

Chinese Art and Its Encounter with the World

Negotiating Alterity in Art and
Its Historical Interpretation

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Introduction

In recent years Chinese contemporary art has received extensive exposure in the international art arena. The rise of China on the world stage, following the economic liberalization and opening-up of the Deng Xiaoping era, has been one obvious major factor behind this transformation. As the People's Republic becomes increasingly integrated within the global capitalist economy it is natural that individually-made, high-end cultural products from that country should enter the international marketplace alongside the many mass-produced commodities which originate there. Without giving in to an economistic reductionism we can allow that cultural power tends to follow shifts in economic and political power, as it did for instance when New York came to replace Paris as the perceived capital of modern art in the post-Second World War period. It is therefore unsurprising that greater cultural prominence for China should be a consequence of the growth of its gross domestic product.

If we look more closely at the process of recent Chinese art's internationalization, however, we will soon discover limits to the explanatory power of broad-brushstroke economic analysis. Much of recent Chinese art's early exposure in the international arena came not so much as a consequence of a smooth extension of the logic of the marketplace to China but as a result of the interruption of that process which occurred when political opposition spilled onto Chinese streets between April and

June 1989 (most notably of course in Tiananmen Square), leading to a period of cultural repression which all but eliminated opportunities for public exhibition in China of the new art which had been emerging from the middle of the 1980s. That art, which often took a more cynical and disaffected turn in the early 1990s, could only be properly seen in overseas locations for most of the decade following 1989, and thus for many artists the international arena took on a new significance. Some Chinese artists, such as Xu Bing, even responded to the domestic repression of intellectual and artistic dissent by moving overseas to North America, Europe or Australia, creating art in foreign locations as well as simply exhibiting it in such sites.

Despite the familiarity which Western art audiences have developed with contemporary Chinese art (and particularly with the work of the more established amongst those artists who have been living outside of China for some time, such as Cai Guoqiang or Huang Yong Ping), this has not yet led to a sustained curiosity about earlier phases of the Chinese artistic response to the modern world. International awareness of the history of Chinese modernist art remains scant, and although European and American art museums are now often willing to make space in their temporary exhibition galleries for new art from China or other non-Western locations, their permanent collections and displays of the history of modernism remain determinedly Western-centred. A whole century of Chinese visual engagement with the experience of modernity remains largely unknown to international audiences, and Euro-American narratives of artistic modernity remain hegemonic both in textbooks and on museum walls.¹ The implicit assumption is still that the Western story of artistic modernism remains the paradigmatic one, against which the art of other cultures must be calibrated, often to be found lacking in some way.

Rethinking the history of artistic modernism in a way that makes clear the plurality of trajectories through the modern experience that artists in different parts of the globe have taken is a major task for art history at this point in time. Undertaking such a task should not lead to a simple fragmentation of art historical narratives however, since despite the different experience artists on different continents have had of the modern experience it still remains true that in some sense they are experiencing the

'same' objective modernization process, given that an enhanced degree of connectedness is a defining feature of modernity. Trans-continental trade and imperial conquest had forged links between cultures even before this process was intensified by the development of industrial capitalism — although people from different parts of the world were at different ends of the stick as it were, it was still the same stick. As a better, less Western-centred, understanding of artistic modernism emerges we will undoubtedly see an increasing pluralism in the writing of art history, but this will be the proliferation of a variety of perspectives from which art history as a whole is understood, rather than a dividing up of art history into a series of fragmented local narratives without the kind of address to each other that can uncover aporias and blind spots. None of these perspectives will be able to claim any monopoly on explanatory power, or even any priority in advance: each will need to be in dialogue with other perspectives to argue its claims, each will need to be prepared explicitly to talk across differences, and each will have a concern with more than local artistic experience.

It should be clear that I consider the development of purely national art historical narratives an insufficient response to the challenge of Western hegemony in the writing of modern art history. Nationalism is itself one of the most characteristic ideologies of the modern world, a part of the field that must be investigated rather than an independent, unproblematic tool with which to do art historical work, and it is a particularly unhelpful tool for constructing an art history with a more global address. National art historical narratives with their emphasis on cultural distinctness can actually serve to entrench Western hegemony by default through their failure to develop a challenge to Euro-American accounts on their own turf. (Clement Greenberg's once-dominant formalist narrative of the United States taking the baton of artistic modernism from Europe is blatantly nationalistic itself, requiring an aspect blindness concerning the art it discusses to construct its sense of continuity).² They can remain parochial and thus be successfully ignored beyond the borders of the nation in which they are being propagated.

Elsewhere I have attempted more explicitly to provide an introduction to modern Chinese art for those who have a prior knowledge of modern

Western art but who may not be familiar with the specifics of the Chinese situation, and the present study can be seen as also offering a bridge into the critical understanding of art in modern China for those coming from an understanding of Western art, but by a different strategy.³ The six chapters which make up this volume are studies of modern Chinese art in a global frame, attempting to demonstrate the impossibility of comprehending Chinese art by a study of what has taken place within the nation's borders alone. While hoping to present material that will be new to specialists in the study of modern Chinese art, and thus to contribute to the development of scholarship in this area, the very fact that the book's argument will involve attention to places and to idioms of art-making which are European or American means that there will be plenty of opportunities for those whose knowledge base is in Western art to gain access to the discussion.

The approach taken in this book is one which emphasizes the connection between cultures, and sometimes it even finds reason to celebrate that interconnectedness. Implicitly, its approach is in conflict with more narrowly-conceived nationalist or culturally-essentialist accounts of Chinese art which emphasize its absolute differentness from the art of other cultures, or which see strength as coming from within, from engagement with inherited cultural traditions, and view contact with other cultures as only leading to the threat of deracination or weakening. Cultures are here thought of as always plural in their nature, dynamic entities that are constitutively implicated with each other, that are always drawing strength from their encounter with the other, even if that encounter may be over-shadowed by relations of power that cannot be ignored. While recognizing that cultural differences are a part of felt experience I do not see the boundaries between cultures as innate, as something art historical analysis can unproblematically assume as a given, but rather view them as being constituted within the field of cultural experience itself, as constantly liable to shift or even dissolve. In modern and contemporary experience a sense of cultural difference is not simply residual, something that can be attributed to the survival of inherited traditions — difference can emerge in places where it is least expected and can be an attribute of the novel as much as of the traditional. Identities and new cultural forms can be fabricated from 'foreign' material as well as from that which is inherited,

and the latter can be just as difficult to work with and make relevant to contemporary purpose as the former. This is so in part because even the most 'traditionalist' of Chinese artists in the modern period would be aware of the potential availability of imported modes of image-making, would be working in a cultural space that had become in some sense heterogeneous because of the presence of foreign culture, and would as a result be forced to define their own artistic idiom, even if negatively, with an awareness of it.

Rather than attempting to offer an all-embracing overview of modern Chinese art's encounter with the world in this study, I have instead elected to present a series of separate in-depth treatments of particular themes. This multi-focal approach, eschewing the illusion of comprehensive coverage of a field in which much fundamental research still remains to be done, enables me to approach the topic of modern Chinese art from a variety of perspectives which, although distinct, nevertheless often overlap at the level of the material they address. Broadly chronological in their overall arrangement, the six chapters are divided into three separate thematic sections, with the focus of attention being progressively widened as we move from section to section.

The first of the three sections deals with the cross-cultural trajectories of individual Chinese artists, with each of the two chapters featuring a different artist who travelled from China to the West and then returned. With recent artistic émigrés from China having already received a great deal of attention in the English-language literature, I am deliberately choosing to present examples that can help historicize the discussion.⁴ I will be looking at cases from much earlier periods where the possibilities for overseas travel were less extensive and the mutual familiarity of cultures less well developed. Although travel was more arduous in the era before air passenger transport was developed, in fact both the early cases discussed here are of artists who experienced acceptance and even success overseas to a degree that was certainly not enjoyed by all their later counterparts. Indeed both cases will show in their different ways that it is following the return home that the more difficult phase of adjustment to cross-cultural experience is often felt.

My first chapter attempts to mark a notional starting point for the story of Chinese art's engagement with the world, at least when told as a narrative of artists' own personal encounters with other cultures, since the links established between artistic traditions through the migration of objects would extend that story back to a considerably earlier era. Fittingly, perhaps, since much recent discussion has focused on the role of the market as mediating contemporary Chinese art's encounter with Western audiences, I begin with the case of an artist who worked explicitly for a foreign market. This was the portrait modeller known to us as Chitqua who in the latter part of the eighteenth century kept a shop in Canton (modern-day Guangzhou) catering to Western traders, and who was to travel to London for several years from 1769 in pursuance of his trade. Despite the pioneering nature of Chitqua's trans-continental trip, the present study is the first attempt to document his life and examine his oeuvre in any comprehensive way.

The second example, discussed in the following chapter, belongs to the earlier part of the twentieth century when a number of Chinese artists began to seek out formal education in Western modes of art-making. Such education was to become available within China itself, and a number of artists were also to travel to Japan in search of training, but several of the most significant Chinese artists of the first half of the century, including Lin Fengmian and Xu Beihong, were to gain their training in Europe. Unlike most but not all of those overseas students, Teng Baiye, the subject of this chapter, was to gain his education in North America. Like Chitqua in being a sculptor, he obtained his training in Seattle, spending time in other American and European cities as well before returning to China. Whereas Chitqua's travel took place in an era before the full development of theories of race and the more sustained phase of Western imperialist ambition in East Asia, both of which are largely phenomena of the nineteenth century, Teng's trip occurred in an age when Chinese artists were more reflexively concerned with issues of national identity. Awareness of the military power of Western nations — most graphically demonstrated in the two Opium Wars of the mid-nineteenth century which both ended in humiliating treaties involving territorial concession — was one of the most powerful spurs to the development of nationalist feeling in China, and led in the long run to the end of dynastic rule and the

establishment of the Republic of China following the Revolution of 1911. A citizen of a nation state, rather than a subject of an emperor as Chitqua had been, Teng attempted to introduce national themes in his art even as he looked to Western artistic means to do so.

Aware of the power of Western modes of representation (this heightened sense of cultural relativity which followed the intensification of cross-cultural contact is a defining feature of modern artistic culture in both China and the West), Teng nevertheless had allegiances to inherited Chinese traditions as well. These were expressed more through his painting than his sculptural output, however, and a justification for including Teng in this study instead of one of the more widely known artists of that era is that his knowledge of Chinese brushwork and its accompanying aesthetic was to be passed on to Western audiences in both China and North America. An aesthetic 'exporter' as well as 'importer', he was to meet and have a significant impact on one of the most important American abstract artists, Mark Tobey. Tobey's breakthrough to his mature artistic idiom, it will be argued here, was indebted to the lessons in Chinese brushwork he received from Teng. Even the story of modern Western art, then, let alone that of modern Chinese art, is not complete without considering the contribution of Chinese artists who operated in the international sphere.

In the second section of the book the focus shifts from a consideration of the movement of individual artists between cultures to an examination of the process by which Chinese artists respond to specific genres of Western art. Here it is more a matter of the transit of visual ideas than the transit of people, although the latter was of course implicated in the former since artists who had studied or spent time overseas were often the ones best placed to appreciate the potential of imported modes. A major aim of this part of the book is to show the selective and active nature of Chinese art's response to the possibilities of Western ways of making images. To talk of the 'influence' of Western art on Chinese art, as is sometimes done, is to conceive of the latter as both passive and belated in the process, and this was certainly not the case. Only certain aspects of the Western artistic heritage, of both modern and earlier times, were to prove of use within modern Chinese visual culture, and when employed they were invariably adapted and made to serve a local function.

As with the first section, the two chapters of the second section will deal with successive chronological periods, the first focusing (like Chapter 2) on the pre-Second World War Republican era, while Chapter 4 will consider the post-war era, shortly after the beginning of which, in 1949, the People's Republic came into being. While Chapter 3 will focus primarily on art made within mainland China, discussion in the subsequent chapter will note the contribution of artists based in Hong Kong and Taiwan, which because of their separate historical trajectories have had a markedly different encounter with the international art world. The relative cultural closure of the People's Republic during the Maoist years made Hong Kong, Taiwan and the international diaspora important sites of Chinese cultural development, but even in the less open and pluralistic environment of Mao's China art was still in touch with the global frame to some extent.⁵ Artists were able to learn from Russian teachers in the early Communist period, for instance, and might find opportunities to travel (as Li Keran and Fu Baoshi did, for instance) on exchange visits to other quite culturally different Communist states. Nevertheless, it was only outside mainland China, and primarily in Hong Kong and Taiwan, that Chinese artists of that era were really conscious in a major way of the challenges posed by making art for an audience that, potentially at least, was international in nature.

The theme of Chapter 3 is the reception of the nude as a subject in modern Chinese art. Whereas certain of the subjects of Western art, such as landscape and portraiture, have direct or fairly direct counterparts in pre-modern Chinese art, the nude was almost entirely absent in earlier Chinese visual culture. For this reason the study of its Chinese reception offers a particularly useful test case, and this novel subject will be shown to have had an especial appeal in the first half of the twentieth century. This appeal was based on something more than its sheer novelty, and had to do with its ability to offer a challenge of a fundamental kind to inherited modes of image-making, being implicated in a whole new approach to art-making — working from life — that was being introduced to China at that time and which had particular ramifications with respect to the way art education was conducted. In confronting existing practices of art-making and art education in this comprehensive way the nude proved a controversial subject in China in a way it no longer was in Europe by that date.

The second Western genre to be considered is abstraction. Unlike the nude, one can hardly call this a 'subject' of art (since it implies definitionally an absence of subject matter), and hence it offers a particularly complex and interesting case to consider. As absent from earlier Chinese art as the nude, the specifically modern notion of abstraction took a much longer time to find a place within twentieth-century Chinese art than that more historically established subject. Indeed, abstract art was more or less completely absent from Chinese art of the Republican era: no use could be found for that particular European mode of art-making by even the most ambitious artists working at that specific historical conjuncture. It was only in a later quite different moment when Western abstract art had itself changed considerably (partly as a result of East Asian philosophical and artistic influence, such as occurred in the case of Tobey's encounter with Teng) that it became possible for a cross-fertilization to occur. Delayed in coming, this artistic interchange was nevertheless to be of profound importance for the development of later Chinese modernism, even if much of the Chinese art to result from the encounter was not itself to be purely abstract. Whereas the nude had offered a front-on challenge to inherited modes of art-making, and was often employed by artists who were consciously adopting styles that refer back to Western precedents, the similarly alien mode of abstraction served by contrast to revitalize and extend the possibilities of the Chinese brushwork heritage (as European expressionism had for some artists in the earlier part of the century), even if the problem of accommodating that which was obviously foreign in origin had to be dealt with by artists.

In the final section of the book we look at the encounter of cultures from the perspectives of cities. Here I have pulled back to take a broader view than that afforded by the themes of the earlier sections, although this pulling back is only at the level of the contextual frame being used to interpret the art, and is not in any sense a pulling back from the art itself. As in the earlier parts of the book there will again be the attention to individual objects and images which is at the core of all art historical analysis — the hope is simply that the adoption of different contextual perspectives in different sections of the same study will allow a richer understanding than could be gained from the unrelenting application of a single monocular viewpoint. A broader perspective is not assumed to be better or more

comprehensive: each of the three frames of analysis used in the book has its own individual possibilities. Making cities rather than individual artists or genres the frame for our analysis in this final section will, for example, allow the examination of types of visual culture other than art objects as more narrowly defined. Architecture, town planning and film, for instance, will be juxtaposed in discussion with paintings and photographs.

The city of Canton, on China's southern fringe, is the place from which this book's story begins, and although a number of other cities such as London, Seattle, Shanghai and Taipei also feature in various chapters, it is to the south China coast that we return in this section, with chapters on Macau and Hong Kong respectively. The broadly chronological structure of the book is sustained by this section, which brings us up to the present moment through an examination of the postcolonial life of these two cities, each a former European colony which returned to Chinese sovereignty in the second half of the 1990s. This decolonization process is in a sense a 'migration' from West to East, since although no physical movement is actually involved it has become a commonplace to talk of Macau and Hong Kong as 'going back to China'. One must qualify this metaphorical sense of an eastward move, however, since in the case of both Macau and Hong Kong the return to Chinese sovereignty (and even the knowledge of its imminent approach) led to a new aspiration to be compared culturally to certain valorized Western urban locations. Although it might at first seem to be paradoxical, in the face of a re-absorption into China both these cities started looking West in search of models by means of which they could fashion their sense of identity or find new purpose. The return home, as the chapter on Teng will already have shown, is often the harder part of an encounter with the foreign.

Previous sections of the book attempt to foreground the issue of historical change within modern Chinese art, to provide evidence of the ways in which that art's encounter with the world beyond China's borders was configured differently at different historical moments. One way in which that is done is through the offering of a pair of examples in each case, from differing historical periods. In the final section of the book the two examples belong to the same time frame, however, and the emphasis is thus more on spatial rather than temporal diversity. The passage through

decolonization of Macau and Hong Kong were distinctly different in cultural terms, despite their geographical proximity and the parallels between the constitutional structures (as Special Administrative Regions with a high degree of autonomy) offered to them both after their return to Chinese sovereignty. Examining the basis for the differences, which requires a discussion of the specifics of urban topography and history amongst other matters, will also lead into questions of cultural identity. In a discussion that should hopefully have relevance for our understanding of other Chinese cities as well, evidence will be presented that it makes only very limited sense to talk of Chinese art today in monolithic terms, without attention to an actual heterogeneity occasioned at least in part by the multiple urban sites of its production.⁶ Reductive unitary pictures of contemporary Chinese art often rely on an exclusion of art from the former colonial cities of Macau and Hong Kong (as well as of that from Taiwan, which also has a markedly different trajectory through the modern experience from mainland China), so offering them a spotlight is productively destabilizing of art historical oversimplification.

It is not only art-making in modern and contemporary China that is marked by the site of its production in significant ways: the writing of art history is also similarly influenced by its place of production, consciously or unconsciously. Making Hong Kong the subject of the final chapter has the advantage of offering a degree of reflexive engagement with the site from which this book itself has been researched and written. Hong Kong is a site which offers in its liminality a wide range of possibilities for the study of modern Chinese art and in particular, on account of its long-term role as a cultural and economic gateway between China and the world, for a study of this kind which wants to address a transnational frame. Being culturally semi-detached, because of its long separate colonial history, from the national frame which is so often a feature of mainland writing on Chinese art, Hong Kong is nevertheless a site within Chinese cultural space and one from which it is possible to entertain a healthy scepticism concerning the potential aporias of art historical discourse on China produced from Western locations. While, as suggested earlier on in the present discussion, no one site for the writing of art history can ever be sufficient, it is a hope of this book that it can contribute to exploring the possibilities that its own chosen site of production can offer. Unashamedly

partial then, in both senses of that word, this study does not pretend to offer panoptic conclusions concerning the complex and as yet under-researched field it addresses, hoping instead to play a part in advancing understanding of its chosen topic, modern and contemporary Chinese art in the context of global visual culture.

Notes

Introduction

1. Even a recent and ostensibly revisionist textbook of modern art history, Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yves-Alain Bois, and Benjamin H. D. Buchloh's co-authored volume *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), marginalizes non-Western modern art, allowing it to enter the discussion only intermittently and as structurally marginal to the presentation of European and American art.
2. I discuss Greenberg's attempt to Americanize the narrative of modern art in David Clarke, 'The All-Over Image: Meaning in Abstract Art', *Journal of American Studies* 27, no. 3 (1993): 355–75.
3. I offer introductions to twentieth-century Chinese art as a whole which require no background understanding of Chinese art history in David Clarke, *Modern Chinese Art* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2000), and David Clarke, 'Revolutions in Vision: Chinese Art and the Experience of Modernity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Chinese Culture*, ed. Kam Louie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 272–96.
4. On recent Chinese artists who have worked in Europe, North America and Australia, see particularly Melissa Chiu, *Breakout: Chinese Art outside China* (Milan: Charta, 2006). Concerning the topic of Chinese art's engagement with Western art as a whole, the foundational study is Michael Sullivan's *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
5. When considering the Chinese diaspora one should not simply focus on the Chinese presence in Western countries, but should also note the longstanding pattern of Chinese migration to other parts of Asia. Although well outside the national borders of China itself, Singapore could also be thought of as in some sense a 'Chinese' cultural space because of the concentration of people of ethnic Chinese origin in that multicultural city.

6. For a study which analyzes recent art from Beijing against that city's physical environment and specific modern history see Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005). Although the cultural heterogeneity of contemporary Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai is in large part a consequence of their recent economic development, even in earlier phases of modern history one can point to ways in which Chinese cities were markedly heterogeneous in cultural terms. Shanghai of the Republican period, for instance, gained a cultural heterogeneity from the existence of foreign concessions in the city. While we are accustomed to emphasizing the negative aspects of such foreign intrusion, at the cultural level the presence of such overseas enclaves as Shanghai's French Concession also had a positive side in enabling exposure to overseas culture without the need for travel. See for example Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Chapter 1

1. *Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser*, 22 May 1774, cited in Geraldine Mozley, *The Blakes of Rotherhithe* (London and Southampton: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1935), 28. John Bradby Blake died in Canton in November 1773, aged twenty-eight.
2. *St. James's Chronicle*, 7–10 May 1774, cited in Mozley, *The Blakes of Rotherhithe*, 27. Even George Anson, an early British visitor to China who held a generally poor opinion of Chinese artists, was nevertheless to express some admiration of Chinese flower and bird paintings, see Richard Walter and Benjamin Robins, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV by George Anson*, ed. and with intro. by Glyndwr Williams (London: Oxford University Press, 1974 [first edition May 1748]), 367. On British interest in Chinese plants, see Fa-ti Fan, 'Science in a Chinese Entrepôt: British Naturalists and Their Chinese Associates in Old Canton', *Osiris* 18 (2003): 60–78.
3. The Blake images are catalogued by the Natural History Museum, London as *Water-colour drawings of Chinese plants by a native artist, with their Chinese names, and 16 other drawings subsequently intercalated*.
4. William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils* (London: published for the author, 1757), 14. Chambers was in Canton between 1743–45 and 1748–49. A letter to William Chambers from his brother John (Gothenburg, 3 July 1756, held in the archive of the Royal Academy of Arts, London) responds to a query made in a now untraceable earlier letter of June 1756: 'As I have no manner of notion of architecture I have no designs of the Chinese houses', suggesting a lack of visual information for his book, despite the commissioned Chinese images and those he is known to have made himself: Olof Toreen, for instance, mentions a drawing by Chambers of a machine to aid with the irrigation of rice crops in his *Voyage to Surat*, published in English along with Pehr Osbeck's *A Voyage to China and the East Indies* (London: Benjamin White, 1771), Vol. II, 223.
5. Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, 14 and 19. H. F. Clark, in 'Eighteenth Century Elysiums: The Rôle of "Association" in the Landscape Movement', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943): 180, suggests that Jean Denis Attiret, the French missionary who worked as a painter for the Chinese emperor in Peking, is

the main source that Chambers draws upon for his knowledge of Chinese gardens. Attiret's *A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens Near Peking* (1749) was published in an English translation by Harry Beaumont in 1752 (London: printed for R. Dodsley).

6. Pehr Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies*, Vol. 1 (London: Benjamin White, 1771), 221–22. This account occurs in the section of the book referring to 1751.
7. Toreen, *Voyage to Surat*, Vol. II, 244.
8. Toreen, *Voyage to Surat*, Vol. II, 245.
9. Clipping, headed 'Journal of a Voyage in the Indian Seas', dated only as 1 July, from the *Monthly Magazine*, p. 530, in the Whitley Papers, British Museum Prints and Drawings Room. The source and date of the account are given in a later part of the narrative dated 1 September. A similar exchange is noted by John Nicol in his account of one of his stays in eighteenth-century Canton: 'They [the Chinese] appear to me to be excellent copiers, but not inventors. One of our officers sat for a painter to draw his picture and told the Chinese not to make him ugly. "How can make other than is?" was the reply. He had no idea of altering a single feature to add to the looks of the object he was painting'. See *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner*, ed. and with intro. by Tim Flannery (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2000), 160.
10. *Memoirs of William Hickey*, ed. Alfred Spencer (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1913), 227–28.
11. Only two previous studies of Chitqua's art in article form exist, and both are brief pieces produced more than half a century ago: Aubrey J. Toppin, 'Chitqua, The Chinese Modeller, and Wang-Y-Tong, the "Chinese Boy"', *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* 2, no. 8 (1942): 149–52; and David Piper, 'A Chinese Artist in England', *Country Life*, 18 July 1952, 198–99. Chitqua's work is also mentioned in the context of a more general discussion of Chinese portrait sculptures of British and Danish subjects of the eighteenth century in R. J. Charleston, 'Chinese Face-makers', *Antiques*, May 1958, 459–61, and analogous Dutch examples which also provide a context for understanding Chitqua are introduced in A. M. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder, 'De factorijen te Canton in de 18de eeuw' ('The Factories at Canton in the Eighteenth Century'), *Oud-Holland* 70 (1955, reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Lichtenstein, 1976): 162–71. Equally useful is Craig Clunas, "'Moulding a Physiognomy" — A Chinese Portrait Figure', *V & A Album* 3 (1984): 46–51, which discusses an early Chinese portrait sculpture from the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Joost C. A. Schokkenbroek, 'Versteend verleden: Chinese portretbeeldjes in de collectie van het Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam' ('The past in stone: Portrait figures in the collection of the Dutch Maritime Museum'), *Vormen uit Vuur* 203 (2008): 2–13 (with English summary on p. 46) introduces examples from the collection of the Dutch Maritime Museum in Amsterdam, but has a broader usefulness than its title might suggest since it discusses other examples too and contains on pp. 12–13 a helpful table which brings together all the surviving examples of Chinese portrait figures known to the author. Chitqua is also discussed in passing in various art historical accounts of British art of the eighteenth century or of China trade art such as Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade* (Woodbridge: The Antique Collectors Club, 1991), 314–15. Jack Lee Sai Chong discusses Chitqua in 'China Trade Paintings: 1750s to 1880s'

- (PhD thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2005). The whole of his second chapter (pp. 32–58) is given over to the discussion of clay portraits made for the export market, and Chitqua is discussed on pp. 47–58. The earliest reference to Chitqua in the art historical literature (and the basis for much that has been written about the artist at a later date) is William T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700–1799*, Vol. I (London and Boston: The Medici Society, 1928), 269–73. For reasons of space, Whitley did not cite sources for most of the points he makes in his study, but his detailed notes (as well as various clippings) are in the Whitley Papers, held in the Prints and Drawings Room of the British Museum.
12. See the *Gentleman's Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237 (also reprinted in John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Consisting of Authentic Memoirs and Original Letters of Eminent Persons*, Vol. V [London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1828], 319) and Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife, 1766–1769* (Melbourne, London and Toronto: William Heinemann Ltd, 1957), 317. Boswell notes that he was taken to meet Chitqua (whom he does not mention by name) by 'Mr. John Donaldson, the bookseller'.
 13. Richard Gough, letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318. Gough's father Harvey Gough (1681–1751) went to China for trade, keeping accounts for his uncle Sir Richard Gough, and was apparently known to his Chinese contacts as 'Ami Whangi'.
 14. William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening, Second Edition with additions to which is annexed an explanatory discourse by Tan Chet-qua of Quang-Chew-fu, Gent.* (London: W. Griffin, 1773). An analogous but slightly earlier and more acknowledged piece of cultural ventriloquism was performed by Oliver Goldsmith when he published in the *Public Ledger* (as a series of letters) his 'The Citizen of the World', satirical comments on British society purportedly written by a Chinese visitor to England, 'Lien Chi Altangi'. A Canton merchant named 'Tan Chetqua' (who died in 1771 and who thus cannot be identified with the modeller Chitqua) is mentioned by C. J. A. Jörg (see *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982], 70–71, 114, 118 and 338).
 15. See for instance the table of names given opposite p. 1 of Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997).
 16. Richard Gough, letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318.
 17. *Gentleman's Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237.
 18. See Richard C. Cole with Peter S. Baker and Rachel McClellan, eds., *The General Correspondence of James Boswell, 1766–1769* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 267n8; and Brady and Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, 317.
 19. For Thomas Bentley's letter see Llewellynn Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods: Being a Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (London: Virtue Brothers and Co, 1865), 209–10.
 20. See Godfrey Bosville, letter of 11 December 1769 to James Boswell, in Cole with Baker and McClellan, eds., *The General Correspondence of James Boswell, 1766–1769*, 266. Bosville, who had not met Chitqua at the time of writing his letter (and who was unaware that Boswell already had), mentions that Walton was an acquaintance

of Captain Bosville, presumably a relative. ‘John Walton, esq. Supracargo, and John Arnot esq’ are listed as passengers on the return journey in the ship’s journal of the *Horsendon* (held in the India Office records, British Library).

21. Richard Gough, letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318.
22. See Brady and Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, 317.
23. See the *Gentleman’s Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237 and *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy MDCCLXX The Second* (printed by W. Griffin, 1770), 22. Although most buildings in that area today are of later date, St. Clement Danes church, which would have been the major landmark of that area in Chitqua’s time, still stands. Twinings tea shop is also still on the same site it occupied at that time. Contemporary sources indicate that the area between the Strand and the Thames contained places of lodging. On Arundel Street (built 1678) and Norfolk Street (built 1682), which were linked by Howard Street, see Walter Thornbury, *Old and New London: Volume 3* (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1878), 63–84.
24. See the *Gentleman’s Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237.
25. Charles Hardy, *A Register of Ships, Employed in the Service of the Honorable the United East India Company, from the Year 1760 to 1810* (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1811), 31, notes the *Horsendon* arriving at the ‘Downs’ on 11 August 1769. Documentation with a covering date of 21 August 1769 from the British National Archives Records of the Admiralty (Navy Board: Records ADM 106/1184/117) notes that ‘The *Horsendon*, Captain Jamison [*sic*], from China, came alongside the Nightingale at the 3rd moorings, on the 19th’. No reference to Chitqua as a passenger on the *Horsenden* can however be found in the ship’s journal.
26. See the *Gentleman’s Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237. Gough mentions that he had believed there was a general ban on overseas travel for Chinese subjects at that time, but was subsequently told (maybe by Chitqua himself, although the wording is unclear on this point) that it was possible to leave on payment of a sum equivalent to £10. See Richard Gough, letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318.
27. Curiosity was also cited as the motivation in the case of another early Chinese visitor to Europe. In Francis Froger, *A Journal of the First French Embassy to China, 1698–1700* (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1859), 151, we learn of a Father Fontaney keeping one of his Chinese servants with him when he left Canton because he ‘was curious to see France’.
28. See Richard Gough, letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318. Gough writes: ‘He told me he could get no earth here for his work, whence I conclude he brought over a cargo’.
29. For Thomas Bentley’s letter see Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods*, 209–10.
30. See Brady and Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, 317.
31. Gough writes (in his letter of 3 August 1770 to the Rev. B. Forster, in Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. V, 318): ‘He said the Emperor of China had no name, and that there were no distinctions of titles amongst

- their nobility as amongst us'. One can perhaps see in this exchange an implicit assumption of China and England as broadly comparable in their political structure.
32. See Brady and Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, 317. The Chinese visitor Johnson had previously met could have been the merchant 'Loum Kiqua', who was in England in 1756. Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* records an interest Johnson expressed in visiting the Great Wall of China, and elsewhere a conversation with Boswell concerning Chinese art and language (both in 1778). See James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2008), 654 and 691. See also Tsen-chung Fan, *Dr. Johnson and Chinese Culture* (London: The China Society, 1945) and Adrian Hsia, *The Vision of China in English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998). Another Chinese merchant from Canton to travel to Europe in the eighteenth century was Poankeequa (1714–1788) who visited Stockholm in the 1740s, see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 70.
 33. For Thomas Bentley's letter see Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods*, 209–10.
 34. See p. 276 of William Sargent, 'Asia in Europe: Chinese Paintings for the West', in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amir Jaffer (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 271–81. An image from the album, *Liang, the First Minister*, is reproduced on the same page. Information about this album, and Chitqua's involvement with it, was kindly provided by William Sargent in an email to the author on 27 May 2003, and by Dave O'Ryan in a series of emails in May, June and August 2009.
 35. 'Of some other figures of women, he [Chitqua] gave the following account. In three or four thousand years time, the Chinese have had four very celebrated Beauties'.
 36. 'Tshao kiun. La dame Tchao, No. 22, was another of those famous beauties. She was likewise the second wife of one of their princes, who was a very weak man (a fooly man in Chequa's way of talking) who neglected his affairs. A Tartar king fell in love with her, & her husband to prevent a war, yielded her up to him. For this reason she is represented with the Tartar headdress of furs, over her Chinese garments, and to show her change of country, is standing by a tent in a wood of leafless trees.'
 37. 'Neither did he know any thing more of Niu yuen chou la Femme Generale, No. 21, but that she was a woman who fought, and commanded soldiers.'
 38. See Lemuel Dole Nelme, *An Essay towards an Investigation of the Origin and Elements of Language and Letters* (London: printed by T. Spilsbury for S. Leacroft, 1772), 19. Nelme (who died in 1796) was involved with the Royal Society of Arts in the late 1760s.
 39. See Frances Wood, 'Curiosities of the British Library Chinese Collection', in *Chinese Studies*, British Library Occasional Papers 10, ed. Frances Wood (London: The British Library, 1988), 99–100. As Wood notes (pp. 98–99), a seventeenth-century Chinese visitor, the Catholic convert Shen Fuzong who was brought to Europe by Couplet, had similarly been invited to catalogue the Chinese books of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. T. H. Barrett, *A Singular Listlessness: A Short History of Chinese Books and British Scholars* (London: Wellsweep Press, 1989), 46n1, notes that Wang-Y-Tong (here given as 'What at Tong') 'placed in order' various works for St. John's College Oxford in June 1775. For an account of Wang-Y-Tong being asked to help decipher Chinese writing see 'Hints Respecting the Chinese Language', in *The Bee, or Literary*

Weekly Intelligencer, Vol. 11, ed. James Anderson (Edinburgh: printed for the editor, 1792), 48–52 (the account is given in a letter dated 13 February 1775, included on pp. 50–52). An image of a Chinese plant, *Saxifraga stolonifera*, by Mary Delany (collage of coloured papers, with bodycolour and watercolour, and a leaf sample, on black ink background, collection British Museum, Prints and Drawings, catalogue number 1897,0505.778) has on its verso an inscription ‘A Chinese plant — the name written by Whanga at Tong, The China man as he call’d himself’. This Chinese name is given on a label attached to the lower left of the image, which also has a romanization and an English translation as ‘Old Tygers Ear’. A colour reproduction may be found in *Yingguo yu Shijie, 1714–1830 nian (Britain Meets the World, 1714–1830)* (Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe, 2007), 233 (catalogue of an exhibition held at the National Palace Museum, Beijing).

40. Information kindly provided by Frances Wood in email correspondence with the author dated 15 April 2009. All the books Chitqua would have seen in the British Museum are now in the possession of the British Library. The British Library catalogue number of the medical text is: 15252.a.5.
41. Gough wrote of Chitqua’s meeting with the King: ‘when I asked him if he had seen the King, he said yes, and the King’s mother too’. Princess Augusta, the mother of George III, lived till 1772. The pagoda was not the only (or the first) ‘Chinese’ feature to be constructed at Kew, see H. F. Clark, ‘Eighteenth Century Elysiums’, 165–89. On Chambers’s work at Kew and his relationship with George III see the chapters by John Harris and Jane Roberts respectively in *Sir William Chambers, Architect to George III*, eds. John Harris and Michael Snodin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996). Chambers was made joint Architect to the King on George III’s accession in 1760 (with Robert Adam), and became Comptroller of the Works in 1769, the year of Chitqua’s arrival in London.
42. See Whitley, *Artists and their Friends*, Vol. I, 248–50.
43. An account of the dinner is given in a clipping of unknown source (but possibly from either the *Morning Post* or the *Middlesex Journal*), dated 26 April 1770, in the news clippings book held in the Royal Academy of Arts archive:

Last Monday being the day before the exhibition of the Royal Academy, the Academicians gave a grand dinner in their great room in Pall Mall, where their guests consisting of many of the nobility, remarkable for their taste or patronage of the polite arts, and Gentlemen celebrated for their will or learning, had the double pleasure of feasting not only their appetites but their eyes, with a splendid profusion of excellent paintings which particularly distinguish this year’s exhibition. The following noblemen and gentlemen were present [. . .] the Hon Mr. Horace Walpole, [. . .] Edmund Burke, Charles Jennens, [. . .] David Garrick, George Colman, Samuel Foote, William Whitehead, [. . .] Mr. Chitqua’.

On Garrick’s involvement with Chinese-themed productions see Fan, *Dr. Johnson and Chinese Culture*, 17. On Horace Walpole’s *Letters from Xo Ho* and other mid-eighteenth century British literary involvement with China, see Chen Shou-yi, ‘Oliver Goldsmith and his Chinese Letters’, *T’ien Hsia Monthly* VIII, no. 1 (January 1939): 34–52. Walpole had a ‘Chinese Closet’ at Strawberry Hill, see Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole* (Twickenham: 1784, printed by Thomas Kirgate), but was opposed to a faux-Chinese taste in gardens, attacking Chambers’s

- A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* in a 25 May 1772 letter to the Rev. Mason as ‘more extravagant than the worst Chinese [wall]paper’ (W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, Vol. 28, [London: Oxford University Press, 1955], 34).
44. See *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy MDCCLXX The Second*, 22. The exhibition, which was open every day except Sunday, 8am till 7pm, continued till Saturday 26 May 1770.
 45. Cited from a clipping in the Whitley Papers, Prints and Drawings Room, British Museum. This was the old Somerset House, of which the Royal Academy had been one of the last tenants: Chambers’s building was begun in 1776, with the first phase ready for use in 1780. The Royal Academy exhibition of that year was held there.
 46. On Cox and his trade with Canton see Roger Smith, ‘James Cox (c. 1723–1800): A Revised Biography’, *The Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1167 (June 2000): 353–61. Cox’s son, John Henry Cox, was to travel to Canton in 1781, and he died there in 1791. T. C. Fan (in ‘Sir William Jones’s Chinese Studies’, *The Review of English Studies* 22, no. 88 [October 1946]: 309) notes him as apparently attempting to collaborate while in Canton on a translation of the Chinese *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi Jing*). On this attempted translation see also Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 265–66 and 318–19. On Merlin see Anne French and Michael Wright, *John Joseph Merlin: The Ingenious Mechanick* (London: Iveagh Bequest and Greater London Council, 1985).
 47. Walpole commented that Zoffany ‘made no design for it’ and that he ‘clapt in the artists as they came to him’. See V. Manners and G. C. Williamson, *John Zoffany, R. A. His Life and Work. 1735–1810* (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1920), 28.
 48. David Piper, ‘A Chinese Artist in England’, 199. Piper spells the name as ‘Grignon’ rather than ‘Grignion’. Ashmolean Museum Oxford [compiler David Blayney Brown], *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings*, Vol. IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), 363 notes that a portrait of Chitqua (presumably this one) and studies of several of the other sitters for Zoffany’s group portrait (Hunter, Nollekens, Richards, West and Wilton) were sold as Lot 230 of the ‘Fitzroy Newdegate Sale’. This was presumably a sale which took place after the death on 2 January 1936 of Sir Francis Alexander Newdigate Newdegate of Arbury Hall, near Nuneaton, Warwickshire. Newdegate’s estates were inherited by his daughter Lucia, who had married John Maurice Fitzroy in 1919.
 49. See Ashmolean Museum Oxford, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings*, Vol. IV, 362–63.
 50. See David Blayney Brown, ‘A Chinaman Found in Western Art’, *The Ashmolean* 6 (Christmas 1984–Easter 1985), 10–11. An academy study of a male nude can be found on the verso of the image. The provenance and date of accession to the collection are unknown. Thanks to Colin Harrison of the Ashmolean for bringing this article to my attention, and for enabling me to view the work.
 51. See *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Sculptures, Models, Designs in Architecture, Drawings, Prints, &c. exhibited at the Great Room in Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, April the twenty-sixth, 1771, by the Royal Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1771*, printed for the Society, p. 9. Mortimer’s work, *A Portrait of Chit Qua, the Chinese Modeler, a three quarters*, is listed as No. 86 in the catalogue.

52. See *The Hunterian Museum Volunteers Newsletter*, accessed 24 June 2008, <http://www.rcseng.ac.uk/museums/beinvolved/Newsletter%20Issue%203.pdf>. Piper mentions the Mortimer work as lost.
53. Wang's Chinese name (given here in pinyin romanization) is identified by Sheila O'Connell as 'Huang Yadong' (see *Yingguo yu Shijie*, 230–31 and 383–84), although the documentary information which enables this identification is not stated. In her catalogue entry O'Connell gives the old identification of the Royal College of Surgeons of England portrait as of Wang.
54. There are three Reynolds images of Wang-Y-Tong: see Algernon Graves and William Vine Cronin, *A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Vol. III (London: Henry Graves and Co, 1899–1901), 1028–29. One of the three portraits is erroneously described by Graves and Cronin as being of Chitqua (*Wang-y-tong or Tanchequa*). There is also confusion at one point in Whitley's papers: he erroneously states that a now-untraceable painting by Serres of 'Loum Kiqua', another earlier Chinese visitor to London (known through a print by Thomas Burford), is of Chitqua. Through his association with Knole, Sevenoaks, the home of George Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset, Wang-Y-Tong was also to appear in a working drawing by Thomas Gainsborough for his portrait in oil of the Duke's mistress, Giovanna Baccelli (first exhibited 1782, now in the Tate collection).
55. The collection as it now stands (it entered the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1799, after Hunter's death) contains for example such paintings as *A Labrador Woman* (1773, artist unknown) and *Omai* (William Hodges). Some items of less relevance to Hunter's collection were sold in 1794, and paintings were also added to the collection after his time.
56. A manuscript list of 1816 entitled 'A List of Paintings and Drawings framed and glazed, numbered according to the Situation in which they were placed round the rail of the gallery in Mr. Hunter's museum in Castle Street Leicester Square' is referred to in documentation held in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, which lists 'Portrait of a Chinese Mandarin' as No. 27, indicating that the image of Chitqua was indeed displayed in Hunter's gallery.
57. See John Sunderland, *John Hamilton Mortimer, His Life and Works* (printed for The Walpole Society by W. S. Maney and Son as Vol. 52, 1988), 142. The Chitqua portrait is reproduced as Plate 95, and dated to 1771. It is given as in a private collection. This work was exhibited in Brighton in 1986, and is illustrated in colour in the accompanying catalogue, Patrick Conner, *The China Trade: 1600–1860* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, 1986), 85.
58. See Gordon Wolstenholme, ed., *The Royal College of Physicians of London. Portraits* (London: J and A Churchill Ltd, 1964), 34. A letter from the donor in the Royal College archive dated 29 January 1831 offers 'the curious little clay figure of my father' to the College. Askew had been a member of the Royal College of Physicians from 1753, hence the gift to this body, which owns an extensive collection of medical portraits.
59. On portraits of medical figures in eighteenth-century Britain, and an argument for the importance of portraiture for medical identity, see Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Portraits, People and Things: Richard Mead and Medical Identity', *History of Science* 41, no. 133 (September 2003): 293–314. See also Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features: Scientific and Medical Portraits 1660–2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).

60. William Carmichael, *The Gold-Headed Cane* (London: Royal College of Physicians, 1968 [a facsimile of the 1827 edition]), 127–28. Carmichael's account could have been based on information from the family, since it was written during the lifetime of Askew's daughter and at a time when the sculpture was still in the family's possession. *The Gold-Headed Cane* recounts the lives of the various owners of the cane (which is represented in the Chitqua portrait and is now also in the collection of the Royal College of Physicians) as if from the point of view of the cane itself. Askew obtained the cane from Richard Mead, who had himself obtained it from John Radcliffe (1650–1714). For the claim that Chitqua had been Askew's patient see Wolstenholme, ed., *The Royal College of Physicians*, 34.
61. See William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (London: Royal College of Physicians, 1878), 187: '[Askew] saw a good deal of company attracted as well by the abundant luxuries with which his table was furnished as by the classical conversations and learned accounts of curiosities which he had brought with him from Greece'.
62. Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College*, 187, mentions Jones as amongst Askew's most frequent visitors. Askew had been amongst the first to sign the ballot enabling Jones's election to the Royal Society in 1772 (see Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, 56). On Jones and Chinese studies see Fan, 'Sir William Jones's Chinese Studies', and A. D. Waley, 'Sir William Jones as a Sinologue', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 4 (1946): 842. For confirmation of the rarity of Chinese-language skills in England at that time we can note Chambers's comment in his *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (p. 8) that having brought back from Canton several Chinese inscriptions which he has forgotten to get explained, he needed to send them to 'the Propaganda at Rome to be translated'. On the state of British sinology in the eighteenth century see also T. H. Barrett, *A Singular Listlessness*, 41–46.
63. For Fan's comment on Jones and Chitqua see his 'Sir William Jones's Chinese Studies', 307. On Jones's letter to Wilmot see Lord Teignmouth [John Shore], *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (Philadelphia: The Classic Press, 1805), 99–101. Jones writes:
- I am sorry the characters you sent me are not Persian, but Chinese, which I cannot decypher without a Book, which I have not at present, but, tous Chinois qu'ils sont, I shall be able to make them out, when the weather will permit me to sit in the Bodleian. In the mean time, I would advise you to enquire after a native of China, who is now in London. I cannot recollect where he lodges, but shall know when I come to town, which will be tomorrow or Saturday (p. 100–101).
- Cannon (a generally useful recent source concerning Jones's life) mentions the letter in *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, 59, and on the same page (but without stating his source) claims that Jones, Joshua Reynolds and Wang-Y-Tong would sometimes have dinner together. Cannon also discusses Jones's interest in China and its language and literature on pp. 23, 226, and 318–19.
64. This figure is reproduced in colour on p. 28 of Jan Van Campen, 'Chinese "Schuddebolle"', *Aziatische Kunst* 37, no. 3 (September 2007): 18–35.
65. Kneller's 'Kit-cat' portraits of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Earl of Dorset and of Robert Walpole (in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London) both show the sitter with a right hand tucked inside his jacket. A similar pose can be found in

some early painted portraits of Western visitors made in Canton, see for example Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 34, 38 and 46.

66. The identification of Van Braam as the probable subject rests on a broad similarity with another known portrait of him, and not on documentary evidence. On Van Braam and his collection of Chinese artefacts see Jan Van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen van Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest' ('Orders placed in China by Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest'), *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 53, no. 1 (2005): 18–40 (with English summary pp. 91–93).
67. This work was sold, without its current identification as a portrait of Garrick, by Christie's New York in 1981. It again appeared in auction at Sotheby's New York, in a sale entitled 'Fine Chinese Export Porcelain, Paintings and Works of Art', on 18 January 1996 (Lot number 234), and in Christie's London sale 'Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art Including Export Art', on 8 June 2004.
68. See Brady and Pottle, *Boswell in Search of a Wife*, 303. Captain Johnson amused Boswell with an imitation of the Chinese merchant or modeller's description of the famous political radical Wilkes in Pidgin: 'He knockifar your king. Your king fooly king. Do so here, cutty head. Inglis no love your king; Cots [Scots] love your king'. Boswell notes: 'it is curious that people at such a distance can understand so much of the minutiae of Britain'.
69. The exhibition catalogue, published by the Holbourne Museum of Art itself (Bath, 2003), has an essay by Desmond Shaw-Taylor ('The beautiful strokes of a great actor', pp. 11–30). Shaw-Taylor describes the figure (p. 14) as 'speculatively undertaken' by Chitqua as a way of advertising his skills on his arrival in London, but offers no documentation to support this claim. An identification of the figure as a portrait of Garrick by Chitqua is also assumed in Jan Seewald, *Theatrical Sculpture: Skulptierte Bildnisse berühmter englischer Schauspieler* (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2007), 75–78 and James Fenton, *School of Genius: A History of the Royal Academy* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006). The work is reproduced in Fenton on p. 76.
70. On Talbot's China voyages see Doris Mercer and Edith Mercer, *Chart Park: Dorking. A Vanished Surrey Mansion* (Dorking: Dorking Local History Group, 1993), 7 and 36–39. Talbot's presence in Macau and Canton is also noted in Hosea Ballou Morse and Patrick J. N. Tuck, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1934* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 193. I am grateful to Mary Turner, Curator of Archives at the Dorking and District Museum, for help in tracking down this reference and for providing me with a photo of the work. Thanks also to Nino Strachey and Helen Rowse of the National Trust and Clandon Park for help in identifying details of the Talbot figure and its case at a time when I had not yet been able to inspect it personally.
71. Biographical information concerning Henry Talbot comes from Mercer and Mercer, *Chart Park*, 7 and 35–39.
72. See Mercer and Mercer, *Chart Park*, 11, 17 and 46.
73. See David Piper, 'A Chinese Artist in England', 199. Information concerning the Victoria and Albert Museum's evaluation of this work was kindly provided by Ming Wilson, who also arranged access to the work itself, as well as photos of it. At the time of writing, this piece has not yet been put on public display.

74. See Metaxia Ventikou, 'A Chinese Figure in Unfired Clay: Technical Investigation and Conservation Treatment', *V&A Conservation Journal Online* 38 (Summer 2001), accessed 12 June 2008, http://www.vam.ac.uk/res_cons/conservation/journal/issue38/figure/index.html. The Askew figure also has a simple wooden base, but it is not clear if this is original.
75. For evidence of Chinese artists copying Western prints see for example *Artist Copying a European Print onto Glass*, a watercolour on paper of c. 1790 in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. While Western paintings (or prints after them) are being suggested here as a possible precedent, it should be remembered that reclining figures on beds are also known from Chinese art, see for example the thirteenth-century painter Liu Guandao's *Whiling Away the Summer*, handscroll with ink and colour on silk, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.
76. Evidence of Suqua's status and character can be found in a 20 July 1730 note in the 'Diary and consultations of the Council in China for 1730; 21 Nov 1729 — 8 Jan 1731; at Canton Jul 1730 — Jan 1731', India Office records, held by the British Library, IOR/G/12/30, p. 18, which states that 'Suqua for many years past hath been reputed the most considerable merchant in Canton and can dispatch any number of ships in good time, for he is in great circumstances, and generally allowed to be an able and skillful merchant, but he will always endeavour to make a hard bargain'. On p. 24 of the same document Suqua is also described as 'the senior merchant now in Canton'.
77. On Hall see Conrad Gill, *Merchants and Mariners of the Eighteenth Century* (London: E. Arnold, 1961), which despite its more general title is effectively a study of Hall's trading career. Information given here on Hall's visits to the East is mostly derived from Chapter 2 of Gill's book (pp. 12–28), with other information based on later passages in the book (pp. 30, 45, 118, 131 and 161–62). On pp. 37–39 Gill gives a detailed summary of the cargo brought back on the 1723–24 voyage. Information on Hall and on the Peabody Essex Museum portrait figure of him was also kindly provided by William Sargent in an email to the author of 7 April 2009 in which information from a forthcoming catalogue entry on the work was shared. Dave O'Ryan also kindly assisted in providing visual information concerning the figure.
78. The two photos of the Harrison piece can be found on p. 312 of David Piper, *The English Face* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957), and p. 250 of the second (and posthumous) edition, published by the National Portrait Gallery in 1992, edited by Malcolm Rogers. Thanks to Emma Butterfield of the National Portrait Gallery for providing me with information about the inscription on the back of the museum's photo.
79. Following his period as governor ('president') of Madras, Harrison was to serve as member of parliament for Hertford and as postmaster-general (1725–1732). He had established a postal service between the East India Company factories at Madras and Calcutta whilst in India. He was the son of Richard Harrison and Audrey Villiers, was married to Frances Bray (1674–1752), and had one daughter, Audrey Ethelreda Harrison. A portrait in oil of Harrison by Charles Jervas (1675–1739), dated to c. 1725, is in the collection of the British Postal Museum and Archive, Camden, London, but no obvious physiognomic similarity to the sculptural portrait can be discerned. Fort St. George, Madras, is shown in the painting's

background. For information on the English community at Madras in the early eighteenth century see, for example, Chapter 11 of Gill, *Merchants and Mariners of the Eighteenth Century*, 118–28 and Tercentenary Madras Staff, Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee, *The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939) — in which Collet and Harrison are mentioned, and J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time* (New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1993 [a facsimile reprint of the original of 1882]). Chapters 25 to 27 of this latter volume discuss the events of Harrison's governorship, while Chapters 29 and 30 discuss those of Collet's. A sketch of life in Madras at that time is also given by Collet himself in a letter to his mother of 13 December 1716, see H. H. Dodwell, ed., *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933), 139–40.

80. See Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbaek, eds., *Ethnographic Objects from the Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1980), 179–80, which reproduces and discusses four of the figures. Five of these figures are now to be found in the Danish Maritime Museum, Kronborg. The Zimmer figure is kept by his descendants in Norway. Charleston, 'Chinese Face-makers', 459–61, discusses and illustrates (p. 460) the Zimmer figure, while the Ølgod figure is reproduced on p. 168 of Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder, 'De factorijen te Canton', and also on p. 313 of Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*. Other seated figures are known, and they all may share the same authorship as those already discussed. One example, referred to by A. Staring ('Chineesche portretfiguren', *Oud-Holland* 73 [1958, reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Lichtenstein, 1976], 220–28) as a portrait of Willem Philips de Brouwer (reproduced p. 225) is also mentioned by William Sargent (*The Copeland Collection: Chinese and Japanese Ceramic Figures* [Salem: The Peabody Museum of Salem, 1991], 108) as Captain Guillaume de Brouwer of the frigate *Sleswig*, which was in China 1733–35. Sargent also discusses (pp. 108–11) and reproduces in colour (p. 109) a seated figure of a European merchant in the Peabody Essex Museum of Salem collection, which may possibly be a portrait of Issac Pyke (b. 1672). It is dated by Sargent as 1750–55. A further seated figure, tentatively identified as of Jacob van Dam and dated to 1751, is in the Nederlands Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam; see Schokkenbroek, 'Versteend verleden', the portrait is reproduced in colour on p. 8. Figures of Zacharias Allewelt and Peter Holter (d. 1762) in the Aust-Agder-Museet, in Arendal, Norway, may be of a similar date to these other works, see *European Scenes on Chinese Art* (London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2005), 103.

81. All the six figures have real hair wigs, including the two with caps, thus suggesting the possibility that the capped Victoria and Albert Museum reclining figure might also have had hair at one time.

82. In a letter to John Bedwell of 14 December 1716, Collet writes

Governour Harrison's friendship is a very great advantage to me; he is a man of the most solid Judgment, polish'd by the brightest conversation, and thereby qualify'd equally for the busy and Gay scenes of life; he is a man of strict honour and justice and firm resolution. We communicate without reserve in our private conversation and we have joy'n'd together in publick in the most solemn positive institution of Christianity.

The letter is given, along with other related correspondence, in Dodwell, ed., *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 142–44.

83. See Dodwell, ed., *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 131–32.
84. See Dodwell, ed., *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 140–41. Collet writes: 'I also send by the Governor [Harrison] in requitall for your Pictures a sort of Picture or Image of my Self. The lineaments and the features are Esteem'd very just but the complexion is not quite so well hit; the proportions of my body and my habit is very exact. I commit it to your Custody till you see the originall'. Collet had mentioned Harrison's impending return home in a letter of 18 September 1716 written to his daughter Elizabeth (pp. 131–32), and in a letter to his mother of 13 December 1716 he asks her to 'wait on Govr. Harrison at his Arrivall', mentioning that he has 'made him my Attorney jointly with my Bro'r Bedwell and given him an Account not only of my own Affairs but also of my Family's and am confident you will find him ready to assist them as occasion shall require. I would have my Daughters respect him as a Father and follow his Directions in all Matters of Importance' (pp. 139–40). In the 14 December 1716 letter to his daughter Elizabeth mentioning his portrait, Collet also asks his daughter and her sisters to meet Harrison on his arrival in England and mentions him as one of three people whose consent she must gain to marry in his absence overseas.
85. Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, 119, notes that Hall and Harrison (who seems to have continued trading following his return to England despite his other activities) both dealt with the same trading agents in Holland, and that after Harrison's death, one of those agents, Senserf, asked Hall to continue the service Harrison had provided him of transmitting news of finance and commerce in England. Hall can also be documented as consulting with Harrison in the early 1730s over a problem faced by the wife of James Naish (a friend of Hall's who had been the captain of the *Maison d'Autriche* on which Hall voyaged to Canton in 1719). Harrison drafted a letter on her behalf (see Gill, p. 115). One further link between the two men is that John Powney, a Madras merchant, corresponded with Hall from 1733 in an attempt to secure his services as a trustee for his children in England as successor to Harrison who had died the previous year (Gill, p. 125).
86. For evidence of trade between Xiamen and Madras in the early eighteenth century see Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, 124n6.
87. Charleston, 'Chinese Face-makers', 461, also offers the conjecture that all of the portrait sculptures may have been made by one family. It should be noted, however, that 'Tan' was not an uncommon family name amongst Canton merchants in the eighteenth century (for examples, see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 69–71, 114, 337, 340 and 350).
88. On the Victoria and Albert Museum standing figure see Clunas, 'Moulding a Physiognomy'. Clunas's date for the figure is based partly on evidence from the history of fashion.
89. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 307–10. On other works attributed to Chinqua see *European Scenes on Chinese Art*, 100–104 (where a further work there attributed to Chinqua is reproduced in colour).
90. Unlike this author, Clunas ('Moulding a Physiognomy', 48) is not convinced that the two London standing figures have the same authorship. He points to their difference of size as well as their geographically disparate locations of manufacture, and (correctly, I feel) notes that the Collet figure is 'rather crudely modeled by

comparison' with its counterpart in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Clunas is instead struck (p. 50) by the similarities between the Victoria and Albert Museum standing figure and the Danish examples.

91. See Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, 39. Gill's primary source here is a report in the form of nine letters plus plans and drawings, 'Relation du Voyage du *Marquis de Prié* et du *Saint-Joseph*', in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Gill attributes the report to Ghiselinck, supercargo on the *Saint-Joseph*, and dates it to 1735 while noting that it was based on a diary kept on the voyage. A Canton trader named 'Chinqua' is also mentioned in Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 337 (see also p. 351).
92. This figure was on sale in a Sotheby's London auction on Wednesday 9 June 2004 as Lot 115. See Sotheby's online, accessed 6 April 2009, http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=483X9. It is discussed and reproduced in colour in *European Scenes on Chinese Art*, 105–9. Possibly this is the same figure as that described by Juliette Kotowicz Hurtut in her review 'Salon du collectionneur, un première édition recherchée', *L'Oeil* 550 (September 2003): 106–7, as having been displayed that year at the salon du Carrousel of the Louvre by Valérie Levesque, a dealer in Asian antiquities. 'Seule sculpture connue du Chinois Chitqua à représenter un révolutionnaire, capitaine au long cours, elle a été conservée dans sa famille depuis des generations' (p. 107).
93. On the Jacob Nebbens figure see the website of the Zeeuws Museum, accessed 9 December 2010, http://www.zeeuwsmuseum.nl/script/P_werken-in-depot_detail.asp?ID=184. The figurine is also discussed in Staring, 'Chineesche portretfiguren', although it is there given tentatively as a portrait of Bastiaan Nebbens.
94. This figure was on sale in a Sotheby's London auction on 14 May 2008 as Lot 627. An image of the work can be seen at Sotheby's online, accessed 6 April 2009, http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=159435810.
95. On the Zeeuws Museum figures see Staring, 'Chineesche portretfiguren', 226–27. The Zeeuws Museum also holds another clay figurine of a Chinese boy with a parasitic twin, which is dated to 1820. A similar figure is in the collection of the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, in London. Information concerning this latter version given in the *Catalogue of the Contents of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London* (London, 1831) indicates that it is also a portrait, of the Chinese boy 'A-Ke', born in 1804 in the vicinity of Canton. This catalogue and other papers held in the archive of the College contain information on his case, including a medical description by John Livingstone, surgeon to the British Factory in China, made on 8 December 1820. According to this account Livingstone was himself responsible for having the model made in Macau. He had originally intended

having him brought to my house, for the double purpose of more deliberate observation, and having at the same time a correct model made under my own eye; but aware that the only good artist then in Macao was employed, I deferred giving my orders for a few days; in the mean time the monster unexpectedly left Macao. However, the modeler had made such careful observation of the subject, that he informed me he could make an exact representation of what he saw. He succeeded so well, that I am assured by many friends who had examined the original, that the model is wonderfully exact.

- According to Simon Brook, 'Chinese Curiosi: Nineteenth Century Examples of the East-West Titration', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 78 (November 1985) 945–48, the model (which he reproduces in his article) entered the collection of the College around 1822, and was subsequently sold to other museums. Thanks to Simon Chaplin of the Royal College of Surgeons of England for bringing this material to my attention.
96. See Schokkenbroek, 'Versteend verleden'. The portrait is reproduced in colour on pp. 8 and 10.
 97. On the Rijksmuseum mother and child group see Staring, 'Chineesche portretfiguren', 227. The group has been in the collection of the museum since 1897. Another female figure attributed to Chitqua has recently emerged in the art market. This is a 15-inch-high, seated figure in painted wood, dated to 1775, which was offered for sale at Christie's in Amsterdam on Tuesday, 31 October 2006 (Lot 487) as 'Figure of a seated girl'. See the Artnet website, accessed 15 October 2008, http://www.artnet.com/Artists/LotDetailPage.aspx?lot_id=2D5E74B0649F72AE4666A9CDE17CBA46.
 98. On Chinese figures produced for the Western market see Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, 'The Reign of Magots and Pagods', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 (2002): 177–97 and Van Campen, 'Chinese "Schuddebolle"', 18–36.
 99. On one case where a figure seems indeed to be a portrait of a particular Chinese merchant, see Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 320–21. Painted portraits of individual Chinese merchants are also known, see for instance Crossman, pp. 46 and 50.
 100. See Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbaek, eds., *Ethnographic Objects from the Royal Danish Kunstkammer*, 176–78. The same collection also contains a set of twenty-four clay figures representing the imperial household which can be documented to 1777 (pp. 174–75), and a male and female pair datable to the 1730s (pp. 175–76).
 101. See Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 316–18.
 102. See Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, 318. Other Chinese figures may be found in the British Royal Collection (on loan to the Brighton Pavilion), and in The Victoria and Albert Museum. The presence of Chinese figurines in the Royal Collection from a time before Chitqua's London visit is documented by Zoffany's *Queen Charlotte and Her Two Eldest Sons* (c. 1765, Royal Collection) in which two Chinese figurines are visible on the table behind. Chinese nodding-head figures were apparently to be found in John Hunter's Leicester Square museum where Mortimer's portrait of Chitqua was on display. While one can imagine a workshop which produced both individually-commissioned portraits of a high degree of realism when required and also more routine merchandise for the export trade, it would only be speculation to assume that Chitqua worked in this way, and we would have no basis on which to attribute works to him that bore no stylistic resemblance to his known or probable output.
 103. On three-dimensional ancestor portraits see Keith G. Stevens, 'Portrait and Ancestral Images on Chinese Altars', *Arts of Asia* 19, no. 1 (January–February 1989): 135–45.
 104. For Thomas Bentley's letter see Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods*, 209–10.

105. Eliza Meteyard, *The Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, Vol. II (London: Cornmarket Press, 1970 [a facsimile reprint of the volume first published in London by Hurst and Blackett in 1866]), 231–32.
106. For an account of a later Danish trading voyage to Canton also under Captain Allewelt, see Mads Kirkebaek, 'The Voyage of the *Droningen af Danmark* to China in 1742', in *China and Denmark: Relations since 1674*, ed. Kjeld Erik Brøsgaard and Mads Kirkebaek (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2001), 21–47. Toreen, as noted earlier, also comments on the availability of portrait busts in Canton.
107. *Gentleman's Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237.
108. By way of comparison we can note that according to Pierre Jean Grosley's 'A Tour to London' of 1772 (excerpted in Xavier Baron, ed., *London, 1066–1914: Literary Sources and Documents*, Vol. I [East Sussex: Helm Information, 1997], 764), a 'cook-maid' would earn an annual wage of twenty guineas at that time.
109. See Pierre Sonnerat, *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China, performed by order of Lewis XV, between the Years 1774 and 1781*, Vol. II, trans. Francis Magnus (Calcutta: Stuart and Cooper, 1788), 215.
110. Metaxia Ventikou, 'A Chinese Figure in Unfired Clay'.
111. Clunas, 'Moulding a Physiognomy', 47.
112. See Sonnerat, *A Voyage to the East-Indies and China*, 215.
113. On the Rijksmuseum porcelain figure see the Dutch culture education website Cultuurwijs, accessed 14 October 2008, <http://www.cultuurwijs.nl/nwc.rijksmuseumamsterdam/cultuurwijs.nl/i000389.html>.
114. For Thomas Bentley's letter see Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods*, 209–10.
115. For Thomas Bentley's letter see Jewitt, *The Wedgwoods*, 209–10. A graphic reminder of the ferocity of the English winters at that time comes from a report of Friday 11 January 1771 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (January 1771, 43) that 'the River Thames was entirely frozen over at Fulham'.
116. Margaret Jeffreys's letter is known only from the transcript of it in the Whitley Papers:
 Gailland has been with us since Tuesday and I read part of your lordship's letter to him concerning Chitqua, and he said he should be glad to do him any service, to recommend him to a captain, etc. I am sure we are very much obliged to him [presumably Chitqua, whom Boswell notes as having a fan — perhaps part of a stock brought with him — in his lodgings] for those very handsome fans that flop of themselves, and I hope he will accept our thanks.
117. Chitqua's letter is quoted in Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends*, Vol. 1, 270. Whitley's book has no footnotes, but the sources he used are collected in the Whitley Papers. Whitley notes in his papers that Chitqua's letter is 'written in a clear but schoolboyish hand on a single sheet of paper', but does not give a location for the manuscript itself. On the implications of Chitqua's letter for the study of Pidgin and the early Chinese use of English, see David Clarke, 'Chitqua's English Adventure: An Eighteenth Century Source for the Study of China Coast Pidgin and Early Chinese Use of English', *Hong Kong Journal of Applied Linguistics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 47–58.

118. *Gentleman's Magazine* XLI, May 1771, 237–38. This account was also printed in the *Annual Register, 1771*, 4th ed. (London, 1794), 107–8. The superstitious reaction of the sailors may be easier to understand when one notes (as ships' journals from that time document) that it would have been common for several hands to die in the course of a single voyage.
119. Hardy, *A Register of Ships*, 45, notes that the *Grenville* sailed from Portsmouth on 17 March 1771, returning to England on 3 August 1772. No passengers are listed in the ship's journal (held in the British Library, India Office records) for that voyage of the *Grenville*. In a slight discrepancy from the account of Chitqua's aborted return trip as given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the pilot is given as leaving the ship at Dover, not Deal. No account is given there of the man-overboard incident or of Chitqua's early disembarkation.
120. *Gentleman's Magazine* XXVII, part II, no. 6, December 1797, 1072.
121. See Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, 98 and 343.
122. See Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, 115.
123. See Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, 264.
124. On Main's visit to Shykinqua's garden see 'Observations on Chinese Scenery, Plants and Gardening, made on a Visit to the City of Canton and its Environs, in the Years 1793 and 1794', in John Claudius Loudon, *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement, Vol. II*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1827), 135–40.
125. See Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, 89.
126. On Spoilum and early China trade painting see Patrick Conner, 'The Enigma of Spoilum and the Origins of China Trade Portraiture', *Antiques* Vol. CLIII, No. 3 (March 1998): 418–25.
127. See Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton*, 350–51.
128. See 'Hints Respecting the Chinese Language', 50–52, where the name is romanized as 'Whang-At-Ting'. This account says that he arrived in London in August 1774. On Wang-Y-Tong see Toppin, 'Chitqua, The Chinese Modeller, and Wang-Y-Tong, the "Chinese Boy"', and Mozley, *The Blakes of Rotherhithe*.
129. See Fan, 'Sir William Jones's Chinese Studies', 307–9 and Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, 226 and 265–66.
130. See Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, 226.
131. On Lin Fengmian and Western art see David Clarke, 'Exile from Tradition: Chinese and Western Traits in the Art of Lin Fengmian', *Oriental Art* XXXIX, no. 4 (Winter 1993–94): 22–29. On Li Tiefu see Chi Ke, ed., *Li Tiefu* (Guangzhou: Lingnan Fine Arts Publishing House, 1985).

Chapter 2

1. Zheng Yimei, *Yitan Bai Ying [One Hundred Images of the Art World]* (Henan: Zhongzhou Shuhua Chubanshe, 1983), 42–44. Zheng's biographical portrait of Teng Baiye occupies only three pages in a collection featuring over a hundred such sketches of figures from the Chinese arts community. The author claims in a note

on the book's copyright page that the vast majority of the sketches are of people he knew personally, and that some of them were his bosom friends. Zheng freely admits that he is writing in an anecdotal style, and there are no footnotes to his text nor mention of documentary sources. Most probably the main source of the data it contains is Teng's own oral accounts of his earlier life, perhaps given directly to the author at an earlier date. Because of the vagaries of human memory and the impossibility of verifying the information Zheng gives from other sources, a certain caution seems warranted, but I have relied on his sketch for most of the information I give about Teng's life prior to his time in America.

2. 'Teng-Kwei' (anonymous, typed, one-page biography of Teng Baiye), University Archives, University of Pittsburgh.
3. See 'Finger paintings of Kwei Dun are shown', *Seattle Daily Times*, Friday 18 May 1928, 38.
4. Li Tiefu studied in New York with William Merritt Chase between 1908–11, while Yu Ben and Li Bing both studied at the Ontario College of Art, Toronto, in the late 1920s.
5. Peggy McLellan, 'Can shut eyes, pick colors', *Seattle Star*, Thursday 17 November 1927.
6. See 'Finger paintings of Kwei Dun are shown', 38.
7. See 'Chinese artist finishes relief for Mines Hall', *Seattle Daily Times*, Thursday 21 June 1928, 4.
8. The Cleveland Museum of Art gives Teng's date of birth as 1902, not 1900.
9. This document is held in Manuscripts, Special Collection, University Archives, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
10. Both these items are held in the University Archives, University of Washington Libraries.
11. See 'Finger tip painting', *Town Crier* [Seattle], Christmas 1928, 40.
12. See 'Finger paintings of Kwei Dun are shown', 38. The photo of Teng is found on p. 21.
13. *San Francisco Examiner*, 17 June 1928.
14. McLellan, 'Can shut eyes, pick colors'.
15. 'Finger paintings of Kwei Dun are shown', 38.
16. Teng's participation in this exhibition is noted in a press release dated 31 May 1929, held in the Brooklyn Museum Archives (Records of the Department of Public Information, Press Releases, 1916–1930). A biographic note on the artist in the press release, where he is described as 'Kwei Teng', gives his date of birth as 1902. It continues: 'Mr. Teng has applied himself very seriously to the study of painting which included ten years of self-study in Chinese painting and ten years of self-training in the old Chinese art of finger painting, in which technique he has established his own method and style'. It also notes: 'By his understanding of Oriental and Western education he hopes to be "one of the builders of the bridge between Western and Eastern civilizations". His painting is in the pure Chinese manner but he is fully aware of the accomplishment and aims of the art of the West'. It claims he has exhibited in Seattle, San Francisco and Rockford, Illinois.

17. See Dr. Frank E. Washburn Freund, 'Guide through New York art land', *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 11 January 1930. The review notes: 'In an adjoining room, a young Chinese painter, Teng-Kwei, shows a number of "modern Chinese paintings", mostly in broad ink washes. These are not imitations of Western art, but go back to Chinese tradition'.
18. Franklin (1888–1971) was born in New York City, and also created dioramas for the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of the City of New York. He was to leave New York in the 1930s to take up a career in Hollywood as a set designer and technical consultant in the movie industry, working on films such as *Treasure Island* (MGM, 1934). He made a model of the narthex of Hagia Sophia which was put on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1917, and which is now in the collection of Fairfield University, Connecticut. See Marice Rose, 'Model of Hagia Sophia Narthex', accessed 2 June 2009, http://www.Fairfield.edu/arts/art_Byzantine.html. A photo by Julius Kirschner of Franklin at work on a model of a bullfrog at the American Museum of National History, New York, can be found on their website, accessed 2 June 2009, <http://images.library.amnh.org/photos/ptm/catalog/desc/152490/>.
19. *Children's Museum News* [New York, Brooklyn Children's Museum] XVII, no. 6 (March 1930): 119. I am indebted to Nancy Paine for responding generously to my inquiries, and for supplying me with information from the archives of the Brooklyn Children's Museum.
20. The 29 December 1929 letter from Teng is in the University Archives, University of Pittsburgh.
21. Lai seems to have been involved in the project, along with John H. Tsui, who signed himself as 'Chairman of China Room' in a typed letter of 15 April 1925 which, like Teng's, is also held in the University Archives, University of Pittsburgh.
22. On Henry Killam Murphy see Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture", 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001).
23. For images of the Chinese Room as it is today, plus a description, see the Nationality Rooms page of the University of Pittsburgh website, accessed 18 August 2009, <http://www.pitt.edu/~natrooms/pages/allnr1.html>. Thanks to Ting Chang for alerting me to this website's existence.
24. See 'Group of Chinese drawings now being shown in Boston', *Harvard Crimson*, 30 April 1930. The report notes that *Tranquillity*, 'the study of a goddess', is amongst the paintings being shown.
25. See 'Kwei to speak', *Harvard Crimson*, 25 February 1931.
26. See the catalogue, *Third International Exhibition of Lithography and Wood Engraving, Dec. 1931 to Jan. 1932, The Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1931).
27. See *Catalogue of Memorial Exhibition of F. McGillivray Knowles, R. C. A., An Exhibition of Flowers and Still-life, Exhibition of English Aquatints in Colour, Exhibitions by Young Canadians* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1932).
28. See Edward Twitchell Hall, *An Anthropology of Everyday Life: An Autobiography* (New York and London: Doubleday, 1992), 66.
29. Hall, *An Anthropology of Everyday Life*, 72–73. Thanks to Joseph Newland for bringing this reference to my attention.

30. See 'Expressionism in Chinese Art. Chinese Authority's Address to Local Club', *North-China Herald* [Shanghai], 31 January 1934, 172, for some information on Teng's activities following his return to China. Documents concerning Yenching University are to be found in the archival collection of Beijing University.
31. See T'eng Kwei, 'Art in Modern China', *The Open Court* [Chicago] XLIII (December 1933): 479–94.
32. See 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
33. See 'Bamboo Symbol in Chinese Art. Significance and History Described', *North-China Herald*, 9 May 1934, 188.
34. Teng Kuei, 'Bamboo and Bamboo Painting', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch (Shanghai)* (1934): 55–61.
35. Teng, 'Bamboo and Bamboo Painting', 56.
36. Teng, 'Bamboo and Bamboo Painting', 57.
37. Teng, 'Bamboo and Bamboo Painting', 57.
38. See 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172. This article provides a fairly detailed account of Teng's lecture, giving a sense of his argument and perhaps of the actual words used to convey it, but without making use of direct quotations.
39. Zheng, *Yitan Bai Ying*, 42. Zheng Jie, 'The Shanghai Art College, 1913–1937' (M. Phil thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2005), 66, confirms that Teng taught at the Shanghai Art Academy for about half a year.
40. See 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
41. See Clarke, *Modern Chinese Art*, Chapter 1.
42. T'eng, 'Art in Modern China'.
43. 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
44. See 'Finger paintings of Kwei Dun are shown', 38. The photo is in the Tobey papers held in the Manuscripts, Special Collections, University Archives, University Of Washington Libraries, Seattle. Another photo of Teng, dating from around 1928–29 (according to David Martin of Martin-Zambito Fine Art, Seattle, who kindly brought its existence to my attention), was taken by the noted Northwest photographer Virna Haffer (1899–1974). Haffer seems to have met Teng in the late 1920s, and (according to oblique suggestions in the unpublished manuscript of a book of poetry and photographs co-authored with her friend Elizabeth Sale and titled *Abundant Wild Oats* which was scheduled for release in 1939) she may have had a romantic liaison with him. Haffer's bromoil portrait of Teng — the most artistically ambitious image of him that we have — is reproduced in David Martin, *Painted with Light: Pictorialism and the Seattle Camera Club* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).
45. Mark Tobey, transcript of taped interview with William Seitz, Seitz papers, Archives of American Art (Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC), 41.
46. For more on Buddhist and Daoist metaphysics, and their influence on American artists, see David Clarke, *The Influence of Oriental Thought on Postwar American Painting and Sculpture* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988), available online at: <http://hub.hku.hk/handle/123456789/48376>.

47. Mark Tobey, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst [from Shanghai], 1934, Elmhirst Papers, Dartington Hall Archive, Totnes, England. In another letter to Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst, dated 25 April 1934 (and also in the Dartington Hall Archives), Tobey offers a glimpse of life in Teng's Shanghai home: 'It's a strange rather mad house in matter of hours. Three of us sleep in one room in which we also eat. Everyone dresses in front of everyone else, and the female servants don't seem to care. Relatives come and go and sometimes the sleeping arrangements get rather complicated'. Teng's mother, who is described as having bound feet (a sign of higher social status rather than the poverty Zheng Yimei claims for Teng's family), comes across in Tobey's account as something of an overpowering presence, claiming not to know her son any more and pestering him to marry and give her grandchildren. Tobey writes that Teng 'gets very depressed over the situation and wonders how he can handle it all'.
48. Mark Tobey, 'Japanese Traditions and American Art', *College Art Journal* 18 (Fall 1958): 22.
49. 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
50. Mark Tobey, 'Diary Notes, 1934', 13, copy in Wesley Wehr papers, Manuscripts, Special Collection, University Archives, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
51. 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
52. 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
53. Teng, 'Art in Modern China', 488–89.
54. Mark Tobey, 'Diary Notes, 1934'.
55. Clement Greenberg, "'American-Type" Painting', revised version in Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 217. This essay also contains Greenberg's argument for the importance of this novel format in painting. The question of Asian philosophical and artistic influences on Tobey's artistic development is discussed further in Clarke, *The Influence of Oriental Thought*, while a reliable treatment of Tobey's stylistic development as a whole can be found in Eliza E. Rathbone, *Mark Tobey: City Paintings* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1984). *Mark Tobey* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1997), is a more recent book-length study of Tobey's art, with many good quality reproductions of his work. The most recent major study of Tobey and his fellow Seattle-area artists is Sheryl Conkelton and Laura Landau, *Northwest Mythologies: The Interactions of Mark Tobey, Morris Graves, Kenneth Callahan and Guy Anderson* (Tacoma: Tacoma Art Museum and Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003).
56. Mark Tobey, 'Reminiscences and Reveries', *Magazine of Art* 44 (October 1951): 230.
57. Mark Tobey, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst [from Shanghai], 25 April 1934, Elmhirst Papers, Dartington Hall Archive, Totnes, England.
58. 'Expressionism in Chinese Art', 172.
59. For a discussion of early twentieth-century Chinese sculpture, see Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 159–63.
60. Zheng, *Yitan Bai Ying*, 42.

61. The photo can be found in *Pei-Yang Pictorial News (Beiyang Huabao)* [Tianjin] 29, no. 1401, 19 May 1936, 2. The other photo is in *Shun Pao Pictorial Supplement* [Shanghai], 4 June 1936, 2 (Figure 8).
62. See *Shun Pao Pictorial Supplement*, 28 November 1935, 2 (Figure 5). Illustrations of works by several Chinese sculptors working at that time can be found in this feature.
63. An illustrated catalogue of the exhibition was published as *A Special Collection of the Second National Exhibition of Chinese Art under the Auspices of the Ministry of Education* (Commercial Press, 1937).
64. Teng Baiye, 'Zhihua lueshuo' ['A brief introduction to finger painting'], *Yi Feng*, May 1935, 89 (Teng's *Three Geese* is reproduced in the plates section following p. 130). An essay in English on the topic of finger painting was promised to be forthcoming in the April 1936 issue of *T'ien Hsia Monthly* (see p. 220 of the March 1936 issue), but never appeared.
65. On Teng's whereabouts during the wartime period see Ellen J. Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*, Asian Studies Program, Publication No. 6 (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1984), 376, and a letter from Teng to Mark Tobey, written in Hankou, 1938, copy in Wesley Wehr papers, Manuscripts, Special Collection, University Archives, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
66. Letter from Teng to Mark Tobey, written in Hankou, 1938. I have made minor changes to spelling and grammar in the excerpts quoted.
67. Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua Minguo Sanshiliunian Zhongguo Meishu Nianjian* [*China Art Yearbook for the Thirty-Sixth year of the Republic of China*] (Shanghai: Shanghai Municipal Cultural Movement Committee, 1948).

Chapter 3

1. On the body in Chinese art and culture see in particular Mark Elvin's 'Tales of Shen and Xin: Body-Person and Heart-Mind in China during the Last 150 Years', in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body. Zone 4*, ed. Michael Feher, Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 267–349; Roger T. Ames, 'The Meaning of Body in Classical Chinese Thought', *International Philosophical Quarterly* XXIV, no. 1 (March 1984): 39–53; and John Hay, 'The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?', in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42–77.
2. Literati painting and calligraphy, the amateur art of China's scholar elite (often seen as having its beginnings in the eleventh century with the Song dynasty poet Su Shi and his circle), has held a privileged status in China. Indeed literati brushwork has frequently been presented as standing for Chinese art as a whole, or as embodying the essence of Chinese culture. Recent scholarship, while still recognizing the hegemonic status of literati brushwork (or at least of literati aesthetic ideology), has tended to critique such monolithic or essentialist understandings of Chinese art, and has discovered amateur and professional practice to be less distinct than literati claims would lead one to think. Non-elite modes of art-making have been given greater attention, and the interaction between literati and professional practice has been analyzed. The analysis offered in this chapter is intended as a contribution

to this relatively recent trend in the interpretation of Chinese visual culture, and conceives of art as socially active within a dynamic, internally fragmented and contested cultural space.

3. For Peirce's theory of the sign, see J. Buchler, ed., *The Philosophy of Peirce* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1940). For Peirce on indexicality see pp. 107–11 of that text, as well as Douglas Greenlee, *Peirce's Concept of the Sign* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973). Thomas A. Sebeok, 'Indexicality', *The American Journal of Semiotics* VII, no. 4 (1990): 7–28, provides a useful review of thinking about indexicality. The present discussion extends my earlier studies of the relationship between iconic and indexical signs in art, which primarily consider European and North American examples, see David Clarke, 'The Icon and the Index: Modes of Invoking the Body's Presence', *The American Journal of Semiotics* IX, no. 1 (1992): 49–82, and David Clarke, 'The Gaze and the Glance: Competing Understandings of Visuality in the Theory and Practice of Late Modernist Art', *Art History* XV, no. 1 (1992): 80–98.
4. Vermeer's *View of Delft* may be taken as a fully developed work of the kind I am referring to here, but even when, as in Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin*, a degree of bodily address to the spectator is present, it must be distinguished from that found in Chinese literati painting. The eye contact made with the spectator by one of the figures in the *Marriage of the Virgin* serves to strengthen the illusion of represented space, the effect of presence, not to undermine it. Unsurprisingly, when figures do appear in literati painting it is rather rare for them to display any awareness of being looked at.
5. See Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 92. Bryson comments on Chinese art as well as Western art, and I have found his remarks about both artistic cultures suggestive. However, I feel he neglects to explore the social function of Chinese brushwork, and thus the indexical mode (this is my terminology, not his) comes across in his discussion as superior to the iconic. Bryson's analysis of the way European mimetic painting fulfills extra-artistic functions (by embedding religious ideology in iconic detail, for instance), is, by contrast, particularly cogent. David Freedberg in *The Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), drawing on a study of the reception of images, also offers a useful argument concerning the extent to which a relationship with the represented body is given priority in much pre-modern European art. Again the way an effect of bodily presence helps support a religious function is apparent.
6. See Lothar Ledderose, 'Chinese Calligraphy: Its Aesthetic Dimension and Social Function', *Oriental Art* XVII, no. 10 (1986): 35–50.
7. Commenting on this work by Li Shan, Vito Giacalone in 'The John M. Crawford, Jr. Collection of Calligraphy and Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art — II', *Oriental Art* vol. 32, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 79–85, claims that the character for bamboo, which appears several times in the poem, is 'written with the same brushstrokes as the image of the bamboo' (p. 84). In *Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy* (compiled by Shigemitsu Komatsu and Kwan S. Wong [Munich: Prestel, 1989]), Heinz Götze ('Chinese and Japanese calligraphy: Introduction', 9–33) also writes in more general terms about the similarity between Chinese depictions of bamboo and the character for it, arguing (p. 32) that 'the ink picture meets the script halfway, yet the script character has broken free from Nature and assumed a symbolic shape'. An early (Yuan dynasty) instance of a painter advising that the techniques of brushwork

used in various calligraphic scripts can be adopted for the rendering of subjects favoured by literati painting is the inscription on a handscroll by Zhao Mengfu, see James Cahill, *Hills beyond a River* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 162. The favoured subjects of literati painting tended to be those which did not require the higher level of painting skill found in works produced by professional artists: the relative absence of complicated effects of represented space in literati painting may in part be regarded as a consequence of the technical limitations of its more calligraphy-orientated amateur creators.

8. Chiang Yee, *Chinese Calligraphy* (London: Methuen, 1938).
9. An extended discussion of inscription on painting is given in Michael Sullivan, *The Three Perfections* (New York: George Braziller, 1980). The content of inscriptions (as opposed to the act of inscription itself) may also have a socially cohesive function. Either a reference to a friendship or to a painter of an earlier era would function in this way. Social gatherings are also the explicit subject of many Chinese ink paintings — see for example Luo Ping's hanging scroll *Drinking in the Bamboo Garden*, 1773, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
10. See Ledderose, 'Chinese Calligraphy'.
11. When an inscription by someone other than the artist was made soon after the painting's completion, as has frequently been the case, the sense of abolishing distance from the past would not be present. Nevertheless, one can still talk of the ease with which entry into the space of making occurred, and of the role of empathy. Issues of power can still be present in such an instance, albeit differently balanced: a prestigious calligrapher could be invited to write on an image, thereby enhancing its artist's reputation. Yang Weizhen, for instance, supplied a colophon (dated 1361) to a handscroll by Zou Fulei. This inscription (which according to Yang's own words was made at the painter's invitation) consists mostly of a poem praising Zou and his late brother. An anecdote by Su Shi tells that his cousin, the painter Wen Tong, would deliberately leave space on his paintings for inscription, and not allow others to touch it until that prestigious writer had been given pride of place. See Shen C. Y. Fu (in collaboration with Marilyn W. Fu, Mary G. Neill and Mary Jane Clark), *Traces of the Brush. Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1977), 185.
12. Li Shan, according to Giacalone in 'The John M. Crawford, Jr. Collection', is using an album leaf by Shitao as his prototype (see p. 84). James Cahill in *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 120–26, discusses Ming dynasty painters' creative imitations of works by earlier artists such as Ni Zan. An ambiguity between motives of reverence and appropriation has also been suggested in the case of Luo Ping's paintings in the manner of his master Jin Nong, see Kim Karlsson's comments in Kim Karlsson, Alfreda Murck and Michele Matteini, eds., *Eccentric Visions: The Worlds of Luo Ping* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 2009), 149 (catalogue entry no. 8). Michele Matteini (p. 216, catalogue entry no. 26) also discusses the way in which Luo Ping's conscious references to the art of valorized predecessors in the ten album leaves of his *Landscapes in the Manner of Old Masters* (undated, Princeton University Art Museum) serves to advertise his own talents, providing them with a provenance.
13. Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

14. One can see this process of struggle with the past taking place in the instance of the twentieth-century Chinese ink painter, Zhang Daqian (Chang Dai-chien). The many ways he related his work to earlier Chinese art (including the production of forgeries) is discussed, albeit somewhat uncritically, in Shen C. Y. Fu, *Challenging the Past. The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien* (Washington DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1991). Literati brushwork, despite its emphasis on precedent, can be said to allow rather more room for self-expression than European classicism, and this flexibility may have been a factor which helped preserve the practice. Even quite strongly individual expressions — of the kind only encountered in European art after the arrival of modernism — can occur without breaking the rules.
15. I take ‘private’ as referring not to a space outside of society, but to a particular type of social space, which may be constituted differently from one culture to another, and from one historical period to another. Similar points could be made concerning the term ‘public’, which is also employed in this text. My conception of subjecthood as constituted within particular cultural practices is indebted to the work of Michel Foucault, especially *Discipline and Punish* (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1977), and *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990). The three-part *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (published as *Zone*, Vols. 3, 4 and 5, 1989) builds on Foucault’s pioneering attempts to offer a historical account of the modes of social construction of the human body, and has also proved of use in the present study. In both the texts by Foucault mentioned he tends to focus on regimes of control and the subjected body, and whilst I find his analysis of the micro-processes within which power is constituted suggestive, the practice of literati brushwork is one in which the agents are more active. Stephen Greenblatt’s *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: Chicago University Press: 1980) offers theoretical resources for the study of a practice of that kind, although literati brushwork takes place in a less public domain than the activities he considers. To find a Western parallel to the socially constitutive ‘private’ practice of literati brushwork one might look to the function of photography within the domain of the family and its role in the social reproduction of that institution. In the practice of family photography, image-making and viewing can both (as with literati practice) take place in ‘private’ spaces of leisure, and there is a role for the amateur producer, a degree of fluidity between maker and viewer, in both cases.
16. The extent to which the spectator of Chinese brushwork can empathize with the artist as embodied is demonstrated by the comments of Chiang Yee in his *Chinese Calligraphy*. While somewhat idiosyncratic, Chiang’s remarks are nevertheless revealing — particularly since they date from the same period as the modernist art discussed in this chapter. They show that for him at least, calligraphy was felt to contain clues to somatic type, and not just to nobility of spirit conceived of in some abstract mental sense. Of a piece (his Figure 47) by the Song emperor Huizong (Hui Tsung), he says ‘his writing shows him to have been a tall, thin, handsome figure’ (p. 83). Responding to an example (his Figure 46) of calligraphy by Mi Fu (Mi Fei), on the other hand, Chiang writes: ‘One thinks of a striking tubby figure walking along a road, unaware, apparently, of any one but himself’ (p. 82). Of writing (his Figure 36) by Ouyang Xun (Ou-Yang Hsun) he says: ‘one imagines the artist to have been a well-built man with a fine, handsome appearance’ (p. 71). Even Qing dynasty painter Shitao, when wishing to assert the individuality of his style, must make somatic references, and point to the separateness of his body from those of the

traditional masters: 'I am always myself and must naturally be present (in my work). The beards and eyebrows of the old masters cannot grow on my face. The lungs and bowels (thoughts and feelings) of the old masters cannot be transferred into my stomach (mind). I express my own lungs and bowels and show my own beard and eyebrows'. See Osvald Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 188.

17. That the nude was absent from pre-modern Chinese art was noted by French missionaries of the eighteenth century. See Patrick Connor, 'For Western Eyes Only: Chinese "Export" Painting 1780–1850', *Apollo* 123 (May 1986): 328. Connor quotes a source of that date as stating that 'Chinese painting was as careful to avoid the nude as European painting was anxious to expose it'. One of the rare exceptions to the general absence of the female nude in Chinese high art before the twentieth century is You Qiu's *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (1568, Shanghai Museum), which includes a scene of the emperor spying on the beauty Zhao Hede while she is bathing.
18. Even at that time the ubiquity of the nude was commented upon. Lin Yutang, in 'Contemporary Chinese Periodical Literature', *T'ien Hsia Monthly* II, no. 3 (March 1936): 232, writes of a class of magazines which is 'constantly playing upon the nude motive', and refers to *The Esthete* (*Wei Mei*) as a magazine 'consisting of absolutely nothing besides nude pictures'. The presence of the nude in the popular press can be instanced by the case of the *Pei-Yang Pictorial News* of Tianjin. Issues of this illustrated Chinese-language publication from Volume 1 (1926) to Volume 21 (1933) frequently contained illustrations of paintings of the female nude by both contemporary Chinese artists (for example, Lin Fengmian and Fang Junbi) and Western artists (for example, Ingres and Rembrandt, as well as many lesser salon-style artists of more recent date, and occasional modernists such as Othon Friesz), often juxtaposed with illustrations of earlier Chinese art. Cartoons concerning the nude are also to be found (for example, vol. 1, no. 8 [31 July 1926]: 3, which comments on contemporary attitudes towards nude models), as can a large number of 'art photos' of the female nude, often of Western origin.
19. This term *renti* does not specifically connote nakedness in its most common usage, but would nowadays be understood to be referring to the nude in an art context. For a useful and concise discussion of Chinese body terminology (including both *shen* and *ti*), which analyzes the way in which more objectivizing Western notions of the body began to appear in modern China, see Susan Bronwell, 'Physical culture, Sports and the Olympics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Chinese Culture*, ed. Kam Louie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 339–60 (esp. 343–45). Bronwell's observations are given in a discussion of the development of a modern sports culture in China, and the transformations in that arena parallel in certain respects the changing conceptions of the body which are being examined here in the area of visual art. In the case of Teng Baiye's sculpture *Progress*, discussed in the previous chapter, we can see changing artistic conceptions of the body and new ideas about physical culture coming together. The partially-clad body presented in all its physicality is a necessity for conveying a modernly-conceived sense of somatic strength. A similar point can be made about Xu Beihong's painting *Yu Gong Removes the Mountain* (which dates to 1940, just a few years after Teng's work): again nationalistic connotations seem intended in this wartime-period representation of

semi-clothed male figures illustrating a well-known Chinese story about an old man who succeeds in a seemingly impossible task of moving a mountain.

20. Reference to the location of illustrations of images by Chinese artists mentioned in this section of the text are given here: He Tingyao, *Human Body (Renti)*, *Yi Feng* (February 1935): plates section following p. 86. Zhu Shijie, *Human Body (Renti)*, *Yi Feng* (May 1935): plates section following p. 130. Yang Jianhou, *Daydreaming (Xia si)*, *Yi Feng* (May 1935): plates section following p. 130. Chen Shiwen, *Oil Paint Study (Youhua fanzuo)*, *Yi Feng* (April 1933): 93. Lu Sibai, title not known, *Yi Feng* (September 1934): plates section prior to p. 13. Gu Rucheng, *Human Body (Renti)*, *Yi Feng* (October 1934): plates section following p. 44. Zhou Xijie, *Study (Fanzuo)*, *Yi Feng* (May 1935): plates section following p. 130. Hu Yiwen, *Women by the Riverside (Hepan nu)*, *Yi Feng* (May 1935): plates section following p. 130. Zhou Bichu, *Evening Glow (Wanxia)*, *Yi Feng* (July 1934): plates section following p. 70. Much Western-influenced art of this period is knowable only from illustrations in contemporary periodicals, and all the aforementioned works must be presumed lost.
21. The earliest use of nude models in China may well have been in 1914, when Li Shutong (Hongyi Fashi), who had studied Western painting in Japan, introduced them to the Zhejiang First Normal School (Zhejiang Diyi Shifan Xuexiao). Worth consulting concerning early use of the nude in China are Li Shu, 'Woguo zuizaode jiwei youhua' ('My country's earliest oil painters'), *Meishu* [Beijing] 4 (1962): 68–70 and Wu Mengfei, 'Wusi Yundong qianhoude Meishu Jiaoyi Huiyi Pianduan' ('Fragmentary recollections concerning artistic relationships before and after the May Fourth movement'), *Meishu Yanjiu* 3 (1959): 42–46. The latter has an illustration of a now-lost nude painting by Li, together with a photo of one of his life classes. Li became a Buddhist monk in 1918, giving up Western-style painting at that point. Draped models were also used in 1914 at the Shanghai Art Academy, and nude models soon after. A photo of a nude model in the life class at the Hangzhou West Lake National Art Academy (where French painter Andre Claudot was teaching) can be found in Qingli Wan and David Clarke, 'Faguo huajia Anzhui Kelaoduo ji qi Zhongguo zhi xing' ('French painter Andre Claudot and Chinese art'), *Hsiung Shih Art Monthly* [Taipei] 242 (April 1991): 189. The earliest instances of Chinese artists displaying an interest in Western nude painting come from Guangzhou. The artist known as Lamqua (who was active there till about 1860) made a copy of Ingres's *Grande Odalisque*, which he could only have known via engravings. Such a work, of course, was made for a Western market. Skillful though it may be, it remains purely a copy and would not have involved any encounter with a living model.
22. For a discussion of the various methods of copying calligraphy, see Fu et al., *Traces of the Brush*, 3–4. For a free imitation of a stele by Qing dynasty calligrapher He Shaoji, and a version of Wang Xizhi's *Preface from the Orchid Pavilion (Lanting xu)* by Wen Zhengming of the Ming dynasty, see Shen Fu, Glenn D. Lowry and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context. Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986). Female exclusion from calligraphy, like the exclusion of most males, was effected in pre-modern society by preventing their access to literacy. Even in more recent times, as Richard Curt Kraus notes in *Brushes with Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 155, the vast majority of illiterates in China were female (nearly 70 percent of a 238 million total, according to the 1982 census).

23. Kao Mayching, *China's Response to the West in Art* (PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1972), 78. Even at a later date, as photos show, models were not always *completely* nude. However, the Shanghai *Pictorial Weekly* IX, no. 36 (1933): 35, ran an article claiming that female models *were* usually naked, whereas male models tended not to be.
24. The correspondence took place in the Shanghai newspaper *Shen Bao*. See the issues for 5, 13, 16, 17 and 18 May, 10 June and 1, 11 and 12 July 1926. The letters have been collected in *Zhuanji Wenxue* (*Biographical Literature*) [Taipei] 56, no. 334: 13–20. For a further collection of primary texts concerning the issue of nude models see Zhu Jinlou and Yuan Zhihuang, eds., *Liu Haisu Yi Wenxuan* (*An Anthology of Liu Haisu's Writing on Art*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 1987) and Julia Andrews, 'Luotihua lunzheng ji xiandai Zhongguo meishude jiangou' ('The nude painting controversy and contemporary Chinese art history'), in *Haipai Huihua Yanjiu Wenji* (*Studies in Shanghai School Painting*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 2001), 117–50 for an art historical analysis. On the Shanghai Art Academy in general see Zheng Jie, *The Shanghai Art College, 1913–1937* (M. Phil thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2005).
25. Kao Mayching, 'Lin Fengmian: A Butterfly Broken Free from Its Cocoon', in *The Art of Lin Fengmian* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Centre, 1992), 11–16 (see especially p. 11).
26. *Yi Feng* (May 1935): 75. The public discussion, and the space which enables it to occur, are of course as novel as the nude painting itself. The *Sheying Huabao* IX, no. 44 (1933): 8, also has a cartoon of two men in front of a painting of a nude, and the *Xianggang Gongshang Ribao* (*Industrial & Commercial Daily Press*) (25 November 1934) has one of a man in 'traditional' dress who is represented as having been standing in front of a painting of a nude for a long time.
27. For the *Victims to Art* photo see S. S. Chou, *Shanghai Shi Daguan* (*Panorama of Shanghai*) (Shanghai, Wen Hua Fine Arts Press, 1933). A photo relating to the film *Zaisheng*, and showing a nude model, an artist and a nude painting appeared in the Shanghai periodical the *Young Companion* (*Liangyou*) 78 (31 July 1933): 31. An advert concerning a public showing of a film about the aesthetics of the nude at the Beijing Art Academy (of which Lin Fengmian was the head) appeared in *Chen Bao* (*Morning Post*) [Beijing], 22 January 1927.
28. Reported in *Chen Bao*, 23 February 1928, 7.
29. Ni Yide, 'Yishu shangde renti biao xian kao' ('An examination of the expression of the human body in art'), *Shenbao Yuekan* [Shanghai] 4, no. 9 (September 1935): 69–72; Zhang Jingsheng, 'Luoti yanjiu — you luohua tandao xuduo shi' ('Research on the nude: from nude painting to other matters'), *Xinwenhua* [Shanghai] 1, no. 1 (December 1926): 52–68; Yu Jifan, 'Renti zhi xingshide mei yu biao xiande mei' ('The formal and expressive beauty of the human body'), *Shenbao Yuekan* 2, no. 6 (15 June 1933): 105–10. Xiong Bingming, who had himself attended life classes in pre-Communist China, recalls in 'Guanyu Luodan' ('About Rodin'), *Hsiung Shih Art Monthly* 143 (January 1983): 120, that early Republican-era artists influenced by Western thought criticized Chinese painting of women as being just clothes, as being 'bodiless' (*wu ti*). An extra-artistic but related issue concerning the display of the objectivized human body was raised by the reformer Kang Youwei as early as 1895 when he mentioned the display of complete human cadavers in Western museums, noting the value this

- had for advancing knowledge of the body in a way that could not be matched by the written word. See Lisa Claypool, 'Zhang Jian and China's First Museum', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (August 2005): 567–604, esp. p. 595.
30. Wang Yachen, 'Moxie zirande linghui', *Yi Feng* [Shanghai] 2, no. 1 (1 January 1934): 41–42; Yu Jianhua, 'Chuangzuo yu linmo', *Meizhan* [Shanghai] 4 (April 1929): 7; Jing Youlin, 'You mofang dao chuangzao, yifengshe meizhan guangan', *Yi Feng* 3, no. 7 (1 July 1935): 44; Lin Fengmian, 'Women suo xiwangde guohua qiantu' ('What we hope for concerning the future of our country's painting'), *Qiantu* 1 (January 1933).
 31. By the time the modernist art discussed here was coming into being, literati artistic culture in any real sense had already been undermined by the broader forces of socio-economic change. 'Literati-style' art was still a contemporary target, however, as was the prestige of literati aesthetic values (which even merchants or Manchu emperors had found a place for). The practice of learning through copying remained widespread in the modern era, and life-class study offered a direct challenge to that method of art education. Even in the pre-modern era the sense of continuity in the cultured elite which literati brushwork helped inculcate was to a large extent an act of imagination abolishing large stretches of time, so it is not surprising that even when socio-economic change had effectively eliminated the literati as a social class in any real sense such imaginative leaps could continue to be made. As Chinese brush art also came to inhabit public spaces of display and sale it had never before known, that imaginary creation of a sense of continuity went on, but with the participation of an audience that was socially broader. The growth of literacy and the dissemination of elite cultural knowledge through an emergent modern education system and publishing industry meant that ink art was now capable of positioning its viewer as 'Chinese', as a national subject, and in a way that demphasized the novelty of such modern subjectivity and offered it a fabricated genealogy.
 32. The view that modern Chinese painting should aspire to return to a supposed pre-literati realism was espoused by the reformer Kang Youwei. See for instance Jerome Silbergeld, 'The Song-Yuan Transition in Chinese Painting Histories', in *Asian Art History in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Vishakha N. Desai, (Williamstown MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007), 45.
 33. See A. Chang, 'Chronology', in *The Art of Lin Fengmian* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Centre, 1992), 31–37, especially 32. Student unrest also occurred between 1926–28 at the Shanghai Academy of Art, see Zheng, *The Shanghai Art College*, 51–54 (as well as the chronology of events at the academy offered as an appendix of the thesis, pp. 149–202).
 34. The notion of art usurping the former role of religion is developed in Lin's 1927 essay 'Letter to the Entire Country's Art World' ('Zhi quan guo yishu jie shu'), in which he quotes Cai Yuanpei and follows closely the ideas that author had expressed in his essay 'Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo' ('Replacing religion with aesthetic education'), first published in *Xin Qingnian* 3, no. 6 (August 1917). On Lin's relationship with Cai, see Lin Wenzheng, 'Cai Yuanpei had a high regard for Lin Fengmian' ('Cai Yuanpei qizhong Lin Fengmian'), in *Lin Fengmian Lun*, ed. Zheng Chao and Jin Shangyi (Zhejiang: Zhejiang Meishu Xueyuan Chubanshe, 1990), 1–3. I discuss Lin Fengmian's response to European art in David Clarke, 'Exile from Tradition', 22–29.

35. On the nude in Chinese art of the Maoist era and beyond, a topic beyond the scope of the present study, see for example Richard Kurt Kraus, *The Party and the Art in China: The New Politics of Culture* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 73–106. For a study of the body and contemporary Chinese performance art which addresses the issue of nudity see Silvia Fok, *Performance Art and the Body in Contemporary China* (PhD thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2008).

Chapter 4

1. On Taiwanese art after 1945 and its political context see Jason C. Kuo, *Art and Cultural Politics in Postwar Taiwan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000). Kuo notes (pp. 80–81) that one reason for a lack of hostility to ‘Western-style’ painting from the Taiwanese cultural establishment was ‘the Nationalist government’s need to maintain a pro-Western stance in the Cold War years of the 1950s during which Taiwan received American economic aid as well as military protection from the constant danger of a potential Communist invasion from Mainland China’.
2. See for example Max Kozloff, ‘American Painting during the Cold War’, *Artforum* XI, no. 9 (May 1973): 43–54, and Eva Cockcroft, ‘Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War’, *Artforum* XII, no. 10 (June 1974): 39–41.
3. For evidence concerning the interest of American artists in East Asian art and its perceived philosophical underpinnings see David Clarke, *The Influence of Oriental Thought*.
4. Liu Kuo-sung, ‘The Way of Modern Chinese Painting’, excerpt in *Liu Guo Song: A Universe of His Own* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2004), 104.
5. Liu obtained his Rockefeller grant in 1966. While in America he had a solo show at the Laguna Beach Museum of Art in California and studied print-making in Iowa. He also lived in New York for nine months, having a show there at the Rhodes Gallery in 1967. Other Chinese modernist artists who also received Rockefeller grants for travel to the United States include Chuang Che (1966) from Taiwan, and Hon Chi-fun (1969) and Wucius Wong (1970–71) from Hong Kong. Hon had a solo show in New York’s Willard Gallery during the year he was there, and attended lectures by Robert Motherwell and other American artists during the early 1970s due to a connection with the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Wong had studied at the Columbus College of Art and Design in Ohio from 1961, continuing his studies at the Maryland Institute College of Fine Arts in Baltimore, with Grace Hartigan as one of his teachers, and guest speakers and visiting artists including Ad Reinhardt and Helen Frankenthaler. Zao Wou-Ki, although more commonly associated with Parisian modernism, had a brother who had lived in New York from the age of seventeen, and whom he visited in 1957. Zao got to know many American abstract artists, including Franz Kline, Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, and was regularly exhibited at the Kootz Gallery in New York from 1958 until 1967. On the role of grants in promoting awareness of American culture (examining the European case), see Nancy Jachec, ‘Transatlantic Cultural Politics in the Late 1950s: The Leaders and Specialists Grant Program’, *Art History* 26, no. 4 (September 2003): 533–55.
6. On Hon Chi-fun see for example *Space and Passion: The Art of Hon Chi-fun* (Hong Kong: Choi Yan-chi, 2000).

7. Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, 199.
8. Certain works by Hon Chi-fun show an awareness of Pop art. In *Bath of Fire*, a three-panel painting of 1968 (Hong Kong Museum of Art), Hon combines oil and acrylic paint with silk-screened images, and uses hot colours that parallel somewhat the Day-Glo effects favoured by Chao. In *Moon Walk* (1969) even Liu Kuo-sung was to incorporate a mass-produced image within the space of an abstracted ink painting. This work features a collaged copy of one of the well-known photographs taken by Apollo astronauts on the moon surface (indeed Liu's more abstracted images with sun and moon images from this period may also be seen as inspired in part by the then-current NASA space programme).
9. An analogous work by Zao, *Hommage to Qu Yuan (5.05.55)* of 1955, makes a direct Chinese reference in its title. Liu Kuo-sung describes Chinese calligraphy as abstract art, giving further evidence of how the two quite historically distinct art forms could be perceived as analogous by modern Chinese artists:

Few people appreciate the beauty of the abstract as much as the Chinese. This is not only reflected in our various forms of art but deeply rooted in our lives. It is widely recognized that Chinese calligraphy is an abstract art, and that it had a direct bearing on the development of Abstract Expressionism in the U. S. A. and the rest of the world. All movements are abstract in Chinese provincial opera: opening a door, rowing a boat, mounting a horse, galloping. What is not expressed in the abstract? . . . The Chinese preference for the abstract can be found in dance and music too, and in other aspects of our daily lives. Rocks taken from Lake Tai and arranged in gardens comprise the world's oldest abstract sculptures . . . It is irrational that we should attribute abstract painting to the West and regard it as something foreign because we do not understand it.

See 'On the Connoisseurship and Criticism of Abstract Ink Painting' [1999], in *Liu Guo Song: A Universe of His Own*, 122.

10. Lawrence Tam, *Hong Kong Art, 1970–1980* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1981), 12. For further discussion of modern and contemporary art in Hong Kong and its political and social context see David Clarke, *Hong Kong Art: Culture and Decolonization* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
11. For a study of recent abstraction in Taiwan see Chien-Hui Kao, 'Another Spiritual Perch — Abstract Art in Taiwan', in *Visions of Pluralism: Contemporary Art in Taiwan, 1988–1999* (Kaohsiung: Mountain Art Culture and Education Association, 1999), 63–67. Among Hong Kong artists of a generation younger than those discussed in the present chapter who have shown interest in abstraction, Lui Chun Kwong (Lu Zhenguang) deserves mention. Unlike earlier Hong Kong abstractionists, his work has an engagement with the more minimal and geometric tendencies of Western abstraction, and it concerns itself neither with the East/West issues that mattered to older artists nor with the more localized identity questions that have preoccupied those of a younger generation. Examples of work by Lui and several of the other Hong Kong artists mentioned in this chapter can be found on the website of the Hong Kong Art Archive at: <http://finearts.hku.hk/hkaa/>.
12. See comments by Jiang Feng, chairman of the Chinese Artists Association, in his 'Yishu wei renmin dazhong fuwu' ('To serve the people with art'), *Meishu*, no. 1

(1980): 5–6, and Ye Yushan, director of the Sichuan Fine Arts Institute, in his ‘Jinnian lai woyuan chuanguo de huigu’ (‘A review of creativity in recent years at my art institute’), *Meishu*, no. 5 (1982): 52–58. Both comments emphasize abstraction’s opacity and Ye also asserts that it is not sufficiently Chinese. For a discussion of these two texts see Jane Debevoise, *Seismic States: The Changing System of Support for Contemporary Art in China, 1978–1993* (Ph D thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2009), 22–23 and 46–49.

13. One can see a Minimalist-like monochrome effect in Qiu Zhijie’s *Writing the ‘Orchid Pavilion Preface’ One Thousand Times* (1986), but the monochrome black of this work is the result of repeatedly writing a paradigmatic calligraphic text (associated with calligrapher Wang Xizhi) on the same sheet of paper — an act of paradoxically subversive obedience that derives its meaning from the process of cancellation involved. A white monochrome effect is the first impression received when approaching many of Qiu Shihua’s canvases, but on closer inspection the eye discovers representational landscapes.
14. See David Clarke, *Art and Place: Essays on Art from a Hong Kong Perspective* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 236–49 on resignifying play with Maoist imagery in the work of mainland Chinese artists of the late 1980s and early 1990s.
15. Amongst recent exhibitions to feature Chinese abstract art are ‘The International Traveling Exhibition of Chinese Abstract Art’, held at the Artist Commune, Cattle Depot Artist Village, Hong Kong, 30 September–17 October 2007; ‘Beyond the Image’, held at Osage Kwun Tong, Hong Kong, 30 May–28 June 2009; and ‘The Burden of Representation: Abstraction in Asia Today’, held at Osage Kwun Tong, Hong Kong, 1 May–10 July 2010.

Chapter 5

1. Up-to-date synoptic studies of Macau from a cultural perspective are hard to find. On Macau’s history see Cesar Guillen-Nuñez, *Macau* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984), and Philippe Pons, *Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002). For a social scientist’s perspective on the city around the moment of its return to Chinese sovereignty see Jean A. Berlie, ‘Macau’s Overview at the Turn of the Century’, *American Asian Review* XVIII, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 25–68. A cultural study was made at the same moment by Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999). More recent is the study by Jeremy Tambling and Louis Lo, *Walking Macao, Reading the Baroque* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009). Also recent, and close in focus to the present study since it considers the role of monuments and museums in constructing narratives of Macau’s history, is Jonathan Potter, ‘“The Past is Present”: The Construction of Macau’s Historical Legacy’, *History and Memory* 21, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2009): 63–100.
2. On the Hong Kong/Zhuhai/Macau bridge see for instance Bonnie Chen, ‘Bridge go-ahead’, *The Standard*, 29 February 2008, 1.
3. See Fox Yi Hu and Dennis Eng, ‘Booming casinos help Macau narrow visitors gap with HK’, *South China Morning Post*, 18 January 2007, A1. It should be noted, however, that a large percentage of the visitors are day-trippers only.

4. For a long time Macau has been host to a Formula Three Grand Prix, but this temporary annual celebration of speed seemed only to emphasize the normal sleepiness of Macau. In the same way one noticed a change of pace on arrival in Macau after travelling to it from Hong Kong on the high-speed jetfoil service.
5. When on 13 July 2007 the Macau government unveiled plans for an elevated light rail link between the peninsula and Taipa it was criticized for ignoring the transport needs of locals. The proposed route bypassed the older residential districts in favour of sites more frequented by tourists. See Fox Yi Hu, 'Fast track to slots; poor rue lot', *South China Morning Post*, 14 July 2007, A3.
6. Such has been the pace of Macau's economic growth (at least until the arrival of the recent global economic downturn, which has caused a dip in casino income and put new construction in that sector on hold) that it seems to have surpassed its model Las Vegas in casino revenue in 2006. See 'Tiny Macau overtakes Vegas Strip', BBC News, accessed 29 August 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6083624.stm>, and Douglas Greenlees, 'Macao rises close to top global spot for gamblers', *International Herald Tribune*, 18 January 2008, 1. On Macau's rising GDP see Neil Gough, 'Macau tops Asia's rich list, but try telling that to the poor', *South China Morning Post*, 29 March 2008, A3. A qualification of the picture offered in that account is given in Jake van der Kamp, 'Glowing GDP figures hide reality of Macau economy', *South China Morning Post*, 1 April 2008, B16. Perhaps heralding the end of an era, in a ceremony on 20 December 2009 to mark the tenth anniversary of Macau's handover Chinese President Hu Jintao called for the territory's economy to be diversified beyond the gaming industry, (see Colleen Lee, 'Turning the tables', *The Standard*, 21 December 2009, p. 2).
7. On the Grand Lisboa see Neil Gough, 'Stanley Ho's feather aims to tickle punters' fancy', *Sunday Morning Post*, 11 February 2007, 3 and Alfred Liu, 'Ho bullish as hotel opens amid setbacks for rivals', *The Standard*, 18 December 2008, 8.
8. A major casino, hotel and entertainment complex which opened in Cotai on 1 July 2009 is named 'City of Dreams'.
9. On the opening of the Venetian Macao see Fox Yi Hu, 'The Venetian effect', *South China Morning Post*, 28 August 2007, A16.
10. I discuss the venue of the Hong Kong handover ceremony in Clarke, *Hong Kong Art*, 138–49.
11. For an analysis of the Hong Kong handover ceremony as an event in visual culture see Clarke, *Hong Kong Art*, 199–202. The visual choreography of the Macau handover was in most respects modelled on the earlier Hong Kong event.
12. Such a sense of belonging to Macau does exist for the long-established Macanese (Portuguese/Chinese Eurasian) community, whose sense of cultural distinctness is expressed in their cuisine, for instance. The Macanese constitute only a small percentage of Macau's total population, however. On cultural identity in Hong Kong and its artistic expression see Clarke, *Hong Kong Art*.
13. The substantial flow of labour into Macau to meet the needs of the casino boom has not been entirely friction-free. Resentment from those left at the bottom of the labour market (together with concerns about government corruption following a

scandal involving the former transport and public works secretary Ao Man-long) has led recently to local calls for political reform and governmental transparency. These concerns, raised against the post-handover Macau administration headed by Chief Executive Edmund Ho Hau-wah (and not against the central government in Beijing), came to a climax in a rally of around six thousand people held on Labour Day (1 May) 2007. Much smaller in scale than the rallies held in Hong Kong, even allowing for the differences in population size, this was nevertheless something of a watershed for post-handover Macau. The rally garnered widespread press coverage since a police officer fired five warning shots into the air, and a passing motorcyclist was injured by a bullet. Several demonstrators and police officers were injured during the protest. See Fox Yi Hu, 'D-Day for democracy', *Sunday Morning Post*, 6 May 2007, 11. On the Ao scandal see, for instance, Fox Yi Hu, 'Fallen minister Ao jailed for 27 years', *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 2008, A1. A rally on 20 December 2009 calling for newly appointed Macau Chief Executive Fernando Chui Sai-on to combat corruption and enhance political freedom is reported in Nickkita Lau, 'Protestors set priorities for Chui era', *The Standard*, 21 December 2009, 6.

14. One can see a strong sense of separate cultural identity in certain places with populations that are equally as small as that of Macau, so this factor alone is not crucial. Iceland, for instance, does have that sense of identity, but the difference is that it is a nation rather than a city, and it has its own language. As an island it also has an obvious, physical separation from neighbouring populations, and this has led to both a cultural and genetic homogeneity since immigration has not been a major factor. Iceland also has a remarkably active cultural scene.
15. Recent photos of Macau by Frank Lei are featured in *City Sights: Photographs by Oan Kim and Frank Lei* (Macau: Macau Museum of Art, 2006). Laurence Aberhart's photos of the city are collected in *Ghostwriting: Photographs of Macao by Laurence Aberhart* (Macau: Macau Museum of Art, 2001). Both books were published to accompany exhibitions held at the Macau Museum of Art.
16. On the Old Ladies House Art Space see Frank Lei, 'In Search of a Direction in Transition — From the Old Ladies House Art Space to Ox Warehouse', in *Trading Places: Contemporary Art and Cultural Imaginaries of the Pearl River Delta*, ed. Matthew Turner and Beatrix Pang (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Art School, Hong Kong Arts Centre, 2007), 99–101.
17. A recent museum show of Bessmertny's work, featuring both paintings and installation pieces, was 'Edictus Ridiculum: Latest Creations by Konstantin Bessmertny' held at the Macau Museum of Art, 5 May–7 October 2007. A catalogue was published to accompany the exhibition.
18. Among aspects of the increasing spectacularization of the Macau cityscape not discussed in the text is the recent proliferation of large-scale digital display screens on building facades, and the construction of the Macau Tower, which opened in 2001. The primary function of this structure, which was built on reclaimed land, is to offer from its observation deck a spectacularizing viewpoint on Macau, and in particular its newer aspects.

Chapter 6

1. On the complex relationship between expectation and experience in travel see Paul Duro, 'The Return to the Origin: Heidegger's Journey to Greece', *Art Journal* 66, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 88–101.
2. A 'haunting' of Macau by Las Vegas was discussed in the previous chapter. Like Hong Kong, Macau also underwent a late decolonization that did not result in independence, and thus was in particular need of resources for a postcolonial civic identity. The unavailability of the normal discursive resources for constructing national identity in a postcolonial era is part of what distinguishes the case of Hong Kong and Macau from that of Singapore, a city that is also an independent state. Unsurprisingly, however, Singapore has also seen a need to benchmark itself to London and New York (and also Hong Kong, Melbourne and Glasgow) as it develops the ambition to be a 'global arts city' (see the 2000 policy document *Renaissance City Report: Culture and the Arts in Renaissance Singapore*, accessed 31 March 2010, http://app.mica.gov.sg/Portals/0/2_FinalRen.pdf). On the high-profile adoption of Dubai as an explicit growth model for their city by Hangzhou municipal officials since 2007 (the cities are even linked by direct flights), and the effect of Dubai's debt crisis of November 2009 on this over-identification, see Will Clem, 'Hangzhou learns tough lesson in market realities after chasing Dubai "miracle"', *South China Morning Post*, 19 December 2009, A5.
3. I discuss the Hong Kong Cultural Centre and the extension to the Convention and Exhibition Centre in David Clarke, *Hong Kong Art*, Chapter 4, which also treats many other aspects of Hong Kong art and visual culture in the late colonial and early postcolonial period. Hong Kong architecture and urban planning since 1997 is further discussed in David Clarke, 'Contested Sites: Hong Kong's Built Environment in the Post-Colonial Era', *Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 4 (December 2007): 357–77, and I deal with issues of Hong Kong cultural identity during the same period in David Clarke, *Hong Kong x 24 x 365: A Year in the Life of a City* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007).
4. The cultural linking between Hong Kong and Shanghai I am discussing here also has a pre-history. Leo Oufan Lee, in *City between Worlds: My Hong Kong* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 277, points out that the short stories of Eileen Chang (Zhang Ailing) which were often set in Hong Kong and which were published in Shanghai popular magazines in the early 1940s helped establish awareness of Hong Kong in Shanghai and elsewhere in China.
5. As the then Chief Secretary for Administration Anson Chan put it in an 11 June 1998 speech ('Hong Kong: Riding out the Asian Storm') at the Asia Society Washington Center annual dinner, 'the real transition is about identity and not sovereignty... Late on the evening of June 30, 1997, between the lowering of one flag and the raising of another — in that instant when Hong Kong seemed truly without identity — identity became the issue. That was one of the handover's defining moments and is the challenge Hong Kong faces today.' (Government Information Centre website — former website of the Hong Kong SAR government, accessed 10 December 2010, <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/199806/12/0612097.htm>).
6. On the visit of Donald Tsang (then financial secretary) to Las Vegas, see Greg Torode, 'Into the den of decadence', *South China Morning Post*, 25 September 1999, Review p. 1.

7. Foster's canopy design had been the winner of an architectural competition for the West Kowloon Cultural District site which took place prior to serious, detailed consideration (even within the Hong Kong government itself, it seems) of what would actually be happening on the site. Public opposition to the notion of private sector control over such a major cultural site (in particular to the proposed idea of a single for-profit entity being given sole possession, and to the high density of development the three short-listed bidders proposed in their plans) eventually led the Hong Kong government to abandon in 2006 the process of bidding between property developer-led consortiums it had initiated in 2003. When the project was revived in a new form, the idea of using Foster's canopy (which had never received widespread public endorsement) was abandoned. A summary of the history of the project and details of the new proposals announced in 2007 (which envisaged a non-profit-making statutory authority taking charge of the site) can be found on the Hong Kong government website, accessed 22 January 2008, http://www.hab.gov.hk/wkcd/pe/eng/doc/CC_Report_eng/3_executivesummary.pdf. The West Kowloon Cultural District Authority Ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council on 11 July 2008, and an upfront endowment of HK\$21.6 billion was approved. Although an independent statutory body, the authority is chaired by the chief secretary for administration, enabling the Hong Kong government to exercise a high degree of control over it. For details see the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority website, accessed 10 December 2010, http://www.wkcdauthority.hk/en/about_wkcd/index.html. For a critical review of the whole project (which examines it against the backdrop of other Asian governmental initiatives in the art field) see Oscar Ho Hing-kay, 'Government, Business, and People: Museum Development in Asia', in *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets, and Museums*, ed. Hans Belting and Andrea Buddenseig (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 266–77.
8. Wen Jiabao's comment was made shortly after returning from a visit to Singapore. Wen stated that during his visit to Singapore he 'kept thinking of Hong Kong', adding that 'It is facing very strong competition — the situation is pressing'. Tsang replied that he visited Singapore every couple of years to observe its development, and had also learned from the experiences of Shanghai and Beijing (see Fanny W. Y. Fung and Eva Wu, 'Wen's 4 ways for HK to up its game', *South China Morning Post*, 24 November 2007, A1). On 15 July 2006 Tsang had already referred to Hong Kong and Singapore as 'the closest twin cities on earth' in terms of development and their people's ambition, adding that Hong Kong had much to learn from the other city (see Ambrose Leung, 'Full vote possible by 2012, says Tsang', *Sunday Morning Post*, 16 July 2006, 1). Tsang's views were challenged by former Chief Secretary Anson Chan, who stated in an interview on 22 July 2006 that she didn't believe the Singapore model of democracy was the one Hong Kong should follow, and that there wasn't much Hong Kong could learn from that city about how to develop political talents (see Dicky Sinn, 'All options open for Anson Chan', *Sunday Morning Post*, 23 July 2006, 2). A *South China Morning Post* leader on 18 July 2006 ('Singapore is not the ideal model', A10) also took issue with Tsang.
9. For further information on 'Brand Hong Kong' (note the terminology which treats the city as if it were a commercial product needing to find a place in a crowded marketplace) see the official website, accessed 17 January 2008, <http://www.brandhk.gov.hk/brandhk/eindex.htm>. In addition to the obvious parallel with Singapore's Merlion, the Hong Kong dragon logo was also compared by Hong

Kong's financial secretary to Canada's maple leaf emblem. See 'Hong Kong celebrates 7th year of city's flying dragon', *People's Daily Online*, 29 March 2008, accessed 30 June 2009, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/6383052.html>. A modified version of the logo designed by Alan Chan Yau-kin, in which three flying ribbons were added to the dragon, was unveiled on 27 March 2010 (see Vivienne Chow, 'Closed process on new dragon logo denied', *South China Morning Post*, 2 April 2010, A2). For a governmental statement on the revitalized Brand Hong Kong see the article by Financial Secretary John Tsang Chun-wah, 'A multifaceted city', *South China Morning Post*, 12 April 2010, A15; for an alternative view see Peter Kammerer, 'Logo delusions', *South China Morning Post*, 13 April 2010, A15.

10. This irony was pointed out at the time by commentator Jake van der Kamp, 'So easy to imitate, so difficult to create, so easy to borrow brands', *South China Morning Post*, 15 November 2005, B16.
11. Xu Kuangdi's comments were made on 10 March 2001 (see 'Xu Kuangdi: Shanghai not to replace HK', *People's Daily Online*, 12 March 2001, accessed 17 January 2008, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/200103/12/eng20010312_64780.html). On Zhu and Tsang's comments concerning Hong Kong and Shanghai see Chris Yeung, 'Shanghai no threat, says Tsang', *South China Morning Post*, 28 July 2001, A1. Tsang's comparisons between Hong Kong and New York, and Shanghai and Chicago apparently coincide with the view of the expert on globalization and world cities, Saskia Sassen. See Steve Schifferes, 'Hong Kong v Shanghai: Global rivals', *BBC News website* (international version), 27 June 2007, accessed 29 August 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6240994.stm>. Wang Zhan, director of the Development Research Centre of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, apparently suggested that 'Hong Kong should become the Switzerland of Asia', see Kwai-Cheung Lo, *Chinese Face-Off: The Transnational Popular Culture of Hong Kong* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 1; while author Simon Winchester claims to have angered Hong Kong's last colonial governor, Chris Patten, by suggesting to him that in fifty years time Beijing would be China's Washington DC, Shanghai its New York, and Hong Kong its New Orleans ('First Person', *HK Magazine* 642 (1 September 2006): 54). More recently politician and former government official Regina Ip has explored the parallels between Hong Kong and Tianjin (see Regina Ip, 'Our other sister city', *South China Morning Post*, 28 April 2008, A11), and a departing speech by British Consul-General Stephen Bradley to the Foreign Correspondents' Club on 13 March 2008 claimed that Hong Kong was still a very small town when compared to London and New York, at least with respect to cultural provision. One response to Bradley's speech was Peter Gordon, 'Judge Hong Kong in its own right', *The Standard*, 17 March 2008, 15. An alternative view that Hong Kong could indeed be reasonably compared to London and New York was expressed by Michael Elliott ('A tale of three cities', *Time* online edition, 17 January 2008, accessed 23 May 2008, <http://time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1704398,00.html>). Newspapers have been a major site in which the discourse of a supposed rivalry between Hong Kong and Shanghai has been propagated since 1997. Not all such accounts have simply voiced fears of Hong Kong being overtaken by Shanghai, however, and in the period since the retirement of China's Shanghai-associated leaders Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji it has sometimes been suggested that that city is also faltering in its direction (see, for instance, 'Shanghai's problem with thinking too big', *South China Morning Post*, 2 September 2006, A12). A 2009 decision of

China's State Council to turn Shanghai into an international financial hub by 2020 has however again raised the stakes. See Chris Yeung, 'A job that suddenly got a whole lot harder', *Sunday Morning Post*, 5 April, 2009, 8, on how this ratcheted up pressure on Hong Kong Chief Executive Donald Tsang, who was already facing low popularity ratings, and 'HK finance sector must up its game, Wen says', *Sunday Morning Post*, 12 April 2009, 1, for a warning to Hong Kong by Premier Wen Jiabao concerning the risks to its status as an international financial centre. See also Bonnie Chen, 'Shanghai 2020 vision is "alarming" news for SAR', *The Standard*, 31 August 2009, 8.

12. See 'Wong Kar-wai exclusive interview', conducted 27 October 1997 for WBAI Pacifica Radio [New York], accessed 10 January 2008, <http://www.asiastudios.com/interviews/members/wongkarwai.html>.
13. The *City Cookie* project was a collaboration with Sara Wong Chi Hang, and has also been executed in relation to other cities. More recently Leung has also engaged explicitly with Hong Kong's 'Asia's World City' rhetoric. In 2008 he invited people to send him their own wishes concerning changes that should be made in Hong Kong to help actualize its ambition for global status. With this project Leung was still comparing Hong Kong to other cities as he had done in his urban skyline photographs, but now the medium was the written word, with an emphasis on detecting discrepancies between Hong Kong's achievements and those of other cities. From the comments received in response to his invitation Leung chose twelve to be featured on printed banners that mimic those which governmental bodies often place in Hong Kong public space. These banners were installed without permission in a variety of roadside locations, and left there until they were spotted and removed. Works from this project were also featured in a gallery setting in Leung's exhibition 'Asia's World City: A Photo Project by Leung Chi Wo', Goethe-Institut Hong Kong, 20 February–21 March 2009.

Chow Chun Fai has also displayed a fascination with the Hong Kong government's civic rhetoric in his artworks, which are often painted images made after filmic originals (for example frames from local movies which he has isolated from their context). In *Repainting '10th Anniversary'* (2007, video, 1 minute 20 seconds) he takes the process one step further, producing a series of still images in acrylic after scenes from a made-for-television government propaganda video concerning the tenth anniversary of the handover. He then videos these images in sequence to the original soundtrack, turning his target into an object for scrutiny by this alienation effect. Similar treatment is given to a government video promoting the West Kowloon Cultural District in *Repainting 'A Cultural Hub in the Making, West Kowloon Cultural District'* (video, 2007, 1 minute 20 seconds).

14. At a later date Patrick Ho seems himself to have developed doubts about the world city rhetoric, perhaps because such rhetoric is hard to easily reconcile with the quite different post-handover imperative of propagating Chinese national ideology in Hong Kong. At an Asian cultural co-operation meeting held in Hong Kong in 2005 he gave a speech in which he decried the way Asian cities 'are tagged with nicknames such as the Venice of Asia, the Las Vegas of the East, or Paris in China. Soho here, West End there and Manhattan everywhere. Heaven knows we are liable to forget that we are in Asia' (quoted in van der Kamp, 'So easy to imitate').

15. Wong's teahouse was constructed using a kind of red/white/blue plastic fabric that is widely used in everyday contexts in Hong Kong, and which has come to signify local Hong Kong identity for many. Wong has employed this material in other art and design works as well. Many other artists participating in the Venice Biennale over the years have sought to explore connections between that city and other places. For instance, the Thai pavilion for the 2009 Venice Biennale, *Gondola al Paradiso: Notes from Paradise*, which made use of playful parodies of tourist imagery, featured a map conflating landmarks from both Venice and Bangkok.
16. Hong Kong and Beijing are also linked in Tozer Pak's performance work *A Present to the Central Government* (2005). The first part of this work took place in Hong Kong on 1 July 2005, when Pak placed a strip of yellow cloth across the path of a democracy march; the second part took place in Beijing on 17 July 2005 when he tied fragments of that cloth around the periphery of Tiananmen Square (a friend documented the process and removed the cloth strips not long after they had been placed). *Dubble Happiness: A Story of Siamese Cities* (25 May–1 June 2010, Studio Double Happiness and OV Gallery, Wanchai, Hong Kong) featured artists from both Hong Kong and Shanghai. Although artists involved were not necessarily addressing the question of the connections between the two cities explicitly in their works, the viewer was invited to do so when taking in the show as a whole. An essay 'Dubble Happiness: A Story of Siamese Cities' by Rebecca Catching and Nana Seo in the exhibition catalogue of the same title (edited by Rebecca Catching for the OV Gallery and Studio Double Happiness, Shanghai, 2010) also addressed the entwined history of the two cities.

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