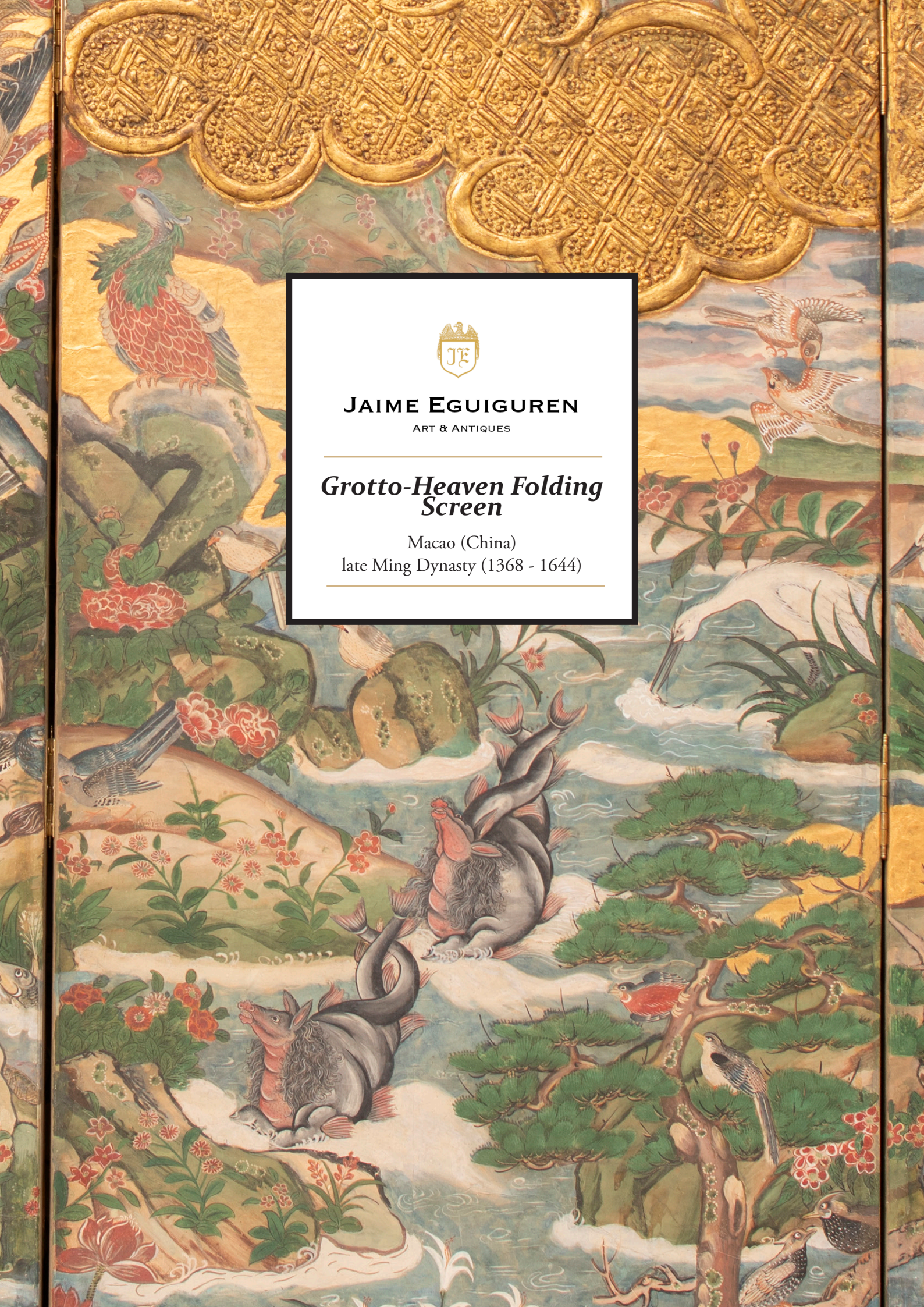


JAIME EGUIGUREN

ART & ANTIQUES

Grotto-Heaven Folding Screen

Macao (China)
late Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644)



Grotto-Heaven Folding Screen

Anonymous artist
Macao (China), late Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644)
Gouage and watercolor on paper, gold leaf and gold embossing
201 × 536 cm; width of each panel 67cm
Provenance: Private collection, Europe

Javier Alberto Eguiguren / José Manuel Eguiguren

I Introduction

On contemplating this beautiful folding screen, an early example of a series created in China after the Portuguese settled in Macao in 1557, which then developed from the late 16th century on and continued in a number of pieces until as late as the early 18th century, one is struck by a series of conclusions resulting from the detailed analysis of its complex iconography. Particularly remarkable is the depiction of an idyllic landscape, squeezed in between the slopes of two mountains, along with the portrayal of a grotto with a bridge on the lower slopes of the lefthand mountain, the Sun accompanied by the Crescent Moon at the top of one of the panels, alongside the presence of mythological figures, pairs of animals and rich and colourful flora.

For this brief introductory analysis of the work's unusual iconography, we have made reference to the insightful essay by Franciscus Verellen, *The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heaven (Dongtian 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology,* from which we have taken the liberty of selecting a number of paragraphs that are relevant here, and which provide a brief explanation of the context of this masterpiece, where in Taoist Tradition the Grotto-Heaven is represented as a metaphor for the Cosmos, and as a depiction of the interiorisation of a ritualistic and initiatory space. In these *"places of refuge, initiation and transcendental passage, the paradisiacal microcosms are found inside sacred mountains. The word dong, literally 'cave', or* 'torrent'*, also has the meaning 'to penetrate'*, 'communicate' and 'discern'*."* The process by which this symbolism took form developed from the 4th to the 10th century, and gave rise to a wealth of artistic iconography that evolved over more than 1,500 years. In its initial cycle, Taoist Tradition located and accounted for 36 grottoes (subsequently divided into two groups of 26 and 10 respectively) throughout China, as a material basis for these supernatural spiritual concepts. Interested readers may refer to this outstanding study in its entirely at the link referenced below, including the quotes we have included here.[1]

> Verellen goes on to specify: *"The mountain, source of water and fertility, 'gives birth to the myriad beings.' Mountain and water, symbolizing tranquillity and movement, are of the essence in Chinese landscape painting. An out-flowing stream is a frequent iconographic feature in the depiction of grottoes, showing the mountain's interior as a source of life, of renewal, and as a place of passage — the stream providing the link of communication. In Tang poetry its flowing water was longingly scrutinized for messages from the beyond. Sometimes the stream is seen issuing from its hidden source in the mountain's cavernous interior, then flowing under an inviting bridge, while human figures approach the source of the water: suggestions, perhaps, that the world apart of the grotto is not unbridgeably separate from the world of human habitation and human concerns…"*[2]

1 Verellen, Franciscus. "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (Dongtian 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology". In: *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie*, vol. 8, 1995. Mémorial Anna Seidel. *Religions traditionnelles d'Asie orientale*. Tome I. pp. 265-290. https://doi.org/10.3406/asie.1995.1096 https://www.persee.fr/doc/asie_0766-1177_1995_num_8_1_1096

2 Ibid., p. 267.

"The word dong 洞 , literally cavern or torrent, also has the meaning 'to penetrate', both physically and intellectually; it is often used interchangeably with its near-homophone tong 通 meaning to penetrate or communicate: the grotto is a place of transcendental passage, of revelation, and interconnected with other supernatural realms. In Taoist usage, dong is also a repository for sacred scripture, a meaning that is again relevant, as we shall see, to the concept of the grotto as a place of revelation. Finally, the word means empty, undifferentiated, and formless, pointing to its Taoist cosmogonic significance. The translation 'crypt' would evoke its hidden nature and primitive association with burial and resurrection. However, the characteristic aspect of a dong is that of the 'grotesque' stalactite cave represented in the detail from 'Outing to Zhanggong Cave' below (after p. 289). The term dongtian 洞天 , then, denotes a Taoist grotto conceived as heaven or paradise, and an abode of supernatural beings. As Michel Soymié remarked in his essay on Mount Luofu 羅浮山 (cf. no. VII in Appendix, a), the grotto-heaven is the quintessence of the mountain. If the ascent to the summit of the mountain is regarded as a religious act, a spiritual journey requiring purification and esoteric knowledge, then the descent into the grotto-heaven represents that journey's culminating stage of initiation."[3]

The foundation of these visualizations or idealized iconographies corresponds to the development of a Taoist spiritual path: *"The grotto-heavens clearly constituted a form of interiorized 'counter-universe', to be contemplated by the methods of visualization. Meditation and visualization techniques were at the heart of the scriptural movement and mystical practices of Maoshan."* [The Life of Lord Mao (Maojun zhuan 茅君傳), a text that emerged from the Shangqing 上清 revelations at Maoshan during the years 364-370 CE]. *"The parallel notion of a correlated microcosm inside the body developed within the same context. In short, the visualization of the grotto-heavens forms part of the same general movement towards interiorization that characterized Shangqing meditation from the outset, and in time produced such mental disciplines as 'inner alchemy' (neidan 內 丹), in which the body became a spiritual reaction-vessel, and 'inner contemplation' (neiguan 內觀), a regime of systematic introspection of the practitioner's own body and mind*."[4]

Fruit of the varying Taoist masters' visualizations, and once in the sphere of artistic expression, these could take the form of landscapes replete with symbolism: *"On another level, this can more generally be described as an object of landscape representation in Chinese religious aesthetics. The creation of a microcosm within the confines of an artificial landscape or even a container featuring rocks and dwarfed trees has been exhaustively analyzed by Rolf Stein. The connection with meditation and visualization is made explicit in the early eighteenth century painting by Yuan Jiang 袁江 entitled 'The Gazing Garden', believed to show a private Manchu garden in Nanjing, complete with representations of mountains and grottoes. The viewer allows his gaze to wander through and explore these iconic landscapes, not unlike the popular visualization images depicting the Western Paradise. Jade miniature mountains served a similar purpose..."*[5]

3 Ibid., pp. 271-272.

4 Ibid., pp. 276-277.

5 Ibid., p. 282.

II Composition and Analysis

The folding screen is made up of eight polychrome panels mounted on wooden stretchers. The entire ensemble is enhanced by gilt sections of two variations, one in relief and the other flat. We should bear in mind that any reading of the design should be carried out from right to left, as opposed to in the Western world, and our numbering of the panels takes this into account (moving from right to left).

Of particular note in the upper section is a broad border made up of gilded relief plaster plaques. This ornamental feature is seen to emerge from vases, out of which flowers are hanging down, with linking strapwork in broken "s" forms, in a Mannerist fashion, opening up towards the sides and joining together at the top in grotesque faces surrounded by floral volutes. The faces present ornamentation made up of little stylised scrolls, topped by a foliated crown. In the central section of each vase, curved little rods are seen to emerge, developing into sequins that spread out towards the sides. The entire background is peppered with little dots and egg-shaped sequins. Inside the strapwork featured on the lower edge we find triangular designs. (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Folding Screen (Ornamental gilded plaque detail) China, late Ming Dynasty. Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The rest of the gilt clouds may be divided into two types: the first feature relief, like the ones around the border, with globular outlines and broad flat edges. Inside, we find a network of four-sided figures, each with a central four-petalled flower, and interlinking flowers with various round or rhomboidal motifs. These clouds are aligned horizontally, except at the lefthand edge, where the cloud is also seen to descend vertically, stretching out a horizontal arm. In the middle of the composition, we find an independent cloud occupying a prime position. At the bottom edge we see the same design, although here it is visible to a lesser extent.

The second type of gilt cloud presents a plain design, without decoration, and are seen to float or rest on rocks or on the water (whose surface they occasionally break), while others seem to melt into the rocks. The combination of the two models, and the contrast between them, lends a sense of depth (where the ornamental clouds mark the foreground, while the plain ones suggest varying heights and depths throughout the scene).

On the fourth panel from the right we observe the resplendent figure of a golden shining Sun, whose pinkish rays are seen to emanate in a downward direction, suggesting the dawn. On either side there are undulating white shapes, and to the left our eye is drawn to the depiction of a Crecent Moon located on the left of the panel, which will be analysed using infra. Finally, the upper sections of all the panels feature a sort of pink or white haze, representing the haze that gradually lifts at break of day.

The entire panorama before us is a water-rich landscape, with lakes and streams, interspersed with rocky islands that fit in harmoniously, flanked by mountains. tucked in between mountains and interspersed by hillsides and rocky islands in perfect harmony with the design, along with mountains that shrink in size towards the background of the landscape. The perspective draws the eye initially to the foreground, towards the lower edge, with the focus on animals and rich vegetation; this ensemble fades in perspective as we move towards the upper section, where the flora and fauna are smaller and less clearly defined.

In his poetic work *Empty and Full*, François Cheng [*Chéng Bàoyī* 程 抱 一 (Nanchang, China, 1929)] provides the keys to interpreting the perspective chosen by the Chinese artist when depicting this landscape. The author explains the three traditional modes of perspective in Ancient China:

> *"Later on, [Chinese] tradition distinguished three 'distances' that pertain to perspective:*
> *1. Shen-yuan (deep distance): This is by far the one most employed. The spectator is supposed to be on a height with a plunging and panoramic view of the countryside. (The most typical examples are the works of Tung Yuan).*
> *2. Kao-yuan (elevated distance): This perspective is ordinarily used in a vertical plane. The onlooker, located on a relatively low level, looks up towards the heights. The horizon dominating the picture is consequently not very elevated. The onlooker's gaze follows the gradation of the heights, represented by different superimposed mountain ranges, each range constituting a horizon in itself.*
> *3. P'ing-yuan (flat distance): From a nearby distance, the onlooker's gaze extends to infinity with complete freedom."*[6]

When we compare these three perspectives, we see that the design of this painting corresponds to the first type, *Shen-yuan*, or deep distance, as the different elements are depicted from on high. To this we should add one device that lends a certain complexity to the ensemble; the horizontal gilt relief clouds "frame" and alternately separate the varying scenes, which acquire great protagonism and lead the onlooker to pay specific attention to each of these framings.

The lower middle section of the sixth panel, meanwhile, features the "entrance" or "doorway" into this mythological valley, consisting of a grotto or cave of considerable size.

This grotto, held up by stalactites among which water is flowing, and which also acts as a bridge (where we see a group of deer running) is part of a major expanse that extends over a large outcrop of the mountain itself to the left, and culminates extensively in the middle of the whole scene (now partially obscured by gilt clouds), while also branching and stretching out towards the right. This element is important, as it provides the key to interpreting this idyllic landscape that opens up between the two mountainsides suggested to the far left and right. As such, in accordance with Taoist Tradition, these elements point to a portal (the grotto) to a paradise and blessed lands representing the realm of immortality. In other words, this entrance or doorway would give access to the mythological Grotto-Heavens, or Dongtian 洞天 , inhabited by the Taoist Immortals. As explained, in those abodes the Sun and Moon could shine together, and the land was replete with vegetation, both real and fantastical animals, rivers and rocks (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Folding Screen (grotto detail) China, late Ming Dynasty. Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

6 François Cheng: *Empty and Full. The Language of Chinese Painting*. Trad. Michael H. Kohn. Shambhala, Boston and London, 1994, pp. 93-95. Original title: Vide et plein. Le langage pictural chinois. Éditions du Seuil, 1979, 1991.

A very early example of an iconography of the heavenly kingdom, in which we can observe the Sun on the right and the Crescent Moon on the left, appears in the upper section of the funeral banner used to cover Lady Dai *(Xin Zhui 辛追)* who died in 163 BCE, discovered in 1972 and analysed by Dr. Jennifer N. McIntire, with the assistance of Dr. Wu Hung. The mid-section depicts Lady Dai and those attending her, below which is the body of Lady Dai with mourners and at the bottom the Underworld. The importance of this banner is that it is one of the earliest naturalist representations (not abstract forms) in ancient Chinese art. Furthermore, it is the oldest known portrait in Chinese art. "*On the left, a toad standing on a crescent moon flanks the dragon/human deity. On the right, we see what may be a three-legged crow within a pink sun. The moon and the sun are emblematic of a supernatural realm above the human world. Dragons and other immortal beings populate the sky.*"[7] (Fig. 3).

> *"Compared with the mountains of immortals that lie beyond the seas, famous mountains and so-called 'grotto heavens and blessed lands' offered Daoists and other mortals an even more approachable realm of the sacred. Grotto heavens were thought to be luminous sites with natural lighting that served as the residence of spirits and deities, even being channels of communication. The fictional chance discovery of the Peach Blossom Land, for example, tells how a mortal went through a grotto to reach a utopian realm of immortality.*"[8]



Fig. 3 Funeral banner of Lady Dai (Xin Zhui)
2nd century B.C.E., Silk, 205 x 92 x 47.7 cm
Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, China

In the light of these explanations, one can understand the subtle symbolism of the iconography of the fourth panel. On the right, we observe the resplendent figure of a golden Sun, whose pinkish rays are seen to emanate in a downward direction, probably suggesting the dawn. To the left corner the artist clearly depicted a dark Crescent Moon with a soft glow to the right, itself engulfed in the dark of night. These two figures complement each other as symbols of Yin-Yang (*yīnyáng* 阴阳), which in Chinese cosmology represent (respectively, and among their various attributes) the feminine principle of Yin (darkness, night and Moon), and the masculine Yang (sky, light and Sun). Between the two heavenly bodies, the artist also included undulating white shapes, which bear no resemblance to the clouds that feature on the other panels, and which might refer to the phases of the Moon or be an artistic device separating the darkness of night from the light of day. On comparing the archaic iconography of the *Funeral banner of Lady Dai*, we find the depictions

7 Dr. Jennifer N. McIntire, with the assistance of Dr. Wu Hung. Essay: "Funeral banner of Lady Dai (Xin Zhui)", Khan Academy, https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ap-art-history/south-east-se-asia/china-art/a/funeral-banner-of-lady-dai-xin-zhui

8 National Palace Museum of Taipei: "Where to Paradise: Picturing Mountains of Immortality in Chinese Art" Exhibition. 1 July – 25 September 2018 https://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh107/WheretoParadise/en/page-3.html#main

of Sun and Moon are very close, and in the "biombo" the artist took particular care to include a dark circle that would perfectly complete the form of the Moon at its newest phase.

Summarizing, as can be seen, the Sun is located on the right - towards the East, the direction of the dawn and the day - and the Moon on the left towards the West, the Sunset and the night. All ancient Chinese iconography, when it represents both stars together, does so in this way. Chinese tradition in its calendar gave great importance to the New Moon festival, omnipresent in poetry and literature for its meaning of regeneration. In this iconography, the Moon is immersed in the deep darkness of the night - it is the darkest section of this scene - and the slight clarity of its edge appears, announcing the first moments of the Crescent Moon (Fig. 4)



Fig. 4 Folding Screen (Sun and crescent moon detail). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The folding screen presents a range of rocky formations throughout the landscape, making up little islands. On the left and right, hillsides made up of rocks that disappear towards the edges. We can also discern old formations of rocks that have been eroded by wind and water, some of which present major orifices, and several of which possess circular perimeters and are leaning back onto the landscape. Throughout Chinese tradition, rocks have had a completely different meaning to the one they have in the West; they possess the same strength and natural energy as is also symbolised by the abodes of Taoist Immortals. Although, due to their strength, rocks are classified as Yang, stones that have been naturally eroded over the centuries are highly valued as authentic works of art. These rocks are known as *gōngshí* 供石 ; scholar's rocks or viewing stones 中國供石文 , on account of the fact that they are much-appreciated by learned academics and as works of art for contemplation (Fig. 5).

On analysing the ensemble overall, one can observe that the landscape is squeezed in between two hillsides or gullies that are cut off at both sides, creating the image of a broad valley tucked in between mountains, and which opens up before the viewer. The "entrance" or "doorway" to this mythological valley is accessed via the grotto or cave we can see in the middle of the lower half of the sixth panel (from the right).

As we can observe, on the right-hand side there is a major opening (without gilt decoration) that matches the hillside, and on the left there is a smaller opening towards the bottom. The main hypothesis is that the artist wanted to express the circulation of Feng Shui (wind-water; 風 水), the belief in the circulation of energies in ancient Chinese cosmology. The openings represent harmonious movement and the favourable circulation of these energies in this idyllic landscape, and the right-hand side thereby becomes a broad entrance through which the flow of Qi 氣 . energy can enter and expand without hindrance.



Fig. 5 Nine figures of rocks, Shi Haijiu. Picture Scroll, painted on stone and sea, silk, color, W 237.5cm, H 28.3cm. Qing Dinasty. The Palace Museum, Beijing, R.N New 001944171

Fauna

The fauna depicted on the folding screen is extremely rich and diverse. Firstly, it is worth highlighting three mythological animals: two examples of the Fenghuang bird 鳳 凰 , erroneously associated in the West with the phoenix (panels 2 and 3), a pair of Carp converted into Long 龍 (panel 2), also incorrectly associated in the West, this time with the Dragon. Both mythological figures possess different attributes from their Western counterparts. Finally, we find a pair of hooved Qilin 麒麟 beasts (panel 3).

With regard to panel 2's pair of Carp (liyu, 鯉魚) (*Cyprinus rubrofuscus*), converted into Long, this original iconography represents the process of transformation of the Carp, a fish already considered auspicious in Chinese tradition, into Long, referring to an extensive legend in China known as "The Carp jumping over the Long's [read Dragon's] Gate". The Yellow River gorge, near Hejin city in Shanxi province, contains a jump called Longmen 登龍門 (Jump of the Long, or "Dragon") at the top of a waterfall, which is almost impossible for a fish to clear. Given the extreme difficulty of this feat, the symbolism for Chinese mythology is that any Carp that could make the jump would be transformed into a Long, standing for the attainment of any challenging goal by immense exertion; this could equate to passing a difficult exam to further your career in the Imperial civil service and move up the social ladder. This beautiful and moving depiction of the pair of Carp recently transformed into young Long, who leap merrily over the surface of the water, is extremely unusual. The symbolism of the Long is associated with power and good luck and with Yang strength (Figs. 6 and 7).



Fig. 6 Jade belt buckle with "Long" design, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Shanghai Museum, China,



Fig. 7 Folding Screen (pair of carp recently transformed into young Long). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

With regard to the Fenghuang, here we find two such mythological birds displaying all their beauty. The symbolism of the Fenghuang is an extensive one; it is considered an auspicious bird, standing for peace and prosperity, and linked to the empress, whereas the Long (known in the West as the Chinese Dragon) symbolised the emperor. Due to its noble bearing, it is considered the king of the birds. It stands for love and husbands, harmony, wind and fire and the essence of Yang. The Fenghuang's five colours represent the five virtues of kindliness, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and faith (Figs. 8 and 9).

Seen in panel 3, the *Qilin*, meanwhile, is a mythological creature (*Kirin* in Japanese) combining the male *Qi* and the female *Lin*. It is described as *"a mystical creature in Chinese mythology, representing a mix of various animals. It symbolizes good luck, prosperity, and serenity, and is revered as one of the four*



Fig. 8 Woven roundel with two Fenghuang design China, Ming Dinasty, late 16th cent -mid 17th cent. Silk and gilt thread tapestry weave, Diam. 14 1/8 in, Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig. 9 Folding Screen (Fenghuang couple). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

sacred animals in Chinese culture, along with the dragon, phoenix, and tortoise."[9] Its iconography varied from one dynasty to the next, and the regions where it was depicted, with references to fire, which in our case may be observed in a stylised flame emerging over both bodies. This iconography is extremely original for its type, though it bears close similarities with the Long described earlier. Pairs of Qilin express a sense of balance and unity (Fig. 10 and 11).



Fig. 10 Range Badge with Qilin, China, Kangxi Period, 1662-1722, Plain silk weave with silk and, gilt thread embroidery in couching, 14 3/4 x 13 3/4 in (37.5 x 34.9 cm), Philadelphia Museum of Art, PHL180413



Fig. 11 Folding Screen (Qilin couple). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

9 https://weirdtales.me/2024/01/04/kirin-qilin-%E9%BA%92%E9%BA%9F-auspicious-beast-in-chinese-mythology/

Of the numerous animals featured in the folding screen, the following are the most prominent ones we have been able to classify with a certain degree of confidence:

The Elephant; Xiang 象 (Asian Elephant, *Elephas maximus*). The seventh panel presents a pair of elephants with their cub. The Chinese elephant (*Elephas maximus rubridens*) lived in the centre and south of the country, and probably died out in about 1400, though in south-western areas the Indian elephant *(Elephas maximus indicus)* survived. They were used for military purposes, with records surviving of their involvement in the Ming-Mong Mao war between 1366 and 1388.[10] In Chinese Tradition, the elephant symbolises wisdom, power and strength. They also had a ceremonial use, symbolising royalty, authority and the power of the emperor (Fig. 12).

The Turtle; Wūguī 烏龜 (*Order Testudines*). In the lower right-hand section of the third panel, we observe the figure of a turtle, considered sacred in Chinese Tradition. It is one of the four auspicious animals that ruled the north. In Taoism, its shell (which was used for oracles) represented the heavens and its underbelly the earth. Linked to energy and the earth's ancestral wisdom, these animals were thought of as protectors, while also being creators of stability and longevity (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12 Folding Screen (elephants). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques



Fig. 13 Folding Screen (Turtle). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The Lion; Shizi 獅. Although the lion (*Panthera leo*, Asian subspecies *P. l. leo*) was not native to China, its symbolic presence was important there throughout history. Saying that, records also mention certain lions being offered as tribute by central Asian states to the Han Dynasty. Subsequently, with the spread of Buddhism, and their association as an attribute of Buddha, they gained recognition in China. Due to their strength and majesty, they represent power and good luck, and were depicted in stone sculptures as the guardians of temples, palaces and numerous other buildings. As they lacked direct knowledge of these mighty beasts, the depictions executed by Ancient Chinese artists were rarely entirely accurate.

In panel 3 we observe two lions playing with three other felines whose identification is unclear (one with white spots, another with plain fur and another boasting a tail with black stripes). Panel 8 includes another pair of felines with mottled fur, the male with a striped back and tail, and the female

10 Peers, Chris J. (2006). *Soldiers of the Dragon: Chinese Armies 1500 BC - AD 1840.* Osprey Publishing, Westminster, MD, USA, 2006, p. 122.

with lighter colouring. Opposite them, in panel 7, we find a seated feline with dark brown fur. Finally, towards the top of panel 5, we find a similar figure with a striped back and tail, below which four felines are portrayed running, with similar characteristics. Some of these figures may refer to the Himalayan wolf, Cáng láng 藏狼 (*Canis lupus chanco*) or to the leopard, Bào 豹 (*Panthera pardus*). (Fig. 14)

Deer; Lù kē 鹿 (Family Cervidae). China possesses a wide range of deer, with 34 different species currently existing. Their main attribute is as a symbol of immortality, along with longevity and wealth. Their antlers were included in some old tombs to protect the deceased and ward off evil spirits. (Fig. 15)



Fig. 14 Folding Screen (Lion couple playing wit three felines). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques



Fig. 15 Folding Screen (deer couple). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The Goat, Shān yáng 山羊 (*Capra hircus*). On panel 7 we observe a group of goats grazing peacefully. The goat is included in the Chinese Zodiac, with attributes such as sweetness, creativity, intelligence and calm (Fig. 16).

The Small Indian Civet; Xiǎo yìndù guǒzi lí 小印度果子狸 (*Viverricula indica*), featured on panels 1 and (probably) 8. Among the animal's main attributes: "the *Chinese traditionally believed that civets had the ability to ward off evil spirits and bring good luck. Hence, they were often kept as pets in households, where they were treated with great care and respect […] In some parts of China, civets are also associated with the god of wealth and prosperity […] and are also associated with the concept of yin and yang. They are believed to possess both feminine and masculine characteristics, making them powerful symbols of balance and harmony.*"[11] (Fig. 17).



Fig. 16 Folding Screen (heard of goats). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

11 https://fastercapital.com/content/Civet-Mythology--Legends-and-Folklore-Surrounding-These-Creatures.html#Civets-in-Chinese-Mythology



Fig. 17 Folding Screen (Small Indian civet couple). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques



Fig. 18 Folding Screen (A pair of collared dogs chase a group of rabbits). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The Dog; Gǒu 犬 (*Canis lupus familiaris*). Recent research into the domestication of the dog pinpoints its origins to Eastern Siberia some 23,000 years ago, subsequently spreading to China and other areas. As a result of this ongoing cohabitation, by which the animal became mankind's companion, canine mythology in Ancient China is extremely extensive, with the dog occupying the 11th place in the Zodiac. Its main attributes are that it was considered to be the link joining the world of the living with the invisible world of the dead. They were also thought to have transformative powers, or qualitieslinked to the divine. Valued and cherished for their loyalty and as a protective force at the heart of the family, jade amulets were carved of them, along with stone sculptures at the entrances to both humble homes and palaces.[12] In panel 5, a pair of collared dogs chase a group of rabbits (Fig. 18).

The Snake; Shé 蛇 (*Suborder Serpentes*). On panel 7 we can observe a particularly unusual iconography; two snakes standing upright, the one on the left curled around a tree. The snake's extensive symbolism occupies a prominent position in Chinese mythology: they worshipped its totemic figures, the hybrid creatures Fuxi 伏 羲 and Nüwa 女 媧 , with their human heads and serpent bodies, as the creators of humanity. They symbolised the great power of nature, with positive attributes including introspection, intuition and refinement. Their form was associated with the calendar, poetry and literature. They were also considered one of the five harmful creatures, and in the Dragon Boat Festival (*Duānwǔ Jié* 端午節) they are one of the five creatures that are chased away (Figs. 19 and 20).



Fig. 19 Fuxi and Nüwa 伏羲女媧 Tang dynasty, mid-8th century, L220cm W 106cm, Hanging scroll - Colour on silk. Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Museum, China

12 https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1327/dogs-in-ancient-china/

The list of birds in China is an extremely long one, including 1,431 species, many of which are featured on the folding screen, in varying sizes but always in pairs. Particularly prominent are various birds pictured fishing. There are two species we can easily recognise:
The Red-crowned Crane; Dāndǐng hè 丹頂鶴 (*Grus japonensis*). In Chinese Tradition, cranes symbolise longevity (due to their long lives and white feathers) and immortality, and are considered the second most important birds after the Fenghuang. They are also linked to the careers of high-ranking Imperial civil servant officials. In Taoist symbolism, Lao Tse rode a crane having attained immortality. We observe two beautiful examples of this bird on panels 7 and 8 (Fig. 21).



Fig. 20 Folding Screen (Couple of snakes). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques



Fig. 21 Folding Screen (Couple of Red-crowned Crane). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The Indian Peafowl, Kǒngquè 孔雀 (*Pavo cristatus*). On panel 7 of the folding screen we find a pair of peafowl (male and female), a bird originating from the Indian subcontinent, and adopted in China on account of its beauty and sense of royalty: *"In Chinese mythology, the beautiful colors and 'eyes' on the peacock's tail represented fame and good luck, as they enhanced one's protection and awareness. While representing different meanings to different cultures, the peacock, with its unique beauty, makes it a handy symbol for power, strength, confidence, and even divinity, something with which most monarchs throughout history have wanted to be associated."* [13] (Fig. 22).
Fish, (yu 魚). *"The fish was a many-faceted symbol in Chinese art and society. Associated with wealth due to the similarity between the word for 'fish' and that for 'affluence' or 'abundance', the fish was not only a general symbol of success but was also used to signify the entry rank for court officials. During the Tang dynasty (618-906 AD), many officials of this fifth rank would display fish ornaments in order to highlight their position. In addition to their relation to abundance in the form of wealth, the fish was also sometimes intended as a subtle fertility symbol, as it can be used to imply an abundance of children."* [14] Fish (yu 魚) sounds like abundance (yu 餘), thereby linking fish to health and prosperity. As can be clearly seen, the folding screen features a large number of fish, as well as varying birds intent on catching them (Fig. 23).

13 Phoenix Art Museum, "The Symbolism of Peacocks". July 7, 2021. https://phxart.org/blog/the-symbolism-of-peacocks/
14 https://www.ancient-art.co.uk/animal-symbolism-in-chinese-art/



Fig. 22 Folding Screen (Couple of Indian Peafowl). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques



Fig. 23 Folding Screen (Fish and Birds). Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

Flora

One of the folding screen's most remarkable aspects is the attention devoted by the artist to depicting flora throughout the scene. The landscape is interspersed with conifers and ornamental trees and bushes, fruit trees, palm trees, pastures and varying plants on the water banks. Great care has been taken with areas featuring moss, many of which are linked to rocks, so eminently present in the iconography of Ancient China. The foreground of the lower section is of particular note due to the beauty of the multicoloured flowers depicted.

Panel 1 includes a peach tree, which originates from China; Táo shù 桃樹 (Prunus persica), and to the side, as well as on other panels, the most famous tree in China in terms of beauty, the Huangshan pine 黄 山 松 (Pinus hwangshanensis), which Chinese Tradition imbued with a noble personality on account of its resistant character, growing out of rocks, defying wind and snow, and due to its beautiful form. Under the pair of pheasants we see a beautiful peony plant Sháoyào shǔ 芍 藥 屬 (Genus Paeonia), considered the king of the flowers in China. Another tree that was much-appreciated in terms of the beauty of its blossom was the Chinese plum [méi 梅 (Prunus mume)], featured in full bloom in panels 1, 3 and 4 (Fig. 24).



Fig. 24 Quietly Listening to Wind in the Pines 南宋馬麟《靜聽松風圖》,Ma Lin (c. 1180 – 1246), ca. 1246, ink and color on silk, H. 226.6 W. 110.3 cm. National Palace, Taipei

III Historical considerations and symbolism

When contemplating the entire scene depicted on the folding screen, one can appreciate two elements of contrasting nature. The first thing that catches the eye are the golden clouds heightening

the beauty of the ensemble, inherited from Japanese models that reached China, in both of their variations, either in plain traditional design or fused with ornamental elements from 16th and 17th-century European Mannerism executed in Chinese workshops from the final years of the Ming Dynasty on. To these gilt elements we should add the white clouds towards the edges of the landscape, which on occasion seem to melt into it, as noted earlier.

In order to understand the symbolism of the clouds, one needs to bear in mind, in Ancient Chinese Tradition, the cosmological concept of transformation, and the interrelation represented by the two complementary aspects of Yin and Yang. These concepts, which form part of the I Ching (*Yì Jīng,* 易), in its function as a book of wisdom, and beyond its role as a book of prophecies, is attributed to the mythological hero Fu Xi (Fúxī 伏 羲) who established its combinations and interpretations, representing them in hexagrams[15]. The prestige of this treatise was such that both Taoism and Confucianism used it as a major shared source. The fundamental premise is the notion of change, or transformation. When referring to the ongoing process of becoming, Confucius (*Kǒngfuzǐ* 孔 夫 子) commented: *"The Master standing by a stream, said, 'It passes on just like this, not ceasing day or night!'"* [16] This perpetual process of becoming is founded on the fathomless nature of the Tao, as described by Lao Tzu in the first verses of the *Tao Te Ching*:

The Tao (Way) that can be told of is not the eternal Tao;
The name that can be named is not the eternal name.
The Nameless is the origin of Heaven and Earth;
The Named is the mother of all things.
Therefore, let there always be non-being so we may see their subtlety,
And let there always be being so we may see their outcome.
The two are the same,
But after they are produced, they have different names.
They both may be called deep and profound (*hsüan*).
Deeper and more profound,
The door of all subtleties![17]

The Nameless or empty Tao is beyond all positive determination. François Cheng provides the key to understanding the symbolism of clouds in Taoist painting:

"In the Chinese perspective, emptiness is not, as one might suppose, something vague or inexistant. It is dynamic and active. Linked with the idea of vital breaths and with the principle of the alteration of yin and yang, it is the preeminent site of transformation, the place where fullness can attain its whole measure."

"[…] It is, however, in painting that emptiness is manifested in the most visible and complete way. In certain pictures of the Sung [960-1279] *and Yüan* [1277-1367] *periods, we observe that emptiness (the unpainted area) may occupy as much as two-thirds of the canvas. Confronted by pictures like this, even an innocent onlooker vaguely feels that emptiness is a presence that is not inert, a presence that is pervaded by breaths that connect the visible world to an invisible one. Even within the visible world (the painted area), emptiness, represented by clouds, circulates between* ***mountains*** *and* ***waters****, which constitute its two poles. The cloud, born from the condensation of water but also taking on the forms of the mountain, is an intermediary form*

15 *I Ching. The Book of Changes*. Numerous English editions.

16 Confucious, *The Analects*, 論語 , chap. 9: "The Analects Attributed to Confucius [Kongfuzi], 551-479 BCE by Lao-Tse [Lao Zi]", translated by James Legge (1815-1897), 1901. https://china.usc.edu/confucius-analects-9

17 WING-TSIT CHAN: *A source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 139.

between the two apparently antinomic poles, drawing the two ***mountain*** ⇄ ***water*** *into a process of reciprocal becoming."* Cheng concludes by analysing this dynamic connection between the components of nature: *"Because of the disruption of the linear perspective by emptiness within the pictorial realm, we once again note this relationship of reciprocal becoming between humans and nature within the picture, on the one hand, and between the onlooker and picture as a whole, on the other."*[18]

The author goes on to provide more explanation about the symbolism of the relationship between mountain and water: *"In Chinese the expression mountain-water means, by extension, the landscape. And so landscape painting is called 'mountain and water painting.' Mountain-water is a synecdoche, in which a representative part stands for the whole. Mountain and water constitute, in the eyes of the Chinese, the two poles of nature, and they are charged with rich meaning."* Chinese tradition seeks the interiorisation and communion of the exterior world in the very being of man's self: "*In this context, to paint mountain and water is to paint the portrait of man, not so much his physical portrait (although this aspect is not absent) but more that of his mind and spirit: his rhythm, his gait and bearing, his torments, his contradictions, his fears, his peaceful or exuberant joy, his secret desires, his dream of the infinite, and so forth. Mountain and water should not be taken for mere terms of comparison or pure metaphors; they embody the fundamental laws of the macrocosmic universe, which has organic links with the microcosm that is man."* Cheng concludes this profound analysis by commenting: *"Just like yang, which contains yin, and yin, which contains yang, mountain, which is characterized by yang, is virtually water, and water, characterized by yin, is virtually mountain."*[19]

As one can infer, even though the scene of our idealised landscape has evolved in design, and despite the incorporation of outside elements into its composition, the profound symbolism of the Chinese pictorial tradition lived on in its entirety until the end of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1811).

It is thus that at the core of this work of art is the symbolic depiction of Nature, with its subtleties and interrelations, and the intuition of the supernatural world: the onlooker is faced with a Taoist paradisiacal landscape, rich in Chinese aesthetic. A broad valley hemmed in by the slopes of two suggested mountains, serving as a discreet portal that opens and also delimits the scene of an idealised watery landscape, insofar as it represents a supernatural paradise.

In the history of mankind, there has never been any civilisation that has expressed, through art, a link to nature of such magnitude as in China, right from its prehistoric origins. The resulting Chinese art, in its varying expressions, is consistent with the integration of the three great traditions and their cosmovision: Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism: *"mountains were also imbued since ancient times with sacred power as manifestations of nature's vital energy (qi). They not only attracted the rain clouds that watered the farmer's crops, they also concealed medicinal herbs, magical fruits, and alchemical minerals that held the promise of longevity. Mountains pierced by caves and grottoes were viewed as gateways to other realms—'cave heavens' (dongtian) leading to Daoist paradises where aging is arrested and inhabitants live in harmony."*[20]

In Taoism, water is of great importance; in the *Tao Te Ching* Lao Tzu described it as a symbol of the Tao, from which all beings are derived, writing: "*The Tao is, in the world, what the streams and valleys are to the great rivers and the sea*"; and "*The great Tao is the river that flows both to the left and to the right. The ten thousand seek refuge in it, and It does not hold back*".[21] (Fig. 25)

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18 Cheng, op cit. pp. 36-38

19 Ibid, pp. 84-85.

20 Department of Asian Art. "Nature in Chinese Culture." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cnat/hd_cnat.htm (October 2004)

21 ELORDUY, Carmelo: Dos Grandes Maestros del Taoísmo. *Lao Tse. Chuang Tzu* (translator and editor). Editorial



Fig. 25 A Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains (Section), *Wang Ximeng* 王希孟 (1096-1119), Northern Song Dinasty Ink on silk. Palace Museum, Beijing

When one contemplates or admires the balanced conception of the different motifs present in this folding screen, the result of which is truly masterful, one can only wonder why the images in its elaboration are so loose, so merely suggestive of form, and why they do not display more detailed finishing, given it is evident that the anonymous artist had more than enough skill to do so. The answer to this may be found in the philosophy of the Chinese pictorial tradition itself, in which images were indeed suggested. The Tang Dynasty artist and art historian Chang Yen-Yuan (China, ca. 815 – ca. 877) analysed these criteria in his treatise (*Lidai Minghuaji)*:

> *"In painting, one should avoid worrying about accomplishing a work that is too diligent and too finished in the depiction of forms and the notation of colors or one that makes too great a display of one's technique, thus depriving it of mystery and aura. That is why one should not fear the incomplete, but quite to the contrary, one should deplore that which is too complete. From the moment one knows that a thing is complete, what need is there to complete it? For the incomplete does not necessarily mean the unfulfilled. Indeed, the defect of the unfulfilled is precisely the failure to recognize a thing as complete enough. When one paints a waterfall (or a spring), the brushstrokes should be interrupted without the breath's being interrupted; the forms should be discontinuous without the spirit being so. Such is the case with the divine dragon in the midst of clouds: Its head and tail do not seem to be connected, but its being is animated by a single breath."*[22]

Confucius' thoughts on the symbolism of, and relationship between, mountain and water are well known:

"The wise enjoy the waters,
The benevolent enjoy the mountains,
The wise are active,
The benevolent are placid,
The wise are happy,
The benevolent live long."[23]

As a final reflection on this extraordinary Taoist "*aid to meditation*" we would quote the insightful conclusion Franciscus Verellen provides at the close of his essay: *"What distinguishes the contemplative* (Taoist) *sage from profane humanity, in the end, is that the inner-directed vision of the former allows him to discover the essential nature or 'true form' of the world he inhabits, while the latter troop in and out of paradise oblivious that, in the midst of their everyday surroundings and preoccupations, they had been momentarily poised on the threshold of the beyond."* [24]

Nacional, Madrid, 1983, chaps 32 and 34, p. 122. English translation ours.

22 As quoted in: François Cheng, op. cit: p.76.

23 Confucius: *The Lun Yü of the Four Books*. By Imperial Command of C'hing Emperor K'an Hsi, Chapter 6, Verse 6. https://confucius.org/lunyu/lange06.htm

24 Verellen, Franciscus, *Op. cit.*, pp 286

II A Brief Historical Survey

With the start of the Modern Age, from the late 15th century or early 16th century on, and as a consequence of the discovery of new lands, mankind's vision of the world underwent a significant shift; East and West came together thanks to new navigation routes, thereby giving rise to the earliest form of globalisation. The Fall of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire in 1453 led to the closing of the complex Asian trade routes for sumptuous and exotic goods, popularly known as the Silk Road. Portugal was the first to take the initiative, establishing a number of enclaves along the African coast. In 1488, Bartolomeu Días (Portugal, ca. 1450 – the Cape of Good Hope, 1500) finally discovered the Cape of Good Hope, providing access to the Indian Ocean, one of the greatest milestones in the history of exploration.

Ten years later, while circumnavigating Africa and passing the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama (Portugal, 1469 – India, 1524) finally succeeded in opening up a new trade route, reaching India in 1498, thereby linking Europe and Asia via the so-called *Nao de Macao* or *Vía Orientalis*, a lengthy and perilous route to the Far East. A few years later, Portugal reached China: Canton in 1511; Hong Kong in 1513, and the port of Macao (Aomen 澳門) in 1553, where they would go on to sign an agreement with China to settle in the port in 1557. In 1543 the Portuguese also reached Japan, where they established trade links that lasted until their expulsion in 1638.

Meanwhile, some decades after the 1521 conquest of Mexico, the Spanish Crown funded the expedition of Miguel López de Legazpi (Zumárraga, 1502 – Manila, 1572), which reached the Philippines in 1565. One section of the party returned to Mexico that same year, in what was known as the "Tornaviaje" (return journey), completing the Pacific route between Asia and the Americas. Thanks to the *Nao de Manila* (Manila Galleon), Spain obtained its own route to the Far East from the Novohispanic Pacific. Manila became a trading city-port between East and West, with trade links established with China, Japan, Indochina, Arabia, Persia and India. The old silk road was no longer indispensable for those wishing to access Oriental markets.

The Manila Galleon trade route set out from Acapulco, loaded with gold and silver coins and pure silver bullion, and returned with an exquisite cargo of sought-after spices, such as cinnamon and nutmeg, cloves and pepper, spices that served to keep food from going off as well as heightening its flavour. This route also provided New Spain and Europe with a range of sumptuous items produced in Asia, which were generically known as "Chinese" goods, intended for the Hispano-American and European social elites.

These discoveries would have an impact on almost every aspect of the lives of European and Hispano-American society, with the possibilities for the exchange of goods increasing between the two continents, with a resultant influence on the field of art.[25] The birth of intercontinental trade due to the Nao de Manila route meant that the Far East came to exert an influence on varying branches of applied arts in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. These recently-discovered routes would open up a new chapter in the world of decorative arts, and, among the countless luxury items, one that arrived was the painted folding screen, known in Spanish as a "biombo", which became enormously successful in both Europe and the Americas.

The birth of the *Píngfēng* in China

Screen panels known as *píngfēng* 屏風 (screen-wind) featuring a single panel or section originated in China during the Zhou Dynasty (771-226 BCE) and subsequently, in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE

25 Ruiz Gutiérrez, Ana. "Influencias artísticas en las Artes Decorativas Novohispanas. Cruces de miradas, relaciones e intercambios". CEIAP (*Colección Española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico*), no. 3. Zaragoza 2010, pp. 333-345.

– 220 CE), folding screens started being made, a design that would endure through the centuries, and which in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE) would become extremely widespread in the Chinese civilisation. They were originally made of lacquered or painted wood, though over time a new design of paper or polychromed silk folding screens emerged.

One masterpiece from the history of folding screens is the reconstructed piece discovered in the tomb of King Zhao Mo, from the Western Han Dynasty, who ruled from 137-122 BCE. What we have here is a marvellous six-panel folding screen, decorated with black and red lacquer, and featuring a design of stylised volutes depicting clouds finished off with copper fixings, all gilded, and accompanied with mythical Long 龍 ("Dragon") and Fenghuang 鳳凰 ("Phoenix") figures, among other ornamental motifs (Fig. 26).



Fig. 26 Gilt copper frame and lacquered wood Píngfēng folding screen(Reconstruction), Western Han Dinasty, Museum of the Nanyue King Zhao Mo (ruled 137-122 BCE), Guanzghou, China

The originality and functionality of these Píngfēng folding screens meant they were exported to other regions of Asia, first to Korea in the late 6th and early 7th centuries, where they were known as *byeongpung* 병풍 , and from there to the earliest recorded example from Japan, dating to 686 CE, where such screens increased in popularity over the following century. Towards the south, they expanded into Vietnam (*bình phong* 屏 風) and into south-east Asia. The Japanese name for these screens was *Byōbu* 屏風 , meaning "wind wall", and this term would subsequently give rise to the word *biombo* in the Portuguese and Spanish worlds.

As such, the word "biombo" comes from the Portuguese, which is itself derived from the Japanese byóbu 屏風 , from *byo* "protection" and *bu* "wind", which combine to mean barrier against the wind. These screens fulfilled a wide range of ceremonial, symbolic, practical and decorative functions in Japanese culture from the 8th century on. Their versions drew closely on Chinese and Korean models from the Japanese Asuka and Nara periods (6th-8th centuries), a time when Japan incorporated cultural elements from China which it then adapted to its own system. One particular aspect of Japanese screens was the introduction, in the 14th century, of gold leaf (and to a lesser extent silver leaf), which lent them

a unique artistic quality and an extremely sophisticated aesthetic. These screens were offered as gifts of the State, to governors, diplomats and other major figures. The inclusion of gilt clouds would be a constant in Japanese "biombos" over the centuries[26] (Fig. 27).



Fig. 27 Scene of the Genpei War (1180-1185), Left folding-screen with six leaves (one of a pair), Kanō Motonobu, (1476-1569), Japan, Muromachi Age (1336-1573), Color on paper and gold leaf, H : 61.6cm L. 153cm, Akama-jingu Sanctuary Collection, Japan

In the West, the popularity of these screens was initially limited to Mediterranean Europe and the Americas. However, 1609 saw the start of trade relations between the Netherlands and Japan, a link that would become exclusive following the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1637 and the establishing of a port in Japan for the sole use of trading with the Dutch from 1639 until 1858, when Japan signed trade treaties with the US, England, Russian and France. The Dutch made their first trade contacts with China in 1601 and 1603, and as early as 1658 smooth trade links had been established between the Dutch East Indies Company and the Japanese market. England, meanwhile, was able to establish trade relations with China by 1684. All of these trade links led to an increase in the popularity of Chinese screens of varying designs in Europe, though by the late 17th century the European market had shown its preference for lacquered ones.

In the mid-16th century, the Portuguese finally managed to establish a base for their operations in the little enclave of Macao (governed by Canton) in order to be able to trade with southern China, India, Japan, the Philippines and south-east Asia. It quickly became a major hub for both official and unofficial trade development, with Portuguese and Chinese merchants flocking to the port to trade their export products destined for Europe. Portugal obtained a lease agreement for Macao (or Macau, in the Portuguese spelling) in exchange for accepting Peking's conditions in 1557, and that very year they established a small-scale walled settlement. In turn, Chinese producers set themselves up in the neighbouring regions of Canton, establishing local manufacturing centres, or bringing diverse artistic projects and luxury goods from other regions of China for exportation to the West (Figs. 28 and 29).

26 See the article written by Sachi Matsumoto: "Stunning gold leaf folding screens go on show in Hakone", in *The Asahi Shimbun*. Asia & Japan Watch section, July 29, 2019. https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/13060973





Figs. 28 & 29 A description of the sea coasts ... in the East Indies (Maps of Cantoon and Maccao), William Hacke, 1690.Library of the Congress, Wahington, G2201.P5 H3 1690

A few years earlier, in 1543, the Portuguese galleon the *Nau do Trato* had successfully landed on the Japanese island of Tanegashima, where the locals gave them the nickname *namban-jin* ("barbarians from the south"). This led to the creation of so-called Namban art during the Momoyama period (1568-1600), including lacquered works, pottery, paintings, pieces featuring mother-of-pearl and the renowned "biombo" screens. Namban screens are among the earliest works of art depicting the Portuguese and their boats arriving on the coasts of Japan. This event would prove extremely important to the history of the "biombo" as a piece of furniture and work of art. Namban art was created by skilled Japanese artists, fruit of the symbiosis of the two cultures, and production would span the rest of the 16th century lasting until 1637 (the year of the Portuguese expulsion), reflecting the earliest trade contacts in the burgeoning process of the westernisation of Asia.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the explorer, writer and merchant Francesco Carletti (Florence, 1573-1636), who was the first private traveller to circumnavigate the globe (between 1594 and 1602) left some brief notes with reference to Macao, and an extremely interesting description of Nagasaki in his travel chronicle. In her essay on Carletti's chronicle, Elisabetta Colla notes: "Carletti spoke a*bout 'Nagasaki, which was populated wholly by Japanese Christians and had a very few houses of Portuguese merchants, who were remaining there under the rule of that King' […] The houses were very clean and decorated […] and the walls were decorated by pictures that the Japanese call 'biobus', the wind wall, or 'byobu': folding screen […] with the sight of various paintings of different birds and flowers and animals and other fantasies all gallantly colored in fresco and all decorated with gold […] a beautiful fashion that still endures in Japanese houses."*[27]

Asian screens were one of the most representative artistic and decorative elements brought on board the Manila Galleons; they constituted a new decorative artform introduced into 17th and 18th-century society, which gave rise to a typically Novohispanic style that was popular in Europe and elsewhere.[28] One of the first Westerners to leave a written record referring to the "biombo" was the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Luís Fróis (1532-1597), who devoted himself to preaching the Gospels in

27 Colla, Elisabetta. "16th Century Japan and Macau described by Francesco Carletti (1573?-1636)". *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies*. 2008;17( ): 113-144. Consulted 25 July 2023. ISSN: 0874-8438. Available at: https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=36122836005

28 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. "Nueva España a través de sus biombos. Orbis Incognitus. Avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo." *Archivo Español del Arte*, LXXXVIII, 350, April-June 2015, pp. 173-188 ISSN: 0004-0428, ISSN: 1988-8511doi: 10.3989/aearte.2015.11

Japan for 34 years. He arrived in Japan in 1563, and in 1585 published his *Treatise on the Contradictions and Differences in Customs between the Europeans and the Japanese*, a study of great anthropological value. In his chronicle, he writes: *"Our houses are decorated with tapestries and embossed leather and fabrics from Flanders; Japanese houses are decorated with paper screens, either gilded or decorated in black ink."*[29]

During this period, Asian art enjoyed an immediate success in European courts and in the Hispano-American viceroyalties, and these products were quickly commercialised by the two Nao routes, that of Macao and that of Manila, with both playing a fundamental role in the trade of Asian artworks. Going back to the Fróis chronicles, when referring to the commerce of these Japanese pieces, he commented that "*some [biombos] have already been sent to Portugal and to Rome, and each year many are sent to India*."[30]

The 1549 arrival in Kagoshima (Japan) of the missionary Francisco Xavier (Navarre, 1506 – China, 1552) led to an acceleration in the Christian evangelisation of the natives, which was partly aided by the paintings, print engravings and devotional items he had brought from Europe. Christianity soon spread widely through the entire country, and by the start of the 17th century there were approximately 320,000 converted Christians.[31] The Jesuit missionaries got involved in trade between Japan and Macao almost from the outset, and their involvement continued even after the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) issued an edict in 1614 officially banning Christianity, and the subsequent breakdown in diplomatic and commercial relations with the Iberian monarchs in 1638, followed by England in 1639. The aim of these provisions was to eliminate foreign political and religious influence in Japan, and the Society of Jesus' seminaries and colleges were closed down. Japan thereby became practically isolated from the Western world until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. As a result of this anti-Christian edict, the religious orders that had settled in Japan, along with the Japanese students who had converted, in addition to the artisans, painters and merchants who were in some way dependant on the missions and outside trade, sought exile mainly in Macao, and to a lesser degree in the Philippines. Jesuits such as Giovani Niccolo, Thadeu, Manceu and others carried on their religious and artistic work in Chinese Macao. 150 Jesuits were banished from Japan, of which 73 moved to Macao and 23 to Manila, with the remaining 54 hiding out in Japanese territories.[32]

These were the circumstances that gave rise to an amalgam of knowledge reflected in the art of the Far East, and which was produced for its exportation to the West, bringing together converted Japanese artists who had fled their homeland and were working in China or the Philippines, Western missionary artists who were continuing in their endeavours in Macao, and the Chinese artists themselves, who would go on to create art in the Western fashion. This artistic fusion between China and the West, with the additional Japanese influence, produced an art that was unique in the world. The migration of certain artists from the Jesuit college in Nagasaki to Macao could explain the points of convergence between the screen we are studying here and Japanese ornamentation.[33]

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29 Fróis, Luís. *Tratado sobre las Contradicciones y Diferencias en las Costumbres entre los Europeos y Japoneses* (1585). Archivos de la Frontera. Colección: Archivos Pacífico, Clásicos mínimos, Grandes. Centro Europeo para la Difusión de las Ciencias Sociales (CEDCS), 2020. p.63. English translation ours.

30 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. "El comercio de biombos en el Pacífico (1582-1785)". In: Montoya Ramírez, María Isabel; Sorroche Cuerva, Miguel Ángel (eds.*). Espacios de tránsito. Procesos culturales entre el Atlántico y el Pacífico*. Granada: Editorial Universitaria, 2014, pp. 155-170 [http://hdl.handle.net/10481/35105]. English translation ours.

31 Canepa, Teresa. "Namban Lacquer for the Portuguese and Spanish Missionaries". *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies*, vol. 18-19, June-December, 2009, pp. 253-290 Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Lisbon, Portugal. p. 255.

32 Curvelo, Alexandra. "Vencer no Pincel a Zeuxis e a Apeles Na Ásia. A Producao e Consumo de Pintura nas Missoes do Japao e da China no século XVII." *Viagens, Produtos e Consumos Artísticos o Espacos. O Espaco Ultramarino Portugues, 1450-1900*. Edição CHAM — Centro Humanidades Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas / Universidade NOVA de Lisboa Universidade dos Açores, p. 59

33 Figueira, Francisca. Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação Lisbon. Meredith, Philip. Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Rocha, Ana Clara Rocha. Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação. Lisbon, Portugal. "A Sino-Portuguese Byôbu:

Portuguese merchants tended to stop at the port of Cavite (Manila) to sell products manufactured in Macao, Canton, India and Nagasaki, as the profits were better selling them in Manila than in Lisbon. The Hispano-American market for lavish and luxury items was extremely important, and demand high, though not everything ended up in the Americas; large cargos also set sail for Seville as part of the complex trade network of the period (Fig. 30)



Fig. 30 Imperi Sinarum. Nova Descriptio, Atlas Maior Sive Cosmographia Baviana, Joan Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1655, and colored engraving, 23.5 x 18 in. Barry Lawrence Ruderman Collection

Europe was quick to appreciate these Japanese screens thanks to the various diplomatic and commercial expeditions Japan organised in the late 16th century. The first of these was the diplomatic mission of Tenshô (1582-1591), which was arranged by the Society of Jesus' Visitor to Asia, Alessandro Valignano (Naples, 1539 – Macao, 1606), accompanied by four young Japanese Catholic converts and a number of Jesuits, who visited Lisbon, Madrid and Rome between 1582 and 1590. The delegation reached Europe by the Portuguese route (Nagasaki - Macao - Goa - Lisbon), and their goal was to raise awareness of the European missionary works in Japan. The gifts that were presented to Philip II included two sets of partially-lacquered Portuguese armour that are still preserved in the Spanish Heritage armoury to this day, a lacquer-decorated wash-bowl, a set of boxes for carrying foodstuffs on top of each other, and other sumptuous items.[34] The ambassadors also gave Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII two pairs of cartographic "biombos" that had been commissioned for them by Valignano.[35]

Of the list of items brought by the delegation, some of which were probably intended to be sold, there is mention of: «*Thirty crates of fine gold screens, each crate with two screens*».[36] As can be appreciated, that was an exorbitant number of folding screens waiting to be sold; this being the case, 60 screens would have been an impressive artistic ensemble. Nothing is currently known about their destination or the subjects depicted on them; we can only hope that future research may shed light on these matters.

Like any artform that becomes socially fashionable, whether in Europe or the Americas, these Asian pieces were linked to a certain search for luxury and cachet, which led both 17th and 18th-century European aristocracy and Novohispanic elites to start to purchase luxury Oriental items to decorate their homes. These were transported by the Macao and Manila Galleons, and subsequently by Dutch, English and French ships when they joined the market for Oriental goods with the opening up of certain Chinese ports.[37] In New Spain, viceroys, Crown officials and members of the Novohispanic elite became major clients for works of art, and these "biombos" were at the top of the buyers' shopping lists, either to decorate their homes or to be taken back to Spain or, on occasion, to be sold on.

Its conservation and contextualization." https://www.patrimoniocultural.gov.pt/static/data/conservacao_e_restauro_ljf/publicacoes2/2011_a_sino_japanese_portuguese_byobu.pdf 2010

34 Ordóñez Goded, Cristina. "De lacas y charoles en España: siglos XVI-XIX". Doctoral thesis presented by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Faculty of Geography and History of Art II (Modern). Madrid 2016, p. 192.

35 Ocaña Ruiz, Sonia Irene. "Conexiones transoceánicas: Nueva España y la expansión del gusto por los biombos". Res Mobilis, Revista internacional de investigación en mobiliario y objetos decorativos Vol. 10, no. 13, 2021, p.106

36 Baena, A., "Nueva España a través de sus biombos", en NAVARRO, F. [ed.], *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos.del Nuevo Mundo,* Universidad de Huelva and the Asociación. Española de Americanistas, Huelva, 2007, p. 447

37 Ruiz Gutiérrez, Ana. "Influencias artísticas en las artes decorativas novohispánicas". Universidad de Granada. *Cruce de miradas, relaciones e intercambios*. Zaragoza, 2020, pp. 333-344.

Notes on the origins of the "*biombo*"

When addressing the origins of the Mexican "biombo", which derived from the Japanese and Chinese models, Gustavo Curiel came up with a couple of phrases that perfectly sum up one of the issues when studying this folding screen. The problem as he put it, boils down to *"the Great Chinese continuum" or "the problem of multiple points of origin",* with which he aimed to help readers visualise the difficulty of establishing the origin of high-quality functional items imported into New Spain from different parts of the Asian continent.[38] Following his argument, and in accordance with documentary research, during the 17th century Chinese artisans in Macao made paper screens, often by commission. But decorative tastes gradually evolved, and by the end of the century the European and Novohispanic clientele was calling for lacquered wood models. It is as such that the 1697 lacquer import records of the British East India Company provide precise indications regarding the "biombos" that should be brought, rejecting those of any other materials, such as silk or paper: *"We would request the Chinese factory to provide: No.1. Of this model […] 20 sets of folding screens, 12 leaves per set, 8, 9 and 10 feet tall but 20 to 24 inches wide: black and golden, with landscapes and engraved figures on a golden background… Do not bring screens with silk panels, but only those that are entirely lacquered".* The same document refers to 2,800 lacquer panels used in Europe to make furniture or to decorate the walls of palaces.[39]

One of the early descriptions referring to "biombos" was that of the English merchant and chronicler Peter Mundy, who visited Macao in 1637, and who wrote about the use the wealthy locals made of these folding screens when he was invited to a banquet in a house that was sumptuously decorated with porcelain, furniture, paintings, "biombos" and other decorative Asian items: "*Beeombos to what use. Beeombos are certaine skreenes of 8 or 9 Foote Deepe, made into sundry leaves which principally serve to Divide a roome or to sequester some part therof, as allsoe for Ornament, placing them against the walles. They make a Most Delightsome shew, beeing painted with variety off curious lively colleurs intermingled with gold, containing stories, beasts, birds, Fishes, Forrests, Flowers, Fruites, etts. They are commonly in 2 pairts [sic], each part containing 8 leaves or plaites, some of them worth 100 Ryall of eightt the paire, some More, some lesse*" (sic.)[40]

Previous to that, there is information provided by Baena Zapatero, recording that: "*in 1636 the Conde de Linhares, Governor of India, with the goal of reestablishing the relations between Goa and Macao that had been interrupted by Dutch hostilities in the region, authorised the English galleon London to travel to Macao with a cargo of copper and pieces of iron artillery. On the way back, some private merchants took advantage of the ship's freight space to load goods on board for Goa. Those items selected included: "Hum caixão de biombos de muitos generos, o caxão de biombos mais pequenos, o caxão pequeno do mesmo genero", thereby proving that the "biombo" was an extremely highly-valued product, and would often be included in imports to said city."*[41]

38 Curiel, Gustavo. "Perception of the Other and the Language of 'Chinese Mimicry' in the Decorative Arts of New Spain. Asia & Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850", in *Papers from the 2006 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum,* p. 25

39 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. *La ruta portuguesa de los biombos (S. XVII-XVIII)*, p.77.

40 Curvelo, Alexandra. "Biombos chineses em colecções portuguesas". Quotes: "In The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667, vol. III: "Travels in England, India, China, Etc. 1634–1638", Part I: "Travels in England, Western India, Achin, Macao, and the Canton River, 1634–1637", p. 255. https://novaresearch.unl.pt/files/27963627/5BIOMB_1.PDF

41 Baena Zapatero, A: La ruta portuguesa de los biombos (s. XVI-XVIII), en Portugese Studies Review, vol. 22, Nº 2, 2014 (Rel 2016). Cita a: "Fragmento feito pello veedor da fazenda geral e o capitam da nao a traz nomeado das couzas que elle trouxe da China para esta cidade pela maneira abaxo", en Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Documentos remetidos da India, Libro 44, fol. 426v.

The Portuguese Jesuits in Macao also recorded the exportation of these items to Europe, joining the local merchants by participating in the lucrative trade of artworks. In 1642, the Jesuit Álvaro Semedo (Portugal, 1585 – Canton, 1658), Procurator of the Chinese mission in 1636, mentions how the Chinese artists, when painting animals and plants, adapted to Western tastes, and that when doing so "*they do so perfectly*", also referring to "*their folding screens and other adornments that reach Europe.*"[42] This gives us yet another clue as to the origin of these "biombos" executed in China.

This taste for Oriental art led to a purchasing frenzy among Europeans, seeking both to decorate their homes and also to sell the objects on later. At the start of the 17th century, the Governor of the Philippines, Juan de Silva (1609-1616), sent his servant Pedro Angulo to Macao "*with the mission of buying various luxury Asian items, including folding screens*".[43]

Macao and the series of Chinese "biombos"

To conclude this study, we have selected a sequential series of "biombos" of Chinese origin, enabling us to appreciate the evolution in their design and ornamentation, including the one we are examining here. Firstly, the New York Metropolitan Museum collection boasts a Ming Dynasty eight-panel folding screen that bears close similarities with our piece, and is very probably an earlier example, with an iconography presenting a refined, Taoist-influenced landscape. The right-hand edge suggests a rocky hillside that extends into a plain that seems to indicate florid woodlands in the foreground. Towards the centre the eye is drawn to two beautiful Fenghuang dominating the scene. The left-hand section presents a more emphatic hillside bordering the entrance to the valley tucked in below it, which leads on to a mountainous background featuring a gushing waterfall and a lake in which a pair of ducks are seen swimming. Above this part of the scene we observe the Sun, shining among the clouds. Towards the left, a pair of Cranes lend an asymmetrical balance to the composition (Fig. 31).



Fig. 31 Landscape with two couples of Fenghuang and cranes, Eight-panel Folding Screen, China, Ming Dynasty, Colors and gold on silk, 2 1/2 in. × 16 ft. 8 1/2 in. 184.2 x 509.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A.N. 62.98.1

42 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. La ruta portuguesa de los biombos (S. XVII-XVIII), p.66. Quotes: Álvaro Semedo, S.J. *Imperio de la China i cultura evangelica en él, por los religiosos de la compañia de iesvs* (Madrid: impreso por Juan Sánchez, 1642), p. 10.

43 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. *Un ejemplo de mundialización: El movimiento de biombos desde el Pacífico hasta el Atlántico* (s. XVII-XVIII), p. 36. Quotes: Gil, Juan: "La India y el Lejano Oriente en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro", Seville, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2011: AGI, Filipinas 20, 11, 70, quoted in Gil, 2011, pp. 325-326.

Below we have included a reproduction of our folding screen, which we have already analysed in detail, so that the stylistic similarities between the two may be immediately appreciated. It is, however, possible that the New York example is earlier than the one being presented in this study. (Fig. 32)



Fig. 32 Folding Screen. Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques

The next "biombo" belongs to the Art Institute of Chicago collection, and it also bears a number of similarities with the folding screen we are analysing here. The Chicago work features a mountainous landscape with Costumbrista scenes involving Portuguese figures and European architecture. The painting is framed by perimeter borders that are gilded in Mannerist-style relief, combined with flat golden clouds and one in relief at the centre, lending the entire ornamental ensemble a certain variety. Prominent on the fourth panel are a pair of Fenghuang, while the numerous animals depicted (the central group on the seventh panel from the right is of particular note), along with the florid vegetation, are of a markedly Chinese design (Fig. 33).



Fig. 33 Folding Screen (Biombo), China, Sino-Portuguese, Probably Macao, 17th century, Wood, canvas, paper, polychrome colors, and gilding, ach panel: 193.7 × 59.7 × 1.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago

The next folding screen, which has four panels, came onto the European art market in 2022. Although it presents very similar iconographical characteristics to the preceding one, with hunting scenes and European figures, the approach to the landscape has evolved substantially with regard to the Chicago "biombo", and there are no mythological figures, although there is still a certain continuity in the gilt relief sections and flat surfaces (Fig. 34).



Fig. 34 Folding Screen, China, Macao, 2nd half 17th century, Color on leather and gilded embossed leather, H. 190 × W. 256cm. Courtesy of Koller Auctions, Switzerland.

One extraordinary example from the Macao School of Chinese folding screens is *The Flood*, which depicts the preparations for, and events that occurred during, the Great or Universal Flood, with four representations of the Ark. The scene is framed by gilt clouds in relief (with one small one on the fourth panel from the left, and now without any flat gilt clouds). Among all the dramatism of this detailed scene, two pairs of Chinese mythological figures are particularly prominent: in the upper section of the fourth panel (from the left) the artist painted two beautiful Fenghuang, one in flight and the other perched on the ark's cargo winch or capstan. At the bottom of the third panel (again, from the left), a pair of Qilin are pictured playing amongst themselves. Both depictions match the iconography of the "biombo" we are presenting here, and bear witness to the iconographic continuity between the two. There is, however, one striking departure, which is that the compositional sequence has abandoned the traditional Chinese direction, which moves from right to left, now adopting the Western system (l-r) (Fig. 35).



Fig. 35 Six-panel folding screen. The Great Flood, Anonymous artist, China, Macao, last third of the 17th century, Ink and tempera on paper. Shell paste and glue in relief with gold leaf. Cotton fabric stamped Karakami on reverse. 216 x 372cm. Museo Soumaya. Fundación Carlos Slim, Mexico

Alberto Baena Zapatero is quite right in stating that the "biombo" either came out of a Macao workshop or one of the workshops located in other Chinese cities, probably in the Canton region, which specialised in exportation merchandise.[44] He bases his opinion partly on the inventories of goods and assets of "varying cities in the Americas and Europe", arguing that "these folding screens would be no exception, given that trade and commissioning relations between Macao, the Philippines and New Spain were common. An example of this is the grille from the choir of the Cathedral of Mexico, which was cast in this Portuguese centre by a Chinese artisan".[45]

As a final example, the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga collection in Lisbon has a folding screen (one of a pair) that depicts the Restoration War that took place between Spain and Portugal from 1640 to 1668. The panels present a series of military confrontations between the two nations, culminating in the recognition of Portugal's independence from the Spanish crown. María Helena Mendes Pinto dates its execution to Macao, ca. 1701-1706, on the grounds that the figure of an adolescent in the penultimate scene bears the inscription "*Príncipe João*", and given the prince would be crowned João V following the death of his father Dom Pedro II in 1706.[46] Mendes' contribution constitutes a real breakthrough, as it is fundamental to formulating the sequence of the design of these "biombos". We can clearly see the

44 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. "La ruta portuguesa de los biombos (S. XVII-XVIII)". *Portuguese Studies*. Volume 22. No. 2. 2014 Chief Editor: Ivana Elbl. p.74

45 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. "Un ejemplo de mundialización: El movimiento de biombos desde el Pacífico hasta el Atlántico (s. XVII-XVIII)". *Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 69*, 1, January-June, pp. 31-62, Seville (Spain), 2012. ISSN: 0210-5810. DOI: 10.3989/aeamer.2012.1.01. p. 36

46 Mendes Pinto, María Elena. *Um biombo histórico encomendado em Macau*. In *IV Encontro de Museus de Países e Comunidades de Língua Portuguesa*, eds. I.S. Godinho and N.C. Guedes, 145–151.1996 Lisboa: ICOM Portugal, pp. 145-151.

evolution and departure from the old Chinese aesthetic patterns, both in terms of how the landscape is rendered (with certain throw-backs in the mountains and clouds), the human figures and, particularly, in the development of the gilt relief framing, which points to late-Mannerist ornamentation in the cartouches and rolled scrolls. In any case, the compositions of this invaluable pair of screens present all the flavour of Sino-Portuguese "biombos", whose main centre of production was Macao. We should bear very much in mind that the execution of this piece, given its political nature, could only have taken place in an Asian workshop linked to Portugal, such as existed in Macao and its area of influence (Fig. 36).



Fig. 36 Biombo (detail, one of a pair), Restoration Ward 1640-1668, China, Macao, ca 1701-1706, Colour on paper, mixed technique, gold and embossed gold. H: 198cm L: 520cm. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

Final comments

This folding screen shows its considerable Oriental influences in the gilt relief decorative borders and clouds, reminiscent of brocade, which were executed using gold leaf in geometric ornamental motifs, typical of the Japanese "biombo". This gilt decoration is similar to what we find in other folding screens, with geometrical motifs based on the traditional Japanese *hanabishi* ("rhomboid flower").[47]

47 Baena Zapatero, Alberto. Jiménez García, Jesús. "Un biombo de Ovidio. Estudio material, iconográfico y cultural.", ORCID Alberto Baena Zapatero: 0000-0003-4432-259X. ORCID Jesús Ángel Jiménez García: 0000-0003-2653-2948 DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.30827/quiroga.v0i21.0012. P.168

Fundamental to the composition of our "biombo" are the large-scale gilt embossed clouds that share the same ornamentation as the decorative borders, along with the flat, plain clouds. Terumi Toyama provides us with further information regarding the origin of these gilt clouds: *"Rakuchū rakugai zu is a genre of Japanese screen painting in the early days of Kyoto dating back to the late Heian period (794-1185) which translates to 'views in and around the city of Kyoto'".* During this early period, the author explains, *"Gold was often used to form clouds in the paintings, making them sparkle and giving the painting the impression of being real and alive."*[48] (Fig. 36)



Fig. 36 Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D (ca. 1620's) close-up of Hōkō-ji

As can be seen in the examples chosen, neither Chinese nor Japanese painting had experienced the chiaroscuro technique until it was introduced by European painting, at which point they started to introduce an interplay of lights and shadows in their pictorial works. In addition, perspective in Oriental works was isometric as opposed to the focal perspective of Western painting, with its vanishing points.

The Asian origin of the "biombo" and its development left a mark on the decorative arts, in both the East and West, as a result of the globalisation of world trade brought on by the era of great expeditions. These works of art are of enormous historical and artistic value, to which in some cases we should add their extreme rarity, making them major pieces in the history of art. It is true that in past decades questions arose regarding the origin of some of the works from this series, but new, more accurate and accessible research has meant that many of these issues have now been resolved.

There is no doubt that the folding screen we are presenting in this study is a unique piece of great complexity and beauty, with a profound symbolism the roots of which go far back into Chinese Taoist Tradition, meaning its analysis is both rich and complex. We can only hope that future studies will incorporate new elements and conclusions to shed further light on the interpretation of this original masterpiece.

48 Toyama, Terumi (2017). "The significance of copying: Replication of Kyoto's Sacred Spaces in Early seventeenth century Edo". PhD thesis. SOAS University of London. http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/. 26170, p. 47.

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