

**The Dark Side of the Mountain:
Huang Binhong (1865-1955) and artistic continuity in
twentieth century China**

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**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
the
Australian National University**

2005

Declaration

This thesis is my own original work

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Abstract

This thesis is an interpretive study of the life and art of Huang Binhong (1865-1955). It uses empirical and textual analysis to examine the landscape paintings of Huang Binhong in particular and places them within the historical context of a period of unprecedented political and social change in China. The thesis explores the background to Huang Binhong's creative practice and the development of his artistic style and vision. It investigates Huang's training as a Confucian scholar and his multiple identities as painter, art historian, art editor, teacher, collector and connoisseur. The first two chapters place Huang within the cultural milieu of the Lower Yangtze Valley and his ancestral home in Anhui, noting the influence of Xin'an artists and examining paintings of Huangshan; Chapters Three and Four examine Huang Binhong's working life and milieu in Shanghai, his art historical writings and his work to authenticate paintings in the collection of the Palace Museum, and considers the influence of his work as editor and scholar on his artistic practice. Chapter Five follows Huang's travels to Guangxi, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Sichuan, exploring the effect of contact with different landscapes on the evolution of his artistic style. Chapters Six and Seven locate him in Beijing during the Japanese occupation, a period of artistic reflection and experimentation in which the artist's interest in "darkness" intensified. Chapter Eight examines Huang Binhong's move to Hangzhou in 1948 and the impact of the establishment of the People's Republic of China on his life and his late artistic style. Chapter Nine is a detailed examination of paintings from 1952 to 1955. In Chapter Ten I briefly discuss the legacy of Huang Binhong and reflect on a visit to his ancestral home in Shexian, Anhui in 2004.

Acknowledgements

In presenting this thesis I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following individuals and institutions without whose support and interest the research and writing would not have been possible nor would it have been as rich and satisfying.

It was a great privilege to receive a PhD scholarship from the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS) at the Australian National University (ANU) and it has been a pleasure to study with Professor Geremie Barmé. Professor Barmé is an inspiring scholar who has generously shared his knowledge and provided encouragement and support throughout. His comments on the thesis at key junctures helped shape the work into its final form. I am also grateful to my other supervisors Professor John Clark at the University of Sydney and Professor Roger Benjamin, during his period of residence at the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, ANU. At the ANU special thanks are owed to Maxine McArthur and Marion Weeks for their close reading of the manuscript and advice on editorial matters, and to Gabrielle Cameron, Oanh Collins, Kay Dancey, Lo Hui-min and Helen Lo, Heather Mann, Brian Martin, Dorothy McIntosh, Pam O’Keeffe and Mc Comas Taylor; at the National Library of Australia, Andrew Gosling and Wan Wong; and Alastair Morrison and Haruki Yoshida.

During fieldwork I benefited from the generosity of many people. In Hangzhou I would like to thank the staff at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum for their hospitality and the tremendous assistance I was given in my research over repeated visits, in particular Bao Fuxing, Cai Xiaohui, Chen Hao, Li Gang, Liu Haiqin, Shen Bingyao, Wang Hongli, Wang Zhongwei, Wei Ping, Xu Yongfu, Yu Jianyong, Zhao Yanjun and Zhou Guiquan. In particular I thank Luo Jianqun, curator of the Huang Binhong Memorial Museum, and Cha Yongling, Registrar, who have graciously shared their knowledge of the Huang Binhong collection at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. In Hangzhou I would also like to thank Huang

Yingjia, Lu Xin, Professor Wang Bomin and Zhao Zhijun for their generosity and Chen Haiyan, Lis Jung, Roswitha Nieser, Sun Xizheng, Tang Song and Xiao Lu.

One of the key people who has answered many questions and provided important intellectual support is Wang Zhongxiu, editor of the collected writings of Huang Binhong (*Huang Binhong wenji*) and author of the most recent and comprehensive Huang Binhong chronology (*Huang Binhong nianpu*). Wang Zhongxiu kindly provided me with an early draft of his chronology, the publication of which was delayed making it impossible for me to fully consider all of his findings in the finalisation of this thesis (though references to the final published volume are included). Staff at the Shanghai Museum were also very helpful in particular Chen Kelun, Chen Xiejun, Huang Peng, Shan Guolin and Zhou Yanqun. In Shanghai I also benefited greatly from meetings with Huang Jian, Lu Fusheng and Wang Kangle, and staff at the Shanghai Library and from Chen Yanyin, Chip Rolley, Shen Jun, Yu Youhan and Leslie Zhao.

I am most grateful to Bao Yilai and Wang Zhongxiu for arranging a memorable trip to Anhui. I was well looked after by staff at the Anhui Provincial Museum, in particular thank Hu Qinmin, Huang Xiuying and Shi Gufeng, and staff at the Shexian Cultural Heritage Bureau and Huang Binhong House Museum in Tandu, notably Ba Cui, Bao Lei, Bao Shumin, Chen Hang, Cheng Qianjin, Feng Jianping and Wang Jianjun. I also enjoyed and benefited from a chance meeting with Huang Gaoyu.

In Hong Kong I was given great encouragement and support by the late Dr Qian Xuewen who generously showed me many paintings in his collection, and his wife Huang Changling. I am also grateful for the help of staff at the Hong Kong Museum of Art, notably Dr. Christina K.L. Chu, Yuen-kit Szeto, Tang Hing-sun and Carmen Zhang Jiawen; at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, especially Jean K.M. Hung, Professor Lee Yun Woon, Professor David Parker, Professor Jennifer So, Teresa To; at Hong Kong University Professor Wan Qingli and Lucinda Wong, as well as Professor Mayching Gao, K.Y. Ng, Helen Parker and Ed Stokes. At the Singapore Art Museum I was assisted by Low Sze Wee and Szan Tan.

In Beijing I spent time at Peking University under the Australian National University's Exchange Agreement and was kindly assisted by Manli Zhou. At the National Art Museum of China I was given generous access to the collection and would like to thank Feng Yuan, Han Weiguo, Liu Xiling, Xu Hong, Xun Hongjian, Yu Qin and Zheng Zuoliang; at the Palace Museum, Duan Yong, Li Shaoyi, Meng Sihui, the late Zhu Jiajin, and library staff; at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Pan Gongkai, Shao Dazhen, Shao Yiyang, Yin Shuangxi, and library staff; at the Fine Art Research Institute, Lang Shaojun, Shui Tianzhong, Wang Lin and Xu Ling, as well as Peter Coyne, Bruce Doar, Fu Min, Brian Martin, Huang Miaozi, Alfreda Murck and Yu Feng.

I was fortunate to view Huang Binhong paintings in the collection of the Rietberg Museum in Zurich and thank Professor Helmut Brinker, Dr Albert Lutz, Lukas Nickel and Alexandra V. Przychowski. At the State Museum of Berlin my thanks go to Dr Herbert Butz, Uta Rahmann-Steinert as well as Alfred Kernd'l, and in Frankfurt Stephan von der Schulenburg; at the British Museum, Christopher Date, Anne Farrer, Jane Portal and Garry Thorn; in Oxford, Professor Michael Sullivan and his late wife Khoan Sullivan; at the Ashmolean Museum, Shelagh Vainker and James Lin; at the British Council, Chris Campbell, and in London, Craig Clunas, Fou Ts'ong and Patsy Toh, Christine Nordon, Roderick Whitfield, Verity Wilson, and Frances Wood; at the National Gallery in Prague, Michaela Pejcochova; at the Museum of Asia and the Pacific in Warsaw, Joanna Wasilewska-Dobkowska; at the Musée Cernuschi in Paris, Gilles Beguin; and at the Museum of East Asian Art Cologne, Dr Bettina Clever.

My research benefited enormously from a three-month pre-doctoral fellowship at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. The Freer and Sackler have rich collections, supported by a remarkable archive and research library. It is an institution that supports and welcomes scholars. In particular I would like to thank Director Dr Julian Raby, my supervisor Dr Joseph Chang, as well as Marjan Adib, Stephen Allee, Ann Gunter, Colleen Hennessey, Carol Huh, Susan Kitsoulis, Rocky Korr, Ingrid Larsen, Yukio Lippit, Bruce Morrison, Linda Radich, Sarah Shay, Jan Stuart,

Reiko Yoshimura, Bruce Young and fellow scholars in residence Candy Chan, Hao Sheng and Lara Ingeman. At The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York I would like to thank Barbara File, Maxwell Hearn, Jason Sun and Hwailing Yeh-Lewis; at New York University, Associate Professor Jonathon Hay and Jenni Rodda; at Williams College, Diane Hart and Rachel Tassone; at Stanford University Art Museum, Britta Erikson and John Listopad; in San Francisco, Jung-Ying Tsao; at the Sackler Foundation in New York, Trudi Kawami. I would also like to thank Professor James Cahill, Robert Ellsworth, Wenda Gu, Associate Professor Hong Zaixin, Professor Wen C. Fong, Associate Professor Jason C. Kuo, Professor Chu-Tsing Li and Marilyn Wong Gleysteen for stimulating conversations as well as Barbara Ashbrook, Nova and Jarvis Rockwell, Ginny Papaioannou, Simon Schama, Jason Steuber, Gratia Williams, Xing Fei and Yang Siliang.

The journey towards this thesis was prompted by unfinished business arising from a Masters degree supervised by Professor Pierre Ryckmans at the University of Melbourne. While living and working in Hong Kong in the 1970s Professor Ryckmans encountered and was moved by the paintings of Huang Binhong. His remarkably fluent and insightful translations of Huang Binhong's sayings on art were made accessible to audiences in a catalogue for an exhibition held at the Hong Kong Arts Centre in 1980.¹ That, combined with my own "discovery" of Huang Binhong's paintings as an undergraduate student in the Chinese painting department at the Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing in 1979, inspired this thesis.

In Australia I would also like to thank Dr Mae-Anna Pang and Julietta Park at the National Gallery of Victoria for access to paintings in their collection, my good friend Sang Ye for long conversations and answering many questions, Jia Yong for help reading letters and difficult calligraphic inscriptions, and to friends and colleagues who have provided support and inspiration: Ah Xian and Mali Hong, Murray Bail, Stephen Chiang, Susette

¹ *An Exhibition of Works by Huang Binhong (Huang Binhong zuopin zhan)* held at the Pao Sui Loong Galleries, Hong Kong Arts Centre (Hong Kong: Xianggang yishu zhongxin, Xianggang daxueyishu xi, 1980).

Cooke, Peter Coyne, Eva Czernis-Ryl, Paul Donnelly, Mary Featherston and Professor Vladimir Rittenberg, Guan Wei and Liu Liwen, Ning Zhen, Judith O'Callaghan, Ann Stephen, the late Bronwyn Thomas, Sue Trevaskes, Carrillo Gantner and Ziyin Wang-Gantner.

Thanks are also due to the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, for supporting my decision to study and being generous with leave arrangements. In particular I would like to thank the Director, Dr Kevin Fewster, Deputy Director, Jennifer Sanders, Manager of Collections and Research, Michael Desmond, Head of Graphic Design, Colin Rowan, for patiently teaching me how to create the illustrations for this thesis, Ryan Hernandez for advice on scanning images, and my colleagues in the Department of International Decorative Arts and Design for their understanding. The final thanks go to Nicholas Jose who encouraged me on this journey and has given remarkable support throughout.

Illustrations

Introduction

Chapter One

Map 1 The Jiangnan region encompassing Anhui. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.145).

Figures

- 1.1 Photograph of Huang Binhong's mother. Collection of the Huang Binhong House Museum, Tandu village, Shexian.
- 1.2 The Lian River at Shexian, Anhui Province. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 1.3 View from the Gudan bridge in Shexian, looking towards Huangshan. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 1.4 Xiao Yuncong (1596-1674). *The Great and Little Mount Jing*. Woodblock-printed illustration in *Taiping shanshui tu*, edited by Zhang Wanxuan. Dated 1648. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.31).
- 1.5 Ding Yunpeng (1547-ca.1621). *Dusky Mountain Collection of Books*. Woodblock-printed design for ink cakes in *Fangshi mopu*, edited by Fang Yulu. Dated 1588, and Ding Yunpeng, landscape painting, dated 1585, originally reproduced in *Shenzhou daguan*, no.6. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.27.)
- 1.6 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou (ZPM24397).
- 1.7 Chen Chunfan. *Portrait of the Huang Family (Jia qing tu)*, handscroll, ink and colours on paper. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou, and 1.7a details.
- 1.8 Photograph of Huang Binhong as a young man. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 1.9 Photograph of Hong Siguo in the courtyard of the family home in Tandu village, Shexian. Collection of the Huang Binhong House Museum, Tandu village.
- 1.10 Chen Chongguang, *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong nianpu*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005.)
- 1.11 Zheng Shan, *In Imitation of Ni Zan*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Album dated 1878. Private collection.
- 1.12 Entrance of the Huang Binhong House Museum, formerly The Hall of Virtue Embraced, in Tandu village, Shexian, and lane leading to the Huang Binhong House Museum. Photographs by the author, April 2004.
- 1.13 Huangtun, and 1.13a Tandu Bridge, on the way to Tandu village. Photographs by the author, April 2004.
- 1.14 Site of the former Binhong Pavilion, on the way to Tandu village. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 1.15 Huang Lü. "Waiting for the moon by the bank of the river", album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper, from *Eight Views of Tandu*. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou (ZPM 21865), and 1.15a another leaf from the same album.

Chapter Two

- 2.1 Photograph of Huangshan by Joan Lebold Cohen, and Hongren (1610-1664). *Pines and Cliffs of Huangshan*, hanging scroll, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated 1660. Shanghai Museum. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.49.)
- 2.2 Hongren (1610-1664). *Tamed Dragon Pine*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper, from *Scenes of Huangshan*. Palace Museum, Beijing, and Hongren, *Tamed Dragon Pine*, woodblock-printed illustration from *Huangshan Zhi*, early Qing period. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, pp.52-53.)
- 2.3 Hongren (1610-1664). *Withered Old Tree, Bamboo and Rock*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1660. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan and Guangdong meishuguan, ed., *Zhejiangsheng bowuguan cang shuhua jingpin xuan*. Nan'ning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2000, p.55.)
- 2.4 Hongren(1610-1664). *Album of Landscapes and Plants and Flowers*, album leaf, ink on paper. Dated 1656. Charles A. Drenowatz Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich, and 2.4a Huang Binhong. Album leaf copied from Hongren's *Album of Landscapes and Plants and Flowers*. Collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich.
- 2.5 Hongren (1610-1664). *Album of Landscapes and Plants and Flowers*, album leaf, ink on paper. Dated 1656. Charles A. Drenowatz Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich, and 2.5a Huang Binhong. Album leaf copied from Hongren's *Album of Landscapes and Plants and Flowers*. Collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich.
- 2.6 Huang Binhong. Inscription at the end of his copy of Hongren's *Album of Landscapes and Plants and Flowers*, album leaf, ink on paper. Collection of the Rietberg Museum, Zurich.
- 2.7 Huang Binhong. *Painting in the Style of Huang Qinmin*. Dated 1892. Whereabouts unknown. (Reproduced in T.C. Lai, *Huang Binhong*, Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1980, p.81.), and 2.7a Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, handscroll. Dated 1903. Whereabouts unknown. (Reproduced in Huang *Binhong zuopin zhan*. Hong Kong: Xianggang yishu zhongxin, 1980, unpaginated.)
- 2.8 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated spring 1901. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 21693).
- 2.9 Yun Xiang (1586-1655). *A Waterfall in a Wooded Valley*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection Sueyoshi Hashimoto, Takatsuki, Japan. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.95.)
- 2.10 Zha Shibiao (1615-1698). *Landscape after "Peak on the Fuchun River,"* hanging scroll, ink and pale colours on paper. Not dated. Private collection, New York. (Reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mount Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*. Berkeley: University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981, p.95.)
- 2.11 Huang Binhong. *Dragon Changing Form*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1902. Collection of the Huangshan City Museum, Anhui Province. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 1.)
- 2.12 Huang Binhong. *Mountain Family*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Shexian Museum, Anhui Province. (Reproduced in Zhongguo

- meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 2.)
- 2.13 Fragments of the original Fungus-shaped Stone (*Shi zhi*), Huang Binhong House Museum, Tandu village, Shexian. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 2.14 Huang Binhong. *Trees and Pavilion*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1908. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24251). Exchange from the Anhui Museum, July 1965. (Reproduced in Zhongguo yishu dazhan zuzhi weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo yishu dazhan zuopin chuanji: Huang Binhong juan*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1997, plate 15.)
- 2.15 Ni Zan. *The Rongxi Studio*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1372. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. (Reproduced in James Cahill. *Hills Beyond a River: Landscape Painting of the Yuan Dynasty 1279-1368*. New York: Weatherhill, 1976, plate 50.)
- 2.16 Huang Binhong. *Copies of Hongren's Paintings of Huangshan*, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Luo Jianqun, *Ju jiang yu zhongguo ming hua: Huang Binhong*. Taipei: Taiwan mai ke fufen youxian gongsi, 1996, plate 11.)

Chapter Three

- 3.1 Houses that Huang Binhong lived in during his period of residence in Shanghai in the 1930s. In 1934 Huang moved into 216 Ximen Road (now 420 Zichong Road), and 3.1a 17 Ximen Road, Xichengli (now 355 Zichong Road), where Huang lived upstairs and Zhang Daqian and Zhang Shanzi downstairs.
- 3.2 Photograph of Song Ruoying, and 3.2a Photograph of Song Ruoying (centre), and Huang Binhong's niece Huang Yingfang (right), taken in the 1920s soon after her marriage to Huang Binhong.
- 3.3 Photograph taken at the official opening of the new library building of the Association for the Preservation of the National Essence in Shanghai, 19 November 1906. The people beginning third from right moving left are Huang Jie, Deng Shi, Gao Tianmei, Zhu Shaoping and Ma Junwu. (Reproduced in Wang Zhongxiu, ed., *Huang Binhong nianpu*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005.)
- 3.4 Huang Binhong. *Visiting Huishan to View the Stone Engraved with the Poem "Listening to the Pine Trees,"* hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1909. Collection of the Shanghai Museum (67597).
- 3.5 Huang Binhong. *The Slope Where Caution is Needed*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated 1909. Collection of the Shanghai Museum (26985).
- 3.6 Huang Binhong. *Cave of the Immortal Monk*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated 1909. Collection of the Shanghai Museum (26985).
- 3.7 Huang Binhong. *In Emulation of Jianjiang's Brushwork*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated 1909. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (FA1984.004) (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955*. Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 2), and from the same album, 3.7a Huang Binhong. *Tamed Dragon Pine*, 3.7b Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, and 3.7c Huang Binhong, *Gazing at a Waterfall in a Grove of Autumnal Trees*.
- 3.8 Huang Binhong. *Huangshan*, and *Bai Yue*, album leaves, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Private collection. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 4), and from the same album, 3.8a Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, album leaves, 3.8b Huang Binhong. Ink sketches, signed "Daqian", reproduced in *The True*

- Record (Zhenxiang huabao)* 1, no.3 (1912), and 3.8c Huang Binhong. *Tomb of Yan Guang*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Private collection (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 4.11.), and from the same album, 3.8d Huang Binhong, *Landscape*.
- 3.9 Huang Binhong. *Yuliang*, album leaf, ink and pale colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 21866). (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong shanshui xiasheng ce*, (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962, plate 1).
- 3.10 Yuliang levee, Shexian. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 3.11 Cover of *National Glories of Cathay (Shenzhou guoguang ji)* 14, no.2 (1910), featuring seal script by Huang Binhong.
- 3.12 *Nymph of the Lo River*, handscroll, ink and colours on silk. Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (active 300s BCE). Collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. D.C. (F14.53). (Reproduced in Thomas Lawton, *The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures XII. A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art*. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991, p.30.), and photograph of John C. Ferguson, 1941. (Reproduced in Thomas Lawton, *The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures XII. A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art*. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991, p.64.)
- 3.13 Huang Binhong. *Landscape after Li Tang*, dedicated to du Bois-Reymond, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1917. Reproduced courtesy of the Museum of East Asian Art Cologne (A55, 46).

Chapter Four

- 4.1 Photographic portraits of Huang Binhong, taken by Lang Jingshan in Shanghai in 1931. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 4.2 Paintings by members of *The True Record* staff, including Huang Binhong (no.3). Reproduced in *Zhenxiang huabao* 1, no.10 (1912).
- 4.3 Huang Binhong. One of the *Chunhui Tang Landscapes*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated winter 1917. Collection of the Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei, and 4.3a detail. 4.3b Huang Binhong. Ink sketch of Li Tang's method of painting rocks (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 33.6. Yuanshantang Collection, Hong Kong.)
- 4.4 Huang Binhong. One of the *Chunhui Tang Landscapes*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated winter 1917. Collection of the Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei, and 4.4a detail.
- 4.5 Photograph of Song Ruoying in a pine grove at Huangshan, during a visit with Huang Binhong in 1935. (Reproduced in Wang Zhongxiu, ed., *Huang Binhong nianpu*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005.)
- 4.6 Huang Binhong. *Landscape in the Style of Li Tang*, dedicated to Huang Banruo, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1926. Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 8.)
- 4.7 Huang Binhong, *Landscape in the Style of Wang Shen*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1920. Private collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 3.)

- 4.8 Huang Binhong. *Ink sketch of a painting by Wang Shen*, ink on paper. Not dated. Reproduced in T.C. Lai. *Huang Binhong (1864-1955)*. Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1980, p.52.)
- 4.9 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1925. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM24248). (Reproduced in Zhejiang sheng bowuguan ed., *Hua zhi da zhe: Huang Binhong yishu dazhan teji*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004, p.28.)
- 4.10 Huang Binhong. *Landscape painting dedicated to Victoria Contag*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Undated. Private collection.

Chapter Five

- 5.1 Huang Binhong. *Ink sketch of pine tree near Manjusri Temple at Huangshan*. Not dated, and 5.1a Huang Binhong. *Ink sketch of rocks*. Not dated. From a sketchbook in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 5790).
- 5.2 Huang Binhong. *Ink sketch of a painting by Fan Kuan*. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 31682), and 5.2a Huang Binhong. *Ink sketch of a painting by Li Tang*. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 31681).
- 5.3 Huang Binhong. Ink sketch of sections of the handscroll “*Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*” by Huang Gongwang. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM HS520).
- 5.4 Huang Gongwang. *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, handscroll, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Reproduced from James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Landscape Painting of the Yuan Dynasty 1279-1368*. New York: Weatherhill, 1976, plate 41), and 5.4a Huang Gongwang. Section of the handscroll *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* by Huang Gongwang. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiang sheng bowuguan, ed., *Zhejiang sheng bowuguan*. Hangzhou, Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2000, p. 54.)
- 5.5 Photograph taken in Hong Kong in 1928 of the delegation participating in the summer school in Guangxi., Huang Binhong is in the middle row, second from left. (Reproduced in *Huang Bihong wenji, shuhua shang*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999, page 2, unpaginated.)
- 5.6 Huang Binhong. Pencil sketches from a notebook. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 31647).
- 5.7 Huang Binhong. Pencil sketch from a notebook. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 31647).
- 5.8 Huang Binhong. *Sea and Mountains Looking South*, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 21863-52).
- 5.9 Huang Binhong, *Looking South From Hong Kong*, pencil sketch. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and Huang Binhong, *Looking East From Hong Kong*, pencil sketch. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.10 Huang Binhong, *Dabeikou*, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.11 Huang Binhong, *Dabeikou*, pencil on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.12 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, dedicated to Chen Zhu (details), handscroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1928. Collection of the Shanghai Museum (SM 23459), and 5.12a details.

- 5.13 Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1928. Collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (S1987.248), and 5.13a detail.
- 5.14 Photograph of Huang Binhong (centre left) with Chen Zhongfan (far right), taken by a *Far Eastern Pictorial* correspondent in Nanning, Guangxi. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and 5.14a Photograph of Huang Binhong with students from Goulou in Guangxi. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.15 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, ink on paper. Dated 1935. (Reproduced in *Xueshu shijie* 1, no.1 (1935), p.1.)
- 5.16 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, ink on paper. Not dated. (Reproduced in *Xueshu shijie* 2, no.1 (1936), p.1.)
- 5.17 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, ink on paper. (Reproduced in *Xueshu shijie* 1, no.8 (1936), p.24.)
- 5.18 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1935. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (FA1985.013).
- 5.19 Photograph of Huang Binhong sketching on *Dongshantai* with Huang Jusu, taken by Huang Banruo in 1935. Collection Zhejiang Provincial Museum, 5.19a Photograph of Huang Binhong at Huang Jusu's residence in Hong Kong, and 5.19b with (from left) Deng Erya, Huang, Huang Jusu, taken by Huang Banruo in 1935.
- 5.20 Huang Binhong. *Shatin Looking Toward Lion Peak*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1986.267.134).
- 5.21 Huang Binhong. *Daofeng Mountain Looking Toward Shatin and Saddle Back Mountain*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1986.267.134).
- 5.22 Huang Binhong. *Lion Peak*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiang sheng bowuguan, ed., *Hua zhi da zhe: Huang Binhong yishu dazhan teji*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004, p.54.)
- 5.23 Huang Binhong. *Dazhu Island*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiang sheng bowuguan ed., *Hua zhi da zhe: Huang Binhong yishu dazhan teji*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004, p.54.)
- 5.24 Huang Binhong. *Kowloon Landscape*, dedicated to Tang Tianru, ink on paper. Dated 1935. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong xiansheng hua ji* (Hong Kong: Da Gong Bao, 1961, plate 32.)
- 5.25 Map made by Huang Binhong of the course of his journey in Sichuan. Ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 05572).
- 5.26 Huang Binhong. *Travel Sketches of Boats*, pencil on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM HS481).
- 5.27 Tao Lengyue. *Cool and Fragrant Moonlit Night*, ink on paper. Dated 1924. (Reproduced in *Meishu bao* 541 (3 April 2004), p.3.), and 5.27a Tao Lengyue. *View of the Yangtze River in Sichuan*, ink on paper, Dated 1932. (Reproduced in Lang Shaojun, *Zhongguo minghua jia quanji: Tao Lengyue*. Beijing: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003, p.116.)
- 5.28 Huang Binhong. *Travel sketch of river and boat*, pencil on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM HS484).
- 5.29 Photograph of Huang Binhong and students taken at Chen Zepei's residence Yilu in Chengdu in 1932. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.30 Photograph welcoming Huang Binhong and Wu Yifeng to the Shaocheng Hall for the Popularisation of Education in Chengdu. Dated 1933. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.31 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1933. Collection of the Daoist Association, Qingcheng shan, Sichuan.
- 5.32 Huang Binhong. *Sketch of Beipei*, ink on paper. Dated 1933. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong xiansheng hua ji* (Hong Kong: Da Gong Bao, 1961, plate 29.)

- 5.33 Photograph of Huang Binhong sketching in Guanxian, Sichuan, April 1933. Deng Zhichun stands at Huang's left. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.34 Huang Binhong. *Pencil sketches, Sichuan*. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.35 Huang Binhong. *Jinsha River, Yunnan*, ink sketch on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 131800), and 5.35a Huang Binhong. *Song Dynasty Cuanlongyan Stele in Luliang zhou, Yunnan*, ink sketch on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 131800).
- 5.36 Huang Binhong. *Elephant Trunk Mountain*, ink on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan and Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, ed., *Zhongguohua mingjia ceye diancang, Huang Binhong ceye: shanshui*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1999, p.12.), 5.36a Huang Binhong *Elephant Trunk Mountain*, pencil drawing. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and 5.36b photograph of *Elephant Trunk Mountain*.
- 5.37 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf. Album dated 1909. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (FA1984.004). (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955*. Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 2.5.)
- 5.38 Huang Binhong. *Shixin Peak, Huangshan*, woodblock print. Reproduced from *Huang Binhong jiyou huace*, 1934. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and 5.38a Huang Binhong. *Huangniu Gorge, Sichuan*, woodblock print. Reproduced from *Huang Binhong jiyou huace*, 1934. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 5.39 Draft introductory text for *Huang Binhong Album of Travel Sketches* published in 1934. Private collection.
- 5.40 Huang Binhong. *Tianchi Mountain*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Private collection, and 5.40a Huang Binhong. *Shixin Peak*, album leaf, ink on paper. Not dated. Private collection.
- 5.41 Huang Binhong. *Ten Thousand Valleys in Deep Shade*, dedicated to Gao Xie, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper,. Dated 1933. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1986.267.200).
- 5.42 Huang Binhong, *Min Mountain*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1934. Collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. S1987.251.
- 5.43 Huang Binhong, *Hengcuo River*, ink on paper. Not dated. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong jiyou hua ce*, Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang ji, April, 1936, plate 10.)

Chapter Six

- 6.1 Photograph of Huang Binhong taken in Beijing.
- 6.2 Invitation to celebrate the first anniversary of the display of Ferguson's collection at the Government Museum. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers LTA 1988.01, box 1 of 3, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
- 6.3 Photograph taken on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Government Museum. (Reproduced in *Shi Gufeng hua ji*. Hefei: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 1999, chronology, unpaginated.)
- 6.4 Photograph of the first class of students to graduate from the Chinese Brush and Ink Painting Research Studio at the Government Museum, 8 September 1941, with tutors, Zhou Yang'an, Huang Binhong and Yu Fei'an. Collection Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

- 6.5 Photograph of a gathering to celebrate the flowering of the Chinese crab-apple (*Haitang jie*) in spring 1938. From right to left Jiang Chaozong, Xu Shichang, Qian Tong, Zhou Yang'an, Ferguson, Huang, Zhang Daqian and Yu Fei'an. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 6.6 Photograph of Ferguson and others, taken at his home at 3 Xijiao Lane, 28 April 1937. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., and 6.6a a related photograph of the garden.
- 6.7 Gifts given to Ferguson and his wife on their Golden Wedding Anniversary in Beijing on 4 August 1937, including from "Huang Po-ch'uan" of the Government Museum. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Chapter Seven

- 7.1 Photograph of Huang Binhong painting at home in Beijing, with his son looking on. Collection Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 7.2 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, handscroll, ink on paper. Dated 1940. Yuanshantang Collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955*. Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 21.)
- 7.3 Huang Binhong. *Landscape After Huang Gongwang*, handscroll, ink and pale colours on paper. Dated 1941. Yuanshantang Collection, Hong Kong (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865-1955*. Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995, plate 26), and 7.3a details.
- 7.4 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, ink on paper. Dated 1942. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong xiansheng hua ji* (Hong Kong, Do Gong Bao, 1961, plate 53.)
- 7.5 Huang Binhong. *Landscape After Li Liufang*, ink on paper. Dated 1942. (Reproduced in *Huang Binhong xiansheng hua ji* (Hong Kong, Da Gong Bao, 1961, plate 54.)
- 7.6 Photograph of Huang Binhong's solo exhibition at the *Ningbo tongxiang hui* in 1943. Collection Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 7.7 Photograph of Fu Lei in Paris in 1930. (Reproduced in Fu Lei, *Fu Lei shujian*. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001.)
- 7.8 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1943. Private collection.
- 7.9 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated winter 1943. Collection of the National Gallery of the Czech Republic in Prague (Vm 679-1181/113). (Reproduced in *Masters of Shanghai School of Painting*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery in Prague, August-October 1968, plate 8, p.9.)
- 7.10 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Seal dated 1943. Collection of the National Gallery in Prague (Vm 678-1181/112). (Reproduced in Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours*, London: Galley Press, 1987, plate 9.)
- 7.11 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the China National Gallery of Art, Beijing. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 30.)
- 7.12 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaves, ink and colours on paper. Album dated 1943. Private collection.
- 7.13 Huang Binhong. *Garden of Infusing Tea*, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1947 "chongti". (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin

- meishu chubanshe, ed., *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 49.)
- 7.14 Huang Binhong. *Longmen Gorge*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (AS2-1975). (Reproduced in Mae-Anna Pang, "Two Paintings by Huang Pin-hung (1864-1955) *Art Bulletin of Victoria* [17] (1975), p.31.)
- 7.15 Huang Binhong. *Mountain Retreat*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1946. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 32).
- 7.16 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection, Shanghai Museum (SM 54951).
- 7.17 Circular letter written by Pang Xunqin in 1947. Collection, Michael Sullivan, Oxford, England.
- 7.18 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, ink and colours on paper, circa 1948, Collection, Michael Sullivan, Oxford, England. (Reproduced in Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art: the Khoan and Michael Sullivan Collection*. Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum, 2001, pp.14-15, and cat.53, p.88.)
- 7.19 Photograph taken by Wu Zuoren in 1948 showing Geoffrey Hedley in Beiping with (from left to right) the woodcut artist Li Hua, Qi Baishi and Xu Beihong. (Reproduced in Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art: the Khoan and Michael Sullivan Collection*, p.15.)
- 7.20 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper, painted for Geoffrey Hedley. Collection, Michael Sullivan, Oxford, England.
- 7.21 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper, painted for Geoffrey Hedley. Collection, Michael Sullivan, Oxford, England.
- 7.22 Cézanne. *La Vallée de l'Arc*, pencil and watercolour on white paper, circa 1885 (No.241). Collection, Art Institute of Chicago (Bequest of Marshall Field IV). (Reproduced in John Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: the Watercolours, a Catalogue Raisonné*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1983, plate 28, pp.142-143.), and 7.22a photograph of Montagne Sainte-Victoire.
- 7.23 Cézanne. *Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, pencil and watercolour on white paper, 1902-04. Collection of the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (inv. No. 3300). (Reproduced in Götz Adriani, *Cezanne watercolours*. New York: Harry N. Abrahams, Inc., Publishers, 1983, pp.74, 277-278.)
- 7.24 Huang Binhong. *Landscape* album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1949. Yuanshantang Collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.50, pp.145, 197.)
- 7.25 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaves, ink and colours on paper. Album dated 1948. Collection of the Shanghai Museum (SM 74631).
- 7.26 Huang Binhong. *Flowers and Insects*, album leaves, ink and colours on paper. Album dated 1948. Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 7.26a details, 7.26b another page from the same album, and 7.26c details.
- 7.27 Photograph of Huang Binhong and his wife Song Ruoying, Fu Lei and his wife Zhu Meifu taken in the front courtyard of Huang's home in Beiping (Reproduced in Wang Zhongxiu, ed., *Huang Binhong nianpu*, opposite p.485), and 7.27a Photograph of Fu Lei, his wife Zhu Meifu, and Huang Binhong's daughter Huang Yingjia taken by Zhao Zhijun in the Forbidden City, Beiping in May 1948 (Reproduced in Wang Zhongxiu, ed., *Huang Binhong nianpu*, opposite p.485.)
- 7.28 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1946. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 170.)

- 7.29 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1946. Collection, Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 53.)
- 7.30 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, dedicated to Mr Weiping. Dated 1947. Collection of Mr Leung Yee, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, *Homage to Tradition*, cat.41.)
- 7.31 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1948. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.44.)
- 7.32 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on colours. Dated 1948. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 45.)
- 7.33 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated “1953 *chongti*”, but painted earlier. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 59.)

Chapter Eight

- 8.1 Huang Binhong. Title page of album for Wang Xiaowen, ink on paper. Album dated 1949. (Reproduced in *Huangshan xiasheng ce*. Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997.), 8.1a Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaves, ink on paper. Album dated 1949. (Reproduced in *Huangshan xiasheng ce*. Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997.), 8.1b Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink on paper. Album dated 1949. (Reproduced in *Huangshan xiasheng ce*. Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997.)
- 8.2 Huang Bingong. *Landscape*, dedicated to Liu Zuochou, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1949. Private collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.48, pp.143, 196.)
- 8.3 (Top) Photographs of teachers at the art academy in Hangzhou preparing to go to the countryside, from left, Pang Xunqin, Jiang Feng, Lin Fengmian and Guan Liang, and (Bottom) Students setting out for northern Anhui as part of the Land Reform policy. (Reproduced in Jiao Xiaojian and Yang Hualin, eds., *Yu lishi tongxing*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishuxueyuan chubanshe, 2003, pp.48-49.)
- 8.4 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1949. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 47.)
- 8.5 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1951. Collection of Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 41.)
- 8.6 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1949. Yuanshantang Collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.50.)
- 8.7 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Undated. Private collection, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.51.)
- 8.8 Huang Binhong, *Calligraphy*, ink on paper. Dated 1950. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM24816).
- 8.9 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1950. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24086). (Reproduced in

- Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 128.)
- 8.10 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1950. Collection of the National Art Museum of China (00584). (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 49.)
- 8.11 Photograph of Huang Binhong in the last years of his life. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 8.12 Zheng Wuchang and Ge Xianglan. *The Red Army Entering Southwestern China* (Reproduced in *Huadong meishu zuopin xuanji*. Shanghai: Shanghai dadong shuju, 1951, p.56.), and 8.12a Ying Yeping. *Crossing the River*. (Reproduced in *Huadong meishu zuopin xuanji*. Shanghai: Shanghai dadong shuju, 1951, p.56.)
- 8.13 Huang Binhong. *Labouring People*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24478), and 8.13a detail.
- 8.14 Huang Binhong. *Figures*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24479).
- 8.15 Huang Binhong. *Figures*, handscroll, ink and colour on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24481).
- 8.16 Huang Binhong, *Bodhisattva*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 2440).
- 8.17 Huang Binhong. *Figure and Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1951. Collection of Qian Xuewen Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 48.)
- 8.18 Photograph of Huang Binhong taken in Beijing in 1951. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992.)
- 8.19 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, dedicated to Mao Zedong hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of Zhongnanhai, Beijing. (Reproduced in *Zhongnanhai canghua ji*. Beijing: Xiyuan chubanshe, 1993, volume one, plate 5.)
- 8.20 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, dedicated to Zhou Enlai, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1951. Collection of Zhongnanhai, Beijing. Reproduced in *Zhongnanhai canghua ji*. Beijing: Xiyuan chubanshe, 1993, volume 1, plate 20.)
- 8.21 Huang Binhong. *Landscapes of Wangdian and Fengjing*, pencil sketches on lined paper. Dated 1951. Private collection, Hangzhou.
- 8.22 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, handscroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1951. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (FA 1996.221) (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition*, cat.53), and 8.22a, 8.22b details.
- 8.23 Award presented to Huang Binhong in 1953 naming him an “Outstanding Artist of the Chinese People.” Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 8.24 Qi Baishi, *Still Life with Cherries*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1946. Collection of the National Gallery in Prague. (Reproduced in Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours*. London: Galley Press, 1987, cat.35.)

Chapter Nine

- 9.1 Huang Binhong painting in his studio at home in Qixialing, Hangzhou. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 9.2 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, handscroll, ink and colours on paper, dated 1952. Dr S.Y. Yip Collection, Hong Kong (reproduced in Christina Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition* cat.56, p.199), and 9.2a details.

- 9.3 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24808).
- 9.4 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 30.)
- 9.5 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 33.)
- 9.6 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 26.)
- 9.7 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in *Zhongguo jin xiandai ming jia huaji: Huang Binhong*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, p.20.)
- 9.8 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24098). (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 37.)
- 9.9 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, handscroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1952. Collection of Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 19.)
- 9.10 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 60.)
- 9.11 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24008). (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 14.)
- 9.12 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24235).
- 9.13 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24246). (Reproduced in Luo Jianqun, *Ju jiang yu zhongguo ming hua: Huang Binhong*. Taipei: Taiwan mai ke fufen youxian gongsi, 1996, p.19.)
- 9.14 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 17.)
- 9.15 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 15.)
- 9.16 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 66.)
- 9.17 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 64.)
- 9.18 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 9.)

- 9.19 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of Qian Xuewen, Hong Kong. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 8.)
- 9.20 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 6.)
- 9.21 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1953. Private collection. (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, eds, *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 24.)
- 9.22 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 93.)
- 9.23 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 80.)
- 9.24 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 5.)
- 9.25 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in *Zhongguo jin xiandai ming jia huaji: Huang Binhong*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, p.27.)
- 9.26 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the National Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 96.)
- 9.27 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Luo Jianqun, *Ju jiang yu zhongguo ming hua: Huang Binhong*. Taipei: Taiwan mai ke fufen youxian gongsi, 1996, p.85.)
- 9.28 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the National Art Museum of China. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 84.)
- 9.29 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, eds, *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 1.)
- 9.30 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1953. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 62.)
- 9.31 Page from a notebook written by Fu Lei listing his publications. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 05822).
- 9.32 Photograph of Huang Binhong's house taken by Fu Lei during his visit in November 1954. The reverse of the photograph is signed and dated by Fu Lei and was sent to Huang Binhong. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 9.33 Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1952. Private collection.
- 9.34 Huang Binhong, *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink on paper. Dated 1954. Private collection. (Reproduced in *Bing shang hong fei: Huang Binhong shuhuai*. Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004, plate 23.)

- 9.35 Photographs of Huang Binhong sketching at Feilaifeng, Lingyin Temple, Hangzhou, September 1954. (Zhu Lesan stands to Huang's right). Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 9.36 Notebook and drawings of scenic places around the West Lake, Hangzhou, ca. 1954. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 9.37 Andrzej Strumillo. *Landscape in Jiangxi*, ink on paper. Dated 1954 (reproduced in Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku, ed., *Andrzej Strumillo: Azja*. Warsaw: Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku, 1997, p.10), and 9.37a Andrzej Strumillo. *Worker in Shanghai*, ink on paper. Dated 1954 (Reproduced in Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku, ed., *Andrzej Strumillo: Azja*. Warsaw: Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku, 1997, p.11).
- 9.38 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (ZPM 24275). (Reproduced in *Zhongguo jin xiandai ming jia huaji: Huang Binhong*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, p.31.)
- 9.39 Huang Binhong. *Huangshan Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, eds, *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 21.)
- 9.40 Huang Binhong. *Huangshan Tangkou Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1955. (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, eds, *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 20.)
- 9.41 Huang Binhong painting in his studio. Photograph taken by Hu Yiqun, 4 February 1955. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 9.42 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1955. (Reproduced in Zhongguo meishuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong jingpin ji*. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991, plate 97.)
- 9.43 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, dedicated to Chen Shutong, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1955. (Reproduced in Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, eds., *Huang Binhong hua ji*. Hangzhou and Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985, plate 105.)
- 9.44 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1954. (Reproduced in Luo Jianqun, *Ju jiang yu zhongguo ming hua: Huang Binhong*. Taipei: Taiwan mai ke fufen youxian gongsi, 1996, p.125.)
- 9.45 Huang Binhong. *Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper. Not dated. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (reproduced in Zhejiangsheng bowuguan, ed., *Huang Binhong huaji*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992, plate 75), and 9.45a detail.
- 9.46 Huang Binhong. *Gazing at a Waterfall in a Grove of Autumnal Trees*, album leaf, ink and colours on paper. Dated 1909. Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art. (Reproduced in Christine Chu, ed., *Homage to Tradition cat.2.7*.)

Chapter Ten

- 10.1 Photographs of Huang Binhong's funeral and burial. (Top right) Huang Binhong's eldest son Huang Yongming. Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
- 10.2 Photograph of the original headstone for Huang Binhong's grave. Private collection, Hangzhou.
- 10.3 Huang Binhong's grave, and that of his two wives Hong Siguo and Song Ruoying, following renovation in 1995. Photograph by the author.

- 10.4 The Huang Binhong Memorial Museum located in Huang Binhong's former residence at 32 Qixialing, near the West Lake. Photograph by the author.
- 10.5 Label affixed to Huang Binhong's 1954 painting of *Penglai Pavilion* in the collection of the National Art Museum of China (Guo 00946) cataloguing the work as exhibit number 53 of the exhibition to criticise black paintings held at the National Art Museum of China.
- 10.6 Huang Binhong's surviving children Huang Jian (centre right) and Huang Yingjia (far left) at the Huang Binhong Memorial Museum in Hangzhou on the occasion of the re-opening after refurbishment, 6 December 2001, 10.6a Interior displays of the Huang Binhong Memorial Museum in Hangzhou, 10.6b Recreation of Huang Binhong's studio in the Huang Binhong Memorial Museum, Hangzhou. Photographs by the author.
- 10.7 The West Lake Art Museum of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou, and 10.7a the Huang Binhong Gallery within the West Lake Art Museum. Photographs by the author.
- 10.8 Shexian landscape, and 10.8a Sheared off mountain faces visible in the distance caused by construction of the Anhui-Hangzhou highway just outside Shexian. Photographs by the author, April 2004.
- 10.9 Interior view of the Huang Binhong House Museum, Tandu Village, Shexian, and lane leading to the museum, 10.9a Sign for the Huang Binhong House Museum recording local heritage status granted in May 1988, and 10.9b Interior views of the Huang Binhong House Museum, Tandu Village, Shexian. Photographs by the author, April 2004.
- 10.10 Fallen stele engraved with the history of the Huang family, in the grounds of the Huang Binhong House Museum. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.11 Pond for quelling fires, with the Huang family ceremonial archway in the distance, Tandu Village. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.12 Huang family ceremonial archway, Tandu village. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.13 Tandu Central Primary School, Tandu village. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.14 Outstanding Exercises from the Binhong Literature and Art Studio, Tandu Central Primary School, and Paintings from the Binhong Painting Society, Tandu Central Primary School. Photographs by the author, April 2004.
- 10.15 Shexian Tandu Middle School. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.16 Site of Huang family male ancestral shrine in Shexian Tandu Middle School, and detail of the remains of the Huang family male ancestral shrine. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.17 Site of the Huang family female ancestral shrine in Shexian Tandu Middle School, and detail of remains. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.18 Site of former Xu family ancestral shrine. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.19 Xu Chengyao's former home, marked with large red characters identifying it as a Local Workers' Activity Centre. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.20 On the external walls of Xu Chengyao's former home a huge slogan written in red characters during the Cultural Revolution is still visible. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.21 Slogan exhorting people to follow the example of Dazhai, the model Maoist agricultural commune, on the exterior wall of Wang Zhongyi's former home. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.22 Slogan above an internal doorway in Wang Zhongyi's former home declaring "We respectfully wish Chairman Mao a long life without end." Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.23 Entrance to the Bao family ancestral shrine. Photographs by the author, April 2004, and 10.23a Bao family ancestral shrine. Photograph by the author, April 2004.
- 10.24 Bao family ceremonial archways. Photograph by the author, April 2004.

10.25 Official opening of the Huang Binhong retrospective at the Zhejiang Provincial Exhibition Hall, Hangzhou, part of the Seventh China Arts Festival, 12 September 2004, and 10.25a visitors waiting to get into the exhibition hall after the official opening. Photographs by the author.

Contents

Abstract		i
Acknowledgements		ii
List of illustrations		vii
Introduction		1
Chapter One	Jiangnan and Xin'an (1865-1909): the importance of place	12
Chapter Two	Towards Huangshan: the early paintings of Huang Binhong	43
Chapter Three	Shanghai (1909-1937): art and national studies	62
Chapter Four	Shanghai: the writing of art history	107
Chapter Five	Guangxi, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Sichuan (1928-1935): the landscape of art	135
Chapter Six	Beiping (1937-1948): working life in the former capital; Japanese occupation	171
Chapter Seven	The Beiping years: patronage and artistic experimentation	196
Chapter Eight	Hangzhou (1948-1952): the politics of art in New China	235
Chapter Nine	The balance of darkness and light: selected works from 1952 to 1955	269
Chapter Ten	The legacy of Huang Binhong	304
Conclusion		312
Appendix One	Reception and recognition: sources for the study of Huang Binhong	316
Appendix Two	Huang Binhong's artist names	327
Bibliography		332

The dark side of the mountain: Huang Binhong (1865-1955) and artistic continuity in twentieth century China

Introduction

Huang Binhong (黃賓虹, 1865-1955) is one of the most important artists of twentieth-century China, yet his art remains inadequately appreciated and understood. The reasons for this are complex and go to the heart of the crisis of artistic consciousness that defined twentieth-century Chinese culture and persists to haunt it in the twenty-first century. Artistic tradition was threatened by unprecedented political and social change during the period of Huang Binhong's long life. The continuity and defence of Chinese cultural traditions informed Huang's life's work.

Like the great majority of his friends and acquaintances, Huang Binhong was trained in Confucian thought. Traditional Chinese scholarship required a broad knowledge of Chinese language, epigraphy, literature, poetry, history and philosophy, and the ability to compose poetry, write calligraphy and paint scholarly subjects. Classical Chinese learning was based on the foundations of the past. It was on the basis of the past that the future was imagined. But in an age of rapid social change, traditional-style scholars found themselves defending the survival of classical language and scholarship and the validity of Chinese brush and ink painting, and protecting the material cultural heritage of China as it came increasingly under threat. During his lifetime Huang Binhong was highly regarded as scholar, art historian, art editor, teacher, collector and connoisseur. These activities and multiple identities formed an integral aspect of his creative practice. He understood that he and his contemporaries were mediating a period of great cultural transformation and that for him at least, the past had to inform the future.

Despite his strong interest in the study of Chinese history and his promotion of cultural continuity, however, Huang Binhong cannot simply be classified as a “conservative”. During a thirty-year period of residence in cosmopolitan Shanghai, from 1909 to 1937, he developed a wide network of friends and acquaintances, including artists and writers who had travelled overseas, many of them much younger than himself, some of them foreigners. Huang was fascinated by outsiders’ perceptions of Chinese art and by perceived points of confluence between Chinese and western art. From a creative point of view he was driven by a strong desire to forge an independent artistic style, even as he was preoccupied with questions of artistic continuity at the same time. Only by embracing and fully understanding the two interconnected concepts of continuity and change or renewal (*bian*變), he believed, could life, energy and aesthetic relevance be restored to Chinese brush and ink painting. The desire to create an artistic language of his own, based on a deep study of Chinese epigraphy, philosophy and art history, yet made relevant to the present, became more pressing the older he became.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth ushered in a world of shifting ideas and values where past and present were not easily reconciled. For many intellectuals the period of extraordinary socio-political unrest was characterised by “darkness”. Light became a metaphor for cultural continuity, encompassed by the study of past traditions of the kind Huang Binhong advocated.

In brush and ink painting darkness and light represent solid and void. Like *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, their balance and interaction determine the character of a painting. Towards the end of his life, Huang Binhong’s paintings were criticised for being too black. In 1955, the year of Huang’s death, a graduate student from the Hangzhou art academy observed Huang adding brush strokes of thick dark ink to paintings that he had made many years earlier. Some, he said were ‘as dark as a blackboard’.² But for Huang Binhong darkness always contained light. Even Huang’s darkest paintings are relieved by the chinks of void and pathways and halos of

² Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005), pp.558-559.

light that are strong characteristics of his late painting style. Darkness, he said, should be as spirited as the light shining in the dark eyes of a young child.³

The first major exhibition of Huang Binhong's paintings after his death was held at the Shanghai Museum in May and June of 1959. Comments made by members of the public in the visitor's book reveal the polarisation of views on Huang Binhong's art at that time. Many people praised Huang's paintings and thanked the museum for mounting the exhibition, but others expressed frustration at their inability to understand his art. Some requested a guide to explain traditional Chinese artistic principles and techniques. Shen Dingbang 沈定邦 and Zhang Zhicheng 張志成 wrote a detailed critique encapsulating the disjunction between Huang Binhong's mental world and the reality of China in the late 1950s when the country was consumed by the Great Leap Forward.

After viewing the exhibition the two of us could not understand what the merits of these paintings actually are. We also are not clear on what the paintings actually reflect, and there is no explanation of what good national painting is to the expression of the national culture of our motherland and so on. None of this is explained. It would be best if there were explanatory texts next to the paintings or there was a dedicated guide. This would help audience members understand the meaning of the paintings.⁴

Viewers perceived an imbalance between solid and void, darkness and light. Opposed to the external (*yang*) beauty that characterised much of the art produced in the period, after 1949 Huang Binhong continued to create dark paintings and explore what he termed inner beauty (*neimei*). What are we to make of his late paintings, which seem to celebrate the very blackness of Chinese ink? What was it that attracted Huang Binhong to the dark side of the mountain?

³ Huang Binhong, "Hua fa yaozhi," in *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999), pp.495-496.

⁴ *Huang Binhong xiansheng huazhan yijian bu diyi ce* (May 1959), unpaginated (ZPM 05713, 05714).

This thesis begins from a detailed analysis of Huang Binhong's dated paintings designed to chart the artist's development as a landscape painter and to understand key works from different periods of his life.⁵ The challenge of stylistic analysis is compounded when an artist is inspired by predecessors from different periods spanning a millennium.⁶ The quotation of art historical sources contributes to the great diversity of styles in Huang's paintings and complicates the task of plotting his stylistic development. But Huang never followed art historical styles literally and a distinctive artistic style emerges with increasing strength in his final years.

I have based my research almost entirely on primary source materials, including many original paintings and archival materials in China and elsewhere. The Huang Binhong archive at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, where I began this study, has been the focus of

⁵ There is a large literature on Huang Binhong's art and life. Since the late 1980s a number of significant books and catalogues by scholars from Hong Kong and Taiwan have been published in English. These include the exhibition catalogues *Innovation Within Tradition: the Painting of Huang Binhong* (Williams College Museum of Art, 1989) by the Taiwanese-American academic Jason Kuo, which features paintings from collections in America, and *Huang Binhong (1865-1955): Homage to Tradition* (Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995) edited by Christina Chu, Chief Curator at the Hong Kong Museum of Art, which includes works from the museum's collection and private collections in Hong Kong. Two recent and important English language works are Pikyee Kotewall, "Huang Binhong (1865-1955) and his Re-definition of the Chinese Painting Tradition in the Twentieth Century," PhD thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1998, which is the most comprehensive English language overview of Huang Binhong's life and art to date focussing on his writings on art, art history and the practice of Chinese painting, and Jason Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-hung's Late Work* (Peter Lang, 2004), which emphasises the importance of calligraphy to the development of Huang Binhong's artistic style. See Appendix One for an overview of the main works in Chinese and English and the bibliography for a more comprehensive listing.

⁶ Max Loehr, "Art Historical Art: One Aspect of Ch'ing Painting" *Oriental Art* 16, no.1 (Spring 1970), pp.35-37, and James Cahill "Style as an Idea in Ming-Ch'ing Painting," in *The Mozartian Historian: Essays on the Works of Joseph R. Levenson*, ed. Maurice Meisner and Rhoads Murphey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp.137-156.

my research. The archive comprises all of the items relating to Huang Binhong's working life that were in his studio at the time of his death. It includes a large collection of his paintings, collected historical artworks, manuscripts and personal documents numbering some 10,000 items.⁷ It is rare to find such a substantial archive relating to a significant Chinese artist in a Chinese public museum and I am privileged to be the first western scholar to have been granted sustained and generous access to the extraordinary riches of that collection.⁸ In terms of emphasis, scope and orientation, this thesis extends previous work on Huang Binhong to make an original contribution to the scholarship on the artist. I first saw Huang Binhong's works in reproduction when I was a student of brush and ink painting at the Central Academy of Fine Art in Beijing in 1979. My curiosity to understand those compelling and memorable paintings has stimulated this study.

Structure of the thesis

Landscape painting has, for centuries, represented the pinnacle of Chinese artistic endeavour. The genre was much admired by the scholar-gentry for its ability to convey lofty sentiments far removed from worldly concerns. Landscape painting occupied its exalted position because it challenged artists to approximate the great and mysterious workings of the cosmos. In depicting the energy or life force found in nature, artists also found correspondences with human states of mind. Paintings of landscape could be appreciated not only as literal representations, but more importantly as allusions to metaphysical states of being. In a long and prolific life Huang Binhong was best known for his landscape paintings.⁹

⁷ There are various listings of Huang Binhong's collection. The document bequeathing Huang Binhong's collection to the state in March 1958 refers to 1,848 books; 191 collections of seals and rubbings from objects and stone tablets; 1,453 antiquities (including jades, bronzes, pottery, porcelain and tiles); 1,001 ancient calligraphy and paintings; 5,652 of his own calligraphy, paintings, manuscripts and personal objects totalling 10,145 objects. Many of the items included multiple parts.

⁸ For reports on artist museums in China, see Pan Gongkai, Dong Xiaoming, eds., *Mian xiang ershiyi shiji: Zhongguo shuhua mingjia jinianguan guanli gongzuo yantaohui lunwenji* (Hangzhou: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan chubanshe, 1999).

⁹ Huang Binhong was also a recognised calligrapher and a gifted painter of flowers, insects and birds. The genre of flower and bird painting (*hua niao hua*) represented for him a more personal form of artistic expression. The private nature of these paintings, coupled with their lesser status within the

Those paintings, viewed within the context of his life and times, form the subject of the present work.

The thesis is organised chronologically and thematically according to Huang Binhong's periods of residence in Zhejiang and Anhui (1865-1909), Shanghai (1909-1937), Beijing (1937-1948) and Hangzhou (1948-1955).¹⁰ As I shall argue, Huang Binhong derived important stimulus from the experience of living in different and particular environments. An additional chapter examines his travels to Sichuan, Guangxi, Hong Kong and Guangdong during the late 1920s and early to mid-1930s.

The thesis is not a biography, but rather an interpretive study of the life and work of Huang Binhong. It is an examination of a scholar-artist in a time of transition from a late-dynastic society to a modernising nation state. In a period of heightened nationalism and identification with Han Chinese culture, Huang Binhong embraced a forward-looking republican ethos, but at the same time was concerned to document and preserve the heritage of the past. The story of modernity is not simply the story of an avant-garde revolution.

Inherent in the notion of modernity is the contradictory and elusive concept of the mystery of

hierarchy of Chinese brush and ink painting, may explain the relative lack of scholarly attention that has been paid to these works. Huang Binhong's flower paintings reveal his interest in artistic experimentation and his great sensitivity to and facility with colour. A full consideration of this genre of painting is beyond the scope of the present study.

¹⁰ There has been much discussion of the periodisation of Huang Binhong's art. For T.C. Lai, Huang Binhong's early period is from the age of thirteen to fifty-five (1876-1943), the middle period from fifty-five to eighty (1917-1943) and the late period from eighty to his death at the age of ninety-two (1943-1955); for the art historian Wang Bomin, Huang Binhong's early period ends in 1913 when Huang is fifty, the middle period stretches to 1933 when the artist is seventy, and the late period begins in 1933 and ends with his death in 1955. Jason C. Kuo has followed Wang's periodisation, but he divides the late period into two stages, from seventy to eighty (1933-1943), and from eighty until his death at the age of ninety-two (1943-1955). Fu Shen and Pikyee Kotewall both follow Huang Binhong's periods of residence in different parts of China, whereas Luo Jianqun, curator of the Huang Binhong archive at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, identifies Huang Binhong's early period as being up to the age of sixty-two in 1925, with two sub-periods 1865-1907 and 1907-1925. For Luo, the middle period begins in 1925 and extends to 1948, with two sub-periods 1925-1937 and 1937-1948, and the late period is from 1948 to 1955. See T.C. Lai, *Huang Binhong (1864-1955)* (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1980), pp.165-166; Wang Bomin, *Huang Binhong* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979); Jason C. Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Binhong's late work*, pp.14-15; Fu Shen, "Huang Binhong's Shanghai Period Landscape Paintings and his Late Floral Works in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery", *Orientalism*, 18, no.9 (1987), pp.66-78; Pikyee Kotewall, "Huang Binhong (1865-1955) and his Redefinition of the Chinese Painting Tradition in the Twentieth Century"; Luo Jianqun. "Huang Binhong yishu jincheng de fenqi ji liyou," paper presented at the conference "Huang Binhong guoji xueshu yantaohui", organized by *Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan*, August 2004.

renewal. Modernity brings with it the desire to look back and understand the past in order to define the present. The drive for modernity brings with it feelings of cultural loss, no matter whether in China or the West. There is no better example of this than Marcel Proust's (1871-1922) *À la Recherche du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of Things Past*) written over a thirteen-year period from 1909 until the author's death in 1922.¹¹ Through the perspective of the narrator Marcel the reader gains a poignant understanding of how the present world is based on memory and how culture is at once being lost and then recovered through artistic practice.

I have chosen an approach that allows me to focus on themes that relate to particular periods of Huang Binhong's life, but which also have wider cultural or political relevance. Chapters One and Two place Huang Binhong within the cultural milieu of Jiangnan 江南, the Lower Yangtze River Valley, and his ancestral home in southern Anhui. These early chapters outline the family connection with the historic town of Shexian 歙 縣 and nearby Huangshan 黃 山 and his identification with the scholars and artists that the area had produced. I discuss early dated paintings that take the landscape of Jiangnan, Shexian and Huangshan as their subject, as well as paintings that were inspired by or that make specific reference to famous artists from that region. The chapter describes his early painting style and demonstrates the importance of place to the development of his artistic consciousness.

In 1909, Huang Binhong moved to Shanghai, China's most cosmopolitan city and a new centre of business, media and culture. The move marked a turning-point in the artist's life. In Shanghai Huang worked with literary and artistic groups, newspapers, art publishing houses, exhibitions, educational institutions and a nascent art market and developed a wide and lasting network of contacts. Chapter Three examines Huang's working life in Shanghai and his growing awareness of the need to promote and protect China's cultural heritage. The lack of government-run museums and the absence of legal protection for China's moveable cultural heritage made the country's art vulnerable. Political turmoil, economic hardship and the fascination with all things new caused much traditional Chinese art to be undervalued and

¹¹ Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, 3 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1982).

consequently the object of aggressive buying by Japanese, American and European collectors. During his thirty years in Shanghai, Huang Binhong established a reputation as a leading art historian. Chapter Four examines his art historical writings as well as artworks from this period.

Chapter Five focuses on Huang Binhong's travels in China, and the effect of those journeys on his artistic imagination. From 1928 to 1935, he had the opportunity to travel further afield to Guangxi, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Sichuan where the Republican government was interested in promoting regional education and regional construction. While travelling Huang made many *en plein air* pencil and ink sketches that capture the essence and structure of the landscape. I consider his travel sketches in relation to ink line drawings he made while viewing historical artworks. The dual influence of observing nature and viewing historical artworks fundamentally shaped the evolution of his artistic style.

In late 1935 Huang Binhong was appointed to authenticate works of art in the former imperial collection. The job began in Shanghai and took him to Beiping the following year, and again in April 1937. The Sino-Japanese War erupted soon after his arrival, causing him to stay longer than expected in the old capital. Chapters Six and Seven focus on the ten years Huang lived in Beiping under the Japanese occupation, including his activities as a collector, connoisseur, teacher, writer and artist. I discuss paintings dating from these years and his first solo exhibition, held in Shanghai in 1943, organised by the scholar and translator of modern French literature Fu Lei (傅雷, 1908-1966). Through Fu Lei, Huang Binhong had access to an art historical view that was informed by knowledge of both European and Chinese culture, and a number of Western art enthusiasts and collectors who appreciated Huang Binhong's abbreviated painting style. The Beiping decade was a period of considerable economic hardship and Huang accepted support from friends and patrons, in exchange for works of art. That relatively solitary period of artistic reflection and experimentation forms a background to understanding the artist's late works.

Chapter Eight begins with Huang's move to Hangzhou in 1948 in response to an invitation from the National Art Academy. I examine the political and cultural transformation

of the country after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 in terms of its impact on art education and on Huang Binhong's own work. A small number of highly uncharacteristic figure paintings dating from the early 1950s attest to the elderly artist's lack of immunity from political directives. The early 1950s was a period of personal and artistic crisis, overcome with the help of some influential friends. Chapter Nine explores works from 1952 to 1955. Despite the deterioration of his sight, he continued to assert his own artistic style. In 1953, at the age of ninety, Huang Binhong was named an "Outstanding Artist of the Chinese People". In the same year he had a cataract operation that improved his sight and allowed him to continue painting. Huang Binhong's late works represent the culmination of his artistic practice and the embodiment of his philosophy of art.

In Chapter Ten, the concluding chapter, I briefly discuss the legacy of Huang Binhong and reflect on a visit to his ancestral home in Tandu □ □ village, Shexian, in 2004.

Methodology

The methodology I have employed in this thesis is largely empirical, using visual and textual analysis in particular. Owing to the lack of a detailed study of Huang Binhong's artworks it has been necessary to conduct foundational research in order to understand Huang's art. Only after this grounding work has been done can consideration framed by different methodological approaches proceed on a sound basis. I have sought to examine original paintings from all periods of the artist's life. My focus has been on dated paintings with a well-established provenance and accessible to researchers in major collections. I have worked on paintings that give an understanding of the evolution of Huang Binhong's artistic style and that illuminate aspects of his life, milieu and *modus operandi*.

While the largest body of his paintings is in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum in Hangzhou, there are considerable collections in the National Art Museum of China in Beijing; the Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei; and in other public and private collections in China, notably Hong Kong, and throughout the world.¹²

I have viewed works of art in the collections of Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou; National Art Museum of China, Beijing; Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei; Shanghai Museum; Hong Kong Museum of Art; and Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore. My interest in the posthumous fate of Huang's paintings has also taken me to public collections in Europe, America and Australia where I have examined works in the collections of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts; Stanford University; The British Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Museum Rietberg, Zurich; and the Museum of East Asian Art, Berlin.¹³ I have also corresponded with curators at the Náprstek Museum and the National Gallery in Prague; the Museum of Asia and the Pacific in Warsaw; the Cernuschi Museum in Paris and the Museum of East Asian Art Cologne.

I have also been fortunate to view artworks in some private collections in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Europe and America including collections of descendants of Huang Binhong's close friends. A greater understanding of the

¹² In recent years many forgeries have also appeared, encouraged by China's thriving art market.

¹³ A large number of the paintings now in museum collections in Europe and America were acquired during the Cultural Revolution (ca.1964-1978), a period when traditional Chinese culture associated with the scholar-élite, and regarded as part of China's feudal past, was totally repudiated by the Chinese government. Many works of art, historical and contemporary, were taken out of China by Chinese and western dealers. See Robert Ellsworth's preface to *Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth* (Washington D.C: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2000), pp.9-10, and Anita Christy, "The Dealer as Collector: an Interview with Robert H. Ellsworth," *Orientalism*, February (1988), pp.42-44.

important relationships between Huang Binhong and his friends and patrons will be possible as more paintings from private collections are published and exhibited.

Appendix

Appendix One is an overview of the main literature on Huang Binhong, organised chronologically to show the posthumous reception and recognition of Huang Binhong's art and writings both within and outside China.

Appendix Two is a list of artist names used most often by Huang Binhong, many of which show the importance of Shexian and Huangshan to his artistic persona.