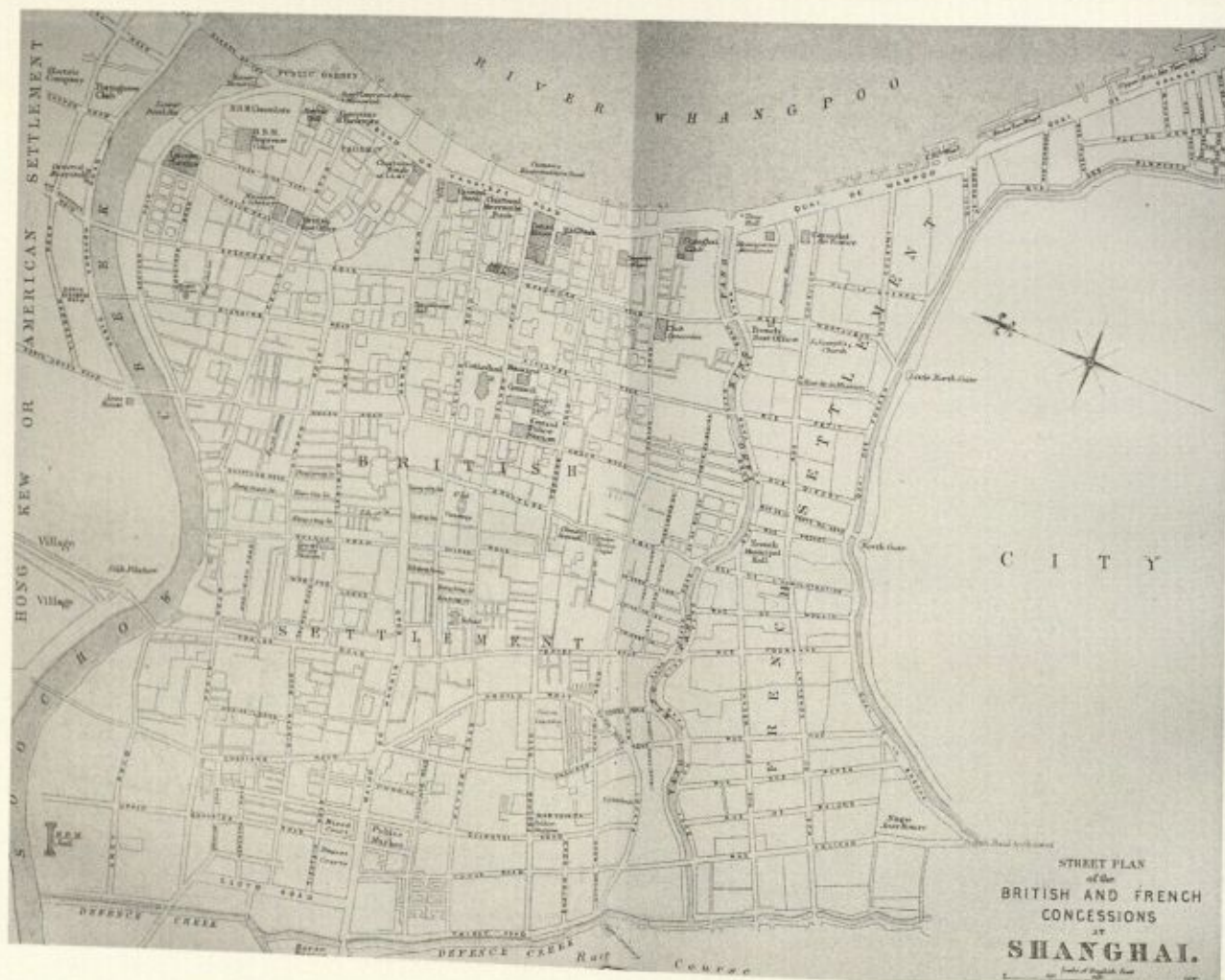


Jonathan Hay Painting and the Built Environment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Shanghai

Between the late 1850s and the end of the nineteenth century, hundreds of Chinese painters congregated in the suddenly expanding city of Shanghai. Although the city's fast-growing number of art collectors helped to attract them there, the painters came to Shanghai principally to take advantage of an art market that needed decorative paintings for newly erected buildings, and painted fans to serve as fashion accessories for men and women. Leaving the subject of fans aside for another occasion, the present essay focuses on decorative paintings and the built environment for which they were produced. How did the buildings affect the subjects and styles of the paintings? And did architecture and painting share any underlying visual features? To answer these questions, I begin with a brief historical sketch of Shanghai in the nineteenth century, followed by an introduction to the relevant Chinese architecture in the city.

Like their contemporaries, the French Impressionists, the ink painters of Shanghai lived and worked in a city undergoing rapid, enforced physical change. Shanghai had been a relatively small but significant county city and port for several centuries until its destiny dramatically changed in 1842.¹ In that year, China agreed as part of the Opium War (1839–42) settlement to open Shanghai to foreign trade. When the British arrived in the city the following year, Shanghai authorities agreed to let them acquire from local farmers a large area of land to the north of the walled Chinese city, which then had a population of around 250,000 people. By 1848 there were three adjoining foreign settlements: French, British, and American, the latter two amalgamating much later, in 1863, to form the Interna-

tional Concession (fig. 1).² As the settlements developed during the 1840s and the early 1850s, with a segregated foreign population that as late as 1851 numbered only in the low hundreds, the walled city became increasingly prosperous, and in these early days became thoroughly dominated by Cantonese immigrants.³ The spread of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) to the lower Yangzi River region in the 1850s led to the arrival of successive waves of Chinese refugees in the late 1850s and the early 1860s — eventually over a hundred thousand people, all seeking shelter from the rebels in the foreign-controlled territory of the settlements.⁴ During this period, for reasons that were only partly demographic, Cantonese influence in Shanghai was displaced by that of immigrants from northern Zhejiang Province, though Cantonese merchants remained powerful.⁵ Within the space of just a few years, foreign and Chinese speculators expanded the built environment of the settlements to house and cater to the refugees, many of whom were well-off.⁶ The settlements flowered as an ad hoc agglomeration of Western colonial houses and streets, new hybrid Sino-Western buildings, and buildings in purely Chinese style. After the Taiping Rebellion ended in 1864, the settlements became something of a ghost town as the most recent refugees returned to their homes. But by the 1870s Shanghai was again flourishing, with the settlements once more overflowing with Chinese residents. With its Chinese and foreign components increasingly fused, the city expanded inexorably. By the mid-1890s the Chinese population of the settlements alone reached half a million, and was increasingly cosmopolitan, including significant immigrant groups from



1 Map of Shanghai, from Hong Kong Directory (1889)

different parts of China — none more important, however, than those from northern Zhejiang.⁷ Shanghai had begun to become a great city, the basis of the metropolis that was to occupy such a special place in the Western imagination from the 1920s onward.

For the Chinese residents of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, these historical developments transformed the relationship between the walled city and the settlements from the original awkward cohabitation toward a fusion of the two parts of the city. Although there were certainly parts of the settlements that were largely inaccessible to Chinese, if only for linguistic reasons, most streets and buildings in the settlements catered principally to the Chinese population and formed a single continuum of urban experience with the walled city.⁸ Two elements in the visual environment of the settlements were emblematic in this respect. One was the Chinese-character signage, which was at its densest in the streets near the waterfront, or the

Bund (fig. 2).⁹ The other was architectural: the so-called horse's head wall — a stepped gable wall topped with sharp-pointed dark tile roofs that contrasted with the whitewash of the plastered wall surface — which was fundamental to the roovescape of the walled city and the settlements alike (fig. 3). Such gable walls were used all over Shanghai to separate adjoining buildings, even ones that did not otherwise have much of a Chinese character.¹⁰

The Built Environment

At any point in the late nineteenth century, were it not for the omnipresent Chinese passers-by and the distinctive, Palladian-derived “compradoric” style of the earliest foreign buildings, a few areas of Shanghai could easily have been mistaken for parts of a European or American city.¹¹ Along the waterfront and the two sides of the Yangjing-



2 Unidentified photographer, *View of Henan Road, Shanghai, late Qing dynasty (1644–1911)*



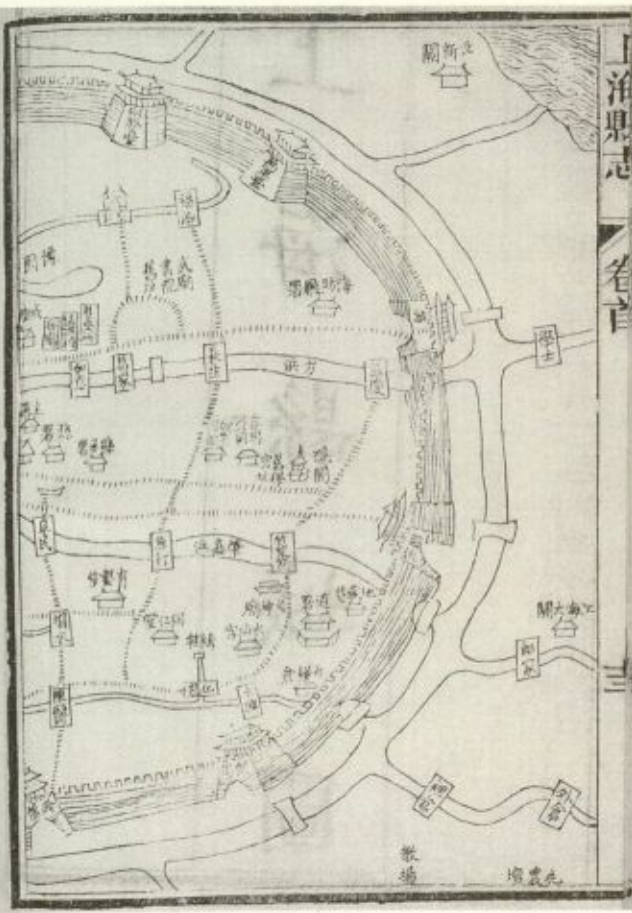
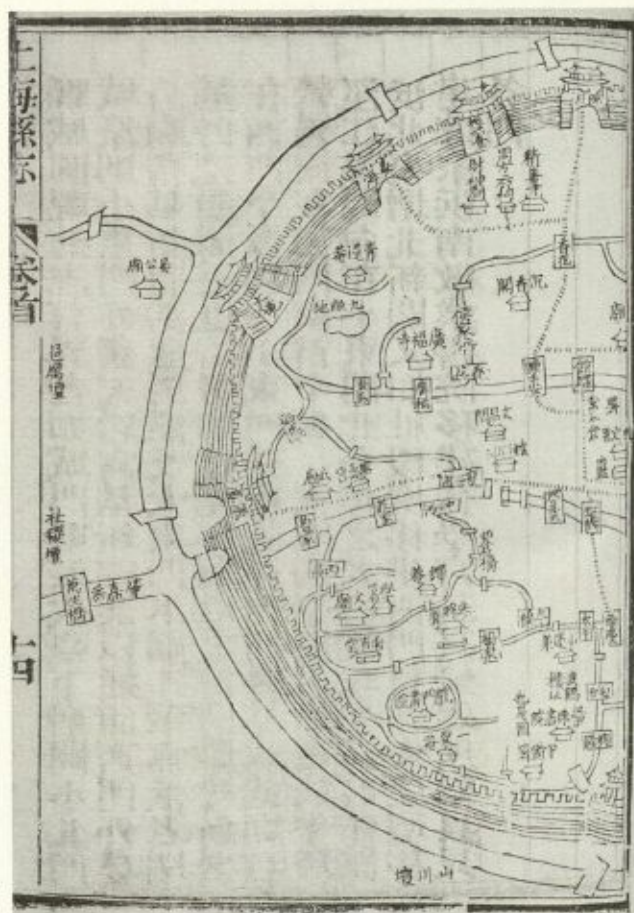
3 Unidentified photographer, *View of an Unidentified Street in the Foreign Settlements, Shanghai, ca. 1860s–70s*

bang River separating the French and International settlements, the leading foreign companies had their headquarters; and in the inland western suburbs, the wealthier foreign businessmen constructed impressive residences for themselves. Churches, clubs, civic buildings, cemeteries, and parks were among the other structures that extended the foreign presence in the built environment of the city beyond these foreign-dominated areas.¹² The foreign architecture was certainly of great interest to the Chinese population, which tended to group it with other examples of "wonders" or "marvels" of all sorts.¹³ Chinese depictions exist of a number of the buildings, and it is no coincidence that it was fashionable at the time for Chinese photographic studios to provide Western architectural settings for their Chinese sitters.¹⁴ There were also some significant Western-style buildings under Chinese ownership. Some, such as the 1867 Jiangnan Emergency Works,¹⁵ the headquarters of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company,¹⁶ or the 1891 Customs House,¹⁷ were commissioned by Chinese owners. Others were acquired from foreigners, as in the case of Zhang Gardens — a Western estate that was purchased by a Chinese businessman and opened to the Chinese public as an extremely successful commercial garden in 1885.¹⁸

Interesting as Shanghai's foreign architecture may have been in its own right, from the point of view of decorative painting it was of little significance. The context for the painter's efforts lay instead in the much larger part of the city's built environment that reflected the Chinese demographic dominance, and was composed of thousands of buildings that were built in either a Chinese or a semi-

Chinese style for Chinese use (though not necessarily with Chinese money). These buildings have since almost entirely disappeared, demolished during successive periods of architectural renewal, starting as early as the beginning of the twentieth century and continuing today. However, in photographs and lithographic illustrations of the time lies the evidence that the late nineteenth century was an important moment in the history of Chinese architecture, with innovative developments in commercial, civic, and residential buildings. Although these innovations concerned the most ordinary housing as well, the buildings that provide the most relevant contexts and parallels for painting were principally used by well-off Shanghai residents and visitors. Since the visual evidence for the architecture of upscale Chinese residences is very limited, I concentrate here more narrowly on public architecture, by which I mean broadly those buildings and landscaped spaces which by their symbolic importance, aesthetic claims, and scale reveal their significance for collective life.¹⁹ The connection to painting becomes visible less through the utilitarian functions of the buildings than through the social and cultural meanings that they embodied. These meanings had their context principally in the concerns of a public made up of educated, enterprising individuals, whose residences would have reflected some of the same concerns. The brief and very preliminary survey that follows relates architecture to three demonstrable preoccupations of Shanghai's Chinese residents: the *permanence* of Shanghai in the Chinese landscape, the *displacement* of its residents from their hometowns, and the *spectacle* of big-city life.

4 Map showing important buildings in the walled city of Shanghai. Woodblock print, from *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi* (1871)





The Architecture of Permanence

The architecture of permanence began in the walled city. One can think of the walled city as a symbolic nodule, in which a pre-existing matrix of civic buildings symbolically defined the city's rootedness in the Chinese landscape — as an outpost of the state and the great religions, as well as a focus for the social energies of the surrounding area. However, because Shanghai was a trading city, the matrix of civic architecture was also supported by sojourners, who had their own interest in the underlying permanence of the place.²⁰ As in other cities of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), and as shown in this gazetteer map of Shanghai from 1871 (fig. 4), this matrix included government offices, temples of all kinds, shrines, academies, philanthropic enterprises such as orphanages, public or semi-public gardens, and — most fundamentally of all — the wall itself with its eleven gates.²¹ Here I illustrate one of the walled city's most impressive buildings, the 1815 Temple of the God of War (Guandi Miao), which stood on a terrace projecting inward from the city wall in the northeast (fig. 5).²² The matrix of sites had always extended beyond the walls as well through a looser network of related sites, including temples that might be *physically* located within the settlements but were *symbolically* linked to the walled city, such as Jing'an Temple in the northwest and Longhua Temple in the south, both popular destinations.²³ Popular formulations such as “the eight famous views of Shanghai” inscribed the network of sites in everyday language.²⁴

Starting in the late 1850s, the development of the settlements created a rapid expansion of the matrix of civic

sites. One early addition, visible in the top right-hand corner on the 1871 gazetteer map, is the Customs House (Jianghai Beiguan) that was built on the waterfront in 1857 (see fig. 8), followed by the so-called Mixed Court in 1868.²⁵ But other civic buildings soon sprang up all over the settlements, mainly benevolent institutions of one kind or another, which grew in number as the city expanded, responding to the difficulties of its poorer residents. They included, for example, the city's largest soup kitchen (Tongren Fuyuantang, date not yet established) and a 1862 home for indigent sojourners (Qiliu Gong-suo).²⁶ Some civic buildings aimed at a Chinese public were built by foreigners, such as the Shengyuehan (St. John) Academy established by American Methodists in 1879.²⁷ The matrix of civic buildings was not historically fixed, therefore, and certainly did not simply represent the pre-Opium War past. In part this was because the walled city twice suffered from Taiping Rebellion violence during the 1850s that caused the destruction of many important buildings of this type. These were rebuilt and expanded over the following decades as a by-product of the commercial prosperity of the late nineteenth century.²⁸ The building projects included the Temple of Confucius (constructed in 1856–96),²⁹ the Jingye Academy (constructed in 1862),³⁰ the West Garden of the Temple of the City God (radically reconstructed in the mid-1860s), the garden precinct of the Longmen Academy (constructed in the mid-1860s),³¹ the Daoist White Cloud Monastery (constructed in 1882),³² and Tian Hou Temple (constructed in 1884).³³ Thus, most architectural expressions of permanence that still stand today, or more often that can

5 Unidentified photographer, *Guandi Miao* (Temple of the God of War), built in 1815, Shanghai

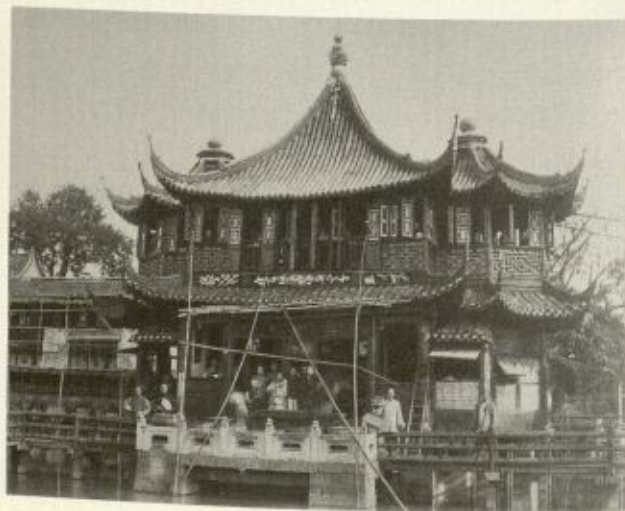
be seen in old photographs or illustrations, physically date from the late nineteenth century.

Architecturally, there is no doubt that some of the post-1850 construction was stylistically conservative, but in other cases the builders transformed the regional architectural style in new directions. Perhaps the single most commonly represented building complex was the West Garden (of the Temple of the City God), located in the northeast of the walled city (fig. 6).³⁴ Since the late nineteenth century, this garden, together with the temple itself and the adjoining East Garden within the temple, has been perceived by Westerners as an architectural distillation of "traditional China."³⁵ This perception has been reinforced by the garden's famous teahouse at the center of the lake — perhaps the most photographed building in Shanghai — which looks like a scene from a willow-pattern tea plate (fig. 7).³⁶ It remains a common tourist destination for foreigners, who regard it with the same spirit of

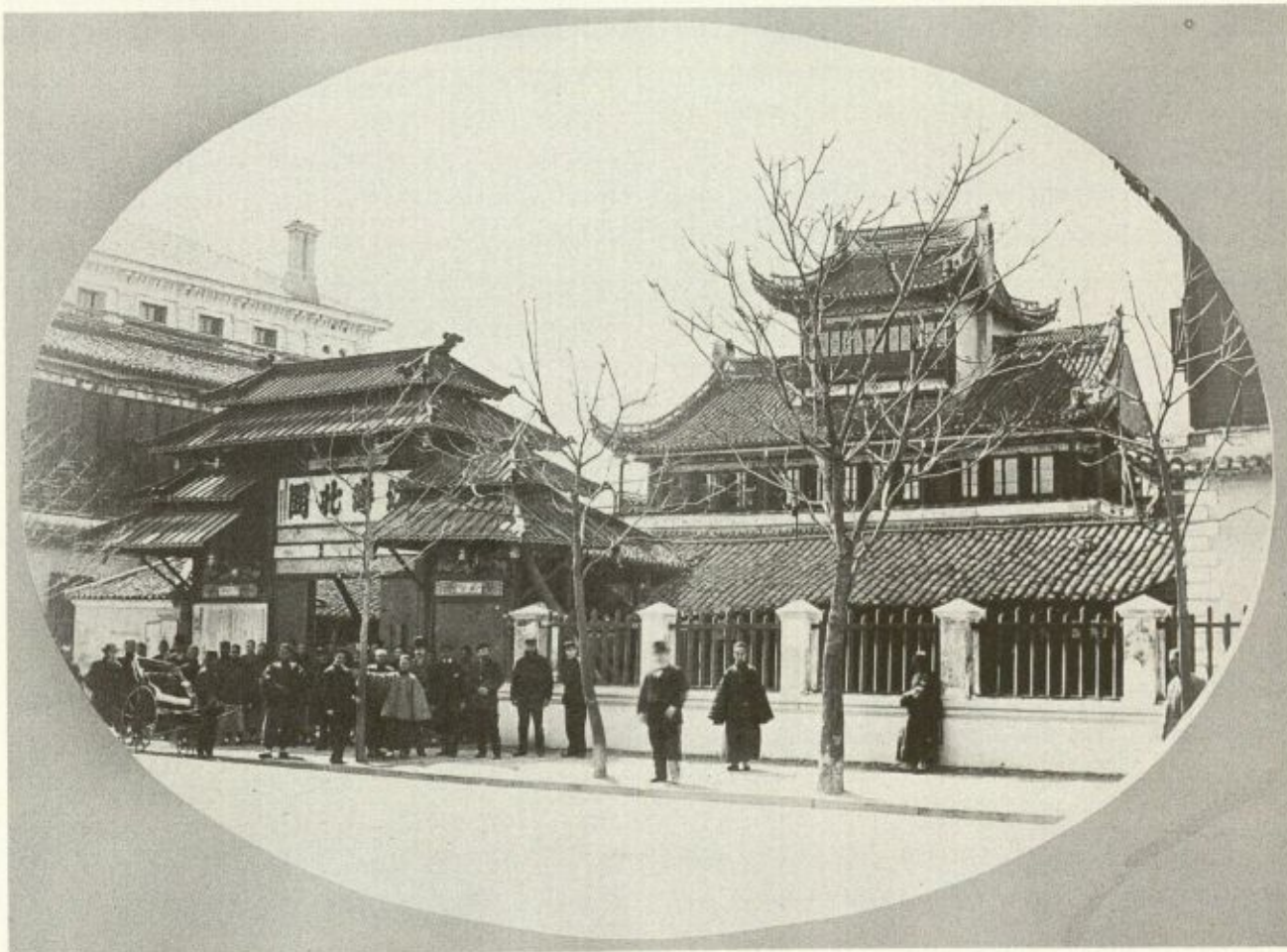
exoticism as their nineteenth-century predecessors: this is traditional China as theme park, an idea that today is perpetrated by the fake traditional architecture of the shopping malls recently built around it.³⁷ It has long since been forgotten that the theme-park character of this architectural complex was a deliberate and self-conscious creation of the mid-1860s, when the garden was reconstructed following extensive damage during the Small Sword Rebellion in 1855 and the Taiping Rebellion in 1860. The Chinese authorities and the associations who paid for the reconstruction and wanted to make their headquarters in the garden jointly decreed that only culturally oriented businesses such as teahouses, fan shops, and the like would be allowed to operate in the vicinity.³⁸ As with many "classical gardens" built or restored since the mid-nineteenth century, the architecture reflected this self-consciousness, abandoning the values of understatement in favor of an exaggerated picturesqueness.³⁹ The teahouse, for example,



6 Wu Jiayou (d. ca. 1893). *Enjoying Chrysanthemums in the Yu Garden* [West Garden of the Temple of the City God]. Woodblock print, from *Wu Youru huabao* (1909); original image, early 1890s



7 Unidentified photographer, *Lake-Center Teahouse in the West Garden of the Temple of the City God*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



8 Unidentified photographer, *Jianghai*
Beiguan (Customs House), built in 1857,
Shanghai

was given a more complex roofline by turning the flanking rooms into polygonal structures; and although upswept eaves were already a feature of the architecture of the area, it is likely that here they were exaggerated for dramatic effect.⁴⁰ New buildings were added to the garden, and the miniature mountain expanded. Height became a leitmotif, as seen in the two-story Deyue Lou, used by painters as a studio, hostel, and shop, and in the miniature mountain from which it was possible to look out over the roofs of the city.⁴¹ There was much to demand attention, as if it were felt that a more restrained garden structure would have gone unnoticed.

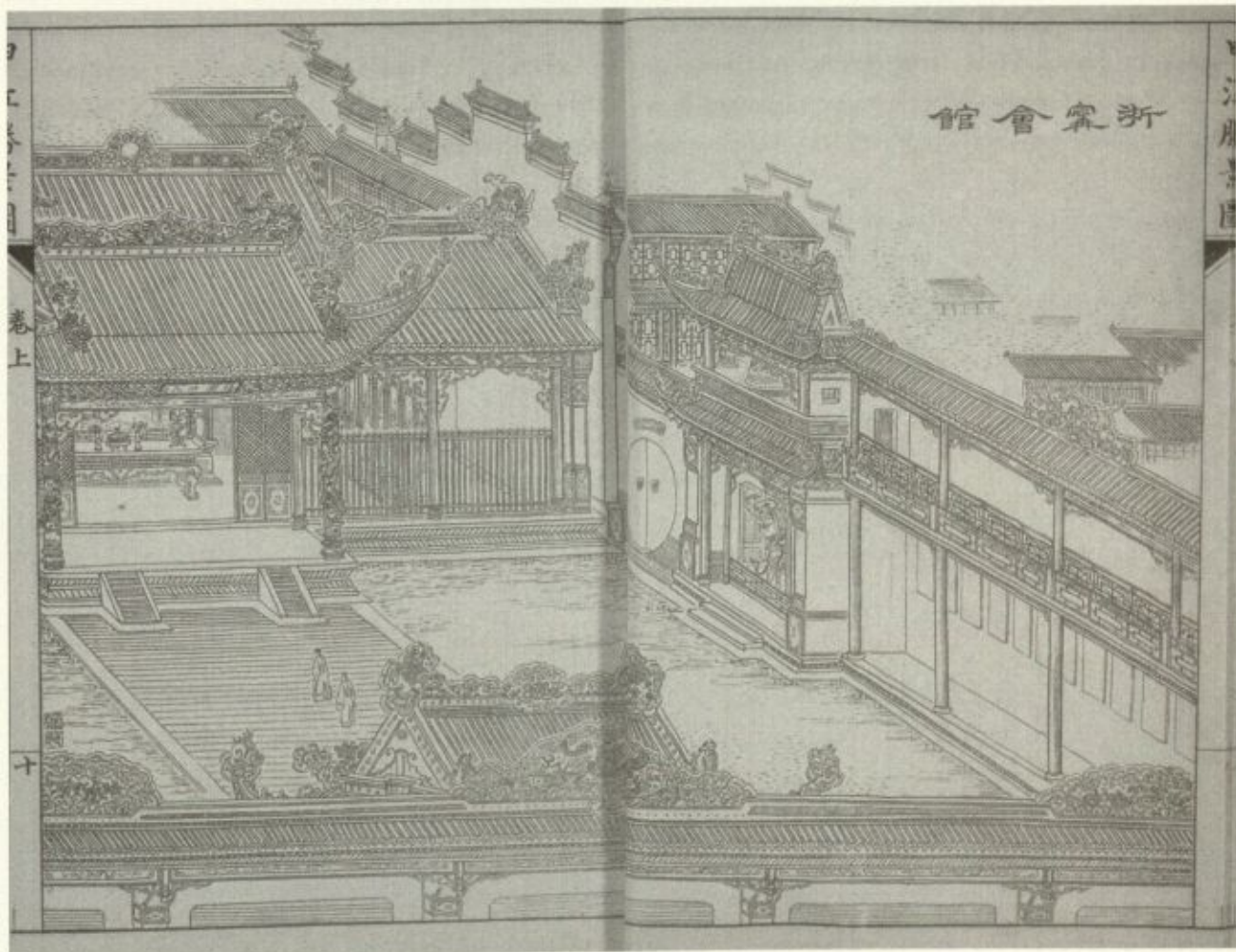
One exceptional civic building was constructed using a mixture of Chinese and foreign elements, reflecting its symbolic role as an official interface between China and the outside world. The red-lacquered 1857 Customs House interrupted the long procession of Western buildings on the waterfront of the settlements (fig. 8).⁴² Until its replacement in 1891 by an entirely Western-style structure, the 1857 building, though by that late date unimpressive compared to the other buildings on the waterfront, was nonetheless considered by the Chinese population to be one of the famous sites of Shanghai. The building had several different references, the most obvious of which is the basic Chinese design for ritual structures, in which a hall on the main axis is flanked by structures on either side, creating a courtyard in front of the main hall. Less obvious is the reference to a type of Chinese shop compound in which long, low buildings stand behind an outside paling. Here, the low building traverses the width of the courtyard, separating the gate from the main building, and the pal-

ing has become a Western-style wall.⁴³ The third reference was to Western multistory buildings of the kind that already existed on the waterfront when the Customs House was built, whose verticality the architects seem to have wanted to emulate. To this end, the flanking buildings, which were in fact linked by a similar structure at the back of the courtyard, were two-story Western-style brick buildings given a Chinese character by the addition of a tiled roof; and the basically two-story main hall in the Chinese style was turned into a three-story building by the innovative addition of a separately roofed upper room in the middle of the roof.⁴⁴ An important contribution to the originality of the structure was also made by the front gate with its design of stepped roofs, reminiscent of certain very formal Chinese gateways. Two innovations — the lack of curve in the roofs and the use of diagonal struts to support them — gave the gate a modern, in fact, Meiji Japanese, look.⁴⁵

The Architecture of Displacement

If civic buildings spoke to a general need for a sense of Shanghai's permanence, other types of buildings gave expression to the sojourner's experience of exile and memory of (also pride in) his or her native place — which would necessarily have been smaller, less urban, and sometimes even frankly rural. This architecture of displacement was to be seen in the headquarters of commercial associations, warehouses, and certain shops, all of which had ties to specific areas of south China. Their public dimension was evident both in their collective use by particular sub-communities

9 Wu Jiayou (d. ca. 1893), *Zhe-Ning Huiguan* (Ningbo Shipping Association), built in 1859, Shanghai. Woodblock print, from *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (Illustrations of the Famous Sites of Shanghai) (1884)



and in the way the buildings self-consciously addressed and sought to impress the Shanghai public at large.

Nowhere was the symbolism of displacement and memory more visible than in the many association headquarters (*huiguan* and *gongsuo*). The associations brought together people from the same native place, or people working in the same trade who often hailed from a single area. Their headquarters thus punctuated the urban fabric with symbolic reminders of ties to other places.⁴⁶ Buildings of this kind have a very long history in China, serving as hostels, theaters, places to conduct business, storehouses

for coffins to be repatriated, and sometimes as sites for cemeteries. From at least the sixteenth century, they were to be found in cities where there were significant numbers of sojourning merchants and artisans, and the walled city of Shanghai was no exception.⁴⁷ The historian Linda Cooke Johnson has noted that the construction of association compounds in Shanghai was a "proud statement of conspicuous consumption," but also "a visible form of capital investment."⁴⁸ After the destruction of 1855 and 1860, numerous association headquarters were rebuilt or created, both in the walled town and in the settlements. Among the



10 Unidentified photographer, *Qianye Huiguan* (Finance Guild), built in 1889, Shanghai

largest and architecturally most impressive were Siming Gongsuo (Ningbo and Shaoxing Native-Place Association, late 1850s)⁴⁹ and Zhe-Ning Huiguan (Ningbo Shipping Association, 1859; fig. 9),⁵⁰ in the French Concession; Chao-Hui Gongguan (Chaoyang and Huilai Native-Place Association, 1866), occupying about two acres outside the east gate of the walled city;⁵¹ and Guang-Zhao Gongsuo (Guangzhou and Zhaoqing Merchants' Association, 1872)⁵² and Qianye Huiguan (Finance Guild, 1889; fig. 10),⁵³ in the International Concession. All of these buildings had white-washed exterior walls, gates surmounted by ornamental

brickwork, stepped "horse's head" gable walls, and tiled roofs. So impressive were the interiors of the compounds that the Qing authorities repeatedly borrowed them for diplomatic functions involving foreigners or foreign governments.⁵⁴ The enormous scale of the association headquarters appeared above all in their horizontal extension. They occupied a large land surface that permitted a succession of interior courtyards, accommodating gardens, ponds, theaters, temples, and meeting halls.⁵⁵ At least one, the Qianye Huiguan, also possessed an impressive, even flamboyant, façade and a spectacular roofline. For this reason, and



11 Unidentified photographer, *View of Nanjing Road at the Crossroads with Henan Road, Shanghai*. Detail, showing a large grocery, with painted signs advertising products from different parts of China and overseas



12 Unidentified photographer, *Jeweler's Shop, Shanghai*



13 Zhang Qi (19th century), *Streetwalkers Looking for Customers*, Shanghai. Woodblock print from *Dianshi Zhai huabao*. Left, Gengshang Yiceng Lou (One-More-Story Teahouse); center, the restaurant Jufeng Yuan (Jufeng Garden)

because it was not crowded about by other buildings, it was one of the rare structures of this type that was of interest to street photographers in search of picturesque views.⁵⁶

The city's many warehouses, large groceries, and pawn shops shared the same exterior form of high white-washed walls and plain facades dramatically interrupted by ornate entrances of elaborate ornamental brickwork (fig. 11).⁵⁷ Even more strikingly, the whitewashed façades were used for advertising, with visually inescapable large-character inscriptions that advertised the nature of the business and/or the geographical origins of the products in which it specialized. Drawing on a different Chinese architectural tradition were some of the city's jewelry shops, which used a combination of carved wood frontages, calligraphic signboards, and tiled roofs to create a fairyland effect reminiscent of the famously elaborate shopfronts of Beijing (fig. 12).⁵⁸ The city also had innumerable restaurants, some specializing in the cuisine of a particular region, others offering a range of cuisines from different parts of China, often reflecting the origins of the city's sojourners. A leading restaurant such as Jufeng Garden (which was not regionally specific) was lavishly appointed within, and presented itself to the street with decorative windows that evoke a classical garden compound (fig. 13, center).⁵⁹

This architecture of displacement does not seem to have been very closely tied to native-place identity. While there were undoubtedly certain specific local references in particular cases, the overall impression is of a generalized evocation of the "elsewhereness" of native place, in ways that are somewhat exaggerated and "loud."

The Architecture of Spectacle

Whether affirming Shanghai's permanence or advertising its residents' displacement, with the exception of the Customs House the buildings and gardens I have described so far drew overwhelmingly on existing Chinese architectural forms. However, they developed these forms in ways that were specific to Shanghai, introducing a brashness and self-conscious theatricality that would have been out of place in any earlier Qing city. One large category of buildings — all of which were associated with entertainment in one way or another — went even further in this direction, frankly embodying the excitement of big-city life as spectacle. This architecture of spectacle was most often made possible by the hybrid combination of Western and Chinese architectural principles in one building. Not surprisingly, given its exoticism and cosmopolitanism, this third matrix of buildings was almost wholly restricted to the settlements.



14 Unidentified photographer, *Wanhua Lou and Langyuan Diyilou Teahouses*, Shanghai. Collection of Jonathan Hay

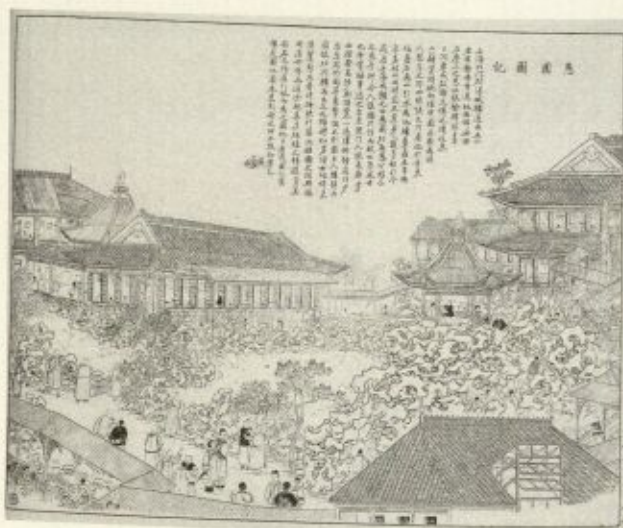
The combination of foreign and Chinese architectural principles is best seen in the wooden architecture of multistory entertainment establishments, such as teahouses (fig. 14; see also fig. 13, left), wineshops, opium houses, and theaters. The Western architectural elements used in these buildings included wooden stairways, glass windows, interior and exterior balconies, and the frame roof which made possible large interior spaces uninterrupted by pillars. The Chinese contribution lay in the modular proportions and the ornament, particularly the lavish use of ornately carved wood.⁶⁰ Architecturally, beyond the specificity of the technology used, the organizing principle of spectacle was principally embodied in one architectural element: the balcony. On the main streets balconies were a standard feature of the upper floor level, but they were highlighted above all in the facades of teahouses and restaurants, where one encounters such names as The Three-Story Teahouse (Sanceng Lou), The Five-Story

Teahouse (Wuceng Lou), and One-More-Story Teahouse (Gengshang Yiceng Lou).⁶¹ Eighteenth-century paintings depicting Suzhou city streets demonstrate that balconies had long been associated with entertainment establishments; however, in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai they seem to have become larger and more accessible. Moreover, balconies were also common in interior spaces, particularly in theaters (fig. 15).⁶² Employed both externally and internally, the balcony allowed one to watch and be watched. As both site and object of observation, it was the principal architectural agent of a culture of spectacle, which photographers by and large ignored, but journalistic illustrators recorded in loving detail, no doubt because illustration was aimed at an audience of participants in that culture. In teahouses, the presence of large mirrors accentuated the phenomenon.

The principle of spectacle extended into the new commercial gardens that appeared from the 1880s onward,



15 Wu Jiayou (d. ca. 1893), *Collecting Songs to Choose a Warrior*. Woodblock print, depicting courtesans on a theater balcony during an evening performance, from *Wu Youru huabao* (1909), "One Hundred Shanghai Beauties." Original image, early 1890s



16 Wu Jiayou (d. ca. 1893), *The Yu Garden, Shanghai*. Woodblock print, from *Wu Youru huabao* (1909), "Album of Famous Sites." Original image, early 1890s

which one usually had to purchase a ticket to enter. Several were located near Jinghua Temple in the Western suburbs, an area that had been planted with trees by the foreign community.⁶³ The entire Shen Garden, for example, was built in Sino-Western style. Similar to those of the multistory teahouses in the city, the amenities included a billiard hall and a restaurant serving Western food.⁶⁴ Close by was Yu Garden, created by a Ningbo merchant in 1890 on the basis of a pre-Taiping Chinese garden that had fallen into disrepair (fig. 16).⁶⁵ The reconstructed garden was a very crowded space, its rock landscape hemmed in on all sides by buildings, including one two-story building behind the highest rockery, which provided the garden with a visual climax. Although superficially similar to gardens in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) tradition, Yu Garden in fact followed a rather different logic. Ming-Qing gardens were rarely if ever occupied by crowds of people; Yu Garden, on the other hand, was specifically meant to accommodate crowds, despite its tiny scale. It crammed as many features of interest as possible into its small space, but also as many opportunities to see and be seen as possible. It thus adapted native Chinese forms to the new culture of spectacle.⁶⁶ At the same time, it also included wild animals and birds, and some Sino-Western buildings, such as a billiard hall, which can be seen at the far left of the illustration.⁶⁷

The preoccupations with permanence, displacement, and spectacle in the public architecture of Chinese Shanghai can be understood as a response to two overwhelming facts of late-nineteenth-century Chinese city life: the unavoidable presence of the outside world and the modern

city's origins in the displacements caused by the horrors of the Taiping Rebellion (an estimated 20 million deaths in the 1850s and the early 1860s). In the face of the encroachment of the outside world, the vitality of Chinese-style architecture, whether associated with permanence or with displacement, affirmed a sense of cultural belonging — in other words, a self-conscious Chineseness. Concurrently, the equally vital development of a hybrid architecture of spectacle demonstrated the capacity of Chinese Shanghai to give expression to its curiosity for the foreign without, ultimately, undermining that increased sense of Chineseness. In relation to the Taiping Rebellion, on the other hand, the vitality of Chinese-style architecture advertised a desire to reconstruct the cultural landscape that had been destroyed. It closely paralleled the efforts made by Shanghai publishers at the time to reprint major texts in cheap editions, and thus make available again the literary heritage whose transmission had been threatened by the destruction of private libraries and bookshops.⁶⁸ Conversely, the new hybrid architecture, so closely associated with entertainment and pleasure, may be interpreted, like much of the middlebrow literature of Chinese Shanghai, as the expression of a contrasting desire to forget the horrors of those years. Painting, as we shall see, was subject to the same forces.

Shanghai Painting

The city's expansion created an enormous market for decorative painting. With local artists and refugees from the

勇 孩 客 忤

更上一層樓煙霞
塵宅
海人如織育中年
婦館
一少婦淡妝素服
手抱
小孩石榻橫陳其
外吸
芙蓉膏小孩初時
嬉笑
自若意態然一聲
手美

角弓反張開目
銀勢
將廢麻沙好抱持
第
狂呼震盪一蓋小
宇傳
人動其就暫遲延
連
車而去殆即開窗
忤也
夫猥提之童控擗
出門
致得遇此變本
開官
後不知如何耳



Taiping Rebellion unable to meet the demand, artists from the surrounding region congregated in the city to take advantage of the opportunity, giving rise to what is today called Shanghai school painting.⁶⁹ As a form of ink painting — painting in ink and color on paper or silk, executed using the traditional sharp-tipped brush — Shanghai school painting provides an obvious pictorial parallel to Chinese-style architecture. The pictorial counterpart to the Sino-Western architecture of the city was the illustrations in Shanghai guidebooks and pictorial magazines, with their hybrid mode of representation.⁷⁰ However, the same illustrations include a vast archive of visual documentation of Shanghai interiors, which show that decorative ink paintings were by no means *only* used in wholly Chinese-style buildings. On the contrary, they were also commonly found in the hybrid architectural settings of entertainment establishments such as teahouses, opium dens, and theaters. In those settings the paintings were most often displayed in solid wooden frames in the Western manner, an innovation that gave the paintings more of the windowlike character familiar to us from Western painting but up to then uncommon in China (fig. 17).⁷¹ Although the ink paintings in teahouses and other such establishments retained their own character as signs of continuity with the Chinese past and the culture of the surrounding region, they were clearly integrated into the general interest in spectacle that characterized these entertainment spaces.

Consider, for example, a large painting from 1893 depicting birds in a garden by one of the city's leading artists, Ren Yi (1840–1895), which is dedicated in the inscription

to “the owner of Yu Garden” (fig. 18).⁷² There is no way of knowing whether the painting ever hung in one of the buildings in that commercial garden (though it is not unlikely), but it can be viewed as an evocation of the scenic charms of the garden's Chinese section. The self-consciousness about seeing and being seen that I earlier noted as a feature of the garden is echoed in the painting in the humanized gazes of the birds, which make the viewer aware of their awareness of being looked at. From a strictly formal point of view, the painting is characteristic of the mature Shanghai style of the 1870s–90s, in which there is a pursuit of drama through a dynamic manipulation of visual attention. The eye is deliberately and excitingly pulled in different directions by sweeping movements, anecdotal detail, and oblique vectors; there is always too much to take in, and ultimately only the most provisional point of rest. This, too, seems entirely compatible with the garden with which the painting can be associated, an extremely dense site, itself designed to pull visual attention hither and thither.

The Codes of Shanghai Painting

Ren Yi's Yu Garden painting serves to introduce the more general point that despite their apparently unmodern subjects, Shanghai paintings were often, in fact, coded depictions of modern life. Without visualizing the *material reality* of the late-nineteenth-century city, they nonetheless manage to evoke the *experience* of living there. I am not suggesting that this ought to be obvious. Because the

17 Fu Jie (19th century), *A Toddler Gets Stubborn*. Woodblock print, depicting an incident in the opium-smoking rooms in Gengshang Yiceng Lou (One-More-Story Teahouse), Shanghai



paintings use subjects largely drawn from nature or from cultural history, instead of inventing a new range of subjects specific to contemporary life, their engagement with the experience of living in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai is not easy to see. Their dependence on coded depiction goes against the grain of Western habits of viewing, which have been formed by the very different practices of nineteenth-century realism, so finely attuned to the material details of contemporary life. The situation of the Shanghai painter was radically different. First, Shanghai artists were heirs to a three-hundred-year tradition of representing the urban environment indirectly through iconographies of nature and the classical past. Although the point is too complex to argue here, one of the main reasons for the resilience of this tradition was that it reconciled big-city residents with their loss of the pleasant aspects of small town and rural life. Second, historical representation was a pre-existing and overwhelming fact of Shanghai cultural life. Painters were surrounded by the entertainment culture of theater, ballad-singing, story-telling, and popular novels, all treating historical themes, that animated both the Chinese-style and the Sino-Western architecture of Chinese Shanghai.⁷³ Moreover, the leading artists were closely associated with literati or were themselves literati, and thus accustomed to a constant presence of the past through the allusionism of poetry and other forms of literature. Part of the art historian's task, therefore, is to decipher the visual code into which Shanghai painters translated the experience of their urban environment. In this deciphering operation, two kinds of collateral evidence are particularly helpful: the literary language of the time, and

the depiction of contemporary life in journalistic illustrations and photographs.

Through homophonic characters many subjects of Qing dynasty painting were bound up with popular sayings, so that a depiction of nine egrets (*jiu si*), for example, would be understood to convey the admonition to "think nine times" (also *jiu si* but a different second character) — or "look before you leap." The viewer of Shanghai painting was thus constantly bringing language into play for purposes of interpretation, and as a result it came easily to both artist and viewer to clothe contemporary subjects in accessible classical allusions. Some such allusions are found as clichés of journalistic description, where they indicate the ideal to which a place or person or thing was expected to correspond. A guidebook writer, celebrating the experience of leaving the dusty city streets and entering a commercial garden or a teahouse, might speak of "finding one's way into the paradise of the Peach Blossom Spring," evoking the old story of a fisherman who found his way through a cave into a hidden world where refugees from ancient wars had established their own harmonious society.⁷⁴ Along the same lines, one leading theater for female ballad-singers was named Taoyuan Qu, or "Flavor of the Peach Blossom Spring."⁷⁵ Similarly, a calligrapher asked to provide a suitable allusion for a title-board above the door to such an establishment might liken the scene to the Golden Valley Garden, as was the case in another leading establishment of this kind, Yeshe Lou.⁷⁶ The allusion was to the residence of a wealthy and rapacious aristocratic official of the third century, famous for the musical skills of the women in attendance (fig. 19).

18 Ren Yi (1840–1895), *Birds and Magnolia Tree*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 95 ¼ × 47 ½ in. (242 × 120.5 cm)

19 Ren Yi (1840–1895), *Golden Valley Garden, after Hua Yan* (1682–1756), 1888. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 52 ¾ × 25 ¼ in. (134 × 64 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

Both the above-mentioned stories were common themes in Shanghai painting, where they were reinterpreted visually to create an up-to-date effect of dynamic immediacy. The fisherman was wittily depicted as wary and astonished; the aristocrat was turned into a leering customer.

To take a different kind of example, in Shanghai courtesans were celebrities and fashion leaders, the predecessors of twentieth-century film stars, and their presence within the architecture of spectacle was a large part of what brought it to life as spectacle. Courtesans were the subject of innumerable late-nineteenth-century biographies, many of them probably fictional, like the ostensible portraits to which the biographies were often attached in illustrated books (fig. 20).⁷⁷ The rich descriptive language of these biographies is dominated by classical allusions that compare these modern sex workers to palace beauties and romantic heroines of the past. Although contemporary courtesans were depicted as such in journalistic illustrations, and can be seen today in the photographic portraits that they gave as gifts to clients, in painting it was the literary substitutes of palace beauties and romantic heroines that were represented instead. In the most interesting of the paintings, the artists attributed gazes to the women that speak of the modern self-possession visible in the photographs and in the copperplate portrait reproduced here (figs. 19, 20).

As this last example shows, illustrative and photographic depictions of contemporary life in Chinese Shanghai can be used to confirm the encoding process at work in painting. Illustrations and, to a lesser degree, photographs

are full of pedestrians, rickshaw passengers, and urban consumers in situations of leisure or work, or caught up in dramatic incidents (see figs. 13, 17, 28, 30). In painting, on the other hand, the artists depicted recluse fishermen, donkey riders, classical poets, and romantic heroes (fig. 21). At first sight, there may appear to be no connection with life in Shanghai. Examined more closely, however, the paintings turn out to have certain defining features that identify them as a visual translation of contemporary Shanghai experience. One such feature, already noted for the representation of courtesans, is the depiction of the act of looking. Wariness and tension, or alternatively, self-confidence and what might be termed a kind of "cool," characterize the looks we see. From this it is clear that a specifically urban psychology of looking is being depicted, for which photographs and illustrations of street scenes supply the real-life evidence (see figs. 13, 30). A second defining feature of the paintings is their use of cropping, tight framing, and telescoped perspective to constrict the



20 Cheng Beisheng (19th century), *Portrait of the Courtesan Wang Lian*. Copperplate print, from *Jingying xiaosheng* (Mirror Reflections and Sounds of Flutes), 1887



d



c



b



a

21 Ren Yi (1840–1895), *Historical Figures*, 1882. Set of four hanging scrolls, ink and color on paper, each scroll 71 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 19 in. (182.1 \times 48.1 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

space inhabited by their apparently non-contemporary protagonists. Often this was accentuated by the use of a particularly narrow hanging-scroll format, and in other cases was potentially reinforced by the use of frames instead of scroll mounting. Through these formal means, artists like Ren Yi depicted an aspect of Shanghai urban experience that is again thoroughly documented in illustrations and photographs. The city was crowded. For most people, living quarters were small, and the experience of the crowd was a daily one. Leisure sites were only peaceful at moments when people had no leisure: otherwise, they were full of people.

Human activity, however, was only one part of the city's character as a living organism; the other, which brings us back to Ren Yi's Yu Garden painting, was nature as it survived within the built environment of Shanghai. From illustrations and photographs one discovers a natural world made up of potted plants on window ledges, gardens behind walls, domestic pets, and scavenging birds. In an environment defined by confinement, the painters removed the pots from the flowers, abolished the walls of the gardens, and freed the songbirds from the cages that hung outside homes and shops. Cats prowl over rocks rather than over roofs (fig. 22), and sparrows are never shown perching on the overhead telephone wires that became a feature of the city after 1881 (fig. 23).

Once one becomes used to the generally encoded nature of Shanghai painting, one also begins to recognize certain subjects as commentaries on urban experience. An example is the theme of the "three well-traveled gallants" (fig. 21b). The main protagonists of the story are a

couple — supporters of Li Shimin (599–649), future founder of the Tang dynasty — and a curly-bearded stranger with his own ambition to rule China. In painting, the story was reduced to the dramatic moment of their final parting after the stranger decides to pursue his destiny elsewhere; he eventually becomes the ruler of another country. The pictorial theme was, I would suggest, a witty, half-mocking allegory of the pursuit of fame and fortune by the Shanghai sojourner; one of Ren Yi's earliest versions of the theme was painted in Suzhou in 1868 just before he moved to the big city. This kind of theatrical allegorization has been most thoroughly studied for Ren Yi's portraits of fellow artists and writers, where real-life individuals engaged in self-conscious play-acting, keeping their modern clothes but projecting a public identity through the knowing use of a fictional persona.⁷⁸ The personae were not always what one might expect: in addition to famous literati of the past, they also include beggars, dog butchers, and street calligraphers (fig. 24). It should be said that the painters' avoidance of the material appearance of contemporary life was not total, since in some portraits by Ren Yi and other artists such as Ren Yu (1853–1901), the sitters appear in contemporary dress (fig. 25). Yet the choice made no difference to the psychology of the portrait: men and women like these, by turns anxious and willful, can be found nowhere in Chinese painting before the 1850s.⁷⁹ The fact that portrait photography began to make its mark in Chinese life around that time is no coincidence, as may be seen from the way the painter borrows from the rhetoric of portrait photography, adopting its proximity and emphasis on the body.⁸⁰

22 Wang Li (1813–1879), *Cat*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 47 7/8 × 15 3/8 in. (120.3 × 39.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, in memory of La Ferne Hatfield Ellsworth, 1986

23 Zhu Cheng (1826–1899/1900), *Sparrows, Plantain, and Osmanthus in the Snow*, 1897. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 58 3/8 × 16 1/4 (148.3 × 41.2 cm). Shanghai Museum

明齋先生六十六歲小象
蕭山丘任預



Painting and Architecture

Shanghai school painting had many formal similarities to Chinese-style architecture in the city. The features of self-conscious picturesqueness and attention-grabbing forms that were to be seen in the indigenous architecture and garden design were echoed in the theatricality and dynamic immediacy of painting. Did the painters also share, then, the architects' alternating concern with permanence and displacement? Permanence is too weighty a word to be applied to the way that painters expressed their commitment to their adopted city. But in a remarkably short time, sojourning artists developed a distinctively Shanghai style of painting, muting the local styles that they had brought with them. This Shanghai style — the visual equivalent of an attitude — was a collective development with many variations, all sharing a big-city edginess. Over time, this style was reinforced by the emergence of a common iconographic vocabulary of themes that resonated with the Shanghai experience, sometimes for as simple a reason as the omnipresence of sparrows or the necessity to have cats in order to control the rats (see figs. 22, 23). Nonetheless, the generalized sense of elsewhere that I noted earlier in relation to the white-walled and dark-tiled association headquarters is certainly present in painting as well. Hu Yuan's (1823–1886) bold and graphically powerful paintings of literati themes, for example, breathe new life into a tradition of calligraphic painting that was particularly associated with Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, and through the influential seventeenth-century literati painter Dong Qichang (1555–1636)

had a special connection with Hu's native Songjiang (fig. 26).⁸¹ The willowy female figures in elegant garden settings for which Sha Fu (1831–1906), among others, was famous were highly effective evocations of an ideal of elegant sensuality associated with Suzhou that found a place in Shanghai not only in painting but also in garden design, fashion, and food (fig. 27).⁸² Sometimes the reference was extremely specific, as in the areas of highly colored pattern with which Ren Yi often punctuated his compositions. This was a trademark Shaoxing detail, derived from the art of Shaoxing's great seventeenth-century painter, Chen Hongshou (1598–1652) (figs. 21b, 21d). To viewers and collectors of the time, a given painting would in most cases have represented a specific stylistic combination of big-city and home-town references. Often the double reference was written into the inscription, with the artist identifying himself as a native of such-and-such a place who had painted the work during a sojourn in Shanghai. Moreover, the paintings were also full of iconographic references to hometown areas, as in the theme of the poet Jiang Kui (ca. 1155–1221) in Suzhou or the Hangzhou-area hermit Yan Guang (active early 1st century) (figs. 21c and 21d, respectively).

As noted earlier, ink paintings were also used in Sino-Western architectural contexts, displayed in Western-style frames. It is not surprising, therefore, that the visuality of Shanghai painting also shares much in common with the Sino-Western architecture of spectacle. By their compositional incorporation of asymmetric vectors and triangular forms, the paintings on the walls of entertainment establishments echoed the dynamic use of balconies and stair-

24 Ren Yi (1840–1895), *Portrait of Gao Yong*, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 51 1/2 × 25 3/4 (130.7 × 65.3 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

25 Ren Yu (1853–1901), *Portrait of Jin Jian at the Age of Sixty-Six*, 1897. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 36 1/4 × 13 3/8 in. (92.2 × 34 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing



26 Hu Yuan (1823–1886), *Landscape*.
Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper,
58 ½ × 15 ½ in. (148.6 × 39.4 cm).
The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift
of Robert H. Ellsworth in memory of
La Feme Hatfield Ellsworth, 1986



27 Sha Fu (1831–1906), *Disturbed Thoughts
Under a Springtime Moon*, 1881. Hanging
scroll, ink and color on paper, 53 ⅞ × 13 in.
(135 × 33 cm). Collection of the Affiliated
Secondary Fine Arts School of the Central
Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing

ways in Sino-Western buildings (fig. 28). The viewer's eye is often whisked upward or plunged downward, or suddenly encounters the gaze of some protagonist within the painting, human or animal (fig. 29). Yet it would be misleading to restrict the reference of such formal innovations in painting to architecture alone. Among the most striking features of Shanghai painting is its complex plays of directionality, which are caught up with a new self-consciousness about angle of vision. Directionality may be established by a movement, a look, or a compositional vector; more often than not, all three are brought into play against each other, creating a diffused, exploded, or fragmented directional energy. Along with this goes a tightened temporality, in which immediacy exists in tension with an awareness of what is happening peripherally. The viewer is implicated in this play of forces, pulled in by the way it opens on to the viewer's space. The resulting destabilization of the viewer is only explicable in relation to the somatic experience of the city. In addition to the fascination with height discussed earlier, other elements of somatic experience captured by painters included the confusion of pedestrian movement, the experience of crowded interior spaces, and the speed and density of vehicular transport. It is worth noting that, for both technical and aesthetic reasons, all of these are absent from what is usually taken to be the most modern pictorial medium of the time — photography.⁸³ They were, to be sure, captured anecdotally in journalistic illustration (fig. 30), but paradoxically it was the old-fashioned medium of ink painting that did greater justice to the somatic and psychological experience of living in modern Shanghai.

Painting and Modernity

Obviously, something does not add up here. Either late-nineteenth-century Shanghai did not really provide an experience for the Chinese population that can be called modern, or alternatively it did, in which case indigenous Chinese media such as ink painting and Chinese-style architecture were not so old-fashioned — not so traditional — as they appear to be. The position one takes on this depends more or less wholly on one's definition of modernity. Most commonly, modernity is understood as an orientation toward the future on the basis of an uncompromising break with the past, a view that has come down to us from the Enlightenment and was exported to China at the end of the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ As early as the 1890s, in China an understanding of modernity in this sense was embraced by self-proclaimed reforming and revolutionary modernizers, who overlaid the orientation toward the future with an orientation toward the outside world.⁸⁵ Chinese culture in Shanghai prior to 1895 has usually been seen from this point of view as having ultimately been resistant to modernity — both as a project and as a disposition.⁸⁶ Although no one would deny the city's early cosmopolitanism and curiosity about the outside world, there has been a tendency to see this as having limited impact on the mainstream of Chinese culture. More recently, however, the literary historian David Wang has challenged this orthodoxy. In an ambitious attempt to valorize nineteenth-century fiction, Wang argues in his *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1848–1911* that late-Qing fiction had a uniquely Chinese modernity of

its own which was later superseded and repressed when the modernizers imposed their imported conception of modernity.⁸⁷ Upon closer inspection, however, Wang's criteria for this late-Qing modernity — an indigenous pursuit of newness intersecting with curiosity about the outside world — turn out to be remarkably similar to those that held sway previously. In the end, his revisionist interpretation is most successful in valorizing those pre-1895 developments in Chinese culture that anticipated the concerns of the modernizers. From an art-historical point of view, his argument is helpful because it provides further reasons for taking seriously the kinds of art and architecture that I have described as hybrid or Sino-Western, which belong to the same cultural frame of reference as the works of fiction he discusses. On the other hand, it leaves Shanghai ink painting and the rest of mainstream Chinese culture where it already was — in a box marked “traditional.”



If we are to escape this conclusion, which I have tried to show is not warranted by the late-nineteenth-century evidence, it may be necessary to think of modernity not as a project or disposition, but instead as a social condition. If modernity's characteristics include such features as intensified awareness of separation from the past, experience of social and psychic disjunction, and transformation of the sense of place as barriers of distance and speed are broken down by trade and technology, then one is bound to say that the history of modernity in China extends back some centuries before Shanghai's rise to prominence.⁸⁸ It then becomes less surprising that the language of painting inherited by the artists of Shanghai possessed sufficient resources to confront the intensified changes in China that followed upon the arrival of the Western powers. Of the two views, the latter seems to me to offer the better basis for understanding the vitality and power of Chinese cultural forms in the late nineteenth century, and consequently I adopt it here. It alone explains to me why some practices, like ink painting and Chinese-style architecture, were able to remain relevant despite their seemingly traditional conventions, and why others, such as lithographic illustration and teahouse architecture, were able to draw on foreign culture without losing their Chinese character. The historical significance of Chinese Shanghai is that it epitomizes a brief moment of a few decades, from the late 1850s to the early 1890s, when the inherited resources of Chinese culture proved adequate to respond to and incorporate the changes associated with the massive introduction of foreign ideas. The rich cultural achievement that resulted involved every facet of the arts in China — every

28 Wu Jiayou (d. ca. 1893), *False Fire Alarm at One-More-Story Teahouse*. Woodblock print, from *Wu Youru huabao* (1909). Original image, early 1890s



29 Ren Xun (1835–1893), *Birds and Flowers*. Two hanging scrolls from a set of four, ink and color on paper, each scroll, 53 1/8 x 14 1/4 in. (135 x 36.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Robert H. Ellsworth, in memory of La Ferne Hatfield Ellsworth, 1986



30 Tian Ying (19th century), *Traffic Accident on the Road to Jinghua Temple*. Woodblock print, from *Dianshi Zhai huabao* (1885)

literary, theatrical, and visual practice. And although this achievement is seen at its most impressive in Chinese Shanghai, it was by no means restricted to a single place. The capital, Beijing, other port cities on the sea coast and on the Yangzi River, as well as the great cities of the lower Yangzi valley, all contributed. The influence of this pre-1895 achievement on twentieth-century Chinese culture, including such imported art forms as photography and the cinema, is as pervasive as it is unrecognized. To take but a single example: If there is a modern Chinese aesthetic shared by painting, photography, and cinema, it owes much to a sense of dynamically asymmetrical compositional balance; historically, this goes no further back than late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, whose painters invented it.

Those nineteenth-century artists were grappling with all the same forces that affected the built environment. In the face of the encroachment of the outside world, the vitality of indigenous painting affirmed a sense of cultural belonging, in other words, a self-conscious Chineseness. At the same time, the no less vital development of journalistic illustration, with its hybrid Sino-Western mode of narrative depiction, was the clearest demonstration of the capacity of Chinese Shanghai to give expression to its curiosity for the foreign without ultimately losing its sense of Chineseness. In relation to the Taiping Rebellion, the vitality of ink painting advertised a desire to reconstruct a cultural landscape that had been devastated. Conversely, the new hybrid mode of illustration, so closely associated with entertainment and pleasure, corresponds to a contrasting desire to forget the horrors of those years. Of course, the contrast I am making here between painting and illustra-

tion, like that which I made earlier between indigenous and Sino-Western architecture, is too strong. In subtle ways, indigenous painting and architecture demonstrated their own curiosity about the outside world, and were in their own way implicated in the historically amnesiac tendencies of post-Taiping Shanghai. And the concerns with permanence, displacement, and spectacle that I have here separated for analytic convenience were in practice tightly intertwined.

It was out of this tangled web of contingent forces that the architects and painters — as well as calligraphers, photographers, and other artists — created the first fully modern Chinese visual culture. As evidenced by the vital culture of late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, Chinese artists were not without modern ideas of their own when they adopted international art forms in the twentieth century. One of the few ways in which those ideas and their continued development in borrowed Western clothes can become visible to us today is through an awareness of the history I have partly sketched out here.

- 1 On the history of the walled city of Shanghai, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074–1858* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). The walls of the city were razed between 1909 and 1914.
- 2 On the beginnings of the foreign settlements, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*; see p. 120 for the population estimate.
- 3 On the walled city of Shanghai in the 1840s and 1850s, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 176–346; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 50–83.
- 4 Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 36.
- 5 Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, p. 81.
- 6 On the housing speculation that followed the arrival of the refugees, see W.M. Meyers, N.B. Dennis, and C. King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan* (London and Hong Kong: 1867), pp. 364–73; Ch-B. Maybon, and Jean Fredet, *Histoire de la Concession française de Changhai* (Paris: Librairie Plon et Nourrit, 1929), p. 239; Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights*, pp. 33–36.
- 7 Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights*, p. 27.
- 8 The continuity can be seen in many Chinese accounts written at the time, and is summed up in the way that the pre-1895 Chinese population often referred to the walled city and the settlements simply as the southern city and the northern city, eliding the question of the political and legal difference of status between the two urban areas. See, for example, Ge Yuanxun, *Huyou zaji*, 1876; Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu*, 1883; Chi Zhizheng, *Huyou mengying*, ca. 1893, all reprinted by Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989.
- 9 See Jonathan Hay, "Chinese Photography and Advertising in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in a volume of collected essays on Shanghai visual culture edited by Jason Chi-sheng Kuo (forthcoming).
- 10 Although such gable walls were widely used in various parts of south China, their presence in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai is probably due to their particular popularity in southern Jiangsu Province, where Shanghai is located, and in Zhejiang, since so many of the city's residents were from that province. See the discussion of "horse's head walls" in Zhejiang in Ronald G. Knapp, *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 101–104.
- 11 On the "compradoric," Palladian-derived style of early treaty-port architecture, first developed in Guangzhou, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 250–52.
- 12 Although almost none of the nineteenth century's Western private residences survive, some of the company headquarters still stand today along the waterfront, and many buildings of all types are recorded in photographs and lithographic illustrations.
- 13 Unfortunately, there exists as yet no systematic account of Western architecture in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai. In addition to the many surviving commercial photographs, there are also numerous illustrations in Chinese guidebooks and pictorial magazines, which feature the buildings as part of the *qi* (strange, extraordinary, marvelous) features of the city.
- 14 Jonathan Hay, "Chinese Photography and Advertising in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai."
- 15 For illustrations, see *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi*, 1871; *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (Shanghai: Dianshi Zhai, 1884); *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo* (Annotated Depictions of the Famous Sites of Shanghai), ca. 1894 (Taipei: Guoli Beijing daxue Zhongguo minsu xuehui, 1972 reprint), 1/7a–b.
- 16 Illustrated in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/29b–30a.
- 17 See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao* (Local Customs and Cultural Sites of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1993), pp. 284–86. For photographs of the 1891 Customs House, see Lynn Pan, with Xue Liyong and Qian Zonghao, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, 1843–1949* (Hong Kong: Hai Feng Publishing Co., 1993), fig. 14; Deng Ming, ed., *Shanghai bainian*

lüeying, 1840s–1940s (Survey of Shanghai, 1840s–1940s) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), p. 80, lower illustration. See also the lithographic illustrations in *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/1a–b.

- 18 Zhang Shuhe purchased one of the city's most impressive foreign residences in 1882 and turned it into a commercial garden, transforming the grounds by the addition of Chinese-style garden elements. The interior spaces were used for Chinese-style entertainments such as theater. See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 149–50; Xiong Yuezhi, “Wan Qing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de tuozhan (The Opening up of Shanghai Private Gardens and the Expansion of Public Space at the End of the Qing Dynasty)” (unpublished paper, 1998). For Qing dynasty photographs of the site, see Tang Zhenchang, ed., *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu* (Pictorial Record of Glamorous Shanghai) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), figs. 111, 112; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 198. For a lithographic illustration, see *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/1a–b.
- 19 It should be noted that, as with Western architecture, the Chinese buildings were by no means the work of anonymous artisans, even if we are badly informed today on the Chinese architects of the period. According to one Chinese account of the time, “All building construction is supervised by a *jiangtou* [a builder-architect]. These

so-called *jiangtou* always live in great buildings and travel about in carriages, and usually come from well-established families. The workmen in their hundreds and thousands are all answerable to them.” See Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu*, p. 111.

- 20 As pointed out by Bryna Goodman, in *Native Place, City, and Nation*, p. 92, sojourners did not participate in the rituals honoring the god of the Shanghai earth because that would have contradicted their ties to the earth god of their own native places. However, this does not mean that they had no commitment to the city of Shanghai.
- 21 On the city wall, see Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu* (Guide to Shanghai Place Names) (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 1994), pp. 82–88. For photographs of the city gates, see Tang Zhenchang, ed., *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, figs. 60, 61; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 19, upper illustration; pp. 20–21. Within the city walls, several areas were especially rich in the symbolism of permanence. One was the area around the Temple of the City God in the northeast, with its West and East Garden (discussed later in this essay). Closer to the center of the city was the county *yamen* and other administrative buildings. Toward the east gate could be found the reconstructed Jingye Academy, on the former site of the Temple of Confucius and County College. Another symbolically important area, this one with a more literati character,

was in the southwest of the walled city, which had an open, almost suburban landscape partly composed of cultivated fields. In this area could be found several temples (Yisu An, Qinglian An, the new Temple of Confucius, and Wusheng Gong), benevolent institutions (Tongren Tang, Yuying Tang), academies (Ruizhu Academy and Longmen Academy), as well as the exclusive Yeshe Garden where visiting government officials often stayed. Other administrative buildings and temples were scattered throughout the walled town. Some of the nineteenth-century sources on the above-mentioned sites are gathered together in Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*. See also Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, and Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 96–119, for discussions of precise locations and history. For visual depictions, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (County College); *The Far East*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1877), facing p. 8 (Temple of Confucius); *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi*, *shou* 34b–35a, reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 105 (Ruizhu Academy); *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi*, *shou* 36b–37a, reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 106 (Longmen Academy); *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 1/4a–b (Yeshe Garden).

- 22 The three-story Guandi Miao was reconstructed in 1815; late-nineteenth-century photographs indicate that it had been recently refurbished. Other photographs can be found in Lynn

Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 3; Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 58; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 19, lower illustration. For a lithographic illustration, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/19b–20a. The temple is discussed in Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 87–88. An equally impressive temple was the three-story Danfeng Lou, also in the northeast of the walled town. See lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/25b–26a; and discussion in Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 97–98.

- 23 Longhua Temple was renovated in 1875. Late-nineteenth-century photographs are published in Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 70. See lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 2/31b–32a; and discussion in Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 164–66. For early photographs of Jing'an Temple, see Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 111, upper illustration. See lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/15b–16a; and discussion in Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 158–61. Another important outlying temple was the Daoist Dongyue Xingong. See lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/5b–6a; and discussion in Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 172–74.

- 24 See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 153–57.

- 25 For photographs of the Mixed Court building, see Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 40; Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, p. 44; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, pp. 64–65, upper illustration. See lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 2/51b–52a.

- 26 The Qiliu Gongsuo was built in the early 1860s with a combination of foreign and Chinese donations as a refuge for indigent sojourners. See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 456–57, and the lithographic illustration in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 3/9b–10a. Another important benevolent institution was Renji Tang; for an illustration, see *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 4, pp. 91b–92a.

- 27 For photographs of the academy's tiled-roof architecture, see Shanghai Municipal Archives, ed., *Shanghai he Hengbing: Jindai Yazhou liangge kaifang chengshi* (Shanghai and Yokohama: The Two Open Cities in Modern Asia) (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe 1994), pp. 56–57; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 187, lower illustration.

- 28 On the reconstruction after the Small Sword Rebellion of 1853–55, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 330–35.

- 29 On the Temple of Confucius, constructed in 1856–96 in the west of the city and still standing today, see Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 71–72. A photograph from the late 1870s published in *The Far East*, vol. 2,

no. 1 (January 1877), facing p. 8, shows an already very impressive architectural compound.

- 30 See Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 168–71; Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 92, 105; and n. 21.

- 31 The academy was located in the southwest of the city. See Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 105–106, who reproduces the illustration in *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi*, shou 36b–37a.

- 32 For a photograph of the gateway, see Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 30, lower right.

- 33 On the Tian Hou Temple, located just to the northeast of the city in the French Concession, see Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 167–70; Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 321–27.

- 34 The West Garden, initially laid out in the late Ming dynasty, was acquired and donated to the city in 1760 by local Shanghai merchants. Subsequently, although the garden was open to the public, its many buildings also became home to several commercial associations. When the Qing army suppressed the Small Sword Rebellion in 1855, following the rebels' takeover of the walled town, the garden was badly damaged. Though crudely repaired shortly thereafter, it suffered further damage when French troops were billeted there to defend the walled city from the Taiping rebels in 1860. It was only following the defeat of the Taiping Rebellion in 1864 that a second and

- decisive reconstruction gave the garden the basis of its present form. The best account of its history is in Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 98–100; 286–88; 330–32. For an informative late-nineteenth-century account of the Temple of the City God, see W. MacFarlane, “The City of Shanghai; its Streets, Temples, Prisons, and Gardens,” in *Sketches in the Foreign Settlement and Native City of Shanghai* (reprinted from *Shanghai Mercury*, Shanghai, 1881), pp. 49–64. Late-nineteenth-century photographs of the West Garden are published in Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 71; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 30, upper illustration. For further lithographic illustrations, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu*; *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 1, pp. 10b–11a; vol. 4, pp. 57b–58a. For photographs of the West Garden’s famous teahouse, see below, n. 36.
- 35 For a depiction of the entire temple precinct, see *Tongzhi Shanghai xianzhi*, shou 24b–25a, also reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 100. For depictions of the East Garden, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 1/7b–8a; *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 1/5a–b.
- 36 Late-nineteenth-century photographs of the teahouse are published in Hu Zhichuan and Chen Shen, eds., *Zhongguo zaoqi sheying zuopin xuan*, 1840–1919 (A Selection of Early Chinese Photographs, 1840–1919) (Beijing: Zhongguo sheying chubanshe, 1987), p. 53; Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 5; Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, figs. 68, 72; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 29. See also lithographic illustrations in *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 1/6a–b.
- 37 Even after being merged with the East Garden in 1958, this general garden area, due to commercial encroachment that began in the late nineteenth century, is much smaller than it was at the time of its reconstruction in the 1860s. Moreover, the 1958 restoration placed the teahouse and its lake outside the garden precinct. On the 1958 restoration, which combined the West and East Gardens under the name of the Yu Garden (the Ming garden that became the West Garden in the 1860s), see the uncritical account in R. Stewart Johnston, *Scholar Gardens of China: A Study and Analysis of the Spatial Design of the Chinese Private Garden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 231–49.
- 38 Eventually, the West and East Gardens became the site of seasonal flower exhibitions, as seen in fig. 6. See also *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 1, pp. 10b–11a.
- 39 This was reinforced in the 1958 restoration.
- 40 Although an eighteenth-century representation of its earlier incarnation cannot be taken as an accurate representation, it does seem to suggest that the structure at that time was simpler and had less dramatic rooflines.
- 41 Once the principle of spectacle was established, some of the city’s older sites also found a new function. This was true, for example, of such sites in the walled town as the West Garden’s mountainscape, Guandi Miao, Wusheng Gong, or Danfeng Lou, whose height in each case lent itself to “climbing on high” (*denggao*), whether on the Double-Ninth (9th day of the 9th lunar month) or in order to gaze over the Huangpo River. (On the traditional use of these sites as lookout points, see Ge Yuanxin, *Huyou zaji*, p. 4, “Wusheng Gong.”) These sites became places where one could look out over the settlements as well. Among newer buildings, the main structure of Zhang Gardens was particularly in vogue for this purpose.
- 42 Other published photographs of the building may be found in Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 14; Shanghai Municipal Archives, *Shanghai he Hengbing*, p. 40; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 80, upper illustration. For a lithographic illustration, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 2/43b–44a. The two-story rear of the building can be seen in a panoramic watercolor, *View of the Bund from Trinity Church*, based on photographs, attributed to the Hong Kong artist Chow Kwa. See Carl Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities* (Woodbridge, England: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1991), pp. 196–97.
- 43 For photographs of such shop compounds in Beijing in the 1930s, see

Liang Sicheng and Liu Zhiping, *Jianzhu sheji cankao tuji*, III: *Dianmian* (Beijing: Zhongguo yingzao xueshe, 1935), pl. 18.

- 44 In many late-nineteenth-century oil paintings by Chinese artists (often Hong Kong-based) that portray the waterfront, the old customs house is depicted as taller than most of the surrounding Western buildings. See, for example, Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 40. Although it was not in fact taller, the oil painters did perhaps seize something of the intention of the architects of this structure. The architects of its 1891 replacement were perhaps also influenced by this aspect of the building when they decided to translate the Sino-Western building into fully Western form. At that point, the outer, U-shaped framing structures became the body of the Customs House and the freestanding central hall was replaced by a neo-Gothic tower built above the projecting entrance. See above, n. 42.
- 45 A related structure was the 1867 courtyard gateway to the Jiangnan Arsenal, a photograph of which is reproduced in Shanghai Municipal Archives, *Shanghai he Hengbing*, p. 46. The close connection in this period between Shanghai and Meiji Japan is explored in that publication.
- 46 The headquarters of native-place associations were called *huiguan*, and those of common trade associations, *gongsuo*. In Shanghai the distinction between the two was muddy.

See Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 124.

- 47 Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 122–54. One of the few pre-nineteenth-century association headquarters to survive into modern times was the 1715 headquarters of the Merchant Shipping Association, located, like several others, outside the East Gate of the walled town. See Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 3–7. For photographs of the compound, see Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 3; Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 52; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 34, upper illustration.
- 48 Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, p. 147.
- 49 For photographs of the Siming Gongsuo, see Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 53; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lüeying*, p. 178, lower illustration.
- 50 The Zhe-Ning Huiguan is also illustrated in Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 20–21 (from *Huitu Shanghai zazhi* [Shanghai Pictorial Miscellany], 1905), and discussed in Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 36–38. Architecturally, it was notable for the unusual feature of a large lotus pond in the courtyard of the main hall.
- 51 According to Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 58–59, “The building constructed by the Chao-Hui bang [regional group] in 1866 (the Chao-Hui Huiguan

had burned twice since 1839) was on approximately two acres (nearly ten *mu*) of prime city property. The land, together with the building, cost more than eighty-thousand taels. Two ornate temples graced the compound, one dedicated to Tianhou, the other to Guandi... Other gods including Cai-shen (God of Wealth) were worshipped in adjoining areas. The building served the joint functions of worship and business and was, accordingly, constructed with religious and meeting areas and with a stage for theatrical performances.” See also Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 53–55.

- 52 The rebuilding of the Guang-Zhao Gongsuo in 1872 brought to an end the long prohibition on Cantonese association headquarters following the Small Sword Rebellion. It was famous for sponsoring the most spectacular of the annual Yulanpenhui processions propitiating wandering ghosts, which was combined with an exhibition at the association headquarters of potted orchids and a full set of Water and Land festival paintings. Bryna Goodman, in her discussion of the Guang-Zhao Gongsuo's Yulanpenhui procession (*Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 93–100), cites the following 1905 description of the interior of the compound: “The property is particularly large. There is a hall for the gods, a reception hall, an artificial hill and a small lake. In all seasons the flowers and trees can be enjoyed for the

- scenery." (p. 98). See also *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tuyong*, 1: 21a–b; Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu*, p. 147; Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 31–35.
- 53 The original Qianye Huiguan, established in 1776, was located in the East Garden (Inner Garden) of the Temple of the City God (see Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, p. 362), and assumed the costs of the annual refurbishment of the temple (see *Huyou zaji*, p. 4). For another photograph of the 1889 Qianye Huiguan, see Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*; fig. 13; Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lueying*, p. 139, upper illustration.
 - 54 Bryna Goodman, in *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 125–26, notes that among the association headquarters used for this purpose were the Guang-Zhao Gongsuo and the headquarters of the Shenxi Huiguan.
 - 55 In the case of the Siming Gongsuo, built at mid-century, this large scale came to be a problem. Located in what was originally countryside to the northwest of the walled city, by 1867 it was on the edge of the expanding urban fabric of the French Concession, and by 1874 it was interfering with the development of the road network. When foreign road-builders illegally cut a road through the cemetery within the building precinct, the result was one of the worst riots in the modern history of Shanghai. For a detailed discussion of the Ningbo Cemetery riots (there was another riot in 1898, following a second attempt by the French authorities to encroach on the compound), see Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 158–69, who reproduces an 1898 illustration of the second confrontation from *Dianshi Zhai huabao*. See also Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 25–30.
 - 56 The 1889 Qianye Huiguan was not demolished until relatively recently, in 1976.
 - 57 For photographs of warehouses, see Tang Zhenchang, *Jindai Shanghai fanhua lu*, fig. 57. For another photograph of a grocery, see Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lueying*, p. 61, lower illustration. Photographs of pawnshops are published in Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 56; and Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lueying*, p. 140, upper illustration.
 - 58 For other examples, see Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs*, fig. 49; and Deng Ming, *Shanghai bainian lueying*, pp. 65, lower illustration; p. 139, lower illustration; p. 142, top left.
 - 59 For a useful historical account of Shanghai restaurants, see Hu Xianghan, *Shanghai xiaozhi*, 1930 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe reprint, 1989), pp. 39–40.
 - 60 This resonated with the furniture and interior decoration, also in Chinese style. Opium houses were particularly reputed for their interior fittings. See, for example, the illustrations of the interior of a leading opium house, Nanchengxin, in *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 2/7b–8a, and *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/6a–b.
 - 61 For Gengshang Yiceng Lou, see *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/2a–b; for Wuceng Lou, see *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/4a–b; for Qingliange Chalou, see *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/10a–b; for Langyuan Diyilou (Best Teahouse in Paradise), see *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 2, pp. 76b–77a.
 - 62 On theaters, see Xue Liyong, *Shanghai tan diming zhanggu*, pp. 172–78. For illustrations of theater interiors, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 3/19b–20a; *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 2, pp. 21b–22a (the “old” Danguai Yuan theater).
 - 63 These gardens included Shen Garden, Zhang Gardens (opened 1885), West Garden (opened 1887), and Yu Garden (opened 1890).
 - 64 See *Shenjiang shengjing tu*, 3/27b–28a for depictions of Shen Garden and the interior of an unidentified billiard hall.
 - 65 See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 150–51; Xiong Yuezhi, “Wan Qing Shanghai siyuan kaifang.” The original garden had been built by a Ningbo merchant.
 - 66 At least one commercial garden employed only Chinese elements. The Villa of the Twin Purities, or Xu Garden, for example, was built in 1886 by a merchant from Haining in Zhejiang. Judging by an illustration of the time, the garden appears to have been organized internally to enable a spectacular

gaze, with strategically placed tea-houses and itineraries that favored exposure and display rather than privacy and intimacy. For an illustration, see *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 1/1a-b. The garden is discussed in Hu Xianghuan, *Shanghai xiaozhi*, p. 22; Xiong Yuezhi, "Wan Qing Shanghai siyuan kaifang," pp. 1-2.

67 Another illustration, based on this one, appears in *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 1/3a-b.

68 On this aspect of Shanghai publishing, see an unpublished paper by Rudolf G. Wagner, "Ernst Major's Shenbaoguan and the Formation of Late Qing Print Culture," 1998.

69 Detailed discussions of Shanghai school painting from different points of view can be found in Chou Ju-hsi, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796-1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992); Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, edited by Chou Ju-hsi, *Phoebus: Occasional Papers in Art History*, 8 (1998), pp. 134-88; and Roberta Wue, "Picturing the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1896) and Portraits of the Shanghai Artworld" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2001). See also Richard Vinograd, "Portrait and Position in Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 127-55.

70 Corresponding to Western-style architecture in brick and stone were the two foreign media of Sino-Western painting (in oils and watercolor) and photography, the latter of which gradually replaced the former, as the earliest photographers often started out as painters. As practiced by Chinese artists, oil and watercolor painting and photography followed the basic conventions established by foreign practitioners. Although often discussed under the heading of export and tourist art, these art forms also had an important Chinese market, which led to a focus on particular genres and encouraged the development of a specifically Chinese aesthetic. On Sino-Western painting, see Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*. On Chinese photography in Shanghai, see Jonathan Hay, "Chinese Photography and Advertising in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai."

71 See, for example, illustrations in *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/12a-b.

72 Several other paintings can be associated with identifiable Shanghai sites. Ren Yi's *Examining Swords under Trees* of 1888, in the Palace Museum, Beijing, was painted to hang in the guest-house of the Dianchun Tang complex within the West Garden, owned by the Fujianese Sugar Association. Reproduced in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Haishang minghua jingpin ji* (Masterworks of Shanghai School Painters from the Shanghai Museum Collection) (Hong Kong: Tai Yip,

1991), pl. 58. Hu Yuan's (1823-1886) *Crab Party on the Songjiang River* of 1877, in the Palace Museum, Beijing, was painted during a visit to the temple Yisu An in the south of the walled town; see Pan Shenliang, *Haishang mingjia huihua* (Paintings by Famous Shanghai Masters) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), p. 41. Zhou Xian's (1820-1875) *Flowers, Fruit, and Vegetables* album of 1867, in the Shanghai Museum, was painted in Yeshe Garden, also in the south of the walled town; see *Shanghai bowuguan cang Haishang minghua jingpin ji*, cat. no. 9. Pu Hua's (1830?-1911) *Twin Lotus in the Calamus Pond* of 1904, in the Shanghai Museum, was painted after the artist's visit to the famous lotus pond in the same garden; see *Shanghai bowuguan cang Haishang minghua jingpin ji*, pl. 36. A set of *Eight Views of Shanghai*, which were engraved in stone and set in the walls of Yeshe Garden, was painted by Hu Yuan. See Gu Bingquan, *Shanghai fengsu guji kao*, pp. 153-54.

73 On this middlebrow culture, see Catherine Vance Yeh, "Reinventing Ritual: Late Qing Handbooks for Proper Customer Behavior in Shanghai Courtesan Houses," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 19, no. 2 (December 1998), pp. 1-63; David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1848-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

74 See, for example, the commentary to a depiction of Xu Garden (see above,

- note 66) in *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo*, 1/b.
- 75 Taoyuan Qu is depicted in *Shenjiang shixia mingsheng tushuo*, 2/5a-b, reproduced in Catherine Vance Yeh, "Reinventing Ritual," p. 13.
- 76 The name of Yeshi Lou was itself cheekily borrowed from the city's most famous literati garden, Yeshi Yuan, located in the south of the walled city (see above, note 21). For illustrations of Yeshi Lou, see *Shenjiang shengjing tushuo*, reproduced in Catherine Vance Yeh, "Reinventing Ritual," p. 12; *Dianshi Zhai huabao*, vol. 9, pp. 89b-90a.
- 77 On the publishing genre of books of courtesan portraits, see Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing," pp. 148-49; Catherine Vance Yeh, "Reinventing Ritual." The book from which the present figure 20 was taken, *Jingying xiaosheng* (Mirror Reflections and Sounds of Flutes) (Shanghai: Wenchao guan, 1887), was printed in Tokyo using the copperplate method, rather than the more commonly used lithographic and woodblock methods. See also Sören Edgren, "The *Ching-ying hsiao-sheng* and Traditional Illustrated Biographies of Women," *The Gest Library Journal*, vol. 5 (Winter 1992), pp. 161-73.
- 78 See Richard Vinograd, "Portrait and Position"; Roberta Wue, "Picturing the Artist."
- 79 Particularly in the work of Ren Xiong (1823-1857). See Richard Vinograd, "Portrait and Position," pp. 128-30.
- 80 On the relationship between Ren Yi's portraits and photography, see Richard Vinograd, "Portrait and Position," pp. 141-44.
- 81 On Hu Yuan, see Chou Ju-hsi, *Transcending Turmoil*, pp. 126-31.
- 82 On Sha Fu, see *ibid.*, pp. 214-15.
- 83 In part, this was because wet-plate photography required long exposures, and because even after dry plates became available cameras remained clumsy. However, photography was more deeply limited by its attachment to unambiguously ordered and public space, whereas the confusion of movement in Shanghai was a matter not only of crowds, but of the constant passage from one kind of space to another. Movement on foot was improvisatory, a constant negation of the geometric order of the street plan, as the pedestrian moved from street to alley, alley to hallways open at both ends, or, across the false boundary of the facade, from street to commercial space, where the movement continued.
- 84 This view of modernity may be said to reduce modernity to modernism. One of the theoretical consequences of this reduction for the study of modern art is that it has made it difficult to find a place for attempts at reconciliation with the past. Critical assessments oscillate schizophrenically between avoidance of the reconciliatory dimension in order to save such art for modernism and acknowledgment of the attempt at reconciliation, which leads to the art in question being cast as conservative and anti-modern.
- 85 The earliest representatives among the painters were the Lingnan school artists. See Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906-51* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).
- 86 This argument is most explicitly made, with reference to a more recent period, in Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights*, pp. 12-17, 294-315. Lu's study of the relation of Shanghai life to rural culture throws useful light on the many "nature" themes in Shanghai painting.
- 87 David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, pp. 18-22 and *passim*.
- 88 For an argument on the modernity of earlier Qing dynasty painting, see Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19-25 and *passim*.