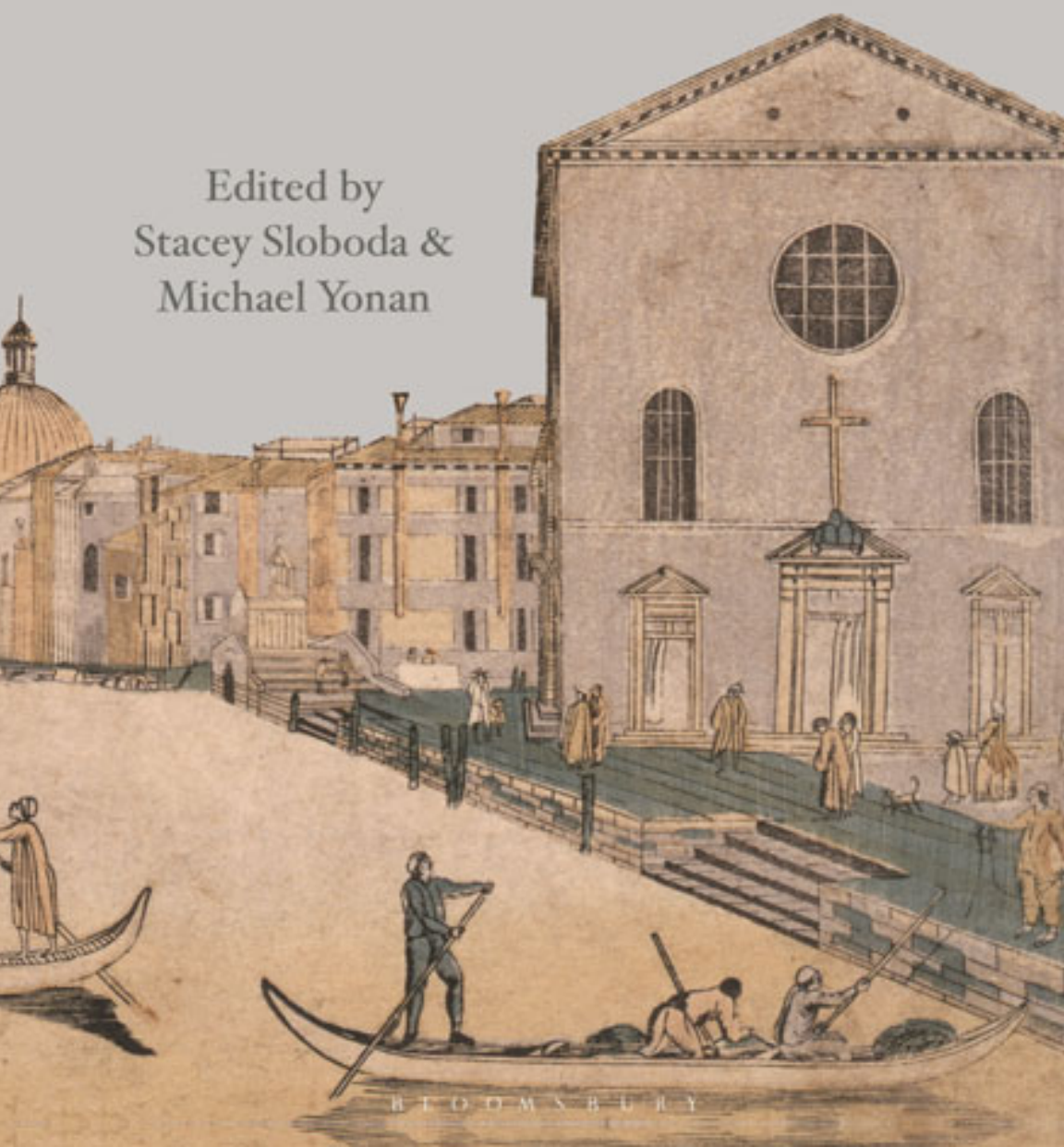


EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ART WORLDS

Global and Local Geographies of Art

Edited by
Stacey Sloboda &
Michael Yonan



Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds

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In memory of Mary D. Sheriff

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Introduction: Mapping Global Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds

Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan

In 1775, Thomas Chippendale found himself, once again, in trouble with British Customs. In late spring of that year, government officials seized from the cabinetmaker's London workshop a set of textiles belonging to the English actor David Garrick. These had been given to him, Garrick reported, by theater-loving English East India Company (EIC) merchants in appreciation for his assistance in establishing a playhouse in Calcutta.¹ The fabric (Figure 1.1), called *kalamkari* in India and chintz in England, was painted cotton made in Masulipatnam on the Coromandel coast. It was acquired and stamped by the EIC sometime before being transported from Calcutta to be presented to Garrick along with two pipes of Madeira wine. Chippendale, like most elite London cabinetmakers of the period, also specialized in upholding, or upholstery, and the fabric was likely in his workshop to be fitted onto a japanned (painted in imitation of lacquer) green and white canopy bed that updated the "Chinese Chippendale" style for which the London cabinetmaker was famed with a carved Indo-Greek cornice.

The fabric's flowering-tree pattern is a hybrid design of the kind popular in eighteenth-century textiles in multiple countries. It incorporated design elements from Persian painting, French tapestries, English "branched hangings," and Chinese embroideries and wallpaper. Yet there was a distinct danger behind its appeal. The brightly colored designs and light, durable cottons were so desirable and so threatened English textile production that the importation of Indian chintz was banned in 1721. That ban was repealed in 1774, but Garrick's fabric was nonetheless seized the following year. Eventually it was returned after David Garrick's death and fashioned into hangings for the bed now on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum.²

If material goods can be understood as having social lives, then this fabric's early life was a vibrant and mobile one. Its origin in Masulipatnam and its reception in London typify an object in motion—a material trace of the commercial, artistic, social, and political networks that connected various points of the globe in the eighteenth century—but it is also an object whose production, circulation, and reception was dictated by the local conditions out of which it emerged.³ In Masulipatnam, *kalamkari* (which derives from the Persian for "pen work") was an export item, one that Hindu



Figure 1.1 Bed hanging from Masulipatnam, India, c. 1770. Painted and dyed cotton.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London (18-1906).

craftsman developed to satisfy the tastes of Persian consumers connected to India through its Shia Muslim rulers. In London, the fabric was an import, a symbol of South Asia and of the increasingly militarized and colonializing British presence in the region and, by association, the entire world. In both locales, the fabric was exotic, produced by or for someone considered foreign. Chintz was part of both distinct and overlapping art worlds that were grounded in specific economic, social, artistic, and legal

circumstances and connected and conditioned by transnational networks of people and their things.

These types of transnational artistic and economic networks are a familiar part of the art world we occupy today; and as specialists in eighteenth-century art, we observe contemporary globalism with a sense of recognition. In our individual scholarly works, we each have addressed independently the problem of how the local and the distant intersect, considering how matters of geography, be they interactions across vast distances or across a single neighborhood, lent specific meanings to works of art. This book is the product of that thinking and it reflects our attempt to describe a series of eighteenth-century art worlds as sites deeply imbricated with notions of place. In exploring those sites, we seek to find a new way to describe what happened to art in the eighteenth century, one less reliant on linear narratives of stylistic progression and more oriented toward a conceptual interrelationship between place and space.

Let us consider each of the terms in our title.

Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century has assumed vital importance in the project of globalizing art history, which is remarkable given its relative underdevelopment as a field of art-historical inquiry for much of the twentieth century. Prior to the 1970s, the eighteenth century was the subject of infrequent attention, especially in Anglo-American spheres, where it was viewed alternatively as the dying gasps of the Baroque or the tentative beginnings of the modern. Particularly in Europe, the century's importance has been understood in finite terms difficult to understand within the nationally oriented art histories that have proliferated there. It is a century uniquely ill-suited to straightforward categorizations by national style, as well as neatly ordered periodization or trajectories of influence. Its complexity resists easy summarization and chafes against the straightforward application of art-historical methodologies that privilege high art and stylistic coherence. But when art history began to prioritize approaches that revealed art as the product of complex international cultural interactions, the eighteenth century's importance became increasingly apparent. The sheer number of scholarly studies devoted to it has increased exponentially. Scholars have found rich examples of transoceanic exchange and its artistic effects in the period, as they likewise identified plentiful instances of hybrid styles, new media, and cultural mimicry. Specialists have long recognized the century's potential for unraveling or complicating art-historical hierarchies, as well as recognized the richness of content that it offers. Barbara Maria Stafford said as much in 1988 when she remarked that in the entire history of art, nearly everything that falls under its parameters however broadly defined, could be found somewhere in eighteenth-century visual and material culture, so panoramic was the period's scope and so diverse the artistic products made within it.⁴

The eighteenth century provides a key moment in the development of a global culture. The century is far enough removed from those moments of initial cross-cultural

contacts in the ancient, medieval, and Renaissance worlds to offer something more systematic than initial impressions and novel exoticism. By the eighteenth century, significant parts of Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Europe had been in political, economic, and cultural contact with each other for centuries, with the terms of their artistic interaction likewise significantly developed. The eighteenth century therefore possessed a global sensibility, defined by structures of deep international connection that came with repeated interaction. Yet the eighteenth century is also early enough in the process of globalization to reveal lingering pre-modern notions of the global: cultural beliefs as they were understood prior to mass industrialization, scientifically justified notions of race and colonialism, and modern modes of communication and travel. We contend that this combination of older structures of global knowledge with premonitions of the modern and postmodern interconnected globe typify the century, and it is in its global dimension that it mostly fully realizes Stafford's characterization.

At the same time, "the eighteenth century" is a term worth defining explicitly as a global formulation. Scholars of global history have observed that "human beings inhabit a unitary and finite space, move along the same temporal scale of world-historical time, and constitute one single collective entity."⁵ To do the work of global history, one must be able to speak of that world-historical time, that shared time and space that all people occupy regardless of their individual cultural position. As scholars writing in English in the early twenty-first century, we opt for the Gregorian description of a period from roughly 1700 to 1800 CE as our volume's scope, fully aware that that designation coexists with other terminologies such as Qing, Mughal, *ancien régime*, and Enlightenment. To discuss, for instance, the Edo period as part of the eighteenth century is to assert its interest to scholars of eighteenth-century art broadly, not just to scholars of Japan. We hope as well that the strict periodization we adopt can coexist with less purely chronological ones, with a series of undertakings engaged variously in different parts of the world within shared historical circumstances.

Art Worlds

In identifying "art worlds" as an organizing theme for the book, we place value on an institutional approach that attends to the social entities that enable making, distributing, buying, and responding to art. An art world, according to the sociologist Howard Becker, is a social space in which artists and casts of supporting characters (apprentices, paint sellers, stonemasons, textile dyers, etc.) join with patrons, merchants, dealers, audiences, and critics to create, maintain, and modify the conventions that collectively define "art."⁶ This book explores those conventions and the social practices that inform them in various geographic locales. To describe those social spaces in a global context, it is nevertheless essential to attend to the specifics of place and culture. The transnational networks that link these spaces are one part of their art world, but the local sites of production and consumption are equally important aspects of any historical understanding.

Describing aspects of the art worlds of Beijing, the Swahili Coast, and Paris, for instance, reveals structural similarities and differences that complicate any singular notion of the types of objects that emerge from an art world. The pitfalls of a comparative approach are obvious with its potential for creating and re-inscribing Eurocentric hierarchies of value, quality, and civilization. However, as Mieke Bal has argued, “[c]omparison can be a tool of analysis as long as one of its terms is not established as normative.”⁷ In place of normativity and hierarchy, Bal, as well as Craig Clunas, have advocated for comparative methodology as a tool of differentiation. In examining art worlds comparatively, this book attempts to denaturalize the Western art historical understanding of a normative eighteenth-century art world centered around a royally-sponsored institution of fine art, to offer instead a differentiated perspective on multiple possible art worlds.

As a site of both social and ideological practice, an art world is a negotiated space and an imagined community, a space brought into being by people who understand themselves as engaged with something they understand as art.⁸ Objects and images communicate meaning about the places and spaces in which they were made and received. By focusing on specific materials, images, and texts, this book also shows that art shaped the concept of an interconnected global world. Images, objects, and new styles of art created a space for makers and audiences to confront, respond to, and accommodate contact with the world outside, and functioned as technologies of communication to which locally specific meaning was attached. As case studies, the essays in this volume offer specific examples of how transnational circulations and connections shaped art worlds and vice versa.

Global

Contemporary connotations of globalization as an interlinked system of capital and communication have a pre-history in the early modern period.⁹ The connective and coercive forces of trade, religious missions, migration, and imperialism were present in the eighteenth century on six continents, and during that time both maritime and overland travel expanded dramatically (Figure 1.2).

A sketch of a globalizing eighteenth-century world might be described as follows. Trade routes of the Mississippi River and Great Lakes region linking North American tribes to one another were well established, and Spanish, French, and English trade companies and colonization exploited those trade routes and developed others to create vibrant and violent points of contact between Native Americans and Europeans in this period. Enslavement of Africans and Native Americans and the forced migration of Europeans through religious persecution and indentured servitude caused an influx of people to North America and the Caribbean. Portuguese and Spanish colonization of Central America, the Caribbean, and South America was completed by the seventeenth century. Chinese Qing rulers moved west into Tibet and Central Asia, controlled governmental policy in Korea, and maintained active trading posts along its own eastern coast for maritime trade with other Asian nations and European trading



Figure 1.2 Early Modern Trade Routes. Image courtesy of Jean-Paul Rodrigue, Hofstra University.

companies. The Persian Mughal Empire consolidated its rule of the majority of the India subcontinent as far north as Kabul, while Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British colonies in coastal Southeast Asia took hold. The Japanese capital of Edo joined Beijing, London, Guangzhou, and Constantinople as the most populous cities in the world. Inter-island trade of the South Pacific was brought into contact with the rest of the world by the third quarter of the century. The Safavid and Ottoman Empires were major trade hubs, with the Ottoman Empire spreading Islam along trade routes in Northern Africa. European and Islamic merchants enriched coastal African cities. European maritime commerce fueled high consumer demand for raw materials and finished goods from around the world that was engendered and supported by the imperial and colonial projects primarily of Britain, France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal.

This partial political and economic sketch depicts the eighteenth century as an era of globalization. Recent interdisciplinary global history documenting that process has had a profound impact on the study of the history of art and culture of this period. Works such as Felicity Nussbaum's *The Global Eighteenth Century* offer a framework and case studies for understanding the cultural history of global encounters from a European perspective in the eighteenth century, and numerous scholarly works have explored notions of cultural exchange and encounter in the early modern period.¹⁰ More recent, post-colonially informed work has usefully moved away from privileging the European experience and response to those exchanges and encounters. The Victoria and Albert Museum's 2004 exhibition *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800* broke ground in this direction and the more recent *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, as well as *Made in Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, and a recent special issue of *Art History* on “Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World,” have attempted a more diverse account of cultural

encounter and the various artistic responses to it.¹¹ *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds* continues in this vein, exploring significant sites of artistic production and consumption worldwide, without privileging European encounter with those sites.

Those studies straddle two distinct but complementary trends in current global studies that David Washbrook describes as, on the one hand, “connections and networks, frequently spanning vast geographical spaces and epochs, which hint at the extraordinary interdependence of life on this planet . . .” and on the other hand, “a rather different orientation of comparison, which particularly seeks not only points of difference between one culture or society and another—as in the older applications of the comparative method—but also, crucially, points of similarity.”¹² We see both approaches as productive for a transnational understanding of art worlds that takes seriously their points of connection and disconnection.

Yet neither of these approaches has been fully incorporated into art history as a discipline.¹³ Attempts to write the history of art with a broader cultural awareness are being published and are regular topics at major conferences, indicating a field in the process of structural change.¹⁴ Nevertheless, art historical training from the introductory survey to graduate specialization remains largely nationalist in character, it still being the norm in North American and Western European institutions to identify oneself, for instance, as a scholar of the Italian Renaissance or of Chinese art. This focus on a specific culture has merits that need not be rehearsed here, but also privileges national and regional boundaries as organizing categories that fail to account for the shared human experience of space and time that global historians have drawn to the fore of historical inquiry. As a result, it remains common for art historians of one place (particularly if that place is Europe) to be largely ignorant of the art of another place (particularly if that place is not Europe) in the same period.

This volume attempts to address those challenges to bring a range of scholars writing in English on the relationship between geography and the art world to the attention of a wider community of scholars. Our aim is to consider what the global eighteenth century looks like from an art historical perspective. We attempt to move beyond art history’s conventional focus on nations, while also remaining aware that a global approach cannot include all possible points of view. Global art history does not equate with non-Western art history, which is based on the questionable distinction between Western and non-Western art worlds, as if their boundaries were clear and the interactions between them scant. We concur with Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel in their assertion that “Global art is not the reverse side of Western art history, but of national art history and cultural separations, and the limitations imposed by similar categorizations.”¹⁵

The eighteenth century presents particular advantages for understanding globalization as a process.¹⁶ The concept of the nation-state was not yet fully formed in the early modern period (roughly 1400–1800), which presents an opportunity for historians to move toward more locally specific points of reference. If comparative study reveals, for instance, that the London art world structurally had more in common with the market-based workshops of Beijing and Manila than to the French Royal Academy, then modern nationalist categories that keep European Art and Chinese Art

distinct begin to wane in their usefulness. In contrast, global history actually offers the opportunity to better understand local history. Said another way, we can better understand the eighteenth-century London art world if we stop comparing it to geographically proximate but structurally dissimilar spaces, such as the Parisian academy, and instead look at other art worlds structured around market-based workshops in metropolitan centers of trade. This allows us to study what is both typical and unique about an art world on its own terms while setting it into an appropriately broad cultural context in order to gain a richer historical understanding of its outcomes.

Local

Art history has always operated with varied and at times conflicting senses of scale. Focused explications of single objects, the kind of art-historical writing that emerges from the practice of close looking, is a critical procedure long available to the discipline's practitioners. This is art history as it comes closest to microhistory, that version of historical inquiry that concentrates on a relatively limited setting—a single town, a neighborhood, a family—in order to reveal aspects of history not otherwise visible in discussions of large-scale social change.¹⁷ Much art history operates as a kind of microhistory: concentrated explications of single works of art or closely related works of art examined in the immediate historical setting of their production. But art history has also long embraced the big picture. There are many examples of art-historical writing that cross historical and geographical areas, and one could add that the introductory art history survey illustrates exactly that practice. This is a kind of art-historical macrohistory, an expansive view that takes in many different historical periods. Since the 1970s English-language art-historical writing has privileged the micro level, with the emergence of the social history of art especially committed to understanding art in terms of its immediate sociopolitical contexts. As a result, for much of the last three decades it has been easy to discredit macro art history, at least until the global turn. Global scholarship has promoted a broader view and part of its excitement is the sense it brings of crossing chronological and geographical boundaries boldly.

The risk of such a critical move is that the local significance of art can be lost, or at minimum trivialized in order to emphasize a broader scheme of transregional connections. Art historian Éva Forgács has recently reasserted the importance of the local as an art-historical priority.¹⁸ Forgács characterizes global art history as like an eye positioned from above, similar to the view one has from the window of an airplane. From that great distance, the eye sees an enormous amount and can visualize connections that are impossible to understand on the ground. This, according to Forgács, is what a global art history provides, and we would agree that rich new knowledge emerges from such a panoramic viewpoint. But in that panoramic view, many things are also obscured, or are visible just enough to be apparent but not enough to be comprehended deeply. Upon closer inspection, they turn out to be profoundly situational. “The reality on the ground, no matter how informed of the global, is *local*:

with specific details, history, inner dynamics, and personal relationships that often materialize in conceptual differences or conflicts of artistic, philosophical, and political views.¹⁹ Forgács develops this idea further to show, somewhat paradoxically, how an emphasis on the global can work to reinstate established boundaries between East and West, North and South, Europe and Asia, and Eurasia versus the Americas. A global art history can confirm old distinctions between center and periphery as much as dissolve them. Emphasizing the local, including a western European local, can correct this, or at least offer sites where the totalizing narratives of global artistic exchange can be challenged. Forgács cautions against the standardization of art historical narratives that might emerge in the creation a global art history. Claudia Mattos seconded this concern in a recent piece for the series “Whither Art History?” published in *The Art Bulletin*. She expressed skepticism at recent attempts to totalize the history of art with a comprehensive art theory that applies to everything. Such a project runs a great risk of mimicking the project of transnational colonialism by applying an Anglo-American master narrative of art to the entire world.²⁰

This standardization is something we have both encountered in our research and against which we have directed our art historical voices. Each of us has written on the eighteenth-century phenomenon of chinoiserie, that international artistic style that sought inspiration in the arts of China. Not long ago it was possible to characterize chinoiserie as a monolithic European fad, a fashion more or less consistent across the continent. Although transnational implications have occupied us both, we have argued that chinoiserie assumed unique meanings in the local contexts where we work. In England, chinoiserie was implicated in a series of debates about the effects of commerce in modern society as part of an increasingly internationalized marketplace for art that emerged out of a specifically British mercantilist economic system. The style there assumed significance quite directly related to uniquely British concerns. In eighteenth-century Austria, chinoiserie operated very differently. It was promoted by local patrons with connections to France and gained popularity especially at the Habsburg court. The notion that Vienna was a bulwark at the border of Europe, the city that stood symbolically for the edge of western civilization and its mindset, resonated through artistic evocations of Asia there. It assumed no such significance in Britain. The distinction between English and Austrian chinoiserie is not simply one of different artisanal practices or pictorial references, but in the localized meanings that the style bore in each setting. It is a difference of geography not just between Europe and Asia, but also within Europe itself.

A locally specific view of chinoiserie therefore reveals aspects of its historical significance that a panoramic one cannot. *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds* assumes this approach, examining art worlds that emerged in various local contexts. In this way, we aim for polycentrism, to put points on a map that mark geographic places and conceptual spaces that formulated art worlds within the eighteenth century. Polycentrism decenters any one region as the norm to which peripheries are compared, but also rejects the possibility of a single, globalized art world in any period. As Saul Steinberg’s famous and still humorous *View of the World from 9th Avenue* reminds us, one person’s center is another’s periphery (Figure 1.3). Bartolomé Yun Casalilla has



Figure 1.3 Saul Steinberg, *View of the World from 9th Avenue*, Cover of *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1976. © The Saul Steinberg Foundation/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Cover reprinted with permission of *The New Yorker* magazine. All rights reserved.

called for a new global history that studies “the interaction between distant areas, situated in diverse cultural contexts all over the world, taking up the effects of these at a local level.”²¹ We view this book very much as a response to his call.

Felicity Nussbaum has called this way of thinking “glocal,” the keeping of small and large-scale contexts legible while privileging neither.²² Meaningful connections of people and things make it possible to describe an early modern transnational art world, though as the plural in our title indicates, we do not propose to describe a single global eighteenth-century art world.

In framing our inquiry in this way, we echo recent transnational histories of the early modern art world that promote an entangled history, *Transforgeschichte*, and

histoire croisée, focusing on interrelationships within empires, regions, and places. Nicholas Thomas's *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* describes such an entangled colonial art world in which Europeans and Pacific Islanders appropriated one another's visual and material culture. More recently, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North's *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* describes a transnational art world in which the Dutch East India Company (VOC) provided the institutional structure for a transnational art world to emerge, demonstrating impressively how the VOC created an art world linked across three continents.²³ We take inspiration from these scholars, seeking not only to find the multi-sited, transregional—for shorthand, “global”—dimensions of eighteenth-century art, but also the layers of stratification that art bore at the local level. The familiar model of center and periphery in world systems analysis, in which raw materials flow from the periphery to the center where they are transformed into finished goods, is an insufficient account of the complex nature of artistic production and reception in a global context in the eighteenth century. Artistic exchange, appropriation, exoticisms, and hybridities make a mockery of the center/periphery model.²⁴ Polycentricism embraces these complexities, creating a fluid map that keeps local context and global interconnectedness in productive tension.

Geographies of Art

In this way, we offer a horizontal account of the history of eighteenth-century art that does not assign superiority to any particular place or media.²⁵ This approach also necessarily decenters the primacy of Western “fine art,” a concept that emerged from early modern European academic art theory and practice that has exerted enormous influence on the boundaries and practice of art history until very recently. Indeed, from a global perspective it is clear that oil painting on canvas, a medium that occupies the central place in European art, was a profoundly local medium with relatively limited global resonance in our era. Decorative arts, books, and prints had a far wider circulation and much greater cultural currency. By placing the production and reception of specific types of objects within a global framework, we aim to create a picture of the eighteenth century that moves beyond canonical Western hierarchies.

In doing so, we build upon significant work in art history and geography that has drawn renewed attention to the role of space and place in understanding works of art. The so-called “spatial turn” of intellectual inquiry has taken different forms in various disciplines. Again, in English-language art history it is Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann who has most fully delineated the importance of geography. Kaufmann's *Toward a Geography of Art* reveals that legacy, as it also shows how art history's current projects of expansion and global broadening are deeply related to, and challenged by, the discipline's conception of space. He notes that art history's traditional understanding of space was formed around the idea of representation, the ways in which works of two-dimensional art evoke the illusion of three-dimensionality.²⁶ Instead, Kaufmann has called for an awareness of the place of art, the location of works of art and how their

siting affects the ways in which we interpret them. This call for a geography of art resonates with long-standing art-historical methodologies that have emphasized the historical specificity of meaning, the ways in which a work of art meant discrete things to distinct audiences. It also harmonizes with the practice of reception history. In these and other recent frameworks, the work of art is viewed less as a moment in a historical continuum, although it remains part of it, but as a production of circulations of knowledge, materials, and visual forms.

Kaufmann's framework contrasts with the geography of art that has emerged in the discipline of geography. There the concern has been less with historical matters and more with the ways in which the place and site of art inflect the social relations that exist around it. Harriet Hawkins's work can be seen as exemplary of these trends. Rooting her ideas in the writings of Rosalind Krauss, Hawkins imagines a geography of art that takes three distinct dimensions into account.²⁷ The first concerns the sites of art's production and consumption, a focus that has its parallel in established art-historical investigations of artist, context, and audience. The second addresses art's exploration of the body and of sensual experiences, the ways in which art related to various examples of human embodiment. This echoes a more cultural-studies based approach in disciplinary art history. The third, and the one with the greatest impact for this book, is an "ontological project around the practice and materiality of 'art.'"²⁸ Hawkins understands the latter mostly in terms of a destabilization and dematerialization of matter in contemporary art, something traceable in everything from digital art to modifications of the landscape in Earth Art. It is possible, however, to see geography in terms of a destabilization of art's historical meanings as well, and in this respect Hawkins echoes Kaufmann closely.

Points on a Map

Each of the chapters in this book functions as a point on a map from which a specific art world emerges. Some have a local focus, while others explicitly address transnational and trans-regional concerns, but each chapter attends to the intersection between the global and the local in the art world it describes. The book begins in Beijing. Kristina Kleutghen looks at jade objects produced in Islamic Eurasia and acquired by the imperial court. Emperor Qianlong praised these "Hindustan jades" and wrote poems about them that were incised onto their surfaces. The international power implicit in these objects significantly enhanced their aesthetic appeal. Michele Matteini's essay considers the reception of *xiyang*, "Western" style paintings produced in Beijing's Liulichang Market, considering the non-court engagement with objects and images made in China but adopting a set of signifiers recognized as "Western" to a broad East Asian audience, particularly as they were understood by Korean scholars. Both Kleutghen and Matteini's essays describe Beijing art worlds that engaged with foreign objects and styles that became understood as local objects.

Timon Screech directs our attention to a Japanese art world that was critically engaged with European art during a period typically described as closed to European

contact. Though shoguns played an important role in the process, Screech's account, like Matteini's discussion of the Liulichang market, hinges on merchants, government intermediaries, and non-elite artists who engaged with Western pictorial aesthetics to create a new style of art. Chinese *xiyang* (Western pictures) and Japanese *uki-e* (floating pictures) and *ranga* (Dutch pictures) appear as styles that emerged from local artistic, cultural, and political conditions to engage a cosmopolitan interest in European subjects and pictorial techniques. Similar themes are explored in Yeewan Koon's chapter, which broadens the geography of Chinese art by considering export art made in Guangzhou, typically understood as marginal to Chinese artistic practice, as articulating a distinctly Chinese regional identity that was deeply connected to Chinese literary and artistic culture. That art positioned Guangzhou at the center, not periphery, of where China met the rest of the world.

Following one trade route from Guangzhou, through Manila to the Americas, J. M. Mancini's essay explores the presence of Chinese objects in Franciscan missions of eighteenth-century California to interrogate the boundaries of "American art" of the period, arguing that a transpacific view, linking East Asia to the Philippines and New Spain, specifically California, offers a significant contribution to the understanding of American art that complements the better-known art world of the Atlantic and the increasingly studied Indian Oceans. Kelly Donahue-Wallace's essay further describes the process by which sacred objects became understood as commodities and commodities objects of veneration in a colonial context. Analyzing illustrations and discussions of art in Spanish American newspapers from Mexico City, Lima, and Havana, Donahue-Wallace reveals that those accounts "stripped European objects (or ones made locally by European artists) of their foreignness and localized viceregal and imported religious art."

As Donahue-Wallace's essay shows, the affective properties of print culture relate clearly to the formation of a sense of geographical space. Mari-Tere Álvarez and Charlene Villaseñor Black's essay examines tortoiseshell, one of the most coveted materials in eighteenth-century decorative arts. The authors trace the surprising story of how the scutes of a turtle living in the tropical Indo-Pacific and Americas became a material used for Spanish *peinetas* and French furniture. Álvarez and Villaseñor Black demonstrate how the same material functioned in different imperial and artistic contexts in Spain and France, once again showing the importance of local specificity within a global context.

Kristel Smentek's essay views the European art object, and indeed the idea of European art itself, as created in the eighteenth century specifically through comparisons with images and objects crafted from afar. She makes this point by showing how Chinese art objects enabled writers to form an alternative or complementary antiquity to the better-known Greek and Roman past. In eighteenth-century France, an increased awareness of geographical distance enhanced and complicated established understandings of historical distance. Considering a different aspect of the geography of art in France, Hannah Williams's essay explores the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, which provided the pre-eminent conceptual and institutional model for art academies in the eighteenth century throughout Europe, Russia, and