

# **The Art Market, Collectors and Art Museums in Taiwan since 1949**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Leicester**

**by**

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# **Abstract**

## **The Art Market, Collectors and Art Museums in Taiwan since 1949**

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Radical changes in society have significantly influenced Taiwan since 1949. These changes have created a diversity of social forces, derived from politics, the economy and culture, which have widespread impacts. After 1980, these increasing forces contributed to a prospering art market, art collecting and museum expansion.

Political changes intensified the ethnical conflict between the Benshengren and Waishengren. Economic prosperity provoked the art market, encouraged art collectors and diversified collecting interests. Cultural awareness, which was influenced by political ideology and growing Nativism, caused people to re-evaluate local culture. Collecting local cultural objects became very popular and rivalled the collecting of traditional Chinese objects. These social forces, which interweaved and interacted with each other, contributed to cultural development in Taiwan and consequently provoked a diversity of phenomena such as collecting fever, artistic fashion, faking, smuggling, theft and an explosion of museums, auction houses and dealerships. These phenomena emerged rapidly, grew and strongly influenced the art market. The prosperous art market thus can be seen as a place reflecting the social impact and the cultural evolution of Taiwan.

Based on observation, historical review of contemporary sources and interviews, this thesis examines the complex relationships between these phenomena. Sociologically and historically, this research not only shows the complexity of these relationships but also provides a model for the operation of the art market as it enters Mainland China.

## **Dedication**

*This thesis is dedicated to my dear mother, Zenglin Caiying,  
for her unfailing support and encouragement.*



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Looking back at the years of my doctoral research, I am really pleased that I came to Leicester to carry out my research. The people I have met here have enriched and enlightened my thinking in many ways. It has been an unforgettable experience in my life.

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# 1: Introduction

## 1. Art as a social phenomenon

People might admire the taking of tasteful views and even organize their professional debates focusing on issues such as the artistic styles of objects and the artist's intentions, etc. However, the truly fascinating questions surrounding the social and psychological context of art and the ideological manufacturing behind the activities that relate to artistic production, such as art collecting, rapid museum expansion and the prosperity of the art market, seem to get lost in these perspectives. In my view, in addition to aesthetics, a diversity of factors affecting people's artistic interests may be found in the social background. In fact, works of art and cultural objects, to an art dealer, collector or curator, may symbolize financial value, collective ethnic consciousness, class ideology or a multitude of other factors. As Becker states, "A distinguished sociological tradition holds that art is social in character."<sup>1</sup> As also argued by Wolff, "Works of art...are not closed, self-contained and transcendent entities, but are the product of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of those groups, and their representatives in particular artists."<sup>2</sup> G. V. Plekhanov also states, "Art, in fact, is a social phenomenon."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, this research contrasts with the art historian's view. I will focus on social impacts on the art museums, collectors and art market rather than on the works of art themselves.

What interest me are the social factors which caused the art market to prosper and lead to rapid museum expansion in Taiwan. How do these social forces work? In particular, in the development of the art market, what kinds of causes can result in the phenomena of faking and art smuggling, and what kind of impact do these give to the art market and art museums? What also interests me is the collecting fever experienced in Taiwanese society. What does it mean in a social context? I am especially interested in the Taiwanese collectors' attitude toward art collecting. Artistic beauty is not the only reason which makes people specially favour or consciously ignore certain kinds of works of art or cultural objects. In Taiwan social factors play an important role in affecting collectors' interests. Therefore, I also explore the factors which can affect their

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<sup>1</sup> Becker (1989: 41).

<sup>2</sup> Wolff (1993: 49).

<sup>3</sup> Chen Bingzhang (陳秉璋) and Chen Xinmu (陳信木) (1993: 8).



evaluation, recognition and preference for works of art and cultural objects. What kind of motives can actually inspire collectors to purchase works of art or cultural objects?

As Foster states, "Art is an aspect of communication."<sup>4</sup> Artistic activity is a way for people to communicate with each other. In modern society, it is created and favoured by specific groups of people, and works of art inevitably contain social significance, which is presented in the context of artistic taste and art collecting. As Becker states, "It shows that art is social in the sense that it is created by networks of people acting together and proposes a framework in which different modes of collective action, mediated by accepted or newly developed conventions, can be studied."<sup>5</sup> As a result the central question concerning art and social structure relates to what art and art styles make possible in the way of 'understanding' and how they are conditioned by social relationships.<sup>6</sup> Observations in Taiwan show the extraordinary phenomenon of the art market and the accompanying museum explosion which occurred since 1980. It not only signals economic prosperity and cultural awareness, but also political change in Taiwan. Prices of works of art and cultural objects, in particular local works of art, have dramatically increased. For example, in 1990 the average price of oil paintings by Chen Chengpo, who was a past Taiwanese artist, was 20 times higher than that of 1986.<sup>7</sup> The increasing number of collectors and art museums not only represents a growing aesthetic interest, but also reveals a diversity of social implications in Taiwanese society.

Through his research on art exhibitions in American society, Luke emphasizes larger discourses concerning power, ideology, and wealth.<sup>8</sup> Based on this concept, the trend in art collecting and the expansion of the art museums can be closely linked to society. In order to study the development of art collecting and art museums, I will focus on the art market to explore the terrain of politics, economy and culture, looking for the social forces, which flow through the phenomena deriving from art collecting and art museum expansion in Taiwan.

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<sup>4</sup> Foster (1989: 9).

<sup>5</sup> Becker (1989: 51).

<sup>6</sup> Witkin (1995: 8-9).

<sup>7</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 203).

<sup>8</sup> Luke W. Timothy (1992: 232).

## 2. The interaction between collectors, art museums and the art market in Taiwan

There is no doubt that political liberty in Taiwan has given more freedom to cultural activities. This means that more artists and art styles emerge. In addition, conflict between political ideologies has also given strong impetus to artistic taste and museum operation. And with material prosperity, which inspires more private collectors, art collecting has become a popular activity rather than the privilege of emperors or aristocrats as it was in the past. Artistic taste in art collecting, therefore, no longer only represents a ruling class's favour or aristocratic taste but a trend or fashion in public interest. With the growing Nativism,<sup>9</sup> local history and cultural objects have been highly valued since 1970. Enthusiastic collectors have desperately purchased works of art by local artists, in particular older generation artists.

The price of works of art continued to increase dramatically not only in the local art market but also in the international Chinese art markets due to the increasing Taiwanese collecting power. Art collecting has become a financial investment, a means of social upgrade or a politicised interest rather than just a hobby since 1980. To some extent, the art market could be regarded as a playground in which complex relationships between art collectors, dealers, artists, critics, scholars, directors and curators are presented (Figure 1.1). Art museums as players in the playground, as well as members of the art circle, were inevitably involved in the expansion and in competition, in the art market, which functioned as a mirror reflecting the changes in Taiwanese society.

## 3. The impact of social forces on the art market

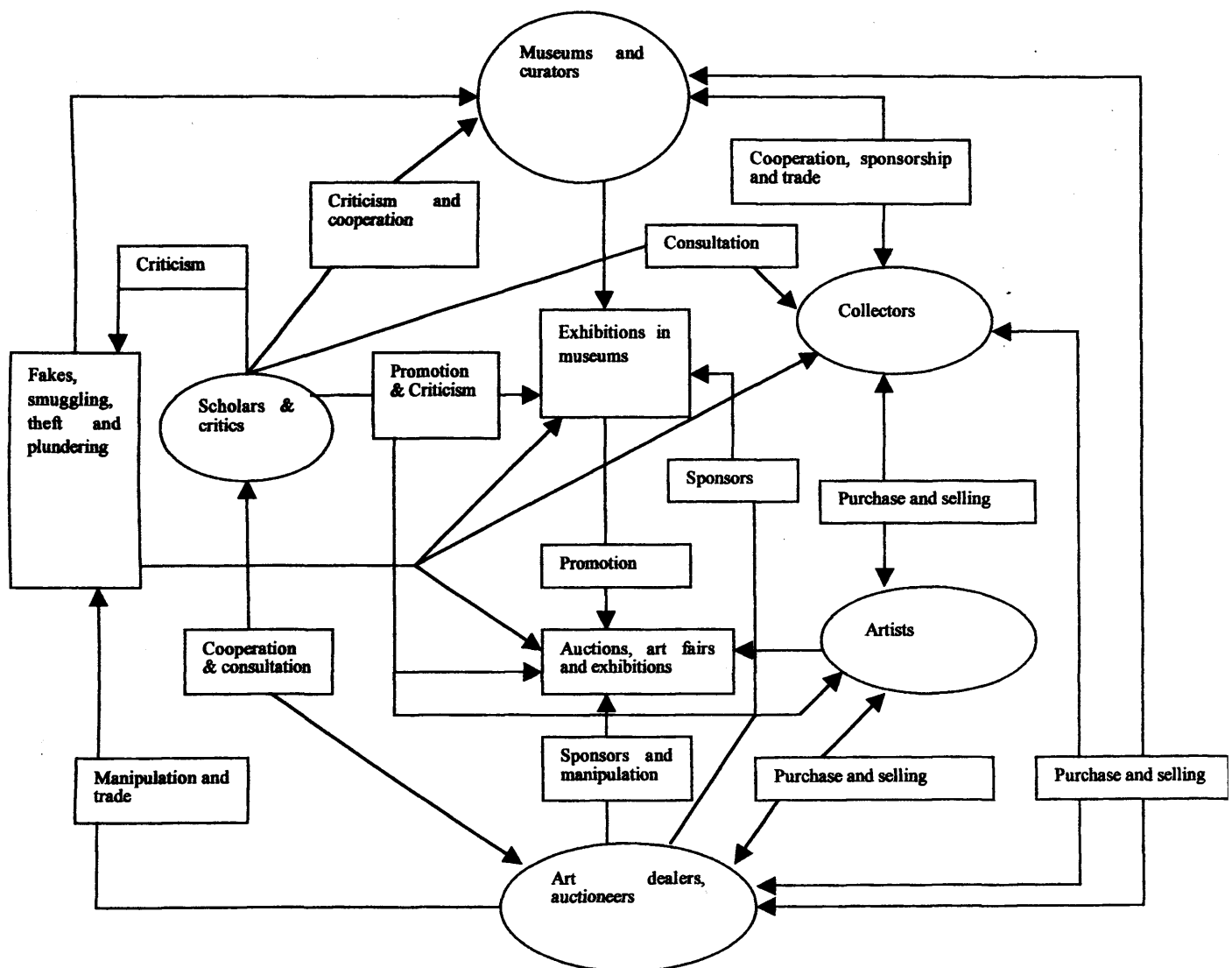
This thesis focuses on the interaction between art collecting and society in Taiwan after 1949. To construct the entire picture, the art market will be used as a core from which to develop arguments. The presentation and explanation of the complex impact of social

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<sup>9</sup> Nativism in Taiwan has a multiple meaning. It derives from campaigns for the independence of Taiwan. It has been manifest in a sequence of social campaigns after 1970, which centres on Taiwan-protectionism and Taiwan-ethnocentrism in politics, economy and culture. In politics, it encouraged Taiwanese people to seek not only the political independence of Taiwan but also political localization in Taiwan. In economic terms it signalled a rise of native economic power in Taiwan. In cultural terms it symbolized a local cultural awareness and protectionism. Nativism resulted in the rise of native Taiwanese, the so-called *Benshengren*. In the development of Nativism they upgraded their social status, strengthened their economic power and secured their political rights.

forces on the art market in Taiwan will be explored. A series of issues provoked by the art market boom such as the museum explosion, collector ideology, smuggling and faking will provide the means by which this can be accomplished (Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.1: Ecological structure of the art market in Taiwan

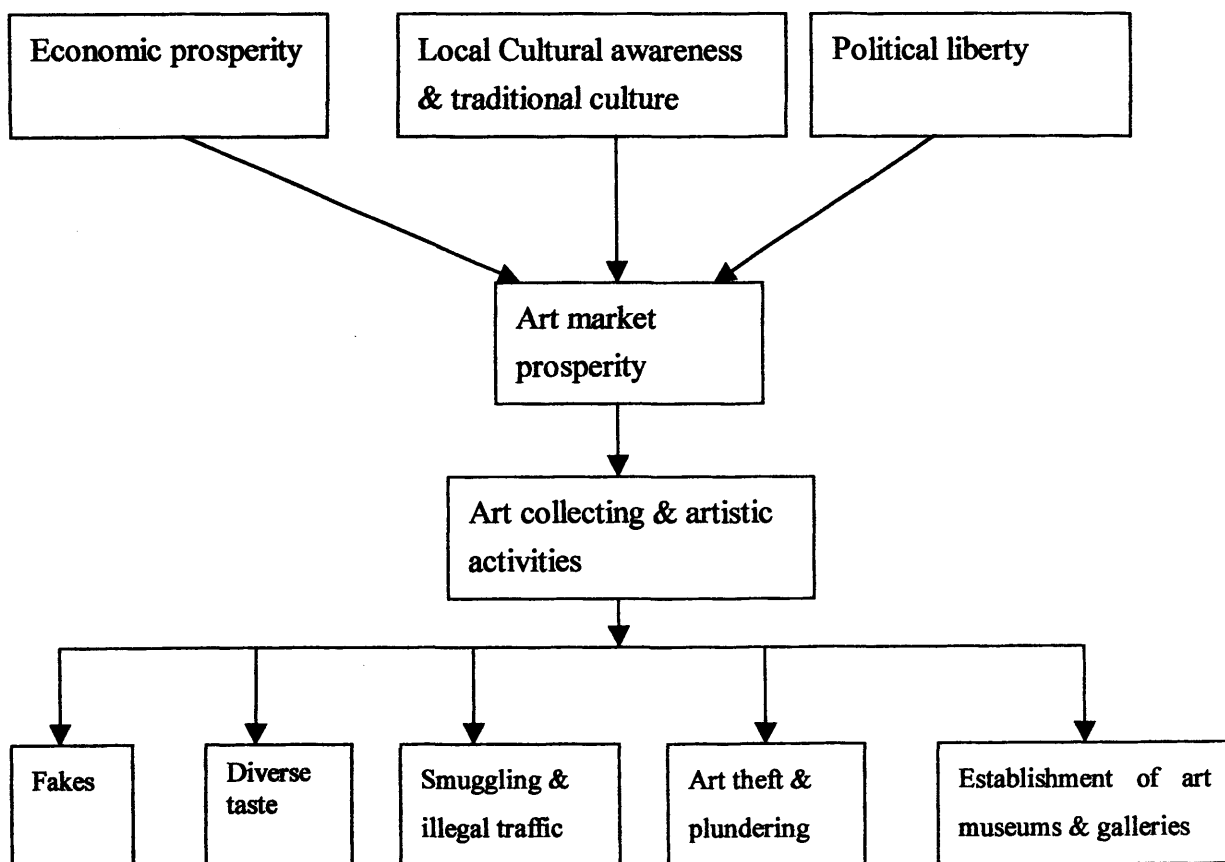


Although Taiwan and China are, now, two nations in terms of political sovereignty, they both share the same blood, language and culture. Despite political separation, they have had a very close relationship with each other since ancient times. It is impossible to explore the development of the art market in Taiwan without looking at the same phenomena in China. It is also necessary to analyse the influence of foreign cultures, because Taiwan, as an island country, has been significantly affected by overseas

cultures since the seventeenth century. To obtain a broader and more objective view, some examples occurring in other countries will also be used in this thesis.

By analysing these interesting phenomena in the art market, we can gain an understanding of the complexities of cause and effect. In terms of Taiwanese society, I also offer some suggestions not only to solve problems but also to improve the environment for future cultural development. Since 1990, the prosperity of Taiwanese art market has provoked the art markets in neighbouring countries and interacted with them frequently. Hilomazu Takasi, Otani Tamayo and Ando Ko noted that, since 1990, a new power, termed as 'the fourth power in the global art market', has risen with the newly wealthy countries in Asia, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Korea. This power rivals those of the European, American and Japanese art markets.<sup>10</sup> In particular, after 1990, the art market in China began to thrive. Interaction between Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and Singapore has resulted in the formation of a greater Chinese art market from the mid-1990s. This thesis provides insights with the on-going development of this market.

**Figure 1.2: Products deriving from prosperity of the art market in Taiwan**



<sup>10</sup> Hilomazui, Otani and Ando (廣松隆志、大谷珠代、安藤剛)(1992: 284).

## 4. Outline of the study

The first chapter is an introduction. In the second chapter, to profile Taiwan in order to understand the situation in society, I present its historical and social background since 1949. By examining the development of politics, the economy and culture, the social dynamics, which exert a significant impact on the interaction between the art market, art museums, and collectors, can be clearly mapped out.

In the third chapter I start to focus on the analysis of the art market in Taiwan. First of all, from the view of cultural interaction and international trade, how worldwide prosperity in the art market influenced the art market in Taiwan. Subsequently, by concentrating on the impact of politics, the economy, education, social class competition and so on, I explore the domestic reasons for the prosperity of the Taiwanese art market. This thesis also investigates the reasons for increasing prices and discusses the relationship between market value and aesthetic value in the art market. It also analyses the factors resulting in the depression of the art market in Taiwan. Finally, I examine how the prosperity in the art market in Taiwan influences the art markets in neighbouring countries.

Subsequently, I focus on problems such as fakes, smuggling, plundering and theft, which have been provoked by the prosperity of the art market. In the fourth chapter I concentrate on the issues related to faking. First of all, definitions regarding fakes, reproductions and imitations are briefly discussed. In this section, I also discuss the aesthetic attitude, the so-called 'Aesthetics of fakes', maintained by some art dealers. Afterwards I analyse the reasons for fakes flooding into the art markets in Taiwan and China and their impact. To further understand the phenomenon of fakes, current progress in faking technology and authenticating methods such as stylistic and scientific detection are discussed in this section. Finally, I use events occurring in art museums to examine the attitude of collectors and curators toward fakes. I also discuss the shortage of the facilities for detecting fakes in art museums in Taiwan.

Issues regarding art smuggling and theft are discussed in the fifth chapter. Looking at international interaction, I argue that smuggling and theft in Taiwan and China are actually part of a worldwide phenomenon rather than simply local issues, as art smuggling and theft are committed by well-organized international groups. Therefore, in order to explore cause and effect, I need to look at the reasons for the increase in art smuggling and theft in terms of international scope rather than only focus on Taiwan. I then focus on the phenomenon, the causes, and the operations related to smuggling and

theft in Taiwan. As the Taiwanese art market has a very close relationship with that in Mainland China, the illegal traffic between Taiwan and China is also discussed in this section. The impact of smuggling and theft on the art market including art museums and collectors is examined in detail. Finally this section ends by probing Taiwanese museums' awareness and response to the issues regarding ethics, legal title, etc.

As art collecting has been significantly inspired by the fever in the Taiwanese art market since the 1980s, it plays an important role in inspiring faking, smuggling, theft etc. It also presents all kinds of aesthetic interests, which are influenced and driven by social forces. Viewed sociologically, art collecting not only derives from artistic interests but also from social intentions. In order to explore the motives behind the phenomenon of art collecting, in the sixth chapter I analyse collectors' ideology and taste, which demonstrate a diversity of attitudes to art collecting in Taiwan. I also survey the evolution of collecting interests in Taiwan. It presents influences reflecting not only the ideas of western and Japanese collectors, but also the growing Nativism. Multiple influences have shifted Taiwanese collectors' interests from conservatism to pluralism since 1949. Apart from collecting interests, the social status of Taiwanese collectors is also discussed in this chapter. The increasing number of local collectors not only signals the rise of the native Taiwanese, but also makes major collectors respectable in society. The relationship between collectors and art museums becomes much closer after 1980. More collectors are willing to establish their own art museums. Having followed Taiwanese collectors' progress, I explore the interaction between collectors and museums as well as the collectors' intention of establishing their own art museums or galleries.

Due to the prosperity of the art market and the art collecting fever, many art museums have been established since 1980. In the seventh chapter, a chronological survey of the establishment of art museums in Taiwan is carried out in order to explore the phenomenon of rapid museum expansion. I not only discuss the difference between public museums, private museums and university museums, but also debate the problems and dilemmas resulting from the museum fever in Taiwan. Many problems derive from the art market. In the second section of this chapter, I look to the interaction between art museums and the art market. I explore not only the link between museum operation and the art market but also the interaction between art dealers, collectors, auctioneers, artists and art museums. Subsequently, I focus on the acquisition of art in order to elaborate upon the problems and impacts deriving from flaws in the acquisition procedure and inappropriate policies. In the last section, I highlight the political influence upon museum exhibition policies. I also explore the interaction between

museum exhibitions and the art market as well as the reasons for museum exhibitions heading toward popularity and market-oriented policies.

In conclusion, in the eighth chapter, I map out the whole evolution of the art market in Taiwan. How political, economic and cultural forces affect the art market, collectors and art museums in Taiwan is discussed in detail. Based on Bourdieu's sociological theory, cultural activities are actually situated in the field of power. In terms of the Taiwanese situation, I apply Bourdieu's theory to present a complex picture relating to the relationship between politics, economy, culture, class relationship and the art market. This picture provides a clear overview to explain the interaction between the art market and society in Taiwan. At the same time the close relationship as well as the interaction between Taiwan and China is also explored.

Taiwan has played an essential role since the late 1980s in provoking Chinese art collecting and museum establishment in neighbouring countries, in particular in China. The impact of Taiwan to the recent development of the art market and art museums in China, Singapore and so on will be presented in a greater Chinese context. In terms of growing interaction, the ideology of Nativism has been reconsidered and re-evaluated. Internationalism has become more popular in Taiwanese society since 1990. Cultural pluralism is becoming the main stream in Taiwan. Cooperation is likely to replace separatism between Taiwan and China. Having followed the current social changes, a solution, which may contribute to the future development of the art market and art museums, will be proposed.

## 5. Methodology and materials

I have been involved in the Chinese art markets since 1987. In 1989, to complete my MA dissertation, *'Imperial Porcelain in the Ming Dynasty'*, I visited art museums, archaeological institutions, and archaeological sites in China for two weeks and collected a great deal of information and many samples.

In addition, from 1987 I worked as an art dealer for 'My Humble House', the leading antique company in Taiwan at that time and then for the Yonghan International Art Centre in Taipei from 1990. As they were international companies and played a leading role in the art market, I had a good opportunity to observe the changes in the local and the Chinese art markets. At that time, based on my background in Chinese art history, I not only helped certain collectors authenticate their works of art and antiquities, but also

assisted them in building up their collections. From my involvement in the art business I travelled often to Japan, Hong Kong, China, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and so on to purchase works of art or antiquities from artists, art dealers or auctioneers.

I was also a free-lance playwright and executive for cultural TV programmes in the early 1990s.<sup>11</sup> For example, in 1990, while producing the TV programme, 'The Birthplace of Porcelain', I travelled through at least 15 provinces in China for over one month in order to visit museums, research units and archaeological sites with the TV production team.<sup>12</sup> In July 1994 I also stayed in the north west of China for one month to investigate Buddhist caves. In these travels, I took a great number of photographs, videotapes and notes. These provided me with good opportunities not only to explore the archaeological development, but also to further observe the development of the art market and art museums in modern China.

Afterwards, I became chief editor of *Wealthy Magazine* and *Art Monthly* in charge of coverage or criticism related to art, in particular the art market, from Nov. 1990 to March 1992. Since then I became interested in the study of the art markets in Taiwan and Mainland China and started systematically collecting information concerning the art market and art museums. As I am also an artist participating in a number of exhibitions in Taiwan and other countries, this obviously helps me to easily make friends with artists, art dealers and collectors not only in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore but also in China.

From August 1996 I started working as a full-time lecturer at the College of Art & Technology in Tainan, teaching aesthetic theory and art history. At the same time, I worked as a part-time lecturer at Danjiang University in Taipei and opened the course, 'The Appreciation and Collection of Cultural Relics', focusing on the study of the Chinese art market.

So far, I have published seven books regarding art. Among them are the following four books, *Penetrating the Art Market*, *Contemporary Calligraphy and Painting Market*, *The Appreciation & Collection of Cultural Relics*, *Tradition & Creation*, discussing the development of the art market and art museums in the greater Chinese area.

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<sup>11</sup> In the early 1990s I produced some plays for cultural video programmes such as 'The Birthplace of Porcelain', 'World of Antiquities' and 'The Beauty of Chinese art'.

<sup>12</sup> In this trip I visited important museums, archaeological research units and archaeological sites in Mainland China. 'The Birthplace of Porcelain', 13-episode video programme, was completed in 1990 and was given awards by the authority, the Bureau of News, Taiwan, in 1991.



As the subject of the art market is rather new in Taiwan, even in China, except for a few MA dissertations and some articles in journals, no academic in Taiwan has done research on this current sphere of the art market. This has caused difficulties in collecting materials to enhance this thesis. Fortunately, as an author and university lecturer, I have been able to collect all kinds of materials regarding the art market and the development of art museums in Taiwan since 1987. These previous experiences and materials have given me a solid foundation for this study. Furthermore, I have gone back to Taiwan four times, each time for one month, to do more fieldwork in order to gather more materials and to interview experts. In addition, to enrich and reinforce the thesis research I have made great efforts to search for new sources from a wide range of western literature.

This thesis has been brought together by using a diversity of materials including data from newspapers, magazines, articles from journals, books, symposiums and conferences, and information from interviews with art dealers, directors, academics and curators in Taiwan and China. My approach to this material has been that of a social and cultural historian of art. I have intentionally adopted an approach which is very broad in scope as only by this means could I attempt to attain an overall understanding of the art market in Taiwan and its development. Whilst it would be possible to produce a Ph.D. thesis on smuggling or faking alone, here these topics contribute to a bigger picture, which indicates the impact of social, political and economic forces. I sincerely hope that the thesis not only provides a historical record for cultural development in Taiwan as well as providing a broader scope with which to understand the nature of the art phenomenon, and also could inspire more scholars to devote their academic interest to this field.

## 2: The Taiwanese context

### 1. Historical background

Geographically Taiwan, an island called 'Ilha Formosa' by Portuguese sailors, is located south of China (**Figure 2.1**).<sup>1</sup> This location amongst Mainland China, Japan and South East Asia makes Taiwan an important military and trading point. It, therefore, has been ruled by different regimes and has suffered many war disasters since ancient times, in particular during the colonial era.

**Figure 2.1: Map of Taiwan and China**



<sup>1</sup> Chronology of Taiwan, <http://www.star2001.net/taiwan/tw0015.htm>, 26 Jan. 2001. See also Zhang Jianlong (張建隆), Dansuhi: An Initial Study (淡水史研究初探) on the web site of the Ministry of

According to historical archive, Taiwan belonged to the Wu State in the Three States Period (AD 220-287).<sup>2</sup> Although Taiwan has maintained a relationship with Mainland China since ancient times, due to the geographic position far from the mainland most Chinese emperors regarded Taiwan as a barbarian island, where aborigines, criminals and pirates concentrated and did not value Taiwan. In fact Taiwan's identity was a vassal state rather than a formal province. For example, the Qing government had formally ruled Taiwan since 1684. The Qing government dispatched troops to safeguard Taiwan, but did not appoint officials to manage Taiwan.<sup>3</sup> This attitude can be seen the historical matters that the Ming government ceded Taiwan to Dutch in 1624 and the Manchu government ceded Taiwan to Japan in 1895 in order to swap for temporary peace. Since the seventeenth century Taiwan has been occupied respectively by the Dutch (1624-1662) and the Spanish (1626-1642). It also was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945.

## 1.1 Colonized complex

The history of Taiwan as a colony has become a sad memory in Taiwanese collective consciousness. The colonial assimilation, which intended to transform Taiwanese culture, gave the Taiwanese people a strong ethnic consciousness.<sup>4</sup> Evidence showing intense uprising against the external political rules such as the Dutch, the Japanese and so on can still be seen in the historical record. For example, in 1895 in order to resist Japanese colonial ruling, the Taiwanese people established the 'Taiwan Democratic Nation'. Japanese soldiers killed 14,000 native Taiwanese.<sup>5</sup> The historical complex of being oppressed no doubt makes Taiwanese rather sensitive to a non-native regime. As a result, since the KMT<sup>6</sup> government formally moved to Taiwan in 1949, the Taiwanese have fought against the KMT government for their rights and identity.

## 1.2. Ethnic groups in Taiwan

Taiwan is a multi-racial society, which, in addition to aborigines, consists of assorted immigrants from China. During the Qing dynasty (AD1644-1911) a great number of

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Taiwan: [http://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/Newsletter\\_74/74\\_02.htm](http://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/Newsletter_74/74_02.htm), 26 Jan. 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Shen Ying (沈瑩), *Linhaishuituwuzhi* (臨海水土物志).

<sup>3</sup> Wen Zhenhua (溫振華)(1995).

<sup>4</sup> Ihara Yoshinosuke (伊原吉之助)(1988: 278,368).

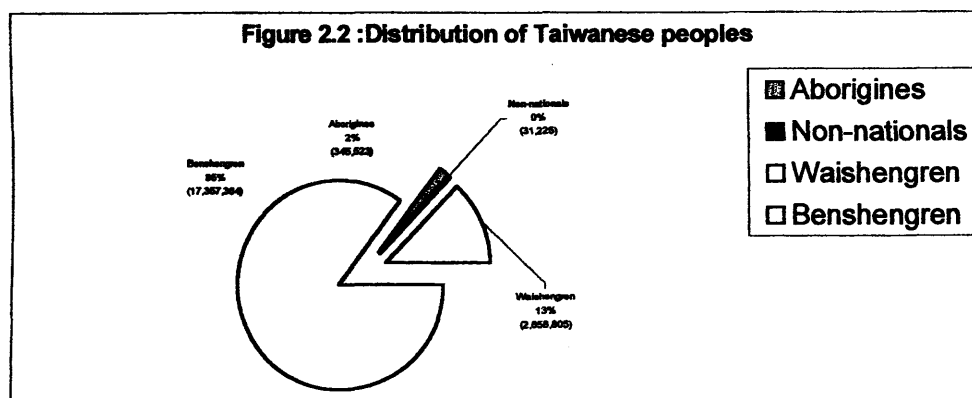
<sup>5</sup> Huang Zhaotang (黃昭堂)(1995).

<sup>6</sup> Nationalist Party (國民黨. 'KMT' as the abbreviation of the Nationalist Party is used by the media.)

Chinese immigrants came from the southeast of China, in particular Guangdong and Fujian provinces.<sup>7</sup> The constituents of the Taiwanese population were so complicated that conflicts have frequently occurred between different ethnic groups since then.<sup>8</sup>

After 1949 the ethnic groups in Taiwan can be divided into three ethnic groups, i.e. aborigines, Benshengren and Waishengren (Figure 2.2). According to scholar's research, the difference between Benshengren and Waishengren mainly depends upon the time of immigration into Taiwan. If a Taiwanese resident's father immigrated to Taiwan after 1945, he or she would be categorized as a mainlander, the so-called 'Waishengren'. In contrast, if a Taiwanese resident's father immigrated to Taiwan before 1945, he or she is categorized as a native Taiwanese, the so-called 'Benshengren'.<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact the Benshengren consist of immigrants before 1945 from Fujian province, the so-called 'Holo' or 'Minnan'<sup>10</sup> and immigrants before 1945 from Guangdong province, so called 'Hakka'.<sup>11</sup>

According to statistics, the group of 'Waishengren', who were officials, soldiers, landlords or refugees, immigrated into Taiwan with Jiang's troops after 1945 came from different provinces in China.<sup>12</sup> Based on the ethnic concept mentioned above, both aborigines and Benshengren are used to regarding themselves as native Taiwanese in order to distinguish themselves from the group of 'Waishengren'.



Source: statistics by the Home Office of Taiwan, see *Liberty Times*, 28 Nov. 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Wu Fengshan (吳豐山)(1985).

<sup>8</sup> Li Yongchi (李永熾)(1995).

<sup>9</sup> Wang Fuchang (王甫昌)(1998: 4-5).

<sup>10</sup> Wang Fuchang (王甫昌)(1998: 1).

<sup>11</sup> Juang Wanshou (莊萬壽)(1995).

<sup>12</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(1997: 73-108).

## 2. The ruling of the Nationalist Party (KMT)

### 2.1 The '228 Event', a historical tragedy

On 25 December 1945, after 50 years of Japanese occupation Japan returned Taiwan back to the Nationalist Party (KMT), then the ruling party of the Republic of China (1911- ). At the same time, the civil war broke out. The army of Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party challenged the regime of Jiang Jieshi, the leader of the KMT. Unfortunately, Jiang Jieshi was defeated by Mao Zedong. As a result, Jiang appointed Chen Yi in haste to take over Taiwan in order to withdraw troops to Taiwan. In order to control Taiwan as soon as possible Chen Yi adopted a highly oppressive policy to control Taiwan. This no doubt aroused intense resistance. Although the Taiwanese elite immediately organized a committee on behalf of the Taiwanese people to negotiate with Jiang Jieshi in Nanjing in China, Jiang's government considered this response a revolt. More troops were sent to Taiwan not only to arrest but also to kill a lot of the Taiwanese elite.<sup>13</sup> This genocide, the '228 Event' resulted in the death of over 30,000 native Taiwanese.<sup>14</sup> This historical tragedy has haunted Taiwan society and has encouraged more people to defy the KMT government and campaign for the independence of Taiwan since 1947. In 1949 the government of the Republic of China led by Jiang Jieshi withdrew to Taiwan and the Communist Party established the Peoples Republic of China. Henceforth, in this thesis the Republic of China will be referred to as Taiwan and Mainland China will be referred to as China.

### 2.2 Ethnic group conflicts

Since the '228 Event' previous residents including Benshengren and aborigines have regarded the KMT government as an invader. There is no doubt that the '228 Event' has resulted in ethnic separation and caused a long-term conflict between native Taiwanese and Waishengren. Particularly as most victims of the '228 Event' were Benshengren, ethnic conflict between Benshengren and Waishengren has become intense since then.<sup>15</sup> This situation has inevitably made the KMT government, which was operated by the minority, Waishengren, in comparison with Benshengren, adopt a high

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<sup>13</sup> Lin Mingde (林明德)(1995).

<sup>14</sup> See [http://www.chinataiwan.org.chinataiwan/Big5/history/island-hos/acorss\\_strait/13.htm](http://www.chinataiwan.org.chinataiwan/Big5/history/island-hos/acorss_strait/13.htm), 5 Jan. 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Jiang Guangming (江冠明)(2001: 83).

oppression policy since 1949 to prevent challenges from the Benshengren. Furthermore, to protect their own profits, the KMT government intentionally oppressed other ethnic groups in Taiwan in politics, economy and culture. This has created a long-term ethnic conflict between Benshengren and Waishengren. As Shi Zhengfeng, an assistant professor of the Danjiang University in Taipei, stated, the political conflict in Taiwan mainly comes from the interaction between Benshengren and Waishengren.<sup>16</sup> This conflict is well illustrated through the political party support of each ethnic group. According to academic research, 90-95% Benshengren have supported the opposition campaigns held by the Democratic Progress Party (DPP)<sup>17</sup> to support the independence of Taiwan since 1970. On the contrary, in a view of votes for the political party, most Waishengren have supported the KMT since 1949.<sup>18</sup> In fact, according to statistics, no more than 10%, usually less than 5%, of the Waishengren are in favour of opposition parties.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.3 Political oppression

As soon as The KMT government based on the official system of Waishengren was established in Taiwan, it made efforts to enhance its ruling of Taiwan. First of all, it took control of the military force. Through politics, it tried to eliminate the historical record of the '228 event'. As Huang Fusan, Director of the Department of Taiwanese History of the Taiwan Academia Sinica, wrote that it was forbidden by the Jiang's government to discuss the '228 Event' in public.<sup>20</sup> It was not until 1986 that the first protest for the '228 Event' occurred in Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> Besides, in 1945 the KMT imposed the 'Martial Law' on Taiwan. This martial law deprived native Taiwanese of the elementary freedoms of speaking, publishing and forming society. No real opposition party existed to challenge the policy of the ruling party, KMT. Under the highest principle of anti-communism all manners of protests against the ruling party were considered as rebellion. According to the opinion of Tian Hongmao, the 'Martial Law' and the '228 Event' shaped a 40-year suppression, which oppressed the social progress of Taiwanese society.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(1997: 73-108).

<sup>17</sup> Opposition campaigners, who defied the KMT ruling, allied and established the DPP in 1986. It is a symbol of not only Taiwan independence but also the power of Benshengren, as most members of DPP are Benshengren.

<sup>18</sup> Wang Fuchang (王甫昌)(1998: 4-6).

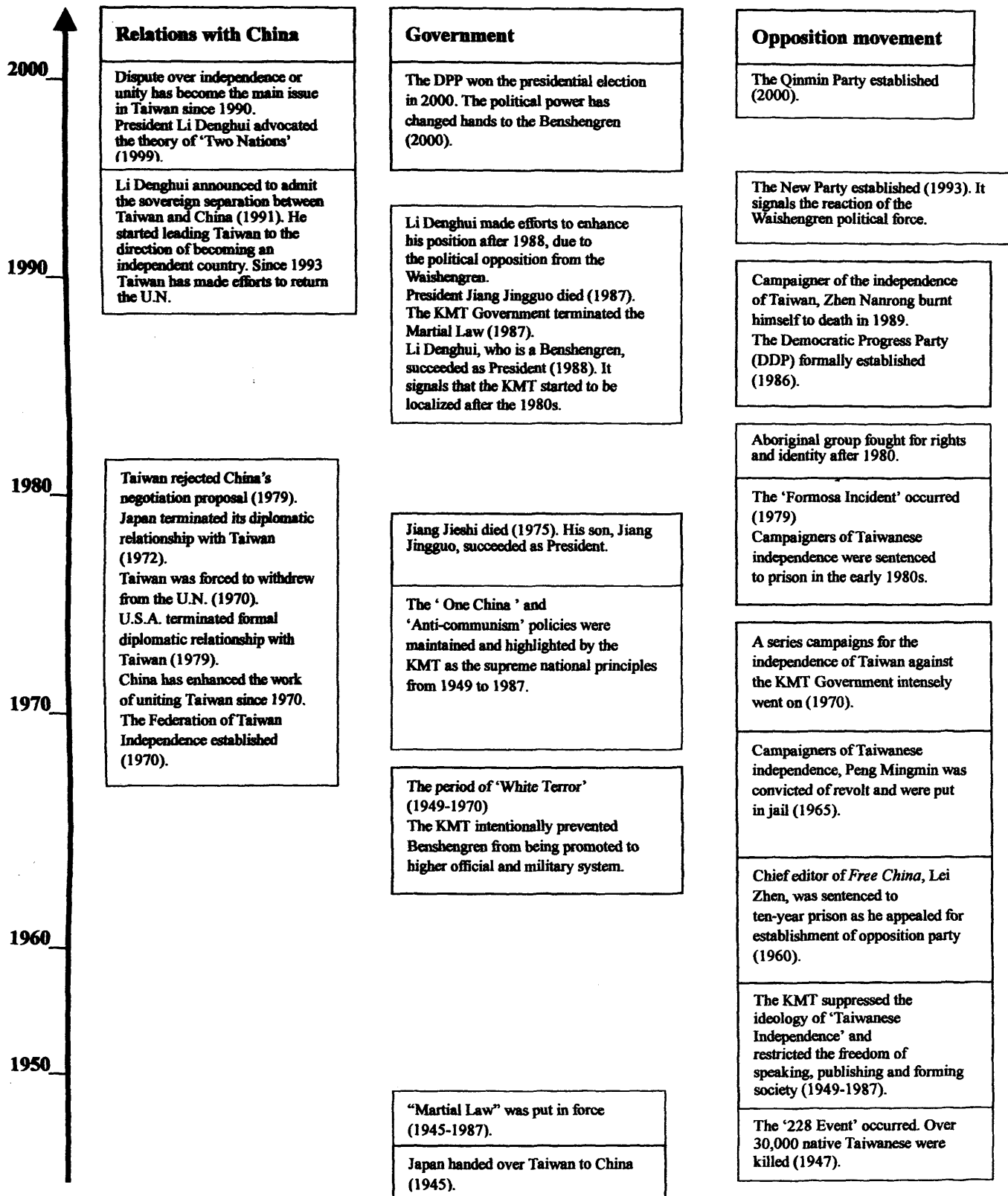
<sup>19</sup> Wu Naide (吳乃德)(1993: 27-51).

<sup>20</sup> Huang Fusan (2001), The '228 Event', <http://www.ftvn.com.tw/Newsprog/TWNNotes/0228.htm>, 7 Jan. 2001.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Tian Hongmao (田弘茂)(1988: 15).

Figure 2.3: Political development in Taiwan since 1949



In the period from 1950 to 1970, termed 'White Terror Period', the KMT government monitored and arrested dissidents through the intelligence network in order to prevent activities of Taiwan independence. More dissidents of Benshengren were arrested and killed.<sup>23</sup> For example, a number of students of the National Taiwan University and the National Taiwan Normal University were arrested and sentenced to death in 1950 after they held a campaign, termed '46 Incident', asking for political freedom.<sup>24</sup> A number of campaigners, who appealed for political freedom, were arrested. For instance, Lei Zhen, Director of *Free China*, was given a ten-year prison sentence in 1960, as he appealed for the establishment of opposition party.<sup>25</sup> Despite the suppression, opposition campaigns asking for political freedom have never stopped since 1949 (Figure 2.3).

## 2.4 Cultural oppression

Political suppression meant that in the cultural world scholars and artists were restricted from presenting their works freely. The 'Chen Chengpo Incident' during the '228 Event' significantly frightened native artists.<sup>26</sup> On one hand the KMT government made efforts to cut off the connection with China and advocated recovering Chinese traditional culture. On the other hand it oppressed the development of local culture on purpose. Due to the cultural protectionism, artists of Waishengren, who immigrated with the KMT government to Taiwan, dominated not only the art world but also the field of artistic education.<sup>27</sup> This has meant that artists and the early fine arts history of Benshengren have been ignored by the authorities since 1949.<sup>28</sup>

The National Palace Museum in Taipei, where houses choice treasures brought by Jiang's army from the National Palace Museum in Beijing in the course of evacuating to Taiwan, was established in Taipei and symbolized as Chinese legitimism. Works of art to glorify the idea of anti-communism and enhance the principle policy of 'Recover the Chinese culture' prevailed at that time.<sup>29</sup> In particular, the artistic interest of the Jiang families was in favour of Waishengren artists. Even though most of the artistic styles were rather traditional in comparison with the post-war art world, they became the main streams in the art world in Taiwan. Moreover their works could sell for a very high price

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<sup>23</sup> Ye Yijun (葉怡君)(2000: 5-6). See also Guo Feng (郭楓)(1990: 40-41).

<sup>24</sup> Han Guodong (韓國棟)(2001).

<sup>25</sup> Li Xiaofeng (李筱峰)(1987: 75).

<sup>26</sup> Chen Chengpo (陳澄波), a painter of the Benshengren, was arrested and killed in the '228 Event', as he appealed for Taiwanese Independence. See Lin Xingyue (林惺嶽)(1987: 51).

<sup>27</sup> Lin Xingyue (林惺嶽)(1987: 72).

<sup>28</sup> Cai Yiyun (蔡宜芸)(1990: 145).



in the local art market. For example, Gao Yihong, a painter, was the painting teacher of President Jiang Jingguo, Jiang Jieshi's son. The price of his ink painting was equal to the value of two or three houses in Taipei in the 1960s-1970s.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, those artists, who were Benshengren, were completely ignored by the art world in Taiwan. For instance, according to official opinion, the calligraphy by native Taiwanese (Benshengren) were so vulgar that they could hardly be defined as elegant.<sup>31</sup> From the view of calligraphy, when the National Fine Arts Exhibition began in 1967, all members of the committee, which decided the prizewinner, were Waishengren. This has aroused a great deal of controversy since then.<sup>32</sup> It was only an example in the mid-1970s when Cao Qiupu,<sup>33</sup> Benshengren calligrapher, became a member of the committee. In addition, the acquisition of public art museums was based on the traditional 'Chinese Styles' rather than local works of art at that time.<sup>34</sup>

The cultural policy, which the KMT intended to not only exclude itself from the cultural development of China (communist China), but also ignore the native culture, has inspired native Taiwanese to introduce western modern art and philosophy into Taiwan since 1960. As Li Yiyuan, member of the Academic Sinica, indicates, "Due to transformation and complication in the society, the disconnection between Taiwan and its original Chinese culture resulted in the lack of cultural impetus and led Taiwanese to enthuse over western modern trend of thoughts."<sup>35</sup> In addition evidence shows that American support to Taiwan played an essential role not only in the development in economy but also in culture.<sup>36</sup> The American government provided 100 million US\$ funding each year to support Taiwan from 1951-1965. Part of this funding was used to encourage Taiwanese to learn American modern culture.<sup>37</sup> As Chen Fangming notes, "It is a response to the cultural control by the authorities. As, spiritually, modern writers in Taiwan could not find their way to express their feeling, the modern western culture brought by America became the only window on outside world."<sup>38</sup> Consequently, modern western art was introduced into Taiwan and has resulted in a wave of modern art in fine arts, literature and performing art since the 1960s. Some commercial galleries

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<sup>29</sup> Ye Shitao (葉石濤)(1985: 34).

<sup>30</sup> Interview with the widow of Gao Yihong (高逸鴻), in Taipei in June 1991.

<sup>31</sup> Chen Qilu (陳奇祿)(1995: 58).

<sup>32</sup> Jiang Zhaoshen (江兆申)(1925-1996), a calligrapher 30-years younger than Cao Qiupu, Benshengren calligraphy won the calligraphy prize held by the Ministry of Education aroused serious controversy in the 1960s. See Zhen Jinfa (鄭進發)(1996: 6).

<sup>33</sup> Cao Qiupu (曹秋圃).

<sup>34</sup> Zheng Jinfa (鄭進發)(1996: 11).

<sup>35</sup> Li Yiyuan (李亦園)(1988: 145).

<sup>36</sup> Lai Yingying (賴瑛瑛)(1996: 13-4).

<sup>37</sup> Huang Cailang (黃才郎)(1992: 267).

<sup>38</sup> Chen Fangming (陳芳明)(1994: 226).

were established between the 1960s to the early 1970s, as artistic activities began to prosper. Their customers were mainly American soldiers, foreign businessmen and tourists in Taiwan.<sup>39</sup>

However, the supervision of artists by the authorities was growing, in particular of those artists who were eager to create new styles. Even society of artists might be forbidden from being established.<sup>40</sup> The 'Qin Song Event' and the abolition of the 'Chinese Modern Art Centre'<sup>41</sup> in 1960 significantly depressed modern artists in Taiwan.<sup>42</sup> Many avant-garde artists such as Liu Guosong, Xia Yang etc. fled Taiwan to find their way in overseas countries. As Lai Yingying, Curator of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, indicates, "The artistic development in Taiwan in the 1960s was shrouded in the shadow of 'White Terror'."<sup>43</sup> To reflect the state in the isolated society, western modern theories such as Existentialism, Nihilism etc., which explores the nihility of life, were introduced and prevailed in Taiwan. As Lu Zhenghui describes the situation then, "Politics was rather conservative but economy and culture were westernized."<sup>44</sup>

In addition, to carry out its policy of cultural assimilation, the KMT government set up the Mandarin as the official language and restricted Benshengren and aborigines from speaking their languages in public.<sup>45</sup> This language policy was completely carried out in the education system, which made Chinese traditional culture the main stream in Taiwan. As a result, this language policy, which ignores Taiwanese native languages on purpose has resulted in a self-contained sub-culture by which ordinary native Taiwanese interpret their daily life.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time, the KMT government also controlled the media to mainly serve its autocratic political propaganda. For instance, *Independent Evening News*, established in 1949 by Gu Peizhen, who was a Waishengren, was ordered by the authorities to cease publication due to an innuendo article, which made Jiang Jieshi unpleasant.<sup>47</sup> In 1952 the KMT government used the excuse of economizing on papers to limit the

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<sup>39</sup> Huang Yiyi (黄亦一)(1981).

<sup>40</sup> Zhen Jinfa (鄭進發)(1996: 11).

<sup>41</sup> The authorities suspected two paintings by Qin Song (秦松), a member of the Oriental Painting Society, to contain communist ideology. This investigation by the intelligence agents indirectly resulted in the abolition of the 'Chinese Modern Centre'. See Lin Xingyue (1987: 109).

<sup>42</sup> Lai Yingying (賴瑛瑛)(1996: 6).

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Lu Zhenghui (呂正惠)(1995: 66).

<sup>45</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (1997: 81-2).

<sup>46</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 63).

<sup>47</sup> He Rongxing (何榮幸)(1999: 7).

newspaper's establishment.<sup>48</sup> In fact the KMT government launched its political oppression by imposing a newspaper ban on Taiwan.<sup>49</sup>

Consequently, most newspapers either belonged to the KMT Party or were run by Waishengren capitalists, who had a good relationship with the KMT government. However, from 1950 to 1987, Benshengren entrepreneurs started to secretly set up some newspapers in order to have the right to speak to the public. On the contrary, these newspapers were in favour of Taiwan independence and had a good relationship with the opposition party.<sup>50</sup> Since the KMT government lifted the ban on newspaper and magazines in 1988, the growth of newspapers and magazines has mushroomed in Taiwan.

## 2.5 Political dilemma and growing Nativism<sup>51</sup> in the 1970s

Taiwanese cultural modernism successfully replaced the anti-communist culture in the 1960s, however it was strongly criticized by people in art, as the cultural development of the so-called 'Modern Art Period' in the 1960s, was considered as western cultural imitation.<sup>52</sup> As a result, the appeal for cultural localization was significantly increasing in the 1970s. According to academic research, cultural localization in Taiwan actually was caused by diverse social consciousness including cultural awareness, political opposition ideology and so on. As a matter of fact, it has been inspired by a series of frustrations with international relationships since the late 1960s.<sup>53</sup> In 1965 the American military force and financial support were withdrawn from Taiwan. In 1970 The 'Diaoyutai Island Event'<sup>54</sup> and 'Withdrawing from the U.N.' evoked the

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<sup>48</sup> The newspaper ban started in 1951 was based on the Executive Yuan's administrative order (no. 3148), article 7.

<sup>49</sup> Feng Jiansan (馮建三)(1992: 159).

<sup>50</sup> He Rongxing (何榮幸)(1999: 7-10).

<sup>51</sup> Nativism in Taiwan has a multiply meaning. It derives from campaigns of Taiwan independence. It is a sequence of social campaigns, which centres on Taiwan-protectionism and Taiwan-ethnocentrism in politics, economy and culture. In politics, it maintained Taiwan independence and political localization. In economic it signalled a class upgrade of the Benshengren. In culture it symbolizes a local cultural protectionism.

<sup>52</sup> Xiao Xinhuan (蕭新煌)(1989: 197).

<sup>53</sup> Chen Zhengti (陳正醴)(1982: 23).

<sup>54</sup> The Diaoyutai Islands are a group of eight uninhabited islands located 120 miles northeast of Taiwan on the continental shelf and are separated from the Liu Qiu Islands (Ryukyu Islands, also known as Okinawa) by a deep underwater trench (over 1000 metres deep). Chinese historical records detailing the discovery and geographical features of these islands date back to the year 1403. For several centuries they have been administered as part of Taiwan and have always been used exclusively by Chinese fishermen as an operational base, both before and after World War II.

In 1874, Japan took the Liu Qiu Islands from China by force. Diaoyutai, however, remained under the administration of Taiwan, a part of China. Taiwan (including Diaoyutai) was ceded to Japan in 1895 after

intellectuals' nationalist consciousness. Subsequently Japan terminated its diplomatic relationship with Taiwan in 1972. Furthermore, the United States followed the Japanese step and terminated the formal relationship with Taiwan in 1979. However, isolation in a very difficult position awakened the Taiwanese to rely on their own abilities. This urged Taiwanese people to have the same idea to be independent. Consequently, on one hand the ideology of independence has ignited the fuse of the opposition political campaigns since the 1970s. On the other hand it stimulated interest in Nativism. In other words, Nativism in the 1970s in Taiwan actually derived from political awareness, which made people start to look at their own situation. As a matter of fact, with the increasing anti-government campaigns, the debate of cultural localization was focused on political ideology more than the aesthetic value of works of art.<sup>55</sup> As Chen Zhengti indicates, "The fever of 'Nativism' actually reflected multiple meanings. It not only reflected the ideological change of the intellectual due to the difficulty in the international situation at that time, but also revealed the enthusiasm over the issue of 'nation and ethnic identity' in response to the mass concern about the future of Taiwan. At the same time it aroused people to make self-examination over western cultural impact and reevaluated the local culture. Furthermore, it ignited people's hope to expect a social reform."<sup>56</sup> Since 1970, the cultural localization including archaeological activities, anthropological investigation and so on, has begun. For example, Lu Bingchuan and Xu Changhui have started their fieldwork of aboriginal music since the late 1960s.<sup>57</sup> The naïve painters, who are Benshengren, were valued in order to ideologically distinguish them from highly-educated Waishengren artists. From the view of sociology, the growing ethos of Nativism may be seen as a reaction of sub-culture, which operated under the suppression of the main culture (Figure 2.4).

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the first Sino-Japanese War, and was returned to China at the end of World War II in 1945 based upon the 1943 agreement of the Big Three in Cairo. Hence the Diaoyutai as part of Taiwan was included in that package. But in 1945, the United States kept that group of small islets for occasional bombing practice targets, largely for its Liu Qiu based Air Force.

After 1968 when large deposits of oil and natural gas were discovered in that region, Japan claimed that the Diaoyutai Islands are part of Liu Qiu. In 1969 when the Okinawa Reversion Treaty was signed between the US and Japan, it included the Diaoyutai Islands. Since then Japan insists repeatedly that the islet group is part of Japan's territory.

This development enraged Chinese people all over the world. At that time the Nationalist government in Taipei also communicated to Washington about this mistake. Chinese students in the United States protested through demonstrations and marches in New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, and Honolulu. Meanwhile, they sent letters to President Nixon and the 92nd Congress to explain this mistake.

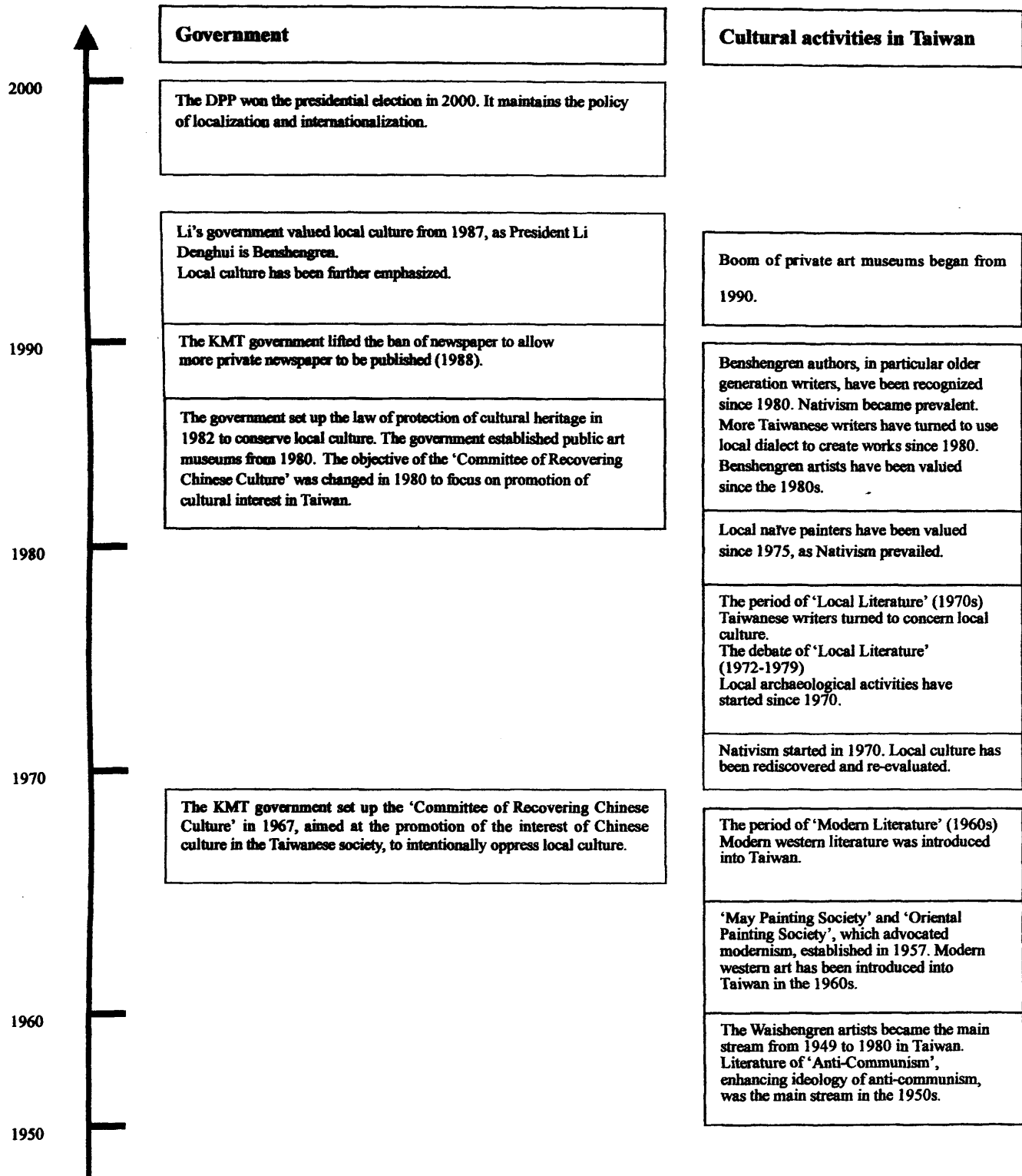
Since Liu Qiu reversed to Japan's administration in 1972, the Japanese government constantly send its naval forces to eject Chinese fishermen from the area. In fact, for centuries a substantial number of Chinese fishermen from Taiwan made their living largely depending on their catches in the area.

<sup>55</sup> Yufantuan (御飯糰)(2000).

<sup>56</sup> Chen Zhengti (陳正釅)(1982: 23).

<sup>57</sup> Shi Meihui (施美慧)(2000a). Xu Changhui (許常惠) (1996: 27).

Figure 2.4: Cultural development in Taiwan since 1949



## 2.6 Economic monopolization and the rise of local economic forces

In 1945 Japanese army handed over Taiwan to the KMT government, which combined with the capitalists of Waishengren to form the post-war capitalist structure in Taiwan. The KMT government monopolized many industries such as the sugar industry, petroleum industry etc. This meant that over 80 % of industrial production was made by government-controlled industry.<sup>58</sup>

On one hand the KMT government monopolized all the social resources in order to control the sectors of labour, agriculture and commerce by means of exclusionary corporatism. At the same time it used the intelligence system as a means to supervise and soothe the conflicts between diverse groups or organizations. On the other hand the KMT government built up a mutual profit-exchange clientelist<sup>59</sup> not only to weaken the native Taiwanese intention to enter politics, but also to prevented local elite forces from being allied.<sup>60</sup> This no doubt caused native Taiwanese (Benshengren) to lose political interest and to turn their attention to economics and business.<sup>61</sup>

Due to a good relationship with the KMT over fifty years those Waishengren capitalists could have the privilege to run a monopolistic business.<sup>62</sup> As Liu Jinqing states, "Based on an analysis of capital structure, most enterprises developed in the early stage have a very special connection with the government, in particular capitalists of Waishengren such as capitalists of Shanghai group or Shandong group."<sup>63</sup> Wang Hongren also emphasized this phenomenon as Waishengren capitalists monopolized economic resources.<sup>64</sup> As a result most native Taiwanese could only run mid-size or small-size enterprise. As Zhou Tiancheng notes, the economic market in Taiwan is a dichotomous market structure.<sup>65</sup> According to statistics, the Taiwanese local market is carved up by large enterprises. Those mid and small-size enterprises focus on export trade.<sup>66</sup> Zhou

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<sup>58</sup> Lu Shaowei (呂紹煒)(2000a).

<sup>59</sup> Clientelist is a rewarding relationship between a government, which grasps most of resources, and specified capitalists. It is a profit exchange for political support. Refer to Lai Jialing (1995: 82).

<sup>60</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 46).

<sup>61</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 45).

<sup>62</sup> Lu Shaowei (呂紹煒)(2000a).

<sup>63</sup> Liu Jinqing (劉進慶)(1992: 284-300).

<sup>64</sup> Wang Hongren (王宏仁)(1988: 22-5).

<sup>65</sup> Zhou Tiancheng (周添城)(1992: 106).

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

Tiancheng also writes, “Large enterprises can utilize the political relationship with the KMT to have higher profits because of monopolization. However, the greater number of mid-size or small-size enterprises as an underprivileged group can not help but develop their business toward overseas markets, because they have difficulties in involving the local market.”<sup>67</sup>

Since 1972 the KMT government started to ally with Benshengren elite including politicians, capitalists and scholars after Taiwan lost American support in 1965 and withdrew from the U.N. in 1971.<sup>68</sup> As a result local capitalists began to develop their business by supporting the KMT policy. This has no doubt made the economic force of Benshengren rise since the 1970s. Consequently, this may explain why the Taiwanese economy has prospered significantly since the 1970s. It also may reveal why more collectors, most of whom are entrepreneurs, have been interested in collecting native art since the 1970s.

### 3. Opposition forces and social campaigns since 1980

The oppression by the KMT government resulted in inequality and imbalance in the power structure of politics and social culture in Taiwan.<sup>69</sup> In response to that, Benshengren have been strongly encouraged to launch a series of social campaigns to defy the authorities since 1949. Furthermore, the opposition strength became stronger after Jiang Jieshi died in 1975. His Son, Jiang Jingguo, succeeded as the president and the leader of the KMT. Partly because he intended to enhance his position against political opponents from the KMT conservative force, partly because he tried to resist the increasing pressure from China, he started to introduce elite from the Benshengren into the official system. After that, the power of Benshengren started to rise significantly and the opposition campaigns have become more intensified since 1980.<sup>70</sup> The ‘Formosa Event’ in 1979 was one of the biggest opposition campaigns, which caused a number of campaigners to be arrested and sentenced to prison (See Figure 2.3). From the view of sociology, this phenomenon is more likely to release a social energy due to over thirty years of oppression by the KMT. More opposition campaigns were held to ask for ethnic justice in politics, economy and culture. Nativism, which prospered from the 1970s, has been further emphasized since 1980.

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<sup>67</sup> Zhou Tiancheng (周添城)(1992: 107).

<sup>68</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 55).

<sup>69</sup> Wang Fuchan (王甫昌)(1998: 1-45).

Although the aboriginal group used to yield to the tokenism made by the KMT, they were also inspired by opposition campaigns to fight for their rights and identity since 1980. They asked for land ownership, political autonomy and cultural identity after being ignored by the KMT government for almost 30 years.<sup>71</sup> As Xu Zhenguang notes, "Taiwan has entered into the period of reaction of sociological forces since about 1980."<sup>72</sup> Xiao Xinhuang, researcher of the Academic Sinica also indicates, "A great number of newly risen social campaigns have been launched to challenge the authority of the KMT government since 1983."<sup>73</sup> In fact this phenomenon can be seen as the reaction of the Benshengren force. Even so, discussion about the '228 Event' and the 'White Terror' were forbidden in public and still remained unknown to the public in the early 1980s. It was not until the late 1980s that the truth was eventually revealed, partly because the force of the opposition party, the DPP, was sharply growing after 1980, partly because President Jiang Jingguo died in 1987 and in 1988, Li Denghui, who is Benshengren, succeeded Jiang Jingguo as President of the Republic of China in Taiwan.

The '228 Event' and the 'White Terror' like an unforgettable nightmare became a historical totem to unite native Taiwanese to defy the KMT authority. Since 1980, not only have they haunted Taiwanese society, but also have significantly influenced the development in politics, economy and culture. The painful memory has been well preserved by victims, survivors, and scholars. Therefore, the historical truth is uncovered through a diversity of publishing, speech and protest. With the termination of the 'Martial Law' in 1987, a diversity of social campaigns was growing. For example, in March 1990, thousands of students protested against senior members of the National Assembly, who intended to extend their political influence and their term of office.<sup>74</sup> In 1995, President Li Denghui on behalf of the KMT government made a formal apology to the whole Taiwanese people for the '228 Event'. Due to the support of Chen Shuibian,<sup>75</sup> Taipei mayor at that time, the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum was established in 1995.

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<sup>70</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 54-5).

<sup>71</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(199: 5-8).

<sup>72</sup> Xu Zhenguang (徐振光) (1989: 22-3).

<sup>73</sup> Xiao Xinhuang (蕭新煌)(1995: 15).

<sup>74</sup> Senior members of the National Assembly are Waishengren, who represented the conservative force of the KMT. They intend to enhance their political privilege to influence the next presidential election in 1996.

<sup>75</sup> Chen Shuibian is Benshengren. He won the presidential election and became the President of Taiwan



## 4. Economic prosperity and the 'Money game' in Taiwan since the early 1980s

Initially, the KMT government carried out a series of land reforms from 1949 in order to develop agriculture in the 1950s. Since the 1960s, due to foreign capital, Taiwan increased its processing industries.<sup>76</sup> Most of the product was exported to the market in the U.S.A.<sup>77</sup> From 1960 to 1980 the annual economic growth average was 9.6%.<sup>78</sup> According to official statistics, in 1960 the Per Capita Income in Taiwan was 143 US\$. In 1970 it became 360 US\$. In 1980, it rose to be 2,155 US\$. In 1990, it became 7,413 US\$.<sup>79</sup> In 2000, it reached 14,000 US\$.<sup>80</sup> From 1984 to 1987 the Foreign Exchange Reserves accumulated at a higher speed due to the huge favourable balance of trade. It resulted in appreciation of the New Taiwan Dollar.<sup>81</sup> The Foreign Exchange Reserves kept rising considerably. In 1990 they had reached 85 billion US\$. The Foreign Exchange Reserves reached over 100 billion US\$ in 2000 (Figure 2.5). As Xie Senzhong, former President of the Central Bank in Taiwan, writes, "Due to an increasing favourable balance of trade and abundant currency supply evoked the speculative fashion, the so-called 'Money Game', which ignited the boom of the stock and estate markets."<sup>82</sup>

Initially the 'Money Game' started from a lottery game, so call 'Dajiale'.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, it turned to the stock market.<sup>84</sup> As Xie notes, "In 1987 the Taiwan Weighted index number rose sharply from 1039.11 to 4796... In January 1988 16,000 new investors swarmed into the Taiwan stock market within one month. The increasing number of stock investors is also an unprecedented phenomenon."<sup>85</sup> According to

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in 2000.

<sup>76</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 2).

<sup>77</sup> Lu Shaowei (呂紹煒)(2000a).

<sup>78</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 54).

<sup>79</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 12-3).

<sup>80</sup> Lu Shaowei (呂紹煒) (2000a).

<sup>81</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 4).

<sup>82</sup> Xie Senzhong (謝森中)(1993: 160-1).

<sup>83</sup> 'Dajiale', a gambling game like the lottery, was run by ordinary people. People could win a huge amount of money according to the numbers of the national lottery run by the government each month. This gambling phenomenon has prevailed in Taiwan society since 1985. Due to the serious influence on the whole society, the police have started to raid the gambling organizations in places in Taiwan since 1985.

<sup>84</sup> Xie Gaoqiao (謝高橋)(1989: 267-288).

<sup>85</sup> Xie Jinhe (謝金河)(1988: 7).

Wen's opinion, it actually is not a financial investment in the Taiwan share market but a gamble of 'Dajiale.'<sup>86</sup> In January 1990, the Taiwan Weighted index number reached its peak, 12,000. Subsequently, the stock and estate market started to become more modest. Observations about the development of the art market since the late 1980s have indicated that part of the idle capital started to flow into the newly risen art market.<sup>87</sup> The art market has no doubt become another domain for burning 'money game' (Figure 2.6).

On one hand, economic prosperity and idle capital resulted in the fever of the money game. As Zheng Weiyuan states, "Since July 1987 a great amount of 'hot money' from international investors has made the Foreign Exchange Reserves rise dramatically...The price of shares and estates rose at a high speed...Money game prevailed in the whole society in Taiwan... People who scorned to indulge themselves in 'money game' suddenly became 'the newly poor' in the society."<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, distrust and dissatisfaction with the government impelled native Taiwanese to enthuse about monetary accomplishment, for a long time. Most native Taiwanese existed on the fringe of the society. As Qui states, "The fever of the 'Dajiale' signaled a challenge to the authority. It actually derived from the distrust of the government in politics, economy. Psychologically, It also revealed a social dissatisfaction from native Taiwanese."<sup>89</sup> In terms of migration society, Taiwanese are more likely to psychologically feel like exiles. In particular in politics, they feel like the homeless or stateless. As Qui notes, "In politics native Taiwanese feel uneasy, however, to some extent, they have found a sense of security in economic accomplishment."<sup>90</sup> Due to prohibition against the development of political career, Benshengren turned to seeking for self-satisfaction from economic accomplishment.<sup>91</sup> This may explain why native Taiwanese are enthusiastic about financial investment. As Moscovici points out, "Money is the homeland of the stateless."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Wen Manying (溫曼英)(1988: 18).

<sup>87</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 10).

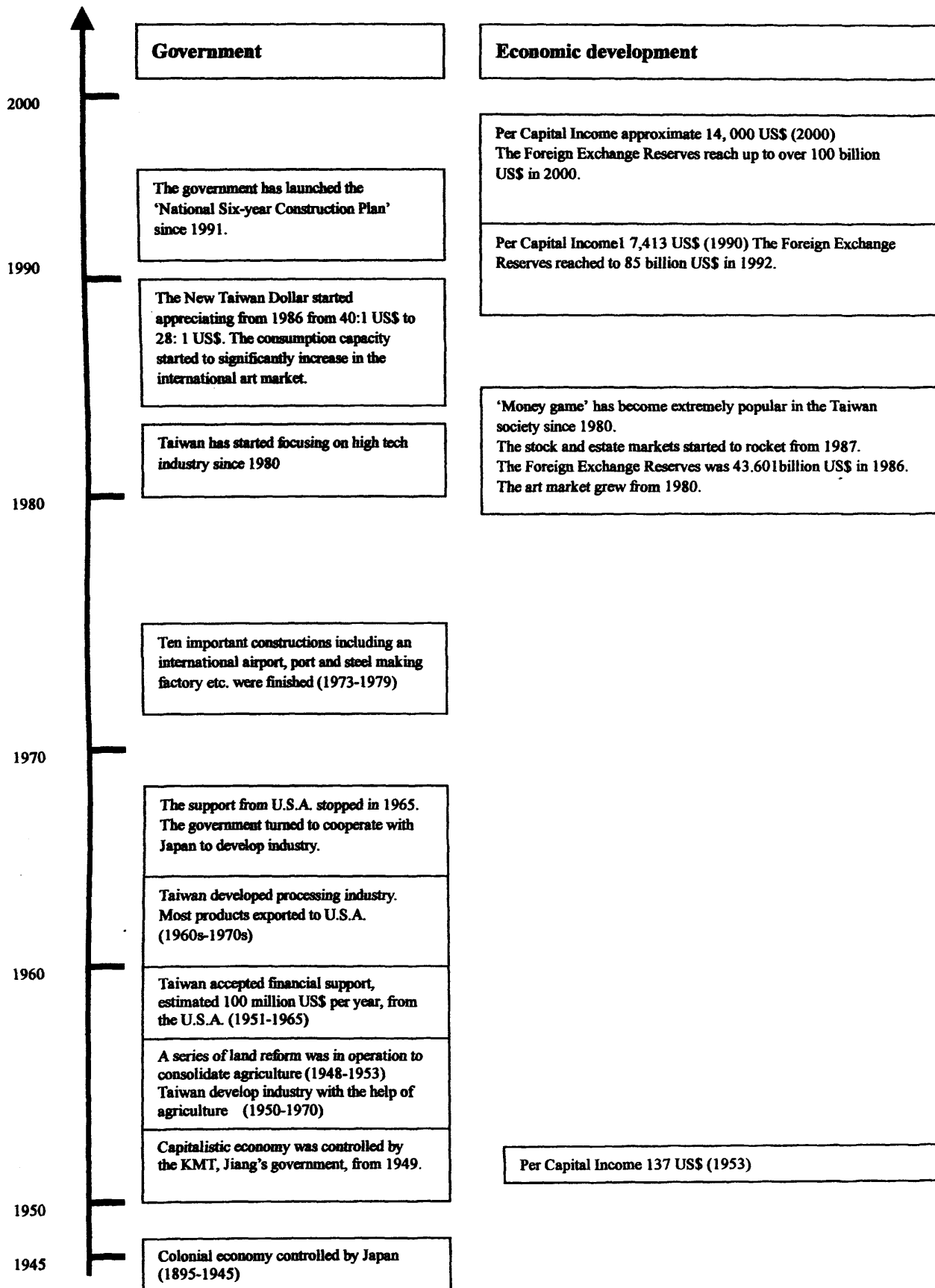
<sup>88</sup> Zheng Weiyuan (鄭為元)(1991: 175).

<sup>89</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩) (1997: 105-6).

<sup>90</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩) (1997: 124-5).

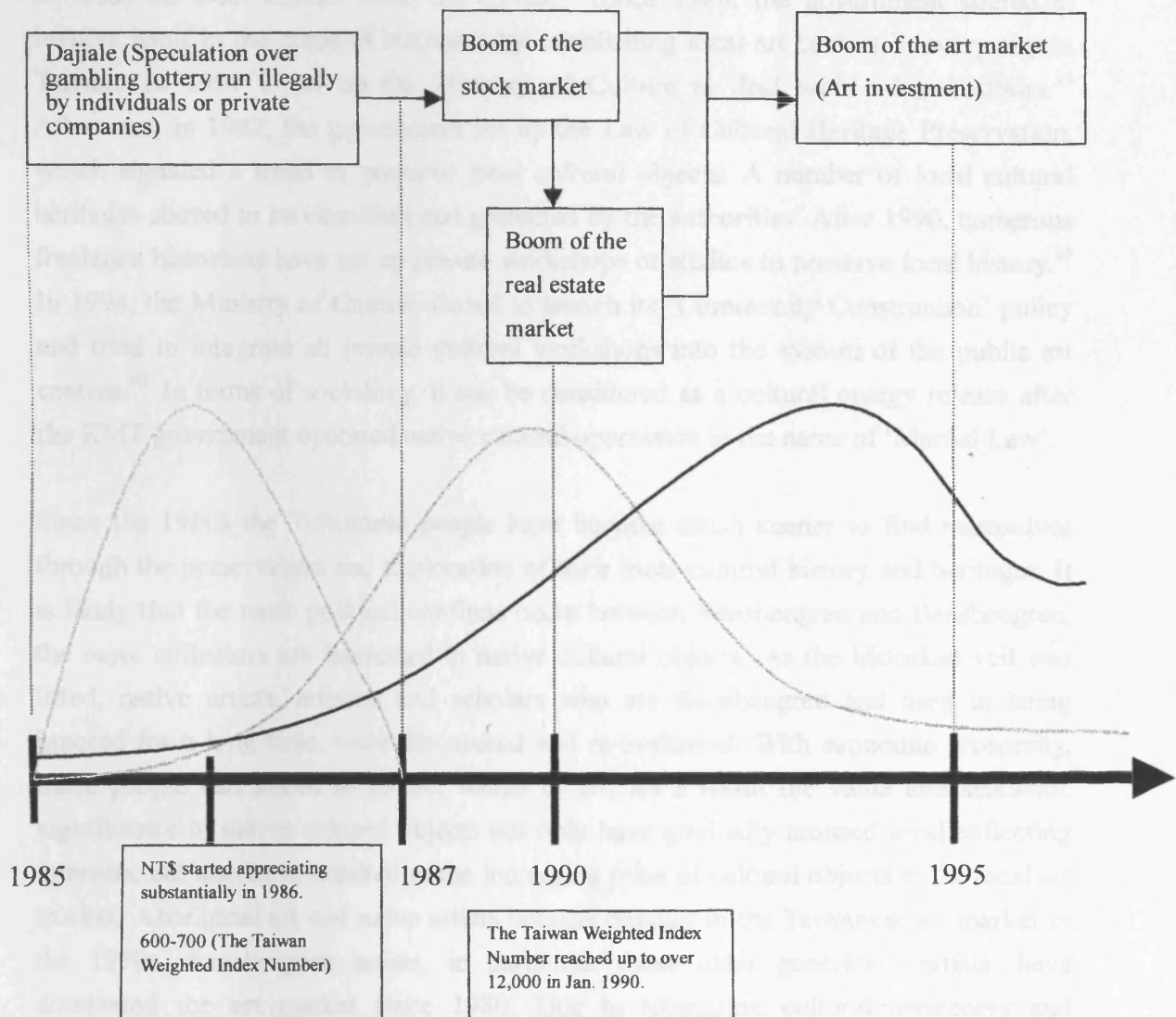
<sup>91</sup> Qiu Jingdun (邱景墩)(1997: 45).

Figure 2.5: Economic development in Taiwan since 1949



<sup>92</sup> Moscovici (1993: 292).

Figure 2.6: A visualization of waves of investment opportunities in Taiwan since 1985



## 5. Cultural awareness and the art market since 1980

With the increasing social campaigns after 1980, Nativism is further enhanced by the growing power of Benshengren in politics and economy. At the same time it is significantly aroused by the increasing stress from China, which has made efforts to isolate Taiwan in the international world and force Taiwan to be united since 1970. The overwhelming pressure has inflamed patriotism since the 1970s. With the growing

stress, to be an independent country has become a main stream idea in Taiwanese society since 1980. As a result, with more political liberty, cultural independence has also inspired people to trace back the past history of Taiwan. Local cultural consciousness, the so-called 'Taiwan Consciousness' has attracted a number of scholars to focus on local culture since the 1970s.<sup>93</sup> Since 1980, the government started to involve itself in the ethos of Nativism by establishing local art centres in every city in Taiwan. In 1981 it set up the Ministry of Culture to deal with cultural affairs.<sup>94</sup> Afterward, in 1982, the government set up the Law of Cultural Heritage Preservation, which signaled a trend to preserve local cultural objects. A number of local cultural heritages started to be classified and protected by the authorities. After 1990, numerous freelance historians have set up private workshops or studios to preserve local history.<sup>95</sup> In 1994, the Ministry of Culture started to launch its 'Community Construction' policy and tried to integrate all private cultural workshops into the system of the public art centres.<sup>96</sup> In terms of sociology, it can be considered as a cultural energy release after the KMT government operated native cultural oppression in the name of 'Martial Law'.

Since the 1980s the Taiwanese people have become much keener to find themselves through the preservation and exploration of their local cultural history and heritages. It is likely that the more political conflicts occur between Waishengren and Benshengren, the more collectors are interested in native cultural objects. As the historical veil was lifted, native artists, artisans and scholars who are Benshengren and used to being ignored for a long time, were discovered and re-evaluated. With economic prosperity, more people can afford to collect works of art. As a result the value and academic significance of native cultural objects not only have gradually aroused local collecting interests, but also have resulted in the increasing price of cultural objects in the local art market. Aboriginal art and naïve artists became popular in the Taiwanese art market in the 1970s. Benshengren artists, in particular those older generation artists, have dominated the art market since 1980. Due to increasing cultural awareness and collecting interests, art museums are strongly needed in Taiwanese society. After 1980

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<sup>93</sup> The China Times Publishing Ltd. published his field works of Danshui, 'I Am Hunting in Danshui (我在淡水河兩岸作歷史的狩獵)' by Li Ligu (李利國) in 1980. Li Ligu's another book, 'Anecdote about Danshui (紅毛城遺事)' was also published by Changhe Publishing Ltd. (長河出版社) in Sept. 1977. Li Qianlang (李乾朗) focused on the research on Taiwan traditional architecture. According to the interview on 7 Nov. 1998 made by Zhang Jianlong, he said that his academic interest in local heritages was inspired by the Nativism since the 1970s. He published his book, *History of Taiwan Architecture*, in 1979. The Department of Chinese Literature launched an investigation, 'The Field work of Danshui Area' 淡水地區田野調查, in 1996. Please refer to Zhang Jianlong (張建隆), *Danshui: An Initial Study (淡水史研究初探)*. [http://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/Newsletter\\_74/74\\_02.htm](http://ccs.ncl.edu.tw/Newsletter_74/74_02.htm), 26 Jan. 2001.

<sup>94</sup> Liu Huanyue (劉還月) (1999: 9-10).

<sup>95</sup> Liu Huanyue (劉還月) (1999: 10-14).

<sup>96</sup> Liu Huanyue (劉還月) (1999: 10-11).

the government was keen to set up public art museums. Many private collectors were keen to establish their own art museums in competition from 1990 (See Figure 2.4).

### 3: The art market in Taiwan

#### 1. Historical background to the international art market

With the expansion of marine power from the sixteenth century, European countries, which had powerful marine forces, exercised their hegemonies to trade with overseas countries, especially eastern countries such as China, Japan, India and so on. This not only boosted international trade, but also promoted art collecting in the west. A considerable number of exotic goods such as silk, Chinese tea, porcelain and spice etc. had been imported to Europe. Although most imported goods were for daily use, some of them were works of art and articles of handicraft, which were seen as collectable.<sup>1</sup> There is sufficient evidence to show that European collectors had been keen to collect oriental cultural objects since the late sixteenth century. Honour notes, "By the end of the sixteenth century Chinese porcelain and a few pieces of lacquer had found their way into the houses of rich merchants."<sup>2</sup> Thomas Platter also pointed out in 1599, "Mr. Cope of London had a cabinet of curiosities which contained 'earthen pitchers from China and porcelain from China'."<sup>3</sup> The growing vogue for orientalia is also indicated by the steady increase in the prices charged for Chinese or Japanese objects.<sup>4</sup>

The association between trade and military power reached its peak in the second half of the nineteenth century. "The opening of Japan to the western world in the 1850s, the Opium Wars in China, and particularly the sacking of the Summer Palace in Beijing in 1860, aroused western interest in Japan and in China. This is closely bound up with the start of the aesthetic movement."<sup>5</sup>

However, rather than being seen as a plundering of foreign cultures it was more a two-way cultural exchange. As European countries tried to build up an international trade network, they simultaneously conveyed their cultures to other countries as well. This cultural exchange made non-European people familiar with European culture and inspired the wealthy in these non-European countries to collect western works of art in the later international art markets.

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<sup>1</sup> Honour (1961: 42).

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Honour (1961: 43).

<sup>5</sup> Impey (1977: 14).

The marine hegemony of the sixteenth century was replaced by colonialism from the eighteenth century. Colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to establish a concrete foundation for the boom of the international art markets in the twentieth century. In order to control and explore these colonized countries, imperialist countries sent a number of scholars and experts to undertake research on religion, sociology, geology, biology, history, archaeology, etc. Expeditionary teams were dispatched to explore relics and cultural remains, which not only caused a number of cultural relics to be discovered, but also allowed much foreign cultural material to be secured. Those new archaeological discoveries, disseminated by the media, prompted further expeditions. Numerous cultural objects were transported back to private houses, public museums and institutions. By displaying them to the public, these cultural objects also inspired further interest from collectors. An international art trade became inevitable.

Fortune and wealth are the most decisive factors in the capacity to collect art. As economic power has a very close relationship with the art market, the economy, therefore, plays an essential role in the boom of the art market.<sup>6</sup> For instance, due to the power of economy, the currencies of England and France had become the strongest in the world in the nineteenth century. As a result, both of them became art-importing countries during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. Both Paris and London also became centres of international art trading where museums, galleries, and auction houses mushroomed and dealers concentrated. As Keen states, "Coming closer to the present day, the role of Britain in the art market of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is closely paralleled by that of America in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The expansion of its trading empire, combined with the Industrial Revolution, gave Britain more than a century of power and tremendous prosperity."<sup>7</sup> The collectors in Britain collected not only western works but also overseas cultural objects, especially oriental art. As Impey states, "A revival of interest in oriental art inevitably followed its 'discovery' in artistic circles. Some Chinese porcelain became millionaires' taste, a few discerning collectors discovered early Chinese painting and even fewer discovered Japanese painting."<sup>8</sup>

Since the early twentieth century, the success of American industry has made the U.S.A. the most powerful country in the world. The American dollar's increasing strength has also made American collectors and museums the main art collectors in the international

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<sup>6</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (廣松隆志、大谷珠代、安藤剛)(1992: 284).

<sup>7</sup> Keen (1971: 23).

<sup>8</sup> Impey (1977: 14).



art market; "the art treasures of Europe have naturally flowed westward across the Atlantic."<sup>9</sup> Formidable American collectors have also played an essential part in oriental art collecting and causing an escalation of prices. There was a brief respite from the power of the American collector in the 1930s caused by the Wall Street Crash. For a short while prices returned to a reasonable level. Other collectors benefited. Draak notes the impact on Dutch art collectors: "Their best hunting-ground was Japan, where they stayed from October to December 1930 and where prices were not so high as they had feared. (The Wall Street crash was to their advantage)."<sup>10</sup> However, the American economy soon recovered from the recession and continued to grow. New York followed London and Paris to become the leading international art market centre,<sup>11</sup> especially in oriental art market. Although the depression caused by the world wars hindered the art markets in Europe for a period of time, most markets recovered very soon after World War II. For example, in France the annual export of works of art in 1958 was more than five thousand million francs.<sup>12</sup> Moulin, a French sociologist, noted that speculation had become marked in the postwar art market in France.<sup>13</sup> Watson similarly described rapid escalation: "If 1882 may be said to be the start of the modern art market, and if 1957 was the year when the market took on its current form, then 1984, the year of the Gould sale, was the beginning of the fabulous period that culminated in the sale of *Dr. Gachet* for \$82.5 million."<sup>14</sup> The American markets also began from the 1950s. "The ten years after the Second World War brought many changes to the international oriental art market. The importance of Berlin was a thing of the past and even Paris and London had to give way to New York."<sup>15</sup>

The prosperous Japanese economy made the Japanese generous buyers in international society by the late 1960s.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, their desperate purchasing of western works of art continually established new records for the price of works of art and brought both Sotheby's and Christie's to hold sales for the first time in Tokyo in 1969. As the Japanese yen became much stronger, Japanese collectors became the most formidable power in the international art market since 1985.<sup>17</sup> As Herries states, "Their influence has been most marked in the extraordinary inflation of Impressionist, Modern and Contemporary art in 1989 and 1990, when prices in these fields rose by over 155

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<sup>9</sup> Keen (1971: 24).

<sup>10</sup> Draak (1985: 13).

<sup>11</sup> Edward (1988: 38).

<sup>12</sup> Rheims (1961: 173).

<sup>13</sup> Moulin (1987: 25).

<sup>14</sup> Watson (1992: 379).

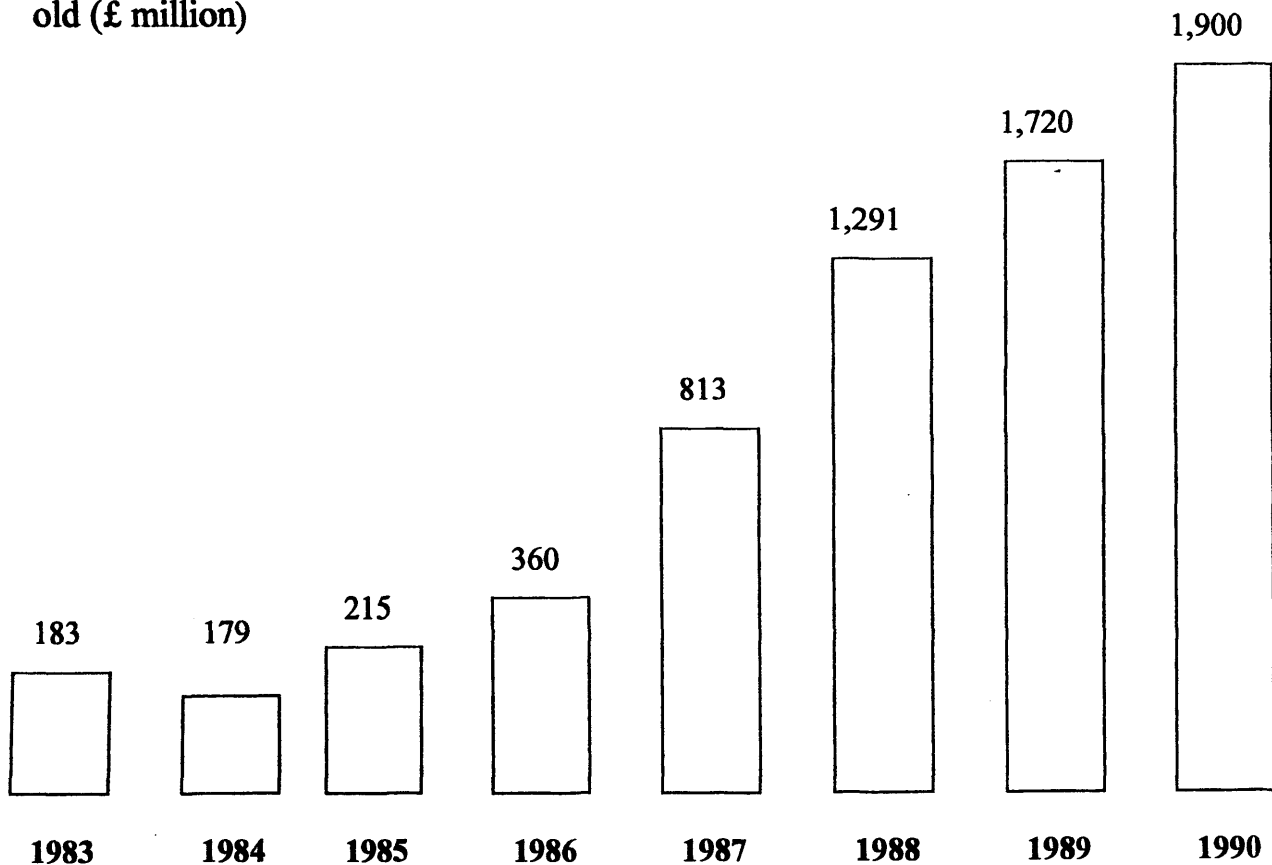
<sup>15</sup> Draak (1985: 22).

<sup>16</sup> Iwasaki Zenshiro (岩崎善四郎)(1990: 5-10).

<sup>17</sup> Watson (1992: 410).

percent.”<sup>18</sup> Japanese collectors’ powerful consumption of Chinese works of art also drew a number of Chinese treasures into the control of Japanese collectors and museums. Duthy writes about the Chinese art market, “It was a strange constellation of events that set the market ablaze in 1972. Japanese buying became hectic that year; with accelerating inflation and a soaring Tokyo stock market collectors anxiously began switching out of the yen. Sotheby’s Hong Kong sales were just beginning and in London a spate of investment-buying pushed prices sky high.”<sup>19</sup> The formidable collecting power of the Japanese reached its peak in the international art market in 1990 (Figure 3.1).<sup>20</sup>

Figure 3.1: Japanese imports of fine arts and antiques more than 100 years old (£ million)



Sources: MITI Statistics, Mars & Co., Christie’s, Tokyo Customs House, extracted from Watson (1992: 413).

<sup>18</sup> Herries (1991: 29).

<sup>19</sup> Duthy (1986: 147).

<sup>20</sup> Watson (1992: 410).

With the boom in the stock market in Hong Kong, development of the Hong Kong art market started to prosper in the early 1970s.<sup>21</sup> In the early 1980s, Hong Kong thrived on its international trade and, due to its location, also became the centre of the oriental art market in Asia. Renowned auction houses, such as Sotheby's and Christie's, set up auctions of Chinese art periodically. Then, the trend in the international art markets started to strongly influence Taiwan in the 1980s. It was like an infectious fever spread by cultural and economic exchange with Japan and modern western countries.

In the late 1980s, the economy in Taiwan was strengthening. Per capita national income in Taiwan in 1980 had reached 2,155 US\$.<sup>22</sup> Per capita private consumption became 1,209 US\$.<sup>23</sup> This meant people in Taiwan had income available for leisure. As the economic situation continued to improve, many art collectors emerged and the Taiwanese art market started to flourish. The new Taiwan dollar started appreciating gradually from 40:1 US\$ in the 1970s to 26:1 US\$ in the early 1990s.<sup>24</sup> For example, in 1987, Taiwanese collectors needed to spend at least 5 million NT\$ to purchase a work by Andy Warhol, an American artist, however in 1993, they could have it with only about 2.5 million NT\$.<sup>25</sup> With the government lifting the currency ban in 1987,<sup>26</sup> Taiwanese collectors could take advantage of appreciation of currency to purchase works of art in the international art markets.<sup>27</sup> As Shi states in 1989, "As Taiwanese buyers swarm into the auctions in Hong Kong, this has boosted the price of works of art and antiquities in Hong Kong since 1987."<sup>28</sup> The booming Taiwanese market then inspired the art market in China and Singapore in the late 1980s. The steps taken by Sotheby's to set up branch offices throughout the world, demonstrate this phenomenon of the art markets. Sotheby's set up its branch offices in the U. S. A. in 1964, in Japan in 1969, in Hong Kong in 1973, in Taipei in 1981, in Singapore in 1985 and in Shanghai and Seoul in 1990.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Fang Shiguang (方式光) and Li Xuedian (李學典) (1991: 41).

<sup>22</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 13).

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 43-4).

<sup>25</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 44).

<sup>26</sup> Due to the currency ban set up by the KMT government, Taiwanese tourists were only allowed to carry a limited amount of foreign currency when travelling abroad before 1987.

<sup>27</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 42-5).

<sup>28</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 91-2).

<sup>29</sup> Liu Youyan (劉猷彥) (1991).

## 2. The Taiwanese art market boom

### 2.1 Economic factors

In the late 1960s, Japanese collectors leapt into the international art market, purchasing masterpieces of the west as well as the east, particularly works from China. This influenced the Taiwanese public who through the press had been deeply impressed in the late 1980s by the popular logo from Japan; 'A work of art is an investment mounted on the wall'.<sup>30</sup>

Since 1980, art collecting has become a mania in Taiwan. Apart from artistic taste, financial investment seemed to be the prime motivation for collecting works of art. Many art dealers as well as artists have made huge profits since then. Art galleries and art museums become not only the focus of the public but also the venues for the artists, dealers and collectors. Particularly after the government lifted the travelling ban in 1987, art collecting increased considerably. Statistics from the Customs of Taiwan suggest that over 2.7 million antiquities, not including antiquities imported by travellers and works of art bought by collectors from overseas auctions, have been imported into Taiwan since 1987. Most of them come from China.<sup>31</sup> An editorial in *Xongshi Art Monthly* in 1992 stated, "In fact, Taiwan is placing its energies in cultural development. Legislation Yuan<sup>32</sup> has set up the Act of Cultural Grant. Many entrepreneurs are willing to provide funding for art-related activities. In addition, gallery fairs, auctions, a diversity of cultural activities and a boom in the establishment of public and private museums or galleries reveal the vitality of Taiwan society."<sup>33</sup>

In 1983, the number of commercial galleries in Taiwan was less than ten and the amount of art business reached less than 100 million NT\$ (£2,111,578). However, five years later, the number of commercial galleries became 50 and the amount of art business reached up to about 500 million NT\$ (£10,557,889).<sup>34</sup> According to an official document published in 1993, the number of commercial galleries increased

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<sup>30</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 123).

<sup>31</sup> Cao Yufen (曹郁芬)(1995).

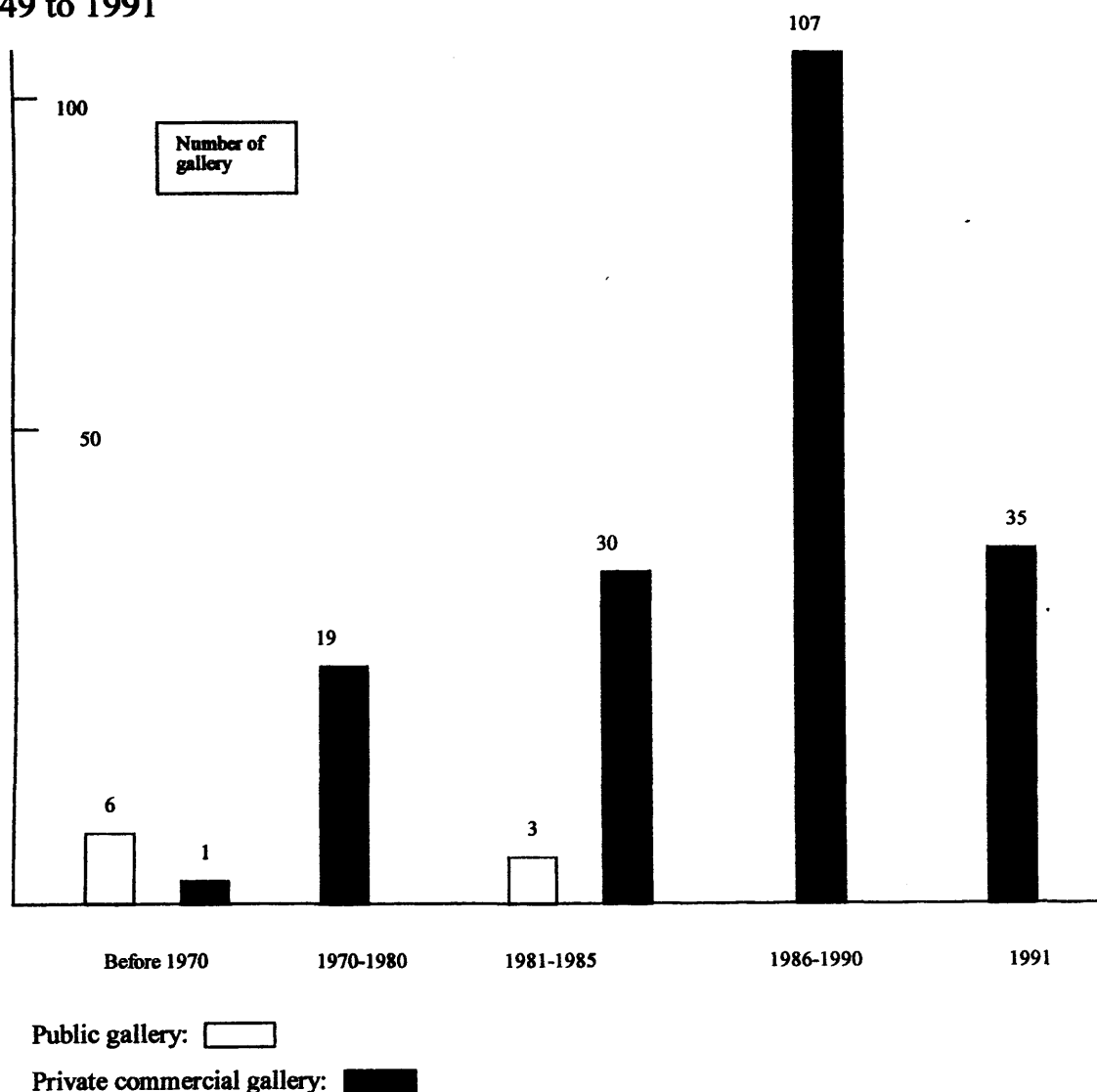
<sup>32</sup> The Parliament of Taiwan.

<sup>33</sup> Anon. (1992a: 14-5).

<sup>34</sup> Tai Nai (太乃) (1996: 17).

conspicuously to more than 200 with a turnover of 4,000 million NT\$ (£84,463,112) (Figure 3.2). In addition, the amount of local auction business rose from 200 million NT\$ (£4,223,155) in 1989 to 600-800 million NT\$ (£12,669,466-16,892,622) per year in 1996.<sup>35</sup> These surveys indicate that the growth of commercial galleries in Taiwan in 1993 was 20 times that of 1983. The amount of business has grown 40 fold within ten years. Before 1990, there existed no formal auction house in Taiwan. In 1995, there were at least ten major auction houses, including international auction houses such as Sotheby's and Christie's.

Figure 3.2: The number of new art galleries established in Taiwan from 1949 to 1991



Sources: Annual Cultural Statistic (文化統計彙編), see Ministry of Culture (1992: 31).

<sup>35</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 47). See also Tai Nai (1996: 17).

The price of works of art on the market has rocketed dramatically since 1980, in particular after 1985. The most famous example occurred at a Christie's auction in New York in 1989. A leading antique shop in Taiwan, 'My Humble House', acquired 'Hunt in Autumn'<sup>36</sup>, an ancient Chinese painting dating from the Yuan dynasty (AD 1279-1368) for over 50 million NT\$ (£1,055,789), a record price for a Chinese painting at an auction.<sup>37</sup> The news surprised the international art markets and stimulated interest in Chinese art.

In comparison with western works of art, most Chinese works of art were so inexpensive that the media predicted that prices would increase rapidly in the future.<sup>38</sup> Some western art dealers also said so.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the prices kept soaring, repeatedly creating new records in the auction houses. A piece of porcelain from the Southern Song dynasty (AD 1127-1279), for example, was purchased by Chen Defu, a Taiwanese entrepreneur for 22 million HK\$ (£1,963,530) at the Sotheby's auction in Hong Kong on 16 May 1989.<sup>40</sup> This made a new price record for Chinese art at that time.

According to an interview in 1991, Liu Qiwei, a famous artist in Taiwan, states, "It is rather ironic that, in 1980, my watercolour works still fluctuated between 50,000 and 70,000 NT\$ each, but, suddenly, they reach up to 120,000-200,000 NT\$."<sup>41</sup> Oil paintings, in particular, by those older generation artists, who are regarded as witnesses of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Taiwanese history, increasingly fetched very high prices. For example, in 1990, the average price of an oil painting by Liao Jichun (1902-1976) fetched 9-15 times the price it would have in 1986 (Table 3.1).

At that time, it became very common for keen collectors to purchase most of their paintings in advance of the opening day of a gallery's exhibitions. In some cases, all the paintings were sold out at the beginning of the exhibition. Enthusiastic collectors, who missed the chance, usually were very keen to buy at higher prices from the previous buyers, who came to the exhibition early and had already placed an order for the paintings. Likewise, the gallery managers were willing to be brokers between collectors. They could charge commission fees from both sides. Paintings in high demand could change hands many times during an exhibition through gallery managers by

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<sup>36</sup> 'Hunt in Autumn' (元人秋獵圖).

<sup>37</sup> Lin Zhenmei (林貞美)(1989).

<sup>38</sup> Anon. (1989a).

<sup>39</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 37).

<sup>40</sup> HuYongfen (胡永芬)(1999a: 151).

<sup>41</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 200).

telephone.<sup>42</sup> As a result, thanks to enthusiastic collectors, prices would rise in a very short time.

Table 3.1: The prices of paintings by local masters in the Taiwanese art market (NT\$ 10,000)

| Year price<br>Name        | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989  | 1990  | 1993  | Remark                    |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------------|
| Chen Chengpo (1895-1947)  | 1    | 2    | 3    | 8     | 20    | 25    | Oil painting              |
| Liao Jichun (1902-1976)   | 2    | 2.5  | 3    | 4-8   | 18-30 | 25-30 | Oil painting              |
| Guo Bochuan (1901-1974)   | 2    | 2.5  | 3    | 6-8   | 8-12  | 25    | Oil painting              |
| Yan Shuilong (1903-1997)  | 1    | 1.2  | 1.4  | 2     | 3-4   | 10    | Oil painting              |
| Yang Qidong (1905- )      | 0.8  | 1    | 1.2  | 1.5   | 2-3   | 5     | Oil painting              |
| Yang Sanlang (1907-1995)  | 1.6  | 1.8  | 2    | 3.6   | 6     | 10    | Oil painting              |
| Chen Huikun (1907- )      | 0.8  | 0.9  | 1    | 1.2   | 3     | 5     | Oil painting              |
| Li Shiqiao (1908-1995)    | 1.5  | 1.5  | 2    | 3     | 5     | 15    | Oil painting              |
| Zhang Wanchuan (1909- )   | 0.7  | 1    | 1.5  | 2.5   | 3-4   | 8     | Oil painting              |
| Li Meishu (1902-1983)     | 1    | 1.5  | 3    | 12-40 | 20-40 | 20-40 | Oil painting              |
| Li Zhongsheng (1911-1984) | 4    | 6    | 8    | 12    | 18    |       | Watercolour (Quarto size) |
| Chen Dewang (1910-1984)   | 1.5  | 2    | 2.5  | 4     | 7-10  | 20    | Oil painting              |
| Li Zefan (1907-1989)      | 0.55 | 0.65 | 1.2  | 2-3   | 3.4-4 | 4     | Watercolor (Quarto size)  |
| Hong Ruilin (1912-1997)   | 0.8  | 1.2  | 1.5  | 2-3   | 3-4   | 20    | Oil painting              |

※In the Taiwanese art market the price of oil paintings is evaluated on the basis of the canvas size number. The higher the number, the larger the canvas. The prices shown above are unit prices, which are based on size number 1, i.e. price= unit price x size number. Price of Watercolours is based on quarto size (about 38x53 cm).

Sources: Tseng Suliang (1994: 203).

<sup>42</sup> Ma Chenglan (馬成蘭)(1993: 38-41).

Recognising the buoyancy of the home market, many important works of art overseas have started to flow back to Taiwan since the late 1980s in order to be sold at a higher price. In addition, a great number of overseas artists have started to regard Taiwan as an essential and ideal country to hold their exhibitions.

Art collecting as cultural consumption is intimately related to the economy. In most cases, a flourishing economy always paves the way for an art market boom. According to the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan of Taiwan, the per capita national income in Taiwan was 137 US\$ in 1953 and 2,155US\$ in 1980. In 1997, it became 11,951US\$. It reached 13,198 US\$ in 1997.<sup>43</sup> In addition, according to a recent report from *Chinese Times weekly* in 2000, the GDP (Gross domestic product) of Taiwan is up to 12,256US\$. Sheridan, a journalist of the *Times* in Taipei, states, "Its 22 million people have a per capita income of £8100."<sup>44</sup> The consumption of recreation, entertainment, education and cultural services in Taiwan in 1953 was 6.09%, however, it grows up to 18.18% in 1997.<sup>45</sup> According to statistics by the Ministry of Culture the attendance figure for fine art activities was 11.44 million in 1989, but it grew to 22.8 million in 1990.<sup>46</sup> Figures above indicate that, as income increases, people in Taiwan can afford to pay more for their leisure, entertainment, cultural services and so on.

Both the stock market and estate market had been skyrocketing after 1985. With the price of stocks and estates rising, a great number of people earned a huge fortune in a very short time. The weighted index number of the Taiwanese stock market reached an unprecedented peak of 12,282 in 1989 from only 2,000 in the 1980s. Stock investment was actually considered as complete speculation and strongly criticized as a 'national exercise' by financial professionals. Nevertheless, stock speculators and shareholders did cash in on stocks at this stage and became rich in Taiwanese society. Of key importance was the government's cancellation of the foreign exchange restrictions in 1987. According to expert estimates, this had released 62,000 million US\$ (£43,606,695,245) from Taiwan.<sup>47</sup> This was because the idle capital had nowhere to go. Having been influenced by the idea that a work of art is the hardest currency in the world, people were eager to buy works as financial investment in order to increase their fortune, to avoid inflation, to promote prestige, to reduce their tax, etc.<sup>48</sup> 'Art

<sup>43</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 13).

<sup>44</sup> Sheridan (2000).

<sup>45</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 17).

<sup>46</sup> Wang Xinyi (王馨逸)(1991: 71).

<sup>47</sup> Anon. (1989b).

<sup>48</sup> Masco Xioyigi (增子秀一)(1990: 12-43). See also Iwasaki Zenshiro (岩崎善四郎)(1990:5-10).



investment' became prevalent in Taiwan.<sup>49</sup> A famous example of art investment was the British Rail Pension Fund Collection, which gained huge profits by purchasing works of art in the 1970s and selling them at Hong Kong Sotheby's auction in 1989.<sup>50</sup> It is explicable that 70.64 % of commercial galleries were established after 1986, according to statistics by the Ministry of Culture published in 1992.<sup>51</sup>

For the sake of protection of cultural objects, most countries allow people to take advantage of purchasing works of art as a deduction from tax. For example, tax deduction has played an important role in the unprecedented prosperity of museums, galleries, and the art market in the U.S.A. after World War II.<sup>52</sup> In Taiwan, very few people or enterprises took advantage of it until the art market started to thrive in the 1980s. Following Japanese collectors' examples, many Taiwanese entrepreneurs have started to be aware of benefits from tax deduction. They were eager to make use of their money to set up their own foundation either to support art activities or to establish a museum or gallery (Figure 3.3, 3.4). By doing this, they not only have a return in both tax and fame, but also have a collection as a financial investment. The Qimei Plastic Group, for example, has so far donated 1,500 million NT\$ (£ 31,673,666) to its foundation to run the Qimei Art Museum. Xu Wenlong, Chairman of the group, stated that he would be willing to donate more as long as the government's attitude became more open and it increased the out-of-date tax exemption limit.<sup>53</sup>

It is an interesting fact that, from the evolution of the stock market in Taiwan, it can be easily discovered who the buyers in the art market were at a particular time. During 1987 to 1989, financial shares were the lead stock and, therefore, bank managers and shareholders in financial institutions benefited from this situation. As a result, they became the major players in the art market. For example, the China Trust bought an oil painting by Monet at a price of 6.6 million US\$ (£4,572,537) in 1989. Subsequently, they bought works by Marc Chagall (1887-1985), Henry Moore (1891-1986) and so on in international art markets.<sup>54</sup> They have also been very keen to acquire Taiwanese works of art. For example, a huge sculpture made by a famous sculptor, Yang Yingfeng,<sup>55</sup> has been located in front of the magnificent China Trust branch building in

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<sup>49</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 6-10).

<sup>50</sup> Jiang Xia (江夏) (1999b: 149).

<sup>51</sup> Ministry of Culture (1992: 53).

<sup>52</sup> Sherman (1956: 5,6,26).

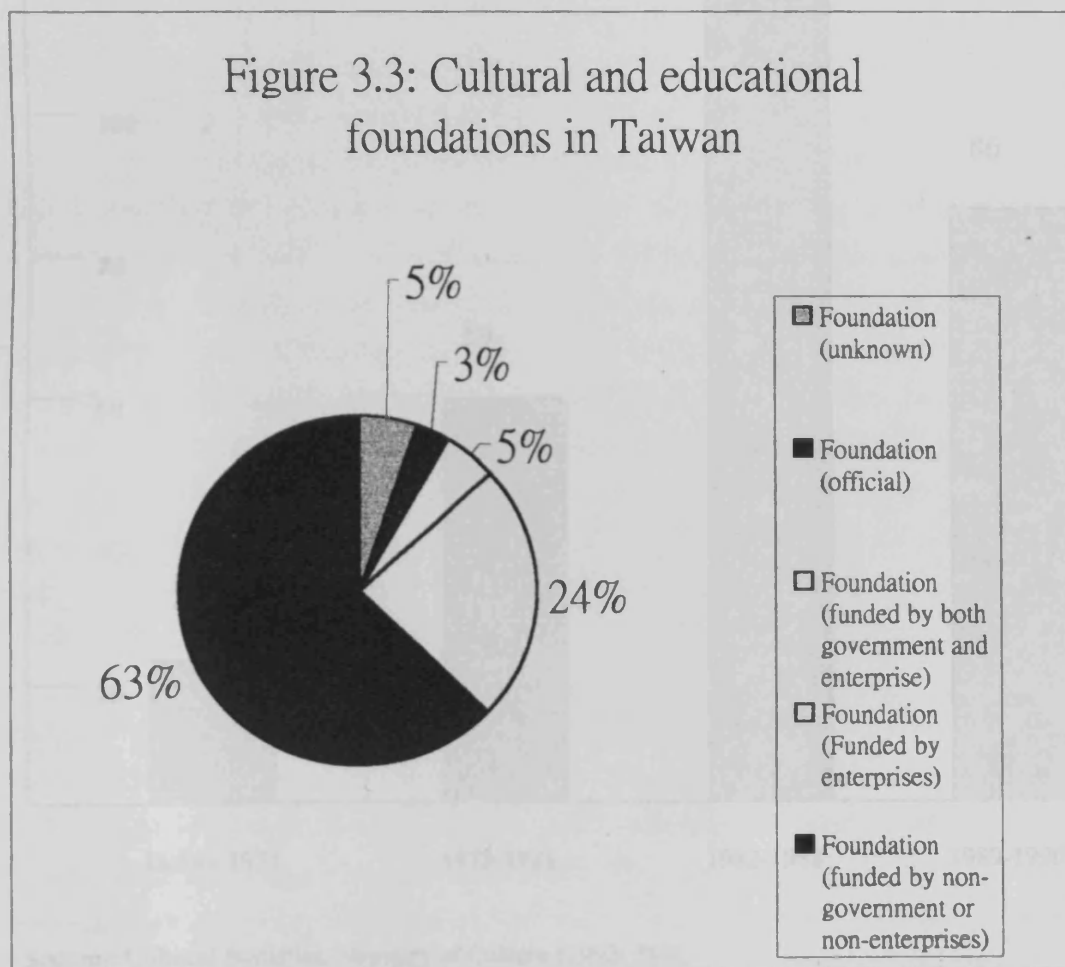
<sup>53</sup> Interview with Xu Wenlong, Chairman of the Qimei Plastic Group, in Tainan on 12 Sept. 1991.

<sup>54</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 4).

<sup>55</sup> Yang Yingfeng (楊英風).

Taipei. The China Trust took advantage of works of art, which signified high quality and used its collections as a way of advertising itself. It held press conferences to demonstrate its collections and depicted them on New Year cards as well as calendars.<sup>56</sup> This appears to have attracted a number of entrepreneurs and financial institutions, such as the Central Bank of Taiwan,<sup>57</sup> the Yushan Commercial Bank<sup>58</sup> etc. to follow suit in collecting works of art as either an investment or an advertisement.<sup>59</sup> More collectors, in particular entrepreneurs, have their collections printed on calendars, greeting cards and notebooks as a gift or publicity (**Appendix 1**). The China Trust and many financial institutions also began to replace commercial copies and reproductions with original paintings and sculptures in their public rooms.<sup>60</sup>

Figure 3.3: Cultural and educational foundations in Taiwan



Sources: Cultural Statistics 1992, Taipei: Ministry of Culture, p.398

<sup>56</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 4).

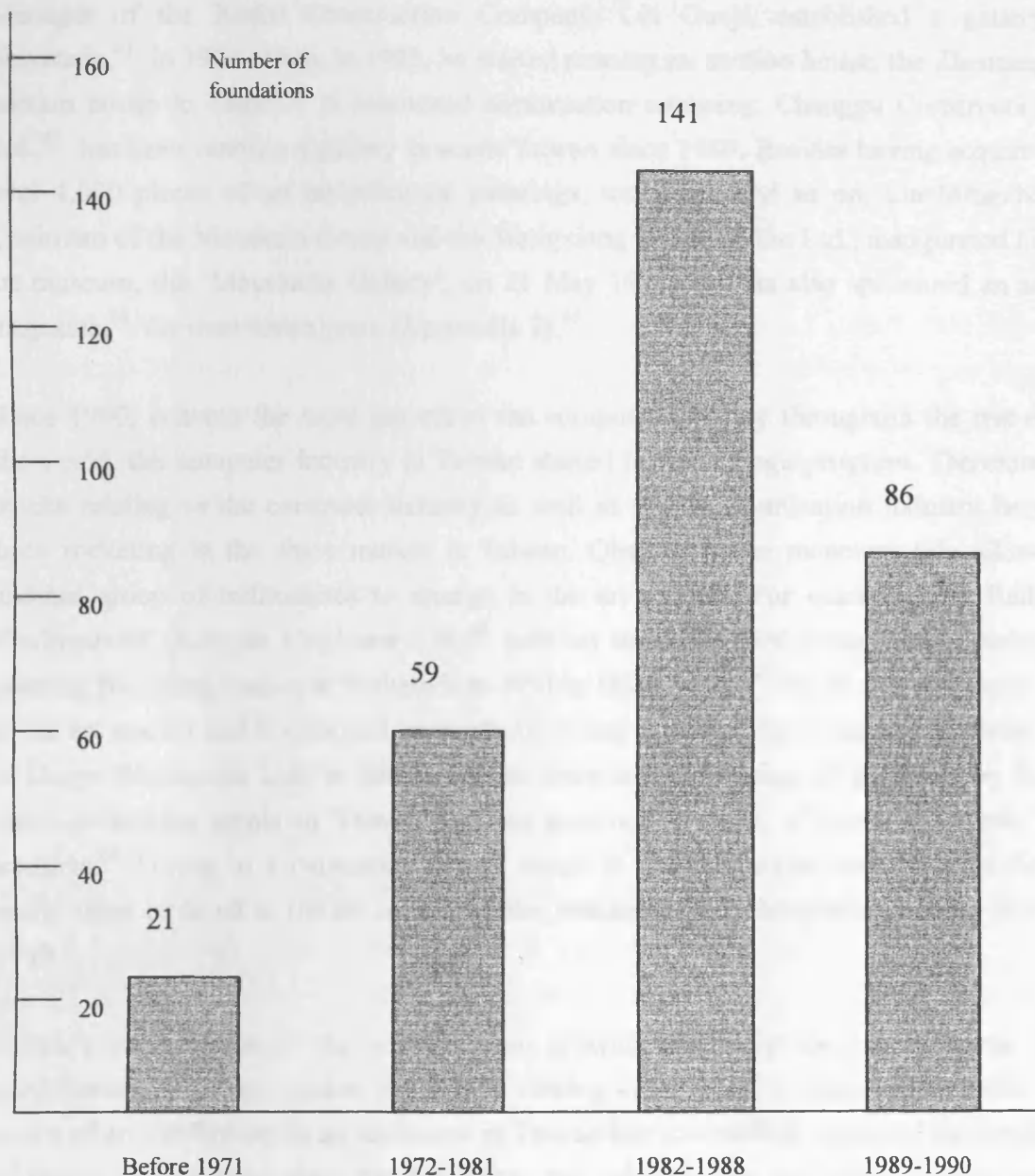
<sup>57</sup> The National Central Bank of Taiwan set the first example for public organizations to purchase works of art in 1995. See Lu Jianying (盧健英)(1995).

<sup>58</sup> Xu Xiuzhen(徐秀珍)(1994).

<sup>59</sup> He Peiru (何佩儒), Lin Weijuan (林維娟) and Wu Wenlong (吳文龍) (1996).

<sup>60</sup> Fei Jiaqi (費家琪)(1994a). See also Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1994a).

Figure 3.4: The number of established cultural and educational foundations in Taiwan



Sources: Cultural Statistics, Ministry of Culture (1992: 399).

Owing to a boom in the stock market in the 1980s, people were so eager to buy real estates as an investment that the property prices in the housing market appreciated dramatically after the mid-1980s. With real estate prices rising, the prices of real estate stocks echoed an increase in the stock market from 1987 to 1990. Shareholders, landowners, owners of construction companies, architects and the like who had made a huge profit in the real estate market at that time started to transfer their monetary

interest into collecting works of art. Some invested money in running a gallery, an antique shop, or auction house; others became buyers. For instance, the General Manager of the Xinlai Construction Company, Liu Guoji, established a gallery, Jenyatang,<sup>61</sup> in 1993. Then, in 1995, he started running an auction house, the Zhencang auction house in Taipei.<sup>62</sup> A renowned construction company, Changgu Construction Ltd.,<sup>63</sup> has been running a gallery in south Taiwan since 1989. Besides having acquired over 4,000 pieces of art including oil paintings, sculptures and so on, Lin Mingzhe, Chairman of the Mountain Group and the Wangxiang Construction Ltd., inaugurated his art museum, the 'Mountains Gallery', on 21 May 1996. He has also sponsored an art magazine,<sup>64</sup> for over seven years (Appendix 2).<sup>65</sup>

Since 1990, echoing the rapid growth of the computer industry throughout the rest of the world, the computer industry in Taiwan started to make huge progress. Therefore, stocks relating to the computer industry as well as the communication industry have been rocketing in the share market in Taiwan. Obviously, the monetary tide allows another group of millionaires to emerge in the art market. For example, Lin Baili, Chairman of Guangda Computer Ltd.,<sup>66</sup> paid an unprecedented price for a Chinese painting by Zhang Daqian at Sotheby's in 1991 in Hong Kong.<sup>67</sup> He is now very active in the art market and is enthused by works of Zhang Daqian. Chen Taiming, Chairman of Guoju Electronics Ltd., is famous for his interest in collecting oil paintings by the older generation artists in Taiwan and has acquired a range of them at Sotheby's auctions.<sup>68</sup> Owing to a depression in real estate in Taiwan, active players from that sector were replaced in the art market by the wealthy of the electronics industry after 1990.

People's consumption of the arts has been growing relatively not just in terms of participation in the art market but also in visiting exhibitions. Evidence shows that a series of art exhibitions in art museums in Taiwan has successfully attracted thousands of people to visit them since the late 1980s. For example, the exhibition, 'Monet and Impressionist Masters', held in the National Palace Museum had attracted more than 300,000 visitors within 40 days in 1995.<sup>69</sup> More than 700,000 people visited the

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<sup>61</sup> Jenyatang (甄雅堂).

<sup>62</sup> The Zhencang Auction House (甄藏拍賣公司).

<sup>63</sup> The Zhanggu Construction Ltd. (長谷建設).

<sup>64</sup> *Yanhuang Fine Arts* (炎黃藝術).

<sup>65</sup> Xiu Ruiyin (修瑞瑩)(1996).

<sup>66</sup> The Guangda Computer Ltd. (廣達電腦).

<sup>67</sup> Xia Yunfen (夏韻芬)(1999).

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Lin Limei (林麗美)(1995).

exhibition, 'Collections from the Louvre', in the National Palace Museum from Sept. 1995 to Jan. 1996.<sup>70</sup> In sociological terms, the level of income shows a very close relationship with the participation of artistic activities in a society. Dimaggio and Useem discuss in their survey in the U.S.A., "20 percent of those earning less than 5,000 US\$ annual income had visited an art museum compared with 59 percent among those with incomes in excess of 15,000 US\$."<sup>71</sup> According to Statistics by the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts in Taiwan, the percentage of visitors whose income was more than 55,000 NT\$ dramatically increased from 0.5 % in 1996 to 18 % in 1998.<sup>72</sup>

In addition the general public was provoked by the media to use their money. Books and TV programmes that taught people how to become a millionaire suddenly became more popular than ever. However, people in Taiwan had very few channels in which to invest. In addition to bonds, shares and real estate, works of art and antiquities, therefore, became one of the most popular investment items.

Once the collecting of works becomes an investment, the art market is able to attract not only the newly risen wealthy but also the middle-class. No doubt, as demand is increasing in the market, the price will synchronously follow and increase. However, ironically, the higher the price is, the more people wish to acquire, because many people believe that the price of works will rise much higher in the future.

## 2.2 Art and social progression

Throughout human history art has always been considered as the crystallization of the human spirit and intelligence as well as a symbol of the highest state in quality. Art appreciation has been regarded as a higher-level activity since ancient times. In the late 1980s, for example, the biggest antique shop in Taiwan, 'My Humble House', quoted a sentence from classic Chinese literature as a logo, 'Only the sage can appreciate art'.<sup>73</sup> It took advantage of this to spur middle/upper class people, particularly the wealthy, to become art collectors.

According to a modern sociological survey, the adoption of artistic interests, tastes, standards, and activities associated with a social class helps to build up an individual's identity and membership in that class. This means that both artistic taste and activity

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<sup>70</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(1996).

<sup>71</sup> Dimaggio and Useem (1978: 146).

<sup>72</sup> Zeng Meizhen (曾媚珍)(1999: 69).

signify an individual's level or class in a society. "The high arts, including fine art, opera, ballet, modern dance, theatre, and classical music, are likely to be heavily consumed by members of the upper-middle and upper class and to be consumed with decreasing frequency as one descends the class hierarchy."<sup>74</sup> To raise their social status, people, especially the newly wealthy, will make every effort to consume the high arts.

For example, as the economic prosperity in America grew after 1900, a new generation of entrepreneurs became millionaires. To demonstrate their power of consumption, they started to follow the lead of European collectors and pursue a high quality of lifestyle. To express their artistic tastes, they started to collect all kinds of works of art to decorate their magnificent houses. They wanted to be like those traditional European aristocrats whose lives existed in an artistic atmosphere surrounded by artworks. To meet the formidable American power of art collecting, New York has become the most important art centre in the world since the Second World War.<sup>75</sup> According to the opinion of Kao,<sup>76</sup> the trend of art collecting will continue into the next century and the art market is expected to continue to expand. Collectors' intention in collecting or donating works simply shows their social status or achievement.<sup>77</sup>

Since the 1970s, as a result of economic prosperity in Taiwan, many millionaires have emerged in society. However, their fortunes alone cannot satisfy them, even though they own a great deal of property. They are still people unknown to the public. A lack of high artistic taste seems to handicap them in becoming members of the upper class. Collecting works in public is an ideal way to catch the media's attention. "Collectors have come to occupy a more and more prominent role in society... However rich he might have been, it was his Cézannes that made him a celebrity."<sup>78</sup> They purchase works of art for high prices in prominent auctions. They can thus show off not only their artistic tastes but also their fortunes. They also become members of the society and cooperate with museums to display their collections, which can attract the public as well as the elite in society and even establish their own art museums as ideal places for social activity. As Rheims states, "To be a collector is to advance in the social scale at a great pace. Connoisseurship can be a closer and more intimate link than class."<sup>79</sup> This behaviour is not restricted to individuals-companies too have wished to acquire social capital. For example, although the Qimei Plastic Group is a noted company for plastic

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<sup>73</sup> 'Only the sage can appreciate art' (賢者而後樂此).

<sup>74</sup> Dimaggio and Useem (1978: 143).

<sup>75</sup> Watson (1992: 305).

<sup>76</sup> Gao M., Professor at the School of Art and Design in San Jose State University in the U.S.A.

<sup>77</sup> Gao M. (高木森)(1999: 9).

<sup>78</sup> Rheims (1961: 44).

<sup>79</sup> Rheims (1961: 27).

production in the world, it only attained social status when it established its museum of art in 1990. The museum has attracted media attention especially when President of Taiwan, Li Denghui, the First lady, and Vice President, Lianzhan, visited its museum to pay respect to Xu Wenlong, its founder and Chairman of the Qimei Plastic Group. By this means Xu Wenlong not only upgraded his social status but also secured support for his enterprise.

Similarly, family members of the Hefeng Construction Group, come from a line of collectors. In 1991, the group established the Hongxi Art Museum in the luxurious Hongxi mansion, located in the central area of Taipei, where residents are prominent officials and outstanding businessmen. The museum displays its magnificent collections to the public as well as to entertain honoured guests. Apart from prestige, what these families have really received is the building of good relationships with the elite in society. This art fever also encouraged politicians, sports personalities, movie and music stars, TV celebrities and religious organizations to take an interest in art collecting.<sup>80</sup>

Partly because art news became the focus of the media, partly because art has a close relationship with religion, religious organizations in Taiwan were keen to take advantage of art activities to associate themselves with the public. Read points to the intermediary function of art in a society: "...the work of art becomes an intermediary between the world of natural phenomena and the world of spiritual presences. It becomes either a symbol to express a mental or emotional state, or a representation or imitation of a natural object. In either case it is a vehicle which conveys information, a means of communication."<sup>81</sup> Thus, an art museum or gallery becomes a potentially powerful medium through which a religious organization can communicate with the public. This will attract more interest from the media but also more visitors to its temples. It can be seen as social competition in the religious world as a means to improve its status in religious circles. Furthermore, as an art gallery or museum can hold exhibitions or auctions for sale, it can also use the sale of works of art for its support and development.

A number of leading religious organizations in Taiwan have, since 1990, established their own art museums, or galleries. For example, in 1994 a leading Buddhist organization in Taiwan, the Foguangshan Cultural & Educational Foundation, set up a gallery, the Foguangyuan Art Gallery, in Taipei. In addition, a huge gold Buddha sculpture, a present from the Buddhist leader in Thailand, arrived in Taiwan in 2000. It

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<sup>80</sup> Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1999: 96). See also Tseng Suliang (1996a: 152).

<sup>81</sup> Read (1936: 47).

was placed in the religious museum organized by Xindao, a renowned Buddhist master, and the museum opened at the end of 2000 in Taipei.<sup>82</sup>

Since 1990, religious organizations have held an array of successful art auctions, which not only attract celebrities, entrepreneurs, and politicians, but also raised considerable funds. For example, the Ciji Cultural and Educational Foundation, a well-known Buddhist organization in Taiwan, which has over 2.5 million members and countless volunteers, raised nearly 500 million NT\$ (£10,557,889) for its charity fund in its art auction of 13 March 1994.<sup>83</sup> The Foguangyuan Art Gallery held an art auction to raise funds to establish the FoGuang University in Taipei in February 1994. Due to the participation of numerous eminent entrepreneurs, wealthy celebrities and journalists, prices rose well above the current art market level. For example, the price of a Chinese ink painting, 'Lotuses', by Zhang Daqian, skyrocketed up to 116 million NT\$ (£2,449,430). This price was at least five times more than the market expected.<sup>84</sup> Criticised by scholars, these auctions become important places to facilitate social progression and gain public support.<sup>85</sup>

It was partly by these means that new generations of Benshengren entrepreneurs have emerged and gained power in society since 1980. Unlike those older generation collectors who were born and educated in China and had since 1949 formed the elite in Taiwan, new generation collectors were keen to diversify their collecting interests and to associate their collecting with social activities. At the same time, the apparent transition in terms of fashionable items in the art market also shows that the collecting power of Benshengren gradually surpassed Waishengren and that the elite of the Benshengren gradually replaced that of the Waishengren in Taiwanese society.

## 2.3 Education and art collecting

Apart from economic prosperity, education plays an essential role in determining interest in the arts. According to Xie's survey in 1995, 80.8 % of Taiwanese collectors are educated to college or university standard.<sup>86</sup> Dimaggio and Useem suggest that, "Education and income are strongly related to the likelihood of high-arts exposure.

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<sup>82</sup> He Yiqing (何一清)(2000).

<sup>83</sup> Fei Jiaqi (費家琪)(1994).

<sup>84</sup> Wu Wanfang (吳婉芳)(1994).

<sup>85</sup> Li Shiwei (李世偉)(1994).

<sup>86</sup> Xie Zonghan (謝宗翰)(1996: 49). Xie made this statistic according to his interview with 120 Taiwanese collectors in 1995.



Fewer than a quarter of those with less than a high-school education report attending an art museum during the previous twelve months, while over three quarters of the college-educated indicate a visit.<sup>87</sup> This is suggested by Taiwanese data: for example, 68.42 % of visitors to the Taipei Fine Arts Museum are educated to college or university standard.<sup>88</sup> Of the visitors to the 'Monet' exhibition at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, over 70 % were educated to this level.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, between 1995 and 1998, 61.5% of visitors to the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts had a college education (Table 3.2).<sup>90</sup>

Table 3.2: Analysis of visitors' education level in the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts

| Statistics   | Year  |       |       | Total |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | 1996  | 1997  | 1998  |       |
| Percentage   |       |       |       |       |
| (Education level) below Junior high school (inclusive) | 7.3%  | 9.1%  | 5.9%  | 7.6%  |
| High school  | 34.6% | 25.3% | 31.8% | 30.9% |
| College or University                                  | 52.6% | 60.9% | 57.8% | 56.5% |
| Postgraduate   | 5.5%  | 4.7%  | 4.5%  | 5.0%  |
| Total  | 100%  | 100%  | 100%  | 100%  |

Sources: Zeng Meizhen (1999: 58).

Since 1949, education has been strongly supported by successive governments. The Ministry of Education's policy to develop a balanced civil education means every school student follows five areas of study, i.e. moral, intellectual, physical, social, and artistic. Attendance in primary and junior high schools is at 100%, whilst in high school or polytechnic it is 96%.<sup>91</sup> The number of junior high school graduates was about 380,000 in 1996, and there are now 470,000 high school and polytechnic places available to junior high school graduates.<sup>92</sup> In 1994, 15.91 % of the population received a university or college education compared to 8.2 % in 1978.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Dimaggio and Useem (1978: 144-5).

<sup>88</sup> Liu Tianke (劉天課)(1992: 41-50).

<sup>89</sup> Chen Yuan (陳媛)(1992: 336-56).

<sup>90</sup> Zeng Meizhen (1999: 58).

<sup>91</sup> Li Yi (李沂)(2000).

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Statistics of the Population in Taiwan (台灣地區人口統計), Ministry of the Home Office of Taiwan, 1994. See Lai Jialing (1995: 32).

Traditionally, Taiwanese society has placed considerable emphasis on educational background. The competition, therefore, in the annual entrance examinations to attend a university, college and even a postgraduate school is great. Besides, a huge number of Taiwanese students have been pursuing advanced studies in overseas countries since 1950. They have brought back a diversity of ideas with which they have inspired people to focus on cultural issues. As the demand for higher education has grown considerably, the Ministry of Education has approved the establishment of new universities and research schools. In 2001 there are 135 universities and colleges in Taiwan.<sup>94</sup>

This educational effort is also impacting on the art market. The elite of the earlier generations in Taiwan, now 40 to 60 years of age, have not only well-developed artistic tastes but also the power to collect. As Li Dunlang, General Manager of the Asia Art Centre in Taipei, states, "In the 1960s, those collectors keen to purchase paintings were doctors, lawyers, and entrepreneurs."<sup>95</sup> Today, 61 out of 89 members of the Art Collector Association of Taiwan are graduates from college or university. At least 12 members have a MA degree.<sup>96</sup>

Furthermore, as various courses related to art appreciation have been set up in colleges and universities in Taiwan, a few collectors have started their collecting careers early. According to owners of art galleries and art dealers, most collectors were previously entrepreneurs, doctors and lawyers, however, at the moment, a number of 20 to 30-year-old collectors began to emerge in the art market from 1991.<sup>97</sup> For example, Huang Yizhen, an undergraduate student of the Chinese Culture University in Taipei, displayed his collections of ancient Chinese painting in the Huagang Museum in 1995.<sup>98</sup>

## 2.4 Political liberty

In the 1950s, the government, concerned about the seriously hostile state between Taiwan and China, strictly controlled artistic production. Under martial law, agents of the intelligence bureau monitored certain artists whose works might contain meanings or metaphors for provoking anti-government activities. Many modern artists, therefore, either lived incognito or overseas.<sup>99</sup> At that time, the Taiwanese art market was very

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<sup>94</sup> He Minye(何旻燁)(2001).

<sup>95</sup> Li Dunlang (李敦朗)(1999: 373).

<sup>96</sup> Refer to the 1990 members list of the Art Collector Association of Taiwan

<sup>97</sup> Wang Xinyi (王馨逸)(1991: 66).

<sup>98</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1995).

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Liu Guosong, noted modern artist in the 1970s in Taiwan, on 26 April 1995.

isolated and its turnover was rather small. Art collecting was limited to traditional Chinese tastes and restricted to prominent officials and eminent people.

However, The relative relaxation of political control following Jiang Jieshi death in 1975 had a great effect on the arts. The debate surrounding cultural Nativism surfaced in Taiwan. At the same time, publications exposed younger generation artists to art produced outside Taiwan. New subjects, new media and new methods encouraged modern artists to experiment and innovate.

In 1987 President Jiang Jingguo died and the government ended martial law, which had restricted people's freedom of speech, rights of publication and so on over the previous four decades. It was at the same time that the travelling and currency restrictions were lifted.<sup>100</sup> Free travel was an important factor contributing to the prosperity of the art market between Europe and America after World War II. As Seligman states, "As soon as travel was again feasible there was naturally a great rush of dealers to replenish diminished stocks and collectors to see what American dollars would buy."<sup>101</sup> Many Taiwanese art dealers were attracted by the new opportunities to travel directly to China to seek valuable antiques as well as potential artists. As a result of a low consumption level in China, they could purchase works of art at very low prices.

People in Taiwan now had the right to express their opinions without fear of interrogation or imprisonment. Political liberty has become a prime stimulant not only to cultural development but also to the economic blossoming of Taiwanese society. There was an exploration of artistic styles and a great diversity of exhibitions in museums and galleries. Avant-garde artists were now unconstrained. Many artists began to return to Taiwan and develop their career there. For example, Liu Guosong, an enthusiastic modern artist, who had advocated abandoning Chinese brush tradition in the 1960s,<sup>102</sup> returned to Taiwan in the late 1980s after almost twenty years absence. Rather ironically he found himself to be considered as a leading master of Chinese painting as well as a respected professor.<sup>103</sup>

In addition, many artists from China, who had been forbidden to enter Taiwan and even to display their works of art in that country, could now do so. Some have now become very famous in the Taiwanese art market, with dealers ensuring frequent exhibitions. Liu Danghe, former Director of the National Museum of Arts in Taizhong, states, "The

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<sup>100</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (廣松隆志、大谷珠代、安藤剛)(1992: 284 ).

<sup>101</sup> Seligman (1961: 239).

<sup>102</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996c: 165-181).

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Liu Guosong in Taizhong on 6 July 1995.

eagerness for art from China, in the Taiwanese art market, started in 1988 and reached its peak in 1990 (Table 3.3).<sup>104</sup> Their styles proved so different from local artists and so attractive that they attracted numerous Taiwanese collectors. Many of these Chinese artists have consequently made a fortune. For example, Li Zijian, a figurative painter, held exhibitions in the major public museums of fine arts in Taiwan. Believed to be the first artist from China to display his works in public museums in Taiwan, he not only received fame and fortune, but also made numerous contacts with prominent officials and entrepreneurs.<sup>105</sup>

**Table 3.3: The number of exhibitions displaying works by Mainland China artists at commercial galleries in Taiwan (1989-1992)**

| Month<br>Year | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | Jun. | Jul. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Total |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1989          | 14   | 7    | 10   | 17   | 18  | 14   | 12   | 11   | 20    | 29   | 30   | 30   | 212   |
| 1990          | 21   | 28   | 21   | 25   | 36  | 32   | 40   | 31   | 20    | 20   | 18   | 22   | 314   |
| 1991          | 19   | 12   | 14   | 20   | 28  | 26   | 16   | 13   | 17    | 18   | 17   | 10   | 210   |
| 1992          | 28   | 12   | 25   | 21   | 24  | 21   | 26   | 15   | 17    | 24   | 16   | 17   | 246   |

Sources: Liu Danghe (劉欒河)(1993: 3-8).

## 2.5 Stimulus of art market operation

Taiwan has had a very close relationship with Japan since the late nineteenth century in terms of geological location and history. Moreover, Taiwan was colonized by Japan for fifty years. It is evident that the mania in Japan for art collecting had started to spread to Taiwanese society, as the Japanese have been extremely eager to collect works of art since the 1970s.

First of all, the reasons for the development of the art market in Taiwan are very similar to that in Japan. As I have gathered elsewhere, "Six factors, i.e. the prosperity of the economy, art collecting as a way to resist an inflation, works of art traditionally used as a bequest for descendants, tax deduction, works of art as a commodity, a shortage of high quality works of art and a high demand from private and public museums and galleries, prospered the Japanese art market."<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Liu Danghe (劉欒河)(1993: 3.8).

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Li Zijian in Taipei on 10 May 1996.

<sup>106</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 9).

Secondly, many Taiwanese collectors and dealers had a close relationship with the Japanese art market for a long time. Therefore, Japanese taste had considerable impact on Taiwanese collectors. For example, Japanese collectors started to be keen to purchase works by their local artists. This strongly influenced Taiwanese collectors in the 1980s.<sup>107</sup> Some Taiwanese art dealers maintained a close relationship with Japanese dealers<sup>108</sup> and even sold works by Japanese artists where they attained higher prices.<sup>109</sup>

In the early twentieth century western art dealers and collectors became involved in the Chinese art market. As Shi states, "Since the 1930s western art dealers eagerly purchased a great deal of Chinese antique furniture in Beijing and Shanghai."<sup>110</sup> In spite of different interest from Chinese collectors, they significantly influenced the Chinese art market. From the 1980s, western art dealers such as James Larry in the U.S.A., Eskenazi, Marchants and Spink in London, and so on, who have been active in the international Chinese art markets, have had an significant effect on the Taiwanese art market. Their ideas and management, which were different from a Chinese traditional trade in art, also inspired many local dealers in Taiwan to follow this way of running their own art business. Hugh Moss, a British art dealer, for example, was one of the most famous foreign dealers running an art business in Taiwan. He collected numerous Chinese snuff bottles at a relatively cheap price, when art collecting was largely ignored by Chinese people. He then boosted the price of snuff bottles and made a huge profit by selling them in the Chinese art markets in the late 1980s.<sup>111</sup> He also became an agent for contemporary artists in China and Taiwan, most notably He Huaishuo, Liu Guosong, and Chen Qikuan. On their behalf he made various arrangements to show their works to potential collectors, raising the prices and making considerable profits.<sup>112</sup>

The *Xongshi Art Monthly* is clear about influences here, "The Taiwanese art market followed the western art markets."<sup>113</sup> Some Taiwanese art dealers also started to act as agents for artists rather than act merely as shopkeepers and art speculators. They controlled the quality and size of the contracted artists' output in order to raise market prices. Some art dealers expanded their business into the international art markets by cooperating with foreign art dealers. For example, traditionally, in the Taiwanese art

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<sup>107</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 10-11).

<sup>108</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 70-5).

<sup>109</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(2000a).

<sup>110</sup> Shi Shuqing (施叔青) (1990: 168).

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Moss, Hugh in Hong Kong on 16 July 1992.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with He Huaishuo, noted Taiwanese artist, in Taipei on 15 Oct. 1995.

<sup>113</sup> Anon. (1994a: 14-5).

market, there is no auction house and art transactions are a clandestine business shrouded in mystery. In these circumstances, it is difficult for a collector to have an idea of a reasonable price for works or antiquities.

The Chuanjia auction house was the first to introduce this open form of transaction.<sup>114</sup> It held its first auction in 1990. It made a strong impact on the art market, and other Taiwanese dealers followed suit. Foreign auctioneers were soon attracted and Sotheby's held its first auction in Taipei in April 1992 and Christie's shortly after. They became the most important auctions in Taiwan. In 1995 the Jingxunlou auction house and a French auction jointly held an auction in Taiwan,<sup>115</sup> presided over by Philippe Loudmer, a French expert in oriental art.<sup>116</sup> These auctions both stimulated the art market and gave collectors, dealers and museum curators market-recognized reference prices.

Auction houses, however, were strongly criticized by people in the art world in the 1990s. They believed that, due to excessive manipulation in auctions, the price of works of art became extremely inflated. They argued that auctions destroyed the organization of the local art market<sup>117</sup> and led collectors and art dealers in the direction of speculation.<sup>118</sup>

### 3. Market price and value

Price is a complex factor in the art market. Few objects fetch very high prices, and some of these may lack aesthetic qualities. In contrast some, which have high aesthetic value, fetch much lower prices than expected. Furthermore, a work of art could be valuable one year, but thought almost worthless the next.

The relationship between price, fashion and aesthetic value raises the following questions: What are the factors determining the market prices? How do they function in the art market in Taiwan? How can a fashion affect the art market? How do art dealers and auction houses in the Taiwanese market manipulate prices?

#### 3.1 Factors influencing price

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<sup>114</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 69-75).

<sup>115</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 58-9).

<sup>116</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995a).

<sup>117</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1999a).

<sup>118</sup> Anon. (1992b: 4-5).

It is always difficult for people to evaluate works of art precisely, partly because many factors may affect an evaluation, partly because subjective attitude and preference may dominate people's judgement. Besides, a work of art may be unique in the world. We may not have a previous price record in the art market for comparison. In this case, price seems to relate simply to what a buyer is willing to pay.

Sometimes, it is hard to explain why a published estimated price for a painting is so different from estimates by other experts. Evaluation of works of art is always controversial. However, as prices at auctions are open to the public, they can usually be considered as a useful reference. At any rate, it may well show how far people value a work of art at that particular time.

Observations show that, in the Taiwanese art market, an estimated price for a work of art is subject to not only 'intrinsic' but also 'extrinsic' factors. Age, academic and aesthetic values, which are meaningful, are an object's intrinsic values. Fashion, scarcity, and technology, etc., which are related to the views of the art market, are extrinsic values. Although certain factors may sometimes prevail over other factors, principally, a price for a work is a compromise comes of all those factors.

Age is considered as an important factor to support the price of works of art in the art market. Basically, the older a work of art is, the higher its price. Again, this is, however, less important than scarcity, integrity, and artistic value. Previously, Neolithic Chinese painted pottery, for instance, was very expensive in the Taiwanese art market.<sup>119</sup> In the 1980s its price fell dramatically from over 10,000 US\$ (£6,925) for each painted jar to less than 3,000 US\$ (£2,078), after a huge amount of Neolithic Chinese pottery was excavated in China and was then poured into the international art markets.<sup>120</sup>

Academic value can always be found in cultural objects, which have significance in history, religion, science, etc. In some cases, they may also play an important role in increasing or decreasing the price of works of art. Keen, for example, notes that, "Even a suggestion that the artist might have had a hand in the painting of a picture can be regarded as financially worthwhile."<sup>121</sup> Blue and White in the Yuan dynasty, for example, signifies such an important stage in the history of porcelain that its price started skyrocketing as soon as this importance was realized in academic circles.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Guo Zi (郭子)(1997).

<sup>120</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 131-3).

<sup>121</sup> Keen (1971: 41).

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Liu Liangyou, Chinese porcelain expert and Professor of the Fengjia University, on 28

Aesthetic achievement plays an important role in art history and thus can be reflected in price. For instance, a series of modern landscape paintings by Zhang Daqian, called the 'Pocai landscapes', <sup>123</sup> are believed by most professionals in artistic and academic fields to be the most highly creative works of art in his life. These works gained the highest recorded auction prices since the early 1980s. For example, 'Yougututu', a 'Pocai landscape' by Zhang Daqian, fetched 8.16 million HK\$ (£732,392) at Sotheby's in Hong Kong in 1994.<sup>124</sup>

The extrinsic factors are: scarcity, fashion, prestige, condition and manipulation by art dealers.

The operation of the art market can be regarded as a relationship between supply and demand. Scarcity clearly is considered as a key factor in the evaluation of works of art. It reflects how many works of art a past artist has produced throughout his life or at what speed a living artist may produce works each year or indeed the probability of such works circulating in the art market (Many key works may, for example, be in the possession of museums and excluded from the market). Franck Giraud, Head of Christie's in New York, pointed out, as a result of rarity, that those works by Picasso in his blue and pink period would still be relatively expensive compared to his other works.<sup>125</sup> The principle of supply and demand inevitably affects prices. For example, it is believed that there are no more than 60 pieces of Ru ware, imperial porcelain from the Northern Song dynasty (AD 960-1127), in the world. However, the National Palace Museum in Taipei has 30 pieces.<sup>126</sup> Ru ware can hardly be seen, therefore, in the Chinese art market. A small dish fetched 1.4 million US\$ (£969,500) at Christie's in New York.<sup>127</sup> In contrast, an excessive supply may decrease the price of works in the art market. A report in the *Xongshi Art Monthly* in Feb. 1985 taken from *The Times* in London indicated that numerous works of art from China flooded into the western art markets causing prices to be at least 20% lower than five years before and also causing half of the items at Christie's auctions in London and New York in 1984 to remain unsold.<sup>128</sup> As Hauser states, "The supply to the art market may increase and prices may collapse as a result of the increased supply."<sup>129</sup>

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June 1998.

<sup>123</sup> Pocai landscape (潑彩山水).

<sup>124</sup> Jaing Sixian (江思賢)(1999: 90-1).

<sup>125</sup> Yu Xiaohui (余曉慧)(1998a: 90).

<sup>126</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 125).

<sup>127</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 255).

<sup>128</sup> Anon. (1985: 25).

<sup>129</sup> Hauser (1982: 508).



Where academic and aesthetic quality is high, yet supply is large, price remains low. For example, calligraphy works by a past Taiwanese calligrapher, Yu Youren, are considered as a high achievement of Chinese calligraphy in the twentieth century. Many collectors are interested in purchasing his works. However, the remaining quantity of his works is so large that his works cannot fetch a very high price in the art market.<sup>130</sup>

Fashion plays a key role in the valuation of works of art. People in different places and times develop different tastes. American collectors, for example, have purchased modern paintings so eagerly in the twentieth century that the prices of these have skyrocketed dramatically since 1980. In doing so, they set a trend, which draws in other collectors.<sup>131</sup> As Japanese collectors favoured calligraphy by Zhao Zhiqian,<sup>132</sup> their price rose dramatically in the Chinese art market from several thousands HK\$ in the mid-1980s to 250, 000 HK\$ (£22,451) in the early 1990s.<sup>133</sup> Traditional collectors prefer to collect ancient works of jade dated before the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), but from the late 1980s, works of jadeite of the Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911) become fashionable.<sup>134</sup> As for paintings, from the early 1980s, Chinese ink paintings from China formed the main stream of art collecting in Taiwan. From the late 1980s, oil paintings by local older generation artists prevailed. Since the early 1990s, oil paintings by artists from China have been prevalent and later have prevailed in other Chinese art markets such as China, Hong Kong and Singapore.<sup>135</sup> The desire to follow established collecting trends reflects a lack of confidence. Beginners may try to identify with other collectors, or take advice from dealers or the media. Accordingly, the media could easily affect most new collectors in the art market. To disseminate information to the public, art dealers, auction houses, and artists prefer to maintain a connection with powerful journalists and editors in the media. Art dealers know very well how to attract more collectors in order to increase the price of works. Some major art dealers or collectors even cooperated with public art museums to show their collections. As a result they could easily create an art-collecting fashion in society.

Many collectors prefer to follow fashions rather than to rely on a knowledge of the intrinsic value of works or antiquities. Collectors can easily be directed by fashion toward tastes which have no established market yet for which they are willing to pay a

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<sup>130</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 121-2).

<sup>131</sup> Chen Yinde (陳英德)(1993: 85-6).

<sup>132</sup> Zhao Zhiqian (趙之謙), a noted calligrapher of the Qing dynasty.

<sup>133</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 115).

<sup>134</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 225).

<sup>135</sup> Li Pinghui (李屏慧)(1995).

great deal of money. As Klaus Perls, owner of the Madison Avenue Gallery in the U.S.A., has said: "Is there any intrinsic value? No. It is all fantasy. Prices can go to 40 million dollars, and so what? Why not higher? Any amount of money can be justified."<sup>136</sup>

An artist's prestige also plays an important role in the price of works of art. As Chen had noted, "In the 1980s, Japanese and Scandinavian collectors were eager to purchase western works of art. They tended to invest their money in modern painting in terms of how prestigious an artist's name was."<sup>137</sup> In the art market in Taiwan, fame implied popularity and quality by which collectors could have confidence to purchase. Collectors who are interested in modern Chinese teapots are usually keen to collect teapots made by famous artists such as Gu Jingzhou, Pan Chiping, Jiang Rong, etc. A Chinese teapot by Gu Jingzhou could even fetch 300,000 to 500,000 NT\$ (£6,335 to 10,558) in the early 1990s.<sup>138</sup>

Intact works and antiquities can fetch a higher price than flawed ones. It is also apparent that a whole set of works, having a connected significance, may fetch a better price than separated ones. For example, due to a crack or chip found in a Qing dynasty imperial porcelain, its price will normally shrink to less than one third of the recognized price in the Taiwanese art market. The condition of works of art is tremendously important. As Duthy states, "All collectors, but the Chinese in particular, are fastidious about damage."<sup>139</sup> Most works of art have suffered to some extent over the years through having been damaged, over-cleaned or over-restored. Therefore, a collector usually values an intact work of art more than a restored one, "the less a work of art has been touched, the greater its value at auction."<sup>140</sup>

It is evident that the manipulation by art dealers can boost an artist's fame or can make a cultural object famous or well known through the media and exhibition. Art dealers would try to have a certain amount of works by an artist and then try to promote his fame in the art world. They maintain a good relationship with critics, scholars, journalists and curators so that their collections can be shown frequently in the media and public museums. Famous critics not only became consultants of commercial galleries but also wrote criticisms for them.<sup>141</sup> Art dealers then bid up the price of his

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<sup>136</sup> Mahar (1987: 6).

<sup>137</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(1999a).

<sup>138</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 142).

<sup>139</sup> Duthy (1986: 149).

<sup>140</sup> Keen (1971: 41).

<sup>141</sup> Zheng Gongxian (鄭功賢)(1999: 20).

works at auctions in order to attract collectors.<sup>142</sup> By doing this, art dealers can increase the price for which he acts as an agent. A practice has been strongly criticised.<sup>143</sup> The *Xongshi Art Monthly* also indicated in 1992 that the manipulation at auctions confused people in the art world.<sup>144</sup> For example, the exhibition of 'Chang Yu'<sup>145</sup> opened in the National Museum of History on 14 October 1995. Half of the exhibits were borrowed from collectors or dealers. Sotheby's held the 'Chang Yu' auction on 15 Oct. 1995. There were four dealers focused on paintings by Chang Yu. Owners of the Lin & Keng Gallery told the media they would cooperate with a French collector to publish an illustrated book to introduce the artist.<sup>146</sup> However, thanks to Taiwanese art dealers, after Chang Yu's death, his works were able to be displayed in the National Museum of History and fetched up to about 13.25 million NT\$ (£278,250) in Sotheby's auction in Taipei in 1995.<sup>147</sup> Even collectors followed dealers' example to bid up prices at auctions. For example, to promote their collections related to works of Taiwanese masters, a group of collectors bid up prices at the Chuanjia auction in 1997.<sup>148</sup>

### 3.2 Dealers' manipulation

Hauser states that, "The dealer, after the public has got used to buying from him rather than from the people who produce works, becomes the artist's real employer and depresses and dictates prices where he can."<sup>149</sup> Art dealers are more sensitive to the art market than this statement suggests. Many dealers are keen to profit from a prevailing fashion rather than impose their own artistic tastes or introduce new artist's works to collectors. Many of them prefer a quick profit to patient cultivation of taste. Their role is more that of a profit-based broker serving wealthy collectors than a connoisseur capable of giving aesthetic advice. In the 1980s, for example, for historical reasons, many early generation artists in Taiwan were influenced by western artistic styles, especially Impressionism. Collectors in the art market showed a preference for oil painting by older generation artists in Taiwan, whose artistic style derives from Impressionism. According to statistics of *Artist*, among the album of world masterpieces, books relating to Van Gogh, Renoir and Monet were the most popular in Taiwan.<sup>150</sup> As Taiwanese

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<sup>142</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1997).

<sup>143</sup> Zhuang Yuwen (莊郁雯)(1995).

<sup>144</sup> Anon. (1993: 16-7).

<sup>145</sup> Chang Yu, an overseas Chinese artist, lived in poverty throughout his life and died in France.

<sup>146</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995b).

<sup>147</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

<sup>148</sup> Qin Yajun (秦雅君)(1999a: 98).

<sup>149</sup> Hauser (1982: 508).

<sup>150</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1996a).

collectors were familiar with these sorts of styles, art dealers were keen to encourage collectors to purchase oil paintings by older generation Taiwanese artists for their collections. Numerous art dealers were desperate to cater to this need, which thus kept prices for these works rising. As prices increased sharply, more and more art dealers joined the long queue to acquire works for sale. Some of them even urged artists to produce works of art similar to their most popular styles to meet customers' demand. The art dealer "mediates between production and consumption, too, by informing the artist of the public's wishes and the conditions of salability of the one or the other type of goods."<sup>151</sup> For example, Shen Zezai, an old Taiwanese master, who was initially known for his landscape painting, created a series of female nude paintings in order to meet a demand in the Taiwanese art market in the early 1990s.<sup>152</sup> Artists in Taiwan became very market-oriented and cooperated with art dealers, but as a consequence they gradually lost control of the quality of their output. As Zhou states, "Once the price of an artist's works has been driven up in the art market by art dealers, he is invited to hold exhibitions very frequently. However, as he does not have so many works to display, he just adulterates certain immature works made at his early period for such exhibitions. The worst thing was that an artist began to make copies from his previous highly demanded works of art."<sup>153</sup>

Some art dealers in Taiwan have a good relationship with foreign art dealers such as French, British, and American dealers.<sup>154</sup> Certain art dealers adopted the French practice of contracting artists to produce a specified annual output for an annual payment. The dealers' part of the bargain involved the introduction of artists from Taiwan and China to local collectors. The advantage for the dealers was their ability to control and manipulate works, though this obviously required a large amount of capital. For instance, the Suoka Gallery and the Chuancheng Art Centre in Taipei made contracts with a few younger artists from China.<sup>155</sup> They promised to support their basic living expenses and acquired all of their works at a modest price. In doing so, the galleries were willing to promote them on a long-term basis, because they knew they could get hold of their output. Undoubtedly, this way of proceeding was particularly suited to cooperation with potential younger artists, whose works of art had not yet fetched a high price.

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<sup>151</sup> Hauser (1982: 508).

<sup>152</sup> From 1990 to 1992, I worked for the Yunghun Art Centre in Taipei, which successfully held some exhibitions for Shen Zezai (沈哲哉), a well-known older generation Taiwanese artist.

<sup>153</sup> Zhou Zhiwen (周志文)(1993).

<sup>154</sup> Anon. (1994a: 14-5).

<sup>155</sup> Interview with Xiao Fuyuan (蕭富元), General Manager of the Suoka Gallery, in Tainan on 18 May 1995. Interview with Zhang Yiqun (張逸群), General Manager of the Chuancheng Art Centre in Taipei on 25 July 1993.

Some art dealers in Taiwan tended to follow American practice. They operated with little capital, working on a consignment basis and did not even own the merchandise. In fact, they were brokers. By this means, they avoided risking money on unsalable works or high priced works.

In addition, some dealers were in favour of a 'package deal' with a chosen artist. They usually made a promise to keep buying the artist's current works and to boost the price in the local as well as the international art markets. This method was usually applied on a short-term basis. For instance, 'My Humble House' is believed to be the first dealer to have made short-term contracts with painters from China, such as Fan Zeng, Zhao Xiuhuan, and Xu Xi.<sup>156</sup> 'My Humble House' agreed to publish catalogues of their paintings and to promote them in Taiwan. The arrangement proved very successful.

It would be ideal if the price of a work of art corresponded to its aesthetic value; however, the relationship between market price and aesthetic value is more problematic. As Hauser has stated, "Because of the incomparability of the monetary and the artistic value, it is also completely irrelevant whether we pay \$x or \$100x for a picture. Art can at best be compared with art, and we can only ask if the price we pay for one work could have been better spent upon another... The determination of price on the art market has more to do with fashion, rarity, prestige, investment, and ostentation than with that quality which determines artistic reception. It is the business of the art dealer and of his manipulation of the public, not of the artist and his world."<sup>157</sup> Accordingly, it is not difficult to see why prices for certain works of art might drop quickly, once they lose their market-based value. However, it is proven that quality works, which have highly artistic value, are more likely to sustain or increase value, "If the value of works of art can be recognized by plenty of collectors and keep attracting collectors' interest in a recession period, it can not only retain its price but also keep rising in value."<sup>158</sup>

#### 4. Collapse of the Taiwanese art market

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<sup>156</sup> I worked for 'My Humble House' as the secretary of the general manager from 1989 to 1990.

<sup>157</sup> Hauser (1982: 516).

<sup>158</sup> Chen Aizhu (陳愛珠)(1999).

Having thrived for over ten years, the art market in Taiwan seemed to have reached its peak in 1995. News of the Art market frequently made headlines in the leading press. Collectors swarmed into auction houses and private galleries. Numerous works of art were purchased at high prices in auctions. However, as people were infatuated with the boom of the art market, very few people were aware that the art market was actually approaching its turning point.

Since 1995 the Taiwanese art market has begun to follow the Japanese art market into recession. In 1999, unlike previous years, the Taipei gallery fair held by the Taiwanese Gallery Association still had about 25 show vacancies available for other galleries to rent.<sup>159</sup> At least three foreign galleries, which had paid their deposit, decided not to attend this fair. Many members have recently withdrawn from the Taiwanese Gallery Association.<sup>160</sup> Thus weakened, it decided to break its usual practice and permit non-member local galleries to attend the fair.<sup>161</sup> Lu Jieming, Secretary of the Taiwanese Gallery Association, said, "For the last four years, the economic recession in Taiwan has caused the art market to go downhill. This has also caused foreign galleries to cancel plans to attend the Taipei gallery fair."<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, according to a survey in *Art & Collection*, the 1998 turnover of the Taiwanese antique market dropped 50 %.<sup>163</sup>

Political influences played an important role in affecting the art market. The missile threat from China in 1996, the Taiwanese presidential election at the end of 1996, and an unstable political atmosphere made numerous collectors stop buying from the Taiwanese art market.<sup>164</sup> A number of factors were involved in the collapse of the art market.

## 4.1 The impact of increasing competition

Since the art market in Taiwan started to thrive in the early 1980s, competition has become more and more intense not only in the circle of art dealers and auction houses but also in the world of artists. In the 1990s, the number of auction houses, art dealers, and commercial galleries increased dramatically.

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<sup>159</sup> Interview with Lu Jieming (陸潔民), Secretary of the Taiwanese Gallery Association, on 25 Dec. 1999.

<sup>160</sup> The Taiwanese Gallery Association was established in Taipei in 1992.

<sup>161</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999a).

<sup>162</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999a).

<sup>163</sup> Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999d: 149).

Chen He, Manager of the Dunhuang art gallery in Taizhong stated in 1993, "There were about 30 private galleries in Taizhong when we set up our branch in 1992. But now there are over sixty galleries around here."<sup>165</sup> Competition from foreign art dealers contributed to this. For example, French art dealers displayed works by Chagall and Picasso at the Cave Art Centre in Taipei in 1991.<sup>166</sup> At the same time, the Weiyin Gallery in Taipei became one of a chain of agents of the Urban Gallery, which was a well-known Japanese agent for modern western paintings.<sup>167</sup> Afterward, an American company first held an art fair in Taiwan<sup>168</sup> and the Taiwanese Art Gallery Association held its first annual international fair in 1992, which aimed to promote the internationalisation of the market. Member dealers and foreign dealers introduce more works of art by foreign artists such as Picasso (1881-1973), Miro (1893-1983), Klimt (1862-1918), Chagall, and so on.<sup>169</sup> Following this, Edvanstar, an American company, held its first art fair<sup>170</sup> and Spink, a noted British art dealer, held its Chinese antique exhibitions in Taipei in 1994.<sup>171</sup> Some even set up galleries in Taiwan: the owner of the Tianfu Art Gallery in Taipei was from Canada.

Many bookshops, restaurants, department stores, banks and hotels were keen to cooperate with either artists or art dealers to display works of art for their customers.<sup>172</sup> They made use of existing business space to set up extra gallery spaces. For example, the Hilton Hotel in Taipei cooperated with a Taipei commercial gallery, Hanyaxuan, and set up a temporary exhibition in the Hilton's cafe in 1994.<sup>173</sup> The Fuhua Hotel has run its own commercial gallery in its luxury hotel for several years. Bookshops such as the Ruicheng Bookshop and the Jinghua Bookshop in Taizhong also have their own commercial galleries.<sup>174</sup> Obviously, this situation has increased the competition.

As for auction houses, at least ten major houses ran auctions in 1993 in Taiwan. Small-scale auctions were very frequent throughout Taiwan.<sup>175</sup> Additionally some artists were keen to take advantage of the art auction mania in Taiwan and held their

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<sup>164</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1996a).

<sup>165</sup> Hong Zhengming (洪政銘) and Liu Suhua (劉素華) (1993: 45).

<sup>166</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(1991a).

<sup>167</sup> I frequently visited Chen Ensi (陳恩賜), owner of the Weiyin Gallery in Taipei in May 1991, as I bought a number of antiquities from him on behalf of the Yonghan Art Centre.

<sup>168</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 22).

<sup>169</sup> Liu Changhan (劉昌漢)(1995: 183).

<sup>170</sup> Anon. (1994b).

<sup>171</sup> I visited the fair held by Spink in the Xihua Hotel (西華飯店) in Taipei in 1994.

<sup>172</sup> Yan Fenting (閻鳳婷)(1994).

<sup>173</sup> Qiu Xinyi (邱馨儀)(1994).

<sup>174</sup> Yan Fenting (閻鳳婷)(1994).

<sup>175</sup> Lin Xiuli (林秀麗)(1996). See also Chen Jianren (陳健任)(1996).

own auctions, as did, Xie Deqing, a Taiwanese artist, on 29 Jan. 1994,<sup>176</sup> and Li Ao, a noted Taiwanese author, who auctioned his collections in 1995.<sup>177</sup>

Religious organizations, individual religious cults, and charity organizations all held auctions in the name of charity. Political celebrities held their auctions to raise funds for elections. Consequently, art auctions have become prevalent in Taiwan since 1990. Six major auctions were held in Taipei within one month from September to October in 1995 (Table 3.4).<sup>178</sup> As most of these auctions focused on the same school of oil painting by Taiwanese older generation artists, collectors were pulled away from the local art market. This undoubtedly contributed to a depression in the art market (Figure 3.5).<sup>179</sup>

Table 3.4: Art auctions from September to October in 1995 in Taiwan

| Date      | Auction house | Items for sale | Rate of sale | Turnover (NT\$)               |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 10, Sept. | Jingxunlou    | 59             | 66.17%       | 82.52 million<br>(£1,762,387) |
| 17, Sept. | Christie's    | 99             | 59.6%        | 29.948 million<br>(£639,602)  |
| 24, Sept. | Qingyi        | 60             | 70%          | 30.118 million<br>(£643,233)  |
| 8, Oct.   | Biaogan       | 118            | 38.14%       | 1.3155 million<br>(£28,095)   |
| 15, Oct.  | Sotheby's     | 32             | 100%         | 10.5796 million<br>(£225,949) |
| 15, Oct.  | Sotheby's     | 62             | 85.8%        | 38.254 million<br>(£816,994)  |

Source: Liu Youyan (劉猷彥) (1995).

<sup>176</sup> Zhao Yingru (肇瑩如) (1994).

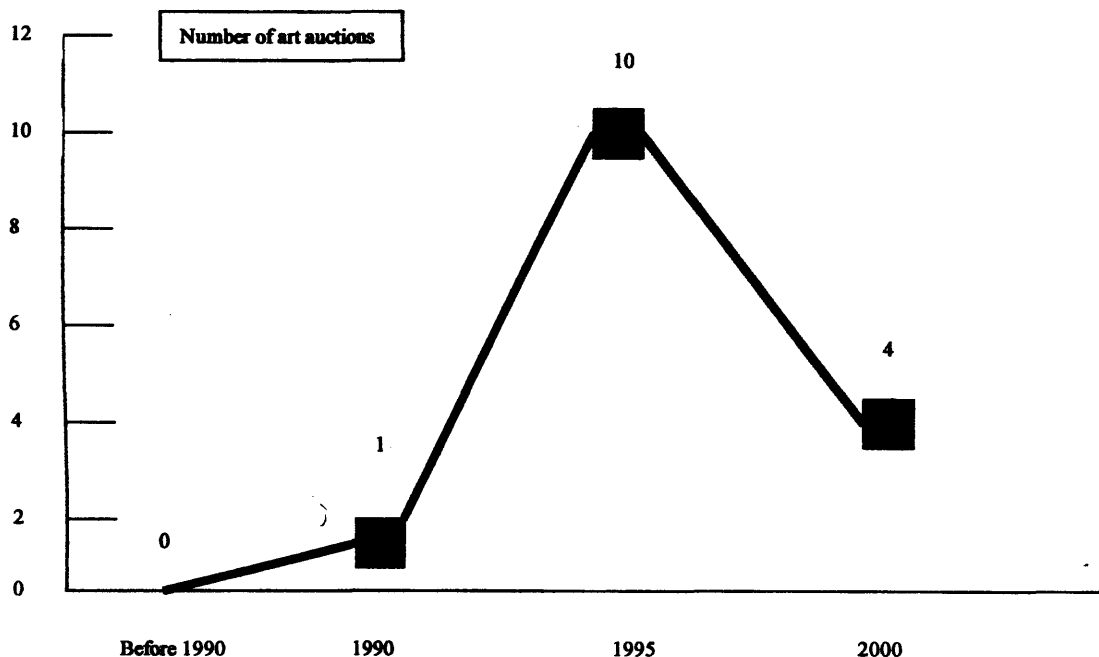
<sup>177</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬) (1995c).

<sup>178</sup> Liu Youyan (劉猷彥) (1995).

<sup>179</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 62).



Figure 3.5: Development of the art auctions in Taiwan



**Art auctions in Taiwan:**

1990: Chuanjia

1995: Sotheby's, Christie's, Chuanjia, Jingxunlou, Qingyi, Gudao, Biaogan, Zhencang, Chuanjia, Dongye, Wenxin.

2000: Christie's, Lofuao, Jingxunlou and Zhencang

As the auction fever attracted clients away from commercial galleries, this situation resulted in gallery managers feeling frustrated. In order to save themselves from collapse, from 1994 certain commercial galleries began to ally together to organize art auctions.<sup>180</sup> A new auction house was set up in 1995.<sup>181</sup> As a spokesman for the new auction house, Li Songfeng, said at the time, "At the moment, the art market in Taiwan is in a mess. Some auction houses do not care about commercial galleries and force most art dealers to dance with auction houses."<sup>182</sup> In 1995 another eight major commercial galleries also allied together to establish an auction house, New Chuanjia.<sup>183</sup> However, these commercial galleries did not understand that collector confidence was destroyed not only by poor quality auction houses, but also by their

<sup>180</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1995a).

<sup>181</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1995b).

<sup>182</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 71).

<sup>183</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1995a).

excessive number.<sup>184</sup> The auction house ended its business in 1999.<sup>185</sup> The situation in the art market was to get increasingly unprofitable, as long as new auction houses continued to be established. For instance, a new auction house, Lofuao auction house, supported by the Drovot auction house in France, announced that it would hold its first auction in October 1999 in Taipei. The Shengyang auction house was being prepared to commence trading at the end of 1999.<sup>186</sup> According to the survey of *Art China*, by 1999, four major local auction houses, the Chuanjia, Gudao, Biaogan and Qingyi, ended their business.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Sotheby's Taiwan branch decided not to hold its auctions in Taipei but in Hong Kong after 1999.<sup>188</sup>

Tax played an important role in circulation of works of art. Without a commodity tax imposed on works of art, Hong Kong became more internationalised and more attractive to collectors. Likewise, it is evident that tax-free trading has made the London art market more active than the Parisian art market in the twentieth century. For example, Herve du Peuty, Director of Compagnie de la Chine et des Indes, states, "Collectors who want to buy works of art in France have to lose 5.5% of the purchasing strength in advance."<sup>189</sup> That is why art dealers in France have been keen to appeal to the government for a tax cancellation in order to improve the condition of the French art market.<sup>190</sup>

However, Taiwan still imposes 4.25-5.95 % tax on works of art for export. As Hu Rui, Director of Sotheby's at the Taiwan branch, has said, "As a result of imposed tax on exported works of art, Taiwan is less able to attract international collectors than Hong Kong."<sup>191</sup> J. J. Lally, a renowned American art dealer, said, "Taiwanese collectors have to make the authorities understand that lifting the tax for cultural objects can attract international collectors to purchase in the Taiwanese art market."<sup>192</sup> Tai Nai also states, "What causes the recession in the Taiwanese art market is insufficient internationalisation...The Taiwanese art market needs to be internationalised to attract more money. To expand the art market, it seems to be necessary to lift the large handicaps in Taiwan. At the moment, a foreigner purchasing works of art in Taiwan is subject to the higher tax and the embargo on over 100-year-old works and

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<sup>184</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 62).

<sup>185</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999b).

<sup>186</sup> Tai Nai (1999d: 10).

<sup>187</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬) and Feiwei (非爲)(1999b: 18-9).

<sup>188</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(1999).

<sup>189</sup> Yu Xiaohui (余曉慧)(1998b: 132).

<sup>190</sup> Yu Xiaohui (1998b: 130).

<sup>191</sup> Ma Chenlan (馬成蘭)(1993 :41).

<sup>192</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000a).

antiquities.”<sup>193</sup>

There was also competition between artists, the number of exhibitions increased significantly with the fast growth of galleries and museums in Taiwan. The rapidly increasing prices of works of art also attracted a great number of overseas artists. As Curator of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, Song Longfei, noted, “Because of the economic prosperity in Taiwan, a great number of overseas artists returned to Taiwan to hold their exhibitions. Obviously, most of them have reaped an abundant harvest in the Taiwanese art market.”<sup>194</sup> A number of Taiwanese artists, who had emigrated overseas in the past twenty years, have started to flow back to Taiwan to hold exhibitions, when Europe and America faced recession in the early 1990s.<sup>195</sup> Many western artists also consider Taiwan an ideal place to sell their works. Besides, artists from China were anxious for competition with local artists in Taiwan. In addition to masters from China, younger generation artists from China were also very keen to market themselves through exhibitions, the media and auctions in cooperation with local art dealers, or acting on their own behalf. Because they were of the same cultural origin, their styles were generally more easily acceptable to local collectors than works from other countries. Moreover their works were so different from local works of art that they provoked collectors’ interest.<sup>196</sup>

The large number of works of art flooding into the market was one of the crucial factors causing its depression.<sup>197</sup> Liu Huanxian, a trustee of the Taiwanese Gallery Association, stated, “The key point which results in art market depression is that artists have been manufacturing so many works of art for sale that the quality of those works of art inevitably disappoints collectors.”<sup>198</sup>

Retired artists were also encouraged to pick up their brushes again as well as inspiring amateurs or non-artists such as politicians and religious leaders in order to sell their works of art to the public.<sup>199</sup> Huang Yuling, General Manager of the South Gallery, has written, “Not surprisingly those amateurs such as designers, architects, writers, teachers, workers and even taxi drivers plunged themselves into a career which was previously regarded as a business, which was difficult in making money. The Taiwanese art market in the 1990s seems a festival, as too many artists including overseas painters have

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<sup>193</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 114).

<sup>194</sup> Song Longfei (宋龍飛)(1993: 4-8).

<sup>195</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 19-20).

<sup>196</sup> Li Pinghui (李屏慧)(1995).

<sup>197</sup> Lai Yanfang (賴燕芳)(1991b).

<sup>198</sup> Ma Chenglan (1993: 38).

swarmed into this small circle.”<sup>200</sup> Even collectors became keen to join in this competition. For example, a group of collectors turned themselves into painters and displayed their works in a gallery in Taipei.<sup>201</sup> To market works by Liu Gengyi, his favourite painter, Chen Hongbo, a noted Taiwanese collector, provided his own collections to support an exhibition in Up Gallery in Taipei in 1995.<sup>202</sup> A calligraphy by Song Chuyu,<sup>203</sup> a former Governor of Taiwan, fetched 20,000 US\$ (£13,850) at an auction held by *World Daily News* in New York in the Chinese new year of 1999. The price was 80-120 times higher than the average price of calligraphy in the current art market in Taiwan.<sup>204</sup> Yan Juntai, who is the son of former Vice President, Yan Jiagan and just retired from the National Petrol Company, held his first exhibition in the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 2000.<sup>205</sup> In these circumstances, the connection between artistic merit and art market value becomes so blurred as to be meaningless. Many collectors in Taiwan collected works of art based on artists’ fame and social status. It appeared that people were eager to seize the moment to make profits from the art market.

## 4.2 Limits to collecting taste

Taiwanese collectors are keen to build their collections, however, compared to collectors in more developed countries, who have developed a diversity of artistic tastes over a long period of time, collecting taste in Taiwan was still evolving. Generally speaking, Taiwanese collecting was initially confined to the rather limited taste of native artist’s works of art, especially oil paintings by the past or older generation Taiwanese artists.<sup>206</sup> As for antiques, many collectors followed the older collectors’ preference for imperial porcelain. Since collectors and art dealers concentrate on certain items the price dramatically increases. In contrast the price of other items remains low or stable, as they have very few patrons. It is evident that this limited taste not only made art collecting speculative, but also restricted the development of the art market.<sup>207</sup> The majority of art dealers were interested in profiting from those high price works of art by older generation artists rather than introducing other works into the Taiwanese art

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<sup>199</sup> Huang Jingya (黃靖雅)(1991).

<sup>200</sup> Huang Yuling (1999: 196).

<sup>201</sup> Anon. (1995).

<sup>202</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995d).

<sup>203</sup> Song Chuyu (宋楚瑜), former governor of Taiwan, who was one of the candidates in the presidential election in 2000.

<sup>204</sup> Lin Mingliang (林明良)(1999: 34).

<sup>205</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000b).

<sup>206</sup> Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇)(1993:16-7).

<sup>207</sup> Zhang Jincui (張金催)(1990: 79).

market. As local taste was the main stream in the Taiwanese art market, this made the art market unable to be internationalised to attract overseas collectors.<sup>208</sup>

In fact, most of the older generation Taiwanese artists from the early twentieth century inherited their concepts and skills from Japanese Impressionists. As many Taiwanese collectors developed their taste from the styles in the 1980s, they inevitably started to get acquainted with Impressionist styles and to appreciate those similar artistic styles. They did not want to risk their money on unpredictable investment. Collecting local oil paintings was more likely to be much easier and more profitable than collecting foreign works of art, as information was more easily available. Besides, as many collectors put their focus on the same goal, they, therefore, did not need to worry that their collections would become valueless. As Seligman noted, "It should be emphasized, however, that this economic phenomenon applies only to works of international importance; the price of objects of purely local interest is governed by local demand."<sup>209</sup>

A western oil painting auction held by Christie's in 1993 in Taipei, for example, was very unsuccessful. Its turnover was just 33 million NT\$ (£696,821) and the number of items sold was only 22.4%.<sup>210</sup> In contrast, the number of items sold at the following Taipei Sotheby's auction, which concentrated on oil paintings by local artists, in particular by older generation artists, was 81.08%. Its turnover was over 55 million NT\$ (£1,161,368). 60 out of 74 oil paintings were sold at relatively high prices. 'Danshui at Dusk' by Chen Chengpo, an early generation Taiwanese artist, made a record price of 10.17 million NT\$.<sup>211</sup> Due to the local taste, since then, obviously, all auction companies in Taiwan have put their focus on native works, in particular works by older generation artists.

Collectors are so keen to indulge in collecting local works of art that the Taiwanese art market looks relatively self-contained and self-sufficient, as compared to other international art markets. The result is that the art market in Taiwan tends to be isolated and lack international funds. This situation, no doubt, may limit its future expansion. Although certain art dealers in Taiwan have been making efforts to introduce Taiwanese artists to the international art markets in America, Japan, Singapore, and particularly in Hong Kong etc., this has not proven successful. As Yuan Shuhua, Head of Christie's Hong Kong branch, stated in 1991, "Taiwanese oil paintings, so far, only can be

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<sup>208</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> Seligman (1961: 239).

<sup>210</sup> Zheng Qinghua (鄭慶華)(1993).

<sup>211</sup> Zheng Qinghua (鄭慶華)(1993), See also Zhao Yingru (肇瑩如)(1993a).

recognized in the local art market.”<sup>212</sup> In contrast, works by artists from China are able to attract more attention in the international art markets. Hu Re, Director of Sotheby’s Taiwan branch, noted that, “The range of Chinese painting market is getting wider. However, the price of the oil paintings by older generation artists in Taiwan is so high that their works are very difficult for auction houses to gather. Having taken account of more business opportunities, we have decided to move and set up auctions for Chinese oil paintings in Hong Kong.”<sup>213</sup>

For this reason, from the early 1990s more Taiwanese collectors and therefore dealers in Taiwan have tended to concentrate on works of art by masters and antiquities from China (Figure 3.6). Despite the increasing price of works in the art market in the early 1990s, local works by younger artists remained ignored until recently. This had left them in a vulnerable position. With a view to extending local collectors’ interest, as well as helping local younger artists gain patrons, in 1995 the Taiwan Painting Appreciation Association in Taipei held an art auction to introduce works by 88 younger artists under 45 years old. Unfortunately, the auction failed.<sup>214</sup> It is evident that the ignorance of younger artists’ new styles resulted in a lack of commitment from commercially minded collectors. The prospects for the art market are not good in these circumstances, as Yang notes, “If an art market just focuses on commercial purpose without opportunities for younger artists to express their creation, its prosperity can not last very long.”<sup>215</sup>

### 4.3 Economic crisis and price bubble

In the early 1990s, the world economy entered economic recession. With the stock market collapse, the prices of works of art in the Japanese art market dropped drastically to 50% of their previous value. The Japanese economy started to shrink. In August 1990 the Gulf War worsened the economic situation. Being an export-oriented economy, Taiwan was adversely affected. The Taiwan Weighted Index Number dropped over 60% from 12,495.34 in February 1990 to about 4,600 in September 1991.<sup>216</sup> In 1995 the New Taiwan dollar started to depreciate and private consumption started to shrink significantly.<sup>217</sup> As Ma writes, “Although the blockbusters of ‘Monet’ in the National Museum of History in Taipei and ‘Rodin’ in the Taipei Fine Arts Museum have brought

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<sup>212</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1991a).

<sup>213</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順) (1999).

<sup>214</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1995a).

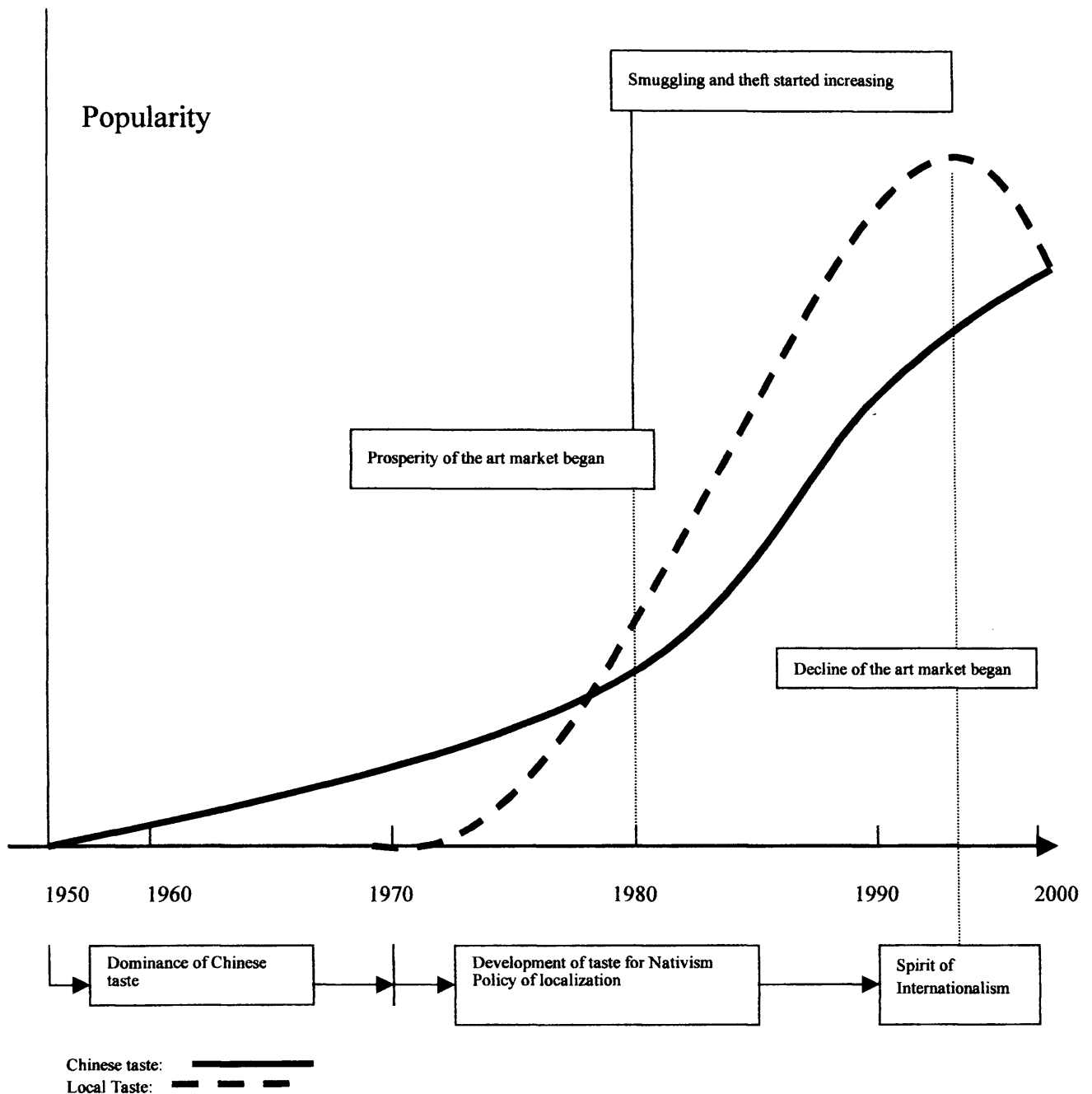
<sup>215</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 19).

<sup>216</sup> Zheng Yonghu (鄭永湖)(1991).

<sup>217</sup> Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (1998: 4-7).

in thousands of visitors, this situation seems hopeless for commercial galleries in Taiwan in 1993.<sup>218</sup>

Figure 3.6: Evolution of local taste and Chinese taste since 1949



A number of galleries began to shut their doors. The Doors Art Space,<sup>219</sup> and the Up Gallery, noted galleries in Kaohsiung,<sup>220</sup> ceased their business in 1995. Xu Zigui,

<sup>218</sup> Ma Chenglan (1993: 38).

<sup>219</sup> The Doors Art Space (串門藝術中心).

<sup>220</sup> The Up Gallery (阿普畫廊).

General Manager of the Up Gallery, exclaimed: "We have not sold any works of art for six months."<sup>221</sup> The Dimensions Art Gallery<sup>222</sup> in Kaohsiung and the Xinxin Life Art Centre<sup>223</sup> in Tainan also closed. Similarly the Taiwan Gallery, the Elite Gallery and the Zhenpin Art Centre<sup>224</sup> in Taipei all began to cancel contracts with artists.<sup>225</sup> Subsequently, the Asian economic crisis beginning in 1998 had a significant impact on Taiwan. A series of economic events caused the consumption of art collecting in Taiwan to shrink still further. In order to find another way of selling works of art, eight commercial galleries in Taipei united to hold an art fair in Xinzhu in 1999. They mainly aimed to attract the newly wealthy in the Xinzhu electronic industry area where its annual business volume is up to 400,000 million NT\$ (£8,446,310,835). This, however, proved unsuccessful.<sup>226</sup>

Many art dealers in Taiwan drove up the price of works of art excessively, as the art market was in its boom. They inflated the price of works of art in the art market. Liu Huanxian, a trustee of the Taiwanese Gallery Association: "It is evident that the world economic recession has resulted in the recession in the art market in Taiwan. Besides, the unreasonably increasing price of artworks and art dealers' manipulation in boosting the price in the past two years may also be considered as the main factors causing the recession."<sup>227</sup> Yuan Shuhua, Head of Christie's Hong Kong branch, agreed, "The price of Taiwanese oil painting is too high in comparison with other art markets in neighbouring areas."<sup>228</sup>

Once an economic recession comes, unlike other commodities, works of art may not be sold very quickly. The prices of works, therefore, may fall back dramatically. Even those oil paintings by the older generation artists had to face a loss of their value. For example, in 1995, the number of sales in the Chuanjia auction, which was supposed to be the most native-oriented auction house, was only 40%. The number of sales in Sotheby's auction in 1995 was just 61%, which was its worst auction ever in Taiwan.<sup>229</sup> As Tai Nai recorded "oil paintings by Liao Jichun, a well-known past artist in Taiwan, usually can fetch at least 8 million-10 million NT\$ (£168,926-211,158), however, in Sotheby's auction on 16 April in 1995, 'Abstract Landscape' just fetched only 5 million

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<sup>221</sup> Lu Jixian (盧繼先)(1995).

<sup>222</sup> The Dimensions Art Gallery (帝門藝術中心).

<sup>223</sup> The Xinxin Life Art Centre (新心生活藝術館).

<sup>224</sup> The Zhenpin Art Centre (臻品藝術中心).

<sup>225</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995e).

<sup>226</sup> Chen Aizhu (陳愛珠)(1999).

<sup>227</sup> Ma Chenglan (1993: 38).

<sup>228</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1991a).

<sup>229</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 63).



NT\$... In addition, some works by older generation artists fail to attract collectors...Evidently the golden age of the older generation artists has passed away.”<sup>230</sup> Even some banks, which previously offered loans to people to buy works of art, withdrew the service.<sup>231</sup>

As for the market in western painting in Taiwan, it also was affected by the art market recession in Europe. Paozhuan has said that, compared to 1990, the price of modern French paintings in the twentieth century dropped 50% in 1994.”<sup>232</sup> Chen Yinde also said that there were 25 galleries’ turnover which could reach 10 million FF, however, only 6 galleries could actually reach this level.<sup>233</sup> As a result the price of works of Fauvism and Impressionism also suddenly dropped to either half price or one third in the Taiwan art market in 1993.<sup>234</sup>

## 5. Influence of the Taiwanese art market

The prosperity of the Taiwanese art market has given a significant impact to other countries in Asia since 1990. Interaction with Singapore and China, has stimulated markets, in these countries and given them a model to follow. Collectors in these countries have also concentrated on Chinese works and the price of their local artist’s works has been getting higher and higher. All the art markets in these Chinese countries such as Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore are seen as an entire Chinese art market. With the rapid expansion of the Chinese art market, people in art strongly believe that the price of Chinese art is depressed. There is no doubt that this has continued to attract new collectors and increased the demand for works of art and antiquities.

According to official statistics revealed by Liu Yi, Director of the Tourism Bureau in China, the number of Taiwanese tourists visiting China has reached up to 7 million and has brought 4,600 million US\$ (£3,185.5 million) into China between 1989 and 1994.<sup>235</sup> Although the actual amount is hardly known, evidence indicates that some of this is spent on works of art such as antiques, craft, calligraphy, and painting etc. Tsuei noted that the “Taiwanese are fond of purchasing works of art when travelling in China, as

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<sup>230</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 64).

<sup>231</sup> Telephone interview with the Yushan Commercial Bank in Taiwan on 20 Jan 2000.

<sup>232</sup> Paozhuan (拋磚)(1994).

<sup>233</sup> Chen Yinde (陳英德)(1995: 60).

<sup>234</sup> Hong Zhengming (洪政銘) and Liu Suhua (劉素華)(1993: 15-21).

<sup>235</sup> Anon. (1994c).

those works are very cheap in comparison with other art markets. However, this concept causes them frequently to be duped by art dealers.”<sup>236</sup> Taiwanese art dealers and experienced collectors could pay very low prices to purchase antiquities or paintings from China, as they travelled there. Those works of art or antiquities could be sold at over ten-times the price in the art markets in Taiwan, Japan, Singapore or Hong Kong etc. Most art dealers or collectors who started buying early in the 1980s have undoubtedly had bargains. Nevertheless, their keenness to purchase works of art has simultaneously led to huge competition, which has made the price of works of art there increase at a high speed.

With the economic prosperity in China, a great number of local private collectors mushroomed in the art market. Having been suppliers exporting cultural objects for several decades, certain art dealers and collectors in China have also developed their own strengths and have turned out to be more independent since the early 1990s. They not only have become more aware of the operation of the art markets, but also have found their own way to buy and sell in the international art markets. In fact, they have become a formidable buying power to compete with international buyers in the Chinese art markets since the late 1990s. Many buyers from China were able to afford higher prices so that some fine works of art have started to flow back to China. A report of the *Central Daily News*, indicates that, due to the economic growth, in addition to stocks and bonds, people in China have started to invest their extra money on stamps, antiquities, works of calligraphy, and paintings etc. since 1992.<sup>237</sup> Looking at the development of per capita income in China, it may explain why the consumption in China has been changing since the late 1980s (Figure 3.7). As Xu Hailing states, “In the opinion of art dealers, the price level of works of calligraphy and paintings in Shanghai and Beijing is now equal to the price level in Taiwan. For the time being, the situation has changed. Art dealers in Beijing even acquire works of art from Taiwanese art dealers to meet the increased demand in China.”<sup>238</sup> It is very impressive that collectors from China bought 17% of the Chinese calligraphy and painting in the Zhencang art auction in Taipei in 1996.<sup>239</sup> After 1991 the National Palace Museum in Beijing spent several million HK\$ to purchase jades and the National Shanghai Museum spent 2 million HK\$ (£177,661) to purchase a Northern Wei dynasty (AD 386-534) stone sculpture from the Hong Kong art market.<sup>240</sup> The growing collecting power in China has become more obvious. As Hu Re has said, “Particularly, collectors from China have

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<sup>236</sup> Cui Zhaobi (崔兆璧).

<sup>237</sup> Anon. (1994c).

<sup>238</sup> Xu Hailing (徐海玲)(1993: 59-60).

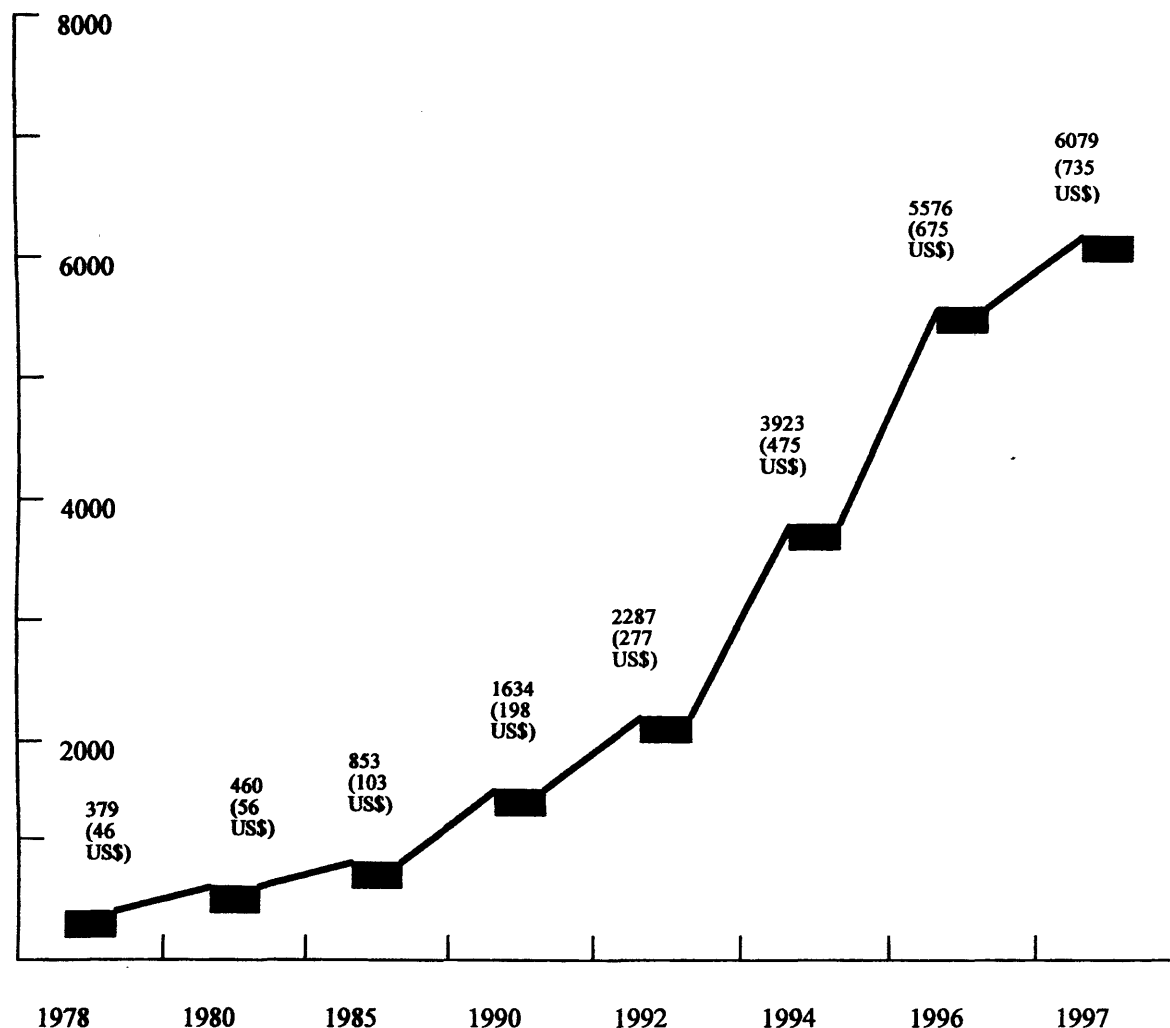
<sup>239</sup> Liu Youyan (劉猷彦)(1996a).

<sup>240</sup> Xu Zhengfu (徐政夫)(1993: 2.9).

become very active in auctions recently. Most prices in Hong Kong auctions are higher than those in Taiwan.”<sup>241</sup>

Figure 3.7: National income in China (1978-1997)

National income (RMB)



Source: extracted from *Chinese Statistic Almanac in 1998* (中國統計年鑑), see Zhan Daping (詹大平)(2000: 44).

More and more Taiwanese art dealers set up their offices in China. Likewise numerous art dealers in China have taken advantage of Taiwanese art dealers' experiences and management to build up their own businesses since 1990. For instance, as Chen Minghua states in 1994, "Recently, Chinese antique furniture has become more and more attractive to Taiwanese collectors. To meet a high demand, Taiwanese art dealers visit China very often to import more antique furniture."<sup>242</sup> Most local commercial

<sup>241</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(1999).

<sup>242</sup> Chen Minghua (陳明華)(1994).

galleries dealing in native artists' works have had to face huge competition, while some local commercial galleries have kept exporting a great number of paintings from China since the late 1980s.<sup>243</sup>

Thanks to an interaction of either art dealers or collectors between Taiwan and China, the art market mania in Taiwan has influenced the art market in China. Furthermore, as many Taiwanese art dealers developed their business in Singapore after 1990, this also has allowed the art market to prosper there.

As the place of origin of Chinese culture, the abundance of cultural objects in China allows them to easily dominate the Chinese art markets. It may be much easier for auction houses in China to gather exquisite works of art than those in other countries. With support from the government, certain art dealers in China have started to make an attempt to set up art auctions since 1992. The first two art auctions in China were held in Beijing and Shenzhen in 1992.<sup>244</sup> Subsequently, art auctions mushroomed in China. In 1996 there were over 800 auction houses in China.<sup>245</sup> Before 1994 there was only one auction house in Beijing, however, in 1998, there were over thirty auction houses in Beijing.<sup>246</sup> In 1999, 13 auctions were held in June in Shanghai.<sup>247</sup>

As for Singapore, its art market has closely followed Taiwan's art mania since 1992. Art dealers in Singapore are very keen to cooperate with art dealers either from Taiwan or Hong Kong. As Kai Tuo has noted, "The art auctions in Singapore always follow Taiwan and Hong Kong. With economic prosperity in Singapore, art auctions now have been revving up for the last two years. The price in art auctions appears to keep increasing as the price of estate in Singapore does. New price records for works of art continue to be created."<sup>248</sup> In 1993, Christie's held its first art auction in Singapore. In 1994, seven art auction houses emerged in Singapore, and in March 1995, there were five art auctions held in Singapore within one month. Their turnover reached 15 million Singapore dollars, equal to the whole turnover of art auctions in 1994.<sup>249</sup>

The art market may be seen as a showroom for the economy. It also can be seen as a place representing the culture of a society in a country. From a sociological point of view, the art market can be considered as a place, where all kinds of social forces

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<sup>243</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 185).

<sup>244</sup> A Geng (阿庚)(1996: 54).

<sup>245</sup> Ren Daobing (任道斌)(1998:330)

<sup>246</sup> Wu Lichao (吳力超)(1998:61).

<sup>247</sup> Shi Jianbang (石建邦) and Liu Tainai (劉太乃) (1999: 78-9).

<sup>248</sup> Kai Tuo (開拓)(1995: 67).

emerge and interact with each other. These social forces can not only form fashions, but also result in numerous phenomena such as fakes, smuggling, theft and so on. These phenomena not only occurred in the Taiwanese art market but also in other Chinese art markets, in particular the art market in China. With the boom in the Chinese art markets the flood of fakes seems to have reach an unprecedented peak after the mid-1990s. It not only has caused many problems, but also aroused controversies in the art markets and the sector of art museums since the 1980s. To understand more about the phenomenon of fakes, its cause and effect will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

## 4: Fakes in Chinese art collecting

### 1. Background on faking

The commercialization of art and antiquities through the development of local art markets results in intense pressure on supply. Whilst this could be satisfied by the dealer's manipulation of the art market, as described in the previous chapter, it also provided opportunities for more illicit activities: faking, theft and smuggling. These form the subject matter of this and the following chapter.

#### 1.1 Fakes, reproductions and imitations

Works of art have been counterfeited as long as they have been collected. To Tietze art forgery is an "inseparable shadow" which accompanies collecting.<sup>1</sup> Before discussing the issue of fakes in Chinese art collecting, it is important to review the meaning of fakes and distinguish them from other forms of reproduction and imitation.

'Reproduction', i.e. replication or duplication, is used when people intend to make copies from original works of art for educational or other purposes. The person who makes them usually marks them as reproductions. People, therefore, know it as a duplicate artwork not an 'original'. Museums commonly use this for the sake of preservation, sale in souvenir shops, or the distribution or display of rare objects (such as dinosaurs). In each case museums are ethically obliged to make clear the object's status.

'Imitation', so called pastiche, is particularly used by artists during learning. A student usually needs to copy his or her master's, or past master's, works in order to develop technique. An artist may also imitate part of another artist's work in order to create his or her own style.

Generally speaking, both in reproduction and imitation, producers, have no intention to

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<sup>1</sup> Tietze (1948: 16).

deceive, and sign or annotate their works to make this clear. However, if artists or craftsmen make works with the motive of passing them off as the works of another artist, no matter what kinds of reproduction or imitation they use, they are referred to as fakes. An example would be if a student imitated his or her master's art style to create a painting and then did not put his or her own signature on the work, but fabricated the master's signature instead. China provides us with another useful example: Here, some dealers have been keen to utilize reproductions made by art museums and sell them as real antiques.

## 1.2 Faking in Chinese history

Research has shown that, art faking in Chinese history can now be traced back to the Three Kingdoms (AD 220-280).<sup>2</sup> Zhang Yanyuan,<sup>3</sup> an art critic of the Tang dynasty, stated: "In ancient times people liked to copy paintings. Fakers copied almost eighty percent of either ancient or contemporary paintings. These replicas look very similar to the original works of art both in style and in quality. There are some copies also made by imperial workshops." It has been proven that the valuable work of calligraphy, Kuaixueshiqingtie<sup>4</sup>, made by a famous calligrapher of the Jin dynasty, Wang Xizhi (AD 321-379), is actually a Tang dynasty copy. Historical records show that, the emperor of the Tang Dynasty, Tang Taitzong, ordered his ministers, who were good at calligraphy, to make copies of Kuaixueshiqingtie for him.<sup>5</sup> It is believed that the original was buried with the emperor. Mi Fei<sup>6</sup> studied over three hundred paintings attributed to Li Cheng<sup>7</sup> and concluded that only two paintings are genuine.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, a famous scholar of the Northern Song Dynasty, Su Shi<sup>9</sup> found that most paintings by Wu Daozi,<sup>10</sup> which had been acquired by collectors were fakes fabricated by Zhu Yao.<sup>11</sup> The author of the Ming Dynasty book, Wanliyehuo bian,<sup>12</sup> also detected a considerable trade in Suzhou.<sup>13</sup>

According to Yang Xin, Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum in Beijing,

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<sup>2</sup> Yang Xin (1989: 87).

<sup>3</sup> Zhang Yanyuan (張彥遠).

<sup>4</sup> Kuaixueshiqingtie (快雪時晴帖).

<sup>5</sup> Shih Shuqing (1990: 63).

<sup>6</sup> Mi Fei (米芾), a renowned artist and collector of the Northern Song dynasty (AD 960-1127).

<sup>7</sup> Li Cheng (李成).

<sup>8</sup> Huashi (畫史).

<sup>9</sup> Su Shi (蘇軾, AD 1039-1112).

<sup>10</sup> Wu Daozi (吳道子).

<sup>11</sup> Zhu Yao (朱繇). See *Collection of Prose Works of Su Shi* (蘇軾文集), Vol. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Wanliyehuo bian (萬曆野獲編).

<sup>13</sup> "Most fakes come from Suzhou. Even artists make a living from faking in the area of Suzhou."

“There were three peaks in the faking of painting and calligraphy in Chinese history. The first occurred from the late eleventh century through to the early twelfth century. Art faking then became extremely common. The second peak arose between the sixteenth to the early half of the seventeenth centuries. A business boom caused a flourishing art market, which brought about a rise in art faking. The peak occurred from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. With the commercial boom at that time, the art business began to flourish in many cities in China such as Shanghai, Beijing, Suzhou, Kaifeng and Changsha, Yangzhou and Guangdong. Furthermore, due to the intervention of foreign art dealers, faking activity again reached its peak.”<sup>14</sup>

Research here shows a fourth peak in art faking, which has been developing since the 1970s. Increasing demand from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore as well as from Japan, Korea, the U.S.A., and Europe has caused prices to soar and consequently attracted fakers to expand their rate of production. In China low pay and high unemployment makes faking a very useful way of improving a poverty-stricken life, and consequently the authorities have paid less attention to the prosecution of faking. “All kinds of objects-porcelains and pottery, traditional painting, bronze vessels, gold ornaments, and jade figures are being reproduced by skilled artisans who have copied the old techniques. In Jiangxi province, where the imperial kilns of the Ming and Qing dynasties were located, ateliers using the traditional methods turn out fine copies of old porcelains. Sources say that workshops producing forgeries of 20<sup>th</sup>-century master painters exist in Shanxi and Sichuan provinces.”<sup>15</sup>

### 1.3 The aesthetics of fakes

A question often raised is why a forgery of high craftsmanship and quality in every aspect, where there does not appear to be any difference between it and the genuine work by an artist or craftsman, should not be worth as much as the original? Actually, the answer seems to be an almost intangible one that lies in the area of aesthetics.<sup>16</sup> As a series of faking incidents occurred in the Taiwanese art market in the 1990s, a lot of criticism was aroused on the subject of fakes. However, not everyone shared these views. Some scholars believed that, even if not genuine, some delicate fakes still have a right to claim their artistic value back, that aesthetic judgement should have nothing to

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<sup>14</sup> Yang Xin (1989: 87-9).

<sup>15</sup> Harrington (1998: 134). Spencer Harrington provides the only published western interpretation of faking in the recent Chinese art market.

<sup>16</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 12).



do with whether they are genuine or not. Some dealers seem to agree and suggest that collectors just need to care about quality and pick what they really prefer. As Arnold Zhang,<sup>17</sup> an art dealer and painting specialist at Kaikodo in New York, suggests, “If you focus on quality, authenticity will take care of itself... Value is not only in authenticity. It’s not even primarily in authenticity. It’s in quality. You could put together a collection of all genuine works that would be boring or you could collect unusual works, with some that are questionable. Let’s face it. Masterpieces are atypical.”<sup>18</sup>

Zhang’s opinion embodies a purely aesthetic or artistic perspective, but, sociologically, the issue of fakes is so complicated that we cannot simply look at it just from one angle. Faking has such complex implications that Zhang’s statement is too much of a simplification. This assertion that quality is the key to value and Zhang’s opinion, the so-called ‘masterpieces are atypical’ is likely a means to avoid fakes, contradicts experience in the art world where the works of ‘masters’ are not always of the highest quality.

In terms of creation, faking cannot be regarded as a truly artistic creation, even if there is no difference between a fake and a genuine work of art. It is just proof of how skills and techniques can be copied by fakers. Fakes are not creations deriving from inventive originality. Admitting the aesthetic value of fakes is equal to urging people to imitate works of art rather than create their own styles.

To the viewers, a fake obscures the truth, and causes the observer to lose an authentic connection with the artist’s ideas and skills. Curators actually play a very important role as guardians of the real, and ‘authentic’. This they communicate to the public. This means that museums should consider fakes only as objects of education, not for their aesthetic merit.

In terms of the law, because fakes are created for fraudulent use or to deceive, faking is regarded as a crime in most societies. But Mansfield and Mills have discovered, “There is no question that many fakers look upon their trade as not only a craft and even an art but also a kind of sport in which they play their moves to cheat and deceive the collector, the unwary dealer, the police and the rest.”<sup>19</sup> If we agree to accept a collecting policy of uncertainty, it will not only interfere with the integration of knowledge, but also it will attract more fakers into the art markets. As Grampp has said, “One consequence of

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<sup>17</sup> Arnold Zhang (張洪), a former Chinese painting specialist at Sotheby’s, is art dealer at kaikodo (懷古堂).

<sup>18</sup> Harrington (1998: 138).

<sup>19</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 38).

uncertainty is that it invites fraud.”<sup>20</sup>

## 2. Fakes flooding the Chinese art market

### 2.1 Fakes in the Taiwanese art market

Pottery forgers in Taiwan are very well known in the Chinese art markets, but most Taiwanese forgers prefer to focus on paintings, as these are more easily reproduced. It is fairly common in Taiwan for a pupil to forge his or her master's paintings. For example, it is well known that some pupils of masters such as Zhang Daqian<sup>21</sup> and Pu Ru<sup>22</sup> have clandestinely copied their masters' paintings for huge profit. As a result of the difficulty of authenticating these works, a number of fakes circulate among collectors, auction houses and dealers.

Although the press has alerted the public, experts still recognize many pictures of fakes in the advertisements of art dealers and auction houses. According to Li Meiling, most fakes are works of past Taiwanese artists such as Liao Jichun, Chen Chengpo and Guo Bochuan etc.<sup>23</sup> She also explicitly wrote that experts had pointed to the Weiyin gallery<sup>24</sup> in Taipei as being an agency for fake painting.<sup>25</sup> Chinese artist, Wu Guanzhong, had every right to complain as Li explained, “There are so many fakes attributed to him in Taiwan. Two paintings, which are attributed to him and are now displayed in the Changliu Gallery<sup>26</sup> are total fakes. Moreover, the Asia Art Centre<sup>27</sup> in Taipei has held an exhibition for him, but, unfortunately, no painting was genuine.”<sup>28</sup> In 1991, Fan Zeng, a noted painter from China, was invited to visit Taiwan. He examined 100 ink paintings purported to be by him and found only about 20 to be genuine.<sup>29</sup>

Subsequently, in 1999, police investigated seven fakes attributed to a famous Taiwanese naïve painter, Hong Tong. It is believed that one forger had counterfeited all these

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<sup>20</sup> Grampp (1989: 124).

<sup>21</sup> Zhang Daqian (張大千) (1899-1983).

<sup>22</sup> Pu Ru (溥儒).

<sup>23</sup> Li Meiling (李梅齡)(1990).

<sup>24</sup> Weiyin gallery in Taipei (維茵畫廊).

<sup>25</sup> Li Meiling (1990).

<sup>26</sup> Changliu (長流畫廊), a commercial gallery in Taipei.

<sup>27</sup> Asia Art Centre (亞洲藝術中心), a commercial gallery in Taipei.

<sup>28</sup> Li Meiling (1990).

paintings. The police also found a number of other fakes, which had been circulating between collectors and art dealers for years.<sup>30</sup> The incidence of fakes is very high in catalogues published by local auction houses, galleries and collectors. It demonstrates that the Taiwanese market is full of traps for both unwary collectors and curators (Appendix 3). These events occurring from 1990 were so astonishing that people started to reconsider their collection's authenticity. It not only humiliated auctioneers and dealers, but also put lots of question marks on collectors' collections.

Many fakes enter Taiwan and other markets from workshops in other countries. In 1994, Wu Guanzhong accused the Yongcheng auction house in Hong Kong of having auctioned a fake painting attributed to him.<sup>31</sup> A few years later: "New York collectors were startled early this summer when Han Wei, Director of the Shanghai Archaeology Institute and a consultant to the Guggenheim show, in a lecture at New York's Ariadne Gallery, identified several gold and silver objects as fake, some of which had been offered for sale in the mid-1990s by prominent dealers in New York, San Francisco, and Hong Kong. Han is an expert on ancient metalwork."<sup>32</sup>

The faking of painting and calligraphy has a long history in China. As Yang Xin has shown, the rate of faking has been prolific: "It is believed that, to meet western demand, numerous fakes were produced between 1920 and 1950. Over two thousand fakes of painting and calligraphy were created only in the area of Changsha at that period of time. Most of them found their way either into the collections of politicians in China or foreign dealers and collectors."<sup>33</sup> Yang also noted: "Having visited art museums in the U. S. A. in 1984, I have seen many fakes in their Chinese painting collections. Most of them, I believe, were produced in the early twentieth century."<sup>34</sup>

As an art dealer between 1988 and 1997 travelling around China, I became aware of the huge number of modern fakes to be found in private collections or commercial galleries. There is increasing evidence to show that the production rate of such forgeries has accelerated in recent years. In the late 1980s, China amended its policy to allow people to run private businesses. Many private workshops producing fakes have emerged in the art market since then. It is evident that faking became a very serious problem in China because of the authorities' ignorance.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Wang Xinyi (1991: 74).

<sup>30</sup> Liao Xiaolong (1999).

<sup>31</sup> Cao Yufen (1995).

<sup>32</sup> Harrington (1998: 137).

<sup>33</sup> Yang Xin (1989: 87).

<sup>34</sup> Yang Xin (1989: 92).

<sup>35</sup> Han Xiu (韓秀) (1995: 165).

As a result of the great demand for Chinese art in Taiwan, art dealers and smugglers from Macao have been swarming into Taiwan and Hong Kong, but most of their goods are fakes fabricated in China, Hong Kong and Macao. Evidence shows that fakes not only come from private workshops, but also from public museums in China. It is not the first time that some museums have sold fakes intentionally to unwary tourists or collectors. As Ma Zishu,<sup>36</sup> Assistant Director of the Culture Bureau in China, stated, "Some museums which are bent solely on profit even openly violate the national cultural objects policy to produce and sell fakes."<sup>37</sup> There is no doubt that, thanks to the efforts of art dealers and smugglers, those fakes have been scattered all over the world.

## 2.2 The reasons for fakes flooding into the Chinese art markets

Compared to its western counterpart, forgery appears to be a more complex problem in the Chinese art market. As Harrington has written, "The authentication problem is also cited as one of the reasons Chinese paintings consistently sell below western paintings of comparable quality; ...Major auction houses consider Chinese paintings so tricky that they do not guarantee their authenticity."<sup>38</sup> A Sotheby's catalogue admitted these difficulties, stating that current scholarship in the field of Chinese paintings does not permit an unqualified statement as to authorship or date of execution.<sup>39</sup> With many new collectors entering into the market with little knowledge of art objects, "The temptation to satisfy this growing demand for expensive rarities with cunning substitutes has escalated. The main targets of forgers are the very rich, but today almost anyone seeking a bargain is quite likely to become exposed to their criminal creation."<sup>40</sup>

Acquisition of Chinese works of art and artefacts has become a very uncertain venture, which may easily damage the reputation and the finance of private collectors, dealers and museum curators, if they are not aware of the technology for authentication and do not have the knowledge to evaluate Chinese works of art.

There are several factors, which may account for the forgery phenomenon beyond the obvious opportunities for criminal activity, which a booming art market presents. Firstly, it is an accepted fact that it has been a tradition since ancient times for Chinese people

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<sup>36</sup> Ma Zishu (馬自樹).

<sup>37</sup> Han Xiu (1995: 167-8).

<sup>38</sup> Harrington (1998: 138).

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 7).

to imitate or copy original works of art. For the purpose of preservation, ancient Chinese people duplicated a master's works. This was a means of cultural protection, which meant emperors or collectors asked artists to copy important cultural relics collected by them, such as paintings, calligraphy, porcelain and so on in order to preserve those relics for later generations. My research also shows, Qing Ming Shang He Tu,<sup>41</sup> a landscape painting of the Northern Song dynasty (AD 960-1127) in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, is believed to be an exquisite copy of the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644).

Secondly, Chinese people see copying as a fundamental skill necessary for an artist. In the fifth century book, Guhuapinlu,<sup>42</sup> an art critic, Xie He,<sup>43</sup> emphasized the importance of the skill of imitation, which enabled artists to realize the fineness of a master. To the present day, artists are still proud that their unique brushwork is derived from the techniques of the past masters. Critics still like to evaluate an artist by the pedigree of his or her skill. It is a traditional way for Chinese artists or artisans either to pay respect to the past master or to demonstrate their ability.<sup>44</sup> "Oriental art is particularly renowned for its 'license to imitate'. Throughout Chinese art imitations have been perpetuated in a spirit of innocence, respect or a desire to please."<sup>45</sup> For example, in the Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911), artists were very fond of imitating works of art of previous dynasties such as Song (AD 960-1279), Yuan (AD 1272-1368) and Ming (AD 1368-1644) in order to demonstrate their high level of aesthetic appreciation.<sup>46</sup> Artisans also endeavoured to copy the artefact style of earlier dynasties. In fact, it was very common for artisans to reproduce the same marks or inscriptions on purpose to show their respect for an outstanding craftsman of a past dynasty.

A third factor contributing to the faking boom draws on the traditional way to learn and teach Chinese painting since ancient times. By imitating a master's painting, a student can acquire the skills of a master. This may explain why a huge number of fakes are produced by masters' disciples or students. For example, it is believed that a student of Pu Ru<sup>47</sup> forged a great number of fakes of Pu's works.<sup>48</sup> Similarly on 5 April 1995,

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<sup>41</sup> Qing Ming Shang He Tu (清明上河圖).

<sup>42</sup> Guhuapinlu (古畫品錄).

<sup>43</sup> Xie He (謝赫).

<sup>44</sup> Fu Chunsheng (傅春生) (1983: 94).

<sup>45</sup> Moorhouse (1976: 116).

<sup>46</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996c: 81-9).

<sup>47</sup> Pu Ru (溥儒) (1896-1963), a well known artist in Taiwan.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Wu Fengzhang (吳峰彰), noted connoisseur and owner of the Hongzhan Art Centre (鴻展藝術中心), in the Hongzhan Art Centre in Oct. 1990.

police arrested a retired professor, He Caiming,<sup>49</sup> who used to be a student of Li Shiqiao, and accused him of forging and selling fake oil paintings attributed to his former teacher.<sup>50</sup>

This copying tradition has made fakes a serious problem in the Chinese art markets. The Director of the Beijing Fine Arts Institution, Liu Chunhua,<sup>51</sup> states that almost half of the works of art in the art market attributed to Qi Baishi, a master of Chinese painting in the early twentieth century, are fakes.<sup>52</sup> As Harrington has stated, "And copying is so ingrained in the Chinese painting tradition that judgement about authorship and date are often subject to dispute."<sup>53</sup> Accordingly, it has now become a very difficult task for curators, collectors, and scholars to distinguish fakes from genuine works of art. Binyon, curator in charge of oriental prints and paintings at the British Museum, remarked on this long before the modern collecting boom: "The deplorable habit of the Chinese dealers, who will inscribe any picture they happen to have with the signature of some popular old master, and this habit seems to have flourished for centuries has immensely increased the prevailing confusion."<sup>54</sup> But this problem was not restricted to paintings. Jades, which were preferred by many Chinese collectors, were also susceptible. Deng, Curator of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, traced the problem back to Binyon's period: "Faking of works of jade and bronze can be traced back to the twentieth century. Scholars' interest in collecting ancient jade and bronze boosted the art market at that time."<sup>55</sup> Deng also stated, "Jade faking in China reached its climax in the early twentieth century, especially from 1918 to 1937 and in the late twentieth century."<sup>56</sup>

The fakes, produced in the early twentieth century, were mainly aimed at Japanese and western collectors. However, faking from the 1980s onwards was mainly to meet the increasing demand of Taiwanese and Hong Kong collectors.<sup>57</sup>

In the modern Asian art markets attribution is of critical importance. Unfortunately, a lack of dynamic critical power, which can courageously point out a fake in the Taiwanese art market, has resulted in the appearance of more ambitious forgers and art dealers. In some ways, Chinese academics have to play an important role as critics, but

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<sup>49</sup> He Caiming (何財明).

<sup>50</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁) (1995b).

<sup>51</sup> Liu Chunhua (劉春華).

<sup>52</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁) (1996b).

<sup>53</sup> Harrington (1998: 138).

<sup>54</sup> Binyon (1927: 12).

<sup>55</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 51).

<sup>56</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 37).

<sup>57</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 56).

because of the traditional attitudes or potential implications, many of them are reluctant to offend art dealers and collectors by raising an incidence of faking in public. "Since they also heavily depend on the art trade for their knowledge of paintings in private hands or on the art market, they are in no position to antagonize dealers and auctioneers."<sup>58</sup> In addition, they are so circumspect in protecting their reputation that they do not want to find themselves under attack for pointing out questionable works of art or antiquities.

In the western market, a noted art dealer or auction house might send a controversial item to a laboratory for scientific examination before selling it, because the evidence gained may enable them to convince buyers, should any argument arise.<sup>59</sup> In Asia there are very few ways to claim back either money or compensation, if an art dealer or a collector inadvertently acquires a fake. Robert H. Ellsworth, a New York art dealer having 50 years experience in the Chinese antique trade, said, after he returned from Hong Kong, that 85 percent of the material offered to him for sale was badly damaged, repaired, or faked.<sup>60</sup>

In western countries art dealers have good relationships with laboratories. In Europe, in addition to public laboratories, many private laboratories and university laboratories can provide a service for the authentication of works of art.<sup>61</sup> The situation in Taiwan is quite the reverse, where a lack of laboratories and qualified scientists make scientific detection almost impossible. However, Chinese people have been accustomed to applying stylistic analysis since ancient times, a process which relies upon recognized experts including academics, collectors, curators and dealers. Although this provides significant assistance in identifying fakes, sometimes opinions may be too subjective, imprecise, or diverse that they seem to mislead owners or potential buyers. In a debate in court, opinions based upon stylistic analysis rarely produce attribution and, consequently, almost always leads to a fruitless verdict.<sup>62</sup> For example, after more than ten years' dispute of a notorious case in 1984, the authenticity of the figurative ink painting, 'Evening Banquet' hanging on the wall in the Ambassador Hotel in Taipei still remains unclear.<sup>63</sup> This may explain why, in the Taiwanese art market, the relationship

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<sup>58</sup> Norman (1977: 260).

<sup>59</sup> In May 2001, to convince Taiwanese collectors of the authenticity of western works at its auction, Lofuao auction house announced that it would cooperate with the Wildenstein Institute, a noted French authentication institute. It is the first time that local art dealers provide customers with an authentication service. See Anon. (2001d: 153).

<sup>60</sup> Harrington (1998: 137).

<sup>61</sup> Perrault (1993: 299).

<sup>62</sup> Zhang Shixian (張世賢) (1987: 1).

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Wang Sanqing (王三慶), on 2 Oct. 1994 and 25 Dec. 2000. Wang is the complainant in the case, who confessed that he was the faker of the ink painting, 'Evening Banquet' (夜宴圖), hanging

between scholars, collectors and dealers is rather ambiguous and complex. This may also explain why so many art dealers are keen to risk selling fakes.

Most museums in Taiwan were established after 1980. In many ways, museums are in their infancy. They can hardly keep pace with development in the art market, so fast does it proceed in Taiwan and in other Chinese art markets. Most museums not only do not have adequate qualified staff, but also do not have fundamental facilities for authenticating works of art. Gong Pengcheng, the Chancellor of the Foguang University in Taiwan, recently remarked, "It is hardly believable that there are only two experts in Taiwan who are qualified to be able to authenticate works of art."<sup>64</sup> However, Gong rather exaggerated the position. Although there are some renowned historians in Taiwan, who are good at stylistic analysis, there are still too few to meet museum demand. Scientists specializing in scientific detection are also needed to cooperate with art historians. The task of scientific detection relies heavily on conservators and laboratories. "Conservators study how objects are made, what technology was employed in their fabrication; how they are used, repaired, and modified in the past, and so forth. Because they are so closely with an object, they frequently obtain substantive evidence regarding the object's authenticity."<sup>65</sup> Compared to advanced countries, scientific facilities for authentication in Taiwan are seriously insufficient, as the Taiwanese government has not paid much attention to archaeology and conservation sciences for a long time. Except for the National Palace Museum, there is no conservation studio or laboratory in any art museum in Taiwan. Until 1999, there was no school or university providing conservation education. Zhang Shixian, Director of the conservation laboratory in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, states, "Even in the National Palace Museum, the technology and knowledge concerning conservation science needs to be improved."<sup>66</sup>

However, authentication cannot be undertaken by conservators alone. In France, for example, it is conducted by a team comprising art historians, scientists and conservators.<sup>67</sup> Currently, major public art museums in Taiwan such as the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the National Museum of Art and so on, usually organize a committee to sort out works of art for museum purchase before they make a purchasing decision.<sup>68</sup> Such committees are normally composed of artists, art historians and critics. However,

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on the wall in the Ambassador Hotel in Taipei.

<sup>64</sup> Gong Pengcheng (龔鵬程)(1999).

<sup>65</sup> Perrault (1993: 300). Quote from Elia (1995: 249). See also Alberge (1999).

<sup>66</sup> Lu LiZheng (呂理正)(1996: 122).

<sup>67</sup> Perrault (1993: 300).

<sup>68</sup> In January and February 2000 I interviewed directors, curators, researchers in major art museums in Taiwan. In December 2000 I interviewed directors, curators, researchers in public art centres in Taiwan.



in many cases, most members are artists. Obviously, having no scientists or conservators involved in the committee may well lead to mistakes. In order to avoid fakes, certain committees simply withdraw a work of art if one member questions its authenticity.<sup>69</sup> However, this is hardly a satisfactory substitute for scientific detection. A work of art cannot be regarded as a fake because of doubt from one member of a committee. The result is at best subjective judgement. As these cases have shown, the problem lies in the fact that museums in Taiwan are accustomed to relying only on curators or authoritative historians when purchasing collections.

It is clear that museums in Taiwan need to develop experts such as conservators, experienced historians, scientists specializing in material analysis, etc. who can be in charge of authentication as soon as possible. Recently, the authorities in Taiwan have enabled students on bursary or researchers to travel overseas to study the advanced technology relating to conservation sciences. In addition, at least three universities in Taiwan have to date set up departments of conservation science. Hopefully, the situation will be improved in the near future.

Some Taiwanese collectors appear unaware of the significance of provenance or authenticity. Indeed, it was not until the early twentieth century that archaeology started to develop in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. This late development of archaeology has resulted in people understanding precise provenance and authenticity. On the contrary, some collectors prefer to believe the fabulous stories fabricated by dealers. Han Baode, former Director of the National Natural Science Museum in Taizhong has publicly criticized this phenomenon in Taiwan comparing it to regarding a fish eyeball as a pearl.<sup>70</sup> Consequently, it is evident that numerous fakes have been flowing into collectors' cabinets. As Chen states, "A newspaper said that the whole collection owned by a collector in Taizhong, was stolen by thieves recently. Although the collection's value is estimated to be over 100 million NT\$ (£2,108,527), experts believe that most of them are actually fakes after they had seen photos provided by the police. This has made art collecting more like speculation due to the lack of a confidential authentication system in Taiwan."<sup>71</sup>

Some art dealers and collectors have become enthusiastic about publishing their

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩), Chief Curator of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum 25 Jan. 2000. Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲), Curator of the Collection Dept. of the National Taiwan Museum of Art, on 26 Jan. 2000. Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇), Curator of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts on 25 Jan. 2000.

<sup>70</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 33).

<sup>71</sup> Chen Xiaoling (1990).

collections, partly because of the wish to promote their fame, partly because of the wish to market their collections. However, the authenticity of some items in their catalogues has been questioned not only because of unclear provenance but also because of invented data. In an investigation of four recent catalogues of South and Southeast Asia art collections exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, Elia found that 97 percent of the 803 objects displayed had no stated provenance information at all. Instead, the curators had made stylistic attributions or used vague or overly broad geographic descriptions. He also states, "Catalogues of Chinese art are just as bad."<sup>72</sup>

The attitude to authenticity of some new auction houses in Taiwan is not very precise. In some sale catalogues issued by auctioneers, people cannot find precise evidence to show an item's provenance. Furthermore, even though auctioneers intentionally magnify pictures of the artists' signatures or inscriptions to illustrate works of art in the sale catalogues, collectors can still find a number of intentional errors in the catalogues. Although auction houses wish for prestige, which can be undermined by the appearance of fakes, the desire for rapid profit means that the problem of faking remains ignored.<sup>73</sup> Loss of collector confidence and dispute result.<sup>74</sup> Having followed Taiwan's example, art auctions in China are encountering the same problems, though ambiguous laws and loose discipline in the art market, seem to make the situation far more serious.<sup>75</sup> Driven by profit, some auction sale catalogues present imprecise information concerning date, price, and provenance. Ren Daobing<sup>76</sup> states, "Although some auctioneers in China do know those fakes very clearly, they still put them in sale catalogues to deceive customers on purpose."<sup>77</sup> For example, in Nanjing in 1997, over a dozen artists uncovered fakes attributed to them at a preview and forced the auctioneer to cancel the auction.<sup>78</sup>

After the media reported a series of cases related to fakes from 1990, many collectors in Taiwan began to realize the importance of precise provenance and have tried to improve their knowledge. James Godfrey, Director of Chinese art at Sotheby's New York, says, "Discerning a fake from a masterpiece has become a demanding exercise."<sup>79</sup> Some collectors have attended authentication courses taught by experts such as art historians, curators and art dealers. Some collectors pay for consultations to trace the provenance

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<sup>72</sup> Elia quoted from an interview by Harrington (1998: 136-7).

<sup>73</sup> I have worked for the Yuzhen auction house in Taipei as a consultant for over one year (Feb. 1997-June 1998).

<sup>74</sup> Liu Youyan (劉猷彥)(1996b). Tseng Suliang (1996a: 104-5).

<sup>75</sup> Ren Daobing (1998: 329).

<sup>76</sup> Ren Daobing, Professor of the Chinese Fine Art Institute in HangZhou.

<sup>77</sup> Ren Daobing (1998: 329).

<sup>78</sup> Ren Daobing (1998: 329-31).

of works of art before their purchasing them. An array of books and articles related to authentication has been published.

The profit motive indicates where faking will be most prevalent.<sup>80</sup> As Norman has stated, "Money is the root of all evil, and it is, of course, only when the fake reaches the art market that a crime may be deemed to have been committed."<sup>81</sup> "The making of forgeries has always been influenced by the potential profit."<sup>82</sup> As Duthy noted of the Chinese porcelain market in 1986, "High prices have made faking more attractive than ever and the quality of the fakes has improved."<sup>83</sup>

The price of works of art has also increased owing to the gradual shortage of supply. With growing consumption, rising prices and shortage of supply, the Taiwanese art market became ripe for forgery. Most forgers were in China. There is no doubt that the higher the price, the more forgeries are produced. After 1990 the manufacture of fakes seems to have reached its peak due to the shortage of genuine Chinese works of art. As Ellsworth points out about the situation in China, "The faking industry is growing because the amount of good material is thinning out."<sup>84</sup> Fake works of jade produced in China, for example, are mainly aimed at buyers from Taiwan and Hong Kong.<sup>85</sup> According to current statistics, at least 1,000 manufacturers including public factories and private workshops in Anhui province alone in China produce fakes and imitations of works of jade.<sup>86</sup> Deng indicates, "Recently, both in quality and quantity, fakes of works of jade have increased amazingly. Although no precise statistics has been gathered so far, I am afraid that only one in one hundred pieces of jade may be considered genuine in the art market. ...At the present time, it may be an unprecedented peak in art faking in Chinese history."<sup>87</sup> The problem appears to be that the higher the demand in the art market, the more fakes are produced to supply it. For instance, as a result of the increasing prices of Zisha teapots, forgers use a different kind of clay as a substitute to produce fakes of these teapots because of the shortage of original clay.<sup>88</sup>

A further complication is the entry of new, authentic pieces into the market. Recently, a sequence of excavations by archaeologists of China has brought many works to light.

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<sup>79</sup> Harrington (1998: 134).

<sup>80</sup> Yu Yun (1990: 58).

<sup>81</sup> Norman (1977: 201).

<sup>82</sup> Savage (1963: 252).

<sup>83</sup> Duthy (1986: 148).

<sup>84</sup> Harrington (1998: 134).

<sup>85</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 56).

<sup>86</sup> Wang Liming (1998: 248).

<sup>87</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 55-6).

<sup>88</sup> Anon. (2000a).

These works of art have never been seen before. This situation undoubtedly makes authentication more difficult, if the history of Chinese art cannot be updated using the latest information from archaeologists. Having seen the Chinese art exhibition, 'China: 5000 years', in the Guggenheim Museum in New York, Carol Conover, an art dealer from New York's Kaikodo, suggested, "Chinese art-history books are going to have to be rewritten."<sup>89</sup> In fact, certain items, previously regarded as fakes, are now turning out to be genuine, after scholars have found evidence in the latest archaeological finds. As Deng states, "My previous authentication has been proven to be right after the latest evidence was found in an archaeological site of the Hongshan culture in China."<sup>90</sup> Ironically, wily forgers and dealers have used this possibility as a means to extend their elaborate fraud. According to his investigations, Chen Jingjun<sup>91</sup> said that some Taiwanese art dealers copied new archaeological discoveries to produce fakes.<sup>92</sup> According to a report in the *United Evening News*, a Taiwanese collector eventually discovered that three Chinese porcelains in his collections were fakes when, two years later, he sent them to Sotheby's to be auctioned. He paid 11.5 million NT\$ (£249,999) to purchase these Chinese porcelain. He decided to sue the art dealer for deception, but the judge adopted the defendant's testimony that he did not intend to cheat the collector, as he believed the antiques to be authentic.<sup>93</sup> This situation, in fact, is very common in the art market in Taiwan. Insufficient legal protection, therefore, not only has encouraged fakers to produce forgeries, but also has allowed art dealers to sell forgeries without hesitation in Taiwan.

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<sup>89</sup> Harrington (1998: 135).

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Deng Shuping in the National Palace Museum in Taipei on 24 Jan. 2000. See also Deng Shuping (2001: 88-9).

<sup>91</sup> Chen Jingjun, Legislator of the Legislation Yuan in Taiwan.

<sup>92</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000c).

<sup>93</sup> Wu Zhiyun (1993).

### 3. Impact of fakes

#### 3.1 The effect of fakes on the art market

The practice of faking has always existed and is a typical characteristic of the art market.<sup>94</sup> However, if a great number of fakes circulate at the same time, this would have a strong impact on the art market. As an editorial of *Xongshi Art Monthly* states, “Fakes circulating in the art market not only trouble commercial galleries, but also increase conflict and debate in the art world.”<sup>95</sup>

Since 1990 prudent art dealers and auctioneers have become more cautious about the authenticity of works of art because they are unable to make a precise evaluation and, therefore, cannot guarantee to their customers that the works are not fakes. Banks and insurance companies also worry about the authenticity of works of art in order to secure their profits. As Perrault states, “As for works of art worth more than 1 million FRF (£90,855), now, in France one or two institutional certificates are insufficient for banks to grant their loan, as the price of works of art may soar or fall dramatically in the art market because of the authenticity of works of art. They now ask for more certificates and scientific evidence to guarantee them against loss. Likewise, insurance companies may question the authenticity of works of art and recheck their contract when dealing with their clients. More and more people seek help using scientific detection. With reference to precious works of art, some art dealers and auctioneers start to provide guarantees including historical records and scientific certificates to their clients.”<sup>96</sup> However, this information cannot necessarily give customers perfect confidence of a work’s authenticity. For example, Sotheby’s confessed that it had sold four pieces of fake furniture, attributed to Gorge III, to collectors at its auction in the 1990s.<sup>97</sup> As Watson writes, “An auction-house catalogue, it should always be remembered, is first and foremost an act of marketing, however much it may pretend to be a labour of scholarship.”<sup>98</sup>

Fakes seem to be the most effective factor in depressing the price of works of art in the

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<sup>94</sup> Alsop (1982: 156).

<sup>95</sup> Anon. (1993b: 14-5).

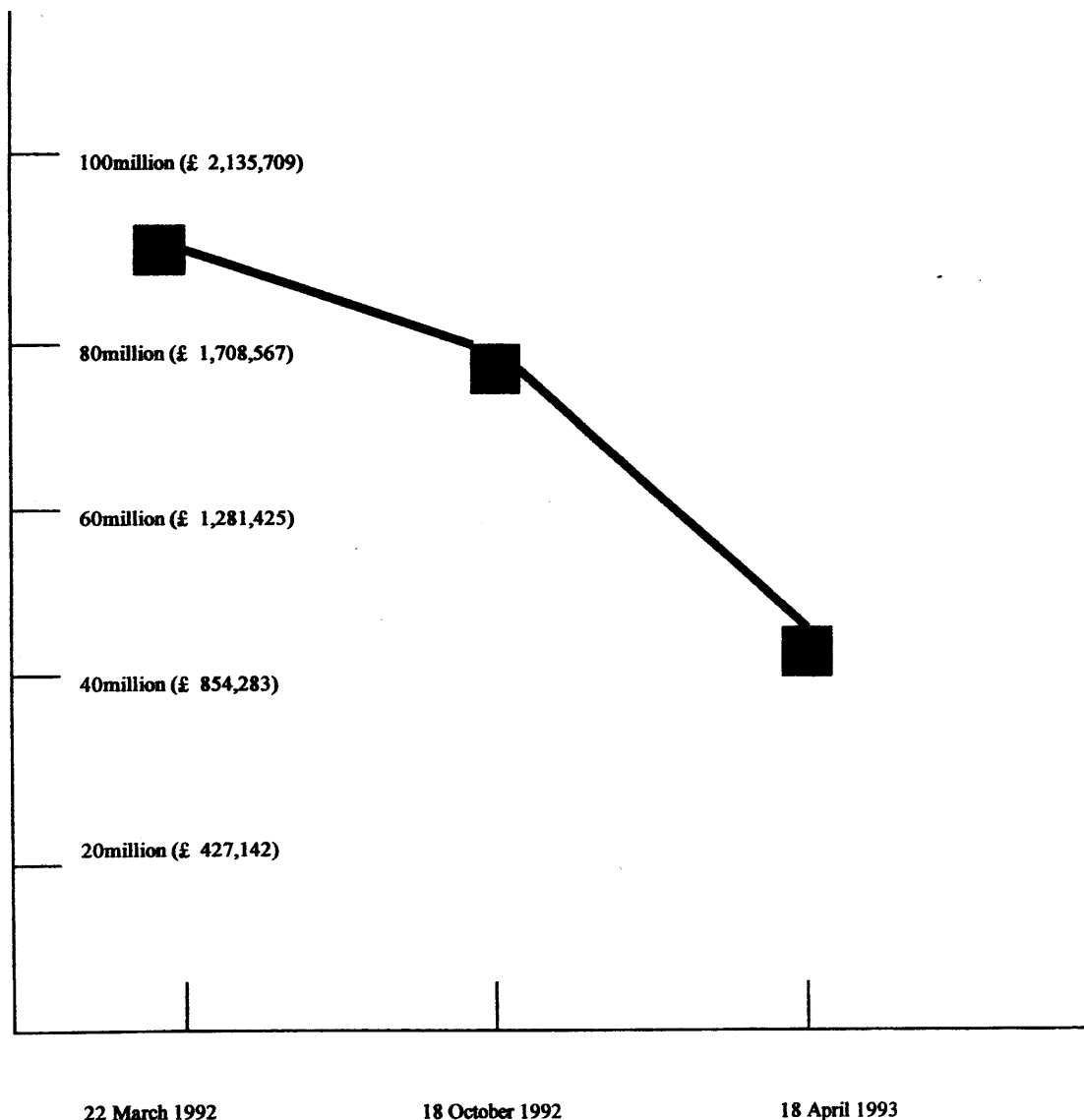
<sup>96</sup> Perrault (1993: 299).

<sup>97</sup> Anon. (1999a).

<sup>98</sup> Watson (1992: 473).

art market. When a number of fakes of contemporary oil paintings were uncovered in the Sotheby's auction catalogue in Taiwan in 1992, the market has shrunk gradually at its auctions since then (Figure 4.1).<sup>99</sup> It is believed that the market price of Chinese Blue-and-White has fallen to half the level it was ten years ago after a report related to fakes of Blue-and-White flooding Chinese art markets was made by the Porcelain Research Institute in Jingdezhen in 1991.<sup>100</sup>

Figure 4.1: The turnover of Sotheby's auction in Taiwan



Sources: Sotheby's branch in Taipei, see Liu Tainai (1993:47).

<sup>99</sup> Liu Youyan (1996b). See also Tseng Suliang (1994: 45).

<sup>100</sup> Dai Zongren (2000: 22).

Likewise, Chinese calligraphy by the past calligrapher, Yu Youren (1878-1964), are appreciated by collectors, not only due to his high artistic achievement but also his higher social status as a president of Control Yuan<sup>101</sup> of the Republic of China in Taiwan. However, the price of his works cannot fetch a very high price, since, as he was so busy, he authorized his secretary, Hu Heng,<sup>102</sup> who was very good at imitating his calligraphy style, to produce a great number of replicas in order to maintain good social relationships.<sup>103</sup> Walker has noted: "Attributions, of course, do not affect the beauty of works of art, but they do affect collectors and consequently values."<sup>104</sup> For instance, on 11 August 1996, the number of items sold was only 57% and the amount of turnover down to only 45.45 million NT\$ (£988,043) at the Zhencang auction, after eight paintings had been questioned by experts and, eventually, had been withdrawn as fakes by the auction company. Obviously, a number of buyers lost their confidence and decided not to purchase because almost 10% of the works in the auction were found to be fake.<sup>105</sup> As Grampp states, "Just who painted a picture is considered when a judgement is made about its aesthetic value. That the value is consistent with economic value is indicated by the fact that when attribution of a painting changes its price usually changes."<sup>106</sup>

It appears that, no matter how prestigious auctions may be, rumours can easily destroy the enthusiastic atmosphere and make collectors withdraw their bids because of the worry about fakes. No one will bid in that atmosphere. It would be losing face to buy. As Ma Chengming, Head of Chinese painting at Christie's, said: "Too many 'experts' in the Chinese art market results in rumours."<sup>107</sup> For example, three major paintings remained unsold at Jade spring auction in 1999, because some dealers and experts suggested that the paintings might be fakes.<sup>108</sup> However, it is also proven that some bidders in the art market are accustomed to making use of the fear of fakes on purpose to psychologically affect other bidders' enthusiasm.<sup>109</sup>

Likewise, in overseas auctions, fake events are able to make collectors lose their confidence in the most authoritative consultants at Sotheby's. On 22 September 1997 in New York, the auction for the Chinese painting collection of C. C. Wang was totally

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<sup>101</sup> Control Yuan, one of the five major branches of the government of the Republic of China, Taiwan.

<sup>102</sup> Hu Heng (胡恆).

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Wu Fengzhang (吳峰彰), noted connoisseur and owner of the Hongzhan Art Centre (鴻展藝術中心), in the Hongzhan Art Centre in Oct. 1990. See also Tseng Suliang (1994: 110, 114).

<sup>104</sup> Grampp (1989: 130).

<sup>105</sup> Liu Youyan (1996b).

<sup>106</sup> Grampp (1989: 38).

<sup>107</sup> Hu Yongfen (1999c: 114).

<sup>108</sup> Liu Tainai (1999a: 16).

<sup>109</sup> Anon. (2000b: 167).

unsuccessful, even though C. C. Wang used to be Chinese painting expert at Sotheby's in N. Y. The disappointing result was due to criticism on one the ancient Chinese painting, 'River Band',<sup>110</sup> which was owned by C. C. Wang.<sup>111</sup> Accordingly, more than fifty percent of the items in the auction remained unsold and aroused controversies.<sup>112</sup>

### 3.2 Interfering with the understanding of the history of art

As Jones states, "Fakes are, however, only secondarily a source of evidence for the outlook of those who made and uncovered them. They are, before all else, a response to demand, an ever-changing portrait of human desires. Each society, each generation, fakes the thing it covets most."<sup>113</sup> Although fakes are an inevitable matter for the art market, society should be aware of the effect they have on the knowledge acquired of the history of art itself.

Art fakes interfere with our understanding of the history of art. They convey the wrong message to collectors and they lead scholars and curators in the wrong direction. Collectors or curators must be aware of this. To eliminate the records of fakes from documents and archives has become increasingly difficult, because scholars usually obtain their own result by comparing and quoting another scholar's research as well as collectors' collections. As Emma Bunker points out, "Fakes tend to perpetuate themselves in books. Scholars frequently use material published by other scholars for comparison."<sup>114</sup> An archaeologist in China pointed out that many forged items were found in a book about Chinese jade published by a renowned Taiwanese publisher.<sup>115</sup> This situation is now getting worse. More such books have been published in Taiwan.<sup>116</sup>

Taiwanese collectors are worrying about this complex situation and are becoming aware of the importance of the authenticity and provenance of works of art. They are very interested in collecting shards excavated from archaeological sites, because shards can

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<sup>110</sup> 'River Band' (溪岸圖, Xi An Tu).

<sup>111</sup> The painting, regarded as one of the priceless treasures of Chinese ancient painting existing in the world, was one of eleven given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1997 by C. C. Wang. James Cahill, Professor Emeritus of Art History at the University of California, Berkeley, thinks the Song dynasty painting, 'River Band', attributed to Dong Yuan, is a fake made by Zhang Daqian. See Cahill (1999: 13-63), Cahill (2000: 60-76), Fu Shen (傅申)(1997: 256-8), Hearn (2000: 32-43), Shi Shouqian (石守謙)(1997: 82-7), Zhou Haisheng (1997: 70-4). See also Alsop (1982: 158-9). Dai Mingkan (戴銘康)(1997).

<sup>112</sup> Tai Nai (太乃)(1997: 22).

<sup>113</sup> Jones (1990: 13).

<sup>114</sup> Harrington (1998: 137).

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Deng Shiping, on 24 Jan. 2000.

<sup>116</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 33).



be used as standard samples to study the differences, for example, in clay, glaze, inscription, decoration etc. between fake and genuine porcelain. Although the China authorities forbid private collectors from collecting any shards at archaeological sites, Taiwanese scholars and collectors still endeavour to collect as many different kinds as possible. In particular, they prefer to collect those shards of imperial porcelain with official inscriptions, partly because these can be recognized easily and partly because most collectors value imperial porcelain wares. Recently, some forged shards of Guan ware<sup>117</sup> were found in the art market. Lu Minghua<sup>118</sup> indicated that, after the excavation of imperial kiln sites of the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644), so called Ming Guan ware, in Jingdezhen<sup>119</sup> in the 1980s and the Southern Song dynasty (AD 1127-1279), so called Song Guan ware, in Hangzhou in 1996, fakers focused on these kinds of shards to meet the increasing demand from collectors and scholars.<sup>120</sup> They sell the shards at a high price to scholars and collectors. In some cases, fakers also break fakes into pieces and then use the shards to form the object again as if those wares had been restored and recovered by conservators at archaeological sites. These kinds of porcelain can still be sold at a relatively high price in the art markets.<sup>121</sup>

In another example, fakers have arbitrarily altered a great number of Neolithic painted potteries. In most cases, the decorations on these excavated painted potteries are always blurred by moisture underground. Fakers altered or repainted the decorations on the surface of them, because the assessment of market price is always subject to whether or not the decorations are unique and intact.

### 3.3 Museums and fakes

It is a major problem when a museum purchases a fake. All too often museums and galleries that have fallen for a fake, hide them away. "Forgeries of works of art and these fraudulently handled copies are a constant harassment, not only for collectors, but even more so for the curators and directors of galleries and museums who are spending

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<sup>117</sup> Guan ware, Chinese imperial porcelain produced from the Song dynasty to the Qing dynasty.

<sup>118</sup> Lu Minghua (陸明華), Deputy Director of the Ceramics Research Department in the Shanghai Museum.

<sup>119</sup> Jingdezhen (景德鎮), the city in Jiangxi province in China famous for porcelain production since the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907).

<sup>120</sup> While serving as a consultant in charge of authentication at a Taiwanese auction house in 1998, I had seen a few forged shards of imperial porcelain of the Southern Song dynasty (AD 1127-1279) as well as a number of fake Blue-and-White made in Jingdezhen attributed to the Yuan (AD 1272-1368) and Ming dynasties (AD 1368-1644).

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Lu Minghua in London on 29 June 1999.

very large sums of public money.”<sup>122</sup> For example, curators in the Qimei Art Museum purchased several fake paintings and put them in the basement.<sup>123</sup> A number of fakes have been purchased by noted world art museums including some in Europe, the U.S.A. etc.<sup>124</sup>

Given the role of museums as cultural education centres, there is no real excuse for their not being responsible for the authenticity of works of art. Moreover collectors regard art museums as reliable institutions in which genuine and original works are displayed. As Schuller states, “The best training is to visit museums and be constantly in touch with original works, so as to develop intuitive discrimination between the genuine and the spurious.”<sup>125</sup> It is tremendously damaging, if a priceless work of art displayed is discovered not to be genuine.<sup>126</sup>

It would be very difficult for Taiwanese museums to avoid fakes, as some fakes can turn out to be genuine items through either museum publications or showcases. It means that certain Taiwanese collectors and art dealers are very keen to promote their collection via all sorts of exhibitions in museums, especially in public museums as people put more credit on public museums. Accordingly, it would be a problem, if curators did not pay close attention in checking the authenticity of displayed works of art in advance. For example, the National Museum of History in Taipei has been very keen to cooperate with private collectors and dealers to display their collections in recent years. Some exhibition catalogues were published in the name of the National History Museum. Nevertheless, some displays aroused debate concerning fakes. In the exhibition of Chinese swords in 1996, King Wu’s sword of the Warring States Period (475- 221 BC), belonging to the collection of Guyuege,<sup>127</sup> was questioned by scholars.<sup>128</sup> In response to the criticism that audiences may no longer put faith in the National History Museum, the Director of the National Museum of History in Taipei, Huang Guangnan, explained in the press conference, “It is still very difficult for museums to ensure completely perfect authentication, however, we know what we should be working on is to train

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<sup>122</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 14).

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Pan Yuanshi, Director of the Qimei Art Museum, on 27 Jan.2000.

<sup>124</sup> For example, Eric Hebborn is one of the most famous forgers in the twentieth century. He sold over one thousand fake sketches in the styles of Van Dyke, Pousin, Watteau, Picasso and Augustus John, etc. not only to private collectors, but also to renowned museums such as the British Museum, the National Art Museum in Ottawa, the Morgan Library in New York and so on between 1960 and 1970. See Li Guohui (1992: 263). Another example, in 1999 John Drewe, a British collector, who sold forged paintings and doctored the Tate Galeruy, Victoria and Albert Museum and so on, was jailed for six years. See Bale (1999).

<sup>125</sup> Schuller.(1959: 190).

<sup>126</sup> Wang Liming (1998: 248).

<sup>127</sup> Guyuege (古越閣), name of the collector’s studio.

<sup>128</sup> Yin Fu (英夫) (1996).

more professionals to improve authentication in the museum.”<sup>129</sup>

Even the National Palace Museum was criticised. Although its cooperation with five top Taiwanese collectors to display their jade collections in the museum early in 1999 was an unprecedented step, connoisseurs and art dealers question some displays.<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, Chen Jingjun strongly questioned over 400 ancient works of jade, which have been purchased by the National Palace Museum in Taipei since 1996 at the meeting of the Culture and Education Committee in the Legislation Yuan on 19 June 2000.<sup>131</sup> He put questions about the purchasing procedure of the museum and suspected some curators of conspiracy with art dealers.<sup>132</sup> As a consequence the Legislation Yuan decided to cancel the 2001 acquisition budget of the National Palace Museum.<sup>133</sup> The National Palace Museum has been keen to re-examine its collection recently.<sup>134</sup>

This shows that private collections could have an endorsement from public museums when they are formally displayed in museum exhibitions or printed in museum catalogues. Perhaps, the above example was a mistake made by unwary curators. Probably, the owner was innocent to believe his collection completely genuine. However, some collectors do intend to launder their collections in museums. For instance, the painting exhibition of Fu Baoshi, a well known 20th century Chinese master, held in December 1999 in the Shanghai Museum, attracted a great deal of concern, as the artist's wife and son explicitly indicated that those paintings displayed in the Shanghai Museum were fakes. They accused the Taiwanese collector, Xu Zuoli, who provided all these paintings on loan, of committing a 'painting laundry'. They believed that Xu intended to make all the fakes, which he bought from art dealers in China, into genuine works of art.<sup>135</sup> It is highly possible for fakes to be laundered through museum exhibitions. This placed increasing responsibility on museums.

In China, the authorities are now aware of the urgent need of authenticators, because much authentication needs to be conducted in museums and existing authoritative experts near retirement. To pass down their knowledge, for example, the National Palace Museum in Beijing has run a course in the authentication of Chinese painting

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<sup>129</sup> Zhao Ming (1996a).

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Deng Shuping, on 24 Jan. 2000. Christian Deydier, a Paris and London dealer, thought that two-third of the pieces on display were fakes or suspects. See also Harrington (1998: 137).

<sup>131</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000d).

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Xie Huiqing (謝慧青)(2000a).

<sup>134</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 53).

<sup>135</sup> Dongfang Jun (東方君) (2000). See also Zhang Chen (張晨)(2000a: 44-5).

and calligraphy since 1994.<sup>136</sup> Authoritative experts were invited to teach on the course. Museums in the United States also have been aware of this situation. Recently, they have shown themselves keen to invite Chinese experts to help them identify fakes in their collections. For example, Yang Boda,<sup>137</sup> an expert in Chinese jade from China, was invited by the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco to re-examine its Chinese jade collection. Many works of jade, previously regarded as masterpieces are now thought to be fakes made in the early twentieth century.<sup>138</sup> In response to the flood of Chinese fakes, museums in Taiwan have started to provide information with comprehensive details in exhibitions in order to meet not only the audiences but also collectors' demand. For example, in January 1999, curators of the National Palace Museum in Taipei mounted a huge panel on the wall to show the details of the characteristics of decoration and material of Blue-and-White in the exhibition of 'Blue-and-White imperial porcelain in the reign of Xuande in the Ming dynasty'.<sup>139</sup> In the Hongxi Museum of Fine Arts in Taipei, curators gathered a number of shards of ancient Chinese porcelain excavated from archaeological sites and demonstrated them with details about provenance to the public in 1996.<sup>140</sup> Such exhibitions show that curators are intent on educating collectors in how to collect works of art more wisely. In fact, there is an interaction between collectors and museums as the rising number of flooding fakes has already make people realize the significance of academic work in art collecting and encouraged people to learn from museum exhibitions.

In addition, art dealers and consultants of the Hongxi Museum of Fine Arts have been commissioned to provide the latest fakes and information regarding fakes for the museum. Through research and experience relating to the latest fakes, curators are able to improve their capability of authenticating works of art in order to reduce significantly the rate of mistakes.<sup>141</sup> As Wang Liming, an expert in Chinese jade in China, states, "If you cannot understand fakes and imitations, you should not take the responsibility for authenticating works of art."<sup>142</sup> Obviously, people can learn a great deal from fakes by comparing them with genuine works of art. As Jones has stated, "Fakes can teach us many things."<sup>143</sup>

Actually, in some ways, fakes may be considered as the counterweight, which can

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<sup>136</sup> Fu Xinian (1996: 51).

<sup>137</sup> Yang Boda (楊伯達), Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum in Beijing.

<sup>138</sup> Deng Shuping (1998: 53).

<sup>139</sup> I visited the museum on 5 Jan. 1999.

<sup>140</sup> I visited the museum on 16 July 1996.

<sup>141</sup> Cao Yufang (曹郁方)(1995).

<sup>142</sup> Wang Liming (王莉明)(1998:251).

<sup>143</sup> Jones (1990: 92).

encourage people to learn the truth. Since the mid-1990s, some antique shops in Taiwan have displayed fakes as examples to show the differences between fakes and genuine works in order to convince potential customers. Some Taiwanese art dealers also organize a variety of courses or seminars to invite collectors to exchange experiences about authenticating works of art. In terms of the art market, it is good for people to emphasize the issue of forgery rather than to ignore it. As suggested by Eudel- Roessler in his book on forgery, "But to give up the struggle would be equivalent to not stirring for fear of being caught in a trap. So all that can be done is to study the question."<sup>144</sup>

Museums in some countries have already started the practice of having forgery collections where these frauds can be thoroughly examined and where possibly compared with authentic objects in their catalogues- a further process for training the eye.<sup>145</sup> In some countries there are exhibitions displaying art forgeries with the intention of discussing the nature of forgeries. The open-minded attitude in museums not only gives the general public a chance to understand the differences between fakes and genuine works of art, but also conveys the message that knowledge and scientific technology can detect a fake. In 1973, for example, the Minneapolis Institute of Art held a special exhibition, *Fakes and Forgeries*.<sup>146</sup> The museum curators inspired people to confront the practical issues and to collect works of art more logically and carefully. Similarly, in 1994, there was a significant exhibition on Rembrandt in the U.S.A. It took several years for curators of the Metropolitan Museum in New York to gather a number of works of art attributed to Rembrandt from the whole world. By using both scientific detection and stylistic analysis, curators checked every painting in detail and interpreted them by displaying genuine works and fakes together in the showcases.<sup>147</sup> In 1999, the British Museum sent two pieces of Zhang Daqian's forgery, which were purchased in the 1960s, on loan to the exhibition and conference held by the Metropolitan Museum in the United States. These two paintings will be displayed with other fakes and genuine works of art as samples for academic study.<sup>148</sup>

In 1997, the Palace Museum in Beijing held an exhibition of 'Chinese fake painting and Calligraphy'. Afterward, in 1998, the Liaoning Museum, famous for its collection of Chinese painting and calligraphy, also cooperated with other museums to hold an exhibition related to Chinese fake painting and calligraphy.<sup>149</sup> As Yang Renkai, Director of the Liaoning Museum in China, said at the time, "We would like to display

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<sup>144</sup> Schuller (1959: 190).

<sup>145</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 18).

<sup>146</sup> Anon. (1973: 1-14).

<sup>147</sup> Shi Shuqing (1995).

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Ms Qiu, Conservator in the British Museum, on 30 June 1999.

genuine works of art together with fakes in this exhibition. The exhibition will also focus on modern painting and calligraphy, which we believe rather interesting to modern collectors. It is a museum's duty to provide an opportunity to help people compare fakes with genuine works of art and know how to identify them."<sup>150</sup>

These exhibitions were considered a breakthrough in terms of Chinese culture, especially in such a conservative society as in China. In fact, open discussion and academic conference can not only help to keep the art market in order, but also can take advantage of re-examining collections and improving the research in museums. In some ways, these exhibitions can also provide a good opportunity for a museum to fulfil its educational purpose. Furthermore, as an authoritative institution, a museum, especially a leading museum, cannot avoid its responsibility to help people understand the truth. After these two unprecedented exhibitions held in China, obviously, certain leading museums in Taiwan will step forward to confront these issues of fakes. The Director of the National Museum of History in Taipei, Huang Guangnan told me in February 2000, "We are going to present an exhibition on fakes in two years."<sup>151</sup>

## 4. The technologies of forgery and authentication

### 4.1 Technologies of forgery

Being attracted by the profit in the art market, modern fakers are keen to keep one step ahead of the game by adding to traditional methods through the use of modern technology. They apply new technology to improve their fabrication skills.

It is quite a difficult task for experts today to authenticate a Chinese painting because of a variety of factors including the Chinese tradition of imitation and the materials used in fakes which are so similar to those used in genuine works of art. To make a painting look older, forgers traditionally soak Chinese ink paintings on silk or paper in Chinese tea for a period of time. However, this can be detected by scientific methods. An experienced forger would thus make use of old materials such as antique paper and silk, rather than rely on an aging method.<sup>152</sup> For example, Zhang Daqian is said to have had

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<sup>149</sup> Yang Renkai (1998: 390-1).

<sup>150</sup> Yang Renkai (1998: 391).

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan in the National Museum of History on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>152</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 50).

a collection of antique paper and silk, which allowed him to duplicate ancient Chinese paintings very closely.<sup>153</sup> He knew the lore of Chinese art as well as any art historian specializing in that subject. He was the most remarkable of all fakers because he had successfully faked works as remote in date as the Tang dynasty.<sup>154</sup> Until now, scientific equipment has failed to detect this.<sup>155</sup>

Since Chinese painters are accustomed to using seals as a proof of their signature, forgers have eagerly sought famous painters' seals from their favoured pupils, friends or families. For instance, a number of paintings by Qi Baishi, a master in the early twentieth century, have been identified as fakes carrying the mark of genuine seals on them. It is believed that pupils probably had owned some seals after Qi Baishi's death and had utilized them to fabricate works.<sup>156</sup> The same situation also occurred with some works attributed to an important modern artist, Lin Fenmain<sup>157</sup>. Some experts believe that, after his death, certain relatives have used his seals for fabricating fakes.<sup>158</sup> In addition, by means of the techniques such as copying, zincograph (zinc plate) and rubber plate, Chinese seals used by masters can now be reproduced perfectly.<sup>159</sup> For these reasons, Chinese ink paintings cannot be authenticated by seals alone.

Many forged oil paintings copied from masterpieces of the early twentieth century have also been found in the art market since 1990. By adding antique frames to paintings, fakers can create forgeries close to the genuine article. Furthermore, some fakers simulate those paintings by sticking pieces of antique newspaper of the 1940s to the back of the canvas.<sup>160</sup> Fakes of western oil paintings made by Taiwanese fakers have also found their way to western markets. As Grotz revealed, "I have heard that the really good forgeries are currently coming out of Taiwan."<sup>161</sup>

Modern forgers use traditional tools and methods to counterfeit Chinese jade from earlier periods. Indeed, it is believed that jade forgers emerged in the Song dynasty (AD

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<sup>153</sup> Alsop J. (1982: 158).

<sup>154</sup> Wen Fong (1965: 95-119).

<sup>155</sup> Harrington (1998: 138).

<sup>156</sup> Pers. Comm. With Tan Dihua (譚棣華), a Hong Kong art dealer, in Hong Kong on 15 July 1991.

<sup>157</sup> Lin Fenmian (林風眠) (1990-1991), a modern Chinese painting master, who spent his remaining years with his nominal foster daughter in Hong Kong, where she looked after him until he died in 1991.

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Yan Jingcan (顏經燦), at his gallery, Canyaxuan (粲雅軒) in Hong Kong on 18 August 1991.

<sup>159</sup> Li Weijing (1996).

<sup>160</sup> An art dealer intended to sell some oil paintings attributed to older generation Taiwanese artists to me, while I served as Manager of the Yonghan International Art Centre in Taipei in 1990. I found that those fakes were framed with antique frames and had antique newspaper stuck to the back of the canvas.

<sup>161</sup> Grotz (1986: 55).

960-1279).<sup>162</sup> In some cases, forgers have re-carved ancient works of jade by adding extra valuable decorations.<sup>163</sup> In particular, they like to forge Chinese jade from the Warring States Period (5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), as its detailed-carved decoration is highly valued in the art markets,

‘Qin’,<sup>164</sup> a veined grain formed on the surface of jades which results from a series of chemical effects arising from burial in ancient tombs over a very long time, is used as evidence of authenticity by collectors and can thus increase the price of works of jade. Forgers have been very enthusiastic about counterfeiting this veined feature. Despite scientific efforts to unveil the secret, so far, the reason why this veining is formed remains a mystery. However, most people have believed for a long time that reddish-brown veins are caused by its penetration of blood from the bodies in the tombs.<sup>165</sup> This kind of ‘Qin’ is highly valued by Chinese collectors. To produce this effect, forgers apply a traditional method of putting jade into bodies of animals such as dogs, cats etc., and then bury them together in the earth for a period of time. As a result of the effect of penetration, those fakes will become similar to those pieces of ancient jade buried with human bodies, which carry the features of ‘Qin’ in them.<sup>166</sup> In some cases, forgers also boil works of jade in oil and then dye them to give them the feature of ‘Qin’. These kinds of works of jade are so called Youzhagui.<sup>167</sup> Forgers also apply a chemical solution to etch the surface of the jade as well in order to make them look aged.<sup>168</sup> Recently, modern forgers in China have improved their faking still further by using lasers to change the colours of jade and take advantage of moulds to produce fakes by using powdered jade. In doing so, they can make the faking process more controllable and effective.<sup>169</sup>

As for porcelain, Chinese forgers adopt a traditional method to produce forgeries in order to make them as similar as possible to genuine works. To counterfeit ancient porcelain they even use the same clays, pigments, straw ash, etc., as used in kilns in ancient times. For example, potters in Jingdezhen, the city in Jiangxi province in China famous for being the biggest imperial porcelain centre from the Ming to Qing dynasties,

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<sup>162</sup> Deng Shuping (1991: 261).

<sup>163</sup> Deng Shuping (1991: 262).

<sup>164</sup> Chinese buried jades are always found with some veins inside, so called Qin (沁). It is believed by scholars that the Qin was produced on jade due to the penetration of materials dissolved in a tomb. So far many kinds of colours of veined features such as white, red, and black etc. are found in buried jades. See Zhao Yongkui (1998: 240).

<sup>165</sup> Deng Shuping (1991: 258).

<sup>166</sup> Yin Zhiqiang (1985: 80).

<sup>167</sup> Youzhagui (油炸鬼).

<sup>168</sup> Anon. (1999b).

<sup>169</sup> Interview with Lu Minghua, Deputy Director of the Ceramics Research Department in the Shanghai



are good at producing a variety of fakes of imperial porcelain of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Because of imperial porcelain of the Ming and Qing dynasties, which usually carry a reign mark on their base, fakers make use of antique porcelain, which does not have a reign mark to grind away the glaze and paint a suitable reign mark, apply new glaze and re-fire the entire piece.<sup>170</sup> Due to increasing prices of imperial porcelain of these dynasties, fakes by Taiwanese potters have been found in some catalogues of celebrated international auction houses in recent years.<sup>171</sup>

To avoid scientific detection, forgers in China apply shards of ancient porcelain excavated from ancient kiln sites to produce fakes. They grind these shards to powder and mix them with clay to build up clay ingredients very similar to those of the genuine porcelain. Then, they pack these fakes with clay from ancient tombs and bury them in the tomb for several months. In some cases, forgers also smear the clay collected from ancient tombs over the surface of fakes. In Henan province, fakers also use pigments made from natural materials such as ink, plum and so on, which are the same as those used two thousand years ago, to produce painted pottery.<sup>172</sup> Those methods above would disturb the results of scientific examination. Diana Lee, a trustee of the Asian Art Association at the Museum of Denver, visited a fake manufacturer in Guangdong province and saw a series of fake manufacturing processes there. For instance, fakers were busy grinding the ancient shards collected from ancient sites and mixing them with the clay from traditional mines in order to produce all kinds of fake porcelain with the same clay component. Afterward, they buried a variety of porcelain and then poured buckets of urine onto the soil to hasten the chemical aging process.<sup>173</sup>

As for Chinese antique furniture, fakers collect all sorts of items of old damaged furniture and then dismantle them to reassemble them into intact pieces.<sup>174</sup> In art market terms, material is the most important part for assessment of antique Chinese furniture. However, it is rather difficult for collectors to identify wood. The only way to recognize it is to see what kind of colour and grain the piece of furniture presents. Therefore, fakers take advantage of utilizing other kinds of wood, which present similar

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Museum in London on 29 June 1999.

<sup>170</sup> Duthy (1986: 148).

<sup>171</sup> Pers. comm. with Liu Liangyou, Professor of the Chinese Culture University, in May 1990. Cai Xiaofang (蔡曉芳), a noted Taiwanese potter, is good at copying ancient Chinese porcelain, in particular imperial wares. It is believed that some replicas made by him used to be printed in sale catalogues of prestigious auction houses.

<sup>172</sup> Anon. (1999b).

<sup>173</sup> Harrington (1998: 134).

<sup>174</sup> Pers. Comm. with Guo Huizong (郭惠宗), a Taiwanese art dealer specializing in Chinese antique furniture, in July 1995.

colour and grain as the antique furniture. For example, Zitan (old red sandal)<sup>175</sup> was used to produce imperial furniture in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Zitan trees grow very slowly so that they are very rare and expensive. With the passage of time, the material of Zitan has become very difficult to acquire. Therefore, fakers take advantage of the similarity of the wood grain of Hongmu (padauk)<sup>176</sup> to forge the antique furniture of Zitan.<sup>177</sup>

In addition, in order to convince collectors, modern forgers also know how to simulate fakes by leaving some traces of restoration as if they were in the original condition. As Mansfield and Mills state, "the forger has two weapons which can cause a fair amount of confusion. The first of these is restoration. The forger here takes advantage of this situation and will, having created his fake, sometimes deliberately break it or damage it, and put it through the normal process of restoring."<sup>178</sup> Forgers in China, therefore, fabricate the pottery horses of the Tang dynasty by breaking their legs and then restoring them. This will make the price higher than that of intact ones.<sup>179</sup>

## 4.2 A war between scholars and forgers

Modern forgers have been very keen to learn about the discoveries of art historians and archaeologists. After 1980, they have supplied the art markets with improved fakes due to the increasing demand from Taiwan. When scholars publish their research about the structure, material and technology of Chinese art works, modern forgers can learn much from them. Once scholars have found specific ways of distinguishing some kinds of fakes, so forgers can learn them too and quickly try to improve their forgery skills. As Deng stated, "Fakes can be seen in the art market soon after a new academic report has been published... It is likely that academics encourage the phenomenon of faking."<sup>180</sup> For example, forgers keep abreast of art-historical research. Not long after Emma Bunker<sup>181</sup>, a research consultant to the Denver Art Museum, described a rediscovered ancient casting technique at two conferences in China in 1992, within months, four art dealers showed her spectacular fakes on sale for huge prices that used the technique she

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<sup>175</sup> Zitan (old red sandal)(紫檀木).

<sup>176</sup> Hongmu (padauk)(紅木).

<sup>177</sup> Pers. Comm. with Guo Huizong, a Taiwanese art dealer specializing in Chinese antique furniture, in July 1995.

<sup>178</sup> Mansfield and Mills (1979: 22).

<sup>179</sup> Interview with Mr. Huang, dealers from China, on 10 Jan. 2000. See also Harrington (1998: 139).

<sup>180</sup> Deng Shuping (1991: 262).

<sup>181</sup> Emma Bunker, a research consultant to the Denver Art Museum who specializes in north China and the Eurasian steppes.

had described.<sup>182</sup> Obviously, the more advances scholars can make, the more progress forgers can make. Bunker was shocked and suggested that, perhaps, scholars should seriously consider what kind of academic outcome they should deliver in public and with whom they are sharing the results.<sup>183</sup>

For instance, after scholars discovered the traditional technique for drilling holes through ancient Chinese jade, people found many fake jades in the art market with the same feature. The characteristic way of authenticating Chinese jade can no longer be considered a good method. In addition to curators and collectors, forgers seem to keep an eye on new academic discoveries and take advantage of the knowledge to fabricate all kinds of “antiquities”. The more detail researchers can discover, the more successful are the forgeries produced. For example, in 1995, scholars found that cobalt, which was used as a pigment to form the blue patterns in the glaze of the Yuan and early Ming Blue-and-White, consists of a great quantity of manganese and a lesser quantity of iron, and it was actually from Jiangxi, Yunnan and Zhejiang provinces in China, not imported from overseas countries as was earlier supposed.<sup>184</sup> This new discovery has enabled forgers to make huge progress, and some improved fakes of the Yuan and early Ming Blue-and-White with blackish spots decorated by cobalt in their blue patterns were found in the art market shortly afterwards.

### 4.3 Authenticating methods

The conditions of business are published in any sale catalogue. Most auctioneers do offer to take back lots, which the purchaser can prove are forgeries within some set time limit, varying from fourteen days to five years. The responsibility is on the buyer to prove that the lot was a fake and this is usually very difficult. As Norman stated, “The art market, in fact, is a jungle through which the only reliable guide is your knowledge.”<sup>185</sup> Yet many auction houses or dealers still try very hard to combine the expertise in academia to prove lots represented in their catalogues are totally genuine. Indeed, for the sake of business, they try to become authorities or experts. However, as Elia stated, “Many dealers and auction houses lack sufficient expertise in these areas, and so they often engage the services of outside consultants, preferably those in academia whose credentials and institutional affiliations are likely to inspire public trust

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<sup>182</sup> Harrington (1998: 135).

<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Guo Zi (1995).

<sup>185</sup> Norman (1977: 202).

and confidence.”<sup>186</sup>

As a result, Taiwanese collectors are inclined to believe those noted auction houses, in particular Sotheby's and Christie's where there is a recognized level of expertise. However, collectors do need to know that even the most reputable auction house might make a mistake. For instance, Christie's withdrew oil paintings by Chen Chengpo and Li Zhongsheng from its spring auction in Taipei in 2000, because people in art questioned their authenticity.<sup>187</sup> To avoid fakes, there are two prime methods, stylistic analysis and scientific detection, which usually play a critical role in the identification of the forgeries.

Experts in art history observe the appearance of an object such as cracks, texture, weathering, shade, shape, etc., as well as the aesthetic style. They also look at detail to study individual characteristics such as structures and skills of making etc. In the process, comparisons are made with literature and archives. In some cases, art historians may generally use genuine works as a standard against which to identify fakes. By comparing the appearance such as shape, glaze, colour shade, foot ring, clay and decoration of porcelain pieces, useful information will be brought out. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for instance, conducted an interesting and informative investigation into the sub-surface structure of Guan and Guan-type glazes.<sup>188</sup> They studied the bubble structure of the Song glazes and used shards of the Southern Song Guan ware excavated from the archaeological site in Hangzhou. The presence of the great number of observable bubbles in a glaze, together with minute particles, tends to cause opacity and also leads to a scattering of light falling on the glaze. Their discovery provided a mark of authentication of Song Guan ware. Besides the foot ring of Song Guan ware, which is dark brown in colour, also plays an essential role in the authentication process. To produce fakes, forgers after the eighteenth century applied brown pigment to the unglazed foot-ring on purpose.<sup>189</sup>

As for Chinese stylistic analysis, the majority of experts usually follow the traditional method of authenticating Chinese ink paintings, which is very different from that used in the west. According to Zhang Hong, a former Sotheby's expert, Chinese experts count on their instinct and experience. They inspect the details of a painting by examining the brushwork and ink expression first. Then, they check the combination of

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<sup>186</sup> Elia (1995: 249).

<sup>187</sup> Interview with Lo Xinshou, senior expert of Christie's branch in Taipei, on 22 Dec. 2000. Sotheby's have confessed in 1999 that the world's most expensive English furniture, which it sold in 1994 and 1996, was a fake. See Baker (2000).

<sup>188</sup> Savage (1963: 259).

lines, form and structure. It usually takes a very short time for a Chinese expert to authenticate a painting. In contrast, foreign experts would count on detailed research and analysis. It may take a long time for them to draw a conclusion.<sup>190</sup> As Chinese experts are always artists who are familiar with Chinese painting skills, they believe they can identify one artist's paintings simply by means of the specific style of the stroke and ink expression made by the artist. The key point, so called 'Bimo',<sup>191</sup> is to see the brushwork and ink usage in the works of art, which means to check and examine in detail how artists perform their brushwork and how they manage the ink expression. In the Chinese art world, artists in different periods or schools have emphasized their particular way of making strokes and using ink in ink painting. For example, Xu Bangda, one of the most famous experts in Chinese painting authentication, can identify a fake Chinese painting simply with a look at part of the painting. He emphasized how essential it is to examine Bimo, when I interviewed him in Taipei in 1991.<sup>192</sup>

Stylistic analysis is a very common and useful way to find out the truth, but it is not the most reliable way to authenticate works of art. Although, in Chinese culture, Chinese people are accustomed to believing authoritative experts in art, it is evident that even the most convincing expert may make a mistake. For example, On 5 October 1995, Yang Xin bought a Northern Song Dynasty painting, 'Shi Yong Tu'<sup>193</sup> on behalf of the National Palace Museum in Beijing at a price of 19.8 million RMB (£1,665,681) at the Hanhai auction in Beijing. Although the painting had been authenticated by one of the most authoritative experts, Xu Bangda, before the museum made the decision to bid at auction, its authenticity came into question after the deal had been made. Eventually, in response to the debate, Yang Xin wrote an article to the official newspaper in Hong Kong, *Wenhuibao*, to explain that the painting he bought might not be an original but a copy of a later period.<sup>194</sup>

Sometimes, in a forgery scandal, a stylistic analyst finds it difficult or almost impossible to put his visual experience completely into words and so his or her statement about the qualities of works of art tends to be vague. As understanding or appreciation of style is an extremely personal matter where the art historian usually attempts to look into the sub-conscious of a specific artist, stylistic analysis may frequently be limited to the range of very personal points of view.

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<sup>189</sup> Interview with Liu Liangyou, Professor of the Fengjia University in Taizhong, on 20 June 1998.

<sup>190</sup> Shi Shuqing (施叔青)(1990: 10-12).

<sup>191</sup> Bimo (筆墨).

<sup>192</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 52).

<sup>193</sup> 'Shi Yong Tu' (十詠圖) attributed to Zhang Xian (張先), an artist of the Northern Song dynasty (AD 960-1127).

In addition, historical evidence may be not precise. Even where there are no gaps in the record, the old lists are often vague about details of size, colour, materials, features of the structure etc. In the ancient Chinese literature, for example, the literary character, 'blue',<sup>195</sup> can mean either the colour blue or green.<sup>196</sup> It, therefore, may confuse modern art historians and lead to completely different outcomes. Besides, there still remains the problem of recognizing the various shades of blue in different historical periods.

Furthermore, it is possible that historical records may be either deliberately falsified or wrong. For instance, although Huizong,<sup>197</sup> an emperor of the Song dynasty, was a very famous artist and connoisseur, he made a number of mistakes in his book, *Xuanhehuapu*.<sup>198</sup> According to the opinion of Zhang Heng, a modern expert, "Some pieces of ancient paintings assumed as genuine works by Huizong are actually reproductions. Some pieces of Jin dynasty calligraphy [AD 220-589] were, in fact, fabricated by artists in the Tang dynasty [AD 618-907]." <sup>199</sup> As another example, in 1633, a scholar, Zhang Taijie, finished a book, *Baohuilu*,<sup>200</sup> which purported to document two hundred ancient paintings ranging from the Jin to the Yuan dynasty (AD 1279-1368). In fact his book was a means to disseminate and disguise fakes he had fabricated.<sup>201</sup> With all these uncertainties, it is not surprising that, in most cases, arguments about authenticity are rarely solved by art historians alone. The usual pattern is that controversies are raised on art historic grounds and end in a consensus of opinion on the basis of precise evidence, which usually comes from scientific detection.<sup>202</sup>

As a matter of fact, as the art market increasingly expands, the authenticity of art works would become more important than ever. Scientific judgement of authenticity, to some degree, becomes an essential factor to decide whether a work of art can be sold at a higher or lower price. In the journal, *Antiquity*, Christopher Chippindale noted how the TL dating certificate was affecting the prices of Mali terracottas: figures offered without

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<sup>194</sup> Chen Xiuming (陳修明) (1996: 177-9).

<sup>195</sup> Blue (Qing)(青).

<sup>196</sup> Traditionally, a number of terms related to blue colour (Qing) have been used to describe the glaze colour on ancient porcelain. For example, 'Meiziqing (梅子青)', 'Fenqing (粉青)' and so on are used to describe various green glaze colours. However, 'Tianqing (天青)' means sky blue.

<sup>197</sup> Huizong (徽宗).

<sup>198</sup> *Xuanhehuapu* (宣和畫譜).

<sup>199</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 135).

<sup>200</sup> *Baohuilu* (寶繪錄) written by Zhang Taijie (張泰階) in 1633.

<sup>201</sup> Yang Xin (1989: 89).

<sup>202</sup> After 10-months fruitless debate between historians and curators, the National Palace Museum in Taipei eventually decided to send seven questioned works of jade to the laboratory. See Xie Huiqing (謝慧青) (2001).

certificates had pre-sale estimates averaging £175, while those offered with certificates had estimates averaging £1200.<sup>203</sup> Scientific judgement of authenticity also becomes a test of the faker's patience, attention to detail, materials and technical knowledge. In one sense, most Chinese forgers prefer to sell their wares in the Far East rather than in London, because they know well that in London detection would be certain. As Fleming states, "If such methods were employed routinely in the art market and in the institutional galleries, there would be a vanishingly-small chance that a forgery would escape detection."<sup>204</sup>

Scientific methods are concerned with such notions as general chronology and the structure of physical composition. Composition is an important consideration in the authentication of works of art. The composition of alloy, ceramic or glass from which the object is made, and also the trace elements which could be diagnostic of a particular process or source of material, can reveal much about the object's history. Savage suggests, "The safest way for the collector to avoid buying forgeries is to learn as much as possible about the technology and material applied by craftsmen."<sup>205</sup> It would be excellent if scientific evidence could prove that an artist had an individual source of pigment not available to any of his contemporaries. For example, a modern lead white, disputedly termed 'pearlescent' and of a composition  $\{4\text{PbCO}_3 \cdot 2\text{Pb}_2\text{PbO}\}$ , has obvious similarities to the ancient form of pigment. However, their X-ray patterns are quite distinct. The pearlescent form, in fact, is a twentieth century product of the National Lead Company in the United States.<sup>206</sup>

To authenticate Chinese pottery from the Tang dynasty, a series of scientific work, such as re-values and environmental dose-rate, conducted by western scientists, provides useful information. In addition, the carving of a horse head in the Victoria and Albert Museum was supposed to be forgery, however, the recent progress of scientific technology has ascertained that it is a rare survival of Han jade sculpture dating from 200 BC- AD 200.<sup>207</sup>

It would be misleading to state that scientific methods could identify all kinds of forgery. In fact, each object has its unique attribute. Some objects, which cannot be subjected to scientific tests, may be suitable for authentication only by using art history. In many cases, it is necessary for scientists to take a small sample of material from objects. For

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<sup>203</sup> Chippindale (1991: 8).

<sup>204</sup> Fleming (1975: 103).

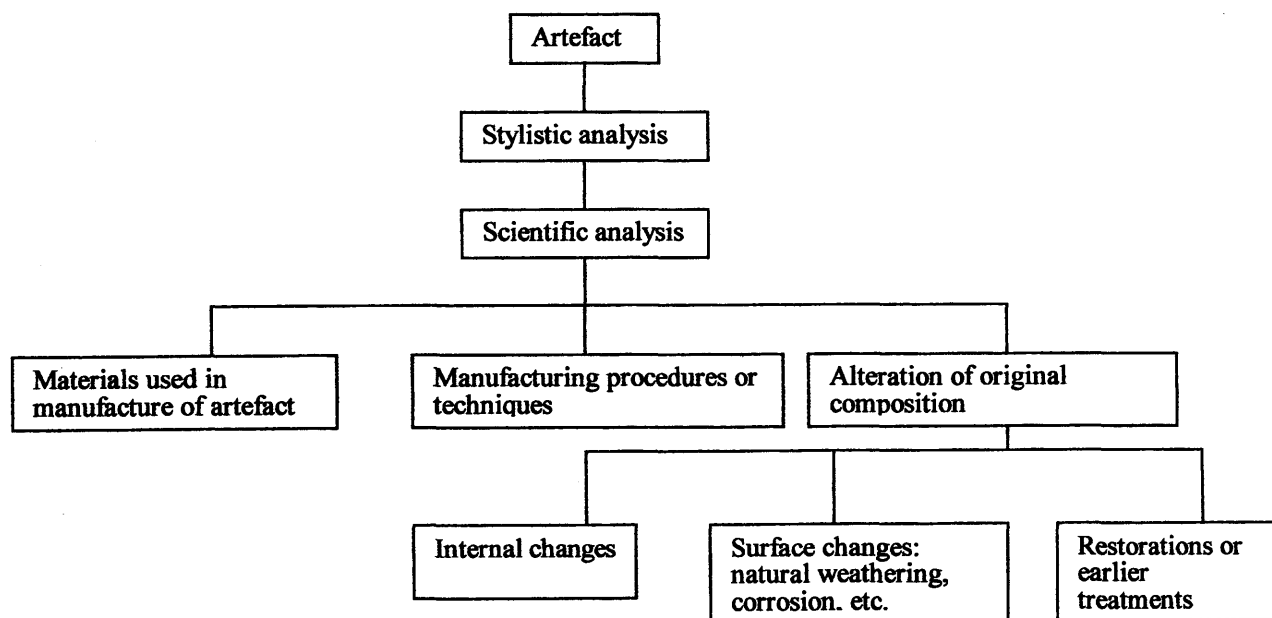
<sup>205</sup> Savage (1963: 251).

<sup>206</sup> Tweel (1979: 114).

<sup>207</sup> Jones (1990: 34).

example, currently, scientists have to drill a tiny hole into porcelains in order to collect tiny samples of clay to discover the structure and elements making up the porcelain. However, most collectors do not wish their priceless porcelain to be adulterated in this way. Furthermore, as I have discussed, some modern forgers have been known to make use of the same materials and procedures to fabricate fakes. They may thus escape scientific detection. For example, it is believed that some disciples of Gu Jingzhou, a modern Chinese master, used the same material and procedures taught by Gu to produce teapots after his death.<sup>208</sup> In this circumstance, as well as using scientific detection, authentication through the stylistic analysis of art history is needed. In addition, experience suggests that scientific detection is not perfect, because of lack of experience, insufficient preciseness or hasty analysis and so on. Imprecise reporting, obviously, may confuse people or lead them in completely the wrong direction. As both scientific and stylistic methods have their own limitations, using both of them together in the authenticating process is the best way to reach a conclusion. This means art historians and scientists need to help each other to solve problems through close cooperation (Figure 4.2).<sup>209</sup>

Figure 4.2: Flow chart for authentication procedures



Source: extracted from Newman (1992: 174).

<sup>208</sup> Interview with Cai Shangxian (蔡尚賢), an art dealer specializing in Chinese teapots, in Taipei on 20 May 1998.

<sup>209</sup> Newman (1992: 174).



## 5. Conclusion

With the flourishing art market, more fakes have been pouring into the art market. Increasing disputes over fakes not only frustrate enthusiastic collectors, but also alert curators in art museums to the saturation of fakes. It is not only dealers and experts who suffer from the prevalence of forgery and the frequent exposures of it. Public recognition of the existence of disputed works leads only too easily to a distorted view of art in general. As Schüller states, "People no longer dare to give themselves up to unqualified admiration of it. They stare with gloomy and anxious suspicion at the items exhibited, trying in each case to trace evidence of fraud."<sup>210</sup> Forgery detection has become a fashionable complaint. It is believed that fakes play an important role in disturbing the trading in works of art and depressing the Taiwanese art market in the 1990s.

However, the expansion of art faking which accompanied the growth of the art market was not the only manifestation of criminal interests in the lucrative new market. Art smuggling, theft and plundering also developed significantly in the art market. Rapid expansion of plundering and theft aroused academics' and authorities' concerns in Taiwan. Many avid Taiwanese art dealers and collectors cooperated with smugglers in China. They took advantage of the political separation between Taiwan and China to clandestinely transfer numerous unlawful cultural objects into the Taiwanese art market. This provoked a mania of plundering and theft in China. To stop the flow of illegal cultural objects, the Chinese authorities introduced laws which imposed much heavier punishment on these crimes in the late 1980s. There is no doubt that these crimes have caused a number of problems in the art market and in the museum sector. In the next chapter the cause, phenomenon and impact of art smuggling, theft and plundering will be explored in detail.

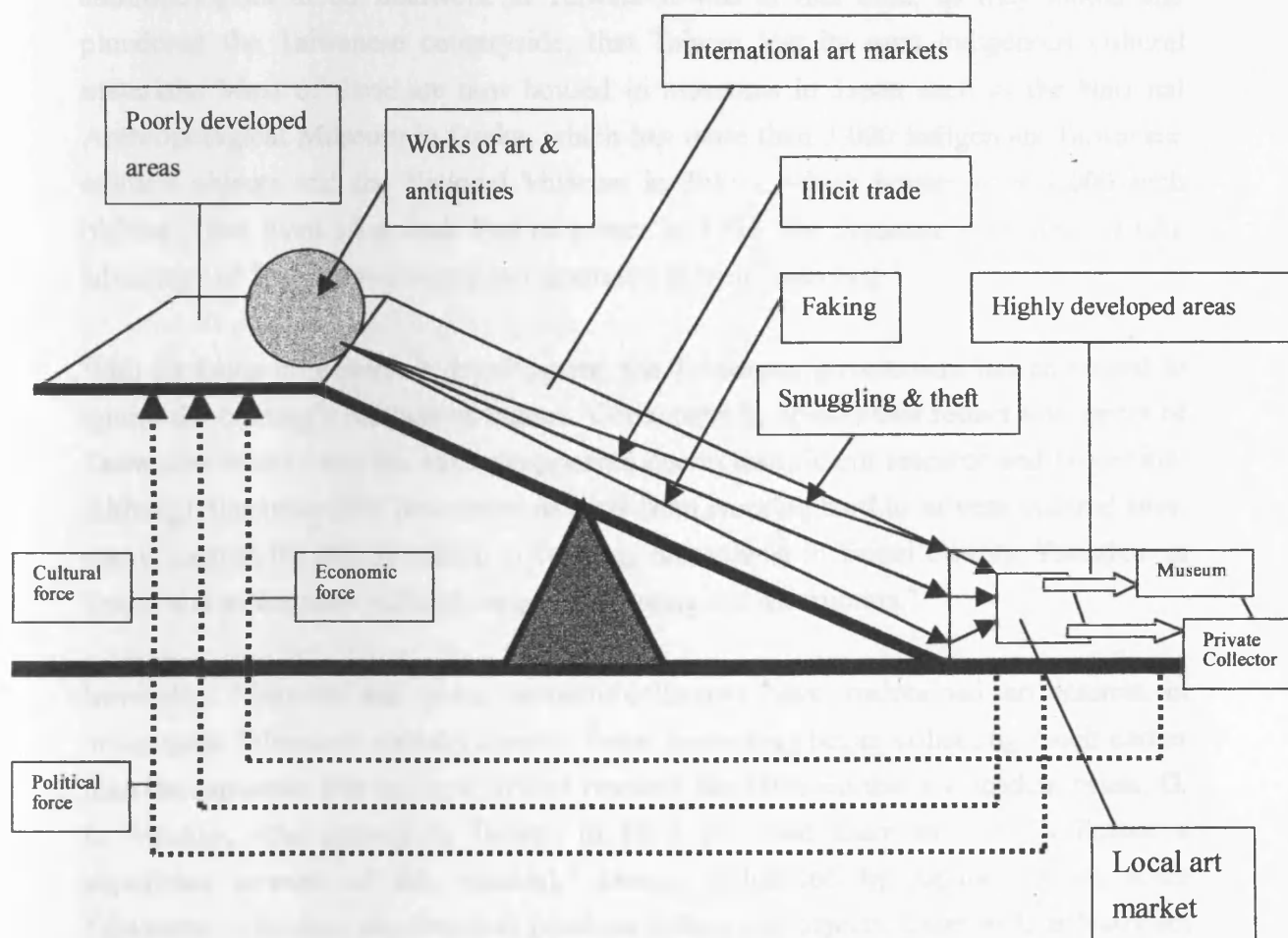
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<sup>210</sup> Schüller (1959: 186).

## 5: Art smuggling and theft in Taiwan and China

Broadly speaking, it is countries which suffer from poverty, low-levels of education and political chaos, that are most likely to be subjected to loss of movable culture. In contrast, countries, which have a strong economy, social infrastructure and a stable political base, often play a significant role in buying such objects. A critical player in this relationship, the international art market, both circulates works of art and stimulates the social forces, which affect and underpin supply and demand (**Figure 5.1**).

Figure 5.1: The social forces circulating cultural objects



Research recently conducted by the Macdonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the university of Cambridge showed that illegal art transactions continue to rise alarmingly. In 2000 the institute estimated the value of annual illegal transactions in the world to be between £150 million and £2,000 million.<sup>1</sup> Art smuggling and theft have

<sup>1</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000a). See also Anon. (2000c).

occurred throughout Chinese history- particularly when one country conquered another. However, with a flourishing economy, rising cultural awareness and relatively stable politics, Taiwan in the late twentieth century has acquired those key characteristics, mentioned above, which mean that it is an importer of cultural objects. This chapter examines the situation in Taiwan and the motives, operations and impacts of involvement in this illegal trade. The role of the art museum will also be examined.

## 1. Art plundering and theft in Taiwan

During the period of occupation by Japan (1895-1945), the Japanese government sent anthropologists to do fieldwork in Taiwan. It was at this time, as they looted and plundered the Taiwanese countryside, that Taiwan lost its own indigenous cultural materials. Most of these are now housed in museums in Japan such as the National Anthropological Museum in Osaka, which has more than 3,000 indigenous Taiwanese cultural objects and the National Museum in Tokyo, which houses over 1,000 such objects.<sup>2</sup> But even after their loss of power in 1945, the Japanese continued to take advantage of Taiwanese poverty and ignorance in their collecting.<sup>3</sup>

With its focus on economic development, the Taiwanese government has continued to ignore the country's indigenous culture. Consequently, objects that reflect this aspect of Taiwanese history and life have disappeared due to insufficient research and protection. Although the authorities have more recently been working hard to salvage cultural sites, many, such as the Benan culture in Taidong, Shisanhang in Taipei County, Yuanshan in Taipei and so on, have suffered serious plundering and destruction.<sup>4</sup>

Ironically, Japanese and some western collectors have maintained an interest in indigenous Taiwanese cultural objects. Some westerners began collecting much earlier than the Japanese. For example, recent research has revealed that a Canadian priest, G. L. Mackay, who arrived in Taiwan in 1872 and died there in 1901, collected a significant amount of this material.<sup>5</sup> Deeply influenced by Japanese taste, some Taiwanese collectors also began to purchase indigenous objects. Later still, as Nativism surfaced in Taiwanese society in the 1970s, the desire for this material increased significantly. To meet this high demand, numerous objects have been plundered from archaeological sites. For example a Taiwanese author, Zhong Zhaozheng, stated in his

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<sup>2</sup> Chen Qinyu (陳欽育)(2000:23).

<sup>3</sup> Cao Mingzong (曹銘宗)(1999).

<sup>4</sup> Yang Chongsen (楊崇森)(2000).

book, *Benan Plain*, that hundreds of stone coffins over 2,000 years old in the archaeological burial site of Beinan in Taidong had been plundered.<sup>6</sup>

As Nativism has become the main cultural attitude in Taiwanese society, a retrospective atmosphere has filled the air. To meet the demand from collectors, the growing number of antique shops have focused their business on Taiwanese cultural objects such as religious sculptures, old furniture and so on 20-30 years earlier- the era of the KMT Chinese tradition-had been ignored by ordinary people. Since the 1980s theft has increased to meet demand (Appendix 4). Many heritage sites or old houses have been plundered. In 1991, when I was in charge of the Yonghan Art Centre, a commercial gallery in Taipei, a stranger came to the gallery and showed me a series of photos of excavated indigenous artefacts including beads, pottery and jade. As these cultural objects are categorized as national property, it is forbidden to sell them. The stranger asked if the gallery could buy or sell them for him. In another incident, staff of the preparatory office of the National Prehistoric Culture Museum found a suspect who had taken advantage of the Chinese New Year vacation to unearth ancient artefacts in the early morning from the site of Beinan culture. Staff also found that he had taken away some artefacts including some pottery.<sup>7</sup> In 1993, for instance, a thief stole an old cartwheel and a mortar over three-hundred-year old from the National Museum in Taipei.<sup>8</sup> And while many heritage sites in Taiwan were destroyed in the unprecedented earthquake disaster of 21 September 1999, countless cultural objects were not only buried in the rubble but also stolen by thieves.<sup>9</sup> On 13 February 2000, a number of cultural objects, including a stele and a wooden tablet, were stolen from the old house of Lin Guanghua, Head of Xinzhu county.<sup>10</sup> Lin Ciling, an official of the Home Office in Taiwan, said that the theft was undertaken by an organized gang of thieves intent on plundering old temples in Taiwan. She appealed to the public for cooperation with the authorities.<sup>11</sup>

Theft has risen in museums, galleries, archaeological sites, collector's residences or artists' studios, but the awareness of staff and artists of this risk has been slow in growing, and in many cases security measures remain inadequate. For example, the National Museum of History and Taipei Fine Arts Museum have lost paintings and a

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<sup>5</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000b).

<sup>6</sup> Han Xiu (韓秀)(1995: 17).

<sup>7</sup> Lin Kuncheng (林崑成)(2000).

<sup>8</sup> Chen FengLan (陳鳳蘭)(1993).

<sup>9</sup> Li Rulin and Zhang Liangxin (李儒林,張良信)(1999). See also Lin Wanyu (林宛諭)(2000).

<sup>10</sup> Qiu Gaotang (邱國堂)(2000).

<sup>11</sup> Ding Rongsheng (丁榮生)(2000a).

sculpture by Zhu Ming.<sup>12</sup> Most thefts from museums occur while works are on display. For instance, on 19 August 1998, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall in Taipei reported that it had lost nineteen paintings and calligraphies including thirteen calligraphies by Sun Yatsen, the founder of the Republic of China. They had been in the exhibition, 'Historical Objects of Sun Yatsen'. Museum staff admitted, "Although the museum keeps many cultural objects, its security measures are rather loose."<sup>13</sup>

In April 2000, the media revealed that the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts had lost a stone sculpture, 'A White Horse Saying Farewell to the Prince',<sup>14</sup> which dated back to the Northern Wei dynasty (AD 386-534). It had been on display in the museum. The stone sculpture, which was 26 cm high and weighed just 5 kg, had been displayed in a blind spot to the CCTV system<sup>15</sup> where there were also no security guards.<sup>16</sup>

Thieves have also targeted other public institutions. For example, three out of ten paintings by older generation artist, Cheng Jin, displayed in the Faguangsi,<sup>17</sup> a temple in Taipei, were stolen by a thief on 16 September 1999. The staff of Faguangsi noted that interior repairs provided a good opportunity.<sup>18</sup> Modern art has also been targeted. A glass-fibre sculpture by Chen Yinjie, 'A Thinker', displayed on the campus of the National Chenggong University in Tainan, was also stolen by thieves in November 1998.<sup>19</sup>

Commercial galleries with their clear indication of prices were also targeted.<sup>20</sup> Thieves often disguise themselves as customers. In 1994, after a succession of six gallery thefts in the district of Daan in Taipei, the owner of one of the galleries wrote a letter to seek help from the head of the police force in Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> Another example, in 1997, a stone sculpture by artist, Yang Zhengduan, was stolen from the Venus Gallery, a commercial gallery, in Hualian, when it was on display at its entrance. The gallery manager said that

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<sup>12</sup> Wang Yuehua (王月華)(1991: 115).

<sup>13</sup> Zhang Yanwen, Zhang Fuqing, Zhang Qiqiang and Zhang Baipo (張彥文, 張復欽, 張其強, 張白波)(1998).

<sup>14</sup> 'A White Horse Saying Farewell to the Prince' (白馬辭行太子).

<sup>15</sup> CCTV= Closed Circuit Television.

<sup>16</sup> CTS News on 20 April 2000 reported that the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts had lost a Northern Wei Stone Sculpture (高雄市美術館失竊北魏時期千年石雕). See also Zhao Jing (趙靚)(2000a).

<sup>17</sup> Faguangsi (法光寺).

<sup>18</sup> Tai Nai (1999a: 16).

<sup>19</sup> CTS News (News of the China TV Station) (中國電視台), 27 Nov. 1998.

<sup>20</sup> In 1990, the Apollo Art gallery in Taipei lost a watercolour by Hong Ruiling while it was on display. The Han Art gallery in Taipei lost a bronze sculpture as a group of workers was installing a new air conditioning system at the gallery. See Wang Yuehua (1991: 115).

<sup>21</sup> Wang Huanzeng (王煥曾)(1994).

the sculpture was so heavy that he had supposed no thief would try to steal it.<sup>22</sup>

Thieves have been selective in their choice of objects. A number of well-known Taiwanese artists such as Lin Yushan, Zheng Shanxi and others, whose works were attracting high prices are now particularly favoured. The studio of Zheng Shanxi has been raided three times within one month.<sup>23</sup> In October 1990, nine important paintings by Xu Beihong, Zhang Daqian and the former first lady, Song Meiling were stolen from the house of Huang Junbi, a noted Taiwanese artist, in Taipei.<sup>24</sup> In September 1995, over 50 paintings by the renowned artist, Ou Haonian were also stolen from his studio in Taipei.<sup>25</sup>

Famous Taiwanese collectors were also targeted by thieves. In Sept. 1993, for example, a thief stole a group of paintings and calligraphy by Yu Youren, Dong Zuobin and Shen Gangbo from the house of the famous academic, Shen Gangbo.<sup>26</sup> In 1996, a Collector's cabinet in Zhanghua was raided and two oil paintings by Li Shiqiao worth at least 10 million NT\$ (£211,980) were stolen.<sup>27</sup>

Even if their collections are stolen, some collectors are not willing to report the loss to the police. For example, having been robbed and threatened by thieves, An anonymous Taiwanese collector said, "Why should I report a case of theft to the police? If I report a case of theft to the police, it may attract more thieves. Moreover, even if the police can catch the thief, they can not guarantee me for sure to recover all my collections."<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, some collectors are the recipient of this material and therefore need to be secretive about what they have. Undoubtedly, collectors' attitudes not only make research related to art theft more difficult, but also make art theft less controllable by the police.

The task for the police is difficult. He Mingzhou, the leader of the Fourth Squad of the Taiwan Criminal Investigation Bureau, who is in charge of dealing with cases of theft, states, "The theft of antiquities is the most difficult for the police to handle, partly because modern thieves are equipped with high-tech devices, partly because the disposal of stolen goods is very secret, and partly because the victims are not willing to

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<sup>22</sup> Anon. (1997a: 128).

<sup>23</sup> Hua Kequan (華軻權)(1999: 103). See also Li Yuling (李玉玲)(1993).

<sup>24</sup> Wang Yuehua (1991: 113-5).

<sup>25</sup> Wu Jiaquan and Tian Yanxin (吳家詮, 田炎欣)(1995).

<sup>26</sup> Ma Xiping (馬西屏)(1994).

<sup>27</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1996b).

<sup>28</sup> Hua Kequan (華軻權)(1999: 103).

report a case of theft to the police.”<sup>29</sup> He Mingzhou suggests that art thieves are particularly sophisticated and well informed about the works they take. Some are art school graduates.<sup>30</sup> For example, in an early morning raid in the Gudao Art Centre in Taizhong in 1993, thieves stole over 100 Chinese seal stones worth 30 million NT\$ (£635,940). The staff indicated that the thieves seemed to be professionals where Chinese seal stones were concerned, because they not only picked the more valuable seals, but also left fakes untouched. They entered the centre and fled with their loot in less than seven minutes.<sup>31</sup>

Of the device in use, He says that art thieves use a small remote decoding machine, produced in illegal factories, which can break through most electronic locks in a few minutes.<sup>32</sup>

With organized gangs involved in the operation, the means of disposing of stolen paintings have become particularly efficient. Groups of thieves manage thefts and control the distribution of stolen goods. Some art dealers are aware of these groups, but will not expose them. One anonymous art dealer expressed a wider concern: “There is no point in uncovering them, as they will stay in jail for only two or three years. Anyway, most of those professional thieves will return to stealing after they are discharged from prison. Our business policy is always to find an excuse so as to refuse the purchase of their stolen goods but not to offend them.”<sup>33</sup> At the heart of these theft groups are buyers who drive the whole enterprise.<sup>34</sup> One anonymous connoisseur, who is suspected to be a chief instigator of art theft, told a journalist that thieves can steal works of art to meet certain collectors’ demands and those collectors will give plenty of time to allow the thieves to finish the job.<sup>35</sup> This seems to be the reason why some thefts are of particular pieces only. In the case of the Ou Haonian raid, thieves took away only his paintings and left other valuable paintings untouched.<sup>36</sup>

To avoid investigation from the police, thieves always sell stolen works of art as quickly as they can. The buyer of the theft group will pick up the most valuable goods and leave anything inferior. As He states, “Normally, the police in Taiwan can only recover works of art which are of inferior quality including fakes, as thieves can sell valuable works of

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<sup>29</sup> Shi Ye (石頁)(1999: 101).

<sup>30</sup> Shi Ye (1999: 102). See also Hua (1999: 103).

<sup>31</sup> Ma Peiyuan (馬源培)(1993).

<sup>32</sup> Shi Ye (1999: 101).

<sup>33</sup> Hua (1999: 103).

<sup>34</sup> Shi Ye(1999: 101).

<sup>35</sup> Hua (1999: 104).

<sup>36</sup> Lin Nanyue (林南嶽)(1995).

art in less than 24 hours.”<sup>37</sup> For instance, although the police did recover some works of art stolen from Zheng Shanxi’s studio, unfortunately, those recovered goods were of inferior quality. All of the paintings valued by the market had been rapidly disposed of by the thieves.<sup>38</sup>

This illicit traffic in works of art is very difficult to terminate, as even the thieves do not know the people who really run the business network. Indeed, thieves do not care who they are. As He states, “The illicit traffic of works of art is actually like a black hole. Thieves only know to throw booty into that black hole.”<sup>39</sup> In a detailed study, Barelli found, “The professional criminal works at crime as a business; he makes his/her living by it; he is recognized and accepted by other professionals in his class as a professional; he subscribes to the code of behaviour long established for professionals in his group; he has status and is known within a considerable circle of other professionals.”<sup>40</sup> Therefore, in most situations an art thief tends to obey the code in his group and reveal nothing to the police. However, as long as the black hole exists, thieves find it easy to return to stealing after they are discharged from prison.<sup>41</sup>

One method of disposal for stolen works is to transport them across an international border. As Elia states, “What makes the art market so remarkable is its transformation of looted artefacts into legal art: objects that are illegally acquired and transported out of one country end up being offered for public sale by legal businesses in another.”<sup>42</sup> This makes stolen works difficult to track down. For example, part of a group of paintings and calligraphy worth 17 million NT\$ (£360,366) stolen from the Taiyang Gallery Taipei found its way to Hong Kong where it was sold. A Hong Kong art dealer was suspected as an accomplice.<sup>43</sup> This may explain why the recovery rate of stolen works of art in Taiwan is so low. Evidence shows that local theft groups seem to have connections with international theft groups, particularly those groups in Chinese areas such as Hong Kong, Singapore, China and elsewhere.

Thieves sometimes disguise themselves as a collector or an art dealer when visiting a gallery or a collector’s cabinet in order to find out more information about a collection and the security system.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes the roles of art dealer and thief are present in the

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<sup>37</sup> Shi Ye (1999: 101).

<sup>38</sup> Hwa Kequan (1999: 103).

<sup>39</sup> Shi Ye (1999: 101).

<sup>40</sup> Barelli (1985: 152).

<sup>41</sup> Shi Ye (1999: 101).

<sup>42</sup> Elia (1995: 245).

<sup>43</sup> Wang Shocheng (王守成)(1993).

<sup>44</sup> Hua (1999: 104).



same individual. According to a report from CTS News in 1999, the police found a dealer thief who had focused on the retired congressmen living in the Central Village in Taipei County. As he was an art dealer capable of identifying works of art, he had gathered antiquities and works of art worth more than 10 million NT\$ (£211,980).<sup>45</sup>

Sometimes, certain collectors or art dealers when confronted with an opportunity make an impulsive decision to commit a theft.<sup>46</sup> For instance, a man stole a valuable western painting hanging on the wall of the Sherwood Hotel in Taipei and put it in his own flat for his own appreciation. Afterward, staff of the Hotel arrested him and his girlfriend while they visited the Hotel and tried to steal another painting.<sup>47</sup> In 1996, a thief stole the oil painting, 'The Woman', painted by Bueffe, a French artist, while it was on display at the Elegant Gallery in Taipei.<sup>48</sup> Nearly four years later, on 11 April 2000, the gallery received a phone call from a man who said that he was sorry to have stolen the painting and he would like to send it back. The gallery staff said that the painting was sent back later by a commissioned taxi driver.<sup>49</sup>

## 2. Art plundering and theft in China

### 2.1 The emergence of Taiwanese influence

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the unrest of society in China, many works of art have suffered either loss or plundering.<sup>50</sup> Many have been sold to foreign collectors, especially in western museums. Even the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Pu Yi, stole works of art from the palace in Beijing and sold them.<sup>51</sup> Numerous cultural objects were dug up and smuggled out of China to the western art markets before the Chinese authorities began their own systematic archaeological excavations.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Central Television Service News (CTS News), 26 April 1999.

<sup>46</sup> Ni Zaiqin (倪再沁)(1993).

<sup>47</sup> Wang Rucong (王汝聰)(1998).

<sup>48</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1996c).

<sup>49</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000c).

<sup>50</sup> In 1911, the Qing dynasty was terminated by Dr. Sun Yatsen. The Republic of China was established in 1912. At the same time, the civil war between the KMT and Communist Party began. In 1949, the KMT was defeated and withdrew troops to Taiwan.

<sup>51</sup> These stolen works sold by Pu Yi are termed 'Dongbeihuo (東北貨)' by dealers. See Han Xiu (1995: 19).

<sup>52</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 168).

With the increasing interest in Chinese culture, consumption has been increasing since World War II. Hong Kong formed a convenient outlet for this material. "The Hollywood Road is Hong Kong's cross between London's Portobello Road and Cork Street. Pre-handover, it was a Mecca for tourists and a haunt of the well-heeled, in search of that fine Chinese piece, a Qing dynasty figure, perhaps, or a Ming dynasty sculpture."<sup>53</sup> Melikian writes: "At the root of the problem lies the very phenomenon that has turned Chinese art into a huge commercial success story in the last 25 years. Around 1980 a stream of bronzes, ceramic vessels and jades from Neolithic times to the 14<sup>th</sup> century began to pour into the western markets via Hong Kong."<sup>54</sup> London and New York became important Chinese art markets in the world. A huge number of looted works of art ended up in their showrooms. For instance, in 2000, a 10<sup>th</sup> century sculpture worth 500,000 US\$ (£312,000) was discovered at Christie's Auction house in New York. At the moment, Chinese and US authorities are working together to track down the smugglers who brought the sculpture to an art gallery in Hong Kong, a common route to western markets for objects stolen from imperial tombs.<sup>55</sup>

With Taiwan's growing affluence and a people who share the same blood and cultural origin as people in China, there were many collectors who favoured Chinese painting, calligraphy, jade, porcelain and so on. To meet this increasing demand, Taiwanese art dealers desperately tried to find ways to import Chinese cultural objects, which resulted in conspiracy with plundering, theft and smuggling groups in China.<sup>56</sup>

Before the government of Taiwan lifted the ban in 1987, which at last allowed Taiwanese people to visit China, most Taiwanese art dealers and collectors used to go in great numbers to look for Chinese treasures in galleries, antiquities shops or auctions in Hong Kong or Macao. However, in the early 1980s a few Taiwanese dealers and collectors took advantage of the political separation and began their business in China. For example, Wang Ruqin, a Taiwanese art dealer, has smuggled a great number of fine antiquities from China since 1980. From the late 1980s he became one of the most important art suppliers to Taiwanese and western dealers and collectors.<sup>57</sup> This situation not only made the competition between local art dealers intense, but also encouraged more illicit trafficking of antiquities out of China since 1980.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Morris (2000).

<sup>54</sup> Melikian (1999: 20).

<sup>55</sup> August (2000).

<sup>56</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(2000b).

<sup>57</sup> Tai Nai (1999b: 16).

<sup>58</sup> Anon. (1991a).

The price of paintings or antiques in Hong Kong and Macao remained fairly high due to consumer demand and the ability of the dealers to control the market. Competition between Taiwanese art dealers and their western and Japanese counterparts was intense in Hong Kong and Macao. At the same time, Taiwanese collectors' tastes were getting more discriminating and they were no longer content with ordinary works of art. Therefore, after 1987 many Taiwanese art dealers, and even collectors, went directly to China to seek objects. Some began to involve themselves in illicit traffic. With the art market boom in Taiwan, these Taiwanese dealers and collectors in China rapidly became a formidable power purchasing all kinds of cultural objects, which encouraged more theft and plundering. For example, as Taiwanese collectors increasingly favoured stone sculptures in the early 1990s, particularly Buddhist sculptures, so Taiwanese art dealers began to offer a relatively higher price to purchase them in China. As stone sculptures can seldom be found in private collections, people in China are tempted to plunder or steal stone sculptures from heritage sites such as old houses, ancient temples and so on.<sup>59</sup> According to a report of *United Daily News*, a Song dynasty (AD 960-1279) 12-metre high Buddhist pagoda in Shanxi province, which presents over 3,500 Buddhist sculptures in high relief, was smuggled into Taiwan. After over three-month investigation, the police of China eventually recovered this object.<sup>60</sup>

Taiwanese art dealers have swarmed into Chekiang and Fujian provinces after 1987 to purchase large quantities of precious seal stones such as Qingtian, Tianhuang, Chicken-blood and so on. They also bought thousands of 'Duanyan', rare ink-stones, in Guangdong province and all kinds of Zisha teapots, in Jiangsu province. Then, to avoid either examination by the Customs or import duty, they followed the example of Hong Kong dealers and cooperated with local smugglers in China in order to develop their business network and to smuggle their goods to Taiwan. Since 1990, a number of bazaars, flea markets and fairs, in which stalls and shops sell all kinds of cultural objects from China, have emerged in most main cities in Taiwan such as Taipei, Taizhong, Tainan, Jiayi, Kaohsiung etc. As Jiang stated in 1994, "As a result of the economic interaction between both sides, Chinese ancient cultural objects have become the mainstream in the art market in Taiwan. Particularly so after the economic reforms in China since 1978, smuggling of cultural objects has increased to a larger scale enterprise. Most fine cultural objects have been flowing into the Taiwanese art market."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Liu Junyao (劉駿耀)(1992).

<sup>60</sup> Anon. (2000e).

<sup>61</sup> Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇)(1994: 100-1).

## 2.2 Smuggling into Taiwan from China

In fact, the smuggling of goods from China to Taiwan has been going on for a long time, however, large-scale smuggling of cultural objects did not occur until the art market boom started in the 1980s. As for methods of smuggling cultural objects, Lin Junzhe, a noted connoisseur in Taizhong, states, "Basically, there are four channels for the Chinese cultural objects flowing into the Taiwanese art market: cultural objects can be exported by art dealers directly from China; be purchased at wholesale in Hong Kong or Macao; or be purchased by tourists themselves; or can be smuggled by means of fishing boats."<sup>62</sup>

Taiwanese art dealers have been taking advantage for some time of fishing boats, which can easily contact and trade with fishing boats from China. In this way all kinds of cultural objects such as paintings, calligraphy, porcelain and other objects are smuggled from China to Taiwan. "On Dayong Road alone in the fishing port of Wuqi in Taizhong County stand over 200 shops selling all kinds of goods from China, in particular calligraphy and paintings."<sup>63</sup>

Mobility of fishing boats means that smuggling is very successful. Mr. Liu, the owner of the Pushiyuan in Taipei, who used to be a poor sailor, took advantage of these boats to smuggle a great many precious seal stones to Taiwan in the early 1980s, from which he made a fortune.<sup>64</sup> These smugglers have devised many ways to avoid detection. For example, since 1990, Taiwanese art dealers have smuggled a great number of ancient stone sculptures out of China by fishing boat. These are seldom found by the marine police, as the sculptures are trailed below the sea on metal wires.<sup>65</sup>

Smugglers deal with paintings and calligraphy differently. According to on-the-spot coverage by journalists of *China Time Weekly*, Taiwanese art dealers put them in a waterproof packaging and fix an electronic device inside. When the fishing boats approach Wuqi Port, fishermen throw the packages into the sea. The electronic device gives off a signal, which permits smugglers waiting at the port to detect them and gather

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<sup>62</sup> Zhao Musong (趙慕嵩), Huang Yuanliang (黃原亮), Li Shiwei (李世偉) and Zhang Liren (張力仁) (1991: 26).

<sup>63</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 26).

<sup>64</sup> Pers. comm. with Mr. Liu, an owner of the antique shop, Pushiyuan (璞石園) on Yanji Street in Taipei, in 1990.

<sup>65</sup> Liu Junyao (1992).

them one by one.<sup>66</sup> Old furniture, by contrast, is dismantled and packed in waterproof packaging before being loaded into fishing boats. After arriving at the port in Taiwan, the furniture is reconstructed as well as repaired in workshops.<sup>67</sup>

As a result of remittance restriction imposed by the authorities of China, Taiwanese businessmen working in China are forbidden to completely remit all profits back to Taiwan. Some of them, therefore, make use of their company in China to collect valuable works of art as a way to keep their profits safely. Likewise, in order to purchase more fine works of art from China, many Taiwanese art dealers and, even some collectors, adopt this method of setting up an office or agency in China in order to gather art treasures, which they then find a way to smuggle out. In most cases, their collections will be transported to Taiwan as cargo. For example, Pan Siyuan, former President of the Regent Hotel in Taipei, started his collecting in China in 1979. He recalled that he had transported 27 containers of antiquities to his property in the U.S.A. To deal with the huge amount of cultural objects, he even built an extra storehouse in which to keep them.<sup>68</sup>

In most cases, smugglers try to disguise their goods as legally exported goods. They may, for example, mix ancient porcelain with new artefacts, and, then, falsify documents to pass through Customs. Generally, they need to bribe the Customs officials and even the local police in advance to avoid examination. Old furniture may be dismantled and disguised as new furniture by coating it with new paint.<sup>69</sup> In some cases, diplomats of China are suspected of using their diplomatic immunity to smuggle cultural objects into Hong Kong.<sup>70</sup>

At present, smuggling groups in China, which are equipped with modern technology and even weapons, have developed their nationwide connection with local art dealers, officials and even police. They have become even more organized. Some groups have over one hundred members. Each member takes charge of different activities such as tomb robbing, gathering, transportation and smuggling. They are equipped with motorcycles, cars, mobile phones, wireless communication and even guns. They also have electronic drills, rock saws and even explosives. It is also believed that some members are very skilful in excavation, as they have been trained in archaeological

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<sup>66</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 27).

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 32).

<sup>69</sup> Once furniture arrives in Taiwan, furniture can be reconstructed and experts can remove the paint from the furniture in order to recover the furniture's original lustre. See Shi Shuqing (1990: 211).

<sup>70</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 209-210).

units.<sup>71</sup> Some smugglers make use of 600 horsepower high-speed boats to illegally transport goods from China to Hong Kong.<sup>72</sup> Some even bring them into Hong Kong or Macao by swimming.<sup>73</sup>

Normally, customers from other countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao may place an order for goods with members of a smuggling group in China, who usually make use of groceries or barber shops as a cover for the gathering of cultural objects.<sup>74</sup> An investigation by Lu Jia showed that most cultural objects are transported either by car or train to the collection point in Kwangtung. Also, some objects are parcelled and sent by mail.<sup>75</sup>

Having received these cultural objects, smugglers will send them to Hong Kong by container lorries, which transport all kinds of goods back and forth between Hong Kong, Macao and the Zhuhai area in Guangdong. The police in Guangdong province found 404 cultural objects including Tang dynasty pottery, Tibetan antiquities and dinosaur eggs in a lorry coming from Zhuhai and heading for Macao.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, 718 precious cultural objects, including Neolithic painted pottery, Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220) Green-glaze pottery and Five Dynasties Period (AD 907-960) Changsha ware, were found in a Hong Kong registered container lorry by the police in Guangdong. Police also found 128 rare cultural objects, including Neolithic painted pottery, in a container lorry driven by a Hong Kong driver.<sup>77</sup>

However, in 1987 the authorities in China decided to strengthen their controls and consequently rates of detection have risen. Consequently, some smugglers failed to pass successfully. For instance, in the first half of 1992, officials in Guangdong province found cultural objects in 95 parcels.<sup>78</sup> In 1994, a Taiwanese businessman was arrested by Xiamen Customs on a charge of smuggling, as he made use of his company, which was merely a front for smuggling cultural objects out of China. 378 stone sculptures dating back to the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644) and Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911) were confiscated.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Jiang Yin (江蔭)(1992: 13).

<sup>72</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 24).

<sup>73</sup> Lu Jia (1992: 16).

<sup>74</sup> Lu Jia (1992: 15).

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> An international news report of China Central Television Station (CCTV)(中央電視台) in China on 20 Aug. 1999.

<sup>77</sup> Lu Jia (1992: 15).

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Anon. (1994d).

Most Taiwanese art dealers or collectors do not want to risk passing through Customs in China. To meet overseas customers' requirements, an illegal delivery service run by art dealers in China, so called 'Pay for goods in China, take delivery of goods in Hong Kong', was introduced in the early 1990s.<sup>80</sup> Customers just need to pay part of the money for goods as a deposit in advance after they have seen the goods in China and made a decision. Local dealers in China can help them to smuggle the goods to the hotel that they will stay at in Hong Kong as well as collect the rest of the sum of money for the goods from the customer. Normally, only those very rare cultural objects are smuggled out of China in this way, as smugglers have to take more risks and consequently require more money to pass through the Customs. In most cases, they need to bribe the Customs officials and the police in China to escape inspection.

Of course, some cultural objects are rather small. This makes them ideal for a suitcase. Some Taiwanese art dealers or collectors take a chance and smuggle them out of the country. It is forbidden by domestic law to export such items over 100 years old out of China, but some art dealers make a fortune by doing so. For example, Zheng Wuxong, an art dealer from Kaohsiung in the south of Taiwan, successfully took a Ming dynasty Blue-and-White from China and sold it to the Hongxi Museum in Taipei in 1991.<sup>81</sup> However, other art dealers had their goods confiscated by Customs. Some were jailed and fined. In 1995, Customs officials detained Ma Xianxing, Professor of the History School at the Chinese Culture University, as some forbidden cultural objects were found in his luggage. These included pieces of bronze from the Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220), which he had bought in China. These items were confiscated.<sup>82</sup> In 1996, Customs arrested Mr. Yi, an art dealer of the Zhenghe antique shop, as he carried some important cultural objects with him and tried to pass through Customs. He was put in jail and fined a considerable amount.<sup>83</sup>

From the late 1980s, in addition to the area including Guangdong, Macao and Hong Kong, dealers also exploited smuggling routes through Thailand and Vietnam where border controls were much looser than other places in China. It is believed that some Blue-and-White from the Yuan dynasty (AD 1279-1368), which is very rare and expensive, has arrived in the art market via this route. When working for 'My Humble House' in 1989 I was dispatched with the general manager to Thailand and Vietnam to arrange the acquisition of Chinese artefacts.<sup>84</sup> Ma Chengyuan, Director of the Shanghai

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<sup>80</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 27).

<sup>81</sup> Pers. comm. with the Taiwanese art dealer, Zheng Wuxong (鄭武雄), in Hong Kong in July 1991.

<sup>82</sup> Pers. comm. with professor Ma Xianxing (馬先醒) on 23 Dec. 1995.

<sup>83</sup> Pers. comm. with the Taiwanese art dealer in Taipei, Huang Bangguang (黃邦光), on 12 Dec. 1996.

<sup>84</sup> Having contacted smugglers in Thailand and Vietnam in May 1989, a Ming dynasty lacquer Buddhist

Museum, indicated at the 1994 conference in Taipei, entitled 'Museum Interaction and Prospect between Taiwan and China',<sup>85</sup> that a priceless work of textile dated back to the Yuan dynasty (AD 1279-1368) was smuggled out of China across the border with Nepal and ended up in Britain. He appealed to scholars for further research on the subject of smuggling routes.<sup>86</sup>

Since about 1990, art dealers in China have become very heavily involved in the Taiwanese art market. Although the police keep an eye on them, most of them hold a Macao passport and can enter Taiwan legally. Many try to obtain a residence permit of Macao or Hong Kong. In this way they can take advantage of Macao or Hong Kong as locations, where smuggled cultural objects are concentrated from the entire country, in order to export all kinds of cultural objects to Taiwan.<sup>87</sup> Most of them rent rooms around Taipei Railway Station in order to travel to every main bazaar or fair to sell goods.<sup>88</sup> By the 'Act of Preservation of Cultural Heritage' the authorities in Taiwan restrict cultural objects over 100 years old from being exported, but allow objects to be imported into Taiwan.<sup>89</sup> Initially, local art dealers regarded these art dealers from China as troublesome opponents, but now, instead, they make use of their business network to commission them to bring goods from China.<sup>90</sup>

## 2.3 The scale of the destruction of heritage in China

It is impossible to say how many cultural objects have been stolen and smuggled out of China to overseas countries since the foundation of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949. Since 1980, the problem has become increasingly serious. As Zhang Linsheng, former Deputy Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, has written, "The mania of digging up ancient tombs has destroyed more than 800 ancient tombs in Yugan County in Jiangxi province. In the first part of 1987, over 1,700 people plundered 2,000 ancient tombs and looted more than 10,000 cultural objects in Qinghai province...According to statistics of the *Wenwubao in China*, in Sichuan province alone in 1990, 23,952 ancient tombs were plundered. More than several tens of thousands of people attended the digging in the Yibin area of Sichuan province alone."<sup>91</sup>

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sculpture and a Blue-and-White jar were transported back to Taiwan one month later.

<sup>85</sup> 'Museum Interaction and Prospect between Taiwan and China (海峽兩岸博物館事業之交流及展望).

<sup>86</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1994b).

<sup>87</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 33).

<sup>88</sup> In order to know more about the situation, I was in touch with them in the mid-1990s.

<sup>89</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(2000a).

<sup>90</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 33).

<sup>91</sup> Zhang Linsheng (張臨生)(1992:18).



Furthermore, 423 thefts from museums have been reported and over 5000 cultural objects have been stolen between 1983 and 1990.<sup>92</sup> In 1983, 751 ancient tombs of either the Warring States Period (475-221 BC) or the Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220) in Huaiyang area in Henan province were plundered and more than 120,000 cultural objects were stolen.<sup>93</sup> Even the Palace Museum in the Forbidden City in Beijing, which is supposed to be the safest museum in China, has been broken into three times since 1949.<sup>94</sup> It is undeniable that a great number of cultural objects have been illegally exported from China. While Zhou Nanquan, a research fellow of The Palace Museum in Beijing was invited by a collector to authenticate his collections in Hong Kong in 1995, he found a Tang dynasty (AD 618-917) work of jade, 'Plaque of the Minority King Appreciating a Gem' which has been categorized by the authorities of China as the national first-rate treasure.<sup>95</sup>

An anonymous official of the Culture Bureau of Guangdong province revealed, "Over 4,000 cases of smuggling in which nearly 10,000 cultural objects were recovered have been tracked down by the police in Guangdong province from 1981 to 1990. However, in fact, the number of cultural objects uncovered may be several times more than we had discovered."<sup>96</sup> According to news reports, Customs in Guangdong traced over 400 cases of smuggled cultural objects and confiscated more than 20,000 cultural objects between 1986 and 1998.<sup>97</sup>

In 1987, while the order, 'Regarding a Strike on Illicit Digs and Smuggling', was issued by the Ministry of Culture, a document attached to this order read as follows:

"Recently, criminal activities such as smuggling of cultural objects, illicit tomb-digging, and theft from museums have been increasing more significantly than at any time since 1949. The smuggling of cultural objects has become well organized and internationalised. A number of precious cultural objects have been smuggled across the border to Hong Kong and Macao so that Japan, the U.S.A., Britain and Taiwan all dispatch their professionals to stay there to purchase... The smuggling of cultural objects has continually inspired illicit digs of historical tombs and archaeological sites. Thousands of ancient tombs and archaeological sites have been destroyed. Theft even occurred frequently from museums from which thieves have taken the national first-rate

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<sup>92</sup> Su Yang (蘇仰)(1991).

<sup>93</sup> Jiang Yin (江蔭)(1992: 14).

<sup>94</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 194).

<sup>95</sup> Li Weijin (李維菁)(1995c).

<sup>96</sup> Zhao Musong, Huang Yuanliang, Li Shiwei and Zhang Liren (1991: 24).

<sup>97</sup> Anon. (2000d).

cultural objects or even the only national treasures away and smuggled them out of our country. These criminal offences have not only exposed cultural relics to serious destruction, corrupted social order and disturbed both the material and spiritual development of socialism, but also humiliated our nation.”<sup>98</sup>

Although the authorities have been eager to eradicate the mania for art theft and smuggling, it has not been stopped (Appendix 5). According to a UNESCO report, Chinese Customs seized more than 11,200 smuggled antiquities in 1997 and 6,000 in the first half of 1998. Cargoes leaving China are being closely monitored and a new force of ‘anti-smuggling police’ has been set up. In Henan province, the police are currently recovering looted artefacts at an average rate of one per day and markets and auctions in several major cities have been raided.<sup>99</sup>

## 2.4 Reasons for thriving illicit traffic

Although the authorities have started to reform the economic system in China in order to attract more foreign capital since 1987, the majority of people in China still live in poverty, particularly in rural areas. The folk slogan, ‘If you want to be rich, then go to dig tombs. You can become rich in one night’,<sup>100</sup> has been widespread all over China since the 1980s. It is a natural and powerful desire. The soaring price of Chinese cultural objects in the international art markets has spurred more and more people to join the tomb robbers since the 1980s. For instance, a Tang dynasty pottery horse, sold at a hammer price of 660,000 US\$ at the Sotheby’s auction in New York in 1984, surprised the international art markets. Afterward, a similar Tang dynasty pottery horse made a new record of £3.74 million at the Sotheby’s auction in London in Dec. 1989.<sup>101</sup> It is believed that more Tang dynasty pottery has been dug out from ancient tombs and smuggled out of China, as all kinds of Tang dynasty pottery proliferated in the Hong Kong art market in the late 1980s.<sup>102</sup>

Even local governments have been keen to obtain permission to sell cultural objects in order to improve their finances. For example, Henan province and Shanxi province, where valuable cultural objects are buried, have proposed selling some of them.

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<sup>98</sup> Song Guangyu (宋光宇)(1992: 15).

<sup>99</sup> Brodie (1998).

<sup>100</sup> ‘If you want to be rich, then go to dig tombs. You can become rich in one night’ (若要富,挖古墓,一夜變成萬元戶).

<sup>101</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 125).

<sup>102</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996b: 90).

Luoyang in Henan province, which used to be the capital in the period of the Wei, Jin, Northern & Southern dynasties (AD 220-589) and Tang dynasty (AD 618-907), has been forbidden to sell any cultural object by the central government. As Bai Xianzhang, Director of the Culture Bureau of Luoyang states, "If Luoyang could sell some cultural objects, we would not worry about funds for improving conservation facilities...Luoyang, now, is the poorest rich man who holds a golden bowl to beg for food."<sup>103</sup> In 1992, the authorities of Shanxi province, where 72 emperor mausoleums from 11 dynasties including Qin shihuang's tomb are located, have asked the government of China for a special permit not only to hold auctions to sell some cultural objects including the Qin dynasty (221-207 BC) pottery warriors, but also the right to excavate the emperors' tombs in Shanxi province.<sup>104</sup>

According to a report of the Xinhua News Agency<sup>105</sup> in 1995, so far, there are over one thousand museums in China. However, the total annual budget for museum security is only 1.5 million RMB (£126,129). As a result, most museums are inadequately protected. Most thefts occurred at night as museum staff were off duty.<sup>106</sup> In 1987, the theft and looting of cultural objects climbed to its highest peak. According to statistics by the official journal in China, *Wenwugongzuo*, 86 thefts occurred in museums in 1987 and 885 cultural objects were stolen out of museums (Table 5.1). This shows that the rate of theft did not reduce until the Chinese authorities issued the measures against illicit digs and smuggling, requiring every local government to enforce fully the 1987 Act for Protection of Cultural Heritage.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, on 29 June 1991, the legislative institution in China, the National Peoples Delegate Committee<sup>108</sup> passed the latest revision of the Cultural Object Protection Act, to reinforce the detailed regulations.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Lo Rulan (羅如蘭)(1992: 11).

<sup>104</sup> Xi Yang (席揚)(1992).

<sup>105</sup> The Xinhua News Agency (新華社), a main official news agency in China.

<sup>106</sup> Reuter's News Agency (1995).

<sup>107</sup> Gu Biling (古碧玲)(1992: 18).

<sup>108</sup> The National Peoples Delegate Committee (全國人大常委會).

<sup>109</sup> Song Guangyu (1992: 15).

Table 5.1: Museum theft in China between 1983-1990

| Year  | 1983                                 | 1984                                 | 1985                                 | 1986                                 | 1987                                 | 1988                                 | 1990                                 |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Number of stolen cultural objects           | 760                                  | 374                                  | 176                                  | 401                                  | 885                                  | 786                                  | 655                                  |
| Number of theft                             | 33                                   | 20                                   | 27                                   | 46                                   | 86                                   | 76                                   | 52                                   |
| The theft rate in comparison with last year |                                      | -40%                                 | +35%                                 | +70%                                 | +77%                                 | -14%                                 |                                      |
| Sources                                     | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 5, 1985 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 5, 1985 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 5, 1985 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 5, 1985 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 3, 1987 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 1, 1989 | <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> Monthly, 2, 1991 |

Sources: *Wenwugongzuo*, No. 6, 1994, p.37.

It is believed that corruption in China plays an important role in art smuggling, plundering and theft. This appears to be particularly the case after the economic reform of 1978; corruption is becoming much more serious. According to statistics, the authorities tracked down 2,860 smuggling cases and arrested 2,734 smugglers within one year.<sup>110</sup> Although the authorities have tried to raise labourer's wages and even allowed workers to have shares in nationalized companies in order to urge workers to cease the corruption, the policy does not seem to be working.<sup>111</sup> A series of smuggling cases have revealed that many officials also have illicit connections with smugglers. In some cases, the local police, customs officials and the military cooperate with businessmen to smuggle huge amounts of goods out of China. It is very difficult for smugglers to get large quantities of rare objects across the border without the assistance of Customs and the police. In some places, the police, the army and the officials of the village even conspired with local people to dig tombs and smuggle cultural objects out of China.<sup>112</sup> For instance, in 1986, the police tracked down an organized smuggling group in which two managers of the Hunan Craft Trading Company in Changsha acting as national officials made a contract with Hong Kong art dealers to develop their nationwide business network in order to gather all kinds of ancient Chinese cultural objects. According to Chinese law, only four ports, Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou, are allowed to export cultural objects, which have to have been carefully examined and, then, stamped by the authorized authentication teams. The two managers bribed members of the authentication team in Guangzhou and asked them to stamp the cultural objects. They then forged certificates to pass the objects through Customs.

<sup>110</sup> Lu Fei (陸非)(2000).

<sup>111</sup> Shi Sha (石沙)(2000).

<sup>112</sup> Xu Zhengfu (徐政夫)(1993: 2.16).

120,000 cultural objects have been smuggled out of China since 1978.<sup>113</sup>

It is believed that some higher officials have been involved in cases of smuggling. For example, on 17 December 1999, Li Jizhao, Assistant Minister of Public Security, was arrested and accused of involving himself in smuggling to the value of 10,000 million RMB (£8,414,274,634) in Guangdong and Fujian provinces.<sup>114</sup> Another example, in the 8,000 million RMB (£6,731,686,879) case of the Yuanhua Company, over 160 officials were arrested in 2000.<sup>115</sup> As the military, the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of National Security were believed to be involved in the smuggling case, Liu Ying, the leader of the investigation team made a report to the President, Jiang Zemin that the major plotters related to the smuggling case were actually higher officials in Beijing.<sup>116</sup> Critics argued that adding a tiny amount to wages for public servants could not make them resist the lure of big money and they asked the authorities to enforce the law more strictly.<sup>117</sup>

In Hong Kong and Macao, illicit antiquities appear to be routed through corrupt officials or private syndicates in Guangdong, who smuggle them into Hong Kong. More sensitive items are sent through Macao, where officials are alleged to be less 'clean and efficient' than those on the Hong Kong border.<sup>118</sup> As Guo Qiji, Head of Customs in Hong Kong, said in a press conference, after he had uncovered the smuggling of 1,200 cultural objects worth 10 million HK\$ (£890,420) in Luomazhou on 27 March 1996, that he firmly believed that a well-organized group behind the scenes had definitely given support to these smugglers. He also emphasized that the cultural objects coming from Xian were supposed to be transported to Taiwan and Japan.<sup>119</sup>

In some cases, museum staff or officials take advantage of their position either to appropriate cultural objects or to collude with smugglers. For example, Chen Weicheng, Assistant Director of the Culture Bureau in Xiamen was accused of plundering over 80 cultural objects from July 1989 to December 1990. To cover up his theft, he even burned 38 paintings and pieces of calligraphy, which he had stolen from the Xiamen Museum.<sup>120</sup> As Chen Guoning, Director of Huagang Museum in Taipei, states, "It has been proven that museum staff in China not only appropriate cultural objects but also

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<sup>113</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 212-13).

<sup>114</sup> Central News Agency (1999).

<sup>115</sup> Shi Sha (石沙)(2000).

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Doole (1999).

<sup>119</sup> Su Yuqin (蘇煜欽)(1996).

<sup>120</sup> Han Xiu (韓秀)(1996a: 168).

join in plots to smuggle precious cultural objects out of China. The authorities of China should try to find out the crux of the problem.”<sup>121</sup>

In recent years, with tight police control smuggling has become more difficult and consequently prices have risen. As Melikian states, “New York-Slowly, a feeling of endgame is spreading across the market for Chinese art...At the Asian Art Fair, which closed March 30, the new paucity was readily apparent but, paradoxically, this is commercially beneficial.”<sup>122</sup> Smuggling has not been eradicated completely and the rewards of smuggling have increased with the price.

One way to confront corruption is for the authorities of China to establish a healthy art market to legalize business transactions. However, some scholars believe the root of the problem lies not just in the art market, but also in the policies of Communist China, which has despised the intellectual and ignored the conservation of the cultural heritage.<sup>123</sup> This has destroyed countless numbers of relics since 1949 and has seriously confused people’s judgement of value. As Duthy states, “The Chinese veneration of their ancestors has been weakened in the recent ideological turmoil and grave-robbers feel easier about their work. All they need apart from a spade and a torch are Christie’s and Sotheby’s catalogues- now the standard reference works- to enable them to select the items worth looting.”<sup>124</sup> Education to make people aware of cultural conservation is critically important. As Han states, “Regarding the folk slogan, ‘If you want to be rich, then go to dig tombs. You can become rich in one night’, most critics relate this phenomenon to the people’s wish to be rich in a very short time, the disparity between the rich and the poor or lax punishment. However, we have never seen the discussion relating this phenomenon to the deviation of ideology resulting from an education and cultural policy, which have been so hostile to culture and the intellectual for over forty years.”<sup>125</sup> The editorial of the *China Times Weekly* also emphasizes, “Protection of cultural objects and a high regard for history have a very close relationship with education.”<sup>126</sup>

“Most Chinese grave robbers go unpunished.”<sup>127</sup> Even the two managers of the Hunan Craft Trading Ltd., who smuggled 120,000 cultural objects out of China within six years, were sentenced to only three years imprisonment. The Hong Kong art dealers involved

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<sup>121</sup> Chen Guoning (陳國寧)(1993: 5.12).

<sup>122</sup> Melikian (1999).

<sup>123</sup> Han Xiu (韓秀)(1996b: 162).

<sup>124</sup> Duthy (1986: 149-150).

<sup>125</sup> Han Xiu (韓秀)(1996a: 162).

<sup>126</sup> Anon. (1992c).

<sup>127</sup> August (2000).

only paid 1 million HK\$ (£89,042) as a penalty.<sup>128</sup> High profits and extremely light punishment have tempted more and more people to commit either theft or to smuggle.

This situation did not improve until the authorities of China decided to impose heavy punishments for theft and smuggling in 1987. Since then, a number of criminals including some from Hong Kong and Macao have been sentenced to death. For example, a 29 year-old thief from Macao, who was involved in a theft in Henan province, was sentenced to death and executed immediately.<sup>129</sup> A thief, Wang Gengdi, who stole the terracotta head of a general from the site of the terracotta army of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC)<sup>130</sup> on 17 February 1987, was executed immediately after being sentenced.<sup>131</sup> As Shi states, "Over ten thousand smugglers from China, who used to sneak around Hong Kong, Macao and Guangzhou, now seem to have been reduced to a few thousand as a result of forcible anti-smuggling and anti-theft activities."<sup>132</sup>

Since 1987 an art strike force has been operating in China in order to combat smuggling. According to a report of the *Yi Weekly* in 1994 in Hong Kong, in July 1993, the police in Jianglin County in Hube province worked with local people to successfully track down 8 smuggling cases and 22 tomb-digging cases and have terminated 17 tomb-robbery groups and 5 smuggling groups. 107 tomb-diggers were caught and 25 smugglers were arrested. One tomb-digger was shot dead.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, three thieves who were accused of plundering a stone sculpture from Henan province were sentenced to life imprisonment.<sup>134</sup>

### 3. The impact of smuggling

A Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220) stoneware jar with green glaze could fetch around 5,000 US\$ in the early 1980s. However, as a great number of Han dynasty green glaze pottery were excavated from ancient sites and smuggled out to the international art markets, the price has now fallen to less than 2,000 US\$.<sup>135</sup> In August 1994, in a catalogue of the Horchow, a well-known mail-order company in Dallas, Texas, a Han

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<sup>128</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 213).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> The huge site of the Qin dynasty terracotta army, which has about 8,000 terracotta soldiers including only six general figures, was found in 1974 in Shanxi province. It is believed to be part of the mausoleum of the first emperor of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC).

<sup>131</sup> Anon. (1990: 122).

<sup>132</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 213-4).

<sup>133</sup> Han Xiu (1996a: 158).

<sup>134</sup> Central News Agency (1999).

<sup>135</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 128).

dynasty Grain Jar of Lot 22D was only 550 US\$.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, a Neolithic painted terra-cotta pot initially could fetch up to 5,000-10,000 US\$ in the Taiwanese art market in the early 1980s.<sup>137</sup> A painted terra-cotta pot of Machang<sup>138</sup> or Banshan Culture<sup>139</sup> could be sold for 70,000-80,000 HK\$ (8976-10258 US\$) in Hong Kong in 1980.<sup>140</sup> However, as an array of these painted pots have swarmed into the art markets from the late 1980s, the average price fell to under 2,000 US\$.<sup>141</sup> As Chen Guoning states, "As a result of the continually increasing theft and smuggling of cultural objects in China, the prices of Chinese cultural objects in the international art markets are getting lower and lower."<sup>142</sup>

A major consequence for history and scholarship has been the considerable destruction of archaeological and heritage sites. Even though objects have been preserved in good condition, the removal has already resulted in irreparable destruction to their context. Other, more fragile cultural objects such as silk, wall paintings, lacquer and paintings have been destroyed, as they were not given conservation treatment in time after they were removed from ancient tombs.<sup>143</sup> In order to smuggle stone sculptures from China, Taiwanese art dealers often mutilated them during extraction, before loading or when wiring in order to fix them to a fishing boat. Later, they would ask experts to reconstruct or repair them. Most of these sculptures have suffered from irreparable damage.<sup>144</sup>

In some cases plunderers have even used explosives to break into ancient tombs. It is believed that this process has destroyed a vast quantity of cultural objects. The No. 2 Tomb dating back to the Eastern Han dynasty (AD 25-220) at Lali Mountain<sup>145</sup> in Shandong province, one of the most important ancient tombs in Chinese archaeological history, was destroyed by explosives and brutally plundered during the 1980s.<sup>146</sup> In addition, according to a report by the *Central News Agency*, a very rare Buddhist stone sculpture stolen from the Longmen Cave in Luoyang was broken into three pieces when the police found it buried in a rural area.<sup>147</sup> Besides, plunderers may deform cultural objects to avoid police investigation. For instance, in February 1987, six plunderers dug

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<sup>136</sup> Han Xiu (1996a: 152).

<sup>137</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 132).

<sup>138</sup> Machang Culture (馬廠文化).

<sup>139</sup> Banshan Culture (半山文化).

<sup>140</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 205).

<sup>141</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 132). See also Han Xiu (1996a: 156).

<sup>142</sup> Chen Guoning (陳國寧)(1993: 5.12)..

<sup>143</sup> Lu Jia (陸家)(1992: 14).

<sup>144</sup> Liu Junyao (劉駿耀)(1992: 16).

<sup>145</sup> Lali Mountain (拉犁山).

<sup>146</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 197).

<sup>147</sup> Central News Agency (1997).



the Ming dynasty tomb of Lean King and stole 22 golden cultural objects including a gold phoenix hairpin, gold sparrow and gold belt hook. They sold them to a silversmith, Li Renren, to melt them down and transform them into gold bars of circa 2,175 gram.<sup>148</sup>

In China, the destruction has been far more widespread than Taiwan. For example, for the sake of escaping from investigation either by descendents or the police, tomb plunderers in China always destroy the tombstones or deface the inscriptions when they rob an ancient tomb. This has brought great difficulties for academics trying to scientifically verify the historical value and identity.<sup>149</sup>

A further issue is the insecurities such activity introduces into the art market and collecting community. As Burnham states, "Theft and looting of archaeological sites have grown dramatically, and this growth has carried with it an indirect hazard for collectors: the hazard of acquiring stolen or illicit works. Many incidents have arisen in recent years involving demands for the return of objects found in the hands of reputable collectors, either because these objects had been stolen or because they constituted an inalienable part of the cultural heritage of another country."<sup>150</sup> In recent years, China has been very keen to claim back smuggled or stolen cultural objects. For example, a bronze, 'Dun', dated back to the Warring States Period (8<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) was stolen from the Qu Yuan Museum in Hubei province in 1987 and, afterward, it showed up in the sales catalogue of Sotheby's in New York in 1989. Having asked Sotheby's to withdraw the item at the auction and repatriate it, the authorities of China successfully claimed back the stolen national treasure.<sup>151</sup> It was said that police detained a noted Hong Kong art dealer, Robert Zhang, while he visited China. Some cultural objects purchased by him were confiscated, as those antiquities were not only forbidden exports from China, but also were suspected of being stolen goods.<sup>152</sup>

As a result of political obstruction, lawful claims on stolen cultural objects have proven very difficult to be pursued between Taiwan and China. However, due to some collectors' personal ethics, some stolen cultural objects have been successfully recovered. For example, in 1999, the Aurora Foundation repatriated 18 Lohan heads stolen from the Zisho Temple in Shanxi province in China in 1993. As a result of concerns about arousing political claims or demands from China, this case has made the Taiwanese government very sensitive. After a discussion with the Taiwanese authorities,

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<sup>148</sup> Jiang Yin (1992: 14).

<sup>149</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Burnham (1978: 2).

<sup>151</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 193)

<sup>152</sup> Pers. comm. with Jeff Hsu, a Taiwanese art dealer, in July 1994.

Chen Yongtai, Chairman of the Aurora Foundation, donated those Buddhist heads not in the name of the foundation but in his name under the supervision of the semi-official organization, the Straits Exchange Foundation.<sup>153</sup>

In fact, the recovery of stolen cultural objects in international society is still hampered by great difficulties. Most of the major art-importing countries such as the U.S.A., U.K., Japan etc. have not signed the 1970 UNESCO treaty, which ask signatories to return any cultural objects which prove to be stolen. For example, in December 1999, a Bodhisattva sculpture, which was excavated in Shandong province in 1993 and then was stolen in 1994, has been found in the Miho Museum in Tokyo. The Director of the Miho Museum said that he bought the stone Bodhisattva from Eskenazi, a noted London art dealer. Eskenazi replied by fax that he had bought it from a noted gallery in London and refused to reveal the name of the gallery. The Director of the Miho Museum states, "Before the purchase, we did our best to carefully examine its provenance. If it can be verified that it was stolen from China, we would like to negotiate with China, but have no intention of repatriating it without any compensation."<sup>154</sup> China intended to accuse the Miho Museum of intentionally purchasing stolen cultural objects, however, without adequate international law, it is only likely to provoke more controversies and achieve nothing.<sup>155</sup> Another example, despite the strong protests of the authorities of China, Christie's and Sotheby's have still held their spring auctions in 2000 to sell those cultural objects, which were looted from the Summer Palace in China in 1860.<sup>156</sup> The authorities of China spent a great amount of money to purchase all these items<sup>157</sup> including three bronzes and a Qing dynasty imperial vase from the two auctions.<sup>158</sup> This has no doubt enraged the authorities of China.<sup>159</sup> According to an official statement of the Culture Bureau, they are intending to establish a special organization in charge of claiming back stolen or smuggled cultural objects.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Zhang Qiqiang (張其強)(1999).

<sup>154</sup> Zeng Huiyan (曾慧燕)(2000).

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ye Huilan (葉惠蘭)(2000).

<sup>157</sup> The Baoli Industrial Group on behalf of the authorities of Mainland China purchased the bronze monkey head at 8.185 million HK\$ (£729,211) and the bronze ox head at 7.745 million HK\$ (£690,011) from Christie's auction on 30 April 2000 and the bronze tiger head at 14 million HK\$ (£1,247,276) and the imperial vase at 19 million HK\$ (£1,692,731) from Sotheby's auction on 2 May 2000. See Chen Ziting (2000).

<sup>158</sup> Chen Ziting (陳紫婷)(2000).

<sup>159</sup> Four smuggled objects purchased by the Mainland China authorities at the Sotheby's and Christie's Hong Kong auctions in 2000 were provided by Taiwanese collectors and dealers. This has aroused debates between Taiwan and China. See Li Weijin (李維菁)(2000e).

<sup>160</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(2000b).

## 4. Museums' increasing awareness of theft and smuggling

### 4.1 Reinforcing security measures

Although the authorities of China have managed to reduce tomb-robbery and smuggling, the rate of smugglings is still high.<sup>161</sup> In addition, theft from museums still occurs often. In the first half of 1995, there had been 12 cases of theft from museums in China. One hundred and twenty-eight cultural objects were stolen.<sup>162</sup> The main reason for this was insufficient security measures.<sup>163</sup>

As for museums in Taiwan, although the security measures are much better than those in China, with the art market boom, theft seems to have increased significantly in Taiwan. Theft events show that insufficient security may be one of the hidden problems for museum management in Taiwan. Most museums are accustomed to replenishing their security force with volunteers because of budgetary shortage. However, many volunteers are insufficiently trained or untrained and therefore are incapable of dealing with accidents or an emergency. Another factor is that a number of public museums have been established in recent years and will be established in the near future. The government is ready to make capital expenditures to create magnificently constructed museums, which possess vast spaces and plenty of rooms to hold more than one exhibition at the same time. However revenue funding remains insufficient resulting in too few staff and poor security, particularly in middle-size and small museums. "In terms of community museum management in Taiwan, the difficulties are insufficient facilities, imperfect layout for exhibitions, poor security measures, insufficient manpower, loose management and so on."<sup>164</sup>

Even the large museums may ignore the importance of security.<sup>165</sup> For example, according to the work flow chart of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts for exhibitions, working items such as contracts, insurance, transportation, arrival, exhibits photographing, publicity, display design, VIP invitations and publicity are all

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<sup>161</sup> According to the statement by the Culture Bureau of China in 2000, 37 cases of plundering occurred and 148 cultural objects were plundered in 1999. See

<http://www.com.cn/news/news2000/06news/news6-27.htm>, 2 May 2000.

<sup>162</sup> Reuter's News Agency (1995).

<sup>163</sup> Han Xiu (1996a: 167-8).

<sup>164</sup> Lo Xinyi (羅欣怡)(1998: 135).

<sup>165</sup> Wang Yuehua (1991: 115). See also Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999c).

represented, however, security measures are not included.<sup>166</sup> Having lost a Northern Wei dynasty stone sculpture on 20 April 2000, the Acting Director of the museum, Chen Xueni, said, "At that time, most staff were dispatched to assist the blockbuster exhibition, 'Collections from the Orange Museum of Fine Arts'. Only one volunteer remained in the exhibition room. Obviously it gave the thief a good chance to take it away."<sup>167</sup> Having reviewed this case, the museum admitted that the lack of security guards and an imperfect exhibition plan are the factors causing this theft.<sup>168</sup> Fortunately, before the exhibition, the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts insured the stolen stone sculpture, which had been borrowed from a local collector, Lu Liangsheng. Having consulted with the collector, the insurance company decided to pay 3 million NT\$ (£63,532) as compensation.<sup>169</sup> In this case, not too much controversy was raised between the collector and the museum as a result of this compensation. Generally speaking, art museums in Taiwan may insure exhibits, which they borrow from private collectors or other museums. However, most public museums do not insure their own collections due to budgetary shortages.<sup>170</sup> Because of the thriving art market and increasing theft, an insurance policy becomes an important measure for museums to reduce loss by theft. Art museums in Taiwan need to change their attitude to insurance policies. Even if not all of their collections can be covered by an insurance policy, at least the most important items chosen from their collections or loan collections need to be insured, particularly as thieves are known to be selective.

## 4.2 Museum ethics to avoid purchasing stolen cultural objects

Cooperation via international police organizations or international treaty is likely to be one of the best ways to deal with illicit traffic, as most cases related to smuggling and theft involve illicit traffic between countries. Although many cases of recovery of cultural objects have caused rather complicated controversies and have not yet been solved in international society, a great number of stolen cultural objects have been recovered and returned to their country of origin. Because of political separation between Taiwan and China, art smuggling has been rampant since the Taiwanese art market flourished in the 1980s. In this circumstance, it has caused many disputes on rightful titles. It is necessary for both sides to seek help through international

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<sup>166</sup> Anon. (1996: 9).

<sup>167</sup> Zhang Mengxiong (張夢熊). Zhao Jing (趙靚)(2000a).

<sup>168</sup> Zhang Mengxiong (張夢熊) (2000).

<sup>169</sup> Zhao Jing (趙靚)(2000a).

<sup>170</sup> "It is very common that major public art museums in Taiwan insure exhibits borrowed from outside, but do not insure their own collections. Therefore, once theft has occurred, the only thing they can do is to report the loss to the authorities<sup>170</sup> to cancel the stolen object's record." See Wang Yuehua (1991: 115).

cooperation via lawsuit, treaty, legislation and police investigation. For example, in July 1970, the United States signed a treaty with Mexico assuring the cooperation of the United States in the repatriation of Mexican cultural property illicitly exported<sup>171</sup> and in October 1972 Congress passed legislation prohibiting the import into the United States of monumental pre-Columbian sculpture and frescoes exported illegally from its country of origin.<sup>172</sup> The threat of possible legal action-or at least of embarrassing scandal-persuaded some museums to return looted art treasures to their country of origin. For example, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts returned an Indian bronze, which it had acquired after the museum was advised that it had been stolen from a small museum in Calcutta in 1965.<sup>173</sup>

For political reasons, Taiwan, so far, has not yet become a member of ICOM.<sup>174</sup> This situation has resulted in difficulties in cooperation with other countries. However, art museums in Taiwan are very active and have a good relationship with other museums internationally. Having created these good relations, hopefully, Taiwan will be willing to cooperate with other countries to prevent theft and illicit traffic.

Besides, an international network can be very helpful in preventing theft and smuggling through the posting of pictures on the internet. This can also assist police investigations to recover cultural objects more effectively. For example, the web site, Art Loss Register, based in London is regarded as a well-organized and documented net service. Similar web sites have been set up in countries such as the U.S.A., France and Germany. So far, no similar web site is set up in Taiwan. It seems necessary for the government of Taiwan to take responsibility for establishing or supporting a web site to connect with other countries, in particular China, Hong Kong, Singapore, the U.S.A., U.K., Japan and so on, where Chinese cultural objects are frequently circulated in their local art markets.

Museums in Taiwan have been wondering whether they should purchase unproven Chinese cultural objects or not for a long time. However, even if they are very wary about provenance, it is still very difficult to completely avoid stolen goods from China, as some cultural objects have been laundered and have subsequently obtained a legal title by being sold to collectors and dealers in other countries before returning to the Taiwanese art market. For the sake of preventing disputes in the future, museums in

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<sup>171</sup> Treaty of Cooperation with the United States Providing for Recovery and Return of Stolen Archaeological, historical and Cultural Properties, July 17, 1970, United States-Mexico, 22 U.S.T. 494, T.I.S.T. no. 7088, 1971

<sup>172</sup> Regulation of Importation of Pre-Columbian Monumental or Architectural Sculpture or Murals, Pub. L. No. 92-587, 86 Stat. 1297 (1972)(codified in 19 U.S.A. §§ 2091-2095 (1976))

<sup>173</sup> Bator (1981: 7-8).

<sup>174</sup> ICOM (International Council of Museums). See Chen Guoning (陳國寧)(1993: 5.3).

Taiwan have been keen to reach an agreement with the authorities of China. By the same token, the authorities of China are also eager to discuss matters with Taiwan. In 1994, Zhang Deqin, Director of the Culture Bureau of China appealed for much closer cooperation to prohibit the illicit traffic between both sides at the Taipei conference, entitled 'Museum Interaction between Taiwan and China'.<sup>175</sup> However, in an interview, Qin Xiaoyi, Director of the Palace Museum in Taipei, states, "If we hesitate to purchase rare Chinese cultural objects, eventually, they may be acquired by collectors from other countries. To keep precious Chinese treasures in Chinese hands, museums in Taiwan can make a great contribution. Basically, at the moment, the authorities of China have already had a tacit understanding with us on this subject."<sup>176</sup> As a matter of fact, the National Palace Museum in Taipei have purchased or collected a number of important cultural objects since 1949. For example, a precious calligraphy, *Yi Xi Ci*<sup>177</sup> by a philosopher of the Southern Song dynasty (AD 1127-1279) is an object from the National Palace Museum in Beijing, which was stolen by Pu Jie,<sup>178</sup> brother of the last Qing dynasty emperor. A Taiwanese millionaire, Lin Zongyi, purchased it. He then donated the artwork to the National Palace Museum in Taipei in 1983. A set of 12 ancient Bronze bells, 'Zifanhe Bells',<sup>179</sup> dating from the Spring & Autumn Period (8<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC), which are believed to have been smuggled out of China to Hong Kong, were purchased by the National Palace Museum in Taipei in 1994.<sup>180</sup> In addition, the Museum of History in Taipei has purchased numerous ancient bronze belt hooks from art dealers recently. It is believed that most belt hooks are excavated from tombs in China.<sup>181</sup>

In Taiwan, the 'Act for Preservation of Cultural Heritage' has stipulated that cultural objects over 100 years old are banned from export. However, lax execution in Taiwan has caused cultural objects to flow away. In particular, at least three items are found to have been provided by Taiwanese collectors at the Hong Kong Sotheby's and Christie's auctions in which cultural objects stolen from the Summer Palace in 1860 were auctioned.<sup>182</sup> This case has aroused a number of debates. Some critics argue that Customs have not fulfilled their responsibility to prohibit the export of cultural objects

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<sup>175</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1994b).

<sup>176</sup> Interview with Qin Xiaoyi, Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, on 28 Jan 2000 in the Palace Museum in Taipei.

<sup>177</sup> *Yi Xi Ci* (易繫辭).

<sup>178</sup> Pu Jie (溥傑).

<sup>179</sup> *Zifanhe Bells* (子犯和鐘).

<sup>180</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000b). See also Han Xiu (1996b: 154-5).

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan, Director of the National Museum of History in Taipei, on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>182</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000e).

from Taiwan.<sup>183</sup> Some scholars propose that cultural objects need to be classified, as not all cultural objects over 100 years old are so valuable that they need to be registered and restricted.<sup>184</sup> However, for a long time the root problem has lain in the lack of experts who specialize in authentication.<sup>185</sup> Even if cultural objects are categorized, officials in Customs make mistakes frequently.<sup>186</sup> To solve this problem, the authorities need to develop experts in authentication as soon as possible at this stage.

In the arena of growing theft, museums as public institutions need to educate people as to how important cultural preservation is. In addition, as a result of increasing disputes over cultural objects internationally, museums should educate staff to have a better understanding about legal entitlement. They should inform people that not to buy stolen cultural objects might be the best way not only to stop theft and smuggling, but also to avoid trouble. As Tim Schadla Hall, Lecturer at the University of College London, states, "Museums must make clear the scale of looting. Exhibitions have to put on that demonstrate how wrong it is, and which show that what museums and individuals have been in receipt of stolen objects."<sup>187</sup>

Besides, art dealers, auction houses, and many museums that acquire unproven objects always refuse to disclose the details of art transactions. As Elia states, "Art dealers, auction houses, and many museums that acquire unprovenanced objects steadfastly refuse to disclose the details of art transactions, ostensibly to protect the confidentiality of the sellers. In fact this code of silence makes it possible to launder looted antiquities and to cover up their true source by creating fictional pedigrees like the 'old European collection'."<sup>188</sup> It would be difficult to get art dealers and auction houses to disclose their purchasing details. However, the authorities can consider imposing heavy punishments for the crime of purchasing stolen goods. In addition, museums in Taiwan, in particular public museums, as leading organizations should emphasize the importance of precise provenance not only in exhibitions but also in the purchasing process. As Tristram Besterman, Director of the Manchester Museum and Convenor of the MA's Ethics Committee,<sup>189</sup> states, "Properly managed, ethical museums should be playing no part in illicit trade, though it would be rash to suggest that everyone is abiding by the

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<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> Gong (1999).

<sup>186</sup> Zhang Shixian (張世賢)(1987: 1-2). See also Liu Tainai (劉太乃)(1999b: 96).

<sup>187</sup> Morris (2000).

<sup>188</sup> Elia (1995: 248).

<sup>189</sup> The Ethics Committee of Museum Association.

standards of the codes.”<sup>190</sup> In this circumstance, art museums in Taiwan need to improve the facilities and create more experts who specialize in authentication to verify collections in museums. Art museums also need to educate their staff and promulgate the details of the purchasing process to allow supervision by the public. It seems that art museums play an important role in informing and educating people to understand the importance of legal title and clear provenance. However, it is impossible for art museums to fulfil the task alone. Most importantly, based on international cooperation and understanding, the government, the professional, collectors, art dealers and so on have to join hands with art museums to enhance the standard of ethics not only in local society but also in international society (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Ethical solutions

| Level   | Action   |
|---|--|
| Governmental  | 1. Cooperation with other countries.<br>2. International treaties, agreements and codes.<br>3. Museum law.   |
| The professional (museum directors, curators, scholars and critics) | 1. Codes of ethical conduct.<br>2. Professional training.<br>3. Professional and institutional standards.  |
| Commercial (collectors, dealers and auctioneers)                    | 1. Establishment of professional codes and ethics for collectors, dealers and auctioneers.<br>2. Education relating to authenticity, provenance and legal title. |
| The public  | Education of value of history  |

## 5. Conclusion

Collectors' taste is a key mechanism driving the art market and has great implications for its illicit aspects such as smuggling and faking as well as playing an important role in museum expansion. With the growing economy in Taiwan, Taiwanese collectors' interests not only formed waves of collecting fashion in the local art market, but also internationally encouraged illegal traffic and art faking. Being strongly influenced by political and cultural changes, Taiwanese collectors' interests and concepts of artistic value actually reflected not only the social development in Taiwan but also the interaction with China. To sociologically explore the collecting fever will help to understand more about not only the phenomena in the Chinese art market but also the

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<sup>190</sup> Morris (2000: 21).



***Chapter 5: Art smuggling and theft in Taiwan and China***

**museum development in Taiwan. Accordingly, in the next chapter, collectors' interests and concepts of artistic value will be examined and analysed in detail.**

## 6: Collecting values and collector's taste

### 1. Artistic taste in society

The sociology of art suggests that artistic activities reflect social life in which politics, economy, fashion and so on, contribute to the formation of diversity of artistic tastes. This view has been taken up by growing numbers of writers and researchers in recent years. Most tend to focus on artistic production as a function of social background. As Hauser Arnold has said, "The production of works of art depends as a socio-historical process on a number of diverse factors. It is determined by nature and culture, geography and race, time and place, biology and psychology, and economic and social class."<sup>1</sup> Art appreciation, so called 'second-time art creation', can also be seen as a type of artistic production equally as important as the artists' original creativity. Moreover, as a factor in the social process, which underpins artistic production, art appreciation not only gives art production an integral meaning, but also can provide substantial support from society to inspire artists' continual creativity. Certain artists might claim that their works are completely the product of their own will. In fact, their works are still more or less subject to the same social life, which they themselves experience. Equally, artists need patronage, which requires social regard.

"The cultural producer has his or her own location in the social stratum, potentially generating its own ideological form; but at the same time, the society as a whole will be characterized by general ideological forms arising out of the general economic conditions and the mode of production of that society."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, based on ideologies, which are shaped by social life, the public, in particular collectors, can perceive certain ideologies, values or beliefs, in the works of art. Collectors thus like to recognize and purchase works that reflect these values. However, collectors' ideologies seem to be more complicated than those who are just art appreciators, as their system of value may be further influenced by other social factors, such as market value. Thus if we would like to know why collectors in Taiwan prefer to appreciate certain works of art, we need to explore the ideologies, values and beliefs which lay behind the phenomenon of art collecting in Taiwan.

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<sup>1</sup> Hauser (1982: 94).

<sup>2</sup> Wolff (1993: 55).

It has always been true that the popularity of an artist's works is a test of a whole raft of social mechanism, particularly when his or her works are displayed to the public. Here, the taste of collectors, critics and connoisseurs, together with the operation of the art market as described in the previous chapter, also play an essential role in this process by which an artist's works begin to be socialized.

The popularity or perceived value of a particular work of art may have nothing to do with artistic achievement, but rather reflect taste shaped by current fashions in society. In an intensely capitalistic society, artists' prestige may be justified by the number of sales made. Collectors' taste is critical here. The two-way interaction between collectors and artists can be seen clearly in the art market.

In terms of the sociology of art those factors, which influence social life at different stages, actually come from the interaction between people and the material world. Chen and Chen suggest that, in pursuit of the basic need of material, emotion, security and spirit, people have to have social interaction with each other on a basis of difference. In this social process forces of varied influence are formed.<sup>3</sup> These authors named these sociological forces: The 'Productive Force of Technology', the 'Constrained Forces of Social Norm', the 'Coercive Force of Power' and the 'Sublimative Force of Value and Meaning'.<sup>4</sup> The 'Productive Force of Technology' comes from the impetus to improve material life. The 'Constrained Force of Social Norm' comes from the impetus to set a regular pattern for human society. The 'Coercive Force of Power' comes from the power distribution in the political life in a society. The 'Sublimative Force of Value and Meaning' comes from an impetus to pursue spiritual life in a society.<sup>5</sup> These sociological forces, which influence material culture, law, ethics, politics and spiritual life, change with cultural change; they are able to influence and change the shape of social life. Furthermore they can change the region in which art interacts with society to significantly affect the conception of artists, trends in aesthetics and, in particular, collectors' artistic tastes and their psychology (Figure 6.1).<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, the artistic taste we have seen in a society is only a small part of a social phenomenon, which is located at the tip of a social iceberg. Therefore, to further understand the taste of collectors in Taiwanese society, it is necessary to explore the huge parts under the sea level in which those social factors, affecting collectors' values and psychology, lie (Figure 6.2).

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<sup>3</sup> Chen Bingzhang (陳秉彰) and Chen Xinmu (陳信木) (1993: 268).

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Chen Bingzhang (陳秉彰) and Chen Xinmu (陳信木) (1993: 268-9).

Figure 6.1: Analysis of the relationship between social life, taste and collecting fashion

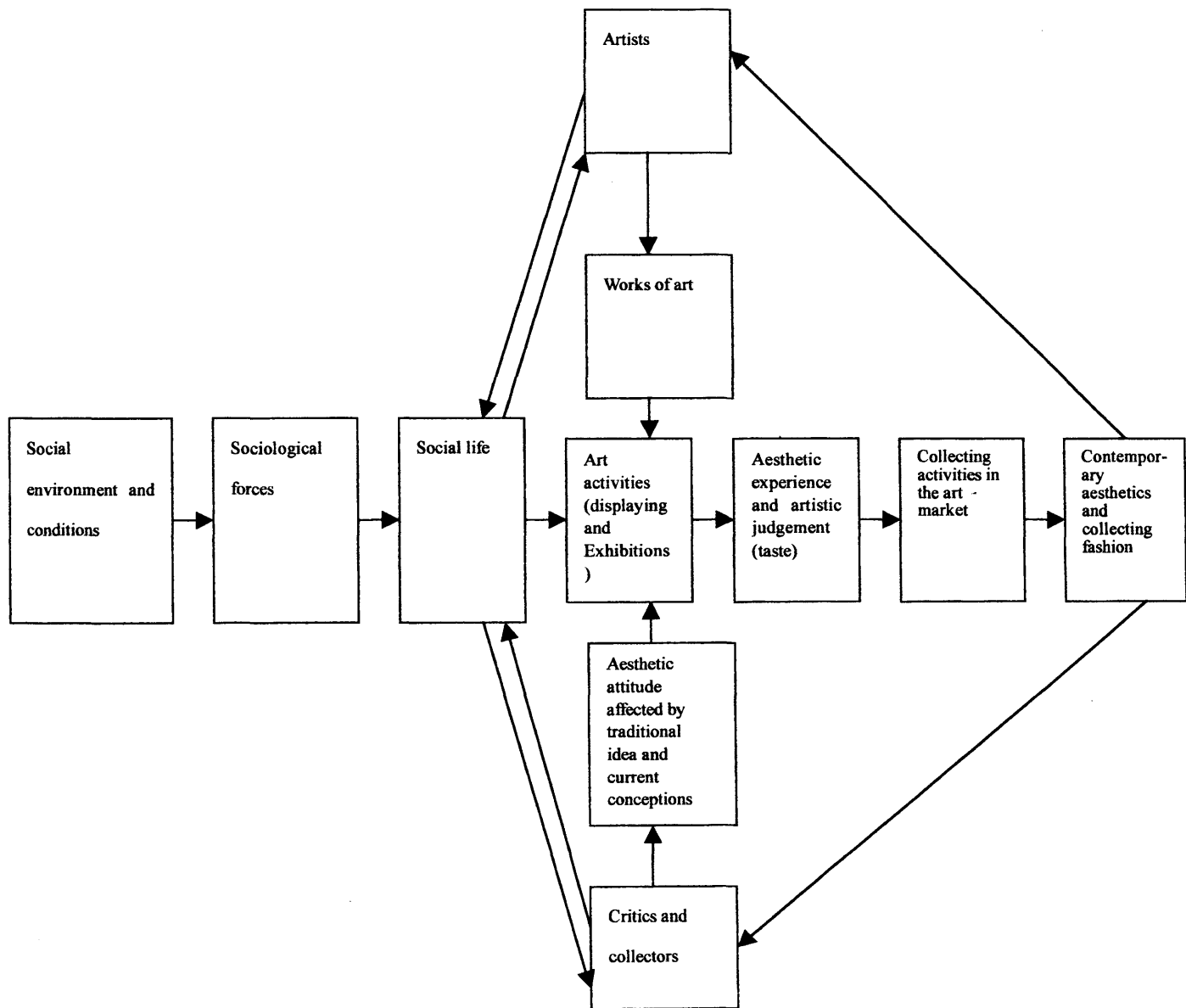
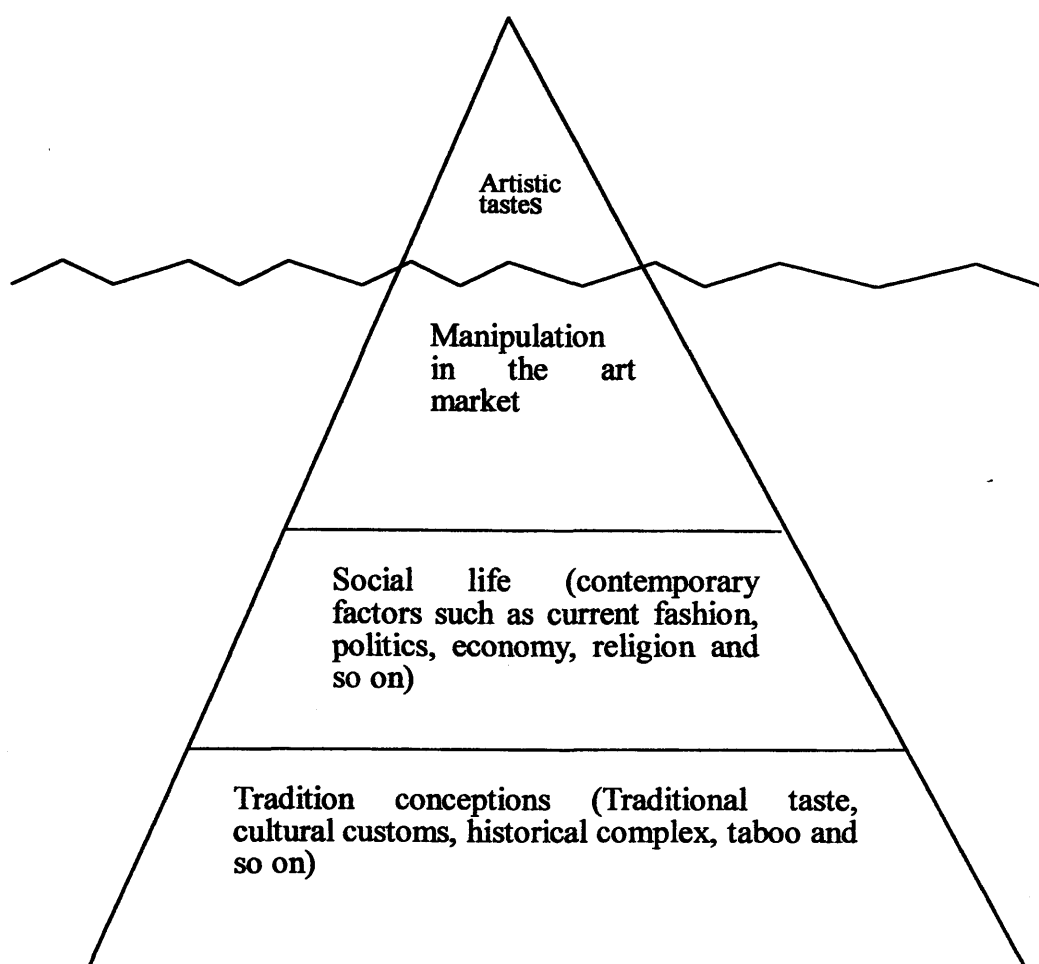


Figure 6.2: Iceberg configuration of artistic taste



## 2. Collectors' evolution in Taiwan

### 2.1 Growth of collecting

From the 1950s to the 1960s, collecting was not very popular in Taiwan. The number of collectors was low. Most collectors were officials, entrepreneurs and scholars, most of whom were Waishengren.<sup>7</sup> Some were foreigners- businessmen, tourists or officials of

<sup>7</sup> Liu Changhan (劉昌漢)(1995: 181).

overseas institutions operating in Taiwan.<sup>8</sup> In addition, some local landlords maintained art collecting as a family tradition.<sup>9</sup>

A few Benshengren collectors had been active in the 1920s. Mainly businessmen, doctors and lawyers, they were aware of the importance of cultural preservation for Taiwanese society and started to collect works of art by Benshengren artists.<sup>10</sup> For example, Ni Jianghuai, a Taiwanese artist, was very active and keen to fund art activities in Taiwan from the 1920s to the 1930s. In 1927, he established the Taiwanese Fine Arts Institute to invite Japanese artists to educate young artists in Taiwan. To help increase local artists' awareness of the contemporary art world, he purchased books and magazines concerned with modern art in overseas countries.<sup>11</sup> The initial motive of these collectors was to help preserve modern Taiwanese works of art so that they regarded themselves as patrons rather than collectors. They supported local artists and maintained strong friendships with them. They also got together to organize associations or societies of fine arts to support Taiwanese artists whose works of art were not in the mainstream in the art world during the Japanese occupation. However, after 1949, the KMT government did not value Benshengren artists, but these supporters of Taiwanese artists continued to help local artists, whose works continued to differ from official Waishengren taste.<sup>12</sup>

From the 1970s, the rise of Nativism inspired rising Benshengren capitalists such as Cai Chennan, Qiu Yonghan, and so on, to focus on local cultural objects.<sup>13</sup> Due to strong ethnic beliefs they regarded the preservation of local culture as their responsibility. This desire was significantly enhanced by growing ethnic conflict between the Benshengren and Waishengren. This conflict was also one of taste: collectors of Chinese taste and collectors of local taste.

Although economic improvement gradually encouraged the growth of the local art market, the number of collectors in Taiwan remained fairly small in the 1970s. With the Taiwanese art market still small and conservative, collectors needed to go to Hong Kong or to other overseas art markets to purchase higher-quality Chinese antiquities and paintings.<sup>14</sup> Commercial art galleries were so few that mounting workshops became places where collectors purchased or exchanged works of art, using them as surrogate

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<sup>8</sup> Seamark (1997: 205).

<sup>9</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法) (1991a: 218-9).

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Zhang Wanchuan (張萬傳) (1991: 215-7).

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Liu Changhan (1995: 184).

<sup>14</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁) (1998a: 198).

commercial galleries.<sup>15</sup> Cai Yiming, former Chairman of the Chinese Cultural Objects Society,<sup>16</sup> was one of this pioneering new wave of collectors. He recalls the situation in the late 1970s: "In about 1978, I started my collecting career. However, at that time, collecting was not so popular such that collectors were very rare in Taiwanese society. According to my estimate, there were only three to four major collectors, including me, who were keen to collect works of art at that time."<sup>17</sup> Art collecting was regarded as an individual hobby. Collectors' motives in the 1970s seemed to be simply based on artistic appreciation and cultural preservation. With no collecting society at that time it was difficult for collectors to get to know each other and as the media had no interest in collecting, collectors did not become publicly known.

The 1980s were a turning point in the history of art collecting in Taiwan. With economic prosperity, particularly after the mid-1980s, an increasing number of collectors began to swarm into the art market.<sup>18</sup> The number of galleries and antique shops also increased. Political change and ethnic conflict kindled a series of social campaigns through which the Benshengren gained political power. Thriving Nativism further provoked the cultural awareness of the Benshengren and newly arisen Benshengren soon formed the core of the art market. Collecting interests were now significantly inclined towards local culture. Enthusiastic collectors at first purchased the works of local naïve painters and local cultural objects.<sup>19</sup> The price of works by Benshengren artists was significantly driven up.<sup>20</sup> And, as younger collectors joined the art market the art consumption again increased and diversified.

After the mid-1980s Taiwanese collectors also became a strong influence in overseas art markets. In 1991 *Art News* in the U.S.A. chose Cai Chennan and Zhang Tiangen as two of the top 200 collectors in the world.<sup>21</sup> Enthusiastic collectors contributed to a rise in the prices of works of art not only in the local art markets but also internationally. As a consequence a great many valuable works of art and antiquities flowed into Taiwan.<sup>22</sup> The growing interest in collecting drove avid collectors and art dealers to focus on particular artists and many artists, especially local artists, earned a considerable fortune.<sup>23</sup> There is no doubt that the lucrative market also attracted more profit-oriented

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Xia Yifu (夏一夫), an older generation artist, in Taipei on 26 Dec. 2000.

<sup>16</sup> The Chinese Cultural Objects Society (中華文物學會).

<sup>17</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1998a: 198).

<sup>18</sup> Li Yali (李亞俐)(1994: 260-1).

<sup>19</sup> Gao Qianhui (高千慧) (1994: 272).

<sup>20</sup> Zheng Qinghua (鄭慶華)(1993).

<sup>21</sup> Chen Changhua (陳長華)(1991).

<sup>22</sup> Liu Changhan (1995: 184).

<sup>23</sup> Anon. (1993c: 10-11).

collectors, who treated collecting as a financial investment. This not only made the price of works by Benshengren artists reach a peak in the early 1990s,<sup>24</sup> but also encouraged a number of collectors to become art dealers or auctioneers.<sup>25</sup> However, this boom fell into decline and art market depression as the mid-1990s approached.<sup>26</sup>

It is interesting to look at the change among artists, art dealers and collectors as the period of decline took hold. The economic depression certainly made collectors more important in the art market after 1990 and those who were still purchasing, became the target of art dealers and artists. This not only signals an ecological change in the art market, but also reflects the socialized character of art collecting. Since 1990 art collecting had become not just an aesthetic individual hobby, but a social activity which served amongst other things, as a means to promote collectors' status and image in society. More and more entrepreneurs, politicians and celebrities had been keen to make use of art to attract public attention. To exchange experience and knowledge and to extend their influence, associations relating to art collecting have emerged in society since 1990. For instance the Taiwanese Collector Association was established in 1990<sup>27</sup> and the Qingwan Society followed in 1992.<sup>28</sup> The Aimei Art Society was established in 1994<sup>29</sup> and the Evergreen Cultural Foundation was established in Tainan in 1999.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.2 The status of collecting in Taiwanese society

Collectors, many of whom are well-known people in Taiwanese society, have become involved so deeply in a diversity of art activities from the early 1990s that the media is more interested in collectors than in artists and their artistic achievement. Collectors have come to occupy a more and more prominent role in society.<sup>31</sup> They have become symbolic of fortune, culture and success in a very capitalistic society.

According to a survey of major galleries in Taiwan undertaken by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, most collectors are businessmen (Table 6.1). Xie's survey in 1995 also shows

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<sup>24</sup> Tai Nai (1994: 265-7).

<sup>25</sup> Li Yali (李亞俐)(1994: 261).

<sup>26</sup> Tai Nai (1994: 265-7).

<sup>27</sup> Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999a: 112-4).

<sup>28</sup> Chen Qizheng (陳啓政)(1999a: 108-111).

<sup>29</sup> Qin Yajun (秦雅君)(1999b: 93-7).

<sup>30</sup> Pn Pingyu (潘博玉)(1999: 99-100).

<sup>31</sup> Rheims (1961: 44).



the same situation. 38.3 % of collectors are businessmen (Table 6.2).<sup>32</sup> As Tai Nai has stated in 1991, "Entrepreneurs conduct the Taiwanese Renaissance."<sup>33</sup> No matter what their individual intentions, increasingly entrepreneurs are willing to become collectors or to support artistic activities. Some of them have established their museums. Many are planning to follow this trend.<sup>34</sup> Many collectors have become public figures, regarded as millionaires, connoisseurs, benefactors and philanthropists. These collectors have taken on a main role in the art market. Their artistic opinion is so influential that artists will change their styles to meet collectors' tastes. A trend seems to have been established where by collectors' opinions form a core set of values at the heart of the art market rather than the opinions of artists, critics and scholars. By the late 1990s many exhibitions permitted collectors to deliver their artistic opinion. This phenomenon is rather different from that in the past. For example, in the retrospective exhibition of Lin Fengmian's paintings in the National Museum of History, in addition to Lin Fengmian's daughter, a noted critic and scholar, the museum also invited a young collector, Ma Jianwei, a renowned entrepreneur because of his collections, to make a speech to the public<sup>35</sup>. Lin Baili, a noted entrepreneur, who is famous for his collections of Zhang Daqian, was also invited by the museum to talk about Li Keran, when an exhibition was held in the museum in 2000.<sup>36</sup> Collectors now play as essential a role, as scholars, curators, critics, artists and art dealers, and in the process contribute to the formation of artistic taste in Taiwanese society.

**Table 6.1: Occupations of customers (collectors) of the 41 main art dealers in Taiwan in 1992**

| Occupation                               | Numbers | Percentage (%) |
|--|---------|----------------|
| Agriculture                              | 0       | 0              |
| Labour                                   | 0       | 0              |
| Commerce                                 | 41      | 100            |
| Military                                 | 0       | 0              |
| Government Employee or Teacher           | 18      | 43             |
| Art Sector                               | 32      | 7              |
| Self-employed (lawyer, doctor and so on) | 11      | 27             |
| Other                                    | 1       | 2              |

※ Valid cases: 41; Missing cases: 0

Sources: Survey of commercial galleries in Taiwan conducted by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1992.

See Huang Guangnan (1999: 272).

<sup>32</sup> Xie Zonghan (謝宗翰)(1995: 49).

<sup>33</sup> Tai Nai (1991).

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Anon. (2000f).

<sup>36</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000f).

**Table 6.2: Occupations of collectors in Taipei and Tainan in 1995**

| Occupation                               | Numbers    | Percentage  |
|--|------------|-------------|
| Ariculture                               | 2          | 1.7 %       |
| Labour                                   | 4          | 3.3 %       |
| Commerce                                 | 46         | 38.3 %      |
| Military                                 | 2          | 1.7 %       |
| Government employer                      | 6          | 5.0 %       |
| Teacher                                  | 9          | 7.5 %       |
| Art sector                               | 19         | 15.8 %      |
| Self-employed (lawyer, doctor and so on) | 17         | 14.2 %      |
| No occupation                            | 3          | 2.5 %       |
| Other                                    | 12         | 10.0 %      |
| <b>Total</b>                             | <b>120</b> | <b>100%</b> |

※ Valid cases: 120; Missing cases: 0 (This table is made by interviewing with 120 collectors in Taipei and Tainan).

Source: Xie Zonghan (謝宗瀚)(1996: 49).

## 2.3 Self-education and consultation

The collectors' purchasing behaviour in Taiwan is an interesting subject. Compared to western collectors who consult the professional, Taiwanese collectors prefer to purchase works of art by their own judgement. Many collectors were inclined to purchase works of art by instinct. Although instinct can include aesthetic judgement, a full aesthetic judgement would require a knowledge of art. Otherwise, psychology suggests they become easily influenced by fashions in the art market. As Jiang makes a sophisticated conclusion, "Do Taiwanese collectors need art criticism? No! They do not need any art criticism."<sup>37</sup> For example, after 1980 more and more collectors in Taiwan have purchase works of art by precursory Taiwanese artists,<sup>38</sup> which have a retrospective mood. They like to purchase paintings presenting the scenes of the early agricultural society in Taiwan such as aged farmers, village houses and so on. In some ways, they are not so much collecting art but symbols of retrospection. It shows perhaps that many collectors are still beginners. Evidence shows that many Taiwanese collectors started

<sup>37</sup> Jiang Yanchou(江衍疇)(1995: 252-3).

<sup>38</sup> Precursory artists mean older generation artists in Taiwan, who have grown and been educated in the period of Japanese occupation. People in art regard them as witnesses of earlier Taiwanese history in the twentieth century.

collecting from the 1980s. Especially after 1990, many new generation collectors emerged in the art market (Appendix 6). The survey by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1992 shows that most Taiwanese collectors are at the age of 31 to 50 (Table 6.3). Similarly, according to Xie's statistics, 73.4 % of Taiwanese collectors are at the age of 26 to 45 (Table 6.4).<sup>39</sup> Compared to seasoned collectors, particularly in the west, their experience seems insufficient. They prefer to build up their collections in a short time. They buy works eagerly and sell them quickly.<sup>40</sup> For example, Ye Qizhong, a noted Taiwanese collector, who started his collecting from 1988, bought nearly 300 paintings from auctions within one and a half years. He then established a commercial gallery to display and sell his collections in 1995.<sup>41</sup>

Partly because many Taiwanese collectors lack sufficient experience, partly because many of them are of the new generation, they would rather follow tastes of dealers or other collectors than develop their own taste to build up collections. Lin Shuxin, Chief Curator of the National Museum of History, divided Taiwanese collectors into three types: collectors of art appreciation, collectors of financial investment and naïve collectors. She stated: "Most Taiwanese collectors are naïve collectors who are inexperienced and easily affected by dealers' manipulation."<sup>42</sup> Unlike certain senior western art collectors who apply philosophy and research to systematically build up collections, many collectors follow the waves of fashion in the art market rather than carry out research on works or antiquities. They would be more concerned with market or social value rather than aesthetic value.<sup>43</sup>

**Table 6.3: Age of customers (collectors) of the 41 main art dealers in Taiwan in 1992**

| Age     | Numbers | Percentage (%) |
|---------|---------|----------------|
| 20-30   | 1       | 2.4            |
| 31-40   | 24      | 58.5           |
| 41-50   | 36      | 87.8           |
| 51-60   | 17      | 41.5           |
| 61-70   | 3       | 7.3            |
| Over 70 | 0       | 0              |

※ Valid cases: 41; Missing cases: 0

Sources: Survey of commercial galleries in Taiwan conducted by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1992.

See Huang Guangnan (1999: 271).

<sup>39</sup> Xie Zonghan (謝宗翰)(1996: 47-9).

<sup>40</sup> Tai Nai (1994: 264-5).

<sup>41</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995f: 220-25).

<sup>42</sup> Lin Shuxin (林淑心)(2000: 160-1).

<sup>43</sup> Tai Nai (1994: 264-5).

**Table 6.4: Age of collectors in Taipei and Tainan in 1995**

| Age      | Numbers | Percentage |
|----------|---------|------------|
| Below 25 | 12      | 10 %       |
| 26-35    | 56      | 46.7 %     |
| 36-45    | 32      | 26.7 %     |
| 46-55    | 17      | 14.2 %     |
| 56-65    | 1       | 0.8 %      |
| 66-75    | 2       | 1.6 %      |
| Total    | 120     | 100 %      |

※ Valid cases: 120; Missing cases: 0 (This table is made by interviewing with 120 collectors in Taipei and Tainan. 74 collectors live in Taipei. 46 collectors live in Tainan.)

Source: Xie Zonghan (謝宗翰)(1996: 47).

However, the introduction of large numbers of fakes into the art market from 1990 has made collectors realize the importance of knowledge.<sup>44</sup> Increasingly collectors are beginning to accept that the process of doing research is at the core of art collecting. Collectors, therefore, have started to do research, consult experts or maintain a good relationship with curators and scholars. According to Xie's survey in 1995, 51.7 % of Taiwanese collectors did research on items in which they were interested.<sup>45</sup> Some wealthy collectors commission experts to assist them in building up their collections. To meet the collectors' demand, many books or magazines related to art collecting, history of art and authentication technology, have been produced and art consultants began to have key influence by the mid 1990s. New generation collectors are becoming aware of the importance of systematic collecting, which not only can save their money but also can systematize and improve the quality of their collections. Some wealthy collectors commission experts to help them build up their collections. As Xu Zuoli, a well-known Taiwanese collector, states, "I would like to build up my collections according to a well-organized academic system, because the more systematic, the more valuable they are. Apart from the financial value, it is the priceless cultural value that a collector should make efforts to achieve."<sup>46</sup> This signals not only an expansion of collecting interest but also a closer interaction between collectors, museums and academics. Since the mid 1990s Taiwanese collectors have gradually become more thoughtful and the art market has begun to reflect more sophisticated and scholarly attitudes.

<sup>44</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 16-20).

<sup>45</sup> Xie Zonghan (謝宗翰)(1996: 49).

<sup>46</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1998b).

### 3. The function of collecting in Taiwanese society

#### 3.1 Collecting as veneration

Based on Chinese traditional philosophy, art is regarded as a kind of self-improving skill or entertainment rather than just as artistic expression. This does not mean that Chinese art does not contain any spiritual element, however, as socialized aesthetics it has been highlighted since ancient times. In traditional Chinese philosophy, art is to present the harmony between individual, society and the universe. Thus, the highest value in art reflects the collective aesthetic appreciation. Therefore, all art creation or art appreciation is subject to the system of values inherent in the social ethic, that is, as art was socialized in ancient China. Artistic value could only be verified by the judgement against the social value system. In other words, to ideally present the intrinsic meaning of the interaction between individual, society and nature, this has undoubtedly made people rationally appreciate these social values in works rather than adopt a deep understanding of artistic aesthetics and innovation (Figure 6.3).<sup>47</sup>

Chinese sages in ancient times emphasized this connection between art and social reality. They highlighted the functions of art in terms of practical matters. Xunzi,<sup>48</sup> a sage of the Warring States Period (5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), emphasized that the function of music (art) needs to be connected with the rite which is an essential element to keep a society in order.<sup>49</sup> Zhang Yanyuan,<sup>50</sup> an artist and aesthetician of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907), similarly defined painting as a means for achieving social education, harmonizing ethical relationships, expressing magical variation and exploring mysterious phenomena.<sup>51</sup> Art seemed to be politicised to its core in ancient China. It was used by the ruling class as a means to not only educate ordinary people but also to harmonize the entire society. As *Zuozhuan*,<sup>52</sup> an ancient book from the Spring and Autumn Period (8<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC), states, "Those decorations on bronzes are to teach people how to tell good and evil."<sup>53</sup> Art in China was learned, created and interpreted by the ruling intellectuals. Consequently, art is traditionally associated with the

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<sup>47</sup> Feng Xiao (馮曉)(1993: 52).

<sup>48</sup> Xunzi (荀子).

<sup>49</sup> Feng Xiao (馮曉)(1993: 50).

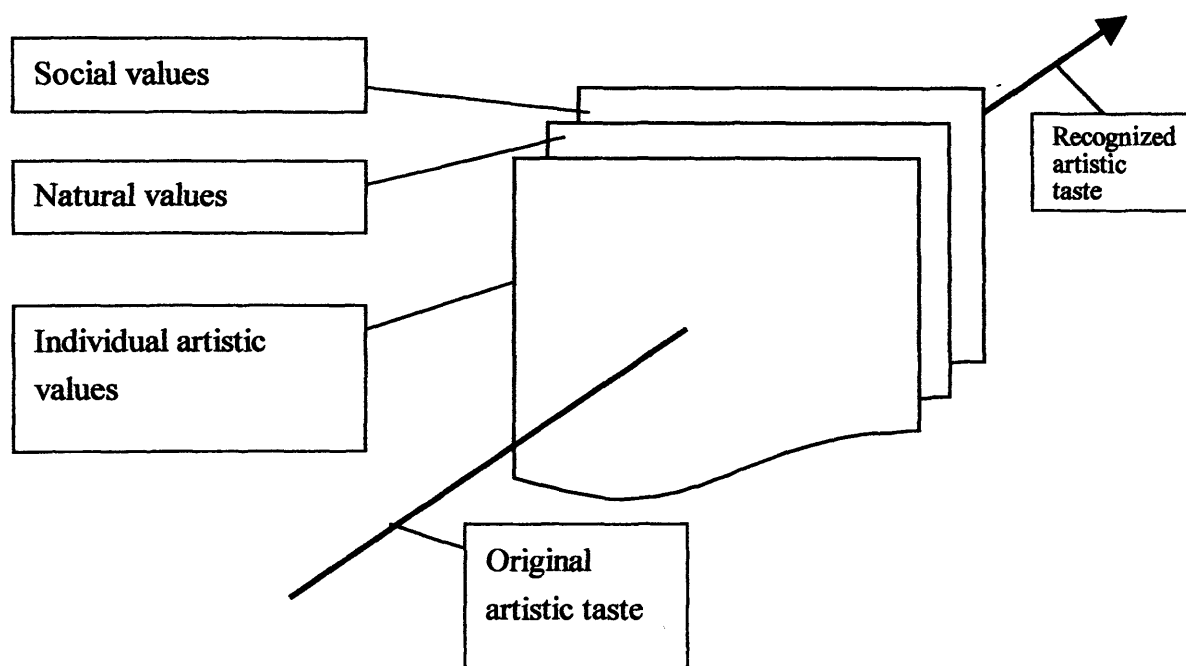
<sup>50</sup> Zhang Yanyuan(張彥遠).

<sup>51</sup> 「夫畫者,成教化,助人倫,窮神變,測幽微」, please refer to Zhang Yanyuan (張彥遠), *Lidaminghuaji* (歷代名畫記).

<sup>52</sup> *Zuozhuan* (左傳).

higher-classes and is seen as a symbol of the ruling power in society. Art appreciation then becomes the veneration of political power. An old Chinese saying states, "The higher official position a person can have, the more knowledge he has."<sup>54</sup> Thus, whether in Taiwan or China, sculptures in public places commemorate outstanding politicians. In addition, although most politicians are not good at art creation, works of art made by politicians or in the name of politicians, are displayed in public institutions. Even though China abolished its monarchy in 1912, this veneration of imperial art still subconsciously affects the thinking of Chinese collectors including Taiwanese. Collectors like to buy works or antiquities, which have been appreciated, collected, owned or made by emperors, aristocrats and politicians in the past.<sup>55</sup>

Figure 6.3: The values of art appreciation in Chinese tradition



This may also explain why artists in Taiwan are keen to have connections with politicians. As long as politicians support them, artists' status in the art world can be such that collectors may regard their works of art as being of higher quality. Likewise, the same attitude occurs in the collecting of Chinese antiquities. It is evident that ancient imperial ceramics are very popular in the Chinese art market and are mainly bought by Chinese collectors, and particularly Taiwanese collectors.<sup>56</sup> "The taste here [Taiwan] is for ceramics that were never made to be buried; ones produced identifiably and

<sup>53</sup> 「鑄金象物,使民知神姦」.

<sup>54</sup> 「官大學問大」.

<sup>55</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 129).

<sup>56</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 55-62). See also Tai Nai (1996: 263).

deliberately for imperial use (since about the 11<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>57</sup> Except for Tang glazed pottery horses and the Yuan dynasty Blue-and-White vases, the prices of the imperial porcelains are the highest of all Chinese porcelain. 12 price records have been made by Chinese and Taiwanese collectors at auctions in Hong Kong (Appendix 7). For example, Taiwanese collector, Chen Defu,<sup>58</sup> bought a Southern Song dynasty imperial celadon brush-washing dish<sup>59</sup> for 22 million HK\$ (£1,982,827) at Sotheby's auction in 1989.<sup>60</sup> It was the highest price record paid for Chinese porcelain made at Sotheby's in Hong Kong at that time. In 2000 an anonymous Taiwanese collector purchased a piece of Ming dynasty imperial porcelain at the price of 44 million HK\$ (£3,965,655)- a new world price record for Chinese porcelain.<sup>61</sup>

As for collectors in China, Tai Nai states, "Collectors in China are in favour of buying works of art by prestigious people...Calligraphy by Qianlong, Yongzheng, Empress Dowager Cixi, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, Zuo Zongtang, Sun Yatsen, Guo Moluo and so on can fetch a good price at auctions in China."<sup>62</sup> For example, a calligraphy by Gaozong,<sup>63</sup> an emperor of the Southern Song dynasty (AD 1127-1279), fetched 9.9 million RMB (£830,815) at an auction in China.<sup>64</sup> Likewise, in Taiwan, works of art made by political figures can also fetch a high price. For example, an auction for utensils from the old house once owned by Jiangsong Meiling,<sup>65</sup> former first lady of China, was held in Wisconsin on 30 January 1999. According to the estimate of the auctioneer, its preview on 13 December attracted more than one thousand Chinese visitors. A set of three paintings by Madame Jiang with an inscription by Jiang Jieshi, former President of the Chinese Republic, went for 11,500 US\$ (£8,003), which was twenty to thirty times higher than the 400-600 US\$ (£277- 416) estimated. Having been bid for by many collectors, a painting by Madame Jiang went for 21,000 US\$ (£14,566), which was 40-70 times the estimated price of 300-500 US\$ (£208-346). Obviously Chinese collectors purchased both of them.<sup>66</sup> This collecting enthusiasm seems to

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<sup>57</sup> Sheaf (1995: 35).

<sup>58</sup> Chen Defu (陳得福).

<sup>59</sup> A Southern Song dynasty imperial celadon brush washing dish (南宋郊壇官窯青瓷筆洗).

<sup>60</sup> Jiang Xia (江夏)(1999a: 149).

<sup>61</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000g).

<sup>62</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 129). Qianlong,, (乾隆, Emperor of the Qing dynasty). Yongzheng, (雍正, Emperor of the Qing dynasty). Empress Dowager Cixi, 慈禧太后. Zeng Guofan (曾國藩, a Prime minister of the Qing dynasty). Li Hongzhang (李鴻章, a politician of the Qing dynasty). Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠, a politician of the Qing dynasty). Sun Yatsen (孫逸仙, Founder of the Republic of China). Guo Moluo (郭沫若, a politician of the Peoples Republic of China).

<sup>63</sup> Gaozong (南宋高宗, an emperor of the Southern Song dynasty, AD 1127-1279).

<sup>64</sup> Zhang Chen (張晨)(2000b).

<sup>65</sup> Jiangsong Meiling (蔣宋美齡, Jiang Jieshi's wife).

<sup>66</sup> Ruan Meifen (阮玫芬)(1999).

derive from the veneration of political figures, as some collectors said that they just wanted to show their respect to the former first lady.<sup>67</sup> Another example, a calligraphy by Song Chuyu,<sup>68</sup> former Governor of Taiwan, fetched up to 20,001 US\$ (£13,873) at an auction held by the *World Daily News* in New York in 1999. The price was nearly 29 times higher than the estimated price and 80-120 times higher than the average price of calligraphy in the art market in Taiwan.<sup>69</sup> Critics remain remarkably quiet about this phenomenon.

Since 1990, a number of religious organizations have started to hold highly successful art auctions to raise charitable funds. Works of art and antiquities are donated by artists and collectors. Some works of art have sold for much higher prices than predicted. This is particularly true of works by certain well-known senior religious figures. For example, a piece of calligraphy by Master Xingyun fetched over 200,000 NT\$ (£4,284) at auction in 1994.<sup>70</sup> Some paintings can even be sold at a remarkable price. For instance, the painting, 'Deterrent Force',<sup>71</sup> made by Yi Yungao,<sup>72</sup> a noted Buddhist cult, fetched up to 64.95 million NT\$ (£1,411,957) in May 2000 at the Zhencang auction in Taipei. This price not only created a new record in the history of Taiwanese auctions, but also has become the third highest price for a Chinese painting in the world market.<sup>73</sup> However, six month later, 'Powerful Luohan',<sup>74</sup> an ink painting by Yi Yungao, was bought by a Yi's believer for 72 million NT\$ (£1,565,217) at the Zhencang auction in Taipei.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to Buddhist masters, some other newly risen religious masters have taken advantage of the situation with their own artworks. For example, collectors avidly purchase paintings by Guru Lu Shengyan<sup>76</sup> or amulets as well as clothes designed by Guru Qinghai.<sup>77</sup> The art business seems to have become the best way for religious organizations to raise funds from the public. To market themselves, some artists have tried either to display their works of art in galleries run by Buddhist organizations, or to change their style to something which collectors might perceive as Buddhist.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Song Chuyu (宋楚瑜), former Governor of Taiwan.

<sup>69</sup> Lin Mingliang (林明良)(1999: 34).

<sup>70</sup> Master Xingyun, 星雲大師, leader of Fuguangshan Buddhist Organization. As invited to be a member of the auction team, I was in charge of publicity for the auction.

<sup>71</sup> 'Deterrent Force (威鎮)'.

<sup>72</sup> Yi Yungao (義雲高), a noted Buddhist cult in Taiwan.

<sup>73</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(2000c).

<sup>74</sup> 'Powerful Luohan' (大力王尊者).

<sup>75</sup> TTV News (台視新聞), 26 Nov. 2000.

<sup>76</sup> Lu Shengyan (盧勝彥), Head of the True Buddha Society.

<sup>77</sup> Qinghai (清海無上師).

<sup>78</sup> A painter from China who was my friend even became a monk of Fuguangshan Buddhist organization



Art critics have not commented on works by well-known religious masters, as this kind of collecting is regarded as an act of worship or veneration. Many Buddhist masters have become formidable collectors in the last decade. They eagerly purchase antiquities and works of art related to Buddhism to build up collections in their own galleries and museums.<sup>79</sup> This has made prices of works related to Buddhism soar in the art market in Taiwan, because collectors have also tried to emulate the taste of their religious masters. In addition to works of art, these collectors also gather a wide range of cultural objects relating to Tibetan, Nepalese or Thai Buddhist art such as ceremonial instruments, gilded Buddhist sculptures and so on.<sup>80</sup> They use Buddhist art either in worship to soothe their mind, or to decorate their houses. This may explain why Buddhist works of art are still actually sought, even though the local art market is trapped in the economic depression after the early 1990s. Commercial galleries too have responded to this demand for Buddhist art. The Jinghua Art Centre has held an annual Buddhist art fair since 1990. The fair sales last year totalled 1.8 million NT\$ (£38,556), but in 1991 it reached nearly 3 million NT\$ (£64,260).<sup>81</sup> Auctioneers, galleries and even hotels have all joined in the Buddhist art market.<sup>82</sup> Knowing of this situation in Taiwan, one auctioneer commissioned an artist from China to produce two snuff bottles, decorated respectively with portraits of two leading Buddhist masters, Xingyun and Zhengyan.<sup>83</sup> He then put them in the sale catalogue of an auction in Taipei in 1995. In this case, believers competed with each other and thus forced up the price at auction to bid for the snuff bottles showing their master.<sup>84</sup>

This interest in Buddhist works is a sign, of course, of veneration. There is a rather subtle psychological connection between collecting and religion: "Feeling for works of art has something in common with religious longing."<sup>85</sup> This is interwoven here with collectors' religious veneration producing an aura, which makes Taiwanese collectors enthusiastic purchasers.

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in order to make use of its power to promote his fame, when I served as a consultant of the Foguangshan Buddhist organization in 1996.

<sup>79</sup> Xindao (心道法師), a Buddhist master Xindao, purchased a Chinese painting at auction in London for his museum in Taiwan, the World Religion Museum. Weijue (惟覺法師), a Buddhist master, eagerly bought Buddhist cultural objects to enrich his museum in Puli. Interview with an art dealer, Mr. Zheng, who sold many Buddhist Cultural objects to Weijue, on 12, May 1997. Interview with a priest working for Weijue in Taipei on 18 July 1998.

<sup>80</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1997).

<sup>81</sup> Lai Yanfang (賴燕芳)(1991a).

<sup>82</sup> Cai Xine (蔡幸娥)(1991).

<sup>83</sup> Zhengyan (證嚴上人), President of the Ciji Buddhist Charity Society.

<sup>84</sup> Pers interview with Zhao Cuihui (趙翠慧), a Taiwanese collector and believer of Master Xingyun, on 10 May 1995.

<sup>85</sup> Rheims (1961: 28).

It is a phenomenon, which has a close connection with the growth of Buddhism in recent years in Taiwan.<sup>86</sup> Buddhism, which has existed for more than 2000 years in Chinese society indeed since the Eastern Han dynasty (AD 25-220), has now become the most popular religion in Taiwan. It has 6 million believers.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, some Buddhist organizations are now the biggest charitable institutions in the country. For example, the Ciji Cultural and Education Foundation has 2.5 million members in Taiwan.<sup>88</sup> Buddhist organizations are developed as enterprises and receive wealthy believers as volunteer trustees or as members who support them financially. This has enabled some Buddhist organizations to build up their art collections. The art itself need not have artistic merit provided it meets religious criteria. Unlike western collectors who tend to distinguish between religious and artistic value, Taiwanese collectors are accustomed to regarding them as a whole. Sometimes, the distinction between religion and artistic creation is obscure for collectors who generally cherish religious value more than artistic value.

### 3.2 Utility, practicality and superstition

From the late 1980s collecting Tibetan beads, which are made of stone similar to agate, has become a collecting obsession in Taiwan.<sup>89</sup> Those ancient beads, so called 'Tianzhu',<sup>90</sup> which have a diversity of geometric patterns on the surface, are used to decorate Buddhist sculptures in Tibet. The price is evaluated by patterns on Tianzhu, as collectors believe that some Tibetan beads, in particular those with rare patterns, can hold the mysterious power to protect and even bring fortune to their owners.<sup>91</sup> For example, certain circular patterns on beads look like eyes. Many people firmly believe that a bead with more 'eyes' means that more power is contained inside. Consequently, whereas each normally patterned bead can fetch several thousand to thirty thousand NT\$, some beads ornamented with more 'eye patterns' can sell for several million NT\$. In this case, collecting motive is unlikely to derive from artistic appreciation, but superstition and utility.

The role of superstition and a sense of utility influences collecting very deeply in

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<sup>86</sup> Li Xunying (李珣英)(1993). See also Chen Qizheng (陳啓政)(1998: 220-3).

<sup>87</sup> Lai Yanfang (賴燕芳)(1991b).

<sup>88</sup> Li Shiwei (李世偉)(1994).

<sup>89</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 163-6).

<sup>90</sup> Tianzhu (天珠).

<sup>91</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 164).

Taiwan. Sometimes, they are the main reasons for collecting. But even those works acquired at auctions held by Buddhist organizations can be regarded as utilitarian behaviour, as a religious donation traditionally symbolizes a rite for obtaining blessing. Chinese collectors traditionally believe that jades contain some mysterious power, in particular jades buried in tombs. They believe that works of jade can protect their owners from accident, disease or the devil's influence. Thus buried jades excavated from ancient tombs are usually more expensive in the art market than those handed down through generations.<sup>92</sup> While many collectors may collect works of jade for artistic reasons, superstition and utilitarianism do play a key role in attracting them to purchase these objects. Indeed they are accustomed to using jades as amulets and as a decoration to show off.

Furthermore, evidence shows that these kinds of ideology are so influential that not only collector's taste but also artists' ideology tend to comply with those influences.<sup>93</sup> For example, for the sake of Fengshui,<sup>94</sup> Chinese people traditionally believe that the way of arranging furniture in a house has a close relationship with wealth, health and fortune. While this is a relatively new fashion in the western world, it is treated more seriously in Chinese culture. Therefore inauspicious decoration is not allowed to be set up in a house. Collectors' taste thus tends to focus on works in accordance with Fengshui. For instance, dead creatures, withered plants, skeletons and so on are taboos because they are considered symbols of death. Consequently, people rarely see paintings presenting those kinds of images in commercial galleries. In contrast paintings of vivid flowers and young women became popular collectibles in the art market in Taiwan in the early 1990s.<sup>95</sup> Also, as flowing water is a symbol bringing good fortune in Fengshui, while still or low water, or dried-up trees, imply less hope of good fortune, most collectors tend to buy landscape paintings with magnificent scenery with flowing water and luxuriant trees.<sup>96</sup> Such desires also influence artistic production.

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<sup>92</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 147).

<sup>93</sup> Lai Yanfang (賴燕芳)(1991).

<sup>94</sup> Fengshui (風水).

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Li Dunlang, general Manager of the Asian Art Centre in Taipei, on 25 March 1992.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Chen He, General Manager of the Dunhuang Art Gallery in Taizhong, on 28 July 1994.

### 3.3 Collecting as investment and promotion

“Every collector, whether he thinks much about the subject or not, likes imagining that the works of art he has assembled, either bought cheaply or at great expense, are increasing in monetary value. After all, everyone cares about value.”<sup>97</sup> Collectors in Taiwan also care about value, and regard collecting as financial investment (Table 6.5).<sup>98</sup> According to a survey by *Art & Collection* in 1999, 59 % of collectors are concerned with investment value in their art collecting.<sup>99</sup> Many collectors buying works of art intend to either preserve their profits or increase their fortune as soon as possible. This conception partly originates from the Chinese tradition of treating art collections as heirlooms, and partly reflects Japanese and western influences.<sup>100</sup> Wealthy entrepreneurs use their art collections to acquire tax deductions. According to the fourth article of the sixteenth item in the inheritance tax law of the Republic of China in Taiwan, “If an inheritor registers his inheritance, in the record of the official authority, as cultural objects related to culture, history and art, those registered cultural objects can be excluded from inheritance tax.” Consequently, collecting valuable works of art is used by the wealthy as a logical way to avoid inheritance tax.<sup>101</sup>

**Table 6.5: Motivation of customers (collectors) of the 41 main art dealers in Taiwan in 1992**

| Motivation         | Numbers | Percentage (%) |
|--------------------|---------|----------------|
| Interest           | 38      | 93             |
| Investment         | 30      | 73             |
| Decoration         | 29      | 71             |
| Personal Relations | 5       | 12             |
| Status Symbol      | 3       | 7              |
| Tax Deduction      | 2       | 5              |
| Other              | 0       | 0              |

※ Valid cases: 41; Missing cases: 0

Sources: Survey of commercial galleries in Taiwan conducted by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1992.

See Huang Guangnan (1999:273).

<sup>97</sup> Marion (1992: 165).

<sup>98</sup> Lin Shuxin (林淑心)(2000: 160-1).

<sup>99</sup> Qin Yajun (秦雅君)(1999c: 147).

<sup>100</sup> Iwasaki Zenshiro (岩崎善四郎)(1990: 21-2). See also Moulin (1987: 20).

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Zheng Wenzhu (鄭文珠), a former journalist of the *Economic Daily News*, in Taipei on 25 April 2001. To avoid inheritance tax, before he died in the late 1980s, Hu Tongqing, Chairman of the Far East Airline then in Taiwan, transformed his fortune into numerous antiques and gave them to his son. Based on expert estimates, his collection was worth over 700 million NT\$ (£14,773,656).

Since 1980 many people have become richer by investing in the stock and real estate markets. Consequently this notion of investment has influenced collectors, in particular new generation collectors.<sup>102</sup> Some of them tend to treat works of art as goods rather than as treasures. They are careful to calculate and very sensitive to the number of certain works of art circulating in the art market, as fewer works means higher price.<sup>103</sup> Huang Yuling, General Manager of the Southern Gallery and Chief Editor of *Taiwanese Painting*, has said, "Some collectors are keen to quantitate works of art. They make use of economic data to collect works of art. They are geniuses!"<sup>104</sup> Some collectors even imitate the operation of the stock market by monopolizing the supply of art works. They may make agreements with certain contemporary artists to ensure that they can get hold of most of their top-class works. Alternatively, they have been known to gather works by past artists in quantity.<sup>105</sup> Then, they can promote the price either at auctions or at commercial galleries. In terms of their manipulation, some collectors behave like art dealers rather than collectors. As Lin Funan, owner of the Southern Gallery in Taipei, states, "Speculation is a characteristic of the Taiwanese. They swarm into any business where money concentrates."<sup>106</sup> This may explain why some collectors established their own commercial galleries. For example, Qiu Rongan, a successful stock investor and collector, set up the Taipei Shidai Gallery.<sup>107</sup> Xiao Fuyuan, a noted collector, established his commercial galleries in Taipei and Shanghai after 1995.<sup>108</sup> By doing so, they cashed in on the art market.

This phenomenon reflects the dominance of entrepreneurs amongst Taiwanese collectors; they are more likely to be investors or art dealers in nature rather than 'pure' collectors. In other words, they treat works of art as commodities rather than as artistic creations. Not surprisingly many Taiwanese collectors in the 1990s were inclined to focus on those works by well-known old artists rather than potential young artists, as prestige played an important role in value (Table 6.6). With limited numbers of works in circulation prices rose significantly in a very short time.<sup>109</sup> As suggested by Kootz, Director of the Kootz Gallery, the collectors can be separated into two divisions: the

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<sup>102</sup> Anon. (1994a: 14-5).

<sup>103</sup> Qin Yajun (秦雅君)(2000a: 153). When I worked for the Yonghan Art Centre (1990-1992), many customers were stock investors and regarded buying works of art as a financial investment.

<sup>104</sup> Huang Yuling (黃于玲)(1999: 8).

<sup>105</sup> According to my experience working as an art consulting service in Taiwan (1989-1998), many collectors concerned themselves with the financial value of works rather than their artistic value. For example Sun Wenxiong, General Manager of *Wealth Magazine* and owner of the Yonghan Art Centre, who was a successful investor in the stock market, monopolized some artists' works and made a fortune.

<sup>106</sup> Huang Yuling (1999: 264).

<sup>107</sup> Gu Yuehua (谷月華)(1990). See also Tai Nai (1991).

<sup>108</sup> Interview team of *Art & Collection* (2000).

<sup>109</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法)(1991a: 221).

'On guard collector' who buys already acknowledged art (whether by a dead artist or by one who has a set style and will not offend by changing), and the 'Avant-garde collector' whose interest is in the living creative artist whose imagination and unrest goad him to ever new achievements.<sup>110</sup> Many collectors in Taiwan are likely to belong to the former division.

**Table 6.6: Reasons for selecting particular works given by customers (collectors) of the 41 main art dealers in Taiwan in 1992**

| Reasons for Selection of works | Numbers | Percentage (%) |
|--------------------------------|---------|----------------|
| Personal Opinion               | 26      | 63             |
| Reputation and Sale            | 30      | 73             |
| Recommendation by Galleries    | 29      | 71             |
| Friend's Recommendation        | 14      | 34             |
| Other                          | 0       | 0              |

※ Valid cases: 41; Missing cases: 0

Sources: Survey of commercial galleries in Taiwan conducted by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1992.

See Huang Guangnan (1999: 274).

To promote local Taiwanese artists many collectors were keen to consider the idea of international marketing. As Rheims states, "An economist's point of view would be that a work of art is an international commodity producing profits if chosen well."<sup>111</sup> Therefore, logically, when the prices of local artists' works of art reached their peak in the local art market in the early 1990s, art dealers and collectors began avidly trying to make those art works receive recognition in the international art market. However, beyond market manipulation, artistic achievement is likely to be the key to international recognition. Consequently many of their operations, therefore, lead to failure.<sup>112</sup> Critics argued that Taiwanese collectors prefer to pursue works of famous artists rather than to choose their favourites.<sup>113</sup> In fact, many collectors just follow other collectors' or art dealers' recommendation to catch up with the collecting fever.<sup>114</sup> Their taste reflects nothing in their artistic taste but a collecting mania in a consumer society.<sup>115</sup>

Utility also made collectors use art collecting as a way of promoting their status in society. As a result of the art market boom in Taiwan since 1980, events relating to art are likely to be among the most attractive to the public. Many entrepreneurs like to patronize art activities in the name of their company or foundation. Even celebrities

<sup>110</sup> Kootz (1958: 21).

<sup>111</sup> Rheims (1961: 173).

<sup>112</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法)(1991b: 291).

<sup>113</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 16-8).

<sup>114</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法)(1991b: 291).

such as singers, sports stars, movie stars and so on are eager to show themselves as art collectors. For example Lan Xinmei, a noted Taiwanese singer, is a collector of Chinese furniture and Buddhist sculptures. In 1999, she offered her collections to the exhibition in the National Museum of History in Taipei.<sup>116</sup>

In terms of utility art collecting is not only a financial investment, but also an ideal way of making advertisements. Evidence shows that Taiwanese collectors learned this idea from Japanese and western entrepreneurs.<sup>117</sup> For example, the statistics of 1992 by the Japanese Enterprise Supporting Art Association<sup>118</sup> show the reasons why Japanese enterprises like to support art activities. The major reasons are: 'awareness', 'image improvement' and 'establishment of corporate culture'.<sup>119</sup> Thus, a Japanese industrialist gained instant worldwide fame, when he bought Van Gogh's 'Sunflowers' for 39.9 million US\$ (£27,630,750) in an international art auction in April 1987.<sup>120</sup> Many western industrialists and entrepreneurs are well known not because of their fabulous fortune but because of their art collections.<sup>121</sup> This had undoubtedly given a strong impulse to Taiwanese entrepreneurs and has encouraged collecting which is economic and practical. Consequently, supporting art activities became part of a strategy to improve the image of enterprise and to promote sales.<sup>122</sup> As Lin writes, "In comparison with Coca Cola and a foreign cigarette enterprise spending respectively 80-90 million NT\$ and 100 million NT\$ each year on advertisings in Taiwan, it is worthy for My Humble House Antique Ltd. to spend circa 50 million NT\$ on a Yuan dynasty painting at Christie's auction in New York to obtain international fame."<sup>123</sup> In 1989 the China Trust in Taiwan spent 6.6 million US\$ (£4,570,500) to purchase an oil painting by Monet in the international art market.<sup>124</sup> It not only held a press conference, but also used many ways of advertising itself through exhibitions, printing postcards and so on.<sup>125</sup>

Collectors are eager to display and publish their collections. Viewed in the context of modern Taiwanese society, with its link between collecting and commerce, and set

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<sup>115</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 34).

<sup>116</sup> Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1999: 96).

<sup>117</sup> Iwasaki Zenshiro (岩崎善四郎)(1990: 21-2). See also Lia Jialing (1995: 51-2). See also Noble (1988: 71).

<sup>118</sup> The Japanese Enterprise Supporting Art Association (日本企業贊助藝術協議會).

<sup>119</sup> Zhang Yuanqian (張元茜)(1998: 132).

<sup>120</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 1).

<sup>121</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 254).

<sup>122</sup> Zhang Yuanqiann (張元茜)(1998: 129).

<sup>123</sup> Lin Zhenmei (林貞美)(1989).

<sup>124</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 4).

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*

against massive and rapid cultural change, we should not see art become a mechanism for quick success and instant benefit as investment and advertisement.

Similarly, politicians in Taiwan can use art collecting as an indirect way to promote their visibility in political circles.<sup>126</sup> They could be seen as supporters of the President of Taiwan, Li Denghui, as they echoed his cultural policy. The President has repeatedly appealed for cultural development since the late 1980s, and many politicians were willing to follow him. Zhang Longsheng, Environment Minister of Taiwan, for example, showed himself very often to the public as a collector. He was interviewed by the media and even exhibited his collections in the National Museum of History in Taipei.<sup>127</sup> The fact that he was an art collector gave him a higher profile than many other officials.

Art collectors have become media celebrities, regardless of their tastes. This has undoubtedly encouraged many private collectors or entrepreneurs to become art patrons. This may not contribute much to improving the level of art appreciation in society, but it may be a way to inspire more people to become art collectors.

Art collecting was symbolic of high social culture in both eastern and western social classifications. One view of the modern Taiwanese collector's psychology is that collecting works of art is somehow a means of turning a class-conscious illusion into a reality.<sup>128</sup> An art collector becomes a complex symbol of high quality, education, philanthropy and culture. "To be a collector is to advance in the social scale at a great pace. Connoisseurship can be a closer and more intimate link than class."<sup>129</sup> This pursuit of status through collecting has a long tradition in Chinese culture. According to Guo, "Those businessmen in Huizhou whose economic power started to grow significantly in society in the late Ming dynasty (AD1368-1644) sought to improve their social class. They not only educated their descendants to pass the civil service examination system, but also started to considerably collect antiquities and works of art, as collectors signalled a social and cultural statue in society at that time."<sup>130</sup>

As regards promoting social status, the Taiwanese situation is very similar to that in Hong Kong. Politicians and entrepreneurs in Hong Kong have become the nucleus of the society since the 1970s. They used art collecting as a reflection of their own philosophy. For example, as Chinese Blue-and-White ware is highly praised in dozens

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<sup>126</sup> Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999b: 136-141). See also Tseng Suliang (1996a: 152).

<sup>127</sup> Lo Xinghui (羅幸惠) (1993).

<sup>128</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中)(2000a).

<sup>129</sup> Rheims (1961: 27).

<sup>130</sup> Guo Jisheng (郭繼生)(1994: 257-60).



of books, collection of such objects enabled a collector to show his cultural status to his friends. In other words, Blue-and-White is actually used as a lubricant of social relationships.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, as art collecting signals an individual's fortune and higher cultural level in society, to be an art collector is to build up an intimate link to those of established high status and to link different groups of people together. As Dimaggio states, "Thus, the adoption of artistic interests, tastes, standards, and activities associated with a social class helps establish an individual's membership in that class."<sup>132</sup> Therefore, a number of associations related to art collecting or antiquities research have been set up in Taiwan since the late 1980s. One can see that the function of art collecting is in some ways similar to playing golf or banquets, as higher-class people can make use of it as a means to make friends with others of the elite in order to expand their social relationships and upgrade their status in society. For example, Zhang Rede,<sup>133</sup> a city Councillor of Kaohsiung, displayed his collections of Chinese seals in the National Kaohsiung History Museum in April 2000. It was a very successful social activity, as a number of political figures and entrepreneurs came to visit his exhibition. As Xie Changting, Mayor of Kaohsiung, stated at the opening, "If a politician does not have an interest in culture, he will be a person of no taste."<sup>134</sup>

### 3.4 Collecting as self satisfaction

It is a fact that people buy more 'superior goods' as they get richer.<sup>135</sup> "Art comes into its own in periods of peace and material prosperity, when people have time and opportunity to look for some higher satisfaction than that afforded by their everyday affairs."<sup>136</sup> It is the economic prosperity in Taiwan that allowed people to afford to buy luxurious goods as a leisure activity. As a result of the art market prosperity, the media started to highlight art news, in particular art collecting and the art market. This has attracted the interest of many people who are rich but knew nothing about art collecting. Those collectors, called 'blind swordsmen' by art dealers, were welcomed by these dealers, as they were so energetic in buying works but know nothing about art.<sup>137</sup> It appears that they regarded buying works of art at galleries as psychological

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<sup>131</sup> Moss (1993: 6).

<sup>132</sup> Dimaggio and Useem (1978: 143).

<sup>133</sup> Zhang Rede (張瑞德).

<sup>134</sup> Chen Bilin (陳璧琳)(2000).

<sup>135</sup> Grampp (1989: 62).

<sup>136</sup> Keen (1971: 19).

<sup>137</sup> Personal Comm. with Chen He, General Manager of the Dunhuang Gallery in Taizhong, on 18 July 1991.

compensation. By doing so they felt satisfied.

While this might encourage young artists, experience shows that these people find it easier to focus on market-oriented artists, well known in the art market. Most preferred to follow fashions and were more likely to buy fakes, as they are usually accustomed to purchasing works of art in terms of artists' prestige but were not capable of authenticating works of art. Clearly, it does not promote the level of art appreciation in society; tastes, which tend to the vulgar and commercial works, are intentionally produced in considerable quantity to meet customer's demand. Most are cheaper and easily acceptable. In terms of profit, art dealers prefer to deal in them. For example, compared to Taiwanese works of art, commercial works of art from China are not only cheaper but have also been easy to sell in the art market in the 1990s.<sup>138</sup> As many Taiwanese collectors, in particular those who were beginners, were interested in collecting them, some commercial galleries, which were keen to introduce quality works, felt more and more under pressure after 1990.<sup>139</sup> As Zhang Jinxing, General Manager of the Apollo Gallery in Taipei, states, "I am not a person who is intentionally opposed to artists from China, however, I strongly oppose these low-grade and market-oriented artworks which have enjoyed popularity in the art market."<sup>140</sup>

### 3.5 Political ideology

There is no area of culture so beset with misunderstanding and misdirected feeling than the place where art and politics meet. However, it seems that some works of art, as they are created in society, inevitably carry some degree of political meaning, which presents facts reflecting social relationship and political ideology. "It is a mistake to see the dispassion of the painting as a neutralization or emptying-out of political meaning."<sup>141</sup> For historical reasons, Taiwanese society is very sensitive to politics. Throughout much of its history, Taiwan was ruled by ancient China and was occupied successively by the Dutch and Spanish, and later by the Japanese.

According to the memory of Ye Shitao, an older generation Taiwanese author, the policy of Japanization during the Japanese occupation acculturated two thirds of Taiwanese to

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<sup>138</sup> Lai Yanfang (賴燕芳)(1991b).

<sup>139</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Xu Xiangxin (許湘欣)(1999: 66).

<sup>141</sup> Crow (1994: 24).

be Japanese.<sup>142</sup> After 1949, Jiang Jieshi, thus, eagerly launched the policy of cultural reconstruction to re-educate Taiwanese to be Chinese.<sup>143</sup> However, the KMT government has intentionally depressed the local culture. It was a turning point in 1987 that Li Denghui succeeded Jiang Jingguo as the President of Taiwan and declared the end of martial law in 1987. However, the pressure for unification from China is also becoming much stronger. An appeal for independence is getting more intense in Taiwan. A series of debates about how to establish the indigenous style of Taiwanese culture has grown in society.<sup>144</sup> Some extreme people even regard traditional Chinese culture as imported culture.<sup>145</sup> "The ideology of Nativism in the development of fine arts in Taiwan, in fact, is not only a process of value reconstruction, but also a series of social campaigns to strive for an ethnic and nationality identification."<sup>146</sup> It has presented an interesting phenomenon that many Benshengren collectors consciously tend to collect Taiwanese cultural objects and works by artists of the Benshengren.<sup>147</sup> As Bu states, "What antiquities signify are not only a statue of identification, but also a reflection of narcissism. They are in accordance with the need of the nation, as most people eagerly expect a diversity of symbols to make up for their damaged racial dignity."<sup>148</sup>

### 3.6 A culture of exploitation and personal enrichment

As a result of rapid economic development, extreme disparity between the rich and the poor has aroused antipathy toward capitalism in Taiwanese society since the late 1980s.<sup>149</sup> To balance social life in Taiwan, the government has been keen to maintain support for a diversity of cultural activities. Entrepreneurs have sought to sooth the antipathy from society by patronizing cultural activities.<sup>150</sup> With the support from entrepreneurs, centres for cultural activities, in particular museums and galleries, continued to emerge in Taiwan from 1980.

Because of the government's encouragement, from the mid-1980s an increasing number of collectors in Taiwan have begun to regard the preservation of cultural objects as a

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<sup>142</sup> Huang Yingzhe (黄英哲) (1996: 145).

<sup>143</sup> Huang Yingzhe (黄英哲) (1996: 146).

<sup>144</sup> Xiao Qongre (蕭瓊瑞) (1996: 275).

<sup>145</sup> Li Yali (李亞俐) (1997: 340).

<sup>146</sup> Huang Chaoming (黄朝明) (1994: 55).

<sup>147</sup> Huang Yuling (1999: 145-6).

<sup>148</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中) (2000a).

<sup>149</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 33).

<sup>150</sup> *ibid.*

responsibility to society, and to look beyond collecting as simply an investment. Although collectors are still accustomed to bequeathing their collections to descendants, certain collectors' attitudes have changed, and they are increasingly willing to either donate collections to public museums or establish their own museums to display their collections to the public.

Cultural awareness plays a key role in inspiring collectors to do this. As Xu Hongyuan,<sup>151</sup> stated, "As a matter of fact, these paintings do not belong to me. They are the property of Taiwanese people. This museum stands for my efforts and endless hope."<sup>152</sup> The newly rising computer billionaire, Lin Baili,<sup>153</sup> Chairman of the Guangda Computer Ltd., who has established the Guangda Educational Foundation to support art activities, is planning to build his private museum in which his collections of paintings by Zhang Daqian will be well preserved and displayed to the public.<sup>154</sup> He said at a press conference, "Technology is ever changeable, but only culture endures. People in the future will no longer remember the Guangda Computer Ltd. However, I hope that they will remember me for having donated an art museum to Taiwan."<sup>155</sup>

Even artists or their descendants have preferred to donate their works of art to museums since 1990. For instance, Liu Qiwei donated 19 paintings in 1991 and 81 paintings in 2000 to the National Museum of Art.<sup>156</sup> The family of Jin Qinbo<sup>157</sup> donated Jin's 1,000 paintings and 100 seals to the National Museum of History in Taipei in June 2000.<sup>158</sup> Apart from the government's encouragement, it is evident that this tendency reflects the rapid expansion of art museums in Taiwan. Museum exhibitions have changed people's attitude toward collections. Culture sharing and cultural conservation have become focuses in society in recent years. Both collectors and artists increasingly believe that their works of art or cultural objects can be better housed in art museums than in their private cabinets. In addition, artists also know very clearly that it would be an honour for their works of art to be owned as collections by museums.

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<sup>151</sup> Xu Hongyuan (許鴻源), the Founder of Shuntian Art Museum (順天美術館), who died in 1991.

<sup>152</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍) (1999).

<sup>153</sup> Lin Baili (林百里).

<sup>154</sup> Lai Suling (2000d).

<sup>155</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Xio Shufen (修淑芬) (2000).

<sup>157</sup> Jin Qinbo (金勤伯), a well-known precursory Taiwanese painter.

<sup>158</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍) (2000a).

## 4. Collector's taste in Taiwan

### 4.1 Evolving tastes

To understand the evolution of artistic taste in collecting in Taiwan, it is necessary to examine collectors against the background of social development including aspects of economy, culture and politics. Taste went through various changes in the half century since 1949.

After the Chinese Communists occupied China in 1949, the traditional taste survived most completely in two Chinese communities: in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Collectors' tastes still reflect the preferences and education of late Imperial China.<sup>159</sup> Before 1970 many Taiwanese collectors were high-class officials and the wealthy, most of whom were Waishengren. Their taste was influenced by Chinese culture, as they were born and educated there.<sup>160</sup> They followed traditional Chinese ways of collecting, in which collectors were accustomed to focusing more on Chinese ink painting and calligraphy. Of the antiquities, they usually concentrated on those major subjects such as jade, porcelain and bronze. Cultural policy in Taiwan was subject to monism in Chinese culture until 1980, where traditional taste remained prevalent.<sup>161</sup>

Traditionally, Chinese collectors are accustomed to valuing intellectual's works, what is known 'Scholar Painting',<sup>162</sup> which emphasized the detail of Chinese brush expression, ink presentation and vivid expression of personal temperament, so called 'Chiyun',<sup>163</sup> and has been the mainstream of Chinese painting for over one thousand years. Except for imperial artefacts, collectors favoured 'Scholar Painting' and belittled works by artisans. In the early period between the 1950s to the 1970s Taiwanese collectors mainly preferred paintings and calligraphy by scholars, especially ancient works from the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644) and Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911), as much earlier works were very difficult to purchase at that time due to the separation between Taiwan and

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<sup>159</sup> Sheaf (1995: 35).

<sup>160</sup> Seamark (1997: 205).

<sup>161</sup> Xong Yijing (熊宜敬)(1999a: 97).

<sup>162</sup> 'Scholar Painting' (文人畫).

<sup>163</sup> Chiyun (氣韻).

China.<sup>164</sup> Of the antiquities, collectors concentrated on traditional subjects such as jade, porcelain and bronze.<sup>165</sup>

Having followed Japanese collectors' interest, the practice of collecting aboriginal cultural objects in Taiwan continued after 1945.<sup>166</sup> Some public museums and organizations took the responsibility for collecting aboriginal objects.<sup>167</sup> Nativism has aroused an impetus to search for Taiwanese historical origin; historians in Taiwan have continued to publish research since 1970. This attracted some local collectors to start to collect indigenous objects.

Collecting modern works of art in Taiwan was not popular before 1980. Some Taiwanese artists started to present their new style of painting from the late 1960s. The period from the late 1960s to the 1970s, in which artists liked to ally with one another and declared their new ideas about art, is termed the 'Artist's Societies Period'.<sup>168</sup> These new stylistic works received a great deal of influence from Japanese and western modern art. Artists made use of western or Japanese materials and skills to create their works.<sup>169</sup> The artists at that time can be divided into two groups: artists who mainly assimilated influences from western modern art, and artists who mainly absorbed Japanese influences to create Japanese paintings or Japanese-like impressionistic paintings.<sup>170</sup> Viewed sociologically, their artistic revolution to subvert the cultural taboos in art not only signified an opposition to traditional aesthetic taste, but also mirrored the modernizing process of Taiwan from a traditional agricultural phase to an industrial phase. This also significantly expanded the scope of artistic taste for collectors in art collecting. Wealthy compatriots living abroad and staff of American military consulting units quartering in Taiwan became the main patrons of modern Taiwanese artists in the 1970s.<sup>171</sup>

Nativism plays a significant role in the shift in artistic taste in Taiwan. A few Taiwanese collectors had a strong native ideology. They made efforts to collect works of art by

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<sup>164</sup> Interview with Wu Fengzhang (吳峰彰), General Manager of the Hongzhan Art Centre in Taipei, on 15 June 1991.

<sup>165</sup> Xong Yijing (熊宜敬) (1999a: 97).

<sup>166</sup> Japanese collectors and curators have collected a huge number of aboriginal cultural objects from Taiwan since 1895. See Huang Zhihui (黃智慧) (1994). See Anon. (1999c). See also Xu Gongming (許功明) (1998: 35).

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Lin Weicheng (林威城), Curator of the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines, on 19 Jan 2000.

<sup>168</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 105).

<sup>169</sup> Most of the works produced by artists at that time were oil paintings and watercolours.

<sup>170</sup> Li Yali (李亞俐) (1997: 340). See also Tseng Suliang (1996c: 107-123).

<sup>171</sup> Seamark (1997: 205).

Benshengren artists. Based on friendship with artists, these collectors supported artists as patrons buying works by Benshengren artists, which were relatively ignored in the art world at that time. For example, Lu Yunlin (1922-1994), called 'the guardian of Taiwanese painting' by people in art, started his collecting career from the 1950s. He had possessed nearly 1,000 works by Taiwanese artists. Based on the preservation of Taiwanese art, he played an important role in encouraging Taiwanese artists and continued to collect their works for almost 50 years.<sup>172</sup>

Collecting Taiwanese cultural objects also became popular, when the debate on Nativism became increasingly intense. Many collectors were inspired to collect native cultural objects from 1970. In response to the trend of Nativism, paintings by naïve Benshengren painters such as Hong Tong, Wuli Yuge and Lin Yuan, who were aged amateurs and nonentities in society, became increasingly popular in the Taiwanese art market from the mid-1970s.<sup>173</sup>

Nativism became a more important issue in political and cultural arenas in Taiwanese society in the 1980s. Not only did people like to care about local affairs in ordinary life, but also the Taiwanese government made efforts to put into effect the policy for the preservation of local cultural objects. As a consequence, a retrospective atmosphere has haunted Taiwan since 1980.<sup>174</sup> Viewed psychologically, collecting of native cultural objects signals a self-awareness of native culture, which reflects local people's wish to look for their cultural identity. Nativism made native works of art and objects signify a retrospectively historic value far more than their aesthetic achievement to many Taiwanese collectors.

With a prosperous economy in Taiwan, modern artists' works have attracted increasing number of collectors from 1980. As a result of the high demand, the price of works by local artists, especially Benshengren artists, increased significantly in the Taiwanese art market. As commercial galleries arose in Taiwan from 1980, so the period is termed the 'Commercial Gallery Period' by art historians.<sup>175</sup> Due to the operation of commercial galleries, Taiwanese modern art became a focus of art collecting.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Huang Yuling (1999:37-8, 43-4).

<sup>173</sup> Gao Qianhui (1994: 227).

<sup>174</sup> Gao Qianhui (1994: 227).

<sup>175</sup> Guo Chongshi (郭冲石)(1984: 64).

<sup>176</sup> For example, Li Zhongsheng (1911-1984) is now regarded as 'the founder of modern Taiwanese painting' by people in art. The price of his paintings increased after his death. One oil painting was sold for 4.23 million NT\$ (£90,490) at Sotheby's in Taipei in 1996. The seller said that he bought this painting just for 50,000 NT\$ (£1,070) in 1979 and almost no collectors purchased his paintings while Li Zhongsheng was alive. See Huang Yuling (黄于玲)(1999: 123-6).

This evolution of collecting taste in Taiwan has a close relationship with cultural perception, economic development and political liberty. Economic development, which increases the per capita national income, enables more people to afford to collect works of art. The continually increasing consumption supported the growth of the art market in the late 1970s and prospered the art market in the 1980s.

Awareness of the native culture, widely spreading in the 1970s, has made people think about cultural identification in a multi-dimensional way. It expanded the desire to collect cultural objects beyond tradition. In this process, undeniably, political change, which has resulted in a more liberal society, plays an essential part in the evolution of taste.<sup>177</sup> The freedom of travel and media, which has brought more information into Taiwan, also extends the diversity of interest in art collecting. In these circumstances, avid Taiwanese collectors continue to bring back all kinds of cultural objects from overseas countries, in particular from China.<sup>178</sup> According to the estimate by Tai Nai, Chief Editor of *Chinese Art News*, works and antiquities, which have been purchased by Taiwanese collectors from 1990 to 1995, are worth at least 5,000 million NT\$ (£107,248,244).<sup>179</sup>

Taiwanese collectors became one of the most important powers of collecting works and antiquities in the Chinese art market.<sup>180</sup> More new generation collectors in Taiwan appeared after the late 1980s and continued to thrive after 1990.<sup>181</sup> They have subconsciously found it difficult to deny their Chinese origin and are no longer confined by Nativism.<sup>182</sup> The traditional collecting taste has been significantly expanded, as collectors had more choices among antiquities from China. They took advantage of the unprecedented opportunities to purchase these items such as teapots, seal stones and so on, which were ignored by earlier Taiwanese collectors. In addition to modern works by Taiwanese artists, collectors in Taiwan also developed their interest in works by contemporary artists from China including ink paintings, calligraphy, and sculptures. Considerable quantities of these modern works by artists of China started to pour into the Taiwanese art market. Modern oil paintings followed after 1990. Furthermore, the fever of art auctions in the 1990s attracted more collectors' attention not only to works

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<sup>177</sup> With increased liberty in the reign of Jiang Jingguo from the late 1970s, artists obtained more freedom in artistic creation. The succeeding government of Li Denghui eventually lifted martial law in 1987, and all kinds of the media, including TV and radio stations and newspapers were allowed to be set up without any political obstruction. The foreign exchange restriction was also lifted and people could also visit foreign countries without any particular limit.

<sup>178</sup> Li Pinghui (李屏慧)(1995).

<sup>179</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 43).

<sup>180</sup> Anon. (1989c).

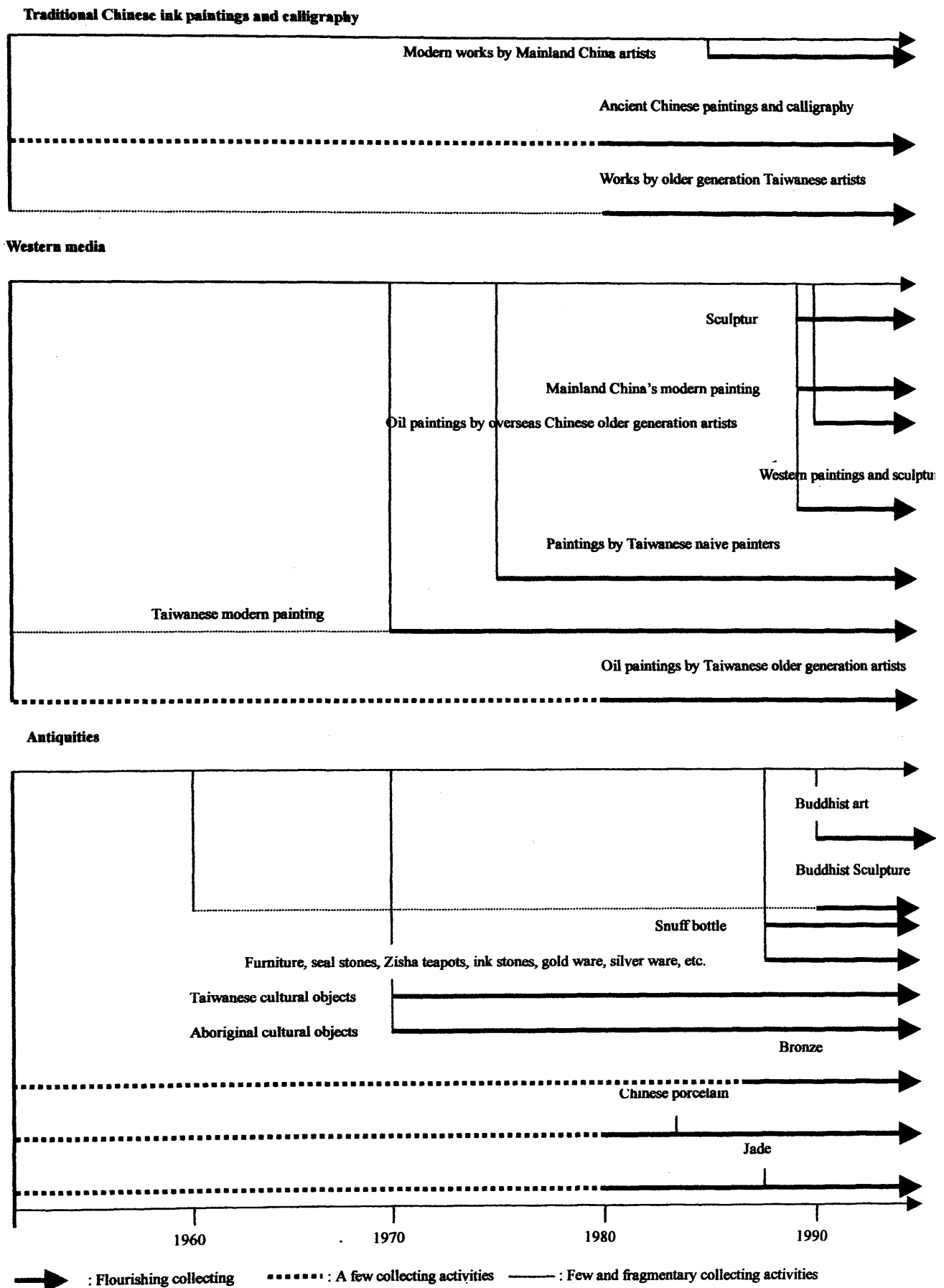
<sup>181</sup> Tai Nai (1999c: 32).

<sup>182</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 50-2).



by overseas artists, but also to western works (Figure 6.4).

**Figure 6. 4: The evolution of collecting interests in Taiwan since 1949**



However, the prices of works by older generation artists in Taiwan seemed to have held from the early 1990s in the art market.<sup>183</sup> Most of their representative works have been locked in collectors' cabinets and art museums. Other inferior works by them could no longer satisfy newly arisen collectors' appetites. Besides it has not proven easy to find collectors beyond the Taiwanese art market who are interested in paintings by older generation Taiwanese artists.<sup>184</sup> Collectors in other Chinese countries such as China, Hong Kong, and Singapore tend not to consider Taiwanese works as important as they are in Taiwan. This made collectors lose their interest in works by local artists. Keen has stated, "One of the few factors in which geography remains a relatively important consideration is taste. The main market for English pictures is in England, for French furniture in France, for American painting in America, and so on...taste is often dictated by a local fashion for a particular type of painting or antique."<sup>185</sup> It is the local taste that made these Taiwanese masters' works worth remarkable prices in the local art market. Some critics have argued that this local taste is an artistic prejudice, which has little to do with artistic value and more to do with narrow-minded ideology.<sup>186</sup> So something new is needed to lead the Taiwanese art market to a new goal.

With the help of scholars in the academic world, a number of forgotten artists in the early twentieth century have been re-appraised and re-identified from the early 1990s. These past artists became the new fetish for collectors, because these artists' works signal much earlier styles in which Chinese artists started to merge western painting skills into Chinese artistic creation.<sup>187</sup> Besides, psychologically seen, these artists' histories and backgrounds can satisfy collectors' desire to spot a new virgin land. Consequently, these Chinese artists such as Lin Fengmian, Yan Wenliang and so on have been continually introduced into Taiwan. Prices of their works increased dramatically in the Taiwanese art market. For example, an oil painting dated 1930 by Chang Yu was sold for 13.23 million NT\$ (£283, 021) at Sotheby's auction in Taipei in 1995.<sup>188</sup> This phenomenon signalled that collectors in Taiwan started to get rid of the native ideology and developed their artistic taste in terms of a broader view of the whole Chinese art market.

From the late 1980s the taste for western works started to attract more collectors'

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<sup>183</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 64). See also Cui Yongxue (崔詠雪)(1998: 70).

<sup>184</sup> Zheng Naiming (1991a). See also Tseng Suliang (1996a: 50).

<sup>185</sup> Keen (1971: 33). See also Seligman (1961: 240).

<sup>186</sup> Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇)(1993: 16).

<sup>187</sup> Li Yali (李亞俐)(1997: 341).

<sup>188</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

attention.<sup>189</sup> As certain prices of oil paintings by older generation masters in Taiwan have apparently reached international master's level since the early 1990s, some collectors prefer to shift their taste to western works. As Tai Nai indicated, "An oil painting by French artist, Georges Rouault (1871-1958) is only worth 3-4 million NT\$, whereas an oil painting by Taiwanese older generation masters can fetch up to 10 million NT\$ in the Taiwanese art market. Of course, no wonder some sober collectors now decide to sell Taiwanese paintings and buy western masters' works of art."<sup>190</sup> Although works by local artists were still popular in the Taiwanese art market, some Taiwanese collectors purchased works by modern western artists such as Bembard Buffet (1928-1999), Gustav Klimt (1862-1918), Rodin (1840-1917) and so on.<sup>191</sup> Xu Wenlong, for example, has continued purchasing western antiquities and works of the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries including painting, sculptures, furniture, etc. to enrich his Qimei Museum since 1990.<sup>192</sup> In 1994 the Lin & Keng Gallery held an exhibition related to 19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> century western paintings, which were worth 200 million NT\$ (£2,139,240). All exhibits were borrowed from Taiwanese collectors.<sup>193</sup> Christie's has catered for collectors in Taiwan from 1993 with western paintings. Despite the unsuccessful auction in 1993, the growing market encouraged Christie's to carry on the business.<sup>194</sup> Local auction houses also started to put some western works in their auctions.<sup>195</sup> In 1999 all 9 paintings by western masters such as Chagal, Monet and so on were sold for high prices and an oil painting by Monet was sold for 20 million NT\$ (£427,848) at Christie's auction in Taipei.<sup>196</sup>

## 4.2 Overseas influences

New generation Taiwanese collectors are willing to accept western ideas and put traditional taboos aside. Many collectors in Taiwan, for example, focus on religious art, in particular stone Buddhist sculptures, gilt Buddhist sculptures and Buddhist paintings. Tanka, Tibetan Buddhist paintings, which have been collected and studied by western collectors and scholars since the 1960s became more and more popular in the Taiwanese

<sup>189</sup> Lu Yunlin was the first Taiwanese collector, who started collecting western paintings in the 1950s. See Huang Yuling(黃于玲)(1999: 44).

<sup>190</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 45).

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.* See also Tseng Suliang (1996a: 4).

<sup>192</sup> Anon. (1998: 4).

<sup>193</sup> Tai Nai (1996: 45).

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Zhang Dingyuan (張丁元), specialist of Christie's Taiwan Branch, on 22 Dec. 2000.

<sup>195</sup> Interview with Chen Bizhen (陳碧真), President of the Jingxunlou auction house, on 28 Dec. 2000.

<sup>196</sup> CTS News, 28 Nov. 1999. See also Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999d).

art market in the 1990s.<sup>197</sup>

Due to historical background and location, Taiwanese collectors are influenced by overseas cultures. Traditionally Chinese collectors cherished 'Scholar Painting'. As a result, earlier Taiwanese collectors were in favour of ink painting and calligraphy. The price of Chinese painting and calligraphy used to be higher in the art market than that of antiquities such as porcelain, furniture and so on.<sup>198</sup> However, as twentieth century western collectors put their interest more in Chinese antiquities, the price of Chinese antiquities, in particular porcelain, have increased considerably in the international art market and become much higher than Chinese paintings and calligraphy after World War II. For example, more than 100 years ago British collectors started collecting oriental ceramics and portrayed them as a legitimate subject for academic study.<sup>199</sup> As a consequence some western collectors' tastes in Chinese porcelain expanded the taste range of Taiwanese collectors. For example, the Yuan dynasty (AD1279-1368) Blue-and-White can now fetch up to £100,000 or even more. However, it was not valued by Taiwanese collectors until the 1980s, because, traditionally, Chinese scholars usually liked to focus their research on Chinese culture dominated by the Han people and ignored other cultures established by other peoples such as Mongolian, Tibetan and so on that surrounded central China. Although many western collectors including museums started to collect it early, this attitude still made Chinese collectors uninterested in the Yuan dynasty Blue-and-White made by Mongolians.

From the 1970s Japanese collectors followed the western steps to boost the price of Chinese porcelain. According to statistics by Robin Duthy, the price of Chinese porcelain in the international art market reached over four times in 1986 than that in 1975 (Table 6.7).<sup>200</sup>

**Table 6.7: Price appreciation of painting and antiquities in the international art market**

| Sector                                     | 1975  | 1986  |
|--|-------|-------|
| American Impressionists                    | 1,000 | 7,210 |
| 18 <sup>th</sup> -century English portrait | 1,000 | 6,208 |
| English watercolour                        | 1,000 | 5,455 |
| American painting (1910-1940)              | 1,000 | 5,149 |

<sup>197</sup> Xu Panping (徐盼蘋)(1998: 282).

<sup>198</sup> Xong Yijing (熊宜敬)(1999a: 96).

<sup>199</sup> Harrison-Hall (1997: 220-1).

<sup>200</sup> Watson (1992: 426).

|  |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|
| French Impressionists                                | 1,000 | 4,699 |
| Chinese porcelain                                    | 1,000 | 4,359 |
| 17 <sup>th</sup> -century Dutch and Flemish painting | 1,000 | 3,735 |
| German Expressionists                                | 1,000 | 3,697 |
| Victorian Painting (British)                         | 1,000 | 3,647 |
| New York School                                      | 1,000 | 3,646 |
| School of Paris                                      | 1,000 | 3,609 |
| FT 30 share index                                    | 1,000 | 3,595 |
| Surrealists  | 1,000 | 3,438 |
| Dow Jones Industrial Average                         | 1,000 | 1,994 |

1975=1000

Source: Watson (1992: 426).

Until 2000, in comparison with the top 10 prices of Chinese porcelain (See Appendix 7), the most expensive Chinese painting, 'Ping Ye Qiu Ming'<sup>201</sup>, can only be ranked as 11th in the price record of Chinese porcelain (Table 6.8).<sup>202</sup> As a result of increased prices in the international art markets, many collectors in Taiwan, who are interested in traditional collecting, choose Chinese porcelain as their favourite.

The western tastes for antiquities, such as furniture, embroidery and so on, were also introduced into Taiwan after 1980. As a matter of fact, collecting taste before the 1980s accepted more academic influences from the west rather than from local academic research due to the much earlier collecting and Chinese art history research in the west. For example, collecting Chinese snuff bottles was not popular in Taiwan before the 1980s. Western collectors established the international Chinese snuff bottle society in the U.S.A. in 1968.<sup>203</sup> It is believed to be the first society to honour snuff bottle collectors and to publish scholarly articles about snuff bottles. As for Tibetan cultural objects, Taiwanese collectors started their collecting after 1990. A number of books written by western scholars provide Taiwanese collectors with precious information.<sup>204</sup> For example, Sotheby's started to auction Tibetan cultural objects in London in the 1960s. The New York art market followed in the 1980s.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>201</sup> 'Ping Ye Qiu Ming' (苹野秋鳴).

<sup>202</sup> Xong Yijing (熊宜敬)(1999a: 96).

<sup>203</sup> The International Chinese Snuff Bottle Society was established in 1968 in Baltimore, U.S.A.

<sup>204</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1997).

<sup>205</sup> *ibid.*

Table 6.8: The top 10 price of Chinese painting in the global art markets (until 2000)

| Ranking | Title   | Hammer price                   | Auction                    | Date          |
|---------|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1       | Qing dynasty painting, 'Ping Ye Qiu Ming' (平野秋鳴) by Lang Shining (郎世寧)                  | 2.27 million US\$ (£1,571,975) | Christie's in Hong Kong    | 2000          |
| 2       | 'Powerful Luohan' by Yi Yungao (大力王尊者)  | 72 million NT\$ (£1,565,217)   | Zhencang auction in Taipei | 26 Nov. 2000  |
| 3       | Song dynasty landscape painting, 'Shi Yong Tu' (十詠圖) by Zhang Xian (張先)                 | 18 million RMB (£1,554,739)    | Hanhai auction in Beijing  | 1995          |
| 4       | 'Deterrent Force' (威震) by Yi Yungao   | 64950000 NT\$ (£1,411,957)     | Zhencang auction in Taipei | May 2000      |
| 5       | A landscape painting, 'Yuan Ren Qiu Lie Tu' (元人秋獵圖) by anonymous artist of Yuan dynasty | 1.87 million US\$ (£1,335,431) | Christie's in New York     | 1989          |
| 6       | Ming dynasty landscape painting by Dong Qichang (董其昌)                                   | 1.65 million US\$ (£1,142,625) | Christie's in New York     | 1989          |
| 7       | 'Qiu Shan Xing Lu Tu' (秋山行旅圖) attributed to Guo Xi (郭熙) in Northern Song dynasty        | 1.43 million US\$ (£990,275)   | Christie's in New York     | 22 March 2000 |
| 8       | 'Yan Huo Qi Zi' (岩壑奇姿) by Wu Bin (吳彬) in Ming dynasty                                   | 1.21 million US\$ (£837,925)   | Sotheby's in New York      | 1990          |
| 9       | 'Yang Sheng Lun' (宋高宗養生論)   | 9.9 million RMB (£855,109)     | Jiade auction in Beijing   | 6 Nov. 2000   |
| 10      | 'Ju Shi Tie' (局事帖), a Calligraphy by Zeng Gong (曾鞏), a scholar of Song dynasty          | 508,500 US\$ (£352,136)        | Christie's in New York     | 18 Sept. 1996 |

Some renowned western art dealers active in the Chinese art market played an important role in forming the collecting tastes in Taiwan. For example, Hugh Moss, a British art dealer, whose office is based in Hong Kong, boosted Chinese snuff bottles and made a fortune from the art market in the 1980s. Furthermore, showing artistic insight, he supported some potential Chinese artists as an agent to introduce their works to the international art markets.<sup>206</sup> These modern Taiwanese artists supported by Hugh Moss

<sup>206</sup> Interview with Moss, Hugh in Hong Kong on 16 July 1992.

such as Ho Huaishuo and Liu Guosong, became well-known masters in the Chinese art world.

Traditionally, Chinese collectors are accustomed to associating their collecting activities with traditional customs, taboos and superstitions, whereas western collectors are used to seeing Chinese art collecting with a different view. For example, traditionally, except for burial jades, no Chinese collectors wanted to collect funerary objects, as they regarded burial materials as inauspicious symbols, which would probably bring misfortune to the owners. As Sheaf stated, "The earliest wares are all recovered from graves, the so-called 'funerary' ceramics. They are not popular with traditional Chinese collectors, who regard pottery as 'inauspicious'."<sup>207</sup> Therefore, funerary objects were extremely cheap, nearly abandoned, as Chinese collectors were not interested in collecting them in the early part of the twentieth century. Tomb robbers in China used to abandon or even smash those funerary objects in tombs and took away decorations of gold and silver, jewels or jades. However, western and Japanese collectors and art dealers do not have those kinds of scruples.<sup>208</sup> In contrast, they have taken advantage of extremely low price to purchase high quality funerary objects on a large scale from China and promoted their prices in the international art markets.<sup>209</sup> A funerary pottery, Tang dynasty three-colour-glazed horse, for example, fetched up to 660,000 US\$ (£457,050) at Sotheby's auction in New York in 1984. Furthermore, a Tang dynasty three-colour-glazed pottery horse was purchased by a Japanese collector at the price of £3.74 million at Sotheby's auction in London in 1989.<sup>210</sup> Afterwards, this idea, which appreciates works of art or antiquities without feelings of a taboo but sees them from the pure aesthetic point of view, has had a significant influence on the taste of collectors in Taiwan. Burial objects became a part of collections of certain Taiwanese collectors.

Similarly, based on a traditional custom, Chinese collectors were not interested in broken sculpture, in particular head sculptures, as fragmented or incomplete-looking objects, in particular mutilated sculptures, are regarded as inauspicious. This is not just a taboo but also a conception of traditional Chinese aesthetics. Chinese artists have hardly produced incomplete-looking sculptures since ancient times, whereas western artist have traditionally considered incomplete-looking sculptures fairly natural as an expressive way. From 1990 many Taiwanese collectors can aesthetically appreciate these fragmented or mutilated Buddhist sculptures putting aside the traditional taboo and purchase them in the international art markets.

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<sup>207</sup> Sheaf (1995: 34).

<sup>208</sup> Shi Shuqing (1990: 198-9).

<sup>209</sup> Jiang Xia (江夏) (1999a: 147-8).

<sup>210</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 125).

Apart from the collecting of aboriginal art, Japanese taste mainly affected Taiwanese taste in paintings and porcelain. Taiwanese collectors followed Japanese examples to appreciate Impressionism and Fauvism. They also followed Japanese collectors' practice in collecting ancient Chinese porcelain, in particular those in the Song dynasty (AD 960-1279). Monochrome porcelain of the Song dynasty, such as Longquan ware, Yaozhou ware and Ding ware were preferred. In particular Taiwanese collectors were in favour of black-glazed tea bowls such as Jianyang ware and Jizhou ware because of the Japanese taste in their tea ceremony fashion in the 1980s.<sup>211</sup> From the mid-1980s, the tea ceremony became a vogue in Taiwan. More people started to purchase teapots for tea ceremonies. As the Japanese collected fine Song dynasty tea bowls, Taiwanese collectors even followed the Japanese calling those Song dynasty tea bowls 'Tianmu'.<sup>212</sup> Partly because of the scarcity of 'Tianmu' bowls, partly because of the abolishment of the travel ban in 1987, Taiwanese collectors turned to purchase Zisha teapots from China. This taste developed so widely in Taiwan that the Taiwanese have become the most formidable buyers in the art markets.<sup>213</sup> The price of Zisha ware started to soar dramatically from the range of several hundred NT\$ to the range of several thousand NT\$ from the late 1980s. A teapot made by a well-known artist could fetch up to more than a hundred thousand NT\$ (Table 6.9).<sup>214</sup>

**Table 6.9: Prices of the Chinese Zisha teapots in 1991**

| Artist of the Zisha teapot | Price                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Gu Jingzhou (顧景舟)          | 300,000-500,000 NT\$ (£6,300-10,500) |
| Jiang Rong (蔣蓉)            | 150,000-300,000 NT\$ (£3,150-6,300)  |
| Lu Yaochen (呂堯臣)           | 50,000-100,000 NT\$ (£1,050-2,100)   |
| Pan Chiping (潘持平)          | Around 100,000 NT\$ (£2,100)         |
| Xu Hantang (徐漢棠)           | 100,000-200,000 NT\$ (£2,100-4,200)  |
| Wang Yinxian (汪寅仙)         | 100,000-300,000 NT\$ (£2,100-6,300)  |
| He Daohong (何道洪)           | 100,000-300,000 NT\$ (£2,100-6,300)  |

※ Source: Tseng Suliang (1996: 142).

To trace the root of this phenomenon, a study concerning historical background is necessary. Because of 50 years of Japanese occupation, Japanese artistic taste inevitably influenced Taiwan. A number of entrepreneurs had a close business relationship with Japanese entrepreneurs after World War II. Japanese collectors and art dealers continue

<sup>211</sup> Jiang Xia (江夏)(1999a: 147-8).

<sup>212</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 141).

<sup>214</sup> *ibid.*



to influence collectors in Taiwan.<sup>215</sup> For example Japanese local artists have become very popular in Japan since 1970. The price of works by them has increased dramatically in the Japanese art market.<sup>216</sup> This phenomenon provoked Taiwanese collectors and urged Taiwanese collectors to eagerly collect works of art by local Taiwanese artists from 1980 onwards.<sup>217</sup>

## 5. Collectors and museums

### 5.1 Cooperation with museums

It is inevitable that collectors have a close relationship with museums. As Goodrich has said: "Collectors and museums are rivals in acquiring the best in art; whose mutual interests outweigh their competition."<sup>218</sup> Rheims also stated, "Museums are the churches of collectors. Speaking in whispers, groups of visitors wander as an act of faith from one museum gallery to another."<sup>219</sup> Undoubtedly, it would be a supreme honour for a collector to display his collections in a famous museum. The prestige and publicity of displaying material in the museums make them a strong magnet to collectors, where the value of their collections can be verified and promoted through the holding of exhibitions in museums.

Taiwanese collectors usually prefer to cooperate with public museums. In particular, viewed economically, public museums can make use of public funding to help collectors with marketing expense such as the collection catalogue, advertisement and press conferences. They are in a better position than private museums to catch the media's attention. Also, in reality, the facilities in most public museums are much better than private museums. Consequently, the competition is huge between collectors to have a chance to cooperate with public museums in Taiwan. Generally speaking, the decisive factors may depend on a collector's prestige, on the quality of their collections and on the established relationships with museums.

In addition to local art museums, collectors in Taiwan have been very keen to have a

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<sup>215</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995f: 221-2).

<sup>216</sup> Iwasaki Zenshiro (1990: 23, 102-108).

<sup>217</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996a: 10-11).

<sup>218</sup> Goodrich (1958: 64).

<sup>219</sup> Rheims (1961: 29).

close relationship with museums in China since 1990. As a result of political deadlock between Taiwan and China, collections of public museums in Taiwan are not allowed to be displayed in museums in China. Taiwanese collectors thus play a pioneering role in cultural interaction between these countries. For example the collections of the Guyuege<sup>220</sup> and Qingwan Society were displayed in the National Palace Museum in Beijing in 1995.<sup>221</sup> From 1990 these collectors not only frequently participated in auctions and art fairs in China but also displayed their collections in Museums there.<sup>222</sup> Moreover these collectors also invited scholars, artists and critics from China to visit Taiwan.<sup>223</sup> Collectors' contribution makes them more valuable in Taiwanese society. Like artists, critics, scholars, curators and directors, collectors not only become members of the art circle, but also play an important role in constructing modern art history in Taiwan.

## 5.2 Establishment of private museums or galleries

By establishing a private museum or gallery, collectors can not only have their collections displayed to the public, but can also maintain control over their collections. After 1990 the media revealed that some donated collections had suffered serious damage in public museums.<sup>224</sup> Criticism has been focused on the lack of conservators and insufficient facilities for conservation in public museums.<sup>225</sup> For example, a group of oil paintings made by the past Taiwanese master, Xi Dejin, has been found in extremely poor condition.<sup>226</sup> Some wealthy collectors thus would prefer to establish their own museum or gallery to keep collections under their control rather than to donate them to museums. The Qimei Art Museum, for instance, employs two French conservators to look after its collections.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Guyuege (古越閣), the collection of Wang Zhenhua, noted Taiwanese collector.

<sup>221</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1995b).

<sup>222</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1996a).

<sup>223</sup> Gu Jingzhou (顧景舟), Chinese master of the Zisha teapot, was invited by the Zhiyuan Cultural Foundation to visit Taiwan in 1994. See Chen Qinfu (陳琴富)(1994). The Chinese Cultural Objects Society (中華文物學會) also invited Feng Xianming (馮先銘), expert of Chinese porcelain, and Yang Boda (楊伯達), expert of jade, to visit Taiwan after 1990.

<sup>224</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1991b). See also Yang Huijing (楊慧菁) and Li Yuling (李玉玲) (1999). See also Zhang Zhiqing (張志清)(1999). See also Wu Ke (1996). See also Huang Baoping (黃寶萍) (1994a).

<sup>225</sup> Chen Xilin (1999b).

<sup>226</sup> Lu Lingling (呂玲玲)(1996).

<sup>227</sup> Interview with Pan Yuanshi, Director of the Qimei Art Museum, on 27 Jan. 2000.

In Taiwan, collectors who are willing to establish their own museum usually set up a foundation to conduct the operation of art museums. As Zhang states, "The majority of foundations in Taiwan which support a diversity of art activities are funded by entrepreneurs."<sup>228</sup> Collectors usually prefer to administer their museum or gallery through their foundation (**Appendix 8**). Normally the museum is established to be an institution belonging to the foundation in the name of the collector. For example, Xu Wenlong set up his Qimei Cultural Foundation in 1977. He said in 1991, "Under the operation of Qimei Foundation, I will spend 15-year time and 3,000 million NT\$ (£63,639,315) to establish the Qimei Museum starting in 1990."<sup>229</sup>

The establishment of foundations has become a popular way to establish private art museums in Taiwan. Even artists set up their own foundation before establishing their own museums or galleries. It is a good start for collectors to break the Chinese tradition to display their treasures to the general public instead of locking their collections in their secret cabinets. In terms of cultural development, collectors' private art museums undoubtedly will play a key role not only in enriching cultural collections in the museum sector, but also in art education in Taiwan.

## 6. Conclusion

Collectors' enthusiasm for establishing art museums has no doubt given a strong impact to the museum sector in Taiwan after 1990. Evidence shows that the rapid expansion of art museums has a close relationship with the art market. As Huang states, "Art museums cannot place themselves out of the art market."<sup>230</sup> The prosperity of the art market not only encourages collectors and artists to establish their own museums, but also intensifies the competition between public and private museums. At the same time it has caused many problems in museum management and forced public museums to change their attitude toward exhibitions significantly since 1990. To introduce new tastes, art museums are keen to cooperate with collectors and overseas museums to hold exhibitions. Many blockbusters are introduced into Taiwan with the support of collectors and art dealers. Many renowned collectors also cooperate with museums in China to hold diverse activities such as academic conferences, exhibitions and so on. There is no doubt that collectors play a key role in the museum development of Taiwan.

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<sup>228</sup> Zhang Yuanqian (張元茜)(1998: 128).

<sup>229</sup> Interview with Xu Wenlong, President of the Qimei Plastic Group, in his office on 25 June 1991.

<sup>230</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 111-2).

With the economic prosperity Taiwanese government started to establish public art museums in Taiwan after 1980. After 1990 the number of private art museums increased. Many university art museums were also established. They have competed with commercial galleries and played a major role in the art world from the early 1990s.<sup>231</sup> To understand the phenomenon, which reflects a rapid cultural change in Taiwanese society, the development of art museums will be analysed in the next chapter.

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<sup>231</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 105).

## 7: Art museums and the art market

### 1. Museum expansion and the art market

In the 1980s, Taiwan's flourishing economy contributed significantly to a museum explosion, as it provoked enthusiasm for art collecting and animated consumption in the art market. In 1979, there were only eight art museums in Taiwan, but over the next two decades this number increased sevenfold.<sup>1</sup> In 1997, there were over 50 museums of art (Appendix 9, 10).<sup>2</sup> This rapid expansion has been strongly influenced by Japan and the west.<sup>3</sup> In the west we find that art museums have been growing with art markets, particularly in the wealthier countries such as Britain and the U.S.A.<sup>4</sup> Growing collecting interest inspires more collectors who not only support the art market but also increase the demand for museums. Even during World War I and World War II, despite the depression which resulted from the war, the art markets in the west continued.<sup>5</sup> In Europe during World War II, some collectors who were still optimistic about the future operated successfully in the free world and took advantage of the low prices to enrich their collections.<sup>6</sup> In the United States, the years between the two world wars witnessed the rise of the American museums as a new and formidable buying power in the art market.<sup>7</sup> "If, occasionally, the art dealer is nostalgic for the days of the millionaire private collector who could, and did, buy any rare item which took his fancy, regardless of price and without lengthy consultations with experts and trustees, those moments are quickly forgotten in his pride and pleasure in the role he has played in the enrichment of American museums. Their astonishing growth, in both size and number, in the last forty years is a phenomenon unique in the world and history."<sup>8</sup> This has encouraged tax-exemption policies, which have enriched collections in museum and led to an increase in the number of museums.<sup>9</sup> New York soon became the most important

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<sup>1</sup> These are the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall, the National Taiwan Arts Education Institute, the National Museum of History, the National Palace Museum in Taipei, the Taiwan Provincial Museum, the Guotai Fine Art Museum, the Lugang Museum of Folk Cultural Objects and the Tainan City Yonghan Museum of Taiwanese Folk Art.

<sup>2</sup> Chen Guoning (陳國寧)(1997: 21-2).

<sup>3</sup> Keen (1971: 19).

<sup>4</sup> Keen (1971: 23).

<sup>5</sup> Watson (1992: 197-199). Eckstein (1995: 49-50).

<sup>6</sup> Eckstein (1995: 49-50).

<sup>7</sup> Seligman (1961: 219).

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> For example, two fiscal measures have been indispensable to the rise of the art museum in the United States: the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909, which added to the duty-free list the importation of original

art market in the world.<sup>10</sup> By the late 1960s, there were about 400 private galleries in New York, compared to 300 in Paris and 150 in London.<sup>11</sup> As a result of the exuberance of the art market in New York, museums have been one of the cultural scene's fast-growing segments. A study commissioned by the Federal Government's Institute of Museum Service in 1990 shows that more than half the museums in the United States were founded after 1950. Nearly 2,500 new museums opened their doors during the thirty years ending in 1980. This amounted to more than one new museum each week. For the United Kingdom, with a smaller population, the growth rate for the 1970s was equally impressive: a new museum opened every other week.<sup>12</sup>

The economy and art market started to flourish in Japan from the 1970s.<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, the Japanese have become a formidable but totally unpredictable force in the international art market power since the late 1970s.<sup>14</sup> The exuberant economy encouraged more collectors and resulted in rapid museum expansion. According to a survey of the Japanese Museum Conference Association, there were only 89 museums in 1952, yet over 2,400 museums existed 40 years later.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, the growth of the art market and the establishment of museums developed side by side in other Asian countries in the late 1980s. For example, Sotheby's and Christie's set up their offices in Singapore in 1985 and 1990 respectively. And since 1995, the Singapore government has begun preparations for at least 5 new public art museums.<sup>16</sup> In Korea, 70 % of the 300 commercial galleries were set up after 1989,<sup>17</sup> and the following year, the Ministry of Culture announced that by 2000, there would be 1,000 art museums established in Korea.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, a 1992 law on duty exemption and tax deduction may result in 500 private art museums being established.<sup>19</sup> In China, with its more recent market boom, the authorities announced in 2001 that by 2005 the number of museums would reach 2,300.<sup>20</sup>

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works of art more than twenty years ago, and the charitable deduction provision in federal and state laws taxing income, estates, and gifts. This change in tariff rules was directly related to the tax problems of a single collector. See Meyer (1979: 31-2).

<sup>10</sup> Meyer (1979: 98).

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Weil (1990: 3).

<sup>13</sup> Qiu Yongpo (仇永波)(1996: 204).

<sup>14</sup> Herries (1991: 29). See also Adam (2000).

<sup>15</sup> Ide (1993: 49).

<sup>16</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (1992: 284).

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

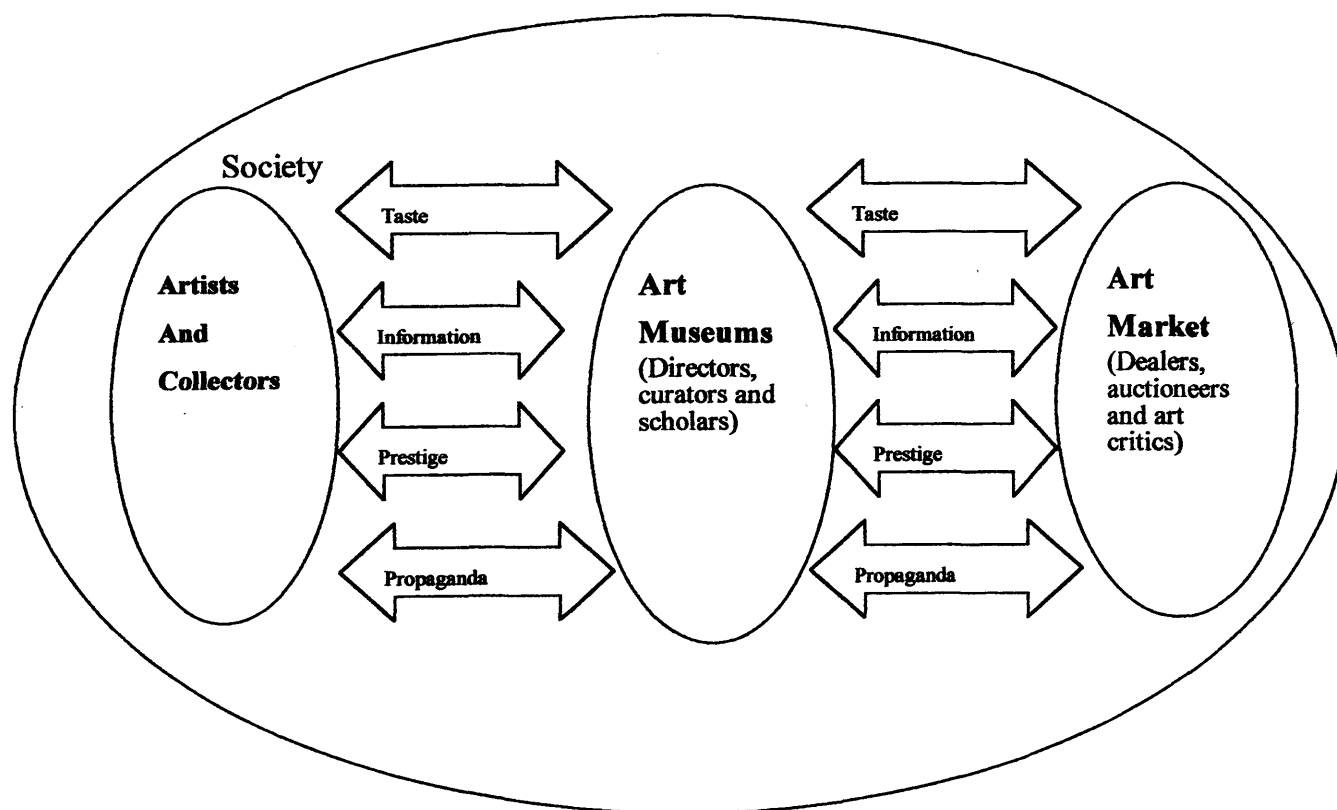
<sup>18</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (1992: 286).

<sup>19</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (1992: 286-7).

<sup>20</sup> Anon. (2000g).

Museums and art markets have a symbiotic relationship. An art museum is both the collector's and the artist's church. It is an indicator of contemporary artistic taste in which collectors, dealers, artists and curators involve themselves through the art markets (Figure 7.1). As public organizations, museums advertise artists or collectors and in so doing improve their own prestige. The knock-on effect is that museums boost the sales of artists' works.<sup>21</sup> They also allow the general public, including collectors and artists, to be more informed about art. Similarly, the boom in the art market can inspire the public's interest in art and bring more visitors to art museums. Impressionists, for example, have been familiar to Taiwanese for a long time, because the Japanese had purchased considerable numbers of Impressionist works in the international art markets since 1980. The exhibition, 'Monet and Impressionist Masters', held in the National Palace Museum in Taipei attracted more than 300,000 visitors in 40 days in 1995.<sup>22</sup> On 11 December, more than 7,000 people crowded into the exhibition, 'Treasures from the Orange Museum in France', at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1999.<sup>23</sup>

Figure 7.1: Relationship between art museums and art market



<sup>21</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 147-8).

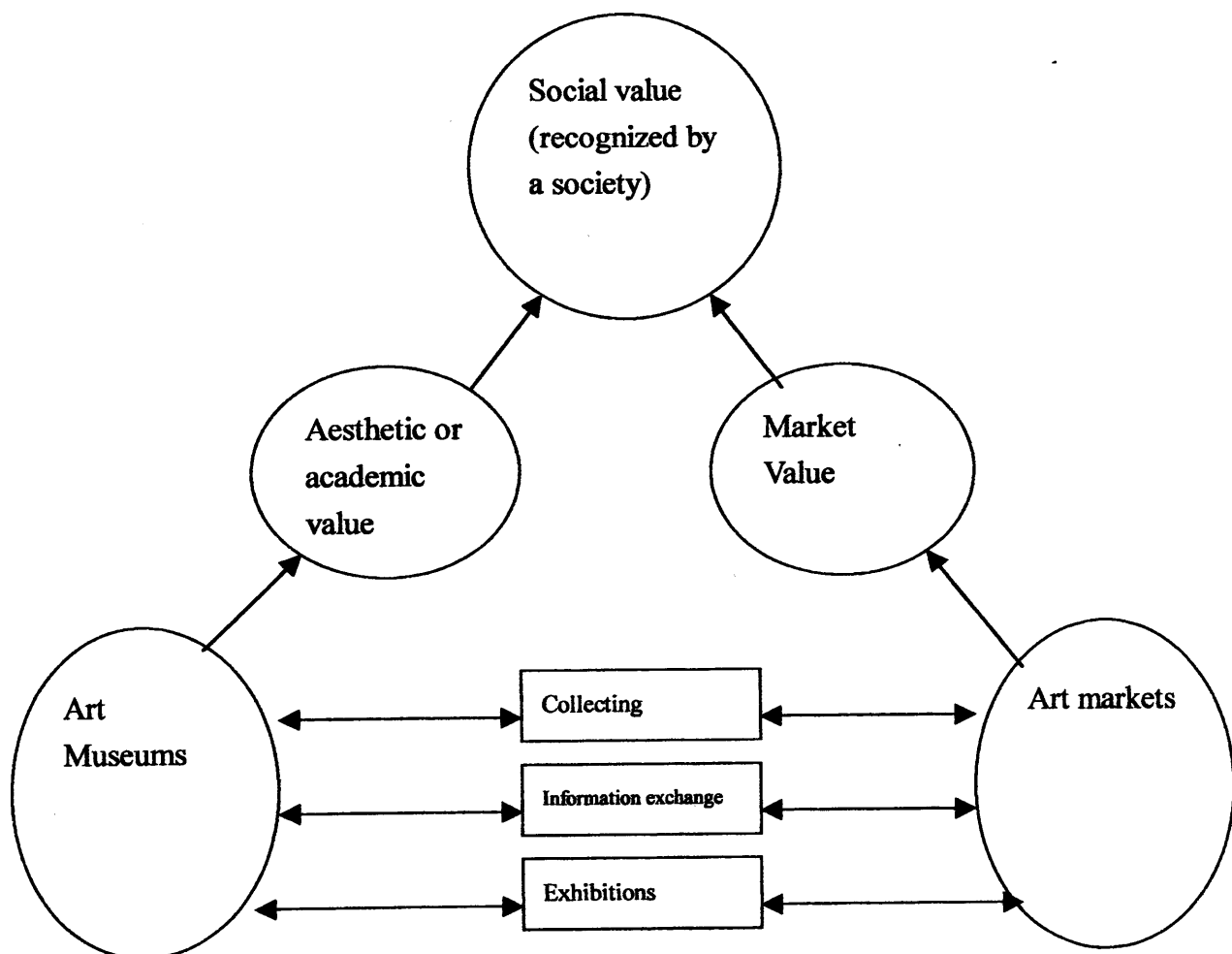
<sup>22</sup> Lin Limei (林麗美)(1995).

<sup>23</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999e).

With social progress in Taiwan, modern art museums have become active providing information and spiritual nourishment. They have begun to devote themselves to the social and economic activities in society, and not simply fulfil their traditional functions of collection, exhibition research and education. The museum could no longer stand aloof from the operations of the art market and economy.<sup>24</sup>

The museums acquisition usually plays an important role in the art market. The authoritative opinion of the museum has great impact on collectors and the market. They are able to help form aesthetic or academic values as well as reinforce or improve recognition of social values (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Social value made by art museums and the art market



<sup>24</sup> Hu Yixun (胡懿勳)(1994: 4).



*Art News Magazine* in the United States selected the fifty most powerful people in the art world in 1997, 22 came from museums and 16 from art dealers and auction houses. The remaining 12 were spread evenly among collectors, foundation directors and art critics.<sup>25</sup> This demonstrates the centrality of the art museum. And their directors maintain close links with dealers, collectors, artists, critics and scholars.<sup>26</sup> In terms of art consumption in Taiwanese society, museums along with commercial galleries, auction houses and the media, serve as a bridge connecting producers (artists) and consumers (public/collectors).

In addition to the drive from economic prosperity, the art museum boom in Taiwan also derived from increased political liberty and cultural awareness, as Nativism and the political power of the museum became established.

The growth in pursuit of local culture has been significantly fuelled by a growth in cultural awareness, the so-called Nativism, since 1970. To meet the demand, in 1978 the government established a plan for public cultural centres in every county and city in Taiwan.<sup>27</sup> Most public art museums were established during the 1980s, with a number of private art museums relating to local culture gradually emerging in the latter half of that decade.

Compared to museums in other advanced countries, the history of museums in Taiwan is not long. The concept of the 'museum', in a modern sense, was brought from Japan and the west, and spread through Taiwan after 1949. According to Chen's survey, large-scale establishment of museums in Taiwan came after 1980 (Figure 7.3).<sup>28</sup> Statistics also reveal that, after 1990, the number of private art museums has grown (Figure 7.4). From 1991 to 1997, over 50 new museums emerged in Taiwan. Most of them are private museums.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Landi (1997: 158-160).

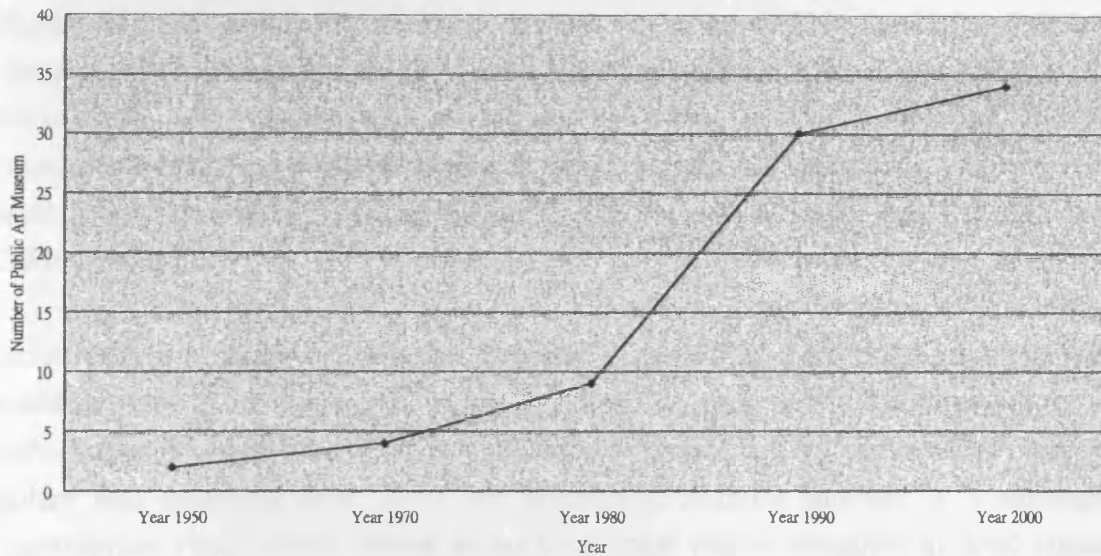
<sup>26</sup> Ye Yujing (葉玉靜)(1995: 26).

<sup>27</sup> According to the resolution of the Executive Yuan in 1978 and 'The Plan of Establishment of Local Cultural Centre' Issued by the Ministry of Education, Republic of China

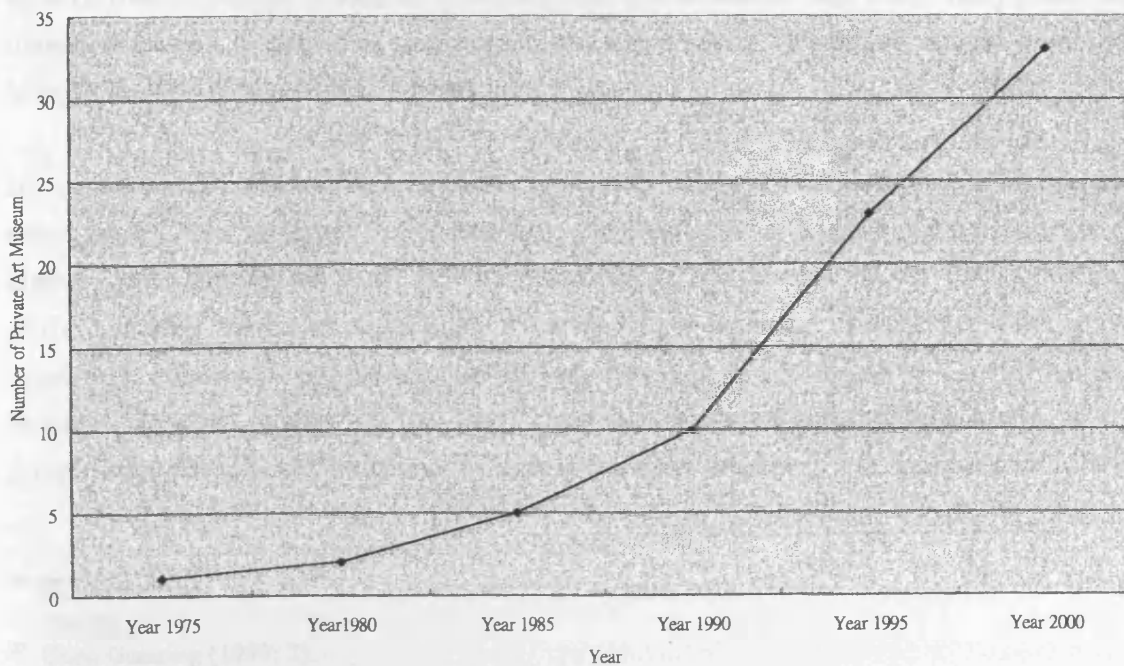
<sup>28</sup> Chen Guoning (1997: 194).

<sup>29</sup> Chen Guoning (1997: 157).

**Figure 7.3: The growth of public art museums in Taiwan (1950-2000)**



**Figure 7.4: The growth of private art museums in Taiwan (1970-2000)**



## 2. Public art museums

There were five public art museums in Taiwan in the 1970s- the National Palace Museum, the National Museum of History, the National Art Educational Institute, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall and the Provincial Taiwan Museum. Besides these, there were three public institutes, which served as venues for temporary art exhibitions: the Military Culture Centre,<sup>30</sup> the Zhongshan Hall<sup>31</sup> and the American Culture Centre.

Since 1980, a government initiative to establish more public art museums began with establishment of a municipal cultural centre in each city. These were to be multi-function organizations, which included a local library, performance hall, art gallery and museum. After 1990, the Ministry of Culture launched a 'Community Construction Plan', which aimed to build up local theme museums in local culture centres.<sup>32</sup> In addition to these local culture museums, national art museums have also been established. The Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the first modern art museum in Taiwan, was established in 1984. The National Taiwan Museum of Art was established in 1986 in Taizhong. The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, located in the south of Taiwan, opened its doors to the public in 1994.

However, a desire for quick results has resulted in art museums which lack a long-term view or overall vision. A lack of qualified experts also means that while many public art museums have a magnificent appearance and advanced facilities, they are not well run. Many also lack collections of any stature.<sup>33</sup>

In contrast early museums in Taiwan have rich permanent collections, which either came from China or Japan.<sup>34</sup> For example, most collections in the National Museum of History were transferred from the Henan provincial Museum in China. The collections of the National Palace Museum came from the Palace Museum in Beijing. Of the newer museums, however, Han Baode, the former Director of the National Taiwan Natural Science Museum, stated, "I feel that it has become a serious mistake made by the government to have so many magnificently-built art museums and galleries in Taiwan

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<sup>30</sup> 國軍藝文中心.

<sup>31</sup> 中山堂.

<sup>32</sup> Chen Guoning (1997: 2).

<sup>33</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法)(1992: 156).

<sup>34</sup> The collections in the Taiwan Provincial Museum were transferred from Japanese collections during the Japanese occupation.

without any quality collections.”<sup>35</sup> Some have argued that an art museum can fulfil its social function by using loans from private collectors or other museums. But an art museum without permanent collections has difficulties in forming its own style. The western perspective is unequivocal: “Collecting lies at the heart of a museum...This is why objects are central to a museum’s existence, this is what distinguishes them from a theme park.”<sup>36</sup> “Collecting is the process of the museum’s creation, the living act that the museum embalms.”<sup>37</sup> In Taiwan, the enrichment of collections is one of the most important tasks for these newly built art museums to pursue.

Large public museums such as the National Palace Museum may have around 50 million NT\$ (£1,050,000) for annual acquisitions.<sup>38</sup> The annual budget of middle and small museums in Taiwan is less than 5 million NT\$ (£105,000) (Figure 7.5).<sup>39</sup> The situation in the multi-purpose local culture centres, which are run by local city councils, is even more limiting as only a small amount is distributed to their museums so that they may have no funds for acquisition.<sup>40</sup> “Due to the shortage of budget from the government, public museums, in particular these culture centres would have difficulties to achieve their acquisition.”<sup>41</sup>

Due to this shortage of acquisition funds, many public museums have acquired collections by retaining works by the winners of annual art competition run by the local authority.<sup>42</sup> Since these are produced by amateurs or students, the quality is not particularly good. An art museum is the place to collect, to study and to display works by recognized artists.<sup>43</sup> These immature works of art, therefore, may be out of place in public art museums. Han has commented, “The authority of art museums is defined by how they possess, study, display and interpret rare and precious antiquities or works of art by recognized artists to the public. These works by students, ordinary amateurs or young artists can be exhibited in other appropriate places such as commercial galleries and social education institutes.”<sup>44</sup> Although part of the collections came from noted

<sup>35</sup> Han Baode (漢寶德)(1988: 1).

<sup>36</sup> Wilson (1993: 54-5).

<sup>37</sup> Elsner (1994: 155). Rosenberg, Pierre, the former Director of the Louvre Museum in France, has stated: If an art museum stops its acquisition, it means the death of an art museum. Quoted from an interview by Han Huaizong (韓懷宗)(2001b).

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Qin Xiaoyi (秦孝儀), Director of the National Palace Museum, on 28 Jan. 2000.

Interview with Huang Guangnan, Director of the National Museum of History, on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Chen Guoning (1997: 166).

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Lin Huitang (林輝堂), Director of the Taizhong City Culture Centre, on 15 Dec. 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Chen Guoning (1997: 167).

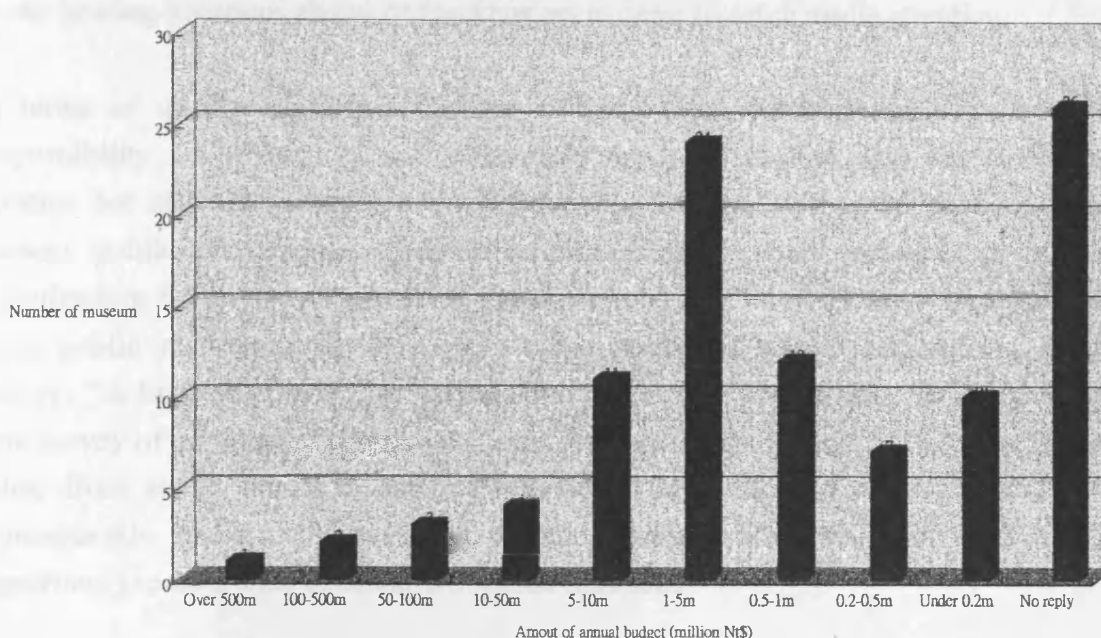
<sup>42</sup> Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲), Chief Curator of the Collection Department of Taiwan Museum of Art, on 26 Jan. 2000.

<sup>43</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 108).

<sup>44</sup> Han Baode (漢寶德)(1988: 1).

artists' donations, these works were donated simply in response to museums' requests. In many cases museums directors have found it difficult to arrange quality exhibitions from their collections.<sup>45</sup>

**Figure 7.5: Survey of annual budget of the middle and small museums in Taiwa**



Sources: Chen Guoning (1997: 166).

In addition it was not until the prosperity of the Taiwanese art market from the 1980s that care of collections started to be seriously considered. Numerous works had suffered from ignorance and inappropriate treatment for decades.<sup>46</sup> In some cases, newly built public art museums built up their collections by the transfer from other official units, where works were poorly maintained.<sup>47</sup> There remains a real shortage of qualified conservators.<sup>48</sup> The National Museum of History, for instance, was criticized by legislators as it had had only one part-time conservator to look after all of its collections

<sup>45</sup> Shi Wan (施望)(2000: 38).

<sup>46</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(1999b). See also Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1994).

<sup>47</sup> For instance, the National Taiwan Art Museum sent a group of paintings to Japan for the purpose of restoration in 1999, as some paintings transferred from other official organizations were found seriously damaged due to lack of proper preservation. See Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000h).

<sup>48</sup> Wu Ke (吳克)(1996).

for 45 years and damage had resulted.<sup>49</sup> “Except for the National Palace Museum, there is no qualified conservator in public art museums.”<sup>50</sup>

In most cases in Taiwan, directors of public art museums are usually not professionals in art administration or related subjects but simply find themselves in this position via promotion in the official government system. As a result art museums initially focused on displaying works or publicizing the authorities’ achievements. There was an ignorance of acquisition, research and conservation. Although the situation has now changed for the better, and some art museums recruit qualified staff, it will take a long time for this to permeate the entire museum system. Many of them, like politicians, prefer holding luxurious shows or blockbusters in order to catch media attention.

In terms of quality of their collections or exhibitions, art museums have to take responsibility for objectivity and authenticity, as it affects not only the museums’ prestige but also the accuracy of knowledge and the operation of the art market. In Taiwan, public art museums, particularly national art museums, are seen as reliable organizations built on professionalism in research and exhibition. Holding exhibitions in these public museums, therefore, signals recognition of artistic achievement in art history: “A kind of honour, and a kind of affirmation.”<sup>51</sup> Taipei Fine Arts Museum’s own survey of art dealers indicated the same sense of authority. Such recognition for the artist, from an art museum, causes the price of their works to rise significantly.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, artists, collectors and dealers compete with each other to have the opportunity to hold their exhibitions in public museums.

Art museums act as guardians of historical, artistic and academic significance and tend to focus on well-known artists and acknowledged antiquities. They rate these values above those of the market place. In contrast, to establish their own style, commercial galleries, the so-called ‘primary art market’, concentrate on introducing avant-garde and younger artists. Ideally, they cultivate promising artists whom they select and manage to help them build up their fame in the art world. Auction houses, the so-called ‘secondary art market’ are inclined to focus on rare antiquities and mature artists who have already gained a reputation for their works. An artist’s career in the art world is then one that moves from the primary to the secondary art market. Afterwards, his exhibitions in art museums actually represent an affirmation of artistic or academic achievement. As a result, art museums appear to be positioned at the top of the pyramid structure through

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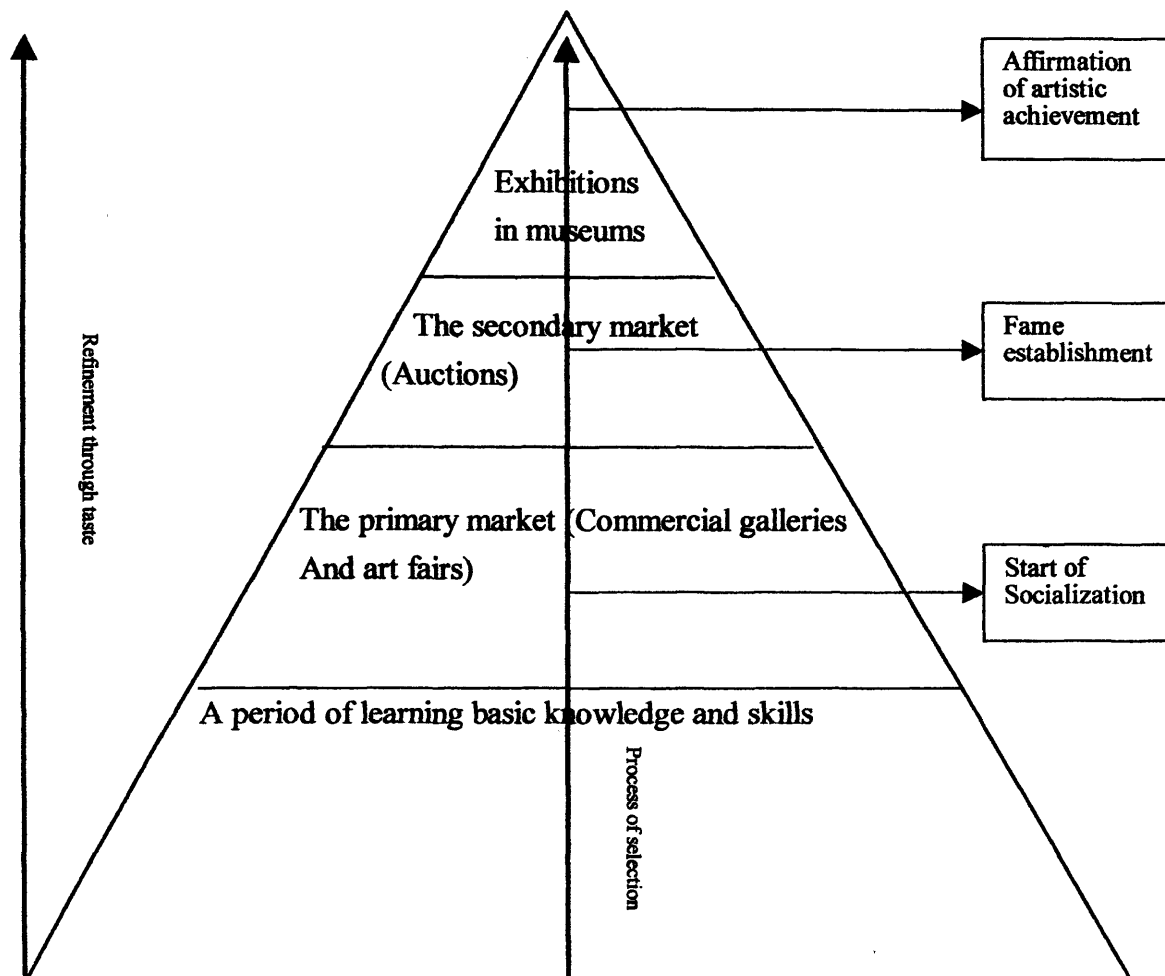
<sup>49</sup> Zhang Zhiqing (張志清)(1999). See also Yang Huijing (楊蕙菁) and Li Yuling (李玉玲)(1999).

<sup>50</sup> Wu Ke (吳克)(1996). See also Xue Pinghai (薛平海)(2000).

<sup>51</sup> Bai Xuelan (白雪蘭)(1990: 265).

which taste and sale selection take place (Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6: The artist's career, taste and the art market



However, some young artists have tried to circumvent the need to begin their careers in commercial galleries.<sup>53</sup> Instead, they ask powerful politicians or councillors to lobby directors of noted public museums. This has aroused a great deal of controversy, and consequently some directors have faced harsh criticism.<sup>54</sup> For example, when Ni Zaiqin was inaugurated as the Director of the National Museum of Art in 1997, he found that solo exhibitions had been arranged till 2001 but that most artists were unknown to the art world.<sup>55</sup> Art dealers play an important role in exhibitions in public art museums in Taiwan. For example, some art dealers became consultants of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum. They took the responsibility as curators of the museum for the exhibition in

<sup>52</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 137-9).

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩), the Chief Curator of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, on 25 Jan. 2000.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan, the Director of the National Museum of History, on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>55</sup> Shi Wan (施望)(2000: 38).

Venice in 2001.<sup>56</sup> The social and economic advantages for the artist of this kind of manipulation of museum authority are considerable. To tackle this confusion, some public museums have started to differentiate exhibitions into 'invitation' and 'application' exhibitions.<sup>57</sup>

Public art museums also lack the financial capabilities and flexibilities of the private collector. Whereas collectors took advantage of the boom in the art market, and the consequent tomb robbing in China, the financial constraints of museums limited their participation.<sup>58</sup> They now need to cooperate with private collectors to fill this void, particularly as increasing competition between art museums has encouraged new and exciting exhibitions in order to attract more visitors. For example, the National Palace Museum cooperated with well-known collectors to hold the exhibition, 'Collectors' Exhibition of Archaic Chinese Jades'<sup>59</sup> in 1999, which the Director saw as "a historic breakthrough for the National Palace Museum."<sup>60</sup> However, such exhibitions are capable of compromising the authority of the museum, and in this particular case a lot of controversies relating to authenticity were aroused. Expert critics said some exhibits were fakes.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, Xu Zuoli, one of the collectors who provided this exhibition with many jades, also provided the National Shanghai Museum in China with fake paintings by Fu Baoshi for an exhibition in 2000.<sup>62</sup> Like younger artists, modern collectors in Taiwan are more aggressive than their traditional counterparts and are seeking to promote their collections through museum exhibition. These collectors are also keen to ask the public museums to publish their collections in exhibition catalogues, which carry the name of the museum. For example, Lu Liangsheng, a Taiwanese collector, who started to collect Buddhist sculptures from the 1990s, is keen to offer his collections for exhibition in public art museums *and* sell his collections at international auctions. In spite of criticism of speculation in the art markets, three Buddhist sculptures, which had been displayed in the National Palace Museum and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts in Taiwan, were auctioned at Sotheby's in London in 1999.<sup>63</sup> Taiwanese collectors know that museum exhibition not only raises the status of their collections but

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<sup>56</sup> Chen Yingwei (陳英偉)(2001: 9).

<sup>57</sup> The invitation exhibitions: museums invite well-known artist to hold exhibitions. The application exhibitions: museums accept artists' application for holding exhibitions in museums. Interview with Chen Xueni (陳雪妮), the Acting Director of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, on 26 Jan. 2000.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan on 2 Feb. 2000. Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩) on 25 Jan. 2000.

<sup>59</sup> 'Collectors' Exhibition of Archaic Chinese Jades' (群玉別藏).

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Qin Xiaoyi (秦孝儀), the Director of the National Palace Museum, on 28 Jan. 2000.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan, the Director of the National Museum of History, on 2 Feb. 2000. See also Harrington (1998: 137).

<sup>62</sup> The artist's wife, Lo Shuhui, and son, Fu Ershi, questioned the authenticity of those paintings in public. See Dongfang Jun (東方君)(2000).



also confirms their authenticity and saleability.<sup>64</sup> This also may explain why Ye Bowen, a Taiwanese collector, paid the whole expense of publishing his exhibition catalogue in the name of the National Museum of History.<sup>65</sup> This has become a common way for collectors to seek official academic recognition from public art museums. As Shaman stated, "It is an accepted fact that exhibitions...and better yet reproducing a work in an exhibition catalogue... and better yet reproducing it in colour... and better yet the right exhibition at the right museum... raise the value of a work of art. This is clearly a motivating factor for many collectors who lend works to travelling exhibitions."<sup>66</sup> Public art museums need to notice this trend and prepare for the associated problems in advance. As emphasized by Huang Guangnan, "Because exhibitions involve market profits, art museums have to make efforts to avoid misleading interpretation."<sup>67</sup>

Art museums and the art market clearly have a very close relationship. Whether the relationship is one of healthy interaction or an unhealthy, mutually restrictive relationship, depends on whether the two parties in the relationship are able to complement and cooperate with one another.

Healthy interaction between art museums and commercial galleries has to be based on an appreciation of their professional roles, while working together to establish a sound environment for the arts and to promote responsibility and the sense of a mission in cultural development.<sup>68</sup> Ideally, a commercial gallery promotes sales of an artist's works using carefully planned sales methods including securing approval from art critics, and encouraging important collectors to purchase them. At the same time, these galleries may make use of the mass media to encourage art museum directors to accept artists' works, recognize their importance, and purchase them. While the development of public art museums is tending to move in the direction of enhanced social function and social significance, the commercial gallery and auction house tend to function as satellite organizations of the public art museum which deals with the public through profit-making, productive and consumption-related activities. A commercial gallery and auction house presents a subjective force to introduce and promote an artist's works of art, whereas the public art museum is thought to represent an objective force, which gives official affirmation to artists. In other words, the commercial galleries and auction houses try to highlight the market value of artists and public art museums endow certain

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<sup>63</sup> Anon. (1999d: 87).

<sup>64</sup> Jiang Xia (江夏)(1999c: 124-5).

<sup>65</sup> Guo Mengjun (郭孟君)(1996).

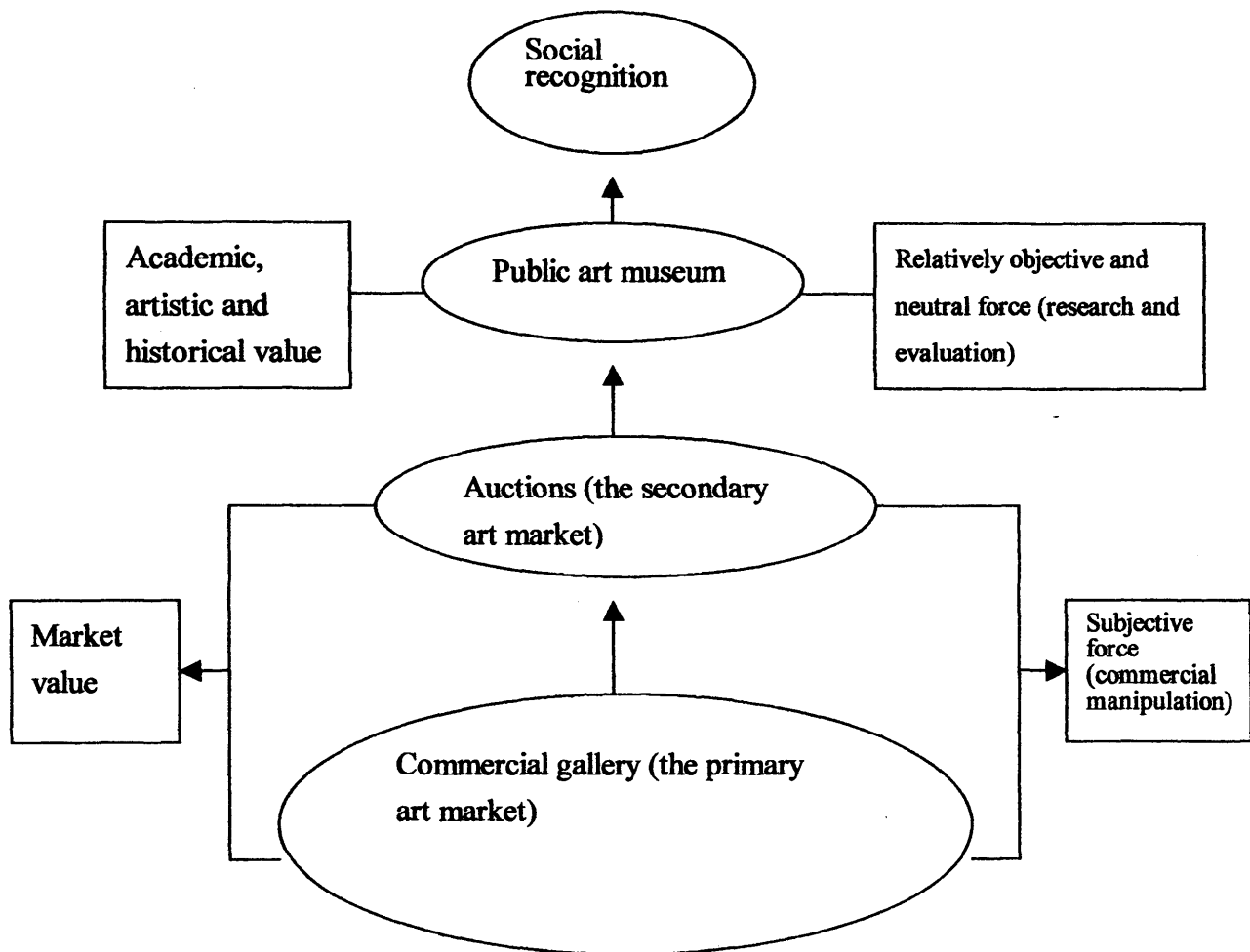
<sup>66</sup> Shaman, S. S. (1995).

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan, on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>68</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 157).

artists with the recognition of academic, historical and artistic value (Figure 7.7). If they can carry out the interaction very well, they can not only benefit each other, but also benefit cultural development.

**Figure 7.7: Interaction between public art museums and commercial galleries and auction houses**



Unhealthy interaction would destroy these mutual benefits. If a commercial gallery takes advantage of an art museum's desire to display or purchase a particular work as an opportunity to raise the price or manipulate the art market, the gallery would no longer fulfil the role of useful intermediary.<sup>69</sup> In fact, it would become an obstacle to art museum development. This would create a negative feedback loop in which the public art museum cannot fulfil its function of cultural promotion, and the development of the commercial gallery and auction house will be adversely affected. Moreover, if the commercial gallery and auction house become engrossed in money games, the outcome is high market prices and insurance premiums, and removes art museums from the

<sup>69</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 118).

marketplace. The lure of huge profits also weakens the museum work force as many young, ambitious museum professionals have abandoned museum work and become art dealers.<sup>70</sup> Increasing market price of works of art also reduces the willingness of collectors and artists to donate works to art museums.<sup>71</sup> In terms of museum development, this weakens them still further, lowering the standard of art museums and therefore the tastes of society. In other words, this will direct taste in society towards the market-oriented taste.

Museums and dealers can both obtain benefits, if they cooperate with each other in a healthy way, art galleries and auction houses can act as pioneers to explore taste in the consumption society, as they are more sensitive to supply and demand in the art market than museum directors and curators. As a matter of fact, their sales signal artistic trends in society. Public art museums can promote the artistic levels of these trends within the entire framework of cultural development.

### 3. Private art museums

As has been stated, most private art museums or galleries in Taiwan were established after 1980. The Cuotai Fine Arts Museum in Taipei is believed to be the earliest private fine arts museum, and was established in the late 1970s. It mainly possessed and displayed ancient Chinese paintings belonging to Cai Chennan, a well-known Taiwanese collector. Unfortunately, it closed down when Cai Chennan was severely affected by the financial crisis of the 'Tenth Credit Cooperative',<sup>72</sup> in 1985.

Collectors who had visited art museums overseas became very aware of the inadequateness of Taiwanese museums and particularly those attached to centres. Many, therefore, started to establish their own museums. They were accompanied by some private memorial museums dedicated to the works of well-known artists and established by the artists themselves or by their families.<sup>73</sup> Zhang Daqian Memorial Museum was the first artist's memorial museum in Taiwan established in 1983. The Lin Yuan Art gallery was set up at Niuer Sculpture Park in 1987.

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<sup>70</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 151).

<sup>71</sup> Yu Yun (雨云) (1990: 50-60).

<sup>72</sup> The event of the Tenth Credit Cooperative (十信事件).

<sup>73</sup> According to a survey, collectors and artists themselves are a main force to set up art museums in Taiwan. See **Appendix 10**.

It appears that the establishment of private art museums in Taiwan has a strong connection with the growth of Nativism. This is apparent from collectors' provincial origins: 26 of 32 private art museums (81.25 %) were established by Benshengren, while only 6 were established by Waishengren (See Appendix 10). Evidently, private museums signal the cultural awareness of the Benshengren who intend to preserve a past history previously depressed by the KMT government. Private art museums, established in the first wave in the 1970s, were those relating to local culture. It is similar to the situation in the U. S. A., where collectors have viewed their activities as the accumulation and preservation of a material record of the romantic past of the Indian people they believed to be vanishing. Those traditional sorts of artefacts and works of art that are now in museums are indeed an important record of the past of the cultures and arts of North American Indian peoples.<sup>74</sup> This cultural intention is fulfilled step by step by taking advantage of the shift in political influence from the rule of KMT to DPP. For instance, the Lugang Museum of Folk Cultural Objects was set up by Gu Zhenfu, a Taiwanese landlord, in 1973. Oiu Yonghan, an entrepreneur who had advocated independence for Taiwan, donated thousands of local cultural objects to the Tainan City government to set up an art museum in the late 1970s. As a result of collectors' considerable purchases, collecting indigenous cultural objects including native and aboriginal art gradually became a vogue and provoked more collectors to set up their own art museums from the 1980s. Zhang MUYANG, for example, established the Folk Art Museum in Taipei in 1984. Xu Boyi established his museum displaying his collections of local culture in the 1980s.<sup>75</sup> Based on this ideology of cultural awareness, more private art museums relating to local culture were developed in the 1990s.

Private museums continued to be established in the 1990s, these often contained finer collections set in more luxurious buildings. For instance, the Qimei Museum, which aims to be the biggest private museum in Asia, was established in 1990. Its collections, so far, are composed of natural history objects, paintings, sculptures, furniture, Chinese porcelain, instruments and weapons. The Hongxi Art Museum, which mainly displays Chinese art, was established in 1991.

The establishment of private museums in the 1990s is still based on the ideology of cultural awareness. For instance, the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines opened in 1994. In addition to private art museums for commemorating local painters, some memorial museums also have emerged to commemorate those pioneering authors who sank into oblivion because of the earlier authorities' attitudes. For example, the Lai He

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<sup>74</sup> Krech III and Hall (1999: 5).

<sup>75</sup> Tian Zhigang (田志剛)(1999).

Memorial Museum commemorating Lai He (1884-1943), a Taiwanese author, was opened in 1991. The Taipei 228 Memorial Museum established and opened to the public by the Taipei City Council in 1997 signalled a victory of Nativism, as the museum presents the history of the civil war in 1947, the publication of which had been forbidden by the KMT for almost 50 years.

Collectors and artists have established foundations and museums in an effort to embark on the display and proper preservation of works and antiquities. In spite of such noble ideals, privately run museums, lacking financial muscle and qualified management, often find themselves adrift not long after setting out. Only some private museums, funded by wealthy entrepreneurs in the name of their foundation, have a lot of support, including staff and funds from their enterprises. For example, the Qimei Plastic Group donates 10% of total profits to the Qimei Foundation to support the Museum on an annual basis.<sup>76</sup> However, many museums set up by entrepreneurs still have problems caused by heavy operating costs. Chen Qingfu, founder of the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines, needs to donate extra funds to the foundation for museum operating costs each year.<sup>77</sup> This is also true of private art museums established by artists. As Cai stated, "Establishing a private art museum or donating works to a foundation that will never sell the works is a beautiful fantasy indeed. Yet getting established is the easy part; the difficulty is in sustained operation."<sup>78</sup>

Unlike wealthy collectors, most of whom are entrepreneurs, artists do not have as much money to set up and support their art museums. However, the bullish art market has maintained the rise in prices of works in the 1980s and the early 1990s and many artists, in particular older generation artists, have benefited greatly. Only older generation Taiwanese artists can, thus, afford to set up commemorative museums for themselves, as their works are in high demand and can sell for a much higher price than younger artists in the art market.

However, the economic cost of operation has had severe effects on private art museums. The Ju Ming Fine Arts Museum lost 10 million NT\$ (£210,000) in less than one year since its opening in November 1999.<sup>79</sup> Xu Yuyan, Director of the Yang Sanlang Fine Arts Museum and the artist's widow, said: "Even though the museum is open only on

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with Pan Yuanshi (潘元石), Director of the Qimei Museum, on 27 Jan 2000.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Lin Weicheng (林威城), the Curator of the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines, on 19 Jan 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Cai Wenting (蔡文婷) (1998: 99).

<sup>79</sup> Ju Ming Fine Arts Museum has lost 10 million NT\$ (£210,000) within one year. A news report of TTV News (Taiwan TV Station) on 15 Sept 2000.

weekends, she must still pay over NT\$ 100,000 NT\$ (£2,100) per month to cover operating costs.”<sup>80</sup> The Li Meishu Memorial Gallery spent nearly 400,000 NT\$ (£8,400) to clean the painting, ‘Boy Teasing a Turkey’, and over 1 million NT\$ (£21,000) to restore other works. Such extraordinary expenses are far more than a private art museum, which depends on door receipts or interest derived from a cultural foundation, can afford.<sup>81</sup> For example, as a result of the shortage of financial support, the Yang Sanlang Fine Arts Museum can ill afford to retain professional painting preservation and maintenance. It suffered the loss or destruction of most of the historical documentation on the artist’s life.<sup>82</sup>

This may explain why these private art museums need to sell their collections. The Li Meishu Memorial Art Gallery sells one of the artists’ smaller works each year to enable continued operation.<sup>83</sup> Having considered the financial situation with the family of Li Meishu, the gallery eventually decided to sell a representative oil painting, ‘Beautiful Sun’,<sup>84</sup> for about 30 million NT\$ (£630,000) to the collector, Chen Taiming, in 1995.<sup>85</sup> Afterwards, the gallery sent 23 paintings by Li Meishu to the Zhencang auction in 1997.<sup>86</sup>

As these artists are accustomed to committing their families to help them deal with selling works, many precursory artists’ families, therefore, play an important role in affecting the prices in the art market. For example, the market price of works by Hong Ruilin, a Taiwan precursory artist, was dependent on the annual price readjustment made by his family.<sup>87</sup> Many museums are operated either by the artist’s families, most of whom are not qualified in museum management. For instance, Li Meishu’s family is in charge of the administration of the Li Meishu Memorial Art Gallery. Huang Mingzheng, a relative of Li Shiqiao,<sup>88</sup> is the Director of the gallery. Yang San Lang’s wife now at the age of 90 is the Director of the Yang Sanlang Art Museum. Similarly, Yang Fengchen, son of the artist, took charge of the Yang Yingfeng Art Museum after his sister, former Director of the museum, died.<sup>89</sup> Shortage of staff and financial support to retain expert planners has made activities in these private museums rather

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<sup>80</sup> Cai Wenting (1998: 99).

<sup>81</sup> Personal communication with the Li Meishu Memorial Gallery on 22 Jan 2000.

<sup>82</sup> Cai Wenting (蔡文婷) (1998: 99).

<sup>83</sup> Cai Wenting (1998: 99).

<sup>84</sup> ‘Beautiful Sun’ (麗日).

<sup>85</sup> Anon. (2000h: 12).

<sup>86</sup> Lu Lingling (呂玲玲) (1997).

<sup>87</sup> Tseng Suliang (1994: 203-5).

<sup>88</sup> Li Shiqiao, a well-known older generation Taiwanese painter.

<sup>89</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲) (2000e).

conservative.<sup>90</sup> Artists' families like to retain control of these memorial museums unlike other art museums, which tend to belong to foundations, which means that the collections have become public property. Many artist's museums have not even registered to be a formal art museum at all.<sup>91</sup> In addition to preserving the memory of the artist, such collections are also seen as holding great financial potential. The initial idea deriving from artists themselves for the establishment of private art museums is innocent. However, many artist museums are more likely to have practical objectives after artists' families take charge of the museum operation. In terms of market profits, they clearly understand that the establishment of private art museums can help not only reinforce the artists' reputation but also influence the price in the art market. They are reluctant to give up control of their art museums. Many artist museums, thus, would like to exist illegally rather than to register as legal institutions. This disorder also derives from the authorities that have not built up any legal system, so-called 'Museum Law', for museum management. Besides, when the *Law on the Establishment of Educational Agencies and Related Incentive Measures* was introduced over a decade ago, there were very few private museums in Taiwan, thus the legal code was set up on the basis of large museums. Consequently, most private museums established after this law came into effect have been treated precisely in the same way as large public museums in terms of facilities, organizational requirements and so on. As a result, even after establishing a cultural or educational foundation, private art museums are unable to obtain legitimate museum status due to their inadequate facilities. For instance, the Shuhuo Paper Museum has not gained legal status so far, because it failed in the official examination of public safety requirements.<sup>92</sup> Consequently many private art museums cannot help but register as ordinary shops bearing the title 'museum'.<sup>93</sup> Li Meishu's families, for example, are hesitant to take the first step toward legality, even though illegal art museums are ineligible for land and real estate tax exemptions and reduced utilities costs. Many private museums have no way of finding support from the authorities.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Huang Qianfang (黄茜芳)(1999b: 106-128).

<sup>91</sup> Current laws governing corporate entities dictate that spouses or relatives may not exceed one-third the total number of trustee in a museum, and that poorly run museums must be turned over to public operation or into the hands of other legal entities. Although the purpose of such regulations is to ensure the public nature of private museums, making them public assets, simultaneously, they also strip families of decision-making power. From a Chinese cultural point of view, this is unacceptable and also makes families uneasy. Interview with Lin Weicheng (林威城) on 19 Jan. 2000.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Lin Weicheng (林威城) on 19 Jan. 2000.

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.*

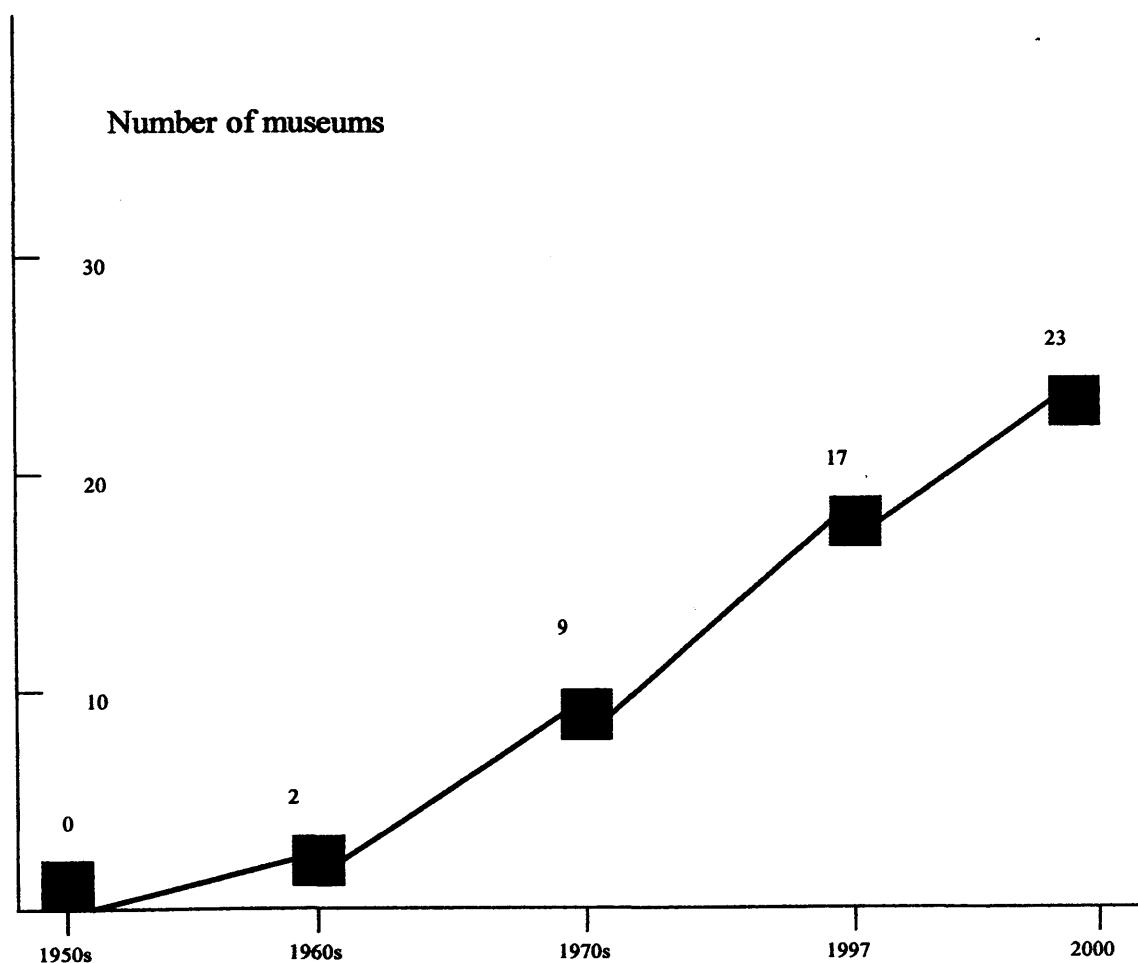
<sup>94</sup> Cai Wenting (1998: 99).

## 4. University's art museums and galleries

The establishment of university museums can be traced to the period of Japanese occupation (1895-1945). The Taipei Empire University<sup>95</sup> set up in 1928 started to gather samples in relation to the botany, zoology and geology of Taiwan. The first university art museum, the Huagang Museum, was established in the Chinese Culture University in Taipei in 1963. Most university art museums or galleries were set up after 1990. According to a survey, conducted in 1997, there were 10 universities that had about 17 museums.<sup>96</sup> In 2000, the number had increased to 23 (Figure 7.8).<sup>97</sup>

Figure 7.8: The number of university art museums in Taiwan

Sources: Hu Jiayu (1997: 68), Lin Weige (林維格)(2000: 132).



<sup>95</sup> The Taipei Empire University now is the National Taiwan University.

<sup>96</sup> Hu Jiayu (胡家瑜)(1997: 68).

<sup>97</sup> Lin Weige (林維格)(2000: 132).



A review of this phenomenon also reveals that the authorities did not value the humanities before the 1980s. Early in this decade, there were only three universities, which had fine arts departments. Nevertheless, after 1990 there are more than 20 universities setting up departments or schools in relation to fine arts. This indicates that the demand for art in higher education has kept increasing in the 1990s. The trend derives not only from cultural awareness but also the art market boom. To direct society in the direction of cultural interests, in order to balance excessive materialism, the authorities made efforts to encourage participation in cultural activities in the 1990s. In response to this policy, many universities began to value the humanities and establish fine arts departments together with their own art gallery or museum (Table 7.1).

Promising as it is for art museum development in Taiwan, this fever for art museums in universities poses some dilemmas. Most university art museums are attached to related departments in order to assist teachers in teaching. In most cases, university teachers, students or administrative staff are designated to serve as part-time curators in university art museums. Some scholars argue that lack of qualified staff may have caused university art museums to be incapable of setting up exhibitions or effective management.<sup>98</sup> Initial motives to help improve teaching have also limited their development. Consequently, in comparison with other units in universities, most art museums are inadequately supported.<sup>99</sup> For example, the Xinzhu Teachers College Art Centre is mainly funded by a private foundation. Although the situation at the Jingyi University Art Centre is better than other university art museums, it can only obtain 2 million NT\$ (£42,000) each year. It is unable to enrich its collections, as holding exhibitions may have cost over 1 million NT\$ each year.<sup>100</sup>

As a result of these difficulties, many university art museums hardly have collections.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, they mainly serve only as exhibition centres, but may be willing to be community museums or galleries in terms of their function and location.<sup>102</sup> While it is good for university art museums to interact with local communities, this role is already filled by the public city culture centres, which have more staff and more funding. As a result, university museums can only become a place for displaying works by amateurs, students or artists. Most of them, in particular newly built museums, have more affinity with commercial galleries than art museums.

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<sup>98</sup> Hu Jiayu (胡家瑜)(1997: 70). Similar problems have been noted in university museums in the U.K.

<sup>99</sup> Huang Youmei (黄友玫)(2000: 120-6).

<sup>100</sup> Team of *Chinese Art News* (1999: 82-4).

<sup>101</sup> Huang Youmei (黄友玫)(2000: 120-6).

<sup>102</sup> Qin Yajun (秦雅君)(2000b: 118-9).

Table 7.1: University art museums or galleries in Taiwan

| Title of art museum or gallery            | University                                     | Year of establishment |
|---|--|-----------------------|
| Traditional Art Research Centre(傳統藝術研究中心) | National Art Institute                         | 1982                  |
| Chinese Drama Museum                      | National Drama School (復興劇校)                   | 1986                  |
| Huagang Museum                            | Chinese Culture University                     | 1963                  |
| Costume Museum                            | Shijian Design College (實踐設計管理學院)              | 1985                  |
| Textile and Costume collection            | Furen University (輔仁大學)                        | 1987                  |
| Catholic Culture Museum                   | Furen University (輔仁大學)                        | 1985                  |
| Huafan Museum                             | Huafan Univwesity (華梵大學)                       | 1990                  |
| Xinzhu Teachers College Art Centre        | Xinzhu Teachers College (新竹師院)                 | 1998                  |
| Qinghua University Art Centre             | Qinghua University (清華大學)                      | 1988                  |
| Arts & Communication Centre               | Jiaotong University (交通大學)                     | 1988                  |
| Art centre                                | Danjiang University (淡江大學)                     | 1998                  |
| Huagang Museum                            | Chinese Culture University (文化大學)              | 1963                  |
| Humanities & Arts Centre                  | Yuanzhi University (元智大學)                      | 1996                  |
| Art centre                                | Zhongxing University (中興大學)                    | 1988                  |
| Historical Objects Museum (歷史文物館)         | Chenggong University (成功大學)                    | 1999                  |
| Guandu Fine Art Museum                    | National Art Institute (國立藝術學院)                | 2001                  |
| Art centre                                | Zhongyang University (中央大學)                    | 1997                  |
| Art centre                                | Fengjia University (逢甲大學)                      | 1999                  |
| Art centre                                | Jingyi University (靜宜大學)                       | 1998                  |
| Art gallery                               | Normal Education University (師範大學)             | 1981                  |
| Art centre                                | Zhongshan University (中山大學)                    | 2000                  |
| Art centre                                | National Yunlin Technology University (雲林科技大學) | 2000                  |
| Art centre                                | Dongwu University (東吳大學)                       | 2000                  |

In spite of the fact that most of them are established as non-profit institutions, artists can still sell their artworks in university art museums.<sup>103</sup> Due to their limited budget, some university authorities have also allowed art museums to make profits from selling works in exhibitions.<sup>104</sup> Besides, as university museums are established as part of universities, they have academic standing in the eyes of the public. Therefore, more and more artists or art dealers are willing to hold exhibitions in them. In terms of market profits, they become another battlefield for artists and art dealers. They are also competitors of commercial galleries. This put more pressure on the art market during the difficult

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Lu Kunhe (呂坤和), noted Taiwanese painter, in Taipei on 12 Dec. 2000.

<sup>104</sup> Pers. comm. with the Qinghua University Art Centre on 15 Dec. 1998.

1990s.

## 5. Acquisition of art museums

Private art museums are one of the most important influences on the price of works. To establish their museums, collectors kept buying cultural objects on a large scale. Some major collectors, who were keen to purchase important Taiwanese cultural objects, have established their museums since 1990.<sup>105</sup> This no doubt intensified the competition between these collectors. For example, the number of works by Taiwanese precursory artists is so limited that collectors have to compete with each other in order to acquire attractive paintings from art dealers or artists themselves. Once works have been acquired, they are locked in collectors' cabinets and are no longer circulated in the art market. Tzila Krugier, an art dealer based in New York and Paris, had noted the same phenomenon in the west: "Now, there is no possibility to purchase paintings by Picasso in his blue and pink periods from the art markets, as they are all in collections of art museums or galleries."<sup>106</sup> Likewise, the chance of finding masterpieces is getting more and more difficult in Chinese art markets, partly because of the increasing number of collectors, partly because of the formidable purchasing power of art museums, in particular private museums. For example, to achieve his wish to establish an art museum, Ye Rongjia has been collecting Taiwanese works since 1967 and has never sold one painting.<sup>107</sup> To establish his art museum related to Zhang Daqian, Lin Baili makes every effort to purchase representative works by the artist, which has made the price of his ink paintings increasingly valuable.<sup>108</sup> It is rather interesting that this phenomenon results in mutual benefit for collectors and the art market, as the increasing price of works not only gives confidence to museum founders but also attracts more collectors to focus on the same items. At the same time, this becomes a fashion attracting academics and the media.

The increasing price in the art markets has made art museums, especially public museums, face difficulties in the improvement of collections since 1990. It is apparent that only major public art museums such as the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the National Palace Museum, the National Taiwan Museum of Art, the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine

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<sup>105</sup> The exhibition, 'Original Beauty' (原真之美), which displayed Taiwanese aboriginal art, was held in the National Museum of History in Taipei in 1998. Most exhibits were borrowed from collectors. Interview with Chen Chengqing (陳澄晴), noted Taiwanese collector, in Taipei on 15 April 1998.

<sup>106</sup> Yu Xiaohui (余曉慧)(1998a: 90).

<sup>107</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1995g: 192).

<sup>108</sup> Xia Yunfen (夏韻芬)(1999).

Arts and the National Museum of History can afford to purchase representative local works. However, compared to the prices of those paintings by precursory artists,<sup>109</sup> the annual budget for these major public art museums' purchase, which is between 20-50 million NT\$ (£425,362-1,063,405) is relatively insufficient.<sup>110</sup> Public museums in Taiwan have found it increasingly difficult to buy quality works since 1990.<sup>111</sup> Similarly, the prosperous art market also influences the acquisition of public art museums in the U.S.A. and France in the 1990s.<sup>112</sup> Certain public art museums in the U.S.A. even need to de-accession inferior artworks from their collections in order to purchase other quality works.<sup>113</sup> For example, in 1990, the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MOMA) de-accessioned seven paintings by Picasso, Renoir and so on to acquire Van Gogh's oil painting, 'Joseph Roulin', for 45 million US\$ (£ 31,531,050) from a private collector. However, this is impossible for public art museums in Taiwan. As there is, so far, no example to follow, it would take a long time to go through the official procedures to persuade councillors. Moreover, it is impossible for them to convince the public, as de-accession may arouse a great deal of controversy.

Because of the competition between museums, dealers and collectors public art museums cannot help but offer higher prices for the purchase of works by local masters. This situation makes the art market a 'sellers market'.<sup>114</sup> The Taipei Fine Arts Museum,

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<sup>109</sup> In 1993 many oil paintings by precursory painters were sold for high prices at Sotheby's auction. For example, 'Sunset in Danshui (黃昏淡水)' by Chen Chengpo was sold for over 10.17 million NT\$ and 'Fishing port (漁港)' by Liao Jichun was sold for 5.55 million NT\$. See Zhao Yingru (肇瑩如)(1993a). In 1995 'White lotus', an oil painting by Chang Yu, was sold for 13.25 million NT\$ at Sotheby's auction and 'Garden', an oil painting by Liao Jichun, was sold for 8.8 million NT\$ at the Chuanjia auction. See Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Ren Lili (任莉莉), Curator of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, on 24 Jan. 2000.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩), Chief Curator of the Acquisition Department in Taipei Fine Arts Museum, on 25 Jan. 2000.

<sup>112</sup> According to Grasset's survey, it was nearly hopeless for French art museums to try to acquire works in the 1990s, as the dramatically increasing price of works meant that public art museums in France were incapable of purchasing. See Grasset (1998: 107). Even American art museums, which, averagely, have annual funding of 2-5 million US\$ (£1,401,380- 3,513,450) for purchase, found it difficult to purchase quality collections. It may take forever for Chicago Art Institution to afford the works in its acquisition plan. The quality of current collections of the Metropolitan Museum in New York is apparently lower than those of several years ago. The National Gallery in Washington refused to pay absurd prices for certain important artworks. See Yu Yun (雨云) (1990: 56-7).

<sup>113</sup> Xiong Pengzhu (熊鵬壽)(1990: 80).

<sup>114</sup> Chen Jian (陳繼安)(2000: 102). In Taiwan many wealthy collectors are more capable of buying works of art than public museums. For example, the Qimei Art Museum has 1500 million NT\$ as a deposit in the Qimei foundation and the Qimei Plastic Group donates 10% of its total profit to the Foundation to support the Museum on an annual basis. Interview with Pan Yuanshi (潘元石), Director of the Qimei Art Museum, on 27 Jan 2000. Similarly, as the prices of works of art keep growing the public art museums in the U.S.A., which, averagely, have annual funding of 2-5 million US\$ (£1,401,380- 3,513,450) for purchase, found it difficult to compete with private museums to purchase quality collections. For example, in 1993 the Getty Foundation's budget for purchase was 60 million US\$ (£42,041,400). See Yu Yun (雨云) (1990: 56-7).

for example, raised the standard by paying much higher prices to purchase works of art from 1994. This has no doubt set a precedent for the sector.<sup>115</sup> However, due to official inefficiency of the bureaucracy, private collectors and art dealers always keep one pace ahead. In many cases public art museums can only purchase inferior works or take a chance to bid on quality artworks for higher prices at auctions. People in art ascribed the phenomenon of the price boom to the manipulation by auctioneers, who caused the local art market to become speculative.<sup>116</sup> Yet it should be remembered that an art auction still has positive benefits for the art market. It just presents diverse possibilities of demand from consumers. Therefore, the speculative phenomenon has resulted not only from auctioneers but also from problems in society. Public art museums as educational, non-profit and academic organizations need to beware of adopting a neutral position in order to acquire in a wise fashion.

If art museums do not research the market, they may overpay sellers. The boom in the art market, with its volatile prices, manipulation and speculation has made museum acquisition more complicated.<sup>117</sup> Inflated prices are always susceptible to economic downturns. For instance, the price of seal stones, which were rather popular in the art market from the mid-1980s, were less than 60% of their 1980s value after the mid-1990s.<sup>118</sup> Paintings by the naïve painter, Hong Tong, which used to reach 200,000 NT\$ (£4,254) in the late 1980s, now, are difficult to sell.<sup>119</sup>

A modern museum director needs to play not only the role of scholar and educator but also of businessman.<sup>120</sup> He, as a prudent businessman, has to consider whether a purchase is too risky. Unfortunately many art museums, including private and public museums, lack qualified curators or researchers and this cannot make museums able to research the art market.<sup>121</sup> Although some of them do carry out investigations about prices in the art market, their information comes from art dealers and auctioneers.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>116</sup> Letu (樂圖)(1995: 57).

<sup>117</sup> For example, the price of works of art by Hans Hofman (1880-1966), a noted American artist, used to fetch up to 25,000 US\$ (£17,517). However, his agent found it difficult to sell his paintings after he died. See Tseng Suliang(1994: 21). The Expressionist Renoir's well known painting, 'Le Moulin de la Galette', was resold for only 50 million US\$ (£35,033,499) after it was bought at the price of 78.1 million US\$ (£54,723,889) by a Japanese company in the late 1980s. See anon. (1999e).

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Cai Shangxian (蔡尙賢), an art dealer in Taipei, on 15 Feb.1996.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Zhang Dingyuan (張丁元), an Chinese painting expert of Christie's branch in Taiwan, on 22 Dec. 2000.

<sup>120</sup> Shestack (1978: 49-55).

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Chen Guoning, Director of the Department of Aesthetics and Arts Management at University of Nanhua, in Taipei on 16 Dec. 2000. According to my investigation in Dec. 2000, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum has only two researchers and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts has none.

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩) on 25 Jan 2000. Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲), Curator

This advice may not be objective and accurate, and may lead to mistakes. For example, Taipei Fine Arts museum's payment of much higher prices than deserved for the oil paintings by Wang Chunxiang stirred up strong criticism from the art world.<sup>123</sup> The winners are always art dealers, auctioneers and collectors.<sup>124</sup>

Private art museums set up by collectors may cease to purchase, or purchase just a few works, once they have been established. They become conservative in their purchase, as they are medium-size or small-size museums, owning basic collections. Limited budgets also encourage cooperation with other museums or collectors. On the whole, most private art museums in Taiwan are aware of the importance of developing their own style. Their collections distinguish them from other art museums.

In contrast to private museums, acquisition policies in public art museums are so similar that they tend to make collections which are rather similar. Consequently, these museums find it difficult to establish their own style. Although, the authorities have recently been trying to get public art museums to set up different acquisition policies from each other, this has not been very successful. For example, the acquisition policies of three major art museums in Taiwan, the National Museum of Art in Taichung, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, are aimed at Taiwanese works of art.<sup>125</sup> To distinguish itself from the other two museums, the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts set up its acquisition policy on Taiwanese calligraphy and sculptures. However, it has found that other public art museums have aimed at the same goals.<sup>126</sup>

This state of affairs not only results from the influence of the art market but also that of politics in Taiwan. The extreme enthusiasm for politics after 1980 increased and distorted thinking in Taiwan. Political forces of Benshengren tend to dominate cultural issues. The deep influence of political forces makes cultural organizations become means of implementing political purposes rather than building up an ideal cultural environment for people.<sup>127</sup> In the rise of Nativism in the 1980s, this local perspective in museum collecting was encouraged. As the government had ignored local culture for political reasons for decades, it was good to see museums return to an interest in local

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of the Collection Dept. of the National Taiwan Museum of art, on 26 Jan 2000. Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇), Curator of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine arts on 25 Jan 2000.

<sup>123</sup> Lin Shuling (林淑玲)(1996). Also see Li Weijing (李維菁)(1996c).

<sup>124</sup> Yu Yun (雨云) (1990: 56).

<sup>125</sup> Chen Jian (陳繼安)(2000: 102-3).

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Chen Xueni (陳雪妮), the Acting Director of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, on 26 Jan 2000.

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Chen Guoning in Taipei on 16 Dec. 2000.

artistic development, but it is unsatisfactory for all museums to focus on the same field, Taiwanese works of art. As Taiwan is a small island, it is too competitive for many art museums to acquire Taiwanese works such as paintings, calligraphy and sculptures. It may not only lower the standard of collections, but also makes art museums unable to build up their reputations. Directors of public museums tend to be in harmony with the political atmosphere, as they are appointed by the official government system. They also prefer to promote local culture in terms of propaganda, as local cultural interests may attract media attention more easily.

Is it necessary for an art museum to build up its collections beyond the influence of the politics? The answer is rather difficult to give. In fact, there is no way for an art museum to escape from political impact, as politics is one of the forces which forms a society. Taiwanese public museums have been especially subject to politicians, who have been involved in staff appointment and lobby on museums' acquisition, for a long time. This has made public museums comply with the political situation and purchase many inferior works.<sup>128</sup>

Critical debates and controversies on the acquisition process in the public art museums often arouse the attention of the public. Flaws in the acquisitions procedure and the lack of market research are the prime reasons for such controversies.

The root of the problem seems to be procedural. Acquisition starts with an acquisitions proposal from curators in the acquisitions department. After the director approves the acquisitions proposal, the art museum will organize a provisional committee to examine whether those works on the list are appropriate or not. If passed, the list will return to the department of acquisitions to proceed to market investigation. Afterwards, all chief curators, the secretary, etc will discuss the recommended prices in a meeting. After the director approves the decision of the meeting, the museum staff will carry on to negotiate the transaction with artists or art dealers on the list.<sup>129</sup>

On examination, this procedure shows flaws, which result in problems. First of all, many directors or curators in public art museums are familiar with administration but not art, as they come through the official appointments system. In most cases, their information about market prices comes mainly from art dealers and auctioneers, and not from precise research arising from long-term observation. The result is inaccurate

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<sup>128</sup> Shi Wan (施望)(2000: 38).

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩) on 25 Jan. 2000. Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲) on 26 Jan. 2000. Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇) on 25 Jan. 2000.

evaluation. Secondly, directors, who are usually lobbied by art dealers, artists or politicians, have the right to make the final decision, which may result in favouritism. Thirdly, the provisional committee members have little knowledge of prices of works or antiquities. If they do not say a word in the committee, it means that these works or antiquities can be processed. In many cases, the committee members are simply invited by museum directors to approve the acquisitions, and the result can then be controversial. For example, a group of artists started a campaign against unjust processes in acquisition at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1996. They strongly criticized Zhang Zhenyu, Director of the museum, on this matter and accused him of practicing favouritism because the art museum paid the highest price, 810,000 NT\$ (£17,010) for a painting by Wang Chunxiang, a relative of the mayor, Chen Shuibian. Wang Chunxiang is believed to be the person who had recommended the mayor to appoint Zhang as the museum director.<sup>130</sup> In addition, as is Chinese custom, the committee members usually do not want to be too critical, because the committee is temporary and not in charge of the whole process. To enhance their own chances of being acquired by the museum in the future, they do not want their decision to upset other contemporary artists who will be appointed in turn to be the committee. These complex implications may result in problems. For instance, for private profit, the works of seven of fourteen members in the acquisition committee were acquired by the museum they served, the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>131</sup> In other words, some committee members suggested that the museum purchase their works. Chen Xueni, the Acting Director of Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, explained: "It is unavoidable that some committee members' works are in the list at the same time. If so, the committee member has to abandon his right to vote."<sup>132</sup> But Mei Zaixing indicated, "It is useless for the committee members either to give up their right to vote or to leave the voting room, as the committee members are familiar with each other."<sup>133</sup>

Committee members consist of artists and scholars. Some artists even tended to take advantage of being committee members to significantly raise the prices of their works on purpose.<sup>134</sup> Although the way committees are constituted looks perfectly adequate, their ability to judge works or antiquities is often questioned. An example is when Chen

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<sup>130</sup> Lin Shuling (林淑玲) (1996). All the committee members who are artists explicitly said in the press conference that they knew nothing about the base prices regarding these paintings. This campaign eventually made the director resign his position. See Li Weijing (李維菁) (1996c).

<sup>131</sup> Mei Zaixing (梅再興), a councillor, accused them of being biased. This caused the museum purchase their works for higher prices. See Ye Nahui (葉娜慧) (2000).

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Wu Zhaoying (吳昭瑩) on 25 Jan. 2000. Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲) on 26 Jan. 2000. Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇) on 25 Jan. 2000.



Jingjun<sup>135</sup> strongly questioned the group of fake jade purchased by the National Palace museum.<sup>136</sup> This case reveals that committee members' expertise has nothing to do with the works or antiquities waiting for their scrutiny. Committee members who take charge of the scrutiny in the acquisition of jade are not experts in the field of jade.<sup>137</sup> In these circumstances, how can they take responsibility for the scrutiny in this acquisition? The point is that, to avoid additional trouble, public art museums tend to appoint acquaintances as experts rather than those whose expertise fits the needs in the process of acquisition scrutiny. Furthermore, it also reveals that conspiracy to profit from acquisition is very possible. The museum has purchased ancient works of jade only from three Taiwanese art dealers over the past years.<sup>138</sup>

To avoid any controversy, curators in the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts withdraw any work without any further discussion if any committee member questions it.<sup>139</sup> It is an over reaction, because it is also possible for committee members to question certain works maliciously due to the competition between different groups or individuals. As a matter of fact, the acquisitions in public art museums in Taiwan have been influenced by sophisticated social relationships for a long time. Sociable artists or art dealers, who have good connections with powerful people such as politicians, councillors and so on, can easily build relationship with public art museums. And with dramatically increased prices in the art markets, the competition to sell works or antiquities to public museums has become more intense. This problem can only be resolved by strengthening. The system and discipline for acquisition is in urgent need of improvement. Directors and curators need to make the policy more open and more transparent to the public.<sup>140</sup>

To know the sophisticated implications in acquisition may be difficult, but the truth is that market research in art museums needs to be improved significantly and the acquisitions process also needs to be more open to avoid favouritism and manipulation. An art museum should retain its neutral position in relation to cultural development. The involvement of partisan political purposes or manipulation does not lead museums to be a healthy cultural organization. Art museums need to make efforts to avoid unnecessary external influences to set up the collecting policies, which take a long-term

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<sup>135</sup> A legislator in Taiwan.

<sup>136</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

<sup>137</sup> There were two external experts in the committee. One committee member was a professor whose expertise is Taiwanese archaeology. The other was an expert in Chinese porcelain. See Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

<sup>138</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a). This case is discussed in chapter 4 (3.3 Museums and fakes). See Li Weijing (2000d).

<sup>139</sup> Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇) on 25 Jan. 2000.

<sup>140</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

view. An art museum has a duty to buy objects according to professional artistic judgement. Besides, it should create taste, not follow fashion, and should purchase works before prices rise too high. Museums can carry out their collecting by filling gaps in a major holding, or by breaking new ground by collecting valuable, but ignored, works or antiquities. The National Museum of History in Taipei, for example, took advantage of lower prices in the art market to purchase over 300 diverse ancient Chinese belt hooks. It shows that, in spite of the art markets complexity, an art museum can still set up an acquisition policy wisely.<sup>141</sup>

Donation is an important mechanism for collection growth but in Taiwan there frequently seems to be a reluctance to give.<sup>142</sup> The Kaohsiung History Museum, for example, had to borrow a number of cultural objects to set up its opening exhibition in 1998, as it hardly had any donations from private collectors.<sup>143</sup> To find out the cause, we may look to the process of acquisition in museums and the attitude of collectors. Firstly, many museums in Taiwan are used to publishing nothing about their acquisition policy to the public. As Huang Minhui<sup>144</sup> pointed out, "The National Palace Museum has given an impression of mystery to the public for a long time. We hardly know about the working procedures in the museum. People have no way to comment on it even if they feel suspicious of its procedures."<sup>145</sup> It has been said for a long time that some people in authority appropriated certain collections.<sup>146</sup> Although the museum claims to be innocent, the general public is not willing to put their faith on it.<sup>147</sup> Secondly, acquisition processes shrouded under the official systems provide opportunities for unethical profiteering by staff from the acquisitions.<sup>148</sup> Not surprisingly, this arouses public suspicion and less support.<sup>149</sup> Thirdly, the lack of substantial tax exemption causes private collectors to be unwilling to donate their collections to art museums. As stated by Zheng Dingguo,<sup>150</sup> "Partly because of the complicated bureaucratic processes,

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<sup>141</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1995c).

<sup>142</sup> Qin Yujie (秦裕傑)(2000).

<sup>143</sup> Li Xiaofen (李小芬)(1997).

<sup>144</sup> Huang Minhui (黃敏慧), a legislator in Taiwan.

<sup>145</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

<sup>146</sup> Du Zhengsheng (杜正勝), Director of the National Palace Museum, explained to the Legislation Yuan on 26 July 2000 that museum collections have never appropriated by influential figures. See Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000e).

<sup>147</sup> Huang Minhui (黃敏慧), a Taiwanese legislator, argued in the Legislation Yuan on 26 July 2000 that the operation of the National Palace Museum has been surrounded by a mysterious fog for a long time. She requested that the museum should do more to communicate with the public. See Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

<sup>148</sup> Chen Jingjun (陳景峻) questioned why the acquisition of the National Palace Museum had been fixed on three specific art dealers. See Li Yuling (李玉玲)(2000a).

<sup>149</sup> Zhu Lingyin(朱苓尹)(1995: 107).

<sup>150</sup> Zheng Dingguo (鄭定國), Curator of the National Museum of Arts

partly because of the lack of substantial tax exemption, the donation of works cannot be significantly stimulated.”<sup>151</sup> If the government cannot provide substantial tax exemption, the acquisition by public art museums will become increasingly difficult.<sup>152</sup>

As for private art museums, although many are corporations, the general public is accustomed to regarding them as the private property of the wealthy. At this stage, they are still in their infancy as far as facilities, staff and so on, go. As a result, it is very rare for collectors or artists to donate objects to them.

However, in many situations artists may be far more willing than collectors to donate their works to public art museums. The attention of donations is focused on better preservation, academic research, confirmation of achievement, and promotion of fame. Huang Guangnan has said: “An art museum can attract artists’ donations as long as the museum can give them a promising prospect.”<sup>153</sup> In response to the generosity, some public art museums have offered a certain amount of money to set up a scholarship in the name of the artist.<sup>154</sup> Some older generation artists, who do not have their own museums, have preferred to donate works to public art museums after 1990. For instance, noted precursory artists such as Li Zhongsheng, Guo Bochuan and so on have donated paintings to Taipei Fine Arts Museum. The family of Liao Jichun, Taiwanese master, also donated seven oil paintings, which are worth 80 million NT\$, to the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1996. In response to the generous contribution, Taipei city government offered 20 million NT\$ to establish a scholarship in the name of Liao Jichun (Table 7.2).<sup>155</sup>

The issue of provenance and legal title is a necessary concern for museums in Taiwan. The authorities in China have taken significant action to claim back stolen or looted cultural objects from other countries in the 1990s. In 1997, for instance, the Institution of Dunhuang Cave in China claimed back cultural objects from a number of European countries and Japan.<sup>156</sup> As a result of numerous cultural objects flowing into Taiwan, officials from China have been very keen to make contact with Taiwan. In 1994, Zhang Deqin, Director of the Culture Bureau of China, participated in a conference in Taipei and appealed for further cooperation between both sides to crack down on the traffic in

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<sup>151</sup> Zhu Lingyin(朱苓尹)(1995: 107).

<sup>152</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>154</sup> Having donated 19 paintings in 1991, renowned 90-year-old master, Liu Qiwei presented 81 paintings to the National Museum of Art in Taichung in 2000. At the same time, a foundation in his name was set up by the museum at the ceremony of donation. See Xio Shufen (修淑芬)(2000).

<sup>155</sup> Hu Yunfen (胡永芬)(1996a).

<sup>156</sup> Anon. (1997b).

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Table 7.2: Noted Artists' donation to public art museums in Taiwan after 1990

| Artist             | Content of donation   | Museum (beneficiary)             | Date |
|--------------------|---|----------------------------------|------|
| Yang Sanlang(楊三郎)  | Oil paintings   | National Palace Museum in Taipei | 1999 |
| Yang Yingfen(楊英風)  | Sculptures  | National Palace Museum in Taipei | 1999 |
| Jin Qinbo(金勤伯)     | Ink paintings   | National Museum of History       | 2000 |
| Fu Juanfu(傅狷夫)     | 100 works including ink paintings and calligraphy which are worth 50 milliom NT\$ | National Museum of History       | 1999 |
| Liao Jichun(廖繼春)   | Seven oil paintings which are worth NT\$ 80milliom                                | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1996 |
| Guo Bochuan(郭柏川)   | Oil paintings   | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1993 |
| Li Zhongsheng(李仲生) | 1,281 oil paintings, letters and so on  | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1998 |
| Liu Qiwei(劉其偉)     | 19 paintings  | National Museum of Art           | 1991 |
| Liu Qiwei(劉其偉)     | 81 paintings  | National Museum of Art           | 2000 |
| Lin Tianre(林天瑞)    | Over 300 paintings  | Koahsiung Museum of Fine Arts    | 1999 |
| Lin Yushan (林玉山)   | 1 painting  | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1999 |
| Guo Xuehu (郭雪湖)    | 1 painting  | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1999 |
| Xia Yifu(夏一夫)      | 5 ink paintings   | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 1999 |
| Xia Yifu(夏一夫)      | 5 ink paintings   | Taipei Fine Arts Museum          | 2001 |

However, it is difficult to stop the traffic completely at this stage. Many collectors and art dealers in Taiwan are still eager to take advantage of the traffic to collect rarities. With the exception of professionals in the museum world, very few people are actually concerned about the issue regarding provenance and legal title. Even art museums are enthusiastic to grasp the unprecedented chance to enrich their collections. On many occasions, directors or curators of art museums in Taiwan have discussed the issue with experts from China. Yet, no one can solve the difficulties, because no formal treaty exists between these countries.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, traffic does not just happen between China

<sup>157</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1994b).

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Liao K. L. (廖桂英), Executive Director of Hongxi Art Museum in Taipei, on 19 Jan. 2000.

and Taiwan. It is an international issue, as art dealers or collectors from other countries have also made use of the situation to acquire material.<sup>159</sup> Accordingly, the conditions governing acquisition have been rather ambiguous until now. However, the issue of repatriation of stolen cultural objects is increasingly highlighted and of concern internationally. Many signs show that China is now keen to reclaim stolen cultural objects.<sup>160</sup> For example, 18 heads of Buddhist sculptures were returned to the original site, Zishou Temple in Shanxi province in China, by the Taiwanese collector, Chen Yongtai.<sup>161</sup>

It is necessary for art museums in Taiwan to prepare in advance in order to deal with the coming controversy. Directors and curators need to be more aware of the importance of provenance and legal title and prepare for any possible claim. So far, there is no web site related to art loss registration in Taiwan, but a web site<sup>162</sup> has been established and supported by China since 2000. However, cooperation between both sides is needed to build up a database of stolen art.

## 6. Museum exhibitions and the art market

Museums' exhibitions have been strongly affected by the art market. Surrounded by dealers, collectors and politicians, many art museums in Taiwan follow the fashion in the art market. For example, due to the fever of collecting Tibetan cultural objects, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall held the exhibition of 'Mercy and Wisdom-Tibetan Art' in 1998. Evidently art dealers, who run business relating to Tibetan cultural objects, play an important role in holding this exhibition.<sup>163</sup>

The political relationship of the Benshengren to the growth of Nativism had already been discussed and became manifest in museum acquisition and exhibition. In particular, works by precursory artists, came to symbolise the achievement of local culture. In addition, public art museums became increasingly interested in redefining as well as

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<sup>159</sup> Interview with Qin Xiaoyi(秦孝儀) on 28 Jan. 2000.

<sup>160</sup> A huge marble relief supposed to be auctioned at N.Y. Sotheby's was returned to China in May 2000. See Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000i). Loud protests were heard from the authorities in China, when Hong Kong Sotheby's and Christie's in May 2000 were auctioning cultural objects looted from Yuanmingyuan, the Summer Palace. See Ye Huilan (葉蕙蘭)(2000). Canada and Japan also returned cultural objects to China. See also Han Huaizong (韓懷宗)(2001a).

<sup>161</sup> Zhang Qiqiang (張其強).

<sup>162</sup> See <http://www.culturalheritagewatch.org>. on 10 may 2000.

<sup>163</sup> Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1998: 220-3).

uncovering local art history for the general public.<sup>164</sup> For example, Taipei Fine Arts Museum cooperated with a Japanese art museum to hold the exhibition, 'The Origin and Development of East Asian Oil Painting',<sup>165</sup> to widely interpret the interaction of oil painting developments between Taiwan, Japan, China, and Korea. Some art museums continue to purchase Japanese works in order to show the intimate relationship of art development between Taiwan and Japan.<sup>166</sup>

This fashion of local culture made museums exhibition focus on the same subject. Sameness links with a populist risk in which museums become organs of state purpose and policy.<sup>167</sup> The political influence cannot be ignored in the phenomenon. It is not a good sign for most museums to focus on exhibitions related to Nativism. Many museums avoided holding exhibitions reflecting the culture of China.<sup>168</sup> To seal Taiwanese culture in Nativism is actually to create a cultural blockade, which results in a cultural loss to the public in Taiwan. However, it is very difficult to improve a state of affairs that derives from the KMT government, because public museums are still subject to the official system. As Nan Fangshuo indicated, "Most people tend to consider cultural issues in the light of the political systematisation of culture. However, looking to western experience, we can see that it may cause culture to become over politicised, if cultural development excessively relies on the administrative system of the authorities."<sup>169</sup> Particularly, since the opposition party, DPP, became the ruling party in Taiwan in 2000, the appointment of directors of public art museums has aroused waves of controversy.<sup>170</sup> The issue of museum politicisation became a focus.<sup>171</sup> Having resigned her position as Director of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Lin Manli deplores the government influence at her last press conference: "The government may give help to art museums. However, in most cases, its interference may damage the development of museums."<sup>172</sup> This highlighted not only the conflict between the official administration and the operation of professional museums, but also the conflict between Benshengren and Waishengren. This has made people in art believe that the operation of public art museums should not be politicised and should be kept neutral. Du Zhensheng,

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<sup>164</sup> The National Palace Museum held the exhibition for Lan Yinding, a local watercolour painter from 5 Nov. 1991 to 15 Feb. 1992 and the oil painting show for Yang Sanlang, a precursory artist, in 1999. Interview with Ren Lili (任莉莉) on 24 Jan. 2000.

<sup>165</sup> 'The Origin and Development of East Asian Oil Painting (東亞油畫的來源和開展)'.

<sup>166</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000j).

<sup>167</sup> Lowenthal (1992: 26).

<sup>168</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999f).

<sup>169</sup> Nan Fangshuo (南方朔)(2000).

<sup>170</sup> To extend its political influence in Taiwan, the DPP is inclined to appoint Benshengren as directors of public museums. Zheng Gongxian (鄭功賢)(2000: 18). See also Wang Jiaji (王嘉驥)(2000: 48-9).

<sup>171</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000d).

<sup>172</sup> Shi Meihui (施美慧)(2000b).

new Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei emphasized that the National Palace Museum should not remain the same as before and should move forward in the direction of academics rather than politics.<sup>173</sup> However, it should be remembered that, viewed from the standpoint of social development, the operation of museums cannot be completely separated from the political system, as politics is not only the prime influence supporting museum operation in Taiwan but is also one of the social forces affecting cultural development in society. Furthermore, many public museums are designed to be symbols of the nation. "Museums have never been separated from politics and political power, as they are part of politics and political power. A museum should take the responsibility to demonstrate the legitimism of political power by means of an educational programme. They are not only media for political socialization, but also charged with forming or reinforcing national imagination among the general public."<sup>174</sup> Ideally, they may be the best way to seek a balance between them. Political force needs to take the position of assisting museums' development to fulfil their cultural task rather than directing their operation towards a politically oriented policy. As Huang indicated, "Public art museums have the task of presenting representative culture, in particular of promoting general cultural development, within a political framework."<sup>175</sup>

Politicised taste makes local works and antiquities a main stream in the art market. In many cases, art museums do not interpret artistic taste or present a new vision for the general public. In contrast, they are keen to cooperate with the art market. In some cases, exhibitions held in art museums are so coincident with activities in the art market that their intentions inevitably arouse a great deal of suspicion. For example, when the National Museum of History in Taipei opened the splendid exhibition of Chang Yu and Pan Yuliang on 14 Oct. 1995, Sotheby's simultaneously held its Chang Yu auction in Taipei on 15 October 1995 and sold out all the 32 items for high prices.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, in the other Sotheby's auction held on the same day, the oil painting, 'White Lotus', by Chang Yu, fetched 13.25 million NT\$ (£278,250), a record price in 1995.<sup>177</sup> Christie's also sold all the paintings by Pan Yuliang in its auction on 17 Sept. 1995. The oil painting by Pan Yuliang, 'The Nude Lady beside a window', was sold for 4.67 million NT\$ (£98,070) and made the third price record in 1995.<sup>178</sup> Besides, Artist Publishing Ltd had published a book about Chang Yu in Sept. 1995. Lin & Keng Gallery, one of

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<sup>173</sup> Wu Dianrong (吳典蓉) and Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000).

<sup>174</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中)(2000b).

<sup>175</sup> Huang Guangnan (1999: 155).

<sup>176</sup> Liu Youyan (劉猷彥)(1995).

<sup>177</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

<sup>178</sup> *ibid.*

Chang Yu's agents, also said to the media that an exquisite catalogue relating to Chang Yu would be published in December 1995. Compared to the depression among other commercial galleries and auctions in 1995, these results were really outstanding.<sup>179</sup> The price of works by Chang Yu and Pan Yuliang used to be approximately only half or one-fifth of that of works by Taiwanese precursory artists in 1993.<sup>180</sup> Having been manipulated by four commercial galleries, the market price of their works started to increase significantly (Table 7.3).<sup>181</sup> It is evident that the museum exhibition had greatly helped to boost their prices at auction.

**Table 7.3: The top ten record prices of oil paintings in 1995 in the Taiwanese art market**

| Ranking | Artist       | Title of work                                    | Auction house        | Hammered Price                |
|---------|--------------|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1       | Chang Yu     | White Lotus (白蓮)                                 | Sotheby's (autumn)   | 13.25 million NT\$ (£278,250) |
| 2       | Liao Jichun  | Garden (花園)                                      | Chuanjia (傳家)        | 8.8 million NT\$ (£184,800)   |
| 3       | Lin Fengmian | A Heroine (巾幗英雄)                                 | Sotheby's (autumn)   | 6.65 million NT\$ (£139,650)  |
| 4       | Hong Ruilin  | Pioneer (開拓者)                                    | Qingyi (autumn) (慶宜) | 6.16 million NT\$ (£129,360)  |
| 5       | Lian Jichun  | Extracted Landscape (抽象風景)                       | Sotheby's (spring)   | 5.55 million NT\$ (£116,500)  |
| 6       | Pan Yuliang  | Nude Lady beside a Window (窗邊裸女)                 | Christie's (autumn)  | 4.67 million NT\$ (£98,070)   |
| 7       | Pan Yuliang  | Horses (群馬)                                      | Sotheby's (spring)   | 4.67 million NT\$ (£98,070)   |
| 8       | Lin Yushan   | Spring of Formosa (寶島春光)                         | Qingyi (spring) (慶宜) | 4.51 million NT\$ (£94,710)   |
| 9       | Liao Jichun  | A Nude Lady (裸女)                                 | Qingyi (慶宜)          | 4.29 million NT\$ (£90,090)   |
| 10      | Chang Yu     | A Bunch of Flowers in Purple Background (紫色背景花束) | Chuanjia (傳家)        | 3.96 million NT\$ (£83,160)   |

Source: Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

Many art museums in Taiwan cannot have an independent policy outside the sophisticated profits of the art market. Although an art museum may have a good

<sup>179</sup> Four in ten paintings among the record top ten prices in 1995 were attributed to Chang Yu and Pan Yuliang. See Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).

<sup>180</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1996c).

<sup>181</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1995a).



relationship with art dealers, collectors and auctioneers, they have to know very clearly how to keep an ethical distance. In particular, some public museum directors are accustomed to accepting financial support from art dealers, collectors, entrepreneurs and so on, to hold exhibitions.<sup>182</sup> They need to be more cautious about making any promise in return. Art museums are expected to use their vote more carefully and avoid involving themselves in any activities connected with market profits. However, this is not always easy. In many cases exhibitions serve as a sort of glorified form of advertising for collectors or companies, whose patronage is mentioned in newspaper critiques, and whose logos appear on the publicity posters and in the exhibition catalogues. This may seem a natural expectation for a collector or company, which has devoted a substantial amount of funds to a major exhibition, but the use of the blockbuster for advertising purposes cannot be neutral.<sup>183</sup>

An art museum as an educational institution is supposed to have the capability of creating artistic taste in an academic way. To some extent, the ability to foresee possible developments in the future is a necessary attribute enabling museums to play a role in leading the general public to appreciate new visions of art. Consequently, to fulfil the task, an art museum should keep undertaking research work. Based on research, it can hold exhibitions according to its long-term plan rather than rush in pursuit of fashion. However, it seems to be common that many art museums in Taiwan get lost in the waves of the art market. As Silverman and other scholars pointed out, "While auction houses and wallet-flexing fat cats set new records in spending, museums seem to be dancing as fast as they can to keep in step with the new consumerist aesthetic."<sup>184</sup> Museums' short sightedness has resulted in enthusiasm for fashion in the art market. Many museums have been making efforts to use blockbusters reflecting market tastes in order to attract the public's attention. However, holding an exhibition, which not only makes a record of cultural objects but also interprets the meaningful significance of them, may take several years for prestigious art museums in advanced countries. This kind of exhibition containing the products of significant research can make curators feel proud of their achievement, as it is seen as a presentation of their academic career. But in fact the exhibitions are usually akin to tourism, sightseeing or a circus by museums in Taiwan. Curators or researchers are only used as workers rather than specialists to deal with exhibition affairs. It has not only made audiences obtain little meaningful information from exhibitions, but has also been fruitless in improving the careers of curators or researchers."<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan on 2 Feb. 2000.

<sup>183</sup> West (1995: 82-3).

<sup>184</sup> Shaman (1987: 13).

<sup>185</sup> Wu Ke (吳克)(1996).

We can see that it is the emphasis on the number of visitors that makes politically oriented directors in public museums prefer 'blockbusters', obtaining the favour of the media, as very helpful for their promotion in the official system. Moreover, more sponsors like to be presented on the exhibition posters and more politicians and celebrities show up for the blockbuster. In many cases a blockbuster cannot show a director's long-term cultural view for the public education, but shows his capability of summoning the public to achieve an advertising function in a consumer society. In Taiwan, a blockbuster can be seen as a compromise between socio-political considerations, market profits and cultural education.

To meet the demands of populism, many public museums cannot help but direct their exhibitions to harmonize with market-oriented tastes to aim at the objective of popularisation. For example, a main stream in the art market is inclined towards Impressionist oil paintings, a fashion also evident in public art museums. For instance, in 1995 the National Palace Museum in Taipei cooperated with the Louvre Museum to hold the exhibition, 'Impressionist Collections from the Louvre Museum',<sup>186</sup> which had attracted more than 300,000 visitors within 40 days.<sup>187</sup> Subsequently, the National Museum of History and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts cooperated with the Orsay Museum to hold the blockbuster, 'Golden Impression',<sup>188</sup> to display Impressionist paintings in 1997. Both of them had attracted thousands of visitors.

For the sake of propaganda, museums have emphasized the cost of blockbusters and the market value of works in them in order to catch the public attention.<sup>189</sup> The public is being systematically taught to view art 'as a commodity'.<sup>190</sup> Collecting is inclined to be a financial investment or speculation rather than a purely artistic interest. As Batra stated, "the acquisitive mentality eventually infects all sections of society...but in the age dominated by the wealthy, other groups ultimately submit to the allure of money. Everything is commercialised as a result- music, art, literature [and] sports."<sup>191</sup>

However, in the consumer-oriented society, more and more museums seem to be

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<sup>186</sup> 'Impressionist Collections from the Louvre Museum (羅浮宮名畫特展)'.

<sup>187</sup> Lin Limei (林麗美)(1995).

<sup>188</sup> 'Golden Impression (黃金印象)'.

<sup>189</sup> The National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall announced in 2001 that the collections in the exhibition, 'The Finest Works of Ancient Jade (玉之華)', were worth 1,000 million NT\$ (£21,000,000). However, the museum also said that these exhibits were provided by collectors and had not been authenticated by experts. See Pan Gang (潘罡)(2001).

<sup>190</sup> Shaman (1995: 100-102).

<sup>191</sup> Batra (1987: 47).

focusing on increasing the number of visitors. However, some believe that blockbusters can significantly help an art museum fulfil its educational task.<sup>192</sup> As a result, we really cannot deny the blockbuster's benefits to public education. What should be blamed is not the blockbuster, but those exhibitions that do not have quality research to offer to the public. Ideally, an art museum should be careful to set up its policy to hold exhibitions after having done related research. Furthermore, the curators or directors of art museums should bear in mind that their emphasis should be upon meaningful educational activities for the public rather than luxury entertainment. Apart from luxury settings and exquisite catalogues offering popularised outlines, quality research, which can be shared with the general public, is necessary.<sup>193</sup> To promote artistic levels in society, exhibition policy should be more carefully created and planned in terms of long-term cultural objectives. As Shaman emphasized, "As public educational institutions, art museums have an obligation to assess constantly how effectively, ethically and morally they assume a role among that world populated by artists, scholars, art dealers and collectors. This must be balanced with constant self-assessment as to how effectively, ethically and morally art museums teach the public about art and art issues."<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Elsen (1986: 24, 27).

<sup>193</sup> Xue Pinghai (薛平海)(2000).

<sup>194</sup> Shaman (1995: 100-1).

## 8: Conclusion and implications

### 1. Influences of social forces in Taiwan

This study has examined cultural development in Taiwan by exploring the interaction between art museums, the art market and art collecting. It is evident that social forces-political, economic and cultural- played important roles in these interactions. These three factors caused modern Taiwanese society to emerge from a period of political constraint, relative poverty and conservatism. The 1970s formed the turning period in which politics, economy and culture started to change significantly in Taiwan.<sup>1</sup> From 1980, Nativism played an increasingly important role in these changes, as the force of political opposition gradually led Taiwan in the direction of democracy. Nativism was encouraged in the cultural field, while economic development raised the consumption in the art market. Here the three social forces interacted with each other and created numerous outcomes in terms of faking, smuggling, theft, collecting and museum development. The complexity of these interactions is portrayed on next page (Figure 8.1).

#### 1.1 Political influences

Political oppression by the KMT made politics a particularly significant aspect of Taiwanese society in the period after 1949. With political change in the late 1970s, came increasing pressure for wider social change, which is clearly seen in the ethnic conflict between Waishengren and Benshengren. These internal socio-political tensions have taken place against a background of political and military threats from China, which signaled similar ideological tensions. Political issues pervaded Taiwanese society, and inevitably influenced the culture.

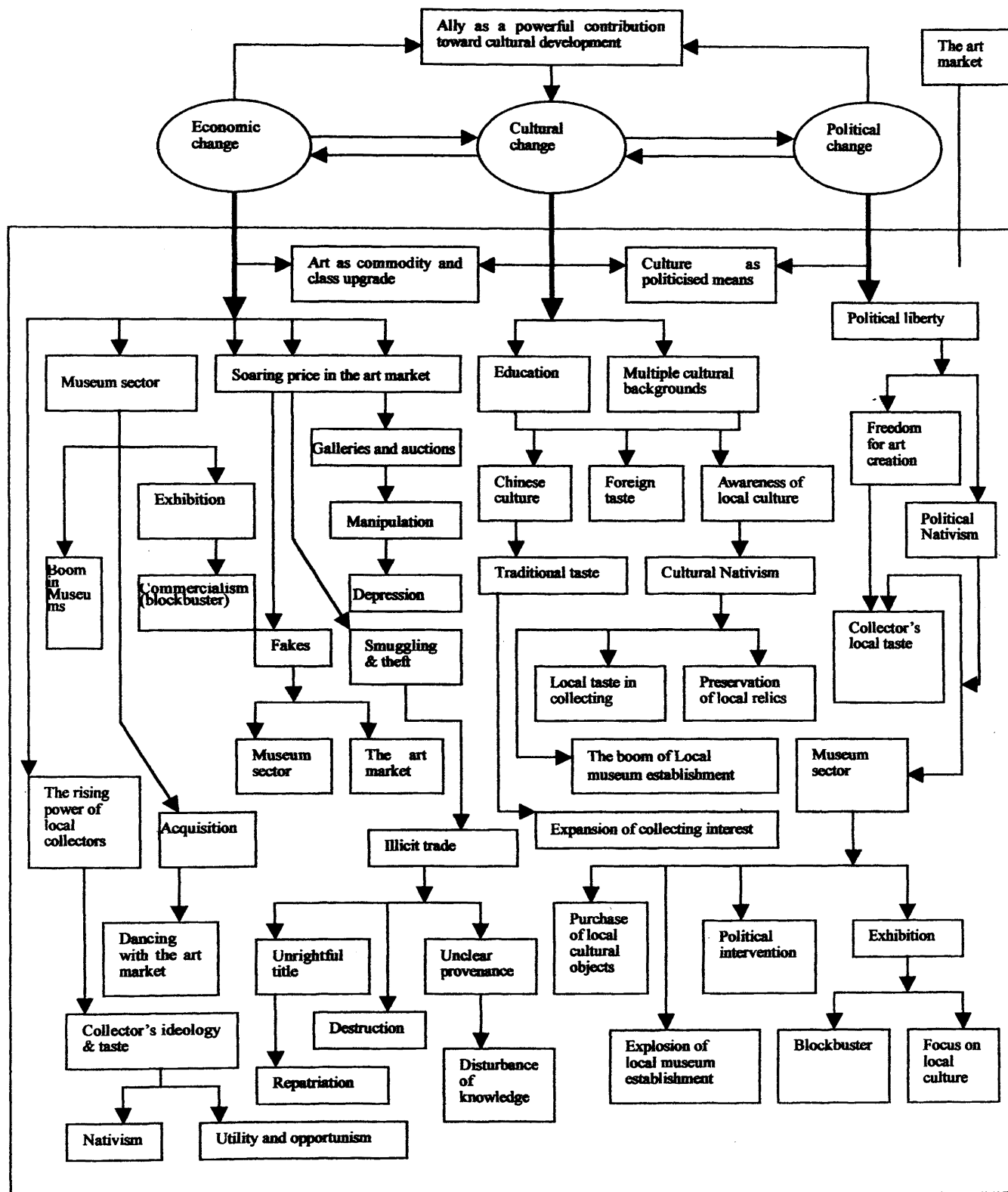
The beginning of political change dates from the death of Jiang Jieshi in 1975, as opposition forces, appealing for Taiwanese independence, grew stronger. Jiang Jingguo, the son of Jiang Jieshi, succeeded as President of Taiwan and leader of the KMT. He adopted more moderate policies and introduced opposition Benshengren politicians into the political power structure. This relatively liberal atmosphere significantly affected the cultural field, and encouraged the growth of the art market. Some commercial galleries

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<sup>1</sup> Wang Zhenhuan (王振寰)(1988: 90-8).

emerged in the 1970s, and after 1980 the government established local public art centres in each city.

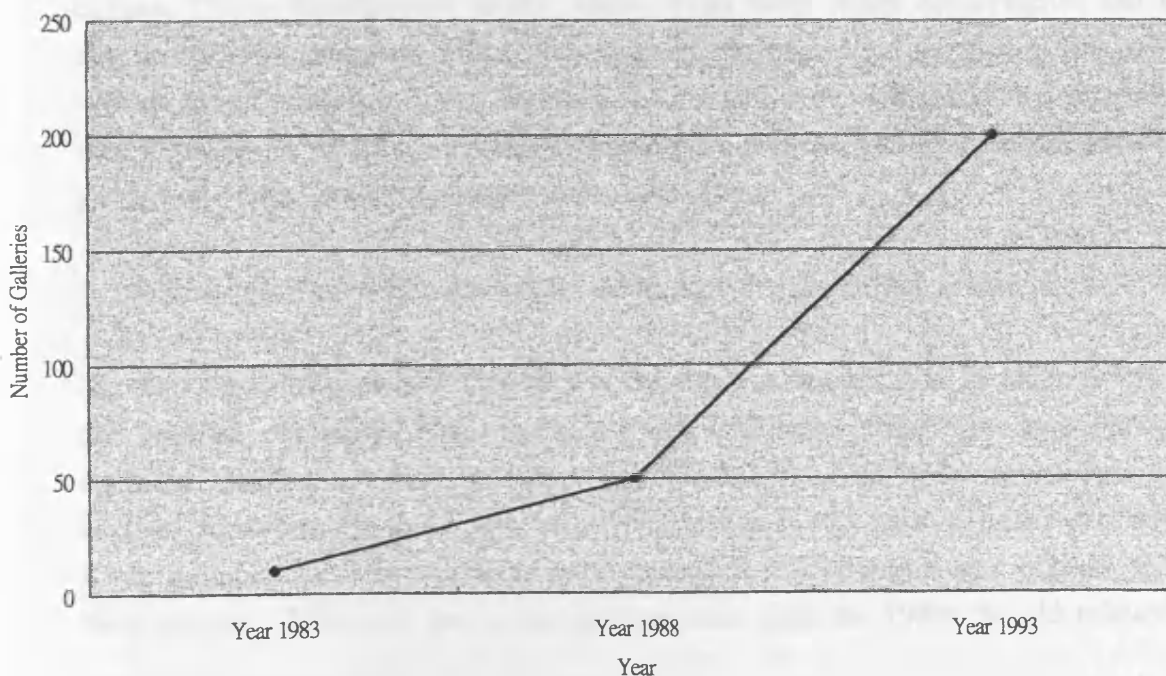
Figure 8.1: Impact of the social forces in the art market in Taiwan



In 1987 Li Denghui succeeded Jiang Jingguo as President. He, as a Benshengren, started to transform Taiwan into a more democratic country. In an atmosphere of growing Nativism and localization of politics, economy and culture became the primary areas of policy of the Li's government. Supported by government, local culture was valued and preserved. As a result the local art market thrived and the number of private art museums mushroomed.

Political liberty created more freedom for artistic creation and artists began to create their works freely. They were allowed to develop their own individual styles, and consequently the Taiwanese art world diversified. This phenomenon stimulated and broadened collectors' interests. Art dealers and commercial galleries continued to increase in the art market after 1980. Art fairs and auctions emerged after 1990 with more art museums, in particular private art museums, being established in the years that followed (**Figure 8.2**).

Figure 8.2: The growth of commercial galleries in Taiwan (1983-1993)



Source: the statistics by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan. See Tai Nai (1996: 17).

With political change and the rise of the Benshengren, Nativism began to challenge the previous China-centred cultural policy and from 1980 became the main aspect of Taiwanese cultural identity. With local culture a key political aspect of society, academics made it the focus of their research. A number of new discoveries relating to local history, local artists and so on were revealed and increased public interest in art. The establishment of art museums further increased artistic activity and aroused public interest in art appreciation. Political change had released a tremendous and pervasive cultural energy in Taiwanese society.

Given the strong relationship between politics and culture in Taiwan, it should be of no surprise that government-funded museums were significantly affected by politics.<sup>2</sup> According to Ministry of Culture statistics for 1993, over 80% of museums in Taiwan were publicly funded.<sup>3</sup> As Jiang's government had made use of art museums for political propaganda, so the newly rising Benshengren politicians treated museums as vehicles for political propaganda. Structured by the political change, collectors and museums began to shift their interest from traditional Chinese culture to local culture. Collectors were undoubtedly influenced by the activities of museums in this regard. Numerous exhibitions, in particular those in public art museums, focused on local culture. Those Waishengren artists, whose styles were rather conservative, fell from popularity.<sup>4</sup> Benshengren artists became the new favourites. Exploiting the political symbolism of Nativism, many high officials, even the President and first lady visited their exhibitions.<sup>5</sup> Public art museums and private collectors consequently have become particularly eager to purchase local works since then.

### 1.1.1 The alliance of political and economic forces in the art market

The KMT government had been keen to cooperate with capitalists in order to structure the political economy.<sup>6</sup> As Lu states, "Scholars believe that this is a politicised economic structure, which is termed as 'clientation'.<sup>7</sup> The KMT government allied itself to entrepreneurs to achieve its political goals. In this main political structure the KMT swapped monetary benefits with politicians and entrepreneurs in order to gain their support....However, due to the political shift since the 1980s the old relationship

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<sup>2</sup> Lai Jialing (賴嘉玲) (1995: 35).

<sup>3</sup> Cultural Statistics (文化統計彙編)(1994).

<sup>4</sup> Local cultural objects including the Benshengren and aboriginal cultural objects

<sup>5</sup> Yan Mingda (顏明達) (1999).

<sup>6</sup> Wang Zhenhuan (王振寰)(1993: 123-163).

<sup>7</sup> Clientation means a profits-exchange relationship between a government and specified capitalists. The ruling class shares some profits with capitalists who are in support of their political policy. See Wang Zhenhuan (王振寰)(1993: 123-163).

collapsed and a new group of combination of politicians and entrepreneurs has been emerging to develop their power relationships.”<sup>8</sup> According to the 2001 almanac published by *Le Monde*, the excessively politicised economy in Taiwan is an abnormal phenomenon, which has caused numerous problems for the country.<sup>9</sup> It is evident that most entrepreneurs, who have backed the DPP, the native political party, are Benshengren.<sup>10</sup> These Benshengren entrepreneurs, a number of whom are important collectors, not only supported political Nativism but also focused their collecting on local art. Some of them established their own art museums.

With the growing political conflict after 1980, which symbolizes an ethnic war between the Waishengren and Benshengren, entrepreneurs and people in art have been enthusiastic about assisting favoured politicians in elections. As a result of the boom in the art market, which inspired a collecting fever in society, works of art or rare antiquities, when donated or presented to political parties or politicians, formed a new kind of political currency.<sup>11</sup> Political parties and politicians took advantage of increasing prices and the collecting fever to raise funds for election by selling works at auctions. Entrepreneurs and artists supported their political party by purchasing works in auctions and donating works to politicians.<sup>12</sup> In terms of political support they were betting on this political competition.<sup>13</sup>

Evidently this new alliance of politics and commerce strongly influenced cultural development through the art market. Politicians not only made use of this situation to smooth down the ethnic conflict in society, but also to attract more public attention. In these circumstances the ideology of Nativism became the main stream in society and local artistic interests were further enhanced in the art market. However, due to political ideology political change also aroused conflicts in the cultural field, in particular public art museums. It signalled not only a debate around independence and unity, but also an ethnic conflict between Benshengren and Waishengren. At the same time it presented a conflict between conservative and progressive forces. This will be discussed in the next

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<sup>8</sup> Lu Shaowei (呂紹煒)(2000b).

<sup>9</sup> Central News Agency (2001).

<sup>10</sup> For example, Evergreen Transportation Group, the Acer Computer Group, Hongxi Real Estate Group, Qimei Industrial Group and Formosa Plastics Group etc.

<sup>11</sup> Over one hundred paintings donated by Benshengren artists, hung on the wall of the election office of Chen Shuibian, were prepared to be sold in an auction to raise funds for the presidential election in 2000. See Jian Yuyan (簡余晏)(2000).

<sup>12</sup> I was invited to donate a painting to Chen Guimiao (陳癸淼), member of parliament, in 1992. Paintings donated by artists were auctioned in order to raise his election funds. Another example, Liu Guoji (劉國基), President of the Zhencang Auction Ltd., held an art auction in Taipei to raise funds to support Chen Shuibian at the presidential election in 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Lin Xingyue (林惺嶽)(1999: 62).



section.

### 1.1.2 Art museums in the ethnic-political conflict

Due to the long-term political oppression of the ethnocentric Waishengren from 1949, 'ethnic cleavage' lay beneath a diversity of social phenomena. Ethnic ideology, as a dominant force, started intensifying in Taiwanese society after successive diplomatic frustrations with China occurred in the 1970s, in particular after Martial Law was lifted in 1987.<sup>14</sup> As Xiao Xinhuan, researcher of the Department of sociology in the Taiwan Academic Sinica, points out, ethnic conflict dominates the domains of Taiwanese daily life such as work, politics and so on.<sup>15</sup> Ethnic origin then becomes an index of political and social division.<sup>16</sup>

With the growing political opposition in the 1980s, the power of the KMT government gradually became weaker. The domain of museums, thus, was severely influenced by the change of political power.<sup>17</sup> The phenomenon in public art museums in Taiwan can be seen as a compromised product of political force. To accord with political ideology directors of public art museums need to be wary of political change in Taiwan. A number of art exhibitions actually became a reflection of political Nativism. As Luke has argued, the viewer's understanding of an exhibition is largely generated within the social context of the museum.<sup>18</sup> As a result what audiences in Taiwan see is a symbol of political Nativism coating artistic appreciation. This tendency can be regarded as a fashion kindle by political Nativism. As proposed by Gablik, it is essential to read the aesthetic texts of art exhibitions in terms of local, national, or even international political context.<sup>19</sup>

As has been stated, the new DPP government, started to take advantage of its political position to take cultural control. As previous governments did before, museums were considered a political beachhead.<sup>20</sup> As MacDonald and Alsford point out, "Museums are one of society's principal agencies for defining culture, largely through their determination of which elements of the past are of value, memorable and worthy of preservation."<sup>21</sup> A new domination and new power structure were being built. For

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<sup>14</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(1997: 1).

<sup>15</sup> Xiao Xinhuan (蕭新煌) (1996: 119-152).

<sup>16</sup> Wu Naide (吳乃德)(1992: 33-61).

<sup>17</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 39).

<sup>18</sup> Luke (1992: 231).

<sup>19</sup> Gablik (1984: 20-54).

<sup>20</sup> Zheng Gongxian (鄭功賢)(1999: 18).

<sup>21</sup> MacDonald and Alsford (1995: 15).

instance, in 2000 the new President of Taiwan Chen Shuibian was eager to launch a plan to establish the Taiwan History Museum. He also promised that a new museum for memorialising the '228 Event' would be built in the future, and said that the museum was to recover the true history of Taiwan.<sup>22</sup>

As a war of political ideology, a new political conflict between ethnic groups has been proceeding in the field of culture. Benshengren people have fought for power in the cultural field for 50 years. After 1988, with the political Nativism, Benshengren people in the art world became increasingly active and based on the growing prestige of the art market and art museum; their influence has become stronger politically.<sup>23</sup> As Huang Xiaoyan states, "Ethnic conflicts have made the art world in Taiwan fill with political ideology."<sup>24</sup>

According to one questionnaire undertaken by *Artist* relating to the top ten fine art events in 2000, 7 in 10 art events were closely linked to politics.<sup>25</sup> The same outcome was revealed in a ballot held by the School of Art Administration of the National Art Institute in Taipei.<sup>26</sup> Just as political forces have significantly affected cultural development in Taiwan, so inevitably the cultural atmosphere has become very political, particularly in the mid to late 1990s. For example, when Chen Shuibian was the Mayor of Taipei from 1995 to 1999, he intentionally appointed a Benshengren as Director of the Taipei Fine Art Museum.<sup>27</sup> However, when Ma Yingjiu, a Waishengren, became the Mayor of Taipei from 1999, he appointed a Waishengren as Director of that museum.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, when Xie Changting, a Benshengren, became the Mayor of Kaohsiung, Huang Cailang, a Waishengren, was obliged to leave the position of Director of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, a protest in central Taiwan, entitled '827 Rescue National Museum of Arts', was held by people from the art world to force Ni Zaiqing, Director of the museum, who is Waishengren, to resign. In their statement they not only condemned his 'Greater China' ideology, which was highlighted on purpose in the exhibitions held by the museum, but also implied his prejudice against local artists.<sup>30</sup> In 2001, two major

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<sup>22</sup> Liu Baojie (劉寶傑)(2000).

<sup>23</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000d).

<sup>24</sup> Huang Xiaoyan (黃小燕)(2000).

<sup>25</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000k).

<sup>26</sup> Zhou Meihui (周美惠)(2000).

<sup>27</sup> Chen Lingli (陳凌莉)(1999: 58-61).

<sup>28</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(2000f).

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Wang Pengfei(王鵬飛) and Li Weijing (2000).

public art museums still lack directors owing to failed political negotiations.<sup>31</sup> As Qu Haiyuan, Dean of the Sociology Department in the Academia Sinica in Taiwan, argues, "It is a new political orthodoxy to replace the previous political orthodoxy."<sup>32</sup>

In terms of sociology, it is impossible for cultural development to be precisely separated from political operation. As discussed by Bu, "In fact a museum in itself is of politics and of power. It is not only an educational base for political orthodoxy, but also an essential media of political-socialization. It, therefore, takes the responsibility for constructing ethnic imagination."<sup>33</sup> Accordingly Bu said the proposal of Du Zhengsheng, the new Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, to de-politicize museums is impossible.<sup>34</sup> As Luke states, "Museum exhibitions, as I have argued, do not simply present uncontested eternal facts...Actually, the rituals of museum showing are intensely charged with rhetoric and they are always intended to guide their many diverse audiences to particular constructions of the aesthetic texts formally presented in these settings."<sup>35</sup>

Contemporary views of culture suggest that excessive political intervention is inappropriate to cultural development. In an era of globalisation and rapid communication multi-cultural development has become an international trend. Excessive political ideology may distort cultural development and impose limits on artistic creation in Taiwan. Political ideology, which intended to direct cultural development to Nativism, is equal to imposing a cultural barrier. It not only narrows the cultural view of Taiwan and removes Taiwan from Chinese cultural origins, but it also isolates Taiwan internationally.<sup>36</sup> As an editorial in *China Times* stated, political debates focusing on subjects such as independence or unity, have made Taiwan lose its open-minded tolerance in cultural development.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, political power should avoid inappropriately intervening in cultural administration.<sup>38</sup> As Qu Haiyuan argues, "The relationship between politics and culture should not be blamed too much. What should most concern us is the political intervention in the development of culture."<sup>39</sup> The DPP used to strongly criticize the KMT government as a 'cultural hegemony', which was keen to promote the Greater China ideology and ignore native cultural

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<sup>31</sup> Anon. (2000i).

<sup>32</sup> Jiang Zhongming (江中明)(2000).

<sup>33</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中)(2000b).

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Luke (1992: 229).

<sup>36</sup> Chu Guoren (楚國仁)(2000: 124-7).

<sup>37</sup> Anon. (2001a).

<sup>38</sup> Anon. (2000j).

<sup>39</sup> Jiang Zhongming (江中明)(2000).

development. However, the new government of the DPP established in 2000 is gradually creating another 'cultural hegemony'.<sup>40</sup> As long as political conflict between ethnic groups continues, the cultural development of Taiwan is still in a number of difficulties.<sup>41</sup>

## 1.2 Economic influences

### 1.2.1 The economy and the art market

With growing economic prosperity in Taiwan, industries were successfully developed and national per capita income continued to increase from the 1960s. This not only encouraged more consumption, but also resulted in idle capital looking for investment opportunities in Taiwanese society, especially in the boom years of the 1980s. Newly risen capitalists became the main power to affect politics.<sup>42</sup> This not only resulted in the boom in the stock and real estate markets after 1985, but also significantly inspired people's interest in the art market after 1980.

It is evident that, as more people became richer, more collectors emerged. An increasing number of commercial galleries, auctions and art fairs were introduced into the Taiwanese art market. And with appreciation of the New Taiwan Dollar since 1985, Taiwanese collectors also had the power to exploit overseas art markets.<sup>43</sup>

However, after 1990 an international economic recession significantly affected Taiwan,<sup>44</sup> resulting in vicious competition in the art market, and its gradual decline in Taiwan. Numerous commercial galleries and auction houses closed their businesses. After the 'Asian Economic Crisis' in 1997, the art market was even harder hit. More commercial galleries closed. In December 1999, Sotheby's announced that its auction house in Taiwan would be moved to Hong Kong.<sup>45</sup> Of over ten local auction houses in 1995, only three survived in 2000.

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<sup>40</sup> Anon. (2000k).

<sup>41</sup> Pan Gang (潘罡)(2001).

<sup>42</sup> Wang Zhenhuan (王振寰)(1993: 61).

<sup>43</sup> Li Tingting (李婷婷)(1993: 157-8).

<sup>44</sup> Li Tingting (李婷婷)(1993: 155-8).

<sup>45</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順) (1999).

### 1.2.2 The rise of local economic power

Generally speaking the collecting fever has been widespread in Taiwan since 1980, partly because of the influence of Nativism, partly because of the uses to which art objects can be put. According to statistics, businessmen are the main buyers in the art market. Being more sensitive to the market value of works than other people, their involvement encouraged the art market to commercialise. And as Benshengren entrepreneurs continued to rise in Taiwanese society after 1980,<sup>46</sup> Benshengren collectors started to play a powerful role in the art market. They are very keen to invest their money in artistic activities including establishing their own art galleries, art museums and collecting works of art.<sup>47</sup> This significantly changed the ecology of the art market. The artistic taste of Benshengren collectors became a main stream in the art market in Taiwan.

In some ways the art collecting of the newly rich of the Benshengren is different from the older generation Waishengren collectors, previously main patrons in the art market. Ideologically, as most Benshengren collectors were hard-working businessmen with rags to riches stories, they tended to put more attention on the financial value of works. They not only appreciated the beauty of works, but also liked to make use of the attached value to improve their status in society. In contrast the older generation of collectors including Waishengren and Benshengren, most of whom were higher officials or descendents of the wealthy, treated art collecting as a hobby rather than a business.

### 1.2.3 Influences of utility

As most people in Taiwan were deeply affected by the boom of the stock and real estate markets in the mid-1980s, most collectors regarded art collecting as an investment opportunity. Cultural objects, therefore, became much more of a commodity than artistic creation. Collectors swarmed into the art market, pursuing wave after wave of collecting fashions. Following an ideology of utility many collectors placed prestige above aesthetic value. Art dealers played an important role as they rapidly jacked up the price of works in the art market by manipulation and encouraged these waves of fashion. Prices of cultural objects continued to increase not only in the local art market but also internationally.

As prices continued to soar, many phenomena followed. First of all many collectors

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<sup>46</sup> Lu Shaowei (2000a).

<sup>47</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 47).

bought works or antiques as stocks, waiting for a higher price to sell. They were desperate to purchase any rare works then in vogue, which would enjoy a brisk sale in the art market. A speculative atmosphere pervaded the market. "Once we have made everything commercialised and stock-oriented, we extend this custom to every field. People are accustomed to treating things as a short-lived, manipulated, fickle and rashly playful fashion."<sup>48</sup>

With the boom of the art market, commercial aspects became increasingly exploited. Consequently many artists produced market-oriented works. As Moulin has said, "Supply and demand governed not only the prices to be paid for completed works but also, given the extent to which the fortunes of the artist came to depend on the art market, what kind of painting would be done."<sup>49</sup> Many artists, manipulated by profit-oriented art dealers or by themselves, emerged rapidly in the art market. More exhibitions were held in the commercial galleries and art museums to promptly raise the price of works. Collectors were also desperate to hold exhibitions in public art museums to raise their prestige. Critics also shifted their focus to monetary profits from the early 1990s. It seemed that most people in the art world were desperate to seize the moment and profit from the boom in the art market. It was a phenomenon derived partly from the shortage of qualified curators in art museums, partly from the influence of opportunism. To extend their influence, many noted art critics, serving as newly arisen freelance curators, were employed on contract by art museums to organize important exhibitions. However, having obtained the right to organize exhibitions, they secured the baton of power in the art market. Many of them became more like art dealers than independent critics. To make a profit from the art market, they shuffled back and forth between artists, art dealers, media and public art museums in the guise of critics or academics to interweave market value with aesthetic value. As Moulin discussed about the French art market in the 1960s, "Dealers know that ordinary advertising is of no avail with cultivated buyers (or buyers who think they are cultivated). They prefer to have intellectuals and critics take up cudgels on behalf of their fledglings. The ostensible independence and competence of the critic are used covertly to sell paintings."<sup>50</sup> Consequently art exhibitions in museums were significantly commercialised and the audience only became an indication for 'consumption markets'.<sup>51</sup>

However, as a guardian of aesthetic value, art critics are supposed to be professionally

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<sup>48</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中)(2000c).

<sup>49</sup> Moulin (1987: 23).

<sup>50</sup> Moulin (1987: 77-8).

<sup>51</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 51).

objective and take a neutral stance in the art world. Art criticism is a necessary part of the current market system. Art critics take decisions that sanction an artist's reputation and therefore have economic consequences.<sup>52</sup> An art critics' responsibility is to help clarify the artistic value in museum shows for the audience rather than to entrap that audience in a market-oriented aura. This is very like Moulin's experiences of the 1960s French market: "The economic functions by critics today, willing or not, have cast doubt on the authenticity of their judgement."<sup>53</sup> However, Taiwanese art critics, allied with art museums, art galleries or art dealers, made commercial works of art fill the market in Taiwan. As Brian O'Doherty argues about the commercial effect of gallery shows, "Gallery space is no longer 'neutral.' The wall becomes a membrane through which aesthetic and commercial values osmotically exchange. There is a further inversion of context. The wall assimilates; the art discharges."<sup>54</sup>

The lucrative art market became the focus of funding-raisers after the late 1980s. In addition to politicians, charity organizations including religious organizations and artists frequently held sales or auctions.<sup>55</sup> Due to the vogue for religious veneration in Taiwan, auctions held by religious organizations rivalled auction houses.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, to meet an increasing demand, art smuggling, faking, theft and plundering were growing sharply. These phenomena not only occurred in Taiwan, but also in overseas areas, in particular in China. As local older generation artists passed away and many exquisite works were locked in collectors' cabinets or art museums, the source of fine works by local masters or antiquities gradually dried out. As a result local forgers focused on these older generation artists' works. At the same time, as numerous new generation collectors emerged and diversified their collecting interests in Chinese art, fakes from China flooded the Taiwanese art market. This situation became worse, when art dealers from China swarmed into Taiwan after 1990. Art smuggling and theft have brought more treasures into Taiwan from overseas areas, many of which came illegally from China. This has risen considerably after the late 1980s, a problem exacerbated by political tensions between Taiwan and China, which meant no law could effectively restrict the flow of illegal goods. As Taiwanese collectors were willing to pay a higher price, a huge number of art works and antiquities, in particular archaeological items, flooded into Taiwan.

These phenomena resulted in vicious competition in the Taiwanese art market. This no

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<sup>52</sup> Moulin (1987: 77).

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Brian (1986: 79).

<sup>55</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1994b).

<sup>56</sup> Huang Baoping (1994c).

doubt is one of the major factors to contribute to the depression of the art market after the early 1990s. Most artists, artists' families and art dealers turned to trade with art museums, in particular public art museums, partly because private collectors gradually decreased their purchasing, partly because they could have dual benefits: financial profit and substantial fame. This caused a number of controversies over the acquisition process in the public sector art museums.

More local art dealers and collectors were compelled to pursue quality works or antiquities overseas, in particular from China. On the one hand art dealers were keen to introduce rare antiquities and new styles into Taiwan, as this contributed to provoke the boom of the art market in China and Singapore after 1990. On the other hand some of them involved themselves directly or indirectly in art smuggling, faking and theft. Evidence shows that Taiwanese art dealers and collectors played an important role in promoting smuggling, theft and plundering in China.<sup>57</sup>

With no clear provenance art historians and archaeologists became seriously confused and the Taiwanese art market was disrupted. Concern in China led to academics and officials visiting Taiwan to seek unofficial cooperation from the early 1990s. Even if some repatriation cases did take place, it was impossible to stop private collectors and museums purchasing works, which had no clear provenance. Instead this boom in art smuggling, plundering and theft from China spurred private collectors and museums in Taiwan to take advantage of this chance to enrich their collections.<sup>58</sup> As Chen states, "Collectors and curators in Taiwan have not yet perceived the importance of legal title and provenance."<sup>59</sup>

The accompanying flood of fakes frustrated numerous collectors. Many of these were found in auctions, commercial galleries, private collections and even public art museums. Fakes aroused a number of debates and controversies in the Chinese art markets around the world. In Taiwan this phenomenon revealed the consequence of a shortage of qualified curators, conservators and facilities, capable of distinguishing fakes. Many collectors became more cautious about collecting. They started to carry out research on works of art and cultural objects. They attended courses, which were organized by art dealers or collector societies, to learn how to distinguish fakes. Books relating to authentication, archaeology and art history were also published. The problem of fakes was yet another factor encouraging the 1990s' decline in art consumption.

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<sup>57</sup> Tai Nai (1999b: 16).

<sup>58</sup> Xie Huiqing (謝慧青)(2000c).

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Chen Guoning (陳國寧), Director of the Department of Aesthetics and Art Management of the Nanhua University, in Taipei on 15 Dec. 2000.



As a result of the opportunism inspired by the economic prosperity, art collecting not only symbolizes the upgrading of social class, but also provides a means to promote one's social status. In other words, people can make use of artistic activities including collecting, visiting museums and so on to improve or enhance their prestige, social class or authority in society.<sup>60</sup> In these circumstances collectors take advantage of art collecting as a means to make friends with the powerful elite including politicians, entrepreneurs and so on. Enterprises and political parties make use of art collecting as an effective propaganda. Consequently commercial galleries, auctions and art exhibitions in art museums replace the golf club, banquet, etc. as places for the promotion of fellowship. As a result a number of collectors societies and associations emerged after 1990, with a membership consisting of collectors, art dealers or socialites. They meet on a regular basis and display their collections in galleries and museums,<sup>61</sup> and this promotes their social status in public. Xie Lifa suggests that collectors need to build up their collections as creators.<sup>62</sup> This was a huge change in the ecology of the art market after 1990. The wealthy collectors' influence was growing dramatically. They even started to challenge art critics and art historians.<sup>63</sup> Particularly after 1995 noted collectors not only made speeches talking about their collections, but also made comments on artists' works to the public.<sup>64</sup>

#### 1.2.4 The explosion of art museums

This collecting fever in the art market also significantly affected the field of art museums. Firstly, private art museums, which were set up by collectors who were entrepreneurs, emerged during the 1970s. Many more have been established since 1990. The boom in the art market not only made the older generation artists quickly rich, but also enabled them to establish their own museums. In addition, a number of universities set up their art museums or galleries after 1990. They not only provided artists and collectors with places for displaying their works or collections, but also became a new force to compete with commercial galleries and public art museums.

However, the financial power of private collectors substantially boosted the price of works beyond the reach of public art museums. At the same time private museums, particularly those artists' memorial museums, found the sale of their collections an

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<sup>60</sup> Bourdieu (1995: 67-77).

<sup>61</sup> Lumpy (1988: 4).

<sup>62</sup> Xie Lifa (謝里法)(1999). See also Rosenberg (1960-30-1).

<sup>63</sup> Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇)(1995: 252-3).

<sup>64</sup> Li Weijing (2000f). Huang Baoping (2000b).

important means to institutional survival.

The expansion of art museums has undoubtedly resulted in competition between them. Particularly, due to the collapse of previous politicized legitimization and a diversity of artistic interests in society, public art museums could no longer only focus on traditional Chinese culture. Instead public art museums were compelled to turn to cultural consumption and commercialised leisure to compete with each other.<sup>65</sup> The size of the audience, therefore, became a yardstick for exhibitions in art museums in the 1990s. This has caused museum directors to be interested in instant effect rather than long-term objectives. That may explain why, Chen Yuxiu,<sup>66</sup> the new Minister of Culture, emphasized that opportunism and the 'fast food' cultures need to be removed, as she first made a speech to the Legislation Yuan (parliament) on 29 May 2000.<sup>67</sup>

As a result most art museums, in particular public art museums, need to make efforts to attract visitors. Blockbusters become the primary policy of art museums. Partly because of lack of permanent collections, partly because of the limited budget, this has made art museums keen to cooperate with wealthy collectors. Many sponsors are wealthy art dealers or collectors. To attract public attention art museums also need to ally with the media. As political parties or entrepreneurs own most of the mainstream media in Taiwan, a new social relationship was created between collectors, art museums, art dealers and media. And through the media, entrepreneurs or politicians make use of art museums, in particular public museums, as propaganda. Fashion as embodied in blockbuster exhibitions, as the most popular aesthetic practice of all, extends art into life and offers a medium across the social spectrum with which to experiment.<sup>68</sup> Art museums in Taiwan, thus, became a showroom in which entrepreneur collectors displayed their collections in order to improve their prestige and to raise their social status.

More exhibitions are now publicized in an exaggerated way to highlight more about their monetary value or financial sponsors than artistic value, because what these wealthy sponsors, entrepreneurs or collectors really want is 'more bang for their buck'.<sup>69</sup> This has no doubt caused the independence and self-determination of art museums to be significantly eroded. The power to construct the meaning and the content of exhibitions has mostly fallen into the hands of the media and sponsors

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<sup>65</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 20).

<sup>66</sup> Chen Yuxiu (陳郁秀), who has been inaugurated as Minister of Culture of Taiwan since May 2000.

<sup>67</sup> Ding Rongsheng (丁榮生)(2000b).

<sup>68</sup> Wilson (1990: 233).

<sup>69</sup> Noble (1988: 71).

(entrepreneurs or collectors).<sup>70</sup> Shi Zhenrong, President of Acer Computer Industrial Group, as a sponsor and partner, for example, has been involved in the management of the second Taipei City Fine Arts Museum.<sup>71</sup> As Thorstein has argued it is more likely that the arts have become the playthings of the rich-bauble and badges of social standing less respected for their beauty or intrinsic merit than for their rarity and expense. High culture may remain the preserve of the wealthy because only they had the leisure to attend to it and the power to define what, in fact, would be considered 'art'.<sup>72</sup>

## 1.3 Cultural influences

### 1.3.1 Influences of plural cultural background

Partly because of plural-cultural background, partly because of improved education, cultural forces have significantly influenced the art market in Taiwan since 1949. These are the two main factors giving impetus to art collecting and the art museum establishment in Taiwan.

In terms of ethnic groups, Taiwanese can be roughly divided into four ethnic groups, i.e. Aborigines, Holo, Hakka and Waishengren. From a view of culture, aboriginal culture came from South East Asia. In spite of some differences, the cultures of Holo, Hakka and Waishengren can be categorized as Chinese. However, Holo and Hakka, who came from China, have been settled in Taiwan for at least 400 years and have created their own culture in Taiwan. These made up the Benshengren. The Waishengren brought traditional Chinese culture into Taiwan after 1949.

To direct the Taiwanese culture back to Chinese tradition, since 1949, the educational policies of the KMT gave people an opportunity to receive a complete Chinese cultural education. The Japanese cultural influence formed in the period of Japanese occupation faded gradually and Chinese culture became re-established in Taiwan. However, Japanese culture and western culture have affected Taiwan significantly in the twentieth century. Since the 1950s, a huge number of students have been encouraged by the government to study for higher degrees in overseas countries, mainly in Japan and western countries. These students brought back the ideas of Japanese and western people about art collecting and art museums. Some of them became collectors, art

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<sup>70</sup> Lai Jialing (1995: 75).

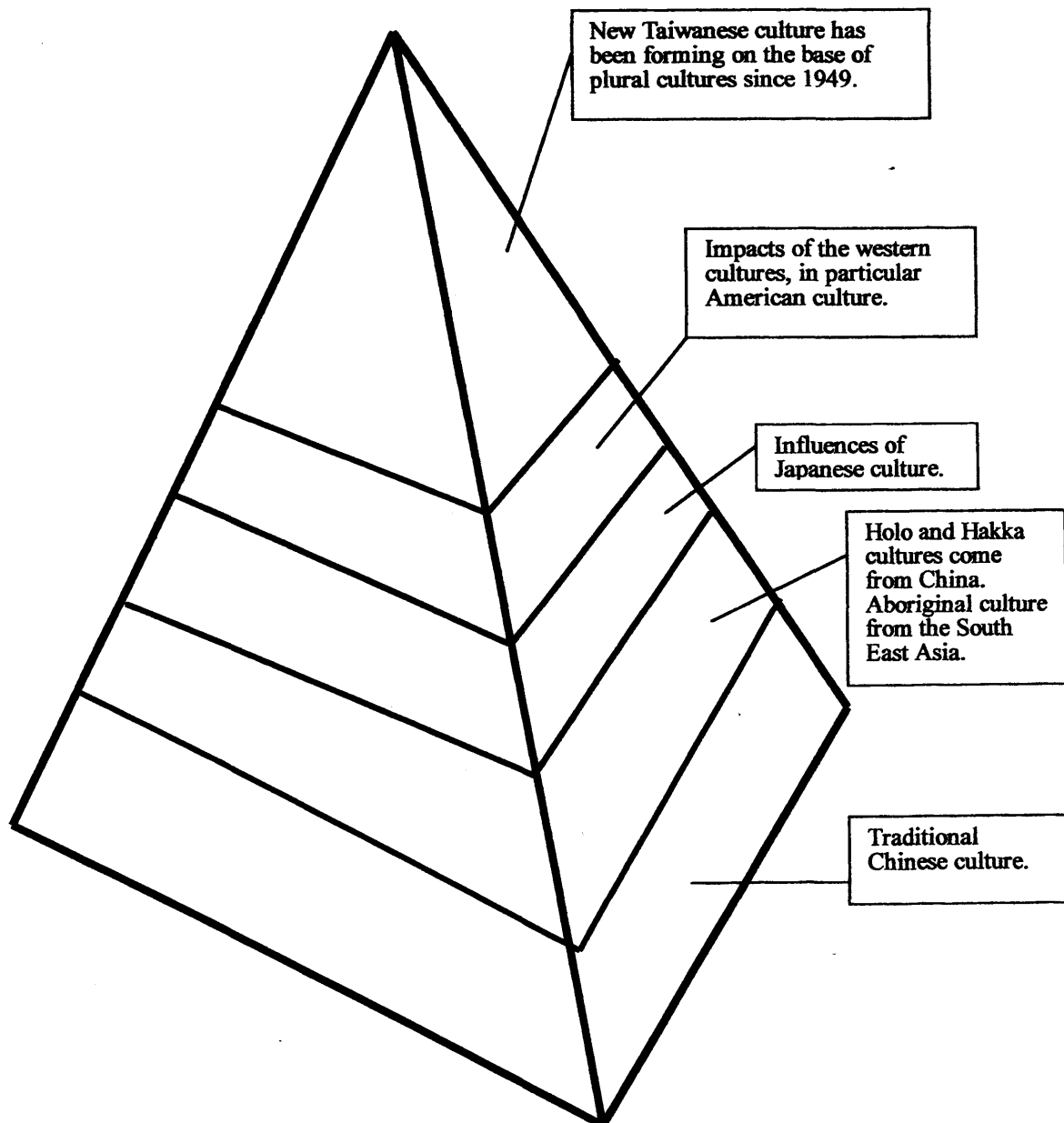
<sup>71</sup> Li Weijing (2000k).

<sup>72</sup> Dimaggio and Useem (1989: 141-2).

dealers or curators. This inevitably influenced art collecting and the establishment of art museums in Taiwan in the 1980s.

Accordingly Taiwanese culture, in fact, is constructed from Chinese traditional culture, local culture including aboriginal culture and is blended with influences from Japanese and western culture (Figure 8.3). This situation has made modern Taiwan a pluralistic society and has developed diverse thoughts and artistic tastes since 1949.

Figure 8.3: Analysis of Taiwanese cultural structure



Due to these multi-cultural influences, the new generation intellectuals in Taiwan started to realize the isolation of Taiwanese culture and appealed for cultural modernization. Modernism, therefore, has arisen in Taiwan since the 1960s. A new generation of artists proposed new aesthetics and created new artistic styles to challenge traditional artists.

This active cultural phenomenon, as a force, has inspired museums and private collectors to mainly purchase local works and antiquities. However, many new generation collectors who emerged from the late 1980s placed their interests in Chinese works and antiquities, partly because of the same cultural origin with China, partly because of the influence of western or Japanese art dealers and collectors. Chinese traditional taste has been significantly expanded. After the early 1990s it rivalled the native taste and became popular in the art market (See Figure 3.6). In addition some collectors also started to purchase western and Japanese works and antiquities.

### 1.3.2 Influence of cultural awareness

At the same time, with growing ethnic conflicts between the Benshengren and the Waishengren, Nativism, which signalled a reaction to the Chinese-centred cultural policy of the KMT, has been significantly provoked since 1970. Nativism was promoted by highly educated Benshengren in order to challenge the cultural oppression by the KMT and to recover Taiwanese local culture. Ideologically Benshengren collectors collected local works or local cultural objects as a way to preserve local history, in particular art history sunken into oblivion. Benshengren artists, in particular the older generation artists, were re-valued and became respectable masters. With increasing interest, the prices of works by Benshengren masters increased dramatically.

Academic research and investigations by the Benshengren intellectuals have been focused on local culture from the 1970s. Local taste was inspired. More collectors targeted Taiwanese folk art and aboriginal cultural objects. This vogue for local culture has inspired the KMT government to establish local art museums since 1980. More and more exhibitions relating to local culture have been held in public art museums in the support of the government particularly since 1990. In 1995, for example, Huang Guangnan, Director of the National Museum of History in Taipei, announced that the museum had shifted its focus and had established a research department of Taiwanese culture.<sup>73</sup> He also said that the museum would chiefly focus on Taiwanese cultural objects, in particular folk art,<sup>74</sup> and that the museum will establish an archaeological

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<sup>73</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(1995).

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Huang Guangnan, Director of the National Museum of History, on 2 Feb. 2000.

centre in 2000, aimed at local history and archaeology.<sup>75</sup> Du Zhengsheng, the new Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, announced that the museum would also start to collect local cultural objects and local works of art.<sup>76</sup> This signals a significant change for the museum's acquisition policy. Similarly the National Museum of Art also said that its policy would mainly focus on the development of local art.<sup>77</sup> Demonstrating this desire, Ni Zaiqing, Director of the National Museum of Arts, took a series of actions regarding local art. For instance, he prevented the painting 'Lotus pond' by local old generation painter, Lin Yushan, from being purchased by a Japanese collector, for which he appealed to raise 20 million NT\$ to hold it in the museum's collection.<sup>78</sup> The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, opened in 1994, has also announced that its acquisition policy would focus on local culture, in particular on Taiwanese calligraphy and sculptures.<sup>79</sup> Even the National Palace Museum held a magnificent solo exhibition for Yang Sanlang, a past local painter, to show its high respect in 1999. It is unprecedented that a painter of the Benshengren could have the supreme honour to hold his exhibition in this museum. In addition, the Prime Minister, Xiao Wanchang, on behalf of the government openly admired Yang Sanlang for his highly aesthetic achievement.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to public art museums, private art museums symbolized a new cultural force of the Benshengren, which was rekindled by the radical political change in the 1980s. Before 1980 only 19 of the 90 museums in Taiwan were private. However, it is evident that the growth of private museums became faster: 31 private museums were established among 60 new museums in the 1990s.<sup>81</sup> Most private art museums were established by Benshengren collectors or artists (See Appendix 10).

### 1.3.3 Influence of education

The role of the educational system is particularly important in artistic perception, not because it offers systematic programmes in art appreciation, but rather because it tends to cultivate a certain familiarity with legitimate culture and to inculcate a certain attitude

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<sup>75</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999g).

<sup>76</sup> Zhao Jing (趙靚)(2000b).

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Xue Yanling (薛燕玲), Chief Curator of the Collection Department of the National Taiwan Museum of Art, on 26 Jan. 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Xu Huiling (徐慧玲)(1999).

<sup>79</sup> Pers. Interview with Chen Xiuwei (陳秀薇), the Curator of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, on 25 Jan 2000.

<sup>80</sup> Lin Shulan (林淑蘭)(1999).

<sup>81</sup> Zhang Yuteng (張譽騰)(1999: 1-4).

towards works of art.<sup>82</sup> Educational promotion by the post-war KMT focused on Chinese culture, but the pursuit of higher degrees in overseas countries, as has been described, enabled more people not only to find interest in foreign cultures, but also to encourage more educated people to think deeply about local cultural development in Taiwan. For example, Qiu Yonghan, the founder of the Tainan City Yonghan Museum of Taiwanese Folk Art in 1979, was not only a successful entrepreneur, but also a prestigious author. With growing art consumption people visited art galleries and museums more frequently. According to the statistics of the Cultural Ministry, the attendance of local artistic activities was over 11.44 million in 1989, doubling in 1990 to over 22.8 million<sup>83</sup> and increased further with the subsequent establishment of more art museums.

The higher level of education further inspired new generation collectors to start their art collections.<sup>84</sup> As these collectors have wider scope and are more willing to receive new ideas than that of older generation collectors, this has contributed to the expansion of collecting interests from 1990. In addition to local cultural objects, enthusiastic new generation collectors purchased contemporary works and different kinds of antiquities, even avant-garde works. Some of them focused on foreign works and antiquities, most of which came from Japan and the west.<sup>85</sup> Some of them established their own museums focusing on foreign art. The phenomenon of growing artistic interests pervaded Taiwanese society and made art museums introduce more exhibitions relating to overseas art. Diverse artistic interests have influenced Taiwanese society. From 1990 the authorities believed that cultural education could be an effective way to improve Taiwanese society, so art education in museums was highlighted. And the policy of internationalisation, as a new ideology has become more popular to rival that of the localisation since the mid-1990s (See figure 3.6). This has made museum attitudes more open. The Taipei Fine Arts Museum, for example, held the first international conference of 'Museum Education' in 1999.<sup>86</sup> Besides, numerous art galleries or museums have also emerged in schools, in particular universities since 1990. The University Art Museum Association was established in 1999.<sup>87</sup> Many museums are keen to cooperate with overseas museums.<sup>88</sup> For instance, the National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall

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<sup>82</sup> Johnson (1993: 23).

<sup>83</sup> Wang Xinyi (王馨逸)(1991: 71).

<sup>84</sup> Wang Xinyi (1991: 66).

<sup>85</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1996d). The Qimei Art Museum purchased two oil paintings by French masters in the international art market in 1996. See Chen Huiming (陳慧明)(1996).

<sup>86</sup> Zheng Youjia (鄭又嘉) and Lin Xinru (林心如)(1999: 22-4).

<sup>87</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(1999h).

<sup>88</sup> The Taipei Fine Arts Museum held the exhibition of 'Rodin' in 1993 and cooperated with the Orange Museum in 1998. The National Museum of History cooperated with the Orsay Museum in France to hold

cooperated with the Japanese art museum, Fuji Museum, to hold exhibitions.<sup>89</sup> The National Palace Museum in Taipei cooperated with a Spanish foundation to hold the exhibition entitled 'Imagination of Dali'.<sup>90</sup>

## 2. The art market in the field of power

With the growing opposition campaigns, political conflict in Taiwan started to become involved in the field of culture from the 1960s.<sup>91</sup> In fact political struggle with cultural appeal was the only way to efficiently make the ethnic conflict legitimate. This catalysed Nativism, which calls for cultural awareness, in the 1970s. From the 1980s politicians, social campaigners and entrepreneurs have involved in the field of local cultural campaigns.<sup>92</sup> They not only highlighted Nativism but also emphasize cultural awareness. For example, politicians encouraged people in art to build cultural policies, which focused on local cultural development rather than the revival of Chinese culture.<sup>93</sup> They were also eager to use art auctions to raise their election funds.<sup>94</sup> In addition, religious organizations hold art auctions or set up their galleries to raise funds or to attract the masses.

In terms of sociology these proliferating phenomena in the Taiwanese art market can be regarded as social competition in the field of power in which the forces of politics, economy and culture interact with each other. Bourdieu explained, "The literary and artistic field (3) is contained within the field of power (2), while possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it, especially as regards to its economic and political principles of hierarchization. It occupies a *dominated position* (at the negative pole) in the field, which is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations (1). It

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the exhibition of 'Impressionist masters' in 1997. See Zhao Mingde (趙明德)(1996b). The National Palace Museum held the exhibition of 'Picasso' in 1998, which attracted over 200,000 visitors. See Di Men (帝門)(1998: 563).

<sup>88</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬)(1994).

<sup>88</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順)(1997).

<sup>89</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(2000d).

<sup>90</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2001).

<sup>91</sup> From the 1960s political campaigners started to issue a number of magazines, newspaper or periodicals, which, then, were seen as an offence of the Martial Law. These media were forced to close. The authority confiscated their property and put editors in prison. For example, Chief editor of *Free China*, Lei Zhen, was sentenced to ten years in prison as he publicly appealed for the establishment of an opposition party in 1960. Zhen Nanrong burnt himself at the office of his magazine to protest against the arrest in 1989. See Figure 2.3.

<sup>92</sup> Liu Huanyue (劉還月)(1999: 9-14).

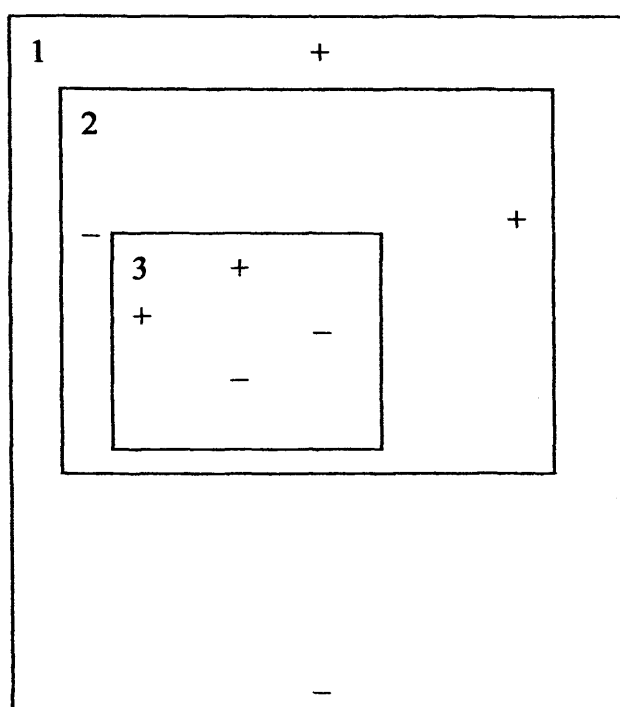
<sup>93</sup> Zheng Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1999b: 36).

<sup>94</sup> Jian Yuyan (簡余晏)(2000).



is thus the site of a double hierarchy: the *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if, losing all autonomy, the literary and artistic field were to disappear as such (so that writers and artists became subject to the ordinary laws prevailing in the field of power, and more generally in the economic field), is *success*, as measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc.” (Figure 8.4).<sup>95</sup> In other words, the specificity of the literary and artistic field is defined by the fact that the more autonomous it is, the more completely it fulfils its own logic as a field. It inevitably continues to be affected by the laws of the field, which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit.<sup>96</sup> Bourdieu’s theory provides a sociological analysis, which presents a relationship of exchange, consumption and production of capital and culture.<sup>97</sup>

**Figure 8.4: The field of cultural production and the field of power**



Source: Bourdieu (1993: 38).

Bourdieu’s theory can be applied to the situation in Taiwan since 1949. It shows that the development of the Taiwanese art market in which artists, art dealers, critics, collectors, art museums and so on interact with each other, is actually contained within the field of power. From the broad view of sociology, on one hand, it owns the autonomy to develop;

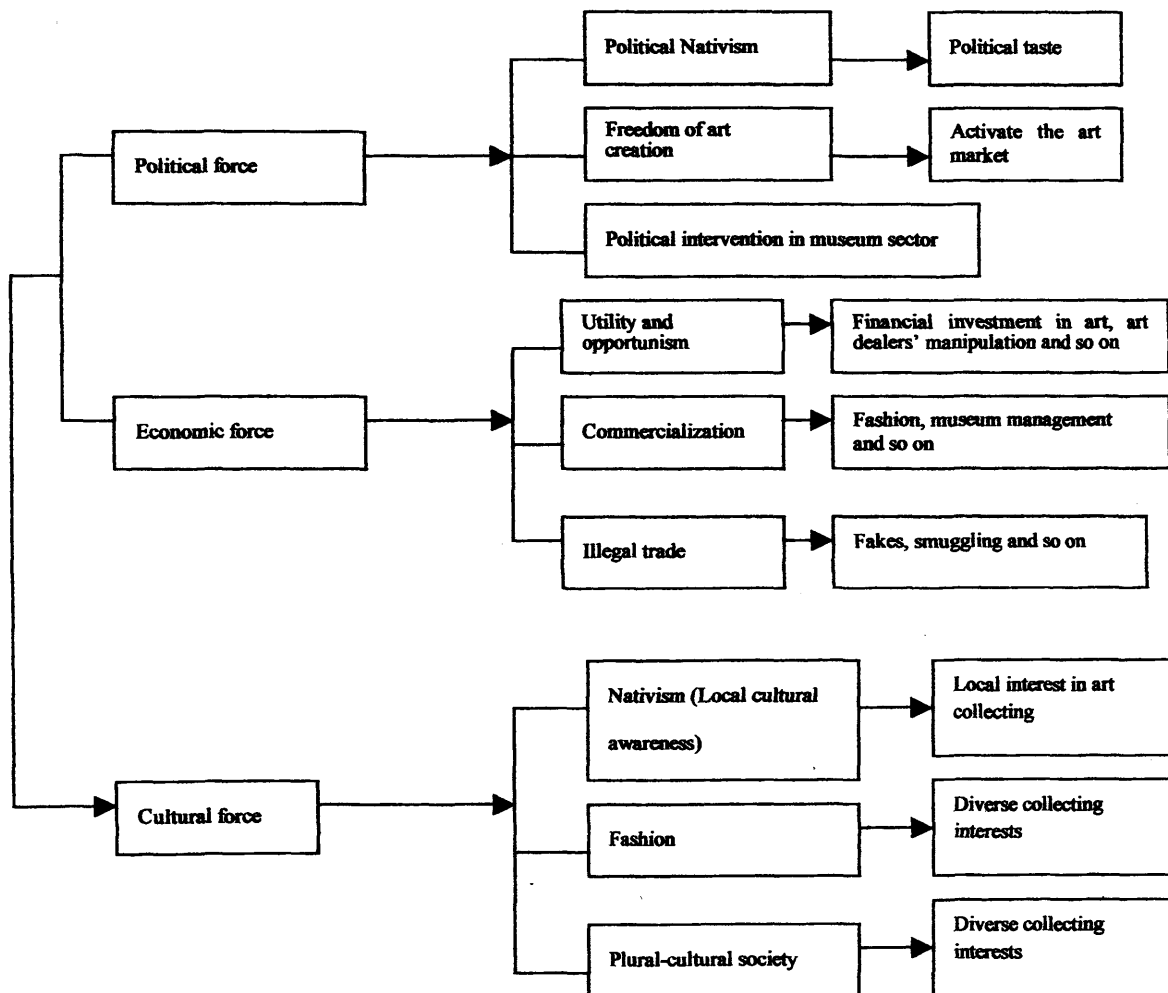
<sup>95</sup> Bourdieu (1993: 37-8).

<sup>96</sup> Bourdieu (1993: 39).

<sup>97</sup> Johnson (1993: 1-29).

however, on the other hand, it is restricted or directed by social forces surrounding it. The forces of politics, economy and culture not only interact with each other, but also give strong impacts respectively to the art market. Political force results in the politicised artistic taste in the art market. Political intervention in the sector of art museums plays an essential role in raising artists' prestige and brings political ideology to museum management. This significantly affects museums' policy, including acquisitions, exhibitions and so on. Economic force inspires the ideology of opportunism, and commercialisation and illegal art trade. Cultural force provokes Nativism and fashions and diversifies artistic interests (Figure 8.5).

**Figure 8.5: Impacts of social forces on the Taiwanese art market in the field of power**



At the same time the political, economic and cultural forces are contained within the field of hierarchization, which signals a class competition in Taiwanese society. On one hand powerful people, in particular politicians, entrepreneurs, religious masters and so on, make use of art as a means to upgrade their status or to improve their prestige in

society. On the other hand an ethnic class competition between Benshengren and Waishengren and a political opposition between Taiwan and China presents in the field of hierarchization. However, unlike class struggle in other nations, ethnicity is the main factor, which results in social cleavage in Taiwan.<sup>98</sup> As a result ethnic conflicts occur due to political ideology, social progression, cultural identity and economic profits. They, as class competitions, significantly affect the art market in Taiwan in the field of hierarchization through the field of politics, economy and culture. They have divided people in Taiwan into two groups, nativists and traditionalists since 1949. Most nativists favour local cultural objects and works by local artists. Most traditionalists favour Chinese cultural objects and works by Chinese artists.

Based on Boudieu's theory of the field of social power, the picture of mechanism and evolution in the Taiwanese art market becomes much clearer. Phenomena in the art market can be easily understood and explained through the sociological overview. Therefore, a prospect and recommendation can be proposed.

## 2.1 Changes and influences

Having significantly expanded for decades, the Taiwanese art market, art museums and collectors continue to develop further. Particularly, in recent years, rapid changes in politics, economy and culture have caused new phenomena not only in Taiwan but also in its neighbouring areas. Recent changes will be discussed and the influences will also be explored in this section.

New generation collectors and newly arisen art museums have aroused more new ideas about collecting in the art market after 1990. Dealers tried to introduce local artists to the international art world and introduced more overseas works into Taiwan.<sup>99</sup> They not only expand and diversify collecting interests, but also give strong impact to the field of culture. The ideology of localization can no longer satisfy people in the art world in Taiwan. The consensus in the art market and art museums has become one of getting rid of narrow-minded attitudes to bravely face the competition from China.<sup>100</sup> Huang Cailang, Director of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts said in 1994, "The museum will aim at not only localization but also internationalisation."<sup>101</sup> Most importantly, public museums are allowed to cooperate with museums in China to hold exhibitions

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<sup>98</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(1997: 1).

<sup>99</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍)(1996d).

<sup>100</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁)(2000l).

from 1997.<sup>102</sup> A series of important exhibitions were introduced into Taiwan.<sup>103</sup> More and more intellectuals believe that political forces should not intervene in art development. For example, Lin Xinyue,<sup>104</sup> Professor of the National Art Institute, states in an art history conference, "What we need is professional research on Taiwanese art history rather than political categorization"<sup>105</sup> Lin Gufang, a noted Taiwanese critic, also argues, "In fact Nativism in Taiwan for decades allowed us to value the land and local people, however it made us outrageously arrogant to intentionally ignore the existence of Chinese culture and even to reject the Chinese culture as a legitimate defence."<sup>106</sup> As Bu argued that the KMT Government cast the ideology, which sways between the two ethnic imaginations of Chinese and Taiwanese. To get rid of political influence on culture, it is inevitably linked to the confrontation between Taiwan and China.<sup>107</sup> It means that Taiwanese should not only recognize their Chinese cultural origin, but also make efforts to proceed political, economic and cultural exchange with China to reinforce the 'cultural capital'.<sup>108</sup> Apparently an attitude carrying both local and Chinese culture to develop the policy of internationalisation has become a main stream ideology in the art market since the mid-1990s.<sup>109</sup> More works and cultural objects from China and foreign cultures have been introduced into Taiwan.<sup>110</sup>

Besides, having flourished from the 1980s, the Taiwanese art market has ignited the boom of the art markets in Singapore and China since 1990. The same phenomena as occurred in Taiwan such as fake flooding, collecting fever, and excessive manipulation are also present in these art markets.<sup>111</sup> Speculation, manipulation and illegal trading in the art market in China have been strongly criticized by academics.<sup>112</sup> 'Shi Yong Tu',<sup>113</sup> a Northern Song dynasty (AD 960-1127) landscape painting, by Zhang Xian, which was

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<sup>101</sup> Hu Yongfen (胡永芬) (1994).

<sup>102</sup> Zhang Boshun (張伯順) (1997).

<sup>103</sup> The National Museum of History cooperate with Kwangtung Museum in China to hold the exhibition of 'King of the Nanyue (南越王大展)' in 1997. See Zhang Boshun (張伯順) (1997). The National Palace Museum cooperated with the Hunan Museum in China to hold the exhibition of 'Art and Culture of the Han dynasty (漢代文物大展)' in 1999. See Wang Xinyi (王心怡) (1999).

<sup>104</sup> Lin Xinyue (林惺嶽), Professor of the National Art Institute in Taipei.

<sup>105</sup> Li Weijing (李維菁) (2000m).

<sup>106</sup> Lin Gufang (林谷芳) (2000).

<sup>107</sup> Bu Dazhong (卜大中) (2000b).

<sup>108</sup> Bourdieu refers to the competence in the process of appreciation as a form of cultural capital, see Bourdieu (1993: 23). See also Tseng Suliang (1996c: 78-9).

<sup>109</sup> Huang Baoping (1993).

<sup>110</sup> Huang Baoping (黃寶萍) (1996d). In 2000 Du Zhengsheng, the new Director of the National Palace Museum, proposed that museums in Taiwan should focus on the policy of internationalisation. See Lai Suling (賴素玲) (2000f).

<sup>111</sup> Kai Tuo (開拓) (1995: 67-8).

<sup>112</sup> Gu Shu (谷叔) (1996: 164-5).

<sup>113</sup> 'Shi Yong Tu' (十詠圖).

purchased by the National Palace Museum in Beijing for 19.8 million RMB (£ 1,681,276) at the Hanhai auction in Beijing in 1995, was questioned by academics as a fake.<sup>114</sup> In 1999, the Guardian auction in Beijing was not successful, as some fakes had been found in the sale catalogue in advance.<sup>115</sup> The number of local collectors, art dealers, commercial galleries and auctioneers continued to increase sharply after 1990 in China and Singapore, and in particular China.<sup>116</sup> In 1999, for example, 13 auction houses held their auctions in June.<sup>117</sup> According to official statistics from China, the 1992 turnover of six major auction houses became 1.5 times more than that in 1990.<sup>118</sup> The prosperity of the art market in China has even attracted a number of western art dealers to run their galleries there since the late 1980s.<sup>119</sup>

Prices in the art market in China and Singapore have soared since 1990. Sotheby's said that Singapore collectors have played a important role in creating new price records in recent years in the South East area.<sup>120</sup> Compared with western works of art and antiquities, the price of Chinese art is still reasonable. More and more international art dealers, therefore, strongly expect Chinese works of art and antiquities to rise further.<sup>121</sup> The calligraphy, 'Yang Sheng Lun'<sup>122</sup> by Song dynasty emperor, Gaozong, for example, was sold for 9.9 million RMB (£ 840,638) at the Guardian auction in Beijing in 2000.<sup>123</sup> In Singapore an oil painting by Chen Ruixian, a local artist, was sold for 126,500 SGD (£ 49,810) at the Laifu auction.<sup>124</sup> In March 2001, a bronze from the Western Zhou dynasty (11<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), 'Lei', made a new record price of 9.3 million US\$ (£ 6,528,607) at Christie's auction in New York.<sup>125</sup> In China, the turnover of the Hanhai auction in Beijing reached 100 million RMB (£ 8,465,471) in 1995.<sup>126</sup> The number of auction houses grew dramatically to be over 800 in 1996.<sup>127</sup> The number of galleries reached over 3,000 in 1994. To control the galleries the government of China organized the 'Chinese Gallery Association' in 1994.<sup>128</sup> The international auction houses, Sotheby's and Christie's have set up their branches in China and Singapore since 1990.

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<sup>114</sup> Chen Xiuming (陳修明)(1996: 176-9).

<sup>115</sup> Liu Tainai (1999a: 16).

<sup>116</sup> Kai Tuo (開拓) (1995: 67-8).

<sup>117</sup> Shi Jianbang (石建邦) and Liu Tainai (劉太乃)(1999).

<sup>118</sup> Zhao Yingru (肇瑩如)(1993b).

<sup>119</sup> Cohen (1997: 199-200).

<sup>120</sup> Chen Xilin (陳希林)(1999c).

<sup>121</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(2000g). See also Miller (1989: 122-3).

<sup>122</sup> Yang Sheng Lun (養生論).

<sup>123</sup> Zhang Chen (張晨)(2000b).

<sup>124</sup> Kai Tuo (1995: 67).

<sup>125</sup> Anon. (2001b).

<sup>126</sup> Kai Tuo (1995: 68).

<sup>127</sup> Ren Daobing (任道斌) (1999: 331).

<sup>128</sup> Liang Guangli (梁冠麗) (1994).

Most importantly, since 1990 the Singapore government started to make efforts to develop the Singapore art market.<sup>129</sup>

The art markets in Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and Singapore are linked together much closer than before. From a broad view, they are regarded as members of 'the great Chinese art market'. Due to art dealers, collectors and auctioneers, the great Chinese art market in Asia has been significantly enlarged.<sup>130</sup>

The art market interaction between Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and Singapore, in particular between Taiwan and China, has become intense since 1990. More and more Taiwanese art dealers and auctioneers have run their business in China since the early 1990s.<sup>131</sup> This is believed as an important reason for the prosperity in the Chinese art market. At the same time it resulted in the decline in the Taiwanese art market. They not only continue to import numerous works from China, but also try to attract newly arisen collectors in China (Table 8.1).<sup>132</sup> Artists, art dealers and auctioneers in China also regard other countries, in particular Taiwan, as important markets. In 1993, for example, the China Guardian auction house held its preview respectively in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.<sup>133</sup> In 1996 the Guardian auction house brought over 200 works and antiquities into Taiwan to hold its preview.<sup>134</sup> A simultaneous telephone line was set up for overseas bidding by major auction houses in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.<sup>135</sup> As a result, in addition to their local art markets, the great Chinese art market has become a wider stage for Chinese artists, art dealers and collectors to compete with each other. Art dealers, collectors and auctioneers started to interact and cooperate with each other from 1990.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> The Singapore government not only supports the 'Asian Art Fair' held regularly in Singapore, but also welcomes art dealers or collectors from Taiwan or Hong Kong to bring their art treasures for display in the national art museums in Singapore. If they can allow their collections to be displayed in Singapore for at least five years, they can become permanent citizens without any official procedure. See Wu Chang (武昌) (1996).

<sup>130</sup> Xong Yijing (熊宜敬) (1999: 96-8).

<sup>131</sup> Interview team of *Art & Collection* (2000: 38-41). See also Coverage team of *Chinese Art News* (2000:68-79).

<sup>132</sup> Huang Baoping (2000c: 256-261).

<sup>133</sup> On 20 May 1995 I was invited with other Taiwanese collectors to meet the staff of Guardian Auction House from China in Tainan to look at the antiquities they brought in Taiwan as a preview.

<sup>134</sup> Li Yuling (李玉玲) (1996).

<sup>135</sup> Wu Chang (武昌) (1996).

<sup>136</sup> Xu Hailing (徐海玲) (1993: 59-60).

**Table 8.1: Analysis of the art business of Taiwanese commercial galleries in China**

1. How long have Taiwanese major commercial galleries run their business in China?

| Period of time    | Number of art dealers and galleries |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Over 10 years     | 4                                   |
| 5-10 years        | 2                                   |
| 3-5 years         | 2                                   |
| Less than 3 years | 1                                   |

2. How much money do Taiwanese major commercial galleries spend on importing works of art from China annually?

| Gallery                                | The import amount                      |
|--|--|
| Jeff Xu's Gallery                      | 6 million NT\$ (£129,258)              |
| The Cave Gallery                       | 10 million NT\$ (£215,430)             |
| Dynasty Gallery                        | 5-7 million NT\$ (£107,715-150,801)    |
| Shoreman Art International             | 100,000-200,000 US\$ (£70,200-140,400) |
| Soka Art Collections International Co. | 1 million US\$ (£702,001)              |
| Caifeng Gallery                        | 80 works of art                        |

3. The attitude of importing works of art from China in recent years?

| Attitude                        | Number of galleries |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Maintain the same amount        | 2                   |
| Reduce the amount               | 1                   |
| Continue to increase the amount | 6                   |

4. Whether or not does the cost of importing works from China get higher?

| The cost of purchasing works | Number of galleries |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Getting higher               | 8                   |
| Remain unchanged             | 1                   |

Sources: Questionnaire by *Artist* in 2000. See Huang Baoping (2000c: 261).

However, why did the Taiwanese art market start to decline after the early 1990s, while the art market in China began to prosper? It is because the Taiwanese art market has been extremely manipulated by art dealers and auctioneers. Most of them were keen to lead local collectors to only focus on local works of art. The prices of local works of art thus were raised beyond their artistic value. It is also because the flood of fakes, vicious competition and so on disorientated the Taiwanese art market and made collectors lose their faith in collecting.<sup>137</sup> Too many supposedly fashionable works of art overloaded the local art market.<sup>138</sup> He Zhengguang, Chief Editor of the *Artist*, states, "That most

<sup>137</sup> Anon. (1993a: 14-17).

<sup>138</sup> Anon. (1991b: 6-7).

local collectors did not have their collecting philosophy and just followed fashions blindly resulted in the art market decline.”<sup>139</sup> Liu Huanxian, Director of the East Gallery believed that the price bubble caused the depression in the Taiwanese art market.<sup>140</sup> Geng Guiying, Director of the Lin & Keng Gallery, also says, “The Taiwanese art market declined, partly because art dealers exaggerated the ideology of cultural Nativism, partly because people in the local art market focused on the soaring price rather than the aesthetic quality.”<sup>141</sup> However, now, more Taiwanese art dealers and collectors have shifted their interest in works of art and antiquities from China. As a result artists and art dealers from China continued to make a fortune from Taiwanese art dealers and collectors.<sup>142</sup> In contrast the newly risen collectors in China are not allowed to visit Taiwan freely by the Taiwanese government and are not interested in Taiwanese works of art or cultural objects. In these circumstances, with the boom in the art market in China, exquisite Chinese works of art and antiquities flow back to China. At the same time the capital in the Taiwanese art market also flows back to the art market in China.<sup>143</sup>

Rapid museum expansion also simultaneously appeared in these countries. In Singapore, for example, the government spent 25 million SGD (£9,813,010) to establish the Empress Palace Museum in 1992<sup>144</sup> and decided to establish at least 5 other public art museums.<sup>145</sup> The Hong Kong government will spend 80 million HK\$ (£71,875,377) to establish the Hong Kong Cultural Museum to rival the National Palace Museums respectively in Taipei and in Beijing.<sup>146</sup> The Hong Kong Cultural Committee also encouraged entrepreneurs to establish more museums.<sup>147</sup> The Chinese government has also been keen to establish new museums in recent years. According to the cultural authority of China, over 8,000 exhibitions will be held in museums each year after 2000. The number of museums will reach 2,300 by 2005.<sup>148</sup>

With the similar phenomena such as flourishing economy, prosperous stock and real estate markets, growing national income per capita and so on, the prosperity of the art

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<sup>139</sup> Zhen Naiming (鄭乃銘)(1996).

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> As the Taiwanese art market reached its peak in 1995, exquisite local works of art by old masters and antiquities could hardly be found in the local art market, works of art by artists of China and antiquities became relatively popular. More artists, art dealers and auctioneers from China swarmed into the Taiwanese art market and directly sold their works to Taiwanese collectors.

<sup>143</sup> Lai Suling (賴素玲)(1995d).

<sup>144</sup> Tseng Suliang (1996b: 165-6).

<sup>145</sup> Hilomazu, Otani and Ando (廣松隆志、大谷珠代、安藤剛)(1992: 288).

<sup>146</sup> Anon. (2000l).

<sup>147</sup> Anon. (2001c).

<sup>148</sup> Anon. (2000g).



market inspires art museum establishment and collecting fever.<sup>149</sup> It is likely that this study, based on social forces, could provide a sociological model to realize the development of the art market, art museums and collectors in these countries, in particular in China. Furthermore it can help continue to explore the further interaction between Taiwan and these Chinese countries, in particular Taiwan and China, in the context of the great Chinese art market.

From a broader view the relationship between Taiwan and China has changed significantly since 1990. Evidently the relationship between Taiwan and China has become closer than ever. In terms of tourism, in spite of the political separation, the number of Taiwanese tourists visiting China reached 3 million in 2000.<sup>150</sup> As for the economy, according to statistics of the Mainland Affairs Council, the Taiwanese imports from China and the trade between both sides has increased after 1981 (Table 8.2). According to statistics by the International Trade Bureau in Taiwan, the trade between both sides reached 32,380 million US\$. The favourable balance of trade from China has risen to 20,000 million US\$ in 2000.<sup>151</sup> The ideology of Taiwanese independence has symbolized not only political isolation, but also an economic and cultural isolation. At present, the possibility of Taiwan independence is becoming less likely. Instead cooperation through mutual negotiation is going to replace hostility.<sup>152</sup> Cultural and economic competition will help not only get people on both sides familiar with each other in order to sooth the political and military opposition, but also turn the ethnic conflict in Taiwan, situated in the field of class relationship, into mutually beneficial interaction.

In these circumstances, a class relationship in the field of hierarchization not only in Taiwan but also between Taiwan and China will be affected. In other words, if ethnic justice and respect can be successfully achieved in Taiwan and between both sides through cooperation and negotiation in a political, economic and cultural context, the political ethnic gap will gradually diminish. It will help to develop the art markets and art museums on both sides. Therefore, ideally the long-term goal is to look for a trans-ethnic identity for Taiwanese people and to look for the trans-ethnic consensus between each other in the political, economic and cultural context.<sup>153</sup> Under this trans-ethnic principle a partnership can be established not only between ethnic groups in Taiwan, but also between Taiwan and China in a greater Chinese context.

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<sup>149</sup> Anon. (1994c).

<sup>150</sup> Liu Ping (劉屏)(2001).

<sup>151</sup> Yu Guoqin (于國欽)(2001).

<sup>152</sup> Tan Shuzhen (譚淑珍)(2001).

<sup>153</sup> Shi Zhengfeng (施正鋒)(1997: 14-6).

Table 8.2: The trade amount between Taiwan and China since 1981

| Year | Trade amount between Taiwan and China |
|------|---------------------------------------|
| 1981 | 460.0 million US\$                    |
| 1982 | 278.5 million US\$                    |
| 1983 | 291.3 million US\$                    |
| 1984 | 553.3 million US\$                    |
| 1985 | 1,102.7 million US\$                  |
| 1986 | 955.5 million US\$                    |
| 1987 | 1,515.4 million US\$                  |
| 1988 | 2,720.9 million US\$                  |
| 1989 | 3,918.8 million US\$                  |
| 1990 | 5,160.0 million US\$                  |
| 1991 | 8,619.4 million US\$                  |
| 1992 | 11,666.6 million US\$                 |
| 1993 | 15,096.7 million US\$                 |
| 1994 | 17,881.2 million US\$                 |
| 1995 | 22,525.2 million US\$                 |
| 1996 | 23,787.1 million US\$                 |
| 1997 | 26,370.6 million US\$                 |
| 1998 | 223,951.4 million US\$                |

Sources: The Mainland Affairs Council of Taiwan.

These changes would give the art markets more autonomy to develop themselves. Based on Bourdieu's theory, the more autonomous the art market is, the more completely it fulfils its own logic as a field, but whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field.<sup>154</sup> In reality this means that laws will be reinforced to regulate the art markets including art museums and collecting activities.

## 2.2 Recommendations

The expansion of the Chinese art market will bring more money, dealers and collectors into the art market. However, more problems will emerge at the same time. Therefore, through cooperation between both sides in politics, economy and culture, the legalization of cultural policy and regularization of the art markets are needed to put the art market in order. This not only will make manipulation and fraud more difficult but also effectively prevent art smuggling, faking and theft.

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<sup>154</sup> Bourdieu (1993: 38-9).

Accordingly, a model can be proposed which offers solutions as follows (Figure 8.6):

**1. Through political cooperation:**

**1.1 Cultural legalization and regulation in Taiwan**

- Set up the 'Museum Law' as soon as possible.<sup>155</sup>
- Improve the museum management in Taiwan.
- Professionalise the local museum system.
- Normalization and regularization of museum acquisition.
- Set up an authoritative organization for authentication.
- Set up a law for art trade.
- Reinforce the cultural heritage law.
- Build up an official communication channel for cultural affairs between Taiwan and China.

**1. 2 Reach a cultural heritage preservation agreement between Taiwan and China**

- Recognize the Chinese traditional culture as a main background of Taiwanese culture to develop local culture and to interact with other countries in the world.
- Cooperation with China to build up a network to prevent faking, art smuggling and theft.

**2. Through economic cooperation:**

- Increase interaction with the art market in China and introduce more money into Taiwan to enlarge the local art market.
- Regularize and internationalise the art market in Taiwan to introduce more works in Taiwan to prevent the excessive manipulation due to the isolated art market.
- Encourage entrepreneurs to sponsor artistic activities by resetting the tax policy
- Inspire collectors to rethink the artistic value and commercial value.
- Cooperate with people in the art market in China to build up a network to prevent art faking, smuggling and theft.

**3. Through cultural cooperation:**

- Diversify collecting interest and improve the level of art collecting in Taiwan.
- Encourage the cultural interaction with China and re-evaluate the artistic value.
- Cooperate with art museums in China to hold exhibitions.
- Cooperate with academics in China to hold academic conferences.
- Cooperate with academics in China to reconnect the history of art between each

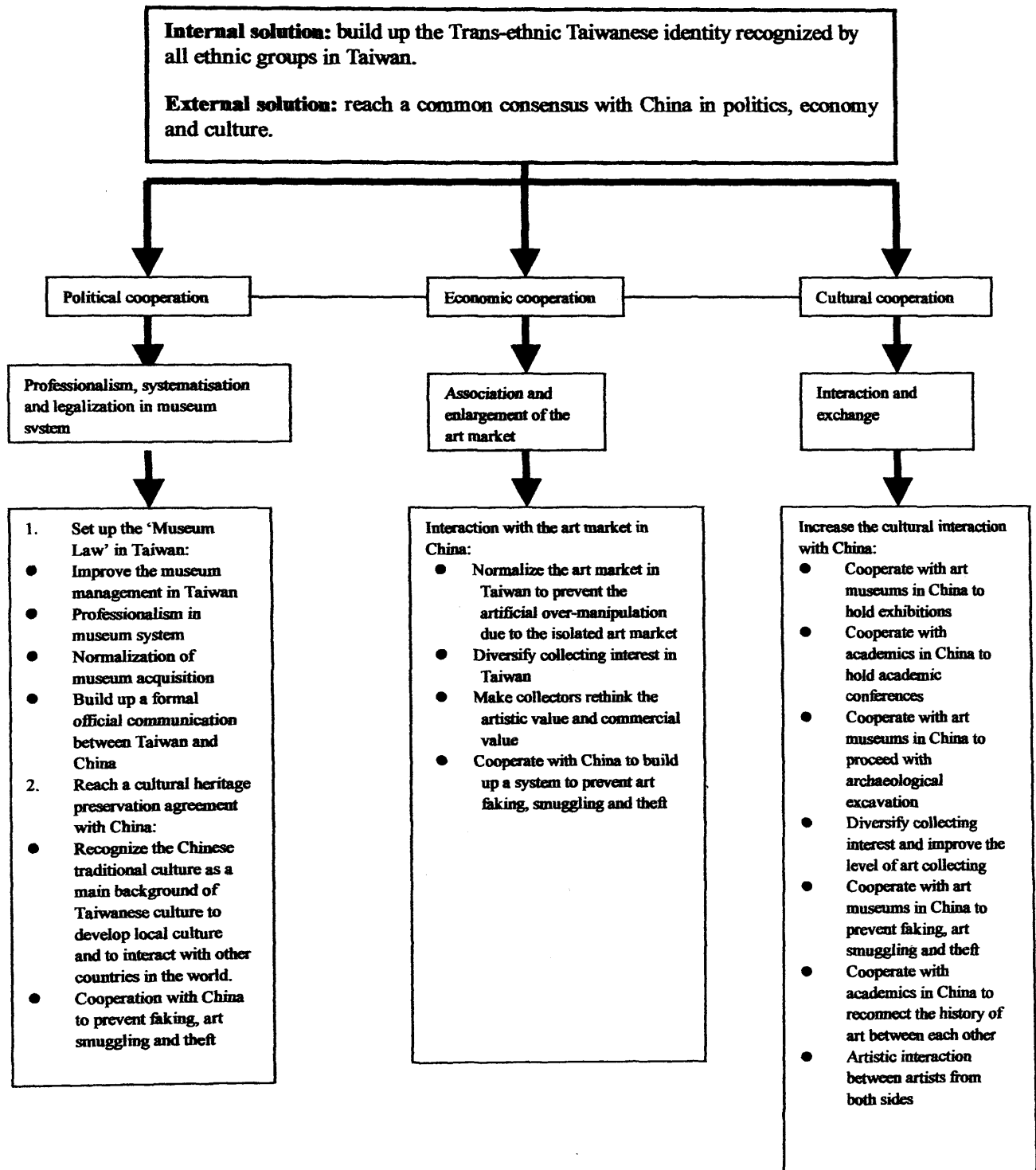
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<sup>155</sup> Until July 2001, the Taiwanese government has not yet set up museum law for museums' operation.

other.

- Cooperate with archaeological units or art museums in China in order to proceed with archaeological excavation.
- Artistic interaction between artists from both sides.
- Cooperate with art museums in China to set up a research organization which can bring about a registration system to prevent faking, art smuggling and theft.

Figure 8.6: A solution model of cultural deviation in Taiwan



**Appendix 1: Entrepreneurs or enterprises have their collections printed on calendars, greeting cards and notebooks as publicity in 1995 and 1996**

| Entrepreneur or enterprise  | Theme in 1995  | Theme in 1996   | Type of publication | Remark                |
|---|--|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Xu Zuoli (許作立),<br>Yongda Electronic<br>Machine Group (永大集團)                                | Chinese jades  | Art from the Sui<br>and Tang<br>dynasties   | Calendar            |                       |
| Zhang Xiuzheng (張秀<br>政), Chairman of the<br>Hongxi Group                                   |  | Chinese<br>antiquities  | Calendar            |                       |
| Chairman of the Qiu's<br>Group Qiu Yonghan (邱<br>永漢)  | A Work by Local<br>artists is printed on<br>the cover in each<br>issue in the <i>Wealth<br/>Magazine</i> | A Work by Local<br>artists is printed<br>on the cover in<br>each issue in the<br><i>Wealth Magazine</i> | Magazine            |                       |
| Hong Minhong (洪敏弘),<br>President of the National<br>Capital Management<br>Corporation (NCM) |  | Oil paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>master, Yang<br>Sanlang  | Greeting card       |                       |
| Ma Zhiling (馬志玲),<br>Chairman of the Yuanda<br>Financial Group (元大證<br>券集團)                 | Paintings by modern<br>Chinese master, Lin<br>Fengmian   | Chinese<br>Porcelains from<br>the Yuan and<br>Ming dynasties  | Calendar            |                       |
| Shi Yunwen (石允文),<br>Vice Present of the<br>Fengnian Sugar Industry<br>(豐年果糖)               | Paintings from the<br>Qing dynasty   | Paintings from<br>the Qing dynasty  | Calendar            | Start<br>from<br>1988 |
| Chen Qibin (陳啓斌),<br>President of the Fuji<br>Construction Ltd.                             | Painting and<br>calligraphy by Tang<br>Ying, an artist from<br>the Ming dynasty                          | Flower painting<br>by Xie Yuan, an<br>artist from the<br>Song dynasty                                   | Greeting card       |                       |
| Jiao Youjun (焦佑鈞),<br>President of the Huaxin   | Water colour<br>paintings by modern  | Water colour<br>paintings by  | Calendar            |                       |

*Appendices*

|  |   |  |               |                 |
|--|---|--|---------------|-----------------|
| Industrial Group   | Taiwanese painter, Yang Ensheng             | modern Taiwanese painter, Yang Ensheng                           |               |                 |
| Zhang Anping (張安平), President of the China Trust Stock Ltd.            |   | Bronzes from the Western Zhou dynasty                            | Greeting card |                 |
| He Shouchuan (何壽川), President of the Yongfengyu Paper Industrial Group | Chinese old paintings                       | Chinese old paintings  | Calendar      | Start from 1986 |
| Zhanghua Bank  | Works by Taiwanese older generation artists | Works by Taiwanese older generation artists                      | Calendar      | Start from 1952 |
| Hecheng Porcelain Industrial Group                                     |   | Modern pottery works by local potters and works by local artists | Notebook      |                 |
| Wantong Bank   |   | Works by Huang Chongyuan (黃重元), local artist                     | Calendar      | Start from 1991 |
| Nanshan Insurance Co.  |   | Works by Li Qingyyun (李清雲), local naïve painter                  | Calendar      |                 |

Source: He Peiru (何佩儒), Lin Weijuan (林維娟) and Wu Wenlong (吳文龍) (1996).

## Appendix 2: The major collectors who are entrepreneurs of construction companies in Taiwan since the Late 1980s

| Name of Director       | Construction company  | Gallery, museum or auction house established by entrepreneurs                 |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Zhong Zhengguang (鍾正光) | Changgu Construction Ltd. (長谷建設)                            | Time of Establishment (積禪 50 藝術中心)  |
| Lin Mingje (林明哲)       | Mountain Group and the owner of Wangxiang Construction Ltd. | Yanhuang Fine Arts Monthly (炎黃藝術)<br>The Mountain Gallery of Fine Arts (山美術館) |
| Liu Guoji (劉國基)        | Xinlai Construction Ltd.                                    | Zhencang auction house (甄藏拍賣公司)<br>Zhenyatang Gallery (甄雅堂)                   |
| Wang SuZhen (王素真)      | Yacheng Construction Ltd. (亞誠建設)                            | J. P. Art Centre (琢璞藝術中心)   |
| He Guoqing (何國慶)       | Hexiang Construction Group(禾祥建設)                            | He Chuangshi Calligraphy Art Centre (何創時書法中心)                                 |
| Zhang Xiuzheng (張秀政)   | Hefeng Construction Group(禾風集團)                             | Hongxi Art Museum (鴻禧美術館)   |
| Wang Shixiong (王世雄)    | Jianmei Construction Ltd. (尖美建設)                            | Zhaijiu Art Centre(宅九藝術中心)  |
| Huang Hongzong (黃宏宗)   | Taifeng Construction Group(台鳳集團)                            | Dimensions Art Gallery (帝門藝術中心)   |
| Chen Qibing (陳啓斌)      | President of the Fuji Construction Ltd. (馥記建設)              |   |
| Chen Chengqing (陳澄晴)   | Huagang Construction Ltd. (華崗建設)                            |   |
| Lu Yunlin (呂雲麟)        | Owner of the Yunfeng Construction Ltd. (雲峰營造廠)              |   |

|                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Zhang Muiyang (張木養) | Owner of a construction Ltd.                        | Taiwan Folk Art Museum (北投文物館)  |
| Gu Zhenfu (辜振甫)     | President of the Taiwan Cement Group                | Sanhetang Art Museum and the Lugang Museum of Folk Cultural Objects (鹿港民俗文物館) |
| Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇) | Architect   |   |
| Ye Rongjia (葉榮嘉)    | President of Hengjia Construction Ltd. (恆嘉建設)       | The Rongjia Sculpture Park and the Ye Rongjia Art Museum                      |
| Cai Mingxing (蔡明興)  | Vice President of the Fubang Financial Group (富邦集團) |   |
| Su Guogui (蘇國桂)     | Owner of a construction Company                     |   |
| Bai Xingsan (白省三)   | President of Sanmen Construction company            | Chuanjia auction house (傅家拍賣公司)   |
| Cai Chenman(蔡辰男)    | President of the Hanshen Group (漢神集團)               | Guotai Fine Arts museum   |
| Xu Boyi (許伯夷)       | Businessman of a construction company               | Boyi Village  |
| Chen Qide (陳啓德)     | Chairman of the Jianguo Construction company (建國工程) |   |
| Zeng Yongxin (曾永信)  | Architect   |   |
| Chen Zhixian (陳志賢)  | The Cement Industrial Ltd. (水泥企業)                   |   |
| Lin Qinghua (林清華)   | Dunhuang Construction Ltd. (敦煌建築公司)                 |   |



### Appendix 3: The major events relating to fakes in the Taiwanese art market

| Fakes  | Place  | Time            | Source   |
|--|--|-----------------|--|
| Paintings by Chen Chengpo and Li Zhongsheng  | Christie's spring auction in Taipei  | Spring in 2000  | Interview with Lo Xinshou, senior expert of Christie's branch in Taipei, on 22 Dec. 2000 |
| A Chinese ink painting, 'Qing Li Sheng Jing Tu(清漓勝境圖)', by Li Keran                            | The Exhibition, 'Li Keran's Art (李可染藝術世紀展)', in the National Museum of History in Taipei | 4 Dec. 2000     | Xie Huiqing (2000b)  |
| Chinese ink Paintings by Fu Baoshi   | The Exhibition, 'Jin Gang Shen Yun (金剛神韻-傅抱石金剛坡時期作品特展)', in the Shanghai Museum          | Jan. 2000       | Zhang Chen (2000: 44-5)  |
| Some ancient works of jade were questioned by people in art                                    | The Exhibition, 'Qunyubiechang (群玉別藏)', in the National Palace Museum in Taipei          | Jan- April 2000 | Interview with Yu Meixia, expert of jade, on 16 Jan 2000                                 |
| Chen Jingjun, Legislator of the Legislation Yuan, Questioned over 400 works of jade were fakes | Jade collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei                                  | June 2000       | Li Yuling (2000a)  |
| Paintings attributed to Yan Shuolong, older generation Taiwanese artist.                       | The local art market   | June 2000       | Xie Lifa (2000: 134)   |
| Works of ivory and rhinoceros horn   | The exhibition, 'Private Collections (典藏, 私房菜)', at 'My Humble House', an antique        | June 1999       | Lai Suling (1999)  |

|   |   |              |                                    |
|---|---|--------------|------------------------------------|
|   | shop  |              |                                    |
| 7 fake paintings attributed to Hong Tong, naive Taiwanese painter were traced down by police  | Fakes were traced down by police in Taipei  | 5, Jan 1999  | Liao Xiaolong (1999)               |
| 'River Band (溪岸圖)' in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum in New York   | This event significantly affected the preview of the auction of C. C. Wang's collection held by Sotheby's in Taipei in Sept 1997. | Sept. 1997   | Dai Mingkang (1997)                |
| 4 paintings by Yang Sanlang, 2 paintings by Li Shiqiao and 1 painting by Chen Dewang were pointed out by people in art as fakes.                                      | The Zhencang auction in Taipei  | 17 Aug. 1996 | Liu Youyan (1996b)                 |
| 11 faked Li Shiqiao's oil paintings   | A commercial gallery in Taipei  | April 1996   | Lai Suling and Zeng Yiding (1996b) |
| The sword of the King of Wu State, Fuchai   | The Exhibition in the National Museum of History in Taipei  | 1995         | Chi Zongxian (1996)                |
| A calligraphy by Dr. Sun Yatsen was pointed out as a fake by Qin Xiaoyi, Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei   | Auction of Li Ao's collection in Taipei   | 1995         | Ma Shuhua (1999)                   |
| 'Landscape' by Liao Jichun, 'Landscape of Sanxia' by Li Meishu, 'Flower' by Chen Dewang, 'Girl in Red Coat' by Li Shiqiao, were pointed out by people in art as fakes | Sotheby's auction in Taipei   | March 1992   | Tseng Suliang (1996:101)           |
| Having been examined by Fan Zeng himself, a noted   | Fan Zeng's press conference in Taipei   | Nov. 1991    | Li Yuling (1991b)                  |

## Appendices

|   |   |            |                   |
|---|---|------------|-------------------|
| Mainland China artist, only about 20 out of 100 ink paintings were regarded as genuine. |   |            |                   |
| Liao Jichun's fake paintings  | The Exhibition at the Feiyuan Art Centre in Taipei              | Sept. 1991 | Hu Yongfen (1991) |
| Wu Guanzhong's fake paintings   | The Exhibition at the Weiyin gallery in Taipei                  | April 1990 | Li Meiling (1990) |
| 2 Wu Guanzhong's fake paintings   | The Exhibition at the Changliu Gallery in Taipei                | April 1990 | Li Meiling (1990) |
| All paintings were pointed out by Wu Guanzhong, as fakes.                               | The Exhibition of Wu Guanzhong at the Asia Art Centre in Taipei | April 1990 | Li Meiling (1990) |
| 'Rose' by Li Meishu   | The Exhibition at the Weiyin Gallery in Taipei                  | April 1990 | Li Meiling (1990) |
| 'Evening Banquet' event   | The Ambassador Hotel in Taipei                                  | 1984       | Cao Yufen (1995)  |

## Appendix 4: List of important art theft in Taiwan since 1949

| Date          | Place   | Stolen Object  | Source  |
|---------------|---|--|---|
| Feb. 2001     | Taizhong.   | Works of bamboo art.   | <i>China Times</i> , 26 Feb. 2001                                   |
| 9 Feb. 2001   | Zhonghe City, Taipei County.                                      | A Tang dynasty glazed horse.   | <i>China Times</i> , 9 Feb. 2001                                    |
| 29 April 2000 | Old house in Alian village (阿蓮鄉).                                 | A bronze, old furniture, old stone grinder and so on.  | <i>China Times</i> , 29 April 2000                                  |
| 20 April 2000 | The Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.                                | A stone sculpture (白馬辭行太子) dated back to Northern Wei dynasty.   | <i>People Daily News</i> , 21 April 2000<br>CTS News, 20 April 2000 |
| 16 Sept. 1999 | Faguangsi (法光寺).  | Three paintings (十幅釋迦行誼圖中的三幅) by Chen Jin (陳進).  | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , No. 2, Oct.1997, p.16                     |
| March 1999    | Studio of Lin Zhizhu (林之助), a noted Taiwanese artist in Taizhong. | 50 sketches and 5 colourful ink paintings (膠彩畫) by Lin Zhizhu.   | <i>China Times</i> , 19 March 1999                                  |
| 26 Nov. 1998  | The campus of the Chenggong University in Tainan.                 | The glass-fiber sculpture, 'A Thinker', by Chen Yinjie.  | <i>CCT News</i> , 27 Nov. 1998                                      |
| 10 Nov. 1998  | Collector, Mr. Lai's cabinet.                                     | Oil painting by Li Shiqiao, oil painting by Chen Jinrong, ink painting by Li Mingjiu, calligraphy by Wu Hufan. | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , No. 28, Dec. 1999, p. 70                  |
| July 1997     | The Venus Gallery in Hualian(花蓮)                                  | Stone sculpture.   | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , No. 2, Oct. 1997, p.128                   |
| 22 March 1999 | The Xihua Hotel (西)   | An antique western   | <i>United Daily News</i> ,  |

Appendices

|                |  |   |  |
|----------------|--|---|--|
|                | 華飯店).  | oil painting.   | 22 March 1998  |
| 12 June 1996   | Elegant Gallery.   | A woman (女人),<br>Oil painting by<br>Bueffe.   | <i>Mingsheng Daily News</i> , 13 June 1996   |
| 27 March 1996  | Collector, Mr. Xu's<br>cabinet in Zhanghua<br>(彰化許姓醫生收藏<br>家).       | Two oil Paintings by<br>Li Shiqiao (李石樵).   | <i>Mingsheng Daily News</i> , 7 April 1996   |
| 26 Sept. 1995  | Studio of the artist,<br>Ou Haonian (歐豪<br>年), in Taipei.            | Over 50 pieces of<br>paintings by Ou<br>Haonian (歐豪年).  | <i>China Times</i> , 27<br>Sept. 1995  |
| 10 June 1994   | The Mulan Village<br>(牧蘭村) in Taipei.                                | Chinese seal stones<br>jewels, diamonds<br>and gold worth 50<br>million NT\$<br>(£1,058,870).                                       | <i>United Evening News</i> , 10 June 1994  |
| 1994           | Six commercial<br>galleries at the<br>district of Daan in<br>Taipei. | Antiquities and<br>paintings.   | <i>China Times Evening</i> , 6 Jan. 1994   |
| 17 Dec. 1993   | The National<br>Museum in Taipei.                                    | A stone mortar and a<br>cart wheel.   | <i>China Times</i> , 18<br>Dec. 1993   |
| 11 Oct. 1993   | The Gudao Art<br>Centre (古道藝術中<br>心) in Taizhong.                    | Over 100 Chinese<br>seal stones worth 30<br>million NT\$<br>(£635,322).   | <i>China Times Evening</i> , 12 Oct.<br>1993                                       |
| 24 Sept. 1993  | The house of Shen<br>Gangbo, noted<br>scholar, in Taipei.            | 18 pieces of works<br>of art including<br>calligraphy by Shen<br>Gangbo Yu Youren<br>and so on.<br>Painting by He<br>Zhaohwa (何肇華). | <i>Central Daily News</i> ,<br>26 Jan. 1994  |
| 22 August 1993 | The Taiyang Gallery<br>(台陽畫廊).                                       | Chinese paintings<br>and calligraphy<br>worth over 17<br>million.   | <i>China Times Evening</i> , 7 Dec.<br>1993<br><i>China Times</i> , 7 Dec.<br>1993 |

|           |   |   |  |
|-----------|---|---|--|
| 1993      | Mingren Art Gallery in Kaohsiung.                               | Over 20 ink paintings by Fan Zeng, renowned Mainland China painter.                   | Ni Zaiqin (1993)                               |
| 1993      | Studio of the artist, Zheng Shenxi(鄭善禧), in Taipei.             | A group of ink paintings by Zheng Shenxi  | <i>United Evening News</i> , 21 Nov. 1993      |
| 1990      | Han Art Gallery in Taipei.                                      | Bronze sculpture.   | <i>Art Monthly</i> , Jan 1991, p.115           |
| 1990      | Apollo Art Gallery in Taipei.                                   | A watercolour by Hong Ruilin (洪瑞麟).   | <i>Art Monthly</i> , Jan 1991, p.115           |
| Oct. 1990 | House of the noted artist, Huang Junbi (黃君璧), in Taipei.        | Nine important paintings by Xu Beihong (徐悲鴻), Zhang Daqian and so on.                 | <i>Art Monthly</i> , Jan 1991, p.113           |
| July 1986 | House of Yao Zhaoming, Professor of Chinese Culture University. | Over a hundred of paintings by Pu Ru were Stolen and Yao was found killed by thieves. | <i>Renmin Daily News</i> (人民日報), 4 August 1986 |
| 1981      | Changliu Gallery in Taipei.                                     | A group of important ink paintings by Zhang Daqian, Qi Baishi and so on.              | <i>Art Monthly</i> , Jan. 1991, p.113          |

## Appendix 5: List of important art thefts, plundering or smuggling in Mainland China after 1950

| Date of theft, smuggling or plundering | Location   | Stolen or looted objects  | Source  |
|--|--|---|---|
| Since 1997                             | Jingmen City Museum (荊門市博物館) in Hubei province.  | Wang Bisheng (王必勝), Deputy Director of the Jingmen City Museum in Hubei province, was accused of stealing cultural objects from the museum and plundering ancient tombs. Over 20 cultural objects have been tracked down by police. | <i>Mingbao</i> (明報), 4 Jan. 2001. <i>Hong Kong Commercial Daily News</i> (商報), 31 Dec. 2000 |
| 27 Nov. 2000                           | Xinjiang province.   | 5 jades.  | <i>Mingbao</i> , 15 Jan. 2001   |
| 9 Nov. 2000                            | Shanghai Customs.  | 798 cultural objects.   | <i>Tagongbao</i> (大公報), 9 Nov. 2000   |
| July 2000                              | A tomb of Liao dynasty (AD 915-1125), at Zhangjiaying Village (張家營村), Chifeng (赤峰市), Mongolia province (內蒙古).              | 263 cultural objects.   | <i>Mingbao</i> , 23 Sept. 2000  |
| From April to June 2000                | 5 cases of cultural objects smuggling by foreign passengers were broken down by Customs of Tianhe Station in Guangzhou(廣州) | 2 Shadow-blue bowls of the Southern Song dynasty (AD1127-1279), 7 pieces of Tangka, one bone snuff bottle, 3 pieces of wood carving god figures, 3 decoration panels, one Shiwan ceramic pillow, 22                                 | <i>Wenhuibao</i> (文匯報), 30 June 2000<br><i>Xingtao Daily News</i> (星島日報), 26 June 2000      |

|                         |   |   |  |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|
|                         | 天河車站海關).  | pieces of metal decorations.  |  |
| 24 March and 4 May 2000 | Pagoda Temple at Zhangchacun (張岔村), Linzhen Village (林鎮鄉) in Huachi County (華池縣), Gansu province.         | A Song dynasty (AD 960-1279) Buddhist pagoda.   | <i>United Daily News</i> , 6 August 2000   |
| 26 March 2000           | Riverbed around the protecting embankment of Yanzi River (長江大堤) in Zhijiang city (枝江市) in Hubei province. | Over one thousand ordinary people as treasure hunters had been searching for cultural objects since February 2000.  | <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 26 March 2000 |
| 6 March 2000            | Flat of Xu Boyu (許伯玉), a collector living in Youmadi (油麻地) in H.K.  | 100 works of Jades.   | <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 7 March 2000  |
| 11 Jan. 2000            | Smuggling case was broken down by Customs of Guangdong province in Foshan (廣東佛山出入境檢驗檢疫局).                 | 39 in 53 cultural objects are forbidden to export. 23 works of bronze and silver-mounted bronze belt hooks dated back to Warring States Period (5 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC) to the Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220). 14 pieces of Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644) Blue-and-White. 15 pieces of porcelain of Qing dynasty (AD1644-1911). One modern stone-carving teapot. | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 6 March 2000            |



|               |   |  |  |
|---------------|---|--|--|
| 6 Jan. 2000   | Qonghai (瓊海市) in Hainan province.   | 757 cultural objects illegally excavated from the sea under Xisha (西沙海底).  | <i>People Daily News</i> , 7 Jan. 2000                             |
| 31 Dec. 1999  | Qonghai (瓊海市) in Hainan province.   | 186 pieces of cultural objects illegally excavated from the sea under Xisha(西沙海底).   | <i>People Daily News</i> , 7 Jan. 2000                             |
| Nov. 1999     | Nanchan Temple (南禪寺) in Shanxi province.  | Three Tang dynasty (AD 618-907) Buddhist sculptures were plundered.  | <i>Central Daily News</i> , 30 Nov. 1999                           |
| Nov. 1999     | Ancient Tibetan tombs at Wulan county (烏蘭縣) in Qinghai province.                    | Over 30 cultural objects dated back to the Wei, Jin, Northern & Southern dynasties (AD 220-589) and the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907). | <i>Central Daily News</i> , 4 Nov. 1999                            |
| 22 Sept. 1999 | A Group of Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) tombs in Zhenjiang (鎮江) in Jiangsu province. | Cultural objects including a national second-rate jade (Bi 璧) were robbed by workers on site.                                      | <i>People Daily News</i> , 23 Sept. 1999                           |
| 5 July 1999   | The Custom of Gongbei (拱北) in Guangdong province.                                   | 449 cultural objects including a group of Qing dynasty porcelain.  | CCTV (Central China Television) international news on 20 Aug. 1999 |
| 5 July 1999   | Guangdong province.   | 404 pieces of cultural objects including Tang dynasty pottery, Tibetan antiquities and dinosaur eggs.                              | CCTV international news on 20 Aug. 1999                            |
| 1999          | Nanyang in Henan Province.  | A museum worker, who stole and damaged Qing dynasty relics, was sentenced to death in Jan.   | Culture Without Context, The Newsletter of                         |

|           |   |   |  |
|-----------|---|---|--|
|           |   | 1999.   | the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre, Issue 4, Spring 1999, online, available: <a href="http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IAR/C/cwoc/issue4/news.htm">http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IAR/C/cwoc/issue4/news.htm</a>  |
| 1999      | Beijing and a temple in Shouyang county in Shanxi province. | A farmer, Chen Mengxing, who stole the oldest Buddha statue in Beijing and a rare Ming dynasty relic in Shouyang county in Shanxi province, was sentenced to death in April 1999. | Culture Without Context, The Newsletter of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre, Issue 4, Spring 1999, online, available: <a href="http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IAR/C/cwoc/issue4/news.htm">http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IAR/C/cwoc/issue4/news.htm</a> |
| Jan. 1999 | The Longmen Grottoes in Henan province.                     | A farmer, Gao Yunliao stole a Tang dynasty Buddha statue.   | Culture Without Context, The Newsletter of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre, Issue 4, Spring 1999, online,  |

|            |   |  |   |
|------------|---|--|---|
|            |   |  | available:<br><a href="http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IARC/cwoc/issue4/news.htm">http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IARC/cwoc/issue4/news.htm</a> |
| June 1997  | A Han dynasty(206 BC-AD 220) Tomb (楚王山漢墓) in Dapeng Town (大彭鎮) Tongshan County (銅山縣)in Jiangsu province.  | A group of jade flakes (玉片) were stolen.   | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 7 May 2000   |
| March 1997 | No. 2 imperial tomb of the king of Zhao (趙王陵二號墓) dated back to Warring States Period (5 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC) in Sanling Village (三陵鄉), Handan County (邯鄲縣) in Hebei province. | Over 200 pieces of jade flakes(玉片), bronze horses and gold belt hook, which are classified as national first-rate cultural objects, were stolen. | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 7 May 2000   |
| Jan. 1997  | The imperial tomb of the Song dynasty (AD 960-1279) at Xicun Town (西村鎮), Gongyi City (鞏義市) in Henan province.   | A stone sculpture classified as the national first-rate cultural object.   | <i>Central Daily News</i> , 25 Oct. 1999  |
| Jan. 1997  | A Han dynasty (206 BC- AD 220) tomb (楚王   | National first-rate cultural objects such as Bronze lamps, bronze bowls were   | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 7 May 2000   |

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|---------------|--|---|---|
|               | 山漢墓) in<br>Dapeng Town (大<br>彭鎮) Tongshan<br>County (銅山<br>縣) in Jiangsu<br>province.        | stolen. Over fifty<br>porcelain, bronzes, and<br>lacquers were destroyed.   |   |
| 29 March 1997 | The Longmen<br>Grottoes in<br>Luoyang.   | Stone Buddhist sculpture<br>(high 2 meter, weight 1<br>ton).  | <i>China Times</i> ,<br>8 Oct. 1997             |
| 27 March 1996 | Luomazhou (落<br>馬洲) in Hong<br>Kong.   | 1,200 cultural objects<br>including Dinosaur eggs,<br>porcelain, sculptures and<br>wall paintings, worth over<br>10 million HK\$<br>(£890,420). | <i>China Times</i> ,<br>28 March<br>1996        |
| 1995          | The Five<br>Dynasties Period<br>(AD 907-960)<br>tomb of Wang<br>Chuzhi in Hebei<br>province. | A marble wall panel.  | <i>The Times</i> , 6<br>April 2000              |
| 1995          | Zhejiang Sreet<br>(浙江街),<br>Hongkan<br>District(紅磡區),<br>Hong Kong.                          | The Hong Kong police<br>found over 2,500<br>smuggled ancient silver<br>coins.   | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 9<br>Jan 1995                |
| 1995          | The Luomazhou<br>Customs in Hong<br>Kong.  | 147 antiquities including a<br>group of pottery, bronzes,<br>stone sculptures and so on<br>were found in a lorry.                               | <i>Wenhuibao</i> , 4<br>Mar. 1995               |
| 1995          | Chengdu in<br>Sichuan province.  | Over 200 ancient tombs<br>dated back to the Warring<br>States Period to the Song<br>dynasty were plundered.                                     | <i>Zhongguowen<br/>wubao</i> , 19<br>Feb. 1995  |
| 4 July 1994   | A stone head of<br>Bodhisattva<br>sculpture<br>excavated from                                | A stone head of<br>Bodhisattva sculpture.   | <i>United Daily<br/>News</i> , 22<br>April 2000 |

|                      |  |   |   |
|----------------------|--|---|---|
|                      | Shandong province and found in the Miho Museum in Tokyo in Dec. 1999.              |   |   |
| May 1994             | Lijiashan site (李家山遺址) in Jiangchuan (江川) in Yunnan province.                      | Ancient bronzes were plundered by local peasants.   | <i>Zhongguowen wubao</i> , 10 April 1994            |
| 20 April 1993        | Dai County Museum in (代縣博物館) Shanxi province.                                      | One cultural object.  | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine (文物工作), No.2, 1994 |
| 17 April 1993        | The Maijishan Cave Art Research Institute (麥積山石窟藝術研究所) in Gangsu province.         | A sculpture.  | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine, No.2, 1994        |
| 16 April 1993        | Pingdinshan (平頂山) excavated site in Henan province.                                | 5 works of jade.  | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine, No.2, 1994        |
| 3 April 1993         | The No. 1 cave of the South Cave Temple (南石窟寺) in Gangsu province.                 | 12 Qing dynasty clay sculptures.  | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine, No.2, 1994        |
| 29 Mar. 1993         | Langfang City Cultural Object Conservatory Institute (廊坊市文物保管所) in Hebei province. | 28 cultural objects. Among them, one is classified as the national second-rate. One is classified as the national third-rate cultural object. | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine, No.2, 1994        |
| 22 Mar.-5 April 1993 | Qinghai province Cultural Object   | 16 cultural objects.  | ' <i>Wenwugongzuo</i> ' Magazine,                   |

|              |   |  |                                    |
|--------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
|              | Store (青海省文物商店).  |  | No.2, 1994                         |
| 17 Feb. 1993 | Jingzhou Museum (荊州地區博物館) in Hubei province.                              | A bronze.  | 'Wenwugongzu' Magazine, No.2, 1994 |
| 6 Jan. 1993  | Tongbo County (桐柏縣) in Henan province.                                    | 8 cultural objects including 2 cart bronze decorations, 2 bronze arrows, 1 bronze axe, 1 bronze pot, jade dagger, 1 bronze 'Ding (鼎)'. | 'Wenwugongzu' Magazine, No.2, 1994 |
| May 1991     | Lijiashan archaeological site (李家山遺址) in Jiangchuan (江川) Yunnan province. | Ancient bronzes  | Han Xiu (1995: 159)                |
| 1989         | Jianwangjing village (簡王井村) in Xian in Shanxi province.                   | Over 300 painted pottery figures.  | China Times, 10 Oct. 1999          |
| 1989         | Xian in Shanxi province.  | Zhou dynasty (11 <sup>th</sup> century-256 BC) bronze bells.   | Shi (1990: 214)                    |
| Nov. 1989    | Hong Kong.  | A very rare Tang dynasty pottery horse.  | Mingsheng Daily News, 14 Dec. 1989 |
| 17 Feb. 1987 | The Qin Dynasty Pottery Museum in Shanxi province (陝西省).                  | A head of Qin dynasty pottery 'General Figure'.  | United Daily News, 22 March 1996   |
| 1987         | Xian in Shanxi province.  | Three Han dynasty white jade Bodhisattva, which are painted and gilt.  | United Daily News, 22 March 1996   |
| 1987         | Quyuan Museum in Hubei  | A bronze 'Dun(敦)' in the Warring States Period   | Shi (1990: 193)                    |

|           |  |   |                   |
|-----------|--|---|-------------------|
|           | province.  | (475-221 BC).   |                   |
| 1987      | The tomb of Lean King's concubine in Jiangxi province.   | Over 200 cultural objects including 22 rare gold decorations were plundered.  | Shi (1989: 198)   |
| Oct.1985  | The Palace Museum in Beijing.  | The gold tree on the top of the ivory sculpture.  | Shi (1990: 194)   |
| 1983      | 751 ancient tombs of the Warring States Period (475-221 BC) and the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) in Huaiyang area (淮陽地區) in Henan province. | Over 120,000 cultural objects.  | Lu Jia (1992: 14) |
| 1983      | Fencheng County in Jiangxi province.   | Over 3,000 cultural objects including a Song dynasty (AD 960-1279) Jizhou ware green glaze pillow and a Song dynasty shadow-blue pot. 967 tombs were destroyed. | Shi (1990: 200)   |
| 1978-1986 | Hunan Art Craft Ltd.   | 120,000 cultural objects were smuggled to Hong Kong.  | Shi (1990: 212)   |
| 1962      | The National Palace Museum in Beijing.   | 9 cultural objects including two imperial seals.  | Shi (1990: 194)   |
| 1959      | The National Palace Museum in Beijing.   | 8 Qianlong period paintings, 5 imperial swords in Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1911), 5 ancient gold coin.   | Shi (1990: 194)   |

## Appendix 6: Analysis of major collectors in Taiwan

| Collector           | Occupation   | Collecting interest                                 | Year of starting collecting | Source   |
|---------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Cai Yongsheng (蔡永生) | Businessman  | Japanese paintings                                  | 1919                        | <i>United Daily News</i> , 15 Jan 2000                       |
| Zhang Daqian (張大千)  | Artist   | Chinese ancient paintings                           | 1920s                       | Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1998a: 98-99)                            |
| Chen Lifu (陳立夫)     | Sectary of the KMT party                                   | Zisha tea pot, Chinese ink painting and calligraphy | 1930                        | <i>Art &amp; Collection</i> , No. 99, Dec. 2000, p. 88       |
| Luo Jialun (羅家倫)    | Former Director of the National History Institution (國史館長) | Ancient Chinese ink paintings and calligraphy       |                             | <i>United Evening News</i> , 21 Dec. 1996                    |
| Qin Xiaoyi (秦孝儀)    | Former Director of the National Palace Museum in Taipei    | Jade, Wood carving and ivory carving                |                             | Li Yuling(李玉玲)(2000), <i>United Daily News</i> , 15 May 2000 |
| Li Haitian (李海天)    | Entrepreneur   | Paintings by Zhang Daqian                           | 1950s                       | Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1998b: 96-7)                             |
| Luo Jixuan (羅吉瑄)    | Chairman of the Zhanghua Bank                              | Local works   | 1970s                       | Lai Suling (賴素)  |



|                     |   |  |       |   |
|---------------------|---|--|-------|---|
|                     |   |  |       | 玲)(1994a)   |
| Chen Changwei (陳昌蔚) | Government official and academic                          | Chinese porcelain  | 1970s | Guo Lianghui (郭良蕙)(1997: 268)   |
| Xu Hongyun (許鴻源)    | Chairman of the Shuntian Chinese Medicine industry (順天藥廠) | Taiwanese artists' works of art  | 1980  | Exhibition of 'Shuntian Collections' in Taipei Fine art Museum in Nov. 1999 |
| Xu Wenlong (許文龍)    | Chairman of the Qimei Plastic Group (奇美集團)                | 18-19 <sup>th</sup> century western paintings and sculptures, natural historical samples, Musical instrument | 1990  | Personal interview on 27 Jan. 2000  |
| Chen Yongtai (陳永泰)  | Chairman of the Aurora Grope(震旦行)                         | Jade and Buddhist Sculptures   |       | <i>Art China</i> , No. 21, June 2000, p.138                                 |
| Xu Zuoli (許作立)      | Chairman of the Yongda Electronic Machine Group (永大集團)    | Chinese jade, Chinese painting   | 1989  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 281, Oct.1998   |
| Chen Zhejing (陳哲敬)  | Sculptor  | Ancient Buddhist sculptures  | 1960s | Shi (1990:181-192)  |
| Zhang Meiyun (張美筠)  | Director of the Taiwan Embroidery Museum                  | Embroidery   |       |   |
| Zhang Muiyang(張木養)  | Entrepreneur  | Taiwanese folk art   | 1970s |   |
| Zhang Tiangen(張添根)  | Former Chairman of the Hongxi Group                       | Porcelain and Chinese ink  | 1923  | Interview with the  |

|                      |  |  |       |   |
|----------------------|--|--|-------|---|
|                      |  | paintings  |       | Deputy Director, on 22 Jan. 2000            |
| Zhang Xiuzheng (張秀政) | Chairman of the Hongxi Group                   | Chinese painting   |       | Personal interview on 16 Feb. 1990          |
| Qiu Yonghan (邱永漢)    | Chairman of the Qiu's Group                    | Taiwanese artists' works of art and Taiwanese cultural objects   | 1970s |   |
| Pan Siyuan (潘思源)     | Former President of the Regent Hotel           | Chinese antiques   | 1979  | Zhao Musong (1991)                          |
| Chen Qingfu (陳清富)    | Vice President of the Shunyi Group (順益集團)      | Taiwanese artists' works of art and indigenous cultural objects  | 1970s | Personal interview, on 20 Jan. 2000         |
| Gu Zhenfu (辜振甫)      | President of the Taiwan Cement Group           | Chinese Porcelain, in particular Song dynasty imperial porcelain |       | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , No. 23, July 1999 |
| Gu Liansong (辜濂崧)    | Chairman of the China Trust Group              | Taiwanese artists' works of art                                  |       | Tai Nai (1991)                              |
| Luo Jinming (駱錦明)    | Former general manager of the China Trust Bank | Taiwanese artists' works of art                                  |       | Tai Nai (1991)                              |
| Lu Yunlin (呂雲麟)      | Owner of the Yunfeng Construction Ltd. (雲峰營)   | Taiwanese precursory   | 1949  | Huang Yuling (1999)                         |

|                      |  |  |       |   |
|----------------------|--|--|-------|---|
|                      | 造廠)  | artists' works of art                      |       | : 44)   |
| Wang Zhenghua (王振華)  |  | Bronzes                                    |       | Lai Suling (1995)   |
| Hong Minhong (洪敏弘)   | President of the National Capital Management Corporation (NCM) | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art |       | <i>Economic Daily News</i> , 15 Jan 2000  |
| Ma Zhiling (馬志玲)     | Chairman of the Yuanda Financial Group(元大證券集團)                 | Chinese porcelain and seal stones          | 1989  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 280, Sept.1998, pp 228-31<br><i>United Daily News</i> , 15 July 2000                      |
| Wang Zhengfeng (王鎮鳳) | General Manager of the Yihua Food Ltd. (益華公司)                  | Chinese porcelain                          |       | <a href="http://www.ccg.gov.tw/culture/museum/twnmsu.htm">http://www.ccg.gov.tw/culture/museum/twnmsu.htm</a> |
| Ma Jianwei (馬建維)     | Assistant general manager of the Yuanda Stock Ltd. (元大證券)      | Chinese ink paintings                      | 1991  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 280, Sept.1998, p. 231<br><i>United Daily News</i> , 15 July 2000                         |
| Chen Taiming (陳泰銘)   | General manager of the Guoju Electronic Industry Ltd. (國巨電子)   | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art | 1990s | <i>China Evening Times</i> , 15 Jan. 1999   |
| Wong Mingxian (翁明顯)  | Chairman of the Zhonghuan Electronic industry (中環電子)           | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art | 1990s | <i>China Times Evening</i> , 15 Jan. 1999   |
| Hou Boming (侯博明)     | Chairman of the Tainan   | Taiwanese                                  | 1990s | <i>Art China</i> ,  |

|                      |  |   |       |   |
|----------------------|--|---|-------|---|
|                      | Textile Ltd. (台南紡織公司)                                | precursory artists' works of art  |       | June 1999, pp 99-101  |
| Chen Fengchun (陳逢椿)  | Former Chairman of the Spring Gallery (春之藝廊)         | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art                              | 1978  | Huang Yuling (1999: 81)   |
| Lin Tianru (林添如)     | Chairman of the Xinwanren Medicine Factory (新萬仁製藥廠)  | Chinese porcelain, jades, Taiwanese paintings, Taiwanese aboriginal art | 1970s | Interview with Lin Weicheng, Curator of the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines, on 18 Jan. 2000 |
| Xu Yingzhou (徐瀛洲)    | Collector  | Taiwanese aboriginal art  | 1970s | Interview with Lin Weicheng, Curator of the Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 18 Jan. 2000    |
| Ye Bowen (葉博文)       | Owner of the Ye Jewellery Company                    | Chinese jades   |       | <i>The Liberty Times</i> , 17 April 1996  |
| Chen Chengqing (陳澄晴) | Present of the Huagang Construction co., Ltd. (華崗建設) | Taiwan aboriginal Art   | 1970s | Personal interview in 1996  |
| Hong Sanxiong (洪三雄)  | Former Chairman of the My Humble House               | Cloisonné (Jingtai, 景泰藍) of Ming dynasty                                | 1989  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 297, Feb. 2000  |
| Shi Yunwen (石允文)     | Vice Present of the Fengnian                         | Ancient   | 1980s | Personal  |

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|                     |  |   |           |  |
|---------------------|--|---|-----------|--|
|                     | Sugar Industry (豐年果糖)                                      | Chinese paintings   |           | interview in 1992                                |
| Zeng Riddell (曾憲芬)  | Businessman  | Chinese furniture   | 1990s     | <i>Chinese Art News</i> No. 26, Oct. 1999, p102  |
| Lin Qiujiang (林秋江)  | Doctor   | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art  | 1968      | <i>Chinese Art News</i> No. 22, June, 1999, p 12 |
| Liao Dexiu (廖德修)    | Chairman of the Howard Hotel (福華飯店)                        | Taiwanese precursory artists' works of art  |           | Huang Yuling (1999: 161-162)                     |
| Wang Du (王度)        |  | Zisha teapot, ancient sword   |           |  |
| Huang Tiancai (黃天才) | Former director of the Central Daily News                  | Chinese paintings   |           | Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1998a: 98-99)                |
| Lin Muhe (林木和)      | Chairman of the Chengming Ltd. (晟銘企業)                      | Chinese furniture, wood carving, Chinese ink painting, Zisha teapot and paintings by Taiwanese artist | 1988      | <i>Artist</i> , No. 282, Nov.1998                |
| Ye Wuguo (葉武國)      | Assistant General Manager of the Shenghe Stock Ltd. (勝和證券) | Paintings by Taiwanese precursory artist  | 1990      | <i>Artist</i> , No. 268, Sept.1997               |
| Liao Zhixiang (廖志祥) | Chairman of a Cosmetic company.                            | Paintings by Taiwanese artist and paintings by  | The 1980s | <i>Artist</i> , No. 266, Jul.1997                |

|                     |  |  |       |  |
|---------------------|--|--|-------|--|
|                     |  | Hong Tong,<br>naïve<br>Taiwanese<br>painter,<br>Taiwanese<br>folk art                    |       |  |
| Jiang Yanchou (江衍疇) | Architect  | Works of art<br>by Taiwanese<br>artists and<br>Buddhist<br>sculptures                    |       | Artist, No.<br>239,<br>April.1995      |
| Cai Kexin (蔡克信)     | Doctor   | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>precursory<br>artists and<br>western<br>modern<br>paintings | 1985  | Artist, No.<br>249,<br>Feb.1996        |
| Huang Wenhong (黃文鴻) | Assistant professor, former<br>Head of the Medicine<br>Inspection Bureau | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>artists   | 1980s | Artist, No.<br>252, May<br>1996        |
| Zhuo Hongshun (嵇宏順) | TV producer  | Paintings by<br>Chinese<br>precursory<br>artists   |       | Artist, No.<br>247,<br>Dec.1995        |
| Chen Hongbo(陳宏博)    | Chairman of the Baihe<br>Industry Ltd. (百和工業股<br>份有限公司)                  | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>precursory<br>artists                                       | 1980  | Artist, No.<br>245,<br>Oct.1995        |
| Huang Daming (黃大銘)  | Entrepreneur   | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>artists   | 1989  | Artist, No.<br>252,<br>August,<br>1996 |
| Ye Rongjia (葉榮嘉)    | Architect  | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>precursory<br>artists                                       | 1967  | Artist, No.<br>242, July,<br>1995      |
| Ye Qizhong (葉啓忠)    | Chairman of the Ziqiang  | Chinese ink  | 1988  | Artist, No.                            |

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|                       |   |   |           |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|-----------|---|
|                       | Industry Ltd. (自強工業)                                | painting and calligraphy  |           | 240, May, 1995                              |
| Huang Maoxiong (黃茂雄)  | Collector   | Paintings by Taiwanese artists                                      | 1966      | Artist, No. 270, Nov.1997                   |
| Lin Mingzhe (林明哲)     | President of the Mountain Group                     | Paintings by Taiwanese and Mainland China artists                   | 1980      | Artist, No. 246, Nov.1995                   |
| Zeng Yanlin(曾彥霖)      | Owner of the Peacock Wine Trading Ltd. (孔雀酒行)       | Paintings by Taiwanese artists                                      | 1980      | Artist, No. 271, Dec.1997                   |
| Chen Junying (陳俊英)    | Dentist   | Paintings by Taiwanese artists and sculptures by Rodin              | 1976      | Artist, No. 250, March.1996                 |
| Chen Qibing (陳啓斌)     | President of the Fuji Construction Ltd.             | Chinese Paintings and calligraphy                                   | 1986      |   |
| Cai Mingxing (蔡明興)    | Vice President of the Fubang Financial Group (富邦集團) | Chinese oil paintings   |           | <i>The Liberty Times</i> , Sept. 1995       |
| Qiu Zaixing (邱再興)     | Entrepreneur  | Paintings by Taiwanese artists, embroidery and historical paintings | The 1980s | <i>China Times</i> , 26 Oct. 1999           |
| Zhang Ruide (張瑞德)     | Kaohsiung City Councillor                           | Seal stone  | 1979      | <i>China Times</i> , 23 April 1999          |
| Wang Birong (王必榮)     | Congressman   | Buddhist sculpture  |           | <i>Mingsheng Daily News</i> , 21 Sept. 1996 |
| Zhang Longsheng (張隆盛) | Former Director of the Environment Protection       | Porcelain and collectible   | 1980      | <i>United Evening</i>                       |

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|----------------------|---|---|--------------|--|
|                      | Department  | related to dog  |              | <i>News</i> , 11<br>Nov. 1993              |
| Xu Zhengyi (徐正毅)     | Chairman of the<br>Xiangguang Ltd. (祥綸企<br>業)     | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>precursory<br>artists  | The<br>1980s | Huang<br>Yuling<br>(1999: 117)             |
| Huang Qiuxong (黃秋雄)  | Financial investment<br>consultant                | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>precursory<br>artists  | 1985         | <i>Artist</i> , No. 2<br>38,<br>March.1995 |
| Zhang Yingfu (張英夫)   | President of the Qingyi<br>Group (慶宜集團)           | 19 <sup>th</sup> century<br>western oil<br>paintings and<br>works of art<br>by Taiwanese<br>artists | 1965         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>236,<br>Jan.1995    |
| Su Guogui (蘇國桂)      | Owner of a construction<br>Company                | Paintings by<br>Taiwanese<br>artists  | 1987         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>272,<br>Jan.1998    |
| Li Mingde (李明德)      | Chairman of the Yingjiu<br>Ltd. (瑩久企業)            | Porcelain of<br>Ming dynasty<br>(AD<br>1368-1644)   | 1989         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>286, March<br>1999  |
| Huang Qingxong (黃清雄) | Entrepreneur                                      | Porcelain of<br>the Ming and<br>Qing<br>dynasties,<br>Jade and<br>bronze                            | 1982         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>288, May<br>1999    |
| Yang Junxong (楊俊雄)   | Doctor  | Porcelain of<br>the Song<br>dynasty, jade<br>and bronze   | 1983         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>283, Dec.<br>1998   |
| Chen Yuxin (陳雨鑫)     | Deputy Mayor of the<br>Taizhong County            | Buddhist<br>sculptures  | 1995         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>289, June<br>1999   |
| Qian Wenlei (錢文雷)    | Director of designing<br>department of an airline | Chinese<br>paintings and  | 1992         | <i>Artist</i> , No.<br>262, March          |



|                    |  |   |       |   |
|--------------------|--|---|-------|---|
|                    | company  | Taiwanese paintings   |       | 1997  |
| Xie Zhenming (謝貞銘) | Doctor   | Taiwanese paintings and western modern paintings            | 1982  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 269, Oct. 1997          |
| Lin Qinghua (林清華)  | Dunhuang Construction Ltd. (敦煌建築公司)  | Taiwanese paintings   | 1990  | Pan (1999: 100)                             |
| Zeng Yongxin (曾永信) | Architect  | Taiwanese paintings   | 1990  | Pan (1999: 100)                             |
| Chen Zhixian (陳志賢) | The Cement Industrial Ltd. (水泥企業)  | Taiwanese paintings   | 1990  | Pan (1999: 100)                             |
| Ye Jitan (葉桔潭)     | Qingzhan Ltd. (清展企業)   | Taiwanese paintings   | 1990  | Pan (1999: 100)                             |
| Zhang Guoan (張國安)  | President of the Fengqun Financial Investment Ltd. (豐群投資公司)                    | Paintings   |       | <i>Commercial Daily News</i> , 1 Sept. 1991 |
| Kan Jinan (康吉男)    | Chairman of the Mingchao Designing Ltd. (名朝設計公司)                               | Buddha sculptures, jade and paintings                       | 1979  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 285, Feb. 1999          |
| Cai Yiming (蔡一鳴)   | Entrepreneur and Chairman of the Chinese Cultural objects Association (中華文物學會) | Porcelain and Chinese ink paintings                         | 1978  | <i>Artist</i> , No. 277, June 1998          |
| Hu Tongqing (胡侗清)  | President of the Far East Airline  | Porcelain and Chinese ink paintings                         | 1970s | <i>Artist</i> , No. 277, June 1998          |
| Liu Wenzhi (劉文治)   | Entrepreneur   | 18 century western paintings and works by Taiwanese artists |       | Hu Yongfen (1996a: 160-62)                  |
| Zeng Zhenghe (曾正和) | Stock investor   | Paintings by Taiwanese                                      | 1991  | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , May               |

|                      |   |  |            |                                     |
|----------------------|---|--|------------|-------------------------------------|
|                      |   | precursory artists   |            | 2000                                |
| Huang Zonghao (黃宗豪)  | Doctor  | Paintings by Taiwanese precursory artists                  | After 1990 | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , May 2000  |
| Bai Xingsan (白省三)    | Architect                                     | Paintings by Taiwanese precursory artists                  |            | <i>Chinese Art News</i> , May 2000  |
| Sun Wenxiong (孫文雄)   | President of the <i>Wealth Magazine</i> Group | Paintings by Taiwanese precursory artists                  | 1990       |                                     |
| Cai Chennan(蔡辰男)     | President of the Hanshen Group (漢神集團)         | Chinese ink paintings, calligraphy and bronze              | 1970s      | <i>Artist</i> , No. 277, June 1998  |
| Zhang Yaohuang (張耀煌) | Entrepreneur                                  | Taiwanese paintings and Chinese ink paintings, calligraphy | 1972       | <i>Artist</i> , No. 253, June 1996  |
| Chen Chengfu (陳成福)   | Doctor  | Taiwanese paintings and Western modern works of art        | 1988       | <i>Artist</i> , No. 274, March 1998 |
| Han Baode (漢寶德)      | President of the Tainan Art Institute         | Chinese antiquities and paintings                          | 1978       | <i>Artist</i> , No. 276, May 1998   |
| Zhou Yu (周渝)         | Owner of the Ziteng Teahouse(紫籐廬) in Taipei   | Taiwanese paintings and paintings by Hong Tong             | 1980s      | <i>Artist</i> , No. 264, May 1997   |
| Dai Zhongren (戴忠仁)   | TV presenter                                  | Chinese snuff bottle                                       | 1980s      |                                     |
| Yang Bingzhen (楊炳禎)  | Judge   | Chinese  | 1980s      | <i>Art China</i> ,                  |

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|                     |  |   |              |   |
|---------------------|--|---|--------------|---|
|                     |  | teapots and<br>bronze censer                              |              | No. 20,<br>May 2000,<br>p.138   |
| Xu Boyi (許伯夷)       | Businessman of a<br>construction company                   | Taiwanese<br>antiquities                                  | 1970s        | <i>Central<br/>Daily News</i> ,<br>11 Nov.<br>1999                                      |
| Lu Liangsheng (呂良盛) | Present of the Kancheng<br>Entertainment Ltd. (坎城育<br>樂公司) | Buddhist<br>sculpture                                     | The<br>1970s | <i>Commercial<br/>Daily News</i> ,<br>6 Jan. 1996                                       |
| Xu Donglong (許東隆)   | Present of the Hongtai<br>Insurance Co. (宏泰人壽)             | Buddhist<br>sculpture,<br>Blue and<br>White and<br>bronze | The<br>1980s | <i>Business<br/>Times<br/>Weekly</i> , No.<br>17, 5<br>March-11,<br>March<br>2001, p 76 |
| Zhu Nanshan (朱南山)   |  | Hakka<br>cultural<br>objects                              |              | <i>China<br/>Times</i> , 13<br>March 2001   |
| He Shouchuan (何壽川)  | President of the Yongfengyu<br>Paper Industrial Group      | Local cultural<br>objects,<br>embroidery                  |              | <i>Economic<br/>Daily News</i> ,<br>16 June<br>1996                                     |
| Jiao Youjun (焦佑鈞)   | President of the Huaxin<br>Industrial Group                | Works by<br>local artists                                 | 1990         | <i>Economic<br/>Daily News</i> ,<br>16 June<br>1996                                     |
| Zhang Anping (張安平)  | President of the China Trust<br>Stock Ltd.                 | Chinese<br>Bronzes  |              | <i>Economic<br/>Daily News</i> ,<br>16 June<br>1996                                     |
| Zhu Jiasheng (朱家聲)  | Doctor   | Zisha teapot  | 1980s        | <i>Art &amp;<br/>Collection</i> ,<br>No. 99,<br>Dec. 2000,<br>p. 88                     |
| Yuan Mingdao (袁明道)  | Owner of a garage  | Taiwanese   | 1970s        | <i>China</i>  |

|                     |  |                           |           |  |
|---------------------|--|---------------------------|-----------|--|
|                     |  | cultural objects          |           | <i>Times</i> , 22 March 2001                 |
| Wang Fengming (王豐鳴) | President of the Taizhong Folk Art Association   | Works of bamboo art       |           | <i>China Times</i> , 26 Feb. 2001            |
| Li Hanxiang (李翰祥)   | Movie director                                   | Chinese antiquities       | The 1970s | <i>Dacheng Daily News</i> , 10 May 1997      |
| Li Zanshou (李贊壽)    | Businessman                                      | Taiwanese Bamboo art      | 1995      | <i>Art of Collection</i> , No. 86, Nov. 1999 |
| Lin Baili (林百里)     | Chairman of the Guangda Computer Co.             | Paintings by Zhang Daqian | 1992      | Zhou Haisheng (周海聖)(1998c: 100-101)          |
| Chi Zongxian (池宗憲)  | Chief editor of the <i>Dacheng Daily News</i>    | Teapots and porcelain     | 1980s     | Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999g: 133-8)                |
| Chen Qide (陳啓德)     | Chairman of the Jianguo Construction Ltd. (建國工程) | Furniture                 |           | Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999b: 198-201)           |
| Pan Keke (潘可柯)      |  | Furniture                 |           | Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999b: 198-201)           |
| Wu Xianwan (吳先旺)    | Wuzhou Medicine Ltd. (五洲製藥廠)                     | Furniture                 |           | Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999b: 201)               |
| Zhao Guozong (趙國宗)  | Artist   | Taiwanese                 |           | Li Yichen                                    |

|                     |  |                                  |       |                                      |
|---------------------|--|----------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
|                     |  | cultural objects                 |       | (李逸塵)(1999f: 129-133)                |
| Zhu Jiahua (朱嘉樺)    | Artist                                   | Furniture                        |       | Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999b: 201)       |
| Chen Zongchen (陳宗琛) | Artist                                   | Calligraphy                      |       | Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999d: 160-63)       |
| Jian Ronghui (簡榮輝)  |  | Taiwanese cultural objects       | 1980s | Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999e: 164-67)       |
| Deng Shixun (鄧仕勳)   | Chairman of the Crown Restaurant (皇冠大酒樓) | Chinese Painting and calligraphy | 1980  | Huang Qianfang (黃茜芳)(1999a: 144-149) |
| Xie Hongxuan (謝鴻軒)  | Professor                                | Chinese Painting and calligraphy | 1941  | Xong Yijing (熊宜敬)(1999b: 117-121)    |
| Chen Chaobao (陳朝寶)  | Artist                                   | Chinese antiquities              |       | Li Yichen (李逸塵)(1999c: 122-6)        |
| Xie Zongxing (謝宗興)  | Professor                                | Silver ware                      | 1980s | Chen Qizheng (陳啓正)(1999c: 127-30)    |

## Appendix 7: The top price ranking of Chinese porcelain in the global Chinese art market (until 1999)

| Ranking | Title of objects   | Hammer price                      | Auction house           | Date of auction |
|---------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1       | Ming dynasty Jiajing period (AD 1522-1567) jar (明嘉靖五彩魚藻紋罐)             | 44 million HK\$ (£3927,060)       | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 30 Oct. 2000    |
| 2       | Tang dynasty three-colour-glazed pottery horse (唐三彩馬)                  | £3,74 million                     | Sotheby's in London     | 12 Dec. 1989    |
| 3       | Ming dynasty Chenghua Cup (明成化鬥彩雞缸盃)                                   | 29.17 million HK\$ (£260,346,240) | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 27 Apr. 1999    |
| 4       | Ming dynasty Jiajing period (AD 1522-1567) jar (明嘉靖五彩魚藻紋罐)             | 2860,000 US\$ (£1,990,535)        | Sotheby's in New York   | 1 Dec. 1992     |
| 5       | Ming dynasty Hongwu copper-glazed Yuhucunping (明洪武釉裡紅纏枝牡丹紋玉壺春瓶)        | 22.02 million HK\$ (£1,965,315)   | Christies' in Hong Kong | 5 Nov. 1997     |
| 6       | Southern Song dynasty imperial celadon brush washing dish (南宋郊壇官窯青瓷筆洗) | 22 million HK\$ (£1,963,530)      | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 16 May 1989     |
| 7       | Qing dynasty Qianlong enamel bowl (清乾隆琺瑯彩黃地開光式胭脂紅山水紋碗)                 | 21.47 million HK\$ (£1,916,227)   | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 29 Apr. 1997    |
| 8       | Ming dynasty Yongle Blue-and-White pot (明永樂青花水波邊纏枝花卉星紋雙繫大扁壺)           | 21.47 million HK\$ (£1,916,227)   | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 1 Nov 1999      |
| 9       | Ming dynasty Hongwu copper-glazed bowl (明洪武釉裡紅纏枝牡丹菊紋大碗)                | 20.35 million HK\$ (£1,816,265)   | Sotheby's in Hong Kong  | 16 May 1989     |
| 10      | Qing dynasty Yongzheng enamel cup (清雍正琺瑯彩月季綠竹詩)                        | 17.84 million HK\$                | Christies' in Hong Kong | 26 Apr. 1999    |

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|    |   |                                    |                        |              |
|----|---|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
|    | 意小盃)  | (£1,592,244)                       | Kong                   |              |
| 11 | Ming dynasty Xuande/ Yongle Blue-and-White brush dish (明永樂/宣德青花底面書雲龍外十小龍紋菱口洗) | 16.52 million HK\$<br>(£1,474,433) | Sotheby's in Hong Kong | 5 Nov. 1997  |
| 12 | Qing dynasty Yongzheng enamel bowl (清雍正琺瑯彩花鳥紋提詩碗 )                            | 16.5 million HK\$<br>(£1,472,648)  | Sotheby's in Hong Kong | 14 Nov. 1989 |
| 13 | Yuan dynasty Blue-and-White vase(Meiping) (元青花八角廣口飛鳳草蟲紋梅瓶)                    | 16 million H K\$<br>(£1,428,022)   | Sotheby's in Hong Kong | May 1996     |
| 14 | Ming dynasty Chenghua Blue-and-White jar (明成化青花荷塘紋罐)                          | 15.97 million HK\$<br>(£1,425,344) | Sotheby's in Hong Kong | 29 Apr. 1997 |

※Hammer prices in parenthesis are converted in terms of the exchange rate of currency on 15 Nov. 2000

## Appendix 8: Collectors' foundation and museum or gallery in Taiwan

| Collector            | Foundation   | Museum or gallery  |
|----------------------|--|--|
| He Guoqing(何國慶)      | He Chuangshi Foundation (何創時基金會)                             | Chinese Calligraphy Centre in Taipei                                 |
| Xu Wenlong(許文龍)      | Qimei Cultural Foundation (奇美文化基金會)                          | Qimei Museum   |
| Chen Yongtai(陳永泰)    | Aurora Cultural and Education Foundation (震旦行文教基金會)          | Supporting art activities  |
| Lin Qingfu(林清富)      | Lin Naiwong Cultural and Education Foundation (林迺翁文教基金會)     | Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines (順益台灣原住民博物館)                    |
| Ye Rongjia(葉榮嘉)      | Yeshe Qinyi Foundation (葉氏勤益基金會)                             | Rongjia Sculpture Park (榮嘉雕刻公園), Ye Rongjia Art Gallery(葉榮嘉美術館)      |
| Lin Mingzhe(林明哲)     | Mountain Art Foundation (山藝術基金會)                             | Mountain Art Gallery (山藝術館)  |
| Lin Baili(林百里)       | Guangda Education Foundation (廣達教育基金會)                       | Art museum related to Zhang Daqian, a master of Chinese ink painting |
| Zhang Rongfa(張榮發)    | Zhang Rongfa (張榮發基金會)  | Art Gallery  |
| Huang Zonghong(黃宗宏)  | Dimension Endowment of Art (帝門藝術基金會)                         | Art Gallery and Art Source Centre                                    |
| Zhang Tiangen(張添根家族) | Hongxi Foundation (鴻禧基金會)                                    | Hongxi Museum  |
| Hong Minhong(洪敏弘)    | Hong Jianquan Cultural and Educational Foundation (洪健全文教基金會) | Supporting art activities  |
| Qiu Zaixing(邱再興)     | Qiu Zaixing Culture Foundation (邱再興文教基金會)                    | Fengjia Museum (鳳甲美術館)   |
| Zhang Meiyun(張美筠)    | Foundation organization in progress                          | Taiwan Embroidery Museum (台灣繡畫館)                                     |



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|                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Chen Taiming(陳泰銘)   | Guoju Art Foundation(國巨藝術基金會)                                 | Supporting art activities   |
| Wang Zhengfeng(王鎮鳳) | Yihua Foundation (益華基金會)                                      | Beiru Art Museum (貝汝藝術館)  |
| Gu Zhenfu(辜振甫)      | Lugang Foundation   | Lugang Museum of Folk Cultural Objects (鹿港民俗文物館)<br>Sanhetang Art Museum (三合堂文物館) |
| Hou Boming(侯博明)     | Tainan Textile Social Welfare & Art Foundation(台南紡織社會福利藝術基金會) | Yongdu Art Gallery (永都藝術館)  |
| Cai Mingxing (蔡明興)  | Fubang Culture and Education Foundation (富邦文教基金會)             | Supporting art activities   |
| Xingyun (星雲法師)      | Foguangshan Culture and Education Foundation (佛光山文教基金會)       | Foguangyuan Art Museum (佛光緣美術館)   |

## Appendix 9: A survey of public museums in Taiwan

| Museum title                                 | Established date | Attached museum or gallery   | Remark  |
|--|------------------|--|---|
| National Taiwan Handicraft Park              |                  |  | Constructing in progress from 2000                          |
| Taizhong Seaport Art Centre                  | 12 March 2000    |  |   |
| Xinzhu County Cultural Centre                | 2000             | The Museum of Hakka Cultural Objects (working in progress)                       | Changed the title as the Cultural Bureau of the Xinzhu City |
| Kaohsiung Fine Arts Museum                   | 12 June 1994     |  |   |
| Nation Jiang Jieshi Memorial Cultural Centre | 31 Oct 1987      | Jiang Jieshi Art Gallery   |   |
| National Taiwan Museum of art                | Dec. 1986        |  |   |
| Xinzhu City Cultural Centre                  | 1986             | Museum of Handicraft (work in progress)  | Changed the title as the Cultural Bureau of the Xinzhu City |
| Taipei Fine Arts Museum                      | 1983             | The project of establishing the branch of Taipei Fine Arts Museum is in progress |   |
| Jilong Municipal Cultural Centre             | Aug. 1985        | Museum of Local culture (地方特色館)(established in 1990)                             |   |
| Tainan Municipal Cultural Centre             | 6 Oct. 1984      | Museum of Taiwan Folk Handicraft (台灣民間傳統藝能館)(work in progress)                   |   |

*Appendices*

|  |              |   |  |
|--|--------------|---|--|
| YunLing County Cultural Centre         |              | Taiwan Temple Museum(established in1995)  |  |
| Kaohsiung Jiang Jieshi Cultural Centre | 1981         | At Gallery  |  |
| Taoyuan County Cultural Centre         | 1984         | Chinese Furniture Museum (established in1989)                                   |  |
| Taizhong County Cultural Centre        | 1983         | The museum of Weaving and Knitting Handicraft (established in1980)              |  |
| Yilan County Cultural Centre           | 20 May1984   | Museum of Taiwanese Drama (台灣戲劇館)(established in1990)                           |  |
| Taipei County Cultural Centre          | 1983         | Modern Pottery Museum (established in1989), Yingge Pottery Museum (in progress) | Changed the title as Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Taipei County    |
| Kaohsiung County Cultural Centre       | 1 July 1984  | Museum of Chinese Shadow Show (皮影戲劇館)( established in 1994)                     | Changed the title as Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Kaohsiung County |
| Miaoli County Cultural Centre          | 1983         | Sanyi Wood Sculpture Museum (established in 1995)                               |  |
| Nantou County Cultural Centre          | 25 Dec. 1982 | The Museum of Bamboo Art  |  |

|                                 |              |  |  |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--|--|
|                                 |              | (established in 1988)  |  |
| Tainan County Cultural Centre   | 1983         | Zuozen Fossil Museum   |  |
| Penghu County Cultural Centre   | 1983         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Zhao Erdai Art Gallery (趙二呆藝術館)</li> <li>● Museum of Ocean Resources (海洋資源館) (established in 1994)</li> </ul> | Changed the title as Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Penghu County  |
| Taidong County Cultural Centre  | 1984         | Indigenous Culture Museum (established in 1988)  |  |
| Hualian County Cultural Centre  | 1980         | Rock Art Museum (work in progress)   | Changed the title as Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Hualian County |
| Pingdong County Cultural Centre | 1980         | The Museum of Paiwan Tribal Sculpture (established in 1995)  |  |
| Jiayi City Cultural Centre      | 27 Feb. 1993 | Taiwan Jiaozhi Pottery Museum (交趾陶特色館) (work in progress)  |  |
| Zhanghua County Cultural Centre | 1983         | Museum of Traditional Music and Drama (南北管音樂戲曲館) (work in progress)  |  |

# *Appendices*

|   |               |             |   |
|---|---------------|-------------|---|
| Tainan City Yonghan Museum of Taiwanese Folk Art (台南市永漢民藝館) | 1979          |             | Over 3000 Taiwan cultural objects were donated by Qiu Yonghan (邱永漢), a Taiwanese entrepreneur |
| National Dr. Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall                       | 16 May 1972   | Art gallery |   |
| American Cultural Centre                                    | 1 Jan. 1979   | Art gallery |   |
| National Taiwan Arts Education Institute                    | 29 March 1957 | Art gallery |   |
| National Museum of History                                  | 1955          | Art gallery |   |
| National Palace Museum in Taipei                            | 1949          | Art gallery |   |
| Provincial Taiwan Museum                                    | 1908          | Art gallery | A museum possesses natural historical, anthropologic and ethnographic collections             |

## Appendix 10: A survey of private art museum and gallery in Taiwan

| Title   | Established date | Collections  | Founder                       | Remark      |
|---|------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Wangye Cultural Museum (王爺文物館)                                | 21 August 2000   | Cultural objects relating to Taiwanese Daoist belief               | He Wanchang                   | Benshengren |
| Juming Museum (朱銘美術館)   | 1999             | Sculptures made by Ju Ming   | Ju Ming                       | Benshengren |
| Li Shiqiao Art Gallery (李石樵美術館)                               | 1993             | 400 pieces of paintings by Taiwanese precursory artist, Li Shiqiao | Family of Li Shiqiao (李石樵)    | Benshengren |
| Li Meishu Memorial Art Gallery (李梅樹紀念館)                       | 1995             | paintings by Taiwanese precursory artist, Li Meishu                | Family of Li Meishu           | Benshengren |
| Yang Yingfeng Art Gallery (楊英風美術館)                            | 1992             | Sculptures by Taiwanese sculptor, Yang Yingfeng                    | Family of Yang Yingfeng (楊英風) | Benshengren |
| Zhang Daqian Memorial Museum (張大千紀念館)                         | 1983             | Paintings and articles of everyday use by Zhang Daqian             | Zhang Daqian (張大千)            | Waishengren |
| Beiru Art Museum (貝汝藝術館)                                      | 1992             | Chinese porcelain  | Wang Zhenfeng (王鎮鳳)           | Benshengren |
| Li Zefan Art Gallery (李澤藩美術館)                                 | 1994             | Works of art by Li Zefan   | family of Li Zefan (李澤藩)      | Benshengren |
| Lin Yuan Art gallery (林淵美術館) at Niuer Sculpture Park (牛耳石雕公園) | 1987             | Stone sculptures by Lin Yuan                                       | Huang Bingsong (黃炳松)          | Benshengren |
| Shunyi Museum of Formosan Aborigines (順益原住民博物館)               | 1994             | Cultural objects of Formosan aborigines                            | Lin Qingfu (林清富)              | Benshengren |
| Shuntian Art Museum (順天藝術館)                                   | 1999             | Works of art by  | Xu                            | Benshengren |

|   |                        |   |                                       |                                 |
|---|------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 天美術館)   |                        | Taiwanese artists   | Hongyuan<br>(許鴻源)                     |                                 |
| Qimei Art Museum  | 1990                   | Chinese art, western art ,<br>weapons and natural<br>historical collections | Xu<br>Wenlong<br>(許文龍)                | Benshengren                     |
| Fengjia Art Museum  | 1991                   | Works of art by<br>Taiwanese artists  | Qiu<br>Zaixing<br>(邱再興)               | Benshengren                     |
| Hongxi Art Museum   | 1991                   | Chinese art   | Family of<br>Zhang<br>Tiange<br>(張添根) | Benshengren                     |
| Sanhetang Art Museum (三<br>合堂文物館 )                                  | 2000                   | Chinese porcelain   | Gu<br>Zhenfu<br>(辜振甫)                 | Benshengren                     |
| Lugang Museum of Folk<br>Cultural Objects (鹿港民<br>俗文物館)             | 1973                   | Taiwanese folk cultural<br>objects  | Gu<br>Zhenfu<br>(辜振甫)                 | Benshengren                     |
| Mountain Art Museum   | 1996                   | Works of art by Chinese<br>artists  | Lin<br>Mingzhe<br>(林明哲)               | Benshengren                     |
| Miniatures Museum of<br>Taiwan                                      | 1999                   | Collectable of miniatures   | Lin<br>Wenren<br>(林文仁)                | Benshengren                     |
| Longnan Lacquer Museum  | 1999                   | Works of Lacquer  | Xu Yufu<br>(徐玉富)                      | Benshengren                     |
| He Chuangshi Chinese<br>Calligraphy Art Centre in<br>Taipei         | 1995                   | Chinese Calligraphy   | He<br>Guoqing<br>(何國慶)                | Waishengren                     |
| Rongjia Sculpture Park (榮<br>嘉雕刻公園), Ye Rongjia<br>Art Gallery(葉榮嘉) | Work is in<br>progress | Works of art by<br>Taiwanese artists  | Ye<br>Rongjia<br>(葉榮嘉)                | Benshengren                     |
| Art Museum  | Work is in<br>progress | Works of art by Zhang<br>Daqian   | Lin Baili<br>(林百里)                    | Immigrator<br>from Hong<br>Kong |
| Evergreen Art Gallery   | 1999                   | Chinese art   | Zhang<br>Rongfa<br>(張榮發)              | Benshengren                     |

|  |      |   |                                 |   |
|--|------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Dimension Endowment of Art (帝門藝術基金會)                   | 1989 | Works of modern art and resources in relation to art          | Huang Zonghong (黃宗宏)            | Benshengren   |
| Taiwan Embroidery Museum (台灣繡畫館)                       | 1996 | Works of embroidery   | Zhang Meiyun (張美筠)              | Benshengren   |
| Taiwan Folk Art Museum (北投文物館)                         | 1984 | Over 5000 pieces of Taiwan Folk and indigenous art            | Zhang Muyang (張木養)              | Benshengren   |
| Lugang Tianhou Temple Museum (鹿港天后宮媽祖文物館)              | 1989 | Taiwanese temple Art and cultural objects                     | The committee of Tianhou Temple | Benshengren   |
| Shandaosi Buddhist History and Art Museum (善導寺佛教歷史藝術館) | 1986 | Buddhist cultural objects and Buddhist works of art           |                                 | Waishengren   |
| Zheru Museum (哲如文物館)                                   |      | Chinese porcelain, jades, paintings, Taiwanese aboriginal art | Lin Tianru (林添如)                | Benshengren   |
| Foguangyuan Art Gallery (佛光緣美術館)                       | 1994 | Chinese art   | Xingyun (星雲法師)                  | Waishengren   |
| Museum of Buddhist Cultural Objects (佛教文物陳列館)          | 1982 | Buddhist cultural objects and Buddhist works of art           | Xingyun (星雲法師)                  | Waishengren   |
| Museum of Buddhist Cultural Objects (佛教文物展覽館)          | 1991 | Buddhist cultural objects and Buddhist works of art           | Xingyun                         | Waishengren   |
| World Religious Museum (世界宗教博物館)                       | 2000 | Religious Cultural Objects                                    | Xindao (心道法師)                   | Benshengren   |
| Guotai Fine Arts Museum (國泰美術館)                        | 1977 | Chinese ancient paintings                                     | Cai Chennan (蔡辰男)               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Benshengren</li> <li>● Closed in 1985</li> </ul> |



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