 1800s.[56] Also for Russians travelling India or Jesuits visiting Tibet, textiles provided interpretative entry points to unravel social hierarchies and cultural positioning.[57] In the early modern world, mobility could result from voluntary acts of venturing into new possibilities of travel and commerce, as well as forced migration especially in light of widespread poverty, colonial expansions, or enforced movement like Ottoman or Inca resettlement policies.[58] For slaves

51 Ibid., 13.

52 Ibid., 26–27.

53 Ibid., 200.

54 Ibid., 13, 6.

55 Arendt, *Human Condition* as in Katherine Adams, "At the Table with Arendt: Toward a Self-Interested Practice of Coalition Discourse," *Hypatia* 17, no. 1 (2002): 1–33.

56 Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley Jr., eds., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 81; Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis* (...), vol. 1 (London: Bulmer and Co., 1814), cxl.

57 Nikitin, "Travels," 9–10, 18–19, 30; Filippo de Filippi, ed., *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J.* (London: Routledge, 2014 [1932]), 178.

58 Nikolay Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West": The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Jacob L. Bongers et al., "Integration of Ancient DNA with

in the Caribbean, Robert DuPlessis shows in this volume, textiles were powerful "manifestations of group identification" renegotiating the repercussions of diasporic unhomeliness.[59] Textiles shaped the ground on which protagonists negotiated the materialisation of inter-est, solidarity, contemporaneity, and hierarchies.

This volume's discussion of experiences of migration and estrangement brings a fresh perspective to debates on early modern mobility and its material dimensions. Researchers stressed early modern Muslim and Jewish global mobility, thus, reaching beyond a focus on mobile Christian Europeans.[60] However, hardly any research addresses the topic beyond a focus on European protagonists or globally expanding European empires. If non-European perspectives on early modern mobility are discussed, then it is generally within the realm of empires.[61] By anchoring the Māori migration to fourteenth-century Aotearoa in the wider debate about unhomeliness, this volume writes the global material history of early modern migratory inter-est from a non-European and non-imperial perspective. Catherine Smith highlights the significance of textiles for negotiating the "sense of dislocation from the Pacific homeland" engrained into "[t]he migratory experience of Māori settling in Aotearoa": "The 'in-between' space occupied by Māori on arrival in Aotearoa," she argues, "required the production of new cultural meanings, and textiles were a potent vehicle to do so."[62] Textiles could create a sense of home in an unhomely world, just as they disrupted and drove unhomeliness itself. Since "globalization begins at home," this volume uncovers exactly this role of early modern textiles in what Bhabha calls a "multi-storied world."[63] Contributors highlight the significance of textiles to negotiate and revoice African, American, Asian, and Oceanian Indigenous perspectives of early modern global consumerism, colonialism, and the unhomeliness it caused. The notion of "cultural contemporaneity"—favouring translation over comparison and the study of the local enmeshment of a globally remade material world—is thus at the heart of this volume's organisation.[64]

Transdisciplinary Dataset finds Strong Support for Inca Resettlement in the South Peruvian Coast," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 117 (2020): 18359–68.

59 Robert DuPlessis in this volume.

60 Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); John-Paul A. Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past & Present* 222 (2014): 51–93.

61 Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011); Peck, *Interwoven Globe*; Coll-Peter Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016); Sujit Sivasundaram, *Waves across the South: A New History of Revolution and Empire* (London: Collins, 2020).

62 Catherine Smith in this volume.

63 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, xxiv–xxv.

64 Ibid., 6.

The first part's focus on unhomeliness also invites further reflections on the relationship between textiles and mimicry which, according to Bhabha, is "constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference."[65] As contributors argue, textiles feature prominently in the early modern production of exactly this "slippage": by clothing, shaping, and staging the hybrid, fabrics disturbed the "visibility of the colonial presence" and problematised the recognition of its authority.[66] Early modern textiles enacted subversive strategies that, in Bhabha's words, "turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power."[67] In colonial contexts in particular, textiles were at the very heart of early modern in-betweenness charting "a map of misreading that embarrasses the [...] certainty of good government." Such textiles "open[ed] up a space of interpretation and misappropriation that inscribe[d] an ambivalence at the very origins of colonial authority." Thus, textiles could de-stabilise the foundations of power.[68]

To illustrate this point, an eighteenth-century Indian petticoat panel displaying the life of Dutch East India Company (VOC) servants in "anecdotal figural compositions" is a telling example. Produced for a Dutch market, the panel testifies to local artisans' responses to global market dynamics (Fig. 1.4).[69] With Dutch colonial authorities seeking to exploit Indian textile resources, local textile makers could carve out spaces of economic survival. This in-between textile, however, also comments on the local colonial condition and its gender politics. In eighteenth-century India, VOC officials faced a highly imbalanced marriage market. In 1750, only one European woman lived among 200 Europeans in Cochin, Kerala. Almost all Calvinist Dutchmen married either baptised Indigenous or Roman Catholic Mestiço women of Portuguese-Indigenous heritage.[70] Economically independent Mestiço widows with well-established social and commercial networks were highly sought-after partners among ambitious VOC servants. Depicting Dutchmen courting local women by exchanging vistas, flirtatious compliments, blown kisses, and marriage proposals, this fabric ridicules that "[f]or European servants of the Company [...] [Mestiço] women became a part of the fabric of their lives."[71]

65 Ibid., 122.
66 Ibid., 159.
67 Ibid., 160.
68 Ibid., 135.
69 Alice M. Zrebiec, "Portion of a Skirt or Petticoat," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 53, no. 3 (1995/96): 56 (quote); Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 240–41.
70 Anjana Singh, *Fort Cochin in Kerala, 1750–1830: The Social Condition of a Dutch Community in an Indian Milieu* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 109–15.
71 Ibid., 111 (quote), 112–14.

Figure 1.4 Anon., petticoat panel, India (Coromandel Coast?), eighteenth century (third quarter). Cotton, painted resist and mordant, dyed. Total view and detail. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1992.82.

This textile speaks to the anxieties of colonial authorities. Wouter Schouten (1638–1704) claims that many Mestiço women married Dutchmen and kept their locks uncovered—devout Calvinist wives were expected to cover hair. The Dutch traveller noted that Mestiço women continued wearing local clothing including, as

the textile shows, dress with a provocatively low neckline. The discussion of dress serves Schouten to denominate Mestiço women as "brown animals," which illustrates a point made by Bhabha: "Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects."[72] Such dressing practices, however, were also women's powerful tools of colonial subversion. Mestiço women did not transform into devout Calvinists, as VOC commissioner Hendrik Zwaardecroon complained in 1698, but turned Dutch husbands into "Papists." "I think it is best if marrying native women would be forbidden," since Dutchmen stationed in India should "rather be accustomed and kept to a proper exercise" in a "daily and weekly parade."[73] Citing Zwaardecroon's juxtaposition of marriage and parade, the textile ridicules colonial authority.

"[T]he effect of colonial power is seen to be the *production* of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions," and any such textile, following Bhabha, "creates a crisis for any concept of authority based on a system of recognition."[74] This fabric is a manifesto of colonial mockery, materialising the perspective of local male calico printers and chintz painters who mock Dutch colonists for caring more about flirtatious adventures with resident women than military authority over residents. This textile praises the power of local women over colonial agents. The absence of local men can also be understood as a critique of Mestiço women to perpetuate hybrid colonial marriage patterns. This mockery is a hidden but powerful pun undermining Dutch sentiments of colonial superiority. In 1693, Daniel Havart (1650–1724) wrote that "the natives are so stupid that they are unable to produce anything original; but they can imitate and produce a perfect copy."[75] This apparently innocuous textile, speaking to new global tastes, proves otherwise. Local chintz painters used the in-betweenness of this textile to push the boundaries of cultural expression and colonial subversion. This fabric countermines the official linkage of controlled patriarchal, religious, and racial hierarchies of VOC ideology (Fig. 1.5) and "quite simply mocks [colonial authority's] power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable."[76] In-between textiles "both challeng[ed] the boundaries of

72 Wouter Schouten, *Oost-Indische voyagie* (…) (Amsterdam: Meurs and van Someren, 1676), 180; Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 159.

73 H. K. s'Jacob, ed., *De Nederlanders in Kerala 1663–1704: De memories en instructies betreffende het commandement Malabar van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1976), 110.

74 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 160, 162.

75 Daniel Havart, *Op-en ondergang van Cormandel* (…) (Amsterdam: Hoorn, 1693) in Giorgio Riello, "Asian Knowledge and the Development of Calico Printing in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 25–26.

76 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 125.

Figure 1.5 Aelbert Cuyp (circle), *VOC Senior Merchant with His Wife and an Enslaved Servant*, c.1650–1655. Oil on canvas. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-2350.

discourse and subtly chang[ed] its terms by setting up another specifically colonial space of the negotiations of cultural authority."[77]

This volume also explores textile mimicry and mockery in American contexts. Diana DiPaolo Loren "highlights the material creativity enacted in hybrid colonial settings" of New England, which "resulted in and got enacted through in-between textiles." As her chapter shows, textile mimicry was key to renegotiate the unhomeliness that early modern colonialism itself created. Colonial authorities sought "to deny—and discipline—the reality of in-between textiles" to replace Indigenous with Puritan identity. Indigenous subjects, however, used clothing "strategically and carefully to embody identity": "dressing 'in-between' fashions was effective in creating new hybrid fashions that continued to fissure the language of clothing that the English Crown attempted to inscribe in the Massachusetts Bay Colony."[78] The following chapter, then, focuses on a specific and particularly widespread form of early modern forced migration, slavery, that produced particularly incisive experiences of dislocation and unhomeliness. Examining the role of textiles in subjectivity formation of slaves in Brazil and the Caribbean, DuPlessis shows that fabrics served to recreate bondspeople "as intelligible but not equal to free settlers."

77 Ibid., 169–70.

78 Diana DiPaolo Loren in this volume.

However, "[b]ondspeople resisted with bricolage," forms of mimicry and mockery met with anxiety by free colonists. At the same time, dress also enacted a sense of solidarity and community connecting, in Bhabha's words, "these lonely gatherings of the scattered people."[79] DuPlessis emphasises that slaves "sought by self-attiring to express [...] their 'desire for recognition' and consideration as self-fashioning subjects." Textiles, in that sense, "decode how enslaved people exploited fissures, inconsistencies, and distractions in hegemonic policies and procedures to adapt, resist, mimic, and mock dominant groups' sartorial authority while establishing their own."[80] Textile mimicry and mockery were thus crucial tools to reclaim communities of belonging and solidarity in an unhomely early modern world disrupted by the experiences of dislocation and displacement caused by migration, colonialism, and slavery.

The Material Enunciation of Difference

The second part of this volume charts the significance of early modern textiles for what Bhabha calls "the act of enunciation," thus, "the performance of identity as iteration, the re-creation of the self in the world of travel, the resettlement of the borderline community of migration."[81] Across the early modern globe, textile performances became widely associated with "the process of the *enunciation* of culture as 'knowledge*able*,' authoritative adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification."[82] Textiles, in other words, came to materialise cultural differences since their performance could enact the enunciation of difference itself and, thus, the association of textiles with, as well as their fixation as, identities. Textile identities have never been fixed, but textiles became tools to create the fiction of fixed cultural differences. Textiles could feature prominently in "a process of signification through which statements *of* culture or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity."[83]

In often deeply hierarchical early modern societies, textiles materialised the "desire to see, to fix cultural difference in a containable, *visible* object"; thus, fabrics could be made relevant to signpost differences as significant.[84] Sumptuary laws, issued across the globe to regulate dressing, as well as the rise of costume albums illustrate the degree to which textiles embodied "[t]he enunciation of cultural

79 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 200.
80 Robert DuPlessis in this volume.
81 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 12, 188, 195, 235.
82 Ibid., 50.
83 Ibid., 49–50.
84 Ibid., 72.

difference."[85] Such albums flooded the European book market from the sixteenth century onwards. However, the genre also found use in Edo Japan.[86] Costume albums, to adapt Bhabha's wording, were crucial devices to transform knowledge *about* textiles into knowledge *of* cultures, how they differed and how such differences, in early modern terms, were understood to matter.[87] As Riello highlights, "costume books [...] move[d] away from the partial and the experiential towards the comprehensive and totalizing":

> Standardization however highlights difference. In sifting through the pages of costume books, one is encouraged to compare, observe variations and [...] position figures in separate spaces.[88]

Presented in this manner, textiles made differences recognisable; they were made to matter in the production of cultural difference around the globe. Rublack termed this the "ideologies of dress."[89] Costume books established visual arguments of "ethnic stereotyping," associating textiles with "national styles" and "moral geographies."[90] Albums framed the representations of costumes with often rhymed comments on alleged national and moral characteristics of their wearers. Caspar Schmalkalden (1616–1673), a German voyaging the world in Dutch service, depicted clothing habits to label Chinese women as skilled embroiderers and shy virgins, and Javanese women as of "yellow colour" and obsessive with tea ceremonies.[91] In seventeenth-century Japan, too, textiles were made to matter to ascribe cultural difference (Fig. 1.6). Edo world maps showed costumes alongside phrasings like: "The world is broad; the variety of its peoples is without end. Just as its countries differ, the peoples are likewise different in appearance."[92] Across the early modern world, visualisations of costumes made textiles part of the "ideological manoeuvres through which 'imagined communities' [were] given essentialist identities," *sensu* Bhabha.[93]

85 Ibid., 51 (quote); Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, eds., *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

86 Giulia Calvi, "Cultures of Space: Costume Books, Maps, and Clothing between Europe and Japan (Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries)," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 20, no. 2 (2017): 331–63.

87 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 50.

88 Giorgio Riello, "The World in a Book: The Creation of the Global in Sixteenth-Century European Costume Books," *Past & Present* 242 (2019): 292.

89 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 129.

90 Ibid., 127, 135, 146.

91 Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 533, Caspar Schmalkalden, *Reise von Amsterdamm necher Pharnambuco in Brasil*, 1642–1652, 19, 259.

92 Ronald P. Toby, "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos' in Early Modern Japan," *Visual Anthropology Review* 14, no. 1 (1998): 24; Calvi, "Cultures," 349–51.

93 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 213.

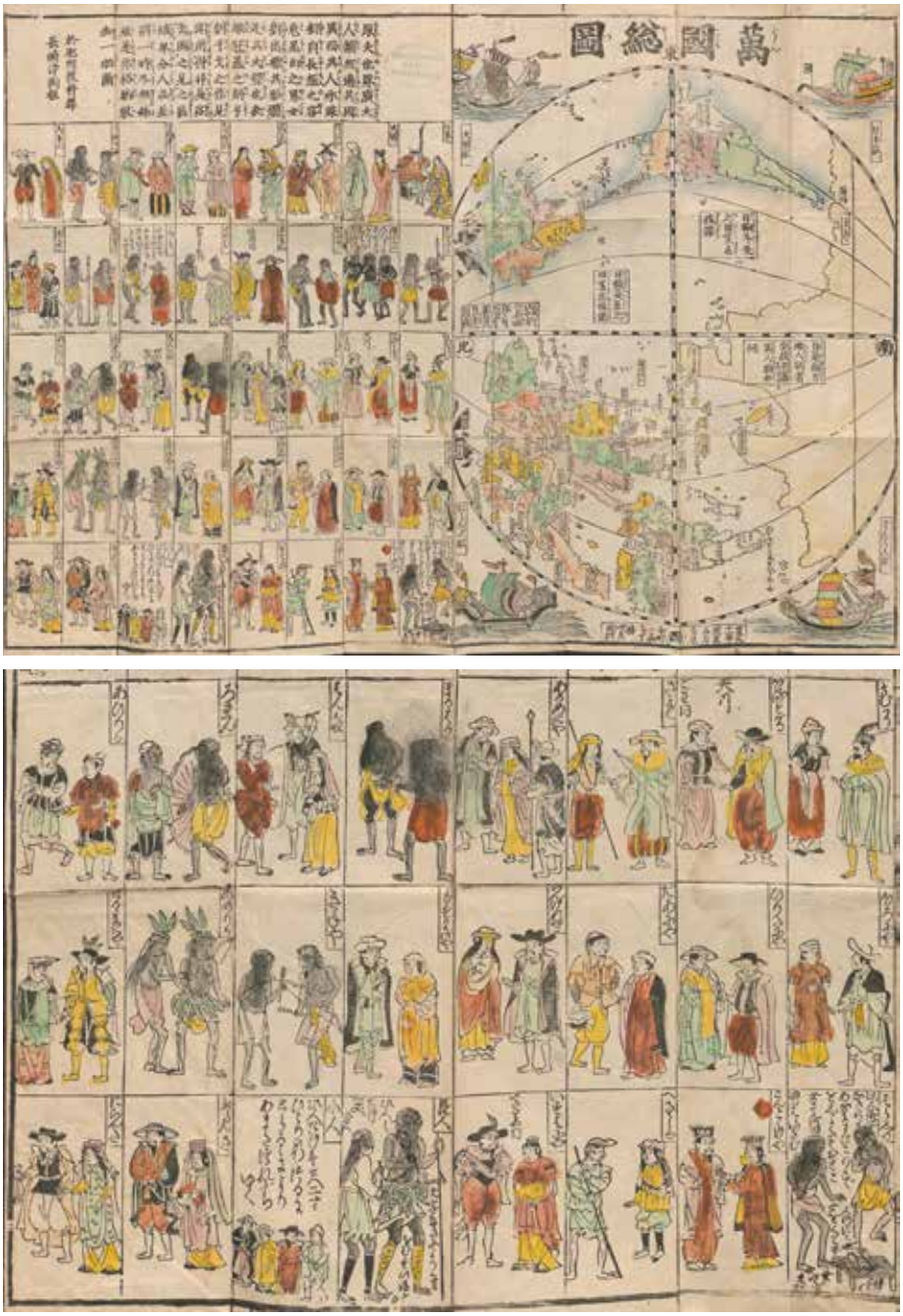

Figure 1.6 Anon., *Bankoku sōzu* (萬國総圖), Nagasaki, 1671. Total view and detail. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Cod.jap. 4.

Figure 1.7 Aboriginal Australian bag (twine, wool, human hair) containing pituri, South Gregory?, nineteenth century. © The Trustees of the British Museum London, Oc1897,-.635.

As signs of differentiation, textiles materialised the making of communities as political projects.[94] Fabrics could potentially function as "the sign of colonial government" and thus be used to (de)legitimise authority.[95] In Australia, colonial authorities distributed "government blankets" and cheap clothing, known as "slop," among Aboriginal communities to annihilate Indigenous textile heritage and its identificatory resonances.[96] Since such textiles were meant to make difference meaningful to legitimise "colonial governmentability," Indigenes altered such fabrics to challenge claims to authority.[97] Aboriginal Australians dissolved these "government blankets" and used their twine and wool to weave bags to carry pituri, a mix of plants widely used by Indigenes (Fig. 1.7). The addition of human hair turned the bag into a personalised artefact embodying Indigenous identificatory practices, life, and resistance. In-between textiles, then, could negotiate the legitimacy of

94 Ibid., 4.

95 Ibid., 163, 133–34.

96 State Library New South Wales, Sydney, A 3016, list of blankets distributed among Indigenous Australians at Bathurst, 1826.

97 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 134.

power. This bag testifies to Indigenous resistance against the imposition of colonial entitlement through textiles, and their use to carve out space for survival and what Bhabha calls the "right to difference in equality."[98]

As this volume shows with reference to race and religion, textiles were key in negotiating the material enunciation of difference. Lemire highlights the extent to which the intersectionality of gender and race was anchored in the trade and consumption of textiles in the eighteenth-century British world, where fabrics were "weaving together a tapestry of imperial sentiment." White fashion played a crucial role in the formation of racial politics.[99] Malika Kraamer's ethnographic and scientific analysis of textiles adds to this discussion by showcasing how West African *kente* cloth reshaped English abolitionist debates, brokering processes of othering and the status of humanity. Marika Sardar examines the links between textiles and ethnicity in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Deccan, arguing that fabrics turned the expression of court members' different ethnic affiliations into an identificatory feature. What to wear, and how to wear it, made textile a code of ethnicity as part of the notion of identity. Focusing on Reformation England, Mary M. Brooks shows how garments could be (re)loaded with religious meanings. Textiles negotiated the possibilities and limits of the expression of contested faith, "negotiating the politics of identity and difference."[100]

Identity Effects In-Between the Local and the Global

The third part of this volume addresses the "identity effects" of early modern in-between textiles; the politics of textile identification in a globalised world whose protagonists used clothing to scale, relate, and distance themselves towards the local and the global.[101] Bhabha's theoretical repertoire allows for a conceptualisation of dressing as performative cultural translation and positioning: "identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self*-fulfilling prophecy—it is always the production of an image of identity."[102] Textiles served the performativity of subjectivity by allowing protagonists to stage "new forms of meaning, and strategies of identification."[103] Early modern textiles produced performative "reality effect[s]" that "construct[ed] a mode of address in which a complementarity of meaning

98 Ibid., xvii, xx, xxv, referencing Arendt, *Human Condition*; Etiénne Balibar, *Masses, Classes, Ideas: Studies on Politics and Philosophy before and after Marx* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

99 Beverly Lemire in this volume.

100 Malika Kraamer, Marika Sardar, and Mary M. Brooks in this volume (quotation, Brooks).

101 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 128–29.

102 Ibid., 64 (quote), 233. See also Welch, "Introduction."

103 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 233 (quote), 100.

Figure 1.8 Andrés Sánchez Galque, *Portrait of Don Francisco de Arobe and His Sons Pedro and Domingo*, Quito, 1599. 92 × 175cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P04778. © Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado.

produces the moment of discursive transparency."[104] Since textiles could shape "the immediate visibility of such a regime of recognition," they opened a Third Space to locate and negotiate the self within this regime's "rules of recognition."[105] This approach, thus, uncovers the significance of local contexts for the articulation of identity in a world shaped by globalisation. Textiles could transform the claim for identificatory reality into a reality of identification in a period in which textiles materialised global and local in-betweenness. Textiles scaled belonging, solidarity, and resistance.

Late sixteenth-century Afro-Amerindian governors of the Esmeraldas coast in Ecuador, for instance, appeared in hybrid clothing in front of the imperial court in Quito when swearing loyalty to the Spanish monarch, the recipient of this portrait (Fig. 1.8).[106] The dress comprises Spanish ruffs, Indigenous Andean body adornments,

104 Ibid., 155.

105 Ibid., 157, original in italics.

106 For the following, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Quito, 9,R.2,N.15 (12 April 1599); Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, "Nuevas aportaciones en torno al lienzo titulado Los mulatos de Esmeraldas: Estudio técnico, radiográfico e histórico," *Anales del Museo de América* 20 (2012): 7–64; Joanne Pillsbury, Timothy Potts, and Kim N. Richter, eds., *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum and Research Institute, 2017), 128–29, 272. Cf. Ann Pollard Rowe, ed., *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Sherwin K. Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Herman L. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Rebecca Earle, "Race, Clothing and

and Asian silks, which points to the self-fashioning of these local rulers of African and Indigenous inheritance towards a globalised imperial world. Textiles helped embody identity effects referencing Indigenous Andean and Iberian notions of African sovereignty, and globally traded imperial riches like Asian fabrics. Commissioned by Spanish imperial agents in Quito, this portrait conveyed the message of a locally well-functioning imperial global apparatus and loyal allegiance to the king, embodied in the ritualised handling of the wide-brimmed Iberian hats. Some of these textiles, it seems, were part of gifts presented to the Esmeraldas visitors in Quito which materialised their vassal status. From the perspective of Don Francisco de Arobe and his two sons, however, the receipt and combination of such treasures, and the combined apparel itself, performed subjectivity and pride, especially at a time when Indigenous groups in Quito faced restrictions in wearing textiles other than cotton, alongside self-sufficient sovereignty. The coastal population of former African slaves, Spaniards reported, "mix" (*se mezclaron*) with Indigenous coastal populations; as captain Pedro de Arévalo from Quito put it in 1600, these Mulattos were "taking over [Indigenous] rites, ceremonies, costumes, and women."[107] Shimmering surfaces also referenced Andean aesthetics. Hence, these Afro-Amerindians' conversion to Catholicism and steering to the Spanish king—Spaniards noted that Arobe had "always been a good friend of the Spaniards"—did not manifest obedience or subjugation; the painting's sitters performed cosmopolitan hybridity as a principle of governmentality, life, and survival.[108] Textiles mattered to produce a regime of recognition and governmentality that helped these Afro-Amerindians to carve out the "right to difference in equality."[109] Textiles allowed such individuals to scale themselves towards various local and global platforms of the Spanish imperial world, yet the legibility of such local performances of politics of identification produced ambiguous, slippery identity effects.

In this volume, Javier Irigoyen-García examines the extent to which the "game of canes" translated Iberian notions of Moorishness across the Spanish imperial world, and the ambivalent role of Asian textiles in such performances of cultural difference and imperial identity. The use of Asian textiles to stage Iberian concepts

Identity: Sumptuary Laws in Colonial Spanish America," in Riello and Rublack, *Right to Dress*, 325; Miguel A. Valerio, *Sovereign Joy: Afro-Mexican Kings and Queens, 1539–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

107 Quoted in Gutiérrez Usillos, "Nuevas aportaciones," 15.

108 Ibid. On Andean traditions of hybridity, see Cathy L. Costin, "Hybrid Objects, Hybrid Social Identities: Style and Social Structure in the Late Horizon Andes," in *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity*, ed. Lindsay Amundsen-Meyer, Nicole Engel, and Sean Pickering (Calgary: University of Calgary, Chacmool Archaeological Association, 2011), 211–25; Di Hu, *The Fabric of Resistance: Textile Workshops and the Rise of Rebellious Landscapes in Colonial Peru* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2022).

109 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, xvii, xx, xxv.

of otherness in American contexts "produced conflicting 'identity effects' on a local level. […] When interweaving the Iberian globe […] textiles created spaces of in-betweenness."[110] One such example is discussed in Denise Arnold's chapter, which shifts traditional interpretations of the shimmering effects of Andean colonial cloth that are widely considered resulting from the introduction of Asian silks to the New World. Such techniques, Arnold argues, "illustrate a much longer-term regional strategy concerned with cultural continuity, subjectivity, and memory, through the material replication of ancestral knowledge." Early modern shimmering Andean textiles, then, materialised Indigenous cultural memory, persistence, and resistance, and the making of Indigenous communal identities in a changing world. Hence, "the colonial setting opened up a liminal space in which the material articulation of these pre-colonial cultural continuities became a crucial element of identification, memory, and identity."[111] Also, Victoria Ivleva focuses on shimmering textiles, silks in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Russia. During the Petrine reforms, she argues, "silk fabrics became transformed from globally traded artefacts into tokens of local identity politics."[112] Luís Dias Antunes studies the power of textiles to renegotiate local identities and global dependencies in eighteenth-century Mozambique. The plantation of cotton and its manufacturing into textiles, he argues, must be considered a form of resistance against Portuguese colonial rule and Indian traders' monopoly power. Their aim to foster the consumption of Asian fabrics among residents of the Zambezi River valley fuelled the trade in slaves and ivory, a cycle of dependencies disrupted by native cotton.[113] As the chapters of Arnold, Brooks, Dias Antunes, DiPaolo Loren, DuPlessis, and Kraamer illustrate, Bhabha's theory of in-betweenness helps researchers to uncover the power of textiles as resistance.

Material Translation and Cultural Appropriation

The final part of this volume examines the significance of early modern in-between textiles for the translation and transformation of cultural meanings. The global circulation of textiles could turn fabrics into items that provoked and channelled the negotiation of new cultural meanings; in-between textiles "[could] be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew."[114] Cultural translation was deeply connected to processes of material translation of textiles that could "produce new forms of knowledge, new modes of differentiation, new sites of power," and

110 Javier Irigoyen-García in this volume.
111 Denise Arnold in this volume.
112 Victoria Ivleva in this volume.
113 Luís Dias Antunes in this volume.
114 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 55.

thus negotiated the material and subjective realm of in-betweenness as cultural practice.[115]

Headgear, for instance, translated subjectivities across early modern Eurasia. Headgear served as "the most important emblem of identity" detailing rank, gender, status, and religious affiliations in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires.[116] In Istanbul, Ottoman subjects and Venetian ambassadors interpreted Ottoman and Safavid headwear to make sense of a wide repertoire of imperial subjectivities.[117] This created a Third Space in which the meanings of textiles, performances, and subjectivities could be misread, read anew, experimented with, and adapted; novel practices emerged through in-between material translation. European travellers to seventeenth-century Persia like Jean Chardin (1643–1713) soon realised that the turban "is the finest part of their Dress." Such appreciation invited Chardin to experiment with wearing a turban himself:

> The *Persian Turban* [...] is a Piece so heavy that it is a Wonder how they wear it; there are of them so heavy, as to weigh twelve or fifteen Pound; the lightest of them weigh half as much. I had much ado at first to wear this *Turban*; I sunk under the Weight, and I pull'd it off, in all Places where I durst take that Liberty; for it is look'd upon in *Persia* to be the same thing as with us in *Europe*, to pull of one's *Peruke*: But by Accustoming my self to it, I came in time to wear it very well.[118]

Chardin continues to elaborate which fabrics to use, and how; the mastering of Safavid sartorial practices was based on accepting the cultural value of such cloth. To Chardin, wearing a turban had clearly become a source of pride, honour, and style. Near Eastern fabrics "afforded Europeans new cultural possibilities of self-expression and self-understanding."[119]

The arrival of European headwear in Islamic lands fuelled mutually ambivalent processes of material translation. In seventeenth-century Persia, European-style hats with wide brims and panaches materialised stereotypical (mis)behaviours of foreign visitors (Fig. 1.9). Court painter Reza Abbasi (c.1560–1635) drew a young Portuguese man with wide hat with the comment: "Love compels me to run bare-foot

115 Ibid., 171.

116 Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women, Minorities and the Changing Politics of Dress in the Ottoman Empire, 1650–1830," in Riello and Rublack, *Right to Dress*, 395 (quote).

117 Walther Björkman, "Tulband," Encyclopaedia of Islam: Second Edition, accessed 20 June 2021, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7618; Franz Taeschner, ed., *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben: Ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hanover: Lafaire, 1925), 33.

118 Percy Sykes, ed., *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia* (London: Argonaut, 1927), 214.

119 Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750," *Past & Present* 221 (2013): 112.

Figure 1.9 Reza Abbasi, *Young Portuguese Man*, 1634. Watercolour, ink and gold on paper, 14.6 × 19.1cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, 58.334. © Wikimedia Commons/Detroit Institute of Arts.

and -headed in that alley [of desire], like [those] foreign slaves."[120] Lifting one's hat to honour those of high esteem and to flatter women, as mentioned in travelogues, was a practice unique to Europeans. Englishman John Fryer (c.1650–1733) was therefore rather confused when observing that Armenian merchants at the Coromandel Coast "move their Turbats as we our Hats."[121] Observing Europeans lifting their hats would have been a similarly disturbing sight for Indian and Safavid subjects, for whom honourable men would cover their heads; slaves, on the contrary, were bareheaded or shorn. Mughal miniaturists, thus, mocked Portuguese men with wide ostentatious caps for searching happiness in taverns (Fig. 1.10). Reza Abbasi, too, mocks Europeans as slaves of material desires. The Portuguese with the lavish hat is shown craving for Persian and Chinese textiles and porcelain, searching for personal amusement through consumption without any understanding of cultural manners: he serves a (tea?) cup filled with wine to a dog at a time when Safavid subjects took pride in

120 "Riza-I 'Abbasi, Young Portuguese Man, 1634," Detroit Institute of Arts, accessed 16 July 2021, https://www.dia.org/art/collection/object/young-portugese-man-58564.

121 John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (...) (London: Chiswell, 1698), 31.

Figure 1.10 Anon., *Portrait of a Portuguese Gentleman*, c.1600. Ink, watercolour and gold on paper, 14 × 11.5cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.661. Photograph © 2022 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the subtle consumption of wine and tea, mainly imported from China, which had been associated with cultural refinement.[122] Another mid-seventeenth-century

122 Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 240–41; Reza Abbasi, *Saki*, 1619/20. Painting in the Golšan Album. 40.6 × 25.1cm, Golestan Palace Library, Tehran, no. 1663.

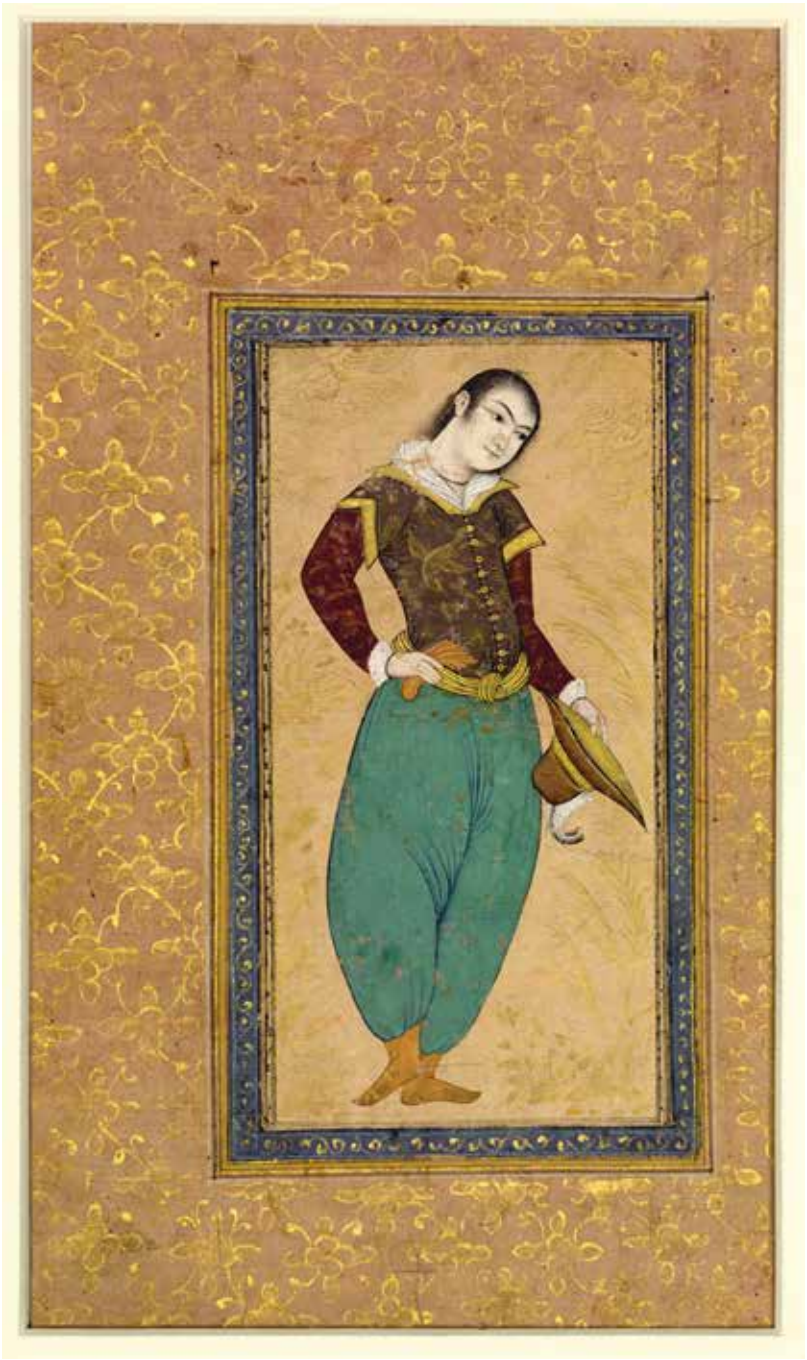

Figure 1.11 Anon., *Young Man in Portuguese Dress*, Iran, mid-seventeenth century. Ink, watercolour and gold on paper, 31.1 × 18.4cm. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 55.121.23.

portrait, however, shows a young man with the "facial features […] of the beautiful Iranian court youth," elegantly taking off his European-style hat and bowing down his head in an elaborated and lavishly expansive gesture (Fig. 1.11). The lightness of these hats invited postures that could be easily associated with gracility. Hats, apparently, also widened the Safavid cultural repertoire of staging the self and the body, alongside civility and courtship.[123] In-between such textiles and the self, practices of cultural positioning got translated, appropriated, and adapted anew.

This volume maps the material translation of textiles in diverse contexts. In her study of silk embroidery, based on collections research and anthropological fieldwork, Leyla Belkaïd-Neri "present[s] a thus far unknown material and gendered history of vernacular cosmopolitanism and in-between hybridity shaped by the women of early modern Algiers." She builds on Bhabha's concept of vernacular cosmopolitanism to argue that the embroidering of textiles in-between a variety of Mediterranean traditions empowered women to shape intersubjective spaces and gendered subjectivities in Algiers.[124] Indian fabrics are without doubt among the most traded and appropriated textiles across the early modern globe. Their translation into new local settings has been predominantly studied for European contexts thus far.[125] This volume therefore focuses on these fabrics' East Asian and East African appropriation. Yumiko Kamada argues that "the local cultural translation of such globally circulating Indian textiles and carpets helped negotiating 'new signs of identity' in Edo Japan" where Indian carpets "could stage hierarchies, legitimise authority, embody wealth, and materialise Japanese spiritual and symbolic aesthetics."[126] The translation of Indian textiles, as Michael Gervers and Claire Gérentet de Saluneaux argue in their study of tablet-woven sanctuary curtains in eighteenth-century Ethiopia, often relied on the mobility of textile matter and textile experts. In this case, Egyptian weavers processed Indian silk under royal patronage in Ethiopia. Gérentet de Saluneaux's weave remaking reveals the astonishing degree of innovation and creativity resulting from such transculturally translated textiles.[127] In the final chapter, Ana Serrano presents the results of a decade-long

123 Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, 256.

124 Leyla Belkaïd-Neri in this volume. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Material World of Early Modern Ottoman Women: Ornaments, Robes and Domestic Furnishings in Istanbul and Bursa," *Turkish Historical Review* 11 (2021): 199–228 on Ottoman silks, gender, and domestic furnishing.

125 Barbara Karl, *Embroidered Histories: Indian Textiles for the Portuguese Market during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016); Kim Siebenhüner, John Jordan, and Gabi Schopf, eds., *Cotton in Context: Manufacturing, Marketing, and Consuming Textiles in the German-Speaking World (1500–1900)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019). A recent exception is Kazuo Kobayashi, *Indian Cotton Textiles in West Africa: African Agency, Consumer Demand and the Making of the Global Economy, 1750–1850* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

126 Yumiko Kamada in this volume.

127 Michael Gervers and Claire Gérentet de Saluneaux in this volume.

study on the appropriation of American cochineal in early modern European textile industries. Her comparative study is based on in-depth archival research and a new scientific approach that allows, for the first time, for the analysis of cochineal dyes. Revealing the gradual adoption of New World dyestuff, her research shifts established narratives and calls for attention to "the very material composition of in-between textiles."[128] Actual matter inhabited these fabrics' Third Space, whose material composition changed in response to early modern colonialism and consumerism.[129]

This volume, in sum, charts the stories of material change by posing the concept of in-between textiles as a novel, cross-disciplinary contribution to critical material culture theory. Contributors foreground the crucial role of textiles in driving the early modern production of global inequalities and troublesome uncertainties of the self—namely their contribution to processes of globalisation, colonialism, migration, and enslavement, as well as their role in the articulation of notions of race and difference. Yet, the authors also recover the significance of early modern textiles in reshaping agency, belonging, communities, and resistance; and their importance as provocative interpretative entry points for recovering the perspectives and strategies of Indigenous, enslaved, and minority protagonists. Spanning five centuries—from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century—and encompassing five continents, this volume aims at inspiring world scholars to think with and in-between material cultures. Five case studies focus on the Asia-Pacific region (Smith, Lemire, Sardar, Irigoyen-García, Kamada); four on the Americas (Loren, DuPlessis, Irigoyen-García, Arnold); another four on Africa (Kraamer, Antunes, Belkaïd-Neri, Gervers and Gérentet de Saluneaux); and three on Europe (Ivleva, Brooks, Serrano). Contributors' methodologies range from archival studies and object analysis (Lemire, Irigoyen-García, DuPlessis, Antunes, Ivleva, Brooks), to research on museum collections, ethnography, and fieldwork (Arnold, Belkaïd-Neri, Kraamer); a combination of archival data analysis, field methods, and material science (Smith, Loren, Serrano); and historical research, textile expertise, and remaking (Gervers and Gérentet de Saluneaux). In doing so, this collection of essays unbundles the entanglement of power and empowerment linked to early modern textiles, and recharts our understanding of the unsettling material politics of the self.

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128 Ana Serrano in this volume.

129 Stefan Hanß, "Digital Microscopy and Early Modern Embroidery," in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 214–21.

Caribbean and Chile in particular. Until 2022, she has been a Renfrew Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and Teaching Associate at the Centre of Latin American Studies at the University of Cambridge (UK). Her research straddles and connects the fields of postcolonial theory, social anthropology, and material culture studies, while contributing to Critical Indigenous and Subaltern Studies. She was trained in textile archaeology in Leiden (Textile Research Centre) and Cambridge. Her research focuses on the archaeology of colonialism and frontiers centring on clothing, body adornment, and body politics, for which she was also awarded a José Amor y Vázquez fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library in 2019.

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