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Contemporary Art and the Contemporary Art Museum: Shanghai and Its Biennale[1]

Prehistories

No doubt there are varied and rich prehistories to modernity in the art worlds of many Chinese cities apart from Beijing—Tianjin, Nanjing, Chengdu/Chongqing—but it is in Shanghai in the 1850s and 1860s that a patronage culture, for art at least for *guohua* (traditional Chinese painting), began and continued into the 1910s. Imbricated within this patronage culture were intense artistic exchanges with Japan and Europe, from the 1860s to the 1930s, effected through sending Chinese artists abroad to study. There were also a number of Japanese artists who exhibited in China, particularly at the first National Fine Arts Exhibition, in 1929. At the same time, the advent of modernity, beginning in the 1920s, was associated with a broad consumer culture that articulated new desires and, in particular, new roles for women—producing a new culture of visual representation in contemporary magazines, cinema, and advertisements. Thus, from the mid-nineteenth century onward the urban space of Shanghai increasingly constituted a foreground for the modern in China. This was physically upended, if not entirely destroyed, during the murderous, politically myopic conflicts between Nationalists and Communists in 1927, and in the long, bloody struggle with the Japanese in 1932, which was followed by a pause and then continued as all-out war from 1937 to 1945. Even then the caesura was not complete, and the civil war lasted from 1945 to 1949.

One of the problems with divorcing contemporary art from art history involves actual and potential types of modernity, some existing in parallel to, some in conflict with, each other. What is happening now could have happened earlier and might still happen later.[2] When we consider modern Shanghai art and its institutional framework from the 1980s to the 2000s, we are looking at the possibility of what could have been consolidated much earlier if there had not been historical conflict and destruction. This raises a question: at what level of consciousness has the modern been absorbed, without it rising to the surface of obvious cultural expression, especially when few physical traces of this projection are now present save for some architectural heritage?

The problem in understanding what continuities of the modern may exist in Shanghai and how they were articulated in artistic discourse, institutions, and artists' lives, comes both with the period of stabilizing the new Communist regime in the 1950s and in the deliberate undoing of its results by a group within the regime during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. Because Beijing was the capital and because the two major national art academies of the Central Academy of Fine Art in Beijing and the

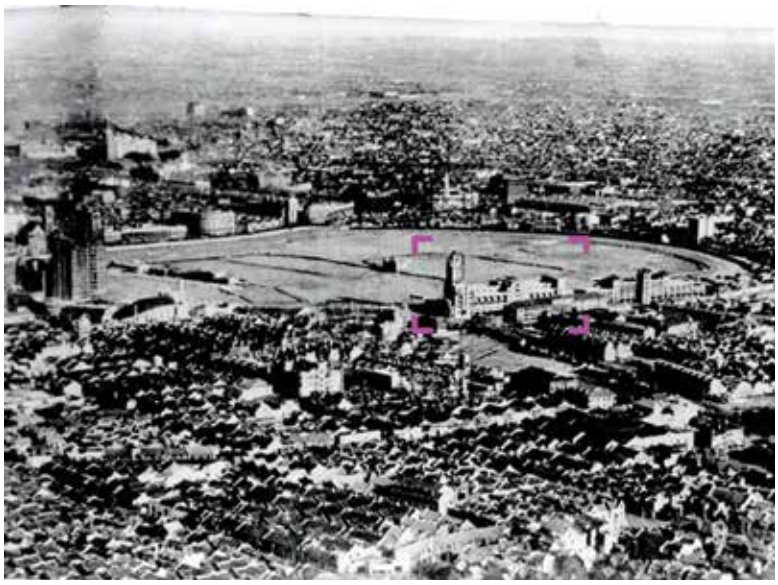
Zhejiang (later China) Academy of Art in Hangzhou were under the direct control of the Ministry of Culture until 2000, and despite Hangzhou being relatively close to Shanghai geographically (before the advent of high speed rail, it was about three hours by express train), the extensive local modern art teaching base that potentially survived in Shanghai was not as developed institutionally as at the two national academies. Artists who deserve major national prominence and who, after the ten-year hiatus of the anti-Japanese and Civil War, could have re-ignited Chinese modernism in Shanghai to mention a few, include Liu Haisu (1886–1994), founder of the Shanghai Technical School of Art in 1912, later reconstituted at Shanghai University in 1983; Lin Fengmian (1900–1991), first head of the then National Art Academy in Hangzhou, who, in the 1950s, lived a kind of inner exile during his imprisonment through the Cultural Revolution and subsequent exile to Hong Kong from 1977 onward;[3] and Wu Dayu (1903–1988), possibly the greatest national impressionist oil painter from Hangzhou, who from 1965 was at the Shanghai Painting and Sculpture Academy, and underwent privations during the Anti-Rightist campaign (1957–1959) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).[4]

Importantly, these artists in Shanghai were not in Beijing and, therefore, did not have the support base of those like Wu Zuoren, who, though technically an overseas Chinese trained in a mild form of Belgian late impressionism, took up the mantle of Soviet socialist realism from Konstantin M. Maksimov, who was in charge of the Oil Painting Training Group in Beijing from 1955 to 1957. One may speculate that if the Shanghai oil painting establishment was too vulnerable to political swings and changes for it to support a younger reaction against it—that is, if it was too ideologically rigid and insecure—then the onset of an artist and artists' space-led type of contemporary art might have occurred earlier in Shanghai than Beijing. In Beijing in the late 1970s to early 1980s, administrators like Jiang Feng, academic painters like Jin Shangyi or Hou Yimin, and even Soviet-trained art historians like Shao Dazhen were quite content to explore academic subjects they had not been allowed to before, and could tolerate or afford to ignore the reaction of younger academy-trained artists and artist-critics as well as those from outside the academy. This was also possible in Hangzhou from 1985 to 1986 with, for example, the artist collective Pond Society. So, except for the work of curator Biljana Ciric, the history of post-Mao contemporary art in Shanghai remains understudied.[5]

The Spaces of Art

It might seem that biennials are attached afresh to, or are newly inserted into, a particular urban site. Actually, they are part of a complex internal expansion of institutions within the art world that claim affiliation with movements of international or transnational cultural circulation, but they also reposition dynamics that are already internal to a particular nation, or a quite local set of art discourses. In the post-1949 world, museums such as those in Shanghai appear to constitute a hierarchy of spaces beginning with the Shanghai Museum, founded in 1952, whose new building in the shape of an ancient bronze *ding* vessel opened in 1996. Among other 1950s institutions there is the Lu Xun Museum, founded in 1956, with its large collection of pre-revolutionary prints. There are museums that feature

individual artists based on family collections such as the Liu Haisu Museum, which opened at his former residence in 1995 (although it apparently had earlier incarnations) and was given a new purpose-built museum building in 2012. This now holds one-person shows or retrospectives in addition to a changing display of Liu Haisu's work.



Former Shanghai Race Club (shown in purple box), aerial photograph, after 1934.

Wu Ershan, *The New Land*, 2004, installation and performance, installation view at 2004 Shanghai Biennale. Photo: John Clark.

The mid- to late-1990s marked the next cycle of museum building after the 1950s. The Shanghai Art Museum was located in 1955 in the renovated former Shanghai Race Club building (originally constructed for horse racing by the British in 1934), and became the first home of the Shanghai Biennale during the period 1995 to 2012. The Biennale then moved to the new Power Station of Art on the West Bund. It is my understanding that the Shanghai Art Museum building will be reconstituted as the Shanghai History Museum. Close by, the Shanghai Grand Theatre, or Opera House, opened in 1998 with ancillary exhibition spaces.

Exterior views of Power Station of Art, Shanghai, 2016. Photo: John Clark.

The early 2000s also saw another tier of temporary one-day to one-week exhibitions in housing block basements and some then-unoccupied real estate apartments. These may be linked to fifty or more commercial art gallery spaces and many artist studios that emerged in a disused textile factory area at Moganshanlu around 1999/2000, which became popularly known as M50 Art Zone. Among the first galleries to locate there was Eastlink Gallery with artist director Li Liang, who published the catalogue for the *Fuck Off* exhibition in 2000 that was mounted parallel to the Shanghai Biennale, which was the first Biennale to include international artists.

Exterior views of Power Station of Art, Shanghai, 2016. Photo: Keith Wallace.

Interspersed with these galleries in M50 were non-commercial spaces, some of which were artist-run with flexible and informal support structures.[6] Most non-commercial spaces had local membership only, whereas some, such as the present Chronus Art Centre, list a stellar array of Euro-American specialists on their international advisory board and a mandate directed to the most high-end new technology in media art.

MoCA, Shanghai, installation view of exhibition *Shan Shui Within,* 2016. Photo: Keith Wallace.

MoCA Pavilion, Shanghai.

In 2005, another wave of construction commenced with the privately funded Museum of Contemporary Art (MoCA), financially supported by Taiwanese gemstone dealer and designer, Samuel Kung, who remains its chairman. Hong Kong-based Oscar Ho-Hing Kay, who was widely experienced in curatorial professionalism and had extensive international art curator and critic contacts, was the first chief curator, but he soon resigned.[7] Later, in 2015, in order to allow for direct shop-front visibility with a passing public—in a former Starbucks café on the busy Nanjing West Road—MoCa Pavilion was founded, and it runs a separate program of performance and visual art that is intended to appeal to younger audiences.

The Shanghai Duolun Museum of Modern Art was founded earlier, in 2003, as a public museum of contemporary art with extensive local district involvement on the board and with its exhibition policy. The website for

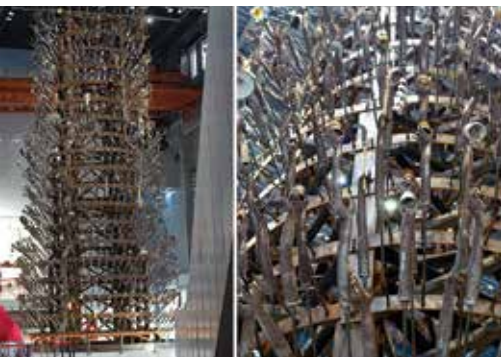
Five years of Duolun—Chinese Contemporary Art Exhibition (2008), states that the museum is a:

> multifunctional institution of culture and art, providing services to the development of Chinese contemporary art and a platform for the international exchange of contemporary art. It takes "originality, academic [sic] and internationalism" as its guideline, and "inheriting historical culture, renovating contemporary art" as its aim.[8]

Early exhibitions seemed to be adventurous—I remember I first saw Sun Xun's William Kentridge-like animations there in 2007 before he became famous. Duolun also felt the direct hand of authority and soon lost its remarkable foreign curator, Biljana Ciric, in 2007, who had both curated and written extensive catalogue essays.[9] The eventual resignation of Oscar Ho-Hing Kay from MoCA and Biljana Ciric from Duolun may indicate that not merely were the local authorities and communist party leaders unwilling to give their curators the freedom they required to work, they did not know how to operate outside the sphere of favours offered and received, which constitutes many of the entrepreneurial dealings between party and enterprise in Shanghai.

State Owned Public Museums, Recurrent Exhibitions

The opening of a state funded museum of contemporary art together with private museums displaying contemporary art as well as the owner's own collection demonstrates a further wave of museum development in Shanghai. Art world professionals in China see these spaces as falling broadly into two categories: those led by their exhibition programs and those led by their funding structures or dependency on a particular type of donor, whether government, corporation, or private collector.[10]



Huang Yongping, *Thousand-Armed Kuanyin*, 1997/2012, installation view at 2012 Shanghai Biennale.

The Power Station of Art, which opened in 2012, was "the first state-run museum dedicated to contemporary art in mainland China. It also became home to the Shanghai Biennale."[11] The Power Station of Art, no doubt because of the enormity of the building, was preoccupied with works of scale, including Huang Yongping's huge multi-storey Duchampian wine rack, the arms bearing the items of Chinese consumerist desire, which redeployed a motif, or iconographic armature, of the pre-modern icon the thousand-armed Kuanyin.

The Biennale's curatorial leadership has included Chinese art dignitaries such as Fan Di'an (then Director of the National Arts Museum of China, Beijing) and Xu Jiang (President of the China Art Academy in Hangzhou, nephew of former President of China, Jiang Zemin). A four-to six-person curatorial committee has included international or overseas Chinese luminaries such Hou Hanru and Shimizu Toshio in 2000, Yuko Hasegawa

in 2002, Sebastian Lopez and Zheng Shengtian in 2004, and Jens Hofmann and Boris Groys in 2012. In 2016, the three members of the New Delhi-based Raqs Media Collective,[12]—Jeebesh Bagchi, Monica Narula, and Shuddhabrata Sengupta—were jointly given the title of Chief Curator.

The Power Station of Art, as a building, is a studied imitation of the turbine hall at London's Tate Modern, but perhaps after the curatorial control difficulties of MoCA and Duolun, those running the Power Station have also studied the value of curatorial freedom. The building, the former Shanghai turbine hall—like that of the Tate Modern, and somewhat in the same way as the Water Mall in the Asia-Pacific Triennale (APT), Queensland—requires very large pieces to fill up the space. Such conceptual scale is part of the plan of large and self-avowedly "global" museums to produce spectacle on a level that absorbs their audiences, and which practically forces engagement with the grandiosity of the work despite the sometimes intellectual poverty of the artwork's physical conception.

Top left: Cai Guo-Qiang, *Inopportune, Stage One*, 2004, installation view at Guggenheim New York, 2008.

Top middle: Cai Guo-Qiang, *Inopportune, Stage One*, 2004, installation view at MASS MoCA, North Adams, New York.

Top right: Cai Guo-Qiang, *Inopportune, Stage One*, 2004, installation view at Seattle Art Museum.

Right: Ai Weiwei, *Boomerang*, 2006, glass lusters, plated steel, electric cables, incandescent lamps, installation view at Asia Pacific Triennial, Brisbane, 2006. Photo: John Clark.

At times the phenomenon of grandiosity and the curatorial demand for "destination" works in huge halls, often a former factory, led in the 2000s to the display of the same or very similar piece over a variety of sites, such as Cai Guo-Qiang's *Inopportune, Stage One*, which between 2004 and 2012 was shown at Mass MoCA North Adams, Guggenheim Museum New York, Biennale of Sydney, and Seattle Art Museum.

This repetition of essentially the same work with different fabrications and, thus, predictability, in part may account for the fame of, for example, works by Ai Weiwei such as the water mall chandelier, *Boomerang*, at Asia Pacific Triennale V (APT) in 2006 (which resonated with tourist hotel lobby decoration from the Gold Coast Hotel located nearby APT of which Ai Weiwei may well have been aware), at the Ullens Center for Contemporary Art in 2008, at his exhibition with Andy Warhol at the National Gallery of Victoria in 2015 (upside down in this case), and at Spring Gallery in Beijing in 2016.

Manifestations of such grandiosity also appeared in the 2016 Shanghai Biennale, where there was a curatorial necessity to create a destination piece that encoded the audience experience even before any encounter with smaller works, and this may have contributed to the exhibition concept as a whole.

Ai Weiwei, *Chandelier*, 2008, metal and crystal, installation view at Ullens Center for Contemporary Art, Beijing, 2009. Photo: John Clark.

Left: Ai Wewei, *Chandelier with Restored Han Dynasty Lamps for the Emperor*, 2015, steel, crystal, lights, installation view at National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 2015. Photo: John Clark.

Right: Ai Weiwei, *Chandelier*, installation view at Spring Gallery, Beijing, May 2016. Photo: John Clark.

Internal staircase at Power Station of Art, Shanghai, September 2016. Photo: John Clark.

Sun Yuan and Peng Yu, *Far Away*, 2016, installation view at 2016 Shanghai Biennale. Photo: Keith Wallace.

Corridor at Power Station of Art, Shanghai, installation view of Huang Yongping exhibition *Bâton Serpent III*, March 2016. Photo: Keith Wallace.

In addition to such grandiose works that tend to overwhelm, there is, past the grand staircase in the main hall of the Power Station of Art, an architectural device also found at the Minsheng Art Museum in Beijing, where one finds more intimate spaces further down corridor-linked floors. The floorplan of the Power Station of Art—the Chinese title translating more directly as Shanghai Contemporary Art Museum—presumably was designed to allow for considered thematic and carefully historical exhibitions such as the excellent *Ordinary Metropolis Shanghai: A Model of Urbanism*, curated by Zhang Liang, which showed historical maps, memorabilia, and architectural models in addition to thematic photographs. Indeed, the Power Station of Art, again a bit like Tate Modern, is one of the few large official institutions able to provide for such extensive thematic and retrospective exhibitions.

The Shanghai Biennale is not the only exhibition of its kind in the Jiangnan area, and it has served as a precursor and model for other recurrent exhibitions. In particular there were biennials debuting at Wuzhen and Suzhou in 2016. The latter, called *Suzhou Documents*, was curated by Zhang Qing, a founding director of the Shanghai Biennale, and Roger Buergel, an artistic director of documenta 12 in 2007. Interestingly, *Suzhou Documents* was keen to distance itself from other biennials by stating its intention in the press release "to move beyond the largely exhausted biennale-type exhibition model with its bouquet of arbitrary themes and emphasis on spectacle."[13]

Privately Owned Museums

Top: Isozaki Arata, Shanghai Himalayas Museum, Shanghai, with Envision Pavilion in background, 2013. Photo: John Clark.

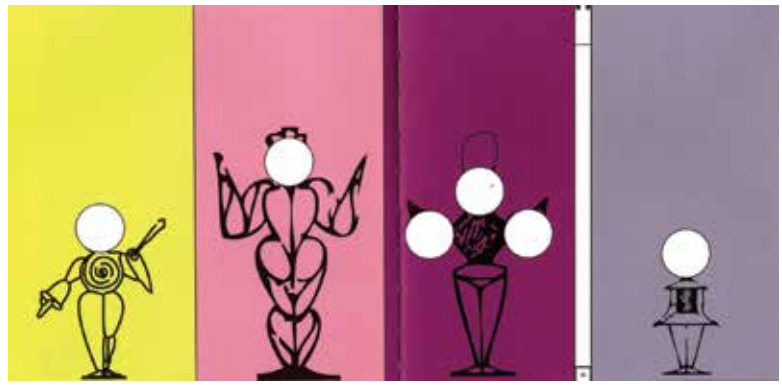
Left: Isozaki Arata, museum at Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing, 2003–08. Photo: Keith Wallace.

In Shanghai, the "Biennale" effect of large exhibitions engaging the viewer in spectacular ways has spread to other kinds of venues. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Shanghai art scene, in addition to the institutions mentioned above, has been the establishment and rise to prominence of six privately owned museums that feature contemporary art. One of them, Shanghai Himalayas Art Museum, moved to its new site in 2013 (its predecessor was Zendai Museum of Modern Art, which opened in 2005), and its two other adjunct sites at Wuwei Creative Park in northeast Shanghai for the study and exploration of experimental and avant-garde art closed in 2016 while the Zendai Zhujiajiao Art Space remains as another offshoot. The former Zendai Museum of Modern Art was a fairly interesting, medium-scale museum of contemporary art supported by the Zendai Property Company, which presented solo exhibitions of Song Dong and Wang Jianwei in 2008 and Yang Fudong in 2009, but in 2013, at its new site, became a behemoth with signature architecture—massive ground-level pillars like elephant feet—by the former international postmodern bad-boy architect Isozaki Arata. Among many other art museum projects, Arata designed the Mito

Sou Fujimoto, Envision Pavilion, scaffolding plan, 2016.

Xu Bing, *Background Story*, 2016 version, installation, 400 x 994 cm.

Cildo Meireles, *Title Unknown*, 1990–99, flowering plants, plastic flowers, excrement, plastic imitation excrement, enamel bowl. Photo: John Clark.



Liam Gillick, *Shanghai Schlemmer*, 2016, digital mock-up of site-specific installation.

Art Tower (1986–90), as well as the new museum at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing (2003–08). From late 2015 to early 2016, the Shanghai Himalayas Art Museum, according to an interview with the director Lee Yongwoo, held the financially successful *Silk Road* exhibition based on academic collaboration with the Dunhuang Research Institute. It was followed in late 2016 by the even more ambitious large-scale exhibition of contemporary art—rather like a mini-biennial—that was curated by Lee Yong-woo and Hans Ulrich Obrist and titled *Envision 2016: Shanghai Project, First Edition, Phase 1*. This project was supported by the Envision Energy Company in an external pavilion designed by Sou Fujimoto, also the architect of the Yuz Art Museum, Shanghai. In addition to signature

modern architecture and crowd-pleasing heritage exhibitions, the museum intended to put itself at the forefront of contemporary art with sponsored exhibitions of celebrity contemporary artists including works in a group exhibition with Xu Bing, Cildo Meireles, and Liam Gillick, This intriguingly combined a concept of a new urbanism with artworks such as Xu Bing's *Background Story* (2016), made from rubbish but looking like "traditional" Chinese landscapes, Meireles's trash/ordure culture work that included flowers and bowls of actual human excrement, and Gillick's *Title Unknown* (1990–99) and anti-selfie posed drawings, *Shanghai Schlemmer* (2016), after the work of Oscar Schlemmer.[14]

Thus, the Shanghai Himalaya Art Museum presents one modality alongside which other company- or individual collector-owned museums can present conceptual surveys of recent contemporary art, such as Shanghai Minsheng Art Museum, part of a national bank-owned chain of the Minsheng Bank. The Shanghai version was founded in 2010 and is housed in the former Spanish pavilion at Shanghai Expo. It recently presented the survey show *Turning point: Contemporary Art in China Since 2000.*

Guo Xi and Zhang Jianling, *The Grand Voyage: A Man Upside Down*, OCAT Shanghai, 2016.

Guo Xi, installation view of exhibition *The Reenactor*, Vanguard Gallery, Shanghai, 2016. Photograph of John Clark.

Another similar chain, in this case supported by another property company, is OCAT, the OCT Contemporary Art Terminal,[15] which founded its main museum in Shenzhen in 2005 at the same time as the Zendai in Shanghai, but it at some point decided to develop a chain of museums, in which Shenzhen was followed by OCAT Shanghai in 2012, OCAT Xi'an in 2013, and OCAT Beijing in 2015. OCAT Shenzhen had leadership under its now deceased director Huang Zhuan, the eminent curator and thinker about modern and contemporary art. OCAT Shanghai's building is currently undergoing redevelopment, but in 2016 it exhibited the work of Guo Xi and Zhang Jianling, *The Grand Voyage: A Man Upside Down.*

In this exhibition, the link between projected video, banal furniture, and sound projection made reference to a world cruise on the ship Costa Atlantica. I was not quite sure if this exhibition was a record of a true voyage turned into a fiction through its video and aural treatment, or an elaborate fiction masquerading as a true story. An equivalent cognate form of conceptual and physical ambiguity also could be found in Guo Xi's first solo exhibition at Vanguard Gallery in M50, *The Reenactor* (2016) where everyday images and objects—a reproduction of Vermeer's *Girl with a*

Pearl Earring and an unbalanced heap of squashed Coca-Cola cans—were positioned so that one was never sure whether the image faded into the title, *The Renactor*, or the title was written as some sort of universal instruction whereupon the image/object bent or distorted away from its original motivating desire. I asked Guo Xi if the rise of new museums of contemporary art had any impact on the kind of work he made, but he thought not. The artist creates the work first and this is then taken up by the exhibition site according to its need, or to the evaluation of the importance of the work, or to the timelines of the artwork's conceptual underpinnings.

Rockbund Art Museum, Shanghai, 1932, remodeled in 2016. Photo: John Clark.

Like OCAT Shanghai, another museum with a real estate project company as its financial base, is Rockbund Art Museum, which opened in 2010 and has recently taken over and had renowned architect David Chipperfield restore an impeccable 1932 Art Deco building. The Rockbund aims to present three or four exhibitions a year and to put considerable effort into research and education. As an interesting example of contemporary art museum PR copy, a statement about the 5th Anniversary Exhibition in 2015 suggests how a real estate project can fit into the project of building a cultural milieu:

> The Rockbund Art Museum is the first contemporary art museum in China that is fully devoted to supporting contemporary art production and creativity. The museum was founded as an important part of the Rockbund Urban Renaissance project, which aims to renovate heritage buildings and revitalize the cultural milieu for the north end of the Bund through arts, fashion, business, and leisure programs. Thanks to substantial financial support toward the production of original new artworks, the Rockbund Art Museum conceives and organizes temporary art exhibitions, paying the utmost attention to professionalism and quality content in curatorial practice.[16]

Endorsements can also be found on the Rockbund website such as that of Ute Meta Bauer, Founding Director of Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA) in Singapore, of May 2015:

> The Rockbund Art Museum is bringing cutting edge projects by international artists to Shanghai, especially the commissioned one person exhibitions that offer artists the rare opportunity to create site specific works for this unique historical building. This is exciting for artists and visitors alike.

Bauer is on the advisory committee not only of the Rockbund Art Museum,[17] but also the Chronus Art Center.[18] I slightly digress to bring

up an added underlying issue—the apparently seamless transferability of personnel at the curatorial advisory level transnationally between the curatorial advisors' base institutions. Although the network is rarely publicized, its members often sit on committees that choose the curators and curatorial teams for biennials as well as help with support for artists where support is required via foundations or government cultural bodies. Bauer also has been president of the Biennial Foundation, which is based in New York and London.

While this interlinkage rarely comes into question, it should at least be mentioned. Certainly some writers want to see the more isolated regions or peripheries identified as centres, so that under some dispensation of postcolonialism these peripheries might acquire a countervailing status.[19] This position seems too convenient for the existing centres of, say, New York or Tokyo (think Guggenheim or Mori art museums), that benefit from constructing the peripheries in this way. There is feedback among curators on advisory committees who need the peripheries to constitute the context of their desired conversation and the works circulated to be regularized according to a newly conventionalized taste. Whether increasingly monotone transnational art will be countered by an increase in the number of biennials, thus reducing the ability to circulate the same kind of art, or further rigidified by the institutionalization of biennials, and the notion of professional curatorial practice, remains to be seen.[20]

The advisory committees for many of these new institutions have multiple overlapping memberships such as those with Ute Meta Bauer's own institution in Singapore.[21] It is inescapable to conclude that by 2015 or so, major and largely new contemporary art institutions were integrated into and adopted the values and practices from "transnational" specialists from Euro-America.

This has major consequences for the kinds of contemporary art the local institutions receive and exhibit as well as increases the importance of choosing international and local artists from those with name or celebrity value. To take prominent recent cases, How many more Yayoi Kusama or Rirkrit Tiravanija exhibitions can the international artworld absorb? Terry Smith thinks the art so produced cannot produce a movement because the transnational is only transitional.[22] In short, artists such as Guo Xi, as we have seen, may make work that has local and, via the work's circulation nominated by international advisors, some kind of international prominence, but it does not mean at the outset that this work is commissioned in a certain way by the institutions; rather, it is placed by commercial galleries or international curators. Real estate companies and high-end consumer goods manufacturers like perfume and clothing companies, through purpose-built foundations, often intervene in the art economy of artists by their use of artworks to promote their products. Markets of prestige are frequently supported by art foundations owned by the luxury goods companies; that is, they extend their cultural capital so that "Chanel" becomes a synonymous with "perfume," or "Gucci" becomes synonymous with "shoes and handbags." They thereby secure art exhibition and sales opportunities for actual artists by altering their media visibility,

SHE: International Women Artists Exhibition, 2016, installation view at Long Museum, Shanghai. Photo: John Clark.

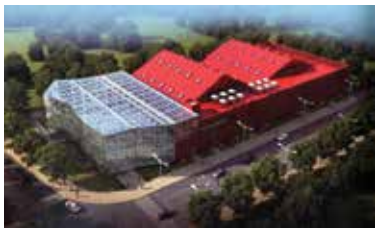
and this promotes the artists' work that are actually sold by art galleries or selected for biennial exhibitions.

As mentioned earlier, some museums act as display centres for the owner's collections, such as the Long Museum, both in West Bund and Pudong, which holds the acquisitions by Liu Yiqian and his wife Wang Wei of Chinese traditional art, Revolutionary art, and modern and contemporary art. Liu Yiqian is a former market stall holder, taxi driver, and now a billionaire real estate and insurance company owner.[23] Nearby, also in West Bund, the Yuz Museum shows its owner's collection of contemporary art, as well exhibitions imported from outside of China such as an exhibition of Giacometti curated and organized by the Fondation Giacometti, Paris. Both have extensive museum sites in or near the newly developing West Bund Cultural Corridor composed of converted industrial buildings**;** in the case of the Yuz Museum, the airplane hangars that previously served the site are still identifiable. The Long Museum also shows externally curated shows such as in September 2016 with *SHE: International Women Artists Exhibition*, and a retrospective of the early work of Yu Youhan. It is notable that the 2013 academic advisors of the Long Museum were all Chinese, including the renowned art critic Li Xianting.[24] This may mean that collectors' museums are more susceptible to local artistic consensus in the choice and exhibition of works than some transnationally curated spaces.

The Yuz Museum presents the case of a highly involved collector, Budi Tek, an overseas Chinese who formerly was a clove cigarette billionaire in Indonesia, who has been collecting since 2004 with a focus initially on contemporary Chinese art but later expanding to Euro-American artists like Anselm Kiefer and Anthony Gormley. How and why he made the leap to providing a museum that makes his collection available to the public is not clear, but he started the Yuz Foundation in 2007 and the Yuz Museum

Alberto Giacometti Retrospective, 2016, installation view at Yuz Museum, Shanghai. Photo: Keith Wallace.

Yuz Museum, Hangar 101 East Wing before renovation.



Sou Fujimoto, design proposal for Yuz Museum, Shanghai, May 2013.

in Jakarta opened in 2008. This is said to shortly move to a new large park in Bali. He keeps his collection in storage in Shanghai, importing works to Jakarta under temporary licence to avoid a 34% import tax. Budi Tek also explains succinctly how private museums are set up and run in China without an autonomous foundation. With some rare exceptions, the establishment of private foundations is not allowed under the Leninist principle of party-ordained organizations of the masses, and this status is enshrined in law that privileges *wenlian* affiliates (the Federation of Literary and Arts organizations).[25] The government rents land to a company, who rents the space to the museum, and there is no legally recognized, organizational way of instituting a foundation.[26]

Budi Tek offers useful insights into the way he as a collector and perhaps other collectors operate. They obtain the approval and recognition of significant persons; former President Megawati Sukarnoputri opened his exhibition in Jakarta. They start a serious intellectual examination of the field they are to buy in. Budi Tek began a long series of academic conversations with Wu Hung (Professor Chinese Art History, University of Chicago) and continued these via the Bali Conversations, held on an annual basis, some of whose proceedings the Yuz Museum has published. Moreover, despite such high level advice and intellectual engagement, collectors like Budi Tek continue to rely on their own taste, evidenced by his evaluating works as "important" and "most important."[27] This appraisal by the value of "importance" seems like an aesthetic one, but since it is not yet art historical—that is, founded on the consideration of many artworks over a period of time—it easily slips into agreeing with or opposing the actual market, rather than reconstructing market choice by the longevity or breadth of the collector's viewpoint.

Before we leave our consideration of major art institutions, there are some obvious features of their interaction that should be taken up, at least partially. The first is inter-institutional competition. With seven or more contemporary art museums now in Shanghai we cannot expect them to remain neutral about each other's exhibitions, programs, and services, especially when the Shanghai Biennale is sited at the only major public museum. It would seem there are three routes to follow (and which, by and large, have been followed).

Redza Piyadasa, *Entry Points*, 1978, National Gallery of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Photo: John Clark.

One is to promote and exhibit art that is not found elsewhere within the Chinese art system, and the easiest and, if politically permissible, simplest way of doing this is to import "new" artists from abroad virtually in the manner of biennial canonization, if not directly imported from biennials elsewhere. As we have seen with institutions as diverse as Rockbund and Chronus, these institutions are likely to involve showing foreign art that already has achieved fame or some cachet outside China. Against this, new or, alternatively, recent neo-traditionalism (modern ink painting for the masses) can be introduced as a counterweight, but also as a way of politically balancing presentation and brand in a local cultural market that is still latently not highly politicized, unlike in their different ways the USA or Korea or Malaysia, such as in the Arabic calligraphy flourishes of Syed Ahmad Jamal.

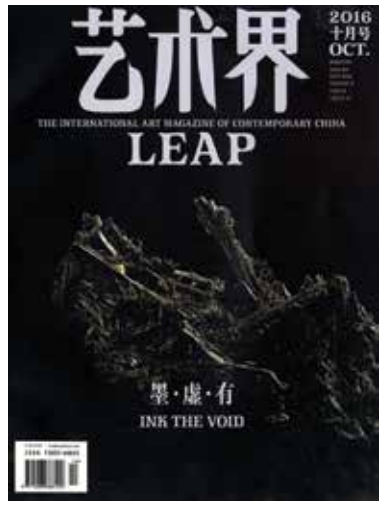
Syed Ahmad Jamal, *Tulisan (Writing)*, 1961, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 73.6 cm.

A second way is to assemble national "talents" or "treasures" as defined by recent contemporary art practice and, perhaps, to draw sometimes simple comparisons between pre-modern and early modern art, such as the comparison between early postcolonial landscape with 1970s conceptualism in the work of Redza Piyadass in Malaysia.

The third possibility is to engage with generation-defined art fashion and link this to lifestyle consumption or to trends found in popular music. This can appear "new" but, at the same time, be intrinsically dated because the comparative examples are all prior historically.

Another set of issues at the interface of contemporary art museums and

biennial circuits concerns the way the audience for contemporary art is assembled and the way collectors are positioned—that is, how they are included to make certain value choices via artworks through exhibition. As the Power Station of Art and Rockbund Art Museum have demonstrated, there is a potentially large cultural market that wishes to be educated in contemporary art through programs beyond the exhibition itself. This is a consumer lifestyle definition found in Chinese cities since the twelfth-century southern Song dynasty, but the audience now arrives in differentiated scales for different kinds of exhibitions, from the spectacular works by Cai Guo-qiang to Sun Yuan and Peng Yu's various assaults on the senses. The audiences are not one but diverse and often clearly segmented by age, income, humanist or anti-humanist ideologies and expectations, and numerous other features of self-positioning that are mediated by the medium chosen for the work, especially web-based ones.



Left: *The Art Newspaper*, Chinese editions for July 2016 and October 2016.

Right: *Yishujie/LEAP*, October, 2016.

Finally, one should mention that unlike before 1995, or perhaps even before 2001, when it was clear a cultural opening would take place before and following the Beijing Olympics in 2008, information about the art world outside of China has volumetrically and qualitatively changed. Indeed, the international periodicals *Art Newspaper* and *Artforum* now have Chinese language editions, and some journals like *Yishujie/LEAP* are published bilingually.

Such international art media circulation now means that on the level of visual and written information, the kinds of gaps and time lags that once marked the distribution of information between China and the outside world have collapsed. There is still, however, institutional closure within China by art school curricula and control of opportunities for exhibition and state patronage, but these are considerably less constricting.

Moreover, although it is not my intention to handle the question of art markets in relation to the canonization of contemporary art, the art market inside China has gone beyond the canonization of artists and works through their association with recurrent institutionalized, domestic art exhibitions, and even the transnational art exhibition of the Shanghai Biennale. Sales of art both domestically and to foreign buyers no longer depend on

consecration by institutions or even by commercial gallery representation, although these may now form an initial mode of canonization by market price. The increasingly frequent recurrent exhibitions of sellable art via local art fairs such as the ART021 Shanghai Contemporary Art Fair, West Bund Art & Design 2016, and even the International Photograph Fair in 2016 (which occupied three large spaces of the Soviet style Shanghai Exhibition Center), means that artworks can circulate via price and taste considerations as well as by coterie nomination, which is no longer that of a government body but of a group of artists and their entrepreneurial art world peers.

Biennials ignore this art market at their peril because the market represents kinds of circulable taste criteria even as the market effectively canonizes an artwork by selecting it and then can bring to it higher market value. Biennials may dangerously have to follow trends established by art fair consecration because the tastemakers for art fairs increasingly intermix with transnational curators whose opinions are listened to by collectors. It would be far better for artists if the market function of biennial consecration—which does not always work without other kinds of curatorial hype—were countered by the exhibition at biennials of non-marketable works. There are many mid-career artists in Australia, China, India, or Japan who rarely are shown at biennials and who could on grounds of quality be included. Repetitive nomination of the club of well-known "transnational" players is really like internationally circulating opera or Hollywood musical productions. The work may be good—that is, it agrees with a certain notion of taste or importance—but, in the end, circulation clogs the exhibition system and the work shown overall can tend toward a conventionality that becomes banal. Any artist or work shown at more than two Biennales should not be shown at a third to avoid this conventionalization, which might be better performed through art market sales.

But the amalgamation of many different types of institutions at the West Bund Cultural Corridor means that the functional distinctions between artists and their coteries, commercial galleries and their artist stables, free art entrepreneurs and independent curators, contemporary art museums and their links to transnational trends and coteries, shows that domestic and international exhibitions are increasingly overlapping, while the audience is becoming more diverse. Stratification of both can take place within this cloud of possibilities.

In order to glimpse the intermeshing of artistic work with biennials I will conclude with a brief look at MadeIn Gallery, established in 2009 by artist Xu Zhen. This artist became prominent with a 1998 video work *Rainbow*—exhibited at the 2000 exhibition *Fuck Off* in Shanghai and then shown by Harald Szeemann at the Venice Biennale in 2001—in which Xu Zhen's back was being whipped and turning increasingly red but the viewer saw only the skin getting redder and heard the sound of the whipping, but no whipping was actually shown. This work, as an allegory for the way China's economy was forcing physical changes which could not be directly perceived but whose resulting pain could be sensed was shown overseas apparently unproblematically after Venice and then slightly later in 2001 at the Berlin Hamburger Bahnhof exhibition, *Living in Time*.

Madeln Gallery, West Bund, Shanghai. Photo: John Clark.

Left: Xu Zhen, *Tianlongshan Grottoes Bodhisattva and Winged Victory of Samothrace*, 2013, mineral composite, marble, steel, 460 x 230 x 626 cm.

In the early 2010s, Xu Zhen was exhibiting bizarre sculptures, made by a team of studio assistants that combined Greek with Chinese Buddhist sculpture. The atelier now has a collective gallery space that moved from M50 close to the Yuz Museum on West Bund, and to where ShanghART has also opened a new gallery (while still retaining their space at M50). In the work of Xu Zhen, who was originally a ShanghART artist, fifteen years after his Venice debut and seven years after he established his workshop and stable of artists, works fit for biennial exhibition and works sought for collector consumption imperceptibly blend into each other, even as the physical sites of sale are fused between biennials and commercial galleries.

Indeed, if there is any problem with city government support for zones such as the West Bund Cultural Corridor, where most of the audience who are looking at the works will never buy them, it is in the substitution of supermall taste for careful but sometimes necessarily uncontrollable interactions with art that can support the artists. Zones such as M50, Beijing's 798, or now the West Bund Cultural Corridor, provide a social leisure space, which, in effect, "biennializes" or renders into a transnational form an art that is only absorbable as spectacle, despite some artists and even some gallerists trying to use the occasion to subvert this new kind of institutional closure.

It would be very difficult to examine the consequences of the links among museums, less formal and sometimes transient art spaces, and artists' practices. Whether this means the horizontal overlapping of art space functions and art actor roles, between artist and curator or gallery director, and the de-institutionalization or the re-institutionalization in a new structure of art practice and audience reception remains unclear. One hopes this rearticulation retains room for the autonomy of artistic practice, which is at the edge of all creation—and it doesn't have to be new—even as it plays with a different set of physical and social constraints and with the formation of a new kind of virtual image space by the latest electronic media.

A shortened version of this paper was presented at the symposium for the Singapore Biennale, January 2017, and the full version was presented at the China Studies Centre, University of Sydney, March 2017.

Notes

1. I am grateful to the China Studies Centre, University of Sydney, and its then director Professor Jeffrey Riegel, for financial support toward my research visit to Shanghai from October 7 to 15, 2016, prior to my participation in the 34th World Congress of the History of Art (CIHA, Comité Internationale d'Histoire de l'Art) in Beijing. I am also grateful to the following people who kindly agreed to meet, discuss the role and development of contemporary art and art museums in Shanghai, or offer materials: Lorenz Helbling (ShanghART Gallery), Zhou Tiehai (former artist, Director West Bund Art and Design Fair), Karen Smith (Director, Shanghai Center of Photography and Director, OCAT Xi'an) , Biljana Ciric (independent curator), Josef Ng (Managing Director Asia at Pearl Lam Galleries), Larys Frogier (Director, Rockbund Art Museum), Chen Dongyang (Education Manager, Rockbund Art Museum), Lee Yongwoo (Director, Himalayas Art Museum), Maurizio Bortolotti (Director of Research and Public Programs, Shanghai Project at Himalayas Museum), Guo Xi (artist), Ma De (Artist and Director, Forum for Art Installations), Mathieu Borysevicz (Director, Bank, MAB Society) Carol Yinghua Lu (independent curator), and Li Zhang (Director, Shanghai Gallery of Art]).

2. One formulation of the line between art history and contemporary art is Su Wei, "Constant Rethinking Toward the Faces of 'Others'," in Carol Yinghua Lu and Liu Ding, eds., *Little Movments II: Self-practice in Contemporary Art* (Bolzano, Museon, and Köln: Verlag der Buchandlung Walter König, 2013), 144.

3. Zheng Zhong, *Huaweile Lin Fengmian Zhuan*, (*A Restless Heart: Biography of Lin Fengmian*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2016), 86.

4. Wu Dayu was dismissed as head of the oil painting studio at Hangzhou in 1950, and, along with Lin Fengmian, Guan Liang, Chen Yanqiao, and Shao Keping, was sent to the countryside to take part in labour in March 1958. He returned to teach in the Oil Painting Department of Shanghai Art College in 1960, and after 1965 was an academician of the Shanghai Painting and Sculpture Academy, among other art world posts. He became known in Beijing after the exhibition of Shanghai Oil Paintings in Beihai Park in 1982.

5. See Biljana Ciric, *A History of Exhibitions: Shanghai 1979–2006* (Manchester: Centre for Chinese Contemporary Art, 2014). She has also gathered documentation on exhibitions that did not take place: see Biljana Ciric, *Rejected Collection/Beiqiangbi de fangan* (Milan: Charta, 2008).

6. The relationship between public art and artist-run spaces in Shanghai is discussed in detail by Julie Chun in two papers, "Being Out There: The Challenges and Possibilities of Public Art in Shanghai," *Yishu: Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art* 13, no. 6, (November/December 2015), and "Public and Independent spaces in Shanghai," *Yishu: Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art* 15, no. 6, (November/December 2016). See also Bao Dong, "Rethinking and practices within the art system: the self-organization of contemporary art in China, 2001–2012," *Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art* 1, no. 1 (2014), 83–95.

7. In a personal e-mail to the author, March 8, 2017, Ho states:

> The greatest challenge was cultural differences. Running a museum requires perfection in all aspects of the operation. The team of staff [there] could never get it. It's like you want a 100% white, but they could only give you 80% white, when you say: "Hey, this is not a 100% white", they would say: "What are you talking about ? This is the 100% white we see." Then the conflict starts and they see it as due to some arrogant, fussy Hongkonger coming over and telling them what to do.
>
> The sense of distrust was strong. At meetings, there were times they talked Shanghainese to each other, to highlight their differences and imply there were some secrets from me.
>
> Corruption was common, making an operation such as building the museum extremely complicated; the quality of material used might be compromised. Take the construction of the building, for example, in addition to hiring a quality control company to check the building material, we had to hire the engineering department of a university to double check.

> To print a catalogue, we had to print in Hong Kong, fearing a violation of copyright by the Chinese printers. To get a catalogue printed, you needed approval from some head office which looked after publishing in Beijing. They never gave you a schedule letting you know, nor how long it would take to get approval, they wouldn't let you know who was looking after the case. The only reply was "We will let you know when the decision is made." The only way to get the work done efficiently was to hire a consultancy company, which was normally run by powerful people, or by the staff of that publishing office. Then you could get the catalogue on time.
>
> I didn't trust my mainland China staff because they were all only looking after their own interests. Before I started working there, people from Hong Kong told me not to trust the middle-age group because they had all gone through the Cultural Revolution. They had seen sons fighting their mothers, fathers killing their sons; it's a really messed-up generation.
>
> One of the main reasons I left was the way people treated each other. At one time I was asking the construction workers to hurry up with their work, politely. Then my staff told me I must not talk like that. For people lower than you, I was told I had to yell and scream at them, to humiliate as if they were some sort of sub-human creature.
>
> Then I realized this was not the place I wanted to stay long.

8. Duolun Museum website description of *Five Years of Duolun*, 2008. See www.duolunmoma.org.

9. Ciric graduated with an MA in art history from East China Normal University in 2004 and went to work at Duolun shortly afterwards. In an e-mail to the author, of March 11, 2017, she states:

> We all left Duolun for one reason. Duolun at that time supported an artist-organized exhibition titled *38 Solo Exhibitions* in 2009 and the exhibition was closed on the opening day by the authorities. Two artists were jailed. As the only state-funded institution involved in supporting [contemporary art] exhibitions we suffered the most and the director was asked to resign within the month. Politicians came on board to run the museum and it became impossible to work so I resigned with all the curatorial team.

10. Robin Peckham, in an e-mail to the author, February 4, 2017, states:

> . . . if you read [the structure of exhibiting institutions] against the grid of funding models versus programming models at play in these institutions: you get Power Station of Art being publicly funded and programmed by nepotism; Rockbund and OCAT both being developed, funded, and programmed by independent professionals; Long Museum and Yuz Museum being collector-funded and collector-programmed; and Himalayas and Museum of Contemporary Art falling perhaps somewhere between these latter two categories. This diagram is not particularly neat if you overlay [the funding models with] the programming models they are using, and I did try once to draw it out, but certainly interesting to think about.

11. Power Station of Art General Information brochure, 2016.

12. According to the group's interpretation, the word *raqs* in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic indicates "kinetic contemplation" via Sufi or dervish body-spinning practices.

13. Press release at *Randian Magazine* website and at http://johannjacobs.com/en/event/90345-suzdocpreview.html/. See also http://encn.blouinartinfo.com/photo-galleries/suzou-documents-2016-suzhous-first-biennale-/.

14. See the bilingual catalogue, co-artistic directors Lee Yongwoo and Hans Ulrich Obrist,, *Yuanjing 2116/Envision2116 Shanghai Zhongzi Shouceng/Shanghai Project*, first edition (Shanghai: Shanghai Project, 2016).

15. For further details on the OCAT museums chain, see the bilingual website www.ocat.org.cn/.

16. From the Mission Statement at www.rockbundartmuseum.com/.

17. The 2015–17 Advisory Committee is composed of five distinguished museum professionals and curators: Yuko Hasegawa, Chief Curator of Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, Japan; Hou Hanru, MAXXI(National Museum for XXI (21st Century) Arts) Artistic Director; Ute Meta Bauer, Founding Director of Nanyang Technological University (NTU) Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA) in Singapore; Alexandra Munroe, Samsung Senior Curator of Asian Art Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum; and Patrizia Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, Founder and President of the Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, Turin.

18. The names of the following advisory members for Chronus Art Center are a veritable Who's Who of new media prominences: Ute Meta Bauer, Chris Chafe, Casey Reas, Rudolf Frieling, Ken Goldberg, Amy Heibel, Horst Hortner, Sabine Himmelsbach, Chrissie Iles, David Joselit, George Legrady, Marina McDougall, and Christopher Salter; http://www.chronusartcenter.org/en/about_cac/the-international-steering-committe/.

19. See Nicola Trezzi, "Are the art world's peripheries becoming new centres? Western museums are expanding their acquisition strategies," *artnet com/Nicola-trezzi-347*, June 29, 2016.

20. Terry Smith, "Biennials: four fundamentals, many variations," mentions what he calls a "complaint" (not a critique) in the 1990s and early 2000s:
See http://www.biennialfoundation.org/2016/12/biennials-four-fundamentals-many-variations/.

> A small cohort of curators was regularly accused of sequestering opportunities for their signature cadre of artists, dominating what was perceived as a finite circuit, excluding other worthy artists, and boring audiences with repetitions and variations of the same kind of art. As biennials increase in number, size, range, and kind–way beyond the capacity of any individual to monitor–this complaint is less often heard.

Despite Smith's arguing that the number of Biennials has increased so far that repetition and predictability no longer apply, it is still remarkable how the same curatorial players appear everywhere in the "biennial field," including the advisory board of the Biennial Foundation itself. According to the Biennial Foundation website, the Biennial Foundation has an advisory committee, whose members are: Caroline A. Jones, Professor in the History, Theory, and Criticism section of the Department of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Ute Meta Bauer, Founding Director of Singapore's Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA), Co-Director of World Biennial Forum No 1 (2012); Elena Filipovic, Director Kunsthalle Basel, Curator of the 5th edition of Berlin Biennial (2008), Co-editor of The Biennial Reader (2010); Ursula Zeller, former Director of Triennale Oberschwaben, Germany; Khalil Rabah, Artist and Founding Director of Riwaq Biennale, Palestinian Territories; Hou Hanru, Artistic Director of the National Museum of XXI Century Arts (MAXXI) in Rome, Co-Director of World Biennial Forum No 1 (2012); Yacouba Konaté, Curator, Artistic Director of the 2006 Dak'Art—Biennale de l'Art Africain Contemporain, Senegal; Bose Krishnamachari, Founding and Co-Director Kochi-Muziris Biennale, India; Jorge Antonio Fernández Torres, General Vice-Director of Bienal de La Habana, Cuba, www.biennialfoundation.org/2016/12/.

The Center for Contemporary Art, Nanyang Technological University, director Ute Meta Bauer, lists the following members of its international advisory board on the website http://ntu.ccasingapore.org/about/international-advisory-board/: Professor Nikos Papastergiadis (Chair), Director, Research Unit in Public Cultures, and Professor, School of Culture and Communication, The University of Melbourne, Australia; Ann DeMeester, Director, Frans Hals Museum, The Netherlands, Chris Dercon, Director, Tate Modern, London; Hou Hanru, Artistic Director, MAXXI National Museum of 21st-Century Arts, Rome; Yuko Hasegawa, Chief Curator, Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, and Professor, Graduate School of Global Arts, Tokyo University of the Arts; Professor Sarat Maharaj, Visual Art and Knowledge Systems, Lund University, Sweden; Philip Tinari, Director, Ullens Center for Contemporary Art, China, Dr John Tirman, Executive Director and Principal Research Scientist, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

21. Terry Smith, *Contemporary Art, World Currents* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2011), 82.

22. On the curious personal history and aesthetic values of Liu Yiqian, see Jiayang Fan, "The Emperor's New Museum," *New Yorker,* November 7, 2016.

23. Academic Counsellors of Long Museum (*Long* means "Dragon" in Chinese) for 2012–13 were listed at http://thelongmuseum.org/en/page/detailed/a8ddr/: Li Xianting (art critic & curator); Shan Guolin (director of painting and calligraphy department, Shanghai Museum); Chen Lüsheng (Associate Director, National Museum of China); Wang Huangsheng (Director of CAFA Art Museum); Lü Peng (art critic and curator); Zhao Li (Professor of China Central Academy of Art).

The Academic Committee at OCAT Shenzhen is also all Chinese or China-based: Feng Fan, Fei Dawei, Huang Zhuan (deceased). Karen Smith, Marko Daniel, Pi Li, Sui Jiangguo, Wang Guangyi, Wang Jianwei, Wu Hung, and Zhang Peili.

24. Budi Tek states: "The art museum will definitely be run according to the regulations of the Civil Affairs Administration. In China, there is a big problem. It's not like in other countries, where you have a foundation, and the foundation has a museum operator's licence, and a space for the museum, and it can raise funds across society to sustain the museum and its personnel. It is different in China. We have a cooperative agreement where we must establish a company, and this company rents the land from the government in order to build the museum. In this way, the museum facility, the museum itself are licensed and operated as entirely separate organizations" (2012). Wu Hung, ed., *Bali Conversations: Special Issue on the Planning and Opening of the Yuz Museum Shanghai* (Guangzhou: Lingnan Meishu chubanshe, 2013), 69.

25. According to my earlier private conversations in the art world, it was proposed to the government in 1991–92 to establish autonomous foundations for art, but this was turned down because it would violate the Leninist principle of organizations of the masses. The private museum collections can be owned by an individual or for them through a business enterprise.

26. Budi Tek states: "I would just buy artworks because I thought they were very good, and I would buy something every season. Before, a friend would tell me a particular artwork was good and I would buy it. I'm quite careful now, because there are a lot of good artworks on the market that aren't quite that important, artworks that aren't the most important. Even if an artwork is important, I won't touch it if I already have a similar work in my collection. I seek out artworks that other people haven't noticed." Wu Hung, ed., *Bali Conversations*, 57.