Art Worlds

Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai

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Introduction

Picture of Three Friends

A group portrait by the Shanghai artist, Ren Bonian (also called Ren Yi, 1840–1895), titled *Sanyou tu* or *Picture of Three Friends*, shows three men, including the artist, united in friendship (Figure i.1). Seated cozily in a small circle on the floor, Ren Bonian together with Zeng Fengji in the middle and Zhu Jintang to the right are shown deep in conversation and appear to look up upon the arrival of a newcomer. Their gathering is demonstrably a gentlemanly one: each turned to the other, their intimate communion is suggested not only by their physical proximity and similarity in dress and pose, but is also given form in the monumental pile of scrolls and albums heaped on a nearby low table, artworks that they will examine and share. This collation of motifs was not uncommon in Chinese portraiture—together they were understood to represent the sitters' mutual connection on profound levels of friendship, learning, and social status. Conviviality and congeniality were thus united with cultural pursuits, coalescing into the established group portrait type of the *yaji*, or elegant gathering, which were often modeled on the activities of the ancients.[1] This particular elegant gathering, however, dates to 1884 and is located in late Qing Shanghai. The portrait politely represents the gathering in the decorous terms of elite male friendship and its refined rituals, but it also makes frank reference to other kinds of ties and relationships. Ren Bonian himself hints at these other possibilities in his inscription, where he is uncharacteristically forthcoming on the circumstances of the painting: "The two gentlemen, Jintang and Fengji, have requested [Ren] Yi paint their portrait, then permitted [him] to sit [with them], calling it [a picture of] *Three Friends*. Very fortunate, very fortunate."[2]

This inscription is notable for Ren Bonian's explanation, however abbreviated, of the painting's making and its references to social hierarchies and realities, in which Ren seems to gratefully, even obsequiously, accept the status of friend to the other two men. Richard Vinograd has commented on the ambiguous social terrain occupied by this work, and the

Figure i.1 Ren Bonian, *Picture of Three Friends*, 1884, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 64.5 x 36.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

picture indeed subtly addresses the rapidly transforming territory of the Shanghai art world of the late nineteenth century.[3] As Ren Bonian's deferential phrasing suggests, the respective status of the three men was neither equal nor uniform, though at least two of them were significant figures in this new art world: Ren Bonian was, of course, one of the most celebrated painters of late Qing Shanghai and at the height of his career in 1884, and, though nothing is known of Zeng Fengji (likely also an artist), the third man, Zhu Jintang, was the owner of a letter-paper and fan shop, Jiuhuatang (Hall of Nine Treasures). Fan shops traditionally sold art supplies, but Shanghai fan shops had expanded their offerings to paintings and calligraphies by contemporary artists. Located in the foreign concessions, Jiuhuatang was associated with some of Shanghai's more prominent artists—Zhu Jintang may therefore be understood to be Ren Bonian's de facto agent. The painting thus depicts a grouping that was both more and less than an archetypal elegant gathering: this *yaji* is expressly overlaid with contemporary concerns in its concomitant representation of a business meeting, a conference between a dealer and his artists, and the complex interactions between figures in the Shanghai art world at large. The multiple terms of the three men's relationships, running the gamut from idealized to mundane, are reinforced by the multiple identities of the art works on the table: rolled-up scrolls bunched in a large container, another set of scrolls tied together with

cloth, heaped albums large and small, some bound in silk. All are represented with monumentalizing care and detail and in their depiction form almost a physical continuum with the three men. Established symbols of culture and learning, the scrolls and albums retain their place as lofty cultural relics, objects over which the sitters connect and communicate—and also deal. In their additional roles as articles of exchange, these goods constitute the dealer's inventory and the artists' products. The insistent presence and weighty fact of these art works, pushing their way into the portrait in all their profusion and variety (the cropping of the table suggests an ongoing expanse of art works stretching out of view), suggests their conceptualization not as disembodied pictures or "art" (a concept not yet in use in late Qing Shanghai), but actual objects and, of course, things of value that have their own place at the table.[4]

The very picturing of this event suggests the sitters' concern with legitimizing their cultural and social standing while at the same time shaping their representation to acknowledge new realities. The image also assumes an audience to whom they must present themselves—recognized by the three who stop their conversation to look out of the painting. Portraits are usually made for sitters who also form the portrait's primary audience, but the existence of outside viewers is confirmed in this case by two other contemporary inscriptions that appear on the painting, both requested by Zhu Jintang, the apparent owner of the painting. One is by the official and calligrapher, Zhong Dexiang (1840–1905), and dates to 1884, the year of the portrait's making. The other dates slightly later to 1886 and is by the calligrapher Xu Yunlin who has also inscribed the title in archaic script. Both men were presumably friends, clients, or colleagues of Zhu Jintang and possibly the other sitters.[5] The built-in awareness of potential viewers by this portrait is a common enough characteristic of Qing portraiture, but the alert and expectant demeanors of the three men and the intensified expectations of the viewer so typical to Shanghai painting underline a tacit understanding of the sitters' own subjecthood as well as an acute awareness of being on view. As such, the portrait seems to mark its own place in an ebb and flow of encounters and exchanges that themselves were potentially social, professional, and economic in nature.

With its intriguing dynamics, Ren Bonian's portrait captures something of the shifting relationships in this period between the artist, his work, and his viewers. It offers an unusual glimpse into the art world of the time, depicting the artist's obligations to act not only as maker but also as social and entrepreneurial entity, as well as (as we shall see) public figure; it further hints, in the figures of the other sitters and inscribers, at the larger landscape of an art world and art community, forming its own terrain to be traversed and negotiated. The presence of Zhu Jintang, the fan-shop owner and also dealer and broker, marks the ever-widening contexts and audiences that could now be accessed by the modern Shanghai artist. Zhu's appearance demonstrates the complicated new arena of the Shanghai marketplace and the pressure on the artist to maneuver through its structure and folkways, even as this marketplace was in the process of construction.[6] The painting itself, as an object and representation, has become a tool in the negotiation of these multiple spheres in which the artist acted. And the picture, with its very real desire to bridge its own world and that of the viewer, suggests something

of the ever-growing duties and responsibilities of the late Qing image in a new domain. The painting is frank and, at the same time, evasive in its intimate vision of Shanghai's art world, remaining acutely aware of the interactions between those vital elements of artist, picture, and audience.

Histories of Shanghai and Shanghai Painting

An account of works like this and the parameters of its creation must be thoroughly informed by its origins in late Qing Shanghai, a city that offers its own tales of straddling past and present, traditional and modern, national and transnational, to employ some of the simplistic but arguably inescapable binaries that have been imposed on the city. Shanghai, of course, is a city with a storied modern history that has received a flood of scholarly attention in recent decades. The city's timeline is relatively simple albeit with enormous implications: a county seat and prosperous port for centuries, Shanghai's significant shift in fortunes began when it became one of a number of treaty ports created by the post-Opium Wars Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. Treaty ports by definition were open to international trade and visitation, a response to earlier closed-door policies limiting foreign trade, access, and residency in China. The city was famously split in jurisdiction: the old walled city of Shanghai to the south remained under Chinese control, while a large area to the north was given to foreign powers, becoming known as the International Settlement or foreign concessions. Shanghai's rise was in many ways linked to the catastrophic blows dealt to Qing China in its last few decades. As Meng Yue has pointed out, events as diverse as the Opium Wars, the ruin of the Grand Canal, and the disastrous events of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) all ultimately served to strengthen Shanghai's position as a secure place, an economic powerhouse, and the headquarters of multiple cultural enterprises, even as other and more illustrious cities in Jiangnan suffered and declined.[7]

The events in this book occur within fifty years of Shanghai's ascension; it focuses on the rise of a new Shanghai art world and its assertion of place in the city's cultural landscape and marketplace. Nineteenth-century Shanghai has not drawn nearly the same magnitude of attention as its Republican reincarnation of the early twentieth century, but it is in the mid-nineteenth century that a recognizable form of the city was established. The rapid and almost dizzying growth of the city's early cultural industries has been examined in a number of recent histories, which have investigated Shanghai from the vantage point of literature, print culture, mass media, theater, everyday life, Western influence, cosmopolitan communities, food, courtesan and visual culture, its spaces and popular culture—to name only a few directions in which the treaty port's own distinctive culture developed.[8] Altogether, these studies have fostered an image of the city as a vast spectacle that drew the fascinated attention of its own inhabitants as well as the nation and the larger world. The circumstances of its creation marked Shanghai as a site both Chinese and not, a city on the periphery of China

geographically and politically and yet vital in its economic and cultural clout. Cosmopolitan, diverse, and ever-surprising, it was the energy, richness, and newness of Shanghai culture that made it a model for the hinterland, for decades to come.

Within this fertile setting, a new market for Shanghai art quickly established itself. Though located in Jiangnan, Shanghai had never matched eminent neighbors such as Suzhou or Hangzhou in cultural prestige or history; its own reputation would evolve based on quite different activities and values. The intricacies of Shanghai's history and identity suggest some of the issues that thus underpin a history of elite painting founded in the treaty port; these issues appear in works such as *Picture of Three Friends*, which we can regard as a microcosmic image of the 1880s art market. The painting's multifaceted quality, a characteristic described as "Janus-faced" by Christopher Reed in relationship to Shanghai's history of lithographic printing, suggests the many fields in which Shanghai painting participated, including Chinese and transnational art practices, traditional and modern, commercial and creative—to recapitulate some of the binaries so frequently also applied to the city.[9] This multi-directionalism makes this an era in painting especially difficult to place, a difficulty evident in histories of Chinese painting, where assessments of Shanghai painting's ambiguous location are torn between the era's refusal either to properly hold up the concerns of Chinese art of earlier eras or to behave in a manner more readily identifiable as modern. The elusiveness of a suitable framework may explain why few have attempted an extensive overview of the period, though the bibliography on Shanghai art is considerable. The earliest history of late Qing Shanghai painting and calligraphy may well be Yang Yi's *Haishang molin* (Shanghai's forest of ink) of 1920.[10] Sponsored by the calligrapher and collector Gao Yong (1850–1921) in order to record the vanished world of his youth, Yang Yi's diligent work is a history of Shanghai painting, beginning in the Song dynasty but weighted toward the late Qing. Organized chronologically and by artist, the book is invaluable for the basic facts it preserves on these individuals; however, its biographical basis and placement of the Qing era within a longer timeline of Shanghai history served to establish a standard but limited approach to Shanghai painting studies.

Since Yang Yi wrote his history in 1920, Shanghai painting studies have relatively recently moved back into view. In the Euro-American context, the field of Chinese art history emerged into greater prominence in the late twentieth century, its focus largely restricted to the study of the most elite forms of art and technology, such as scholar painting and fine porcelain. As in subsequent decades the field of Chinese art history itself expanded in scope, other aspects of Chinese art became objects of study, including the work of professional artists and their middle-brow forms of art. Mainland scholars were central in recuperating Shanghai painting and its archives, with art historians Gong Chanxing and Ding Xiyuan setting Shanghai painting studies on serious ground through their rigorous studies.[11] Accelerating interest in Shanghai was reflected in the rise of other forms of publication: mainland Chinese museums, especially the Shanghai Museum and Palace Museum in Beijing, published in the 1990s and 2000s splendid catalogues of their premier holdings in Shanghai painting, offering

pictorial surveys of late Qing Shanghai painting and calligraphy.[12] In the United States, the boom in Shanghai studies of the early 1990s drew renewed attention to the city—works such as James Cahill's essay on Shanghai School painting, though fairly measured in their assessment, did much to validate the period. A crucial project, because of its scope and meticulous research, was the 1992 *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* at the Phoenix Art Museum, curated by Chou Ru-hsi and Claudia Brown, published at a time when interest in Shanghai history and culture was ever-mounting.[13] Nearly all the studies mentioned above employ biographical and monographic strategies, restricting their focus to single-artist or artist-by-artist accounts with the majority of them positioning Shanghai painting as the conclusion to the history of Chinese painting.

In attempting to make sense of the period within the larger context of a millennia-long history of Chinese painting, these accounts have tended toward conventional categories of art history organized by artist, genres, and lineages—conceptualizations that by nature valorize their subjects in terms of their relationships and links with the past. Approaching this period in this retrospective manner can serve it poorly: defined in terms of earlier tradition and forced into categories that were not always applicable, Shanghai painting was set up as a disappointment, the inadequate tail-end to a grand history of imperial painting. Certain Shanghai practices were often regarded with discomfort, in particular its commercialism, intense engagement with a popular audience, foreign contacts, and its place at the chaotic end of the imperium, the last affirming its negative associations with a century commonly perceived as one of the most shameful in Chinese history.[14] More recent investigations of Shanghai art, however, have been more prospective, either placing Shanghai painting at the start of a new era of modern Chinese art—as a beginning rather than an end—or drawing connections with other contemporary developments and cultures.[15] These approaches entail aligning Shanghai art with the innovative approaches of larger Shanghai studies, as well as re-inserting artists and images back into a Shanghai context, whether in works that examine the image as a repository of urban experience and sensation, the interactions of artists and Shanghai's mass media or encounters with outside worlds and cultures. One important and fruitful area of investigation has been of transnational intersections, for example, Shanghai's ongoing encounters with other visual cultures, specifically Western visual technologies, as well as exchange and travel between Shanghainese, Japanese, and, increasingly, Korean artists.[16]

In this book, I seek to understand the multiple practices of Shanghai artists within the context of time and place, and, further, to view their activities as a cogent whole, offering insight into what was a changed era of art production. It has been especially useful to re-evaluate the aspects of this period that have sometimes been perceived as liabilities, most notably its commercialism, engagement with a popular audience, and place in recent history—all of which deserve serious consideration as significant factors driving Shanghai painting's originality, innovation and even modernity. In doing so, my concerns and interests are twofold: first, to offer the situation of Shanghai as an opportunity for grasping the workings of an art

world that was constructed with particular clarity and awareness on the part of its members in the extraordinary liminal and international space of the nineteenth-century treaty port; second, to investigate the terms of Shanghai art's commercialism and popularity, by dissecting artists' and their works' relationships with their audiences. Assuming that a picture's most basic desire is to be seen, issues of viewership and reception are of course central, but in the Shanghai image, the acute foregrounding of its beholders is crucial to its very purpose and structure. If I have mentioned the dual loci of this study as being the productive art world, on the one hand, and the receptive audience and consumer, on the other, then the heart of this study may actually be the multiple avenues by which these two parties made contact. The avenues I examine here are fourfold: the painted fan, the art world's advertising and self-promotional apparatus, the mass-produced image and illustrated book, and, finally, the artist's portrait, a rare example of the art world's investigation of its own functioning.

Artists and Art Worlds

The art world adumbrated by Ren Bonian in *Picture of Three Friends* was specific to Shanghai and the late Qing. The city's identity as a productive center of culture, art, and entertainment did not pre-date the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, the creation of an energetic art market was one outcome that can indirectly be credited to the Taiping Rebellion, which, apart from its razing of venerable Jiangnan cultural centers like Nanjing, also cost millions of victims their lives (the death toll is sometimes estimated to be as high as thirty million) and even more their families and livelihoods. Shanghai, as one of the few stable and even flourishing economic centers, was an obvious destination for artists, many of whose profound losses on both personal and professional levels during the Taiping years left them with few other options.[17] The importance of the Taiping Rebellion in shaping Shanghai and its art world points up the specific conditions of the art world's formation, its sudden appearance and ascent in a city that previously had little cultural standing to speak of. The overtly economic underpinnings of this new art world were intimately intertwined with these traumatic roots, as artists were drawn to the city by economic necessity, they were also drawn by opportunity and the prospect of creating afresh where little had existed before. A sense of excitement and hectic possibility is easily detected in accounts of Shanghai from the 1870s and 1880s, as well as an acute awareness of the rise of modern forms of urban culture. The big business of amusing and engaging a cosmopolitan population led to a rapid build-up of Shanghai's entertainment industries—the art economy was part of this juggernaut. The art world contributed not only through its products, but also in its infrastructure and members, who themselves began to circulate in the city, as part of the imaginary of Shanghai, in new and novel ways.

If images like *Picture of Three Friends* represent this new art market in a private manner—a depiction of part of the art community by itself and for itself—the market as a phenomenon was the subject of more open discussion. *Picture of Three Friends* offers a sampling of the terms

by which it was discussed in a tantalizing combination of fantasy and pragmatic reality—elegant gathering or business meeting? This was no less the case for more public conversations on the nature of the market. The recognition of the appearance and activities of the growing number of artists in the treaty port and the ecosystem they formed is readily apparent in the accounts of the new city that routinely appeared in guidebooks of the period, beginning with Wang Tao's important guide of 1875 to Shanghai, *Yingruan zazhi* (Miscellaneous notes on Shanghai).[18] Guidebook literature is one measure by which to gauge the development of a new Shanghai culture. The journalist Wang Tao (1828–1897), that man of the world, offers his own take on the art world, combining a sampling of his own experiences with information scavenged from newspapers and other sources. Wang's treatment was soon followed by that of Ge Yuanxu, whose guidebook of 1876, *Huyou zaji* (Miscellaneous notes on traveling in Shanghai), offers an informative description of the art market.[19] These and other guidebooks record the ascendance of the art market as a distinct phenomenon, cultural and economic, worthy of inclusion in descriptions of the city's many sights. Less than a decade later, just a year before the making of Ren Bonian's *Picture of Three Friends*, the journalist Huang Shiquan offered an especially revealing account in his 1883 guidebook to Shanghai, *Songnan mengying lu* (Record of dream images of Shanghai):

> Of the painters and calligraphers from every province, those whose talents resound in Shanghai number over a hundred. Those who are especially prominent include calligraphers like Shen Gongzhi for his small seal script, Xu Xiuhai for his Han clerical script, Wu Jutan [Wu Gan] and Jin Jishi [Jin Erzhen] for their small regular script; Tang Xunbo [Tang Jingchang], Su Jiaqiu and Wei Zhusheng for their running script; and also painters such as Hu Yuan [Hu Gongshou] and Yang Nanhu [Yang Borun] for their landscapes, Qian Jisheng [Qian Hui'an], Ren Fuchang [Ren Xun], Ren Bonian [Ren Yi] and Zhang Zhiying for their figure [painting], Zhang Zixiang [Zhang Xiong] and Wei Zijun for their flower-and-bird [painting] and Li Xian'gen's portraits. In these categories these artists have excellent reputations and are known far and wide . . . 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.[20]

Working as a professional writer and editor for the newspaper *Shenbao*, Huang wrote from the perspective of the informed insider commenting on the burgeoning social and cultural developments that constituted treaty-port Shanghai. As with the work of his predecessors Wang Tao and Ge Yuanxu, Huang's examination of the art world is incorporated into a broader treatment of the city. Huang's brief essay discussing the city's painters and calligraphers brushes up against other disquisitions on local festivals, English lessons, foreign drinking establishments, and museums, for just a sample of the topics covered in the book. In his coverage of "painters and calligraphers from every province," Huang first lays out basic information on the art world's primary players and their specialties, then follows with a look

at their warm reception by a heated Shanghai market. The most compelling aspect of the essay may be this discussion of these artists in relationship to their clientele. Characterizing the Shanghai art-buying public as merchants of the most ordinary kind, Huang is plainly skeptical of their social status and plebeian tastes. His skepticism implicitly extends to their favored Shanghai artists. The art world is thus defined in terms of the questionably popular, the fashionable, and the commercial.[21]

Huang names only sixteen artists but refers to the existence of a complex hierarchy of many more, with the uniting factors being the market and the conditions of fame and reputation. Earlier guidebooks showed a similar interest in the fame of the artists and shared a preoccupation with lists and rankings, keeping pace with mass opinion. The establishment of such lists had a commercial purpose but also served to define these individuals as a group. Names for this group would come only later. The standard term for nineteenth-century Shanghai painting is *Haipai*, conventionally translated as "Shanghai School." Invented decades after the fact, the label originated in the 1930s and was first coined to differentiate Shanghai opera from Beijing-style theater.[22] More than just a regional definition, *Haipai* was initially used with derogatory intent and implied superficial commercialism and flashy fakery, connotations intended to distinguish *Haipai* from the serious art and authenticity of Beijing opera. "Shanghai School" soon came to be applied to other forms of Shanghai culture, particularly painting, and has remained in common use. The term is misleading on several levels, most notably in its employment of the word *pai*, meaning "school," "group," or even "faction"; its designation of the art world as a formal entity creates an impression of institutional unity where none existed.

The belated application of *Haipai* in the twentieth century, a good half-century later, to the phenomenon of a distinct art world emphasizes the lack of an earlier name and the fact that, during the late Qing, nomenclature for the art world was still in formation. It also underlines Republican-era nostalgia for earlier Shanghai culture and a retrospective reconstruction of the era. Late Qing terms, on the other hand, suggest that this new art world could still lean on existing terminology. Huang Shiquan's phrasing is a case in point: he does not use a single term for the art world apart from the descriptive label of *shuhuajia* or "calligraphers and painters." Later in his account, *shuhuajia* is transformed into *zhumingzhe*, "prominent individuals," a term that does not so much describe what these individuals do but how they are known (the term could also be translated as "notorious individuals"). A recurrent theme in the discussion of Shanghai artists is their fame, with a number of variations in the adjective meaning "famous."[23] Ge Yuanxu tended to be more neutral in his terminology; thus in his guidebook, his use of both *shuhuajia* and the polite *moke* or "ink guests" (a synonym for scholars) is unsurprising. Later in the book, he matter-of-factly entitles a list of Shanghai's most famous artists *shuhuamingjia*, or "famous calligraphers and painters." A designation also used by Wang Tao in his 1876 book, it decisively married the artist to a celebrity paradigm, asserting the near-independent status of reputation versus production in this era.[24] *Mingshi*, the appellation for "famous gentleman" as discussed in chapter two, is another pervasive term in

the public discourse of the art world, with the publisher Dianshizhai notably employing some variations, including the aggrandizing *guonei mingliu*, or "domestic celebrities," those whose names have reached throughout the country.[25] Such terms also suggest that the novelty lay not in painters and calligraphers going about their business, but in the scale of their business and reputations. The attention paid to the "famous painter and calligrapher" could be a conflicted one, caught between a dazzled and starstruck public, on the one hand, and, on the other, the doubtful critic, who saw little more than commercial considerations joining together only fleeting reputations and fickle buyers.

The term *mingshi*, after all, was not a new one. It was, moreover, quite reductive. What lay behind this fame? Artists were a highly heterogeneous group, spanning a diversity of social classes, geographical origins, styles and specialties, yet it is apparent that they had come together in a number of new ways, forming a cohesive group and projecting the idea of a united art world. An important feature of the period was the artist's accelerating professionalization and the ties among artists that can be characterized as collegial and profession-based. A new crop of terms for artists and their work emerged with their increasing activities in the public realm, including as civic participants in charity fund drives taking place from the 1870s onwards. In one announcement in *Shenbao*, featuring a group of Shanghai's most famous artists, this group called themselves, somewhat elaborately, *Hushang zhi jingyu shuhua zhe*, "those in Shanghai skilled at calligraphy and painting." One participant, the landscape painter Yang Borun, in a poem describing the same event tellingly calls his fellow artists *tongren* or "colleagues"—together they are jointly *wuchai*, "us" or "our group."[26] This sense of "we-ness" was at least partially staged for an attentive public, but is also evidence of the rapidity with which a group identity focalized among these sojourner-artists. Their ties were not the long-established ones of family and native place, but came together in a manner that was contingent, circumstantial, and based on economic causes, yet they soon were widely assumed.

It is even possible to speak of community. Although "community" is a term that implies organic wholeness, it can cover a gamut of meanings from acquaintanceship and friendship to business alliances. The guidebooks' vision of the art market was of a hierarchy of professionals and a galaxy of celebrities; however, it is apparent that the artists themselves pursued other models for their grouping, including social relationships, professional bonds, and collegial connections. As we have seen with an internal document such as *Picture of Three Friends*, the continuum of possibilities was conceptualized as being quite wide, capable of sliding between the scholar's refined gathering and the prosaic business meeting, between past modes and current realities. This is not to deny the friction and contradictions between these modes of community. To begin with, one might note the persistence of the literatus ideal, both as a cultural model and as a model of sociability, even in the face of its seeming irrelevance. The exemplars of the scholar-official and of scholar-official art emerged in the Song dynasty (960–1279), taking fuller form in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368); this model of the elite amateur artist dominated definitions of the finest forms of art for centuries to

come. Untouched by professional training or commercial interests, the scholar artist painted (and wrote) with moral and self-expressive purity, not only as an act of creativity but also as a means of communication with a sympathetic audience of his peers. In reality, this ideal was compromised early on but nevertheless retained connotations of cultural prestige at the highest levels, not to mention social status, which also continued to be attached to scholar painting's calligraphic styles and gentlemanly subjects. In nineteenth-century Shanghai, even if economic and practical divisions between professional and scholarly had become ambiguous indeed, the model of a community of like-minded scholars was still invoked within the artistic community itself, by customers, and by the media. The appeal of this amateur model retained a hold even in a period when financial transactions were increasingly and explicitly presented as such (witness the fund drives for charity discussed in chapter two), but the artist's interaction with his or her customers could still be portrayed as a gentlemanly social exchange and a genuine encounter between peers, even when it was patently not the case.[27]

The terms of the discussion were thus firmly established as being of long standing; even designations such as *mingshi*, which might have taken on new inflections, had associations reaching back to at least the third century. The attachment to the language and labels of literati formulations of the artist and artistic production also reflect the fact that the parameters of discussion often remained resolutely Chinese. Literati terms were fully capable of doing double service as metaphors of worth, value, and authenticity. In this sense, the parameters of the discourse around artists and their works remained on familiar territory, with newer practices and transnational influences largely omitted from discussion even as they were rapidly and omnivorously assimilated into everyday execution. The minimal contemporary acknowledgment of foreign and intercultural impact is an interesting example of this editing of Shanghai artistic practices. The semi-colonial and cosmopolitan nature of the treaty port encouraged the presence of foreign artists and artistic technologies as well as images of every kind; these transnational elements surely became essential to its identity. The city's hybridity is made exuberantly clear in the guidebooks, where the spectacle of Shanghai was often aligned with the spectacle of the foreign and international; everything—Western gardens and businesses, foreign shops and restaurants, sporting events and performances, and even individuals— was viewed as part of the treaty port and as objects of great interest.

Shanghai painting's own international nature during the late Qing has appeared as a consistent if shadowy part of the discourse around its production, pervasive yet difficult to pin down and define. For example, a number of studio tales surrounding Ren Bonian, drawn from oral tradition and not set down until later in the twentieth century, seek to establish his ties to foreign art practices. Such tales range from reports on Ren's studies in life drawing and habit of sketching from life to his identification as being the first Chinese artist to use a 2B pencil or the imported pigment *yanghong*, "foreign red" or carmine.[28] There has also been much recent work aimed at recuperating the full extent of the Shanghai School's connections with Japanese artists and patrons, revealing considerable contact and travel between Shanghai and Japan.[29] It seems likely that further research will also reveal stronger ties

between Shanghai and Korea, beyond what is already known. Nevertheless, it has been difficult to excavate and assess the precise nature of the many interchanges between Shanghai artists and their foreign sources and peers, largely because such impact was seldom overtly avowed or publicly asserted by the artists themselves. This silence on the part of Shanghai painters and calligraphers, in the face of the multiplying evidence of encounters and ties with non-Chinese artists and art practices, is curious. The gap is most apparent when attempting to trace concrete examples of artistic and pictorial exchange, which can be elusive indeed, suggesting the difficult identities of the transcultural in this period. An example of this is available in *Picture of Three Friends*: can the placement of the three men on the ground be ascribed to a Japanese-style gathering or was it intended as an evocation of ancient Chinese seating practices?[30] Similarly, is the period inclination toward naturalism and visual precision indebted to photography and Western-style drawing, and, if so, why and how? As discussed in chapter three, Shanghai artists took up en masse the Western print technology of lithography in the 1880s, often using this new reproductive technology for purposes also adopted from the West, especially in the mass production of images for Shanghai's new popular media. How did they understand their use of this pictorial technology and mass media?[31] A casual glance at a selection of Shanghai painted and printed images can potentially bring up numerous formal and stylistic echoes; however, tracing the paths of impact is nearly impossible—which Western and Japanese works of art were Shanghai artists able to see and use?[32]

Earlier histories of Shanghai art have sought to locate late Qing art in a history of modern art, often through a crude equation of "modern" with "foreign" or Western. The situation is far more complex than such simplistic formulations would suggest, needless to say, but the Shanghai painter's indebted but ambivalent position vis-à-vis non-Chinese worlds also place him at a particular point in the history of modern Chinese art. Jonathan Hay has noted one misperception of pre-1895 Shanghai painting as simply being resistant to modernity, especially modernities defined along non-Chinese lines and practices. Hay suggests that it may be more helpful to understand the period as a final moment, when "the inherited resources of Chinese culture proved adequate to respond to and incorporate the changes associated with the massive introduction of foreign ideas."[33] In Shanghai at this time, the production of art continued to be framed as Chinese, with other practices understood to be folded and integrated into the larger structure of dominant indigenous art traditions. Paradoxically, even as the art world increasingly absorbed the lessons and influences of foreign artists and art practices, the heightened proximity and impact of those practices seems to have served to further insist upon the self-identification of this art world as a Chinese one. Conceptually, Hay's formulation also captures the particularity of this final moment of the assumed dominance of Chinese art practices, certainly domestically and even elsewhere in the world.[34] Fin-de-siècle events, including the 1895 Sino-Japanese conflict and the sinking Qing empire, dealt a final blow to notions of Chinese cultural superiority. The resulting massive calls for reform and for the importation of standards for change, while it did not end the Shanghai art world, decisively transformed it from its late Qing incarnation, dominated by Chinese ink painting

and its subjects. These defining events also had a retrospective impact on the late Qing period, masking its contributions and replacing its earlier and somewhat different definition of an engaged, urban, and Chinese practice of modern art.

Finally, these fluctuating terms of what it meant to make and sell paintings in late Qing Shanghai, whether discussed in terms of the sojourner-survivor, *mingshi*, professional painter, or even the modern Chinese artist, with all that the term encompasses, omit the personal and human experience of artists addressing the terra incognita of the treaty port and together establishing new bonds, behaviors, and patterns of action. Their shared agendas reinforce the fact that Shanghai art and imagery placed a premium on the essential activities of exchange, encounter, and interaction. By all accounts, this could only have been facilitated by the particular space of Shanghai, with its many opportunities and places to meet and see others, friends and strangers alike. The journalist Wang Tao, working in 1860s Shanghai as a poor and underemployed translator, routinely described in his Shanghai diary an almost daily round of visits to restaurants, brothels, wine shops, and tea houses with various friends and companions.[35] Another diary, written by an anonymous painter active in the 1870s, records a similarly lively schedule of near-constant socializing combined with the active pursuit of Shanghai's cosmopolitan amusements, including attending theater performances nearly every day. In several entries of 1872, the author makes mention of a mixture of errands and social calls paid while in the company of friends; early in 1872, he notes in passing calling on several painters:

> Second month, eighteenth day . . . Clear day. After eating, together with Haituo I left the [Chinese] city, and went to visit my painting friend, Ren Bonian. Then we met my old friend Sha Zicun [Sha Ying, the brother of the Suzhou painter Sha Fu], chatted and took our leave. Next I went to visit the scholar Wu Jutan [Wu Gan, the calligrapher] who happened to have two Japanese visitors wishing to buy his calligraphy . . .
>
> Eighth month, fourth day . . . Clear day. Mid-afternoon there was thunder and a rain shower. Visited Chunmu for a chat . . . together we left the [Chinese] city . . . Chunmu needed to have his photograph taken so I accompanied him to the Susanxing photography studio . . .
>
> Eighth month, eleventh day . . . Rain, afternoon sunny, rain in the evening. Talked with Zisong about painting a round fan with a *shinü* [elegant female] subject in light outline; also talked with Qiufu about painting an album leaf with a *shinü* subject in light outline.
>
> Eleventh month, seventh day . . . Clear day. Went to the City Temple garden for a stroll, then went to Cai Zhi, third younger sister's place for a chat. After eating, visited Kangfu; Lusun also happened to be there. Together, we left the [Chinese] city and went to Changlin Garden to hear Yunxian and Yuelan's storytelling. We left and then with Kangfu and Lusun went to visit [Ren] Bonian, who was just in the middle of painting, but he took a short break. Bonian invited us to Wang Quanmei's for a little drink.[36]

A rare informal account like this, though it offers only the most fleeting of glimpses into an artist's daily life, hints at the abundant interactions possible, both social and professional, and the importance of Shanghai, with its bustling activities, amusements and opportunities, in facilitating this contact. This is also a reminder that histories of Shanghai can sometimes

be strangely unpopulated by real people, especially histories conceived in terms of trends and phenomena, institutions and practices, rather than individuals and their experiences. Even in the case of Shanghai School histories, the favored biographical structures leave little room for the flavor of specific, lived lives and the sort of mundane encounters—so rarely recorded!—mentioned above. The significance of these social and professional connections could be played out in images like Ren Bonian's *Picture of Three Friends* and other portraits of the art world, and remind us of the meaningful human histories behind the modern, fast-moving, and commercialized pictures of this period.[37]

Audiences and Modernity

The new roles of the artist as professional and public figure, in addition to maker of images, were enhanced by the growing importance of professional nodes or organizations around which the new art world could cohere. The Shanghai School art world pre-dated by several decades the appearance of a "modern" art infrastructure whose elements, in the shape of art academies, art exhibitions, art journals, and art museums, were often borrowed from abroad. No such art-specific infrastructure existed in Shanghai prior to 1895 but certain organizations serving comparable purposes were in operation. Fan shops, illustrated books, and artist societies had existed in the Jiangnan area for centuries; in the nineteenth century, these same institutions, with the addition of the growing mass media, took on heightened significance by offering virtual and literal points of interaction between artists and their audiences. Functioning as intermediaries between artist and consumer, these organizations made possible the development and expansion of Shanghai's art world. Retailers played an important role, and Shanghai versions of the traditional fan and letter-paper shop were active in promoting artists and selling their goods. Fan shops functioned as interfaces with the public by showing art works to clients and making price lists available, representing artists and serving as clearing houses of sorts. In a different manner, Shanghai's rapidly developing mass media in the form of the newspaper and lithograph journal and book provided a platform for artists, connecting them with new audiences and increasing the artists' public exposure on a scale almost unimaginable for earlier periods. The transformation of artist societies, or *huashe*, also marks the consolidation of the art field into a profession that could negotiate the terms of its relationship with customers. In earlier periods, artist societies had often been portrayed as social groups, politely represented as elegant gatherings. Within several decades, they appear to have become a more formal kind of organization with clear functions; when appearing in the context of newspaper announcements for flood and famine relief fundraising in the 1870s, their responsibilities included protecting artists' interests by regulating prices and transactions with buyers. It would seem no accident that it was Shanghai artists who established in 1908 China's first professional organization for artists, the Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Society, or Yuyuan shuhua shanhui.[38]

All of these developments provided locations or concepts around which ideas of an art world could come together. They were also vehicles of discourse, especially ones that linked directly with large audiences and notions of popularity and success, and notably shift the terms of discussion from the artist to his or her customers. The identity of Shanghai art consumers was usually assumed to be an urban and bourgeois clientele of merchants—moneyed but uninformed. Their shopping habits did not go unremarked; as Huang Shiquan's observations of 1885 show, this new class of buyers was understood to have a considerable hand in shaping Shanghai's art market. Huang's discussion is notable for focusing on the enthusiasm of this audience and also its demographics. In disdainfully describing it as a "common crowd of butchers and vendors," Huang paints a picture of an eager crowd, deeply implicated in the marketplace and therefore undistinguished in taste or status. His critique of their purchasing patterns as faddish and thoughtless was not especially original, as anxiety over this body of consumers had already been expressed by Wang Tao in 1875:

> 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 in buying calligraphy and painting; [they] only pay attention to the name, without any real appreciation.[39]

A good portion of Huang and Wang's disapproval of this "common crowd" appears to be based on its social make-up and shortage of taste. Buying art impulsively and with little forethought or know-how, these were shoppers, not collectors, connoisseurs, or cognoscenti.[40] Nevertheless, it is this crowd that became cultural kingmakers, creating the market and also placing their purchasing power brazenly and publicly on view.[41] Both men were doubtless also responding to the increasingly democratized opportunities for buying art. The focus on the economics of it all is not incidentally revealed in their naming of the new art customers, whether calling them "those who do business in Shanghai" (*guyuHuzhe*) or a "common crowd of butchers and vendors" (*tugusuzi*). Other texts are equally focused on social class, keeping consumption at the heart of the matter, though their terms of address for nouveau riche consumers could be far more complimentary. Fan shop advertisements, for example, identified their desired customers as *shenshang*, "gentry and merchants."[42] Other advertisements could give their customers a role to play, addressing them as cultural arbiters and valued guests by naming them *shangjianzhe*, or connoisseurs—"those who appreciate." A pictorial advertisement for the fan shop Jiuhuatang that appeared in the pictorial magazine *Dianshizhai huabao* uses the latter term (Figure i.2). Executed by one of *Dianshizhai huabao*'s famous illustrators, Jin Gui, the advertisements prominently feature the Shanghai art customer.

Jiuhuatang was, of course, the business owned by Zhu Jintang; this advertisement can be thought of as the companion piece to Ren Bonian's portrait, *Picture of Three Friends*.[43] The shop did not explicitly appear in Ren's painting, which does away with background and setting, but it was presumably Jiuhuatang that had brought the three men in the portrait together. It is also Jiuhuatang's enterprise that is represented by the heap of art works behind the men.[44] The advertisement, low in the hierarchy of images, was not subject to the same

Figure i.2 Jin Gui, *Announcing the Newly Opened Jiuhuatang Letter-paper and Fan Shop*, lithograph advertisement, *Dianshizhai huabao* [Dianshizhai pictorial], 1888, issue *chen* 5; E Per/82167, image reproduced by kind permission of SOAS Library

elisions and edits found in Ren's painting which only obliquely rendered the fan shop and its business; the ad thus offers a much greater degree of detail and exposition.[45] The focus of the advertisement reverses the order of Ren's portrait, omitting artists and owner and instead focusing on the other side of the sales counter. Now it is the shopper who is featured front and center, while the shop and its appurtenances are seen from the shopper's point of view. Jiuhuatang is revealed to be a typical deluxe Shanghai retail outlet, its exterior as richly decorated as its interior. Like many Shanghai shops, it opened directly onto the sidewalk and is shown as such, the cropping of the picture's bottom edge neatly aligning the magazine's readers with the foot traffic passing the shop on busy Jiujiang Road. The advertisement reader is thus mapped visually into the position of potential client. The customer is also pictured, cumulatively as it were, in the form of five figures, seen in various stages of engaging with the shop. All elegantly dressed gentlemen, they pause outside and peer in, make an inquiry from the sidewalk, stand just within the threshold, examine merchandise, or approach the counter to make a purchase, in a near-cinematic arc of the various steps involved between walking by and window-shopping to closing the deal. The advertisement is a fantasy. In the image, the shop is idealized as a jewel-box-like space crammed with goods both listed and pictured; its fictional customers gather together in this glamorized vision of shopping. It is in pictures like this that we can at last encounter the Shanghai art buyer.

Nevertheless, despite descriptions like those by Huang Shiquan and Wang Tao, and even pictures like Jin Gui's, the ideas conveyed to us of the Shanghai art buyer are nearly all secondhand. The audience for Shanghai's art world still remains the least-understood element of the equation. Apart from fleeting mentions in guidebooks and elsewhere, sometimes disapproving and brief as we have seen, it is hardly possible at present to reconstruct the nature of the Shanghai art audience in any firsthand or statistical manner. Even our knowledge of the size and scale of this viewership is quite limited; we can assume a Shanghai audience but a number of indications point to an even wider one. Shanghai artists enjoyed national and even international attention, drawing the patronage of customers from other parts of China, as well as Japan and Korea, at the least. It was a viewership that took on a substantial identity in the eyes of artists and the institutions that held together the art world. Their awareness and acceptance of a mass audience, and one that was large, anonymous, and unknown to them, is "described" and addressed in the formats and structure of their images and in the construction of their public relations campaigns. It was this audience that created the conditions of the Shanghai art world, drawing artists to the treaty port and encouraging them to develop new art practices, but it could be equally stated that it was the artists themselves who, through a new art world and its products, assembled and accommodated the audiences they wished for.

Readers and readerships are standard areas of investigation for book history; however, issues of audience and viewership have been only minimally addressed in Chinese art history, especially in histories of the painted image.[46] Patronage studies in Chinese art history have tended to focus on the small and named viewership of scholar painting, in large part because

of the challenges in documenting the more dispersed and nameless audiences for popular and professional images. However, the late Qing is an era that manifests changing definitions of the crowd and its importance, with, concomitantly, new definitions of the public as audience, readership, and citizenry. Fundamental changes taking place in Chinese art from the late Qing onwards are seen in the accelerating expansion of art into a range of increasingly public arenas. Shanghai School painting's prompt and ready embrace of its new audience suggests that this adaptation can be explained by other factors besides commercial success alone; this investment in the crowd may be one of *Haipai*'s major contributions to a history of modern art.[47] The public quality of so many of the art world's productions of this period, with their emphasis on display and self-display—notably fan painting, advertisements, the celebrity artist, the mass-produced image—project a high awareness of engaged viewers whom they both served and responded to.[48]

I have little intention of addressing the enormous question of a history of modern art for China in any holistic way. It is a topic limited by a field that is vastly under-researched and under-theorized, but though any single definition of Chinese modernity is impossible (and undesirable), I would instead sketch out some possibilities for such a definition and Shanghai's place within it. After all, late Qing Shanghai as a major way-station in the history of modern Chinese art has already been mapped out in a literally textbook account by Richard Vinograd.[49] Vinograd investigates an image made by the Shanghai illustrator Wu Youru (1850–1893) for the journal *Feiyingge huabao* (Pavilion of the Flying Shadow pictorial) in 1891. Wu's image, *Thief in the Flower Garden*, purports to document a recent scandal, showing the flight of a famous courtesan's spurned lover who disfigured her by cutting off her hair while she slept. In his turn, Vinograd interprets the illustration as "technologically and institutionally modern" in its use of lithography and in its appearance in a popular pictorial publication, as well as in its contemporary subject, its hybrid Sino-Western journalistic style, and bold visuality that acknowledges a spectatorial reading public. A moral lesson in big city living as well as a titillating illustration of the same, the very composition, dense detail, and rhetoric of Wu's image commands the viewer to look and examine; here Vinograd points to issues of cosmopolitanism, capitalist production, and bourgeois consumption, as well as both the regulatory and voyeuristic forms of seeing constructed in the picture. As he further notes, some of these elements and characteristics of modernity had been in place by the seventeenth century; nevertheless, the institutionalization of the modern practices of making and distributing art, the self-aware rise of the artist as culture-maker and celebrity, the dedication of art to a large public, an appreciation for the spectacle, and the transnational nature of the Shanghai art world—all come together at this time.

All are also familiar elements, even conventionally understood to be aspects of modernity, but the final element I would also add is the disruptive and transitory nature of modernity as seen in painting of this time, though not in the sense of a radicalized avant-garde breaking new ground. If Shanghai painting so often appears to be "business as usual" in its upholding of genres and media that had been in use for centuries, change was otherwise embraced in

the emphasis on being seen by new forms of the public, the destabilization of established practices, and the self-conscious break with the past. Within the pictures themselves, certainties become less than certain; it is this acknowledgment of the unknowable, constant change and fleeting time, the unfixed and here-and-now, that reveals Shanghainese sights always to be set on the present. It had long been a Chinese tendency to look to and refer to the past, but by the late nineteenth century the relationship with the past was perhaps too troubled to be of unalloyed appeal; the very rhetoric of the Shanghai image was one of "nowness" and immediate engagement. The total conceptual affirmation of the moment seized and all that it had to offer, its ambiguous tensions with the past and the very refusal to look back, may be one of the most defining characteristics of Shanghai art.

Sources and Pictures

The sources for this book have often seemed tantalizingly close and yet frustratingly distant in nature. Many have come in the familiar modern formats of newspapers, periodicals of various kinds, and guidebooks, serving to underline the temporal proximity of late Qing Shanghai. However, the value and meaning of these materials has only comparatively recently begun to receive any kind of systematic attention and analysis. As often happens with research that addresses the work of art in a cultural context, the search for documentation has not always been where one expects; in the case of Shanghai painting produced by individuals on the hustle as it were, who were bent on maximizing immediate opportunities and possibilities, it seems only right that documentation has not always come in the forms usual for a Chinese art historical study. Collected writings, painting inscriptions, artist biographies, and letters are not irrelevant to this study, but as these were highly edited forms of documentation that were by nature transmitted by literati elites, they are not perhaps the texts most revealing of a middle-brow art world with a strong commercial orientation.[50] The mass media has proven to be far more useful and revealing of the activities of the art world, specifically in demonstrating the highly public presence of artists in Shanghai and popular conceptualizations of the art world by its publics and their forms of interaction. Newer forms of media have served as the very stuff of Shanghai School painting archives, making this particular study possible by preserving the evanescent trail of artists who appear to have lived in the public eye to a greater degree than their predecessors.[51]

A publication such as the influential Shanghai newspaper, *Shenbao*, with its extensive coverage of Shanghai (and China) and its reader-friendly policies, preserves the tracks of the art world's many activities. *Shenbao* itself is a complex archive, raising the question of just what kinds of information it could provide. What is one to make of an 1879 poem composed by Ren Bonian, composed neither for a painting inscription nor for inclusion in the artist's (non-existent) collected writings, but for the newspaper? Personal and poignant in tone, it records a visit to his hometown of Xiaoshan, from which he was forced to flee during the

Taiping uprising, yet this poem by a professional artist appears for the appreciation of thousands of readers.[52] *Shenbao*, as a daily account of Shanghai and a source of news and information on the everyday, can be understood as a place of record with different responsibilities and different readers from those of more established elite forms of record-keeping. In tandem with other new forms of publications, notably the magazines and journals that sprang up in the treaty port in this period, these time-stamped periodical publications clearly had a greater investment in currency, audience, and public opinion than older, single-authored endeavors with much smaller print runs and an eye on posterity.

Shenbao was in many ways *sui generis*, but it itself was part of a publishing firm, Shenbaoguan, as well as of the burgeoning world of Shanghai publishing at large. Shanghai artists were an important part of late Qing publishing; their substantial engagement in contemporary media must impact our understanding of their work, particularly in view of the general omission of their publishing activities from histories of painting. That Shanghai artists took prominent part in the lithograph book industry and in the market of reproduced images speaks to the modern practices of the Shanghai art world and also to a broadened concept of the artist's place and identity in treaty-port culture. Mass-produced images are generally looked upon as inferior to the unique painted image, with the result that this material remains largely uncharted territory. Although Shanghai was bursting with reproduced pictures of various kinds—lithograph designs and woodblock prints, New Year prints and photography—all for the attentions of an eager urban viewership, surprisingly little is known about the nature of this body of mass-produced images, whether its subject matter, styles, or readership.[53] Even images produced for publishers like Shenbaoguan and Dianshizhai, two of the most important and influential publishers of the period, remain incompletely understood in their own context. Lesser-known late Qing Shanghai journals and periodicals are even more in the shadows, difficult to access; some have not survived and others doubtless remain to be identified.[54] Knowing this, it is not especially surprising that the exact relationship between the publishing world and artist designs for reproduction is under-investigated, down to an understanding of the individuals involved, systems of production, and target audiences. Although I have stressed the amorphous state of Qing Shanghai studies, a number of recent studies have posed possible models for the city's cultural structures including Alexander Des Forges's compelling model of a mediasphere within which the treaty port's cultural industries' interlocking thematics and formal language jointly construct a Shanghai-specific identity.[55] The image's particular place in this cultural terrain, its interaction with Shanghai's other entertainment industries, and the very production of Shanghai culture continue to be areas deserving of greater investigation and underscore the overlooked status of late Qing Shanghai in general, still unrecognized as a period when the city properly became itself and modern.

Des Forges's study of Shanghai culture presents a portrait of dovetailed and multi-tiered elements that joined together to create a larger but consistently whole complex. His model effectively reveals the ways in which a conventional and artificial art historical focus on only elite forms of art production would be inadequate, either in coming to terms with the true

breadth of Shanghai artists' output or their full implications. I have sought to understand a broader world of the art market and image production, and to highlight the ways in which Shanghai images circulated by focusing on the art market's most public formats and works, namely painted fans, advertisements and public relations materials, printed images and books, contrasted with portraits of the artist which formed a smaller oeuvre aimed at a specific audience. All of these forms of output illustrate in different ways the art world's diverse activities and its relationships with multiple audiences. All of these modes of production, however, are also focused on the image or on some form of representation. The importance of the image is suggested not only by its proliferation in multiple forms in Shanghai culture, but also its commonness: a central theme of this study is grasping what functions the image could serve and what it was able to provide to viewers in this period.

I have not discussed a vast number of Shanghai images in this book or even the best known; instead, many pictures investigated in this book may be understood as typical of Shanghai image production. Across genres, formats, and media, Shanghai pictures during the late Qing frequently demonstrated the capacity to draw in an audience. They achieved this on multiple terms, beginning with formats and media that facilitated high accessibility or that entailed a public dimension: this includes the painted fan and reproduced image. Subject matter is another angle in understanding accessibility, whether through themes that served apotropaic functions or local purposes, or that were deliberately popular, cross-referencing folktales, popular theater, or literature. Above all, the strategies of Shanghai picturing were ones designed to appeal and captivate. These are images not intended to be didactic, moralizing, or self-expressive on the part of the painter, but that by composition and address place themselves at the viewer's disposal. Adopting a visual language that is startlingly immediate, Shanghai images establish themselves as seemingly porous structures requiring the viewer's response and engagement on daringly immediate terms, breaking down the fourth wall and aggressively making themselves known to any onlooker.[56] If the pictorial rhetoric is a seductive one, it is also plainly and emphatically visual. Word and text are often superfluous for these images, as may be seen by the general absence of extensive inscriptions, offering a viewing experience that did not require mediation through labels or explanations. Instead, Shanghai pictures possessed a high degree of availability in their sheer pictorial pleasure and playfulness, which was intended to pull in the beholder, creating a viewing experience that could feel personal and even personalized. Accessibility was not only built into the pictorial rhetoric and composition, it often circled on visual discourses of looking, pleasure, and entertainment. The numerous large and glossy publications that make up a significant proportion of secondary literature on Shanghai School painting, pictorial and popular, testify to their ongoing appeal down to the present day.[57]

Organization and Structure of This Book

This book proceeds in a non-narrative fashion. It is not intended to serve as an overview or master history of late Qing Shanghai painting; instead, it focuses on the artist's changing activities in the construction of a sophisticated new art world and its audiences. The art world emerges in this period as a potent public presence as artists moved to adopt multiple modern practices, practices often formulated in dialogue with a growing and heterogeneous urban audience. This study investigates four different arenas of activity with each centering on a different practice or medium, addressing how each category allowed for varied interactions with viewers, readers, and onlookers. These multiple spheres were not discrete but overlapping, therefore discussion frequently circles back to the book's dominant themes of multiple conceptualizations of the art world, the serving of a new and broad audience, and, finally, the image and medium as a conduit between artists and viewers. It could be said that this book is intended as a portrait of an art world, but it is an art world in dynamic interplay with its audiences—each chapter is meant to capture a glimpse into their dialogue. These conversations, imperfectly documented, can be seemingly one-sided; however, a distinguishing constant is the Shanghai image and its acute awareness of a potential viewer and customer on the receiving side.

The first chapter focuses on the elite Shanghai artist's primary area of production, painting; more specifically, it looks at Shanghai painting in terms of the format and function of fan painting. An often overlooked form of painting, the painted fan possesses an oddly dehistoricized status, with relatively little known about the changing uses and meaning of the fan format over time.[58] The qualities that diminish the fan's status—namely its small size, limited ambitions, and functionality—are the same qualities that promoted the fan's popularity in late Qing Shanghai. They may indeed be minor works of art in the sense that few artists or buyers conceived of the fan as an important statement, but the fan's prosaic aspects—its petite dimensions, affordability, and usefulness—make it an essential module of Shanghai painting, and an ideal commodity by which to understand its marketplace. As a work of art embodied in a format small, mobile, and intimate in nature, the painted fan was an object that lent itself well to the demands and requirements of the Shanghai consumer and an urban culture that placed a high premium on visual display. As an object with a role to play—to be used, displayed and seen out and about—the importance of the fan to Shanghai School painting explains some of its distinctive characteristics and thematics, such as accessibility, visual dynamism, and popular appeal. Its enthusiastic adoption by Shanghai consumers can also be traced in the establishment and dynamics of the art world infrastructure, particularly in the central institution of the fashionable fan and letter-paper shop and the place of retail in the promotion, distribution, and conceptualization of its products for a middle-class clientele.

Fan paintings were far from the artist's only product. Shanghai painters and calligraphers' efforts in self-promotion and publicity suggest that artists understood themselves to be products as well, public figures with reputations that were carefully assembled and

maintained. The second chapter addresses the period's culture of fame by understanding how it was constructed, as well as the fantasies that encouraged and drove it. Celebrityhood and the artist as public figure were obviously not inventions of Qing Shanghai, but period manifestations of fame may be partially reconstructed by examining Shanghai's rising new forms of mass media. Unlike earlier periods that undoubtedly had their own models of fame as public knowledge, the relationships envisaged between the treaty port *mingshi*, or famous gentleman, and an intrigued public, may be tracked in the city's burgeoning newspaper and publishing industries. Advertisements and newspaper articles reveal how artists presented themselves to the larger world, how they assumed the position of famous artist, and what such a position might entail. Advertisements, publicized social activities, charity drives, and the varied forms of publicity campaigns repeatedly placed the art world in the public eye and reiterated its identity. Exploiting the possibilities of the city's new mass media allowed artists to reach ever-larger audiences in Shanghai itself, greater Jiangnan, China, and even internationally, through the wide circulation of publications like *Shenbao* or *Dianshizhai huabao*. It is the mass media, and other popular publications including guidebooks, periodicals, and collected writings that reveal the formation and extent of the idea of the Shanghai artist on a public level, promoted for the consumption of a general audience and mass readership.

The third chapter explores the contributions of artists to the illustrated book and periodical. The introduction of lithography to Shanghai in the 1870s was a major catalyst to the development of China's popular media; the city came to dominate Chinese publishing at the end of the Qing. Artists were not incidental to Shanghai print culture: the rapid ascent of Shanghai's rich mass media was assisted by the participation of the flourishing art world in the form of artist designs that promoted the city's modern image, picturing it as a new urban realm filled with new experiences. Focusing on three publishing projects in Shanghai dating to the 1870s and 1880s, this chapter examines Chen Yunsheng's pioneering *Renzhai huasheng* (Renzhai's painting legacy) of 1876; artist designs of the mid-1880s for giveaway inserts accompanying the pictorial magazine *Dianshizhai huabao*; and a collectanea of pictorial materials issued by the publisher Dianshizhai in 1885, *Dianshizhai conghua* (Collected images from Dianshizhai). Each of these projects banked on notions of the famous artist and packaged the art world in a new and newly-accessible format for the pleasure of an urban readership. Employing playful and entertaining imagery, the designs for these various books and publications reached out to a growing audience of readers rather than conventional art patrons. As reproduced images circulating almost recklessly, artist designs also formulated a new visual rhetoric, one made to amuse, entertain, and engage. Related to but not identical to Shanghai painting, these designs thus served as an additional line of goods for artists, and were made for a readership that enjoyed them and used them in ways different from those of original and elite paintings.

The final chapter focuses on a much smaller group of images—portraits by Ren Bonian of members of the Shanghai art world. Ren's portraiture stands out for its almost exclusive concentration on painters, calligraphers, and other colleagues attached to the art world. As

a body of works within his greater oeuvre, these investigate concepts of the artist's identity from the insider's perspective. As private images, these works were reserved for Ren's intimates, relatives, colleagues, and peers, and, unlike many of the other works examined in this study, were confined to a private audience of the art world itself. Often collaborative works as well, artist and sitters worked together to investigate an array of artistic identities, ranging from the artist as gentleman and urban scholar to far more daring and unexpected role-plays, including the artist as sell-out, beggar, peddler, and failure. These are images that exceed portraiture's usual purpose of documenting likeness and social status, instead seeking to explore and comment on the art world's own circumstances, relationships, and internal imaginary, presenting the profession's internal conversation on the place of the artist and his engagement with a complex and demanding market.

Epilogue

The entwined ideas of artist, image, and audience are effectively embodied by an 1887 portrait by Ren Bonian of Jin Erzhen (1840–1917), also known as Jin Jishi (Figure e.1). A prominent calligrapher in this period, Jin Erzhen regularly appeared on the lists of Shanghai's famous artists.[1] Provocatively titled *Picture of Mr. Jishi Admiring and Regarding Himself with Affection*, the portrait shows Jin as portly and prosperous in appearance, standing alertly next to a large garden rock. Initial inspection would suggest that the terms of the picture are the usual ones of the scholar's portrait: the sitter cuts a gentlemanly figure and his place in the larger social order is reinforced by the rock as an abbreviated representation of the scholar's garden. Clearly taking a cue from Ren Bonian's 1868 portrait of Sha Fu of almost twenty years earlier, where the subject is similarly paired with a garden rock, Jin's portrait appears at first to repeat the conceit of the literatus at home in his world; however, on second glance, it would seem that this later portrait is less accommodating toward its subject and audience. Standing stiffly with his arms behind his back, Jin makes no acknowledgment of the viewer or, for that matter, his rock companion, looking only straight ahead. The bonhomie of the earlier portrait has somehow dissipated, and the portrait is severely reduced to the two essential elements of figure and rock; painting and artist together circle this stark pairing—or opposition.

Rocks were standard features in scholar portraits. Apart from serving as common references to garden settings, they also functioned symbolically on a number of levels, perhaps most grandly as microcosmic forms of mountains and the very building blocks of the universe; more modestly, rocks were common symbols of longevity and steadfastness.[2] Jin Erzhen's rock, however, behaves unlike a rock: the conditions of its representation serve to destabilize the portrait and its meanings. Jin's stone may have begun as an iconographic reference to standard auspicious meanings or, as Richard Vinograd suggests, even as a personalized reference to his name (Jishi literally means "auspicious stone"); however, this painted rock possesses a mysterious and affective weightiness that eludes fixed interpretation.[3] Like so many attributes in Ren Bonian's portraits, ranging from Lifu's staff to Dadian's dog, it seems

Figure e.1 Ren Bonian, *Picture of Mr. Jishi Admiring and Regarding Himself with Affection* (*Portrait of Jin Erzhen*), 1887, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, Rongbaozhai, Beijing (source: *Rongbaozhai huapu*: *Qing Ren Bonian hui xieyi renwu* [Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995], p. 48)

to possess its own life and being; the rock seems to be uneasily sentient and aware. Rendered as an independent presence, the rock and its relationship with Jin become ambiguous, yet fraught: in its mimicking of the subject's shape and pose, the rock simultaneously acts as Jin's companion, double, and shadow. The doubling effect also sets up an oppositional situation: visually, the portrait veers between the solid figure and far less tangible rock, with the

naturalistic rendering of Jin's substantial head juxtaposed against the rock's vaporous gray tonalities, both shaped and dissolved by brushstrokes. The two beings seem to function symbiotically, with the rock forming the unknown interior to the calligrapher's factual exterior appearance, perhaps standing in for all the unrepresentable aspects of Jin's identity and likeness. Portraits conventionally acted to firmly fix the individual according to established terms—there is often no more predictable an image than a portrait—but in this case it is the rock that sets the terms of Jin's identity, and it is its very lack of fixedness that moves this portrait into new territory.[4]

Jin Erzhen's image serves as a meditation on the limits of portraiture. It is also something of a celebration of the possibilities—and unknowability—of the artist's image. The ambiguous terms by which the individual is defined and his appearance marked are suggested by the unusual title: *Jishi xiansheng guying zilian tu*, which can be literally translated as "Picture of Mr. Jishi admiring his shadow [and feeling] affection for himself," or alternately, "pitying himself."[5] The sly title teases, itself portraying Jin preening with self-regard or glum with self-pity as he looks upon his image, and seems to take pleasure in this equivocal state of affairs. Mr. Jishi is thus shown amid a range of responses to his own self and portrait, marking again the gulf between and inseparability of sitter and likeness in the same image. The portraitist is not left out of the circle: the artist seems to observe Jishi as he in turn observes himself. This self-reflexiveness retains an aspect of play; the title seems to challenge both subject and viewer to recognize themselves, appearing to take a canny pleasure in the image's tensions and limitations in its mission of capturing a true likeness. It is tempting to interpret the portrait as a provocation to tradition and its certainties; in turn, the portrait's success may lie in its willingness instead to represent the artist's identity in all of its complex and multiple instabilities. Above all, there is the familiar Shanghai willingness to sport with the terms of the image and even unmoor those terms from set definitions.

The thrill of Ren Bonian's depiction of Jin Erzhen and its open engagement with the unknowable may be contrasted with a biography of Jin written several decades later, shortly after the calligrapher's death in 1917.[6] This textual portrait, recorded in Yang Yi's 1920 history of Shanghai art, *Haishang molin*, is focused on established terms and certainties. As mentioned in the introduction, Yang Yi's account may be considered one of the earliest histories of Shanghai School painting and remains a central source of information on late Qing Shanghai artists. His biography of Jin fixes the calligrapher within the accomplishments of the late imperial scholar. Yang Yi records Jin's excellence in running and regular script in Jin and Tang dynasty styles, his transformative reverence for the calligraphy of the Song scholar Su Shi (1037–1101) as well as his talents in connoisseurship and landscape painting, following the styles of mid-Qing painters Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715) and Wu Li (1632–1718). Jin's own contemporary context is mentioned only at the end of the biography, when Yang notes Jin's skill in writing inscriptions, adding that the calligrapher had produced numerous inscriptions for the Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Society, a fleeting reference to Jin's support of this professional organization for artists. The biography concludes

by noting Jin Erzhen's death in 1917, a date Yang elaborately writes as "six years after the *xinhai* year [1911] of the Xuantong era." His dating system makes use of the traditional systems of imperial regnal dates and sixty-year stems-and-branches cycles that manage to both acknowledge and elide the end of the Qing dynasty and the dynastic system itself. Xuantong was the reign name of China's last emperor, Puyi (1906–1967), and *xinhai* the last year of his reign, a momentous year that Yang Yi names by its stem-and-branch appellation, while making no mention of the new Republican era that the same date initiated and in which he found himself.[7]

The curious mixing of past and present found in both Jin Erzhen's biography and Yang Yi's odd dating demonstrates in one way the historicization of Shanghai School painting, just several decades after the fact. Shanghai art had always connected its own past and present in an intriguingly complicated manner, unselfconsciously continuing many of the practices of a centuries-long tradition of ink painting while simultaneously transforming these same practices in an audaciously modern manner. Yang Yi's book, written in 1920, however, frames the recent past in a deliberately retrospective, even elegiac manner, as an era dead, gone, and over. Although *Haishang molin*'s largest section by far is dedicated to artists of the late Qing era, the book addresses the entire history of Shanghai art and legitimizes the late Qing by placing it in a long historical context and chronology, stretching back to the Song and Yuan dynasties (though both of those sections can boast of only two artists each). Tellingly, the book does not extend beyond the late Qing, although Shanghai painting and calligraphy continued robustly on into the new century. The book had originally been commissioned by Gao Yong, the Calligraphy Beggar himself, and Gao's preface for *Haishang molin* makes it clear that he intended the book to serve as a record of the bygone art world of his youth. Yang Yi's diligently researched book was thus intended to function as a monument to that era; it also effectively marked its end. Many of the major figures in Shanghai School art had indeed passed away by the end of the century. Yang Yi's account, as can be seen with the example of Jin Erzhen's biography, is at pains to honor his subjects' accomplishments in terms that are oriented toward the past. To do so, he often employed familiar biographical tropes that located artists within the structures of traditional measures of value. Gao Yong and Yang Yi's tribute and contribution were intended to commemorate their subjects and to unite them with the dynastic past.

Histories by definition must have a cut-off point, and Yang Yi's book shows little interest in continuing the history of Shanghai art into his present moment. It was not only the deaths of the majority of late Qing Shanghai School artists that pushed the period deeper into the past, but also the widespread call for reform of China and its traditions that unalterably broke with this past. Shanghai painting and calligraphy may have continued into the twentieth century, but May Fourth and other reform movements at the end of the Qing led to dramatic changes in image-making as it had been practiced for centuries, overhauling art media, practices, infrastructure, and consumption patterns, thus building a different Shanghai art world with little resemblance even to the one brought into being by the destruction of

the Taiping civil wars a half-century earlier. Many of the signal aspects of Shanghai School painting had themselves ceded to change around the turn of the century, with one pivotal difference being the dissolution of the concept of the Chinese art world as its own center and whole. With calls for reform, the art world could not conceive of itself as the primary and natural center of things on the same terms it had hitherto enjoyed; profoundly altered by an uncertain turn to the outside world for new definitions of art and modernity, this voluntary *dépaysement* of the Chinese art world made it part of a transnational system of modernity. Ink painting and its traditional hierarchy of subjects did not disappear but became one medium and format among many, with oil painting, graphic design, photography, and European-style printmaking becoming significant areas of action in China (and specifically Shanghai), even as increasing numbers of art students left the country to study abroad and discover modes of picture-making understood as more appropriate to a modern world in which China was only one nation among many. The move of ink painting from the center of art practice in China, its relegation to an indigenous practice, highlights the radical recategorizing and reconceptualizing of art in the early Republican period.

Notions of unity, continuity, and intact systems so fundamental to the art of earlier periods gave way in the first half of the twentieth century to an eager adoption of fractured and hybrid practices. Instead of works that assumed organic wholeness, artists and images begin to juggle with and embrace the irreconcilable, the heterogeneous, and the fragmented. One could continue pointing out the many breakdowns between an old art world and a new one, with its explosion of possibilities apparently heralded by the arrival of the twentieth century, but it is also the case that some practices and activities of the new art world remained familiar. This is a factor acknowledged by a general reassessment of the Shanghai School and its contributions that took place in the 1920s and 1930s. *Haishang molin* was only one manifestation of this nostalgia for the recent past; one begins to see, for example, the widespread reprinting of earlier Shanghai illustrated books and a quiet re-evaluation of late Qing Shanghai masters and their contributions. This reassessment suggests that the excitement and opportunities brought by the art world in the late Qing surely forged a path for later artists to follow, however obscured those connections and influences have become with time. The intense professionalization of the art market during the Republican era had, as we have seen, its roots in this earlier period, and though the importation of art infrastructures from the West and Japan introduced art schools, journals, museums, and exhibitions to China, their forerunners may be seen in the less formal institutions of the fan shop and lithograph publisher.

The most obvious legacy handed down by Shanghai School painters to their artistic heirs may be the transformed status of the artist; by the Republican era, the art world had changed in profound ways, but its atmosphere of intense competition and the demands for the artist to serve multiple and complex roles grew from the groundwork laid in the late Qing. The chance for the artist to serve an expanded role on a public stage was given a substantial head start by Shanghai painters. And finally, the drastically changed audience for the artist in Shanghai naturally developed from the earlier expanded viewership established by

the partnership of the late Qing art world and the mass media. No small part of this was an opening up of the possibilities of the image itself, and its bold and open address of a mass audience. This dedication to and accommodation of the anonymous crowd, seen in the urban clientele and audience of treaty-port Shanghai, eventually pointed the way to the form of *renmin*, the masses that the Chinese artist would begin to serve within half a decade, under the dictates of Chairman Mao's "Yan'an Talks" and revolutionary concepts of mass culture.

Notes

Introduction

1. Several essays that discuss the genre of "elegant gathering" paintings, portraits or otherwise, include Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Between Representations: The Historical and the Visionary in Chen Hongshou's 'Yaji,'" *Art Bulletin*, 84/2 (June 2002), 315–333; Ellen Johnston Laing, "Real or Ideal: The Problem of the 'Elegant Gathering in the Western Garden' in Chinese Historical and Art Historical Records," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87 (1968), 419–435. This particular portrait has also been discussed in Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 144; and Julia F. Andrews and Shen Kuiyi, *The Art of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 15.
2. The format of the painting is striking, but it is not impossible that it is based on earlier prototypes; for example, a work by the early Qing artist Yu Shaoxuan is also called *Sanyou tu* (undated, Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of the City of Hangzhou), and also shows three sitters seated on the floor with a large bundle of paintings tied up in cloth. See *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993), vol. 11, #5–090.
3. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 144.
4. Aida Yuen Wong points out that the word *meishu* as a term for "art" was borrowed from the Japanese *bijitsu*, by way of classical Chinese and as a way of determining an equivalent for the Western concept of "fine art." *Meishu* did not occur until the 1910s, and arrived with a whole slew of other neologisms. See Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 35–36. See also Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).
5. Vinograd notes Zhong Dexiang's identity as a Hanlin academician and high-ranking official; Lai Yu-chih has also mentioned Zhong Dexiang for his part in inscribing another Ren Bonian painting; see "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai," *Art Bulletin*, 86/3 (September 2004), 559–561. Xu Yunlin (also known as Xu Shishi) was a Shanghai native and a painter and calligrapher with literati leanings. See Yu Jianhua, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* [A dictionary of Chinese artists] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 699. For more on Zhu Jintang and his relationship to Ren Bonian, see Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: Nianpu, lunwen, zhencun, zuopin* [Ren Bonian: Chronicle, theses, photos and inscriptions, and works] (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), 60–62, 102, 106.

6. The importance of the figure of the broker or middleman in Shanghai culture is noted by Alexander Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 26, 114–118. The middleman is also discussed in works such as Hao Yen-p'ing, *The Comprador in Nineteenth-Century China: Bridge Between East and West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970) and Nara Dillon and Jean C. Oi, eds., *At the Crossroads of Empire: Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican Shanghai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).
7. The bibliography on Shanghai is vast, but see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), and Meng Yue's important reassessment of Shanghai history, especially her introduction, "The Border of Histories," in Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), vii–xxix.
8. For an almost random sampling of such histories focusing on particular aspects of Shanghai culture, see Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City, 1853–98* (London: Routledge, 2010); Lu Hanchao, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004); Catherine Vance Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals and Entertainment Culture, 1850–1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, etc.
9. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 91.
10. Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* [Shanghai's forest of ink] (1920; repr. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
11. For example, see Gong Chanxing, *Ren Bonian yanjiu* [Ren Bonian studies] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982); and Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu* [Xugu studies] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987).
12. A sample would include Pan Shenliang, ed., *Haishang mingjia huihua* (*Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin quanji #15*) [Paintings by the famous artists in Shanghai region (Complete collection of the treasures of the Palace Museum #15)] (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1997); *Haishang siRen jingpin* [Masterpieces by the four Rens of Shanghai] (Hebei: Hebei meishu chubanshe and Hong Kong: Yazhou yishu chubanshe, 1992); Shan Guolin et al., eds., *Haishang minghuajia jingpinji* [Masterworks of Shanghai School painters from the Shanghai Museum] (Hong Kong: Tai Yip, 1991), etc.
13. James Cahill, "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting," in Maching Kao, ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 54–77; Chou Ru-hsi and Claudia Brown, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992).
14. The unique case of Shanghai and the difficulty of writing its history is further suggested in works such as Jeffrey Wasserstrom, "Locating Old Shanghai: Having Fits About Where It Fits," in Joseph Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900–1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 192–210.
15. The following studies of modern Chinese art and Shanghai art, for example, all place late Qing Shanghai at the start of their accounts. See Julia F. Andrews and Shen Kuiyi, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998); *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* [Studies on Shanghai School painting] (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001); Jason Kuo, ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s–1930s* (Washington, DC: New Academia Press, 2007).
16. The bibliography here is considerable; for just a sampling of different publications, see Huang Shaofen, ed., *Shanghai sheyingshi* [History of photography in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992); Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in the Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870–1910* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press,

2007); Lee Joohyun, "Wu Changshuo and Modern Korean Painting," in Burglind Jungmann et al., eds., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture: A Festschrift in Honour of Lothar Ledderose* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2012), 351–368; Joshua Fogel, ed., *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art* (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive/University of California Press, 2012), etc.

17. On the human cost of the Taiping event, see Tobie Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Rania Huntington, "Chaos, Memory, and Genre: Anecdotal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 27 (December 2005), 59–91.
18. Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi* [Miscellaneous notes on Shanghai] (1875; repr. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
19. Ge Yuanxu, *Huyou zaji* [Miscellaneous notes on traveling in Shanghai] (1876; repr. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
20. Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* [Record of dream images of Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1883; repr. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 139–140. This translation is based on Jonathan Hay's; see Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in Chou Ju-hsi, ed., *Art at the Close of China's Empire* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1998), 170.
21. The functioning of Chinese art markets has been a topic of growing interest with a number of studies addressing earlier periods; see, for example, Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991); James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity of Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
22. See Chou Ru-hsi and Claudia Brown, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), 102–103. Chou cites Lu Xun's 1935 essay, "'Jingpai' he 'haipai,'" and Shen Congwen's 1934 essays on "Shanghai School" literature. See *Lu Xun quanji* [Complete works of Lu Xun] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), vol. 6, 302–306; Shen Congwen, *Shen Congwen wenji* [The collected writings of Shen Congwen] (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1985), vol. 12, 158–165.
23. The history of fame and celebrityhood in China is a long one; see, for example, Hajime Nakatani, "The Empire of Fame: Writing and the Voice in Early Medieval China," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 14/3 (2006), 535–566.
24. Ge, *Huyou zaji*, 19, 69.
25. Zunwenge zhuren, "Preface," *Dianshizhai conghua* [Collected paintings from Dianshizhai] (Shanghai, 1886; repr. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991). Unlike *guonei mingliu*, *mingshi* is a term of much longer history, dating back at least to the third century. See Nakatani, "The Empire of Fame," 538, 539.
26. *Shenbao* 6/18/Guangxu 4 [1878]; also see Yang Borun, *Nanhucaotang shiji* [Collected poems from the Thatched Hut of South Lake] (Shanghai: Jiaxing Wushi Yushizhai, 1882), *juan* 6, 2b.
27. The wording of painting inscriptions in Shanghai paintings is an interesting example of this: patrons were often named in dedications and frequently addressed as *renxiong daren*, a title roughly translatable as "the excellent gentleman"; inscriptions often make a polite request for the dedicatee's corrections. Such terminology suggests the painting was exchanged between friends and intimates, and continued to be used even when the patron was a complete stranger. This is a small example of the persistence of literati practice in commercial painting.
28. These stories come from a variety of sources, and are usually impossible to verify or disprove. In this case, these are anecdotes recounted by modern Chinese artists including Cheng Shifa and Zhang Chongren, and recorded in "Ren Bonian duhua hui," in Gong, *Ren Bonian yanjiu*, 49; see also stories recorded in a Shanghai newspaper, in Lu Huiling, "Huajia Ren Bonian de gushi" [Stories about the painter Ren Bonian], *Xinmin wanbao* (March 29, 1962), 3.

29. Lai Yu-chih, "Surreptitious Appropriations: Ren Bonian (1840–1895) and Japanese Culture in Shanghai, 1842–1895," PhD dissertation (Yale University, 2005), and most recently Fogel, ed., *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*.
30. Andrews and Kuiyi point out both possibilities in *The Art of Modern China*, 15.
31. See, for example, Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 134–188, see also Rudolf Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai huabao*," in Wagner, *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in the Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870–1910*, 105–173.
32. This is a question carefully pursued by Lai Yu-chih in "Surreptitious Appropriations," though the difficulties of finding definitive answers are suggested by her title.
33. Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith, eds., *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 89–91.
34. Joshua Fogel calls this moment in late nineteenth-century Japan "the last hurrah of traditional Sinic-style arts and culture," see his introduction in Fogel, ed., *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, 3.
35. See *Wang Tao riji* [Wang Tao's diaries] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), or excerpts such as Wang Tao, "Henghuaguan riji" [Diary from the Hall of Fragrant Splendor], in Shanghaishi ziliao congkan, ed., *Qingdai riji huichao* [A compilation of Qing diaries] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 248–268.
36. "Jiangyunguan riji" [Diary of the Hall of Crimson Rue], in *Qingdai riji huichao*, 305, 306, 308.
37. Catherine Vance Yeh, "The Life-Style of Four *Wenren* in Late Qing Shanghai," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57/2 (December 1997), 419–470.
38. For Yuyuan shuhua shanhui's charter, see Yang, *Haishang molin*, 74–75. See also Shen Kuiyi, "Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai," in Kuo, ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s–1930s*, 22. On Shanghai art societies, see Liu Ruikan, "WanQing Shanghai diqu shuhuajia jieshe huodong tanxi" [A study of the societal activities of Shanghai painters and calligraphers in the late Qing], *Xingda lishi xuebao*, 3 (1993), 109–127; and Huang Ke, "Qingmo Shanghai jinshi shuhuajia de jieshe huodong" [The societal activities of Shanghai painters and calligraphers at the end of the Qing], *Duoyun*, 12 (January 1987), 141–148. On the twentieth-century transformation of these artist societies, see, for example, Pedith Chan, "The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of *Guohua*: Art Societies in Republican Shanghai," *Modern China*, 39/5 (September 2013), 541–570.
39. Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 3. This translation is based on Jonathan Hay's, in "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 170.
40. Some of these practices are suggested by James Cahill in his discussion of how paintings were obtained and paid for in the Ming and Qing periods. The complexities of interactions with artists in the earlier Ming is suggested by Ann Burkus-Chasson, in her discovery of Ming epistolary manuals offering sample letters for requesting paintings from artists. See James Cahill, "The Painter's Livelihood," in *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China*, 32–70; Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Elegant or Common? Chen Hongshou's Birthday Presentation Pictures and His Professional Status," *Art Bulletin* 26/2 (June 1994), 289, 296–298.
41. Wai-yee Li, "The Collector, the Connoisseur, and Late-Ming Sensibility," *T'oung Pao*, 81 (1995), 269–302.
42. See the advertisement for the fan shop Xihongtang discussed in chapter one.
43. Thanks to Jonathan Hay for pointing out the connection between these two images. Also see Shen Kuiyi's discussion of this link in "Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai," 15–18.
44. It should be noted that "elegant gatherings" were customarily set in the scholar's garden, and the absence of any such location in this image seems to be a significant component of this image.
45. *Dianshizhai huabao*, 1889. The advertisement's extensive text lists the shop's offerings: "Jiuhuatang letter-paper and fan shop announces that we specialize in famous letter-papers from every province,

account books, visiting cards, every kind of elegant fan from Suzhou and Hangzhou, palm-leaf [fans] from Guangdong and Manchurian eagle-plume fans. We also manufacture a large inventory of clean and purified pigments [including] blue and vermilion, [and also sell] splashed gold folding screens, *kesi* [silk tapestries] for gifts to superiors, birthday banners, calligraphy and paintings by famous masters, brocade mountings, specially prepared Japanese seal paste, Huzhou brushes and Anhui ink. All should be in stock. Those who wish to bestow their attention on us please come to the north Second Road [Jiujiang Road] to the south of Shanghai's ball field in the central market." According to Zheng Wei, Jiuhuatang was originally a Suzhou establishment. See Zheng Wei, "Shanghai shuhua jianshanye chenfu lu (Qing Daoguang zhi 1960)" [A record of the rise and fall of Shanghai's letter-paper and fan shops (from the Qing Daoguang era to 1960)], unpublished paper (1997), 3.

46. For example, see Scarlett Jang, "Form, Content and Audience: A Common Theme in Painting and Woodblock-Printed Books of the Ming Dynasty," *Ars Orientalis*, 27 (1997), 1–26.
47. See studies of China's citizenry, for example, that address a slightly later period, for example, Joshua Fogel and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890–1920* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997).
48. For a useful study that asks the question, "What is a public?" see Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005).
49. Richard Vinograd in Robert Thorpe and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art & Culture* (New York: Abrams, 2001), 385–386; also see the discussion by Julia F. Andrews, "Commercial Art and China's Modernization," in Andrews and Shen, eds., *A Century in Crisis*, 183–185.
50. For example, few Shanghai artists produced collected writings, or *wenji*; in the cases where *wenji* exist, they often do not survive (itself an interesting statement). Such *wenji* reportedly included Zhang Xiong's *Yintenghuaguan tihua ji* [Record of painting inscriptions from the Hall of Silver Wisteria Blossoms] and *Yintenghuaguan shichao* [Poems from the Hall of Silver Wisteria Blossoms], and works by Hu Gongshou, *Jihexuan shi* [Poems from the Studio of the Sojourning Crane] and Xugu's *Xugu heshang shilu* [Record of poems by monk Xugu]. In a personal communication, the art historian Gong Chanxing stated that he had made an extensive search in Jiangnan libraries for copies of Xugu's book in particular, and had not succeeded in finding any.
51. A large and growing bibliography on Shanghai and Chinese print culture in general includes contributions such as Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*; Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Xu Zaiping and Xu Ruifang, *Qingmo sishinian* Shenbao *shiliao* [Materials on forty years of *Shenbao* at the end of the Qing] (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1988); Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public*; Wang Juan, *Merry Laughter and Angry Curses: Shanghai Tabloid Press, 1897–1911* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), etc.
52. "My thoughts on going home after the chaos are scattered, / Dragon Mountain is still the same horizontal range planted with many rocks. / The red balustrade and jade willow of the old place are still there, / I can only hear the autumn wind and sobbing of the evening cicadas." Ren Bonian's poem was published in conjunction with poems by Yang Borun and Xu Bangda. The three poems were roughly linked together in that the latter two poems were composed as inscriptions for a portrait by Ren Bonian of the writer Chen Manshou and his daughter; *Shenbao* 1/30/Guangxu 5 [1879].
53. One might consider how limited our knowledge is of the larger hierarchy of Shanghai pictorial production, especially toward the less elite end of matters. For example, note the recent attention given to Shanghai's little-known Xiaojiaochang prints, lithograph prints of contemporary subjects; see Feng Jicai, ed., *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng: Shanghai xiaojiaochang juan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011).
54. Some helpful sources on early print media include Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1933); Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1965).

55. Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*.
56. See Jonathan Hay's discussion of Shanghai painting as a coded language of the urban experience; Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 82–85.
57. This would include the large number of monograph picture books published on Shanghai artists. A random sampling include Pan Shenliang, ed., *Xugu huaji* [A collection of Xugu paintings] (Hebei: Hebei meishu chubanshe and Hong Kong: Yazhou yishu chubanshe, 1994); Wang Xinda, ed., *Wu Changshuo zuopinji* [Selected artworks of Wu Changshuo] (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 1994); *Haishang siRen jingpin*, etc.
58. This is, in fact, the case for most Chinese painting formats, with few histories yet written of scroll painting, fan painting, or mural painting. One obvious exception is Wu Hung's study, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) or Sarah Fraser, *Performing the Visual: The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618–960* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Chapter 1
The Shanghai Painted Fan

1. See Mark Swislocki's discussion of Shanghai's *shuimitao*, "honey nectar peaches," and Shanghai identity in Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 29–64.
2. Fans were commonly painted on gold paper. Ding Xiyuan observes the large number of fans on gold paper that Ren Bonian produced specifically in 1873, but Ren's early Shanghai career is generally marked by a high rate of fan production. See Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 31.
3. Few histories of the Chinese fan have been written, though a number of exhibition catalogues exist. These include Laurence Tam and Gerald Tsang, *Fan Paintings by Late Ch'ing Shanghai Masters* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1977); also see Ka Bo Tsang, *More Than Keeping Cool: Chinese Fans and Fan Painting* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2002); Chen Chen-fu, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Ming Qing zheshan shuhuaji* [Ming and Qing paintings and calligraphic works on folding fans] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company, 1983); Tseng Yu Ho Ecke, *Poetry on the Wind: The Art of Chinese Folding Fans from the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1981); Carol Dorrington-Ward, *Fans from the East* (London: Debrett's Peerage, 1978). Publications on fans also exist in the form of buying guides for collectors: Bao Mingxin, *Cangshan bitan* [Notes on collecting fans] (Shanghai: Shanghai kexuejishu chubanshe, 2001) and Chen Hongmian et al., eds., *Yueyi fengshen: Shanmian jizhen tezhan* [The beauty of Chinese fans] (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung shili meishuguan, 1998).
4. On early nineteenth-century painting, see the overview, "Painting in the Lower Yangtze Valley Before the Taiping Rebellion," in Chou and Brown, *Transcending Turmoil*, 40–99; also see Wan Qingli, *Bingfei shuailuo de bainian: 19 shiji Zhongguo huihuashi* [A century not in decline: A history of nineteenth-century Chinese painting] (Taipei: Hsiungshih tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2005).
5. For biographies of Zhang Xiong, see Jiang Baolin and Jiang Chaisheng, *Molin jinhua xubian* [Recent words on the forest of ink continued] (Saoye shanfang, 1872; repr. Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1975), 714; Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 85; Yang, *Haishang molin*, 72. Wang Tao's account mentions Zhang's move to Shanghai "after the chaos" or Taiping Rebellion, calling him "Yugong," the patriarch of sojourners. Chou Ru-hsi notes Zhang Xiong's many students, counting ten listed in *Haishang molin* and another four mentioned by Zhang Mingke; see Chou and Brown, *Transcending Turmoil*, 336, footnote 121. Even Wu Changshuo noted Zhang's numerous students in his poem dedicated to the older painter. See Wu Changshuo, *Foulu shi* [Poems from the Pottery Hut] (1893), *juan* 3, 2. Zhang Xiong also published at least two books, *Yintenghuaguan shichao* [Poems from the Hall of Silver Wisteria Blossoms] and *Yintenghuaguan tihua ji* [Record of painting inscriptions from the Hall of Silver Wisteria Blossoms], no copies of which are known to survive.

23. Simon Kiong, *Quelques mots sur la politesse chinoise* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1906), 36.
24. Walshe was a member of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, a Methodist organization in Shanghai. He states his book was written "at the request of the Mid-China Church Missionary Conference for the guidance of missionaries newly arrived in China, it being felt that a better acquaintance with Chinese social methods might prevent many unfortunate blunders and much mutual misunderstanding . . ." W. Gilbert Walshe, *"Ways that are Dark": Some Chapters on Chinese Etiquette and Social Procedure* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, c. 1890), 23–24.
25. Also a professor of Chinese language, Giles was resident in the Zhejiang area for twenty years, including three in Shanghai. See Herbert Giles, "On Chinese Fans," *Historic China and Other Sketches* (London: Thomas de la Rue & Co., 1882), 294.
26. Ibid., 305.
27. Ibid., 301–302.
28. Walshe, "*Ways that are Dark*," 24.
29. Henrietta Harrison discusses this photograph as an example of the bearing of the late Qing elite male, notably in each man's "round-shouldered posture." See Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 79–80. Note the similar late Qing photograph of a group of men and boys posing in a Beijing garden; nearly all hold screen fans; see L. Carrington Goodrich and Nigel Cameron, eds., *The Face of China as Seen by Photographers and Travelers, 1860–1912* (New York: Aperture Books, 1978), 83.
30. See Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 132–134.
31. A similar fascination with street life and display can be seen in numerous contemporary prints, including Shanghai's Xiaojiaochang prints; see Feng, ed., *Zhongguo muban nianhua jicheng: Shanghai Xiaojiaochang juan*, and Wu Youru's pictures of Shanghai sights in *Shenjiang shengjing tu* [Shanghai sights illustrated] (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, 1885).
32. An 1893 description of the lavishly decorated Nanchengxin opium den, for example, mentions the "famous paintings and calligraphies" on its walls. See Chi Zhicheng, *Huyou mengying* [Dream images of traveling in Shanghai] (1893; repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 160; also see Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith, eds., *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 99, fn. 84.
33. See Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884–1898* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 159–160; also Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 75–76. In addition, feather fans, *diaolingshan*, were popular items; see advertisements for feather fans in *Shenbao* 7/26/Guangxu 7 [1881], and *Shenbao* 6/21/Guangxu 9 [1883], the latter complete with picture.
34. For a discussion of the street and other public Shanghai spaces, see Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai*, 113–143. Also see period accounts such as Bruno Navarra, *The Celestial "Boulevards" of Shanghai, or Foochow Road by Day and Night* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, 1885).
35. Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* [Record of dream images of Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1883; repr. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 139. This translation is based on Hay's; see Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 170.
36. Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 73; Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 170.
37. Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 121.
38. Domestic and commercial interiors represented in *Dianshizhai huabao* often show these large horizontal "scrolls" displayed on walls, sometimes framed, sometimes fixed to the wall by strings.
39. John Hay, "Chinese Fan Painting," 105, 108.
40. Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 78–116.

54. Giles, "On Chinese Fans," 298.
55. *Shenbao* 9/18/Tongzhi 11 [1872].
56. Ge, *Huyou zaji*, 19.
57. Shen Kuiyi, "Entering a New Era: Transformation and Innovations in Chinese Painting, 1895–1930," in Julia Andrews et al., *Between the Thunder and the Rain: Chinese Paintings from the Opium War through the Cultural Revolution, 1840–1979* (San Francisco: Echo Rock and Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2000), 98. The shop Feiyunge, located in Yu Garden in the Chinese city, was said to be owned by the flower painter Xiang Yao and served as a gathering place for artists. See Anita Chung, "Reinterpreting the Shanghai School of Painting," in National Museums of Scotland, *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851–1911* (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 2000), 33. Deyuelou in Yu Garden is also sometimes mentioned as another artists' gathering spot.
58. *Shenbao* 3/23/Tongzhi 11 [1873]; *Shenbao* 3/25/Tongzhi 11 [1873].
59. This included shops such as the Zhou Huchen brush shop on Xingsheng Street in the foreign concessions, and the Hu Kaiwen ink shop, located by the east gate of the Chinese city. Both shops had recently relocated (from Suzhou and Huizhou respectively) with Zhou Huchen's move prompted by the Taiping upheavals. See *Shenbao* 3/23/Tongzhi 11 [1873]; *Shenbao* 3/28/Guangxu 1 [1875]; and *Shenbao* 12/9/Guangxu 1 [1875].
60. *Shenbao* 2/28/Guangxu 3 [1877].
61. "Gu family embroidery" was a Shanghai specialty. First produced by female relatives of the Ming literatus Gu Mingshu, these embroideries reproduced famous paintings and calligraphies. By the nineteenth century, Gu embroidery was a famous regional craft and luxury item. See Xu Weinan, *Guxiu kao* [Reference to Gu embroidery] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), and on modern forms of Gu embroidery, see Dorothy Ko, "Between the Boudoir and the Global Market: Shen Shou, Embroidery, and Modernity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in Jennifer Purtle and Hans Thomsen, eds., *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2009), 38–61.
62. *Shenbao* 2/15/Tongzhi 12 [1874]. Interestingly, the importance of branding is suggested by a published response to Hai'ouge's advertisement by the well-regarded calligrapher Wang Tao, whose sobriquet was also Hai'ou. In his own advertisement, Wang Tao is anxious to make it clear that he has nothing to do with the Hai'ouge enterprise. See *Shenbao* 2/19/Tongzhi 12 [1874].
63. *Shenbao* 9/22/Guangxu 5 [1879]; *Shenbao* 11/14/Guangxu 6 [1880]. Baoshan Road (also called Wu Malu), like Wangping Street, Qipanjie or "Checkerboard Street" (Henan Middle Road) and Fuzhou Road, were all located in the heart of the foreign concessions and served as Shanghai's cultural district. This was also the area of the city's publishers, stationers, bookshops, and other shops specializing in the "four treasures of the studio." It is no coincidence that Fuzhou Road also served as the entertainment center of the city, with restaurants, theaters, and brothels clustered in this area. See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 16–22; Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 35; Liang, "The Mingling of Magnates and Masses," *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai*, 144–180.
64. *Shenbao* 7/13/Guangxu 8 [1881]. The advertisement notes that Chunlanxuan could be recognized by the scholarly lute emblazoned on its shop sign.
65. *Shenbao* 2/28/Guangxu 3 [1878]. Cosmetics seem to have been a common part of fan shop inventory, perhaps considered to be in a similar category to pigments. Advertisements also appeared in *Shenbao* 2/27/Guangxu 3 [1878]; 2/29/Guangxu 3 [1878].
66. Letter-papers designed by the monk painter Xugu for Jiuhuatang may be seen in Fu Hua and Cai Geng, *Xugu huace* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), 151. Examples of Ren Bonian's letter-paper designs for Guxiangshi are in the collection of the Shanghai Municipal Library in the form of letters from Zuo Zongtang (1812–1885).
67. These calligraphers included Tao Fangqi, Wu Dajian, and Xu Fu. Jonathan Hay has identified two of these calligraphers: Tao Fangqi (1845–1884) was an 1876 *jinshi* degree-holder, Shaoxing native, and known as both a painter and calligrapher. Xu Fu (b. 1836) was another *jinshi* degree-holder and prominent official. See Jonathan Hay, "Notes on Chinese Photography and Advertising," 112, 118, footnote 32. Calligraphy in Shanghai and its uses, especially commercial uses, are not much

9. Ibid., 73. This translation is based on Jonathan Hay's; see Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 170.
10. Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 85, 87.
11. Ibid., 87.
12. This portrait is in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. Showing Yao Xie surrounded by a bevy of beauties, it is a tribute to Yao's well-known weakness for female company; repr. Richard Barnhart et al., eds., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 294.
13. Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 87, 97–98.
14. This did not prevent Hu Gongshou from providing a preface for Wang Tao's book. Ibid., 10.
15. The usefulness of *zhuzhici* as an historical source is apparent in recent works such as Di Wang's investigation of Chengdu in the nineteenth century; see Di Wang, "The Rhythm of the City: Everyday Chengdu in Nineteenth-Century Bamboo-Branch Poetry," *Late Imperial China*, 24/1 (June 2003), 33–78. For more on Shanghai *zhuzhici*, see Gu Bingquan's compilation of examples of late Qing and later *zhuzhici*, many first published in *Shenbao*. Gu includes, for example, excerpts from a book by Yuan Zuzhi (1827–1900), a frequent contributor to *Shenbao* and editor of the revised *Huyou zaji*; see Yuan Zuzhi, *Haishang zhuzhici* (Shanghai, 1876); also see Gu Bingquan, ed., *Shanghai yangchang zhuzhici* [Bamboo-branch poems on Shanghai's foreign concessions] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1996).
16. *Shenbao* 12/13/Tongzhi 11 [1872]; Wang, *Yingruan zazhi*, 93–94.
17. Female painters were not unknown in Qing Shanghai, but were in the minority. See Ellen Johnston Laing's discussion of two female Shanghai painters, Ren Bonian's daughter Ren Xia (1876?–1920), who reportedly ghost-painted for her father, and Wu Shujuan (1853–1930), in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Views from Jade Terrace: Chinese Women Artists 1300–1912* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1988), 167–171.
18. Chinese-language Western-style newspapers first appeared in the nineteenth century with many produced by foreign missionaries or merchants. *Shenbao* was not the earliest, but it was certainly the most innovative and influential early Chinese-language newspaper. For more on *Shenbao* and its significance, see Xu and Xu, *Qingmo sishinian* Shenbao; also see publications by scholars linked with the University of Heidelberg's Institute of Chinese Studies, including Rudolf Wagner, "The Early Chinese Newspapers and the Chinese Public Sphere," *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 1 (2001), 1–33; Natascha Vittinghoff, "Readers, Publishers and Officials in the Contest for a Public Voice and the Rise of a Modern Press in Late Qing Shanghai (1860–1880)," *T'oung Pao*, 47 (2001), 393–455; and Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?*. On *Shenbao*'s art advertising, see the useful index, Yen Chuan-ying, ed., *Shanghai meishu fengyun, 1872–1949*: Shenbao *yishu ziliao tiaomu suoyin* [Art in Shanghai, 1872–1949: an index of articles, reviews, advertisements and news items published in *Shenbao*] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo shiliao congkan, 2006).
19. This translation is by Roswell S. Britton, see *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1933), 64–67.
20. For a biography of Yang Borun, see Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, 60.
21. Yang Borun, *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 5, 3b and 4b.
22. Ibid., *juan* 6, 1; *juan* 5, 18; *juan* 4, 10; *juan* 6, 17; the last two poems are both *juan* 4, 11. Yushizhai, the Studio of the Speaking Stone, was the name of Yang Borun's study, hence the title of his short study on painting, *Yushizhai huashi* (A record of painting from the Studio of the Speaking Stone), which was bound with the Shanghai Municipal Library's copy of *Nanhucaotang shiji*.
23. Yang Borun, *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 5, 17b.
24. Ibid., *juan* 4, 2a.
25. This set of poems first appeared in *Shenbao* 1/15/Guangxu 4 [1878]. Curiously, when republished in *Nanhucaotang shiji*, the calligrapher Tang Jingchang was dropped and the title of the poem changed to "Poems to Shanghai's Five Gentlemen"; *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 6, 4b.
26. Chen Honggao, a native of Jiaxing, attained a *xiucai* degree and was known as both a poet and a calligrapher. He traveled to Japan later in life where he was well received. See Zhang, *Hansongge*

37. Vittinghoff, "Readers, Publishers and Officials," 419–420.
38. *Shenbao* 6/3/Guangxu 4 [1878], *Shenbao* 6/9/ Guangxu 4 [1878].
39. Yu, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian*, 564; also see Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, 77. Jin Ji continued his acts of charity; see further ads in *Shenbao* 10/27/Guangxu 5 [1879], *Shenbao* 6/17/ Guangxu 6 [1880], *Shenbao* 10/27/Guangxu 7 [1881], *Shenbao* 9/1/Guangxu 8 [1882], etc. Jin Ji's example serves as an interesting later example of *xieyi* or "ink-play" and its costs in later Chinese painting; see James Cahill, "Quickness and Spontaneity in Chinese Painting: The Ups and Downs of an Ideal," in *Three Alternative Histories of Chinese Painting* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1988), 70–99.
40. *Shenbao* 6/18/Guangxu 4 [1878]. Also see a follow-up announcement a month later, *Shenbao* 7/18/Guangxu 4 [1878]. Note that prices are difficult to convert, as China at this time lacked a unified currency system, with even foreign coins in the mix (such as Mexican dollars, valued for their high silver content). *Yuan* is often translated as "dollar," with *mao* or *jiao* equaling one-tenth of that. *Wen* and *fen* (or "cash" in period English) is usually translated as "cent." For perspective on value, a copy of *Shenbao* cost eight *wen* in 1872 and ten *wen* in 1880; Christopher Reed quotes one source stating that the price of a bowl of noodles in the late 1870s was eight cash. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 322, fn. 54.
41. Yang Borun, *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 6, 2b.
42. *Shenbao* 7/21/Guangxu 4 [1878]. For more on Shu Hao, see Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, 76.
43. "An Essay Discussing *Henan qihuang tieleitu*," *Shenbao*, March 15, 1878. For a more extensive discussion of these images, see Kate Edgerton-Tarpley's essay, "'Pictures to Draw Tears from Iron': The North China Famine of 1878–1879," MIT Visualizing Cultures, 2010, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/tears_from_iron/tfi_essay01.html (accessed 3/18/2011).
44. For further discussion of the famine, these pictures and other pictures used to motivate relief contributions, see Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*, 132–137. Xie Jiafu's pamphlet was reprinted in England with recut illustrations and translations of the text by James Legge; see Committee of the China Famine Relief Fund, *The Famine in China: Illustrations by a Native Artist* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878).
45. A report from the missionary organizers of the China Famine Relief Fund remarks on the "striking pamphlet": "The pamphlet was largely circulated in various parts of this province [Jiangnan] and the illustrations were hung up on boards in different places in Shanghai, in order to induce the natives to contribute to the fund." See China Famine Relief Fund, Shanghai Committee, *The Great Famine* [Report of the Committee of the China Famine Relief Fund] (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1879), 19–20.
46. Five later pamphlets by Xie Jiafu and his colleagues survive as *Sisheng gaozai tuqi* [Pictures reporting the disaster in the four provinces], the first of a twelve-volume compilation, *Qi yu jin zhi zhenjuan zhengxinlu* [Statement of accounts for relief contributions for Shandong, Henan, Shanxi, and Zhili] (n.p., 1881). See also Edgerton-Tarpley, "'Pictures to Draw Tears from Iron,'" 134–136, 279, fn. 8.
47. See Zhu Hu, *Difangxing liudong ji qi chaoyue: Wanqing yizhen yu jindai Zhongguo de xinchen daixie* [The fluidity and transcendence of localism: Late Qing charitable relief and the supercession of the old by the new in modern China] (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2006), 176–179.
48. Two essays on violence in Chinese culture discuss it in the broad terms of social practices, but their discussion of disassociation from violence in terms of morality, refinement and pollution is useful. See Barend J. ter Haar, "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Culture," and Virgil Kit-yiu Ho, "Butchering Fish and Executing Criminals: Public Executions and the Meanings of Violence in Late Imperial and Modern China," both in Göran Aijmer and Jon Abbink, eds., *Meanings of Violence in a Cross Cultural Perspective* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 123–140, 141–160.
49. I speculate that paintings illustrating common sayings may allude to fund-raising; for example, the title of Ren Bonian's unusual painting of *Delivering Coals in the Snow* (*Xuezhong-songtan*) is a common aphorism for help sent when most needed (1883, Beijing Palace Museum). Later artists were more explicit when using painting and art works for charity purposes; see, for example, Chen

. . . If residents of Soochow, Hangchow and other cities wish to advertise in our paper, they will please advise our agents in their cities . . .” Translation by Roswell Britton; see Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press*, 66; *Shenbao* 6/14/Tongzhi 11 [1872]. The importance of advertising in *Shenbao* is suggested by the fact that advertising rates were featured in the newspaper’s masthead on a daily basis. For a useful discussion on advertising conventions of the period, also see Barbara Mittler, “Imagined Communities Divided: Reading Visual Regimes in Shanghai’s Newspaper Advertising (1860s–1910s),” in Henriot and Yeh, *Visualising China*, *1845–1965*, 267–378.

68. *Shenbao* 3/18/Guangxu 8 [1882]; *Shenbao* 7/16/Guangxu 7 [1881]; *Shenbao* 4/24/Guangxu 9 [1883]; *Shenbao* 3/14/Guangxu 3 [1877].
69. Feng Guifen was an important early reformer, a leader in the Self-Strengthening movement and strong advocate of Western learning. It is notable that his calligraphy was popular enough to be imitated for sale. For a biography of Feng, see Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 241–243.
70. For a discussion of the famous Shanghai scholar, see Jonathan Hay, “Painters and Publishing,” 171–175.
71. *Shenbao* 4/29/Guangxu 9 [1883]; *Shenbao* 3/18/Guangxu 8 [1882]; *Shenbao* 12/19/Guangxu 4 [1878].
72. *Shenbao* 5/15/Guangxu 9 [1883].
73. *Shenbao* 5/25/Guangxu 9 [1883].
74. For more on the China Merchants’ Steamship Navigation Company, see Lai Chi-kong, “The Qing State and Merchant Enterprise: The China Merchants’ Company, 1872–1902,” in Jane Kate Leonard and John R. Watt, eds., *To Achieve Security and Wealth: The Qing Imperial State and the Economy, 1644–1911* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asian Series, 1992), 139–155.
75. *Shenbao* 6/1/Guangxu 8 [1882].
76. Raymond Williams, “Advertising: The Magic System,” *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 170–195.
77. Examples of these include Zhang Xiong’s wife, Zhong Huizhu, a flower and plum-blossom painter, and Ren Bonian’s daughter, Ren Xia.
78. *Shenbao* advertisements do not address women specifically until the twentieth century; see Barbara Mittler, “Gendered Advertising in China: What History Do Images Tell?” *European Journal of Chinese Studies*, 6/1 (2007), 13–41; Barbara Mittler, “Defy(N)ing Modernity: Women in Shanghai’s Early News-Media (1872–1915),” *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu*, 11 (December 2003), 215–259.
79. *Shenbao* 4/3/Guangxu 8 [1882]; *Shenbao* 4/25/Guangxu 9 [1883].
80. *Shenbao* 6/28/Tongzhi 12 [1873]; *Shenbao* 4/4/Guangxu 13 [1887]; thanks to Bert Winther-Tamaki and Yoohyang Do for their assistance.
81. *Shenbao* 4/15/Guangxu 8 [1882]. Hu Zhang published several poems in *Shenbao*; see *Shenbao* 8/13/Guangxu 5 [1879], *Shenbao* 4/4/Guangxu 9 [1883]. For more on Hu Zhang, see Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, 75; also see Tsuruta Takeyoshi, “Lo Hsueh-ku and Hu T’ieh-mei: Study of Chinese Painters Who Came to Japan in the Meiji Era,” *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 324 (June 1983), 23–29. For a rare example of his work, see Stephen Little, ed., *New Songs on Ancient Tunes: 19th–20th Century Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy from the Richard Fabian Collection* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2007), 498–501.
82. A late nineteenth-century photograph of Guangzhou’s Commercial or Treasury Street by the Hong Kong photographer Lai Afong suggests other, probably older, ways that portraitists advertised. Afong’s photograph includes a glimpse of the façade of Fangguzhai (Studio of Imitating the Antique) and reveals a large advertisement for a portraitist named Wang pasted on the wall to the side of the shop counter. See Clark Worswick, ed., *Sheying: Shades of China, 1850–1900* (New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2008), 106.
83. *Shenbao* 5/13/Guangxu 2 [1876]; *Shenbao* 3/28/Guangxu 3 [1877]; *Shenbao* 4/21/Guangxu 9 [1883].
84. Yu, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian*, 30. For more on Yin Lisheng’s father, see *Huyou zaji*, 68, where Yin Quan is described as specializing in portraiture and *shinü* or paintings of ladies.

and parcel of Shanghai as a cesspool of immorality; specifically mentioned are calligraphers Mo Youzhi and Tang Jingchang who are described as "some of the biggest confidence men." The large number of anecdotes concerning Ren Bonian are discussed also by Wang Jixian, see "Ren Bonian qiren qiyi" [Ren Boninan, the man, his art], in Dong Yulong, eds., *Ren Bonian jingpinji* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), 1–27; and Hans van der Meyden, "The Life and Works of Ren Bonian (1840–1896): An Attempt to Strip the Artist's Biography of Some Apocryphal Fabrications," *Oriental Art*, 38/1 (Spring 1992), 27–40.

Chapter 3
Shanghai Illustrations

1. Chen Yunsheng, *Renzhai huasheng* [Renzhai's painting legacy] (Shanghai?: Yongshan Chenshi Deguhuanshi, 1876). The book appears to have been privately published by the Chen family.
2. For an overview of the Shanghai illustrated book, see Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 134–188.
3. The term *mingshi* has a long pedigree, reaching back to the fourth century, and was used to characterize famous or unconventional scholars who lived in reclusion and had liberated themselves from societal strictures. By the nineteenth century, the term was increasingly associated with the famous individual. On the longevity of this term and type, see, for example, Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 130.
4. For biographies of Chen Yunsheng, see Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 134–135; also see Yang, *Haishang molin*, 71.
5. It is rare to see Chen Yunsheng's paintings, but an example of a blue-and-green landscape in the collection of Ningbo's Tianyige Library is reproduced in Huang Yongquan, ed., *Zhejiang jindai shuhua xuanji* [A selection of recent calligraphy and painting from Zhejiang] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), plate 4.
6. See Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a discussion of paratextual materials in the context of a Chinese illustrated book, see Julia Murray, "Changing the Frame: Prefaces and Colophons in the Chinese Illustrated Book, *Dijian Tushuo*," *East Asian Library Journal*, 12/1 (Spring 2006), 20–67.
7. In comparison, the paratextual materials in Ren Xiong's legendary series of illustrated books from the mid-nineteenth century are minimal. Ren Xiong's books had only one or two prefaces by the artist's intimates and only one title page, calligraphed by relatives such as Ren Qi.
8. Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu,* 71. Frontispiece or author portraits (they sometimes appeared at the end of a book) in Chinese books are an understudied phenomenon. In existence from at least Ming times, these examples are often portraits of the publisher rather than author, e.g., late sixteenth-century portraits of publisher Yu Xiangdou, which he would insert as a marketing device in his publications. See Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 213–214; Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 397, fn. 69. Though obviously focusing on a different culture and period, Janine Barchas's essay on British eighteenth-century frontispiece portraits investigates the relationship between such portraits and author personae and marketing. See Janine Barchas, "Prefiguring Genre: Frontispiece Portraits from *Gulliver's Travels* to *Millennium Hall*," *Studies in the Novel*, 30/2 (Summer 1998), 260–286.
9. Ren Xiong's four illustrated books were *Liexian jiupai* [Drinking cards of the immortals], 1854; *Jianxia zhuan* [Biographies of knight-errants], 1856; *Yu Yue xianxian xiangzhuan zan* [Illustrated biographies of former worthies of Yue], 1856; and the unfinished *Gaoshi zhuan* [Biographies of lofty hermits], c. 1857. These books continued to be republished in new editions in Shanghai, including an 1880 lithograph edition published by Dianshizhai. See the advertisement in *Shenbao*

23. Needless to say, the publishing history of *Renzhai huasheng* is a complicated one and still remains to be sorted out. Chen reportedly issued another edition in 1881; another lithograph edition was issued much later, in 1923, by Xuexianglou.
24. *Dianshizhai huabao*, middle issue of 11/Guangxu 11 [1885], #61.
25. Rudolf Wagner provides an overview of the workings of *Dianshizhai huabao* and discusses the supplements; he believes the art "fold-ins" made their first appearance in March 1885 with images by Ren Xun. See Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire," 105–173. Jonathan Hay also examines these supplements, reproducing a contribution by Ren Bonian; see Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 157–158.
26. Lithography was reportedly brought to Shanghai by the Jesuit mission located in the suburbs of Xujiahui. Ernest Major is said to have hired away the Jesuits' master lithographer in order to found Dianshizhai. For more on Dianshizhai as a publishing house, see Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 80–83, 104–116; also see Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire," 105–173. Reed also explains the origins of the name *dianshizhai*, which is a play on the aphorism *dianshi chengjin*, "to touch stone and produce gold," a reference originally to improving a phrase in a literary composition, but here obviously playing on the profitable potential of stone-based lithography. See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 323, fn. 67.
27. For some recent discussions of *Dianshizhai huabao*, see Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial*; Christopher Reed, "Re/Collecting the Sources: Shanghai's *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and Its Place in Historical Memories, 1884–1949," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 12/2 (Fall 2000), 44–71; Rania Huntington, "The Weird in the Newspaper," in Judith T. Zeitlin and Lydia Liu, with Ellen Widmer, eds., *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 341–397; also see essays such as Erik Zürcher, "Middle Class Ambivalence: Religious Attitudes in *Dianshizhai huabao*," *Études chinoises*, 13/1–2 (1994), 109–143; and Wang Ermin, "*Dianshizhai huabao* suo zhanxian zhi jindai lishi mailuo" [*Dianshizhai huabao*'s development of a modern historical sequence], in Huang Ko-wu, ed., *Huazhong youhua: Jindai Zhongguo de shijue biaoshu yu wenhua goutu* [When images speak: Visual representation and cultural mapping in modern China] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2008), 1–25.
28. The full run of giveaway images has as yet to be reconstructed. Although there are several reprints of *Dianshizhai huabao*, issued from the 1980s onwards, none includes all of this additional matter.
29. The list makes clear Dianshizhai's interest in providing materials relevant to a modern and international world, for example, in the section of materials on English-language instruction; some of the more unexpected materials include colored maps of Jing'an Temple in Shanghai, a map of Vietnam, and a set of hanging scrolls representing ladies from foreign countries.
30. Any number of these products were linked with painters of more recent note, including a range of designs by Ren Bonian, as we have seen, as well as single images by Zhou Xian (1820–1875), Fei Danxu (1801–1850), and Xu Shishi, and also anonymous images, such as the *Ladies from Western Countries* (*Xiguo shinü*).
31. Nanny Kim, "New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public*, 176–179.
32. Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 73. Des Forges discusses the lithographic technology that made the precise and mass production of such images possible. Also see Bao Weihong's discussion of other ways *Dianshizhai huabao* could accommodate a modern world view, in Bao Weihong, "A Panoramic Worldview: Probing the Visuality of *Dianshizhai huabao*," *Journal of Modern Chinese Literature*, 32 (March 2005), 405–461.
33. For more on Wu Youru, see Zhang Hongxing, "Wu Youru's 'The Victory over the Taiping': Painting and Censorship in 1886 China," PhD thesis (University of London, 1999).
34. Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 73.
35. Again, it is clear from advertisements that the anticipated reader was male and elite. In advertising, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that *Shenbao* advertisements, for example, began to address women directly. See Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?*, 260–262.

and illustration, see Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 96–98, 110–113; also Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 44–45, 57.

47. *Dianshizhai huabao* was printed on *lianshi* paper, a bamboo paper from Jiangxi, favored by lithographers for its cheap price. See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 113, 324, fn. 83.
48. Examples of hand-colored inserts are in copies of *Dianshizhai huabao* held in the collections of Cambridge University Library and SOAS. Usually applied to larger inserts made for the New Year, the coloring appears professional, using a distinctive range of pastel colors.
49. My thanks to Lai Yu-chih and Francesca dal Lago for suggesting this possibility.
50. Lai Yu-chih points out the substantial number of images in *Dianshizhai conghua* that were taken from Japanese illustrated books by artists such as Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), Tani Bunchô (1764–1841), Oda Kaisen (1785–1862), etc. She further notes that the images' origins are unidentified, with signatures removed, and that they have been reworked in an effort to "disguis[e] them as Chinese paintings." Some of these images appear to have been chosen for their Chinese content. See Lai, "Surreptitious Appropriation," 284–288.
51. Lai Yu-chih identifies this book as Oda Kaisen's *Kaisen jûhachi byôhô* [Illustrations of the twenty-four examples of filial piety] of 1859; *Dianshizhai conghua* reproduces it in whole. Ibid., 284, fn. 95. Several books, Japanese and Chinese, are incorporated in their near entirety in *Dianshizhai conghua*.
52. One of *Shenbao*'s most interesting aspects is its multi-vocality and interest in its readership. One wonders if Shenbaoguan's expansion into pictorial publishing was rooted in a desire to reach similarly untapped markets. On *Shenbao*'s encouragement of reader participation, see Natascha Vittinghoff, "Unity vs. Uniformity: Liang Qichao and the Invention of a 'New Journalism' for China," *Late Imperial China*, 23/1 (June 2002), 113; also see Vittinghoff, "Readers, Publishers and Officials in the Contest for a Public Voice and the Rise of A Modern Press in Late Qing Shanghai (1860–1880)," 450, fn. 178.
53. Bao Tianxiao offers one of the few accounts of reader responses to *Dianshizhai huabao*; he discusses buying and collecting issues, as well as the magazine's associations with novelty and with Shanghai. See Reed, "Re/Collecting the Sources: Shanghai's *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and Its Place in Historical Memories, 1884–1949," 44–71.
54. The failure to mention the significant number of works by Japanese artists, artists who were neither "domestic" nor "celebrities" in a Shanghai context, raises some interesting issues of what exactly Major meant by *guonei mingliu* or, alternatively, why the identities of these works were suppressed.
55. A brief biography of Ren Xun is in the 1933 Suzhou gazetteer; see Wu Xiuzhi et al., eds., *Wuxian zhi* (Suzhou, 1933), *juan* 75, 16; also see Yang, *Haishang molin*, 63; Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 73. The most detailed biography can be found on Ren Bonian's portrait of Ren Xun (1868, National Art Museum of China, Beijing), where Li Jiafu, in his inscription on the painting dating to 1896, notes that Ren Xun lost his eyesight later in life and passed away in 1893. Also see Chou and Brown, *Transcending Turmoil*, 170–172.
56. For a discussion of the latter point, see Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," 82–85.
57. Though, obviously, China had its own tradition of depicting exotic animals, a famous example being the *Shanhaijing* [Guideways through mountains and seas] of the fourth to first centuries BCE and much later illustrated editions from the Ming onward; see Richard Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
58. Compare these images with Wu Youru's series of exotic animals, clearly based on Western zoological models, in Wu Youru, *Wu Youru huabao* [A treasury of Wu Youru's pictures], vol. 2, 1893.
59. *Dianshizhai huabao*, for example, published any number of stories on local entertainment featuring animals, including disparate phenomena such as the local Chiarini horse circus, street entertainment using performing animals, local horse racing, etc. See Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 62, 66, 67, 71, 80.
60. Ren Xun and his brother Ren Xiong occasionally painted Daoist and Buddhist subjects; Ren Xun's designs of religious subjects are notable for a seriousness and detail not usually associated with

yanjiu, 16–17. For more on Ren Songyun's paintings; see Gong Chanxing, "Ren Bonian fuqin de hua" [Ren Bonian's father's paintings], in Yu et al., eds., *Ren Bonian quanji*, vol. 6, 49–52.

3. Ding Xiyuan reproduces this work, as well as a *zisha* teapot with a turtle design made for Wu Changshuo; see Ding, *Ren Bonian*, section of illustrations. This work, or a copy of it, was recently sold at auction (along with a smaller version) by the Xiling yinshe auction house, Hangzhou, spring 2012, lot #616.
4. Posthumous portraits are rare in Ren Bonian's oeuvre; the only other such work was also painted for relatives, in this case a double portrait of his wife's grandparents, *Zhao Dechang and His Wife* (1885, National Art Museum of China, Beijing).
5. Rania Huntington examines the scars and memories left behind by the Taiping Rebellion as preserved in collections of *biji* or "random jottings," organized according to themes of destiny and dreams, martyrdom, retribution, and ghosts, etc.; see Huntington, "Chaos, Memory, and Genre," 59–912; also see Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*.
6. This painting was sold by Beijing's Jiade auction house, April 25, 2001, lot #1148. Lifu can possibly be identified as Zhang Duzhen, a portraitist and poet from Taichang in Jiangsu. See Yu Jianhua, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian*, 842.
7. For more on the conventions and uses of ancestor portraits, see Jan Stuart and Evelyn Rawski, *Worshiping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Stanford: Stanford University Press / Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2001); for a helpful overview of the functions of the ancestor portrait, also see Patricia Ebrey, "The Incorporation of Portraits into Chinese Ancestral Rites," in Jens Kreinath et al., eds., *The Dynamics of Changing Rituals: The Transformation of Religious Rituals within Their Social and Cultural Context* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 129–140. One might also note other attitudes embodied by portraits of the dead in earlier periods; see, for example, Craig Clunas, "'Not One Hair Different . . .': Wen Zhengming on Imaging the Dead in Ming Funerary Portraiture," in Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura, eds., *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects* (London: Aldershot, 2006), 31–45.
8. This record is from a manuscript unpublished during Wu's lifetime containing brief artist biographies and discussions of art matters; it dates to Wu's middle years. See "Shijiao lu" [Record of stone friendships], in Wu Dongmai, ed., *Wu Changshuo tanyilu*, 219.
9. For a discussion of the complexities of social obligations and issues of reciprocity as expressed through art in the Ming period, see Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).
10. For example, Wu Changshuo exchanged seals with Ren Bonian for paintings; Wu inscribed one seal for Ren with a poem on the side that concluded: "Mr. Ren Bonian asked me to carve a seal with the three characters 'Ren heshang' [Monk Ren] and did a painting of vegetables in thanks." See *Wu Changshuo yinpu* [A manual of Wu Changshuo's seals] (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985; repr. 1995), 118. For a transcription, see Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 95.
11. For biographies of Xugu, see Yang, *Haishang molin*, 92–83; Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 153–154. Also see Ding, *Xugu yanjiu*.
12. Yang, *Haishang molin*, 70.
13. Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 153–154.
14. Huang, *Songnan mengying lu*, 140.
15. Zhang, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, 71.
16. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 4–5. Also see his "Satire and Situation: Images of the Artist in Late Nineteenth-Century China," in Chou, ed., *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, 110–133; and Wang Jingxian, "Tan Ren Bonian de xiaoxianghua" [Discussing Ren Bonian's portraits], *Zhongguo meishu*, 1 (1980), 42, 43, 66.
17. On Ren Xiong's remarkable *Self-portrait* (1850s, Palace Museum, Beijing), see Zhang Anzhi, "Ren Xiong he ta de *Zihuaxiang*" [Ren Xiong and his *Self-portrait*], *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2 (1979), 13–18, and James Cahill, "Ren Xiong and His *Self-portrait*," *Ars Orientalis*, 25 (1995), 119–132.
18. On Fei Danxu's portraits, see Huang Yongquan, *Fei Xiaolou chuanshen jiapin* [Fei Danxu's portraiture] (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959).

32. This painting is reproduced in *Rongbaozhai huapu*, where it is identified as *Guanyin xiang* or *Image of Guanyin*; see *Rongbaozhai huapu: Ren Yi hui* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995), 25.
33. For an account of Feng Gengshan and his activities in Japan, see Lai, "Surreptitious Appropriation," 176.
34. For a transcription of the inscription, see Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 93.
35. Accounts of visits with Ren Bonian are rare; one other account recorded in the 1870s comes from the diary of an anonymous painter. He mentions dropping in on Ren Bonian after attending a performance at one of Shanghai's famous storytelling houses with friends: "Afterwards we left and the three of us together visited Bonian, who was just in the middle of painting, but he took a short break. Bonian invited us to Wang Quanmei's for a little drink." See "Jiangyunguan riji" [Diary of the Hall of Crimson Rue], in *Qingdai riji huichao*, 308.
36. A number of such inscriptions can be found in *Shenbao*.
37. *Yiwenlu*, issue of 3/11/Guangxu 5 [May 1, 1879]. *Yiwenlu*'s original English name was the *Siccawei Journal*, "Siccawei" being a nineteenth-century romanization of "Xujiahui." Published by the mission's publishing house, Tushanwan yinshuguan, the journal was first issued in 1878 and came out once or twice a month, costing ten *wen*. It would continue to run, albeit in various states, until 1898, when it merged with *Gezhi huibian* (The Chinese scientific and industrial magazine).
38. Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 76.
39. For example, see the poem "Monk Ren" mentioned in fn. 10 above.
40. This quotation comes from the poem Wu composed and inscribed on the side of the "Painting Slave" seal he carved for Ren Bonian in 1886 and reproduced in Figure 4.23. For a transcription of this poem, see Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 79.
41. Wu, *Foulu shi* (1893), appended chapter ("Foulu biecun"), 2.
42. This set of poems first appeared in *Shenbao* 1/15/Guangxu 5 [1879], and was republished in Yang, *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 6, 4b.
43. The "dragon butcher" may refer to Zhuangzi's Zhuping Man who mastered the rare and esoteric skill of butchering dragons at great cost, only to find that there was no one who could use his services, an interesting comment on Yang's part regarding Ren's skills and his audience. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 281.
44. "Bonian painted for me a *Picture of the Speaking Stone* (*Yushi tu*), which I repay with a long poem: [Su] Dongpo considered Wu Daozi the founder of painting / 'His demeanor was like a dragon's, his brush was like a tiger' / Master Ren of Shanyin is almost as good, / Shrinking neither from good workmanship nor painstaking effort, / When he applies his brush, the mountain spirits are frightened. / Even the gods have no right to complain to heaven! / Recently he painted for me a *Picture of the Speaking Stone*, / His description is my very image with colors flying and dancing. / How can you say that the three hairs on my jaw [portraiture] was my wish? / In the end, transmitting the spirit must follow the original." See Yang, *Nanhucaotang shiji*, *juan* 5, 18.
45. Yang Borun, *Yushizhai huashi* (n.p., 1882?), 15.
46. See Zhang Hongxing's intriguing discussion, "From Slender Eyes to Round: A Study of Ren Yi's Portraiture in the Context of Contemporary Photography," unpublished paper, 1994. Ren Bonian's challenge to photography is seen in an unpublished hand scroll portrait in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, made for an unknown sitter. The inscription states the picture was made to replace a photograph that had started to fade and become fuzzy, a common problem with early photographs. Ren paints the sitter from the back: we see the subject's face in the oval mirror he holds. It should also be noted that a photograph of Ren Bonian himself exists, purportedly from 1889; it was reproduced as early as August 1928 in the magazine *Meishu jie* [Art World] and was copied by Xu Beihong at roughly the same time. If authentic, the photograph appears to be retouched, showing Ren queueless and with an anachronistic Western haircut. Ding Xiyuan notes that Ren's grandson Ren Chenggai still owned the original glass negative for this photograph. See Ding, "TanRen sanfang," 84.
47. *Yongzhi at 50* sui *Attending the Morning Imperial Assembly* (1870, Shanghai Museum); Xugu provided the likeness of the sitter while Ren Bonian painted Yongzhi's body and the remainder of the

72. Gao Yong's other sobriquets included Longgong, or "Deaf Elder," adopted around 1894 after the Sino-Japanese War, suggesting his rejection of current events.
73. *Still Life with Inkstone*, 1886, location unknown, sold at Sotheby's Hong Kong, May 18, 1989, #99.
74. Wu Changshuo carved over ten seals for Ren Bonian; this one appears to be the earliest. See Yang Chia-ling, "Ren Bonian yongyin yanjiu" [A study of Ren Bonian's seals], in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Ren Bonian yanjiu* [Ren Bonian studies] (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2002), 245, 248, #42.
75. Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 88.
76. The term *zhiyin* comes from the Warring States-era story of Bo Ya, the *qin* player, and his friend Zhong Ziqi; the latter perfectly understood his friend's music. Upon Zhong's death, Bo Ya loses his friend and *zhiyin*, or the one who "knows his music," and thus Bo Ya destroys his lute. Paola Zamperini addresses the notion of *zhiyin* in relationship to the late Qing market for commercial fiction; see Zamperini, "Elective Affinities: Literary Soul Mates and the Marketplace in Late Qing Fiction," *Late Imperial China*, 28/1 (June 2007), 62–91.
77. Wu Changshuo's use of the name Huanu for Ren Bonian reappears in the poem that Wu composed and carved on Ren's Baoding pottery inkstone: "The Painting Slave's ink stone is like a sunken well, / When the Painting Slave applies his brush his strength could lift a *ding* . . ." See Wu, *Foulu shi* (1893), appended chapter ("Foulu biecun"), 2. See Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 111.
78. Ding Xiyuan discusses some of these stories, See Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 99, 109.
79. See Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 239.
80. Ren Bonian executed at least two versions of this subject; another version dating to 1891 is reproduced in Yu et al., eds., *Ren Bonian quanji*, vol. 5, 238. For a transcription of its inscription, see Ding, *Ren Bonian*, 110–111.

Epilogue

1. Shanghai's calligraphy market and celebrity calligraphers have been little studied, especially outside the context of *jinshi* or epigraphic studies. Jin Erzhen's name frequently appeared on the lists of Shanghai's most prominent artists, along with other calligraphers like Wu Gan or Tang Jingchang. For more information on late Qing calligraphy, see Lothar Ledderose, "Calligraphy at the Close of China's Empire," in Chou, ed., *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, 189–206.
2. It is productive to compare this representation of the figure and rock with John Hay's explanation: "The typical Chinese rock, with its convoluted, foraminate, complexly textured form, might well stand as a culturally quintessential Chinese body. The classical image of the Chinese tradition is the rock." See John Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?," 68.
3. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 149–150.
4. The possible metaphors of the rock have also been discussed by Wang, "Tan Ren Bonian de xiaoxianghua," 42–43, 63.
5. The portrait inscription appears to echo the phrase *wojian youlian*, "when I see you even I love you." A common term used to celebrate feminine beauty, it appears as the title of Wu Youru's well-known lithograph design of courtesans having their photograph taken; see Wu, *Wu Youru huabao*, vol. 1, *ce* 5, p. 31. This phrase originates in the fifth-century anecdote collection, *Shishuo xinyu* [A new account of tales of the world], which includes the tale of the jealous wife of Huan Wen. Bent on killing her husband's new concubine, Huan Wen's wife is stopped short by the concubine's beauty and poise, and instead embraces her, exclaiming, "Even I feel affection [for you] when I see you!" Ellen Johnston Laing identified this reference in relation to Wu Youru's image; see Laing, *Selling Happiness*, 245, footnote 45. The reference as applied to Jin Erzhen's portrait adds an interesting twist on gender, appearances, doubling, and reversals.
6. Yang, *Haishang molin*, 88; also see Yu, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian*, 560. Yu Jianhua's biography also mentions Jin's interests in epigraphy and talents in seal-carving, and his collected poems, *Meihuacaotang shi* [Poems from the Plum Blossom Grass Hut].

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