

# Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai

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The relationship between the art world of Shanghai and the city's publishing industry during the first two decades of the Guangxu reign, from the mid-1870s to the mid-1890s, is complex enough to deserve several essays. Here, I shall focus on just one of its aspects: the massive involvement of Shanghai-based painters in providing designs for illustrated books closely related to their normal production as painters. These books provide rich material for thematic study, in particular of the late nineteenth-century Chinese representation of metropolitan experience; in this essay, however, while I will make a number of such points in passing, I want to defer thematic interpretation in favor of a preliminary survey of the material and a discussion of underlying issues. Since illustrated books of this period have attracted little scholarly attention, this means classifying the books in question by genre and date and providing information on their contributors and contents. One of the implications of taking seriously the mass of printed images is that it then becomes impossible to treat Shanghai painting adequately without taking into account the contributions of those painters to the publishing industry with its very different economic and social relationships. As I shall try to show later, one can legitimately use the evidence of the books to explore the larger question of the public space of painting in late nineteenth-century Shanghai, and in the process shed light on the role of illustrated books in China's emergent mass culture. As part of this project I will attempt to trace the figure of a specifically Chinese modernity in the painting of the immediate pre-1895 period, a period understudied by historians of modern Chinese culture who, I think it is fair to say, have been more interested in modernity as a movement than as a social condition.

I shall return to the question of the public space of Shanghai painters' illustrative work in Section III following the survey of the material in Section II. At the outset it is necessary to say something about the place of images more generally in Shanghai's publishing

industry during this period, since the upsurge of books illustrated by painters was part of a larger transformation of the role of illustration in the city's visual culture.

## I

## IMAGES, MAGAZINES, BOOKS

The relationship between artists and publishing has, of course, a long history in China. What made the period from the mid-1870s onwards so different from any previous one was the introduction of lithographic printing into China (by 1876), which quickly came to dominate the pictorial component of the publishing industry.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the slow and artisanal technology of woodblock printing, the photo-lithographic process allowed mechanical transfer of the brushed design to the printing surface, permitting the rapid production of an image that was entirely faithful to the artist's original design. As Chao Xun writes in his postface to the 1888 *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* (see below): 'In Shanghai, ever since lithographic printing became popular, illustrated books have flourished. Woodblock artisans are no longer indispensable, and it is possible to reproduce [images] down to the last hair. This is truly a happy event in the world!' The new printing technology not only encouraged artists of all kinds to participate in the publishing industry, but also made it possible to incorporate illustration into China's emerging mass culture. We should not assume from this, however, that all illustration was reproduced by lithographic means; woodblock illustration was still a force, perhaps because at its best it created a more intimate, craftsmanlike effect. Lead-plate printed illustrations were found in Western-sponsored publications by the early 1870s, and copperplate printing, with its more precise definition and crisp textural quality, became available to a Chinese public through Japanese expertise, though it did not come into common use until the 1900s. In these new technological circumstances, several distinct systems of image production came to coexist and interact within Shanghai's publishing industry during the two decades following the mid-1870s.

*Illustrations in Missionary Publications*

One of the most novel of these was a matter of reproduction rather than production. The facsimile reproduction of Western illustrations at this time belongs, in a broader perspective, to a much longer

history of the reproduction of foreign illustrations and other images; in decorative and tourist art this goes back to the early eighteenth century, and in religious imagery to the end of the sixteenth. In the late nineteenth century, their sudden influx into print media starting in the 1870s was due in part to the effort by the Chinese state after 1868 to translate technical works, often illustrated, a project concentrated at the Zhizao Ju (Jiangnan Arsenal) in Shanghai.<sup>2</sup> To a far greater degree, however, their introduction into the informational environment of Shanghai was a by-product of the educational activities of Christian missionaries. As has been demonstrated and documented by Adrian Bennett, Protestant missionaries not only published several monthly magazines from the 1860s onwards, but engaged in a massive translation of relatively accessible scientific and technical literature which came to fruition in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of this activity was concentrated in Shanghai.<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that for their illustrations these publications made use of engraved plates donated by foreign publishers, one result of which was that text and illustration did not always match.<sup>5</sup>

By 1877 there were six Chinese-language periodicals,<sup>6</sup> of which three specifically Shanghai publications regularly carried illustrations: *Wanguo Gongbao* (*The Globe Magazine*, 1875-1883 and 1889-1907) which was the successor to *Jiaohui Xinbao* (literally 'Church News,' 1868-1874), *Xiaohai Yuebao* (*The Child's Paper*, 1875-1915, which moved from Guangzhou to Shanghai in 1875, having been founded in 1874),<sup>7</sup> and *Gezhi Huibian* (*The Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine*, 1876-1877, 1879-1881, 1890-1891). Bennett, writing of the *Jiaohui Xinbao*, notes that:

In the first two volumes, especially, Allen supplied his readers with pictures of many animals and plants, as well as illustrations of biblical passages. In later volumes, scientific illustrations appeared more frequently on such subjects as the universe, trains, mining techniques, and the physiology of the human body.<sup>8</sup>

In an 1875 handbill announcing the forthcoming publication of the *Gezhi Huibian*, its editor, John Fryer, wrote: 'The Magazine will contain as many illustrations and engravings as can be procured.'<sup>9</sup> It also included illustrated advertisements. This list of illustrated missionary publications was extended in 1880 with the establishment of a pictorial magazine using copperplate engraving, *Tuhua Xinbao* (literally 'The Illustrated News,' 1880-1913).<sup>10</sup>

Several missionary-established institutions provided a focus for book translation, notably: the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute, established in 1875 as a public library of scientific books; the affiliated publishing house, Tushanwan Yinshuguan; a School and Textbook Committee, which reported in 1886 that 104 Chinese-language books had recently been published under missionary auspices;<sup>11</sup> and the Chinese Scientific Book Depot, a bookshop founded in 1884. The 1896 catalog for the bookshop lists 371 books, maps, charts, and globes, including many works translated under the auspices of the Jiangnan Arsenal.<sup>12</sup> Of particular interest from an art historical point of view are books and charts on geometry, anatomy, zoology, ornithology, and botany. Three drawing manuals were available: *Qixiang Xianzhen* (*Engineer's and Machinist's Drawing Book*, by Leblanc), *Lun Hua Qianshuo* (*First Lessons in Drawing*), and *Huaxing Tushuo*, 1885 (*Aids to Model Drawing*, by F. Calmady Richardson).<sup>13</sup> The 1894 catalog of Fryer's publications includes three other drawing manuals: *Huatu Xuzhi* (listed as 'Engineering Drawing'), *Xihua Xuzhi* (listed as 'Drawing and Sketching'), *Xihua Chuxue* (listed as 'The Art of Drawing and Sketching'), of which the last brought together a series of articles originally published in the magazine *Gezhi Huibian*.<sup>14</sup> Similar articles appeared in the *Xiaohai Yuebao*. These publications complemented the drawing classes offered by the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute, taught by Liu Bizhen.

### *Journalistic Illustration*

A second system of image production grew up around the journalistic representation of material life and contemporary events. The first true pictorial magazine (*huabao*) that focused upon images was an innovation of this same period, a purely commercial magazine published by Ernest Major as an offshoot of his Shanghai newspaper, *Shenbao* (established 1872). Entitled *Yinghuan Huabao* (literally 'Wide World Illustrated News'), it appeared irregularly for only five issues between 1877 and 1880 and was essentially the work of British illustrators in Britain. Chinese captions were added in Shanghai.<sup>15</sup> Chinese artists seem not to have become involved in journalistic illustration until 1884 and the founding of the celebrated pictorial magazine, *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, produced using photo-lithography as a supplement to *Shenbao* (over 4,000 images between 1884 and 1898). Contemporary Chinese and foreign life became the objects of intensive journalistic representation at the hands of a team of specialist illustrators recruited

for the purpose, of whom Wu Jiayou (died 1893), better known as Wu Youru, was probably the first and certainly the most important.<sup>16</sup>

Characteristically, these artists adopted elements of Western pictorial technologies as part of a hybrid, up to date representational mode. The magazine thus added a new chapter to the long history of Sino-Western art in which Chinese and Western traditions of representation were combined to create distinctive hybrid forms for both domestic consumption and export. *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* also followed the example of the earlier missionary-established illustrated magazines in including from time to time reproductions and adaptations of illustrations from Western publications.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, there were additional inclusions of 'paintings' and illustrated stories (on which more below) that gave the magazine a complex visual character.

As an extension of his newspaper enterprise, Major had gone on to found one specialist publishing house and bookshop called the *Dianshi Zhai Lithographic Publishing Works* (*Dianshi Zhai Shuju* or *Dianshi Zhai Shuhua Shi*, established in 1876),<sup>18</sup> and another, also specializing photo-lithographic publishing, called the *Shenchang Shuju* or *Shenchang Shuhua Shi*.<sup>19</sup> He also acquired, in 1884, a Chinese photo-lithographic publishing house, *Tongwen Shuju*, which specialized in re-editions of rare old works, some of them illustrated. The illustrators serving these various enterprises likely began for the most part as artisan painters (*huagong*), and came from a variety of places.<sup>20</sup> Three of the best-known, Wu Youru, Zhang Qi (Zhang Zhiying, Wu's early mentor),<sup>21</sup> and Jin Gui, came from Suzhou in which the Taohua Wu area of the city had two long traditions, both of which are relevant here: the design of New Year's prints and the production of hack and fake paintings in the Tang Yin/Qiu Ying figure tradition.<sup>22</sup> However, he and the others probably gained their knowledge of Western drawing processes either through the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute or through the missionary-sponsored publications mentioned earlier.

The first, unsuccessful rival to the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* was the lithographed *Cilin Huabao* (literally 'Pictorial of the Grove of Belles-Lettres') of which a few issues were published in 1888.<sup>23</sup> More successfully, in 1890 Wu Youru left *Dianshi Zhai* to set up his own pictorial magazine, *Feiyang Ge Huabao* which, although it was published by a different publisher (*Hongbao Zhai*), was nonetheless sold through the *Shenbao* distribution network. This magazine began by following the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* model very closely, with seven out of ten pages

devoted to news illustration. On the other pages he introduced three ongoing series of images: contemporary Shanghai women, legendary and fictional women, and animals. After one hundred issues, in 1893 Wu handed the magazine over to a former fellow *Dianshi Zhai* artist, Zhou Quan (Zhou Muqiao), under the new name of *Feiyang Ge Tuji Huabao*. Under Zhou's regime, the number of pages was expanded to twelve, of which half were devoted to traditional figure subjects and the other half to news illustration. Three additional separate sheets were included as a free gift, one illustrating a novel, a second providing a sequel to the seventeenth century *Wushuang Pu*'s illustrations of historical figures, and a third representing contemporary women. Wu Youru, for his part, established a new magazine entitled *Feiyang Ge Huace*, in which he dispensed with all news illustration and images of contemporary women to concentrate on painters' traditional figure subjects. However, his death later in 1893 brought an end to the publication. Zhou Quan, meanwhile, after producing *Feiyang Ge Tuji Huabao* for a year, followed Wu Youru's example and in 1894 changed its name to *Feiyang Ge Tuji Huace*, at the same time eliminating its journalistic component.<sup>24</sup> The move back toward painting by both artists was probably also a calculated move to claim the higher social status of a successful painter by distancing themselves from the more functional work of journalistic illustration.

Given the book publishing enterprise associated with *Dianshi Zhai*, it was only natural that once the magazine illustrators were in place the publisher would draw upon them for the illustration of books with a similarly journalistic character. One of the first priorities was the representation of the more famous Shanghai sights. Thus, in the same year, 1884, that saw the founding of *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, *Dianshi Zhai* published *Shenjiang Shengjing Tu* (Illustrations of the Famous Sights of Shanghai).<sup>25</sup> Many of the subjects of the sixty outstanding images by Wu Youru are also found in a woodblock-printed work by another publisher, *Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* (Illustrated Notes on Shanghai Sights), also from 1884.<sup>26</sup> The forty-two illustrations by an unknown artist in the latter publication, printed in red, depict the most up to date exoticisms of the metropolis, from photography to rickshaws, with an economic lyricism. However, these two 1884 books were not, strictly speaking, the first illustrated guides to contemporary Shanghai sites and life. *Ge Yuanxu's* general guidebook, *Huyou Zaji* (1876, second edition 1878), already contained a series of

woodblock depictions of the flags of different nations, and for its 1878 translation into Japanese was furnished with a frontispiece landscape illustration by a Japanese artist active in Shanghai, Yasuda Rōzan.<sup>27</sup>

The representations of current events in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, *Feiyang Ge Huabao* and *Feiyang Ge Tuji Huabao* also have their equivalent in book illustration. Typical of the genre is an account of the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion published by Wenchao Guan. Entitled *Dangping Fani Tuji* (Illustrated Record of the Suppression of the Long-haired Rebels), it contains twenty-four illustrations by an unidentified illustrator and includes a preface which discusses the social function and dangers of illustration.<sup>28</sup>

#### *Illustrations to Fictional Texts*

The conjunction of the late nineteenth-century explosion of middle-brow fiction and the introduction of lithographic printing (the two being closely related) led to the renewal and even modernization of one long-standing system of printed image production. It had long been a practice of publishers of novels and plays to include illustrations, but the days of the late Ming and early Qing when they did not hesitate to include large sets of illustrations were long gone. By the nineteenth century, the broadening of the audience for the printed versions of novels and related fictional texts had led to the emergence of cheaper woodblock-printed editions for which elaborate illustrations were a dispensable luxury. The common practice was to include, at the beginning of the novel or play, nothing more than a series of more or less schematic portraits of the principal characters, justifying the addition of the term *xiuxiang* to the title. This all changed, however, with the advent of photo-lithography which encouraged a return to the illustration of the text in addition to, or instead of, the introductory portraits, just when the market for novels and plays was entering a new stage of expansion. In the wake of Major's entry into lithographic publishing, a number of publishing houses using the new technology appeared in the 1880s and early 1890s, including Tongwen Shuju (established 1881), Hongwen Shuju (established 1882), Feiyang Guan (established 1887), Baishi Shanfang, Jishi Shuju, Hongbao Zhai Shuju, and so on. Even the venerable Saoye Shanfang developed a lithographic division.<sup>29</sup> From the later 1880s onwards, in books whose pictorial component was announced by the addition of terms such as *huitu*, *tuhui*, *quantu*, *xiuxiang*, *zengxiang*, or *buxiang* to the title, densely

detailed illustrations became common under a number of forms. While they are sometimes grouped together at the beginning of the first volume, they may also be grouped together at intervals in the text or interspersed throughout the text on separate pages.

As one might expect, the *Dianshi Zhai* illustrators were well placed to take advantage of the new demand. In one case a work of contemporary fiction was initially serialized in illustrated form in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*: Wang Tao's *Songyin Manlu*, illustrated by Wu Youru (figure 1). The complete book was later published as *Xinyin Suben Songying Manlu Tushuo* (A New Reduced-size Illustrated Edition of *Songying Manlu*).<sup>30</sup> Wu Youru also supplied the illustrations for *Huitu Hou Liaozhai Zhiyi* (An Illustrated Sequel to *Liaozhai's* Records of the Strange; publisher: Jishan Ju) which by 1896 was already in its fifth printing.<sup>31</sup> However, there was no question of the *Dianshi Zhai* artists monopolizing fiction illustration, since the genres favored by the professional painters of the day included modes of narrative and landscape representation that could also be adapted to illustrative purposes. Thus, the illustrations to *Zengxiang Sanguo Quantu Yanyi* (Complete Illustrated *Sanguo Yanyi* with Additional Portraits; publisher: Saoye Shanfang, 1894) are the work of a highly accomplished follower of Qian Hui'an.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the 1892 *Zengping Quantu Xihu Jiahua* (Complete Illustrated Anecdotes of the West Lake with Additional Comments; publisher: Wenxuan Ju) has images by a painter close to Ren Yi and Hu Gongshou; another edition of the same text (*Xihu Jiahua*; publisher: Yunji Shuju, 1892) boasts as its frontispiece eighteen views of the West Lake by a follower of the leading Zhejiang landscapist, Yang Borun.

#### *Advertising Imagery*

It was also in the 1870s that advertising entered the visual culture of Shanghai, eventually constituting a separate and major system of image production. *Gezhi Huibian* was one missionary-established magazine to carry advertisements, while *Shenbao* included advertisements with simple visual imagery. From 1884 on, Major additionally tried to draw upon his house artists to make advertisements a regular feature of *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*. The call for advertisements required information to be sent in just ten days ahead of time, and sought to attract advertisers with the promise of reaching an audience that would not spend time reading but would be attracted by the magazine's pictures.<sup>33</sup> The early pages of advertisements, from the mid-1880s, juxtapose images





Figure 1. Wu Youru, illustration to Wang Tao's story, 'Xu Huixian' from the series *Songying Manlu*. From *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* 43 (1885).

of machines (water pumps, lithographic printing presses) copied from Western publications with depictions by the Dianshi Zhai illustrators of business premises whose products or services were being advertised. In these latter advertisements one largely sees publishing concerns, bookshops, and the paper and fan shops in which paintings were sold (figure 2). As Yu Yueting has pointed out, these advertisements were often for different parts of the *Shenbao* publishing empire.<sup>34</sup> We might also include here, as a form of advertising, the calendars that *Shenbao* began to distribute free to subscribers in 1885, and which in that year were illustrated with opera scenes, 'all the work of famous artists.'<sup>35</sup>

## II

## SHANGHAI ART BOOKS AND THEIR IMAGES, 1875-1895

Although the above systems of image production differ functionally and aesthetically from the art book illustrations to be examined below, I have discussed them at some length because they need to be borne in mind as constituting collectively the silent term against which the system that is the focus of this essay took on meaning. This system consists of printed images that adhered closely to the normal practice of painters, both in their subjects and their aesthetic. Indeed, in this case the artists involved were either practising painters, for whom illustration was simply a useful extension of their normal activity, or illustrators affirming a separate identity for themselves as painters. This corresponded precisely to the needs of the publishing industry which in this domain was seeking to provide paintings in printed form, taking advantage of the reproductive potential of the lithographic process, usually, to produce what I shall call, for lack of a better term, 'art books.' Ideally the artists were to be presented and perceived as painters rather than as specialist illustrators.

The thirty or so art books from the period of about 1875 to 1895 that I will introduce here (undoubtedly more remain to be identified) include thousands of images by more than ninety contemporary artists.<sup>36</sup> In the face of this daunting mass of material, the relationship of image to text offers a pragmatic means of categorization, beginning with a distinction between:

a) books in which illustrations and text are of comparable importance. These tend to be books of pictures on a specific subject with accompanying commentary (*xiangzhuān*, *xiangzān*, *tuji*, *tushuo*, *huazhuān*, and so on), and

新開九華堂箋扇莊廣告

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帳簿簡  
帖蘇杭各種雅扇廣東葵  
筆關東  
鵬翎毛扇博製潔淨顏料  
青赤泥  
全圍屏 進呈繅絲壽幛  
名人書  
畫綾錦裱對專備東洋印  
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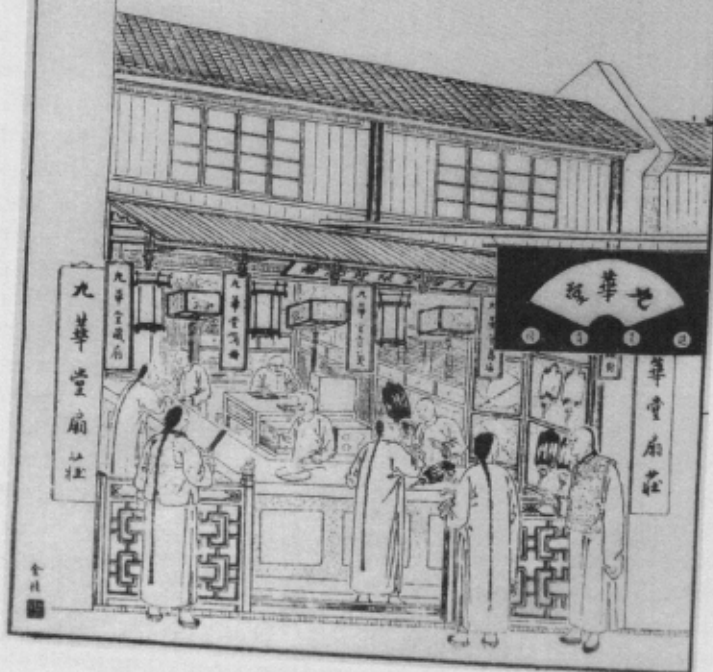


Figure 2. Jin Gui, 1889 *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* advertisement for the Jiuhua Tang letter paper and fan shop. From the 1983 Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe reprint, 16/73b.

b) books in which the textual component is secondary to the illustrations, the images themselves providing the *raison d'être* of the publication. These books are generically termed *huapu* (or *huazhuan* in an old meaning), literally, painting manuals. They were sometimes the work of a single artist and sometimes the result of a collaboration of many artists.

As the differences in terminology suggest, this is by no means a purely formal taxonomy but correlates with different publishing genres as these can be traced in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Refining this schema slightly, the art books fall into three relatively well-defined genres which come together not only through formal similarities but also through intertextual references: books of pictures with accompanying commentary, single-artist *huapu*, and collaborative *huapu*.

In practice the art books were the result of a collaboration between painters, calligraphers and writers, with writers often doubling as calligraphers. For reasons of space, however, the presentation that follows is restricted to the painters' role in each publication. Consequently it has to leave almost entirely out of consideration the problems of image-text relationships and of collaboration among professionals of different kinds. The focus, in other words, is not on the art books themselves in all their complexity, but on the production of images for one particular publishing context.

#### *Books of Pictures with Accompanying Commentary*

As had traditionally been the case, books of pictures with corresponding texts in this period almost always concentrated on a single theme. It is hard to discern a pattern to the themes chosen beyond the fact that they almost always focused on the human figure. One can appropriately begin by noting the woodblock reprint of about 1877, with a new preface by Sha Fu (1831-1906), a leading Suzhou painter, of *Gaoshi Zhuan Tuxiang* (Illustrated Biographies of Hermits) – a book first printed in Suzhou in 1857 with illustrations by the Xiaoshan artist, Ren Xiong (1823-1857). This was one of four books, designed by Ren Xiong in the 1850s, which anticipate later the Shanghai practice of artist involvement in book production in much the same way that Ren Xiong's practice as a painter was a seminal influence on Shanghai painting.<sup>37</sup> The connection can be seen in direct form in a publication of 1879, when Tongwen Shuju reprinted another of Ren Xiong's four

books, the *Jianxia Xiangzhuan*, but added to Ren's thirty-three pictures an additional thirty-nine new images by a different artist under the name *Xu Jianxia Xiangzhuan*.<sup>38</sup> In the mid-1880s a third of Ren Xiong's books, *Yu Yue Xianxian Xiangzan* (Illustrated Biographies of Former Worthies of Zhejiang) was being offered for sale in a lithographic reprinting by Dianshi Zhai.<sup>39</sup> The year 1886 saw the publication of a lithograph-printed edition by Tongwen Shuju, of all four of Ren Xiong's books under the title *Ren Weichang Xiansheng Huazhuan Sizhong* (Master Ren Weichang's Four Sets of Illustrated Biographies). Not only did this incorporate the 1879 additions to the *Jianxia Xiangzhuan* but now the uncompleted *Gaoshi Zhuan Tuxiang* was expanded to ninety images by an unidentified illustrator.<sup>40</sup> This edition of Ren's books is also notable for the alterations made to some of Ren's own illustrations. As first published, these had depended for their effect on the large expanses of space left blank within the frame, but in the 1886 edition the space is almost completely filled by a calligraphed version of the biographical text that had originally been kept separate in printed form.<sup>41</sup> While this change has been decried as a defacement of Ren Xiong's design, it can be considered more positively as a reappropriation, in which the striking feature is the almost compulsive fusion of image and text, instruction and entertainment.

Several new works of this kind appeared during the 1880s. In 1881 the Wuxi artist Pan Jin furnished the designs for a woodblock-printed book of portraits of characters from *The Tale of the Three Kingdoms*, entitled *Sanguo Huaxiang*, apparently published in Guangdong (Tongyin Guan).<sup>42</sup> In 1882, responding to the success of an 1879 Zhejiang art book, *Honglou Meng Tuyong* (Illustrations with Poems to *The Dream of the Red Chamber*), based on an album of paintings by Gai Qi (1744-1829), the Dianshi Zhai (Shenchang Shuhua Shi?) publishing house brought out a sequel using the designs of an artist from Jiangyin to the north of Suzhou, Wang Yijie. Wang's book, entitled *Zengke Honglou Meng Tuyong* (Expanded Illustrations with Poems to *The Dream of the Red Chamber*), included 120 portraits instead of the original fifty.<sup>43</sup> Again, there are texts on the pages facing the images. Wang Yijie's sequel seems also to have been successful, giving rise the following year, 1883, to a companion work depicting 160 male and female figures from history, also published by Dianshi Zhai's Shenchang Shuhua Shi. Entitled *Yüxiu Tang Huazhuan* (Illustrated Biographies from the Hall of Nurtured Elegance), the book maintained the format of pictures with a



曾記髫年學寫真寫真難  
得是靈神年非骨相清癯  
甚白髮蒼顏認此生 世  
難竹杖看雲過詩酒琴棋  
與佳我身隨身無別物一肩  
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facing text. Wang Yijie included an unannounced self-portrait on the final page of the third *juan* (figure 3). One of the striking features of this book is its close relationship to the books designed by Ren Xiong thirty years earlier; many of the images rework Ren Xiong's designs, keeping the basic ideas but giving them new forms. The self-affirmative demonstration of skill takes Wang's work far beyond any simple visual plagiarism, turning the reworked images into a homage to Ren Xiong. Another intertextual reference was introduced by the inclusion of a preface by Pan Jin, designer of the 1881 *Sanguo Huaxiang*. Even more obvious was the reference in the title to an eighteenth-century work of the same kind, Shangguan Zhou's *Wanxiao Tang Huazhuan*, which was reprinted by Dianshi Zhai around the same time.<sup>44</sup> Ren Xiong's younger brother, Ren Xun, made his own contribution to the genre the following year, 1887, with *Lidai Mingjiang Tu* (Pictures of Famous Generals of History), published by Dianshi Zhai, a work comprising one hundred pictures, each accompanied by biography and commentary.<sup>45</sup> The military theme reflects nationalist preoccupations in the wake of China's defeat in the Sino-French war of 1884.

Aside from warriors, historical figures and fictional characters, the other main subject of books of pictures with accompanying commentary was women, as seen in the various contributions to the sub-genre of *baimei* (hundred beauties) depictions. Thus in 1887, the Suzhou artist Qiu Shouyan designed a work called *Xinzeng Baimei Tushuo* (One Hundred Commented Pictures of Beautiful Ladies), which is clearly modelled on the two eighteenth-century works, *Baimei Xinyong* (New Encomia to One Hundred Beautiful Ladies, 1755) and *Lidai Mingyuan Shici* (Poems to Famous Elegant Beauties of History, 1773, reprinted by Dianshi Zhai in this period under the title *Lidai Mingyuan Tu*).<sup>46</sup> Qiu Shouyan's book was no doubt the model for the one hundred beauties that Wu Youru depicted between 1890 and 1893 over the same number of issues of the *Feiyang Ge Huabao* under the title *Guiyan Huibian*.<sup>47</sup>

There were also more radically updated versions of this same *baimei* genre. In 1887, another branch of the Shenbao publishing empire, Wenchao Guan, published an ostensibly journalistic set of fifty portraits of contemporary courtesans, entitled *Jingying Xiaosheng* (Mirror Reflections and Sounds of Flutes). The portraits were accompanied on the facing pages by encomia written by, for the most part, Suzhou literati in a variety of scripts. This book was technically and commercially unusual in that it was printed by the copperplate method

in Tokyo; this accounts for the sharpness of definition essential to its luxurious decorative character. The illustrations were by the Zhejiang artist Xu Genglang, a minor follower of the highly influential Zhejiang figure painter, Fei Danxu (1801-1850).<sup>48</sup> It only took five years for another publisher, Huayu Xiao Zhuju, to take advantage of photo-lithography to produce an updated version of *Jingying Xiaosheng* under the less elegant title of *Haishang Qinglou Tuji* (Annotated Pictures from the Pleasure Houses of Shanghai, 1892). In this smaller-format and presumably cheaper work, Xu Beisheng's original fifty portraits (which are now associated with different names and biographies) are interspersed with fifty new ones attributed to the otherwise unknown 'Master of the Qin Garden, from Siming' (Mt Siming, in Zhejiang). A second, expanded edition of *Haishang Qinglou Tuji* was published in 1895. The additional illustrations in both editions were also pirated, in this case from Wu Youru's one hundred images of contemporary women that had recently been published in *Feiying Ge Huabao* under the collective title *Huzhuang Shinu*.<sup>49</sup> Wu's successor, Zhou Quan, also contributed to this genre in the form of a giveaway with each issue of *Feiying Ge Tuji Huabao* under the title *Shizhuang Shinu*.

#### Single-artist Huapu (Painting Manuals)

Single-artist *huapu* have a long history, going back to the Song dynasty, and were sporadically produced all the way through to our period. Only two earlier nineteenth-century publications need be mentioned here, however, as direct antecedents of the Shanghai examples. One is Liu Yin's 1838 *Wuxiang Ting Huagao* (Draft Sketches from the Wuxiang Pavilion) which uses the term *huagao* in its title, thus making a connection between the landscape illustrations and the secrets of the studio that will be discussed below; Liu Yin, from Ningxiang in Hunan, served as a court painter. The second is Zheng Ji's *Menghuan Ju Huaxue Jianming* (Explanations of the Study of Painting by the Recluse Menghuan). Published in Guangzhou during the Tongzhi period (1862-1874) in five *juan*, it anticipates the Shanghai interest in self-promotion disguised as instruction.

The earliest example of a Shanghai single-artist *huapu* known to me is a very fine woodblock-printed book of pictures of miscellaneous subjects entitled *Renzhai Huasheng* (The Painting Achievements of Renzhai), Renzhai being an artist from the Ningbo area of northern Zhejiang by the name of Chen Yunsheng (1820-1884). Originally pub-





Figure 4. Chen Yunsheng, *Winter Landscape*,  
from *Renzhai Huasheng* (1878), 2/15.

lished by Fugu Huanshe, the first edition of this work comprises four volumes of 160 images in all; it bears a frontispiece dated 1876, several prefaces dated 1877, and a title slip dated 1878 (figure 4). The preface writers include such Jiangsu painters as Hu Yuan (1823-1886) from Songjiang, Wu Tao (1840-1895) from Jiaying, and the young Huang Shanshou (1855-1919) from Wujin. Ren Yi (1840-1896) from Shanyin (Shaoxing) in Zhejiang, already recognized as the preeminent portraitist of Shanghai, contributed a superb likeness of the artist.<sup>50</sup> Other such printed portraits by Ren Yi must exist, since, according to his contemporary, Zhang Mingke (1828-1908), Ren Yi was in great demand for frontispiece portraits for the publications of writers.<sup>51</sup> Chen Yunsheng's book was soon pirated by a Japanese publisher who undercut the price of the original edition, to the despair of the artist.<sup>52</sup> It may also have been quickly reprinted in a lithographic edition, since it is advertised in a Dianshi Zhai price-list of the mid-1880s.<sup>53</sup>

In the wake of Chen Yunsheng, an artist from Nanjing, Wang Yin, published a series of five woodblock-printed painting manuals devoted to specific genres. These books, however, were published, not in Shanghai, but in Osaka (though they were sold in Shanghai as well as Japan).<sup>54</sup> While based in Shanghai in the 1870s, Wang Yin had found a market among Japanese customers, which led to an invitation to visit Japan, and ultimately, since he was highly appreciated, to a decision to base himself there. An apparently lucrative arrangement led to his design of *Yemei Shipu* (Paintings of Rocks by Yemei, 1881), *Yemei Lanzhu Pu* (Orchids and Bamboo by Yemei, 1882), and, according to various sources, *Yemei Renwu Pu* (Figures by Yemei).<sup>55</sup> A fourth manual devoted to plum blossoms, *Yemei Meipu*, did not follow until 1891; it was printed in Shanghai.<sup>56</sup> All but the figure manual were reprinted together in China at a later date by a Hefei publisher. Along with these single-genre *huapu*, however, Wang Yin also produced one *huapu* of a very different kind, in which he included his scaled-down versions of 116 Chinese paintings from collections in the Kyoto-Osaka region. The book was printed in Osaka in 1883 under the title *Yemei Huapu: Lidai Minggong Zhenji Suoben*, but again was sold in Shanghai as well as Japan.<sup>57</sup>

During the 1880s, several other artists joined Chen Yunsheng and Wang Yin in designing their own *huapu* selections. In 1885, a gifted painter from Haining in Zhejiang, Ma Tao, designed two volumes of illustrations to poems entitled, respectively, *Shi Zhong Hua* (Paintings in Poems; figure 5) and *Tingyun Xiaoxie Huasheng*.<sup>58</sup> Ma Tao is also



Figure 5. Ma Tao, *Figures Looking at the Moon's Reflection*, from *Shi Zhong Hua*, Rongbao Zhai 1986 reprint, original edition 1885.

reported to have produced another *huapu* known under the title *Jing-jiang Huapu*, probably published some time in the 1880s.<sup>59</sup> Chou Ju-hsi has noted that Ren Xun produced a *huapu* devoted to arhats, *Shiliu Luohan Yingzhen Tu Huapu* (Painting Manual of Pictures of the Sixteen Arhats) printed not in Shanghai but in Xiaoshan.<sup>60</sup> *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian* notes the publication, in 1886, of a manual by one of Ren Yi's students, Yu Li (1862-1922, from Shanyin), entitled *Tingyu Lou Huapu* (Manual from the Pavilion for Listening to the Rain).<sup>61</sup> Ren Yi's own work was made available to the general public in 1887 through a woodblock-printed (?) *huapu* entitled *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Zhenji Huapu* (Manual of Genuine Paintings by Master Ren Bonian), published by a certain Hu Weidan who owned the paintings. Fan formats predominate in the 100 images, but in keeping with its title, the manual represents every aspect of Ren Yi's work with the exception of portraiture.<sup>62</sup> Two years later, in 1889, Xiuwen Shuju published a very fine lithographic edition of the work of Yu Li under the title *Shanyin Yushi Huagao* (Draft Sketches by Master Yu of Shanyin).<sup>63</sup> Unlike Ren Yi's *huapu*, which faithfully reproduces a variety of painting formats, the designs in Yu Li's manual were produced specifically for the book to standard dimensions (figure 6).<sup>64</sup>

The best-known *huapu* of all, however, was a new, lithographic edition of the landscape volume of the *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, 1679) published in 1888 on the basis of designs apparently produced by a student of the Jiaxing artist Zhang Xiong (1803-1886), Chao Xun (1852-1917), also a native of Jiaxing. Through its numerous later reprints, this has become the version of the manual with which most people are familiar today. The 1888 designs are rather free copies of the original ones by Wang Gai and have their own distinctive late nineteenth-century character, reflective of the style of Zhang Xiong.<sup>65</sup> Curiously, *Haishang Molin* mentions another edition from the 1880s, this too instigated by Zhang Xiong. According to this account, Zhang Xiong entrusted the project to another of his students named Zhou Yong, who completed the more than four hundred designs in less than three months, only to die shortly after at the age of twenty-eight, having exhausted himself. The book was printed by Zhang Yi who, like Zhang Xiong, was from Jiaxing.<sup>66</sup> The entry on Zhou Yong in *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian* also mentions this edition, comparing it favorably with the Chao Xun-designed version.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 6. Yu Li, *Bird and Full Moon*, from *Shanyin Yushi Huagao* (1889).

Finally, there can be little doubt that in giving up *Feiyang Ge Huabao* in favor of the non-journalistic *Feiyang Ge Huace*, Wu Youru was self-consciously entering *huapu* territory.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, a number of the printed compositions are also known in painted versions.<sup>69</sup> Zhou Quan's *Feiyang Ge Tuji Huace* must similarly have had the character of a serialized *huapu*.

### *Collaborative Huapu (Painting Manuals)*

It was through collaborative *huapu* that Shanghai painters (distinct from illustrators) were most thoroughly implicated in book production. As in the other two genres, the pioneering examples date from the later 1870s. The 1879 *Hudie Qiu Zhai Suocang Huace* (An Album of Paintings in the Collection of the Master of the Butterfly Autumn Studio) includes works by both ancient and modern artists. Among the latter were such prominent Shanghai artists as Hu Yuan, Qian Hui'an (1833-1911, from Shanghai), Zhang Xiong, Ren Yi, Yang Borun (1837-1911, from Jiaying), Zhu Cheng (1826-1899/1900, from Jiaying), Wang Li (1813-1879 or 1817-1885), Ren Xun (1835-1893, from Xiaoshan), Sha Fu, Hu Zhang (1848-1899, from Tongcheng in Anhui) and Ma Tao.<sup>70</sup> The Master of the Butterfly Autumn Studio was a government official by the name of Tang Guangzhao. According to *Haishang Molin* (1920), Tang served in the Jiangsu region, at one point as magistrate of Nanjing, and was a skilled calligrapher in his own right. In the tradition of natives of Shexian in Anhui, he was a keen collector, accumulating a very large collection of calligraphy and painting.<sup>71</sup>

Although I have not been able to establish details of a second collaborative publication of the late 1870s, *Shanghai Mingjia Huaniao Huagao* (Flower-and-Bird Sketches by Famous Shanghai Artists),<sup>72</sup> for the more ambitious *Haishang Mingren Huagao* (Sketches by Famous Shanghai Artists) published in a lithograph-printed edition by the Tongwen Shuju, about 1885, nine artists contributed one hundred images.<sup>73</sup> There were rocks from Zhang Xiong, figures from Qian Hui'an, figures and animals from Ren Xun, landscapes from Yang Borun, rocks, bamboo, and so forth from Hu Yuan (figure 7), and a diverse range of flowers and plants, birds, animals, and figures from Xu Xiang (from Shanghai). The roster of famous masters also includes the native Shanghai figure painter Shen Zhaohan (Shen Xinhai), a leading student of Qian Hui'an who had one of the several fan shops in the famous Yu Garden (Shi'er Lou Jianshan Si). Deng Qichang from Nanjing contributed the chrysanthemums for which he was well-



龍山人寫竹得  
飛舞之態今仿其  
縣崖晴翠一頓

Figure 7. Hu Yuan, *Bamboo and Rock*,  
from *Haishang Mingjia Huagao* (about 1886).

known,<sup>74</sup> while orchids were supplied by a Suzhou painter, Zhou Jun, whose speciality they were. Presumably this book circulated in Japan as well, because one year later, in 1886, two of the designs by Shen Zhaohan were illustrated in a Tokyo art journal. Alongside these large-scale publications, there were also smaller ones such as the 1886 woodblock-printed *Xihu Shiba Jing Tu* (Eighteen Views of the West Lake) with landscapes by Yang Borun and flowers by Ren Yi, published by Yujing Tang.

One collaborative *huapu* appeared not as a book, but in serialized form in the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, starting with the thirty-first issue in 1885. An announcement in *Shenbao* explained:<sup>75</sup>

In the two regions around Suzhou and Hangzhou famous painters are numerous. We have commissioned Messrs Ren Bonian (Ren Yi) (figure 8), Ren Fuchang (Ren Xun), Sha Shanchun (Sha Fu), and Guan Qu'an<sup>76</sup> to paint, in advance, careful depictions of figures, flowers and plants, and birds and animals.<sup>77</sup> For next month's second issue, the thirty-first issue of the journal, we are preparing to add two pictures to the front of the issue, without any caption, and afterwards will give [further pictures] away in each issue. In addition, the double page will not be cut, so that they can be separated to preserve the different achievements of the various artists, or kept together as a pair. In the future, once they accumulate it will be possible to mount them as an album: not only will those who want to do copies be able to treat them as a painting manual (*huapu*), but they will brighten your windows and purify your table – to enjoy the whole set will be the height of appreciation for the elegant man. Will you gentlemen give me leave in this?

Although this 'giveaway *huapu*' remains to be reconstructed, it is not unlikely that some of its images were incorporated into the huge collaborative manual that *Dianshi Zhai* published around the same time (1885-1886).<sup>78</sup> A book of small dimensions but many pages, *Dianshi Zhai Conghua* (Collected Paintings of the *Dianshi Zhai*), is a gladbag assortment of images by Chinese painters old, recent, and contemporary, alongside others reprinted from Japanese illustrated books, in addition to illustrated books (both Chinese and Japanese) reprinted in their entirety. Although I have not seen any examples, much of the material had apparently already been published separately by *Dianshi Zhai*. To quote the preface: 'In recent years our press has printed more





Figure 8. Ren Yi, *Han Xin Being Fed by the Washerwoman*, from *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* 43 (1885).

than six hundred paintings of all kinds, and all that scattered material is here brought together. But there is scarcely a shortage of famous painters in this country, so we have also gathered a number of their images.' There were, in fact, contributions from more than thirty contemporary artists, grouped by genre.<sup>79</sup> One of the illustrators, Fu Jie, played a particularly important role in the publication, adding inscriptions to many of the Japanese images and supplying the calligraphed postface explaining the project.

It was undoubtedly the accumulation of collaborative *huapu* through the late 1870s and 1880s that led the publisher (Hongwen Shuju) and editors of the 1888 version of the *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting) to commission designs from a wide range of artists active in and around Shanghai for supplementary sections featuring the work of contemporary painters. These sections were each entitled *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu*. A great many artists participated, confirming Huang Shiquan's 1883 statement that 'The calligraphers and painters from different provinces who have gained a reputation from their art in Shanghai number upwards of a hundred at least.'<sup>80</sup> One of the notable features of the list of names is the large number of students and followers of a few leading masters: Zhang Xiong, Hu Yuan, Ren Yi, Zhu Cheng, and Qian Hui'an. Not unlike *Dianshi Zhai Conghua*, separate sections were devoted to landscape (one *juan*) (figure 9), and birds, animals, flowers and plants (two *juan*).<sup>81</sup> It was not until 1897, however, that the final part of the reworked *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, devoted to figure painting, was printed. It, too, included a one-*juan* appended selection of contemporary 'paintings' under the name *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu*.<sup>82</sup> However, in another example of the many dating problems surrounding illustrated books of this period, a number of the images included are also known from a publication with an 1893 preface, *Mingjia Shinu Huapu* (Manual of Women by Famous Masters). Once again, the relationship between the two publications involved remains to be clarified. It is worth noting that in contrast to the roster of contributors to *Dianshi Zhai Conghua*, published at the home of specialist lithographic illustration, not one of the contributors to the *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* belonged to the world of the specialist lithographic illustrators.

*Huapu Caixin* (A New Painting Manual Selection), which I have only seen in a 1903 lithograph-printed edition put out by the Hongwen Ge but which is already listed in the 1896 catalog of the Chinese scientific



Figure 9. Yang Borun, *Landscape*, from *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* (1888). Tianjin Shi Guji Shudian, 1987 reprint.

Book Depot, was probably originally published by Yujing Tang in 1888.<sup>83</sup> Like *Dianshi Zhai Conghua*, and belying its title, this book incorporates previously published material such as the eighteen views of Hangzhou's West Lake by Yang Borun which are taken over from Yujing Tang's 1886 *Xihu Shiba Jing Tu* (Eighteen Views of the West Lake). Perhaps, then, there are earlier sources still to be found for the more than one hundred other images by fifteen artists. The already familiar names include Zhang Xiong, Qian Hui'an, Sha Fu, Ren Xun, Yang Borun, Shu Hao, Hu Yuan, Zhu Cheng, Ren Yi, Pan Zhenyong, Lu Peng, Cao Hua, and Tang Peihua. The selection also includes work by Dai Zhaochun, son of Dai Xi, and a *jinshi* of 1877.

Finally, the 238-leaf *Gujin Mingren Huagao* (Sketches by Famous Artists Past and Present) was originally published by the publishers of *Feiyang Ge Huabao*, Hongbao Zhai, in 1891.<sup>84</sup>

Looking forward from the 1875-1895 period, collaborative art books continued to be published after 1895, but there were almost no new publications by the generation of artists that dominated the pre-1895 period.<sup>85</sup> Instead, most of the post-1895 publications involved a new generation of painters and need not concern us here.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, quite a number of post-1895 works made use of earlier material in ways that do require at least passing mention. Some may turn out to be later editions of otherwise unknown pre-1895 publications. Less straightforwardly, in certain cases earlier printed images were pirated, to be incorporated into new selections or even published under the name of a different artist. And in other cases, paintings by late nineteenth-century artists were posthumously used as designs for illustrated books. In the light of these later practices such diverse publications as *Minghua Jijin* (1897), *Haishang Erda Mingjia Huapu* (1924), *Sanxi Tang Huabao* (1924), *Cungu Zhai Conghua* (about 1925), and *Shanchun Renwu Shanji Huapu* (about 1925) also deserve attention.<sup>87</sup>

#### *Painters' Contributions to Other Print Media*

As a postscript, it should be noted that book publishing and journalism were not the only areas in which Shanghai artists became involved in graphic art. In the realm of color woodblock-printed New Year pictures (*nianhua*), for example, Qian Hui'an created a number of influential designs, one dated 1890, for the Tianjin (Yangliuqing) workshops.<sup>88</sup> Bo Songnian has identified the source of certain other Yangliuqing *nianhua* designs as being images from two *huapu* based on *huagao* by



Figure 10. Zhu Cheng, *Bird and Lotus Pod*, from *Zhu Menglu Huaniao Jian*, Changchun Shi Guji Shudian 1983 reprint of original edition, about 1892.

Qian Hui'an, *Qian Jisheng Renwu Huapu* and *Qingxi Huapu*, neither of which I have been able to find.<sup>89</sup> In Shanghai itself, meanwhile, the advent of photo-lithography was leading to new forms of New Year's print, with Dianshi Zhai leading the way.<sup>90</sup> The *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* reader could sometimes receive a free New Year's print in the New Year issue of the magazine. In 1888, for example, the print (hand-colored) was designed by one of the magazine's house illustrators, Jin Gui.<sup>91</sup> Dianshi Zhai also offered for sale, as early as 1884, lithographic reproductions of paintings of auspicious subjects such as the immortal Magu, Liu Hai, and the Hehe twins, all available either mounted or unmounted. While some of these images were improbably attributed to early masters, others were the work of no less a contemporary artist than Ren Yi. Notably, Ren produced a large (about two meters high) New Year's Print of the assembled gods (city god, earth god, god of the hearth, and god of wealth). The print is unlikely to have closely resembled traditional hieratic depictions, however, since it was advertised as *An Assembly of Gods in a Landscape*, the landscape setting introducing an appropriately modern element.<sup>92</sup>

In fact, the interested Dianshi Zhai customer could choose from nine different lithographed 'paintings' by Ren Yi, most of which were not New Year's prints at all but rather straightforward substitutes for real paintings; they were in this sense closely related to his contributions to the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* noted above and to the art books in general. Ren Yi's lithographed 'paintings' were available mounted as hanging scrolls or unmounted as single sheets of paper, sometimes with the choice of monochrome or (probably hand-added) color. Prices varied accordingly, ranging from one *yuan* six *jiao* for a mounted colored version of the *Assembly of Gods*, to a mere six *fen* for an unmounted sheet of a monochrome *suichao tu*. Alongside Ren's images, Dianshi Zhai proposed examples of work by various other contemporary painters, including Shu Hao, Zhou Xian, and Wang Yijie.<sup>93</sup> All of the Dianshi Zhai offerings of this kind were in the hanging scroll format. Closely related are the books of decorative letter papers (*jianpu*) designed by Zhu Cheng for a Tianjin publisher, Wenmei Zhai, in the 1890s. *Zhu Menglu Huaniao Jian* (Flower-and-bird Letter Papers by Zhu Menglu), a book of one hundred miscellaneous designs resembling in effect a large painting album, was first published by Wenmei Zhai, about 1892 (figure 10).<sup>94</sup> There also exists a similar book (title unknown) designed for the same publisher by Zhu Cheng in

1894-1895, this a woodblock-printed accordion-mounted book with hand-added colors, a poor man's album of twenty four 'paintings' of bird and animal subjects.<sup>95</sup>

Finally, the *jianpu* by Zhu Cheng and others are not only interesting as publications in their own right, of course, but also serve as an indirect reminder that Shanghai artists designed letter papers for separate sale. It is particularly interesting that one undated *jianpu*, woodblock-printed in color, was published by the Jiu Hua Tang (*Hall of the Nine Treasures*), which was one of the most important fan shops in late nineteenth-century Shanghai, representing Ren Yi and others.<sup>96</sup>

### III

#### PAINTING'S MODERN PUBLIC SPACE AS SEEN FROM PRINTED IMAGES

It is in some ways easier to discern the emergence of modernity as a central concern of Chinese painting through the vast, seemingly peripheral body of printed images than through painting proper. The oblique vantage-point offered by the books reveals the transformation of painting as an institution, as a practice, and as a representational field. While many different historical processes combined to create a new and modern public space for painting in pre-1895 Shanghai, three are especially visible through the illustrated books. These are: the emergence of Shanghai as a commercial and cultural crossroads at the intersection of a region, a network of littoral cities, and the outside world; the development of a leisure market into which painting was incorporated; and the emergence of a new social mechanism of artistic celebrity. All three testify to a relationship between painting and mass culture long before the end of the century.

#### *Shanghai as Crossroads*

In the eighteenth century, Yangzhou's prosperity had drawn to the city artists from many other places, as well as from its own satellite towns. However, if the Yangzhou art world was the expression of a larger regional art world, the region with which it was continuous was essentially the Jiangbei region; artists might come to Yangzhou from Hangzhou in Zhejiang or Huizhou in Anhui, but these more distant places were not culturally bound to Yangzhou in the way that Yangzhou's satellite towns in Jiangbei were. By contrast, the Shanghai art world had a much more extensive regional character, systematically

incorporating the artists of a huge catchment area that covered the two provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.<sup>97</sup> As Gao Yong, patron of Ren Yi and Xugu, wrote in his preface to Yang Yi's *Haishang Molin* (1920): 'South and north of the Yangzi there are innumerable painters. It is impossible to know those who work locally or live in seclusion. But those who pack their brushes and follow the wind on their travels inevitably come to Shanghai.'<sup>98</sup> From this point of view, a closer antecedent than Yangzhou was Guangzhou, whose art world earlier in the nineteenth century demonstrated the same continuity with its surrounding region. All the artists cited above, whatever their origins, were Shanghai artists, taking on the sort of double identity – local and metropolitan – that had previously been more common among court painters. Correspondingly, the art books take shape through their numerous contributors as microcosms of this art world that was at once metropolitan and regional. In the case of *Renzhai Huasheng*, for example, the preface writers repeatedly make the point that Chen Yunsheng's landscape images specifically depict the local landscape of eastern Zhejiang province, of which Chen and most of the writers were natives. On the other hand, the book had a strong metropolitan dimension; not only had Chen Yunsheng been active in Shanghai, but all its other contributors were based in either Shanghai or Beijing.

The Shanghai art world also had links with other cosmopolitan centers in China. This second axis of cultural geography can be seen in Zhu Cheng's letter-paper designs for the Tianjin publisher, Wenmei Zhai; in the fact that the leading publishing house, Tongwen Shuju, was a Cantonese company; and in the prefaces contributed by Beijing-based writers to Chen Yunsheng's *Renzhai Huasheng*. An 1889 article, 'The Development of Lithographic Publishing in Shanghai,' notes the distribution of lithographic-printed books nationwide and mentions the presence of branch bookshops of the Shanghai companies in Beijing, Chongqing and Guangzhou. It would also be interesting to know to what degree other urban centers contributed to the production of illustrated books on the same model. Wenmei Zhai, for example, published a book of letter paper designs similar to Zhu Cheng's, using designs by a Tianjin flower painter, Zhang Zhaoxiang.<sup>99</sup> And it was a Shanghai-based artist, Lu Hui (1851-1920), who in 1896 took charge of the court-sponsored project of illustrating a Yuan dynasty text on princely education.<sup>100</sup>



The Shanghai art world thus took form at the intersection of a region (Jiangsu-Zhejiang) and a trans-regional network linking Shanghai and other cosmopolitan centers. However, the intersection is still more complicated since one also has to take into account Shanghai's links with the outside world (Japan, the West). With Guangzhou again as an antecedent, Shanghai's centripetal relationship to its surrounding region and interactive relationship with other large cities developed in tandem with a cosmopolitanism of international character. Western art historians have traditionally stressed Shanghai's connections with the West, seen in the domain of art books most significantly in the role played by Dianshi Zhai. As we have seen, Dianshi Zhai functioned as a force for a Western-oriented cosmopolitanism in Shanghai visual culture, initially in the area of pictorial journalism through the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, and subsequently in book illustration elsewhere by illustrators associated with the magazine. For the full-time painters, however, who were far more discreet in their experiments in hybridity, the more important axis was probably the one that linked Shanghai with Meiji Japan. In the absence of any detailed study of this question, the following points will give some idea of the importance of the connection.

We have already seen that Chinese artists were commissioned for illustrated books by Japanese patrons (Wang Yin), and that Chinese images were reproduced in Japanese publications (Shen Zhaohan). Chinese artists also contributed prefaces to Japanese illustrated books. As early as 1875, Hu Yuan and Zhang Xiong contributed prefaces to a Japanese illustrated book entitled *Seiwan Meien Zushi* (Pictorial Record of the Blue Sea Tea Gathering). This was a record of an exhibition of utensils used in the Chinese-style *sencha* tea ceremony, which was not only a favorite practice of Japanese Nanga painters but by this time had become part of Japanese urban culture.<sup>101</sup> These various book-related activities were part of a larger phenomenon of close ties between the Nanga painting world in Japan and the world of Shanghai painting between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Many artists were involved in this interchange in different ways. Some Shanghai painters, like Hu Yuan, Zhang Xiong, and Dai Zhaochun, never left China but had contact with Japanese artists and sold to Japanese customers in Shanghai,<sup>102</sup> and, as we have seen, participated in the Japanese art world through their prefaces to *Seiwan Meien Zushi*. Some formerly Shanghai-based

painters, such as Wang Yin, made a career for themselves in Japan. Among the other professional painters and calligraphers who visited Japan in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were Chen Manshou, Feng Gengsan, Hu Zhang, Zhu Yinran, Pu Hua, and Wu Qingyun.<sup>103</sup> Finally, there are the Japanese *nanga* painters such as Yasuda Rōzan (responsible for the frontispiece illustration to the Japanese edition of *Huyou Zaji*) who came to China to study and perhaps to work professionally, and who had connections with leading Shanghai painters.<sup>104</sup> Some of these individuals studied with Hu Yuan.<sup>105</sup>

Shanghai-Japan connections were not restricted to Nanga painting. *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, for example, regularly included more or less fanciful representations of Japanese life which sometimes touched on the art world, for example, an account of an exhibition of painting in the Western manner. We have already seen that one Shanghai publisher was prepared to have a book (*Jingying Xiaosheng*) printed in Tokyo in order to take advantage of copperplate-printing technology unavailable in China, and that a Japanese publisher pirated Chen Yunsheng's *Renzhai Huasheng*. It should also be noted that Japanese copperplate printings of Chinese books were available in Shanghai through at least two publishing companies, Huiying Ge and Fuying Shuju. (The latter was a Japanese company that also published *huapu*).<sup>106</sup> And Dianshi Zhai was willing to incorporate images from Japanese illustrated books, many of them of Ukiyo-e type, into its *Dianshi Zhai Conghua*. Indeed, the Japanese material in the *Dianshi Zhai Conghua* raises the question whether the interest in *huapu* painting manuals in China in the 1880s had anything to do with a knowledge of the innumerable Japanese *gafu* painting manuals of both Nanga and Ukiyo-e type that were produced throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>107</sup>

#### *The Leisure Market*

Descriptions of Shanghai from as early as the mid-1870s reveal the existence of a huge and highly differentiated leisure market, that is, a network of commercially offered or sponsored services catering to the leisure time of the Shanghai population and visitors to Shanghai. Wang Tao's *Yingruan Zazhi* (1875) notes: the popularity of keeping birds as pets, the different kinds of theater available in the city, sightseeing in temples and gardens, displays of lanterns, flowers, and art objects (in shops) according to the season and the festival, the existence of a museum, and the practice of watching the rowing competitions of

the Westerners. The Shanghai guidebook *Huyou Zaji* (1876 and 1878) has brief entries on many of the above, plus: Western restaurants (which also had Chinese customers), regional Chinese restaurants, teahouses, Guangdong-style teahouses, opium houses, brothels, bathhouses, traditional Chinese theater, Western theater, horse-racing, Western magicians' shows, shadow theater, Japanese acrobats, Chinese fireworks, bird markets run by people from eastern Guangdong where Western birds could also be bought, the circus (Western-style), quail-fighting, lotteries, and the study of English. A few years later, Huang Shiquan in his *Songnan Mengying Lu* (1883) further enlarged the range of leisure activities to include: Japanese teahouses, which were now numerous, ballad-singers, story-tellers, riding in horse-drawn carriages, ice-skating, bowling, Western and Japanese-style brothels, fair-ground attractions, evening performances of theater, and newspapers, including ones written in non-literary language. Many of these leisure activities were also visually represented in *Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* (1884), Wu Youru's *Shenjiang Shengjing Tu* (1884), and *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* (1884 onwards). In all the above-cited publications, one also finds massive evidence for what was, perhaps, the major leisure activity of the Shanghai Chinese population: observing the city's foreigners and everything associated with them. All of these activities are presented as part of a discourse of *qi*, the fascinatingly strange.

Leisure is also one of the fundamental subjects of the art books, constantly reiterated through a choice of themes whose diversity obscures their shared context in urban leisure. Narrative themes allude to novels and the theater,<sup>108</sup> and poetic themes to the still important place of poetry in elite social intercourse, as well as all the traditional activities such as flower-viewing or visits to the countryside that were now being recontextualized by metropolitan life with its intensification of the urban/rural divide. Historical portraits refer to *la petite histoire* of story-telling and popular education; contemporary portraits of courtesans refer as much to urban gossip as to the leisure industry of prostitution, which was also signified clearly enough by the genre of *meiren* (beautiful women) paintings. The ubiquitous cats and birds represent two of the most important kinds of urban pet. Flowers direct the viewer toward gardens, parks and flower displays (often sponsored by businesses) but also to domestic spaces where potted flowers were fundamental elements of the decorative environment.

Still lifes and depictions of the ultimately edible have their context, needless to say, in eating: completing the circle, restaurants, like other leisure establishments, were prominently decorated with paintings.

Although reading and picture-viewing were leisure activities in themselves, they receive little attention in the guidebooks, probably because these were primarily directed toward leisure activities of a public character. To be sure, the authors note Shanghai's flourishing publishing industry and register lithographic printing as an important innovation, but the consumption of books itself lay beneath the threshold of this kind of extreme public visibility. We have to look elsewhere to find attention to the reading activities implicit in the expanded production of novels, technical works, and illustrated books in the 1870s, 80s, and 90s. Paradoxically, it was visually rather than textually that late nineteenth-century urban society represented to itself most consistently its investment in reading. The book is ubiquitous in portraiture of the time: in the now standard photographic portraits, in Ren Yi's celebrated painted portraits of fellow professionals in the art world and the world of letters, and in Wu Youru's printed pseudo-portraits of courtesans – all of which consistently establish a context of leisure for the sitter. It is entirely characteristic that Chao Xun, to whom went the credit for the reworking of the *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, should have included a portrait of himself, book in hand, in the *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* appended to the final part of the manual.

For a better sense of how the books themselves were expected to fit into the leisure context, one can also turn to their prefaces. One of the many prefaces to Chen Yunsheng's *Renzhai Huasheng* is particularly illuminating. Written by a certain Wang Jixiang, it includes a description of the writer's first encounter with Chen's work, during a visit to the artist in the company of a friend. The artist brings out many examples of his work, then the book and, after calling for wine, the three men go through the book slowly, drinking and composing poems all the while. The scenario is one of literati friendship and community affirmed within a context of leisure, which establishes a model and guide for the reception and use of the book by the owner. This same model is often built into the structure of the books by the multiplication of contributors, all of whom observe the necessary fiction that their presence is the result of a leisure activity. (We need not assume that readers/viewers were unaware of this fiction; it is more interesting to

ask what kind of public would have found in this anonymity of the crowd an echo of its own situation). The leisure value for the reader/viewer would seem, then, to have combined instruction in basic literati skills (and thus social respectability) with entertainment of a kind that mixes high and low culture. These appear in different measure according to the book in question, but their combination nonetheless provides one way of discerning the contours of the public at which the art books were directed; it may be more accurate to think of the public as one that the art books were helping to bring into being. It was apparently not a literati public, but one for which literati culture had prestige as a model. Often, there is a fusion of instruction and entertainment that also suggests a certain cultural insecurity. More positively, one notes the consistent emphasis on quantity (multiplication of images and contributors, emphasis on variety) as well as a clear respect for skill. Finally, it was a public for which leisure, as an alternative to and reward for work, was a meaningful concept.

In line with this, contemporary attempts to define the public for Shanghai painting agree that the painters were basically servicing the business community, as one might expect given the city's commercial character. They also agree – but here we have to take into account the class consciousness of intellectuals clinging to a literati heritage – that customers bought for show. Wang Tao, in the early 1870s, is not tender:<sup>109</sup>

The vast majority of those who do business in Shanghai are without discernment. When they want to take on airs of elegance, they spare no expense to buy calligraphies and paintings, and only pay attention to the name, without any real appreciation.

Huang Shiquan in 1883 is no less disabused. After listing a selection of leading artists with their specialities, he continues:<sup>110</sup>

The common crowd of butchers and vendors consider it a glory to own an example of their work. But the finest work does not necessarily come from the most famous artists, and the work of famous artists is not guaranteed to be fine. One person offers praise and the crowd echoes it. From this one can glimpse something of the lack of sophistication of common Shanghai people.

And Zhang Mingke, writing somewhat later, keeps up the refrain, this time with regard to the public for a single artist, Zhu Cheng:<sup>111</sup>

He worked as a painter in Shanghai and made a brilliant reputation for himself. In his late years he scorned fans and small-scale works, and yet his prices got ever higher and the demand ever greater. People in business all hoped to obtain a fan by him, considering it a great thing to be able to have one in their sleeves during their comings and goings.

From this last account one can see that for this populace painting was not always associated with leisure, as with the fans integrated into the work environment as well. It would be a mistake, of course, to reduce the audience for Shanghai painting or for printed images to the city's commercial classes alone; one only has to think of Ren Yi's many portraits of fellow-artists and writers. However, one might be justified in speculating that the business public was the basis of an emerging mass market which did not preclude more specialized markets.

*Between Anonymity and Intimacy: Celebrity*

How many famous artists, *mingjia*, could there be? The titles of the collaborative *huapu*, *Shanghai Mingjia Huaniao Huagao*, *Haishang Mingjia Huagao*, *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu*, *Mingjia Shiniu Huapu*, make claims for the participating artists that are repeated in the prefaces and postfaces that frame these galleries of images. We are bringing together the famous artists of our time, say the publishers and editors; but the publishing enterprise in which they were engaged required 'famous artists,' even if they had to be invented for the purpose, or, in a less cynical interpretation, speculatively asserted as worthy candidates. For an early, if not quite contemporary, discussion of celebrity in the 1870s and 1880s we can turn to Wu Woyao's satirical novel, *Ershinian Mudu zhi Guai Xianzhuang* (Bizarre Happenings Witnessed over the Last Twenty Years), set during that period. Chapter thirty-five describes a social gathering in a Shanghai brothel at which an amateur painter is present.<sup>112</sup> In professional life Tang Yusheng is a *maiban*, a comprador, an English-speaking middleman between Western and Chinese business concerns, and the very model of the Shanghai self-made man:

Yusheng said: "To become famous is easy as pie. Look at me: if I didn't think much of myself, I would have spent my whole life as nothing more than a *maiban*. But ever since I got to know a few personalities, painted that picture called *Chanting Poetry in the Cottage for Whistling*, and asked them to inscribe appreciations,

and then took their poems of appreciation and sent them all to the newspaper office to be printed in the paper – ever since then it's been a lot easier for little old ignorant me to go out and make friends.' Finishing speaking, he burst into loud laughter. Then he went on: 'That *Chanting Poetry* picture of mine has already been inscribed by more than two hundred people. Lyric poems, song-poems, songs, prose-poems – all the genres are there; and the calligraphy has standard, cursive, clerical, and seal scripts – every one of the scripts. All that's missing is a set of *qu* songs, but I'm thinking of asking someone to slap one on at the beginning, and then there will be nothing at all to regret.' After this, he stretched his hands out and, counting them out on his fingers, listed the names of all the people who had inscribed poems, naming lots of Master So-and-sos, Masters of Such-and-such a place, Recluse So-and-sos, Poet So-and-sos, Poetry Guest So-and-sos... on and on, one after the other, in an endless list.

It is hardly necessary to underscore the many echoes in this story of the art books: the speculation in fame, the emphasis on large quantities, the shadow of an emergent mass culture, and the association of painting with merchants. The perception here is that fame is a form of capital, like wealth. Fame is capital because it can be turned into tangible gain, though the pay-off is not economic but social and psychological; the now famous *maiban* is welcome everywhere – he has access to others, contact with others, his isolation in a city of strangers falls away. But fame is further perceived as capital that is accrued through the manipulation of appearances, by a sort of sleight of hand. Already the choice of the *maiban* as exemplar of the practice is telling. It is in part the *maiban*'s ability to talk, to use language, to manipulate, that made him wealthy. The *maiban* is also the one who understands the system, the mechanisms of quantities and exchanges. Thus Tang Yusheng understands the key role of newspapers in the public domain, just as he understands that his private artistic enterprise has to be on an oversized scale in order to attract the attention of the newspapers and the public. Above all he has realized that celebrity requires visibility.

We might also note that if the pay-off of fame lay in contact with others, that is, paradoxically a kind of private access or intimacy, this was already figured within the books in the illusion of community

created by the accumulation of participants. This illusory community deserves a closer look. Fame had traditionally been associated with difficulty of access to the master's works, but now, through the art books, became associated with public exposure and accessibility. The artist was easily known to the viewer/reader, but only as a reputation;<sup>113</sup> for the artist, meanwhile, the viewer/reader melted into a general public. Fame based on public exposure of artworks was thus the corollary and symptom of a relationship that had become anonymous. The lost organic social connection, meanwhile, was formalized within the book. That is to say, the assembly of artists as a group in certain books and the proliferation of prefaces in others, create an illusion of community where there is in fact only a profession. To be sure, the profession could and did lead to a sense of community, as explored by Richard Vinograd in his study of Ren Yi's portraits, but it rarely corresponded to the communities staged in the art books for commercial purposes.<sup>114</sup> The latter have more in common with the interminable list of names of Chen Yusheng's fictional handscroll.

The question of access, of intimacy, was also widely dramatized in the very aesthetic of the bare (or bared) monochrome images. The printed images of the art books correspond, in the painter's practice, to *huagao*, ink sketches of either a preliminary or a mnemonic nature.<sup>115</sup> In fact, the very word *huagao* is incorporated into the titles of several of the books. The original sketches were not only used by the painter himself but also served as models for teaching apprentices, and as the bases for workshop production which would later be signed by the master. Now, however, they found a new use as the models for book illustrations, since the *huagao* was technically suited to reproduction processes that favored linear, black and white designs. Among the ancient functions of the *huagao*, it is probably its role as a teaching tool, a model for copying, that is most thoroughly preserved and developed by the art books, particularly the painting manuals. However, there are also cases where the book takes its cue from another of the *huagao*'s functions, that of recording an achieved composition. Ren Yi's *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Huihua Zhenji* is of this kind, giving a relatively full account of the master's art. And there are many other cases in which the printed image reveals a closer connection with a third function of the *huagao*, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image provided its own *raison d'être*, the artist having created the design specifically for the purposes of the book. The connection between *huagao*



and illustration is as old as book illustration itself, but the quantities of images involved in the Shanghai art books gave the *huagao* mode of representation an unprecedented prominence, both for individual artists and for the painting profession as a whole. This new prominence had several implications, for the artist's practice, for artists' relationship to each other, and for the artist's relationship to the public.

The visuality of Shanghai painting was defined at its borders by two contrasting approaches, one highly linear and patterned, the other abbreviated and spontaneous.<sup>116</sup> Both approaches lent themselves to translation into *huagao* and printed-image form, but conversely were also open to modification in the light of the artists' experience with preparing designs for books. In other words, the door was open for the new prestige of the *huagao* to affect the style of 'finished' paintings. An important instance of this reverse effect can be seen in a new genre of monochrome paintings virtually indistinguishable from *huagao*. See, for example, Ren Xun's *A Scholar and a Lady in a Garden* (1882) in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>117</sup> A different kind of example is seen in the late work of Ren Yi, in the early 1890s, where his paintings display a specific abbreviated immediacy that can properly be termed *huagao*-like. And again, Qian Hui'an in his late years placed increasing emphasis on the linear brushwork of his paintings, at the expense of the color washes that had earlier balanced the brushwork. In cases like this, one can see that the contribution of book illustration to a Shanghai visuality lay not simply at the margins of the painter's practice, but at its center.

*Huagao* were traditionally secret, shown only to the artist's students or assistants. The theft of an artist's *huagao* was a dramatic affair because it meant the loss of trade secrets. There is a lingering memory of the traditional system in the fact that *huagao* by Ren Yi were used for illustrations by his daughter, Ren Xia, in the *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu*. There is another memory of the old system in the alleged competition between Ren Yu and Ni Tian to obtain Ren Xiong's *huagao* after his death.<sup>118</sup> The Shanghai art books drew on the traditional aura of secrecy around the *huagao* for their success; they promised access to the studio, a kind of intimate knowledge of the artist, introducing a voyeuristic thrill into the viewing experience. At the same time, they functioned on another level as a taste of what the purchaser of a real painting could expect and thus took on a certain function of advertisement. This created a new situation, because what amounted

to the open publication of an artist's *huagao* in the Shanghai art books relocated the sense of mystery which was the basis of the artist's aura. The mystery that once was a matter of trade secrets, as symbolized by *huagao*, now became associated instead with fame, as seen in the printed images of the books. This has a parallel in the area of artistic property. The artist's *huagao*, never actually seen in their pure form, were traditionally the basis of the artist's claim to a specific artistic and commercial territory; they were a hidden source of authority. After the rise of the art books, by virtue of their utterly public character they functioned to some degree as a way of patenting the artist's ideas. It was in the public domain that the artist now established his claim, using publicly what had previously been hidden.

The public space of Shanghai painting, then, as seen from the illustrated books, was configured by the triple intersection of cosmopolitanism, leisure, and celebrity in their emergent modern forms; we are here at the beginning of a modern public space for painting in China. But with this conclusion, another conclusion suggests itself, one that introduces an opening into the argument I have been developing instead of imposing a closure. In the comparative perspective that any appeal to modernity calls for, it is not difficult to identify in Shanghai painting of the period 1875-95 reminiscences of familiar features of painting in, for instance, Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the nexus – cosmopolitanism, leisure, celebrity – is itself one shared characteristic that merits careful exploration. But one must also be struck by the profound ambivalence of artists in both metropolises toward modernity, which in each case led to a coupling of modern means with a focus on the leisure spaces that seemed to afford a refuge from modernity's pressures. What this points to is not the superficial connections of 'influence,' but structural homologies that only a truly global approach to the history of modern art can hope to explore adequately.

## Notes

1. The first lithographic printing presses were used by Shanghai's Tushanwan Yinshuguan. See Ji Shaofu editor, *Zhongguo Chuban Jianshi* (Shanghai, 1991), 272.
2. On the involvement of missionary translators in Zhizao Ju translations, see Adrian A. Bennett, *John Fryer and the Introduction of Western Science and Technology into Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge MA, 1967).
3. See Bennett, *John Fryer and his later Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens, 1983). The following discussion is based on Bennett's research. The question of image production in a Catholic missionary context in Shanghai is currently being researched by Wan Qingli of Hong Kong University.
4. Also important was the Tongwen Guan in Beijing, established 1862.
5. Ji, *Zhongguo Chuban Jianshi*, 332.
6. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist*, 153 and 265, note 5.
7. Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912* (Shanghai 1933), 56. The Shanghai Xiaohai Yuebao is not to be confused with the journal of the same name published in Fuzhou, which was a separate enterprise.
8. Bennet, *Missionary Journalist*, 99.
9. Cited by Bennett, *John Fryer*, 50.
10. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, 56-57.
11. Bennett, *John Fryer*, 60-61.
12. For the complete catalogue, see Bennett, *John Fryer*, 112-135.
13. Richardson's original work was published in 1880 by W. and A. K. Johnston, Handbook Series, Edinburgh and London.
14. *Catalogue of Educational Books, Works of General Knowledge, Scientific and Technical Treatises, etc., etc., etc., in the Chinese Language. Translated or Written by John Fryer, LLD* (Shanghai, 1894). A copy of this catalog, published by the Presbyterian Mission Press, is in the collection of the Essex Institute. My thanks to Roberta Wue for making a copy of this catalog available to me.
15. Xu Zaiping and Xu Ruifang, *Qingmo Sishi Nian Shenbao Shiliao* (1988), 319. The initiative is attributed by Britton to the *Shenbao* editor, Qian Xinbo. See Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, 69.
16. As to how they were recruited, Dianshi Zhai placed an advertisement in *Shenbao* during the sixth month of 1884, a month after the first issue of the magazine appeared (Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 84). Although the advertisement seeks famous artists (*mingshou*) to execute book illustrations, it is

- significant that the candidates were asked to submit an example of their work on the model of the images in the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, to the same dimensions. Another advertisement at the same time invited artists to submit illustrations to be reproduced in the magazine, at a fee of two  *yuan* per illustration (Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 336-337). This advertisement appeared also in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* with an accompanying image of the contributing artist at work.
17. In 1983, Guangdong Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprinted the entire run of the magazine in reduced form, unfortunately eliminating most of the advertisements and painters' contributions. For information on the magazine, I have largely depended upon Yu Yueting, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizu - *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* - Chutan,' in *Xinwen Yanjiu Ziliao* 5 (1981). See also Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, 69-71; and Fritz van Briessen, *Shanghai-Bildzeitung, 1884-1898: Eine Illustrierte aus dem China des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich, 1977).
  18. See Yuen-sang Leung, *The Shanghai Taotai: Linkage Man in a Changing Society, 1843-90* (Honolulu, 1990), 190. According to Leung, the publishing works employed 200 workers.
  19. There were two Shenchang Shuhua Shi bookshops, one in the British and one in the French concession. Advertisements for both, incorporating representations of the premises, appeared in the *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* in the mid-1880s.
  20. None of the illustrators are among the twenty-five leading painters listed in *Huyou Zaji* (1876) and only one (Ge Zun) is included by Zhang Mingke in his *Hansong Ge Tanyi Suolu* (completed 1908). In Yang Yi's *Haishang Molin* (1920, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe *Shanghai Tan Yu Shanghai Ren Congshu* reprint 1989: 78), only one illustrator (Wu Youru) is given his own entry, but an appendix lists the following *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* illustrators and notes that they 'were famous at the time' [*you shiming*]: Jin Gui (from Suzhou), Zhang Qi (Zhang Zhiying, from Suzhou), Tian Ying (Tian Zilin), Fu Jie (Fu Genxin [from Yaojiang in Zhejiang]), Zhou Quan (Zhou Muqiao), He Yuanjun (He Mingfu), Ge Zun (Ge Longzhi, from Haining in Zhejiang), Jin Ding (Jin Naiqing, from Daxing in Hebei), Dai Xin (Dai Zilian), Ma Ziming, Gu Yuezhou, Jia Xingqing, Wu Zimei, Li Huanyao, Shen Meipo, Wang Zhao, Guan Qu'an, and Jin Yongbo. Many paintings by Wu Youru have survived today. See, for example, *Shanghai Bowuguan Cang Haishang Minghua jia Jingpin Lu* (Hong Kong, 1991), number 47. According to their respective entries in *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian*, Ge Zun specialized in paintings of farming and fishing; Jin Ding

- painted flower and bird subjects and was a calligrapher and seal-carver as well; and Tian Ying's 1890 painting of *Bole Judging a Horse* is now in the collection of the Nanjing Museum. Fu Jie contributed a calligraphed preface to *Dianshi Zhai Conghua*; see below. Presumably all of the illustrators continued to produce paintings which would have been more valuable given their new fame.
21. Don J. Cohn identifies Zhang Qi as Wu Youru's mentor. See *Vignettes from the Chinese: Lithographs from Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth Century*, edited and translated by Don J. Cohn (Hong Kong 1987), 2-3.
  22. The entry on Jin Gui in *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian* (Shanghai, 1981), 555, notes that he and Wu Youru designed Taohua Wu New Year's prints, but at which point in their careers it is not clear.
  23. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, 71.
  24. On the Feiyong Ge family of publications, see Yu Yueting, 'Guangxu Nianjian de Feiyong Ge Huabao,' *Chuban Shiliao*, VII (1987), 32-35.
  25. See Shanghai Shifan Daxue editor, *Shanghai Fangzhi Ziliao Kaoyuan* (Shanghai, 1987), 464-465.
  26. Published by Shanghai's Guan Keshou Zhai. There exists another journalistic book on Shanghai from 1884, also woodblock-printed, which may be the work of the same publisher, *Haishang Fanhua Tu* (Pictures of Shanghai Prosperity). The relatively few illustrations are largely portraits of courtesans, perhaps based on photographs.
  27. Cited by Zheng Zu'an in his preface to the 1989 Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, *Shanghai Tan yu Shanghai Ren Congshu* reprint of *Huyou Zaji*, 5.
  28. There also exists a *Wu Youru Huitu Ping Changmao Shu* (Account of the Suppression of the Long-hairs with Illustrations by Wu Youru), put out by an unknown publisher in Shanghai in 1893. My thanks to Roberta Wue for this information. I have not yet been able to determine the relationship between the two works.
  29. These leading publishers are mentioned in Ji Shaofu's discussion of lithographic publishing in his *Zhongguo Chuban Jianshi*, 271-276. On Saoye Shanfang, see Zheng Yimei, 'Juyou Sibai Nian Lishi de Saoye Shanfang,' in *Shubao Huaqiu* (Shanghai, 1983), 79-81.
  30. For the serialization, see Yu, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizu,' 156. The book is listed in Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 332.
  31. Numerous other examples in the Dianshi Zhai style could be cited, for example the quite fine *Tuhui Wu Caizi Qishu* (Novel of the Five Young Talents, with Illustrations) published by Datong Shuju in 1888, and provided with introductory portraits and illustrations in the text by an

- unidentified artist. In a different genre, another high-quality example is the extremely small format *Huitu Haishang Kanhua Ji* (Record of Looking at Flowers [that is, visiting brothels] in Shanghai, with Illustrations), published by Shanghai Shuju in 1894.
32. In the mid-1880s, Tongwen Shuju in Shanghai advertised what may have been an earlier version of the same book, under the name *Zengxiang Sanguo Quantu*. See the text of Tongwen Shuju's advertisement for the newly published *Liao Zhai Tuyong*, in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, issue number 93 (1886).
33. See the call for advertisements illustrated in Cohn, *Vignettes from the Chinese*, frontispiece.
34. Yu, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizu,' 155. As noted above, the 1983 Guangdong Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint of the magazine generally omits the original advertisements, but a few can still be seen, for example one for the Jihua Tang paper and fan shop. I would like to thank Roberta Wue for drawing this to my attention.
35. Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 82. Two such early calendars, one with opera scenes distributed by *Shenbao* in 1889, and the other with journalistic scenes of Shanghai distributed by a lottery ticket company in 1896, are reproduced in Li Zhao, *Shanghai Youhua Shi* (Shanghai, 1995), 37.
36. Of course, one has to distinguish the minority of artists who illustrated entire books, or contributed to several different books, from the majority who contributed only a few images, in some cases only a single one.
37. The first of the four, *Liexian Jiupai* (Drinking Cards with Immortals), published in 1854, was inspired by Chen Hongshou's seventeenth-century designs for drinking cards. The only texts in this work were an introduction, a postscript and the brief inscriptions around each image. Two years later, in 1856, Ren was commissioned to design a book entitled *Sasan Jianke Tu* (Pictures of Thirty Three Warriors). Then, in 1857, Ren Xiong and a new group of collaborators created a new format, perhaps influenced by illustrated novels of the time, in which the text was often preceded by a set of illustrations introducing the characters. On that model, Ren Xiong's illustrations were grouped together at the beginning of the book, following the table of contents but preceding a printed text. Ren Xiong and his collaborators published three works in this format in Suzhou in 1857. The first was an expanded version of *Sasan Jianke Tu* entitled *Jianxia Xiangzhuan* (Illustrated Biographies of Warriors), which now included forty-eight images. The second was *Yu Yue Xianxian Xiangzan* (Illustrated Biographies of Former Worthies of Zhejiang), for which he created eighty designs. The third was *Gaoshi Zhuan Tuxiang*

- (Illustrated Biographies of Hermits), for which he had only completed twenty-six designs by the time of his death. Ren Xiong's books owe a particular debt, not only to Chen Hongshou's designs for drinking cards, but also to the *Wushuang Pu* of Chen's early Qing follower, Jin Guliang. Like Ren Xiong, both Chen and Jin were from northern Zhejiang province, so we are dealing here with a local tradition.
38. See Wang Zidou's postface to the 1987 Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint of *Gaoshi Zhuan Tuxiang*.
  39. See the 'Price-list of Books, Maps, Paintings, Calligraphy Rubbings, and Calligraphies Lithographically-printed by Dianshi Zhai' (hereafter, 'Price-list') published in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, issue number 93 (1887).
  40. See Wang Zidou's postface to the 1987 Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint of *Gaoshi Zhuan Tuxiang*.
  41. Wang Yijie's 1883 reworking of Ren Xiong's designs provide the intermediary step, since each biography is moved out of a separate text grouping all the biographies on to the page facing the relevant image. The 1886 designer then moved the biography off the facing page into the image itself.
  42. *Zhongguo Meishu Quanji, Huihua Bian* 20 (Shanghai, 1988), number 206.
  43. There was also a *Pingzhu Liaozhai Zhiyi Tuyong* (Annotated Illustrations and Poems to *Strange Stories from the Liaozhai*) published by Tongwen Shuju (1886 preface). In addition to the main body of figural illustrations, the book contains a frontispiece landscape illustration by Yang Borun.
  44. See 'Price-list.'
  45. Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 332 and 352.
  46. Also *Qin Huai Bayan Tu* (Eight Elegant Beauties of the Qin-Huai Area, 1838). See Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo Banhua Shi Tulu* (Shanghai, 1988), 1, number 139.
  47. Reprinted in the posthumous publication, *Wu Youru Huabao* (1908), reprinted by Shanghai Guji Chubanshe in 1983.
  48. Fei Danxu was another mid-nineteenth-century Zhejiang artist who anticipated the Shanghai painters' involvement in book designs of this kind. See his eighty-seven designs to the 1844 *Yinzhi Wen Tuzheng*, of which one is reproduced in *Zhongguo Meishu Quanji, Huihua Bian* 20, number 168.
  49. Reprinted in *Wu Youru Huabao*. See note 47 above.
  50. This was not the first portrait of Chen Yunsheng by Ren Yi. Ding Xiyuan notes an 1868 portrait now in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. See Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian* (Shanghai, 1989), *nianpu* section, 24.
  51. Zhang Mingke, *Hansong Ge Tanyi Suolu* (Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint, 1988), 71.

52. Oka Senjin, who spent several months travelling in China in 1884, recounts in his diary of the trip (*Guanguang Jiyou*, in Chinese in *Xiao Fanghu Zhai Yudi Congshu*) that when he visited the son of Chen Yunsheng, Chen Yuguang, the latter complained to him about the unfairness of what his compatriots had done (*juan* 5, 174a).
53. See 'Price-list.'
54. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, 'Study of a Chinese Painter Who Came to Japan in the Early Meiji Period - Wang Yin,' *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 319 (March 1982), 1-11.
55. See Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' 2. See also Yu Shaosong, *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* (Hong Kong), 1, *juan* 2, 20a-b, who reports that the preface to *Yemei Meipu* mentions that the series included a manual devoted to figure painting.
56. See Yu, *Shuhua Shulu Jieti*, 1, *juan* 2, 20a-b.
57. Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter.' The title slips for the various Japanese-printed works were written by Chen Manshou (died 1884), a Chinese calligrapher and painter active in Japan at the same time as Wang Yin. Chen is the subject, along with his daughter, of an 1879 portrait by Ren Yi. See *Ren Bonian* (Tianjin, 1988), number 13.
58. Judging by an early, but probably not original edition (publisher unknown) in the library of the Musée Guimet, the two volumes may always have been published together as a two-volume book under the name *Shi Zhong Hua* (altogether one hundred illustrations), and were printed by the lithographic process. The 1986 reprint by Rongbao Zhai, also under the name *Shi Zhong Hua*, omits the separate prefaces to the two volumes, obscuring the original dual structure of the book.
59. See the preface to the 1986 Rongbao Zhai reprint for the mention of *Jingjiang Huapu*.
60. Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796-1911* (Phoenix, 1992), 177 and 342, note 282.
61. *Zhongguo Meishujia Renming Cidian*, 576.
62. See the 1982 reprint by Shanghai Guji Shudian. As far as can be seen from this reprint, there was a frontispiece by Wu Dacheng and two prefaces by Wang Ziqing and Yu Yue.
63. Without seeing *Tingyu Lou Huapu*, it is impossible to tell what the relationship between Yu Li's two *huapu* was.
64. On the basis of *Shanyin Yushi Huagao*, one can speculate that a number of the paintings presently bearing Ren Yi's signature may eventually have to be considered workshop productions from the hand of Yu Li. For references to surviving paintings by Yu Li, see *Transcending Turmoil*, 347, note 349.



65. Zhang Xiong has also been credited, mistakenly, I believe, with compiling his own printed painting manual *Zhang Zixiang Ketu Huagao* (Zhang Zixiang's Instruction Manual of Painting). See *Transcending Turmoil*, 138 and 337, notes 139 and 140. The *Zhang Zixiang Ketu Huagao* known today is a 1921 Zhonghua Shuju edition based on designs copied by Ding Baoshu from Zhang Xiong's original *huagao* sketches, reprinted in 1984 by Wenwu Chuban She. I know of no evidence that there was an earlier printed edition using designs by Zhang Xiong himself. Yu Shaosong's *Shuhua Shulu Jieti* entry on this publication (1, *juan* 2, 18b-19a) only mentions a separate publication by Xiling Yinshe (early twentieth century, therefore) of 260 paintings, probably *huagao* sketches, by Zhang Xiong under the name *Zhang Zixiang Huapu*.
66. *Haishang Molin*, 72 (Zhou Yong) and 81 (Zhang Yi).
67. One cannot help but wonder whether Zhou Yong's designs did not find their way into the Chao Xun edition following the deaths of Zhou Yong and Zhang Xiong. Unfortunately I have not been able to examine a copy of the Zhou Yong edition.
68. A large proportion of these images were later reprinted, divided by category (figures from literature and history, beautiful women, birds, animals, and flowers, plants, and still lifes), both in the 1908 *Wu Youru Huabao* and in a 1909 publication that I only know through modern reprints: *Wu Youru Huagao* (Shanghai, 1983) and *Qingdai Wushi Huagao* (Hong Kong, 1979?).
69. See Wu Youru's twelve-leaf album of historical and legendary women in the Shanghai Museum, illustrated in *Yiyuan Duoying*, 54, number 17.
70. A copy of this rare publication is in the Library of Congress. My thanks to Roberta Wue for making available a xerox of that copy. An edition was advertised for sale by the Huandu Lou Bookshop in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* in 1887, issue number 103.
71. *Haishang Molin*, 77.
72. Much, if not all, of this publication appears to have been incorporated into the later compilation, *Dianshi Zhai Conghua* (see below). The contributors would seem to have included Tang Shishu (1831-1902, from Wujin), Wang Li, Ren Yi, Shu Hao, Ren Xun, and others.
73. The original draft sketches for this book are now in the collection of the China Art Gallery. Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Jiandingzu editor, *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu* (Beijing, 1986) 1, 60. There exists what appears to be a pirated edition by Shensi Caotang entitled *Haishang Mingjia Huagao*, which has a title page dated 1885 written by Hong Xihuang replacing the similarly dated titlepage by Xu Sangeng in *Haishang Mingren Huagao*.

There is also a later lithographic reprint of this book from 1909, which was published by the Tianjiao Tang publishing house under the title *Haishang Jiujia Huapu*.

74. In the list of twenty-five leading painters published in *Huyou Zaji* in 1876, Deng Qichang is included as a specialist of flower-and-bird, bird-and-animal, and figure subjects (page 69). In *Hansong Ge Tanyi Suolu*, Zhang Mingke praises his flower and plant subjects. For *Haishang Mingjia Huagao* Deng contributed a series of images of chrysanthemums.
75. Yu, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizu,' 155.
76. A Dianshi Zhai illustrator.
77. Due to the ambiguity of the wording, it is not entirely clear whether only these four artists were involved, or a larger group.
78. A large number of these giveaways are in the Rare Books Collection of C.V. Starr Library at Columbia University.
79. *Landscape*: He Yu (1852-1928, from Shanghai, initially a follower of Hu Yuan and Ren Yi, later a student of Zhu Cheng), and Fu Jie (a Dianshi Zhai illustrator). *Figures*: Fu Jie, Ren Xun, Qian Hui'an, Sha Fu, Ma Tao, Shen Zhaoan, Cao Hua (1847-1913, from Shanghai, a student of Qian Hui'an), Hu Xigui (Suzhou-based), Chen Weizhi (a female painter from Suzhou), Yin Quan (Yin Xiaoxia, from Changshu near Suzhou), Shao Bo (Shao Meixi), Chen Xie, and others as yet unidentified. *Animals*: Ren Xun, Ren Yi, Shu Hao (from Ningbo), Chen Xie, and the Dianshi Zhai illustrator Tian Ying. *Flower-and-bird*: this section apparently incorporates the images of the earlier *Shanghai Mingjia Huaniao Huagao* (see above), but adds to them new designs by Hu Yuan, Zhang Xiong, Zhu Cheng, He Yu, Zhou Zou (from Dongyan in Zhejiang), Wang Xingqiao (from Shanghai), Xu Kai, and others as yet unidentified. *Insect compositions*: Ren Xun, Hu Yuan, Zhou Zou, and Wang Ziyin, and others as yet unidentified. *Plum blossom, pine, bamboo, etc.*: Zhu Cheng, He Yu, and Zhang Zhen (Zhang Jiaju, from Suzhou), and others as yet unidentified. *Still lifes*: He Yu, Ren Xun, Hu Yuan, Zhou Xian (1820-1875, therefore posthumously, from Jiaxing), and Zhou Fuqing.
80. *Songnan Mengying Lu*, 139.
81. *Landscape*: one *juan* with contributions from Chao Xun, Yang Borun, Ren Yi, Shu Hao, Wang Yin, Jin Dejian (born 1810, from Suzhou), Wu Qingyun (died 1916, from Nanjing), Wu Guxiang (1848-1903, from Jiaxing), Zhu Yinran (from Zhejiang, student of Hu Yuan), Jiang Tonghui (from Shexian in Anhui), and a number of known or apparent followers of Zhang Xiong in addition to Chao Xun, including Shen Jing (from Shanghai), Zhang

- Bingxie, Ye Yu, and others as yet unidentified. *Birds, animals, flowers and plants*: two *juan* with contributions from Ren Yi, Zhu Cheng, Qian Hui'an, Hu Zhang, Chao Xun, Shu Hao, Wang Yin, He Yu, Xu Xiang, Yu Li, Xugu (1823/4-1896, from Shexian in Anhui), Wu Changshuo (1844-1927, from Anji in Zhejiang), Zhu Yi (from Wuhu), Pan Hong (from Wujiang, student of Zhang Xiong), Shao Chengxin (from Jiaxing, a follower of Zhang Xiong), Song Hai (died 1914, from Haiyan in Zhejiang, a student of Zhu Cheng), Zhang Jia'e (1864-1925), Wang Xianyi (a female painter from Taicang), Zhou Hua (a female painter from Gaocheng), Hua Yun (from Suzhou), Xu Hongda, Jiang Shou, Xia Pei, Wang Zhen, Li Xi, Zhao Di, Jiang Lianfeng, and others as yet unidentified.
82. The *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* figure-painting contributors are: Chao Xun, Qian Hui'an, Wu Guxiang, Shu Hao, Wang Yin, Cao Hua, Shen Zhaoan, Tang Peihua, Yu Li, Zhang Zhen, Pan Zhenyong (1852-1921, from Jiaxing), Li Fu (from Zhuji in Zhejiang, student of Ren Yi), Ren Xia (from Shanyin, Ren Yi's daughter), Ni Tian (1853/5-1919, from Yangzhou), Lu Peng (died 1921, student of Qian Hui'an), Pan Lai (from Shanghai, student of Qian Hui'an), Wu Yin (1867-1922), Zou Jun (from Wuxi in Jiangsu), Zhou Henian (from Xiaoshan), Wang Yishou (from Xiaoshan), Wang Zhen, Hua Yun, Li Lan, Qiu Gan, Zhu Xu, Wang Yewen, and others as yet unidentified.
83. Judging by information kindly passed on to me by Dr Ludmilla Borotova of the National Gallery, Prague, which appears to have a copy of the first printing in its collection.
84. Noted by Hongxing Zhang in James Cahill and others, editors, *New Interpretations of Ming and Qing Paintings* (Beijing, 1994), 92. Unfortunately, I came upon this information too late to be able to incorporate a description of the book in the present article.
85. This is not true, however, of novelistic illustration, where the *Dianshi* Zhai illustrators continued to be active into the 1900s.
86. One later publication worth noting for its continuation of late nineteenth-century *Haipai* styles is Tongwen Shuju's *Yunxi Shangguan Huagao* (Shanghai, 1915) whose illustrator I have not been able to identify.
87. *Minghua Jijin* (Compilation of Famous Paintings) (1897) is a lithographed collaborative *huapu* published by Shanghai Shuju. It includes 166 images by ten prominent artists: Ren Yi, Zhang Xiong, Zhu Cheng, Sha Fu, Hu Yuan, Ren Xun, Ma Tao, Xu Xiang and a Wujiang follower of Wang Li, Xu Zhen (1841-1915). However, the fact that three of these artists had died more than a decade earlier, the internal coherence of the selection, and the low quality of this particular edition combine to suggest that the

- 1897 edition may be a reprint of an earlier work. *Haishang Erda Mingjia Huapu* (*Huapu* of Two Famous Shanghai Masters) (1924) was published in a very poor quality lithographed edition by an unidentified publisher in 1924. The two masters in question are Qian Hui'an and Cao Hua, and the images themselves bear various dates from the 1870s to the 1890s. *Sanxi Tang Huabao* (1924), published by Dahua Shuju, includes a very large selection of images, divided up among ten thematic headings, for the most part taken over from earlier publications. Its sources include the 1888 *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* and Wang Yin's manuals of the early 1880s. The eight-volume *Cungu Zhai Conghua* (Compendium from the Studio for Preserving the Past) (about 1925), published by the Jiyun Shuwu, includes yet another interesting selection of late nineteenth-century images, including all the images of the *Haishang Mingjia Huagao*, alongside more contemporary designs. Finally, as its title suggests *Sha Shanchun Renwu Shanji Huapu* (Painting Manual of the Fans of Figure Subjects by Sha Shanchun) (about 1925), published by Yucai Shuju, purports to reproduce works by Sha Fu. About half the book does indeed reproduce lithographic versions of album leaves by that Suzhou painter; all the fan images, however, were taken from Ren Yi's 1887 *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Zhenji Huapu*. On each pirated image, the seal of Ren Yi has been replaced by a seal of Sha Fu.
88. See Wang Shucun, 'Huajia Qian Hui'an yu Minjian Nianhua,' in *Zhongguo Minjian Nianhua Shi Lunji* (Tianjin, 1991), 297-307; and Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo Nianhua Shi* (Shenyang, 1986), 69-70, who also notes that the Yangliuqing workshops copied compositions by Qian's student, Shen Zhaoan, but gives no dates. See also Chou Ju-hsi's discussion of Qian Hui'an in *Transcending Turmoil*, 133-134.
89. Bo, *Zhongguo Nianhua Shi*, 69-70.
90. As for color woodblock-printed New Year's prints, judging by prints now in the collection of the Shanghai Municipal History Museum there were at least five manufacturers in Shanghai around 1900 (Feiyang Ge, Yunxiang Zhai, Baohe, Lao Wenyi, Shen Wenzhi), all concentrated in the area of Jiu Jiaochang Street in the Chinese city near the Temple of the City God. Among the designers at that point was the former *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* artist, Tian Ying. It remains to be seen whether the production of New Year's prints in Shanghai itself (as against Suzhou) can be traced back into the pre-1895 period, and to what extent Shanghai painters were involved.
91. Issue number 141. A surviving example, still bound into the magazine, is in the collection of the library of the Musée Guimet, Paris.
92. Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 349.

93. This account is based on a full-page advertisement of lithographed artworks for sale that appeared in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* in the late 1880s. Calligraphers were also represented, with examples of work by Hu Yuan and Wu Dan.
94. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shudian, 1983, under the title *Zhu Menglu Huaniao Jian*.
95. Collection of the author.
96. Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo Banhuashi Tulu*, 1, number 345. According to Ge's *Huyou Zaji*, 19, letter papers were sold by the same shops that sold fans, contemporary paintings and calligraphies, and artists' materials, sometimes generically called 'fan shops.' Ge Yuanxu notes that the leading shops in the concessions were: Guxiang Shi (with which Hu Yuan had a particular connection), Manyun Ge, Lihua Tang, and Jinrun Tang; in the Chinese city, the main establishments were Deyue Lou, Feiyun Ge (in the Yu Garden), and Lao Tong Qun. Jiuhua Tang was established at a later date, as was, presumably, Xihong Tang, which advertised a number of times in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* (see issues numbers 86 and following).
97. See Chou Ju-hsi's detailed analysis of the origins of Shanghai painters in *Transcending Turmoil*, 102-109. One especially large group of painters came from the northern counties of Zhejiang province - Shaoxing, Ningbo, Jiaying, Hangzhou - that is, the same region that supplied a large proportion of Shanghai's bankers, merchants, and compradors. By moving to Shanghai the painters were following their natural patrons, as well as opening up a new market for themselves. Another large group of painters came from Suzhou and surrounding towns, where painting was long-established as a component of that area's handicrafts industry. A further contribution of Suzhou to the Shanghai art world was, as we have seen, through the export of illustrators, independent artisans on a lower level, who by moving to Shanghai were adapting to the creation of a new mass-market publishing industry. Suzhou was in addition, along with Songjiang, one of the most important sources of calligraphers/writers, whose title slips, frontispieces, prefaces, colophons and postfaces were crucial components of the art books.
98. Yang, *Haishang Molin*, 5.
99. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shudian, 1983, under the title *Zhang He'an Baihua Jian* (Zhang He'an's One Hundred Flower-design Letter Papers).
100. *Transcending Turmoil*, 216.

101. Patricia J. Graham, 'The Development of an Architectural Setting for the Japanese *Sencha* Tea Ceremony,' *Orientalism* (September 1991), 74-75.
102. *Transcending Turmoil* includes one painting by Hu Yuan for a Japanese patron, Shoto, bought for him by a Japanese visitor to Shanghai, Kotani Murata (130-131). Chou Ju-hsi cites the poetic eulogy *Twelve Masters in Calligraphy* cited by Wang Tao in *Yingruan Zazhi*, which says of Hu Yuan, 'A piece [from his hand] is worth a city in Japan' (126). *Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* includes an illustration of Japanese customers buying paintings (old paintings in this case) in Shanghai.
103. Although this is not the place to make the case for Nanga influence on Chinese painting, some of these artists can be argued to have incorporated certain ideas from Nanga painting into their own work. On their visits to Japan, see Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' I-II. These Shanghai painters were preceded by such Cantonese painters as Luo Qing, as shown by Tsuruta.
104. A *Shenbao* editor, Huang Shiquan, in his *Songnan Mengying Lu*, notes Rōzan as a painter of landscapes and plum blossom. This text is included in Shanghai Guji Chuban She, *Shanghai Tan Yu Shanghai Ren Congshu* (1989 reprint), 102. For other artists, see Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' 77.
105. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, *Kindai Chūgoku Kaiga* (Recent Chinese Painting) (Tokyo, 1974), 25.
106. See the advertisements for Huiying Ge and Fuying Shuju (incorporating representations of their premises) in *Dianshi Zhai Huabao*, issue number 102 (1887).
107. It also raises two other questions which go beyond the bounds of this article. Does the Guangxu period interest in sets of portraits of courtesans have any connection with the long-standing Japanese practice of this genre in *ukiyo-e*? And is the inclusion of Hokusai-style designs in *Collected Paintings of the Dianshi Zhai* a post-facto indication that the Hokusai style played some role in forming the Ren Xiong/Ren Yi mode of painting? The more linear version of the Shanghai style of painting best represented by Ren Yi, and derived from Ren Xiong is customarily defined through its roots in the art of their seventeenth-century northern Zhejiang predecessor, Chen Hongshou. But their part of the Zhejiang coast is also an area with close artistic contacts with Japan going back to the Ming dynasty. The fact that certain unpublished leaves of Ren Xiong's celebrated album of one hundred illustrations to poems by Yao Xie (Palace Museum, Beijing) betray a direct knowledge of illustrated books by Hokusai argues for a formative Japanese connection.

108. As noted in the biographies of *Haishang Molin*, numerous painters were also practitioners of the *kunqu* genre of theater.
109. Wang Tao, *Yingruan Zazhi*, 73.
110. *Songnan Mengying Lu*, 140.
111. Zhang, *Hansong Ge*, 121.
112. This novel has been partially translated by Shih Shun Liu, under the title *Vignettes from the Late Qing* (Hong Kong, 1975).
113. In this pre-photojournalistic world, we can already see the first hints of the artist's transformation into a public figure. In the illustrated books, the self-portraits of Wang Yijie and Chao Xun, or Ren Yi's portrait of Chen Yunsheng, all point in this direction. A number of the images in Ren Yi's *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Zhenji Huapu* and Yu Li's *Shanyin Yushi Huagao* are suggestive of rather ostentatious self-representation in various disguises or personae. By the first years of the twentieth century, leading artists of this period – Ren Yi, Ren Xun, Hu Yuan – will appear, mythologized, in novels.
114. Richard Vinograd, 'Portrait and Position in Nineteenth-Century Shanghai,' in *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (New York, 1992).
115. Many such sketches have survived. For a wide range of examples by Ren Yi, see the recent Renmin Meishu Chubanshe compilation, *Ren Bonian Zuopin Ji* (Shanghai, 1993).
116. The artists themselves referred to the former as a *gongbi* (fine brush) or *yuanhua* (academic) style, and to the latter as a *xieyi* style.
117. *Transcending Turmoil*, number 62.
118. See *Transcending Turmoil*, 345, note 320.