Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai

JONATHAN HAY

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

I shall return to the question of the public space of Shanghai painters’ illustrative work in Section III following the survey of the material in Section II. At the outset it is necessary to say something about the place of images more generally in Shanghai’s publishing industry during this period, since the upsurge of books illustrated by painters was part of a larger transformation of the role of illustration in the city’s visual culture.

I
IMAGES, MAGAZINES, BOOKS

The relationship between artists and publishing has, of course, a long history in China. What made the period from the mid-1870s onwards so different from any previous one was the introduction of lithographic printing into China (by 1876), which quickly came to dominate the pictorial component of the publishing industry. In contrast to the slow and artisanal technology of woodblock printing, the photo-lithographic process allowed mechanical transfer of the brushed design to the printing surface, permitting the rapid production of an image that was entirely faithful to the artist’s original design. As Chao Xun writes in his postface to the 1888 Zengguang Mingjia Huapu (see below): ‘In Shanghai, ever since lithographic printing became popular, illustrated books have flourished. Woodblock artisans are no longer indispensable, and it is possible to reproduce [images] down to the last hair. This is truly a happy event in the world!’ The new printing technology not only encouraged artists of all kinds to participate in the publishing industry, but also made it possible to incorporate illustration into China’s emerging mass culture. We should not assume from this, however, that all illustration was reproduced by lithographic means; woodblock illustration was still a force, perhaps because at its best it created a more intimate, craftsmanlike effect. Lead-plate printed illustrations were found in Western-sponsored publications by the early 1870s, and copperplate printing, with its more precise definition and crisp textural quality, became available to a Chinese public through Japanese expertise, though it did not come into common use until the 1890s. In these new technological circumstances, several distinct systems of image production came to coexist and interact within Shanghai’s publishing industry during the two decades following the late 1870s.

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

**Journalistic Illustration**

A second system of image production grew up around the journalistic representation of material life and contemporary events. The first true pictorial magazine (huaibo) that focused upon images was an innovation of this same period, a purely commercial magazine published by Ernest Major as an offshoot of his Shanghai newspaper, Shenbao (established 1872). Entitled Yinghuan Huabao (literally 'Wide World Illustrated News'), it appeared irregularly for only five issues between 1877 and 1880 and was essentially the work of British illustrators in Britain. Chinese captions were added in Shanghai. Chinese artists seem not to have become involved in journalistic illustration until 1884 and the founding of the celebrated pictorial magazine, Dianxiao Zhai Huabao, produced using photo-lithography as a supplement to Shenbao (over 4,000 images between 1884 and 1898). Contemporary Chinese and foreign life became the objects of intensive journalistic representation at the hands of a team of specialist illustrators recruited
history of the reproduction of foreign illustrations and other images; in decorative and tourist art this goes back to the early eighteenth century, and in religious imagery to the end of the sixteenth. In the late nineteenth century, their sudden influx into print media starting in the 1870s was due in part to the effort by the Chinese state after 1868 to translate technical works, often illustrated, a project concentrated at the Zhixiao Ju (Jiangnan Arsenal) in Shanghai. To a far greater degree, however, their introduction into the informational environment of Shanghai was a by-product of the educational activities of Christian missionaries. As has been demonstrated and documented by Adrian Bennett, Protestant missionaries not only published several monthly magazines from the 1860s onwards, but engaged in a massive translation of relatively accessible scientific and technical literature which came to fruition in the 1880s and 1890s. The bulk of this activity was concentrated in Shanghai. It has been suggested that for their illustrations these publications made use of engraved plates donated by foreign publishers, one result of which was that text and illustration did not always match.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first, unsuccessful rival to the Dianshi Zhai Huabao was the lithographed Cilin Huabao (literally 'Pictorial of the Grove of Belles-Lettres') of which a few issues were published in 1888.23 More successfully, in 1890 Wu Youru left Dianshi Zhai to set up his own pictorial magazine, Feiying Ge Huabao which, although it was published by a different publisher (Hongbao Zhai), was nonetheless sold through the Shenbao distribution network. This magazine began by following the Dianshi Zhai Huabao model very closely, with seven out of ten pages devoted to news illustration. On the other pages he introduced three ongoing series of images: contemporary Shanghai women, legendary and fictional women, and animals. After one hundred issues, in 1893 Wu handed the magazine over to a former fellow Dianshi Zhai artist, Zhou Quan (Zhou Muqiao), under the new name of Feiying Ge Tuji Huabao. Under Zhou's regime, the number of pages was expanded to twelve, of which half were devoted to traditional figure subjects and the other half to news illustration. Three additional separate sheets were included as a free gift, one illustrating a novel, a second providing a sequel to the seventeenth century Wushuang Pu's illustrations of historical figures, and a third representing contemporary women. Wu Youru, for his part, established a new magazine entitled Feiyang Ge Huace, in which he dispensed with all news illustration and images of contemporary women to concentrate on painters' traditional figure subjects. However, his death later in 1893 brought an end to the publication. Zhou Quan, meanwhile, after producing Feiyang Ge Tuji Huabao for a year, followed Wu Youru's example and in 1894 changed its name to Feiyang Ge Tuji Huace, at the same time eliminating its journalistic component.24 The move back toward painting by both artists was probably also a calculated move to claim the higher social status of a successful painter by distancing themselves from the more functional work of journalistic illustration.

Given the book publishing enterprise associated with Dianshi Zhai, it was only natural that once the magazine illustrators were in place the publisher would draw upon them for illustration of books with a similarly journalistic character. One of the first priorities was the representation of the more famous Shanghai sights. Thus, in the same year, 1884, that saw the founding of Dianshi Zhai Huabao, Dianshi Zhai published Shenjiang Shengjing Tu (Illustrations of the Famous Sights of Shanghai).25 Many of the subjects of the sixty outstanding images by Wu Youru are also found in a woodblock-printed work by another publisher, Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushao (Illustrated Notes on Shanghai Sights), also from 1884.26 The forty-two illustrations by an unknown artist in the latter publication, printed in red, depict the most up to date exoticisms of the metropolis, from photography to rickshaws, with an economic lyricism. However, these two 1884 books were not, strictly speaking, the first illustrated guides to contemporary Shanghai sites and life. Ge Yuanru's general guidebook, Huyou Zaji (1876, second edition 1878), already contained a series of
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woodblock depictions of the flags of different nations, and for its 1878 translation into Japanese was furnished with a frontispiece landscape illustration by a Japanese artist active in Shanghai, Yasuda Rōzan.  

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

Illustrations to Fictional Texts

The conjunction of the late nineteenth-century explosion of middlebrow fiction and the introduction of lithographic printing (the two being closely related) led to the renewal and even modernization of one long-standing system of printed image production. It had long been a practice of publishers of novels and plays to include illustrations, but the days of the late Ming and early Qing when they did not hesitate to include large sets of illustrations were long gone. By the nineteenth century, the broadening of the audience for the printed versions of novels and related fictional texts had led to the emergence of cheaper woodblock-printed editions for which elaborate illustrations were a dispensable luxury. The common practice was to include, at the beginning of the novel or play, nothing more than a series of more or less schematic portraits of the principal characters, justifying the addition of the term xiu xiang to the title. This all changed, however, with the advent of photo-lithography which encouraged a return to the illustration of the text in addition to, or instead of, the introductory portraits, just when the market for novels and plays was entering a new stage of expansion. In the wake of Major’s entry into lithographic publishing, a number of publishing houses using the new technology appeared in the 1880s and early 1890s, including Tongwen Shuju (established 1881), Hongwen Shuju (established 1882), Feiyang Guan (established 1889), Baishi Shanshang, Jishi Shuju, Hongbao Zaizhi Shuju, and so on. Even the venerable Saoye Shanshang developed a lithographic division.25 From the later 1880s onwards, in books whose pictorial component was announced by the addition of terms such as huitu, tuhui, quantu, xiu xiang, zeng xiang, or buxiong to the title, densely detailed illustrations became common under a number of forms. While they are sometimes grouped together at the beginning of the first volume, they may also be grouped together at intervals in the text or interspersed throughout the text on separate pages.

As one might expect, the Dianshi Zhai illustrators were well placed to take advantage of the new demand. In the case of work of contemporary fiction, it was initially internalized in illustrated form in Dianshi Zhai Huabao: Wang Tao’s Songyin Manlu, illustrated by Wu Youru (figure 1). The complete book was later published as Xinyin Shuben Songyin Manlu Tushuo (A New Reduced-size Illustrated Edition of Songyin Manlu). 26 Wu Youru also supplied the illustrations for Huashou Hou Liaozaizhi Zhiyi (An Illustrated Sequel to Liaozai’s Records of the Strange; publisher: Jishan Ju) which by 1896 was already in its fifth printing. 27 However, there was no question of the Dianshi Zhai artists monopolizing fiction illustration, since the genres favored by the professional painters of the day included modes of narrative and landscape representation that could also be adapted to illustrative purposes. Thus, the illustrations to Zhengxiang Sanguo Quanlu Yanji (Complete Illustrated Sanguo Yanji with Additional Portraits; publisher: Saoye Shanshang, 1894) are the work of a highly accomplished follower of Qian Hui’an.28 Similarly, the 1892 Zhengping Quanlu Xihu Jiajia (Complete Illustrated Anecdotes of the West Lake with Additional Comments; publisher: Wenxuan Ju) has images by a painter close to Ren Yi and Hu Gongshou; another edition of the same text (Xihu Jiajia; publisher: Yunji Shuju, 1892) boasts as its frontispiece eighteen views of the West Lake by a follower of the leading Zhejiang landscapist, Yang Borun.

Advertising Imagery

It was also in the 1870s that advertising entered the visual culture of Shanghai, eventually constituting a separate and major system of image production. Gezhi Huábian was one missionary-established magazine to carry advertisements, while Shënbào included advertisements with simple visual imagery. From 1884 on, Major additionally tried to draw upon his house artists to make advertisements a regular feature of Dianshi Zhai Huabao. The call for advertisements required information to be sent in just ten days ahead of time, and sought to attract advertisers with the promise of reaching an audience that would not spend the time reading but would be attracted by the magazine’s pictures. 29 The early pages of advertisements, from the mid-1880s, juxtapose images
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of machines (water pumps, lithographic printing presses) copied from Western publications with depictions by the Dianshi Zhai illustrators of business premises whose products or services were being advertised. In these latter advertisements one largely sees publishing concerns, bookshops, and the paper and fan shops in which paintings were sold (figure 2). As Yu Yueting has pointed out, these advertisements were often for different parts of the Shenbao publishing empire.® We might also include here, as a form of advertising, the calendars that Shenbao began to distribute free to subscribers in 1885, and which in that year were illustrated with opera scenes, 'all the work of famous artists.'”

II

SHANGHAI ART BOOKS AND THEIR IMAGES, 1875-1895

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

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

a) books in which illustrations and text are of comparable importance. These tend to be books of pictures on a specific subject with accompanying commentary (xiangzhuan, xiangzhan, tuji, tushue, huahzhuan, and so on), and
of machines (water pumps, lithographic printing presses) copied from Western publications with depictions by the Dianshi Zhai illustrators of business premises whose products or services were being advertised. In these latter advertisements one largely sees publishing concerns, bookshops, and the paper and fan shops in which paintings were sold (figure 2). As Yu Yueqing has pointed out, these advertisements were often for different parts of the Shenbao publishing empire. We might also include here, as a form of advertising, the calendars that Shenbao began to distribute free to subscribers in 1885, and which in that year were illustrated with opera scenes, "all the work of famous artists."

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a) books in which illustrations and text are of comparable importance. These tend to be books of pictures on a specific subject with accompanying commentary (xiangzhuan, xiangzhen, tuji, tushuo, huazhuan, and so on), and
b) books in which the textual component is secondary to the illustrations, the images themselves providing the raison d'être of the publication. These books are generically termed huapu (or huazhuang in an old meaning), literally, painting manuals. They were sometimes the work of a single artist and sometimes the result of a collaboration of many artists.

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

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

**Books of Pictures with Accompanying Commentary**

As had traditionally been the case, books of pictures with corresponding texts in this period almost always concentrated on a single theme. It is hard to discern a pattern to the themes chosen beyond the fact that they almost always focused on the human figure. One can appropriately begin by noting the woodblock reprint of about 1877, with a new preface by Sha Fu (1831-1906), a leading Suzhou painter, of Gaozhong Zuan Tuxiang (Illustrated Biographies of Hermits) — a book first printed in Suzhou in 1857 with illustrations by the Xiao Shan artist, Ren Xiong (1823-1857). This was one of four books, designed by Ren Xiong in the 1850s, which anticipate later the Shanghai practice of artist involvement in book production in much the same way that Ren Xiong's practice as a painter was a seminal influence on Shanghai painting.
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books, the *Jianxua Xiangzhuang*, but added to Ren's thirty-three pictures an additional thirty-nine new images by a different artist under the name Xu Jianxua Xiangzhuang. In the mid-1880s a third of Ren Xiong's books, *Yu Yue Xianxian Xiangzan* (Illustrated Biographies of Former Worthies of Zhejiang) was being offered for sale in a lithographic reprinting by Dianshi Zhai. The year 1886 saw the publication of a lithograph-printed edition by Tongwen Shuju, of all four of Ren Xiong's books under the title *Ren Weichang Xianxian Huazhuan* (Master Ren Weichang's Four Sets of Illustrated Biographies). Not only did this incorporate the 1879 additions to the *Jianxua Xiangzhuang* but now the uncompleted *Gaoshi Zuan Tuxiang* was expanded to ninety images by an unidentified illustrator. This edition of Ren's books is also notable for the alterations made to some of Ren's own illustrations. As first published, these had depended for their effect on the large expanses of space left blank within the frame, but in the 1886 edition the space is almost completely filled by a calligraphed version of the biographical text that had originally been kept separate in printed form. While this change has been decried as a defacement of Ren Xiong's design, it can be considered more positively as a reappraisal, in which the striking feature is the almost compulsive fusion of image and text, instruction and entertainment.

Several new works of this kind appeared during the 1880s. In 1881 the Wuxi artist Pan Jin furnished the designs for a woodblock-printed book of portraits of characters from *The Tale of the Three Kingdoms*, entitled *Sanguo Huaxiang*, apparently published in Guangdong (Tong-yin Guan). In 1883, responding to the success of an 1879 Zhejiang art book, *Henglou Meng Tuyong* (Illustrations with Poems to *The Dream of the Red Chamber*), based on an album of paintings by Gai Qi (1744-1829), the Dianshi Zhai (Shenchang Shuhua Shi) publishing house brought out a sequel using the designs of an artist from Jiangyin to the north of Suzhou, Wang Yijie. Wang's book, entitled *Zengke Henglou Meng Tuyong* (Expanded Illustrations with Poems to *The Dream of the Red Chamber*), included 120 portraits instead of the original fifty. Again, there are texts on the pages facing the images. Wang Yijie's sequel seems also to have been successful, giving rise the following year, 1883, to a companion work depicting 160 male and female figures from history, also published by Dianshi Zhai's Shenchang Shuhua Shi. Entitled *Yuxiu Tang Huazhuan* (Illustrated Biographies from the Hall of Nurtured Elegance), the book maintained the format of pictures with a
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facing text. Wang Yijie included an unannounced self-portrait on the final page of the third juan (figure 3). One of the striking features of this book is its close relationship to the books designed by Ren Xiong thirty years earlier; many of the images rework Ren Xiong's designs, keeping the basic ideas but giving them new forms. The self-affirmative demonstration of skill takes Wang's work far beyond any simple visual plagiarism, turning the reworked images into a homage to Ren Xiong. Another intertextual reference was introduced by the inclusion of a preface by Pan Jin, designer of the 1881 Sanguo Huaxiang. Even more obvious was the reference in the title to an eighteenth-century work of the same kind, Shangguan Zhou's Wanxiang Tang Huazhuan, which was reprinted by Dianshi Zhai around the same time. Ren Xiong's younger brother, Ren Xun, made his own contribution to the genre the following year, 1887, with Lidai Mingjiang Tu (Pictures of Famous Generals of History), published by Dianshi Zhai, a work comprising one hundred pictures, each accompanied by biography and commentary. The military theme reflects nationalist preoccupations in the wake of China's defeat in the Sino-French war of 1884. Aside from warriors, historical figures and fictional characters, the other main subject of books of pictures with accompanying commentary was women, as seen in the various contributions to the sub-genre of baimei (hundred beauties) depictions. Thus in 1887, the Suzhou artist Qiu Shouyan designed a work called Xinzong Baimei Tushuo (One Hundred Commented Pictures of Beautiful Ladies), which is clearly modelled on the two eighteenth-century works, Baimei Xinying (New Encomia to One Hundred Beautiful Ladies, 1755) and Lidai Mingyuan Shici (Poems to Famous Elegant Beauties of History, 1773), reprinted by Dianshi Zhai in this period under the title Lidai Mingyuan Tu. Qiu Shouyan's book was no doubt the model for the one hundred beauties that Wu Youru depicted between 1890 and 1893 over the same number of issues of the Feiyong Ge Huabao under the title Guiyuan Huabian. There were also more radically updated versions of this same baimei genre. In 1887, another branch of the Shengbao publishing empire, Wenchao Guan, published an ostensibly journalistic set of fifty portraits of contemporary courtiers, entitled Jingying Xiaosheng (Mirror Reflections and Sounds of Flutes). The portraits were accompanied on the facing pages by encomia written by, for the most part, Suzhou literati in a variety of scripts. This book was technically and commercially unusual in that it was printed by the copperplate method in Tokyo; this accounts for the sharpness of definition essential to its luxurious decorative character. The illustrations were by the Zhejiang artist Xu Genglang, a minor follower of the highly influential Zhejiang figure painter, Fei Danxu (1801-1850). It only took five years for another publisher, Huayu Xiaozhou, to take advantage of photo-lithography to produce an updated version of Jingying Xiaosheng under the less elegant title of Haishang Qinghou Tuji (Annotated Pictures from the Pleasant Houses of Shanghai, 1802). In this smaller-format and presumably cheaper work, Xu Beisheng's original fifty portraits (which are now associated with different names and biographies) are interspersed with fifty new ones attributed to the otherwise unknown 'Master of the Qin Garden, from Siming' (Mt Siming, in Zhejiang). A second, expanded edition of Haishang Qinghou Tuji was published in 1895. The additional illustrations in both editions were also pirated, in this case from Wu Youru's one hundred images of contemporary women that had recently been published in Feiyong Ge Huabao under the collective title Huazhuang Shishu. Wu's successor, Zhou Quan, also contributed to this genre in the form of a giveaway with each issue of Feiyong Ge Tuji Huabao under the title Shizhuang Shishu.

Single-artist Huapu (Painting Manuals)

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

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

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

In the wake of Chen Yunsheng, an artist from Nanjing, Wang Yin, published a series of five woodblock-printed painting manuals devoted to specific genres. These books, however, were published, not in Shanghai, but in Osaka (though they were sold in Shanghai as well as Japan). While based in Shanghai in the 1870s, Wang Yin had found a market among Japanese customers, which led to an invitation to visit Japan, and ultimately, since he was highly appreciated, to a decision to base himself there. An apparently lucrative arrangement led to his design of Yimei Shipu (Paintings of Rocks by Yimei, 1880), Yimei Lanzhu Pu (Orchids and Bamboo by Yimei, 1882), and, according to various sources, Yimei Renwu Pu (Figures by Yimei). A fourth manual devoted to plum blossoms, Yimei Meipu, did not follow until 1891, it was printed in Shanghai. All but the figure manual were reprinted together in China at a later date by a Heifei publisher. Along with these single-genre huapu, however, Wang Yin also produced one huapu of a very different kind, in which he included his scaled-down versions of 116 Chinese paintings from collections in the Kyoto-Osaka region. The book was printed in Osaka in 1883 under the title Yimei Huapu: Luolai Mingzong Zhenji Suoben, but again was sold in Shanghai as well as Japan.

During the 1880s, several other artists joined Chen Yunsheng and Wang Yin in designing their own huapu selections. In 1885, a gifted painter from Haining in Zhejiang, Ma Tao, designed two volumes of illustrations to poems entitled, respectively, Shi Zhong Hua (Paintings in Poems; figure 5) and Tingyun Xiaoxie Huasheng. Ma Tao is also
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ART AT THE CLOSE OF CHINA’S EMPIRE

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

PAINTERS AND PUBLISHING IN SHANGHAI

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Chou Ju-hsi has noted that Ren Xun produced a *huapu* devoted to arhats, *Shiku Luohan Yingzhen Tu Hua* (Painting Manual of Pictures of the Sixteen Arhats) printed not in Shanghai but in Xiaoshan.6 Zhongguo Meishuji Renmin Cidian notes the publication, in 1886, of a manual by one of Ren Yi's students, Yu Li (1862-1922, from Shanyin), entitled *Tingyu Lou Hua* (Manual from the Pavilion for Listening to the Rain). Ren Yi's own work was made available to the general public in 1887 through a woodblock-printed (?) *huapu* entitled *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Zhenji Hua* (Manual of Genuine Paintings by Master Ren Bonian), published by a certain Hu Weidan who owned the paintings. Fan formats predominate in the 100 images, but in keeping with its title, the manual represents every aspect of Ren Yi's work with the exception of portraiture. Two years later, in 1889, Xiwen Shuju published a very fine lithographic edition of the work of Yu Li under the title *Shanyin Yushu Huaqiao* (Draft Sketches by Master Yu of Shanyin). Unlike Ren Yi's *huapu*, which faithfully reproduces a variety of painting formats, the designs in Yu Li's manual were produced specifically for the book to standard dimensions (figure 6).*

The best-known *huapu* of all, however, was a new, lithographic edition of the landscape volume of the *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, 1679) published in 1888 on the basis of designs apparently produced by a student of the Jiaxing artist Zhang Xiong (1803-1886), Chao Xun (1852-1917), also a native of Jiaxing. Through its numerous later reprints, this has become the version of the manual with which most people are familiar today. The 1888 designs are rather free copies of the original ones by Wang Gai and have their own distinctive late nineteenth-century character, reflective of the style of Zhang Xiong. Curiously, *Haishang Molin* mentions another edition from the 1880s, this too instigated by Zhang Xiong. According to this account, Zhang Xiong entrusted the project to another of his students named Zhou Yong, who completed the more than four hundred designs in less than three months, only to die shortly after at the age of twenty-eight, having exhausted himself. The book was printed by Zhang Yi who, like Zhang Xiong, was from Jiaxing. The entry on Zhou Yong in *Zhongguo Meishuji Renmin Cidian* also mentions this edition, comparing it favorably with the Chao Xun-designed version.7

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Finally, there can be little doubt that in giving up Feiying Ge Huabaoli in favor of the non-journalistic Feiying Ge Huaceli, Wu Youru was self-consciously entering huapu territory. Indeed, a number of the printed compositions are also known in painted versions. Zhou Quan's Feiying Ge Tuji Huaceli must similarly have had the character of a serialized huapu.

Collaborative Huapu (Painting Manuals)

It was through collaborative huapu that Shanghai painters (distinct from illustrators) were most thoroughly implicated in book production. As in the other two genres, the pioneering examples date from the later 1870s. The 1879 Hiudie Qu Zhail Suocang Huaceli (An Album of Paintings in the Collection of the Master of the Butterfly Autumn Studio) includes works by both ancient and modern artists. Among the latter were such prominent Shanghai artists as Hu Yuan, Qian Hui'an (1833-1911, from Shanghai), Zhang Xiong, Ren Yi, Yang Borun (1837-1911, from Jiaxing), Zhu Cheng (1826-1890, from Jiaxing), Wang Li (1813-1879 or 1817-1885), Ren Xun (1835-1893, from Xiashan), Sha Fu, Hu Zhang (1848-1899, from Tongcheng in Anhui) and Ma Tao. The Master of the Butterfly Autumn Studio was a government official by the name of Tang Guangzhao. According to Hai shang Molin (1900), Tang served in the Jiangsu region, at one point as magistrate of Nanjing, and was a skilled calligrapher in his own right. In the tradition of natives of Shexian in Anhui, he was a keen collector, accumulating a very large collection of calligraphy and painting.

Although I have not been able to establish details of a second collaborative publication of the late 1870s, Shanghai Mingja Huabao Huaceli (Flower-and-Bird Sketches by Famous Shanghai Artists), for the more ambitious Hai shang Mingren Huaceli (Sketches by Famous Shanghai Artists) published in a lithograph-printed edition by the Tongwen Shuju, about 1885, nine artists contributed one hundred images. There were rocks from Zhang Xiong, figures from Qian Hui'an, figures and animals from Ren Xun, landscapes from Yang Borun, rocks, bamboo, and so forth from Hu Yuan (figure 7), and a diverse range of flowers and plants, birds, animals, and figures from Xu Xiang (from Shanghai). The roster of famous masters also includes the native Shanghai figure painter Shen Zhachan (Shen Xinhai), a leading student of Qian Hui'an who had one of the several fan shops in the famous Yu Garden (Shi'er Lou Jianshan Si). Deng Qichang from Nanjing contributed the chrysanthemums for which he was well-
Finally, there can be little doubt that in giving up Feiyieng GeHuabao in favor of the non-journalistic Feiyieng Ge Huace, Wu Youru was self-consciously entering huapu territory. Indeed, a number of the printed compositions are also known in painted versions. Zhou Quan's Feiyieng GeTai Huace must similarly have had the character of a serialized huapu.

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

One collaborative huapu appeared not as a book, but in serialized form in the Dianshi Zhai Huabei, starting with the thirty-first issue in 1888. An announcement in Shenbao explained: 71

In the two regions around Suzhou and Hangzhou famous painters are numerous. We have commissioned Messrs Ren Bonian (Ren Yi) (figure 8), Ren Fuchang (Ren Xun), Sha Sanchun (Sha Fu), and Guan Qu’an 72 to paint, in advance, careful depictions of figures, flowers and plants, and birds and animals. 77 For next month’s second issue, the thirty-first issue of the journal, we are preparing to add two pictures to the front of the issue, without any caption, and afterwards will give [further pictures] away in each issue. In addition, the double page will not be cut, so that they can be separated to preserve the different achievements of the various artists, or kept together as a pair. In the future, once they accumulate it will be possible to mount them as an album: not only will those who want to do copies be able to treat them as a painting manual (huapu), but they will brighten your windows and purify your table – to enjoy the whole set will be the height of appreciation for the elegant man. Will you gentlemen give me leave in this?

Although this ‘giveaway huapu’ remains to be reconstructed, it is not unlikely that some of its images were incorporated into the huge collaborative manual that Dianshi Zhai published around the same time (1885-1886). 79 A book of small dimensions but many pages, Dianshi Zhai Conghua (Collected Paintings of the Dianshi Zhai), is a gladbag assortment of images by Chinese painters old, recent, and contemporary, alongside others reprinted from Japanese illustrated books, in addition to illustrated books (both Chinese and Japanese) reprinted in their entirety. Although I have not seen any examples, much of the material had apparently already been published separately by Dianshi Zhai. To quote the preface: 'In recent years our press has printed more
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Figure 7. Hu Yuan, Bamboo and Rock, from Haihang Mingji Huaguo (about 1886).
than six hundred paintings of all kinds, and all that scattered material is here brought together. But there is scarcely a shortage of famous painters in this country, so we have also gathered a number of their images. There were, in fact, contributions from more than thirty contemporary artists, grouped by genre. One of the illustrators, Fu Jie, played a particularly important role in the publication, adding inscriptions to many of the Japanese images and supplying the calligraphed postface explaining the project.

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

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

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

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

**Painters' Contributions to Other Print Media**

As a postscript, it should be noted that book publishing and journalism were not the only areas in which Shanghai artists became involved in graphic art. In the realm of color woodblock-printed New Year pictures (nianhua), for example, Qian Hui'an created a number of influential designs, one dated 1860, for the Tianjin (Yangliuqing) workshops. Bo Songnian has identified the source of certain other Yangliuqing nianhua designs as being images from two *huapu* based on *huagao* by
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Qian Hui'an, Qian Jisheng Renwu Huapu, and Qingyi Huapu, neither of which I have been able to find. In Shanghai itself, meanwhile, the advent of photo-lithography was leading to new forms of New Year's print, with Dianshi Zhai leading the way. The Dianshi Zhai Huabao reader could sometimes receive a free New Year's print in the New Year issue of the magazine. In 1888, for example, the print (hand-colored) was designed by one of the magazine's house illustrators, Jin Cui. Dianshi Zhai also offered for sale, as early as 1884, lithographic reproductions of paintings of auspicious subjects such as the immortal Magu, Liu Hai, and the Hehe twins, all available either mounted or unmounted. While some of these images were improbably attributed to early masters, others were the work of no less a contemporary artist than Ren Yi. Notably, Ren produced a large (about two meters high) New Year's Print of the assembled gods (city god, earth god, god of the hearth, and god of wealth). The print is unlikely to have closely resembled traditional hieratic depictions, however, since it was advertised as An Assembly of Gods in a Landscape, the landscape setting introducing an appropriately modern element.

In fact, the interested Dianshi Zhai customer could choose from nine different lithographed 'paintings' by Ren Yi, most of which were not New Year's prints at all but rather straightforward substitutes for real paintings; they were in this sense closely related to his contributions to the Dianshi Zhai Huabao noted above and to the art books in general. Ren Yi's lithographed 'paintings' were available mounted as hanging scrolls or unmounted as single sheets of paper, sometimes with the choice of monochrome or (probably hand-added) color. Prices varied accordingly, ranging from one yuan six jiao for a mounted colored version of the Assembly of Gods, to a mere six fen for an unmounted sheet of a monochrome suibao tu. Alongside Ren's images, Dianshi Zhai proposed examples of work by various other contemporary painters, including Shu Hao, Zhou Xian, and Wang Yijie. All of the Dianshi Zhai offerings of this kind were in the hanging scroll format. Closely related are the books of decorative letter papers (jiangfu) designed by Zhu Cheng for a Tianjin publisher, Wenmei Zhai, in the 1890s. Zhu Menglu Huaniao Jian (Flower and Bird Letter Papers by Zhu Menglu), a book of one hundred miscellaneous designs resembling in effect a large painting album, was first published by Wenmei Zhai, about 1892 (figure 10). There also exists a similar book (title unknown) designed for the same publisher by Zhu Cheng in...
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1894-1895, this a woodblock-printed accordion-mounted book with hand-added colors, a poor man’s album of twenty four ‘paintings’ of bird and animal subjects."

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

### III

**PAINTING’S MODERN PUBLIC SPACE AS SEEN FROM PRINTED IMAGES**

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

**Shanghai as Crossroads**

In the eighteenth century, Yangzhou’s prosperity had drawn to the city artists from many other places, as well as from its own satellite towns. However, if the Yangzhou art world was the expression of a larger regional art world, the region with which it was continuous was essentially the Jiangbei region; artists might come to Yangzhou from Hangzhou in Zhejiang or Huizhou in Anhui, but these more distant places were not culturally bound to Yangzhou in the way that Yangzhou’s satellite towns in Jiangbei were. By contrast, the Shanghai art world had a much more extensive regional character, systematically incorporating the artists of a huge catchment area that covered the two provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. As Gao Yong, patron of Ren Yi and Xugu, wrote in his preface to Yang Yi’s *Haisheng Molin* (1902): ‘South and north of the Yangzi there are innumerable painters. It is impossible to know those who work locally or live in reclusion. But those who pack their brushes and follow the wind on their travels inevitably come to Shanghai.’ From this point of view, a closer antecedent than Yangzhou was Guangzhou, whose art world earlier in the nineteenth century demonstrated the same continuity with its surrounding region. All the artists cited above, whatever their origins, were Shanghai artists, taking on the sort of double identity – local and metropolitan – that had previously been more common among court painters. Correspondingly, the art books take shape through their numerous contributors as microcosms of this art world that was at once metropolitan and regional. In the case of *Renzhai Huasheng*, for example, the preface writers repeatedly make the point that Chen Yunsheng’s landscape images specifically depict the local landscape of eastern Zhejiang province, of which Chen and most of the writers were natives. On the other hand, the book had a strong metropolitan dimension; not only had Chen Yunsheng been active in Shanghai, but all its other contributors were based in either Shanghai or Beijing.

The Shanghai art world also had links with other cosmopolitan centers in China. This second axis of cultural geography can be seen in Zhu Cheng’s letter-paper designs for the Tianjin publisher, Wnenmei Zhai; in the fact that the leading publishing house, Tongwen Shuju, publisher of lithographic reprints and sequels to Ren Xiong’s books, was a Cantonese company; and in the prefaces contributed by Beijing-based writers to Chen Yunsheng’s *Renzhai Huasheng*. An 1889 article, ‘The Development of Lithographic Publishing in Shanghai’, notes the distribution of lithographic-printed books nationwide and mentions the presence of branch bookshops of the Shanghai companies in Beijing, Chongqing and Guangzhou. It would also be interesting to know to what degree other urban centers contributed to the production of illustrated books on the same model. Wnenmei Zhai, for example, published a book of letter paper designs similar to Zhu Cheng’s, using designs by a Tianjin flower painter, Zhang Zhaoxiang. And it was a Shanghai-based artist, Lu Hui (1851-1920), who in 1894 took charge of the court-sponsored project of illustrating a Yuan dynasty text on princely education.
ART AT THE CLOSE OF CHINA'S EMPIRE

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ART AT THE CLOSE OF CHINA'S EMPIRE

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

We have already seen that Chinese artists were commissioned for illustrated books by Japanese patrons (Wang Yin), and that Chinese images were reproduced in Japanese publications (Shen Zhaohan). Chinese artists also contributed prefaces to Japanese illustrated books. As early as 1875, Hu Yuan and Zhang Xiong contributed prefaces to a Japanese illustrated book entitled Seiwaimei Zushi (Pictorial Record of the Blue Sea Tea Gathering). This was a record of an exhibition of utensils used in the Chinese-style sencha tea ceremony, which was not only a favorite practice of Japanese Nanga painters but by this time had become part of Japanese urban culture. These various book-related activities were part of a larger phenomenon of close ties between the Nanga painting world in Japan and the world of Shanghai painting between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Many artists were involved in this interchange in different ways. Some Shanghai painters, like Hu Yuan, Zhang Xiong, and Dai Zhaochun, never left China but had contact with Japanese artists and sold to Japanese customers in Shanghai, and, as we have seen, participated in the Japanese art world through their prefaces to Seiwaimei Zushi. Some formerly Shanghai-based painters, such as Wang Yin, made a career for themselves in Japan. Among the other professional painters and calligraphers who visited Japan in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were Chen Manshou, Feng Gengsan, Hu Zhang, Zhu Yizuan, Pu Hua, and Wu Qingyun. Finally, there are the Japanese nanga painters such as Yasuda Rōzan (responsible for the frontispiece illustration to the Japanese edition of Huyou Zai), who came to China to study and perhaps to work professionally, and who had connections with leading Shanghai painters. Some of these individuals studied with Hu Yuan.

Shanghai-Japan connections were not restricted to Nanga painting, Dianshi Zhai Huabao, for example, regularly included more or less fanciful representations of Japanese life which sometimes touched on the art world, for example, an account of an exhibition of painting in the Western manner. We have already seen that one Shanghai publisher was prepared to have a book (Jingying Xiaosheng) printed in Tokyo in order to take advantage of copperplate-printing technology unavailable in China, and that a Japanese publisher pirated Chen Yunsheng's Renzhai Huasheng. It should also be noted that Japanese copperplate prints of Chinese books were available in Shanghai through at least two publishing companies, Huiping Ge and Fuying Shuju. (The latter was a Japanese company that also published huapu.) And Dianshi Zhai was willing to incorporate images from Japanese illustrated books, many of them of Ukiyo-e type, into its Dianshi Zhai Conghua.

Indeed, the Japanese material in the Dianshi Zhai Conghua raises the question whether the interest in huapu painting manuals in China in the 1880s had anything to do with a knowledge of the innumerable Japanese geiju painting manuals of both Nanga and Ukiyo-e type that were produced throughout the nineteenth century.

The Leisure Market

Descriptions of Shanghai from as early as the mid-1870s reveal the existence of a huge and highly differentiated leisure market, that is, a network of commercially offered or sponsored services catering to the leisure time of the Shanghai population and visitors to Shanghai. Wang Tao's Yingnan Zazhi (1875) notes: the popularity of keeping birds as pets, the different kinds of theater available in the city, sightseeing in temples and gardens, displays of lanterns, flowers, and art objects in shops according to the season and the festival, the existence of a museum, and the practice of watching the rowing competitions of
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the Westerners. The Shanghai guidebook Huyou Zaji (1876 and 1878) has brief entries on many of the above, plus: Western restaurants (which also had Chinese customers), regional Chinese restaurants, teahouses, Guangdong-style teahouses, opium houses, brothels, bathhouses, traditional Chinese theater, Western theater, horse-racing, Western magicians' shows, shadow theater, Japanese acrobats, Chinese fireworks, bird markets run by people from eastern Guangdong where Western birds could also be bought, the circus (Western-style), quailfighting, lotteries, and the study of English. A few years later, Huang Shiquan in his Songman Mengying Lu (1883) further enlarged the range of leisure activities to include: Japanese teahouses, which were now numerous, ballad-singers, story-tellers, riding in horse-drawn carriages, ice-skating, bowling, Western and Japanese-style brothels, fairground attractions, evening performances of theater, and newspapers, including ones written in non-literary language. Many of these leisure activities were also visually represented in Shenjiang Mingsheng Tushuo (1884), Wu Youru's Shenjiang Shengji Tu (1884), and Dianshi Zhai Huabei (1884 onwards). In all the above-cited publications, one also finds massive evidence for what was, perhaps, the major leisure activity of the Shanghai Chinese population: observing the city's foreigners and everything associated with them. All of these activities are presented as part of a discourse of qi, the fascinatingly strange.

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

PAINTERS AND PUBLISHING IN SHANGHAI

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

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

For a better sense of how the books themselves were expected to fit into the leisure context, one can also turn to their prefaces. One of the many prefaces to Chen Yunsheng's Renzhai Huasheh is particularly illuminating. Written by a certain Wang Jixiang, it includes a description of the writer's first encounter with Chen's work, during a visit to the artist in the company of a friend. The artist brings out many examples of his work, then the book and, after calling for wine, the three men go through the book slowly, drinking and composing poems all the while. The scenario is one of literati friendship and community affirmed within a context of leisure, which establishes a model and guide for the reception and use of the book by the owner. This same model is often built into the structure of the books by the multiplication of contributors, all of whom observe the necessary fiction that their presence is the result of a leisure activity. (We need not assume that readers/viewers were unaware of this fiction; it is more interesting to
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ask what kind of public would have found in this anonymity of the crowd an echo of its own situation). The leisure value for the reader/viewer would seem, then, to have combined instruction in basic literati skills (and thus social respectability) with entertainment of a kind that mixes high and low culture. These appear in different measure according to the book in question, but their combination nonetheless provides one way of discerning the contours of the public at which the art books were directed; it may be more accurate to think of the public as one that the art books were helping to bring into being. It was apparently not a literati public, but one for which literati culture had prestige as a model. Often, there is a fusion of instruction and entertainment that also suggests a certain cultural insecurity. More positively, one notes the consistent emphasis on quantity (multiplication of images and contributors, emphasis on variety) as well as a clear respect for skill. Finally, it was a public for which leisure, as an alternative to and reward for work, was a meaningful concept.

In line with this, contemporary attempts to define the public for Shanghai painting agree that the painters were basically servicing the business community, as one might expect given the city's commercial character. They also agree — but here we have to take into account the class consciousness of intellectuals clinging to a literati heritage — that customers bought for show. Wang Tung, in the early 1870s, is not tender. The vast majority of those who do business in Shanghai are without discernment. When they want to take on airs of elegance, they spare no expense to buy calligraphies and paintings, and only pay attention to the name, without any real appreciation.

Huang Shiquan in 1883 is no less disabused. After listing a selection of leading artists with their specialties, he continues:

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

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

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

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

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

Yusheng said: 'To become famous is easy as pie. Look at me: if I didn't think much of myself, I would have spent my whole life as nothing more than a maiban. But ever since I got to know a few personalities, painted that picture called Chanting Poetry in the Cottage for Whistling, and asked them to inscribe appreciations,
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and then took their poems of appreciation and sent them all to the newspaper office to be printed in the paper – ever since then it’s been a lot easier for little old ignorant me to go out and make friends. Finishing speaking, he burst into loud laughter. Then he went on: ‘That Chanting Poetry picture of mine has already been inscribed by more than two hundred people. Lyric poems, song-poems, songs, prose-poems – all the genres are there; and the calligraphy has standard, cursive, clerical, and seal scripts – every one of the scripts. All that’s missing is a set of qu songs, but I’m thinking of asking someone to slap one on at the beginning, and then there will be nothing at all to regret.’ After this, he stretched his hands out and, counting them out on his fingers, listed the names of all the people who had inscribed poems, naming lots of Master So-and-sos, Masters of Such-and-such a place, Recluse So-and-sos, Poet So-and-sos, Poetry Guest So-and-sos... on and on, one after the other, in an endless list.

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

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

The question of access, of intimacy, was also widely dramatized in the very aesthetic of the bare (or bared) monochrome images. The printed images of the art books correspond, in the painter’s practice, to huagao, ink sketches of either a preliminary or a mnemonic nature. In fact, the very word huagao is incorporated into the titles of several of the books. The original sketches were not only used by the painter himself but also served as models for teaching apprentices, and as the bases for workshop production which would later be signed by the master. Now, however, they found a new use as the models for book illustrations, since the huagao was technically suited to reproduction processes that favored linear, black and white designs. Among the ancient functions of the huagao, it is probably its role as a teaching tool, a model for copying, that is most thoroughly preserved and developed by the art books, particularly the painting manuals. However, there are also cases where the book takes its cue from another of the huagao’s functions, that of recording an achieved composition. Ren Yi’s Ren Bonian Xiansheng Hua Hua Zhenji is of this kind, giving a relatively full account of the master’s art. And there are many other cases in which the printed image reveals a closer connection with a third function of the image, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch. Here, the image of the huagao, as a preliminary, improvisatory sketch.
and then took their poems of appreciation and sent them all to the newspaper office to be printed in the paper—ever since then it's been a lot easier for little old ignorant me to go out and make friends.' Finishing speaking, he burst into loud laughter. Then he went on: 'That Chanting Poetry picture of mine has already been inscribed by more than two hundred people. Lyric poems, song-poems, songs, prose-poems—all the genres are there; and the calligraphy has standard, cursive, clerical, and seal scripts—every one of the scripts. All that's missing is a set of gu songs, but I'm thinking of asking someone to slap one on at the beginning, and then there will be nothing at all to regret.' After this, he stretched his hands out and, counting them out on his fingers, listed the names of all the people who had inscribed poems, naming lots of Master So-and-so, Masters of Such-and-such a place, Recluse So-and-so, Poet So-and-so, Poetry Guest So-and-so... and on and on, one after the other, in an endless list.

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

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

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

Huagao were traditionally secret, shown only to the artist’s students or assistants. The theft of an artist’s huagao was a dramatic affair because it meant the loss of trade secrets. There is a lingering memory of the traditional system in the fact that huagao by Ren Yi were used for illustrations by his daughter, Ren Xia, in the Zengguang Mingjia Huaipu. There is another memory of the old system in the alleged competition between Ren Yu and Ni Tian to obtain Ren Xiong’s huagao after his death. The Shanghai art books drew on the traditional aura of secrecy around the huagao for their success; they promised access to the studio, a kind of intimate knowledge of the artist, introducing a voyeuristic thrill into the viewing experience. At the same time, they functioned on another level as a taste of what the purchaser of a real painting could expect and thus took on a certain function of advertisement. This created a new situation, because what amounted to the open publication of an artist’s huagao in the Shanghai art books relocated the sense of mystery which was the basis of the artist’s aura. The mystery that once was a matter of trade secrets, as symbolized by huagao, now became associated instead with fame, as seen in the printed images of the books. This has a parallel in the area of artistic property. The artist’s huagao, never actually seen in their pure form, were traditionally the basis of the artist’s claim to a specific artistic and commercial territory; they were a hidden source of authority. After the rise of the art books, by virtue of their utterly public character they functioned to some degree as a way of patenting the artist’s ideas. It was in the public domain that the artist now established his claim, using publicly what had previously been hidden.

The public space of Shanghai painting, then, as seen from the illustrated books, was configured by the triple intersection of cosmopolitanism, leisure, and celebrity in their emergent modern forms; we are here at the beginning of a modern public space for painting in China. But with this conclusion, another conclusion suggests itself: one that introduces an opening into the argument I have been developing instead of imposing a closure. In the comparative perspective that any appeal to modernity calls for, it is not difficult to identify in Shanghai painting of the period 1875–95 reminiscences of familiar features of painting in, for instance, Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the nexus—cosmopolitanism, leisure, celebrity—is itself one shared characteristic that merits careful exploration. But one must also be struck by the profound ambivalence of artists in both metropolises toward modernity, which in each case led to a coupling of modern means with a focus on the leisure spaces that seemed to afford a refuge from modernity’s pressures. What points to is not the superficial connections of ‘influence,’ but this structural homologies that only a truly global approach to the history of modern art can hope to explore adequately.
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1. The first lithographic printing presses were used by Shanghai’s Tushanwan Yinshuguan. See Ji Shaofu editor, Zhongguo Chuban Jianshi (Shanghai, 1991), 272.

2. On the involvement of missionary translators in Zhizao Ji translations, see Adrian A. Bennett, John Fryer and the Introduction of Western Science and Technology into Nineteenth-Century China (Cambridge MA, 1967).

3. See Bennett, John Fryer and his later Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1866-1883 (Athens, 1983). The following discussion is based on Bennett’s research. The question of image production in a Catholic missionary context in Shanghai is currently being researched by Wan Qingli of Hong Kong University.

4. Also important was the Tongwen Guan in Beijing, established 1862.


7. Roswell S. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, 1860-1912 (Shanghai 1933), 56. The Shanghai Xiaohai Yuhao is not to be confused with the journal of the same name published in Fuzhou, which was a separate enterprise.


9. Cited by Bennett, John Fryer, 50.


12. For the complete catalogue, see Bennett, John Fryer, 112-135.


16. As to how they were recruited, Dianshi Zhai placed an advertisement in Shenbao during the sixth month of 1884, a month after the first issue of the magazine appeared (Xu and Xu, Qingmo, 84). Although the advertisement seeks famous artists (minghou) to execute book illustrations, it is significant that the candidates were asked to submit an example of their work on the model of the images in the Dianshi Zhai Huabao, to the same dimensions. Another advertisement at the same time invited artists to submit illustrations to be reproduced in the magazine, at a fee of two yuan per illustration (Xu and Xu, Qingmo, 336-337). This advertisement appeared also in Dianshi Zhai Huabao with an accompanying image of the contributing artist at work.


19. There were two Shenchang Shuhua Shi bookshops, one in the British and one in the French concession. Advertisements for both, incorporating representations of the premises, appeared in the Dianshi Zhai Huabao in the mid-1880s.

20. None of the illustrators are among the twenty-five leading painters listed in Huyou Zaji (1876) and only one (Ge Zun) is included by Zhang Mingke in his Huanxiang GeTianyi Suolu (completed 1908) in Yang Yi’s Haichang Mei (1920, Shanghai Guihua Chubanshe, Shanghai T’an Yu Shanghai Ren Conghu reprint 1989: 78), only the illustrator (Wu Youru) is given his own entry, and but an appendix lists the following Dianshi Zhai Huabao illustrators and notes that they were famous at the time (you shengyi) Jin Gui (from Suzhou), Zhang Qi (Zhang Zhongying, from Suzhou), Tian Ying (Tian Zilin), Fuji (Fu Genxin from Yaqing in Zhejiang), Zhou Quan (Zhou Zilin), He Yuanjun (He Mingfu), Ge Zun (Ge Longzhi, from Haining Muqiao), He Yuanjun (He Mingfu), Ge Zun (Ge Longzhi, from Haining Muqiao), He Yuanjun (He Mingfu), Ge Zun (Ge Longzhi, from Haining Muqiao), He Yuanjun (He Mingfu), Ge Zun (Ge Longzhi, from Haining Muqiao).
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painted flower and bird subjects and was a calligrapher and seal-caver as well; and Tian Ying's 1890 painting of Bole Judging a Horse is now in the collection of the Nanjing Museum. Fu Jie contributed a calligraphed preface to Dianshi Zhai Conghua; see below. Presumably all of the illustrators continued to produce paintings which would have been more valuable given their new fame.

21. Don J. Cohn identifies Zhang Qi as Wu Youru's mentor. See Vignettes from the Chinese: Lithographs from Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth Century, edited and translated by Don J. Cohn (Hong Kong 1987), 2-3.

22. The entry on Jin Gui in Zhongguo Meishujia Renmeng Quanji (Shanghai, 1981), 556, notes that he and Wu Youru designed Tsuhua Wu New Year's prints, but at which point in their careers it is not clear.


26. Published by Shanghai's Guan Keshou Zhai. There exists another journalistic book on Shanghai from 1884, also woodblock-printed, which may be the work of the same publisher, Haisang Fanhuatu (Pictures of Shanghai Prosperity). The relatively few illustrations are largely portraits of courtesans, perhaps based on photographs.


28. There also exists a Wu Youru Huitu Ping Changmo Shu (Account of the Suppression of the Long-hairs with Illustrations by Wu Youru), put out by an unknown publisher in Shanghai in 1893. My thanks to Roberta Wue for this information. I have not yet been able to determine the relationship between the two works.


30. For the serialization, see Yu, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizhuan,' 156. The book is listed in Xu and Xu, Qingmo, 332.

31. Numerous other examples in the Dianshi Zhai style could be cited, for example the quite fine Tsuhua Wu Caizi Qihu (Novel of the Five Young Talents, with Illustrations) published by Datong Shuju in 1888, and provided with introductory portraits and illustrations in the text by an unidentified artist. In a different genre, another high-quality example is the extremely small format Huitu Haisang Kanhua Ji (Record of Looking at Flowers [that is, visiting brothels] in Shanghai, with Illustrations), published by Shanghai Shuju in 1894.

32. In the mid-1880s, Tongwen Shuju in Shanghai advertised what may have been an earlier version of the same book, under the name Zengxiang Sanguo Quanji. See the text of Tongwen Shuju's advertisement for the newly published Liao Zhai Tuogong, in Dianshi Zhai Huabao, issue number 91 (1886).

33. See the call for advertisements illustrated in Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese, frontispiece.

34. Yu, 'Woguo Huabao de Shizhuan,' 155. As noted above, the 1983 Guangdong Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint of the magazine generally omits the original advertisements, but a few can still be seen, for example one for the Jihua Tang paper and fan shop. I would like to thank Roberta Wue for drawing this to my attention.

35. Xu and Xu, Qingmo, 82. Two such early calendars, one with opera scenes distributed by Shenbao in 1889, and the other with journalistic scenes of Shanghai distributed by a lottery ticket company in 1896, are reproduced in Li Zhao, Shanghai Youhua Shi (Shanghai, 1995), 37.

36. Of course, one has to distinguish the minority of artists who illustrated entire books, or contributed to several different books, from the majority who contributed only a few images, in some cases only a single one.

37. The first of the four, Liexia jiupei (Drinking Cards with immortals), published in 1854, was instructed by Chen Hongshou's seventeenth-century designs for drinking cards. The only texts in this work were an introduction, a postscript, and the brief inscriptions around each image. Two years later, in 1856, Ren was commissioned to design a book entitled Sasen Jianke Tu (Pictures of Thirty Three Warriors). Then, in 1857, Ren Xiong and a new group of collaborators created a new format, perhaps influenced by illustrated novels of the time, in which the text was often preceded by a set of illustrations introducing the characters. On that model, Ren Xiong's illustrations were grouped together at the beginning of the book, following the table of contents, and preceding a printed text. Ren Xiong and his collaborators published three works in this format in Suzhou in 1857. The first was an expanded version of Sasen Jianke Tu entitled Jianxia Xiangzhu (Illustrated Biographies of Warriors), which now included forty-eight images. The second was Yu Yue Xianxian Xiangzuan (Illustrated Biographies of Former Worthies of Zhejiang), for which he created eighty-eight designs. The third was Gaoshan Zhuan Tuxiang

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(Illustrated Biographies of Hermits), for which he had only completed twenty-six designs by the time of his death. Ren Xiong's books owe a particular debt, not only to Chen Hongshou's designs for drinking cards, but also to the Wu Shuang Pu of Chen's early Qing follower, Jin Guliang. Like Ren Xiong, both Chen and Jin were from northern Zhejiang province, so we are dealing here with a local tradition.

38. See Wang Zidou's postface to the 1987 Renmin Meishu Chuabanshe reprint of Gaoshu Zhuan Tuixiang.
39. See the "Price-list of Books, Maps, Paintings, Calligraphy Rubbings, and Calligraphies" Lithographically printed by Dianshi Zhai (hereafter, "Price-list") published in Dianshi Zhai Huabao, issue number 93 (1887).
41. Wang Yije's 1883 reworking of Ren Xiong's designs provide the intermediary step since each biography is moved out of a separate textgrouping all the biographies on to the page facing the relevant image. The 1886 design then moves the biography off the facing page into the image itself.
42. Zhongguo Meishu Quanji, Huihua Bian 20 (Shanghai, 1988), number 206.
43. There was also a Pinghua Luoliao Zhaiyi Tuyong (Annotated Illustrations and Poems to Strange Stories from the Luoliao) published by Tongwen Shuju (1886 preface). In addition to the main body of figurative illustrations, the book contains a frontispiece landscape illustration by Yang Boraon.
44. See 'Price-list.'
45. Xu and Xu, Qingmeng, 332 and 352.
46. Also Qian Huai Bayan Tu (Eight Elegant Beauties of the Qin-Huai Area, 1898). See Zhou Wu, Zhongguo Banhua ShiJuti (Shanghai, 1988), 1, number 139.
48. Fei Danru was another mid-nineteenth-century Zhejiang artist who anticipated the Shanghai painters' involvement in book designs of this kind. See his eighty-seven designs to the 1844 Yinzi WensiZheng, of which one is reproduced in Zhongguo Meishu Quanji, Huihua Bian 20, number 168.
49. Reprinted in Wu Youyu Huabao. See note 47 above.
50. This was not the first portrait of Chen Yunsheng by Ren Yi. Ding Xiyuan notes an 1868 portrait now in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. See Ding Xiyuan, Ren Bonian (Shanghai, 1989), nianpu section, 24.

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52. Oka Senjin, who spent several months travelling in China in 1884, recounts in his diary of the trip (Guandong Jiyou, in Chinese in Xiaoyu Fanghu Zhai Yuli Congshu) that when he visited the son of Chen Yunsheng, Chen Yuguang, the latter complained to him about the unfairness of what his companions had done (June 5, 1744).
53. See 'Price-list.'
55. See Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' 2. See also Yu Shaozong, Shuhua Shulu Jiti (Hong Kong), 1, June 20a-b, who reports that the preface to Ymei Meipu mentions that the series included a manual devoted to figure painting.
56. See Yu, Shuhua Shulu Jiti, 1, June 20a-b.
57. Tsuruta, 'Study of a Chinese Painter.' The title slips for the various Japanese printed works were written by Chen Manshou (1784-1884), a Chinese calligrapher and painter active in Japan at the same time as Wang Yin. Chen is the subject, along with his daughter, of an 1879 portrait by Ren Yi. See Ren Bonian (Tianjin, 1888), number 13.
58. Judging by an early, but probably not original edition (publisher unknown) in the library of the Musee Guimet, the two volumes may always have been published together as a two-volume book under the name Shi Zhong Hua (altogether one hundred illustrations), and were printed by the photolithographic process. The 1906 reprint by Rongbao Zhai, also under the name Shi Zhong Hua, omits the separate prefaces to the two volumes, obscuring the original dual structure of the book.
59. See the preface to the 1906 Rongbao Zhai reprint for the mention of Jingchiua Huapu.
61. Zhongguo Meishuqian Rennian Congjian, 776.
62. See the 1982 reprint by Shanghai Guji Shudian. As far as can be seen from this reprint, there was a frontispiece by Wu Dacheng and two prefaces by Wang Ziqing and Yu Yue.
63. Without seeing the Jingchiua Huapu, it is impossible to tell what the relationship between Yu Li's two huaps was.
64. On the basis of Shanyin Yu's Huapu, one can speculate that a number of the paintings presently bearing Ren Yi's signature may eventually have to be considered workshop productions from the hand of Yu Li. For references to surviving paintings by Yu Li, see Transcending Turmoil, 347, note 349.
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(Illustrated Biographies of Hermits), for which he had only completed twenty-six designs by the time of his death. Ren Xiong's books owe a particular debt, not only to Chen Hongshou's designs for drinking cards, but also to the Wushuang Pu of Chen's early Qing follower, Jin Guiliang. Like Ren Xiong, both Chen and Jin were from northern Zhejiang province, so we are dealing here with a local tradition.

38. See Wang Zidou's postface to the 1987 Renmin Meishu Chubanshe reprint of Gaoshí Zhuan Tuxiang.
39. See the 'Price-list of Books, Maps, Paintings, Calligraphy Rubbings, and Calligraphies' Lithographically-printed by Diangshi Zhai' (hereafter, 'Price-list') published in Diang Shi Zhai Huabao, issue number 93 (1887).
41. Wang Yijie's 1883 reworking of Ren Xiong's designs provide the intermediary step since each biography is moved out of a separate text grouping all the biographies on to the page facing the relevant image. The 1886 designer then moved the biography off the facing page into the image itself.
42. Zhongguo Meishu Quanji, Huitu Bian 20 (Shanghai, 1988), number 206.
43. There was also a Pinghu Liaozi Shiyi Tuyong (Annotated Illustrations and Poems to Strange Stories from the Liaozi) published by Tongwen Shuju (1886 preface). In addition to the main body of figurative illustrations, the book contains a frontispiece landscape illustration by Yang Boren.
44. See 'Price-list.'
45. Xu and Xu, Qingmo, 332 and 352.
46. Also Qin Huai's Bayan Tu (Eight Elegant Beauties of the Qin-Huai Area, 1888). See Zhou Wu, Zhongguo Banhua Shi Tu (Shanghai, 1988), 1, number 139.
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59. See the preface to the 1986 Rongbao Zhai reprint for the mention of Jiqing Huaup.
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69. Zhang Xiong has also been credited, mistakenly. I believe, with compiling his own printed painting manual Zhang Zixiang Ketu Huagao (Zhang Zixiang's Instruction Manual of Painting). See Transcending Turnell, 138 and 337, notes 139 and 140. The Zhang Zixiang Ketu Huagao known today is a 1921 Zhonghua Shuju edition based on designs copied by Ding Baoshu from Zhang Xiong's original huagao sketches, reprinted in 1984 by Wenwu Chuban She. I know of no evidence that there was an earlier printed edition using designs by Zhang Xiong himself. Yu Shaosong's Shuhua Shuhu Jieti entry on this publication (1. juan 2, 188-191) only mentions a separate publication by Xiling Yinshe (early twentieth century, therefore) of 260 paintings, probably huagao sketches, by Zhang Xiong under the name Zhang Zixiang Huagao.

66. Haishang Molin, 72 (Zhou Yong) and 81 (Zhang Yi).

67. One cannot help but wonder whether Zhou Yong's designs did not find their way into the Chao Xun edition following the deaths of Zhou Yong and Zhang Xiong. Unfortunately I have not been able to examine a copy of the Zhou Yong edition.

68. A large proportion of these images were later reprinted, divided by category (figures from literature and history, beautiful women, birds, animals, and flowers, plants, and still lifes), both in the 1908 Wu Yuru Huaba and in a 1909 publication that I only know through modern reprints: Wu Yuru Huagao (Shanghai, 1983) and Qingdai Wushu Huagao (Hong Kong, 1979).

69. See Wu Yuru's twelve-volume album of historical and legendary women in the Shanghai Museum, illustrated in Yiyan Duoying, 54, number 17.

70. A copy of this rare publication is in the Library of Congress. My thanks to Roberta Wu for making available a xerox of that copy. An edition was advertised for sale by the Huandu Lou Bookshop in Dianshi Zhai Huabao in 1887, issue number 103.

71. Haishang Molin, 77.

72. Much, if not all, of this publication appears to have been incorporated into the later compilation, Dianshi Zhai Conghua (see below). The contributors would seem to have included Tang Shishu (1893-1902, from Wujin), Wang Li, Ren Yi, Shu Hao, Ren Xun, and others.

73. The original draft sketches for this book are now in the collection of the China Art Gallery. Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Jiaolendui editor, Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu (Beijing, 1986) 1, 60. There exists what appears to be a pirated edition by Shenshi Caotang entitled Haishang Mingju Huagao, which has a title page dated 1885 written by Hong Xiuhe replacing the similarly dated titlepage by Xu Sangeng in Haishang Mingju Huagao.

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

74. In the list of twenty-five leading painters published in Huayou Zaiji in 1876, Deng Qichang is included as a specialist of flower-and-bird, bird-and-animal, and figure subjects (page 69). In Hansong Ge Tanyi Swuo, Zhang Mingke praises his flower and plant subjects. For Haishang Mingju Huagao, Deng contributed a series of images of chrysanthemums.

75. Yu, 'Wuguo Huabao de Shizhu,' 155.

76. A Dianshi Zhai illustrator.

77. Due to the ambiguity of the wording, it is not entirely clear whether only these four artists were involved, or a larger group.

78. A large number of these giveaways are in the Rare Books Collection of C. V. Starr Library at Columbia University.

79. Landscape: He Yu (1852-1928), from Shanghai, initially a follower of Hu Yuan and Ren Yi, later a student of Zhu Cheng, and Fu Ji (a Dianshi Zhai illustrator). Figures: Fu Ji, Ren Xun, Qian Hui'an, Sha Fu, Ma Tao, Shen Zhaozhan, Cao Hua (1874-1913), from Shanghai, a student of Qian Hui'an, Hu Xigui (Suzhou-based), Chen Weizhi (a female painter from Suzhou), Yin Quan (Yin Xiaoxia, from Changshu near Suzhou), Shao Bo (Shao Meiki), Chen Xie, and others as yet unidentified. Animals: Ren Xun, Ren Yi, Shu Hao (from Ningbo), Chen Xie, and the Dianshi Zhai illustrator Tian Ying. Flower-and-bird: this section apparently incorporates the images of the earlier Shanghui Mingju Huagao (see above), but adds to them new designs by Hu Yuan, Zhang Xiong, He Yu, Zhou Zou (from Dongyuan in Zhejiang), Wang Xingqiao (from Shangzhou), Xu Kai, and others as yet unidentified. Insect compositions: Ren Xun, Hu Yuan, Zhou Zou, and Wang Zhiyin, and others as yet unidentified. Plant blossoms, pine, bamboo, etc.: Zhu Cheng, He Yu, and Zhang Zhen (Zhang Jiushou, from Suzhou), and others as yet unidentified. Still life: He Yu, Ren Xun, Hu Yuan, Zhou Xian (1820-1875, therefore posthumously from Jiangxian), and Zhou Fuqing.

80. Songnan Mengying Lu, 139.

81. Landscape: one juan with contributions from Chao Xun, Yang Boren, Ren Yi, Shu Hao, Wang Yin, Jin Dejian (born 1810, from Suzhou), Wu Qingyun (from Suzhou, from Nanjing, Wu Guxiang (1840-1903, from Jiangxi), Zhu (died 1916, from Nanjing), Wu Guixiang (1848-1903, from Jiangxi), and Zhou Xiong (from Zhejiang, student of Hu Yuan), Jiang Tonghui (from Shexian in Anhui), and a number of known or apparent followers of Zhang Xiong in Anhui, in addition to Chao Xun, including Shen Jing (from Shanghai). Zhang Xiong in addition to Chao Xun, including Shen Jing (from Shanghai).
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80. Senglan Mengying Zu, 139.

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82. The *Zengguang Mingjia Huapu* figure-painting contributors are: Chao Xun, Qian Hui'an, Wu Guxiang, Shu Hao, Wang Yin, Cao Hao, Shen Zhaohan, Tang Peihua, Yu Li, Zhang Zhen, Pan Zhenyong (1852-1921, from Jiaxing), Li Fu (from Shuji in Zhejiang, student of Ren Yi), Ren Xia (from Shanyin, Ren Yi's daughter), Ni Tian (1853/4-1919, from Yangzhou), Lu Peng (died 1931, student of Qian Hui'an), Pan Lai (from Shanghai, student of Qian Hui'an), Wu Yin (1867-1922), Zou Jun (from Wuji in Jiangsu), Zhou Huanian (from Xiaohe), Wang Yishou (from Xiaohe), Wang Zhen, Hua Yun, Li Lan, Qi Gan, Zhu Xu, Wang Yeven, and others as yet unidentified.

81. Judging by information kindly passed on to me by Dr Ludmilla Borotova of the National Gallery, Prague, which appears to have a copy of the first printing in its collection.

84. Noted by Hongxing Zhang in James Cahill and others, editors, _New Interpretations of Ming and Qing Paintings_ (Beijing, 1994), 92. Unfortunately, I came upon this information too late to be able to incorporate a description of the book in the present article.

85. This is not true, however, of novelistic illustration, where the Danshi Zhai illustrators continued to be active into the 1900s.

86. One later publication worth noting for its continuation of late nineteenth-century *haipai* styles is *Tongwen Shuju's Yuanshenguan Huagao* (Shanghai, 1915) whose illustrator I have not been able to identify.

87. *Minghua Jijn* (Compilation of Famous Paintings) (1897) is a lithographed collaborative *huapu* published by Shanghai Shuju. It includes 166 images by ten prominent artists: Ren Yi, Zhang Xiong, Zhu Cheng, Sha Fu, Hu Yuan, Ren Xun, Ma Tao, Xu Xiang and a Wujiang follower of Wang Li, Xu Zhen (1841-1915). However, the fact that three of these artists had died more than a decade earlier, the internal coherence of the selection, and the low quality of this particular edition combine to suggest that the

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1897 edition may be a reprint of an earlier work. *Haishang Erda Mingjia Huapu* (*Huapu of Two Famous Shanghai Masters*) (1924) was published in a very poor quality lithographed edition by an unidentified publisher in 1924. The two masters in question are Qian Hui'an and Cao Hao, and the images themselves bear various dates from the 1870s to the 1900s. *Sanxi Tang Huabao* (1924), published by Dahua Shuju, includes a very large selection of images, divided up among ten thematic headings, for the most part taken over from earlier publications. Its sources include the 1888 *Jiri Zuan Huazhuan* and Wang Yin's manuals of the early 1880s. The eight-volume Cungu Zhai Conghua (Compendium from the Studio for Preserving the Past) (about 1925), published by the Jiun Shuju, includes yet another interesting selection of late nineteenth-century images, including all the images of the *Haishang Mingjia Huagao*, alongside more contemporary designs. Finally, as its title suggests, *Shao Shunchun Renpu Shanjii Huapu* (Painting Manual of the Fans of Figure Subjects by Sha Shunchun) (about 1925), published by Yucai Shuju, purports to reproduce works by Sha Fu. About half the book does indeed reproduce lithographic versions of album leaves by that Suzhou painter; all the fan images, however, were taken from Ren Yi's 1887 *Renbionian Xiangsheng Zhenji Huapu*. On each pirated image, the seal of Ren Yi has been replaced by a seal of Sha Fu.


90. As for color woodblock-printed New Year's prints, judging by prints now in the collection of the Shanghai Municipal History Museum there were at least five manufacturers in Shanghai around 1900 (Feiyang Ge, Yuxiang Zhai, Baohoe, Lao Wenyi, Shen Wenzhi), all concentrated in the area of Jiujiaochang Street in the Chinese city near the Temple of the City God. Among the designers at that point was the former *Danshi Zhai Huabao* artist, Tian Ying. It remains to be seen whether the production of New Year's prints in Shanghai itself (as against Suzhou) can be traced back into the pre-1805 period, and to what extent Shanghai painters were involved.

91. Issue number 141. A surviving example, still bound into the magazine, is in the collection of the library of the Musée Guimet, Paris.

92. Xu and Xu, *Qingmo*, 349.
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88. See Wang Shuchun, Huajia Qian Hui’an yu Minjian Nianhua*’, in *Zongguo Minjian Nianhua Shi Lunji* (Tianjin, 1991), 297-307; and Bo Songnian, *Zongguo Nianhua Shi* (Shenyang, 1986), 69-70, who also notes that the Yangliuyuan workshops copied compositions by Qian’s students. Shen Zhaohan, but gives no dates. See also Zhou Hu’s discussion of Qian Hui’an in *Transcending Form*, 133-134.


90. As for color woodblock-printed New Year’s prints, judging by prints now in the collection of the Shanghai Municipal History Museum there were at least five manufacturers in Shanghai around 1900 (Feiyang Ge, Yuxiang Zhai, Baohou, Lao Wenyi, Shenzhi), all concentrated in the area of Jiu Jiaochang Street in the Chinese city near the Temple of the City God. Among the designers at that point was the former *Dianshi Zhai Huabao* artist, Tian Ying. It remains to be seen whether the production of New Year’s prints in Shanghai itself (as against Suzhou) can be traced back into the pre-1805 period, and to what extent Shanghai painters were involved.

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93. This account is based on a full-page advertisement of lithographed artworks for sale that appeared in *Dianshi Zhai Huaobao* in the late 1880s. Calligraphers were also represented, with examples of work by Hu Yuan and Wu Dan.

94. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shudian, 1983, under the title *Zhu Menglu Hua Miaolian*.

95. Collection of the author.

96. Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo Banhuashi Tulu*, 1, no. 345. According to Ge's *Huoyou Zaji*, 19, letter papers were sold by the same shops that sold fans, contemporary paintings and calligraphies, and artists' materials, sometimes generically called 'fan shops.' Ge Yuanru notes that the leading shops in the concessions were: Guxiang Shi (with which Hu Yuan had a particular connection), Maryun Ge, Lihua Tang, and Jinrun Tang; in the Chinese city, the main establishments were Deyue Lou, Feiyun Ge (in the Yu Garden), and Lao Tong Qun. Jinhu Tang was established at a later date, as was, presumably, Xihong Tang, which advertised a number of times in *Dianshi Zhai Huaobao* (see issues numbers 86 and following).

97. See Chou Ju-hsi's detailed analysis of the origins of Shanghai painters in *Transcending Turnoil*, 102-109. One especially large group of painters came from the northern counties of Zhejiang province—Shaoxing, Ningbo, Jiaxing, Hangzhou—that is, the same region that supplied a large proportion of Shanghai's bankers, merchants, and compradors. By moving to Shanghai the painters were following their natural patrons, as well as opening up a new market for themselves. Another large group of painters came from Suzhou and surrounding towns, where painting was long-established as a component of that area's handicrafts industry. A further contribution of Suzhou to the Shanghai art world was, as we have seen, through the export of illustrators, independent artisans on a lower level, who by moving to Shanghai were adapting to the creation of a new mass-market publishing industry. Suzhou was in addition, along with Songjiang, one of the most important sources of calligraphers/writers, whose title slips, frontispieces, prefaces, colophons and postfaces were crucial components of the art books.


99. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shudian, 1983, under the title *Zhang He'an Baihuajian* (Zhang He'an's One-Hundred Flower Design Letter Papers).

100. *Transcending Turnoil*, 216.

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102. Transcending Turnoil includes one painting by Hu Yuan for a Japanese patron, Shoto, bought for him by a Japanese visitor to Shanghai, Kotani Murata (190-93). Chou Ju-hsi cites the poetic eulogy Twelve Masters in Calligraphy cited by Wang Tao in *Yingyan Zazhi*, which says of Hu Yuan, 'A piece [from his hand] is worth a city in Japan' (126). *Shenjiang Mingzhang Tuhao* includes an illustration of Japanese customers buying paintings (old paintings in this case) in Shanghai.

103. Although this is not the place to make the case for Nanga influence on Chinese painting, some of these artists can be argued to have incorporated certain ideas from Nanga painting into their own work. On their visits to Japan, see Tsutaka, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' 1-11. These Shanghai painters were preceded by such Cantonese painters as Luo Qing, as shown by Tsutaka.

104. A Shenbao editor, Huang Shiquan, in his *Sengsan Mengying Lu*, notes Rözan as a painter of landscapes and plum blossoms. This text is included in *Shanghai Guji Chuaban She*, *Shanghai Tan Yu Shanghai Ren Congshi* (1989 reprint), 102. For other artists, see Tsutaka, 'Study of a Chinese Painter,' 77-78.


106. See the advertisements for Huoying Ge and Fuying Shuju (incorporating representations of their premises) in *Dianshi Zhai Huaobao*, issue number 102 (1887).

107. It also raises two other questions which go beyond the bounds of this article. Does the Guanxu period interest in sets of portraits of courtiers have any connection with the long-standing Japanese practice of this genre in *akiko-e*? And is the inclusion of Hokusai-style designs in *Collected Paintings of the Dianshi Zhai* a post-facto indication that the Hokusai style played some role in forming the Ren Xiong/Ren Yi mode of painting? The more linear version of the Shanghai style of painting best represented by Ren Yi, and derived from Ren Xiong is customarily defined through its roots in the art of their seventeenth-century northern Zhejiang predecessor, Chen Hongshou. But their part of the Zhejiang coast is also an area with close artistic contacts with Japan going back to the Ming dynasty. The fact that certain unpublished leaves of Ren Xiong's celebrated album of one hundred illustrations to poems by Yao Xie (Palace Museum, Beijing) betray a direct knowledge of illustrated books by Hokusai argues for a formative Japanese connection.
99. This account is based on a full-page advertisement of lithographed artworks for sale that appeared in Dianshi Zhai Huaobao in the late 1880s. Calligraphers were also represented, with examples of work by Hu Yuan and Wu Dan.

94. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shedian, 1983, under the title Zhu Menglu Huamiao Jian.

95. Collection of the author.

96. Zhou Wu, Zhongguo banhuashi Tulu, 1, number 345. According to Ge's Huyou Zaji, 19, letter papers were sold by the same shops that sold fans, contemporary paintings and calligraphies, and artists' materials, sometimes generically called 'fan shops.' Ge Yuanxu notes that the leading shops in the concessions were: Guxiang Shi (with which Hu Yuan had a particular connection), Manyun Ge, Lihua Tang, and Jinrun Tang; in the Chinese city, the main establishments were Deyue Lou, Feiyun Ge (in the Yu Garden), and Lao Tong Qun. Jinhua Tang was established at a later date, as was, presumably, Xihong Tang, which advertised a number of times in Dianshi Zhai Huaobao (see issues numbers 86 and following).

97. See Chou Ju-hsi's detailed analysis of the origins of Shanghai painters in Transcending Turnoil, 102-109. One especially large group of painters came from the northern counties of Zhejiang province—Shaoxing, Ningbo, Jiadui, Hangzhou—that is, the same region that supplied a large proportion of Shanghai's bankers, merchants, and craftsmen. By moving to Shanghai the painters were following their natural patrons, as well as opening up a new market for themselves. Another large group of painters came from Suzhou and surrounding towns, where painting was long-established as a component of that area's handicraft industry. A further contribution of Suzhou to the Shanghai art world was, as we have seen, through the export of illustrators, independent artisans on a lower level, who by moving to Shanghai were adapting to the creation of a new mass-market publishing industry. Suzhou was in addition, along with Songjiang, one of the most important sources of calligraphers/writers, whose title slips, frontispieces, prefaces, colophons and postfaces were crucial components of the art books.

98. Yang, Haisihua Moli, 5.

99. See the modern reprint by Changchun Shi Guji Shedian, 1983, under the title Zhang He'an Bathua Jian (Zhang He'an's One Hundred Flower-design Letter Papers).

100. Transcending Turnoil, 216.
108. As noted in the biographies of *Haishang Molin*, numerous painters were also practitioners of the *kunqu* genre of theater.


110. Songnan Mengying Lu, 140.


112. This novel has been partially translated by Shih Shun Liu, under the title *Vignettes from the Late Qing* (Hong Kong, 1975).

113. In this pre-photojournalistic world, we can already see the first hints of the artist's transformation into a public figure. In the illustrated books, the self-portraits of Wang Yijie and Chao Xun, or Ren Yi's portrait of Chen Yunsheng, all point in this direction. A number of the images in Ren Yi's *Ren Bonian Xiansheng Zhenji Huapu* and Yu Li's *Shanyin Yushu Huagao* are suggestive of rather ostentatious self-representation in various disguises or personae. By the first years of the twentieth century, leading artists of this period – Ren Yi, Ren Xun, Hu Yuan – will appear, mythologized, in novels.


115. Many such sketches have survived. For a wide range of examples by Ren Yi, see the recent Renmin Meishu Chubanshe compilation, *Ren Bonian Zuopin Ji* (Shanghai, 1993).

116. The artists themselves referred to the former as a *gongbi* (fine brush) or *yuanhua* (academic) style, and to the latter as a *xiyi* style.


118. See *Transcending Turmoil*, 345, note 320.