

# CHINOISERIE AND BEYOND: CHINESE LANDSKIPS AND PRINTED VIEWS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH GEOGRAPHY BOOKS

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In the mid-eighteenth century, London emerged as one of the major publishing centers for topographical views of both Europe and elsewhere, a phenomenon which accompanied the rise of travel and empire, as well as the promotion of geographical knowledge. China was a region of particular interest: not only did books of travel accounts include illustrations of Chinese lands, but publishers also began to issue prints representing Chinese landscapes. What kinds of Chinese landscapes did these printed images offer to eighteenth-century viewers? How should we look at these images and understand their function at that time?

*Chinese Landskips*, a set of twelve prints published by Robert Sayer (1725–94) between 1750 and 1760, presents one case that still awaits in-depth investigation.<sup>1</sup> The set is not mentioned in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, a major book on the subject which accompanied the exhibition of the same name held in the Getty Research Institute in 2007. Nor has the set been examined in books or articles on chinoiserie. One recent exception comes in Chapter Four of Stacey Sloboda's book *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2014), wherein she discusses garden design. Sloboda reproduces one garden image from the set, without mentioning other plates of the same set, and states that:

While Sayer's 1766 catalogue improbably claimed that the engravings were "designed from the Originals done in China by Mr Heckel," in fact they were virtual collages of previously printed images, borrowed especially from Nieuhoff and Ripa. Heckel's career as a gold chaser would have made him familiar with pattern books and engravings that featured

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the standard iconography of British chinoiserie. *Chinese Landskips* takes far more licence with Ripa's composition than *The emperor of China's palace* did, continuing the process of pastiche and imitation that were central to the logic of chinoiserie.<sup>2</sup>

Sloboda's way of looking at the print is pertinent to the chapter's topic on garden design, and it is reasonable to infer that the plate was a pastiche of previously printed images, even though no possible sources are suggested, as her emphasis here is "the process of pastiche and imitation" being "central to the logic of chinoiserie." However, the focus on a single plate and glossing over others of the set may have resulted in overlooking other important ways of understanding *Chinese Landskips*.

Chinoiserie used to be understood as referring to decorative objects and patterns adapting certain Chinese-like motifs that evoke an aesthetic of exoticism, rather than images primarily functioning to convey visual knowledge about China. According to this understanding, *Chinese Landskips* may easily fall within the category of decorative pattern books, which in the eighteenth century served to excite one's imagination and aesthetic enjoyment. Recent scholarship, however, including Sloboda's book, has endeavored to explore the sociocultural significance of chinoiserie and to see chinoiserie as a critical visual language through which to reflect upon European artistic and aesthetic traditions, or to construct intercultural knowledge.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the case of *Chinese Landskips*, a new way of understanding is required to explore its significance beyond that of decorative design.

This issue becomes manifest if we take into account that *Chinese Landskips*, in fact, contains a plate showing a view of Canton (Figure 1), which also appears as an illustration in a geography book, John Barrow's *A New Geographical Dictionary*, first published in 1759, roughly about the same time as *Chinese Landskips*.<sup>4</sup> More than that, a plate of the famous porcelain tower in Nanjing is included in *Chinese Landskips* as well. It is noteworthy that a similar image of the tower, though different in style, also serves as an illustration in a later geography book, William Frederick Martyn's *The Geographical Magazine* (1782–83).<sup>5</sup> These two plates, depicting specific sites in China, seem to be different kinds of images than the one of the garden view cited in Sloboda's book.

This diversity of images immediately raises a question about the status and function of *Chinese Landskips*: should it be seen as an example of decorative pattern books that flourished in the mid-century and primarily provided aesthetic stimulation, or as a serious attempt to offer credible visual information about Chinese landscapes? Although these two functions may coincide, the discourses of chinoiserie tend to favor the former over the latter. Conversely, it can also be asked: to eighteenth-century eyes, how credible were the images contained in the illustrations of geography books that aimed to provide factual knowledge? Were the illustrations in Martyn's *The Geographical Magazine* categorically different from those plates in *Chinese Landskips*? The field of geography was itself making significant progress in the late eighteenth century, and visualization was one aspect of that evolution. Scholars have agreed that "geographical ideas communicated visually are usually much clearer and long-lasting than those expounded verbally," even though pictorial representations—be they maps, paintings, or photographs—"never create a neutral vision of the real world. Each captures and conveys a particular version of visual 'truth.'"<sup>6</sup> So, from an eighteenth-century perspective,



Figure 1. J. Cousee after Augustin Heckel, *A Perspective View of that great City, Canton, in China* from *Chinese Landskips*, plate 6, published by Robert Sayer, [ca. 1752?]. Etching and engraving, 23 x 29 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Image in the public domain.

what were the criteria of visual credibility regarding geographical knowledge, and what conditioned the making of images to accord with those criteria?

This article argues that *Chinese Landskips* can be understood more productively in the context of printed topographical views and illustrated geography books, rather than merely in the fashion of chinoiserie. Making this argument requires us to consider the conditions of image making and viewing, not only in relation to Chinese subjects, but also to printed images representing other parts of the world. The consideration of topographical prints in general, and illustrations in geography books—such as Martyn’s *The Geographical Magazine*—in particular, will open up a new horizon on these printed images and enrich our understanding of their function in Britain in the later eighteenth century.

### CHINESE LANDSKIPS: FOUR CLASSES OF VIEWS

Before considering the status and function of *Chinese Landskips*, it is important first to examine the scenes depicted in the twelve plates, particularly the alterations made while adapting existing images. In general terms, the plates of *Chinese Landskips* can be divided into four classes: first, views of cities, including Beijing and Canton; second, views of representative architecture, such as a pagoda in Sinkicien, a “triumphal arch” in Canton, the porcelain pagoda in Nanjing, and the imperial palace in Beijing; third, views of streets, canals, and rivers; and fourth, views of gardens. For an eighteenth-century viewer, these four classes of views, as

a set, could quickly convey an idea of what a foreign county might look like, and of those aspects for which it was known.

Except for the views of gardens, the other three classes had prototypes in the illustrations from Johan Nieuhof's (1618–72) travel account. Nevertheless, each plate adhered to Nieuhof's prototypes to differing degrees. While the view of Canton is obviously different from Nieuhof's illustration of the city, the view of Beijing retains the original composition with additions and changes in the trees, houses, and figures in the foreground, and alterations of city walls and towers in the background. The four views of representative architecture follow Nieuhof's illustrations more precisely, though with some addition of trees to frame the picture, figures to enliven the foreground, or adjustment of the vanishing point.

The views of rivers, canals, and streets underwent greater alterations. *The Navigable River of Sanwonhab* (Figures 2–3), for example, has an additional rock in the foreground on the left, introducing a temple with stairs leading from the riverbank to its entrance. This addition might look fanciful, but, in fact, corresponds to the text in Nieuhof's account, which states: "On one side of this Prodigious Mountain, stands an Idol Temple, Richly Adorned, and most Artificially Built... You climb up by steps to this Idol Temple, which stands on the side of this Mountain next the River."<sup>7</sup> In other words, those familiar with Nieuhof's account might find that this representation conforms to his description better than that found in his own publication. For those with no understanding of the text, a view with a temple on the side of a gorge might not seem unreasonable—it provides an appealing view of a foreign land. A most striking transformation appears in the plate with the caption, "The Manner in which shops in CHINA are distinguish'd



Figure 2. *Great Navigable River of Sanwonhab in China*, from *Chinese Landscips*, published by Robert Sayer, plate 12. © Tokyo, Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library).



Figure 3. *Mountains & Straits of Sanwanhab*, from *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 3 (London: Thomas Astley, 1746), plate 48. Rare Book Division, The New York Public Library. Image in the public domain.

by their signs” (Figures 4–5). While the row of houses on the left is reminiscent of Nieuwhof’s illustration showing a street in Nanjing in his account, the canal with boats and the arched bridge is clearly an alien addition. Nor does the caption attempt to identify the location of the scene in Nanjing, and thus it becomes an image indicating a type, and not a particular site, in contrast to other plates that specify the location they depict. Even though these alterations may seem to undermine the authenticity of these images to modern eyes, they might be well suited to eighteenth-century habits of visualization, a point I will make in comparison

to representations of other European cities in the third section of this article. For now, it suffices to point out that there were no whimsical elements in the views in *Chinese Landskips*, and each addition was made to enhance the visual appeal and underscore the information conveyed.

In the fourth class of images, which present garden views, it is more difficult to determine how they deviate from the prototypes, as these four plates do not seem to take illustrations from travel accounts as their pictorial source. Nieuhof's book includes an illustration of a rocky cliff that might serve as an inspiration for the rocks in *A summer Palace near KIANG in CHINA Ornamented with artificial Rocks*; however, the compositions of the garden views are entirely novel (Figures 6–7). It is probably this lack of prototypes that leads Sloboda to assert that *Chinese Landskips* “takes far more licence with Ripa’s composition than *The emperor of China’s palace* did.” Indeed, while the plates of *The Emperor of China’s Palace at Pekin*, a set of twenty prints jointly published by Robert Sayer, Henry Overton, Thomas Bowles, and John Bowles in 1753, closely followed the engravings made by Matteo Ripa (1682–1746) in 1713 of the Kangxi emperor’s summer palace at Chengde, the uninhabited tranquility of Ripa’s plates was turned into the hustle and bustle of a light-hearted fantasy land with the addition of birds, boats, creatures, and human figures involved in various kinds of activity.<sup>8</sup> Fidelity to the originals was not a concern, even though on the title page it is stated that the entire set was done “from the original Views, correctly taken on the Spot.”<sup>9</sup> To provide interest-



Figure 4. J. Couse after Augustin Heckel, *The Manner in which Shops in China are distinguish'd by their Signs* from *Chinese Landskips*, plate 9, published by Robert Sayer, [ca. 1752?]. Etching and engraving, 23 x 29 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Image in the public domain.



Figure 5. *A Street of Pekin & Nankin*, from *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 3 (London: Thomas Astley, 1746), plate 53. Rare Book Division, The New York Public Library. Image in the public domain.

ing and exotic-looking prints for viewing and potentially for decorating seems to be the point in this case. Nevertheless, this set still represents one of the earliest attempts to publicize in Britain (and in Europe as well) what “actual” Chinese gardens might look like, even though the original literary, ideological, and political implications in the Chinese imperial context were lost or misrepresented during the transmission.<sup>10</sup> The emphasis on the plates being based on direct observation reveals the strategy the publishers employed in promoting the set’s credibility. This same situation may well have applied to *Chinese Landskips*. Although their sources are not identified, the garden views in *Chinese Landskips* can better be understood as a serious attempt to provide a representative type of Chinese landscape, as in the case of the other three classes of views discussed above.

### SOURCES AND THE RHETORIC OF AUTHORITY AND CREDIBILITY

The fact that before the end of the eighteenth century no other images of Chinese lands based on direct observation were available meant there was no way Robert Sayer could publish *Chinese Landskips* without resorting to existing images. As Sloboda has pointed out, although Sayer claimed that the prints were “designed from the Originals done in China by Mr. Heckel,” it is obvious that several of the images were derived from the illustrations in Johan Nieuhof’s travel account, or, more probably, from reproductions that appeared in later publications, such as *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* compiled by John Green and published by Thomas Astley in London in 1745–47.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 6. J. Couse after Augustin Heckel, *A Summer Palace near Kiang in China Ornamented with Artificial Rocks* from *Chinese Landscips*, plate 2, published by Robert Sayer, [ca. 1752?]. Etching and engraving, 23 x 29 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Image in the public domain.

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the illustrations in Nieuhof's travel account played a crucial role in transmitting images of Chinese lands and people to a broad European audience.<sup>12</sup> They did so by being reproduced as single prints or as illustrations in other books, notably anthologies of travel accounts and histories of China. Their claimed authority came from their origins in Nieuhof's firsthand observations, as he joined an embassy of the Dutch East India Company to the Qing court, traveling through Canton to Beijing from 1655 to 1657. The European pictorial tradition which Nieuhof employed to capture the visual appearance of the outside world from the observer's viewpoint significantly contributed to the credibility of the images, while their popularity was made possible by the highly developed technique of copperplate engraving and etching for producing multiple images. Moreover, Nieuhof's illustrations also provided inspiration for the growing fashion of chinoiserie, as they were adapted as pictorial decorations on such domestic objects as porcelains and wooden panels. Today, scholars point out that the engraved illustrations, which number more than 150, were richly enhanced from Nieuhof's brief sketches by those who had not been in China and thus, from the very beginning, the widely circulated images of Chinese lands inevitably blended factual and imaginary elements.<sup>13</sup> Even so, Nieuhof's illustrations of Chinese lands occupy a special position in comparison with other chinoiserie patterns that had no basis in reality, such as those designed primarily for decorative purposes by Jean-Baptiste Pillement (1728–1808), a French designer active in London between 1754 and 1762.<sup>14</sup>

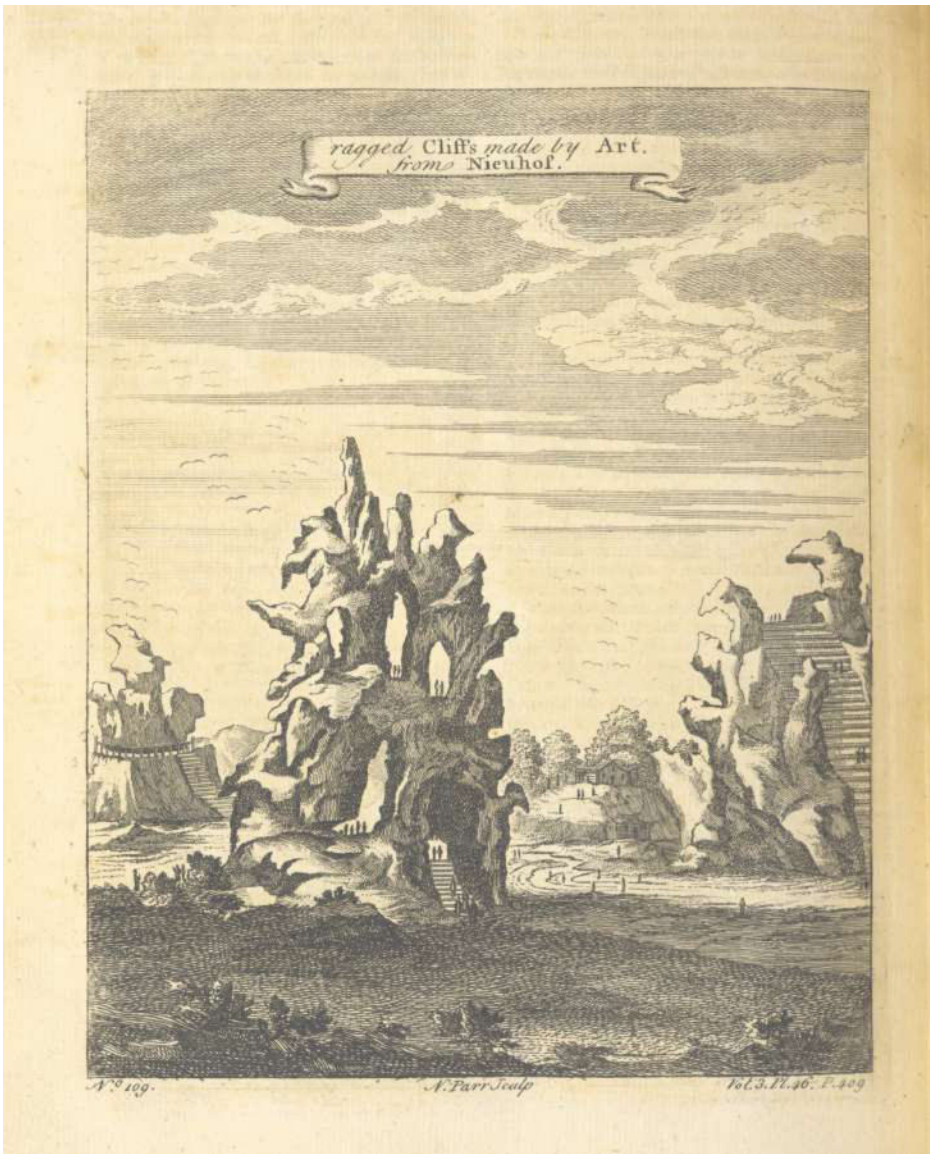


Figure 7. *Ragged Cliffs made by Art*, from *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 3 (London: Thomas Astley, 1746), plate 46. Rare Book Division, The New York Public Library. Image in the public domain.

Although no direct relationship can be established between Astley's *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* and Sayer's *Chinese Landskips*, the former is nonetheless helpful in suggesting the possible context in which *Chinese Landskips* was published and viewed. *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* is a four-volume work that aimed at providing a "complete system of modern geography" covering Europe, Asia, Africa, and America by compiling accounts and illustrations from "the most Authentic Travellers, Foreign as well as English," as stated on the title page. The end of volumes 3 and 4 contain "Voyages and Travels in the Empire of China," and include Nieuhof's accounts, as well as other sources such as the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's *China Monumentis* (1667)

and Evert Ysbrants Ides's *Three Years Travels from Moscow Overland to China* (1706). Notably, a nine-page list of subscribers' names in the first volume indicates a wide readership of this book, suggesting that by the mid-eighteenth century these representations of Chinese lands were well known to a growing audience desirous of geographical knowledge about the world. As an emerging publisher of maps and printed views, Robert Sayer must have known of this trend and the images he could possibly obtain for publication. Notably, whereas the illustrations in Astley's book contained few changes from Nieuhof's prototypes, with several plates clearly indicating their sources in Nieuhof, Sayer, in his *Chinese Landskips*, took great license with his models while claiming that the sets were "designed from the Originals done in China by Mr. Heckel." Why did Sayer make this emphasis on eyewitness reportage while marketing this set of prints?

At this point, it is helpful to bear in mind that direct observation became increasingly important as a basis of authority and credibility in Europe's growing culture of view making.<sup>15</sup> This made travel a desirable, if not necessary, part of image making. In fact, the rhetoric of view making based on direct observation has appeared in the aforementioned book, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, with the title page emphatically stating that the illustrations were from "the most Authentic Travellers." More than that, specific modes of pictorial representation had to be employed to produce "views" that would appear convincing based on eyewitness reportage. It is noteworthy, however, that even though there was a European tradition of view making that was drastically different from the Chinese tradition of landscape painting, modes of pictorial representation could still change through the times. For example, the bird's-eye view or the highly elevated viewpoint had been a prevalent mode of representing cities and estates stretching from the late sixteenth century through to the early eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The panoramic view of Canton (Figure 1) belongs to this mode of representation, which could easily bring a sense of familiarity and credibility to mid-eighteenth-century British viewers. In fact, *Chinese Landskips* was published at a time—between 1750 and 1760—when the mode of pictorial representations gradually underwent a transition from the old one to the new one. This was related to the development of British topographical views and landscape painting, a subject that has given rise to extensive scholarly discussion that has tended to devote more attention to the late eighteenth-century development than to mid-century complexities.<sup>17</sup> As we shall see in the final section of this article, a new mode of depicting picturesque scenery was developing toward the late eighteenth century, which would also affect how Chinese landscapes should be represented, even though they were adapted from previously printed images.

The fact that the images of *Chinese Landskips* were derivative and imaginary, therefore, may be better ascribed to the lack of firsthand experience of Chinese lands by British artists, rather than explained simply by the logic of chinoiserie. Until the end of the eighteenth century, Nieuhof's images inevitably served as basic visual information about Chinese lands, before the publication of William Alexander's (1767–1816) drawings in *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (1797), which again obtained their authority from his direct observations while accompanying the Macartney Embassy to China (1792–95).<sup>18</sup> It is worth noting that, prior to Alexander, William Chambers

(1723–96) was the only British artist to actually visit China, which he did while employed by the Swedish East India Company between 1740 and 1749. On his return to London, Chambers set out to introduce “authentic” Chinese buildings and gardens based on his personal experience and direct observation, publishing *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Clothing, Machines, and Utensils* in 1757 and *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* in 1772, making him an authority on Chinese-style architecture at the time. Nevertheless, Chambers’s books lacked illustrations that could provide views of Chinese landscapes, and thus did not impact the developments discussed in this article.

Why Robert Sayer decided to publish *Chinese Landskips* when no newly authoritative depictions based on firsthand observations were available, and how he promoted it, thus become important questions. At the least, the possibility should not be excluded that the publication of *Chinese Landskips* was intended to provide credible visual information about China, a remote country increasingly on the horizon of British citizens due to the growing importation of its material goods. Intention here is important. Sayer’s claim that the prints were “designed from the Originals done in China by Mr Heckel,” though marketing rhetoric, nonetheless reveals his intention to present firsthand views, or at least credible visual information. This was the logic of the emerging market for printed topographical views in mid-century London.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL PRINTS AND CONDITIONS OF VISUALITY

As the nine-page list of subscribers’ names in the first volume of *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* shows, there was a growing audience for geographical knowledge about the world at mid-century. Both cartographic and topographical views were part of this development of the dissemination of geographical knowledge. Being one of the most prominent and successful print-sellers in eighteenth-century Britain, Robert Sayer played a crucial role in promoting topographical prints.<sup>19</sup> Examining the place of *Chinese Landskips* in the context of the entire range of Sayer’s print publications can be revealing about its intended purpose and function. The catalogues of Sayer and other print-sellers are useful on this point. In fact, the set was already listed as “Twelve Views of *Chinese* Cities, Villages, Streets, Triumphal Arches, and Romantick Prospects” in Cluer and Marshall’s catalog of 1764 (see Appendix).<sup>20</sup> Importantly, in the same catalog, before and after the set appear other sets of views of Britain and of several European cities, including Venice, Rome, Naples, Paris, and Amsterdam. These all appear in the section titled “perspective views, &c.”

This same arrangement of catalog entries appears in Robert Sayer’s own catalogs, which list his published prints roughly according to size and subject matter. In Sayer’s 1766 catalog, *Chinese Landskips* is listed as no. 24 in the section of “Sets of Small Prints” consisting of perspective views, landscapes, hunting scenes, and other subjects. (see Appendix).<sup>21</sup> Immediately preceding it are sets of views of Rome (nos. 19 and 20), Athens (no. 21), Venice (no. 22), and Florence (no. 23). It is important to note that it is not placed in the section devoted to “Books of Ornaments,” where one can find *A New Book of Chinese Ornaments, designed*

and engraved by J. Pillement. This indicates that in Sayer's conception *Chinese Landskips* belonged to the class of prints offering views of major cities and countries around the world, rather than that of ornamental prints providing patterns for decorating purposes.

Following *Chinese Landskips* in the catalog are two other sets of views of China together entitled *The Rice Manufactory in China* (nos. 25 and 26), also "drawn from the originals brought from thence, by Mr. Heckel," each consisting of twelve prints.<sup>22</sup> Differing from *Chinese Landskips*, these two sets of prints are distinctly and closely modeled on the original Chinese book of woodblock prints *Yuzhi gengzhi tu* (*Imperially Commissioned Illustrations of Agriculture and Sericulture*), commissioned by Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, first printed in 1696. Although *Yuzhi gengzhi tu* was not intended for export, it found its way to Europe and the images were adapted for porcelain and other decorative objects, in addition to being remade into *The Rice Manufactory in China*.<sup>23</sup> Strictly speaking, *The Rice Manufactory in China* do not provide topographical views, as they do not delineate particular places but describe the processes involved in rice growing with each plate being accompanied with a line of text explaining the depicted action. Yet the setting, a rural Chinese landscape composed by a Chinese painter, does enhance the authority and credibility of the images. These two items together, *Chinese Landskips* and *The Rice Manufactory in China*, reinforce the sense that Robert Sayer made the most of images available at hand to provide glimpses of Chinese lands for a British audience. More importantly, they also indicate the role of printed images as an important vehicle for transmitting visual knowledge about foreign cultures.

The act of publishing *Chinese Landskips* and advertising it alongside other printed views in the catalog is thus significant. It indicates that the publisher anticipated an audience desirous of "seeing" different areas of the world on paper. In fact, topographical views grew more popular after the 1730s, and began to constitute a major genre in the print market of mid-century Britain.<sup>24</sup> The increasing popularity of printed views echoed, and perhaps accelerated, the rise of travel to continental Europe—the Grand Tour—and to various parts of Britain for antiquarian and natural history studies, or simply in search of picturesque scenery.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the market was responding to the development of a form of modern life enriched by new public facilities and the expansion of the empire. In addition to European cities and sites, China in the Far East, North America, and the West and East India Companies' settlements all became the subjects of printed views.<sup>26</sup>

In terms of the kinds of images published by Robert Sayer and other printsellers, prospects of cities and ports and views of specific architecture (palaces, villas, churches, governmental buildings, etc.), squares, gardens, and parks constituted the main stock. Views of bridges over canals or rivers also featured prominently. This is especially evident in views of Venice, a city famous for its canals and bridges, as shown in *A View of the Bridge on the Canal Reggio* (Figure 8), first published by Robert Sayer in 1750 and still listed in his 1775 catalog as one of the *Six Views of the City of Venice*.<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, it has been pointed out that the painter's name inscribed below the image at left, "Cimogli," is fictitious.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the addition of an Italian-sounding name may have enhanced the authority of the image. Having in mind this Venetian view of a bridge over a canal and rows of town houses as well as other similar views of European cities, *A Chinese*



Figure 8. *A View of the Bridge on the Canal Reggio; and the Church of St. Jeremiah to the Great Canal at Venice*, published by Robert Sayer, 1750. Hand-colored etching, 27.4 x 42.4 cm. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

*Street on the side of a Canal* (Figure 4) thus could seem a reasonable, and possibly unquestionable, scene in a foreign county. In other words, it was familiarity with similar types of images that made the plates of *Chinese Landscapes* depicting views of streets, canals, and rivers look credible. What Chinese landscapes “really” look like was not an urgent issue here.

The paradox that Sayer published these printed views to provide credible visual information while subordinating the issue of visual reality leads us to questions concerning the character of Sayer’s intended audience and what function *Chinese Landscapes* might have served. The term “perspective views” provides an important clue to these questions. Prior to Sayer, John Bowles (1701?–1779) was one of the first major print publishers promoting printed views. In particular, his catalog of 1753 contained a subsection of “perspective views,” consisting of fifteen sets, under the heading “sets of fine prints,” where he explained that:

The following Sets consisting of great variety of Perspective Views, are not only in esteem for furniture in frames and glasses, but are much used in proper colours without frames, for viewing in the Diagonal Mirrour, in which method of looking at them, they appear with surprising beauty, and in size but little inferior to the real places.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, in Sayer’s catalog at the end of the “Sets of Small Prints,” it is also stated that:

All the foregoing Sets of Prints may be had ready coloured in sheets, or upon paste-boards, for viewing in the concave-glasses, or optical pillar-machines, in which they have a very agreeable effect. They likewise make genteel furniture when framed and glazed, and are all near of a size, being about 7 inches high, by 10 and a half wide.<sup>30</sup>

Being not only visually informative but also entertaining, such “perspective views,” or “*vues d’optique*,” especially prints of cities with enhanced linear perspectival effects, were highly popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Europe, with London being the first city where such prints were produced and popularized.<sup>31</sup> Viewed under an optical device now called a zograscope, the prints would render even more dramatically receding space and depth, thus giving the viewer a virtual, three-dimensional experience. This viewing activity was a kind of parlor entertainment for both adults and children of the gentry class. Belonging to this kind of perspective view, *Chinese Landskips*, especially the plates depicting a canal (Figure 4) and a gorge (Figure 2) with dramatized linear perspective, well suited this way of viewing. In this way, *Chinese Landskips* participated in a form of cultural activity that was formative of the visual experiences of the gentry class. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to infer that the audience of such perspective views may well have overlapped with the readers of travel accounts such as the aforementioned *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*. In other words, *Chinese Landskips*, as part of a growing group of perspective views, may on the one hand have been consumed as a form of visual entertainment when viewed under a zograscope or as wall decorations, and on the other hand have been read together with travel accounts or geography books and thus became part of geographical knowledge.

There is still one question here: if the authenticity of the printed view was not such an urgent issue when the print was treated as a form of entertainment, was it an issue when the print was used to illustrate a geography book? This question will be explored in the following section, but here it is helpful to briefly consider another case. Recently, Jocelyn Anderson in her article on Jan Van Ryne’s perspective views of the East India Company’s forts and settlements, published by Robert Sayer in 1754, has discussed Sayer’s marketing strategy by emphasizing the authority, quality, and politeness of the views, as Sayer claimed that they were “drawn on the Spot” and the prints were “engraved by the best Masters” and suitable for home decoration or polite entertainment.<sup>32</sup> The same could be said of *Chinese Landskips*, as Sayer employed similar strategies to market the set. Significantly, as Anderson points out, while “[i]t was not unusual to attach the phrase ‘drawn on the Spot’ to topographical imagery to testify to its accuracy,” scholars have assumed that Van Ryne was actually working in London and had never been to India. Moreover, certain topographical errors have been found in his views. To our modern eyes, Van Ryne’s views thus lack the accuracy and authority that topographical views are expected to possess. Nevertheless, Anderson argues that the phrase “drawn on the Spot” is a highly suggestive one, indicating “that people who were viewing the prints were expected to accept them as accurate representations, and the vast majority of viewers would not have been in a position to recognize the topographical flaws.”<sup>33</sup> Anderson’s argument clearly emphasizes the primacy of eighteenth-century literary and visual conventions that functioned between the publisher and the audience. This is the same point that this article attempts to make: even though we know that Mr. Heckel never set foot in China, and that *Chinese Landskips* were adapting previously printed images, the phrase “designed from the Originals done in China by Mr Heckel” might still appeal to those desirous of seeing the lands of China.

The case of *Chinese Landskips* even provides evidence that may modify what we have believed about a specific genre of perspective views. In his article on *vues d'optique* with Chinese subjects, Niklas Leverenz points out that surprisingly only the publishing houses in Augsburg and Paris produced *vues d'optique* with Chinese subjects, and that “[n]o *vues d'optique* with Chinese subjects are known to exist from London or Italian publishers.”<sup>34</sup> He also identifies a total of twenty-two *vues d'optique* with Chinese subjects published in Augsburg, and another thirteen in Paris, with publication dates around 1770. However, Sayer’s *Chinese Landskips*, as demonstrated above, represents an even earlier case than those published in Augsburg and Paris. The discovery of a print, *Vue d’Optique, d’un Pont de la Cochinchine et la maniere dont les Bateaux sont distingue par leur Pavillon* (Figure 9), which is not counted by Leverenz, but which resembles Sayer’s print (Figure 4) in reverse, interestingly reveals the possible interaction between European publishing centers.<sup>35</sup> Given that Sayer’s print has “Heckel Delin.” and “J. Couse Sculp.” inscribed beneath the image, and that it has details which are omitted from the French print, it is possible that Sayer published the print prior to its reproduction in Paris. Moreover, the fact that Augustin Heckel (1690–1770) was born in Augsburg to a family of goldsmiths before moving to London to set up a career as a gold chaser and draughtsman also suggests a possible link between Sayer and those European publishers in relation to the prints of Chinese subjects.

Having discussed the function of *Chinese Landskips* as perspective views and the social significance connected to them as polite entertainment, one further theme deserves to be noted. Such printed views, in addition to being available for sale individually or as a set, could be adopted as illustrations in travel guides,

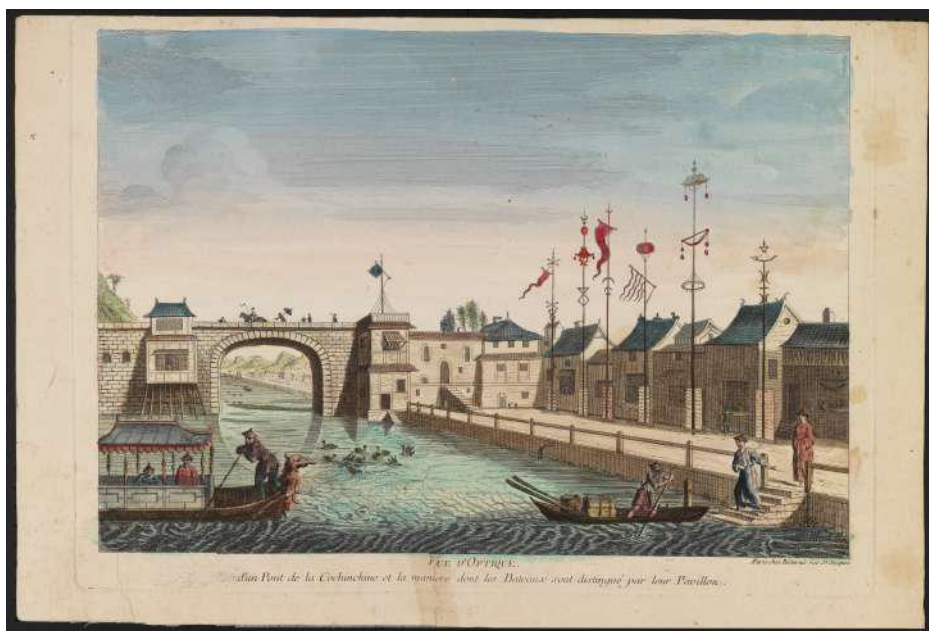


Figure 9. *Vue d’Optique, d’un Pont de la Cochinchine et la maniere dont les Bateaux sont distingue par leur Pavillon*, published by Beauvais, before 1763. Hand-colored etching, 32.5 x 48.6 cm. Courtesy of the Archives de la Manche / conseil dep.

another emerging genre of publication in the second half of the eighteenth century in Britain.<sup>36</sup> *The Modern Universal British Traveller; Or, A New, Complete, and Accurate Tour through England, Wales, Scotland, and The Neighbouring Islands. Comprising All that is Worthy of Observation in Great Britain*, published by John Cooke (1731–1810) in 1779, is an interesting example of such a book. It includes several illustrations, made by anonymous printmakers hired by publishers, showing panoramic views or distant prospects of cities, as well as portraying specific buildings, monuments, and natural scenes. For instance, the illustration of Newcastle presents the port city from an overlooking point of view, with seemingly diagrammatic buildings lining up on the waterfront, a hilly backdrop, and a foreground of the River Tyne dotted with ships and boats (Figure 10). This mode of depicting a port city in a frontal view from an elevated perspective was frequently employed in mid-eighteenth-century printed views, before more artists began to pursue a more picturesque way of capturing the characteristics of specific places toward the late eighteenth century. To modern eyes, this kind of seemingly schematic or even stereotypical depiction may not convincingly convey the “reality” of places; however, to eighteenth-century visual habits, they may well have provided sufficient information. Furthermore, it has to be noted that, as a category, the “views” cover a variety of images at different degrees of visual credibility and pictorial quality, not to mention the different costs and prices associated with the prints. The limited availability of firsthand images of China necessarily constricted the number and kind of printed views of Chinese landscapes. Still, even though famous British and European cities were accessible to traveling painters and draughtsmen, this does not mean that all views of these cities convey the same sense of “reality” to our modern eyes, which have become accustomed to photographic images. So now, we have to come back to the question: was authenticity an important issue when the print was used to illustrate a geography book? If yes, what constituted that authenticity?



Figure 10. *Perspective View of Newcastle, upon Tyne in Northumberland*, from *The Modern Universal British Traveller* (London: J. Cooke, 1779). Etching and engraving, 23.8 x 36.6 cm. Author's personal collection.

## PRINTED VIEWS AS ILLUSTRATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY BOOKS

While *The Modern Universal British Traveller* was confined to Britain, newly emerging illustrated geography books provided views on to other parts of the world. In the second half of the eighteenth century, “particular” geography, as opposed to “general” or “universal” geography, became the dominant emphasis of British geographers. The geography books which appeared in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, by Thomas Salmon, Guthrie, Charles Theodore Middleton, George Henry Millar, Thomas Bankes, Adams, and others, retained signs of an earlier mathematical emphasis in their organization.<sup>37</sup> Their titles customarily announce a “New System of Universal Geography,” and they contain a “Complete Guide to Geography, Astronomy, the Use of the Globes, Maps, &c.” However, these authors’ primary concern was with “particular” geography. Not only did these geography books devote much space to descriptions of each country in four (and later five) continents, but they also began to include illustrations of views other than simply maps or charts.

As a genre of publication that aimed to disseminate empirical and factual knowledge about the world, geography books, eighteenth-century readers would have expected, should have been concerned with the authenticity and accuracy of their illustrations. As aforementioned, the title page of *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* clearly stated that the book’s illustrations were “[s]elected from the most Authentic Travellers,” so as to ensure their credibility and authority. As to the kinds of illustrations that were thought suitable to be included, the statement on the title page of *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* again gives a clear example:

Charts of the several Divisions of the Ocean, and MAPS of each Country, entirely new Composed, as well as new Engraved, by the best Hands, from the latest Surveys, Discoveries, and Astronomical Observations: But likewise with Variety of Plans, and Prospects of Coasts, Harbours, and Cities; besides CUTS representing Antiquities, Animals, vegetables, the Persons and Habits of the People, and other Curiosities.

In other words, these illustrations cover what readers expected to see about both the natural and cultural environments of a country, and the way its people looked and lived. Even though these could be described by words, illustrations were widely agreed to be a more effective and powerful means to communicate these ideas. In other words, these illustrations, although auxiliary to the texts in geography books, provided a kind of visual knowledge for which there was no substitution.

Although geography books published in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century typically did not have as many illustrations as *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* did, they nonetheless emphasized on the title page that they included a variety of plates showing “Plans and Perspective Views of the principal Cities, Towns, Harbours, Structures, Ruins, and other Places of Antiquity,” as stated in the title page of John Barrow’s *A New Geographical Dictionary*, as well as prints illustrating the habits of people, animals, and vegetables. Importantly, a survey of these geography books reveals that their descriptions and illustrations invariably derived from published travel accounts and prints. In this sense, these illustrations were not categorically different from printed views issued

by print publishers. In the case of illustrations representing China in geography books, the views were normally reproductions or adaptations of existing images. Therefore, the credibility and authenticity of the views, in fact, did not entirely come from recent firsthand observations, but rather from familiarity with certain modes and subjects of representations. Nevertheless, these illustrations still provided information about the topography and landscapes of Chinese cities or natural environments, which then came to constitute common British knowledge of China in the eighteenth century.



Figure 11. *A General View of the City of Amsterdam from the Tye*, from *A New Geographical Dictionary*, vol. 1 (London: J. Coote, 1759), Etching. Amsterdam, Het Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Image in the public domain.

In this sense, it is significant that *A Perspective View of that great City Canton in China* (Figure 1), one of the prints in *Chinese Landscips*, also appeared as an illustration in John Barrow's *A New Geographical Dictionary* (1759). This is the only illustration showing Chinese lands in Barrow's book, in addition to a map of China and two plates showing the costumes of a mandarin and a Chinese lady. This view of Canton was different from that drawn by Nieuhof and reproduced in other books, and its source is still unknown. Nevertheless, this again demonstrates that *Chinese Landscips* provided images of China other than merely decorative patterns, and that the notion of visual/pictorial reality is necessarily relative. If to our eyes this view of Canton is far from "real," the same might be said of views of Newcastle (Figure 10) and of Amsterdam in Barrow's book (Figure 11). The problem lies not in the subject of Canton, but in the style of representation, no matter which cities are represented. As mentioned previously, the panoramic view of Canton from an elevated viewpoint could bring a sense of familiarity and credibility.

In the geography books that appeared after John Barrow's *A New Geographical Dictionary*, illustrations of China were chiefly derived from Nieuuhof's images, or more probably from their reproductions in eighteenth-century books such as Thomas Astley's *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*. For a typical example, George Henry Millar's *The New and Universal System of Geography, being a Complete History and Description of the Whole World* (1783) includes plates showing the "Great Wall," the "Flying Bridge over the River Whang-Ho," and the "Porcelain Tower." However, the 1780s also exhibit signs of change to this pictorial convention, as certain illustrators endeavored to produce new images of Chinese landscape even without having been to China. As opposed to the pastiche and fantasy that were central to the logic of chinoiserie, these "new" images were intended to provide updated views of Chinese lands by adopting new developments in pictorial style, even though they in fact were based on old materials.

The four plates illustrating China in William Frederick Martyn's *The Geographical Magazine* (1782, vol. 1), published by the bookseller James Harrison, represent such a departure. Not only do the illustrations appear fresh at first sight, but the book itself, a quarto with a greatly reduced letterpress on the title page, would have made the reading of it a new experience in comparison to previously published geography books. The "Porcelain Tower at Nankin" (Figure 12) was, of course, a most familiar illustration. But even so, the point of view represented in this print differs from any provided in its numerous precedents.

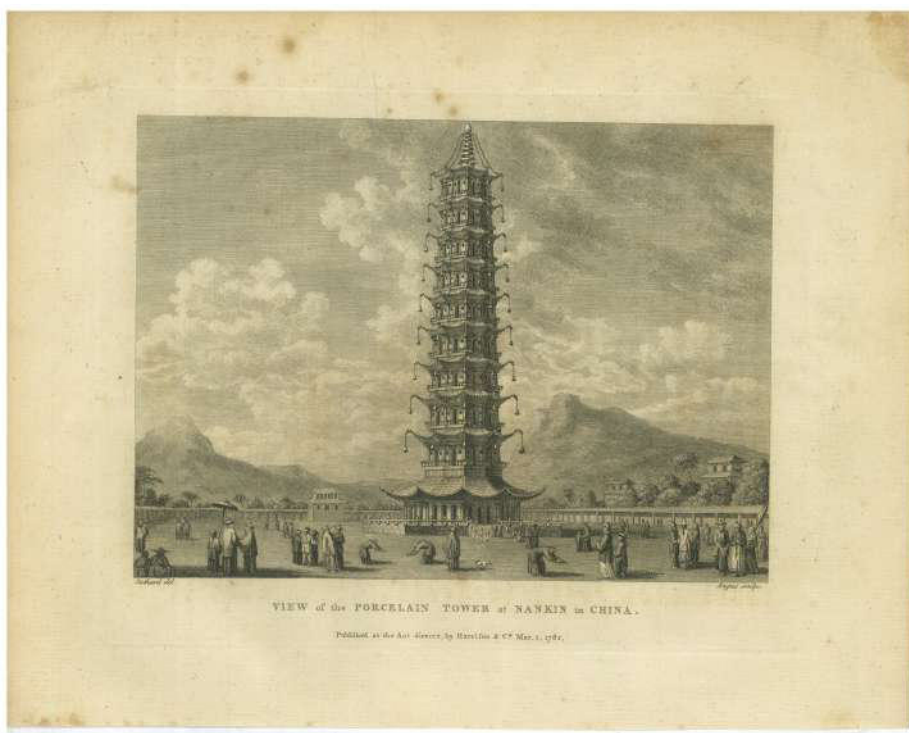


Figure 12. William Angus after Thomas Stothard, *View of the Porcelain Tower at Nankin in China*, published by Harrison and Co., 1782. Etching and engraving, 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Author's personal collection. Illustration to William Frederick Martyn, *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Co., 1782).

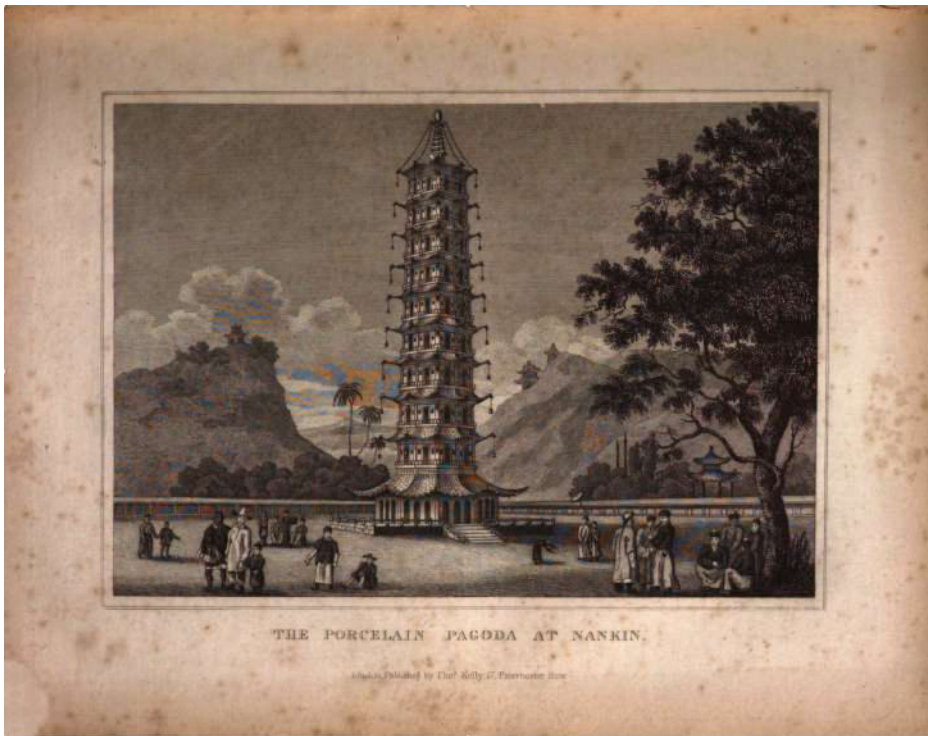


Figure 13. *The Porcelain Pagoda at Nankin*, from Christopher Kelly, *A New and Complete System of Universal Geography*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Kelly, 1827), facing page 35. Courtesy of the British Library, digitized by the Google Books project (General Reference Collection DRT Digital Store RB. 23.b.3111, image 89).

This representation adopts a ground-level perspective more closely resembling the experience of travelers in contrast to previous prints such as “The Porcelane Tower at Nankin in China” from *Chinese Landskips*, which followed the seventeenth-century prototype. According to the inscription below the image, it was delineated by Thomas Stothard (1755–1834) and engraved by William Angus (1752–1821). Later elected academican of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1794, Stothard was a prolific illustrator, regularly contributing to the *Novelist’s Magazine*—also published by the bookseller James Harrison—and other publications from the late 1770s.<sup>38</sup> Although better known for his figurative designs illustrating poems and novels, Stothard nevertheless had displayed a strong interest in landscapes.<sup>39</sup> His adaptation of the “Porcelain Tower in Nankin” interestingly discloses his connection with the publisher James Harrison and his adeptness at refashioning the view of a foreign country in his youth. The ground-level point of view he furnished was followed in later prints of the pagoda, such as the illustration in Christopher Kelly’s *A New and Complete System of Universal Geography* (1827), which drew the viewer even closer to the pictorial space where a large tree was added in the right foreground, as if the pagoda were situated in a park easily accessible to visitors (Figure 13).<sup>40</sup>

The author of *The Geographical Magazine*, William Fordyce Mavor (1758–1837)—working under the pseudonym William Frederick Martyn—was a Scottish teacher, priest, and compiler of numerous educational books. The text of *The Geographical Magazine* was written in lucid prose, providing easily accessible information about each country it covered. Moreover, each of the four plates il-

lustrating China corresponded to a particular description, even if the descriptions were short. “The Road of Pillars in China” was called “Cientao” (Figure 14), as the text points out, and was situated in the province of Xensi, “broad enough for four horses to travel abreast, and near four miles in length.”<sup>41</sup> The other, “Bridge of Chains,” “consist[ed] of twenty iron chains, connecting two high mountains in the neighbourhood of King-tung”<sup>42</sup> (Figure 15).



Figure 14. James Heath after Conrad Martin Metz, *The Road of Pillars, in China*, published by Harrison and Co., 1783. Etching and engraving, 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Author's personal collection. Illustration to William Frederick Martyn, *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Co., 1782).



Figure 15. Edmund Scott after Conrad Martin Metz, *Bridge of Chains in China*, published by Harrison and Co., 1782. Etching and engraving, 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Author's personal collection. Illustration to William Frederick Martyn, *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Co., 1782).

These two illustrations focusing on particular bridges in China were delineated by Conrad Martin Metz (1749–1827) and engraved by Edmund Scott (1746–1810) and James Heath (1757–1834). As to the sources of the images, there were no similar plates in Nieuhof's books or other travel accounts. The only possible source with images of the bridges is the illustrations in *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur*, an illustrated history of world architecture first published in Vienna in 1721 by the Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), and translated into English and published in London in 1730 and 1737 under the title *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture, in the Representation of the Most Noted Buildings of Foreign Nations, Both Ancient and Modern*.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that this was the book that was consulted by Metz, a German painter and engraver who worked in London between 1772 and 1801. If so, then Metz did not follow the original plates exactly, but made adjustments to the rocky hills and trees, and introduced human figures in the foreground. By means of such alterations, the views became more aligned with late eighteenth-century depictions of picturesque scenery.

It is the fourth print that presents the most difficulties in terms of tracing possible sources. This "View of Canton in China" (Figure 16), also delineated by Metz, is the first illustration in British geography books to have provided frontal views of the foreign factories in Canton. However, views of the foreign factories in Canton appeared in Chinese export arts in the 1780s, and it is not impossible that Metz derived his "View of Canton" from these examples, although no direct link can be established with extant images. In a later publication, *The Habitable World Described*, compiled and published by Dr. John Trusler (1735–1820) in twenty octavo volumes in London between 1788 and 1797, the foreign factories again appeared in the illustration of Canton, but it was stated in the inscription below the image that it derived "from an Original Picture Painted in China belonging to John Duncan Esq." In contrast to the oblique angle adopted in "The Foreigners Quarter at Canton," Metz's representation of the foreign factories adopted a frontal view, resembling most Chinese export paintings of the same scene.

Whatever his source may have been, the fact that Martyn or the publisher Harrison chose to include the view of Canton in *The Geographical Magazine* is revealing. In the two pages where the cities of China were described, Martyn mentioned Beijing, Nanjing, and Canton. Although Beijing had the longest description, it was Canton that was illustrated, significantly with a view of the foreign factories. This reflects the fact that Canton was the most accessible city to the Britons, whereas images of other Chinese cities were scarcely available to British publishers. It may also suggest the British preoccupation with trade and commerce at the time. It was not until the publication of William Alexander's drawings, done during the Macartney Embassy (1792–95), that the British gained opportunities to view Beijing and other inland Chinese cities and villages.

## CONCLUSION

This article has argued that *Chinese Landscips*, chinoiserie though it is as it participates in the process of pastiche and imitation, is deserving of a fresh look in order to understand its role in communicating to eighteenth-century British viewers what Chinese lands might look like. A desire to have images of distant parts of



Figure 16. James Heath after Conrad Martin Metz, *View of Canton in China*, published by Harrison and Co., 1785. Etching and engraving, 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Author's personal collection. Illustration to William Frederick Martyn, *The Geographical Magazine*, vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Co., 1782).

the world was reflected in the lively market for printed views, as well as in the rise of illustrated travel guides and geography books aimed at the general public. Of course, these prints may have reinforced some stereotypes and even false notions of China. For example, the long-held view of the “triumphal arch” was first corrected only in an engraving after William Alexander’s drawing, with the caption “View of a Pai-Loo, Improperly called a Triumphal Arch,” published to accompany Sir George Staunton’s official report on the Macartney Embassy to China.<sup>44</sup> The “triumphal arch,” the porcelain tower, the pagodas, and the imperial palace were regarded in the 1750s as representative examples of Chinese architecture, as were Chinese gardens so greatly admired by the British and other Europeans. Bridges over rivers or canals were another attraction for British viewers, perhaps because they reflected the British interest in bridges as a part of garden design as well as in construction technology.<sup>45</sup>

The two sets of prints focused on in this article—*Chinese Landscaps* and the illustrations for *The Geographical Magazine*—can thus be considered in the same context, despite differences in the genre of publication: the former used to be regarded as chinoiserie patterns, and the latter geography book illustrations. Published three decades after *Chinese Landscaps*, in the 1780s, illustrations to *The Geographical Magazine* conform to our visual habits now better than Sayer’s prints, which basically followed the seventeenth-century prototypes and accorded with the mode of perspective views prevalent at mid-century. Nevertheless, not only Heckel but also Stothard and Metz never set foot in China, and they all adapted

their views from existing images. What made the difference was the modes of visualization and pictorial representation. With the rise of picturesque travel in the final third of the eighteenth century, the depiction of scenery increasingly favored the ground-level viewpoint, making the pictorial space more approachable to the viewer. This trend in pictorial practice eventually brought about new visual habits that would call for further new images of Chinese landscape in the next century.

When William Alexander returned from accompanying the Macartney Embassy in 1795, he brought back plenty of new images of Chinese lands and people. These were either published and sold individually or were included as illustrations in books of travel accounts. Other traveling artists, such as Thomas and William Daniell and Thomas Allom, also contributed to books or albums specifically consisting of views of Chinese lands issued in the early nineteenth century, until photographic images eventually gained prevalence in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Given that by the early nineteenth century more views of Chinese lands were circulating in the market, it is strange that mid-nineteenth-century geography books contained far fewer illustrations of China than their predecessors. In fact, geography books proliferated in the nineteenth century, some being school textbooks while others aiming at a popular readership. Those without illustrations of China usually contained few illustrations at all. Hugh Murray's *An Encyclopedia of Geography* (1834) is a rare exception. It contains eighty-two maps and "upwards of a thousand other engravings on wood," as emphasized on the title page. Some of the wood engravings of China were obviously derived from Alexander's published drawings.<sup>47</sup> To explain this difference between late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth-century geography books in terms of their use of illustrations would require research that is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>48</sup> For now, it suffices to say that during the eighteenth century, the curiosity or desire to see other parts of the world, in this case Chinese lands, was promoted and to some extent satisfied by printed images, whether original or adapted from earlier images. In these images, the strategies that made them appear authoritative and credible were of utmost importance.

## APPENDIX

There are two extant versions of *Chinese Landskips*. The Yale Center for British Art holds a bound volume (DS711 C55 1752+ Oversize), which contains an incomplete set of nine numbered plates. The first plate has "Chinese Landskips" inscribed above the image, and hence the title of the set. Each of the nine plates has the inscriptions "Heckel Delin." and "J. Couse Sculp." below the image. Another version is the volume held at the Getty Research Institute Library (Accession Number 2016.PR.37), which contains twelve numbered plates. Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, 東洋文庫) in Tokyo also owns a set of twelve numbered plates matching those in the Getty, but individually mounted on board. The names Heckel and Couse do not appear in all of the twelve plates. Instead, "J. June sculp." is inscribed on plates 3 and 5, and "J. Caldwell sculp." on plates 6 and 12. It is possible that the Yale Center's volume was published prior to the one held at the Getty.

Indeed, the exact publication date of each plate is uncertain. The Yale Center for British Art gives ca. 1752[?] as the date of its volume. The Getty Research

Institute dates its set ca. 1750–60. As the first plate in the Yale Center's volume carries the address of Robert Sayer as "the Golden Buck," it must have been published before he moved to no. 53 on Fleet Street in 1760.

**CHINESE LANDSKIPS AS LISTED IN DICEY AND MARSHALL'S CATALOG OF 1764<sup>49</sup>**

The Yale Center for British Art's volume contains nine plates corresponding to the following nos. 1–9.

1. A View of *Sinkicien*, in *China*, with the Grand *Pagoda* near it.
2. The Emperor's Summer Palace, near *Kiang*, in *China*, ornamented with artificial Rocks.
3. The Vice Roy's Country-Seat, built over an artificial Cascade, with Pleasure Houses adjoining.
4. A Perspective View of the Imperial City of *Pekin*, with Part of the great Wall and Mountains that divide *Tartary* and *China*.
5. The pleasant River of *Kiang*, in *China*, where Summer Houses on each Side adorn the Rocks.
6. A View of the great City of *Canton*, in *China*.
7. A *Chinese* Triumphal Arch, esteemed the most elegant at *Canton*, in *China*.
8. The Summer-House of a *Mandarin*, with an artificial Causeway over a large Piece of Water.
9. The Manner in which Shops in *China* are distinguished by their Signs.
10. The fine River and pleasant Town of *Josiwoe*, in *China*, with a Rice-Plantation.
11. A Pleasure house on the Water, where Ladies of the Imperial Court in *China* amuse themselves with Fishing.
12. The great and Navigable River of *Sangiwonhab*, in *China*, between prodigious Rocks.

**CHINESE LANDSKIPS AS LISTED IN ROBERT SAYER'S CATALOGS OF 1766, 1774, AND 1775<sup>50</sup>**

The Getty Research Institute holds a bound volume of the following twelve plates; Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, 東洋文庫) in Tokyo has the same twelve plates individually mounted on board.

1. A view of *Sinkicien* in *China*, with the grand *Pagoda* near it.
2. The imperial city of *Pekin*, with a view of the great wall on the mountains, which separate *China* from *Tartary*.
3. The Porcelane Tower at *Nankin*.
4. *Chinese* triumphal arch, esteemed the most elegant at *Canton*.
5. The Emperor's Palace at *Pekin*.
6. The fine River and pleasant Town of *Joesiwoe*, with a Rice Plantation.
7. A Summer Palace near *Kiang*, ornamented with artificial Rocks.

8. A Chinese Street on the side of a Canal, with the manner in which Shops are distinguished.
9. The Country Seat of a provincial Governor built over an artificial Cascade, with Pleasure-houses in the midst of a lake.
10. A Pleasure-house on the water, where Ladies of the Imperial Court amuse themselves with fishing.
11. The Sumer-house of a Mandarin, with an artificial causeway over a large piece of water.
12. The great navigable River of Sangivonhab, which runs between prodigious rocks, with a grand Pagoda at the entrance. Price 1s. 6d. the set.

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#### NOTES

1. See Appendix for an explanation of the two extant versions of *Chinese Landscips*, and for a list of the plates contained therein.

2. Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2014), 191–92.

3. For example, David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010); Kristel Smentek, “Global Circulations, Local Transformations: Objects and Cultural Encounter in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, eds. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding (Los Angeles, California: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 43–57; Kristel Smentek, “Other Antiquities: Ancients, Moderns, and the Challenge of China in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds: Global and Local Geographies of Art*, eds. Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 153–69; Christiane Hertel, *Siting China in Germany: Eighteenth-Century Chinoiserie and Its Modern Legacy* (University Park, PA: Penn State Univ. Press, 2019).

4. John Barrow, *A New Geographical Dictionary. Containing a Full and Accurate Account of the Several Parts of the Known World*, 2 vols. (London: J. Coote, 1759–60), vol. 1: unpaginated.

5. William Frederick Martyn, *The Geographical Magazine; or A New, Copious, Compleat and Universal System of Geography*, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Co., 1782–83), vol. 1: facing page 536.

6. Teresa Ploszajska, “Historiographies of Geography and Empire,” in *Modern Historical Geographies*, eds. Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 132.

7. Johan Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China* (London: John Macock, 1669), 50.

8. Ripa’s name does not appear in *The Emperor of China’s Palace at Peking* nor in his own engravings. For detailed discussion on Ripa’s original prints, see Richard E. Strassberg, “An Intercultural Artist: Matteo Ripa, His Engravings, and Their Transmission to the West,” in *Thirty-Six Views: The Kangxi Emperor’s Mountain Estate in Poetry and Prints: Poems by the Kangxi Emperor with illustrations by Shen Yu and Matteo Ripa* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), 41–72.

9. The entire set of *The Emperor of China’s Palace at Peking* can be viewed online at The Getty Research Institute Digital Collection, ID# 92–B26685, and on the British Library’s website: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-emperor-of-chinas-palace-at-peking>, accessed January 25, 2021. See also Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè, eds., *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2007), 122–23, 206–7.

10. These are recently explored in Stephen H. Whiteman, *Where Dragon Veins Meet: The Kangxi Emperor and His Estate at Rehe* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2020).

11. [John Green], *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of the Most Esteemed Relations, Which Have Been Hitherto Published in Any Language: Comprehending Every Thing Remarkable in Its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America... So as to Form A Compleat System of Modern Geography and History, Exhibiting the Present State of All Nations*, 4 vols. (London: Thomas Astley, 1745–47).
12. The printed account was edited by his brother Hendrick and first published by Jacob van Meurs in Amsterdam in 1665. The English edition first appeared in 1669: Johan Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China* (London: John Macock, 1669; 2nd edition, 1673).
13. Nieuhof's manuscript journal illustrated with drawings is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France; it can be viewed online at Gallica, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/view3if/ga/ark:/12148/btv1b525015659/f7>, accessed March 24, 2023. For detailed studies, see Jing Sun, "The Illusion of Verisimilitude: Johan Nieuhof's Images of China," (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2013).
14. Pillement published his first pattern book of chinoiserie designs in 1755 in London. His designs later appeared in other pattern books, such as *The Ladies Amusement; Or, The Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* (1760; second edition, 1762), published by Robert Sayer.
15. See Sam Smiles, *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain 1770–1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 1–45. For the development of *vedutismo* and city views in particular in the early modern period, see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture* (Manchester and New York: Manchester Univ. Press, 2008).
16. See, for example, Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's town atlas, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1572–1617). In the British context, see Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata; Or, Views of Several of the Queen's Palaces, as also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility & Gentry of Great Britain, Curiously Engraven on 80 Copper-Plates* (London: David Mortier, 1707).
17. See, for example, *From View to Vision: British Watercolours from Sandby to Turner in the Whitworth Art Gallery* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, 1993); Charlotte Klonk, *Science and the Perception of Nature: British Landscape Art in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996); Michael Rosenthal, Christiana Payne, and Scott Wilcox, eds., *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750–1880* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997); John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels, eds., *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009).
18. Alexander's drawings were published to accompany Sir George Staunton's account of the embassy. He later published *The Costume of China. Illustrated in Fourty-Eight Coloured Engravings* (London: William Miller, 1805) and *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Chinese. Illustrated in Fourty-Eight Coloured Engravings* (London: W. Bulmer, 1814). For studies on Alexander's depictions of China, see Susan Sloman, *Image of China: William Alexander* (London: Jupiter Books, 1980); Patrick Conner and Susan Sloman, *William Alexander: An English Artist in Imperial China* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, 1981); Frances Wood, "Closely Observed China: from William Alexander's Sketches to His Published Work," *British Library Journal* 24, no. 1 (1998): 98–121; Stacey Sloboda, "Picturing China: William Alexander and the Visual Language of Chinoiserie," *The British Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (2008): 28–36; Chen Yushu, "The Tension between the Realistic and Imaginary Elements in Alexander's Illustration," *Ming Qing Studies* 2015 (2015): 57–86; Chen Yushu, "William Alexander's Image of Qing China," *Monumenta Serica* 67, no. 2 (2019): 397–440.
19. Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 106–7, 220–21.
20. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing-Books, Histories, Oldballads, Patters, Collections, &c. Printed and Sold by Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall* (London: 1764), 59–60, viewable at <http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/reframe.htm>, accessed January 20, 2021.
21. *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXVI* (London: 1766), 77. The same entry is listed in Sayer's 1774 catalog, *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXXIV* (London: 1774), 94.

22. The entire sets bound in book form can be viewed at Yale Center for British Art Collections Online, <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/orbis:582524>, accessed January 22, 2021. As the titlepage indicates, the set was jointly published by Carington Bowles, John Bowles, and Robert Sayer.

23. Richard E. Strassberg, "War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes," in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, eds. Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2007), 89–96. Strassberg briefly mentions the publication of *The Rice Manufactory in China* by John Bowles in 1760 and regards it as providing "a study in the transformation of artistic style over time and across traditions" (96).

24. Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802*, 75–76, 140–41, 155–68.

25. See, for example, Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Pub., 1996); Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690–1820* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012); Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1989).

26. See, for example, John Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2011); Douglas Fordham, *Aquatint Worlds: Travel, Print, and Empire, 1770–1820* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2019).

27. *Sayer and Bennett's Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints* (London: 1775), 63.

28. See the curator's comments on the British Museum website (museum number 1939,0626.14), [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1939-0626-14](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1939-0626-14), accessed March 29, 2023. Inscriptions (except the title) below the image read: "Cimogli pinx. P. Brooks delin. From the Collection of Mr. Gibbs Architect. / Publish'd according to Act of Parliament / T. Bowles sculp / Printed for R. Sayer Map & Printseller, opposite Fetter Lane End Fleet Street."

29. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From off Copper-Plates, Printed for John Bowles and Son at the Black-Horse in Cornhill, London* (London: 1753), 39.

30. *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXXIV* (London: 1774), 97.

31. Niklas Leverenz, "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects," *Print Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (March 2014): 20–44; Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802*, 140–41; C. J. Kaldenbach, "Perspective Views," *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (June 1985): 87–104; and Erin C. Blake, "Zograscopes, Virtual Reality, and the Mapping of Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century England," in *New Media, 1740–1915*, eds. Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), 1–29.

32. Jocelyn Anderson, "Perspective Views of the East India Company's Forts and Settlements: A Vision of South Asia for the British Public," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 53, no. 3 (Spring 2020): 387–408.

33. Anderson, "Perspective Views of the East India Company's Forts and Settlements," 394.

34. Niklas Leverenz, "Vues d'optique with Chinese Subjects," 23.

35. In his article, Leverenz dates the thirteen French prints around 1770. But the Bibliothèque nationale de France website gives the date "before 1763," since the publisher Nicolas-Dauphin de Beauvais (1687?–1763) died in 1763. <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb458447337>, accessed January 25, 2021.

36. Detailed studies on this topic are still awaited. For a general survey, see, for example, John Edmund Vaughan, *The English Guide Book, c.1780–1870: An Illustrated History* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974).

37. See Paul Stock, *Europe and the British Geographical Imagination, 1760–1830* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2019). Though focusing on the idea of Europe, the book provides a comprehensive survey of geographical books published in the period.

38. See Nancy Finlay, "Thomas Stothard's Illustrations of Thomson's 'Seasons' for the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 42, no. 3 (Spring 1981): 165–77; Sandro Jung, "Thomas Stothard's Illustrations for *The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas, 1779–1826*," *The Library* 12, no. 1 (March 2011): 3–22. For James Harrison, see Richard C. Taylor, "James Har-

rión, *The Novelist's Magazine*, and the Early Canonizing of the English Novel," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 629–43.

39. Shelley M. Bennett, "Some Unpublished Landscapes by Thomas Stothard and Their Influence on John Constable," *Master Drawings* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 273–77.

40. Christopher Kelly, *A New and Complete System of Universal Geography; Or, An Authentic History and Interesting Description of the Whole World, and Its Inhabitants*, 2 vols. (London: Thomas Kelly, 1827–30), vol. 1, facing page 38. When the book was first published in 1814 by Thomas Kelly, it simply reproduced the four illustrations of China in Martyn's *The Geographical Magazine*. The 1827 edition presents new illustrations of the porcelain pagoda and Canton.

41. *The Geographical Magazine*, 1: 535.

42. *The Geographical Magazine*, 1: 536.

43. The entire book can be viewed online at the University of Pittsburgh Digital Collections (Identifier 31735066979935), <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735066979935/viewer#page/1/mode/2up>, accessed March 29, 2023. See Book 3, plates XIV and XV.

44. Sir George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London: George Nicol, 1797), 289. The text contains a short description of the function of Pai-loo. Alexander's *The Costume of China* of 1805 includes another print of "A Pai-Lou, or Triumphal Arch" and one-page of text explaining the function of such monuments.

45. See, for example, John Sweetman, *The Artist and the Bridge 1700–1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

46. See, for example, Thomas and William Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, and William Daniell, 1810); Thomas Allom, *China, Its Scenery, Architecture, Social Habits &c. Illustrated* (London: Fisher Son & Co., 1842), also known as *The Chinese Empire Illustrated: Being a Series of Views from Original Sketches*. Whether or not Allom actually set foot in China is uncertain.

47. James Bryce's *A Cyclopaedia of Geography* (London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin and Company, 1856) also contains six wood engravings of China.

48. Studies focusing on the illustrations in eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century British geography books are still awaited.

49. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing-Books, Histories, Oldballads, Patters, Collections, &c. Printed and Sold by Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall* (London: 1764), 59–60: Twelve Views of *Chinese Cities, Villages, Streets, Triumphal Arches, and Romantick Prospects*; Design'd from the Originals done in *China*, by Mr. Heckel, and neatly engraved by J. Course.

50. Robert Sayer's *New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXVI* (London: 1766), 77 (no. 24); Robert Sayer's *New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXXIV* (London: 1774), 94 (no. 34); Sayer and Bennett's *Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints* (London: 1775), 94 (no. 34): 24. *Chinese Cities, Villages, Streets, triumphal Arches, and romantic Prospects*, designed from the originals done in China, by Mr. Heckel, and neatly engraved by J. Couse.