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Author/s:
Roberts, C

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Melbourne Mandarins: 'Modern Chinese Painters', 1974

Claire Roberts

Introduction

The 1974 exhibition 'Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style', held at the University Art Gallery, Melbourne, was an early and rather impressive effort to promote the appreciation of Chinese painting in Australia. Initiated by Harry F. Simon, Professor of Chinese in the East and Southeast Asian Studies Department at the University of Melbourne, the exhibition was a collaborative endeavour that brought together art works from private collections in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra.

Assembled in association with Pierre Ryckmans, Reader in Chinese at the Australian National University (ANU), and the Melbourne-based artist Paul Hsiu-pa Yang, the exhibition featured forty paintings by twentieth century brush-and-ink-masters including Ding Yanyong (1902-1978), Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), Gao Jianfu (1879-1951), Huang Binhong (1865-1955), Pan Tianshou (1897-1971), Pu Xinyu (1896-1963), Qi Baishi (1864-1957) and Zhang Daqian (1899-1983).ⁱ The University Art Gallery was located in the new Arts South (now John Medley) building which accommodated the departments of English, Classics, History, Fine Arts, Political Science and Oriental Studies. The building, designed by Roy Grounds in 1967 and completed in 1971, comprised two towers joined by a linkway. The gallery was positioned on the fourth floor of the East Tower.ⁱⁱ As Dean of Arts, Professor Simon

had provided crucial support for the location of the Gallery and had committed funds to buy works of art for the new building.ⁱⁱⁱ Attesting to the strong historical links that existed between the University and the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV), the exhibition was opened by Gallery Director Gordon Thomson, who had studied fine arts as a mature student and later worked with Franz Philip on a Refresher Course for art teachers, which had led to the formation of the Art Teachers' Association of Victoria.^{iv} Since 1965 Thomson had oversight of the Gallery's Asian collection and in 1973 was promoted from Deputy Director to Director. The National Gallery of Victoria, also designed by Grounds, had opened three years earlier.^v

In terms of quantity and quality, the art works displayed in the University Art Gallery exhibition surpassed the then meagre holdings of modern Chinese painting in Australia's state and national galleries.^{vi} Of the forty works displayed, fourteen came from the collection of each of Harry Simon and Pierre Ryckmans; six from Ronald Ma, Professor of Accounting at the University of New South Wales; four from Jane Carnegie, a Melbourne based collector and dealer in Asian art; one from the artist Paul Hsiu-pa Yang who had settled in Melbourne in 1970; and one from the University of Melbourne's Department of East and Southeast Asian Studies.^{vii}

In an essay for the exhibition catalogue, titled 'Traditional Chinese Painting and Its Modern Fate', Ryckmans outlined the basic features of Chinese painting with its inherent philosophical and scholarly connections, concluding with an account of the impact of socio-political events on Chinese art and culture during the twentieth century. The two-part essay was divided by a section break suggesting a temporal discontinuity between the past and the period beginning in the mid nineteenth century,

from which time Ryckans wrote, China had been ‘plunged in one of the most dramatic crises of her history’. It was supplemented by ‘Biographies of the Painters’ in which Ryckmans provided readers with brief critical notes on the lives of individual artists, which included for some their forced resettlement in Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere after the Communist victory on the mainland in 1949.^{viii}

Ryckmans advised:

I would suggest to use the word Painters rather than Painting (Chinese Modern Painters in the traditional style, Traditional Painters of the 20th century etc rather than Chinese Modern Painting, etc) as the exhibition is merely a gathering of individual artists, and is not representative enough to encompass the whole of Chinese Modern Painting in the traditional style -)^{ix}

While the exhibition did not set out to represent modern painting in China, it did include many artists integral to the modernisation of Chinese brush-and-ink painting and whose work suggested, albeit indirectly, the fraught story of revolution and its impact on the development of art and culture in China.

From the perspective of the University, the display was ‘a most significant exhibition’ in the series planned for 1974. It brought together ‘for public viewing works of art rarely seen’ and marked a departure from exhibitions previously held at the University Art Gallery which had largely focussed on works from the University’s art collection. ^x In addition to the essay by Ryckmans, the 56-page publication included an illustrated catalogue of the paintings with the inscriptions of each work transcribed and translated by Harry Simon and Paul Hsiu-pa Yang. The different elements of the

catalogue represented a concerted effort on the part of the organisers to make the exhibition and the subject of Chinese brush-and-ink painting accessible to a broader audience.^{.xi}

That effort appears to have paid off. The exhibition was reviewed by leading art critics and ‘attracted greater numbers than any previous exhibition,’ including many groups of students from schools and technical colleges. The catalogues also sold well.^{.xii} In a review for the *Melbourne Age* newspaper Patrick McCaughey, the inaugural Professor of Fine Arts at Monash University, described the exhibition as ‘surprising and enterprising’. He quotes from Ryckmans’ essay: ‘Chinese painting is first and foremost the art of the brush in a way in which no Western painting ever approached.’ For him the scrolls ‘present an object lesson in form and function’, hung ‘loosely from the ceiling’ they ‘conveyed the weightlessness of painting and the idea of a world suspended on the tracery of a brush ... the exhibition makes a good argument for the last Chinese masters of brush painting’ and the paintings as ‘the final fruits of the tradition’. The ‘present painters’ he says ‘look fragile as they catch and hold their mobile world for a second’.^{.xiii} In his review for *The Herald*, Alan McCulloch also focussed on brushwork. He described brush-and-ink painting as a ‘timeless art, limitless in sensibility of touch within the ancient calligraphic traditions’ and noted Ryckmans’ comment that it ‘expresses a world outlook to which various Chinese communities no longer adhere’, concluding: ‘it remains the most valid of Chinese contemporary art forms. What contemporary art in China may be no one outside China really knows.’^{.xiv}

Before considering the exhibition in greater detail and addressing McCulloch’s rhetorical comment about contemporary art in China at that time, it is necessary to

establish the environment in which the exhibition took place. What was the state of Australia-China cultural relations at that time? Who were the key figures in Melbourne involved in collecting and exhibiting Chinese art, and what opportunities existed to view and study Chinese painting ?

Australia-China relations

The 1970s was a period of historic transition in China, Australia and for Australia-China relations. In 1974, eight years after the launch of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, political campaigns and factional struggles in China continued, but in October Mao Zedong called for stability.^{xv} While the ‘Gang of Four’ had not yet fallen, there was none the less ‘an irresistible move towards normalcy’ as China progressively developed relationships with international institutions and countries beyond the Socialist bloc.^{xvi} In 1970 Canada and China established diplomatic relations, and the following year the People’s Republic of China (PRC) became one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, replacing Taiwan, the Republic of China.^{xvii} These events paved the way for developed countries that had not already recognised the government of the PRC to re-consider the question of diplomatic relations. Australia moved quickly to recognise the Communist government of the PRC following the election of Gough Whitlam and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in late 1972, establishing a new era in diplomacy, trade, and cultural exchange. For Whitlam, there was not only an inevitability about Australia’s need to ‘come to terms with’ the People’s Republic of China, which he referred to as ‘one of the central facts’ of the Asian region, there was also an urgency to pursue an independent foreign policy that sought to engage with rather than contain China.^{xviii} Among the archival images included in the ALP’s ‘It’s Time’ campaign

video is a photograph of Whitlam shaking hands with Zhou Enlai, Premier of China, taken during the then Leader of the Opposition's historic visit in 1971. In his campaign speech Whitlam had pledged that a Labor Government would 'transfer Australia's China Embassy from Taipei to Peking.'^{xix}

In the early 1970s there was limited understanding of China in Australia or of Australia in China, despite the historical associations that existed through migration and trade. While Australia had maintained an economic relationship with the PRC, information about China was difficult to obtain and there were few opportunities to build understanding and trust. That situation started to change with ping-pong diplomacy and the Australian Table Tennis tour of China in 1971 which followed tours by teams from England, America, Canada and other countries^{xx}, and news of remarkable archaeological discoveries such as the jade burial suit, which generated considerable interest in contemporary China and its rich historic past. In political terms conditions became easier in 1973 after the Whitlam government removed the final vestiges of the 'White Australia' Policy from Australia's immigration policy, a shift which had become necessary following the Civil Rights movement in the US which inspired political change for Indigenous Australians too. The opening of the Australian Embassy in Beijing and the Chinese Embassy in Canberra in 1973 created a strong foundation upon which a bilateral relationship could develop. Whitlam visited China as Prime Minister that year and relations were reinvigorated through diplomacy, trade, educational and cultural initiatives.^{xxi} People-to- people contact increased and there was a spate of official visits, including a trade mission led by Jim Cairns, Minister for Trade and a cultural mission led by Peter Karmel and Jean Battersby, Chairman and Chief Executive of the Australia Council respectively.

In addition to official programs brokered in Canberra and Beijing, an increasing number of China-related cultural activities were generated by individuals and institutions working in commercial, cultural and educational fields. The exhibition ‘Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style’ is one example, and its background is worth considering in more detail.

Australia-China cultural relations

In order to better understand the context of the exhibition and Australia’s cultural engagement with China it is necessary to consider activities that occurred much earlier, in the 1950s. Prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Australia and China, various groups of individuals visited China at the invitation of Chinese government agencies. In 1956 Leonard Bell Cox was invited to participate in a cultural delegation led by C.P. Fitzgerald, who had come to ANU in 1949 and in 1954 was appointed founding Professor of Far Eastern History.^{.xxii} London-born C. P. Fitzgerald had spent extended periods working in China since the 1920s, and from 1946 to 1949 had worked there for the British Council. After Fitzgerald’s move to Australia he became a leading commentator on Chinese affairs. He was National President of the Australia-China Society, a ‘non-political society interested in the promotion of knowledge of Chinese culture and art in Australia’, with branches in Sydney and Melbourne.^{.xxiii} Responding to an invitation by the Chinese People’s Association for Cultural Relations to lead a cultural delegation to China, Fitzgerald assembled a group of Australians ‘well known in cultural circles’.^{.xxiv} Cox, a neurologist by profession, was a collector of Chinese ceramics and Honorary Curator of Oriental Art at the National Gallery of Victoria and a Trustee of the National

Gallery. He had developed a close relationship with Joseph Burke, the inaugural Herald Professor of Fine Art at the University of Melbourne, also a Trustee of the National Gallery and in 1951 had delivered a series of public lectures on Chinese art as part of an extension program offered by the Department of Fine Arts at the University.^{xxv} In that same year Cox had invited Fitzgerald to speak at the newly formed Melbourne branch of the Oriental Ceramic Society. The founding members of the Society included many influential figures including: Keith Murdoch (proprietor of the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, and former President of the Trustees of the NGV who funded the Herald Chair of Art at the University), Daryl Lindsay (Director, NGV), Joseph Burke (Herald Chair of Art, University of Melbourne), Herbert Wade Kent (collector of Chinese ceramics and inaugural Honorary Curator of Asian Art, NGV), businessman and philanthropist Kenneth Myer, and Leonard Cox himself.^{xxvi}

For the Australian participants, the 1956 cultural tour offered a rare opportunity to experience ‘new China’. Cox kept a detailed diary of his travels. Highlights of the trip were visits to the Palace Museum and the Institute of Archaeology.^{xxvii} The possibility of sending an exhibition of Chinese art to Australia was raised during the meeting with Premier Zhou Enlai. In a report written for ANU, Fitzgerald and Partridge noted ‘The Chinese propose to send an exhibition of handicrafts and arts, (“not Communist propaganda” – said the Prime Minister)’ and a preference for expanding cultural relations ‘on an exchange basis’. An ‘Australian exhibition would be welcomed as part of this exchange.’^{xxviii} Cox made a note to discuss the idea with his Chairman and fellow trustees.^{xxix}

After his return to Australia Cox delivered the 18th George Ernest Morrison Lecture at the ANU, ‘The Buddhist Temples of Yun-kang and Lung-men’, one of a number of talks he would deliver on sites that he had visited.^{xxx} The following year Cox returned to China with a delegation of twenty medical specialists during which time he attended the May Day. Writing home he described the evening event:

It has been a wonderful experience...Peter [McCallum] and I were invited to a party on the top of Tien An Men Gate to witness [the fireworks] & a most fascinating concert. We sat at small tables, and Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai circulated amongst guests & we met them and many others of the leaders.^{xxxi}

Access to the supreme leaders was a privilege for foreign visitors. The spectacle from the rostrum of Tian’anmen Gate, the historic entry point of the Imperial palace, looking out over the Golden Water Bridge and moat across Chang’an Boulevard to Tian’anmen Square, and the Monument to the People’s Heroes still under construction, would have been an unforgettable experience.

Ken Myer and China

Leonard Cox was a friend and mentor of Kenneth Baillieu Myer, the eldest son of Merlyn and Sidney Myer (1878-1934), founder of the Myer Emporium. Myer and Cox had worked closely together on a number of civic projects, notably the National Gallery Society of Victoria^{xxxii}, the Trust of the NGV, and the NGV and Cultural Centre Building Committee.^{xxxiii} After his return from China Cox spoke ‘enthusiastically of his experiences’, including his visits to the Palace Museum, and to Jingdezhen, the home of Chinese porcelain, prompting Myer to plan a private trip. Myer had served with the Royal Australian Navy during the Pacific War, and in 1945

was posted with occupation forces in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Tokyo. Growing up in the family home 'Cranlana' he was familiar with Chinese porcelain, jade and bronze, which featured prominently in his father's art collection. It is likely Myer's growing interest in the family collection prompted his membership of the Melbourne branch of the Oriental Ceramic Society and his close connection with Cox.

Myer's visit to China in late 1958, undertaken with his wife Prudence and close friend Edward Cordner, was arranged through the Myer agent in Hong Kong, Tsoi Shi-Liang, whose son accompanied them as personal interpreter and guide.^{xxxiv} Cox provided letters of introduction for Myer to shop for works of art and for Cordner, a young doctor, to make contact with members of the Chinese Medical Association. Myer's impressions of China are revealed in some jottings titled 'Fascination of a visit to China and great mental stimulus' in which his thoughts are grouped under a number of headings: Advice to travellers^{xxxv}, The people^{xxxvi}; and Regime^{xxxvii}. He poses the question, 'What can we do to improve our relations with China', and made some suggestions including: 'Step up our trade'; 'Encourage further exchanges on the professional and cultural level'; 'Encourage more Australian tourists in China interesting and cheap'; 'Exchange exhibition of contemporary Australian Chinese art'; 'Offer an exchange of students between Australian and Chinese Universities.'^{xxxviii} Later in life Myer reflected on the trip and remarked that it 'had the biggest impact of any overseas trip I had made in my life'.^{xxxix}

The Myer Foundation and Chinese studies at the University of Melbourne

Since the late 1930s there had been attempts to establish a department of Far Eastern Studies and a Chair in Oriental Studies at the University of Melbourne.^{xl} Various

sources of funding had been explored, but without success. Other Chairs had also been in play, including a Chair in Fine Arts, which in 1944 was funded by Keith Murdoch.^{xli} But for 'Oriental Studies' it would not be until after Ken Myer had returned from his privately funded trip to China in 1958 that the teaching of the Chinese language would become a reality at the University.

Fresh from China, Myer believed that the 'study of modern...developing China under Mao' 'incorporating language study' was required. ^{xlii} Inspired by the need for Australia to engage more actively with China and countries in the Asia-Pacific region, he and his brother Baillieu established The Myer Foundation, a charitable organisation modelled on the Rockefeller Foundation to fund initiatives in the national interest and for the 'good of mankind'.^{xliii} Ken Myer was President of the Myer Foundation from its formation in 1959 until his death in 1992.^{xliv} Reflecting his personal conviction that 'the future of Australia is inevitably tied to developments in Asia', the first major project was the establishment of a Department of Oriental Studies at The University of Melbourne. ^{xlv}

In announcing the establishment of the new department Ken Myer commented:

I feel that we should be better informed on the great historical cultures of China and Japan, their languages and their current aims and aspirations. The importance of such understanding to Australia scarcely needs stressing...I envisage that the Department will ultimately cover the broader field of Asian Studies in general.^{xlvi}

The Myer Foundation grant of \$204,160, a huge sum in those days, would cover the purchase of a building and the salaries of a professor, 2 senior lecturers, a language

lecturer, secretary and library resources for the first eight years of operation, after which time it was understood that the University would provide ongoing funding.^{xlvi} Also new at this time in the Faculty of the Arts was a head of the Department of Indian Studies, funded by Spalding Trust and Indian Government, and a lectureship in Islamic Studies, funded by the government of Pakistan, which would join the existing Department of Indonesian Studies, which had been supported by the Commonwealth government. Together, these new positions represented an important commitment to Asian Studies, made possible through partnerships with private as well as and Commonwealth and foreign governmental interests.^{xlvi}

The inaugural Professor of Oriental Studies, Harry F. Simon, arrived in Melbourne in 1961.^{xlvi} He had been Lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London. Myer took a keen interest in the appointment, had undertaken his own intelligence and had been reassured by a friend and colleague in London: 'I was able to confirm most of what you had heard re Dr Simon. Seems a pretty good man with the bias to the contemporary situations.'¹ Simon was one of a relative small number of academics who had experience of the PRC having spent an extended period in China on study leave from SOAS 1949-50, with three return trips in 1954, 1955 and 1957 in the capacity of interpreter for British trade delegations.^{li} His father, Walter Simon (1893-1981), Chair of Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies (now SOAS), was a world-renowned expert in Chinese and Tibetan linguistics, an important pedigree. Harry Simon was British born and educated, as were Murdoch and Sadler who had earlier been appointed to the Chair of Oriental Studies at the University of Sydney, and C. P. Fitzgerald, the inaugural Chair of the Department of Far Eastern History at ANU.

Melbourne had in fact produced a distinguished Sinologist ‘son’ in Robert Henry Matthews (1877-1970), a missionary and lexicographer who lived in China for decades. He is known for his *Chinese-English Dictionary* (1931), described by C. P. Fitzgerald as a ‘monument of learning’.^{lii} He had returned to Melbourne in 1945 and went on to work at the Department of Defence.^{liii} At the initiative of Simon, in 1962 the first year that courses in Chinese language and literature were offered at the University of Melbourne, an honorary doctorate of letters was bestowed on Matthews.^{liv}

In order to differentiate the courses taught at the University of Melbourne from those taught at ANU and the University of Sydney, subjects focussed on modern Chinese language and literature, with classical Chinese studied in the Honours year.^{lv} Japanese language was introduced in 1964.^{lvi} A Centre of East Asian Studies was also established in 1962, an interdisciplinary and interdepartmental centre in which staff from the departments of History and Politics could offer non-linguistic courses in East Asian Studies. A proportion of the lectures were given by scholars from the ANU. Among the lecturers participating in the programme in 1972 was another unrelated Fitzgerald, Stephen, from the Research School of Asia and Pacific Studies (RSPAS), who delivered four lectures on contemporary China, no doubt informed by his experience accompanying Gough Whitlam on his historic trip to China as Leader of the Opposition in 1971.

In 1973 Stephen Fitzgerald would become Australia’s inaugural Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China. Soon after his arrival in Beijing, he would host the Trade

Mission to China, a high-powered delegation of officials from the Department of Overseas Trade, the Reserve Bank, and captains of industry, including Ken Myer.^{lvii} While the focus was on trade, Myer was determined to pursue his interest in promoting education and cultural exchange between Australia and China. Prior to the trip he held meetings with Chinese officials in Canberra, with Ambassador-designate Stephen Fitzgerald, and the Myer Foundation office had corresponded with the Academia Sinica in Beijing.^{lviii} A decade earlier in 1964, on the initiative of S. Baillieu Myer, the Foundation had established Asian and Pacific Fellowships and Grants-in-aid to support graduates of Australian universities to conduct study in Asia.^{lix} Owing to the lack of any formal arrangement with China it had not been possible for scholars to travel to the mainland, only in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

In a letter that reached Ambassador Fitzgerald soon after his arrival in Beijing Myer wrote: 'In our discussion together in Melbourne I mentioned to you some of my other interests in China principally ways and means of improving cultural links, in promoting the study of the Chinese language, mutual exchange of art exhibitions, fellowships both ways for creative artists etc...I do not know to what extent, if at all, I shall be able to pursue these interests on this trip.'^{lx}

In China Myer appears to have wasted no opportunity. The group had a formal meeting with the Premier Zhou Enlai during which Myer expressed his hope for the early establishment of educational and cultural cooperation:

(Myer) Your Excellency, although we are members of a Trade Mission, and that is our primary purpose for being here, I would like to tell you that there is a great deal of interest in this Mission and in Australia in improving the

cultural and educational links between the peoples of Australia and China. I would like to remind you, Your Excellency, of your personal hospitality in this capital of Peking to the Australian Cultural Trade Mission of 1956 that was headed by your contemporary and my good friend Dr Leonard Cox, and in 1957 to the Medical Mission headed by Dr Clive Fitz. I want to assure you that there is a tremendous interest in Australia, particularly amongst the young people, who represent more than 50% of our population, in learning more about Chinese history, Chinese art and the Chinese language. I hope that your Government will give our Government every assistance in the very near future in practical ways to bring about closer collaboration in this cultural field... I would hope that as there is some hope of signing an early trade agreement with Australia, that this will be complemented by a very early start on educational and cultural co-operation.

(Zhou) Since you have an Ambassador here now, we can consult with him about cultural, educational aspects. We would welcome such exchanges and visits in the cultural and educational and scientific fields, and exchanges of students.^{lxi}

In follow-up talks held in Beijing, Fitzgerald impressed upon Myer that in terms of progressing a cultural agreement, the number one priority should be to 'push the possibility of arranging a Chinese exhibition of art in Australia confined to the Sydney and Melbourne Galleries', and then 'try to persuade the Government to work out a set of priorities in relation to cultural exchange with China.'^{lxiii}

Upon his return to Australia, Myer undertook to talk with Herbert Cole ‘Nugget’ Coombs, Consultant to the Prime Minister and Chairman of the Australian Council for the Arts. He was also determined to promote the possibility of student exchanges. In his notes Myer wrote: ‘Australia should do everything possible to encourage these exchanges [cultural and professional] in the private and in the government sector. There is a need for Australians who are fluent in Chinese.’ He wanted to ensure that the fifteen places that had been offered to Australia for students to study at the Peking Institute of Languages, which had re-opened in September following the end of the Cultural Revolution were taken up.^{lxiii}

With the assistance of Harry Simon, Myer wrote to Cairns and Whitlam to urge the Australian Government to provide funding for Australian students to study at the Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing, noting that the Canadian government had already established such a program.^{lxiv} Whitlam agreed and the first group of Australian students commenced their study in Beijing in September 1974.^{lxv} Between 1975 and 1979 the Myer Foundation provided funding to support five Australian students to study in China and five Chinese students to study in Australia through the Australian/Chinese Student Exchange programme.

Acting on his conviction that Australians needed to be better informed about Chinese language and culture, Myer himself embarked on Chinese language classes with Christine Liao, who would become the first PhD student to graduate from the Department of East and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Melbourne.

Ryckmans and China

The Australian National University, Canberra, established in 1946 in the aftermath of the Pacific War, was a dedicated research and post-graduate training institution. Pacific Studies was designated one of four key areas of strategic research and former Ministers to China, Frederic Eggleston and Douglas Copland, were appointed to the council and as inaugural Vice-Chancellor respectively. Copland, who had got to know C P Fitzgerald in Nanking, invited him to come to ANU in 1949 and embark on a three month lecture tour after which he was engaged by the University and went on to establish Chinese studies there.^{lxvi} Pierre Ryckmans was appointed Reader in Chinese at ANU in 1970, where he taught Chinese language, literature and culture and immediately became the leading authority on Chinese art in the country. Born in Belgium, Ryckmans had first travelled to China in 1955, at the age of 19, with a group of students from the Université Catholique de Louvain. After the month-long trip he was inspired to study Chinese language and completed a degree in law and art history in Louvain. After graduation, he was awarded a scholarship to study Chinese art history at the Taiwan Normal University (1958-1960), and thereafter travelled to Japan for six months of intensive language training in Japanese. In Belgium he was obliged to undertake compulsory military service, and the only way to avoid it was to secure a job in a ‘developing’ country and work there for 3 years. For much of the next decade Ryckmans lived and worked in Asia, where he undertook research for his PhD, worked as a research fellow at Nanyang University in Singapore, and later lecturer at the New Asia College, Chinese University of Hong Kong. His early publications indicate his deep engagement with Chinese literature and art: an annotated translation of the autobiographical narrative of Shen Fu, a seventeenth century poet and painter (1966); a translation and commentary on the seventeenth century artist Shitao’s treatise on painting, the subject of his dissertation, (1970); a

study of the life and art of nineteenth century Cantonese painter Su Renshen (1970); and an annotated translation of the first part of the autobiography of twentieth century scholar, writer and government official, Guo Moruo (1970).^{lxvii} These books were quickly followed by *Les Habits Neufs* (1971; *The Chairman's New Clothes*, 1977) an expose of the Cultural Revolution presented as a diary spanning the period 1967-1969. Published under the pseudonym Simon Leys, it was born out of Ryckmans' supplementary job analysing Chinese press reports for the Belgian diplomatic mission in Hong Kong.^{lxviii} In the foreword he uses the third person to confide to the reader that his foray into the realm of politics was through circumstance rather than choice: 'The author of this work originally had no interest in political questions and had tended to confuse Maoism with the liking and admiration which China, past and present, has never ceased to inspire in him. But he was impelled – by the weight of evidence thrown up in the texts, facts and personal accounts which assailed him daily in Hong Kong throughout the years of the "Cultural Revolution" – to cry out, like the child in the fairy story, "But the emperor has no clothes!"'

Following Belgium's diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1972 an embassy was established in Beijing. As one of relatively few Belgian speakers of Chinese, Ryckmans was approached to become the Embassy's sinologist and cultural attaché. Having obtained leave from ANU for six months, Ryckmans travelled to the country he had been studying for many years and 'burned with the desire to see'.^{lxix} He prepared weekly reports based on his analysis of Chinese press reports, combined with information obtained from travel around the country.^{lxx} Recalling that period he wrote: 'I didn't have an office – I lived at the hotel and I spent my time in the streets.'^{lxxi}

The subsequent publication of *Ombres Chinoises* (1974; *Chinese Shadows*, 1977), witness to the ‘harsh and dour reality’ of living under a totalitarian regime, drew heavily on his work reports. Publication was delayed at the request of the Belgian government. That interval made it possible for Ryckmans to return to China in 1973 with a delegation of Australian scholars from the ANU.^{lxxii} While the Chinese government had allowed Ryckmans to re-enter China in 1972 and again in 1973, the publication of *Ombres Chinoises* the following year made subsequent trips impossible.

The exhibition ‘Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style’ which opened in Melbourne in early 1974, and Ryckman’s contributing essay ‘Traditional Chinese Painting and its Modern Fate’, take on an added significance in the context of what would be Ryckmans’ last trip to China and the imminent publication of *Ombres Chinoises*. During a visit to Hangzhou in 1972 Ryckmans visited the art academy, which he found silent and empty (it would be some six years before classes resumed), and remembered the former principal, who had died during the Cultural Revolution: ‘I would have liked to see P’an Tien-shou again’.^{lxxiii} The primary reason for the trip was to visit the former home of the scholar and painter Huang Binhong.^{lxxiv} The house museum was closed but Ryckmans managed to persuade staff to show him some paintings at an off-site location: ‘One by one Huang Pin-hung’s landscapes, triumphant “abstractions following nature” offered up their savage joy; their splendor abolished the dingy walls, even the compulsory and trivial Maoist chromos.’^{lxxv}

Ryckmans' interest in Chinese art and literature was based on cultural immersion and lived experience. Much earlier, an introduction by Li Chu-tsing to the preeminent Hong Kong collector Jian Youwen led him to compile the first monograph in French and English of the Cantonese artist Su Renshan (1814-c.1850), including a critical inventory of the artist's paintings based on an examination of works largely held in private collections in Hong Kong and Japan. Included in the 1974 exhibition were two paintings by Su Renshan which Ryckmans had acquired during the course of his study, as well as paintings by Pan Tianshou and Huang Binhong.

A talented amateur artist and cartoonist himself, Ryckmans was determined to understand Chinese painting, not as a remote academic discipline but as a physical art in which the brush, working in concert with the breath and the mind/heart, could connect the artist to the workings of the cosmos. Chinese painting was a profound and revealing practice, made possible by the brush, which he described as 'an extraordinary instrument, of limitless subtlety and versatility.'^{lxxvi} While studying in Taiwan Ryckmans had the good fortune to become a private student of Pu Xinyu, the first cousin of China's last emperor and one of the foremost practitioners of the art of the brush. Two paintings by Pu Xinyu from Ryckman's collection were included in the 1974 exhibition. Synthesising the significance of Pu for readers, Ryckmans observed:

Few Westerners can fully appreciate the supreme elegance of his brush; it is true that his painting may sometimes lack in strength and originality, it often looks cold and academic; yet it is endowed with an incomparable calligraphic fluency and an aristocratic "book fragrance" which Pu owed to his exceptional

family background. To understand why Chinese connoisseurs are so fond of his works, is to understand a great deal about Chinese painting.^{lxxvii}

Pu Xinyu was not, however, an insular figure. At a young age he was sent abroad and gained his Doctorate in Biology from the German University, Berlin. After the Communist victory in 1949, he and family members had fled to Taiwan, and for a period of time he taught at Taiwan Normal University.

In Hong Kong, Ryckmans continued to pursue his interest in painting, this time with the Cantonese artist Ding Yanyong (Ting Yen Yung, Y.Y. Ting) who had studied oil painting in Japan at the Tokyo Academy of Fine Art and also painted in ink. Ting had moved to Hong Kong in 1949, also an exile from mainland China. He and Ryckmans were colleagues at the New Asia College at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The college had been founded in 1949 by a group of scholars from mainland China whose mission was to preserve traditional Chinese culture while ‘balancing it with Western learning’ in order that students would have access to their cultural heritage and be equipped for the modern world.^{lxxviii} In 1956, Ting was invited to establish the Fine Arts Programme at New Asia College where he taught both oil painting and ink. Ryckmans attended Ting’s art classes, and studied seal carving with him, a practice that he maintained throughout his life. ‘To watch Ting Yen-yong performing’ he wrote, ‘is to get a direct intimation of how Chinese painting is suffused with spiritual energy.’^{lxxix}

A large gestural painting of Zhong Kui the demon queller created by Ding in 1969 and included in the 1974 exhibition is inscribed ‘To my friend Keman [Ryckmans]’,

attesting to the friendship between the two men.^{lxxx} Writing in 1977 Ryckmans described the significance of Ting's work in terms of 'a middle way': 'Ting's painting gives us a possibility for a new definition of what "Chinese Painting" is. It would not be a strict definition of a technique only, but of the entire work of a painter, whichever means he uses'.^{lxxxi}

The 1974 exhibition included a number of other paintings that allude to contact with the artist, notably a classic painting of shrimps by Qi Baishi dedicated to 'Mr Simon' (西门華先生) and signed 'Baishi aged 95 sui' created in 1955, two years before Qi's death^{lxxxii}; and an experimental splashed ink work painted by Zhang Daqian in Brazil in 1965 (he had moved there in 1952) which is dedicated to Paul Hsiu-pa Yang (楊秀拔). Paul Yang had met Harry Simon in 1957 in London, through his brother who had earlier taught Simon Chinese in Beijing.^{lxxxiii} Their father Yang Xiaogu (1885-1969), a well-known scholar and connoisseur, had studied painting in Beijing with Wang Shensheng. A painting by Wang from the collection of Harry Simon was included in the Melbourne exhibition. Paul Yang, himself an accomplished painter, calligrapher and poet had close connections with many artists in China. In 1977 he had an exhibition of 'calligraphy and Zen scrolls' at East & West Art in Melbourne.^{lxxxiv} But it was difficult for him to establish a reputation as an artist in Australia. Yang went on to play an important role in Radio Australia, broadcasting in Chinese language programs to listeners in Australia and the region.

Ronald Ma, another of the lenders to the exhibition, was born in Hong Kong. He had migrated to Australia in 1966 to take up a Senior Lectureship at the Australian National University, having studied economics at the University of London and with

an MBA from the University of British Columbia. In 1971 he became Chair in Accounting at the University of New South Wales.^{lxxxv} Perhaps he met Simon in London. While little is known about his involvement in Chinese art, in 1985 twelve paintings from his collection were featured in an exhibition titled ‘Contemporary Chinese Painting’ at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, including three paintings by Zhang Daqian.^{lxxxvi}

Altogether, five paintings by Zhang Daqian were included in the Melbourne exhibition, one from Paul Yang’s collection and the other four from the collection of Harry Simon. In the brief biography of Zhang, Ryckmans summarises the artist’s contribution thus:

Chang is an amazingly gifted and versatile painter. He could have been one of the greatest artists of his generation, but unfortunately spent much of his energy making imitations of ancient paintings, so that it has been said that his paintings hang in many museums throughout the world disguised under other names.^{lxxxvii}

Correspondence relating to the exhibition reveals some tension between Simon, a scholar of Chinese language, and Ryckmans an art historian. In a letter to Simon, Ryckmans re-stated his strong opinions about Zhang Daqian and Huang Junbi expressed in biographical notes that he had drafted for the catalogue:

I do not think there is anything wrong in mentioning his forger’s activities: the rascal is impudent enough to boast publicly about it. Chang Ta-ch’ien is a criminal, who plundered Tunhuang frescoes tampered with various documents

of Chinese art history, irretrievably obscured issues and deliberately misled historians and scholars – all this for the sole sake of money. Most of the time he gets away with it, simply because he is wealthy and has influential relations – The man is utterly despicable, and I have been all too generous in crediting him with genius! I thus find little to amend in my biographical sketch: I only omitted a few offensive words.^{lxxxviii} On Huang Chun-pi: I definitely believe there is a connection between being Madamissima's teacher, and the vulgarity of his painting, but now I put it in a more objective and less objectionable form ^{lxxxix} – ...I am afraid you will feel that I am a bit stubborn – but I believe that we have a responsibility towards the public in expressing frankly our value-judgements, without letting ourselves be blackmailed into silence by the prestige of Holy Cows!^{xc}

Ryckmans' confident aesthetic judgements and keen understanding of art world dynamics gave the exhibition a critical dimension. For him it was more than just a collection of disparate paintings. He gave a public lecture after the opening, entitled 'Chinese Painting, the Listening Eye', providing further evidence of his intellectual centrality to the exhibition project.^{xcii}

In May 1974, perhaps influenced by the 'Modern Chinese Painters' exhibition, Mae Anna Pang, newly arrived in Melbourne, gave her own lecture on Chinese painting in the East Asian Studies lecture programme.^{xciii} Pang was born and grew up in China and had been educated in Canada. In 1972 she was appointed Assistant Curator of Asian Art at the NGV, the first professional curatorial appointment to be made in Asian art (H.W. Kent and L.B. Cox had been Honorary Curators). Pang was in the

process of completing her PhD dissertation on the Qing dynasty artist Wang Yuanqi at the University of California, Berkeley under the supervision of James Cahill.^{xciii} She repeated her lecture the following year, gave another lecture to first year students in the Department of East and Southeast Asian Studies, and delivered a seminar course in the Department of Fine Arts.^{xciv} The success of the art history seminar is recorded in the NGV annual report:

For the first time, the Department of Fine Arts at Melbourne University offered a course on Asian art and the Curator was invited to give some seminars on Chinese painting to third and fourth year Honours students. These were stimulating and successful for both the Curator and the students and the Gallery is to be thanked for giving the opportunity to develop studies of Asian Art in Australia.^{xcv}

While earlier lectures on aspects of Chinese art had been offered at the university through extension courses by Leonard Cox and others, the lectures by Pang appear to be the first on Chinese painting offered to students enrolled in Fine Arts.^{xcvi} Ryckmans would also continue his relationship with the University of Melbourne, giving some lectures in 1976 on Literature and Art in the People's Republic, but with the Centre for East Asian Studies rather than the Department of Fine Arts.^{xcvii} It is interesting to note that in 1957 the former Bauhaus teacher and artist Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack had suggested to Joseph Burke that Asian art history be included in the high school curriculum, and from the mid 1960s slide sets relating to Asian art were being offered to schools through the Art Teachers' Association of Victoria, indicating a growing awareness of the importance of Asian art and culture to the

curriculum.^{xviii} In 1961 a submission to the Fine Arts department had proposed a course on 'Eastern Art' and in reforms of the department proposed in 1969 the case was re-stated: 'Important periods of Western art are neglected; Eastern art is not offered at all', citing the proposed appointment of curator of Asian art (specialist in Chinese art) to the National Gallery of Victoria as providing even stronger grounds.^{xcix}

It was suggested that a visiting lecturer be appointed by special endowment

Among the students attending Mae Anna Pang's lectures was Jane Carnegie, another of the lenders to the 1974 exhibition. Carnegie had graduated from the University of Melbourne in 1967, having studied fine arts and history. Her interest in Asian art was 'first aroused' in 1966. 'I was invited to dinner at Kenneth Myer's', Carnegie recalls. 'He had two particularly fine Chinese bronzes, and I fell in love with them straight away.'^c In the absence of opportunities to study Asian art in Australia she undertook a year of postgraduate study at the Percival David Foundation at SOAS, University of London, 1968-1969. There she 'learnt a smattering of Mandarin' and on her way home stopped in Taiwan to visit the National Palace Museum. In 1971, soon after her return, she established Jane Carnegie Oriental Art in Malvern.^{ci} The gallery focussed on ancient and historic art, including painting, and was open by appointment. Among her clients was Ken Myer.

1974

Let us now consider the opportunities to view Chinese art in Melbourne in the 1970s. Over the years the National Gallery of Victoria had mounted a number of exhibitions

of Chinese art in addition to its permanent collection displays which included Chinese art objects. An early exhibition 'Recent Chinese paintings', which included paintings by Zhang Daqian and Pu Xinyu, was organised with the assistance of the Embassy of the Republic of China, Taiwan and held in the Latrobe Gallery in July 1961.^{cii} Later exhibitions include 'Four Aspects of Asian Art' mounted to coincide with the 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra in 1971, which featured Chinese painting, export ceramics, Balinese Art and contemporary Japanese prints from the Gallery's collections and private collections including Chinese paintings on loan from Professor H. F. Simon; 'Hundred Treasures', porcelain from the Cox collection (1972); and 'Chinese Ceramics from Private Collections' (1974). The primary focus of the exhibitions was historical art and ceramics in particular, reflecting the strength of the Gallery's holdings. In the early 1970s there was a growing community interest in Chinese and Asian art more generally. In May 1973 the *National Gallery of Victoria Society Bulletin* promoted 'The Arts in China Month' presented by The Australian Committee for a New China Policy and officially launched at the National Gallery of Victoria with officials from the recently opened Embassy of the PRC in attendance.^{ciii} Activities included a 'Modern Chinese Arts and Crafts Exhibition' held at the Melbourne College of Education in Parkville, a festival of Chinese films, and a conference 'The Arts and the People in China Today', held at St Hilda's College at the University.^{civ} Two years later, the National Gallery Society formed an Asian Study Group 'to meet the growing interest in Asian art'. The first lecture, 'Newly Excavated Archaeological Finds in the People's Republic of China', was delivered by Mae Anna Pang, as curator of Chinese Art.^{cv}

In 1973 Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration, had issued a reference paper *A multicultural society for the future* and two years later the Racial Discrimination Act was passed making racial discrimination unlawful. This occurred against a background of a wider reconsideration of Australia's geographic location in the Asia-Pacific region and a discussion about a future that benefitted all people no matter where they had been born. It was in this environment of shifting notions of Australian identity that a number of new galleries were established in Melbourne by young women who in the 1950s had been sent from Southeast Asia to study in Australia.^{cv} Raya Gallery, the first commercial gallery to specialise in contemporary Asian art from Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, opened in 1972. Founded by Singaporean-Chinese Christine Ramsay the gallery initially operated from Ramsay's home and later moved to purpose built premises in Kew.^{cvii} A year later, East & West Art opened in Malvern, established Marjorie Ho-Eysbertse and her husband Dirk (Ho continues to direct the gallery, now located in East Kew).^{cviii} Ho, also from Singapore, had studied architecture at the University of Melbourne. In 1974 the Eysbertse travelled to China on a buying trip and acquired a collection of brush and ink paintings that formed the basis of an exhibition mounted the following year, including works by Huang Binhong.^{cix} Inspired by the 'Modern Chinese Painters' exhibition at the University Art Gallery, Ho mounted a solo exhibition of paintings by Ding Yanyong in 1975 which was officially opened by Mae Anna Pang, and another in 1976 opened by his old friend Pierre Ryckmans.^{cx}

Closer to the University was the East-West Studio Art Gallery in Carlton which held permanent and changing exhibitions of Chinese art works including 'polished lacquer paintings, scrolls and old porcelain'.^{cx} In 1974 the gallery displayed the exhibition

‘Chinese Calligraphies and paintings by Living Masters from Hupeh [Hubei] Province’.^{cxii} The single sheet catalogue describes the works as ‘representative of those on display at the Autumn 1974 Kwang Chow [Guangzhou] Trade Fair’.^{cxiii} Other works of art produced in China at that time that were popular with foreign audiences included political posters from the Cultural Revolution and peasant paintings from Huxian, exhibitions of which toured internationally, including to the University of Melbourne’s George Paton Gallery in 1976 and 1977 respectively^{cxiv}, and papercuts which would become an object of study for Rachel Faggetter who taught English at the Beijing Languages Institute in 1974-1976, and during her time in China amassed a large collection of folk and commercial papercuts.^{cxv}

The first official exhibition to be sent from China to Australia after the normalisation of diplomatic relations was ‘Crafts of China’, held in Melbourne in 1975. While the exhibition may be seen as a result of the Australia Council’s 1974 cultural delegation to China led by Karmel and Battersby, it can be traced back to 1956 and a proposal discussed with Australian cultural delegation to China led by C.P. Fitzgerald for an exchange of exhibitions including, from the Chinese side, ‘an exhibition of handicrafts and arts’ which for a variety of reasons including the onset of the Cultural Revolution was not realised.^{cxvi}

According to the catalogue, ‘Crafts of China’ represented the ‘skills and workmanship of the Chinese people and the multiplicity of traditions and interests in the different regions of China’. The exhibition was not held at the NGV, which in 1977 would host the China archaeological exhibition, but instead at the Myer Mural Hall, the department store’s grand gallery space.^{cxvii} Ken Myer stepped in to make the

exhibition possible. The partnership between Myer and the Australia Council was described as ‘a constructive link between government in a joint venture that will bring much pleasure to many people.’ For the Australia Council the exhibition, which featured a wide variety of Chinese crafts, including carved ivory, jade, painted figurines, ceramics, lacquer, cloisonné, brocade and printed textiles, was timely given the Council’s renewed funding for the arts and crafts and a recent committee of enquiry into the state of crafts in Australia.^{cxviii} In return, an exhibition of Australian landscape painting, organised by Daniel Thomas, Curator of Australian art at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, was sent to China and opened at the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing in September 1975 before travelling to Nanjing and back to Sydney.^{cxix}

Networks and influences

As the ‘Crafts of China’ exhibition attests, close relationships existed between many of those involved in Australia-China cultural affairs in the period leading up to 1974, linking people working in the Gallery, University, government agencies and business. According to Leonard Cox’s biographer it was over ‘dinner as the Coxes’ home’ in late 1959 that Cox and his Deputy [Ken Myer] decided that Roy Grounds was their preferred architect for building the National Gallery and Arts Centre.^{cxx} It is no surprise then, given the relationship between Cox, Myer, and Joseph Burke, all Trustees of the National Gallery, that Roy Grounds was chosen as the architect for the University of Melbourne’s Arts South Building. Back in 1953 Cox had suggested to Burke that the University establish a Gallery.^{cxxi} The following year in a letter from Cox to Burke about acquisitions for the NGV, he referred to a meeting of Cox and Renaissance art historian Franz Philip, NGV Director Daryl Lindsay, and architects

Robin Boyd and Roy Grounds to examine photographs of ancient Chinese sculptures on offer from the New York dealer C. T. Loo, observing: ‘We each made a remarkably similar choice of what we liked best from the less expensive figures’. The five items they had decided upon amounted to some \$20,000.^{cxxii} This meeting reveals the extent to which people like Lindsay, Philip, Boyd and Grounds felt confident in offering aesthetic advice on historic Chinese objects for the Gallery’s collection. While Grounds never travelled to China (he did travel to Japan a number of times), his wife Betty, who worked as a textile buyer for Silk and Textile Printers, Hobart, established by Claudio Alcorso, had visited China in 1959.^{cxxiii} While there is an acknowledged Japanese influence in Grounds’ work, described by his daughter Victoria as ‘not immediately obvious but in a subtle approach to design principles and materials’^{cxxiv}, there appears to be a reference to Chinese imperial architecture too in the form and appearance of the National Gallery of Victoria. ^{cxxv} Philip Goad has noted that in addition to the Palazzo di Capodimonte and Castello Sforzesco in Italy, ‘the idea of the sixteenth-century fortified gateways of Beijing, great massive masonry structures with single-arched openings and floating hipped roofs, located at the edge of the Forbidden City, was also influential’ in the design of the NGV.^{cxxvi} Structures such as Tian’anmen (the Gate of Heavenly Peace), Wu Men (Meridian Gate), the southern and largest gate of the Forbidden City, as well as the grey stone city gates, Zhengyang men, and Qian men, which could be seen across Tian’anmen Square, provide compelling physical and conceptual points of reference. In his diary Leonard Cox detailed his experience of meeting with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and viewing the May Day parade in Tian’anmen Square from the rostrum of Tian’anmen Gate. Cox and Myer (and presumably Betty Grounds) both visited the Palace Museum, immediately to the north and would have been struck by the

architectural wonder of Beijing's traditional geomantic centre in the process of transformation. Particular elements of the National Gallery of Victoria building invite comparison with Chinese architecture, notably the moat at the entrance, the plain high walls surmounted by a roof, described as 'an oriental influenced floating roof'^{cxxvii}, the single archway 'entrance' with its glass falling water 'spirit wall' which visitors must enter and exit from either side, and the interior courtyards. The so-called Great Hall, designed for state functions, shares its name and some of its functions with The Great Hall of the People, part of the complex of monumental Soviet-inspired buildings flanking Tian'anmen Square to the east and west, including the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, built to mark the tenth anniversary of the PRC in 1959. While any references have been absorbed, abstracted and transformed into Ground's own modernist language Chinese resonances suggest conversations that the architect likely had with his friends Len Cox, and Ken Myers and his wife Betty Grounds. The images remain, even while the indirectness of his contact gave him freedom to create his own design for an art museum for the people of Victoria. In 1968 when the building was officially opened the Cultural Revolution was in full swing and attitudes to China had hardened once again. Any reference to Chinese architecture, new or old, might have been controversial.

1974: a pivotal moment

From today's perspective it is interesting consider the significance of the 1974 exhibition in local terms and within the history of Australia-China cultural dialogue. While many exhibitions of Chinese art have been staged in Australia over the 40 years since then, few have focussed on brush and ink painting from the late modern period, that is with an emphasis on the twentieth century, rather than the earlier

modern or more contemporary periods. Yet that is a time of crucial importance for understanding the cultural shifts that occurred in China with a legacy that continues today.

The 1974 exhibition ‘Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style’ was a rare attempt to open up a deeper conversation about the significance of Chinese painting in Australia. It crossed boundaries in bringing together those in Australia with an interest in and knowledge of Chinese art to share understandings of Chinese culture. It reflected a fragile but evolving cultural eco system.

In ‘Antipodes adrift’, the closing chapter of *The Tyranny of Distance* published in 1966 the historian Geoffrey Blainey articulates the anxiety that surrounded the geopolitical and cultural shifts that were occurring in Australia and which continues to have relevance today:

Much of Australia’s history had been shaped by the contradiction that it depended intimately and comprehensively on a country which was further away than almost any other in the world. How the dependence had slackened, the distance had diminished. The Antipodes were drifting, though where they were drifting no one knew.

In some ways the 1974 exhibition ‘Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style’ was a high-water mark, a product of an influential, mostly male cultural network that was initiated, from positions of privilege, by idealism and civic-mindedness, a small but powerful group of visionaries who had, in a sense, seen the future. They were active, and were able to act effectively, in the context of wider social change in

Australia in the 1970s, of which 'It's Time' is the slogan, which also brought necessary changes in attitudes and cultural practices. What the discerning Melbourne coterie initiated in 1974 has gone its own way since.

More than forty years on there is still much work to be done to understand China, described by Gough Whitlam as 'one of the central facts' of the Asia-Pacific region, to live up to Ken Myer's ambition for us 'to be better informed about the great historical cultures of China and Japan, their languages and their current aims and aspirations', and for that knowledge to be to be integrated across disciplines within the Academy and reach beyond to the Australian community.

i University of Melbourne, Ian Potter Museum of Art [UM IPMA] exhibition file, 'Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style', Betty Clarke, Curator, University Art Gallery, 'Report on 'Chinese Paintings: March 3rd – April 5th' [1974].

ii University of Melbourne Archives, Department of East Asian Studies 1961-1982, 1989.0134 [UM EAS], File 1.18, 'Arts South'. The inaugural exhibition of art works from the University Collection opened in March 1972. In 1975 the University Gallery moved to larger and more suitable premises in the Old Physics Building refurbished by Daryl Jackson.

iii Ray Marginson, "'High drama...and comedy": Developing the cultural collections of the University of Melbourne', *University of Melbourne Collections*, 3(December 2008), p. 6.

iv Sheridan Palmer, *Centre of the Periphery: Three European Art Historians in Melbourne* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2009), p. 169, 197

v Staff from the National Gallery of Victoria had offered advice in the development of the space. See UM EAS, File 2 'Building Committee, Arts South Users Sub-committee Meeting No. 1, 1971, 26 March 1971' [5 April 1971].

vi The National Gallery of Victoria had a fine collection of historical Chinese art, but few paintings.

vii Huang Chun-pi (Huang Junbi), *Landscape*, ink and colours on paper, framed, 1962. The painting has not been located in the current University of Melbourne Art Collection inventory. See *Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style* (Melbourne: The University Art Gallery, The University of Melbourne, 1974), catalogue 14, page 30.

viii Ryckmans, 'Traditional Chinese Painting and Its Modern Fate' in *Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style*, p. 7.

ix Letter, Ryckmans to Simon, 21 January 1974, UM IPMA, exhibition file. The underlining is in the original letter.

x J. R. Poynter and R.D. Marginson, 'Foreword', *Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style*, p. 2. Poynter was Chairman of the Gallery Sub-committee and Marginson Chairman of the Works of Art Committee. While many of the early exhibitions were based on the University's collection there were also survey exhibitions that appear to have drawn on non-University collections.

xi In March 1974 Ryckmans gave a lecture 'Chinese Painting the Listening Eye' in association with the exhibition. Letter, Simon to Ryckmans, 18 February 1974, UM IPMA exhibition file.

xii Betty Clarke, Curator, University Art Gallery, 'Report on 'Chinese Paintings: March 3rd – April 5th' [1974] UM IAPMA exhibition file. Production of the catalogue was managed by Grazia Gunn.

- xiii Patrick McCaughey, 'Chinese Brush Work Surprises', *The Age*, 6 March 1974. The catalogue included an introductory essay and 'Biographies of the Painters' by Pierre Ryckmans, a bibliography, and 'Catalogue of the Exhibition' prepared by Paul Yang and Harry Simon.
- xiv Alan McCulloch, 'Painting is for Old Artists', *Herald*, 20 March 1974.
- xv Party History Research Centre, *History of the Chinese Communist Party – A Chronology of Events (1919-1990)*, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), p. 365.
- xvi Sally Borthwick, 'Isolation and Integration: Personal relationships of a Foreign Student in China' in Stephen FitzGerald and Pamela Hewitt (ed.) *China in the Seventies: Australian Perspectives* (Canberra: Contemporary China Centre, Australian National University, 1980), p. 31.
- xvii See United Nations General Assembly – Twenty-sixth Session, 2758 (XXVI), 1976th plenary meeting, 25 October 1971.
- xviii Stephen FitzGerald, 'Introduction' in *China in the Seventies: Australian Perspectives*, p. ii.
- xix E. G. Whitlam, *Labour Party Policy Speech 1972* (Canberra: Parliament House, 1972), p. 42. The speech was delivered at the Blacktown Civic Centre, Sydney, 13 November 1972. Australia's first diplomatic mission in China opened in Chongqing in 1941 and was closed after the victory of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. In 1966 an Embassy was opened in Taipei, Taiwan.
- xx John Jackson, *Ping Pong to China* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1971), p. 5.
- xxi Whitlam visited China 31 October-4 November 1973. Jocelyn Chey, *Lodestar China: Navigating the China Relationship, 1956-1996, Australians in Asia Series No. 21* (Brisbane: Centre for the Study of Australia Asia Relations, 1998), pp. 21-22, 26-29. The United Kingdom, Switzerland, Netherlands, Canada and Japan, which had already established embassies in Beijing
- xxii In 1950 Fitzgerald was visiting Reader in Oriental Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra, and the following year appointed Reader.
- xxiii C. P. Fitzgerald and P. H. Partridge, 'Report to the Council of the Australian National University on the Visit to China of the Australian Cultural Delegation', The Papers of Leonard Bell Cox, SLV. PA 98/58 (A36).
- xxiv The delegation members were Professor C.P. Fitzgerald, Far Eastern History, ANU; Professor P.H. Partridge, Social Philosophy, ANU; Dr Leonard Cox, Member of the Commonwealth Advisory Medical Research Council, Trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria and Honorary Curator of Oriental Art; G Lewers, sculptor; Elaine Haxton, artist; D. Annand, artist; Charles Bush, artist, A. R. Penfold, Director of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences; Professor A.R. Davis, Oriental Studies University of Sydney; A. D. Lindsay, Department of Forestry, NSW, Secretary of the Sydney Branch of the Australia-China Society; Alan Marshall, author and journalist. Similar invitations had been extended to cultural groups in the United Kingdom and New Zealand in 1954. See Volkhard Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor and His Generation: Leonard Bell Cox, 1894-1976* (Olinda: Leddicott Press, 2004), p. 256.
- xxv The 'Six Public Lectures on Chinese Art' were held in the New Arts Building and were introduced by Joseph Burke. Four of the lectures were given by Cox, one by C.P. Fitzgerald and one by Leonard Adam. State Library of Victoria, Papers of Leonard Bell Cox PA 98/58 (A36) 'Publications' file..
- xxvi Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor*, p. 201-202.
- xxvii Cox travelled to Guangzhou, Beijing, Yungang Caves, Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Longmen and Hangzhou.
- xxviii C. P. Fitzgerald and P. H. Partridge, 'Report to the Council of the Australian National University on the Visit to China of the Australian Cultural Delegation', op cit.
- xxix Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor*, p. 266-267.
- xxx The 18th George E. Morrison Lecture, was delivered on 17 October 1956. See http://chinainstitute.anu.edu.au/events/morrison-lectures#acton-tabs-link--qt-morrison_lectures_qtabs-ui-tabs2. Accessed 7 May 2017.
- xxxi Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor*, p. 273.
- xxxii Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor*, p. 278-279. See also <https://www.science.org.au/fellowship/fellows/biographical-memoirs/kenneth-baillieu-myer-1921-1992>
- xxxiii Cox was: inaugural Executive Chairman of the National Gallery Society of Victoria and in 1948 Myer was appointed Honorary Secretary; Chairman of the Trust of the NGV 1957-1965, and Myer Vice-Chairman; and Chairman of the NGV and Cultural Centre Building Committee 1957-1964 and Myer, Deputy, then Chair 1965-1980.
- xxxiv From Beijing the group travelled to Moscow and from USSR to Europe.
- xxxv 'Travel by train', 'Study Chinese history of 19th & 20th centuries', 'Don't use your own standards as a yardstick'

- xxxvi 'Ceaseless activity', 'adequately clothed and 'fed', 'little evidence of lovers', 'singing'.
- xxxvii 'Propaganda and persuasion', 'Production and Politics', 'Preservation of art and culture'.
- xxxviii University of Melbourne Archives, Kenneth Myer Papers [UM KM] 2011.0092, Box 54, 'Personal' lever arch file, 'Preamble'.
- xxxix Sue Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*, (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2008), p. CHECK Photocopy has no page numbers [Chapter 17]
- xl Much earlier, in 1918, the University of Sydney had appointed James Murdoch, a Classics scholar and long time resident of Japan, Professor of Oriental Studies (1918-192). Murdoch had come to Australia the previous year to teach Japanese to cadets at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, and at the same time to establish Japanese studies at Sydney University, then the closest university to Duntroon. Murdoch was succeeded by Arthur Lindsay Sadler, an Oxford graduate and scholar of Japanese language (also Hebrew and Assyrian) who served (1922-1947), then John Kennedy Rideout (1948-1949), a specialist in Chinese language who had previously taught at SOAS. The Chair remained vacant until 1955 when A.R Davis, a scholar of Chinese from the University of Cambridge was appointed. See William Sima, *China and ANU. Diplomats, Adventurers, Scholars* (Canberra: Australian Centre on China in the World/ANU Press: 2015), pp. 3-14, and Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*, pp. 290-291. See also <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10371398408737493?journalCode=cjst20>
<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sadler-arthur-lindsay-8321>
<http://www.eastasianhistory.org/38/davis-reprints-preface>
- In the early twentieth century Japanese language was taught on an unofficial basis at the University of Melbourne. See <http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/e/centenary-of-japanese-language#history>
- In 1955 the University of Melbourne set about establishing a Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at the initiative of the Commonwealth government. Courses were to focus on languages and culture. From 1958 the Department of Indonesian Studies was headed by J.A.C. Mackie, a graduate of the University of Melbourne and Oxford, with courses combining language, history and politics.
- xli The following year Murdoch provided additional funds for the post, 'a gift to commemorate the victory of the Allies'. See University of Melbourne Archives, Records of the Department of Fine Arts, 1986.0037, Unit 44, University of Melbourne Council, 1944. Item 14. New Chairs, and File 405.
- xlii Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*, pp. 291-292.
- xliiii The Myer Foundation was set up as a charitable structure that allowed the organisation to make generous grants and provide tax relief to the Directors. For details of how the Foundation was structured see Ebury, pp CHECK.
- xliv Sidney Baillieu Myer was Vice-President, and mother Dame Merlyn Myer, and sisters Neilma and Marigold were Directors.
- xlv UM KM 2011.0092, Box 44, Kenneth Myer Curriculum Vitae.
- xlvi Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*, p. 290.
- xlvii Much earlier, Sidney Myer had been one of the University's greatest benefactors. See Sue Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*; Michael Liffman, *A Tradition of Giving: Seventy-Five Years of Myer Family Philanthropy*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004) and The Myer Foundation, *Asian Studies Initiatives: A Twenty Year Review 1960-1979* (Melbourne: The Myer Foundation, 1979).
- xlviii Ebury, *The Many Lives of Kenneth Myer*, p. 293. 'Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures Part II, Department of Oriental Studies, University of Melbourne, page 8. [UM 337 Unit 1, 1.22]. Press Release, 12 October 1960.
- xliv In December 1971, Simon requested that his title be changed to Professor of Chinese Studies. See Ken Myer notes following lunch with Harry Simon, 17 December 1971. UM KM 2011.0092, Box 79. In 1970 there was an amalgamation with the Department of Indonesian Studies creating the Department of East and Southeast Asian Studies.
- i UM KM 2011.0092, Box 54, 'Personal' lever arch file, Letter, Dick [Denton] to Kenneth Myer, undated.
- ii In 1954 the United Kingdom and China had agreed to send a chargé d'affaires to Beijing and London respectively. Walter Simon's East Asian collection is in the National Library of Australia.
- iii See <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mathews-robert-henry-7519>. Accessed 7 June 2017.
- iiiii <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mathews-robert-henry-7519>. Accessed 7 June 2017.
- liiv Admission to Degrees *Honoris Causa*, Doctor of Letters, Mr R.H. Matthews, *University Gazette*, February 1963, p. 3.
- lv Draft Press Release (n.d.) 'Courses in Chinese and Japanese'. The courses were designed to complement those offered in Canberra. UM EAS Unit 1, 1.8.

- lvi The University of Melbourne traces the teaching of Japanese back to 1919 with the introduction of classes by Senkichi 'Moshi' Inagaki and Reverend Thomas Jollie Smith. See <http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/e/centenary-of-japanese-language> and <http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/e/centenary-of-japanese-language/history>. Accessed 20 November 2017
- lvii The Trade Mission took place 13-27 May 1973 included the following delegates: D. H. McKay, Secretary, Department of Overseas Trade, F. E. Anderson, First Assistant Secretary, Department of Overseas Trade, K. G. Pugnell, Assistant Secretary, Department of Secondary Industry, S. J. Clark, Australian Government Trade Commissioner and Commercial Counsellor, Peking, Jocelyn Chey, Trade Relations Office, Department of Overseas Trade, Y. K. Chang, Consultant, A. D. Kennedy, Press Secretary, J. A. Douglas, Private Secretary, Ian McLennan, Chairman, BHP Co. Ltd., T. C. Bell, General Manager, National Bank of Australasia Ltd., Norman Coles, Chairman and Managing Director G. J. Coles & Co. Ltd., K. W. Edwards, General Manager, Westralian Farmers' Cooperative Limited, A. S. Grimwade, Chairman, Kempthorne Mistral Ltd., D. J. Hibberd, Chairman, Comalco Ltd., R. G. Jackson, General Manager, CSR Ltd, J. J. Kibel, Director, Servian Industries, H. M. Knight, Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of Australia, G. H. Michell, Managing Director, G. H. Michell & Sons Pty. Ltd., K. B. Myer, Chairman, The Myer Emporium, H. G. Schmidt, Group Chief Executive, Elder Smith Goldsborough Mort Ltd., Thomas Wardle, Managing Director, Tom the Cheap (WA) Pty. Ltd. UM KM 2011.0092, Box 44.
- lviii *Asian Studies Initiatives: A Twenty Year Review 1960-1979*, p. 44.
- lix *Asian Studies Initiatives: A Twenty Year Review 1960-1979*, p. 13.
- lx UM KM 2011.0092, Box 37, 'Trip to China' folder, Letter, K Myer to S Fitzgerald, 11 April, 1973. .
- lxi UM KM 2011.0092, Box 44, Australian Embassy Peking, Record of Conversation [with Zhou Enlai], 17 May 1973, pp. 8-9.
- lxii UM KM 2011.0092, Box 44, typed notes of discussion between S. Fitzgerald and K. Myer.
- lxiii UM EAS, Unit 8 5.17, 'China Trade Missions Notes and Impressions'.
- lxiv UM archives 337 Unit 8 5.17, Letter, [K Myer] to J. F. Cairns, 18 June 1973, and E. G. Whitlam to K. Myer, not dated.
- lxv Among the first cohort of students were Geremie Barmé and Mary Farquhar, who would go on to become leading Sinologists and academics.
- lxvi Sima, *China & ANU*, pp. 96-106.
- lxvii *Six récits au fil inconstant des jours de Shen Fu* (Brussels, Larcier, 1966); *Les "Propos sur la peinture" de Shitao : traduction et commentaire pour servir de contribution a l'etude terminologique et esthetique des theories chinoises de la peinture* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1970) ; *The Life and Work of Su Renshan: Rebel, Painter, & Madman, 1814-1849?* (Paris : Centre de publication de l'U. E. R. Extrême-Orient-Asie du Sud-Est de l'Université de Paris, 1970); Kuo Mo-jo, *Autobiographie: mes années d'enfance* (Paris, Gallimard, coll. Connaissance de l'Orient, 1970). See Laurent Six, 'China: How Pierre Ryckmans Became Simon Leys', p. 4. Of Guo Moruo, Ryckmans wrote in *The Emperor's New Clothes*: Kuo Mo-jo (b. 1892), a man of versatile abilities (poet, playwright, archaeologist, historian, philologist, politician), is a pillar of China's cultural establishment who has been showered with countless official titles and honors, but his ruthless opportunism and shameless sycophancy have earned him the universal contempt of all Chinese intellectuals.
- lxviii *Les Habits neufs du président Mao: Chronique de la Révolution Culturelle* (The Emperor's New Clothes, [Paris] Ed. Champ Libre, [1971]).
- lxix Laurent Six, 'China', p. 7.
- lxx *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- lxxi *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- lxxii *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
- lxxiii Pierre Ryckmans, *Chinese Shadows* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), p. 102. See also Claire Roberts, 'Tradition and Modernity: The Life and Art of Pan Tianshou (1897-1971)', *East Asian History* 15/16 (June/December 1998), pp 67-96.
- lxxiv See Claire Roberts. *Friendship in Art: Fou Lei and Huang Binhong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010
- lxxv *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- lxxvi Ryckmans, 'Traditional Chinese Painting and its Modern Fate', p. 3
- lxxvii *Ibid.*, 14.
- lxxviii See <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/english/college/new-asia-college.html>. Accessed 17 May 2017.
- lxxix Pierre Ryckmans, untitled manuscript, East & West Art, archive.

- lxxx Ryckmans, 'Traditional Chinese Painting and its Modern Fate', p. 48.
- lxxxi Pierre Ryckmans, 'Ting Ten Yung', East & West Art archive
- lxxxii University of Melbourne Art Gallery, 'Modern Chinese Painters in the Traditional Style', catalogue 10, page 26.
- lxxxiii East & West Art, gallery archive, Harry Simon, 'Paul Hsui-Pa Yang', exhibition invitation for Paul Hsiu-Pa Yang, East & West Art, 5-26 April, 1977. The majority of the paintings in Simon's collection were aquired during the period 1949-1957. See the exhibition brochure *Modern Chinese Painters*, Chameleon Gallery, Mount Eliza, 6-18 April, n.d. With thanks to Carol Simon for providing me with a copy.
- lxxxiv Simon opened an exhibition of Yang's paintings and calligraphy held at East & West Art gallery in Melbourne 5-26 April 1977. The invitation refers to it as Yang's second exhibition at East & West Art.
- lxxxv G. Whittred, 'Vale to Ronald Ma: Emeritus Professor of Accounting, The University of New South Wales'. *Accounting & Finance*, 44 (2004): 121-122. doi:10.1111/j.1467-629X.2004.00110.x
- lxxxvi See Jackie Menzies, *Contemporary Chinese Painting*, Art Gallery of New South Wales, 4 May-30 June 1985. Paintings by Fu Baoshi, Huang Binhong and Wang Yiting were including in the 1974 exhibition in Melbourne (cats. 11, 16, 39). Altogether thirty works were displayed including works from the Gallery's collection and private collectors.
- lxxxvii Ryckmans, *Modern Chinese Painters*, p. 13.
- lxxxviii An earlier draft included the following: 'Chang is an amazingly gifted and versatile painter; this picaresque figure could have been one of the greatest artists of his generation, had he not squandered his talents in dubious (but lucrative) activities (making forgeries of ancient paintings). UM IPAM, typescript, 'The Painters in this exhibition'.
- lxxxix Ryckmans' published biography of Huang Junbi includes the following: 'Huang is a very competent technician, but his very facility induces him too often to indulge in a kind of soulless industrial production.' See *Modern Chinese Painters*, p. 13. Madamissima refers to Soong Mei-ling, Madame Chiang Kai-shek.
- xc UM IPAM, Letter, Ryckmans to Simon, 29 January [1974].
- xci UM IPAM, Letter, Simon to Ryckmans, 18 February 1974.
- xcii UM EAS, Unit 4 B-6, 'Correspondence-Dean of Arts Professor J.R. Poynter 1970-72' folder, Department of East and Southeast Asian Studies, East Asian Studies Lecture programme, Term 1, 1974. Mrs M. Pang delivered a lecture 'Chinese Painting (colour slides)', 13 May 1974.
- xciii Mae-Anna Pang was awarded her Phd in 1976. She was James Cahill's first PhD student.
- xciv UM EAS, Unit 4 B-6, 'East Asian Studies 1, Lecture programme, Term 1 1975', Mrs A. Pang, 'Chinese Painting', 5 May 1975.
- xcv National Gallery of Victoria Annual Report year ending June 30 1975, p. 7.
- xcvi For example, 'Six Public Lectures on Chinese Art' organised by the University of Melbourne Extension Committee were held 5 July to 9 August 1951 in the New Arts Building at the University. The series was introduced by Professor Joseph Burke and included illustrated lectures by Leonard Cox, C.P. Fitzgerald and Leonhard Adam. See lecture notice in State Library of Victoria, Leonard Cox papers PA 98/58, Publications folder.
- xcvii UM EAS (UM337), Unit 5, 4.14 (Courses). Writing in 1975, Bernard Smith noted that 'Asian art and Oceanic art have been studied in Australia longer than Renaissance art, but in other departments and under other names. See Bernard Smith, 'The Teaching of Fine Arts in Australian Universities', *The Australian University*, vol, 13, No. 1, May 1975, p. 13.
- xcviii University of Melbourne Archives, Ludwig Hischfeld-Mack 1971.0009, Box 1, Letter, J. Burke to L Hischfeld-Mack, 8 March 1957; University of Melbourne Archives, Frances Derham 1988.0061.1277 ATAV Art Teachers Association of Victoria) March, 1966, pp. 9, 11. With thanks to Anne Stephen for drawing my attention to these archives.
- xcix Records of the Department of Fine Arts, Joseph Burke papers, 1986.0037, Unit 44, 'Re-organisation of Fine Arts Department 1969'
- c [Rosita Trinca], 'A Touch of the Orient in a Melbourne Suburb', *The Australian Women's Weekly*, 27 October 1971. J. Carnegie email to C. Roberts, 26 May 2017.
- ci The gallery was located at 1375 Malvern Road, Malvern.
- cii See '250 Guests Preview Formosan Art', *The Herald*, 18 July 1961, page 20; The Age, 'From Canberra for Chinese Exhibition', *The Age*, 19 July 1961, page 12; 'Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria With a Statement of Income and Expenditure for the year ended 30th June 1962', page 6.
- ciii 'Chinese Diplomats visit Melbourne', *The Age*, 2 May 1973.

- civ *The National Gallery Society of Victoria Bulletin*, May 1973.
- cv 'National Gallery of Victoria Annual Report 1974-75 Activities and Acquisitions', *Asian Art*, p. 7. In 1975, two paintings by Huang Binhong dated 1922 and 1945 were acquired for the Gallery through the Felton Bequest.
- cvi The Colombo Plan, a Commonwealth initiative established in 1951 to provide aid to countries in South and Southeast Asia and strengthen ties with Asia, resulted in some 20,000 students being educated in Australia between 1952 and 1985. Many students returned to stay or retained connections with Australians. Ramsay and Ho were not Colombo plan students but their periods of study in Australia was in response to Australia's efforts to improve relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region.
- cvii The gallery was first located at 18 Eglinton Street, Kew and then moved to 42 Cotham Road, Kew. Ramsay, first came to Adelaide in 1958 for matriculation, went on to gain a Doctorate in organic chemistry from the University of Melbourne and taught science at high school. See Christine Ramsay, 'Mostly Celebration - A Student Who Stayed' in Morag Loh and Christine Ramsay (eds.) *Survival and Celebration: An Insight into the Lives of Chinese Immigrant Women, European Women Married to Chinese and their Female Children in Australia from 1856 to 1986*, (Melbourne: Raya Gallery, 1986).
- cviii East & West Art, 1019 High Street, Malvern, opened on 3 October 1973.
- cix Many of the works were likely looted, confiscated or handed in during the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese government had decided to liquidate them in exchange for foreign currency. After the buyers had made their selection they were invited to come back the following day – those items with prices attached were permitted to be taken out of the country. Conversation with Marjorie Ho, East & West Art, East Kew, 21 September 2015.
- cx Harry Simon acquired two paintings by Ting from the 1975 exhibition for the University of Melbourne art collection. An album was also acquired from the exhibition by the NGV.
- cxii *The National Gallery Society of Victoria Bulletin*, September 1974, p. 17.
- cxiii The gallery was located at 124 Lygon Street, Carlton.
- cxiiii East-West Studio Art Gallery, State Library of Victoria, AAA File.
- cxv 'Posters From the People's Republic of China', George Paton Gallery, 2-27 August 1976, and 'Peasant Paintings From Hu County, Shensi Province, China', George Paton Gallery, 1-23 July 1977
- cxvi Rachel Faggetter, 'Living the Revolution' in Stephen FitzGerald and Pamela Hewitt (eds.), *China in the Seventies: Australian Perspective*. Contemporary China Paper No. 15 (Canberra: Contemporary China Centre, Australian National University, 1980), pp. 41-54. The collection of papercuts has been gifted to the National Gallery of Victoria.
- cxvii The mission was led by the Chairman of the Australia Council Peter Karmel and included the council's executive officer Dr Jean Battersby and two other members of Council, Dr K. R. McKinnon, Chairman of the Schools Commission and Mr J. H. Oswin, Secretary of the Department of Media. See C. P. Fitzgerald and P. H. Partridge, 'Report to the Council of the Australian National University on the Visit to China of the Australian Cultural Delegation', op cit.
- cxviii *The Chinese exhibition: A Selection of Recent Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* opened at the NGV (19 January-16 March 1977) and then travelled to the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Art Gallery of South Australia.
- cxix UM KM, Box 67, 'The Cultural Exchange Programme between the People's Republic of China and Australia' in *Crafts of China at Myer* brochure [1975]
- cxix [Australian Landscape Painting Exhibition] 澳大利亚风景画展览 (澳大利亚: 澳大利亚艺术委员会, 1975) The exhibition, organised by the Australia Council for the Arts, opened at the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing 2-17 September.
- cxx Wehner, *A Melbourne Doctor*, p. 287.
- cxix *Ibid.*, p. 281
- cxixii State Library of Victoria, Papers of Leonard B. Cox Letter, L. Cox to J. Burke, 25 November, 1944.
- cxixiii Victoria Grounds, email to the author, 9 and 16 November 2015.
- cxixiv *Ibid*, p. 9 November 2015.
- cxixv *Ibid*, p. 9 November 2015.
- cxixvi Philip Goad. *The Building* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2003), p. 25.
- cxixvii <http://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/1066>. Accessed 17 May 2017.