

RETHINKING THE EARLY MODERN MUSEUM IN CHINA  
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTEMPORARY CHINESE MUSEUM BOOM

By

FENGTING ZHAO

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Dr. Irene Bald Romano  
School of Anthropology

## **ABSTRACT**

The recent museum boom in China has drawn much attention in the West, but few have paid attention to the first museum boom in China in the early modern period, from 1911-1937. During this period, museums in China developed in a fast and vibrant manner, and aspects of these museums have shaped museums in China today. I investigate early modern museums on a micro scale, and provide a detailed account of historical information about the pioneering private museums like the Zikawei Museum, Shanghai Museum, Nantong Museum, as well as the significant national museums like the National History Museum, Institute of Antiquity Exhibition, and Palace Museum. Then, I examine the development of contemporary museums on a macro scale, with an analysis of regulations and laws, notable museums and exhibitions, in order to explain the basis of the Chinese museum boom today. I also discuss the international loan exhibition, a device that ran through the history of Chinese museums and serves the diplomatic needs of the Chinese government. Lastly, I shed light on the rising demand for foreign exhibitions in China, and point out how important it is for the West to understand the history of Chinese museums in order to facilitate successful cooperative traveling exhibitions.

## Introduction

“Museum,” as a public cultural institution, was an “imported good” from the West during the second half of the nineteenth century. With the defeat of the Second Opium War (1857-1860), the Qing Court and the educated elites saw the need to learn from the West, and initiated the Self-Strengthening Movement or the Westernization Movement 洋务运动 (1861-1895). With the goal of strengthening themselves to defend foreign armies, they sent personnel abroad to learn from the West. Although the main focus was on scientific, industrial, and political knowledge, museums were often notable destinations on their travel routes. A Qing official, Bin Chun 斌椿, who wrote a travel memoir called “Notes on the Raft” 乘槎笔记, praised the royal collections in Europe; he commented, “I have never heard anything like it, and I have never seen anything like it.”<sup>1</sup>

It was not until Li Gui 李圭, a custom and taxation officer who went to Philadelphia as a Chinese delegate for the Expo in 1876, that the word “博物馆,” the official translation of “museum,” started to occur in Chinese literature.<sup>2</sup> After Li attended the Expo, he traveled to Washington D.C., New York City, London, Paris, Rouen, Marseille, and wrote four volumes of memoirs called “A Travel around the Globe” 环游地球新录 (Fig.1). In this travelogue, he described the British Museum as “a museum made of white stones,” and the translation of the word, “museum” meant an institution that collected and displayed everything in the world.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Wu, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Zhejiang Dang'an Wang, 2014. See [http://www.zjda.gov.cn/dawf/dacy/201004/t20100429\\_1737.html](http://www.zjda.gov.cn/dawf/dacy/201004/t20100429_1737.html)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

With the accounts of the Western museums documented in the Qing officials' memoirs, the call for a Chinese museum heated up. From 1873-1899, there were more than 30 scholarly and newspaper articles focusing on museums in the West and later, on the missionary museums being built in Shanghai, Tianji, Lushun and Chengdu.<sup>4</sup> Educated elites like Zhang Jian 张謇 made proposals to the Qing court for a national museum and library, with the purpose of educating the public. The Qing court never responded, and it was not until The Institute of Antiquities Exhibition (IAE) 古物陈列所 opened in 1914 that the first National Museum finally opened to the public. Due to political turmoil, it was missionary museums like the Zikawei Museum 徐家汇博物馆 and the private university museums like the Nantong Museum 南通博物院 that broke the ground for the development of museums in China.<sup>5</sup>

The panorama of museum industry in modern China (1883-1949) was often pictured as isolated nodes, with each of them bearing significant historical meaning by themselves, but unable to be connected with a single thread. Whether it the lack of historical materials or the lack of imagination, China actually experienced the first wave of a museum boom from the Revolution of 1911 辛亥革命 to the full outbreak of the Japanese-Sino War in 1937, and developed diverse models of museum management (Fig.2). The number of museums registered at the Museum Association of China reached 62 in 1936, and some argued that the number was underestimated.<sup>6</sup>

### **Methodology**

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<sup>4</sup> Wu, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Museum Association of China 1936, 1-6.

In the following thesis, I will adopt a holistic approach to the development of Chinese museums. Due to limited documentary resources, I will investigate early modern museums in China (before 1949) on a micro scale. I will provide a historical account of each important museum through an examination of collections, structures, permanent exhibitions, traveling exhibitions to the West, publications, and their significance in the historical context of the modern China. Then I will examine the influences the early modern museums had on the contemporary Chinese museums on a macro scale. I will provide an overview of the museums in this period of time with the help of statistics, the regulations and laws guiding the developments of the museums, and accounts of representative museums, exhibitions and personnels. Then, I will examine the apparatus of international loan exhibition, both in the early modern period and the contemporary period, to unveil that how the contemporary museums are influenced by the early modern ones in terms of ideology, and the opportunities and challenges facing the Chinese museums today.

### **Early Missionary Museums: The Zikawei Museum**

The first modern museum in China, 徐家汇博物院 the Zikawei Museum, was founded by the French Jesuits in Shanghai, under the guidance of Father Pierre Marie Heude (1836-1902). In remembrance of Father Heude, the founding year of the Zikawei Museum was set to 1868, the year that Father Heude arrived at Shanghai, although the construction of the museum was not completed until 1883.<sup>7</sup> The Zikawei Museum, along with a cathedral, a library, an observatory, orphanages, and a university (震旦大学 Aurora University), had been planned as part of the French Jesuits' mission to the Yangzi Delta.

The first half of the Zikawei Museum's history (1868-1930) witnessed a 'working museum' of natural history serving the needs of the Europeans, that was not open to general public and

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<sup>7</sup> Dai 2013, 334.

could only be visited upon the approval of the director. Father Heude, a trained zoologist, collected specimens of plants, reptiles, fish, birds and mammals from the entire Orient, and built the museum as a center of studies and scientific research.<sup>8</sup> 徐家汇博物院 The Zikawei Museum was renamed the Heude Museum 震旦博物院 in 1930, which marked the beginning of the second half of the museum's history (1930-1952).<sup>9</sup> Shifting from a privileged working museum to a university and public museum belonging to 震旦大学 Aurora University, the Heude Museum opened an exhibition hall of zoology and other of antiquities(Fig.3).

Expanding the collection to Chinese ancient antiquities collected by Father Beck, the Heude Museum contained both samples of Western scientific glory and pieces of Chinese civilization which constructed a discourse of an obsolete Chinese 'past' versus a "European modernity."<sup>10</sup> The visitors of the Heude museums from 1930-1952 were mainly university students and well-educated social elites, thus the educational function of the museum was emphasized, and it was on the agenda of the Catholics to provide Chinese youth a higher education in a Christian environment.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Shanghai Museum: First Public Museum in China**

If the Zikawei Museum was the first modern museum built in China, the Shanghai Museum 亚洲文会博物院 (literally, "The Asian Society Museum") (1874-1949) was the first modern museum opened to the public (Fig.4). The governing body of the Shanghai Museum was the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (NCBRAS), and the land was granted by the British

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<sup>8</sup> L-D Lu 2014, 22-23.

<sup>9</sup> Dai 2013, 331.

<sup>10</sup> Dussel 2000, 465-78.

<sup>11</sup> Wiest 2001a, 33.

Crown in the colonial part of Shanghai.<sup>12</sup> NCBRAS was founded by a group of Westerners living in China in 1857 for the study and publications of the natural history and culture of China.<sup>13</sup> For such a purpose, the collection of the Shanghai Museum resembled the Zikawei Museum, which included specimens of natural history, humanities and the arts.

The Shanghai Museum received donations from European merchants, as well as the Shanghai Municipal Council, but for the most part, its funding came from taxpayers in the colonial part of Shanghai.<sup>14</sup> The curators of the Shanghai Museum were members of NCBRAS, and they were unpaid because of the limited funding. The audience of the museums consisted of two-thirds Chinese and one-third foreigners, and before 1930s, the labels and catalogues were mostly in English.<sup>15</sup>

The mission of the Shanghai Museum experienced a change from promoting Sinological studies in Shanghai among Europeans to disseminating Western knowledge and ideologies to the educated Chinese social elites during 1930s.<sup>16</sup> The Shanghai Museum started to display Chinese labels and guidebooks accordingly, which also contributed to the increasing fundraising needs of the museum among the Chinese elites.

After all, the Shanghai Museum, as well as the Zikawei Museum, was established and operated by Europeans in the foreign concessions of Shanghai. Both of them served the needs of the Western residents, whether scientific, cultural or nostalgic of Western-styled public facilities in their home countries. In addition, the early modern museums built by the Europeans helped to

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<sup>12</sup> Mason 1927, viii-ix.

<sup>13</sup> Staunton 1847, 7-8

<sup>14</sup> L- D Lu 2014, 73.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 74-75.

<sup>16</sup> Sowerby 1933, 219-25.

mark the social boundaries between those who knew English, who were the social elites educated in a Western school, and those who did not. From this perspective, these museums were regarded as part of the Westernization process of Shanghai in the colonial period.

### **The Nantong Museum: First Modern Museum of China**

While the Zikawei Museum and the Shanghai Museum were first museums in China, the Nantong Museum 南通博物苑 was recognized as the first modern museum of China (Fig.5). The founder and operator of the Nantong Museum was Zhang Jian 张謇, a wealthy entrepreneur, a well-educated social elite, and a pioneer of China's modernization in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although the proposals of building a modern museum of China were raised during the Hundred Days' Reform 戊戌变法, the young Guangxu Emperor 光绪皇帝 failed to make it a reality. Zhang Jian realized the educational power of the museums during his business trip to Japan, and made two proposals to the Qing Court for the establishment of a national museum in 1905, but received little attention.<sup>17</sup> With little hope for the Qing Court to build a national museum, Zhang Jian started to build a private museum as part of his educational plan to modernize the important commercial town of Nantong.

Zhang Jian's family was the founder and sole funding entity of the Nantong Museum, and Zhang Jian purchased 666 square meters of land from 29 families to construct his private museum. The collections included four categories, which were nature, history, the arts and education, which came from his personal collection, purchase, or donations. At 1913, the Nantong Museum had 2,900 items, and the number increased to 3,605 in 1933. The Nantong museum was divided into a zoo, a Chinese garden, several exhibition galleries and Zhang Jian's private residency. All

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<sup>17</sup> Zhang 1905.

the items were put on display, so the management of the collections became a problem, with the result that some of the items were broken by visitors or stolen from the museum.

The museum was opened to the teachers and students of the Nantong Normal College 南通师范大学, a college funded by Zhang, and members of the social elites at 1912.<sup>18</sup> Due to the recklessness of the visitors, Zhang Jian started to issue permits for entrance. And later in 1927, the museum was finally opened to the public, free of charge.

The establishment of the Nantong Museum served the needs of Chinese social elites in the modernization movement during the early 20th century. It was unclear whether the Zikawei Museum and the Shanghai Museum had influenced Zhang Jian's museum management, but Zhang believed that Westernization was a solution to China's problems at that time. The Nantong Museum was partly destroyed and occupied by Japanese troops during WWII, and taken over by the government after 1949. Today, the Nantong Museum is advertised as the first modern museum of China, and Zhang Jian is the patriotic hero who was proactive in establishing the importance of museums in China.

### **Impact of the privately-funded museums in China before 1949**

Searching through the history of Chinese museums today, the first modern museum in the official history of museums in China is a disputed subject. Although the Zikawei Museum and the Shanghai Museum were among the first modern museums established on Chinese soil, some Chinese scholars denied its position as the first modern museum in China.<sup>19</sup> The rejection was not a simple question of their governance by foreign missionaries instead of by Chinese scholars and officials, but a more complex one involving the nature of their collections and their objec-

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<sup>18</sup> Zhao 2002.

<sup>19</sup> National Museum of China Website. See: [en.chnmuseum.cn](http://en.chnmuseum.cn)

tives. The early missionary museums were built upon natural history collections and only incorporated minor antique collections, thus they were not easily accepted by the national Chinese museums, which formed around historical cultural artifacts. The museum objective of educating Chinese youth in a Catholic fashion, as well as serving the needs for the Western residents in the semi-colonial China, reflected a colonial ideology that made it difficult for the later nationalist museums to accept. The model of missionary museums was not adopted by subsequent museums, and gradually lost its influence on the development of the museum field.

On the official websites of National Museum of China 国家博物馆, the Nantong Museum is often referred to as the origin of modern Chinese museums, while the missionary museums are not mentioned.<sup>20</sup> As a private museum built by a social elite, the collection of the Nantong Museum was built upon its founder's private collections and expanded with his personal funding. The objective of the Nantong Museum was to aid the founder's private university to educate the students. The educational function of the Nantong Museum has been inherited by the university museums in China ever since, but the mainstream of Chinese museums bear little resemblance to the model of the Nantong Museum.

### **Historical Backgrounds in Beijing from 1911 to 1924**

The success of the Revolution of 1911 marked the abdication of the last Qing emperor, Puyi, and the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC) in Nanjing. Although the leader of the Nationalist party, Sun Yat-sen 孙中山, served as the first provisional president of China in Nanjing since January 1, 1912, the power in Beijing was still seized in the hands of Yuan Shikai 袁世凯, who led the Beiyang army 北洋军队. Yuan arranged the abdication of the Qing court, and in re-

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

turn, demanded the position of the provisional president of ROC in 1912. Yuan remained the president of the ROC for four years, and his government was often referred to as the Beiyang Government 北洋政府. In 1912, Yuan signed “The Articles of Favorable Treatment of the Qing Emperor” 清室优待条件 with the Qing Court, which permitted their residence in the inner court of the Forbidden City and treated like a foreign monarch.<sup>21</sup> The articles were torn to pieces during the Beijing Coup 北京政变 in 1924, and the Qing court was finally removed from the Forbidden City. Separated by the Gate of Heavenly Purity 乾清门 and two courtyards, the Outer Court contained three grand ceremony halls on the central axis and two smaller halls flanking the sides, awing the officials and impressing the ambassadors. The inner court occupied less than half of the Forbidden City, but contained more buildings than the outer court, which were smaller in size and diverse in style, and serving as domestic areas for the emperor and his concubines (Fig. 6).<sup>22</sup>

### **Public Museums before 1949**

It was during this period, from 1912-1925, that the Forbidden City became a competing ground for three important public museums in Beijing (see fig.5). Led by different departments or parties, the three of them shared the palace, just like different political parties shared China. All of them, at one point or another, received foreign funds or sent artifacts to the West for traveling exhibitions. When the government of ROC was established in 1912, museum management fell under the governance of the Ministry of Education. The First Division of Public Education 社会教育司第一科 was established under the Ministry of Education, overseeing the manage-

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<sup>21</sup> The Articles of Favorable Treatment of the Qing Emperor, 1912.

<sup>22</sup> Wood 2005, 30.

ment of history museums, libraries, art museums and exhibitions, as well as theatrical and musical performances; the management of antiquity was under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and since museums were not well-established, the duties to protect antiquities became the role of the Division of Etiquette and Custom 礼俗司.<sup>23</sup> Under the lead of the Ministry of Education, the National History Museum 国立历史博物馆 occupied the Duan Gate 端门 and Meridan Gate 午门, two structures with arches serving as the gates of the Forbidden City, with pavilions above serving as government offices (Fig.7) ; under the lead of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Institute of Antiquities Exhibition 古物陈列所 took the Hall of Marital Valor 武英殿 in the outer court of the Forbidden City; under the lead of the Committee for the Disposition of the Qing Imperial Possessions 清室善后委员会, the Palace Museum 故宫博物院 took over the inner court when the Qing emperor was removed from the Forbidden City.<sup>24</sup>

The foundations of Chinese museums were built by the three museums located in the Forbidden City and the first museum boom in China came before the Sino-Japanese war in the 1930s. Although bearing different ideologies and representing different parties, they all tried to represent the history of a glorious Chinese civilization, as well as mirroring the struggles of China in the early 20th-century.

### **National History Museum**

The National History Museum 国立历史博物馆 (NHM) was the first state-sponsored museum in China, with the preparation works starting in June 1912. The Minister of Education of

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<sup>23</sup> L-D Lu 2014, 90.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

ROC, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, appointed Hu Yujin 胡玉缙, a respected scholar who went to Japan to observe and study the universities, museums and libraries, as the director of the National History Museum Preparatory Committee 国立历史博物馆筹备处.<sup>25</sup> The Committee chose the Imperial College 国子监 to house the museum, emphasizing its educational function from the start (Fig. 8). The National History Museum Committee started with the collections from the Imperial College and the Confucian Temple 孔庙 in Beijing, which were composed of classic texts, teaching aids of the classics, sacrificial vessels from the Qing Dynasty, ritual vessels from the Zhou Dynasty, as well as recently acquired burial artifacts excavated from Luoyang, Henan.<sup>26</sup> The NHM was prepared with the intention of building a national collection of historical cultural artifacts that could produce a new cultural identity for the modern China. The objective of the NHM was stated in the newspaper *Education Weekly* 教育周报, “the historical artifacts will enlighten the dull, and calm the agitated. It will serve to impress the civilized countries in the world, as well as support the public education inside China.”<sup>27</sup>

Since China was the origin of bookmaking and print making, the Royal Academy for the Graphic Arts and the Book Industry in Leipzig, Germany approached the Beiyang Government 北洋政府 (1912-1927) in 1913 for ancient books and artifact for the *International Exhibition For The Book Industry and the Graphic Arts* held in Leipzig in 1914<sup>28</sup>. German delegates worked with the Ministry of Education to borrow some artifacts for the international exhibition,

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<sup>25</sup> Li 2000, 173.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

and eleven artifacts were selected from the NHM.<sup>29</sup> In their agreement, German delegates claimed that, “all the artifacts would be protected with glass cases, and there would be labels demonstrating they belonged to the NHM in Beijing.”<sup>30</sup> In November, 1913, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved the request for the traveling artifacts, arranged for the transfer of the artifacts, and sent catalogues regarding the artifacts. Ironically, the first time NHM put their collections on public display occurred in Leipzig, Germany instead of Beijing, and the Chinese needed to wait nine years before a special exhibition on recent archaeological excavations was opened to the public in 1921.

In 1917, the Ministry of Education proposed to move the NHM to the Meridan Gate and Duan Gate in the Forbidden City, since the Imperial College only had limited space for display and collection management. During that time, the Institute of Antiquities Exhibition was already opened to the public in the outer court with the support of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The delay in the development of the NHM was a direct result of limited funding, and when the NHM was finally established as a museum by the Ministry of Education in 1920, the NHM only had enough funding for collection acquisition, management, and research.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, the NHM developed at a much slower pace than the IAE and the Palace Museum. One major difference between them was that the NHM was trying to build a collection from a humble start, while the IAE and the Palace Museum were brought into existence for the management of the royal collections.

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<sup>29</sup> Li 2015.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Li 2015.

In order to expand their modest collection size, the NHM turned to archaeology, like the foreign expedition teams and collectors. The NHM sent out buyers to collect artifacts from antique shops and excavation sites, and at the same time, they assembled teams of archaeologists around the country to initiate and participate in archaeological excavations. For example, in 1921, a Song dynasty ruin was located in Julu, Henan, and the NHM sent out experts for excavation, with a harvest of over 200 pieces of Song artifacts. This was the first time a Chinese museum sent out an archaeological team to acquire archaeological collections, setting the model for collection acquisition for provincial museums. A temporary exhibition was put together for the archaeological findings in Julu, with a aim to fundraise for the flood victims in Henan. The NHM also received donations from local merchants, and kept the diplomatic gifts from other countries on display.<sup>32</sup>

The funding shortage continued to trouble the NHM, that due to the complexity of the political structures, they failed to raise funds from the Beiyang government. When a famous educator Hong Ye 洪业 visited the NHM in 1926, he realized the value of the collection and the difficulties of the museum. As a result, Hong persuaded the director of the Yenching University 燕京大学, John Stuart, to donate \$6,000 to the NHM with the endowment he received from the Charles M. Hall Foundation.<sup>33</sup> The funding was used to purchase equipments and display cases, as well as hire more personnel to prepare for the opening. On October 10, 1926, the NHM was opened to the public, with free access to public.

In 1927, the objective and organization of the NHM were modified, with four departments established under the guidance of a director. Based on the No. 168 Regulations published by the

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Li 2015.

ROC on Oct 16, 1927, the objective of the NHM was “to collect historical artifacts and to promote public education.”<sup>34</sup> The organization of the NHM was made up of a General Affairs department 总务部 overseeing official documents drafting, accounting and budget; an Acquisition department 征集部 researching, collecting, displaying and managing historical artifacts; an Editorial department 编辑部 in charge of cataloguing, translation and publication; and an Art department 艺术部 responsible of copying and taking photographs of the collection. With a well-established structure for collection acquisition, documentation and publication, the NHM expanded their collection size to 200,000 artifacts when the Japanese troops evaded China. The NHM transferred its collections to the South along with the Palace Museum and the IAE.<sup>35</sup>

At the dawn of 1949, part of the NHM’s collection was selected and transferred to Taiwan, while the other part stayed in Beijing. The museum was renamed the National Beijing History Museum 国立北京历史博物馆 in 1949, as Museum of Chinese History 中国历史博物馆 in 1959, and finally in 2003, it merged with the Museum of Chinese Revolution 中国革命博物馆 to form the National Museum of China 中国国家博物馆 today (see fig.8).

### **The Institute of Antiquities Exhibition: Proto-National Museum in China**

The institute of Antiquities Exhibition (IAE) 古物陈列所 was the first palace museum in China, although its short history of thirty-four years (1914-1948) made it less well-known to the world today than the renowned Palace Museum 故宫博物院. In the translated texts, people often

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

mistake IAE for the Palace Museum, since both of them resided in the Forbidden City and displayed imperial treasures. As argued by Duan, the vice director of the Palace Museum and museum scholar, IAE was also the first proto-national museum opened to the public and the first art gallery in China.<sup>36</sup>

Proposals for a national museum were brought up by scholars and officials alike since the Hundred Days' Reform. The early twentieth century saw the coming of a collecting spree of Chinese artifacts among European and American museums; scholars were hired and expedition teams were established with the agenda of enriching their oriental collections. From 1876 to 1928, more than 42 foreign expedition teams visited and appropriated valuable cultural artifacts from China.<sup>37</sup> Government officials, antique dealers, as well as foreign collectors, all played a part in the antique trade, with the result that the only antique collections left untouched were in the Chengde Palace 承德避暑山庄 and the Shenyang Palace 奉天行宫. In response to the loss of artifacts overseas, social elites and government officials made proposals to the Emperor Puyi 溥仪 for the establishment of a royal museum.

Zhang Jian, the founder of the Nantong Museum, twice advised the Qing Court to set up a royal museum, based on the model of Japanese royal museums. With the ignorance of the Qing Court, he finally established his own museum. Another educated elite who proposed the establishment of a royal museum was Jin Liang 金梁, the director of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the Shenyang Palace. In 1910, Jin wrote a letter to Puyi for permission to catalogue the royal treasures and to establish a royal museum.<sup>38</sup> After the Beiyang Government was in charge, the

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<sup>36</sup> Duan 2004, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Huo 2013, 242.

<sup>38</sup> Wu 2005, 51-52.

royal family abdicated but still resided in the inner court of the Forbidden City. The Qing court still operated as a 'foreign sovereignty' and was recognized by the Beiyang Government from 1912-1924. There was still hope for the restitution of the monarchy, thus Jin further advised the emperor to protect the royal property by establishing a royal museum. In a secret letter from Jin to the emperor in 1924, Jin believed that the main task for them was to protect the royal palace and preserve the royal treasures. Jin wrote, "First of all, we need to make catalogues of all the royal collections, and preserve them in a royal museum. The museum should be opened to the public, and the traveling exhibitions to other museums in the East (Japan) and the West (Europe) shall be put onto agenda. If the collections are made public, nobody can lay their hands on them."<sup>39</sup>

A royal museum was never founded due to the objections to the restitution of the monarchy in China during the time. Instead, the Beiyang Government founded the IAE under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs 内务部 in 1913.<sup>40</sup> With the Qing royal family residing in the inner court, the Ministry of Home Affairs granted the Hall of Marital Valor, once a royal library located in the west part of the outer court, as the exhibition gallery for the IAE. The head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤, hired German architect, Curt Rothkegel, to renovate the Hall of Marital Valor (Fig. 9).<sup>41</sup> The renovation projects modernized the Hall of Marital Valor, with the wooden windows changed into glass windows, and public water systems as well as a telephone introduced into the Forbidden City. Rothkegel also opened up the space

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Duan 2005, 56-57.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

inside the Hall of Marital Valor to accommodate more visitors. It is worth noting that the initial funding of the IAE, 200,000 yuan, came from the returned money of the U.S. government.<sup>42</sup>

The collection of the IAE came from the royal collection in the Chengde 承德避暑山庄 and Shenyang palaces 沈阳故宫, with more than 119,500 pieces of furniture, bronzes, jade wares, paintings and calligraphy, clocks, books from Chengde Palace, and 114,600 bronzes, porcelains, calligraphies and paintings, books, jewelries from Shenyang Palace.<sup>43</sup> An agreement was signed between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the abdicated Qing imperial family in 1913, with an understanding that the majority of the royal collections would be purchased by the Beiyang Government at a reasonable price set by a third-party antique dealer. In reality, the Beiyang Government paid the Qing court 3,511,476 yuan, which was an outrageously low price that the Qing court was forced to take.

The IAE opened its door to the public on October 10, 1914, which was also the National Day for the ROC (see fig.9). Considering Puyi was still residing in the Forbidden City, the Beiyang Government downplayed the opening of the IAE, compared to the opening of the Palace Museum in 1925. The display cases were loaded with artifacts that lacked proper labels, such that a famous writer and scholar, Lu Xun 鲁迅 wrote in his diary that it was more like a antique shop than a museum exhibition.<sup>44</sup> Although opened to the public, the price of the ticket was set to the equivalence of 1 dollar, about a third of the average monthly salary in Beijing. The majority of the audience was the educated elites, government officials, university professors, merchants,

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<sup>42</sup> In 1906, Beiyang Government realized the Qing court paid the U.S. more than they demanded after the Boxer Protocol, and asked for the return of the difference in 1908. See *Ibid*, 56-58.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*.

as well as a great number of foreigners.<sup>45</sup> In 1929, the annual visitors of the IAE reached its peak of 79,304.<sup>46</sup>

Although it had not sent or received any traveling exhibition internationally, the IAE hosted visits from a British prince, a French general, a Japanese congressman, a Russian diplomat, and an American National Gallery director. John C. Ferguson, a collecting agent hired by the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, wrote about the early exhibition halls of the IAE, which he called “The Government Museum,” “The Government Museum at Peking, containing some of the best art treasures of China, is unique among the museums of the world. In architectural design and detail and historical surroundings, as well as in the examples of art products stored within its walls, this Museum is exclusively and characteristically Chinese. The bronzes and jades, paintings and manuscripts, pottery and porcelain, inks and writing-brushes, all owe their common origin to the genius of the Chinese race.”<sup>47</sup> It was worth noting that, the collection of the IAE came from the treasures of the Chengde and Shenyang Palace, while the imperial collections in the Forbidden City were still controlled and dispensed at Puyi’s will.

In summary, the Institute of Antiquities Exhibition was regarded as the first national art gallery in China. The IAE was the first attempt to transform the Qing Royal Palace into a public facility, and served as a proto-national art museum in China. The establishment of the IAE happened three years after the overthrow of the monarchy, with an objective to protect Chinese artifacts from smuggling and pawning, but it was not a political symbol for a modern state, since Puyi continued to reside in the inner court of the Forbidden City for thirteen years.

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<sup>45</sup> Duan 2004, 29.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Ferguson 1919, I.

## The Palace Museum

If the opening of IAE in 1914 signified the partial opening of the Forbidden City to the public, the opening of the Palace Museum 故宫博物院 in 1925 marked a full conversion of the Forbidden City from a royal palace to a public facility. The Beiyang Government in Beijing was not a homogenous entity, while a group of people advocated for the restoration of the monarchy, another opposed Puyi's stay at the inner court like a "foreign sovereignty." As a result, Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥, a revolutionary warlord of the Beiyang Army, initiated the 'Beijing Coup' and took control of the Forbidden City in 1924. After the coup, Huang Fu 黄郛 was appointed the acting president of the Beiyang Government, and tailored new policies based on revolutionist ideas. As part of the plan, Puyi was expelled from the Palace, and the Committee for the Disposition of the Qing Imperial Possessions 清室善后委员会 was put together to order a complete inventory of the palace contents.<sup>48</sup> The committee consisted of revolutionary Beiyang officials, professors and graduates from Peking University 北京大学, and Nationalist Party members. They compiled twenty-eight volumes of reports in 1925, with an inventory of more than 1,700,000 objects left behind by the Qing court.<sup>49</sup>

While the IAE's collection contained royal collections of the Chengde and Shenyang Palace, the Palace Museum's collection included nearly every item once kept at the Qing imperial court, whether a daily utensil, a religious item, an antique or collectible.<sup>50</sup> The collection was confiscated from the hands of Puyi without any form of compensation, because they were elevated as

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<sup>48</sup> Chiang 2014, 19.

<sup>49</sup> Zheng 2009, 6-8.

<sup>50</sup> Chiang 2014, 19.

“national treasures,” and rightfully belonged to the country. The collection included collectibles like bronzes, jades, ceramics, paintings, calligraphy, enamel wares, lacquer wares, and daily utensils like a wooden stool.<sup>51</sup>

The Committee started to face obstructions when Feng was forced to leave Beijing, and the new warlord Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 tried to restore the monarchy and stop the task of nationalizing imperial treasures.<sup>52</sup> In order to diminish the chance of restoration, the Committee believed the best plan was to turn the Forbidden City into a museum. On September 29, 1925, the committee decided to open the Palace Museum to the public on October 10, 1925, the National Day of the ROC.<sup>53</sup> Also, a provisional committee of 21 board members was selected as the governing body, and a council of nine people was selected as the executive body.<sup>54</sup> Curatorial departments were established in the Palace Museum, including the Antique Department 古物馆, the Library 图书馆 and later the Archive Department 文献部. Huang Fu gave a speech at the opening ceremony of the Palace Museum, declaring the Palace Museum was a national symbol of the ROC, and the collections of the Palace Museum national treasures.<sup>55</sup>

As opposed to the IAE, which received full political support and abundant fundings from the Beiyang Government, the Palace Museum struggled financially to maintain its political independence. From the establishment of the museum in 1925, the board refused sponsorship from the Duan Qirui Government, and maintained museum operations with admission incomes, personal

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 1, 19.

<sup>52</sup> L-D Lu 2014, 100-101.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>55</sup> Chiang 2014, 20.

funding and loans. Na Zhiliang 那志良, a researcher at the Palace Museum, wrote in his memoir that the Palace Museum experienced four reorganizations from 1925-1928, while two directors of the Palace Museum were imprisoned for their political views.<sup>56</sup> In June 1928, when the Nationalist party took over the control of Beijing, the Palace Museum received steady funding and protection until 1949.<sup>57</sup>

From 1925-1931, the major tasks for the Palace Museum were to classify, identify, and exhibit the collection, as well as to conserve the palaces.<sup>58</sup> Over one million objects needed to be put into catalogues, at the same time, the staff needed to identify their authenticity. Artifacts had been smuggled out of the palace by the eunuchs for years, and they were often replaced by fakes. The first exhibition of the Palace Museum faced a situation similar to the IAE, that it looked like an antique shop more than a museum gallery. One of the curators wrote, “boxes of artifacts were laid upon one another, which made it hard for us to move the boxes or check the contents. Even when a box of artifacts was opened, it was difficult for us to tell the authentic from the fake, let alone the superior over the inferior.”<sup>59</sup> Considering the number of artifacts left for the committee and the urgent need to open the door to the public, the curatorial quality of the exhibitions was sacrificed. The exhibition galleries were not remodeled by modern architects, and without much funding, they cleaned out some of the palaces and repainted the interiors themselves to make the palaces suitable for exhibition.

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<sup>56</sup> Na 2008, 16.

<sup>57</sup> L-D Lu 2014, 101-102.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 103.

<sup>59</sup> Chenliebu 1985, 11.

Nevertheless, the opening of the Palace Museum was a huge success. In the first two days, over 50,000 visitors came to the museum to see the House of Qing and their treasures. The admission fee for the Palace Museum was also the equivalent of 1 dollar, like the IAE, which also suggested that the targeted audience was also the well-to-do members of society. While the IAE occupied the outer court of the Forbidden City, the Palace Museum developed five routes for visitors to navigate inside the inner court. The permanent exhibition was the palace with its original decorations left by the emperors, while temporary exhibitions were hosted in the renovated galleries surrounding different palaces.<sup>60</sup> For example, porcelains, calligraphy and paintings were exhibited near the Qianqing Palace 乾清宮, while precious books and archives were exhibited near the Ningshou Palace 宁寿宮 (Fig.10).<sup>61</sup>

When the Nationalist party took over the control of Beijing in 1928, the Palace Museum stepped into its zenith period. The staff finished the initial classification and identification of the artifacts, while three curatorial departments organized exhibitions to showcase ancient Chinese culture and civilization. The Antique Department developed six palaces into fine art galleries for paintings, porcelains, clocks, bronze wares, and jade, and another 12 smaller ones into exhibition rooms for decorative arts like lacquer wares, silk, etc.<sup>62</sup> The Library only occupied two palaces, one for Buddhist texts and portraiture, another one for rare books. The Archive Department took seven palaces, for historical paintings, imperial paintings, imperial documents and Qing currency.<sup>63</sup> The overall quality of the exhibitions in the Palace Museum showed a lack of overall plan-

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<sup>60</sup> Chenliebu 1985, 11.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Na 2008, 43-44.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 44-45.

ning and research, with the artifacts roughly selected by three curatorial departments, and put together based on basic categories like time period or medium. The authenticity as well as the quality of the artifacts was not ensured in the exhibition, and most of the artifacts only had a name on the labels.<sup>64</sup>

The educational function of the Palace Museum was fulfilled by making ink rubbings of important bronze or stone slabs, publishing monthly and weekly magazines and monographs, as well as reproducing their collections in the form of postcards, calendars and greeting cards.<sup>65</sup> The staff at the Palace Museum, mostly well-educated scholars in the Peking University or in the West, aimed to “revitalize Chinese culture and civilization,” in order to “revitalize and guide the culture of our nation-state.”<sup>66</sup>

When Japanese troops invaded China in 1931, to ensure the safety of national treasures, the Nationalist government transferred more than 60,000 items from the Palace Museum to Shanghai in 1932.<sup>67</sup> During the time in Shanghai, the Chinese government was approached by the Royal Academy of Arts at Burlington House, London for a traveling exhibition. With the political agenda of getting recognized as the legitimate ruling government of China, and making China known to the world through its art, the National Government agreed to lend 984 objects to the Royal Academy of Arts, including 735 objects from the Palace Museum.<sup>68</sup> *The International Ex-*

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<sup>64</sup> Chenliebu 1985,13.

<sup>65</sup> Na 2008, 27-28.

<sup>66</sup> Yi 1929, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Na 2008, 62.

<sup>68</sup> Steuber 2006, 532.

*hibition of Chinese Art* from November 28, 1935 to March 7, 1936 remained the largest exhibition of Chinese art ever mounted, and attracted a total of 401,768 visitors.<sup>69</sup>

Less than seven years from the opening of the museum, a significant number of collections were packed up and transported to Shanghai in 1932, to Chongqing in 1937, to Nanjing in 1946-1948, and finally more than one third were transported to Taipei with the Nationalist party in 1949. From then on, there were two palace museums in the world, one located in the “Forbidden City” in Beijing, another in the suburbs of Taipei, which claimed to be the largest repository of Chinese cultural treasures in the world.<sup>70</sup>

In the first thirty-four years of the Palace Museum’s history (1925-1949), the collections were moved six times, while the governing body was changed four times. The history of the Palace Museum reflected the prolonged struggle of China following the 1911 revolution. The establishment of the Palace Museum marked the end of the Qing monarchy and the beginning of the modern nation, and it served both as a symbol of cultural authority and political legitimacy for the Nationalist Government. The Palace Museum also preserved Chinese civilization, protected artifacts from further loss, and turned royal treasures into national cultural heritages.

### **Impact of the Public Museums**

The objectives of the NHM, IAE and Palace Museums differed from the beginning. The NHM was proposed based upon the need for a national museum to serve the newly formed Republic of China; the IAE was formed as an art museum to preserve artifacts in the Chengde and Shenyang Palace from the illegal antique trade; while the Palace Museum was established to ful-

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 528.

<sup>70</sup> Hamlish 1995, 20.

fill the counter-reconstitution agenda, and symbolized a turning point of Imperial China to Republican China.

The display method of the early public museums reflected how Chinese museums “localized” the “imported museum.” While the common practice in Western museums at the time was to display artifacts in a chronological order, Chinese museums like the NHM and the Palace Museum favored a display strategy that emphasized materiality. In the West, the display method was a temporal one that progressed through different dynasties, while in Chinese museums, the artifacts were first categorized by material types like bronzes, jade, ceramics, paintings, and then arranged in chronological order within each material type. The Chinese display method, in the analysis of scholars, as “promoted a timeless universality of cultural treasures and at the same time portrayed Chinese art proceeding along historical development.”<sup>71</sup> This strategy concurred with the cyclical view of history in premodern China, that all the powers that ruled China could be traced back to the same origin, and each dynasty was a repetition of rises and falls, that in Chinese art, as John Ferguson stated, “the art spirit which found its expression in these various forms during the historic period joins hands even with the earliest mythological and legendary traditions of the country.”<sup>72</sup>

In terms of collections acquisition, both the IAE and the Palace Museum relied on the royal collections of the Qing court. When they were founded, they were presented with the question of how to transform the royal treasures into public property, instead of where to obtain a sizable collection. The IAE transformed royal collections into the setting of an art museum, which served as a model for the disposal of aristocratic collections in China. The Palace Museum, was

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<sup>71</sup> Huang 2008, 29-30.

<sup>72</sup> Ferguson 1920, 1.

unique and unduplicatable in terms of its collections, that the historic architecture of the museum as its most valuable collection. The establishment of a public museum on a royal residence was both political and symbolic, which served the propagandist need of the Republican government, but failed to represent the identity of a new, modern nation. In order to shed light on the collection acquisition of municipal Chinese museums today, it is essential to analyze the logic behind the construction of the National History Museum, which was built from scratch and intended to showcase the rich culture and history of China.

### **Understanding Contemporary Chinese Museums on the Model of NHM**

As a national museum, the NHM constructed an authentic past of China with the aid of archaeological excavations. This served as a model for collection acquisition of other provincial Chinese museums followed. The close tie between museum formation and the development of archaeology was well-illustrated by scholars, and there was a “near universality of a relationship between nationalist politics and the practice of archaeology”.<sup>73</sup> The early influential Chinese museums, as well as the first-class Chinese museums today, relied on continuous archaeological excavations to expand their collections, such that Kirk Denton described these museums as “the public face of archaeology.”<sup>74</sup> The inseparable ties between archaeology and museums becomes more powerful in contemporary China, since all the state-funded museums are under the governance of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) 国家文物局, instead of Ministry of Education, that in direct translation, 国家文物局 means “State Administration of Cultural Historical Artifacts.”

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<sup>73</sup> Denton 2014, 27

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

In contemporary China, the connection between archaeology and museums is so profound, that the PRC government ensures the rightful ownership of the state-funded museums over archaeological findings in the *Law of the Peoples Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* 中国文物保护法. In Article 34, the archaeological relics should be “turned over for collection of the relevant province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government or to the State-owned museums, libraries or other State-owned institutions for the collection of cultural relics designated by the administrative department in charge of cultural relics under the State Council,” and the “institutions engaged in archaeological excavation may retain a small amount of unearthed cultural relics as samples for scientific research.”<sup>75</sup> Thus, it is common practice for provincial institutes of archaeology to deposit their archaeological finds in provincial museums, since both institutions work under the State Council. Also, site museums are built to preserve important archaeological sites, like the Museum of Terracotta Army of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty in Shaanxi Province 秦始皇帝陵博物馆 (Fig. 11).<sup>76</sup>

The reason for the emphasis on the cultural historical artifacts was that they often served as material evidence when constructing a regional or national identity. In order to construct a national and cultural identity for the new Republican China, the NHM turned to collecting the artifacts from its glorious past, with the period before the 1800s. During the 1800s, China experienced defeats and setbacks that was still haunting the ROC. Thus, in order to put aside the recent negative view of the role that China played in the Opium Wars, it was logical to generate a new Chinese identity out of its more distant past, when China was a great power in the world. The distant past of China, in this sense, seemed like a repository of glorious civilizations, and the ma-

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<sup>75</sup> Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics, 2007.

<sup>76</sup> See: [www.bmy.com.cn](http://www.bmy.com.cn)

terial culture of which would construct a solid narrative for the citizens of a newly formed Republic China to cling to.

Likewise, the historical cultural artifacts could also contribute to the construction of a regional identity. Every provincial museum in China would develop permanent exhibitions to tell the history of its region, often starting from the prehistoric period, with the help of cultural historical artifacts. In these exhibitions, archaeological finds or the historical cultural artifacts often served as the evidence for the glorious past of the region. Denton argued that these provincial museums often intertwined their local identities with the national identities, exaggerating their cultural importance.<sup>77</sup> For example, the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, which housed the archaeological excavations of the prehistoric Hemudu culture, exhibited the Hemudu artifacts in its permanent exhibition with a label saying: "The excavated relics prove that along with the Yellow River Valley, the Yangzi River Valley was also the birthplace of the Chinese nation."<sup>78</sup> Thus, each major excavation seemed to recover a piece of the glorious past, and special exhibitions would be arranged to display the archaeological finds of the early modern eras.

A recent excavations in Jiangxi told a more vivid story of such celebration. After a five-year excavation and research, the Provincial Institute of Jiangxi transferred the archaeological findings of the royal tombs of Marquis of Haihun State to the Jiangxi Museum.<sup>79</sup> Over 20,000 items were unearthed from the Western Han (206 BC-24 AD) tomb, and before the excavation was even completed, the Jiangxi Museum worked together with the archaeologists to select 113 arti-

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<sup>77</sup> Denton 2014, 42-43.

<sup>78</sup> Denton 2014, 42.

<sup>79</sup> Jiangxi Museum: <http://www.jxmuseum.cn/>

facts for a special exhibition on the archaeological findings.<sup>80</sup> The special exhibition was titled “Archaeological Findings in the Tomb of Haihun Marquis during the Western Han period in Nanchang” 南昌西汉海昏侯墓考古发掘成果展, and displayed in the Jiangxi Museum from Nov 17, 2015 to Dec 17, 2015.<sup>81</sup> During its time in Jiangxi, the special exhibition attracted 10,000 visitors per day on weekends, and 4,000 per day on weekdays.<sup>82</sup>

Recognized as the most complete Western Han Tomb unearthed, after a short display in the Jiangxi Museum, more than 400 pieces were selected for a traveling exhibition in the Capital Museum 首都博物馆 in Beijing from March 2, 2016 to June 2, 2016 (Fig.12).<sup>83</sup> The exhibition attracted 422,485 visitors in Beijing, during which time, the exhibition was thoroughly documented and turned into a virtual museum, which was put online on May 31, 2016.<sup>84</sup> In the meantime, the archaeological findings of Haihun Tomb was selected as one of the *Six Major Archaeological Discoveries in China* 中国六大考古发现在 2015, and an archaeological site museum was under construction for its significant impact.

### **Contemporary Museum Development and the Museum Boom**

*The Regulation on Museums* 博物管条例 (referred to as ‘the Regulation’ hereafter) was released on March 2, 2015 by the State Council and signed by the Premier Li Keqiang, which helped to fill the gap of a law specializing in museums. A book interpreting the Regulation was written by SACH in July 2015, and they believed the incentive for the State Council to publish

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> The Capital Museum: <http://www.capitalmuseum.org.cn/>.

<sup>84</sup> Virtual Museum: <http://www.4dage.com/BigScene/index.html?m=55>

such a regulation was the intrinsic differences between museums and other cultural institutions.<sup>85</sup> The SACH described the differences as, “there are two systems operating in museums, one is a closed or semi-closed... that collects, documents, preserves and research on the cultural relics; the other is an open one... like the one in any public cultural institutions... which is responsible for public education.”<sup>86</sup>

Museums are defined in the Regulation as “non-profit organizations that collect, protect and display to the public the witness of human activities and natural environment for the purposes of education, research and appreciation, which have been registered by the registration administrative authorities in accordance with the law.”<sup>87</sup> Different from museums in the West, Chinese museums are put into categories according to funding types. In Article 2, the Regulation discusses the categories of museum: “museums include state-owned museums and non-state-owned museums. The museums formed with or mainly with state-owned assets are state-owned museums. The museums formed with or mainly with non-state-owned assets are non-state-owned museums.”<sup>88</sup>

In 2008, the SACH assessed museums in China, and put them into three grades.<sup>89</sup> The assessment was based on the quality of museum management, infrastructure construction, collection conservation and research, display and public education.<sup>90</sup> In 2008, the SACH announced 83

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<sup>85</sup> SACH 2015, 3.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 3-4.

<sup>87</sup> The State Council, 2015. (Order of the State Council No. 659, Article 2)

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>89</sup> SACH 2008. [http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2008/2/15/art\\_8\\_99597.html](http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2008/2/15/art_8_99597.html)

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*.

museums as the first batch of national first grade museums.<sup>91</sup> In 2009, 171 museums were selected as the second grade museums, and 288 museums as the third grade museums.<sup>92</sup> Seventeen museums were announced as the second batch of national first grade museums in 2012, while additional 52 museums were announced as second grade museums, 144 as third grade museums in 2013.<sup>93</sup> Among them, only one non-state-owned museum was selected as a first grade museum, and 11 were selected as third grade museums.<sup>94</sup> On top of that, in 2009, the SACH and the Ministry of Finance selected eight museums from regional state-funded museums as the first batch of *State-Local Co-sponsored National museums* 中央地方共建国家级博物馆.<sup>95</sup> Shanghai Museum 上海博物馆, Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, Hunan Provincial Museum 湖南省博物馆, Henan Museum 河南博物院, Shaanxi History Museum 陕西历史博物馆, Hubei Provincial Museum 湖北省博物馆, Zhejiang Provincial Museum 浙江省博物馆, and Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 were selected because they were believed to have the potential to represent Chinese civilization.<sup>96</sup>

In term of types, Chinese museums are divided into five types today. In 2014, among the 4510 registered museums in China, 1,743 are multipurpose museums, 1,840 historical museums, 411 art museums, 196 natural science museums, and 320 other types of museums.<sup>97</sup> For the state-

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<sup>91</sup> SACH 2015, 12.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> SACH 2010. [http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2010/9/19/art\\_8\\_99782.html](http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2010/9/19/art_8_99782.html)

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> The State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2015, 20.

funded museums, especially the provincial museums, most of them are multipurpose in nature. As observed by Holland Cotter, most Chinese museums tended to mix “history, ethnography, science, politics, art and entertainment (see fig.13).”<sup>98</sup>

### **State-owned Museums**

State-owned museums hold the dominant role in the museum world in China, and they are subdivided into two categories in terms of jurisdiction. In Article 7 of the Regulation, the SACH is responsible for the museums containing cultural historical relics, which comprise up to 80% of state-owned museums; and the rest of the state-owned museums are supervised by other governmental branches.<sup>99</sup> The funding for the state-owned museums comes from local governments and is included in their fiscal budget every year.<sup>100</sup> The funding source of state-owned museums is rather singular, compared to the museums in the United States, or the early modern museums in China like the Palace Museum. For example, a federally-funded museum, the Smithsonian, also received non-federal funds, like private endowments, personal donations, and memberships, while federal funds make up only 60 percent in 2016.<sup>101</sup> In light of the differences and probably inspired by the western model, in Article 5, the State Council “encourages the establishment of public welfare funds to provide funds to museums, and encourages museums to raise funds by multiple means so as to promote their own development.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Cotter 2013, New York Times.

<sup>99</sup> SACH 2015, 33.

<sup>100</sup> State Council 2015, Article 5.

<sup>101</sup> From Smithsonian website: <http://newsdesk.si.edu/factsheets/facts-about-smithsonian-institution-short>

<sup>102</sup> State Council 2015, Article 5.

To attract more public funds and participation, the State Council advocates for a governance reform: “museums shall improve their corporate governance structure, and establish and improve the relevant organizational and management rules.”<sup>103</sup> Up to now, four national first grade museums, Guangdong Museum 广东博物馆, Shanxi Museum 山西博物院, Yunnan Provincial Museum 云南省博物馆, and Suzhou Museum 苏州博物馆, have established their governing councils.<sup>104</sup> The Museum Councils invited local social elites to become their board members, and in the case of Suzhou Museum, the social council takes up more than half of their board seats.<sup>105</sup> On June 28, 2016, along with the establishment of the Museum Council, Suzhou Museum also established the Suzhou Museum Development Fund of two million RMB.<sup>106</sup> According to Chen Ruijin 陈瑞近, the director of Suzhou Museum, all the money came from private and corporate funds, and was entrusted to the Suzhou Bank 苏州银行 for investment (Fig.13).<sup>107</sup>

### **Non-state-owned Museums**

Non-state-owned museums, also referred to as private museums, have a small share of resources in China. Although the first modern museum in China was a private museum established by Zhang Jian, the Sino-Japanese War ruined most of the legacy left by the private museums. The Cultural Revolution that followed provided no support for their resurgence. On the contrary, private collectors were “reformed” for their accumulation of wealth, and their collections were

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<sup>103</sup> State Council 2015, Article 17.

<sup>104</sup> <http://www.top-news.top/news-12217392.html>

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Fung 2016. Interview with Chen Ruijin: [http://www.ce.cn/culture/gd/201607/01/t20160701\\_13345472.shtml](http://www.ce.cn/culture/gd/201607/01/t20160701_13345472.shtml)

confiscated and burnt.<sup>108</sup> Thus, in PRC, private museums are described as “a new type of cultural institution,” which flourished under the reform and openness policy.<sup>109</sup> From 2010 to 2014, private museums grew from 456 to 982, which suggested a growth rate of 115%, and for the first time, took up more than 20% of the total number of museums (Fig.14).<sup>110</sup>

After 2010 the rapid growth in the private museum sector was a direct result of a joint regulation published in 2010 by seven departments of the State Council, called “Advice on the Promotion of Non-state-owned Museums” 关于促进民办博物馆发展的意见.<sup>111</sup> The seven departments involved were the SACH, the Ministry of Civil Affairs 民政部, the Ministry of Finance 财政部, the Ministry of Land and Resources 国土资源部, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, the Ministry of Culture 文化部 and the State Administration of Taxation 国家税务总局.<sup>112</sup> In order to promote the development of private museums, taxation benefit and financial support were available at national level and local level. For example, in 2013, the Ministry of Finance set a special fund of one hundred million RMB for private museums.<sup>113</sup> Due to the beneficial policies for land acquisition, constructions of private museums often meant that private developers would receive a significant amount of public lands.<sup>114</sup> As a result, increasing numbers of private museums became the byproduct of the “Enclosure Move-

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<sup>108</sup> Hu 2015. <http://www.ccrnews.com.cn/index.php/Zhuanlanzhuanke/content/id/58929.html>

<sup>109</sup> SACH 2015, 11.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 33.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>112</sup> SACH 2010. No.11

<sup>113</sup> SACH 2015, 13.

<sup>114</sup> Wong 2015.

ment,” in which they either lacked sufficient collections or displayed fake objects.<sup>115</sup> Chen Danqing 陈丹青, a contemporary artist and art critic, commented on *the 2014 Annual meeting of China Museums Association* that the opportunism behind the development of private museums would turn museums into architecture trash.<sup>116</sup>

### **The Origins of Chinese Traveling Exhibitions: *The International Exhibition of Chinese Art* at Burlington House, London, 1935-36**

By referring to its long and continuous history, the ROC established museums to construct a national identity for the new China. When an opportunity came that a transnational exhibition on Chinese art would be hosted in London in 1936, the ROC government seized their chance to build an international identity with the help of art and archaeology. As the largest exhibition of Chinese art until that time, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* of 1935-36 was hosted by the Royal Academy of Arts at Burlington House in London (Fig.15).<sup>117</sup> Successfully obtaining 3,080 exhibited works from over 240 lenders, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* attracted 420,048 visitors and earned over 47,000 pounds in three months.<sup>118</sup> To the West, the exhibition helped to shape and define “China” and “Chinese art,” while to China, the exhibition provided a chance for the Nationalist government to construct an international identity on the world stage.

The idea of hosting an international loan exhibition of Chinese art was not new in Europe. In 1925, the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst (Society of Friends of Asiatic Art) host-

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<sup>115</sup> Zhan 2014. <http://epaper.taihainet.com/html/20141124/hxdb533900.html>

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Steuber 2006, 528.

<sup>118</sup> Huang 2008, 14.

ed an international loan exhibition of Chinese art in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, which comprised 212 objects loaned from private collections and museums.<sup>119</sup> In 1926, the Freunde Ostasiatischer Kunst (Friends of East Asian Art) organized an international exhibition of East Asian art in Cologne, which exhibited nearly 600 objects loaned from European institutions, private collections and art dealers.<sup>120</sup> In 1929, the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst and the Preussische Akademie der Künste organized the Exhibition of Chinese Art in Berlin, which included 1,272 exhibits from 171 contributors from Europe, Asia and North America.<sup>121</sup> In 1932, when the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a private organization promoting art exhibitions, proposed a major Chinese exhibition in London, they aimed for the culmination of international exhibitions of Chinese art.<sup>122</sup>

The five chief organizers of the 1935 *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* were a heterogeneous group of people who collected and researched Chinese art. Among them, Sir Percival David, a wealthy ceramics collector, became the director of the 1935 exhibition.<sup>123</sup> David envisioned the 1935 exhibition to “bring together the finest and most representative arts and crafts of China from the dawn of its history to the year 1800” that would surpass all such previous exhibitions.<sup>124</sup> In order to mount such an exhibition, the London organizers laid their hopes on foreign

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<sup>119</sup> Steuber 2006, 530.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, 530-531.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*, 531.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, 532.

<sup>123</sup> Huang 2008, 19.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

collections from China, especially the collection of the Palace Museum, and approached the British Foreign Office in 1934 for “support and patronage.”<sup>125</sup>

The ROC, facing the invasion from Japan in 1931, had transferred the national treasures from the NHM, IAE and Palace Museum from Beijing to Shanghai.<sup>126</sup> The Nationalist government saw the proposal from the Britain as a chance to further claim its ownership over the national treasures, thus reinforce its legitimacy to rule, and use the cultural artifacts to glorify the nation in an international arena.<sup>127</sup> The Nationalist government agreed to the proposal for an international traveling exhibition in 1934, on the condition that an English naval ship would guard and transport the national treasures from Shanghai to London, and Chinese museum experts would travel with the artifacts.<sup>128</sup> With the initial agreements, the Nationalist government assigned the task of collection selection to the Chinese Preparatory Committee, which made up of officials from the Ministry of Education and the experts from the Palace Museum.<sup>129</sup>

Na Zhiliang 那志良, a member of the Preparatory Committee, documented in a detailed fashion the preparations they did for the 1935 exhibition in his memoir.<sup>130</sup> In terms of artifact selection, 1,022 exhibit items were selected from seven institutions and a private collection. Among which, 735 pieces were selected from the Palace Museum; 47 from the IAE; 113 from the NHM; 50 from the Beiping Library 北平图书馆; 8 from the Henan Museum 河南博物馆; 4

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<sup>125</sup> Scaglia 2016, 114.

<sup>126</sup> Na 2008, 62.

<sup>127</sup> Scaglia 2016, 116-117.

<sup>128</sup> Na 2008, 83-85.

<sup>129</sup> Huang 2008, 21.

<sup>130</sup> Na 2008, 83-85.

from the Anhui Library 安徽图书馆; and 65 from a private collector called Zhang Naiji 张乃驥.<sup>131</sup> The types of artworks spanned bronzes, porcelains, paintings and calligraphies, jades, archaeological finds, rare books, furniture, enamels, embroideries, fans, and others.<sup>132</sup> To make the selection representative of Chinese art, and to ensure the safety of the most treasured pieces, the committee would only select the masterpieces but withhold any “one of a kind”, and the final selection would be made after the consultation with the London organizers in 1935.<sup>133</sup> To prepare the selected artifacts for transportation, the committee restored and framed the paintings and calligraphies, and ordered customized exhibition cases for the other artifacts from experts in Beijing.<sup>134</sup>

Chinese press in Shanghai and Beijing responded to the 1935 exhibition with protests, because they suspected that the Nationalist government were sending national treasures to the West as diplomatic gifts or secretly trading them for money.<sup>135</sup> In order to demonstrate its trustworthiness, the Nationalist government arranged a pre-exhibition in Shanghai for a month before the national treasures left the country, followed by a post-exhibition in Nanjing for three weeks after the national treasures safely returned to China. In the preliminary exhibition, all the exhibits would be photographed and documented in the published exhibition catalogues. In this way, the citizens could confirm the return of the real objects in the post-exhibition in Nanjing.<sup>136</sup> The Na-

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, 84.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>133</sup> Huang 2008, 23.

<sup>134</sup> Na 2008, 83.

<sup>135</sup> Huang 2008, 22.

<sup>136</sup> *ibid*.

tionalist government also turned the transportation of artifacts itself a public ceremony. On June 7, 1935, the ninety-three cases carefully-packed Chinese treasures were loaded onto the English naval ship H.M.S. Suffolk, along with two Chinese officials who would travel with the artifacts.<sup>137</sup>

The British government was very cooperative along the way, since they wished to help the Nationalist government calm the public. From a letter asking for a warship for artifact transportation, the foreign secretary, Sir John Simon, wrote to Sir Bolton Eyres: “What is desired, is that something should be done which would show how greatly His Majesty’s Government appreciate the carrying out of this proposal and how sincere is their wish to contribute in any way they can to carry the scheme through successfully and without untoward incident.” The warship would help the Nationalist government make the Chinese public “considerably relieved.”<sup>138</sup> Although much effort was expended on both sides to ensure the safety of the Chinese artifacts, all the artifacts remained uninsured to keep the cost down.<sup>139</sup> The diplomatic gesture of sending a warship, which did not add to the security during transportation, seemed to matter more to the Chinese public than the legal and financial commitment through insurance.<sup>140</sup> It was also possible that neither the Palace Museum nor the Nationalist government had enough experience in handling international loan exhibitions, so that they did not realize the risks they were taking without proper insurance. Loaning an exhibition without insurance has persisted to today between the

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<sup>137</sup> Scaglia 2016, 120-121.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, 119-120.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 116.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, 117.

state-funded museums in China, since the ownership of the artifacts belong to the country instead of the individual museums.<sup>141</sup>

After the artifacts arrived at the Portsmouth harbor on 25 July 1935, they were transferred to the Burlington House. British curators were responsible of researching and designing the exhibition, and they took little advice from their Chinese colleagues. When the Chinese officials and scholars who guarded the treasures attended the opening of the exhibition on 28 November 1935, they had a mixed feeling toward the way Chinese civilization was presented in Britain. Sixteen galleries were labeled with the names of the dynasties and arranged in a chronological order: Gallery 1: Shang-Yin-Zhou; Gallery 3: Wei and Tang Dynasties; and Gallery 10: Late Ming Dynasties.<sup>142</sup> The chronological organization exhibited an interest in the continuity and progress of Chinese culture, and the focus on dating signified the scientific attitudes of the curators.<sup>143</sup> The presentation strategy of the British curators troubled the experts from Beijing, so that when the British curator mistakenly labeled Gallery 1 as Shang-Yin-Zhou instead of Yin-Shang-Zhou, experts from Beijing believed that the British scholarship on China was “superficial and thin.”<sup>144</sup> Despite of their inaccuracies, Chinese experts praised British scholars’ determination to conduct original research, and when word went back to China about the exhibition, interest in the discipline of Chinese art history burgeoned.<sup>145</sup>

The 1935 exhibition also turned out to be financially fruitful for the Nationalist government, for when the artifacts safely returned to China in 1936, a revenue of 9,000 British pounds also

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<sup>141</sup> Personal observation.

<sup>142</sup> Steuber 2006, 528.

<sup>143</sup> Huang 2008, 30.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-33.

came back with them. The Nationalist government received half of the revenue and constructed an identity as “the originator and early leader of world civilization,” with the help of newly excavated objects from Yinxu that dated to 2000 B.C.<sup>146</sup>

### **International Traveling Exhibitions After 1949**

Cultural diplomacy included art, archaeology and politics that benefited the Nationalist Government and continued to serve the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) after 1949. Although the Nationalist government fled the mainland with the best collections of the public museums, they left a significant number of treasures behind.<sup>147</sup> Archaeological excavations after 1949 continued to enrich the public collection in the PRC, and the CCP used the cultural assets to reconnect to the West.<sup>148</sup> After Zhou Enlai 周恩来, the first Premier of the PRC, adopted a diplomatic policy of re-approaching the West in 1971, the PRC started to prepare for an international traveling exhibition.<sup>149</sup> When China established diplomatic relations with the British government in 1972 a traveling exhibition with collections spanning the Paleolithic period (ca. 600,000-7000 BCE) to the Yuan Dynasty (CE 1271- 1368) was mounted and sent to London in 1973.<sup>150</sup> “The Genius of China: An Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the PRC,” was shown at the Royal Academy of Art, the same venue as the 1935 exhibition.<sup>151</sup> This time, the display of ancient Chinese civilization served the propagandist needs of the PRC, and demonstrated the CCP’s righteousness to rule. The presence of cultural relics from recent archaeological excavations proved CCP’s trust-

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<sup>146</sup> Wang 2007, 176.

<sup>147</sup> Hamlish 1995, 20.

<sup>148</sup> Wang 2008, 25.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Barnes 2014, 103.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

worthiness to preserve cultural relics, despite the criticized Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).<sup>152</sup> The four months' exhibition (29 September 1973 to 23 January 1974) was so successful that it traveled to the U.S. in 1974, five years before China and the U.S. officially established diplomatic relations. The exhibition visited the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, and the Asian Art Museums of San Francisco from December 1974 through August 1975.<sup>153</sup>

Diplomatic reasons remained at the top of the list for traveling exhibitions, especially when the PRC wanted to build an international identity like the ROC once did.<sup>154</sup> The statistics for traveling exhibitions show that in 2010, exhibitions loaned from China were seven times the number of exhibitions loaned to China (Fig. 16). In 2013, exported exhibitions were two and a half times the number of imported ones. The figure might suggest China had a favorable balance of trade, but considering the museum boom in recent years, Chinese museums had a demand yet to be met.<sup>155</sup>

Unlike the West, China has no encyclopedia museum today.<sup>156</sup> With the museum boom, lack of collections to fill the museums, and growing artistic needs, introducing traveling exhibitions from the West is a necessary. Wang Limei 王立梅, a former government official at the SACH specializing in cultural exchange, established an art museum dedicated to world civilizations in

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, 103-104.

<sup>153</sup> Wang 2008, 25.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>155</sup> Xu 2014. Speech.

<sup>156</sup> Wang 2008, 3.

2003.<sup>157</sup> Beijing World Art Museum 中华世纪坛艺术馆 was built out of her vision to introduce world civilizations to China through loan exhibitions (Fig. 17).<sup>158</sup> Without a comprehensive collection, Wang used her connections in the West to lend her masterpieces by artists such as Raphael, Da Vinci, and Titian without a fee.<sup>159</sup> Wang opened her private museum with the exhibition “Italian Renaissance Masterpieces” in 2006, and less than six months later, another exhibition “From Monet to Picasso” came to Beijing from the Cleveland Museum of Art.<sup>160</sup>

Wang’s success might not be duplicatable, but the need for traveling exhibitions was written in a plan regarding museums’ long-term development issued by the SACH in 2011.<sup>161</sup> *The Long Term Development Plan for Museum Industry* 博物馆事业中长期发展规划纲要 (2011-2020) (referred to as “Development Plan”) was issued by the SACH in 2011.<sup>162</sup> In the section about international traveling exhibitions, the SACH pointed out that museums need to set up plans to introduce outstanding exhibitions of world civilizations, in order to fulfill the many needs of the public.<sup>163</sup> According to Guo Xiaoling 郭小凌, the director of the Capital Museum 首都博物馆 in Beijing, the plans to introduce exhibitions from abroad meant the preparation of proposals for exhibitions for approval ahead of time.<sup>164</sup> The proposal would be submitted to the local adminis-

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* For Beijing World Art Museum, see: <http://www.worldartmuseum.cn/>

<sup>159</sup> Sohu 2006. See the interview: <http://news.sohu.com/20060707/n244144637.shtml>

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> SACH 2011.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Guo 2014. Speech at Nanjing Museum.

tration of cultural heritage and the SACH for approval, and then, the museum would apply for special funds for the exhibition from the local government.<sup>165</sup>

### **Conclusions**

The origins of early modern Chinese museums started from the travelogue of late Qing officials in the mid-nineteenth century. Museum were officially “imported” to China with the establishment of the early missionary museums around 1870s. With the westernization attempts made by the Zikawei Museum and Shanghai Museum, the early missionary museums focused on collecting natural specimens and reinforced the colonial ideology by constructing language barriers. As a result, their influences on the early modern Chinese museums were limited, and their status as first modern museums in China overlooked. Social elites in China had called for a national museum in China since the beginning of the twentieth-century, but the ignorant Qing Court delayed the establishment of a national museum of China, and gave way to the development of private museums. The Nantong Museum paved the way for the modern museums of China, and contributed to the regional public education. Attached to a private university, the model of the Nantong Museum also had little influence on the mainstream museums about to come. To imagine early modern museums in China as a social network, then the earliest nodes were surprisingly small, private institutions, the importance of which is seldom mentioned today. While non-state-funded museums in China today only make up less than 20 percent of the total number of museums, it would be beneficial for them to look back to the pioneers of early modern museums in China.

Although, early private museums in China have left few traces of their influence on the contemporary museums, the early national museums certainly shaped the structures of Chinese mu-

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

seums. The NHM, IAE and Palace Museum came into existence for different objectives, yet all of them answered the call of preservation of antiquities, and later worked together to build a new Republican identity of China out of its long and glorious past. With IAE merged into the Palace Museum and NHM renamed as the National Museum of China, the legacy of the early modern museum continues to serve as the most influential on national museums in China today. The model of NHM was adopted by the state-owned museums after 1949, and is still visible in the museums in China today. The method of collections acquisition of NHM, which relied on archaeological excavations, was copied by the latter museums. To establish an infrastructure and wait for the collections to come has been a complaint about contemporary Chinese museum during the museum boom period in the last five years, but I would argue it is a model with its root in the early modern period. The looting of artifacts by the West in the early modern period had such a traumatic effect on the Chinese museums that the very idea of “museum” has been linked with the preservation of antiques. Another impact of the early modern museum is the creation of a multipurpose type of museum that dominates the Chinese museum world today and confuses Westerners.

The development of contemporary museums certainly bears the unique mark of the CCP, in that state-sponsored capitalism created a situation whereby state-owned museums comprise more than 80% of museums. The SACH has tried to reform the museum industry by introducing ideas like board systems, public funds, and encouraging the development of the private museums. All of this may seem to have been learned from the West, but with the historical background of the early modern museums, it also seems likely to have been learned from the past.

The international loan exhibition is another device that ran through the history of Chinese museums. Since the first large-scale international loan exhibition of 1935, traveling exhibitions

of cultural relics have served the cultural diplomatic needs of China. Cultural artifacts are like agents that spoke for China. Despite the political situation of China, these artifacts never failed to perform their role of constructing an international identity of a country with the longest surviving civilization. Contemporary Chinese museums have more freedom in importing and exporting exhibitions with the supervision of the SACH. It is different from the early modern period, in that Chinese museums actually need exhibitions of world civilizations more than ever. With nearly one museum arising in China per day in 2011-2012, the demands for traveling exhibitions from the West will be continuously on the rise. The development of the mechanisms for traveling exhibitions is still in its preliminary stage, and successful collaborations will require the efforts from both sides. For the West, the first step would be to understand the Chinese museums and the museum boom today, especially the history beginning with the first museum boom less than a hundred years ago.

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## Figures



**Figure 1:** Photo of Chinese Exhibit in Philadelphia Expo of 1876.

Source: Jennifer Pitman, "China's Presence at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876." *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Volume 10, Number 1, 2002, p. 46.



**Figure 2:** Numbers of Museums in China before 1949.

Source: Wu, 2007.



**Figure 3:** The Exhibition Gallery of the Zikawei Museum.

Source: <http://tsw.xuhui.gov.cn/xOldPhoto.aspx?pid=97>



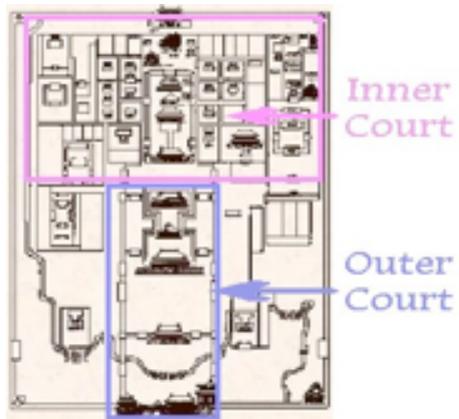
**Figure 4:** The Exterior of the Shanghai Museum.

Source: <http://history.eastday.com/h/20130627/u1a7481191.html>



**Figure 5:** Exterior of the Nantong Museum.

Source: <http://nantong.lotour.com/zj/262906>



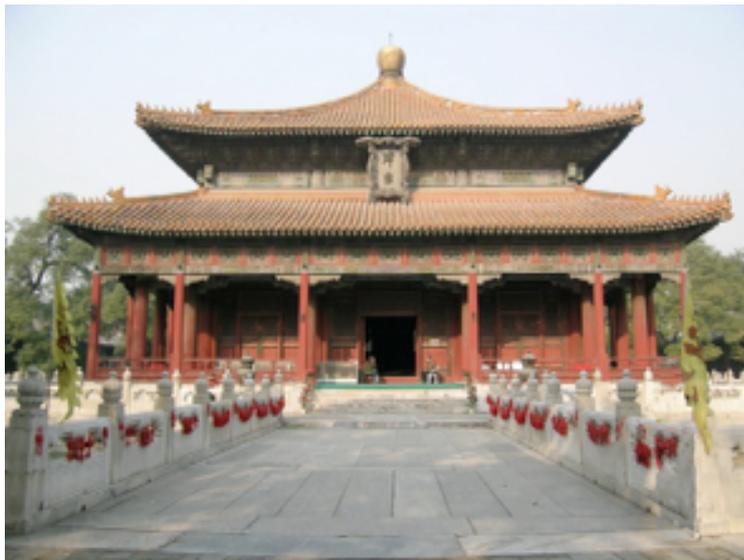
**Figure 6:** The Layout of the Forbidden City.

Source: <http://www.oocities.org/maywong519/Map/map.jpg>



**Figure 7:** The Meridian Gate.

Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4a/MeridianGate.jpg/800px-MeridianGate.jpg>



**Figure 8:** The Imperial College.

Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e7/Pyd.jpg>



**Figure 9:** The Hall of Marital Valor.

Source: [http://www.dpm.org.cn/files\\_out/image/8831/2008/3239%20/img0007%5b400PX%5d.jpg](http://www.dpm.org.cn/files_out/image/8831/2008/3239%20/img0007%5b400PX%5d.jpg)



**Figure 10:** The Interior of the Qianqing Palace.

Source: [http://img.ivsky.com/img/tupian/pic/201104/02/gugong\\_qianqinggong-010.jpg](http://img.ivsky.com/img/tupian/pic/201104/02/gugong_qianqinggong-010.jpg)



**Figure 11:** The Interior of the Museum of Terracotta Army of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty in Shaanxi Province.

Source: <http://s7.sinaimg.cn/middle/6c085597tc9f4056abcf6&690>



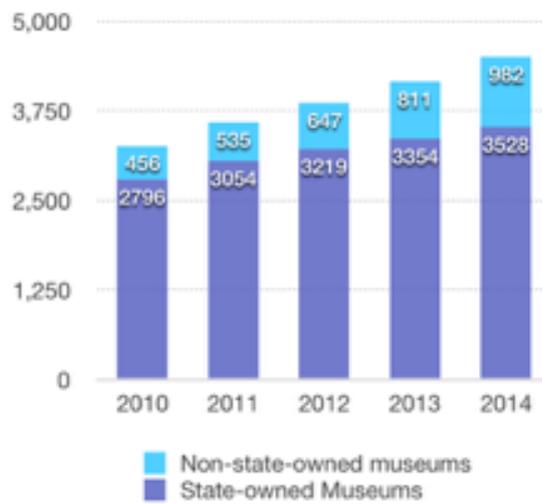
**Figure 12:** The Exhibition “Archaeological Findings in the Tomb of Haihun Marquis during the Western Han period” in the Capitol Museum.

Source: <http://culture.people.com.cn/NMediaFile/2016/0301/MAIN201603011813000201872075457.jpg>



**Figure 13:** Exterior of the Suzhou Museum.

Source: <https://photo.tuchong.com/66200/f/8007250.jpg>



**Figure 14:** Quantity of the State-owned Museums versus Non-state-owned Museums, from 2010-2014.

Source: SACH, 2015.



**Figure 15:** Ancient Bronzes and Jades displayed in Gallery I: Shang-Yin and Chou dynasties.

Source: Steuber 2006, 529.

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Exhibitions loaned from China	28	34	70	54	49	45
Exhibitions loaned to China	N/A	N/A	10	19	18	18
Exhibition loaned from China to the U.S.	6	6	4	6	3	6
Exhibition loaned from the U.S. to China	2	2	0	0	2	2

**Figure 16:** Statistics of the Loan Exhibitions to/from China, from 2008-2013.

Source: Guo, 2014.



**Figure 17:** The Exterior of the Beijing World Art Museum.

Source: [http://www.worldartmuseum.cn/Upload/image/20151230/20151230131924\\_7031.jpg](http://www.worldartmuseum.cn/Upload/image/20151230/20151230131924_7031.jpg)

