

Tales of Stone: Collecting Archaic Chinese Jades in the U.S., 1901-1950

by

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ABSTRACT

The history of jade in many ways reflects the evolution of Chinese civilization, encompassing its entire history and geographical extent and the many cultural traditions associated with the various regions that have finally been brought together in the unity of present-day China. The archaic jade collections investigated in this thesis, from an archaeological point of view, primarily consist of pieces from the late Neolithic through early historic era, named the “Jade Age” by academics.

Although well-researched museum catalogues of archaic Chinese jades have been widely published by major museums in the United States, they are mostly single collection oriented. It is, then, necessary to conduct research examining the overall picture of collecting practices in the U.S. Given the proliferation of fake early jades, this study will provide an essential academic reference for researchers, students, and the present art market. This thesis seeks to explore how shifting tastes, political climates, and personal ambitions, as well as various opportunities and personalities, were instrumental factors in shaping these important collections of archaic Chinese jades in the U.S. today.

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INTRODUCTION:

THE HISTORICAL TERMS OF CHINESE ARCHAIC JADE COLLECTING

Although well-researched museum catalogues of archaic Chinese jades have been widely published by the major museums in the United States, they are mostly single collection oriented. It is necessary, then, to conduct research examining the overall picture of collecting practices in the U.S., especially the initial period. Given the proliferation of fake early jades or forgeries, this study will provide an essential academic reference for researchers, students, and the present art market.

This thesis seeks to place in historical context several generations of jade collectors' endeavors in the first half of the twentieth century in the U.S. Specifically, this thesis will seek to explore how shifting tastes, political climates, and personal ambitions, as well as various opportunities and personalities, were instrumental factors in shaping these important collections of archaic Chinese jades in the U.S. today.

As for the time range of this project, I consider 1901, the year that Berthold Laufer paid his earliest visit to China, leading the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition for the American Museum of Natural History in New York, as the beginning of the practice of

Chinese jade collecting in the U.S. Laufer's trip to China in 1901 was a well-organized and well-recorded archaic Chinese jade collecting expedition. I also consider 1950 when dealer C.T. Loo held his second exhibition in West Palm Beach in Florida as the end of this formation of major collecting practices.

The history of jade in many ways reflects the evolution of Chinese civilization. Jades encompass its entire history and geographical extent and the many cultural traditions associated with the various regions that have finally been brought together in the unity of present-day China.

The archaic jade collections investigated in this thesis, from an archaeological point of view, primarily consist of pieces from the following cultures dating to 3500-2000 BCE.: Hongshan 龙山,¹ Lingjiatan 林家灘,² Liangzhu 良渚,³ Dawenkou 大汶口,⁴

¹ The Hongshan culture was a Neolithic culture in northeastern China. Hongshan sites have been found in an area stretching from Inner Mongolia to Liaoning, and dated from about 4700 to 2900 BCE. For more on Hongshan culture, see Kwang-chih Chang and Sarah Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 65.

² Lingjiatan is an archaeological remains discovered in 1985 and located in Tongzha township of Hanshan county. For more on this culture, see Li Liu, *The Chinese Neolithic: Trajectories to Early States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 96.

³ The Liangzhu culture (3400–2250 BCE) was the last Neolithic jade culture in the Yangtze River Delta of China. The culture was highly stratified, as jade, silk, ivory and lacquer artifacts were found exclusively in elite burials, while pottery was more commonly found in the burial plots of poorer individuals. For more on Liangzhu culture,

Shandong Longshan 山東龙山,⁵ Shijiahe 石家河,⁶ Qijia 齊家,⁷ and Taosi 陶寺⁸ of the Late Neolithic period. In certain cases the imagery, styles and uses of jade persisted beyond the late Neolithic, through the early historic period (Xia 夏 or early Shang 商), thus the latest dating of some jades included in this archaic phase may be Erlitou⁹ 二裡

see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 125.

⁴ The Dawenkou culture is a name given by archaeologists to a group of Neolithic communities who lived primarily in Shandong, but also appeared in Anhui, Henan and Jiangsu, China. The culture existed from 4100 BCE to 2600 BCE. For more on Dawenkou culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 97.

⁵ The Longshan culture was a late Neolithic culture in China, centered on the central and lower Yellow River and dated from about 3000 BCE to 2000 BCE. For more on Longshan culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 85.

⁶ The Shijiahe culture was a late Neolithic culture centered on the middle Yangtze River region in Hubei, China. It succeeded the Qujialing culture in the same region and inherited its unique artefact of painted spindle whorls. For more on Shijiahe culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 32.

⁷ The Qijia culture (2400 BCE - 1900 BCE) was an early Bronze Age culture distributed around the upper Yellow River region of Gansu (centered in Lanzhou) and eastern Qinghai, China; it is regarded as one of the earliest bronze cultures. For more on Qijia culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 210.

⁸ Taosi is an archaeological site in Xiangfen County, Shanxi, China. Taosi is considered to be part of the late phase of the Longshan culture in southern Shanxi, also known as the Taosi phase (2300 BCE - 1900 BCE). For more on Taosi culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 152.

⁹ The Erlitou culture is a name given by archaeologists to an Early Bronze Age urban society that existed in China from approximately 1900 to 1500 BCE. The culture was named after the site discovered at Erlitou in Yanshi, Henan Province. For more on Erlitou culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 158.

頭 or Xiajiadian 夏家店 Lower Level culture¹⁰. The discovery and documentation of elite cultures working jade are from the far north to the south, mostly along China's eastern coast. From approximately 3500 to 2000 BCE jade appears as the major material symbol of cultural achievement and power, and consequently the precedent for the later use of bronze as a cultural symbol during the Xia, Shang, and Zhou 周 eras. Late Neolithic cultures working jade, in particular those three identified as Hongshan 紅山, Liangzhu, and Longshan. Late Neolithic cultures working jade include in particular the three identified as the Haidai Longshan 海岱龍山 in Shandong 山東, Northwest Longshan in Shaanxi 陝西 and Shanxi 山西, and Shijiahe Longshan in Hubei 湖北, in addition to a successive early historic Erlitou. They comprise what in the present state of excavated finds are the most prominent in catalyzing China's early social and cultural development. (Fig.1) The archaic jades examined in this project are from primarily the late Neolithic through early historic era, named the "Jade Age" by

¹⁰ The Lower Xiajiadian culture (2200–1600 BCE) is an archaeological culture in Northeast China, found mainly in southeastern Inner Mongolia, northern Hebei and western Liaoning, China. Subsistence was based on millet farming supplemented with animal husbandry and hunting. For more on the Lower Xiajiadian culture, see Chang and Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 198.

academics, was the crucial time for the formation of Chinese civilization.

Due to the rarity of jade material and the difficulty of working the hard stone, jade took on a mysterious quality and was believed to possess inherent supernatural power.¹¹ This hardstone required laborious effort to shape, and thus the appearance of jade among a culture's artifacts is significant. Jade artifacts of early date were envisioned as implements used to communicate with deities. They may have been tools used by shaman wizards to perform magic. Various references to jade discs or *bi* 璧 indicate that they functioned symbolically in the worship of Heaven and served as insignia and treasure as well. Since they are often found placed on or about the body in burial sites, a more general use seems to have been to summon spirits and protect the dead. The cultural evolution of jade-working was closely associated with prehistoric religion, totemism, astrology and aesthetics. From the late Neolithic to early historic period, jade changed from having primarily a magical use to a material which was primarily a social symbol. The appearance of large numbers of ritual jade pieces like *dao* 刀 blades, *yue* 鉞 axes, and *zhang* 璋 implements appear to have been used as symbols signifying social status;

¹¹ Jade measures between 6.0 and 7.0 Mohs hardness, so it cannot be “carved” but must be abraded with quartz or garnet sand, and polished with bamboo or even ground jade.

their appearance as types marked the end of the age of prehistoric tribes and the birth of kingdoms.

Many museums in the United States have representative collections of these Late Neolithic jade types. Names of benefactors in connection with jade collections include Charles Lang Freer who created the most significant late Neolithic jade collection currently available in the U.S. now at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein founded another extensive and rare late Neolithic jade collection, now in the Art Institute of Chicago; it is the largest in the states, and Grenville L. Winthrop formed what is also an extensive jade collection now in the Harvard Art Museums. Alfred F. Pillsbury collected what is an important, somewhat smaller group of Late Neolithic jades for the Minneapolis Institute of Art. Naturalists and biochemists, Chauncey Hamlin and Wyman Drummond formed the distinguished collections at the Buffalo Museum of Science and the American Museum of Natural History, respectively. With the support of Isabella Norton Blackstone¹² and others, curator Berthold Laufer helped create an anthropologically oriented collection at the

¹² Isabella Norton Blackstone was the wife of Timothy Beach Blackstone, President of the Chicago and Alton Railroad from 1864 to 1899.

Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

The question poses itself: what prompted the formation of these substantial early Chinese jade collections and a dozen others in the U.S. in the early 20th century?

Chapter 1

THE BIRTH OF CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHINA

During the formative period for collecting early Chinese jade, archaeology played a significant yet indecisive role. The birth of Chinese archaeology and knowledge of Neolithic China was a momentous development in the 1920's and 1930's: it was to change China forever in terms of cultural discovery and understanding. The collecting of Chinese antiquities in the 20th century often anticipates archaeological documentation by years and sometimes decades. Engineers, geologists, railroad builders, missionaries and other pioneers from outside China in collaboration or in conjunction with mainland colleagues in various fields impacted not only the evolution of archaeology as a scientific discipline and the evolution of research on China's prehistory¹³ but as well affected the collecting of Chinese antiquities. During the initial phase of "archaeology" scientist and collector were not distinguishable. The history of one geologist turned archaeologist and collector, for example, Johan Gunnar Andersson, sometimes credited with the founding of archaeology in China, is now well-known because of the documentation of his

¹³ Chen Xingcan, *Zhongguo Shiqian Kaoguxueshi Yanjiu, 1895-1949* (Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore Press, 1997), 145.

discoveries and research sponsored by both Swedish and Chinese governments.¹⁴ The sites Andersson explored and “excavated” in the 1920’s were in large part to become identified with two classic Late Neolithic cultures in northwestern China, including the Painted Pottery or Yangshao 仰韶 culture¹⁵ but also the now well-documented successive Northwest Black Painted Pottery tradition better known as Shanbei Longshan, with branches identified as Qijia and Taosi cultures in today’s Shaanxi, Shanxi, Qinghai 青海 and Gansu 甘肅 provinces.¹⁶ Both Qijia and Taosi northwest Longshan cultures are characterized by significant Late Neolithic jades represented in American museums, as well as by examples collected by Andersson for the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, a museum he was in large part responsible for founding.

Orvar Karlbeck, also Swedish and a colleague of Andersson’s, is another type of pioneer during the initial stage of understanding China archaeologically. He is a major

¹⁴ Magnus Fiskesjo and Chen Xingcan, *China before China: Johan Gunnar Andersson, Ding Wenjiang, and the Discovery of China’s Prehistory* Monograph 15 (Stockholm: Museum of Eastern Antiquities, 2004), 89.

¹⁵ The Yangshao culture was a Neolithic culture that existed extensively along the Yellow River in China. It is dated from around 5000 BCE to 3000 BCE. The culture is named after Yangshao, the first excavated representative village of this culture, which was discovered in 1921 in Henan Province by the Swedish archaeologist Johan Gunnar Andersson. For more on Yangshao culture, see Kwang-chih Chang and Sarah Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 43.

¹⁶ Margit Bylin Althin, “Chi-chia-p’ing and Lo-han-t’ang,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. No.18, 383-498.

figure who initiated the field of collecting early Chinese antiquities, beginning as a railroad engineer employed by the Chinese government in 1909 and ending up a “treasure seeker” for the Swedish government and European collectors during the 1930’s and 40’s.¹⁷ Karlbeck and Andersson were employed by the Swedish government to serve the Chinese government initially as geologist and engineer, and subsequently as “archaeologist” and collector of antiquities.

Anthropological and archaeological field methods came to China in the 1930’s in association with Li Chi 李濟, often cited as the father of Chinese archaeology, and with Liang Siyong 梁思永 who was trained at Harvard University like Li Chi in the 1920’s. Li and Liang had by 1928 and thereafter during the 1930’s initiated formal excavations at the well-known Late Shang site of Anyang 安陽 in Henan 河南 province,¹⁸ although Li’s first excavation was at a Yangshao, Neolithic site called Xiyincun 西尹村, Shanxi Province in north China.¹⁹

Archaeological discovery relevant to jade-working cultures took place beyond

¹⁷ Orvar Karlbeck, *Treasure Seeker in China* (London: The Cresset Press, 1957), 52.

¹⁸ Li Chi, *Anyang* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 39.

¹⁹ Li, *The Prehistoric Remains of Xiyincun* (Beijing: Tsinghua Academy, 1927), 24.

what came to be recognized as the Shanbei Longshan culture in northwest and north China. Slightly later during the 1930's and 1940's due to various political events, including the occupation of northeastern China (then known as Manchuria or Manchuguo) by the Japanese from 1937 to 1945, Japanese archaeologists initiated excavations at the site of Hongshanhou 紅山後 near Chifeng 赤峰, just over today's border of Liaoning 遼寧 in Inner Mongolia (then Jehol province in Manchuria).²⁰ These excavations gave name to one of the major jade-working cultures known today as Hongshan. The culture was concentrated in the Liao 遼, Xiaoling 小凌 and Daning 大宁 river valleys of Liaoning and Inner Mongolia. Excavations also began in the 1930's at sites in coastal Chinese areas, including Chengziya 城子崖 in Shandong, which became associated with the classic Haidai (Shandong) Longshan culture and distinctive jades. The site was excavated by Li Chi and his colleague Wu Jinding 烏金鼎, and named Longshan by Li Chi after the township in which the site was located. Meanwhile, in south China the enterprising local conservator, Wei Juxian 衛聚賢 stimulated the discovery of Neolithic

²⁰ Kosaku Hamada, *Huang-shan-hou, Chih-feng: Prehistoric Sites at Huang-shan-hou, Chi-feng in the Province of Jehol, Manchukuo* (Tokyo: East Asian Archeology Institute, 1938), 62.

stone tools and jades at Liangzhuzhen 良渚镇 in Zhejiang province,²¹ a site now equatable with the third major jade-working culture, called Liangzhu, concentrated in today's Lake Tai region of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shanghai.

Other less well-publicized archaeological activities also took place in southwest Sichuan, in large part due to Protestant missionaries who created not only the West China Border Research Society and the Museum of Archaeology of West China Union University in Chengdu in 1910. The curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art and Ethnology in 1932 through 1948, and also a dynamic Baptist missionary turned archaeologist was David Crockett Graham. He surveyed a major site at Taipingzhuang 太平庄 in Hanzhou 汉州 (Guangan) another source characterized by significant Longshan period jade types²² that are also well represented in early Chinese jade collections in American museums.

The discovery of Hongshan, Liangzhu and Longshan type sites in China during this experimental and initial phase of Chinese archaeology was the setting for the

²¹ Shi Xingeng, *Liangzhu: The Preliminary Report for the Second Area of Blackware Culture in Hang County* (Hangzhou: Department of Education of Zhejiang Province, 1938), 295-309.

²² Zheng Dekun, *A History of Ancient Szechwan* (Chengdu: West China Union University Museum, 1946), 23.

discovery of what was labeled the “Jade Age” or the period when major Late Neolithic cultures worked jade. However, the sites of Hongshanhou (in Liaoning province), Liangzhuzhen (in Zhejiang province) and Liangchengzhen (in Shandong province) were not understood culturally or chronologically when they were first discovered. By the early 21st century, 100 years later, these three major sites would stand out in association with major jade-working cultures.

Chapter 2

THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE: BERTHOLD LAUFER AND THE INITIATION OF CHINESE ARCHAIC JADE COLLECTING, 1890-1910

Most early Chinese jade collections in American museums were formed in the first four decades of the 20th century by donations of private individuals. Yet at this time little was known about Neolithic China, nor was it widely appreciated that jade could be worked as early as the Stone Age. The major publication on ancient jade in the early 20th century in fact claimed that China had no prehistory, no Neolithic, and no age in which stone tools were made. The author of this book titled *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* was the eminent anthropologist and ethnologist, Berthold Laufer, then Assistant Curator of the East Asiatic Division at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. He wrote, “as far as the present state of our archaeological knowledge and the literary records point out, the Chinese have never passed through an epoch which for other culture-regions has been designated as a stone age.”²³ He also stated, “It is therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, not justifiable to speak of a

²³ Berthold Laufer, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1912), 29.

stone age of China, and still less, as we shall see from a consideration of native records, of a stone age of the Chinese. The stone implements thus far found need not be credited with any exaggerated age, nor is the term prehistoric applicable to them.”²⁴ He further stated, “There is, in my opinion, not the faintest reason to connect these modern manufactures with the idea of a stone age or even to consider them as survivals; they are merely the outcome of chance and convenience.”²⁵ Since archaeology had not yet been established in China these assessments of Laufer’s were not totally out of line. However, the plethora of new archaeological data uncovered from primarily excavations of the 1980’s through 2009 dramatically and irrevocably refute Laufer’s view.

In 1912, when Laufer published his findings little excavated data was available for scholarly scrutiny. What was available were numerous line drawings of jade types with explanations of their functions and properties based on data gleaned from classical ritual texts, as explained by the jade connoisseur, Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 in 1889 in his work titled *Guyu tukao* (*Illustrated Study of Ancient Jades*, 古玉圖考), with 217 illustrations in the form of outline drawings. It was a valuable book for early jade study

²⁴ Ibid., 55.

²⁵ Ibid., 69.

because it presented actual objects from the author's practical experience. Wu endeavored by examining existing specimens and literary allusions to establish a firm foundation for both collectors and researchers for reference. Laufer admired this study and used it as the springboard for his sinological analysis of jade. Laufer thought that *Guyu tukao* was the most recent and valuable Chinese contribution to the subject at that time.²⁶ Laufer also examined and collected jades on his earliest visits to China while in Xi'an and the Beijing-Tianjin area, initially in 1901 to 1904 when leading the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition to China for the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and more importantly later in 1908 to 1910, a three year span during which he was the lone representative of the Blackstone Expedition to Tibet and China sponsored by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Laufer also went to China in 1923. Of the approximately 1000 pieces of jade out of some 19,000 artifacts²⁷ purchased in China over this three-year second visit, none were identified as Neolithic although they served

²⁶ Berthold Laufer, *Archaic Chinese Jades Collected in China by A. W. Bahr Now in Field Museum of Natural History Chicago* (New York: Privately Printed for A. W. Bahr, 1927), 6.

²⁷ Gary Feinman and Stephen Nash, *Curators, Collections, and Contexts: Anthropology at the Field Museum, 1893-2002* (Chicago: Department of Anthropology Field Museum of Natural History, 2003), 121.

as the basis of what Laufer would identify as “archaeological material”.²⁸

Whether or not Laufer identified the jades he collected for the Field Museum as Neolithic is not that important since he may be credited with opening a field that was entirely new in and outside China, the study of jade in a so-called “archaeological” context. “Archaeological” has to be qualified here since none of the jades he discussed in any of his publications were scientifically excavated. Archaeology did not enter the Chinese arena until much later, at the end of the 1920’s and early 1930’s. Laufer purchased and collected jades in China in building what at the time was recognized as the Isabella Norton Blackstone collection; these jades served for Laufer as a contextual framework for analysis.

Laufer was a brilliant anthropologist, ethnologist and linguist, and was trained in classical and modern languages of China. He had a distinguished graduate career in Germany and post-graduate career in New York while teaching at Columbia University and working for two years (1904-1906) at the American Museum of Natural History in

²⁸ Ibid., 118.

New York as Assistant in Ethnology.²⁹ Laufer had an insatiable love for jade, as pointed out by Latourette in his biographical memoir written two years after Laufer's untimely death by suicide in 1934: "His especial pride was the jade collection and he preferred always to show it in person to visitors. He considered it and his monograph on jade as among his major contributions."³⁰

The setting for the emergence of early Chinese jade as something collectible and desirable at the beginning of the 20th century primarily has to do with Laufer. He was not only academically aggressive in introducing the study of early Chinese jade to western audiences but had a passion for jade and an ability to acquire Chinese artifacts, particularly jades, for study in the Field Museum. Throughout his professional life he pursued primarily academic research projects and produced numerous scholarly publications including exhibition catalogues, academic papers and book reviews³¹ yet his visits to China educated him socially and culturally. He became by preference intimately familiar with dealers and collectors in Beijing, Shanghai, and Xi'an, but also elsewhere,

²⁹ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Biographical Memoir of Berthold Laufer, 1874-1934* (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1937), 44.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 57-68.

in Chengdu 成都, Tianjin 天津, Lanzhou 兰州, Taiyuan 太原, Suzhou 苏州, Hangzhou 杭州, and wherever else he traveled.

As curator at the Field Museum from 1907 to 1934 he was responsible for purchasing relevant artifacts for study and this he did with enormous zeal, bringing home to Chicago at the end of his three year visit to China some 10,000 artifacts.³² Laufer evolved into more than sinologist and ethnologist in his tenure at the Field Museum; he was an erudite sinophile, collector, and according to the research of Bennet Bronson, a paid consultant.³³ Since Laufer had gained a reputation by 1912 as America's lauded jade expert he evidently was in demand by a large group of emerging collectors, particularly in Chicago and its environs, the birthplace for the new field of archaic Chinese jade. He apparently also privately sold works of art that he had collected in China, although the details of these activities are not clearly understood due to scant extant correspondence.³⁴

The first four decades of the 20th century not only witnessed the academic

³² Gary Feinman and Stephen Nash, *Curators, Collections, and Contexts: Anthropology at the Field Museum, 1893-2002* (Chicago: Department of Anthropology Field Museum of Natural History, 2003), 118.

³³ *Ibid.*, 121-122.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 117-126.

contributions of Laufer that stimulated later scholarly treatises and research but also large-scale collecting by entrepreneurs in the field. It was a time when Chinese antiquities were available initially in China yet later and very quickly in galleries throughout Europe and the United States, particularly New York. In Warren Cohen's terms "the years from 1893 to 1919 constitute an extraordinary era in which the training of curators of East Asian art in America began; in which the foundations of Asian art historical scholarship and connoisseurship were established. It was also a period in which other museums, great and small, developed important Asian collections. Finally, the Chinese revolution of 1911 and the chaos that both preceded and followed it led to the breakup of major Chinese collections, the looting of archaeological sites, and the availability of great masterpieces, many of which found their way to the United States."³⁵ The experience of Laufer, the dealer A. W. Bahr and art historian Alfred Salmony all confirm this condition, especially the liquidation of eminent private Chinese collections, as well as looting of tombs. Well-known representative Chinese collections at this time belonged to Duanfang 端方 (1861-1911), Wu Qizhou 吳啟周 (Tianjin), Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902), C. T.

³⁵ Warren Cohen, *East Asian and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 37.

Loo (1880-1957, Shanghai) and Huang Jun 黄浚 (? -1937).

Warren Cohen, a historian of imperial and modern China, in his study of *East Asian Art and American Culture* maintains that art collecting in China mimics politics, and that the “Golden Age” of East Asian Art collecting in America took place from 1893 to 1919, a time period starting from the Asian art collection acquired at the Boston Museum of Fine Art by 1893. This was primarily due to Japanese art interests of curator Ernest Fenollosa. This period concluded with the unveiling of Charles Lang Freer’s collection that took place in 1919 at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.³⁶ For Cohen the “Golden Age” incorporates primarily paintings and sculptures from Japan and China.

In a different study *A History of Modern Chinese Archaeology*, Yang Xiaoneng 杨晓能 identifies four phases, of which the first two are an Initiation period from the 1890s through 1910s and Formation period, from the 1920s through 1940s, in addition to Institutionalization from 1949 to 1976 and Maturation from 1977 to the present.³⁷ The

³⁶ Ibid., 35-74.

³⁷ Xiaoneng Yang, ed, *New Perspectives on China’s Past: Twentieth-Century Chinese Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 25-45.

Golden Age for Cohen is equivalent to the first phase in Yang's outline. Two periods, "Initiation" and "Formation" are similar to Yang's ideas in explaining the history of Chinese jade collecting in the United States.

These two periods of Chinese art collecting may also be applied to describe jade study and jade collecting. Laufer's own professional career and two of his publications correspond to these two phases, one, his initial sinological study of jade in 1912, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, and two his second publication in 1927, a catalog titled *Archaic Chinese Jades Collected in China by A. W. Bahr, now in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago*.³⁸ The first is an academic treatise reviewing the work of jade connoisseur Wu Dacheng from an "archaeological" perspective and the second is an art historical response to the formative phase of jade collecting, a catalog identifying 650 individual pieces sold to the Field Museum in 1926 by the dealer, A. W. Bahr of New York and Shanghai.

Laufer's monograph, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* published in 1912, was written to illuminate the jade collection in the Field Museum, in

³⁸ It was privately printed by R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co. at the Lakeside Press, Chicago, in 1927 for A. W. Bahr.

large part acquired by Laufer while in China from 1907 to 1910 with the support of Isabella Norton Blackstone, widow of a Chicago railway executive. Laufer was not an art historian but rather a sinologist intent on using Wu Dacheng's functional jade study in combination with actual jade specimens to explain Chinese belief from early historic through late dynastic periods in China. His study is typological and exegetical, with reference to ancient texts. When introducing in Chapter V, "Jade in Religious Worship—the Jade Images of the Cosmic Deities", the jade type called *cong* 琮, he begins by quoting the ritual *Zhouli* 周禮 text at length and follows by illustrating instructive line drawings from Wu Dacheng's book in addition to black and white photographs of jades he collected from Xi'an in Shaanxi province.³⁹ The Xi'an jades all belong to the Northwest Longshan culture of the late Neolithic and early historic eras. It is probable that the *cong* jades acquired by Laufer in Xi'an derive from local tombs of late Neolithic Longshan cultural date in Shaanxi.

Laufer's jade study and jade collection created for the Field Museum during this phase of initiation and experimentation in jade collecting is matched by the collection

³⁹ Berthold Laufer, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1912), 120-154.

formed at approximately the same time belonging to the eminent aesthete and benefactor, Charles Lang Freer. The two became good friends, and in fact, Laufer was asked to write the catalog of Freer's first exhibit of his holdings, April 15 to June 15, 1912, at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., six years after Freer promised his holdings that were accepted by that institution and the nation. Freer's extensive Asian collection would be housed in what is known as the Freer Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution: "Freer's friend Berthold Laufer, a curator at the Field Museum in Chicago and the most distinguished jade specialist of the day, compiled the catalogue for the 175 items in Freer's collection."⁴⁰

According to Thomas Lawton's study of Freer's legacy, Freer had made many trips to Asia and to China. Two of the trips were significant, one in 1907 and his fifth and last, in 1910 to 1911. Lawton notes that "Freer purchased his first Chinese jade in 1907, became seriously interested in the material four years later, during his second visit to China. There he began to collect in earnest, buying large numbers of jades, most of them from antique and curio dealers in Beijing, Shanghai and Kaifeng. He also purchased a

⁴⁰ Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1993), 212.

few from Japanese dealers, including Yamanaka Sadajiro, who maintained a shop on Fifth Avenue.”⁴¹

At the time Freer was assembling a particularly impressive group of the archaic jades. Little was known about their original ritual functions. Their descriptions in Chinese textual sources were based on obscure statements that had been written centuries after the pieces were made. The dating, too, was extremely imprecise: Chinese archaic jades were assigned vaguely to the Zhou and Han dynasties, from the mid-eleventh century BCE to the third century CE. Only in the 1970s, when archaeological excavations uncovered large numbers of jades from Late Neolithic (ca. 3000-2000 BCE) sites in China, was the importance of Freer’s purchases fully appreciated: stylistic comparison with archaeologically attested jades proved that many of Freer’s pieces were actually from the Late Neolithic period. Moreover, a large number of the Neolithic jades in the Freer collection can now be identified as having been made by specific groups of artisans located in widely separate areas of ancient China. The most impressive are those from the Liangzhu culture of southeastern China dating to approximately 3000 to 2500 BCE. Their

⁴¹ Ibid., 204.

outstanding workmanship and sophisticated decoration—the same features that had prompted earlier specialists to propose the conservative Zhou and Han dynasty attributions—are now recognized as being characteristic of that surprisingly refined Late Neolithic culture. Freer acquired most of his Liangzhu jades from Chinese dealers active in Shanghai, which is now known to have been a major center of the Liangzhu culture. In the collection is a small plaque decorated with an elaborate mask dominated by large eyes, nose, and mouth (Fig. 2). While the function of the jade plaque remains unknown, pairs of holes on the back suggest that it might have been attached to clothing or a headdress, perhaps of a tribal leader or a shaman.

Freer purchased some of the most outstanding Liangzhu and Longshan period jades known in American museums. Although at the time aware of their artistic qualities he was unaware of their cultural provenance. Lawton particularly points out jade art works purchased by Freer in Shanghai from the dealer Seaouke Yue (You Xiaoqi) and observes that the dealer had precociously noted at this time of 1916 that one of the Liangzhu jades acquired by Freer was said to come from Xiaqi 下其, Zhejiang, which is now known to have been a major center of the Liangzhu culture, and dated to the Xia

dynasty in the early 2nd millennium BCE. The latter dating and provenance agree with the archaeological data now available at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century that firmly identify this piece as a product of a Liangzhu culture tomb from coastal south central China. In addition to the jades acquired by Freer, for example, from Duanfang 端方, the late Qing dynasty official and once governor of Shaanxi province, as discussed by Lawton, is another not purchased in China but from a dealer in New York. The Longshan period *gui* 珪 blade (Fig. 3) with heraldic bird and semi-human head images decorating opposing faces was acquired in 1915 from Huang Zhonghui 黃鐘慧 in New York. Like Laufer, Freer was extremely well known to dealers and collectors in and outside China, as he was amidst scholarly artistic circles. Freer, by the second decade of the 20th century was recognized not only as one of a few leading collectors in the field of Asian art but as one with aesthetic perspicacity, particularly in the field of archaic Chinese jades. Although Freer and Laufer were two very different personalities, in a sense at different extremes: one a successful business man and collector with impeccable aesthetic taste and sensibility and the other a successful scholar with a drive to culturally educate, both

represent outstanding contributors to the jade field at the turn of the 20th century, the phase of Initiation for Americans to Chinese jade and early Chinese culture.

One other collection now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York appears to have been formed during this Initiation phase of Chinese jade collecting by Isaac Wyman Drummond (1855-1933). Very little is known of Drummond. He graduated from the School of Mines of Columbia University with a Ph.D. in Chemistry in 1879. He worked for the paint manufacturing firm Davoe and Reynolds, and he held the position of Research Associate in Antique Jade and Amber at the American Museum of Natural History sometime before his death. He and Berthold Laufer were evidently in close contact since Laufer organized, theoretically for a catalog, the bulk of his jades “during one summer.”⁴² Although years are not mentioned, according to the notes of the same interview, Drummond collected some of his jades, out of which more than 50 are Late Neolithic in date, through an “acting Ambassador to China, Baron Wilhelm von Schoen. The German Baron had close connections to railroad builders and their coolies

⁴² The American Museum of Natural History Archival notes, interview with Mr. Philip S. Herbert, June 3, 1966.

who turned up jade artifacts while cutting through various hills.”⁴³ According to an article published in the *New York Times* on September 24, 1914, the Baron, a diplomat in the German Embassy in Japan, was quoted as publicly advertising Japanese animosity to for the U.S. This along with various other news columns published in France and in England took place just before Germany declared war on France, leading to World War I. Apparently Drummond was well connected internationally and had acquired at least some of his jades during the 1910’s from contacts in China. Drummond’s jades are primarily representative of northwest Longshan with some representing southeast coastal Liangzhu cultural types.

⁴³ Ibid.

Chapter 3

A WAVE OF ANTIQUARIANISM: SHAPING MAJOR COLLECTIONS, 1920-1940

The formation phase of jade collecting coincides with the birth of archaeology in China and with the emergence of historical catalogues and exhibitions, including those organized by art dealers C.T. Loo of Paris, Shanghai and New York, and A. W. Bahr of Shanghai and New York. The publication of jades purchased from the dealer A.W. Bahr by Berthold Laufer in 1927 gives evidence of the direction jade collecting and publishing had taken by the 1920's. Laufer was awarded the full stature of curator at the Field Museum in 1914 and after that was a very visible fixture among the art collecting elite socializing in Chicago and the Midwest.

Alfred F. Pillsbury, who died in 1949, bequeathed 176 archaic jade pieces to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and these came to the museum in 1950. Although there is no extant record to demonstrate that Pillsbury consulted Berthold Laufer in the 1930's or 1940's, when he established his collection, the influence of Laufer's jade expertise must have had effects during these two important decades. Pillsbury traveled to China only once, sometime after 1918. After that he and his wife devoted themselves to collecting

specifically early Chinese works of art, mostly bronzes and jades, with the advice of the dealer in New York, C.T. Loo.⁴⁴ Few collecting benefactors wholeheartedly devoted themselves to collect only early Chinese art during this era. Most American collectors were more interested in Ming and Qing works of art and paintings. Pillsbury started with jades of the Han period, but soon put these aside for the pendants and ornaments of Zhou and, later, the austere symbols of rank, discs, weapons, and the enchanting animals of Shang. To the average appreciation of that time these made no quick appeal. The pale ivory of a chicken-bone jade dagger, the rare mottled blue of a scepter, the watery blue-flecked green of a symbol of rank, or the matte white of a belt hook, were outside the experience of many American collectors in the field of jade. There are some three hundred of these in the collection which Pillsbury was building, primarily in the twenty years from 1918 to 1938. The highlight of the Pillsbury jade collection is the quality of the pieces, particularly the superb number of classical Longshan period *zhang* blades. A highlight of the collection is a striking example of the symbolic *zhang* insignia (Fig. 4) popular in elite burials of the Longshan and Erlitou cultural periods. The shape is

⁴⁴ Harold Peterson, *Chinese Jades: Archaic and Modern, from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co, 1977), 7.

particularly distinctive in celebrating what suggests a trumpet in profile: broad and flaring at one end and rectangular with complexly decorated handle at the other end. This type of *zhang* is represented in elite tombs at the Xia period site of Erlitou, and by others, some of which are theoretically traded items or loot, known much further south at Sanxingdui 三星堆 and Taipingzhuang 太平莊 in Sichuan.

Slightly later in time, the eminent banker, collector and philanthropist Grenville L. Winthrop began collecting jades and amassed one of the numerically largest collections, second only to the Sonnenschein's, totaling 630 pieces. Winthrop traveled to China yet most of his collection was acquired in the U.S. with the help of Yamanaka & Co. and C. T. Loo, dealers based in New York since the 1920's.⁴⁵ He chose each work himself, seldom consulting outside advisers. A Harvard graduate (Class of 1886), Winthrop bequeathed his collection to the Harvard University Museum of Art.

Laufer tried to treat his publication featuring jades sold to the Field Museum by A.W. Bahr in 1926 as a purposeful tribute to the field of art history and collecting

⁴⁵ Robert Mowry, *From Mementos to Masterpieces: Shaping the Asian Collections: Harvard's Art Museums: 100 Years of Collecting* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 49.

interests of the time. He acted the Renaissance man, anthropologist turned art historian. Although Laufer still was not willing to identify any of the Bahr jades as Neolithic in date, he was willing to follow the European and newly popular trend in America of publishing a dealer's jade collection as an artistic whole. His predecessor was the eminent sinologist, M. Paul Pelliot (1878-1945),⁴⁶ a friend of C. T. Loo who had a gallery in Paris before coming to New York. Pelliot published his jade collection in Paris under the title *Jades Archaïques de Chine Appartenant a C. T. Loo, Paris: van Oest, 1925*. Pelliot took the approach of an art historian, attempting to concentrate on questions of dating as determined by style and archaeologically excavated materials. The collection included jades, allegedly from two Eastern Zhou tombs, one at Zhangdefu 彰德府 (now Anyang) in Henan province and another at Luoyang 洛陽 in Henan province. Failing to sell in Paris, the collection came to Chicago for exhibit. Failing to sell the collection as a whole, Loo took it to London where the collection was dispersed to sell separately.⁴⁷

In 1923 Una Pope-Hennessy dedicated her volume *Early Chinese Jades*,

⁴⁶ M. Paul Pelliot was a French Sinologist known for the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts.

⁴⁷ C. T. Loo Inc., *An Exhibition of Chinese Archaic Jades: Arranged for the Norton Gallery of Art*. West Palm Beach, Florida, January 20 to March 1, 1950. (New York: Printed by the Gallery Press, 1950), 3. Dealer Catalog.

representing European collections, to Doctor Berthold Laufer and to a railroad Engineer, Doctor G. Gieseler, “in sign of the esteem felt in England for their researches into the purpose of early Chinese jades.”⁴⁸ Pope-Hennessy thought Laufer broke new ground when, in 1912, he published *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. Una Pope-Hennessy commented that the object in writing this book was ethnological rather than artistic. She expressed a very high opinion of Laufer’s academic contribution to the jade field: “It is a book which all collectors of jade know; it is, indeed, the only book to which they can turn for guidance in their pursuit.”⁴⁹

Most of the jades in Abel W. Bahr’s gallery with a Late Neolithic identity in Laufer’s publication are said to have been purchased in Xi’an by Laufer. Out of 650 jades, 146 are illustrated and those late Neolithic in date derive mostly from the Northwest Longshan culture, with a few from Liangzhu. A. W. Bahr was well known to collectors in the early 20th century as a dealer in Chinese works of art. His painting collection was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵⁰ This preceded the sale of the paintings

⁴⁸ Una Pope-Hennessy, *Early Chinese Jades* (London: E. Benn, 1923), 10.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁰ Anderson Galleries, Inc., *Antique Chinese Potteries, Porcelains, Jades and Objects of*

by C.C. Wang. Bahr apparently made a record sale on January 10, 1922 of a white jade pagoda belonging to the Qianlong period for a profit of \$1,075.00. In a preface to Laufer's jade publication, Bahr informs us that he assembled the collection when in Shanghai. He also remarks on the "turbulent times (which) forced the (Chinese) owners to part with some of their most cherished treasures, I spared neither pains nor expense in seeking especially rare or unique (jade) specimens."⁵¹ In this way Bahr was able to obtain many fine jades from numerous noted collections; among the most important of these are remarkable examples from the famous collection of Wu Dacheng. The late Wu Dacheng was the foremost collector and critic of archaic jades of the nineteenth century. Bahr took his study of archaic jades, *Guyu tukao* (Illustrated Study of Ancient Jades) as the most recent and valuable Chinese contribution on the subject. Other jades in Bahr's collection come from the possession of a prominent Suzhou 蘇州 scholar official named Gu Heyi 顧鶴逸 (1865-1930). Therefore, Bahr was fortunate enough also to acquire a number of the jades found at Xincheng 忻城 in Henan in 1923, the site of the recent

Art: A Collection Formed by A.W. Bahr for Twenty-five Years a Resident of Shanghai, China. (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1926), 37. Dealer Catalog.

⁵¹ Berthold Laufer, *Archaic Chinese Jades Collected in China by A. W. Bahr Now in Field Museum of Natural History Chicago* (New York: Privately Printed for A. W. Bahr., 1927), 5.

important excavation of Zhou bronzes. These were procured from Kaifeng, capital of the province. Their workmanship and style are of very high quality, and suggest the existence of a local school of lapidaries, probably confined to the district.⁵²

Laufer was in part responsible for advising Mr. and Mrs. Edward Sonnenschein of Chicago, prominent collectors who amassed a huge collection of some 1300 pieces of Chinese jade during the 1920's and 1930's that was offered to the Art Institute of Chicago in 1950, a year after Mrs. Sonnenschein's death and 15 years after Edward Sonnenschein's. Inspired primarily by Laufer and by the collection of jades built by him at the Field Museum, the Sonnenscheins had intended to include the whole range of jade production in China, but they soon felt the fascination of objects from the early periods. In 1934 their years of study culminated in a journey to the Far East. By that time the Sonnenschein Collection of Chinese jades had become one of the largest in the Western world.⁵³

From catalog entries of the Art Institute of Chicago it is apparent that the

⁵² Ibid., 6.

⁵³ Alfred Salmony, *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection*. (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1952), 2. Exhibition Catalog.

Sonnenseheins purchased jade works of art in the west and in China. They bought from, for example, C.T. Loo (New York), Ralph Chait (New York), Spink & Son (London), and C.T. Lee (Shanghai). Rare pieces in the Sonnenschein jade collection include the Shijiahe Longshan openwork jade said to have been purchased from C.T. Loo.⁵⁴

The jade culture of early China and jade collecting had become a permanent fixture in the American artistic setting by the third and fourth decades of the 20th century. Alfred Salmony who had taught Asian art at Mills College in California, and later the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, was hired to write the jade catalog for the Sonnenseheins which he completed in 1952. Earlier in 1938 Salmony wrote the type of jade book that was popular at the time: a collection of photographs with explanatory notes documenting art works in private and public collections. Resulting from experience gained in the Far East, his book, *Carved Jade of Ancient China*, was initially designed to illustrate the private jade collection of C. T. Wu of Tianjin which he had visited in China in 1930.

Salmony noted, as so many others before him, the importance of Laufer's

⁵⁴ Ibid., 39.

monograph on jade stating “His publication marked the decisive turn of interest in the West [for Chinese jade].”⁵⁵ Salmony’s publication on jades theoretically from Neolithic through Tang periods reads like a who’s who in the field of jade collectors and dealers. Jades illustrated derived from the following collectors: A.W. Bahr, C.T. Loo, Grenville Lindall Winthrop, Edward Sonnenschein, Alfred F. Pillsbury, Charles Lang Freer, to name only those in America. Salmony assembled early Chinese jades from the most prominent contemporary jade collectors and dealers in both the US and in Europe during the 1930’s. He used stylistic data to plot their date.

The Chauncey Hamlin jade collection in the Buffalo Museum of Science is also representative of the Formation Period in jade collecting in the U.S. As documented in a pioneering publication titled *Ancient Chinese Jades from the Buffalo Museum of Science* (1975) by Joan Hartman, art historian and then wife of the Chinese jade dealer, Alan Hartman of New York City, Chauncey Hamlin was a special person in his understanding and passion for jade. After serving in France during World War I, he decided not to return to law but to civic and public service activities, and one of these was to make the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 8.

Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences and the Buffalo Museum of Science major institutions. One way he did this was to visit China two times in the 1930's for a stay of eighteen months each trip to learn about China, its language and customs, as well as to build the early Chinese collection in the Science museum.⁵⁶ As with other major benefactors to American museums, while on these trips he collected numerous examples of jade, in his case over 100 of which 13 were dated to the Late Neolithic cultures of Hongshan, Liangzhu and Longshan. This is a unique jade collection formed by an individual passionate about China.

⁵⁶ Joan M. Hartman, *Ancient Chinese Jades from the Buffalo Museum of Science*. (New York: China Institute, 1975), 7. Exhibition Catalog.

CONCLUSION

There are at least 16 other outstanding early Chinese jade collections represented in American museums. Most of these holdings were formed by individual benefactors after the 1930's and 1940's. These collections include many early jade works of art from exhibitions and sales, such as the last one on jade put together by C. T. Loo in 1950. An earlier C. T. Loo exhibit and sales catalog was featured at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1940 and published in catalog form by Horace Jayne, then Curator at that Museum. There are three jades in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology collection in fact bought from A.W. Bahr in 1929.⁵⁷

A second C. T. Loo exhibit took place at the Norton Gallery of Art in West Palm Beach, Florida in 1950.⁵⁸ Skimming through the catalog pages of the Norton publication it is clear that many major jades, as a consequence of that exhibit, as with others in the

⁵⁷ Horace Jayne, *Archaic Chinese Jades: Special Exhibition, February, 1940*. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1940), 6. Exhibition Catalog.

⁵⁸ C. T. Loo Inc, *An Exhibition of Chinese Archaic Jades: Arranged for the Norton Gallery of Art*. West Palm Beach, Florida, January 20 to March 1, 1950. (New York: Printed by the Gallery Press, 1950), 3. Dealer Catalog.

first decades of the 20th century (e.g., Bahr's in 1926; Laufer in 1927) were purchased by collectors and later acquired by major museums. Two of the most outstanding Longshan and Erlitou period jade *gui* blades in that exhibit⁵⁹ were purchased and given to the Indianapolis Museum of Art as a gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lilly and to the Honolulu Academy of Art as a gift of Henry G. Lapham. These two eccentrically long "adze" blades called *gui* are unequalled in any American collection. The Lilly blade stands out as monumental implement that might serve a modern martial arts master such as Jackie Chan or Jet Lee.

In addition to the ten museum collections discussed above, there are twelve other major holdings featuring Late Neolithic jades which bring the total museum number to 22:

Field Museum of Natural History American Museum of Natural History

Minneapolis Institute of Arts

The Art Institute of Chicago

Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

⁵⁹ Ibid., 18.

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums

The Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco

The Cleveland Museum of Art

The Detroit Institute of Arts

Hermitage Foundation Museum & Gardens, Norfolk, Virginia

Honolulu Academy of Arts

Indianapolis Museum of Art

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Norton Museum of Art, West Palm Beach, Florida

Seattle Art Museum

Saint Louis Art Museum

Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami

University of Michigan Museum of Art

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Each of these museums has examples of late Neolithic jade, which are outstanding either because the jade is unique or it possesses unusual aesthetic qualities. The Cleveland Museum of Art, for example, is one of the few if not the only American museum with a figural jade from the Hongshan cultural period. This chunky pendant in the form of a seated human with bovine head (Fig. 5), acquired in 1953, has all the qualities of a Hongshan jade type and style. This Hongshan culture piece is not yet known as a type from site excavations. From a stylistic, technical, and representational point of view, the pendant may nonetheless be identified with the Hongshan and Xiajiadian lower level cultures operative during the late Neolithic in northeast China. Angus Forsythe, in his publication on collected examples of this imagery type, forcefully argued from a stylistic and material point of view for their identification as Hongshan works of art.⁶⁰

In 1960 the University of Michigan Museum of Art purchased from Max Loehr

⁶⁰ Angus Forsythe, "Five Chinese Jade Figures: A Study of the Development of Sculpture Form in Hongshan Neolithic Jade Working." *Oriental Art* (1983-1996) (1990): 77-86.

(1903-1988), a well-known professor of Chinese art history at Harvard University, over 50 jades (and stones). There are two of the most valuable jades in his collection: a *yue* axe dating to the Songze 崧澤 culture⁶¹ and a relatively inconspicuous jade, a fragment of a *feng* bud belonging to the Shijiahe Longshan culture of south central China. Both are rare types in American museum collections: Shijiahe cultural jades are almost non-existent as are those identifying the Songze culture that preceded the Liangzhu in the Lake Tai area of southeast coastal China. Loehr undoubtedly purchased these pieces while resident in Beijing, initially as part of the Sino-German Institute in Beijing and later as faculty at Tsinghua University over the time period of 1936-1945. Loehr joined the faculty of the University of Michigan in 1951. Comparable pieces to those he sold to University of Michigan are those recently auctioned by the New York dealer, J. J. Lally.⁶² On the basis of meticulous notes describing each of his jades, it is apparent that Loehr

⁶¹ The Songze culture was a later stage of the Majiabang culture (which emerged around c.5000 BCE) and materialized in the lower Yangzi region around c.4000 BCE and was given its name after the site of Songze in Shanghai. The general dates in which the Songze culture flourished is usually given is between 3400 - 3300 BCE and it was these people that are considered to be one of the ancestors of the Shanghai people. For more on Songze culture, see Kwang-chih Chang and Sarah Allan, *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, 95.

⁶² J.J. Lally, *Chinese Archaic Jades and Bronzes from the Estate of Professor Max Loehr and Others*. (New York: J.J. Lally and Co., 1993),16. Dealer Catalog.

frequented a variety of galleries in Beijing and on Liulichang 琉璃廠 Street, such as Tong Guzhai 通古齋 of Huang Bochuan 黃伯川, also known as Huang Jun, Yamanaka Shokai, Dun Huazhai 敦華齋, and Tao Guzhai 陶古齋.⁶³

Berthold Laufer's connections with collectors and curators played a crucial role in shaping these major collections in the U.S. today (see Fig. 6). Specifically,

a. The jades from Isabella Norton Blackstone collection in the Field museum served for Laufer as a contextual framework for analysis in his book *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*.

b. Laufer was asked to write the catalog of Freer's first exhibit of his holdings, April 15 to June 15, 1912, at the Smithsonian Institution.

c. Berthold Laufer and Isaac Wyman Drummond were evidently in close contact since Laufer organized, theoretically for a catalog, the bulk of his jades "during one summer."⁶⁴

d. Alfred F. Pillsbury bequeathed 176 archaic jade pieces to the Minneapolis

⁶³ Ibid., inner and back cover pages.

⁶⁴ The American Museum of Natural History Archival notes, interview with Mr. Philip S. Herbert, June 3, 1966.

Institute of Arts in year of 1950. Although there is no extant record to demonstrate that Pillsbury consulted Bethold Laufer in the 1930's or 1940's, when he established his collection, the influence of Laufer's jade expertise must have had effects during these two important decades.

e. Laufer's publication studies jades sold to the Field Museum by A.W. Bahr in 1926. Most of the jades in A. W. Bahr's gallery with a Late Neolithic identity in Laufer's publication are said to have been purchased in Xi'an by Laufer.

f. In 1923 Una Pope-Hennessy dedicated her volume *Early Chinese Jades*, representing European collections, to Doctor Berthold Laufer and to a railroad Engineer, "in sign of the esteem felt in England for their researches into the purpose of early Chinese jades."⁶⁵ Pope-Hennessy had a very high opinion of Laufer's academic contribution to the jade field. "It is a book which all collectors of jade know; it is, indeed, the only book to which they can turn for guidance in their pursuit."⁶⁶

g. Laufer was in part responsible for advising Mr. and Mrs. Edward Sonnenschein of Chicago, prominent collectors who amassed a huge collection of some

⁶⁵ Pope-Hennessy Una, *Early Chinese Jades* (London: E. Benn, 1923), 10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

1300 pieces of Chinese jade during the 1920's and 1930's that was received by the Art Institute of Chicago in 1950. Inspired primarily by Laufer and by the collection of jades built by him at the Field Museum, the Sonnenschein's had intended to include the whole range of jade production in China, but they soon felt the fascination of objects from the early periods.

Alfred Salmony who had taught Asian art at Mills College in California, and later the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, was hired to write the jade catalog for the Sonnenschein's which he completed in 1952. Salmony noted, as so many others before him, the importance of Laufer's monograph on jade stating "His publication marked the decisive turn of interest in the West [for Chinese jade]."⁶⁷

In summary, this thesis examined several generations of jade collectors' endeavors in the first half of the twentieth century in the U.S and has tackled the question of what prompted the formation of substantial early Chinese jade collections in the U.S. during this period of time. I conclude that early Chinese jade collections in the U.S. were formed by five major private benefactors: Freer, Pillsbury, the Sonnenschein's, Winthrop

⁶⁷ Alfred Salmony, *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Edward and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection*. (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1952), 8. Exhibition Catalog.

and Hamlin. All had entrepreneurial interests combined with a passion for early Chinese jade. Berthold Laufer was responsible for launching the collection and study of archaic Chinese jades in America, as exemplified by works in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, as well as for stimulating the interest that brought the collections of Freer, Pillsbury, the Sonnenschein's and Winthrop to America's major museums.

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APPENDIX A
ILLUSTRATIONS

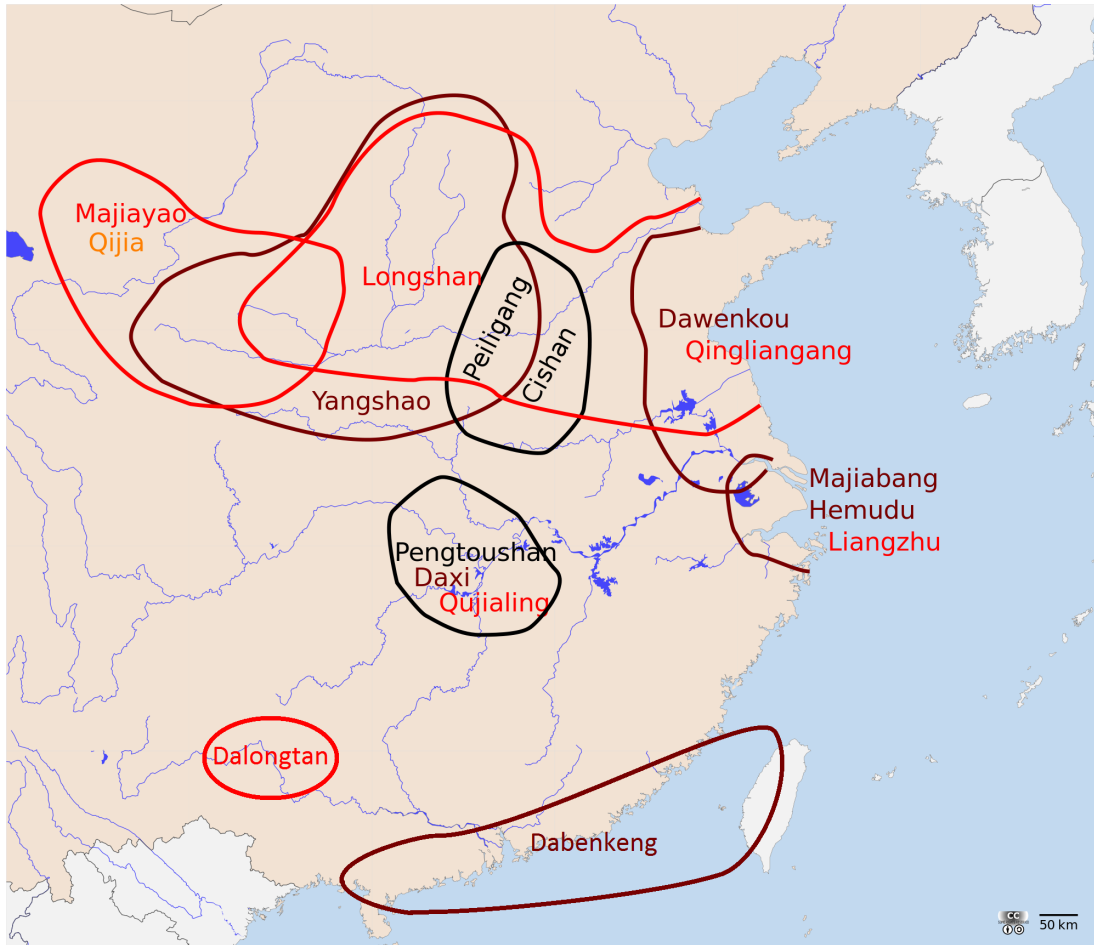


Fig. 1

“Map of the Chinese Neolithic,” accessed April 21, 2014,

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/Neolithic_china.svg.



Fig. 2
Head ornament
Jade
L.6.9 × W. 8.1 in.
China, Late Neolithic period, Liangzhu culture, 3300-2250 BCE
Freer Gallery of Art, F1916.511
“Head ornament,” accessed April 21, 2014, <https://www.asia.si.edu/explore/china/jades/gallery.asp#cong>.



Fig. 3
Ceremonial chisel (*gui*) with face and bird
Jade
L.7.2 x W.1.4 x Th.0.3 in.
North China, late Neolithic/early historic period, Longshan culture, ca. 3000-1700 BCE
Freer Gallery of Art, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1915.87
“Ceremonial chisel (*gui*) with face and bird,” accessed April 21, 2014,
<https://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=7554>.



Fig. 4
Axe Scepter
Jade
L.12.1×W.5.1×Th.0.09 in.
North China, late Neolithic early historic period, Longshan culture, 2600-1700 BCE
Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury. 50.46.310
“Axe Scepter,” accessed April 21, 2014, <https://collections.artsmia.org/index.php?page=detail&id=983>.



Fig. 5

Amulet in the Form of a Seated Figure with Bovine Head

Jade

H.5.2 in.

Northeast China, late Neolithic period, Hongshan culture, ca. 4700-2920 BCE

Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Severance A. Millikin, 1953.628

"Amulet in the Form of a Seated Figure with Bovine Head," accessed April 21, 2014,
<http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1953.628>.

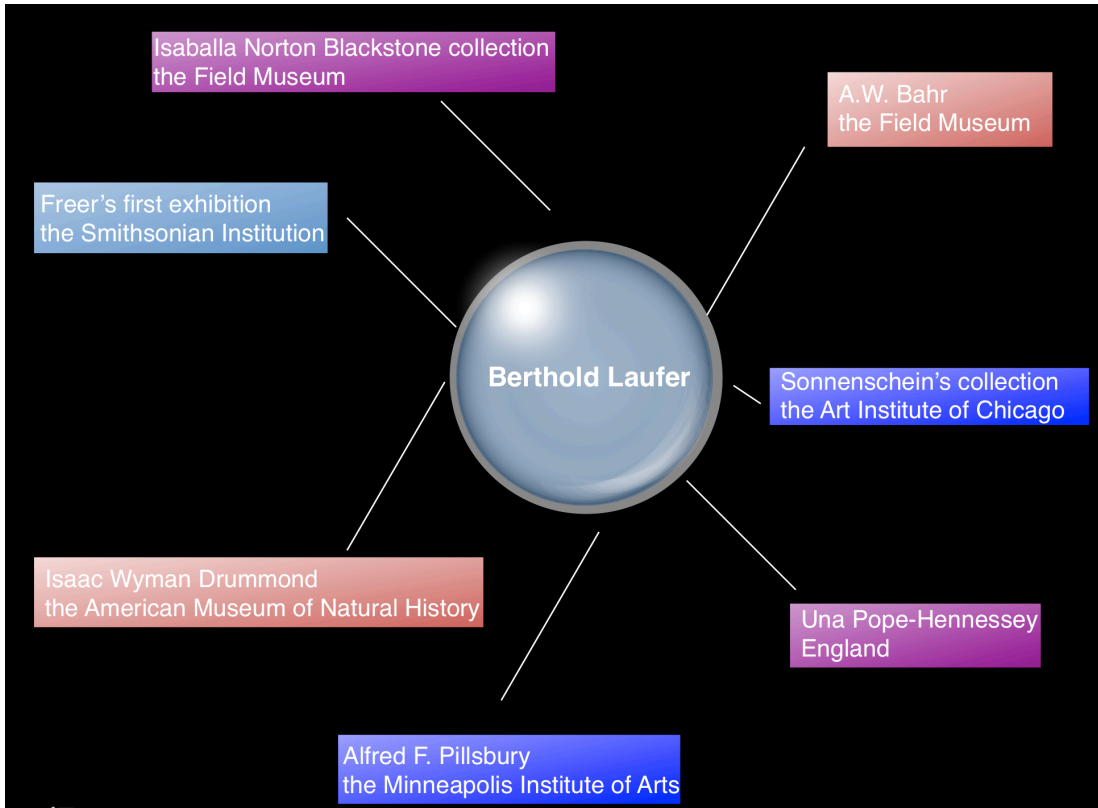


Fig. 6
"Laufer's connections with collectors and curators." Designed by the author.

APPENDIX B
BIOGRAPIES

Wu Dacheng (1835-1902) Born in Suzhou, Wu Dacheng was a renowned Qing dynasty official scholar, epigrapher, calligraphy and painter. Wu Dacheng's work, *Guyu tukao* (*Illustrated Study of Ancient Jades*, 古玉圖考), with 217 illustrations in the form of outline drawings, was a valuable book for early jade study. He was the grandfather of Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 who was one of the most important connoisseurs of Chinese art in the early 20th century.⁶⁸

Jacob Henry Schiff (January 10, 1847-September 25, 1920) Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Jacob Henry Schiff was an American banker, businessman, and philanthropist. He helped finance, among many other things, the Japanese military efforts against Tsarist Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.⁶⁹

Charles Lang Freer (February, 25 1854-October 25, 1919) Charles Lang Freer was an American railroad-car manufacturer from Detroit, Michigan, who gave to the

⁶⁸ Zhao Xun et al., *History of Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), 428.

⁶⁹ Naomi W. Cohen, *Jacob H. Schiff: A Study in American Jewish Leadership* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 1999), 3.

United States his art collections and funds for a building to house them. The Freer Gallery of Art founded by him is part of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.⁷⁰

Isaac Wyman Drummond (1855-1933) Receiving his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1879, Isaac Wyman Drummond went on to become a known chemist specializing in colors and dyes. He was the board of directors of the New York School of Applied Design for Women in 1906. Additionally, he was a member of the Council of the National Sculpture Society from its founding in 1893.⁷¹

Duanfang (1861-1911) As a member of the Manchu Banner, Duanfang, courtesy name Wuqiao 午橋, was a politician, epigrapher and collector in late Qing dynasty. He actively developed contacts with westerners who were interested in Chinese culture at that time. Utilizing his court official status, Duanfang acquired a considerable collection

⁷⁰ Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1993), 2.

⁷¹ Robert W. de Forest and Henry W. Kent, *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1928), 23.

of bronzes, jades, rubbings, paintings and calligraphies.⁷²

Grenville Lindall Winthrop (February 11, 1864-January 19, 1943) Grenville Lindall Winthrop was an art connoisseur and collector, historian and philanthropist. He was the son of Robert Winthrop (1833-1892) banker, and Kate Wilson Taylor Winthrop (1839-1925) and the direct descendant of John Winthrop (1588-1649) a founder, in 1623, and first Colonial governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He graduated Harvard University cum laude in 1886, then Harvard Law School in 1889. He retired from a career in law in 1896.⁷³

Yamanaka Sadajiro (1865-1936) Yamanaka Sadajiro was an influential Asian art dealer with offices in New York, Boston and London in the early 20th century. In 1895, he founded the Yamanaka & Co. on 27th Street in New York. Utilizing his personal connections with the dealers and collectors in China, Yamanaka Sadajiro was able to

⁷² Jun Zhang, “*Spider Manchu: Duanfang as Networker and Spindoctor of the Late Qing New Policies, 1901-1911*” (PhD diss., University of California San Diego, 2008), 177-233.

⁷³ Edward W. Forbes and Paul J. Sachs, “Grenville Lindall Winthrop Bequest,” *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum* No. 2 (1943): 26-28.

acquire various high quality Chinese works of art including porcelain and ceramics.⁷⁴

Berthold Laufer (October 11, 1874-September 13, 1934) Berthold Laufer was an anthropologist and historical geographer with an expertise in East Asian languages. Laufer was born in Cologne in Germany to Max and Eugenie Laufer. His paternal grandparents Salomon and Johanna Laufer were adherents of the Jewish faith.⁷⁵

Alfred F. Pillsbury (1876-1950) Alfred Fiske Pillsbury was the president of the St. Anthony Falls Water Power Company and the Union Terminal Elevator Company. He was a major contributor to the Minneapolis Institute of Art. The renown of MIA's Chinese collection is due in large part to Pillsbury bequeathing his personal collection of bronzes and jades to the museum.⁷⁶

Una Pope-Hennessy (1876-August 17, 1949) Una Pope-Hennessy was a British

⁷⁴ Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 37-39.

⁷⁵ For more on Berthold Laufer, see chapter 2 above.

⁷⁶ Harold Peterson, *Chinese Jades: Archaic and Modern, from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co, 1977), 3.

writer, historian and biographer. She married Major Richard Pope-Hennessy in 1910.

During the First World War, she was a member of the Central Prisoners of War Committee of the British Red Cross Society. She was appointed Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the 1920 civilian war honors.⁷⁷

Paul Pelliot (May 28, 1878-October 26, 1945) As a French specializing in Sinology, Paul Pelliot had a career in the Foreign Service but was most well known for his discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts. He published numerous seminal works regarding the historical geography and anthropology of China and dedicated his later years to imparting oriental expertise in French higher education institutions after his central Asia Expedition.⁷⁸

Orvar Karlbeck (1879-1967) Orvar Karlbeck was a Swedish railroad engineer working in China from 1906-1927. From 1908 onwards he was stationed in the Huai valley and he started his personal collection of Huai Valley bronzes, which mainly

⁷⁷ Obituary, *The Times*, 18 August 1949.

⁷⁸ Hartmut Walravens, *Paul Pelliot (1878–1945): His Life and Works: A Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 5-23.

consisted of minor bronzes like mirrors and belt-hooks dating from the Warring States to Han dynasty period. In 1927 Karlbeck returned to Sweden because of China's political instable situation. However, between 1928 and 1934 Karlbeck returned to China where he conducted three collecting expeditions to buy objects for museums and private collectors.⁷⁹

C. T. Loo (1880-1957) Ching Tsai Loo was the preeminent dealer of Chinese art and artifacts for the first half of the twentieth century. Starting his business in Paris, Loo was almost single-handedly responsible for introducing early Chinese art, bronzes, jades and paintings, to Western Europe and North America. Because of his connections in Asia, he was able to obtain major pieces for such collectors as J. P. Morgan, Samuel Peters, Alfred Pillsbury, and Henry Clay Frick from eras never before represented in the West.⁸⁰

Chauncey Jerome Hamlin (1881-1963) Born in 1881 in Buffalo, Chauncey J.

⁷⁹ Valerie Jurgens, "Orvar Karlbeck and the Karlbeck Syndicate, 1928-1934," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* No.70 (2005): 35-37.

⁸⁰ Yiyou Wang, "The Louvre from China: A Critical Study of C. T. Loo and the Framing of Chinese Art in the United States, 1915-1950" (PhD diss., Ohio University, 2007).

Hamlin was the founder and first President of The International Council of Museums worked for society and its development. In 1912, he campaigned for the presidential candidate Theodore Roosevelt. Mobilised during the World War I, he fought at Verdun (France). When he returned to the U.S., he was appointed Vice-President of the Buffalo Society of Natural Science and became its President in 1920. He served in that role until 1948. His interest in museum activities led him to become President of The American Museum Association from 1923 to 1929. Throughout his lifetime Hamlin had a keen interest in music. He was President of the Buffalo Chamber Music Society and Director of the town's Philharmonic Society.⁸¹

David Crockett Graham (葛維漢, Ge Weihān) (March 21, 1884-September 15, 1961) David Crockett Graham was a polymath American Baptist minister and missionary, educator, author, archeologist, anthropologist, naturalist and field collector in Sichuan Province, West China from 1911 to 1948.⁸²

⁸¹ Joan M. Hartman, *Ancient Chinese Jades from the Buffalo Museum of Science*. (New York: China Institute, 1975), 79. Exhibition Catalog.

⁸² Alex Sayf Cummings, "Life in the Menagerie: David Crockett Graham and

Alfred Salmony (1890-1958) Alfred Salmony was the curator of the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne. He emigrated to France in 1933, and in 1934 to the United States. He was a lecturer, from 1938 in Seattle, then professor of Chinese art at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.⁸³

A.W. Bahr (1919-1957) Born in Shanghai to a German father and a Chinese mother, Abel William Bahr started his career as a coal merchant and general importer, who later became an important dealer in Chinese art, which became his second career. He became a director in the trading company of Hopkins, Dunn and Company before removing to Britain in 1910. A.W. Bahr was the initiator of China's first art exhibition in Shanghai and composed China's first art exhibition catalogue in 1908. Many works of art he collected are now housed in major art institutions in Europe and in the U.S.⁸⁴

Missionary-Scientists in Sichuan, China 1911-1948," *American Baptist Quarterly* No.27 (2009): 206–227.

⁸³ A. B. Griswold, "Alfred Salmony (1890-1958)," *Revue Archéologique* No. 34 (1960): 104-106.

⁸⁴ Nick Pearce, "Shanghai 1908: A. W. Bahr and China's First Art Exhibition," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* No. 20 (2011): 4-25.

Isabella Norton Blackstone Isabella Norton Blackstone was the wife of Timothy Beach Blackstone (March 28, 1829-May 26, 1900), a 19th-century railroad executive, businessman, philanthropist, and politician. He was descended from one of the earliest British settlers of New England, William Blaxton. Blackstone worked in the railroad industry for most of his life after dropping out of school. At the time of his death, his estate was worth US\$6 million (\$170.1 million today).⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ida Hinman, *Biography of Timothy B. Blackstone* (New York: Methodist Book Concern Press, 1917),1-3.