

Lisa Claypool

Ways of Seeing the Nation: Chinese Painting in the *National Essence Journal* (1905-1911) and Exhibition Culture

forthcoming at *positions: east asia cultures critique*

During the waning years of the Qing empire, the *National Essence Journal* (*Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報) was published in Shanghai by the Society for Preservation of National Learning (Guoxue baocunhui 國學保存會), a group composed of poets, painters, epigraphists, and intellectuals broadly engaged in discussions of literature and civilization.¹ The journal's pages served as a multi-layered cultural space through which contributors and readers alike could constitute themselves as Chinese subjects and also as historical subjects. Creating such a space for envisioning the nation was a sensitive task; China was in a state of confusion following its losses in the first Sino-Japanese war, the damage of the Boxer Rebellion, and the uncertain policies of an uncertain court. The journal's founders and editors were committed to distilling precisely what it was about Han culture and the "yellow race" (as they described it) that could serve to define a modern nation. Hence it may not be surprising that visual images figured prominently in the journal. Of particular interest was painting. Concrete yet malleable, being easily framed and positioned in print, painting provided a direct means of making identity visible.²

The very fact that painting was reproduced in a journal dedicated to the nation, that it was acknowledged by the editors as emblematic of modern China, powerfully conditions response to it. Still, to draw seamless connections between the nation and the paintings may be to make false assumptions about the editor's presentation of both, and especially, about the ways in which painting was seen and its status in the journals. To complicate this issue, new collotype printing technology used in the journals fused together representation and reality. The paintings in the journals, in short, created a conundrum for the editors: What

was to prevent painting from being seen differently as it moved into new contexts? How could an image serve the editorial charge of national self-definition? And would that prospect ultimately weaken or strengthen the production of a unified Chinese national culture? These questions had lasting relevance. Even as late as 1926, after the term “national painting” (*guohua* 國畫) had entered into the Chinese language and the genre had started to take a more definite shape, it was thought to be “an inchoate cultural product,” remarked upon at the time as “a big mess, but because of its affinity with the National Essence school... held up as a kind of national essence.”³

What this big mess might mean, and how painting participated in focalizing the “nation” at a time of intense anxiety about national representation, is the subject of this article. For from its initial appearance in the journal in 1907, painting mattered to the Society for Preservation of National Learning. It was part of an emergent national patrimony exhibited between the journal’s covers. Although other objects—ceramics, jades, pieces of calligraphy, and so on—were reproduced in the journal behind the pages devoted to paintings, the editors clearly privileged painting as an art form.⁴ Paintings reproduced within the journal were contributed by Society members, mailed to the Society’s offices on Shanghai’s Fourth Street in photographic form. Alternatively, paintings could be donated, permanently or short-term, to the Society’s Storing Books Tower (Cangshu lou 藏書樓), a library with painting and natural specimen rooms.

As part of their commitment to shaping their readers’ eye, the journal editors found themselves sliding back and forth between promoting inherited modes of looking that had to do with cultivation of the eye of the man of letters and modern modes of looking encouraged at exhibitions. This case study will take us first to the 1908 and 1909 journals celebrating the founding of the society and of the journal itself, to pictorial compendia that

at such a moment of self-definition most clearly expose society members as archetypical elite, fully engaged in connoisseurial practices, foregrounding their own acuity of eye as a means of distinguishing themselves as a social and cultural group. Then we will move into contemporary visual fields of exhibition fora, in which good looking is not only the purview of an elite. Exhibitions were sites where science and education, the street market, and the nation merged together through spectacle. At the end of the article, we will return to the special pictorial issues of the journals, to index the editorial insistence on the experiential aspect of looking at pictures to the kinds of looking encouraged in expositions, locally and abroad, in spite of the possible threat to the editors' own authority. The critical interest here is not whether Society members were traditionalists or reformists in their production of a national visuality, since they could be both, simultaneously. Rather, it lies in how such hesitant and hopeful experimentation with the eye sheds light on the role painting and visuality played in the continuing labor of making a Chinese nation.

Underpinning this case study are the terms “visible” and “visual.” The former is understood as the social and historical operations of the latter--visibility a socially and culturally inflected agreement on “how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing or the unseen therein.”⁵ Peter de Bolla reminds us that “we cannot imagine that we see with disinterested eyes,” making the “visibility of visuality” in other spaces and times a troubling topological problem: “if we are to take as axiomatic that visuality is as much constructed in and through social, cultural, and discursive forms as those things that we might loosely and anachronistically take to be self-evidently visible, then we shall need to examine the range of possible activities within the visual field that might have been available for any period.”⁶ Thus, this exploration will move from study of the scholastic

eye to a public eye encouraged to see things in a particular way by curatorial strategies of display, and all that might entail for early twentieth-century readers of the journal and for us.

A First Look at the *National Essence Journal*

From its earliest publication in 1905 until its final imprint in 1911, each issue of the journal typically included two or three portraits of scholars or sages (*huaxiang* 畫像) such as Confucius and Laozi with encomia, and, beginning in 1907, a small number of photo mechanically reproduced diagrams of plants or animals in the biology section (*bowupian* 博物篇) and a few paintings in the newly denoted “fine arts” section (*meishupian* 美術篇), an analytical category which will be explored below.⁷ The pictures were grouped at the beginning of each journal on medium weight white paper (contrasting with the newsprint quality paper on which the essays were printed), separated by protective sheets of tissue, the size of the 5 ¾ x 8 inch page expanding incrementally during the final years of publication. On the occasion of the special third and fourth anniversaries of the society and journal, in 1908 and 1909, text was supplanted by visual images.⁸ The founding of the society was marked not with essays but with pictures, including an extensive section on painting (*tubua* 圖畫), as well as reproductions of epigraphic rubbings (*jinshi* 金石), art objects (*meishupin* 美術品), and photographs of “historical sites” (*guji sbeying* 古蹟攝影).⁹

Paintings typically are laid out on the pages with labels identifying the dynasty in which the painting was produced, the artist’s name, and the title of the painting. Printed text does not encroach on the image, but frames it carefully, noting “see the painting to the right” or “to the left,” as though walking a reader through a gallery. Text also can create a literal frame for pictures, inky micrographic characters (graphs of miniscule size about the size of a tiny fly head) gathered up around the edges of the photographs as though flies

sticking to the frames <fig. 1>. Such labels create an air of conclusiveness; the lines are set in print, mechanical font contrasting with the uncertain legibility of the brushed inscriptions on the images.

If the intent of the editors was to provide an experiential viewing of ancient paintings for the journal readers, however, curiously enough they seem to fail: unlike the text, the paintings can be practically invisible. Many collotype reproductions do not attain the “visual” in a higher “formal” sense: one cannot see the length of silk in a scroll, the seals and inscriptions on the painting, and in many cases, the complete painted surface. The silk and paper support for the painting is reproduced on the journal page as dark and shadowy. Fragmented details of the scrolls offered up for inspection, enlarged so that they seem to never have had any frames or borders, are magnified to the extent that they do not make visual sense. Some paintings, conversely, are reproduced as miniatures, too small to make out. Other reproductions tantalizingly reveal passages within the painted pictures quite clearly, only to fade where brushstrokes most fine and delicate are transformed into indistinguishable blots and smudges or are not to be seen at all.

The point here is not that the pictures ought to be reproduced in a particular way, but that they are reproduced in no particular way. There is no unified mode of presentation. Any expectation of moving easily from one image to the next is denied by the inconsistent presentation and technology: from macro view to micro, from encyclopedic (showing a full scroll, including the dowels, the seals and inscriptions, and the complete painted surface) to fragmentary, from crystal-clear reproductions to shadowy blocks of black and grey. Such fluidity both frustrates and engages the reader; it also begins to suggest that what was important about the paintings and how to look at them were still unsettled, as the new visual culture of a modern China in this, one of its very first iterations, was still being defined.

Since the paintings cannot easily be apprehended with the eye, then, what is the meaning of the viewing experience that the editors make much of? How are we to understand the editor's references to "viewing" (*lan* 覽)? On the one hand, the technique of collotype printing, using graduated gray half tones more subtle than lithographs, might argue that the editors were doing the best they could to circulate the images.¹⁰ The painter Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865-1955) writes at length about the need for a reproduction technology that matches *jinsbi* 金石 metal and stone rubbings, not ephemeral Ming wood blocks, as a means of transmitting pictures, and comments on the success of the journal in this regard.¹¹ Regardless of whether the painter's intent was abstract brushwork or fidelity to an object out there in the world, Huang points out, the painting can be made real through the right kind of copy. Hence, the photomechanical reproductions of painting in the journal effectively work in a familiar way, an ancient way, by making the paintings of artists as diverse as the Ming-dynasty professional painter Qiu Ying 仇英 (act. early 16th century) and the Qing court painter Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) present.

On the other hand, as noted, the technology seems to have faltered: ink tones typically fade together, creating blocks of visually undefined marks. The editors do not acknowledge this aspect of the technology. A picture from the Jin-dynasty painter Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 (c. 344-c. 406) *Admonitions of the Court Instructress to the Court Ladies* scroll 女史箴圖, only attains the level of visibility to a viewer who already knows what the picture looks like, possibly from reading textual descriptions of it.¹² In some sense, then, it was the much lauded collotype reproduction of the photographed painting rather than the painting itself that was on display. Beyond Huang Binhong's positioning of the technology within print traditions, Shen Tang's 沈唐 observation, for instance, about a particular set of

pictures that “because we have been able to photograph the authentic album at a smaller size, we have been able to preserve its antiquity” (茲以原本縮影故仍其舊)¹³ is consistent with the general attitude of the editors towards the technology. It is new, it is modern, and for all its obvious faults, it is scientifically archival, capturing the authenticity of the original. But at the same time, the value of the technology relied in large part upon the written word; the technology was impressive because the editors said so, rather than because they demonstrated it to be so. Reproduced paintings slipped between written description of them and the vagaries of the collotype.

While it would not be accurate to draw strict equivalences between the text and image, there are points of contact in how they both operate. In a seminal article that begins to lay out a cognitive image history for China, Richard Vinograd has drawn attention to resonant modalities of text and image:

The concept of painting as description...[is] prominent in the writings of scholar-artists and their apologists. Description implies a deferral of the presence of the object through transposition into language, as well as a process carried out over time. The cognitive processes associated with pictorial description, understood as a counterpart of verbal description, may involve recollection, metaphorizing, and comparison of distinguishing elements.¹⁴

Play between legible text and paintings that remain recalcitrantly invisible is not new. There is evidence that in the imperial past, written description of paintings stood in for paintings; artists claimed to have made copies of famous Song landscapes, for example, based solely on formal description in words.¹⁵ Vinograd reminds us that we should pay serious attention to the editors’ insistence on a textual understanding of the paintings in the journal, and how it speaks to traditional ways by which an elite defined himself: through a

linguistically-based connoisseurship, in which images take on the illusory form of written communication. Take, for instance, the album of six Song and Yuan paintings described above by Shen Tang. Among the paintings, there is one leaf of misty bamboo attributed to Guan Daosheng 管道升 (1262-1319), another of a scholar's hut at a mountain pass to Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. ca. 1190-1225), and a third of intricately articulated architecture to Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (d. ca. 1162), all celebrated for belonging to the Chinese official Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909). Much like historical catalogs of painting collections, each leaf in the album is described in the journal by subject matter and, although three lack signatures or seals, the editor attests to their authenticity as Song-Yuan work in the text. Implied in the evaluation is a working knowledge of Song and Yuan painting styles, possibly garnered through study of paintings in the flesh, but just as likely garnered through study of inventories and essays on paintings.

Shen Tang recognizes the photographs of the Song and Yuan paintings in the journal as limited copies (limited by their miniaturization) that still manage to celebrate the authentic album; the aura of the original is maintained because there is an original at hand—the adequateness of the copy has been approved and communicated by the editors in a time-honored way: through writing. That is to say, the journal privileges not the relationship of the artist to the painting or the relationship of the editors (and readers) to the artist but the relationship of the editors to the painting. In pointing towards issues of authenticity, the editors suggest that the original painting's brushstrokes are singular, and resist the anonymity of the darkened or manipulated collotype copy. If a reader can't see the strokes (or read the strokes), it is because his or her eye is insufficiently trained and informed; theirs is. In exploiting the weaknesses of collotype technology (i.e. exaggerating its perfection and

speaking of images in the journal as if they were in fact all clearly reproduced), the editors turn the readers from simple observers into marginal participants in this scholastic visual domain: they testify to them about what is on view, thereby bringing themselves into the picture, so to speak, and causing the readers to rely not on what they can see, but on the words they can read, to understand the images.¹⁶

Other paintings bear on this issue. Descriptive comments on a two-leaf album by Jin Nong 金農 (h. Dongxin 冬心 1687-1763), one of the “Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou,” help demarcate literary frames around the visual in the journal. Jin was recognized for his intellectual brilliance and was also a prolific artist, and his pretty compositions of pockmarked fragrant orange <fig. 2> and wing-shaped water chestnut in this particular album may point to his success at an art market that extended beyond “elegant gentlemen and old collecting families.” Yet Deng Shi’s description of the paintings unequivocally locates Jin within the formation of a lofty scholarly culture. It reads, in part:

Zhang Guatian 張瓜田 [Zhang Geng 張庚, 1685-1760] says: “Dongxin’s casual brush evokes the ancients. That it departs from the practiced hand is because he has looked at many traces of the ancients (*guji* 古蹟).” [Zhang] also says: “His placement of flowers, wood, different leaves, and color is quite extraordinary. It’s not something to be seen in this mundane world. His brush follows his will.”¹⁷

Deng allows the language of the eighteenth-century critic Zhang Geng to stand in for his own.¹⁸ The passage becomes one of genealogy, of classification and categorization on the basis of understanding and interacting with a brush performance through time. Those unfamiliar with the fraternity of collectors of ancient paintings invisibly (to those outside the

realm of connoisseurship) propping up Jin's hand, or unable to see the material connections between this and other pictures in the journal, simply have to take the editor's word for it.

It is through this displacement or elision, text for work, operating on several levels, that the editors are able to claim a tenuous cultural position, what Laurence A. Schneider calls "[t]he poet's compulsion to preserve and transmit essences and traditions [that was] in part a drive to save for themselves some essential role in the envisioned new society."¹⁹ Such "essences and traditions" in the journal are inseparable from elite archetypes.²⁰ The model of the erudite but impoverished scholar, disenfranchised but nevertheless a patriot (*aiguozhe* 愛國者), surfaces repeatedly.²¹

In sum: readers who engaged in close reading of paintings and texts in the journals might find themselves in a position of complicity with the editors. It was one which was in some important senses unproblematic. After all, the editors positioned themselves as heroes emerging from political chaos, able to keep their loyalties in view at all times, even as the state was falling apart. And what could be more appealing than seeing painting as it had long been viewed, from a position of cultural authority? To do so would mean overlooking all of the visible problems of collotype print technology and instead relying on the eye and prose of the connoisseur who had access to authentic objects.

Yet, can we dismiss the paintings as simple artifacts of elite cultural practices so easily and thereby overlook the Society's own claims for an experiential appreciation of painting with which we began this exploration? Indeed, it can be argued that the painted pictures are newly important to the nation precisely *because* they are fragmented, ambiguous, and indistinct; unlike the other visual objects reproduced clearly in the pages of the journal in strongly graphic black and white, they underscore a new-fashioned dimension of framing—national art display. The exhibitionary dimension of the journal is an integral part of an

“epochal” shift at the time;²² “participation in fairs at home and abroad was, indeed, warmly enthusiastic.”²³ Painting, like other material objects to which access had been largely circumscribed to private collectors, was being made available first-hand to the public. In a profound sense, that very transition was one which required sensitivity on the part of the journal editors to the visual modernity of the exhibition.

On Exhibitions

In the introduction to an anthology dedicated to nineteenth-century visual culture in Europe and North America, Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przyblyski observe that “our sense of a distinctively ‘modern’ mode of perceptual/cognitive experience...begins its lineage in the reality-based entertainment and information technologies of nineteenth-century panoramas, wax museums, illustrated newspapers and the like...”²⁴ Exhibitions can easily be added to this list. In China, from the 1870s, appreciation for foreign exhibitions (typically called *bicaibui* 比賽會 or *bolanbui* 博覽會) in mass media did in fact center on their visuality.²⁵ Exhibitions were broadly celebrated for their public spectacle—early advertisements for exhibitions in *Shenbao*, for instance, describe them as the “world of the eye” (*yanjie* 眼界).²⁶ Further, discussion about exhibitions consciously recognized their relevance to the creation of a national identity:²⁷ exhibitions were about the nation and were not, as *Shenbao* readers would have normally expected, solely “about pleasuring the senses [literally, traveling through ear and eye 並不以為耳目之遊].”²⁸ Exhibitions in the late nineteenth century shaped perception of what the fora accomplished as a visual arena (exhibitions in China only began to flourish around the same time the *National Essence Journal* was first published). How did they challenge time-honored notions of authenticity and authority in display that we have already found at play in the journals? In the early 1880s and

1890s, when international exhibitions first came to the attention of Chinese travelers, the nature of the visual was put under the most intent regard. For example, in notes accompanying an ode to Japanese exhibitions (J: *bakurankai*) written in the winter of 1878 and the spring of 1879, Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪 (1848-1905)²⁹ defines them this way:

Hakurankai are opened according to time (for example, say, such-and-such a year and such-and-such a meeting), place (for example, the Tokyo meeting or Kyoto meeting), or good (such as silk meetings, or meetings for tea or cotton). For the purpose of encouraging industry, these sorts of meetings are everywhere. The products of the five continents and ten thousand states, even if they are not natural products, are all ranked in a series, to allow people to imitate them.³⁰

Hakurankai in Huang's sights are commercial venues, expressly linked to industry and development of technology. They are defined in spatial or temporal terms, or by manufactured articles--silk, tea, cloth—which become an unending stream of images from “everywhere,” as Huang puts it, the “five continents and ten thousand states.” Ranking the objects on display lends to their imitation, or, in Walter Benjamin's words, the “bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction.”³¹ Mimesis becomes part of the condition of being modern.

The development of native industries folds in neatly with the commercialization of culture on a national scale; Huang finds domestic products such as “cotton cloth, silk textiles... ceramics, porcelain... lacquerware, bamboo, bronzes, jeweled implements, paper folding fans and round fans”³² to represent “Japan” rather than individuals or local communities. He goes on to mention the attendance of the imperial family at the exhibition, through its visit to the exhibition grounds publicly enhancing the Meiji government.

European exhibitions were seen to accomplish similar goals of using display to establish and advertise the economic and political well-being of the modern nation. Scholar, translator and staff member for the statesman Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠 (1845-1900), also, for example, wrote about the “marvelous” dimension of the pursuit of national wealth at the 1878 Paris Exhibition in a letter to his superior.³³ From Ma’s account, it is evident that crowds of viewers, especially foreign viewers, returned again and again to such exhibitions because they deliberately displayed things intended to inspire awe: the first, resourceful inventions and newly conceived novelties; juxtaposed against them were irreplaceable originals, authentic and singular, owned by the aristocracy, such as jewelry and antique bronzes.³⁴ The exhibition was a space for showing off both, for construction of a superior national self-representation, aiming at “an uninterrupted monologue of self-praise.”³⁵ And as showing off increasingly was recognized as a legitimate technique of the nation, so too dissatisfaction with the representational strategies for “China” solidified. In his letter to his superior on the 1878 Paris Exposition, Ma adds:

It is said that there were some important things missing from the Chinese display. Thus although silk and tea are major Chinese products there was no display of the different silks produced by China’s provinces nor of the different varieties of Chinese teas. It was also said that the ceramics on display were not very old and that the embroidery was not refined or of a high quality; neither had a single redeeming feature. It was also said that the agricultural implements and wax figures on display all resembled mere toys. It would seem that mighty China ultimately could not even match up to the islands of Japan. Can it be that this was because the management of Japan’s display was entrusted to the Japanese themselves, whereas the organization of China’s display was entrusted to Westerners?³⁶

Like Huang, Ma clearly understands exhibitions as a space in which the national identity is defined and made available for consumption and dispute. Yet it is clear from his account that two not entirely complementary exhibitionary themes were at work: modernity, as represented by relatively generic reproducible items which anyone could value and copy, and tradition, as represented by singular items (jewels or regional silks) whose very singularity was enhanced by association with a cultural elite.

And this brings us to the second point: that visitors to the exhibitions aided the development of the new visuality. Journalist, translator and forerunner of “treaty port intellectuals,” Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-97) wrote of his trip to Great Britain: “In the English capital right now there are a lot of exhibitions, and the international exhibition in particular makes for a huge spectacle ...Masses of people, from far and wide, poor and wealthy, enter and are allowed to look as visitors, about 100,000 a day. It’s like a big market in China.”³⁷

Unlike earlier examples of seeing in the journals where the editors treat readers as passive observers to their own cultural authority, in contrast, within the exhibitionary arena, everyone gets to become a participant. And witnessing draws us back to the problem of having to “view” (*lan*) an object, as the *National Essence Journal* editors put it (note the connoisseurial term). Witnessing is a way of marking truth and determining the social and cultural status, the “uniqueness” and invention of an object on display, the civilization and culture of the exhibitor. However, it works most effectively when it is a collective act, not an individual one: “about 100,000” visitors a day in London, “like a big market in China.”

We can see the comparative importance of the witnessing audience in making display real in China when we compare an 1886 *Dianshizhai huabao* representation of a commercial exhibition in the Shanghai Xiyangguan 西洋馆 of Japanese wax figures with an earlier Japanese print of a similar show in Edo (Tokyo). The Japanese print focuses not on the

activity of the crowds or on the space and time of the exhibition, but solely on specific objects being displayed there: the life-like dolls (*ikininyo* 活人形) representing creatures from the classic Chinese bestiary *Shanhaijing* 山海經 <fig. 3>. The Chinese newspaper lithograph takes pains to verify the presence of the public. It depicts a group of visitors who include a man in Japanese robes gesturing with a pointer, clusters of women and children, and a ticket-taker at a table <fig. 4>. The composition situates the viewer of the print in a stable position at the fringes of the group, looking in. The intention of the first picture is to present an artifactual exhibition as though revealed for the first time to a solitary visitor to the show; the second, to display a spectacle making the fake figures real for all -- the new expansion of the visual arena of display is what intrigues the Chinese illustrator.

But how was the symbolic, determined by exhibition authorities, squared with frameworks of display apparently dispassionate, rational, and unideological? The displays were understood to be scientific, without political bias, and this claim was broadly accepted. Even the students who successfully opposed Qing court participation in an exhibition of the Hall of Mankind (J: Jinruikan 人類館) at the Fifth Domestic “Encouraging Industry” Exhibition in Osaka in 1903, for instance, where the “inferior races” of China, Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, India, Hawaii, Taiwan and Java were grouped under the heading of “raw barbarian races” (*shengfanzhong* 生番種) were more concerned with the submersion of China with six other peoples than with the fact of the exhibit itself. As one protester lamented, “Although we Chinese are inferior, why should we have to be classified together with these six races?”³⁸

Seven years later, the Qing state institutionalization of the exhibition at the 1910 Nanyang Exposition served as one pragmatic response to the problem of harnessing science

to its own authority. It also deliberately intertwined other aspects of exhibitionary culture—new modes of seeing—in its plan: “in design as a space that united pedagogical intents with commotion itself, capitalizing upon spectacle to capture its audience.”³⁹ Commodity and audience come together and produce each other under the rubric of education about the nation and through spectacle; discernment of the object at the exhibition was also the act of visitors recognizing themselves. Witnessing thus succeeded Ma Jianzhong’s measured observation and ascertainment of historical and cultural value, of model and imitation, pure essence and impure appearance. Display represented the nation in commodified form; it presented visitors with witnessing as a multifaceted means of identification.

What was new about the visuality of the exhibition forum was that it opened up modern subject positions in a most literal sense—modernity, after all, “is not just an inventory of ideas,” but is composed of bodily practices, of “a long and heterogeneous history of the cultural training of the senses.”⁴⁰ The exhibition carried the impetus to a new kind of public “seeing” for the group, offering an alternative to the kind of long educative labor required of the elite to learn about and make sense of the material world. But its object lessons were complicated. Commodity and copy alike were defined relationally, as was the viewer who took in the display. It is important to note that this is not precisely a spatial or temporal relationship, only, but something that belongs to a reality system specific to the exhibition forum. Simulacra such as the wax mannequins of the kings of hell (“copied” a second time in the Chinese newspaper lithograph mentioned above), for instance, can thus stand for the real, and be perhaps even more real than the originals, as long as framed for the visual possession and creation by a witnessing audience. What is real, rational, objective, scientific, is what can be seen, and what can be seen is determined and confirmed by the presence of all in the familiar yet unfamiliar surround of the market-like exhibition. The

visual arena of the exhibition thus makes the display of taxonomies of things, including cultures and races, all the more compelling, and, to those interested in creating display of the nation, all the more pragmatic.

So we see that exhibitions and how they were thought about (and by the time of the *National Essence Journal*, they were still more often read about than seen in China) had raised several issues about the nature of seeing and national identity. These might be enumerated as the authentic object versus the copy, connoisseurship versus spectacle, cultural authority versus scientific authority. For the editors, who were committed to visual display of the nation through exhibiting its cultural treasures at their offices and in the journal, these issues certainly had to be addressed. Tensions surrounding exhibitions were further amplified by the adoption of innovative print technology in the journal, allowing the mass reproduction and distribution in print of singular visual objects that were seen by the Society to be emblematic of China's culture. All of which suggests that the editors were not simply engaging in a traditional project of connoisseurship by launching the journal—or not only that—but they were also consciously struggling to balance scholastic modes of viewing with modes of seeing that were both open to everyone, elite and non-elite alike, and also informed and structured by “modern” values about what was worth looking at and how.

A Second Look at the *National Essence Journal*

The question of what it means to see—in this case, to see painting—is at the heart of the pictorial display in the *National Essence Journal*. As mentioned earlier, the journal's publisher, the Society for the Preservation of National Learning, chose to celebrate its founding with issues of the journal that displayed visual images. Paintings clearly played an important role in establishing the sentiment and agendas of the group. Their limited visibility was addressed and accommodated in part by promotion of scholastic modes of looking that

turned the images into something close to a symbolic language. But, as we have noted, there also was an interest on the part of the editors in giving readers a recreation of the real (which colotype reproduction was supposed to make possible), not simply an approved picture of it, so readers could have the same kind of interaction with the object that the editors had.

Whether intended or not, this opened the images up for heterogeneous interpretation. And it no doubt is this aspect of the journal that most clearly relates to the developing discourse of international and cosmopolitan visual display in which art mattered not just to bolster elite social and political status, but for the nation broadly configured.

This should hardly be surprising. Society members, after all, were a cosmopolitan group. Although centered in Shanghai, journal contributors lived across China and in Japan, and hailed from different areas of the country. And, as Yü Ying-shih has pointed out, intellectually, as well, the society reached out to Japan, Europe and the States. In some profound respects it was not committed solely to privileging the “traditional” elite: it was internationalist in its values, and remarkably open to new modes of thinking about China’s history, the concept of social evolution, and a full-fledged reshaping of empire into nation or a new conception of community.⁴¹

Even the way the paintings were framed within the journal is not perhaps as complicit in older elite practices as suggested above. The fact that the paintings appear in the journal in a section on fine arts (*meishu* 美術) points towards an “objective” rethinking of art as a prop of the nation.⁴² *Meishu* is a borrowed neologism from Japanese *bijutsu*, a term which has received significant attention among historians of Japanese art.⁴³ Wang Yong explains that in China calligraphy and painting traditionally were considered “art” in the Euro-American sense of the word, and sculpture, architecture, and handicrafts “artisanal.” When *meishu* first entered into the lexicon within the context of nineteenth-century exhibitions and

world fairs, it was thought to denote Western techniques of art-making.⁴⁴ Wang notes that the term eventually came to encompass all of the arts included in this particular section of the journal: calligraphy, rare books, coins, ink cakes, seals, drama, painting, and so on.⁴⁵ By framing painting as part of *meishu*, the editors (following their Japanese cohort) were able to relocate it as part of a new system of knowledge, as autonomous material traces of the nation in a labeled, factual form.

But the paintings were also framed another way. No longer personal or private possessions, and set at a distance from original uses, paintings in the journal were destined not for particular, singular consumption, but for a class of destinations, a new and diffuse context. They were brought into service as “beacons of the nation.” And although the “work of art” (*meishu*) and the nation were being configured during the same period of time, the pictorial record in the journal does not establish a contextual history of art structured by categories of style, influence, tradition, and technique extending back through time to the days of the mythologized golden age of the Zhou dynasty. The context it offers is instead the present-day activity of the exhibitionary practice of “witnessing,” repositioning paintings in relation to their viewers.

The collotype reproduction of Gu Kaizhi’s *Admonitions* scroll, for instance, is typical. On the one hand, it takes on visual symbolic power reinforcing the traditional elite because it is poorly reproduced—for example, the formal elements of the dark head of Lady Ban and trailing hem of her robes, emerging from a deep gray ground, indicate this is a figurative picture, but her face, gesture, and details of robe are lost to the eye. It requires the written testimony of the editors to establish its value, as well as the scholarly education necessary for its connoisseurial appreciation. On the other hand, it also has social power as a material trace, a restoration, of a singular Chinese treasure lost in war, still to be held nonetheless in the

hands of the viewer. The copy here is not secondary to the real; instead, it “disturb[ed] the order of priority: that the image must be secondary to, or come after, its model.”⁴⁶ It acts as a simulacrum: the detail of Gu Kaizhi’s *Admonitions* scroll is valued in reproduction by Deng Shi. Deng, writing about the reproduction of the scroll, calls the page on which it appears a length of pure, fresh white silk (縑素如新).⁴⁷ The page implicitly invites the viewer to affix his or her own seal, and thereby to appropriate the object to his or her collection.

Likewise, the inscriptions by Deng Shi and Weng Tonghe, for instance, dated and signed on pages adjoining or framing the collotypes of other paintings, help transform the journal into an aesthetic object. In recording a response to the painting in the journal, the editor becomes an active participant in the event of the painting, inserting himself into the cultural biography of the painting, bolstering his own position. But in doing so, the text effectively opens up the two-dimensional images into the space of the viewer by making the journal page an extension of the painted scroll <see fig. 3, 4>. Moreover, at the same time that the painting in the journal takes on value as a sign imitating the real painting, as something to be savored and written about and on within a social surround and exhibition culture that embraces the copy, the collotype technology of reproduction becomes just one more artful way to make the painting real (albeit difficult to see).

The journals turn out to be even messier, however. At times the frames themselves disappear. The Yangzhou scholar and painter Liang Tan’s 梁菱 (1864-after 1926) ink chrysanthemum <fig. 5>, for instance, produced lithographically over one folded page, can easily be removed and viewed in the flesh. Its accessibility is echoed by tear-away epigraphic rubbings in the journals that permit each journal reader to hold them in his or her hands and add them to his or her collection.⁴⁸ Calligraphy, printed on fold-out lengths of paper tucked behind front covers of the journal, called “authentic handwriting” (*yuanji* 原跡) in the

respective tables of contents, did the same.⁴⁹ All of these three-dimensional printed objects invited removal and poring over, and surrendered themselves to the possibility of being stained with ink or tea, to being torn by a careless hand, pasted onto a scroll or into a picture frame, integrated into the everyday space of the reader's studio or home.

The mass-produced collotypes of paintings, too, could also emerge from the page, though in a different way. The idiosyncratic reproductions in the journal of different parts of the painting surface, at sometimes different scales of magnification, provided multiple viewpoints of one object, encouraging the reader to pick up the journal, to twist and turn it to get a better view, to physically interact with the painting, to gauge its many incarnations. The album of Song-Yuan paintings forces the eye down close to the page and away to squint at it from a distance, so as to ascertain if mountains hide in cloudy mists or are simply a by-product of the printing technology (an inconclusive and thus open-ended process). Through this physical interaction, the weakness of the word to capture and contain the image makes itself clear. The viewer thus may find himself or herself able to reframe the reproduced paintings, to possess them first-hand. The reader is not a passive observer; the painting is not a prosaic object that fails to transcend its status as a framed copy.

Moreover, as at the 1903 Fifth Domestic Industrial Exhibition in Osaka, race matters. The journal purveys the myth of a shared Han Chinese culture, sometimes described by the editors as the "yellow race." To look at a painting, in other words, is not only a means of connecting with past masters of the brush, but also of connecting with the "yellow race." And even though race for them may have been defined primarily in socio-cultural terms, the language of race itself is ostensive, denoting truth and fact, a precise group definition in an international empiricist culture of social Darwinism.

In short, although the journal is riddled with traditional rhetoric and archetypes selectively recast by relatively conservative elite, as suggested in our first impression of the journal, at the same time, there is another set of social and historical referents. These fit with the educational agenda of the society, the attempt to reach beyond Society parameters, and should cause us to reconsider the position of the visual image in the journal. While the dark reproductions in the journal partially lose their separate identities, only to be distinguished by the editors through textual explanation, the reader's eye also is given the opportunity to see the objects as though seeing them in public exhibitions, the eye awash in a parade of things, the reader a member of a generalized public readership (the "yellow race"). Such immediate *and* mediated visual consumption was effective in producing an embodied real history, a modern Chinese subject.

By that I mean that the place of the paintings in the journal permits easy migration from one way to see and visually apprehend the nation to the other (an elite determination of it in text versus something possibly more idiosyncratic in image). At a time when the concept of the nation remained problematic, the ambiguity in the journal surrounding the images encouraged the reader or viewer through the act of seeing itself to become a historical subject, to find not an easily defined vision of the modern nation laid out in word, but the performative space to envision it and one's place in it. Hence, the fact that scholars today have not been able to come to terms with the ability of the pictorial to represent the nation at this time, and in this journal, may well be because the journal opens up to radically different views.

Conclusions

The journal editors' ambivalence about modes of seeing painting did not last. Their display of painting was challenged in the pages of an eponymous publication by the Society

for China's National Glory (Shenzhou Guoguang She 神州國光社,) also located in Shanghai and also edited by Deng Shi and Huang Binhong, the *Shenzhou Guoguang ji* 神州國光集 [Cathay Art Bok] [sic], a bimonthly periodical published from 1908-1912, which in turn was supplanted by the *Shenzhou Daguan* 神州大觀 (Panorama of the Divine Land), irregularly published through 1921,⁵⁰ later followed by a sequel, *Shenzhou Daguan Xubian* 神州大觀續編 (1928-31). The latter publications were markedly different from the *National Essence Journal*. Over time they became more and more like the Japanese journal *Kokka* 國華 (first published in 1889). This was achieved by increasing the page size; by stabilizing the images at the center of the pages; by inserting protective sheets between the pages; by eliminating any textual commentary next to the images; and by using Japanese *washi* paper on the covers of some of the Society publications advertised in the journals. Most critically, the multiple perspectives and commonsensical apprehension are replaced by a standardized perspective.⁵¹

That the term *guobua* or “national painting” is not used in the *National Essence Journal* is, in the end, perhaps appropriate, for the journal does not define style or content of painting (much as it never really says what the nation is). Professional artists are not overlooked in favor of amateurs; careful *jiehua* 界畫 “ruled line” styles of brushwork not favored above more idiosyncratic brushwork.⁵² The work of artists active during Qing dynasty is not reproduced more or less frequently than Song or Ming painters. Instead, the journal provides the opportunity to understand painting as both familiar and unfamiliar, both complete and incomplete, “[as] a product of a history already made, and which, in its limitedness, [could] be ‘completed’ only through critical intervention,”⁵³ in this case, vision, touch, and other senses that the editors call into play. As these modes of looking changed to

something more pan-Asian and decidedly Japanese in nature, it is no surprise that the style of national painting became heavily imbricated with Japanese art traditions as well.

The *National Essence Journal* editors' uncertain success in establishing frames for looking at painting can be further gauged by calls for *guohua*'s eventual "reform," a discourse which in itself provided a new set of picture frames for an emergent transnational—yet distinctly Chinese—painting style. Years after the artist Huang Binhong and other members of the Society for Preservation of National Learning started the conversation about painting in the pages of the *National Essence Journal*, not only painting, but the way it was framed, continued to be a locus of controversy.⁵⁴

As the *National Essence Journal* (if not its editors) demonstrate, however, painting can never be viewed in unitary terms. The range of cultural work performed by the painted picture is not limited strictly to tasteful aesthetic display (perhaps one reason the visual image has been consistently overlooked in scholarship on the journal today) or to contextualization through textual documentation (typically strengthening subordination of visual to text-based empirical evidence). To limit our reading of paintings to these modes suggests for us the impoverishment of reading without seeing, of seeing without reading. Painting is positioned in the journal to accomplish still more: it opens readers' eyes to the work done in spaces of visual polysemy, spaces of multi-layered, textured symbolism, of the moment and also of the past, pointing to elegant gentlemen *and* to imagined but unknown readers (including ourselves), to spaces where not everyone might see things the same way. Thus, it avoids questions of what modernity looks like in painted form or when China would produce its own modern style or styles of pictorial art. Instead, it turns the ambiguity surrounding painting at the heart of "national essence" into a strength: creating space for

potentially conflicting visions of the modern nation to be accommodated, and for the duration of the publication's short life, sustained.

¹ See especially Tani Barlow, "Zhishifenzhi (Chinese Intellectuals) and Power" *Dialectical Anthropology* 16, no. 3-4 (1991): 210-12.

² Although there are a number of studies that richly engage with the society, individual society members, and the journal, I am not aware of any which systematically analyze the visual in the journal, and at least one goes so far as to deliberately elide it from the journal contents. These studies include: Barlow, "Zhishifenzhi;" Joey Bonner, *Wang Kuo-wei: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1986); Jason Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-hung's Late Work* (New York, Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Brussels, Vienna, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004); Chu-tsing Li, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1979); Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), esp pp. 242-56; Laurence A. Schneider, "National Essence and the New Intelligentsia" in *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, ed. Charlotte Furth, 57-89 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976); Ying-shih Yü, "Changing Conceptions of National History in Twentieth-Century China" in *Conceptions of National History: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 78*, eds. Erik Lönnroth, Karl Molin, Ragnar Björk, 155-74 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994); Wong, *Parting the Mists*; Zheng Shiqu 鄭師渠, *Wan Qing guocui pai: Wenhua sixiang yanjiu* 晚清國粹派：文化思想研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997 (2000 printing); Tze-ki Hon, "National Essence, National Learning, and

Culture: Historical Writings in *Guocui xuebao*, *Xueheng*, and *Guoxue jikan*,” *Historiography East & West* 1, no. 2 (2003): 241-86.

³ Tong Guang 同光, “Guohua mantan 國畫漫談,” in *Ersbi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選 eds. Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 and Shui Tianzhong 水天中 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999), 1: 138; cit. and tr. by Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), p. 13 fn. 28.

⁴ I am not arguing that paintings convey more information about their sources or maker than other objects, only that their position in the journal clearly reveals legible marks of their historical genealogy.

⁵ Hal Foster, ed., *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), ix.

⁶ “The Visibility of Visuality,” in *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, eds. Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 65-8.

⁷ GCXB 1/20/GX33 (03/04/1907).

⁸ The third anniversary was celebrated at the beginning of the fourth year of publication (1/20/GX34, issue 38 or 02/21/1908) and the fourth correspondingly at the beginning of the fifth year (1/20/XT1, issue 50 or 02/09/1909).

⁹ The term *guji* can be translated as “historical sites,” but in art historical literature, including texts within the journal itself, it typically refers to “traces of the ancients,” meaning ancient paintings (see Deng Shi’s text on the painter Jin Nong below).

¹⁰ Wang Cheng-hua 王正華 currently is engaged in an comprehensive book project about late Qing-Republican-era visual culture that raises the question of the importance of colotype printing processes in making visible an art heritage for China. When I was revising

this article in June, 2006, she generously shared a presentation on her research, entitled “Printing, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibitionary Culture: Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities in Early Twentieth-Century China.”

¹¹ GCXB 1/20/GX33, issue 29; Taipei 5: 3763-68.

¹² See Shane McCausland, ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: The British Museum Press in association with the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 2003). The editors believe the painting in the British Museum to be by Gu Kaizhi, although today we accept it as a later copy.

¹³ GCXB 1/20/GX34, issue 38; Taipei 7: 4873.

¹⁴ “Private Art and Public Knowledge in Later Chinese Painting” in *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*, eds. Susanne Küchler and Walter Melion (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 185.

¹⁵ Richard Vinograd takes up this issue in “Vision and Revision in Seventeenth-Century Painting,” in *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, eds. Wai-ching Ho, Wai-kam Ho, Hin-cheung Lovell (Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1991), 18.1-18.28.

¹⁶ The editors’ position suggests the poststructuralist notion of the “author effect” in which the author/artist is reduced to an effect of other structures (connoisseurial ritual), exchanging the idea of the work (created by the author) for the concept of the text (which generates the author-effect).

¹⁷ GCXB 1/20/GX34, issue 30; Taipei 7: 4897.

¹⁸ Deng quotes Zhang’s *Guochao huazheng xulu* 國朝畫徵續錄 (1739), *xiajuan*, p. 11a (reprint *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, [1995-2002]), vol. 1087: 158).

¹⁹ “National Essence,” 60.

²⁰ Pamela Kyle Crossley observes that in developing their rhetoric, “the nationalistic scholars and polemicists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drew upon...the eighteenth-century Qianlong ideology of genealogical and archetypical identity.” *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 338.

²¹ GCXB 2/20/XT2, issue 64; Taipei 11: 3395-97. Or see 1/26/GX34 in GCXB third-year anniversary issue, (first two pages of journal) for a poem by Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926). For another contribution by Zhang, see also GCXB 2/20/GX 34, no. 39; Taipei 7: 221-22.

²² Li, *Trends*, 62.

²³ Fernsebner, “Objects,” 101 (quoting Ma Min, *Guan shang zhi jian: shehui ju bian zhong de jindai shenshang* [Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1995], 293).

²⁴ “Visual Culture’s History: Twenty-first Interdisciplinarity and its Nineteenth-century Objects.” In *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, eds. Schwartz and Przyblyski (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

²⁵ Actual changes in the fora themselves may not have registered as quickly as they took place. See Susan R. Fernsebner, “Objects, Spectacle, and a Nation on Display at the Nanyang Exposition of 1910,” *Late Imperial China* 27, no. 2 (December 2006): 100-01.

²⁶ A term used in an advertisement for exhibitions in Kyoto and Nagasaki. *Shenbao* (1872.2.10), p. 6

²⁷ See, for instance, “Bolanhui kao” 博覽會考, *Shenbao* 申報 (3/13/1903), p. 1.

²⁸ “Bolanhui kao” 博覽會考, *Shenbao* 申報 (3/13/1903), p. 1.

²⁹ Diplomatic counselor at the Imperial Chinese Legation in Tokyo from 1877 through 1882.

³⁰ *Riben zashi shi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩廣注 (Annotated Poems on Various Things Japanese), in *Zouxiang shijie congshu* series, ed. Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), 218.

³¹ Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Technological Reproducibility,” in *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings*, eds. Marcus Bullock and Michael Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996).

³² *Riben zashi shi guangzhu*, 218.

³³ Tr. Paul Bailey, *Strengthen the Country and Enrich the People: The Reform Writings of Ma Jianzhong (1845-1900)* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998), 42-3.

³⁴ Although the Chinese court seized the opportunity to compete in the international arena of world fairs, it did so in terms that seem not to have appealed to any particular audience. See Susan R. Fernsebner, “Material Modernities: China's participation in World's Fairs and expositions, 1876-1955.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2002, esp. 18-62; Wang Cheng-hua 王正華, “Chengxian ‘Zhongguo:’ Wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo Shengluyi Wanguo Bolanhui zhi yanjiu” 呈現 ‘中国’：晚清參與 1904 年美国聖路易萬國博覽會之硯究 (“Representing ‘China:’ The Qing Dynasty in the 1904 St Louis World's Fair”), in *Huazhong you hua: jindai Zhongguode shijue biaooshu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話：近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖, ed. Huang Kewu 黃克武 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2003), 421-75.

³⁵ Debord, *Society*, 19.

³⁶ Bailey, *Strengthen the Country*, 43-4.

³⁷ *Manyou suilu* 漫游随录(Random Jottings on my Peregrinations) in *Zouxiang shijie congshu* series, ed. Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe chuban, 1985), 112.

³⁸ *Zhejiangchao* 2 (March 1903), 134; Cit. and tr. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 113.

³⁹ Fernsebner, “Objects,” 117.

⁴⁰ “Afterword: Revisiting the Tradition/Modernity Binary” in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998), 295.

⁴¹ “Changing Conceptions,” 163.

⁴² Beginning GCXB 1/20/GX33, issue 26 (Taipei vol. 5).

⁴³ See Sato Doshin’s 佐藤道信 important study, *Meiji Kokka to kindai bijutsu—bi no seijigaku* 明治国家と近代美術—美の政治学 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1999).

⁴⁴ Federico Masini notes that Li Xiaopu, for example, used the term to describe a *meishubui* 美術會 art exhibition he had visited in Japan. See Masini, *The Formation of the Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898* The Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph series no. 6 (1993), 94.

⁴⁵ Later, the problem was to distinguish *meishu* from another term translated as “art,” *yishu* 藝術 See Wang Yong 王鏞, ed., *Zhong-wai meishu jiaoliu shi* 中外美术交流史[*A Chinese Foreign Exchange History of Fine Arts*] Zhong-wai wenhua jiaoliu shi congshu series ([Changsha]: Hunan Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), 264-5.

⁴⁶ Michael Camille, “Simulacrum,” in *Critical Terms for Art History 2d edition*, eds. Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 35.

⁴⁷ GCXB 1/20/GX34, issue 38; Taipei 7: 4864.

⁴⁸ See, for example, GCXB 7/20/GX33, issue 32 insert (unpaginated; not reproduced in Taipei reprint).

⁴⁹ Unpaginated insert by Zheng Xiaoxu 鄭孝胥 (1860-1938) in GCXB 2/20/GX 34 issue 39. See also insert in 3/20/GX34 issue 40 (calligraphy by Chen Rui 陳銳).

⁵⁰ Beginning in 1917 only three issues were published each year. I consulted the complete run of the *Shenzhou Daguan* at the University of Oregon as well as the few issues of the *Shenzhou guoguang ji* belonging Stanford University.

⁵¹ Wang Cheng-hua observes that “Starting from 1908, Di Baoxian found a way to preserve Chinese national art, at least in printed form, with the publication of the bi-monthly *Famous Chinese Painting (Zhongguo minghua)*. This bi-monthly of collotype books contained forty issues and were reprinted many times in the succeeding two decades or so. The format of these issues, such as their size and a transparent paper covering each plate, recalled those of *Kokka*.” “Printing, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibitionary Culture,” 15.

⁵² On the understanding of *jiehua* as “ruled line” painting, see a vast art historical literature, including Anita Chung’s chapter “The *Jiehua* Tradition” in her 2004 book *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China*.

⁵³ Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between West and East* (Minnesota, Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 53.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of how *guohua* was debated in the decade after the 1911 Republican revolution, see Melissa Abbe, “Painting Public Interest: *Guohua* Painters in Early Republican-

era Beijing” (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University forthcoming); Lu Weirong, et al., eds., *Genzai Chugoku no bunka* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2005); Wong, *Parting the Mists*.

Bibliography

Abbe, Melissa. “Painting Public Interest: *Guohua* Painters in Early Republican-era Beijing.”

Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, forthcoming.

Bailey, Paul, trans. *Strengthen the Country and Enrich the People: The Reform Writings of Ma*

Jianzhong (1845-1900). Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998.

Bal, Mieke. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. New York and London:

Routledge, 1996.

Barlow, Tani. “*Zhishifenzhi* (Chinese Intellectuals) and Power.” *Dialectical Anthropology*. 16, no.

3-4 (1991): 209-32.

Bonner, Joey. *Wang Kuo-wei: An Intellectual Biography*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard

University Press, 1986.

Camille, Michael. “Simulacrum.” In *Critical Terms for Art History 2d edition*. Eds. Robert

Nelson and Richard Shiff, 35-48. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. “Afterword: Revisiting the Tradition/Modernity Binary.” In *Mirror of*

Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan. Ed. Stephen Vlastos, 285-96. Berkeley,

Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998.

Chang, Hao. *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning (1890-1911)*. Berkeley,

Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987.

Chow, Rey. *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between East and West*.

Minnesota and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

-
- Claypool, Lisa. "Zhang Jian and China's First Museum." *Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (August 2005): 567-604.
- Crossley, Pamela Kyle. *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999.
- de Bolla, Peter. "The Visibility of Visuality." In *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*. Eds. Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay, 65-81. New York and London: Routledge, 1996.
- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Tr. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1994.
- Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Studio of Touching the Stone Newspaper). Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Dikötter, Frank. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Fernsebner, Susan. "Material Modernities: China's participation in World's Fairs and expositions, 1876-1955." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2002.
- _____. "Objects, Spectacle, and a Nation on Display at the Nanyang Exposition of 1910." *Late Imperial China* 27, no. 2 (December 2006): 99-124.
- Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 (National Essence Journal) (GCXB). 1905-1911. Shanghai: Guoxue Baocun Hui.
- Hakurantoshi: Edo/Tokyo* 博覽都市：江戸／東京. 1993. Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Hakubutsukan.

-
- Hon, Tze-ki. "National Essence, National Learning, and Culture: Historical Writings in *Guocui xuebao*, *Xueheng*, and *Guoxue jikan*." *Historiography East & West* 1, no. 2 (2003): 241-86.
- Foster, Hal, ed. *Vision and Visuality*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1988.
- Huang Zunxian 黄尊宪. *Riben zashi shi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩廣注 (Annotated Poems on Various Things Japanese). In *Zouxiang shijie congshu* series, ed Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河 Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Kuo, Jason. *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-hung's Late Work*. New York, Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Brussels, Vienna, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Li Xiaopu 李筱圃. *Riben jiyou* 日本记游 (Notes on Travels in Japan) In *Zouxiang shijie congshu* series, ed Wang Xiaoqiu 王晓秋. Changsha: Yuelu shushe chuban, 1985.
- Li, Chu-ting. *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*. Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1979.
- Liu, Lydia. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Lu Weirong 陆伟荣 (Kishigawa Kenichi 吉川健一), et al., eds. *Genzai Chugoku no bunka* 現在中国の文化 Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2005.
- Masini, Federico. "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. Monograph Series no. 6. 1993.

-
- Reed, J. Eugene, ed. *The Gallery of Contemporary Art: An Illustrated Review of the Recent Art Productions of All Nations*. Philadelphia: Gebbie & Co., [1884-85].
- Sato Doshin. *Meiji Kokka to kindai bijutsu—bi no seijigaku* 明治国家と近代美術—美の政治学 Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1999.
- Schneider, Laurence A. “National Essence and the New Intelligentsia.” In *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*. Ed. Charlotte Furth, 57-89. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Shenzhou daguan* 神州大觀 (Panorama of the Divine Land). Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguang she, 1912-1921.
- Shenzhou guoguang ji* 神州國光集 [*Cathay Art Book*]. Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguang She, 1908-1912.
- Shi Xiaojun 石晓军. ‘Tensekisai gaho’ ni miru Meiji Nihon 点石齋画報に見る明治日本 (Meiji Japan in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*). Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 2004.
- Shiina Noritaka. 榎名仙桌. *Meiji hakubutsukan kotohajime* 明治博物館事始め (The Origins of Meiji Museums). Tokyo: Enbungaku, 1989.
- Slater, Don. “Photography and Modern Vision: The Spectacle of ‘Natural Magic.’” In *Visual Culture*. Ed. Chris Jenks, 218-37. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Vinograd, Richard. “Private Art and Public Knowledge in Later Chinese Painting.” In *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*. Eds. Susanne Küchler and Walter Melion, 176-201. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

_____. "Vision and Revision in Seventeenth-Century Painting." In *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*. Eds. Wai-ching Ho, Wai-kam Ho, Hin-cheung Lovell, 18.1-18.28. Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1991.

Wang Cheng-hua 王正華. "Chengxian 'Zhongguo:' Wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo Shengluoyi Wanguo Bolanhui zhi yanjiu" 呈現 '中国' : 晚清參與 1904年美國聖路易萬國博覽會之硯究 ("Representing 'China:' The Qing Dynasty in the 1904 St Louis World's Fair"). In *Huazhong you hua: jindai Zhongguode shijue biaooshu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話：近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖. Ed. Huang Kewu 黃克武, 421-75. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2003.

_____. "Printing, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibitionary Culture: Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities in Early Twentieth-Century China." Unpublished talk, Spring 2006.

Wang Tao 王韜. *Manyou suilu* 漫遊隨錄(Random Jottings on my Peregrinations). In *Zouxiang shijie congshu* series, ed. Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河. Changsha: Yuelu shushe chuban, 1985.

Wang Yong 王鏞, ed. *Zhong-wai meisbu jiaoliu shi* 中外美術交流史[*A Chinese Foreign Exchange History of Fine Arts*] Zhong-wai wenhua jiaoliu shi congshu series. [Changsha]: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998.

Wu, Lawrence. "Kang Youwei and the Westernization of Modern Chinese Art." *Orientations* 21, no. 3 (March 1990): 46-53.

Wong, Aida Yuen. *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.

Yu, P.K., Yu-ning Li, Yu-fa Chang, comps. *The Revolutionary Movement During the Late Ch'ing: A Guide to Chinese Periodicals*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Chinese Research Materials and Association of Research Libraries, 1970.

Yü, Ying-shih. "Changing Conceptions of National History in Twentieth-Century China." In *Conceptions of National History: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 78*. Eds. Erik Lönnroth, Karl Molin, Ragnar Björk, 155-74. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994.

Zhang Geng 張庚. *Guochao hua zheng lu* 國朝畫徵續錄. Reprint in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, [1995-2002]. vol. 1067.

Zheng Shiqu 鄭師渠. *Wan Qing guocui pai: Wenhua sixiang yanjiu*. 晚清國粹派：文化思想研究 Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997 (2000 printing).



FIGURE 1:

caption	<i>Portrait of Su Jian</i> . 1909. Collotype; 8 ¾ x 5 15/16 in. <i>Guocui xuebao</i> .
credit	<i>Guocui xuebao</i> (<i>National Essence Journal</i>), issue 50, n.p. Collection UC Berkeley.
placement notes	On page 5, end of para 1

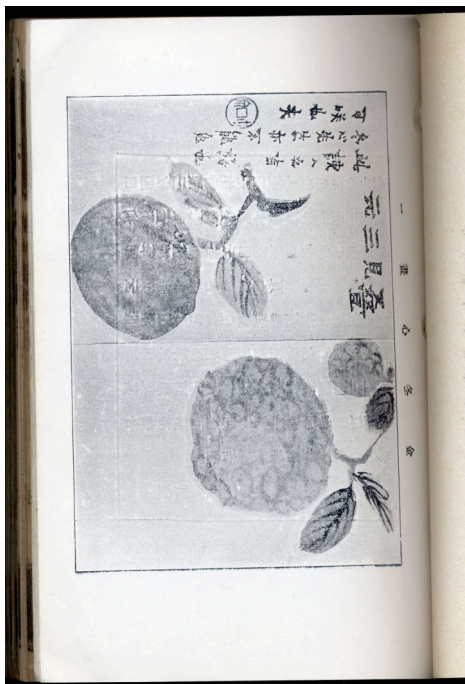


FIGURE 2:

Caption	Jin Nong, <i>Album leaf of Fragrant Orange</i> . 1908. Collotype; 5 ½ x 7 7/8 in. <i>Guocui xuebao</i> .
Credit	<i>Guocui xuebao</i> (<i>National Essence Journal</i>), issue 38, n.p. Collection Cornell University.
Placement notes	On page 9, end of para 2



FIGURE 3:

caption	Utagawa Kuniyoshi, <i>Lifelike dolls at Okuyama, Asakusa</i> . 1855. Polychrome woodblock print. <i>Bukō kanjō gafu</i> .
credit	<i>Hakurantoshi: Edo/Tokyo</i> (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1993), fig. 1-78.
placement notes	On page 15, para 2



FIGURE 4:

Caption	Ma Ziming, <i>Wax figures from the East</i> . Guangxu 12/1886. Lithograph. <i>Dianshizhai huabao</i> . Gengjiu 庚九
Credit	Shi Xiaojun, <i>Tensekisai gaho</i> in <i>miru Meiji Nihon</i> (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 2004), 55.

Placement notes	On page 15, para 1
------------------------	--------------------



FIGURE 5:

caption	L: Su Shichang, <i>Dawn Over the Sea</i> . Collotype. R: Liang Tan, <i>Ink Chrysanthemum</i> . Lithograph; each 5 ½ x 7 7/8 in. 1908. <i>Guocui xuebao</i> .
credit	<i>Guocui xuebao</i> (<i>National Essence Journal</i>), issue 38, n.p. Collection Cornell University.
placement notes	On page 20, end of para 3