Chapter Three

Shanghai (1909-1937): art and national studies

Shanghai

In the early years of the twentieth century, Huang Binhong, like many of his contemporaries, was drawn to Shanghai, the new economic, financial and cultural capital of China. Shanghai was the product of nineteenth-century colonial history and native innovation; it was also a city profoundly shaped by the activities and aspirations of foreign businessmen. The city flourished because of its location, close to the coast and to the estuary of the Yangtze River, which provided unrivalled access to the interior of China. Shanghai quickly developed into a dynamic and cosmopolitan city full of opportunity where those with vision and market sense could prosper.¹ Huang Binhong spent periods of time in Shanghai in 1907 and 1908, and in early 1909 moved to the city that would be his base for the next thirty years.² (Figure 3.1)

In the wake of the Taiping Wars, which devastated much of southern China, large numbers of people from neighbouring provinces sought refuge in Shanghai, attracted by the stability and prosperity of the foreign concession areas.³ Regional associations were set up to cater for the welfare and social needs of people from particular areas. The Ningbo Hometown Association (Ningbo tongxianghui 寧波同鄉會), for example, was the earliest such district association and grew to become one of the most influential.⁴ In the 1920s and 1930s, the

⁴ The Ningbo tongxiang hui was established in 1797. See “Shanghai de Ningbo ren he Ningbo lu,,” in Xue Liyong, Shanghai diming luming shi qu (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p.141.
association’s hall became a focal point for cultural activity. Many exhibitions of contemporary Chinese art were held there, including Huang Binhong’s first solo exhibition in 1943. Because of its commercial strength, Shanghai, like the great eighteenth-century mercantile capital of Yangzhou, also became an important centre for the arts.

Within the foreign concessions, there was considerable intermixing of Chinese and Western populations. The area around Fuzhou Road 福州路, for example, near the race course and the British concession was a lively zone with cheap rents and a concentration of Chinese and foreign businesses including restaurants, hotels, tea houses, brothels, book shops and newspaper and publishing houses. Shen bao 申報and Shi bao 時報, two of Shanghai’s leading daily newspapers, were located in this area, as was the office of the Cathay Art Union (Shenzhou guoguang she 神州國光社), where Huang Binhong worked soon after his arrival in Shanghai, and the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館), where he was head of the Art Department from 1922 to mid-1925. The area was also home to a number of English language papers such as the North-China Daily News and the Shanghai Times. The latter was owned by Canadian-born Dr John C. Ferguson whom Huang came to know. Here too in the red light district around Fuzhou Road, Huang Binhong may have met his second wife, Song Ruoying (宋若婴, 1903-1970), whom he married in 1920 (Figure 3.2). Her poor Anhui family sold her as a child to a Suzhou procress in Shanghai.

In Shanghai, probably around 1917, Huang Binhong changed his name from Binhong 濱虹 to Binhong賓虹. Binhong賓虹, the name that he used in Shanghai, Beijing and Hangzhou, is the name by which we know him today. The change in the orthography of the character is from a calligraphic point of view minor, but the altered meaning is significant.

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6 From 1907 to 1911, the Shanghai Times was owned by Dr John C. Ferguson, a leading foreign businessman. See Lawton, Thomas, “A Time of Transition: John C. Ferguson, 1866-1945,” The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures XII: A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991), p.84.
7 Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.150.
8 Reference to an unpublished 1915 painting in the collection of the Anhui Provincial Museum signed Binhong (“Bin” with water radical) and “Xiaobei tu” dated 1918 and signed “Binhong Huang Pucun” (“Bin” without the water radical) and reproduced in Huang Binhong xiansheng huaji (Hong Kong, 1961), plate 6.
“Bin” without the water radical means visitor or guest. The choice of this character highlighted his visitor status in Shanghai, and may be seen to reaffirm his connection to Shexian. While the precise reason for the change is not known, it is likely that by dropping the water radical from his name, Huang hoped to stem misfortune. His second daughter, Yingban (映斑, b. 1896), had died in 1915 and his eldest son, Yingyi (映燁, b. 1898), died in 1917.10

Late in life, underpinning the importance of Shanghai to his intellectual and artistic development, Huang Binhong explained his name in this way:

Binhong was the artist name I used most frequently. It derived from place names in Shanghai, Yangbang Bridge and Hongkou.11

Yangbang Bridge refers to Yangjingbang 洋涇浜, a creek that ran parallel to the Wusong River 吳淞江 and the old city wall, articulating the boundary between the British and French concessions. As the strip alongside the stream became a busy thoroughfare, many bridges (yangjingbang qiao 洋涇浜橋) were built to cross the creek. As a result of the city’s expansion, by 1916 the creek had been filled in and was named Avenue Edward VII. Yangjingbang was also a Shanghai colloquialism for pidgin languages, notably “Chinglish”, and relates to the growth of an extremely diverse population comprising many Chinese and foreign nationals in the British and French concessions.12

Hongkou 虹口, on the other hand, had other connotations. After 1848, much of Hongkou became the American concession. It had a considerable population of Guangdong businessmen and, from the 1920s, a concentration of Cantonese restaurants. There were also many Japanese nationals living there in an area that became known as “Little Tokyo”. Because of its cosmopolitan ambience and cheap rents Hongkou attracted many writers and cultural

9 “Bin” can also mean to obey or submit.
11 Huang Bingong, “Zi xu,” in Huang Binhong shuhua zhan tekan mulu, p.3.
12 Xue Liyong, Shanghai diming luming shiqu, pp.31-34, and Lao Shanghai (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), pp.62-63.
In 1906 the office of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence (Guoxue baocun hui 国学保存会) moved to Tiema Road 铁马路 in Hongkou.¹⁴

National essence: literary and art associations

Huang Binhong’s name appears on the membership list of many Shanghai cultural organisations that grew up in response to the complex political situation of early twentieth-century China. The organisations were a continuation of the gatherings of cultivated men of earlier times, but also reflected a pragmatic attitude towards changing circumstances. After the abolition of the civil service examinations scholars who were once supported by the court had to earn their own living. The new associations functioned as professional organisations that facilitated communication between members, offering networks of support and a platform for views to be aired and for information to be disseminated to the broader public. Some groups used the new media at their disposal to publish members’ writings, or artworks, or collect objects, or provide venues where art could be exhibited and sold.¹⁵ Many groups with which Huang Binhong was involved were concerned with national studies, approaching literature, calligraphy, epigraphy, brush and ink painting, and historic or archeological objects as expressions of the national essence (guocui 国粹). Members recognised that they were part of a generation in transition. As concerned individuals they promoted political and social change on the one hand and cultural and artistic continuity on the other.

The term guocui or national essence derived from the Japanese kokusui 国粹 which came into common use in Japan in 1887. As Martin Bernal has pointed out, the term arose in reaction to the promotion of Western customs by the Meiji government and grew out of a popular desire to abolish foreign concessions in Japan and protect what was perceived as a unique indigenous culture.¹⁶ In China the situation was quite different and the term guocui was

¹³ Xue Liyong, Shanghai diming luming shiqu, pp.59-60; Lao Shanghai, pp.276-277.
¹⁴ Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.52.
adopted and used by leading intellectuals who sought to overthrow the foreign Manchu-Qing dynasty. Leaders of this movement included Zhang Binglin (章炳麟, 1869-1936), Liu Shipei (劉師培, 1884-1920) and Huang Jie, who were founding members of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence. Many members were also involved with the Southern Society (Nanshe 南社), which Laurence Schneider has shown to be similar in its aims. Huang was an early member of both organisations.

The Association for the Preservation of the National Essence

The most significant intellectual and cultural work that Huang Binhong engaged in during his long sojourn in Shanghai resulted from his partnerships with the classical learning advocates Deng Shi (鄧實, 1877-1951) and Huang Jie (黃節, 1873/4-1935) and the organisations that they founded, the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Cathay Art Union. Both organisations were pioneers in cultural preservation and art publishing and made important contributions to the debate on national studies or guoxue 國學. Their publications included the Journal of the National Essence (Guocui xuebao 國粹學報, 1905-1911), National Essence Series (Guocui congshu 國粹叢書), Essays on Classical Studies (Guxue huikan 古學匯刊), National Glories of Cathay (Shenzhou guoguang ji 神州國光集, 1908-1912), Cathay Outlook (Shenzhou daguan 神州大觀, 1912-1922), and the major art history publication A Collectanea of the Arts (Meishu congshu 美術叢書). These serial publications and journals, concerned with historical literature, poetry, painting, calligraphy, epigraphy and the arts, were central to the contemporary debate on national learning or guoxue and the formulation of a modern canon of the arts.

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19 I have used “Cathay Art Union” which is the translation for Shenzhou guoguang she that appeared in the English language advertisement for the magazine in August 1909 (vol.10, no.4). National Glories of Cathay is my reworking of the original translation of the title of the magazine Shenzhou guoguang ji.

20 The Cathay Art Union’s endeavours were distinct from the efforts of Yu Dafu (1896-1945) and others who later formed organisations such as the Creation Society (Chuangzao she) which produced magazines.
Deng Shi and Huang Jie were both born in Shunde, Guangdong province. Deng Shi had moved to Shanghai as a child and Huang Jie settled there in 1906. In 1902 they founded the Social Sciences Bulletin (Zhengyi tongbao) dedicated to local and international current affairs and published twice a month in Shanghai. From 1902 to 1908 the magazine featured an extraordinary array of topical articles such as “A comparison of the relative power of Britain, Russia, Germany and Japan,” “The latest military news in the West,” “Women get the vote in Australia,” and “Nationalism and the preservation of classical Chinese learning”. Subjects spanned politics, economics, law, society, science and technology. The aim of the bulletin was to introduce Western politics and science to a Chinese readership and provide a perspective from which to consider China’s place in an international world of shifting power following the country’s humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Boxer Rebellion (1900).

Two years later, in 1904, Deng Shi and Huang Jie established the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence to ‘preserve national learning, advocate righteousness, and the restoration of the national spirit’. The association published the Journal of the National Essence which featured essays on subjects of historical and contemporary relevance and biographies of patriots including Ming loyalists and late Song writers, poets and thinkers.

Deng Shi, Huang Jie, and Liu Shipei were among the key contributors. From the very beginning, a feature of the publication was the large number of high quality collotype portraits of historical

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21 Both Huang Jie and Deng Shi studied with the Lingnan scholar Jian Chaoliang, who was a disciple of Zhu Ziqi. Huang Jie is best known as a poet. See Deng Shi, “Feng Yu Lou du hua xiao ji,” Shenzhou guoguang ji 9 (1909), and Chen Yutang, Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu da cidian (quanbian zengdingben) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), pp.125, 1096-1097.
23 Hu Huaichen, Shanghai de xueyi tuanti (Shanghai: Shanghai shi tongzhi guan chubanshe, 1935), p.25. Others involved in the formation of the Guoxue baocun hui were Chen Chubing, Zhang Binglin (Taiyan), Liu Shipei, Zhu Zongyuan, Ma Shulan and Gao Xie. The association disbanded in 1912. For a critical overview of national essence and the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence, see Laurence A. Schneider, “National Essence: Conservative Approaches to Cultural Continuity,” in Ku Chieh-kang and China’s New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions, pp.33-40.
24 Eighty-two volumes were published between February 1905 and September 1911.
figures, as well as reproductions of calligraphy, rubbings of inscriptions on stone and bronze and paintings—images that were regarded as embodying the national essence.\(^{25}\)

The office of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence incorporated a library, a natural history room, and an art room where objects donated or lent by members could be displayed (Figure 3.3). The library specialised in out-of-print and hard-to-find historical books, in particular those banned by the Manchu-Qing government.

The Association also provided accommodation for members. Huang Jie was a long-term resident. Huang Binhong stayed there after he fled Anhui in 1907.\(^{26}\) It was probably during his stay in 1907 and through the gift to the art room of painting by Dong Xiaochi 董 小 池 and calligraphy by Huang Zhenfu 黃 貞 父, that Huang Binhong became a member of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence.\(^{27}\) As previously mentioned Huang Binhong had published a number of essays in the *Journal of the National Essence* beginning in 1907 and had developed a rapport with Deng Shi and Huang Jie.\(^{28}\) In 1907 Huang Jie unexpectedly returned to Guangdong owing to the illness of his son. The business was continued by Deng Shi and Huang Binhong and Huang Jie maintained a regular correspondence.

In a letter from Deng Shi to Huang Binhong, which is thought to date from early 1908, when Huang Binhong was still in Anhui, Deng Shi acknowledged receipt of a manuscript related to making ink, three albums of paintings by his ancestor Fengliu Shanren (Huang Lü), an album leaf by Peng Jiezou 彭 芥 舟, a copy of impressions of seals collected by Huang (Binhong ji yin cun 賓 虹 集 印 存), and referred to Huang’s writings on art. The letter provides evidence of an active intellectual exchange between the two men. Deng Shi complimented Huang on his erudition and his ability to appraise works of art, concluding with the words:

\(^{25}\) In the third year of publication (1908), the magazine was expanded and featured distinct sections, “Social Commentary” (*She shuo*), “Essays on Politics” (*Zheng pian*), “Essays on History and Scholarship” (*Xue pian*) and “Essays on literature, natural history and art” (*Cong tan*). The illustrations included numerous natural history drawings by Cai Shou.

\(^{26}\) According to Wang Zhongxiu Huang Binhong arrived in late July 1907. Chen Qubing and Su Manshu stayed there when in Shanghai. See Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p.52.

\(^{27}\) See *Guocui xueba* 29 (1907), Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, pp.52-53.

\(^{28}\) Huang Binhong published a number of essays in the *Journal of the National Essence* under the names Huang Zhi and Yu Xiang including “Introduction to seals” (*Xu mou yin*), which was serialised over four issues in volumes 30, 33, 38 and 39, 1907-1908, and “Village living” (*Xu cun ju*), published in issues 42 and 43, 1908.
Recently Shen [Xuelu], myself and others, established the magazine *National Glories of Cathay*, the content of which focuses on epigraphy, calligraphy and painting. We are collecting original works of art and will use the finest photo engraving to reproduce them in large format. The first volume is due out any day now. I will send you a copy and look forward to receiving whatever fine works you may choose to send from your collection.29

Huang’s essay “Introduction to Ink Making” (*Xu zao mo* (敘 造 墨)) was published in the *Journal of the National Essence* in 1908 (issues 42 and 44) and thereafter Huang became one of the primary contributors to the art section of the magazine.30 Deng Shi’s announcement of the impending publication of the magazine *National Glories of Cathay* signalled an added dimension to the activities of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence, a development which would have further aroused Huang Binhong’s interest.

**Huang Binhong and the National Glories of Cathay**

In 1907, three years after its foundation, the Cathay Art Union established a dedicated printing house that was equipped with modern printing presses. Books were published to contribute to national learning and included historic, out-of-print Chinese books using the original Song and Yuan typography, as well as a wide variety of textbooks for use in the new school curriculum.31 The following year, the Cathay Art Union began to publish the bi-monthly art magazine *National Glories of Cathay*, referred to in Deng Shi’s letter to Huang Binhong, a large format, folio-style magazine which used the latest glass-plate printing technology to reproduce calligraphy, painting, and rubbings from Deng Shi’s and other private collections.32 The magazine was a natural evolution of the small format *Journal of the National Essence*, which had featured many pictures of historical objects and works of art. But it also appears to have been inspired by the Japanese art journal *Kokka*.

30 The *lunhua* essay that Deng Shi mentioned is probably Binhong on Painting (*Binhong lunhua*), which was published in the *Journal of the National Essence* and serialised in volumes 45, 46 and 48 (1908).
31 The press advertised their expertise in printing books relating to accounting, chemistry, botany and natural sciences as well as a wide variety of Western and Eastern languages. *Shenzhou guoguangji* 12 (1909).
*Kokka* 國華 was first published in Japanese in 1889 by the *Kokka* Publishing Company in Tokyo. Beginning in 1902 it was also published in English under the title *Illustrated Monthly Journal of the Fine and Applied Arts of Japan and other Eastern Countries*. The bilingual, folio-size art journal was the first of its kind in Japan to print high-quality, large-scale reproductions of works of art using collotype and chromoxylographic printing technology. The magazine featured “flowers of the nation”—artworks from private collections in Japan, as well as temple, museum and imperial collections—with the aim of “revealing the characteristics of Oriental art,” “encouraging archaeological investigations” and “furthering the development of the fine arts and artistic industries”. 33

The presses used to print the *National Glories of Cathay* in Shanghai were imported from Japan. 34 The similarity of content and format between the two magazines suggests that Deng Shi was aware of *Kokka* and that both the Cathay Art Union and the *National Glories of Cathay* were modelled on the *Kokka* enterprise. 35

The stated aim of the *National Glories of Cathay* was to promote national culture, advocate art, and bring artworks long sequestered in private collections to the attention of the public for their appreciation. 36 In the first issue of the magazine there was a notice seeking artworks for reproduction, which I will quote at length for it provides useful information regarding Deng Shi’s formulation of national culture and the role he envisioned for the art magazine, given the absence of public museums in China.

From the earliest days of their foundation countries have created objects of essential beauty. The preservation of these objects radiate the glory of civilization. In Europe and America … all cities, even small rural towns, have museums which exhibit collected objects for the public. Broadly speaking, there are two types of museum, one for nature’s objects such as animals, plant and mineral specimens, known as natural [history] museums, and the other for art objects … .

Our county is large and contains an abundance of historical artefacts. It is the earliest advanced civilization, with exquisite objects in large numbers. Today, many Europeans

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33 *Kokka* 133 (January, 1902).
and Americans collect Chinese art and publish books in Western languages … .

Regrettably, China has never had a public collecting institution. Instead collections have been secreted privately and have therefore suffered destruction and loss in times of warfare … . Some like-minded people have established the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence in Shanghai. Recently the Association established a library and a room for the display of objects and artworks. Objects can be lent to the society or purchased by the society. We are seeking one hundred works to be published by *Journal of the National Essence* using a photo-engraving printing process, thereby making them available to the public … . We hope that gentlemen and collectors will avail themselves of their treasures so that we can make them available to people and ensure that the longevity of Chinese historical artefacts will be like that of the light which illuminates our nation [guoguang 国光].

In the introduction to the inaugural issue, Deng Shi voiced his concern at an impending cultural crisis:

> In the course of life you inevitably experience all manner of aspiration as well as the pain and suffering of emptiness. Politicians and scientists can console us and satisfy our desire for worldly things, but art is the best antidote to pain and suffering that has no form, and pent up emotions that have no outlet. I myself have felt greatly distressed during this time of decline … . People today seek utility, fame and fortune and do not understand what art is. Chinese relics are leaving the country every day. The time will come when the nation will face annihilation [guowang 国亡] and with that crisis will come the total loss of historical objects.

Having linked art to the spiritual and emotional well-being of society, Deng Shi went on to invoke a “contemporary German philosopher” and noted the important role in the West played by museums and archaeological activity in preserving and researching the art of the past. It was a source of concern to him that “famous European and American archaeologists are competing to collect Eastern art and put it away for safe keeping, writing books and reproducing works of art” in a way that was not happening in the public realm in China. Deng Shi also observed that “recently French and Americans have written books on Chinese art history and so on in Western

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37 *Shenzhou guoguangji* 1 (1908). The Shanghai Museum, located at 5 Museum Road, was established by the expatriate organisation Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch, the history of which dates back to 1857. The museum focussed on natural history, though art exhibitions were also held. In 1909 the building was renovated and was open to the public daily. The primary purpose of the Society was to promote the knowledge of China among foreigners resident in or visiting China. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch* XLII (1911), p.258, and XLIV (1913), p.214.

38 *Shenzhou guoguangji* 1 (1908), pp.1-3.
languages,” implying that similar efforts were not being undertaken in China with the same degree of foresight, focus and seriousness. As evidenced by his editorship of the *Social Sciences Bulletin*, Deng Shi was well informed about international developments and from the outset he sought to position *The National Glories of Cathay* in a broadly international context. Lydia Liu has argued that Deng Shi, in explaining national learning, drew on Western political theory. By looking to foreign sources for guidance, he sought to place the *Journal of the National Essence* and the intellectual debates that the magazine engaged in, in a larger global context.\(^{39}\) *The National Glories of Cathay*, founded by Deng Shi and others, was the product of a similar intellectual framework and was also informed by cultural ideas that extended beyond China’s borders.

We must assume that Deng Shi sent Huang Binhong a copy of the inaugural issue of *National Glories of Cathay* as he had promised. Huang was attracted by Deng Shi’s publishing enterprises, and shared an intellectual sympathy. He was also in need of employment. After his move to Shanghai in 1909, Huang became head of the editorial department of Chinese painting for the Cathay Art Union, and was involved with the various activities of the publishing house including the collection and authentication of artworks, as well as editing and printing. We will return to explore further Huang Binhong’s involvement with this enterprise later in this chapter.

**The Southern Society**

In 1909, Huang Binhong and Cai Shou (蔡守哲, 1879-1941), who also worked at the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence, attended the inaugural meeting of the Southern Society (1909-1923), a literary association that attracted politically-conscious writers and poets.\(^{40}\) Established by Liu Yazi (柳亞子, 1887-1958), Gao Tianmei (高天梅, 1877-1925) and Chen Qubing (陳去病, 1847-1933) the society aimed to “use poetry and

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40 For a good account of the position of the Southern Society within the Shanghai intellectual world, see Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang 1902-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp.122-125. The name of the organisation indicated the location of the majority of its members, who voiced their opposition to Manchu-Qing rule which emanated from the north. See Kotewall, *Huang Binhong*, p.79.
literature to promote revolution”. Its inaugural meeting was held at Mount Huqiu in Suzhou, a site chosen for its significance as the 1633 meeting place of the Restoration Society (Fu she), a group of intellectuals who had fought against foreign rule by the Manchu-Qing.\(^{41}\)

The formation of literary societies began in the Jin and Tang dynasties. Ming dynasty literati, on being confronted with the decline of the Ming, placed great emphasis on the exchange of information. Later critics have said that the decline and rise of the Restoration Society related to the closing down and opening up of the nation’s fortunes [guo yun].\(^ {42}\)

wrote Huang Binhong. The Southern Society was seen by its founders as a continuation of the spirit of the late Ming Restoration Society, which opposed Manchu-Qing rule, and wanted to secure “the fortunes of the nation”. A notice posted by the group places the magazine in the context of late-Qing politics and culture, a period characterised by increasingly corrupt and inept domestic rule and growing Western influence.

Oh soul of the nation! Come back. Could it be that like the great period of the high Tang you have passed? Never to return again? This cannot be right! What words! What words! The nation has a soul that brings the nation into existence. Without a soul the death of a nation follows . . . . Where does the nation’s soul reside? In national studies [guoxue]. If the nation’s soul is to be preserved then we must start by preserving national studies. And one of the most precious elements of national studies is literature. Chinese literature is the crowning glory of world literature, such that the West can never reach us. But today there are those who treat Western culture as the host and Chinese culture as the slave! What is this talk! Looking back on the history of those countries that have destroyed other countries, all have first destroyed the language and the script.\(^ {43}\)

Many of those involved with the Southern Society were also members of the Alliance Society (Tongmenghui), founded by Sun Yat-sen and Sun Zhongshan, 1866-...
1925) in Japan in 1905. They worked for influential Shanghai newspapers that had pro-
revolutionary sympathies such as the *Shenzhou Daily* (*Shenzhou ribao* 神州日報), *The
Democrat* (*Minli bao* 民立報), *The Great Republic Newspaper* (*Da Gonghe bao* 大共和報),
*The Republican News* (*Minguo xinwen* 民國新聞) and *The Sound of the People* (*Minsheng
ribao* 民聲日報).*44 In 1912, the Southern Society office was located in the offices of the
*Pacific Newspaper* (*Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報), which employed Liu Yazi 柳亞子, Su
Manshu 蘇曼殊, Ye Chucang 葉楚倉, Li Xishuang 李息霜 (*Li Shutong* 李叔同, later
Hongyi 弘一) and Hu Pu’an 胡樸安, all of whom were well known to Huang Binhong.

Huang’s primary organizational affiliation at that time was with the Association for the
Preservation of the National Essence, and while he was not a formal member of the Alliance
Society, he did work at *The Democrat Newspaper* in 1910 and as a columnist for the *Shenzhou
Daily* from 1912-1914.

From 1909 to 1917, the Southern Society published the journal *Southern Society
Collection* (*Nanshe congke* 南社叢刻) which featured the writings of members.*45 At the
height of its popularity and influence membership of the society grew to about one thousand.

Huang’s friendships with key participants, including Huang Jie, Cai Shou, Chen Qubing, Gao
Tianmei, Gao Chuiwan, Fu Xiongxiang, and Liu Yazi were to last for the rest of their lives. The
friendships formed with Southern Society members soon after his arrival in Shanghai placed
Huang Binhong firmly within a literary world that was defined by national studies and
embraced art and the cultural heritage of China as an essential part of national renewal.*46

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*Shenzhou ribao* was established in 1907 by Yu Youren. It was the newspaper of the Revolutionary
Alliance (*Tongmeng hui*) and after 1911 was associated with the Republican Party (*Gonghexian*).
*The Democrat* was established by Yu Youren on 11 October 1910 and Huang Binhong wrote an article of
support. See Huang Binhong *wenji shuxin bian* Appendix 1, p.4, and Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong
niaanpu*, p.83. *The Democrat* was the Shanghai headquarters of the Revolutionary Alliance and involved
people such as Chen Qimei and Song Jiaoren. See Terry Narramore, “Making the News in Shanghai:
Shen Bao and the Politics of Newspaper Journalism,” PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1989,
pp.30-32, 76. For an overview of the newspaper industry in Shanghai at this time, see Zeng Xubai,
*Zhongguo xinwen shi* (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue xinwen yanjousuo, 1966), p.268-276. See also Mary


Early paintings from the Shanghai period

The majority of paintings that date from Huang Binhong’s early years in Shanghai reflect the close friendships that he formed soon after his arrival and the important role paintings played in intellectual exchange. Many are dedicated to or relate to members of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Southern Society and highlight the continuing importance of Shexian and Huangshan as subjects for Huang Binhong’s artistic exploration.47

A fine example of the way in which a painting functioned as the physical embodiment of a shared intellectual and emotional experience is Huang Binhong’s painting of the famous springs at Huishan惠山 near Wuxi無錫.48 The hanging scroll, titled “Visiting Huishan to view the stone engraved with the poem ‘Listening to the [wind in the] pine trees’”(Huishan fang ting songshi tu 惠山訪聽松石圖) was painted at Pan Feisheng’s (潘飛聲, 1858-1934) request in the summer of 1909. (Figure 3.4) The painting was made following their return from Guoxi and after viewing a work in seal script by the Tang calligrapher Li Shaowen 李少溫 (Li Yangbing 李陽冰). It recalled their earlier trip to Huishan. The painting is dedicated to Pan Feisheng, a key member of the Southern Society who in the late nineteenth century had worked in Germany teaching Chinese literature at the University of Berlin.49 Huang praises him as a fine poet and connoisseur and credits him with a large collection of fine rubbings of ancient scripts. The painting depicts Pan and Huang engaged in conversation at the foot of Huishan. One gestures towards a pavilion, presumably containing an ancient stone stele engraved with the characters Ting Song (Listening to the pine trees), while the other appears to bow deferentially towards the historic stone. The figures are the active focal point and bring the painting to life as a memento of a trip to a historic site. The painting is surrounded with later inscriptions by

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47 For example “Xuanzhi Pavilion” (Xuan zhi ge tu) painted in winter 1909 for Cai Zhefu and “Writing poems in Jianjia pavilion” (Jianjia lou xie shi tu) with an inscription by Liu San. See Huang Binhong xiansheng hua ji (Hong Kong, 1961), plates 1-2.
48 Collection of the Shanghai Museum (SM 67597). The inscriptions were written in 1911, 1914 and 1929.
49 Pan Feisheng (zi Lanshi) from Panyu in Guangdong taught Chinese literature at the University of Berlin during the mid-Guangxu period (1875-1908). After his return he became a publisher in Shanghai. Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.71.
friends including Chen Qubing, Dai Qiwen, Huang Shanshou, and Liu Bingzhao who also share in the journey.\(^5\)

A large format album dated mid-autumn 1909 contains eight boldly painted views of Huangshan. The album is also the result of a creative collaboration, this time involving Huang Binhong, Pan Feisheng and Cai Shou.\(^5\) In this fine, exuberantly painted album Huang pairs his own paintings with related historical poems. Huang’s painting of “The Slope Where Caution is Needed” (Xiaoxin po 小心 坡), for example, painted in a style reminiscent of Shitao, faces a poem by Huang’s forebear, Huang Sheng. (Figure 3.5) The poem was inspired by the perilous sheer mountain face of Huangshan and has been transcribed in fine clerical script by Cai Shou. In another pair of leaves Huang’s painting of the “Cave of the Immortal Monk” (Xianzeng dong 仙 曾 洞) is placed next to a poem by Hongren, on the same subject, written in a cursive script by Pan Feisheng. (Figure 3.6) In other works Huang makes reference to Hongren and Li Liufang, artists of the Xin’an school. The paintings are fine examples of a confidently evolving personal style, expressing Huang’s own experience of the natural, phenomenal world which was informed by the paintings and writings of past artists. The pairing of paintings and poems expands the conversation that Huang engages in to include like-minded friends, and further strengthens the thread that binds history to the present.

Another large format album painted in the second half of 1909 also takes Huangshan and the landscape of Xin’an as its subject. The album was painted for Li Keting (Li Jingguo 李 乾 zì Keting 可 亭, 1887-1924,), a friend from Anhui.\(^5\) Stylistically, many of the album leaves can be related to Huang’s earlier paintings, but the dry brushwork used in some of the leaves suggests the influence of the Xin’an artists Hongren and Cheng Sui in particular.

\(^5\) Liu Bingzhao, writing in 1911, states the calligraphy was written by the Tang dynasty calligrapher Zhang Zhongxian and not Li Shaowen.

\(^5\) Collection of the Shanghai Museum (SM 26985). An album of eight album leaves depicting famous sights of Huangshan including Tangchi, Liandan tai, Wenshu yuan, Xianzeng dong, Song gu, Xiaoxin po, Yun men.

\(^5\) Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (FA1984.004-1: 8). See Christina Chu, ed., Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955, plate 2. Li Jingguo wrote the collected poems Yi chun guan. He was a magistrate during the late Qing and a member of parliament in the Republican period. See Chen Yutang, ed., Zhongguo jinxiantai renming cidian, quanbu zengdingben (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), p.457. Whilst we do not know the fate of the album after it was painted for Li Jingguo in 1909, an inscription on the final leaf tells us that by 1936 it had ended up on the art market in Shanghai. The album was purchased by Zhao Zhou whose ancestral home was Shexian. In an inscription Mr Zhao praises Huang Binhong’s paintings of Xin’an landscape and the close-up views of Huangshan.
Each leaf has an inscription by Huang Binhong and Deng Shi. At the time Huang was working with Deng Shi at the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Cathay Art Union. In his observations about his colleague’s artistic affiliations Deng Shi clearly and forcefully links Huang Binhong’s paintings to the works of Hongren and other Xin’an artists.

In the first album leaf Huang Binhong claims the painting is “In imitation of Jianjiang’s [Hongren’s] brushwork”. (Figure 3.7) While the work bears little stylistic affinity to Hongren, it is an early dated example of his deep admiration for that artist. In other inscriptions, Huang Binhong and Deng Shi make reference to the Xin’an artists Cheng Sui and Zha Shibiao as well as Kuncan (髡 殘, 1612-1673), Zhang Zhiwan (張 萬, 1811-1897) and artists of the Yuan dynasty in general.\(^{53}\)

In another leaf Huang depicts the “Tamed Dragon Pine” (Rao long song 擾 龍 松), an ancient pine tree which is one of the famous sites of Huangshan, painted by many earlier artists, including Hongren.\(^ {54}\) (Figure 3.7a) Huang and Hongren’s paintings of the “Tamed Dragon Pine” both show a jagged pinnacle that supports a contorted, dragon-like pine tree. From research conducted for his biography of Hongren, published in the *Journal of the National Essence* that same year, Huang would have been aware of Hongren’s paintings of this and other sites at Huangshan.\(^ {55}\) Huang Binhong’s painting is paired with a poem about Huangshan by his teacher Wang Zhongyi (Tao Lu韜). It is followed by a brief biographical sketch of the artist in which Deng Shi states, “Pu Cun’s [Huang Binhong] family comes from Huangshan”. Here Deng Shi makes a direct link between Huang and the Huangshan school of artists, a theme that is elaborated upon in a number of subsequent leaves.

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\(^{53}\) On other leaves of the album Huang Binhong referred to the Song artist Zhao Qianli (Zhao Boju) and Ming artist Wen Zhengming.

\(^{54}\) See Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang*, pp.2-53 for a Hongren album leaf in Beijing’s Palace Museum of this subject from “Scenes of Huangshan,” and a woodblock print of same subject (the English title given is Tamed Dragon Pine) which formed part of the *Huangshan Gazetteer (Huangshan zhi)* from the early Qing dynasty. The Shanghai Museum album 26985 also includes a painting of “Rao long song” made after a work by Li Luiang.

\(^{55}\) See *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua shang*, pp.16-18.
In the following leaf, Huang depicts a tiny dwelling perched high on a cliff top, which may be compared with a woodblock design of Shixin peak 始信峰 created by Hongren for the *Huangshan Gazetteer (Huangshan zhi 黃山志)*. In the colophon Deng Shi says:

Jianjiang [Hongren], following on from Yunlin’s [Ni Zan] Di school, formed the Xin’an branch. After him came Xiao Chimu [蕭尺木], Xiao Yuncong, Zheng Yisu [鄭逹甦, Zheng Min 鄭旼] and others. The Xin’an group dislodged the Loudong school from prominence. Pu Cheng [Huang Binhong] is one of their followers. Looking at his predecessors there are few who break through and are superlative.

In this inscription Deng Shi clearly articulates Huang’s association with Ni Zan, Hongren and the Xin’an school of painters, who in his view surpassed the orthodox masters of the late Qing.

In the final leaf of the album a white robed figure sits on a flat-topped promontory and gazes out across an expanse of water. (Figure 3.7c) Mists have gathered in the valley and in the distance there is a range of mountains and a waterfall. It is a moody, atmospheric landscape that is inscribed “Gazing at a waterfall in a grove of autumnal trees”. Huang uses a very dry brush to articulate the forms of the painting and has applied liberal washes of ink and pale colour to heighten the atmospheric effect. Solid areas of the painting have been animated by confident and energetic brushwork, whereas the areas of void convey an inward-turning feeling of calm.

The painting highlights an interesting tension between the desire to describe features of the landscape and to explore the expressive possibilities of brush and ink. Unlike the earlier, more formal hanging scrolls discussed in the previous chapter, this intimate album leaf is as much a painting about the mental world of the seated, meditating figure, as it is about the external world represented by the landscape.

Faced with the political turbulence of the first decade of the twentieth century, Huang Binhong, who had fled Anhui and settled in urban Shanghai, continued to project himself into an environment of great beauty, seen through the prism of historical artists he admired. It was a deeply familiar environment that was governed by the laws of nature and of art history.

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56 See Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang*, p.53.
57 The Loudong School is the name given to a school of artists who along with Wang Yuanqi, continued the artistic style of Wang Shimin, who was in turn influenced by the Yuan artist Huang Gongwang. The Loudong school, also referred to as the Taicang school, is so named because the Lou River runs eastwards through Taicang.
a consciousness of the artistic language of brush and ink, and solid and void, he began to explore the dramatic possibilities of his art to create works of increasing expressive and emotional power.

Another album that was painted not long after his arrival in Shanghai reveals the importance of travel to his creative practice. The paintings derive their inspiration from the landscape of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Anhui, places close to where he was born and grew up and where he travelled as a young man. The first four leaves depict scenes of Huangshan, Mount Bai and Mount Yu, and are painted on paper flecked with gold leaf that dates from the Ming dynasty. (Figure 3.8) The paintings appear to have been quickly executed and have an unbridled, spontaneous quality. The brushstrokes are clear and sit on the surface of the non-absorbent paper. But their sharpness is softened by the close stipple of gold flecks creating a shimmering atmospheric effect that enhances the conception of tall mountain peaks shrouded in mist. The remaining paintings in the album are painted on a lined paper and depict Jiuhua Mountain, Fuchun River, Mount Jiao, Yanling diatui and nearby Qilishuang, a tributary of the Fuchun River, north of Jinhua where Huang Binhong was born. The regular, alternating dark and light lines of the paper have the appearance of a modern paper, and when overlaid with brush strokes create an interesting optical effect. As a whole the album points to Huang’s interest in working with the qualities of his media, whatever it happens to be. Inherent in the paintings is a tension between the antiquity of the paper and the contemporaneity of their creation.

While the paintings are undated, the album bears a separate title leaf written by the seal carver Li Yinsang (李尹桑, 1880-1945) and dated early 1913. In his inscription

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58 Private collection, Hong Kong, see Chu, ed., Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955, plate 4.
59 In a later inscription by Liu Junliang, who acquired the painting, he said the gold-flecked paper was Ming and the lined paper Song. The colophon by Deng Erya confirms that the gold paper was Ming and referred to the lined paper as Song louwen paper.
60 Jiuhua shan is in the Southwest of Qingyang county, Anhui. Yanling diatui is in Tonglu county, on the bank of the Fuchun River in Zhejiang.
61 The remaining images in the album are painted on the distinctive lined paper known as Song louwen zhi. In all but two of these paintings the lines run horizontally in keeping with the format of the leaves. The images in which the lines in the paper run vertically are somewhat discordant, but Huang Binhong has used the paper to emphasise the verticality of mountains.
62 Li Yinsang was from Wuxian in Jiangsu but lived in Guangzhou. He was a seal carver and scholar of seals and carved inscriptions. He was renowned for his small seals, but was also a good calligrapher and
Li says the album belongs to “Society brother Zhefu” (Zhefu shexiong 哲夫社兄), Huang Binhong’s good friend Cai Shou. When Huang Binhong began work in the art editorial department at the Cathay Art Union, Cai Shou was employed as an illustrator for the Journal of the National Essence. He was responsible for many of the line drawings of historic figures reproduced in its pages, as well as curious botanical, animal and marine specimens painted from life. The signature “Society brother Zhefu” most probably refers to his and Huang’s common membership of the Southern Society.

Cai Shou, like Deng Shi and Huang Jie, was also from Shunde in Guangdong province. He and his wife Zhang Qingcheng had moved to Shanghai in 1908 and developed close friendships with Huang Jie, Deng Shi, Su Manshu (蘇曼殊, 1884-1918), Liu San (劉三, 1877-1878) and Huang Binhong. In the spring of 1911, Cai Shou returned to Guangdong and thereafter he and Huang Binhong maintained a regular correspondence. The album was painted after Cai Shou’s return to Guangdong and formed part of the intellectual and artistic dialogue between the two men. The provenance of the album is conveyed to us in an inscription on the fifth leaf:

Society brother Zhefu acquired this Song dynasty paper, sent it to me from Guangdong and asked me to make some paintings for him. Hence these depictions of my recent travels. I present them for your amusement, though they are but ungainly sketches.

Binhong. Huang Pucun.

The painting which bears this inscription is on the lined paper and is a closely observed scene of a sailboat and a dinghy approaching three small islands. (Figures 3.8a, 3.8b) It is inscribed:

On the northern bank of the river near Jiao Mountain, small islets appear to float in the rippling water of the river. The wind in the sails of the sailboat creates an enchanting scene of mutual reflection.

The sailboat is symbolic of travel and is an appropriate motif for a painting in which Huang refers to his own travels and the distance separating him and his friend Cai Shou. Huang painter of flowers. He was particularly influenced by Han and Wei calligraphy and wrote calligraphy in style similar to Zhao Zhiqian. He was a close friend of Huang Binhong, Yi Dachang and Deng Erya. See Zhongguo meishu jia renming cidian, p.348, and Chen Yutang, ed., Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao da cidian, quanbian zengding ben, p.407.

63 Li Weiming, “Zhongguohua biange de yuyan ziyuan: ershi shiji chuye de yixie zhenglie kaoxi,” unpublished manuscript. I would like to thank Wang Zhongxiu for providing me with a copy of this paper.
Binhong has used the side of the bush (ce feng 測 鋒) to outline the rocky islets and internal textural strokes to create a feeling of solidity. Wind is suggested through the application of short textural strokes, which have the effect of making the small islands vibrate with energy and movement. For the water Huang Binhong uses the central tip of an upright brush (zhongfeng 中 鋒) to create fine dry wavy lines. Superimposed on the horizontal stripes of the paper, the brush strokes emphasise the movement of water and the play of dappled light observed in nature.

In the inscriptions Huang remembers and makes reference to historical artists, writers and patriots, and in so doing brings an awareness of the cultural past into the present. We sense the joy Huang Binhong derived from travelling and discovering links to past lives. For example, on a painting of Mount Yu in Jiangsu, Huang wrote: “This is one of the most beautiful sites on Mount Yu and causes me to remember, with fondness, the noble character and reclusive tendency of Da chi [大 瘡 Huang Gongwang].”

In a painting of the tomb of Yan Guang (嚴 光, 37 BCE-43 CE, 嚴 子 陵) at the foot of Mount Diaotai, Huang refers directly to Song loyalists. (Figure 3.8c) Close to the tomb were the shrines of the Song dynasty loyalists Xie Ao (謝 鵞, 1249-1295), Fang Feng (方 凰, 1240-1322) and Wu Siqi (吳 思 齊, 1238-1301). Xie fought to defend the Southern Song against the invading Mongol-Yuan army, Fang refused to serve under the Yuan and took up residence in Xianhua Mountain and Wu was a Song official who retired from political life after the fall of the dynasty. The three were close friends, poetry associates and travelling companions. By visiting their shrines and recording the site in a painting, Huang Binhong acknowledged his respect both for friendship and for the earlier Han Chinese intellectuals who resisted foreign rule. In making this painting, Huang drew a parallel between the Song dynasty loyalists and Han

64 Mount Yu or Yushan, in Changshu county, Jiangsu is said to be where Yu Zhou of the Western Zhou dynasty is buried. The site attracted discerning travellers. See Cihai, 4246.
65 For a discussion of Xie Ao, Fang Feng and Wu Siqi and their friendship, see Jennifer Wei-Yen Jay-Preston, “Loyalist Personalities and Activities in the Sung to Yuan Transition, ca. 1273-1300,” PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1983, pp.189-195. Jay-Preston notes that the tomb of Yan Guang was where Xie, Wu and Feng mourned the death of Wen Tianxiang, the Chief Minister of the Song and later bought some land close by where they were all to be buried, which they called the Pavilion Where the Sword was Promised (Xujian ting) which suggests their undying loyalty to the Song.
Chinese patriots who had worked to rid the country of the alien Manchu-Qing. 66 Many essays relating to Song dynasty writers, poets, artists and thinkers, as well as late Ming dynasty loyalists who resisted domination by the Qing, were published in the pages of the Journal of the National Essence. Cai Shou and Huang Binhong both had a close involvement with the journal and Cai would have understood and appreciated Huang’s interest in representing this site at the foot of Mount Diaotai. When viewed in the context of the times the painting, therefore, has a strong political dimension.

In the final leaf of the album, Huang articulates the unique ability of an artist to return to travel in the landscape and to savour an experience of a remembered place or past. (Figure 3.8d)

Walking along a mountain path in the shadow of trees, the landscape is so beautiful and seductive. I travelled here ten years ago and couldn’t bear to leave. By painting it I am returning.

The inscription accompanies a carefully observed painting, in ink and pale colours, of a village by a river with mountains behind. Through the act of painting Huang Binhong invites Cai Shou to journey with him, to re-visit familiar haunts or find new and unexplored places. In the pages of the album, notions of time and space, past and present, are melded into a free flowing time-space continuum where the two men can meet once again.

Another painting of “return” in which Huang also collapses the past into the present is a small work depicting the historic stone levee at Yuliang 魚梁 in Shexian. (Figure 3.9) The painting is dedicated to Lude 魯德 (Chen Chun 陳純), who Huang Binhong describes as “someone who had travelled to Shexian, lived together with me at the Wenzheng academy (Wenzheng shuyuan 问正书院), and whom I met again recently in Shanghai after an absence of many years.” 67 Although the painting is undated, the calligraphy, written in an elegant cursive script, is stylistically related to the previously discussed album and suggests a similar date.

66 For a discussion of Song loyalism, see Jennifer Wei-Yen Jay-Preston, “Loyalist Personalities and Activities in the Sung to Yuan Transition, ca. 1273-1300,” pp.5-13, 172-175.
67 Huang studied at the Wenzheng academy in 1886. See Huang Binhong nianpu, pp.19-20. Lude was Chen Chun who in 1905 travelled with Huang Binhong and Chen Qubing from Wuhu to Shexian to teach at the Xin’an Zhongxuetang. See Huang Jingwu, “Huang Binhong zai Huizhou,” p.129.
Construction of the Yuliang levee (坝) began in the late Sui 隋early Tang dynasty, around 618 AD. Blocks of granite interlock to create a tight structure that stretches across the Lian River in an early example of Chinese hydraulic engineering that today is a historic site of national significance.\(^{68}\) (Figure 3.10) Yuliang, close to the centre of Shexian, was where Huang Binhong disembarked when he travelled by boat from Jinhua to Shexian or from Shexian to Hangzhou. His interest in painting this subject may have been influenced by his involvement in the repair and management of dykes on the family land to the east of Shexian in the early 1900s. The painting, while sketchy, is a good likeness of the historic structure and its landscape setting. Water rushes over a section of the levee and is in stark contrast to the boats moored in calm waters on either side. One figure walks across the grid of stones and another appears to be fishing. Across the river a low hill with an undulating wooded ridge-line rises to meet the inscription, written in a calligraphic script known as Slender Gold Script (Shou jin ti 瘦金体), a style reminiscent of Song Huizong’s (宋 徽宗, 1082-1132) calligraphy.

The spare, dry brushwork and the topographic nature of the painting once again bring to mind work by Xin’an artists such as Hongren, Cheng Sui and Dai Benxiao. In the inscription Huang Binhong highlights his interest in geography and the rivers, that formed such an integral part of the Shexian and Xin’an landscapes:

Yuliang in Shexian controls the waters flowing from the Fuzi, Bushe, Fengle and Yangzhi rivers. After a distance of some ten or so li they join with the Jian River and flow into the Zhe River, which is popularly referred to as the Xin’an River.

This intimate painting of an historic Shexian landmark, made soon after his relocation to Shanghai, is a fine early example of a painting of an actual place, albeit one drawn from memory. Through the motif of the ancient levee at Yuliang, which represented the point of arrival to and departure from Shexian, Huang Binhong and Lude were able to return to a shared past, but a past that continued to have meaning in the present.

After his move to Shanghai, Huang also created paintings for sale in order to supplement his meagre income. In April 1909 a price list appeared in the *Journal of the

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\(^{68}\) It is designated a National Protected Monument (Quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei) and is 143 metres long.
A number of paintings by Huang Binhong now in the collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington D.C. date from the Shanghai period and are indicative of this genre of works. They are small and dedicated to people who remain unidentified, which suggests that they may not have been known to Huang. Some have a bold, sketchy, almost perfunctory quality and are different to many of the paintings that we have discussed, which were made for close friends and are generally more considered.

Collectanea of the Arts and National Glories of Cathay

Huang wrote few essays during the years 1909 to 1911, which suggests that during this period much of his time and energy was devoted to the production of National Glories of Cathay and to collating and editing manuscripts for A Collectanea of the Arts. 71

A Collectanea of the Arts, edited by Huang Binhong and Deng Shi, was published by the Cathay Art Union as a serial publication in 1911. 72 It was the most comprehensive collection of art historical treatises and writings encompassing the various fine and decorative arts, spanning historical and contemporary periods. Collectanea contributed to the project of national learning by bringing a large number of related texts together into a single publication that could be easily used by scholars and those with an interest in traditional arts. It proved to be an extremely popular source book and was reprinted numerous times. It was an important

69 The notice quotes the price of three yuan (Yang san da yuan) per foot for hanging scrolls and three jiao (Yang san jiao) for each character. The contact address given is the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence. Guocui xuebao, vol.59. See Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang, Chen Hui, eds., Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runlie (Shanghai: Shanghia shuhua chubanshe, 2004), p.87.
70 For an overview of this collection, see Fu Shen,“Huang Binhong’s Shanghai Period Landscape Paintings and his Late Floral Works” Orientations 18, no.9 (1987), pp.66-78. In particular, see figure 6 dedicated to Mr Ruiren. See also paintings that are not illustrated or discussed in the article—S1987.247 dedicated to Mr Qiaosheng, S1987.249 dedicated to Mr Chenshan, S1987.250 dedicated to Ms Zhongyun, and S1987.257 dedicated to Mr Ziyu.
71 In early 1909 when Huang Binhong moved to Shanghai seven issues of Shenzhouguoguang ji had been published and three issues of Zhongguo minghua ji. For an overview of Huang Binhong’s writings at this time, see Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian, Appendix 1, p.4.
72 The first volume, edited by Hu Yunyu, was published in April 1911. The remaining volumes were edited by Huang Binhong and Deng Shi. Today Meishu congshu remains an invaluable source book for historians of Chinese art and culture.
publication for the Cathay Art Union and established Huang Binhong as a scholar and art historian.\(^{73}\)

*National Glories of Cathay* was an even more complex publishing project that required identification of images and authentication of objects for publication and the preparation of documentary and interpretive texts. On the publishing page of the magazine, only Deng Shi is mentioned. Through a careful reading of the magazine, however, the hand of Huang Binhong is glimpsed through his calligraphy, which features on the cover of issues 13 to 18 and the inclusion of paintings from his personal collection in volumes published in 1909 and 1910.\(^{74}\) (Figure 3.11)

*National Glories of Cathay* featured high quality black and white collotype reproductions of calligraphy, paintings, archaeological objects and rubbings of inscriptions taken from stele, bronze and ceramic vessels. The name of the collector, medium and dimensions of the object were recorded “so that when the reader opens the magazine they feel as though they are looking at a real object”.\(^{75}\) Also included were brief biographies of the artists and occasional short articles.

The captions for the artworks provide an insight into some of the activities and interactions of collectors at that time. Many paintings had been exhibited or had recently changed hands, indicating the high level of activity within the art market.\(^{76}\)

\(^{73}\) R. H. van Gulik has criticised the editorial policy of the *Collectanea*, saying that some of the texts were written later than their attributed date, many minor treatises are included and some major ones omitted or printed in a reduced form, there is no mention of which version of texts were used, or the original source of manuscripts, and hasty collation of texts resulted in misprints and in some cases passages left out. See R. H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as viewed by the Connoisseur* (New York: Hacker Books, 1981), p.286.

\(^{74}\) From its inception the cover of *National Glories of Cathay* featured a calligraphic rendering of the magazine title. The calligrapher for volumes 1-6 is not identified; Wu Changshuo’s calligraphy was used for volumes 7 to 12, Huang Binhong’s seal script calligraphy for volumes 13 to 18, and the calligraphy of He Weipu (1844–1925) for volumes 19-21. Two paintings from Huang Binhong’s collection were published in 1909 and 1910, “Withered tree, bamboo and rock” (*Ku shu zhu shi*) by Hongren (see Figure 2.3) and “Coloured flowers” (*Zhao se huahu*) by Yun Shouping, the nephew of Yun Xiang, which was one of a small number of works chosen to be reproduced in full colour. See *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 8, no.2 (1909) and 14, no.2 (1910).

\(^{75}\) *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 1, no.4 (1908). Collectors whose works were published include Deng Shi, whose Fengyu Lou collection was featured in a special issue in 9 (1909), Shen Yongzhao (Xuelu) of Wujiang, Mr Wu of Dongshan, Dongting, and Luo Zhenyu’s (1866–1940) Tangfeng Lou collection.

\(^{76}\) The inclusion of some objects suggests an interest in expanding the notion of national studies to a consideration of the art and cultures of neighbouring countries with which China had a long historical involvement. Examples include pottery tomb figures of West Asian appearance, wearing European-style attire, which were excavated at Longmen in 1908 and credited as being from the collection of the archaeologist and philologist Luo Zhenyu, Arabic calligraphy “photographed by Luo Yuecun of Shangyu
The Cathay Art Union continued to expand the number of rubbings and themed volumes of art works that were first offered for sale to readers of the *Journal of the National Essence*. After 1908 these volumes were marketed as supplements to the *National Glories of Cathay*.\(^77\) The supplements were part of the Union’s strategy to improve the understanding and awareness of national studies, of which the arts of painting, calligraphy and epigraphy formed an integral part.

In its first year many issues of the magazine were purchased by people living overseas, in Japan, England, France and Germany. Based on this interest, perhaps, an advertisement in English appeared on the inside cover of the magazine in 1909.\(^78\) The primary audience for the magazine, however, was in China.

Authenticity was an important issue for the magazine. The Cathay Art Union was eager to reassure its readers of the quality and genuineness of art works that it reproduced. All were said to be from old, established family collections that had previously been authenticated by a well-known connoisseur. They had been scrutinised carefully by Cathay Art Union staff. If the work was not authentic, a fine example, or in good condition, then it would not be printed. Those who purchased prints and were unsure about their authenticity were invited to visit the Cathay Art Union office and examine the original for themselves.\(^79\)

Here we encounter the issue of provenance and authenticity that was so central to the reputation of the publishing house and its commercial success. Huang Binhong played a leading...

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\(^77\) On the back cover of *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, volume 1, 1908, there is a large catalogue advertising available items. New offerings were regularly advertised in the pages of the magazine. In volume 8, no.2 1909 there was a notice regarding the publication of a further 16 art supplements and 6 rubbings. The stated intention was to “allow the world to discover the treasures of China sooner rather than later and to respond to requests of lovers of Chinese antiquities”. In 1909 the Union began to print large-scale reproductions of artworks using a glass plate printing technology (*ya tu boliban*), which enabled the printing of works of art up to 4 Chinese feet (*chi*) in length. The publishers suggested that the reproductions, which “so beautifully reproduce the colours of ink that people will think they have looked at an original work of art,” could be mounted as a small scroll and hung in the reception room (*zhongtang*) of homes, framed and hung on the wall or placed under a glass table-top. The Cathay Art Union catered to the needs of the market and felt satisfaction that “impoverished scholars” could have access to masterpieces for a fraction of the cost of an original work of art. See *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 10 (1909).

\(^78\) *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, no.4 (1909).

\(^79\) *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, no.3 (1909).
role in this area, assessing the quality and veracity of artworks intended for publication.\(^{80}\)

Writing in 1943 on the occasion of Huang Binhong’s eightieth birthday, the artist’s close friend Gao Xie (高燮, 1878 or 1879-1958) recalled:

I first met Huang sometime during 1907 and 1908. At the time, Huang Huiwen [Jie], Deng Qiumu [Shi] and others had established the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence in Shanghai, where Huang Binhong also worked. They published the National Glories of Cathay and the Journal of the National Essence. The ancient paintings, calligraphy and inscriptions on bronze and stone that were printed in the magazines were all authenticated by Binhong. Within China everyone admired his connoisseurship and erudition. At the time there was no one who could better him.\(^{81}\)

Through the appraisal of artworks in private collections, Huang Binhong and the professional staff at Cathay Art Union developed an extensive network of contacts. It followed quite naturally that the Union would become a central point for the collection and appraisal of works of art. In late 1909 the Cathay Art Union advertised the purchasing of “old books, rubbings of inscriptions, calligraphy and paintings” for “high prices”. People interested in selling objects were invited to come to the organisation’s office or to write with details of the objects and nominate a realistic price. Alternatively, the advertisement concluded:

If people have large old collections that they are willing to part with in their entirety, the Cathay Art Union can send someone to look at them and negotiate a price. No fakes will be accepted.\(^{82}\)

The Cathay Art Union also sold works of art. In one notice fifty “works by famous artists” that had been consigned to the Cathay Art Union were adverstised for sale. Nineteen of them had been published in National Glories of Cathay or printed as large posters. Prices ranged from 4\(^{83}\) yuan for an unpublished painting of beauties by Hu Sanqiao (胡三橋, Hu Xigui, 胡錫圭, active during the Guangxu period) to 100\(^{83}\) yuan for a previously published album of beauties in a landscape by Fei Xiaolou (費曉樓, Fei Danxu 費丹旭, 1802-1850).\(^{83}\)

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\(^{80}\) In the introduction to the inaugural issue of Shenzhou guoguang ji Deng Shi noted the involvement of Shen Xuelu (Wulu), Zheng Shuwen, Yang Sui’an, Wang Bogong and Luo Shuyun in the collecting of artworks for publication and acknowledged them as recognized connoisseurs. See Shenzhou guoguang ji 8 (1908), p.2.


\(^{82}\) Shenzhou guguang ji 12, no.6 (1909).

\(^{83}\) Ibid.
The listing was prefaced by a statement explaining the Union’s position in the art market. It makes clear that from 1909, the year Huang Binhong began to work at the Cathay Art Union, the *National Glories of Cathay* intended to function as a magazine for connoisseurs, scholars and those with an interest in history and cultural heritage, but was also a trade publication for buyers and collectors.

Since the Union established the *National Glories of Cathay*, the collecting of art works across the country has increased significantly. The consignment of artworks for sale by people in Shanghai and environs, and appraisals of artworks for printing has also increased. Some works are borrowed and photographed, others have a price assigned and are intended for sale. The volume is increasing. The association cannot always afford to pay large sums of money for the purchase of these works. Each issue of the magazine requires the purchase of works for printing. A means of circulating the art works is required. The Cathay Art Union has therefore listed works for sale including those that have been photographed as well as those that have not. The prices remain the same as the prices originally paid for the works. Collectors who have works they wish to sell have also been invited to send them into the Cathay Art Union for sale.\(^84\)

The large number of artworks that were available to the Union for purchase related directly to the unstable political situation. While there was considerable circulation of artworks within China, many important objects also found their way overseas.

The sacking of the imperial palaces of Yuan Ming Yuan 圆 明 园 and the Forbidden City 紫 禁 城 by foreign troops in 1860 and 1900 respectively resulted in the looting of many art works. In the wake of the devastation many precious objects were also pilfered by locals and entered the Chinese art market.\(^85\) During the subsequent political and economic instability that resulted from the collapse of the Qing and the establishment of the Republic, impecunious princes and former government officials who had amassed large art collections were also forced to sell. Japanese, European and American buyers with ready money were therefore able to purchase art works, sometimes of great rarity and antiquity, at prices that were a fraction of those being asked for European old master paintings.

\(^84\) Ibid.
In response to this situation, magazines such as the *National Glories of Cathay* expressed concern at the number of important artworks that were leaving the country. Writing in 1911, the year of the final collapse of the Manchu-Qing dynasty, Deng Shi called for a Chinese law to protect artworks from export:

For the past two or three years Westerners have taken a great interest in acquiring ancient Chinese paintings. Ever since the 1900 Boxer Rebellion looting of Tang, Song and Yuan dynasty paintings from the Imperial household, Westerners have been displaying them in public museums in Paris, Berlin and London. This has encouraged Western appreciation of ancient paintings and now Westerners are clamouring to buy them . . . In the last two years many works have left the country. During the second half of last year a group of European and American artists met to exchange information on how to authenticate paintings on silk dating from the Song and Yuan periods . . . A man who works in the Chinese antiquities department at the London Museum has written a book on appraising ancient Chinese paintings which is insightful. As a result Europeans and Americans have developed some knowledge about authentication. This spring there are lots of fake Song and Yuan paintings in the marketplace. Westerners are trying to improve their knowledge quickly. It is startling . . . They are seeking works by masters. We must be prepared, for in the future all famous works will leave the country. Chinese scholars must resolve to establish a law to protect these objects.

In an attempt to stay ahead of the market and ensure that large family collections stayed within the country, an advertisement in a 1911 edition of the magazine declared that the association could act as an agent, and offer introduction and authentication services to those who wished to acquire important collections in exchange for an agreement to publish the works:

Established families from Jiangsu and Zhejiang have large collections that have been handed down from generation to generation and which have not been dispersed and which it is desirable to keep together and sell wholesale. It is regrettable that there will be times when the organisation has limited funds and may not be in a position to acquire such collections. It will also not be possible to purchase large numbers of works by the Six Famous Artists, the Four Wangs, Wu [Li] and Yun [Nantian]. If there are enthusiastic collectors who would like to purchase large collections, the Cathay Art Union can offer introductions and authentication services. If fakes are discovered in the collection the organisation will cover compensation. In exchange for acting as an agent

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87 *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 19, no.1 (1911), p.1.
the buyer must allow the organisation to photograph and publish the art works, with due acknowledgment given to the collector.\textsuperscript{88}

As head of the art department of the Cathay Art Union publishing enterprise during this period of great activity in the Chinese art market Huang Binhong was a key figure in the operations of \textit{National Glories of Cathay}, as the magazine found innovative ways to work within a heated and highly competitive art market.\textsuperscript{89} During this time he honed his skills as a connoisseur, examining the many and various artworks that were assessed for publication.

Despite its original intention to raise consciousness of China’s artistic and cultural heritage through the circulation of images and information, at a time when there were no museums in the country, the Cathay Art Union found itself not only preserving and promoting Chinese art and culture, but also becoming a participant in the nascent art market itself. There was, therefore, an inherent contradiction in its activities. By publishing reproductions of artworks in private collections and identifying individual collectors, the journal became a ready reference for dealers and collectors, including those representing the interests of foreign buyers and international museums.

\textbf{The Zhen Society}

It was around that time, in 1912, that Huang Binhong and Xuan Zhe (宣哲zi Guyu 古愚, 1866–1942) founded the Zhen Society (\textit{Zhenshe} 貞社). The organisation defined its members as being those individuals who were “willing to make a sacrifice for a just and righteous cause by cherishing and protecting that which is solid and has endured” in order to “preserve classical

\textsuperscript{88} Shenzhou guoguang ji 20, no.2 (1911), p.4

\textsuperscript{89} The \textit{National Glories of Cathay} continued as \textit{Cathay Outlook} (Shenzhou daguan) from 20 December 1912 to 20 October 1922, and again from late 1928 to 1931 was relaunched as \textit{Cathay Outlook Continued} (Shenzhou da guan xu bian). In 1928 Deng Shi, who had became unwell, was forced to sell the Cathay Art Union. Cathay Art Union was bought by Chen Mingshu, with the help of the Li Jishen and the Guangdong government. Huang Binhong was appointed head of the art department of the reorganised company and edited \textit{Shenzhou da guan xu bian} which was published from December 1928 to 1931. In 1929, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Cathay Art Union, Huang Binhong organised a celebratory dinner for some 100 people in the literary and art world. In a speech Liu Haisu acknowledged Huang Binhong’s connoisseurship and role as authenticator for \textit{Shenzhou guoguang she} and said “Mr Huang is skilled at authentication. I feel confident that in all of the calligraphy and paintings that have been published there are no fakes scattered among them”. See Wang Zhongxiu,“Huang Binhong shi shikao zhi shi (shang): Gugong mai hua,” \textit{Rong bao zhai: gujin yishu bolan} 5 (2002), p.237; and Chen Julai, “Guoguang zhi yan,” \textit{Shanghai huabao} 30 January 1929. In 1931 Huang Binhong retired from the publishing house after an association of more than twenty years.
Chinese learning, promote art and engender a love of nation”. (Zhen means pure, virtuous, uncorruptible; devotion or dedication.) The charter stated very clearly that each member had an obligation to study and preserve ancient objects, a practice that was far more developed and institutionalised in Europe and America. The Zhen Society was one of the many small grass-roots organisations that developed after the collapse of dynastic rule in response to the dissolution of private collections of Chinese art and aggressive acquisition by foreign collectors.

In addition to preserving objects of the past, the society made an important connection with the present and propounded that respect for and study of past artefacts would have a positive effect on contemporary art and culture. The idea that the past could exert a positive influence on contemporary art and culture had been advanced some years earlier in Japan by the founders of The Kokka. The idea resonated with Chinese scholars, who saw an important role for national studies in the evolution of any new society.

A document in Huang Binhong’s handwriting commemorates the inaugural gathering of the association. It mentions the names of scholars, artists, collectors and a number of Japanese nationals including Masaki Kosaburō (正木 小三郎). The scope of the association and the interests of members were broad and ranged from the study of ancient seals, books, calligraphy and painting, ancient and contemporary crafts to European and Asian translations of relevant works on archaeology. The society remained active for some ten years. From April 1912 it also operated a branch in Guangzhou, where Cai Shou and Huang Jie were active members. Like

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90 See Shenzhou ribao 28 April 1912. The association charter is reproduced in Huang Binhong wenji shuhua, shang, pp.45-46. Members included Qin Manqing, Wang Hanzheng and Pang Laichen. See letter to Fu Lei, 20 October [1943] in Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian, p.207. For an overview of Huang Binhong’s involvement with Zhen she, see Wang Zhongxiu, “Huang Binhong shi shi kao zhi si—Zhen she shidai,” Rongbaozhaiqigujin yishu bolan 1 (2001), pp.233-239. Wang Zhongxiu (page 237) notes that Zhen she held a number of exhibitions in Shanghai in which works from the collections of members were displayed. On 8 May 1918 there was an exhibition at the Hardoon garden, Aili yuan to which Huang Binhong contributed seals and rubbings (jinshi), calligraphy and paintings. Aili yuan belonged to Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851-1931), a wealthy Jewish businessman who was the patron and a key member of the painting, calligraphy and epigraphy research society Guang cang xue hui. Guang canghui, established in 1916, included Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei among its membership. The group held regular exhibitions and joint activities with other associations. It is likely that the event in the Hardoon Gardens was held in conjunction with Zhenshe. It is a good example of the complex, cross-cultural dialogue that occurred between those with an interest in art and antiquities in Shanghai in the early years of the twentieth century. For Guangcanghui, see Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu, pp.28-29. For a photograph of Hardoon and the garden, see Pan Guang, ed., The Jews in Shanghai (Shanghai: Shanghai Pictorial Publishing House, 1995), p.6.

91 Chen Shuren and the seal carver Deng Erya were also active members of the Guangzhou branch of Zhenshe.
the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Cathay Art Union, the establishment of the Zhen Society in 1912 reflected the concern of Chinese scholars and cultural advocates to promote the appreciation of Chinese historical objects within China and appeal for their protection.

Chinese art in the West

The first book in a Western language to focus on the history of Chinese art was *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* written by Herbert A. Giles, Professor of Chinese at the University of Cambridge, England, and published in 1905 by Kelly and Walsh Limited, Shanghai.

In his preface, Giles mentioned some earlier publications including *Painting in the Far East: an Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia Especially China and Japan* by Laurence Binyon, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Far Eastern Art at the British Museum. Many of the illustrations in Giles’ and Binyon’s books were drawn from the William Anderson collection of some three thousand Japanese paintings and a smaller collection of Chinese paintings purchased for the British Museum in 1882. Anderson’s *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* appeared in 1886 claiming to be “the most complete account which at present exists of the general history of the subject”. In the late 1800s, the understanding of Chinese art in the Western world was largely mediated through Japan. Not until 1910, after the acquisition of some one hundred and fifty Chinese paintings collected by Olga-Julia Wegener during a period of residence in China, was another large-scale “Far Eastern” exhibition held at the British Museum. In that same year the museum published a *Guide to an Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings (Fourth to Nineteenth century A.D.)*, again written by Laurence Binyon. The exhibition included “Admonitions of the Instructress in the Palace”, a recently purchased scroll.

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92 Other books that are mentioned include M. Paléologue, *L’Art Chinois* (1887), and Frederick Hirth, *Über Fremde Einflüsse in der Chinesischen Kunst* (1896). Other early publications include Professor Hirth’s *Scraps from a Collector’s Note-book* (1905) and *Ancient History of China* (1908).


94 Olga-Julia Wegener was the wife of Dr Georg Wegener, secretary of the Berlin Geographical Society.
painting by Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之, ca. 345-ca. 406) and a group of twenty-five painted banners and one painting from the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang 敦煌莫高窟.95 The Dunhuang material formed part of a large collection of Buddhist manuscripts and paintings on silk taken by the British archaeologist Auriel Stein from the “Library Cave”, cave number 17 at Dunhuang, in 1907. Stein who was working under the auspices of the India Office and the Trustees of the British Museum, was energetic in his exploration of the Library Cave that had been discovered seven years earlier by a Chinese Daoist priest, and he returned to Dunhuang in 1912-1913 to remove more material. In total, he obtained more than twenty thousand objects which are now housed in the British Museum, the British Library and the Library of Indian Affairs in London and the Indian National Museum.96 The French Sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) followed Stein to Dunhuang and in 1908 he acquired some ten thousand manuscripts, papers and works of art, which are now in the Bibliothèque National de France and the Musée Guimet in Paris.97

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries leading museums in Japan and Europe established specialist East Asian collections in order to represent the art of one of the world’s major civilisations. In Japan, large and impressive collections of Chinese painting and other works of art had been formed over a long period of close economic and cultural interaction. As Christine M.E. Guth explains in her work on the “Mitsui circle,” over the centuries many important Chinese works of art from the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties entered the collections of shoguns, provincial lords, wealthy merchants and Buddhist temples, fuelled by the taste for “Chinese things” (karamono 唐物).98 In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries private collecting of traditional Chinese and Japanese art increased

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97 Ibid., pp.182-183. Edouard Chavannes, who was sponsored by the French Academy to investigate the Buddhist caves at Longmen in 1907-1908, also carried out extensive archaeological work in China and “acquired” important works of art that are now in French museums. See also Helen Nebeker Tomlinson, “Charles Lang Freer, Pioneer Collector of Oriental Art,” PhD thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1979, pp.536-537.
dramatically as a result of wealth generated by the industrial reforms of the Meiji government.\textsuperscript{99} Evidence of this activity may be seen in publications such as \textit{A Selection of Masterpieces of Japanese and Chinese Paintings (Wakan meiga-sen 和 漢 名 畫 選)} published by the Japanese art pictorial \textit{Kokka} in 1908, drawing on the extensive collections of Japanese and Chinese art within Japan. The inclusion of Chinese art highlighted the importance of China to the geocultural concept of “the East” which, according to Aida Yuen Yuen, “emerged with new clarity in the Meiji period (1868-1912) and acquired strong nationalistic connotations”.\textsuperscript{100}

In America the interest in “Far Eastern” art was partly inspired by Europe and partly had native roots established by diverse individuals from traders to the New England transcendentalists.\textsuperscript{101} A department of Oriental Art opened at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1890 with the collections of three Bostonians, Edward Sylvester Morse, William Sturgis Bigelow and Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853-1908) as its foundation.\textsuperscript{102} The primary focus of the Far Eastern collection was Japan. Later, from a knowledge of Japanese art, interest in Chinese art developed.

An influential figure in the development of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts collection of East Asian art was Okakura Kakuzō (岡倉覚三, 1862-1913). Okakura was one of the founders of \textit{Kokka}, a close friend of Fenollosa and Asian art advisor and curator of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1904 until his death in 1913.\textsuperscript{103} Okakura and Fenollosa had played key roles in the enactment of the 1897 Japanese Law for the Preservation of Old Shrines and Temples, which for the first time designated important works of art ‘national treasures’ (kokuhō 国寶) and prohibited their sale and export. The effect of this law was to allow Okakura and

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., p.129.
\textsuperscript{100} See Aida Yuen Yuen, “Inventing Eastern Art in Japan and China, ca. 1890s to ca. 1930s,” PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1999, UMI Dissertation Services, 1999, p.1. \textit{Kokka} also included articles profiling Chinese art works and collections. For example an article by the Japanese art critic Taki Seiichi titled “Art Treasures in the Collection of Mr Tuan-fang, Ex-Viceroy of Chih-li” was published in 1911. See \textit{The Kokka} 21, no.250 (1911), pp.259-266.
\textsuperscript{103} For a detailed discussion of Okakura and his writings, see John Clark,“Okakura Tenshin [Kakuzō] and Aesthetic Nationalism,” \textit{East Asian History}, forthcoming 2006. I am grateful to Professor Clark for providing me with a draft of this paper.
others to turn their focus on collecting to China.\textsuperscript{104} Okakura travelled to China a number of times and established an effective purchasing network through his nephew Hayashi Kokichi, who was resident in that country. In this way Okakura acquired some important Chinese artworks for the Boston museum.\textsuperscript{105}

In the 1890s the Detroit millionaire, Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), began collecting East Asian art. He made his first collecting trip to Japan in 1895, and later met Fenollosa who became his close friend and art advisor. Freer made collecting trips to Japan and China in 1907, 1909 and 1910-1911 and was regarded as the most knowledgeable American collector of East Asian art.\textsuperscript{106} From 1909 until his death in 1919 China was the focus of his collecting.\textsuperscript{107} Writing in 1910, he described the Chinese art market as “the great storehouse with its doors just beginning to swing open” compared to Japan, which had been “gone over with a fine-toothed comb”.\textsuperscript{108}

One of the paintings Freer acquired in 1914 was illustrated in *Famous Chinese Paintings (Zhongguo minghua ji)* the rival magazine to *the National Glories of Cathay*. The work was described as a Tang dynasty painting *Tianhuang xiang* (天皇像King of Heaven) by Wei Chi 尉遲. It was from the collection of Duanfang (端方, 1861-1911), a senior Qing

\textsuperscript{104} Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*, p.163.
\textsuperscript{106} Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, p.54. In 1906 Freer gifted his art works, and what would be added during his lifetime, to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. The collection came with a substantial sum of money to construct a purpose-built museum that would bear his name and form part of a proposed National Gallery of Art. The American public was given a preview of the collection in 1912, which attracted great attention from the press. In 1923 the Freer Gallery of Art was formally opened to the public.
\textsuperscript{107} Freer’s 1907 trip to Hong Kong and China was brief. He arrived in Hong Kong on 1 April, made a day trip to Canton on 3 April, arrived in Shanghai on 8 April and departed on 10 April. During his 1909 trip Freer spent six weeks in China. He arrived in Hong Kong on 31 August, stopped at Qingdao, Qufu and Tianjin and arrived in Beijing on 11 September, visited Tianjin on 1-9 October and on 12 October departed Beijing for Hankou, arrived in Nanking on 16 October, Shanghai on 17 October and departed Shanghai and China on 26 October. During the 1910-1911 trip Freer spent more than three months in China. He arrived in Shanghai on 11 September and departed on 15 September, travelled to Qufu and Tianjin before arriving in Beijing on 21 September and on 19 October departed for Chengde, Kaifeng and arrived at Longmen on 29 November and returned to Beijing on 16 November before departing on 21 December and departing Tianjin on 23 December. Freer diaries, Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. See also Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: a Study in International Relations*, p.57.
\textsuperscript{108} Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, p.64.
government official who was also an important collector and connoisseur. Copies of *Famous Chinese Paintings* had been sent to Freer by his friend Pecorini, who worked for the Imperial Customs in Shanghai. In a letter to Freer dated 8 July 1910 Pecorini wrote:

I have finally received the translations of the titles of the Chinese Magazines … . Under the ownership column you will remark that many pictures are in the hands of Mr. Ti Chu ching [Di Chuqing] the Manager of the Chinese paper called “Eastern Times” [Shi Bao]. I do not know him, but I believe he is a good man for you to meet. It will not be difficult I presume for you to find him out.

Di Chuqing (狄楚青) was the manager of the *Eastern Times* (Shi bao勢報) and the Youzheng Publishing Company (Youzheng shu ju有正書局) as well as being the founder of *Famous Chinese Paintings*. Like Deng Shi, Di Chuqing was a leading figure in art publishing in early twentieth-century Shanghai, a passionate and informed collector of Chinese art who featured his own collection prominently in the magazine he produced. It is not known whether Freer met Di Chuqing but given Freer’s tenacity as a collector it is likely he would have sought him out on Pecorini’s recommendation. While Freer purchased the painting from Dr John C. Ferguson who was then living in Beiping, it is clear from this example that journals such as *Famous Chinese Paintings* and the *National Glories of Cathay* played an important role in making private collections of Chinese art more accessible to foreign buyers, with foreign collectors and their advisors using Chinese art magazines as a guide for buying works of art.

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109 The painting was the opening plate of *Zhongguo minghua ji* 2 (1909). Freer Gallery of Art, registration number F1914.147a. The painting has since been re-attributed as a painting by an unknown artist of a Buddhist divinity, possibly Vaisrâvana, dating from the Yuan (1279-1368) or Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. I would like to thank curator Ingrid Larsen for her generous assistance and advice regarding this work.


111 In 1925 Huang Binhong worked as editor of *Famous Chinese Paintings*, and prior to then was also a member of the magazine’s authentication committee. Another painting, *Bamboo in the Wind* by Wu Zhen, published in *Zhongguo minghua ji*, volume 1 plate 4, entered the Freer collection in 1953 (F1953.85). It was purchased from Ton Ying and Co in New York after 1920. A painting of Han Shan and Shi De by the Ming dynasty artist Luo Ping (1733-1799) featured in *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, cited as being from the Shen family in Suzhou, is now in the collection of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum in Kansas City. It was acquired by that museum in 1933. See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: the Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art in association with Indiana University Press, 1980), cat. 272. It is possible that the painting’s journey out of China began with its appearance in *Shenzhou guoguang ji*. 
Freer visited Shanghai and met with dealers and collectors on each of his trips.\textsuperscript{112} So far no evidence has come to light to suggest that Freer met Deng Shi, Huang Binhong, or others involved with the Cathay Art Union, although it is possible that their paths crossed.\textsuperscript{113} Within the art world news travelled fast and Freer’s activity may have prompted some of the more general comment in the pages of the \textit{National Glories of Cathay}. Freer met with Pecorini, Ferguson and a Dr Cox, all of whom were collectors of Chinese art. They were also members of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a culturally active group of foreigners with whom Huang Binhong also had contact.

The art market was an active arena where those in need of money could realise their assets and those with money could readily secure fine works of art. Magazines such as the \textit{National Glories of Cathay} worked hard to keep important works of art in the country, but many individuals were attracted by the high prices that foreign buyers were prepared to pay. Ferguson described the situation in early 1913:

\begin{quote}
It has been the custom since time immemorial to settle debts on the day before the New Year … [I]t seemed certain to me that some of the Manchu Princes would need ready money before the New Year and that they would be selling some of their things which would attract least attention and bring most money. I waited in great suspense until February 4\textsuperscript{th} and nothing came out of the Prince’s palaces, though I had several friends on the look out. Finally on the afternoon of the 4\textsuperscript{th} two beautiful paintings came out and before the night of the 5\textsuperscript{th} I had succeeded in getting several of the best things that I have ever seen.\textsuperscript{114}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{112} Freer spent a greater amount of time in Beiping. In his travel diaries Freer records various meetings in Shanghai. For example in Shanghai on 8 April 1907 he records “made purchases from Fuen Kee and Ma Zuh Kee and others,” on 9 April “final dealings with Ma Zuh Kee and Fuen Kee”. In Shanghai in 1909 on 22 October he records he records “With Yamanaka & Tomita to Ma Chang Kee and other shops,” on 24 October With Mr Pecorini to garden & museum & shops & Dr. Cox colln.,” on 25 October “Paid Ma Zuh Kee $900.00, saw other dealers”. In Shanghai in 1910 he records on 11 September “Ma Zu Kee, Van Yuen Tsar—saw pottery & paintings,” on 13 September “Luncheon with Dr. Ferguson & Mr & Mrs Tucker. With Dr. F to home of Mr Hwang, [bot] pottery of Mr Hwang and saw his collection”. Freer diaries, Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

\textsuperscript{113} The copies of \textit{Shenzhou guoguang ji} in the library of the Freer and Sackler Museums were not part of Freer’s original library, unlike the copies of \textit{Zhongguo minghua ji}.

\textsuperscript{114} Ferguson, letter to De Forest of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 11 February 1913, Archives of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
\end{footnotes}
In a letter to Freer, written in May the following year, Ferguson commented on the continued flow of fine artworks from the collections of former courtiers and government officials and wealthy families who had fallen on hard times:

The market here has never been so favourable as at present according to the opinion of the most experienced dealers. This has been due to the necessity of selling collections on the part of those who are no longer in office. All of the things which I have bought come from good collectors who have wanted to sell as quietly as possible. It has nearly driven me to bankruptcy to try and buy as much as I have … I have believed that now is the best time for purchases and have done my best to secure all that I have been able to pay for.115

The political and economic ramifications of the fall of the Manchu-Qing dynasty and the establishment of the provisional Republic were felt throughout China. Writing from Shanghai in 1915, the Chinese collector and dealer Pang Laichen (龐萊臣zi Yuanji 元濟, 1864-1944), who was a member of the Zhen Society and well known to Huang Binhong, wrote to Freer:

Since the revolution in China odd pieces of pictures from old collectors have occasionally been offered and many have been collected by me.116

One of the most celebrated Chinese paintings acquired by Freer is the *Nymph of the Lo River*, attributed to Gu Kaizhi, who was active in the fourth century CE (Figure 3.12). The painting was originally in the collection of Duanfang and was purchased by Freer with the assistance of Dr John C. Ferguson.117 Freer had seen the painting during his visit to China in 1910 when he met with Duanfang.118

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117 In 1913 The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York acquired a large collection of Chinese paintings assembled by Ferguson. In finalising the acquisitions there were differences of opinion between Ferguson and the Museum over attributions and the quality of certain paintings. The *Nymph of the Lo River* originally formed part of the collection collection offered to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but was rejected. See Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture*, p.71.
118 In 1914 Ferguson wrote to Freer about the painting “The son of the late Viceroy [Duanfang] came to me and asked me to go with him to see his mother. They were most anxious to effect a sale as they had certain obligations to meet before the Fifth Moon Festival. You know that Chinese obligations fall due on the three great festivals. The family has been left with not much else than the art specimens which the father collected during his lifetime … . If the money could not be obtained at once the sale could not be effected. Your prompt reply saved the day”. Ferguson, letter to Freer, 26 May, 1914, p.2, Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington D.C. See also Lawton, *Times of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art*, The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures XII (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991), p.31.
Freer purchased many objects in Duanfang’s collection from his widow, using Ferguson as the intermediary, including the ‘Tang’ painting mentioned earlier. Through their work as government officials and a shared interest in Chinese art, scholarship and collecting, the lives of Duanfang and Ferguson intersected repeatedly. Ferguson first travelled to China in 1887 as a missionary, and worked there for ten years, before accepting a position to head Nanyang Public School (Nanyang gongxue 南洋公學) in Shanghai. His friendship with Sheng Xuanhuai (盛宣懷, 1844-1916), a leading businessman and cultural entrepreneur, led to a number of key government appointments including foreign advisor to the governors-general of Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui provinces (1898-1911), advisor to the Republican government and to the President until 1928. While working as a foreign advisor Ferguson met Duanfang, who was a young governor-general himself.

Huang Binhong and Ferguson were also known to one another. It is likely that they first met in Shanghai, through their involvement in the newspaper and publishing industry and a shared interest in Chinese art. From 1899-1929 Ferguson was President of the News (Sin Wan Pao 新聞報), one of Shanghai’s most influential daily newspapers, and from 1907 to 1911 was the proprietor of the English language Shanghai Times. Ferguson was also an active member of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (亞洲文會 or NCBRAS), Shanghai, which he joined in 1896. The aim of the NCBRAS was to “promote the knowledge of China among foreigners resident in or visiting China”. Members of the Association included a distinguished array of people with an interest in Chinese studies and a small number of local Chinese. Members included Freer’s contact Pecorini who worked at the Imperial Customs Shanghai. The association rooms incorporated a library and a museum that were open to the public.

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119 Duanfang’s collection of calligraphy and paintings was largely assembled during the tumultuous years of the Opium and Taiping wars which spanned the Xianfeng (1851-1861) and Tongzhi (1862-1874) periods, when many treasures came onto the market. See Lawton, *Times of Transition*, pp.1-2, 30.
120 See Thomas Lawton’s biographies of Duanfang and Ferguson, *Times of Transition*.
122 The Sin Wan Pao was founded in 1893 as a Sino-foreign newspaper, later owned by Buchheister & Co (American) and in 1899 bought by John C. Ferguson. See Lin Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1936), p.93 and Lawton, *Times of Transition*, p.84.
123 Pecorini was elected in 1909. Other members included Ting I-hsien, Customs Statistical Department Shanghai (elected 1890), George Ernest Morrison, Peking (elected 1897), Paul Pelliot, Ecole Francaise
public. The museum had a natural history focus but in 1912 also began to exhibit Chinese art. The society held a lively program of lectures and exhibitions that attracted an increasingly large audience of local Chinese.

Ferguson was honorary editor of the society’s journal from 1902 to 1911 and over the course of his life published thirty-eight articles in its pages, many related to Chinese art. He also produced numerous books and reference works on Chinese art in English and Chinese. While the extent of Huang Binhong and Ferguson’s contact in Shanghai is undocumented, their shared interests and involvements would have drawn them together in the years prior to Ferguson’s relocation to Beiping in 1911.

An example of the contact between Western and Chinese collectors in Shanghai at this time was the exhibition of “Chinese Bronzes and Pictorial Art” drawn from Chinese and expatriate collections proposed by the NCBRAS in December 1911. The organising committee included Florence Wheeler Ayscough (1878-1942), Dr du Bois-Reymond, Pang Laichen and Di Chuqing among others.


124 Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Collection of Herr Rudolf Mahnfeldt, Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, 5 Museum Road, Shanghai, 7-9 June, 1912.


126 Ferguson developed a large collection of Chinese art and wrote extensively on Chinese art history. Ferguson also published a number of books on Chinese art, many of which incorporated paintings from his own collection. Titles include Outlines of Chinese Art (University of Chicago Press, 1919); Chinese Painting (University of Chicago Press, 1927) and Survey of Chinese Art (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1940). His most lasting and valuable contribution to art historical scholarship, however, was the compilation of two catalogues of Chinese paintings and bronzes, Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties (Lidai zhulu hua mu) (University of Nanking, 1934) and Catalogue of the Recorded Bronzes of Successive Dynasties (Lidai zhulu jijin mu) (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1939). Owing to his long period of residence in China, his great facility with the Chinese language and his knowledge of Chinese art, Ferguson became an advisor to a number of American collectors and museum directors, including Freer and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In this way he played an important role in the formation of key collections of Chinese art in America. See Lawton, Times of Transition, pp. 65-97, and Xiao Min “Meiguo chuanjaioshi Fu Kaisen” in Yang Hao, Ye Lan, eds., Jiu Shanghai fenyun renwu (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), pp.554-561.

127 Reflecting a partnership between Chinese and foreign collectors the exhibition was to be held in the new library built by Sheng Xuanhuai (H.E.Sheng Kung-pao). The exhibition did not, however, go ahead owing to political disturbance and instability associated with the 1911 Revolution. See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch XLIII (1912), p.197.

128 Other members of the organising committee were E.D.H. Fraser, Dr Stanley, Dr Hinckley, P. von Buri, R. Mahnfeldt and B. Twyman as well as “Ch’en Sung Ching, Ho Hsi Po, Hu Erh Mei, Kan Han Chien, Kuan Fu Ch’a, Li Ping Hsu, Lu Lien Fa, Lin Sung Pu.” See “Exhibition of Chinese Art Bronzes and Paintings,” Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch XLII (1911), unpaginated.
Although Huang Binhong was not on the organising committee he was familiar with many of its members.\textsuperscript{129} From Huang Binhong’s letters we know that he was well known to the German doctor and collector du Bois-Reymond who was a Councillor of the NCBRAS and one of the instigators of the Shanghai Museum Association for Paintings and Ancient Bronzes \textit{(Shanghai bowuguan minghua gutonghui 上海博物館名畫古銅會)}. Dr du Bois-Reymond’s wife was English and, according to Huang Binhong, the daughter of a well-known watercolour artist. The du Bois-Reymonds lived in Shenximo Road (now \textit{Shaanxi nanlu}), the same street as Huang Binhong, and were in regular contact.\textsuperscript{130} They had a common interest in Song dynasty painting and and may well have had conversations about English watercolour painting as well. The inscription on a large painting by Huang Binhong dated 1917 and dedicated to du Bois-Reymond and his wife confirms their friendship, which was based on a shared appreciation of ancient Chinese painting.\textsuperscript{131} (Figure 3.13) Huang had viewed their collection of Chinese art:

\begin{quote}
Paintings by the Song dynasty artist Li Xigu [Li Tang] compare favourably with those by Li Sixun of the Tang and were greatly admired by Layman Liuru [Tang Yin] of the Ming. Dr du Bois-Reymond and his wife have a great love of ancient Chinese painting and have developed a rich collection including many masterpieces. I have had the good fortune of examining them all, which brought delight to my eyes. Now I create a painting for you in a style of the ancients, which I present with respect.\textsuperscript{132}
\end{quote}

The painting is executed in a Song style, inspired by the big axe-cut textural strokes (\textit{da fupi cun} 大斧劈皴) of Li Tang (李唐, ca. 1050-after 1130).\textsuperscript{133} Huang’s friendship with the du Bois-Reymonds points to the common intellectual ground that he shared not only with them but with many members of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Huang appraised the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{129} See Hong Zaixin, “Yi shi yanguang qiu yishu zhen di: tan Binhong xiansheng dui xueshu jiaowang de zhuojian gaoshi,” in \textit{Han Mo} 15, (February 1990), pp.82-97.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Huang Binhong, letter to Zeng Xiangting (also a doctor) 23 May [most probably from the early 1950s], \textit{Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian}, pp.199-220.
\item \textsuperscript{131} The painting is in the collection of the Museum of East Asian Art Cologne (A 55,46). It is very similar in style to the first of the \textit{Chunhui Tang} scrolls in the Anhui Museum, Hefei, discussed in Chapter Four.
\item \textsuperscript{133} For a stylistically and thematically related painting, see the long handscroll painted for Cai Shou that dates from around 1913. In this painting Huang also shows his admiration for the Song artist Li Tang and in the inscription Huang tells the viewer that he has adapted Li Tang’s characteristic axe-head textural strokes, used in the painting “Chang xia jiang shi tu,” for his own use in the depiction the landscape of Tangchi at Huangshan. See \textit{Huang Binhong huaji} (Hong Kong, 1961), plate 4.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
collections of other westerners in Shanghai, including Chinese paintings owned by Dr S.M. Cox who was also a member of the NCBRAS and whose collection Freer had seen during his visit to Shanghai in October 1909.134

In a letter to Liu Yazi written in 1915, and subsequently published in Nanshe congke, Huang Binhong mentioned a meeting with a couple of European friends to discuss research interests.135 And in a letter to a friend written in 1943, Huang Binhong recalled an incident decades earlier when he was invited by Xuan Zhe to a club on the Bund where foreign collectors gathered. People were examining a Song dynasty album leaf from a Western dealer’s collection, which Huang Binhong knew was by Liang Kai (梁楷, active 1200s). Xuan Zhe encouraged Huang to identify the painting publicly, which he was able to do. Chinese and foreign books were produced to prove the case. As a result Huang Binhong is said to have become celebrated as a connoisseur amongst Western collectors.136

Through his contact with people such as du Bois-Reymond and Cox, Huang Binhong gained an understanding of what foreigners most appreciated in Chinese painting. This was part of a strategy to improve the status of Chinese painting at home by promoting a greater awareness of it internationally. Huang Binhong did not speak English, but the appearance of English words in a number of his published writings and manuscripts suggests some awareness of languages other than Chinese. In writing the preface for New Techniques in Painting (Xin hua fa 新 畫 法) by Chen Shuren in 1914, first mentioned in Chapter One, Huang Binhong talked of the correspondences between past and present, using the English phrase “There is no new thing under the sun” to emphasise his point.137 And in an unpublished manuscript thought to have been written in 1924 which gives a brief overview of Western art and art techniques, the names of artists and technical terms have been written in English alongside their Chinese

135 See Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.129.
136 Huang Binhong, letter to Fu Lei, 14 December [1943], Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian, p.212. Huang referred to the owner of the painting as a businessman from Serbia and likely to have been E.A. Strehleneek. See also Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.109.
137 Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang, p.88.
translations. This was the convention followed in books and journal articles at the time and reflects Huang’s publishing experience. Given his philological bent, he may also have been interested in the original words from which the Chinese transliterations had derived.

One foreign Shanghai resident with whom Huang Binhong has a relatively well-documented involvement was the Latvian, E.A. Strehlneek. In 1914 Strehlneek published *Chinese Pictorial Art* (*Zhongguo minghua ji 中國名畫集*), which documented a collection of paintings and works of art that was acquired by Klas Fahraeus of Stockholm in Sweden. Included in the publication was a “Note by a Chinese Connoisseur” and a “Note by a Famous Artist” written by Huang Binhong and Wu Changshuo respectively. The designation of Huang Binhong as a ‘Chinese connoisseur’ acknowledges his status as a connoisseur at that time.

Strehlneek wrote in the preface to *Chinese Pictorial Art* that he had lived in China for more than twenty years. He started out as a customs inspector examining works proposed for export. When he became a member of the NCBRAS in 1912, Strehlneek cited Chinese Maritime Customs as his place of work. As a customs officer Strehlneek would have seen a large number of antiquities. Perhaps through his job he developed the contacts and expertise to become a dealer.

Huang and Wu’s endorsements gave Strehlneek and his collection greater credibility than they might otherwise have had. Huang commended Strehlneek for committing his collection to print, thereby increasing the understanding of Chinese works of art among foreigners. This followed the intention of the editors of *National Glories of Cathay* to promote a greater awareness of and access to Chinese art. Yet Strehlneek was not only a dealer who gained

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140 In a supplement, which featured bronze, ceramics and jade, Strehlneek acknowledged Huang Binhong’s assistance in the preparation of the text. See E.A. Strehlneek, *Supplement Illustrating a Few Interesting Pieces of Bronze, Ceramics and Jade* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914).
financially from the sale, but he was a Westerner who had sold a large number of works to a private collector overseas.

Then, as now, the cost of printing a deluxe volume of artworks with many colour plates was high. Only the wealthy or those with a good prospect of a commercial return would go to such expense. In 1916, the wealthy Shanghai businessman and collector Pang Laichen and the art dealer Lai Yuan Company (Laiyuan gongsi 來遠公司), published deluxe, bi-lingual volumes of paintings from their collections and sent them to wealthy overseas collectors in the hope of securing sales.\textsuperscript{142} Antique Famous Chinese Paintings Collected by P’ang Lai Ch’en which included paintings said to date from the Tang, Five Dynasties, Song and Yuan dynasties was sent to Charles Lang Freer. Freer had met Pang in 1910 and they maintained a genial correspondence until Freer’s demise in 1919. Freer purchased nineteen of the seventy paintings in the catalogue and many others were purchased by his American collector friends Mrs Havemeyer and Mrs Meyer.\textsuperscript{143} Huang was well known to Pang. They were both members of the Shanghai Association for the Research of Calligraphy and Painting (Shanghai shuhua yanjiu hui 上海書畫研究會, established in 1910), the Zhen Society and a number of other organisations.\textsuperscript{144}

One can speculate on commercial ventures such as these that resulted in artworks going overseas. Huang was, after all, a member of the Association for the Preservation of the National

\textsuperscript{142} The preceding year Pang Laichen published a catalogue to accompany a collection of his paintings that were exhibited in the Panama International Exposition in 1912. The collection, he said, had “repeatedly stood the scientific scrutiny of many Western connoisseurs, who, happening to be in Shanghai, never omitted to call and see them”. P’ang Lai Ch’en, Preface, Biographies of Famous Chinese Paintings from the Private Collections of Mr L.C. Pang (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1915), p.1. In its printed publication the Lai Yuan Company directly appealed to Freer: “I now present this catalogue to the United States in order to give the people some knowledge of the pictorial art of China from the T’ang and Sung dynasties to the present day, and to help the New World to appreciate the pursuit of ancient art. To this end I now submit the paintings which I have collected during several years of laborious search to Mr Freer and hope they will win his full approval”. F.S. Kwen, Preface to Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient and Genuine Chinese Paintings (Shanghai: Lai Yuan Company, 1916), p.ii. Freer did not buy any of these paintings and an additional print run of one hundred copies was distributed by C.T. Loo of New York to other potential American buyers. See copy in the Freer Gallery of Art Library, which is No. 68 of the limited edition. It was presented to Mrs P. Cooper Hewitt and is inscribed “with homage of C.T. Loo, Dec. 23rd 1916”.

\textsuperscript{143} Pang Laichen, letter to Freer, translation of letter received January 31 1917, pp.1-2; also 28 June 1915, p.1. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

\textsuperscript{144} See Tsuruta Takeyoshi, ed., Min’okoku bijutsu gakkô hitsugyô dôgaku-roku, Bijutsu dantai kain-roku shûsei, 2, 3, 4, (1991), p.222. I would like to thank John Clark for access to this and other writings by Tsuruta.
Essence and a founder of Zhenshe, and involved with journals such as the National Glories of Cathay. In the case of Strehlncek, perhaps we can assume that Huang knew the collection was not first class and therefore was not concerned about those works leaving the country. Yet they were of sufficient quality for him, a respected connoisseur, to be associated with the enterprise.

A number of years later the story of the Strehlncek collection was detailed in an article concerning ancient paintings leaving the country, published in the art supplement to the Shibao newspaper. It is thought to have been written by Huang Binhong, who was editor of the supplement at that time. The article suggests that Strehlncek was assisted by Florence Ayscough and two other foreigners and that the authentication of the works was undertaken by “a couple of Europeans,” thus distancing Huang Binhong from a direct role in the project. The article expressed admiration for an enterprise that placed Chinese paintings in a European collection that was to be housed in a dedicated building. Huang Binhong believed that it was advantageous for audiences in the West to have access to examples of Chinese art and that international recognition of Chinese painting could exert a positive influence at home. In this context Huang’s direct engagement with a Western dealer-collector is a further example of the cross-cultural interactions occurring in Shanghai at the time as a modern centre of business and culture.

Huang Binhong may also have had dealings with Strehlncek and other foreigners through the antique shop that he and Xuan Zhe established in Qipu Road (Qipu lu) in 1913. Few details are known about the All Embracing Studio Antique Shop (Zhouhezhai guwan dian), but it appears to have been in operation for at least three years. Huang wrote a couplet for the shop: “For an eternity the teachings of the ancients have informed the present. They are are concentrated in precious natural and skillfully crafted objects.” Huang Binhong’s involvement with the shop may have been a response to the large volume of antiquities circulating in the market place, and a desire to influence the fate of particular objects at a time when there were no public museums in China. Throughout his life Huang Binhong

145 Huang Binhong, “Gu hua chu yang,” in Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang, pp.94-96.
146 Wang Zhongxiu, Huang Binhong nianpu, p.110. Li Ruiqing prepared calligraphy for the shop sign. See also Huang Binhong, letter to Liu Yazi quoted in Wang Gailu, Huang Binhong xianshengnianpu chugao, p.29.
frequented markets and antique shops. Like many literati before him, he was an active collector and liked to trade pieces as well, as an expression of connoisseurship as much as for any commercial reasons. It is hard not to link Huang Binhong’s entrepreneurial interests with his family background and the close relationship between art appreciation, scholarship and mercantile activity that existed in Shexian over many generations. Huang Binhong’s apparently contradictory involvement with organisations such as the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Zhen Society on the one hand and Strehnneek and the antique shop on the other, reveals the complex nature of the art world in China and the close connection been between art and business, even among the scholarly elite. Huang Binhong grew up in an environment where trade and art were interconnected. As the son of a typical Huizhou merchant it could be said that he developed a ‘trading nature’ from a young age.

Through his exposure to the extraordinary number of artworks circulating on the art market in Shanghai, Huang Binhong honed his skills as a connoisseur. Connoisseurship was an important aspect of research and contributed significantly not only to his writing on art history, but also to the development of his own particular artistic practice.

Huang Binhong’s involvement with national studies, art publishing, connoisseurship and the art market needs to be considered within the broader context of social change in China at the turn of the century. Sharing the strong desire felt by many scholars to formulate, protect and preserve national culture, he participated in the redefinition of the literati after the collapse of the Qing dynasty and against the backdrop of modernisation. Working with Huang Jie and Deng Shi at the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence and the Cathay Art Union, Huang Binhong was in a unique position to utilise new technologies and the mass media to bring art historical scholarship to a wider audience. By advocating an active engagement with the past, as well as the present, through the publication of high quality, large-scale reproductions of art works, Huang Jie, Deng Shi and Huang Binhong sought to build a viable cultural future for their imperilled nation. Through the magazine and related activities they struggled to minimise cultural loss and make the past more immediate, accessible and relevant. Huang Binhong’s involvement with these organisations during his years in Shanghai became a defining expression of his intellectual and artistic development.