Between the late 1840s and the end of the nineteenth century, hundreds of Chinese painters congregated in the suddenly expanding city of Shanghai. Although the city's fast-growing number of art collectors helped to attract them there, the painters came to Shanghai principally to take advantage of an art market that needed decorative paintings for newly erected buildings, and painted fans to serve as fashion accessories for men and women. Leaving the subject of fans aside for another occasion, the present essay focuses on decorative paintings and the built environment for which they were produced. How did the buildings affect the subjects and styles of the paintings? And did architecture and painting share any underlying visual features? To answer these questions, I begin with a brief historical sketch of Shanghai in the nineteenth century, followed by an introduction to the relevant Chinese architecture in the city.

Like their contemporaries, the French Impressionists, the ink painters of Shanghai lived and worked in a city undergoing rapid, enforced physical change. Shanghai had been a relatively small but significant county city and port for several centuries until its destiny dramatically changed in 1842. In that year, China agreed as part of the Opium War (1839–42) settlement to open Shanghai to foreign trade. When the British arrived in the city the following year, Shanghai authorities agreed to let them acquire from local farmers a large area of land to the north of the walled Chinese city, which then had a population of around 950,000 people. By 1848 there were three adjoining foreign settlements: French, British, and American, the latter two amalgamating much later, in 1863, to form the International Concession (fig. 1). As the settlements developed during the 1850s and the early 1860s, with a segregated foreign population that as late as 1871 numbered only in the low hundreds, the walled city became increasingly prosperous, and in these early days became thoroughly dominated by Cantonese immigrants. The spread of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) to the lower Yangzi River region in the 1850s led to the arrival of successive waves of Chinese refugees in the late 1850s and the early 1860s—eventually over a hundred thousand people, all seeking shelter from the rebels in the foreign-controlled territory of the settlements. During this period, for reasons that were partly demographic, Cantonese influence in Shanghai was displaced by that of immigrants from northeastern Zhejiang Province, though Cantonese merchants remained powerful. Within the space of just a few years, foreign and Chinese speculators expanded the built environment of the settlements to house and cater to the refugees, many of whom were well-off. The settlements flowered as an ad hoc agglomeration of Western colonial houses and streets, new hybrid Sino-Western buildings, and buildings in purely Chinese style. After the Taiping Rebellion ended in 1864, the settlements became something of a ghost town as the most recent refugees returned to their homes. But by the 1870s Shanghai was again flourishing, with the settlements once more overflowing with Chinese residents. With its Chinese and foreign components increasingly mixed, the city expanded incessantly. By the mid-1880s the Chinese population of the settlements alone reached half a million, and was increasingly cosmopolitan, including significant immigrant groups from
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different parts of China — none more important, however, than those from northern Zhejiang. Shanghai had begun to become a great city, the basis of the metropolis that was to occupy such a special place in the Western imagination from the 1860s onward.

For the Chinese residents of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, these historical developments transformed the relationship between the walled city and the settlements from the original awkward cohabitation toward a fusion of the two parts of the city. Although there were certainly parts of the settlements that were largely inaccessible to Chinese, if only for linguistic reasons, most streets and buildings in the settlements catered principally to the Chinese population and formed a single continuum of urban experience with the walled city. Two elements in the visual environment of the settlements were emblematic in this respect. One was the Chinese-character signage, which was at its densest in the streets near the waterfront, or the Bund (fig. 2). The other was architectural: the so-called horsehead wall — a stepped gable wall topped with sharp-pointed dark tile roofs that contrasted with the whitewash of the plastered wall surface — which was fundamental to the neofeudal of the walled city and the settlements alike (fig. 3). Such gable walls were used all over Shanghai to separate adjoining buildings, even ones that did not otherwise have much of a Chinese character.

The Built Environment

At any point in the late nineteenth century, were it not for the omnipresent Chinese passers-by and the distinctively Palladian-derived "emporadonic" style of the earliest foreign buildings, a few areas of Shanghai could easily have been mistaken for parts of an European or American city.

Along the waterfront and the two sides of the Yangtze,
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hang River separating the French and International settlements, the leading foreign companies had their headquarters, and in the inland western suburbs, the wealthier foreign businessmen constructed impressive residences for themselves. Churches, clubs, civic buildings, cemeteries, and parks were among the other structures that extended the foreign presence in the built environment of the city beyond these foreign-dominated areas. Chinese architecture was certainly of great interest to the Chinese population, which tended to group it with other examples of "wonders" or "marvels" of all sorts. Chinese depictions exist of a number of the buildings, and it is no coincidence that it was fashionable at the time for Chinese photographic studios to provide Western architectural settings for their Chinese sitters. There were also some significant Western-style buildings under Chinese ownership. Some, such as the 1870 Jiangnan Government Wharf, the headquarters of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, or the 1893 Customs House, were commissioned by Chinese owners. Others were acquired from foreigners, as in the case of Zhang Garden—a Western estate that was purchased by a Chinese businessman and opened to the Chinese public as an extremely successful commercial garden in 1895.

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

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

4. Map showing important buildings in the walled city of Shanghai. Woodblock print, from Yangqiang Shanghai shicheng (1875).
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4. Map showing important buildings in the walled city of Shanghai. Woodblock print, from Yangzi Shanghai zhaoshui (1875).
The Architecture of Permanence

The architecture of permanence began in the walled city. One can think of the walled city as a symbolic module, in which a pre-existing matrix of civic buildings symbolically defined the city's rootedness in the Chinese landscape — as an outpost of the state and the great religions, as well as a focus for the social energies of the surrounding area. However, because Shanghai was a trading city, the matrix of civic architecture was also supported by sojourners, who had their own interest in the underlying permanence of the place. As in other cities of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), and as shown in this gazetteer map of Shanghai from 1871 (fig. 4), this matrix included government offices, temples of all kinds, shrines, academies, philanthropic enterprises such as orphanages, public or semi-public gardens, and — most fundamentally of all — the wall itself with its eleven gates. Here I illustrate one of the walled city's most impressive buildings, the 1857 Temple of the God of War (Guandi Miao), which stood on a terrace projecting inward from the city wall in the northeast (fig. 3). The matrix of sites had always extended beyond the walls as well through a looser network of related sites, including temples that might be physically located within the settlements but were symbolically linked to the walled city, such as Jing'an Temple in the northwest and Longhua Temple in the south, both popular destinations. Popular formulations such as "the eight famous views of Shanghai" inscribed the network of sites in everyday language.

Starting in the late 1850s, the development of the settlements created a rapid expansion of the matrix of civic sites. One early addition, visible in the top right-hand corner on the 1879 gazetteer map, is the Customs House (Shanghai Beiguan) that was built on the waterfront in 1857 (see fig. 8), followed by the so-called Mixed Court in 1868. But other civic buildings soon sprang up all over the settlements, mainly benevolent institutions of one kind or another, which grew in number as the city expanded, responding to the difficulties of its poorer residents. They included, for example, the city's largest soup kitchen (Tongren Fuyuanyang, date not yet established) and a 1872 home for indigent sojourners (Qiluo Congsuo). Some civic buildings aimed at Chinese public were built by foreigners, such as the Shangxiajuhan (St. John) Academy established by American Methodists in 1874. The matrix of civic buildings was not historically fixed, therefore, and certainly did not simply represent the pre-Qinghan War past. In part this was because the walled city twice suffered from Taiping Rebellion violence during the 1850s that caused the destruction of many important buildings of this type. These were rebuilt and expanded over the following decades as a by-product of the commercial prosperity of the late nineteenth century. The building projects included the Temple of Confucius (constructed in 1856–96), the Jingye Academy (constructed in 1862), the West Garden of the Temple of the City God (radically reconstructed in the mid-1860s), the garden precinct of the Longmen Academy (constructed in the mid-1860s), the Daoist White Cloud Monastery (constructed in 1882), and Tian Hou Temple (constructed in 1884). Thus, most architectural expressions of permanence that still stand today, or more often that can
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5. Unidentified photographer, Guandi Miao (Temple of the God of War), built in 1817, Shanghai
be seen in old photographs or illustrations, physically date from the late nineteenth century.

Architecturally, there is no doubt that some of the post-1990 constructions were stylistically conservative, but in other cases the builders transformed the regional architectural style in new directions. Perhaps the single most commonly represented building complex was the West Garden (of the Temple of the City God), located in the northeast of the walled city (fig. 6). Since the late nineteenth century, this garden, together with the temple itself and the adjoining East Garden within the temple, has been perceived by Westerners as an architectural distillation of "traditional China." This perception has been reinforced by the garden’s famous teahouse at the center of the lake—perhaps the most photographed building in Shanghai—which looks like a scene from a willow-pattern tea plate (fig. 7). It remains a common tourist destination for foreigners, who regard it with the same spirit of exoticism as their nineteenth-century predecessors: this is traditional China as theme park, an idea that today is perpetuated by the fake traditional architecture of the shopping malls recently built around it. It has long since been forgotten that the theme-park character of this architectural complex was a deliberate and self-conscious creation of the mid-1860s, when the garden was reconstructed following extensive damage during the Small Sword Rebellion in 1855 and the Taiping Rebellion in 1860. The Chinese authorities and the associations who paid for the reconstruction wanted to make their headquarters in the garden jointly desired that only culturally oriented businesses such as teahouses, fan shops, and the like would be allowed to operate in the vicinity. As with many "classical gardens" built or restored since the mid-nineteenth century, the architecture reflected this self-consciousness, abandoning the values of understatement in favor of an exaggerated picturesque. The teahouse, for example,

6 Wu Baoxin (d. ca. 1870). Entering Chinesehermitage in the Yu Garden (West Garden of the Temple of the City God). Woodblock print, from Wu Baoxin Juandian (1870); original image, early 1860s.

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

8 Unidentified photographer. Jiaogang (Customs House), built in 1897, Shanghai.
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Architecturally, there is no doubt that some of the post-1949 constructions were stylistically conservative, but in other cases the builders transformed the regional architectural style in new directions. Perhaps the single most commonly represented building complex was the West Garden (of the Temple of the City God), located in the northeast of the walled city (fig. 6).28 Since the late nineteenth century, this garden, together with the temple itself and the adjoining East Garden within the temple, has been perceived by Westerners as an architectural distillation of “traditional China.”29 This perception has been reinforced by the garden’s famous teahouse at the center of the lake—perhaps the most photographed building in Shanghai—which looks like a scene from a willow-pattern tea plate (fig. 7).30 It remains a common tourist destination for foreigners, who regard it with the same spirit of exoticism as their nineteenth-century predecessors: this is traditional China as theme park, an idea that today is perpetrated by the fake traditional architecture of the shopping malls recently built around it.31 It has long since been forgotten that the theme-park character of this architectural complex was a deliberate and self-conscious creation of the mid-1960s, when the garden was reconstructed following extensive damage during the Small Sword Rebellion in 1853 and the Taiping Rebellion in 1860. The Chinese authorities and the associations who paid for the reconstruction wanted to make their headquarters in the garden jointly decreed that only culturally oriented businesses such as teahouses, fan shops, and the like would be allowed to operate in the vicinity.32 As with many “classical gardens” built or restored since the mid-nineteenth century, the architecture reflected this self-consciousness, abandoning the values of understatement in favor of an exaggerated picturesque.33 The teahouse, for example,
was given a more complex roofline by turning the flanking rooms into polygonal structures; and although upturned eaves were already a feature of the architecture of the area, it is likely that here they were exaggerated for dramatic effect. 49 New buildings were added to the garden, and the miniature mountain expanded. Height became a leitmotif, as seen in the two-story Deyue Lou, used by painters as a studio, hostel, and shop, and in the miniature mountain from which it was possible to look out over the roof of the city. 50 There was much to demand attention, as if it were felt that a more restrained garden structure would have gone unnoticed.

One exceptional civic building was constructed using a mixture of Chinese and foreign elements, reflecting its symbolic role as an official interface between China and the outside world. The red-lacquered 1857 Customs House interrupted the long procession of Western buildings on the waterfront of the settlement (fig. 8). 51 Until its replacement in 1891 by an entirely Western-style structure, the 1857 building, though by that late date unimpressive compared to the other buildings on the waterfront, was nonetheless considered by the Chinese population to be one of the famous sites of Shanghai. The building had several different references, the most obvious of which is the basic Chinese design for ritual structures, in which a hall on the main axis is flanked by structures on either side, creating a courtyard in front of the main hall. Less obvious is the reference to a type of Chinese shop comprised in which long, low buildings stand behind an outside paling. Here, the low building traverses the width of the courtyard, separating the gate from the main building, and the palace has become a Western-style wall. 52 The third reference was to Western multi-story buildings of the kind that already existed on the waterfront when the Custom House was built, whose verticality the architects seem to have wanted to emulate. To this end, the flanking buildings, which were in fact linked by a similar structure at the back of the courtyard, were two-story Western-style brick buildings given a Chinese character by the addition of a tiled roof and the basically two-story main hall in the Chinese style being turned into a three-story building by the innovative addition of a separately roofed upper room in the middle of the roof. 53 An important contribution to the originality of the structure was also made by the front gate with its design of stepped roof, reminiscent of certain very formal Chinese gateways. Two innovations — the lack of curve in the roof and the use of diagonal struts to support them — give the gate a modern, in fact, Meiji Japanese, look. 54

The Architecture of Displacement

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

9 Wu Jianyu (ed. ca. 1885), Zhe-Ning Huiguan (Ningbo Shipping Association), built in 1859, Shanghai. Woodblock print from Shanghain shengjiang tu (Illustrations of the Famous Sites of Shanghai) (1884).
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Nowhere was the Symbolism of displacement and memory more visible than in the many association headquarters (huiguan and guanghui). The associations brought together people from the same native place, or people working in the same trade. These associations were not just an expression of shared cultural identity but also served as social and economic networks. They were often located in strategic positions within the city, allowing members to stay in touch with their hometowns.

Buildings of this kind have a very long history in China. Among the most prominent are the association headquarters, which often served as centers of cultural and social activity. These buildings were not just places of worship or business but were also used for social gatherings, education, and cultural activities. They were often beautifully designed and constructed with fine materials, reflecting the wealth and status of the association.

The largest and architecturally most impressive were the Ningbo Huiguan (Ningbo Native-Place Association), built in 1885, and the Shanghai Huiguan (Shanghai Native-Place Association), built in 1886. These buildings were not only large but also featured intricate designs and fine craftsmanship, reflecting the wealth and status of the association.

The most impressive feature of these buildings was their impressive gable walls, which were typically made of white plaster and adorned with intricate patterns and designs. The buildings were often constructed with bricks and tiles, and the use of local materials added to their character.

All in all, these association headquarters were not just places of worship or business but were also centers of cultural and social activity. They were not just buildings but were also a reflection of the values and aspirations of the people who built them. They were a testament to the ingenuity and creativity of the people of Shanghai.
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Nowhere was the symbolism of displacement and memory more visible than in the many association headquarters (huiguan and gongsuo). The associations brought together people from the same native place, or people working in the same trade who often hailed from a single area. Their headquarters thus punctuated the urban fabric with symbolic reminders of ties to other places. Buildings of this kind have a very long history in China, serving as hospices, theaters, places to conduct business, storehouses for coffins to be repatriated, and sometimes as sites for cemeteries. From at least the sixteenth century, they were to be found in cities where there were significant numbers of sojourning merchants and artisans, and the walled city of Shanghai was no exception. The historian Linda Coar Johnson has noted that the construction of association compounds in Shanghai was a “proud statement of conspicuous consumption,” but also “a visible form of capital investment.” After the destruction of 1855 and 1860, numerous association headquarters were rebuilt or created, both in the walled town and in the settlements. Among the largest and architecturally most impressive were Siming Gongguo (Ningbo and Shaoting Native Place Association, late 18th century) (87) and Zhe-Ning Huiguan (Ningbo Shipping Association, 1893; fig. 9), (88) in the French Concession; Chao-Hui Gongguo (Chaozhou and Huilai Native-Place Association, 1866), occupying about two acres outside the east gate of the walled city; (89) and Guang-Zhuo Gongguo (Guangzhou and Zhuoping Merchants’ Association, 1872) (90) and Qianye Huiguan (Finance Guild, 1886; fig. 26), (91) in the International Concession. All of these buildings had whitewashed exterior walls, gates surmounted by ornamental brickwork, stepped “horse’s head” gable walls, and tiled roofs. So impressive were the interiors of the compounds that the Qing authorities repeatedly borrowed them for diplomatic functions involving foreigners or foreign governments. (92) The enormous scale of the association headquarters appeared above all in their horizontal extension. They occupied a large land surface that permitted a succession of interior courtyards, accommodating gardens, ponds, theaters, temples, and meeting halls. (93) At least one, the Qianye Huiguan, also possessed an impressive, even flamboyant, facade and a spectacular roofline. For this reason, and
because it was not crowded about by other buildings, it was one of the rare structures of this type that was of interest to street photographers in search of picturesque views.  

The city’s many warehouses, large groceries, and pawn shops shared the same exterior form of high white-washed walls and plain facades dramatically interrupted by ornate entrances of elaborate ornamental brickwork (fig. 11).  

Even more strikingly, the white-washed façades were used for advertising, with visually immense large-character inscriptions that advertised the nature of the business and/or the geographical origins of the products in which it specialized. Drawing on a different Chinese architectural tradition were some of the city’s jewelry shops, which used a combination of carved wood frontages, calligraphic signboards, and tiled roofs to create a fairland effect reminiscent of the famously elaborate shopfronts of Beijing (fig. 12).  

The city also had innumerable restaurants, some specializing in the cuisine of a particular region, others offering a range of cuisines from different parts of China, often reflecting the origins of the city’s sojourners. A leading restaurant such as Jufeng Garden (which was not regionally specific) was lavishly appointed within, and presented itself to the street with decorative windows that evoke a classical garden compound (fig. 13, center).  

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

The Architecture of Spectacle

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

12 Zhang Qi (19th century), Streetsellers Looking for Customers, Shanghai. Woodblock print from Dianshi Zhai Huabian. Left, Gengshang Yefeng Lou (One-Meter-Story Translations; center, the restaurant Jufeng Yuan (Jufeng Garden)
because it was not crowded about by other buildings, it was one of the rare structures of this type that was of interest to street photographers in search of picturesque views.59

The city's many warehouses, large groceries, and pawn shops shared the same exterior form of high whitewashed walls and plain facades dramatically interrupted by ornate entrances of elaborate ornamental brickwork (fig. 11).70 Even more strikingly, the whitewashed façades were used for advertising, with visually inescapable large-character inscriptions that advertised the nature of the business and its geographical origins of the products in which it specialized. Drawing on a different Chinese architectural tradition were some of the city's jewelry shops, which used a combination of carved wood frontages, calligraphic signboards, and tiled roofs to create a fairytale effect reminiscent of the famously elaborate shopfronts of Beijing (fig. 12).71 The city also had innumerable restaurants, some specializing in the cuisine of a particular region, others offering a range of cuisines from different parts of China, often reflecting the origins of the city's sojourners. A leading restaurant such as Jufeng Garden (which was not regionally specific) was lavishly appointed within, and presented itself to the street with decorative windows that evoke a classical garden compound (fig. 13, center).72

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13 Zhang Qi (19th century), Streetviewers Looking for Customers, Shanghai. Woodblock print from Doushu Zhai huabian. Left, Gengshang Yeceng Lou (One-Meter-Story Restaurant); center, the restaurant Jufeng Yuan (Jufeng Garden).

14 Unidentified photographer, Wuxing Lou and Langyuan Qiuju Restaurant, Shanghai. Collection of Jonathan Hay
The combination of foreign and Chinese architectural principles is best seen in the wooden architecture of multistory entertainment establishments, such as teahouses (fig. 14; see also fig. 13, left), winebars, opium houses, and theaters. The Western architectural elements used in these buildings included wooden stairways, glass windows, interior and exterior balconies, and the framed roof which made possible large interior spaces uninterrupted by pillars. The Chinese contribution lay in the modular proportions and the ornament, particularly the lavish use of ornately carved wood. Architecturally, beyond the specificity of the technology used, the organizing principle of spectacle was principally embodied in one architectural element: the balcony. On the main streets balconies were a standard feature of the upper floor level, but they were highlighted above all in the facades of teahouses and restaurants, where one encounters such names as The Three-Story Teahouse (Sanceang Lou), The Five-Story Teahouse (Wuceng Lou), and One-More-Story Teahouse (Gengshuang Yongce Lou).\(^{15}\) Eighteenth-century paintings depicting Shanghai city streets demonstrate that balconies had long been associated with entertainment establishments; however, in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai they seem to have become larger and more accessible. Moreover, balconies were also common in interior spaces, particularly in theaters (fig. 13).\(^{16}\) Employed both externally and internally, the balcony allowed one to watch and be watched. As both site and object of observation, it was the principal architectural agent of a culture of spectacle, which photographers by and large ignored, but journalistic illustration recorded in loving detail; no doubt because illustration was aimed at an audience of participants in that culture. In teahouses, the presence of large mirrors accentuated the phenomenon.

The principle of spectacle extended into the new commercial gardens that appeared from the 1880s onward, which one usually had to purchase a ticket to enter. Several were located near Jinghua Temple in the Western suburbs, an area that had been planted with trees by the foreign community.\(^{17}\) The entire Sheng Garden, for example, was built in Sino-Western style. Similar to those of the multistory teahouses in the city, the amenities included a billiard hall and a restaurant serving Western food.\(^{18}\) Close by was Yu Garden, created by a Ningbo merchant in 1850 on the basis of a pre-Taiping Chinese garden that had fallen into disuse (fig. 16).\(^{19}\) The reconstructed garden was a very crowded space, its rock landscape hewn into on all sides by buildings, including one two-story building behind the highest rockery, which provided the garden with a visual climax. Although superficially similar to gardens in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) tradition, Yu Garden in fact followed a rather different logic. Ming-Qing gardens were rarely if ever occupied by crowds of people; Yu Garden, on the other hand, was specifically meant to accommodate crowds, despite its tiny scale. It seemed to many people of interest as possible into its small space, but also as many opportunities to see and be seen as possible. It thus adapted native Chinese forms to the new culture of spectacle.\(^{20}\) At the same time, it also included wild animals and birds, and some Sino-Western buildings, such as a billiard hall, which can be seen at the far left of the illustration.\(^{21}\)

The preoccupations with permanence, displacement, and spectacle in the public architecture of Chinese Shanghai can be understood as a response to two overwhelming facts of late-nineteenth-century Chinese city life: the unavoidable presence of the outside world and the modern city's origins in the displacements caused by the horrors of the Taiping Rebellion (an estimated 20 million deaths in the 1850s and the early 1860s). In the face of the encroachment of the outside world, the vitality of Chinese-style architecture, whether associated with permanence or with displacement, affirmed a sense of cultural belonging—in other words, a self-conscious Chinese-ness. Concurrently, the equally vital development of a hybrid architecture of spectacle demonstrated the capacity of Chinese Shanghai to give expression to its curiosity for the foreign without, ultimately, undermining that increased sense of Chinese-ness. In relation to the Taiping Rebellion, on the other hand, the vitality of Chinese-style architecture advertised a desire to reconstruct the cultural landscape that had been destroyed. It closely paralleled the efforts made by Shanghai publishers at the time to reprint major texts in cheap editions, and thus make available again the literary heritage whose transmission had been threatened by the destruction of private libraries and bookshops.\(^{22}\) Conversely, the new hybrid architecture, so closely associated with entertainment and pleasure, may be interpreted, like much of the middlebrow literature of Chinese Shanghai, as the expression of a contrasting desire to forget the horrors of those years. Painting, as we shall see, was subject to the same forces.

Shanghai Painting

The city's expansion created an enormous market for decorative painting. With local artists and refugees from the
The combination of foreign and Chinese architectural principles is best seen in the wooden architecture of multistory entertainment establishments, such as teahouses (fig. 14, see also fig. 13, left), wine shops, opera houses, and theaters. The Western architectural elements used in these buildings included wooden stairways, glass windows, interior and exterior balconies, and the frame roof which made possible large interior spaces uninterrupted by pillars. The Chinese contribution lay in the modular proportions and the ornament, particularly the lavish use of ornately carved wood. Architecturally, beyond the specificity of the technology used, the organizing principle of spectacle was principally embodied in one architectural element: the balcony. On the main streets balconies were a standard feature of the upper floor level, but they were highlighted above all in the facades of teahouses and restaurants, where one encounters such names as The Three-Story Teahouse (Sanceg Lou), The Five-Story Teahouse (Wuceng Lou), and One-More-Story Teahouse (Gongsang Yonge Lou). Eighteenth-century paintings depicting Shanghai city streets demonstrate that balconies had long been associated with entertainment establishments; however, in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai they seem to have become larger and more accessible. Moreover, balconies were also common in interior spaces, particularly in theaters (fig. 13). Employed both externally and internally, the balcony allowed one to watch and be watched. As both site and object of observation, it was the principal architectural agent of a culture of spectacle, which photographers by and large ignored, but journalistic illustration recorded in loving detail, no doubt because illustration was aimed at an audience of participants in that culture. In teahouses, the presence of large mirrors accentuated the phenomenon.

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The city's expansion created an enormous market for decorative painting. With local artists and refugees from the
Taiping Rebellion unable to meet the demand, artists from the surrounding region congregated in the city to take advantage of the opportunity, giving rise to what is today called Shanghai school painting. As a form of ink painting – painting in ink and color on paper or silk, executed using the traditional sharp-tipped brush – Shanghai school painting provides an obvious pictorial parallel to Chinese-style architecture. The pictorial counterpart to the Sino-Western architecture of the city was the illustrations in Shanghai guidebooks and pictorial magazines, with their hybrid mode of representation. However, the same illustrations include a vast archive of visual documentation of Shanghai interiors, which show that decorative ink paintings were by no means only used in wholly Chinese-style buildings. On the contrary, they were also commonly found in the hybrid architectural settings of entertainment establishments such as teahouses, opium dens, and theaters. In these settings the paintings were most often displayed in solid wooden frames in the Western manner, an innovation that gave the paintings more of the windows-like character familiar to us from Western painting but up to then uncommon in China (fig. 13b). Although the ink paintings in teahouses and other such establishments retained their own character as signs of continuity with the Chinese past and the culture of the surrounding region, they were clearly integrated into the general interest in spectacle that characterized these entertainment spaces.

Consider, for example, a large painting from 1893 depicting birds in a garden by one of the city’s leading artists, Ren Yi (1840–1895), which is dedicated in the inscription to “the owner of Yu Garden” (fig. 18). There is no way of knowing whether the painting ever hung in one of the buildings in that commercial garden (though it is not unlikely), but it can be viewed as an evocation of the scenic charms of the garden’s Chinese section. The self-consciousness about seeing and being seen that I earlier noted as a feature of the garden is echoed in the painting in the humanized gazes of the birds, which make the viewer aware of their awareness of being looked at. From a strictly formal point of view, the painting is characteristic of the mature Shanghai style of the 1870s–1890s, in which there is a pursuit of drama through a dynamic manipulation of visual attention. The eye is deliberately and excitingly pulled in different directions by sweeping movements, anecdotal detail, and oblique vectors; there is always too much to take in, and ultimately only the most provisional point of rest. This, too, seems entirely compatible with the garden with which the painting can be associated, an extremely dense site, itself designed to pull visual attention hither and thither.

The Codes of Shanghai Painting

Ren Yi’s Yu Garden painting serves to introduce the more general point that despite their apparently unmodern subjects, Shanghai paintings were often, in fact, coded depictions of modern life. Without visualizing the material reality of the late-nineteenth-century city, they nonetheless manage to evoke the experience of living there. I am not suggesting that this ought to be obvious. Because the
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paintings use subjects largely drawn from nature or from cultural history, instead of inventing a new range of subjects specific to contemporary life, their engagement with the experience of living in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai is not easy to see. Their dependence on coded depictions goes against the grain of Western habits of viewing, which have been formed by the very different practices of nineteenth-century realism, so finely attuned to the material details of contemporary life. The situation of the Shanghai painter was radically different. First, Shanghai artists were heirs to a three-hundred-year tradition of representing the urban environment indirectly through iconographies of nature and the classical past. Although the point is too complex to argue here, one of the main reasons for the resilience of this tradition was that it reconciled big-city residents with their loss of the pleasant aspects of small-town and rural life. Second, historical representation was a pre-existing and overwhelming fact of Shanghai cultural life. Painters were surrounded by the entertainment culture of theater, ballad-singing, story-telling, and popular novels, all treating historical themes, that animated both the Chinese-style and the Sinoc-Western architecture of Chinese Shanghai. Moreover, the leading artists were closely associated with literati or were themselves literati, and thus accustomed to a constant presence of the past through the allusionism of poetry and other forms of literature. Part of the art historian's task, therefore, is to decipher the visual code into which Shanghai painters translated the experience of their urban environment. In this deciphering operation, two kinds of collateral evidence are particularly helpful: the literary language of the time, and the depiction of contemporary life in journalistic illustrations and photographs.

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

18 Ren Yi (1892-1955), Red and Magnolia Tree. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 65 7/16 x 47 1/4 in. (165 x 120 cm)
19 Ren Yi (1892-1955), Golden Valley Garden, after Hua Yan (1682-1756), 1688. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 72 1/8 x 25 7/8 in. (184 x 66 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing
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18 Reu Yi (1842–1893), Book and Magna- ba Tu, Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 65 ¼ × 47 ½ in. (165 × 120.5 cm)

19 Reu Yi (1842–1893), Golden Valley Garden, after Hua Yan (1893–1898), Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 75 ½ × 25 ⅞ in. (191 × 65 cm), Palace Museum, Beijing
Both the above-mentioned stories were common themes in Shanghai painting, where they were reinterpreted visually to create an up-to-date effect of dynamic immediacy. The fisherman was wittily depicted as wary and astounded; the aristocrat was turned into a leering customer.

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

As this last example shows, illustrative and photographic depictions of contemporary life in Chinese Shanghai can be used to confirm the encoding process at work in painting. Illustrations and, to a lesser degree, photographs are full of pedestrians, rickshaw passengers, and urban consumers in situations of leisure or work, or caught up in dramatic incidents (see figs. 15, 17, 18, 19). In painting, on the other hand, the artists depicted recluse fisherman, donkey riders, classical poets, and romantic heroes (fig. 21). At first sight, there may appear to be no connection with life in Shanghai. Examined more closely, however, the paintings turn out to have certain defining features that identify them as a visual translation of contemporary Shanghai experience. One such feature, already noted for the representation of court scenes, is the depiction of the act of looking. Witness and tension, or alternatively, self-confidence and what might be termed a kind of "cool," characterize the looks we see. From this it is clear that a specifically urban psychology of looking is being depicted, for which photographs and illustrations of street scenes supply the real-life evidence (see figs. 15, 19). A second defining feature of the paintings is their use of cropping, tight framing, and telescoped perspective to construct the


21. Ren Yi (1862-1910), Historical Figures (1905). Set of four hanging scrolls, ink and color on paper, each scroll 73 3/8 × 39 1/2 in. (186.3 × 99.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing

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20 Cheng Boihe (19th century), Portrait of the Courtesan Wang Lien, Copperplate print from fengju yang Zhuang (Mirror Reflections and Sounds of Flutes), 1895

21 Ran Yi (1857-1934), Historical Figures, silk. Set of four hanging scrolls, ink and color on paper, each scroll 13 3/4 x 19 in. (84.4 x 48.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing
space inhabited by their apparently non-contemporary protagonists. Often this was accentuated by the use of a particularly narrow hanging-scroll format, and in other cases was potentially reinforced by the use of frames instead of scroll mounting. Though these formal means, artists like Ren Yi depicted an aspect of Shanghai urban experience that is again thoroughly documented in illustrations and photographs. The city was crowded. For most people, living quarters were small, and the experience of the crowd was a daily one. Leisure sites were only peaceful at moments when people had no leisure; otherwise, they were full of people.

Human activity, however, was only one part of the city's character as a living organism; the other, which brings us back to Ren Yi's Yu Garden painting, was nature as it survived within the built environment of Shanghai. From illustrations and photographs one discerns a natural world made up of potted plants on window ledges, gardens behind walls, domestic pets, and scrawling birds. In an environment defined by confinement, the painters removed the pots from the flowers, abolished the walls of the gardens, and freed the songbirds from the cages that hung outside homes and shops. Cats prowled over rocks rather than over roofs (fig. 22), and sparrows are never shown perching on the overhead telephone wires that became a feature of the city after 1882 (fig. 21).

Once one becomes used to the generally encoded nature of Shanghai painting, one also begins to recognize certain subjects as commentaries on urban experience. An example is the theme of the "three well-traveled gallants" (fig. 21b). The main protagonists of the story are a couple—supporters of Li Shimin (609–649), future founder of the Tang dynasty—and a curly-bearded stranger with his own ambition to rule China. In painting, the story was reduced to the dramatic moment of their final parting after the stranger decides to pursue his destiny elsewhere; he eventually becomes the ruler of another country. The pictorial theme was, I would suggest, a witty, half-mocking allegory of the pursuit of fame and fortune by the Shanghai sejourner; one of Ren Yi's earliest versions of this theme was painted in Suzhou in 1689 just before he moved to the big city. This kind of theatrical allegorization has been most thoroughly studied for Ren Yi's portraits of fellow artists and writers, where real-life individuals engaged in self-conscious play-acting, keeping their modern clothes but projecting a public identity through the knowing use of a fictitious persona. The personas were not always what one might expect: in addition to famous literati of the past, they also include beggars, dog hunters, and street calligraphers (fig. 24). It should be said that the painters' avoidance of the material appearance of contemporary life was not total, since in some portraits by Ren Yi and other artists such as Ren Yu (1852–1912), the sitters appear in contemporary dress (fig. 25). Yet the choice made no difference to the psychology of the portrait: men and women alike, these, born anxious and willful, can be found nowhere in Chinese painting before the 1890s. The fact that portrait photography began to make its mark in Chinese life around that time is no coincidence, as may be seen from the way the painter borrows from the rhetoric of portrait photography, adopting its proximity and emphasis on the body.

22 Wang Li (1813–1876), Cat. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 47 1/8 x 15 1/16 in. (120.3 x 38.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, in memory of Li Fen; Hatfield Ellsworth, 1966.

23 Zhu Cheng (1826–1892), Spermaceti, Plantain, and Ostriches in the Snow, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 99 3/4 x 36 1/2 in. (253.3 x 92.7 cm). Shanghai Museum.
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Once one becomes used to the generally encoded nature of Shanghai painting, one also begins to recognize certain subjects as commentaries on urban experience. An example is the theme of the "three well-traveled gallants" (fig. 23b). The main protagonists of the story are a couple—supporter of Li Shimin (599-649) future founder of the Tang dynasty—and a curly-bearded stranger with his own ambition to rule China. In painting, the story was reduced to the dramatic moment of their final parting after the stranger decides to pursue his destiny elsewhere; he eventually becomes the ruler of another country. The pictorial theme was, I would suggest, a witty, half-mocking allegory of the pursuit of fame and fortune by the Shanghai sejourner; one of Ren Yi's earliest versions of the theme was painted in Suzhou in 1665 just before he moved to the big city. This kind of theatrical allegorization has been most thoroughly studied for Ren Yi's portraits of fellow artists and writers, where real-life individuals engaged in self-conscious play-acting, keeping their modern clothes but projecting a public identity through the knossing use of a fictional persona.23 The personas were not always what one might expect; in addition to famous literati of the past, they also include beggars, dog handlers, and street calligraphers (fig. 24). It should be said that the painters' avoidance of the material appearance of contemporary life was not total, since in some portraits by Ren Yi and other artists such as Ren Yu (1853-1904), the sitters appear in contemporary dress (fig. 25). Yet the choice made no difference to the psychology of the portrait: men and women alike, were thus, turn anxious and willful, can be found nowhere in Chinese painting before the 1860s.24 The fact that portrait photography began to make its mark in Chinese life around that time is no coincidence, as may be seen from the way the painter borrows from the rhetoric of portrait photography, adopting its proximity and emphasis on the body.25

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23 Zhou Cheng (1826-1894/95), Sages, Plantain, and Dendrobium in the Snow, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 39 7/8 x 16 3/4 in. (100.3 x 42.2 cm). Shanghai Museum.
Painting and Architecture

Shanghai school painting had many formal similarities to Chinese-style architecture in the city. The features of self-conscious picturesque and attention-grabbing forms that were to be seen in the indigenous architecture and garden design were echoed in the theatricality and dynamic immediacy of painting. Did the painters also share, then, the architects’ alternating concern with permanence and displacement? Permanence is too weighty a word to be applied to the way that painters expressed their commitment to their adopted city. But in a remarkably short time, so many artists developed a distinctively Shanghai style of painting, mixing the local styles that they had brought with them. This Shanghai style—the visual equivalent of an atoll—was a collective development with many variations, all sharing a big-city edginess. Over time, this style was reinforced by the emergence of a common iconographic vocabulary of themes that resonated with the Shanghai experience, sometimes for as simple a reason as the omnipresence of sparrows or the necessity to have cats in order to control the rats (see figs. 22, 23). Nonetheless, the generalized sense of otherness that I noted earlier in relation to the white-walled and dark-tiled association headquarters is certainly present in painting as well. Hu Yuan’s (1855–1886) hold and graphically powerful paintings of literati themes, for example, breathe new life into a tradition of calligraphic painting that was particularly associated with Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, and through the influential seventeenth-century literati painter Dong Qichang (1555–1615) had a special connection with Hu’s native Songjiang (fig. 26).31 The willowy female figures in elegant garden settings for which Sha Pu (1831–1906), among others, was famous were highly effective evocations of an ideal of elegant sensuality associated with Suzhou that found a place in Shanghai not only in painting but also in garden design, fashion, and food (fig. 27).32 Sometimes the reference was extremely specific, as in the area of highly colored pattern with which Ren Yi often punctuated his compositions. This was a trademark Shanghainese detail, derived from the art of Shanghai’s great seventeenth-century painter, Chen Hongshou (1598–1652) (figs. 23b, 24b). To viewers and collectors of the time, a given painting would in most cases have represented a specific stylistic combination of big-city and hometown references. Often the double reference was written into the inscription, with the artist identifying himself as a native of such-and-such a place who had painted the work during a sojourn in Shanghai. Moreover, the paintings were also full of iconographic references to hometown areas, as in the theme of the poet Jiang Kui (ca. 1155–1223) in Suzhou or the Hangzhou-area hermit Yan Guang (active early 1st century) (figs. 24c and 24d, respectively).

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

24 Ren Yi (1840–1896), Portrait of Gao Yong, 1887; Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 15 3/4 × 25 15/16 in (39.7 × 66.3 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. 25 Ren Yi (1840–1896), Portrait of Fan Jian at the Age of Sixty-five, 1897, Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 15 3/4 × 25 15/16 in (39.3 × 66 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing.
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ways in Sino-Western buildings (fig. 25). The viewer’s eye is often whisked upward or plunged downward, or suddenly encounters the gaze of some protagonist within the painting, human or animal (fig. 26). Yet it would be misleading to restrict the reference of such formal innovations in painting to architecture alone. Among the most striking features of Shanghai painting is its complex plays of directionality, which are caught up with a new self-consciousness about angle of vision. Directionality may be established by a movement, a look, or a compositional vector; more often than not, all three are brought into play against each other, creating a diffused, exploded, or fragmented directional energy. Along with this goes a tightened temporality, in which immediacy exists in tension with an awareness of what is happening peripherally. The viewer is implicated in this play of forces, pulled in by the way it opens up to the viewer’s space. The resulting destabilization of the viewer is only explicable in relation to the somatic experience of the city. In addition to the fascination with height discussed earlier, other elements of somatic experience captured by painters included the confusion of pedestrian movement, the experience of crowded interior spaces, and the speed and density of vehicular transport. It is worth noting that, for both technical and aesthetic reasons, all of these are absent from what is usually taken to be the most modern pictorial medium of the time—photography. They were, to be sure, captured anecdotally in journalistic illustration (fig. 27), but paradoxically it was the old-fashioned medium of ink painting that did greater justice to the somatic and psychological experience of living in modern Shanghai.

Painting and Modernity

Obviously, something does not add up here. Either late-nineteenth-century Shanghai did not really provide an experience for the Chinese population that can be called modern, or alternatively it did, in which case indigenous Chinese media such as ink painting and Chinese-style architecture were not so old-fashioned—not so traditional—as they appear to be. The position one takes on this depends more or less wholly on one’s definition of modernity. Most commonly, modernity is understood as an orientation toward the future on the basis of an uncompromising break with the past, a view that has come down to us from the Enlightenment and was exported to China at the end of the nineteenth century. As early as the 1950s, in China an understanding of modernity in this sense was embraced by self-proclaimed reforming and revolutionary modernizers, who overlaid the orientation toward the future with an orientation toward the outside world. Chinese culture in Shanghai prior to 1895 has usually been seen from this point of view as having ultimately been resistant to modernity—both as a project and as a disposition. Although no one would deny the city’s early cosmopolitanism and curiosity about the outside world, there has been a tendency to see this as having limited impact on the mainstream of Chinese culture. More recently, however, the literary historian David Wang has challenged this orthodoxy. In an ambitious attempt to valorize nineteenth-century fiction, Wang argues in his Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernism of Late Qing Fiction, 1878-1911 that late-Qing fiction had a uniquely Chinese modernity of...
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27. Shi Fa (1853—1926). Disturbed Thoughts Under a Springtime Moon. 1881. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 73 1/2 x 15 1/4 in. (186.3 x 39.2 cm). Collection of the Affiliated Secondary Fine Arts School of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing.
its own which was later surpassed and replaced when the modernizers imposed their imported conception of modernity. Upon closer inspection, however, Wang's criteria for this late-Qing modernity—an indigenous pursuit of modernism intersecting with curiosity about the outside world—turns out to be remarkably similar to those that held sway previously. In the end, his renovation interpretation is most successful in valuing those pre-1860s developments in Chinese culture that anticipated the concerns of the modernizers. From an art-historical point of view, his argument is helpful because it provides further reasons for taking seriously the kinds of art and architecture that I have described as hybrid or Sino-Western, which belong to the same cultural frame of reference as the works of fiction he discusses. On the other hand, it leaves Shanghai ink painting and the rest of mainstream Chinese culture where it already was—in a box marked "traditional."

If we are to escape this conclusion, which I have tried to show is not warranted by the late-nineteenth-century evidence, it may be necessary to think of modernity as a project or disposition, but instead as a social condition. If modernity's characteristics include such features as intensified awareness of separation from the past, experience of social and psychic disjunction, and transformation of the sense of place as barriers of distance and speed are broken down by trade and technology, then one is bound to say that the history of modernity in China extends back some centuries before Shanghai's rise to prominence. It then becomes less surprising that the language of painting inherited by the artists of Shanghai possessed sufficient resources to confront the intensified changes in China that followed upon the arrival of the Western powers. Of the two views, the latter seems to me to offer the better basis for understanding the vitality and power of Chinese cultural forms in the late nineteenth century, and consequently I adopt it here. It alone explains to me why some practices, like ink painting and Chinese-style architecture, were able to remain relevant despite their seemingly traditional conventions, and why others, such as lithographic illustration and teahouse architecture, were able to draw on foreign culture without losing their Chinese character. The historical significance of Chinese Shanghai is that it epitomizes a brief moment of a few decades, from the late 1840s to the early 1890s, when the inherited resources of Chinese culture proved adequate to respond to and incorporate the changes associated with the massive introduction of foreign ideas. The rich cultural achievement that resulted involved every facet of the arts in China—every

28 Wu Yuzhu (fl. ca. 1893), Fake Five
Alumni at One More Step: Traditional Wood-block print from Wu Yuzhu juaban (1997):
Original image, early 1893

29 Bao Xue (1855-1893), Birds and
Flowers. Two hanging scrolls from a set of
four, ink and color on paper, each scroll,
73.78 x 14.14 in. (187 x 36 cm). The
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20 Wu Fuzuo (fl. ca. 1870), Fruit Picker. Album of One-More-Step Teahouse. Wood-block print, from Wu Yanzu (1999). Original image, early 1890s

29 Ren Xiong (1843–1893), Birds and Flowers. Two hanging scrolls from a set of four, ink and color on paper, each scroll, 23 3/4 x 14 3/4 in., 157 x 96.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Robert H. Ellsworth, in memory of La Ferne Hufston Ellsworth, 1986

Chinese Art: Modern Expressions

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

Those nineteenth-century artists were grappling with all the same forces that affected the built environment. In the face of the encroachment of the outside world, the vitality of indigenous painting affirmed a sense of cultural belonging, in other words, a self-conscious Chineseness. At the same time, the no less vital development of journalistic illustration, with its hybrid Sino-Western mode of narrative depiction, was the clearest demonstration of the capacity of Chinese Shanghai to give expression to its curiosity for the foreign without ultimately losing its sense of Chineseness. In relation to the Taiping Rebellion, the vitality of ink painting advertised a desire to reconstruct a cultural landscape that had been devastated. Conversely, the new hybrid mode of illustration, so closely associated with entertainment and pleasure, corresponds to a contrasting desire to forget the horror of those years. Of course, the contrast I am making here between painting and illustration, like that which I made earlier between indigenous and Sino-Western architecture, is too strong. In subtle ways, indigenous painting and architecture demonstrated their own curiosity about the outside world, and were in their own way implicated in the historically amnesiac tendencies of post-Taiping Shanghai. And the concerns with permanence, displacement, and spectator that I have here separated for analytic convenience were in practice tightly intertwined.

It was out of this tangled web of contingent forces that the architects and painters— as well as calligraphers, photographers, and other artists—created the first fully modern Chinese visual culture. As evidenced by the vital culture of late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, Chinese artists were not without modern ideas of their own when they adopted international art forms in the twentieth century. One of the few ways in which those ideas and their continued development in borrowed Western clothes can become visible to us today is through an awareness of the history I have partly sketched out here.
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30 Tian Ying (19th century), Traffic Accident on the Road to Jumiao Temple. Woodblock print, from Dunshi Zhai hangbao (1895).

2. On the beginnings of the foreign settlements, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 36 for the population estimate.

3. On the walled city of Shanghai in the 1840s and 1850s, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai*, pp. 56, 97, 194.


8. This border region is known as the "Three Gorges" area.


2. On the beginnings of the foreign settlements, see Linda Cooke Johnson, Shanghai, see p. 23 for the population estimate.


5. Bryna Goodman, Nativity, Place, City, and Nation, p. 9.


7. Hanchun Lu, Beyond the Narrow Lights, p. 33.

8. The continuity can be seen in many Chinese accounts written at the time, and is summed up in the way that the pre-1900 Chinese population often referred to the walled city and the settlements simply as the southern city and the northern city, seldom the question of the political and legal difference of status between the two urban areas. See, for example, Gu Yumin, Hua Xia 1862 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shenghao Book Publishing, 1997), p. 833, and Chinese, Hua Xia yuqing, ca. 1893, all reprinted by Shanghai gijyosho chubansha, 1979.


10. Although such public walls were used in various parts of south China, their presence in late-nineteenth century Shanghai is probably due to their particular popularity in southern Jiangsu Province, where Shanghai is located, and in Zhejiang, since so many of the city's residents were from that province. See the discussion of "home's local walls" in Zhejiang in Ronald C. Kepp, China's Vanishing Architecture: House Plans and Cultures (Hong Kong: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), pp. 102–104.


12. Although almost none of the nineteenth century's Western private residences survive, some of the company headquarters still stand today along the waterfront, and many buildings of all types are recorded in photographs and cartographic illustrations.

13. Unfortunately, there exists as yet no systematic account of Western architecture in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai. In addition to the many surviving commercial photographs, there are also numerous illustrations in Chinese guidebooks and pictorial magazines, which feature the buildings as part of the "strange, extraordinary, marvelous" features of the city.


15. It would be noted that, as with Western architecture, the Chinese buildings were by no means the work of anonymous artists, even if we are badly informed today on the Chinese architect of the period. According to one Chinese account of the time, "All building construction is supervised by a master (and a builder-architect). These so-called architects always live in great buildings and hand about in carriages, and usually come from well-established families. The workmen in their hundreds and thousands are all answerable to them." See Huang Shaoxin, Shanghai meiyi banguan, 1924–5.

16. Zhang Shihua purchased one of the city's most impressive foreign residences in 1882 and turned it into a commercial garden, transforming the grounds for his addition of Chinese-style garden elements. The interior spaces were used for Chinese-style entertainment such as theater. See Gu Bingqiao, Shanghai shenghao jinglu lu, pp. 199–200, Ma Yuanyi, "Shanghai Qiu shunren liufang jing lu gong cong jinglou de touhua" (The Opening up of Shanghai Private Gardens and the Expansion of Public Space at the End of the Qing Dynasty) (unpublished paper, 1997). See Dong Qing, "Xing shangdi," see Ma Yuanyi, "Shanghai Qiu shunren liufang jing lu gong cong jinglou de touhua" (The Opening up of Shanghai Private Gardens and the Expansion of Public Space at the End of the Qing Dynasty) (unpublished paper, 1997), pp. 83–88. For photographs of the city gate, see Tang Zhen-ning, ed., Zhongguo Shanghai fenpu bu (Pictorial Record of Glorious Shanghai) (Beijing, Shanghai yinshuguan, 1997), figs. 99, 102, Dong Ming, Shanghai baidian huiyi (Shanghai: Shanghai jitian chubanshe, 1997), figs. 101, 102, for an interior illustration, see Gu Bingqiao, Shanghai jinglu lu (Local Custums and Cultural Sites of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue dianzi dushu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 283–284. For photographs of the 1890s Custom House, see Lynn Pan, with Xue Liang and Qin Zongfeng, Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, 1843–1943 (Hong Kong: Hai Feng Publishing Co., 1993), fig. 14. Dong Ming, ed., Shanghai baidian huiyi (Shanghai: Shanghai jitian chubanshe, 1997), pp. 190–191.

17. As mentioned earlier, the new Temple of Confucius and Watangong, 1901–1903, reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, Shanghai, pp. 256–257, reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, Shanghai, pp. 256–257, reproduced in Linda Cooke Johnson, Shanghai, pp. 101 (Longmen Academy); Shanghai shi cheng jinglu lu (Shanghai Shenghao jinglu lu), 1912–1914 (Yinghua Garden).

18. The three-story Grand Miao was reconstructed in 1894; late-nineteenth-century photographs indicate that it had been recently rebuilt. Other photographs can be found in Lynd.
Pan, Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 5; Ting Zhen-
chang, Jinlik Shanghai fanhua ku, in: fig. 5; Deng Ming, Shanghai Huaiye huayi, p. 19, lower Illustration. For a
lithographic illustration, see Shanghai huayi in, 1908-10. The temple
is discussed in Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 87-9. A
similarly impressive temple was the Three-story Dianfeng Lou, also in the
northeast of the walled town. See lithographic illustration in Shanghai
huayi in, 1908-10, pp. 196-206, and discussion in Gu Bingyi, Shanghai feng-gui hao, pp. 47-48.

23 Longhua Temple was renamed in 1879. Late-nineteenth-century
photographs are published in Ting Zhengchang, Jinlik Shanghai fanhua ku, fig. 70. See lithographic illustration in
Shanghai shenghua in, 1875-1920, and discussion in Gu Bingyi, Shanghai feng-gui hao, pp. 214-
215. For early photographs of Jing-an Temple, see Deng Ming, Shanghai baihan huayi, p. 25, lower Illustration.

24 For photographs of the Mixed Court building, see Liou Pan, Shanghai:
A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 49; Ting Zhengchang, Jinlik Shanghai fanhua ku, p. 45; Deng Ming,
Shanghai baihan huayi, pp. 63-75; upper Illustration. See lithographic illustration in Shanghai shenghua in, 187510. The second major event in the history of the temple was the
creation of the Shanghai Metropolitan Art College in 1935, which was
renamed the Shanghai Art Institute in 1956.

25 See Ji You, Dianfeng Lou: Dianfeng Lou, a Temple of the
Faithful, in: Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 87-9. A
similarly impressive temple was the Three-story Dianfeng Lou, also in the
northwest of the walled town. See lithographic illustration in Shanghai
huayi in, 1908-10, pp. 196-206, and discussion in Gu Bingyi, Shanghai feng-gui hao, pp. 47-48.

26 For photographs of the Mixed Court building, see Liou Pan, Shanghai:
A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 49; Ting Zhengchang, Jinlik Shanghai fanhua ku, p. 45; Deng Ming,
Shanghai baihan huayi, pp. 63-75; upper Illustration. See lithographic illustration in Shanghai shenghua in, 1875-10.

27 The Qiaomin Guan was built in the early 1880s with a combination of
foreign and Chinese donations as a refuge for indigent sailors. See
Gu Bingyi, Shanghai feng-gui hao, pp. 47-57; and the lithographic
illustration in Shanghai shenghua in, 1875-10, p. 102. Another important bao-
men institution was Renji Tang, for an illustration, see Dai Zhi
huafen, vol. 1, pp. 138-139.

28 For photographs of the academy, see Shanghai Municipal Archives, ed.,
Shanghai Bao-dian: Renzi Yizheng kaiqu kungfang sheng (Shanghai and Yo-
kohama: The Two Open Cities in Modern China), Shanghai kaiminhua jishu chubanxin, 1993; p. 107-108;
Deng Ming, Shanghai baihan huayi, p. 26, lower Illustration.

29 On the restoration after the Second World Rebellion of 1895-1911, see
Liu Baoji, Shanghai, pp. 30-31.

30 On the Temple of Confucius, constructed in 1669-1708, in the west of the
city and still standing today, see Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 3-17.
A photograph from the late 1890s published in The Far East, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1897), facing p. 8, shows an
already very impressive architectural complex.

31 The academy was located in the southwest of the city. See Liu Baoji,
Shanghai, pp. 13-15, who reproduces the illustration in Xue Liuyang,

32 For a photograph of the gateway, see Deng Ming, Shanghai baihan huayi, p. 20; lower right.

33 On the Ting Tu Temple, located just to the northwest of the city in the
French Concession, see Gu Bingyi, Shanghai feng-gui hao, pp. 65-70; Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 30-31.

34 The West Garden, initially laid out in the late Ming dynasty, was acquired
and donated to the city in 1786 by local Shanghai merchants. Subsequently, although the garden was open to
the public, its many buildings also became home to several governmental insti-
tutions. When the Qing army invaded in 1855, following the rebellion, the
area was ruled by the Manchus.

35 See for a depiction of the entire temple precinct, see Ting Zhengchang
shen, shen, in, 1908-10, pp. 26-31, p. 41, lower Illustration, reprinted in
Liu Baoji, Shanghai, p. 100. For depictions of the East Garden, see

36 Late-nineteenth-century photographs of the temple are published in
Hu Zhichao and Chen Shao, 1981; Zheng Baozhi, shen, shen, in, 1899-1901 (Selection of Early Chi-
nese Photographs, 1899-1901) (Beijing: Zhongguo yuehua chuabanshe, 1981), p. 52; on Pan, Shanghai: A Century of
Change in Photographs, fig. 5; Tang Zhengchang, Jinlik Shanghai fanhua
ku, figs. 69-70; Deng Ming, Shanghai baihan huayi, p. 20; see also litho-
graphic illustrations in Shanghai shenghua in, 1875-10, p. 22.

37 Even after being swept with the East Garden in 1937, this garden area,
due to commercial encroachment
that began in the late nineteenth century, is much smaller than it was
at the time of its reconstruction in the 1880s. Moreover, the 1937
restoration placed the throne house and its out-
side garden precursor. On the 1937
restoration, which combined the
West and East Gardens under the name of the Yu Garden (the Ming garden
that became the West Garden in the 1660s), see the uncritical account in R. Stewart
Johnston, Scholar Gardens of China: A Study and Analysis of the Spatial
Design of the Chinese Private Garden (Cambridge: Cambridge University

38 The Garden is currently the site of the Shanghai Museum.

39 For photographs of the West Garden, see Dai Zhi huafen, vol. 1, pp. 90-91;
Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 30-31.

40 For photographs of the garden, see Dai Zhi huafen, vol. 1, pp. 90-91;
Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 30-31.

41 The site also found a new function. This was true, for example, of such sites
in the walled towns as the West Garden's
mountainscape. Grand Miao, Wusong Cong, or Dafang Lou, whose
height in each case lent itself to "dancing on high" (dengguang), whether on the Double-Ninth (9th
day of the 9th lunar month) or in order to gaze over the Huangpu River. (On the traditional use of these sites as
leisure places see, for example, Gu Yanxuan, Houhu ai xiang p. 4; "Wusong Cong").

42 These sites became places where one could
avoid ever overtake the essential settlements. Even among newer buildings, the
main structure of Zhong Gardens was particularly in vogue for this purpose.

43 Other published photographs of the building may be found in Lynn Pan,
Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 4; Shanghai Munici-
pal Archives, Shanghai be Hongkong, p. 40; Deng Ming, Shanghai baihan huayi, p. 20; upper Illustration. For a
lithographic illustration, see Shanghai huayi in, 1908-10, p. 145-146. The mystery
of the building is reawakened in a
prominent watercolor. View of the
Bell from Trinity Church, based on
photographs, attributed to the Hong
Kong artist Chen Kuo. See Carl Com-
mons, The Decorative Arts of the
Chinese Trade: Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities (Woodbridge, Eng-

44 For photographs of such shop com-
pounds in Beijing in the 1910s, see

45 For a more complete picture of the change, see Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 30-31. For a photograph of the West Garden, see Dai Zhi huafen, vol. 1, pp. 90-91; Xue Liuyang, Shanghai ton dining zhunga, pp. 30-31.
25. For photographs of the Mixed Court building, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7; [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of [City], see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of [City], see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of [City], see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7.

26. See [Name]. "Living Shanghai: The Eunuch Temple" in: [Name], pp. 103-106. For a comprehensive discussion of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7.

27. For photographs of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7. For photographs of the Eunuch Temple, see: [Name]. Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photography, figs. 4-7.

In many late nineteenth-century oil paintings by Chinese artists (such as Hong Xing), that portray the water towns, the old customs house is depicted in taller than most of the surrounding Western buildings. See, for example, Deng Ming, Shanghat huijuan yaojing, p. 40. Although it was not in fact taller, for oil paintings did perhaps omit certain elements of the intentions of the architects of this structure. The architects of its 1985 replacement were perhaps also influenced by this aspect of the building when they decided to translate the Sinic-Western building into fully Western form. At first print, the entire U-shaped housing became the body of the Customs House and the freestanding central hall was replaced by a neo-Gothic tower built above the projecting entrance. See ch. 32.

A related structure was the 1867 count-yard gateway to the Jiangnan Ancestral, a photograph of which is reproduced in Shanghai Municipal Archives, Shanghai he huijiang, p. 46. The close connections in this period between Shanghai and Minpu Jiangzhen is explored in that publication.

The headquarters of native-place associations were named Jiuxiang, and those of common trade associations, gongxian. In Shanghai the distinction between the two was made, according to Li Diao, Cuoke Johnson, Shanghai, p. 274.

Liu Zhenzhi, Shanghat, pp. 121–125. One of the few pre-nineteenth-century association headquarters, to survive into modern times was the 1755 headquarters of the Merchant Shipping Association, located, like several others, outside the East Gate of the walled town. See Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, pp. 3–7. For photographs of the compound, see Lynn Pan, Shanghat: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 12, Tae Zhenzheng, Jindai Shanghat jiedu, li. 72; Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 54, upper illustration.

Liu Zhenzhi, Shanghat, p. 147.

For photographs of the Sinmint Congm, see Tae Zhenzheng, Jindai Shanghat jiedu, li. 73. Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 178, lower illustration.

The Zhong-Hui gongxian is also illustrated in Bryan Goodman, Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 30–31 (from Huijin Shanghat mizhi) (Shanghai: Shanghat pictorial museum, 1965), and discussed in Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, pp. 51–53. Archival research, while it was notable for the unusual feature of a large lotus pond in the courtyard of the main hall.

According to Bryan Goodman, Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 58–59. "The building constructed by the Chao Hai hang (original group) in 1866 (the Chao Hai gongxian) had burned twice since 1858" was on approximately two acres (nearly ten mu) of prime city property. The lead, together with the building, cost more than eighty-thousand taels. Two main temples graced the compound, dedicated to Tianhou, the other to Guandi. Other gods including Cai- shen (God of Wealth) were worshiped in adjoining areas. The building served the joint functions of worship and business and was, accordingly, constructed with religious and meeting areas and with a stage for theatrical performances. See also Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, pp. 175–177. The rebuilding of the Guangzhou Congm. was brought to an end, because of the long prohibition on Cantonese association headquarters following the Null Social Rebellion. It was famous for sponsoring the most spectacular of the annual Yu Lan festival processions propitiating wandering ghosts, which was combined with an exhibition at the association headquarters of jutta or actual graves and a full set of Water and Land festival paintings. Bryan Goodman, in her discussion of the Guangzhou Congm. Yu Lan festival procession ("Native Place, City, and Nation," pp. 95–100), cites the following 1905 description of the interior of the compound: "The property is particularly large. There is a hall for gods, a reception hall, an attic hall and a small lake. In all seasons the flowers and trees can be enjoyed for the scenery" (p. 98). See also Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 231–41; Huaxi Shanghat, Baoxian mengyu congshu, li. 42; Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, pp. 39–45.

The original Quanhe Gongxian, established in 1716, was located in the East Garden (Northeast Garden) of the Temple of the City God (see Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, p. 95), and assumed the costs of the annual refurbishment of the temple (see Han Yu, p. 54). For another photograph of the Congm, see Lynn Pan, Shanghat: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 13; Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 179, upper illustration.

In 1847, according to Bryan Goodman, in Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 115–116, notes that among the associations headquarters used for this purpose was the Guangzhou Gongxian and the headquarters of the Sheng Huaxi Gongxian.

In the case of the Sinmint Congm., built at mid-century, this large scale came to be a problem. Located in what was originally countryside to the north-west of the walled city, by 1876 it was on the edge of the expanding urban fabric of the French Concession, and by 1874 it was interfering with the development of the road network. When foreign road-builders illegally cut a road through the courtyard within the building precinct, the result was one of the worst riots as the modern history of Shanghai. For a detailed discussion of the Nanpo Cantonese Congm., there was another riot in 1898, following a second attack by the French authorities to reach on the compound, see Bryan Goodman, Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 133–34, who reproduces an 1898 illustration of the second confrontation from Dazhi zhi hua baoshi. See also Xue Xianling, Shanghat tong zhi yaojing, pp. 32–33.

The 1846 Quanhe Gongxian was not demolished until relatively recently, in 1976.

For photographs of museums, see Tang Zhengzhan, Jindai Shanghat fenxi liu, fig. 57. For another photograph of a museum, see Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 5, lower illustration. Photographs of postcards are published in Lynn Pan, Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, figs. 56, and Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 140, upper illustration.

For other examples, see Lynn Pan, Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 15; Deng Ming, Shanghai huijuan yaojing, p. 55, lower illustration; p. 57, lower illustration; p. 147, upper left.

For a useful historical account of Shanghai restaurants, see Xu Xiang- han, Shanghai xianban, 1970 (Shang- hai: Shanghai guo shun chuban she, 1978), pp. 37–40.

This association with the furniture and interior decoration, also in Chinese style. Oriental houses were particularly regarded for their interior fittings. See, for example, the illustrations of the interior of a leading opium house, Nanxingshe, in Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 238–39, and Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 276–78. For Yangshuang Wen, Lia, see Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 246–47; for Wencong Luo, see Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 248–49; for Qing Ailing Chai, see Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 251–52; for Luoyan Yuan Deyuan (Bo Lin zhanzhu bei pai), see Shanghat xian ban, vol. 2, pp. 716–717.


These gardens included Shen Garden, Zhang Garden (opened 1875), Wu Garden (opened 1881), and Wu Garden (opened 1894).

See Shanghat shen ming tong zhi, x. 276–278 for depictions of Shen Garden and the interior of an undistinguished billiard hall.

See Go B imagery, Shanghai: Jingu gilai fugu, in, pp. 121–123; Xiong Yueting, "West Shanghai versus haut monde," in the original garden had been built by a Nanguo merchant.

At least one commercial garden employed Chinese clients. The Villa of the Twin Patrician, or Xu Gar- den, for example, was built in 1886 by a merchant from Haining, in Zhejiang. Judging by an illustration of the time, the garden appears to have been orga- nized strictly to enable a spectacular
The rebuilding of the Guanzhong Congregational Church brought to an end the long prohibition on Cantonese association headquarters following the Small Sword Rebellion. It was famous for sponsoring the most spectacular of the annual Yulanodun's processions preparing wandering ghosts, which was combined with an exhibition at the association headquarters of jotted carols and a full set of Water and Land festival paintings. Binyu Goodman, in her discussion of the Guanzhong Congregation's Yulanodun procession (Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 94–103), cites the following 1905 description of the interior of the compound: "The property is particularly large. There is a hall for the gods, a reception hall, an armillary sphere, and a small lake. In all seasons the flowers and birds can be enjoyed for the scenery." (p. 98). See also Shangjia shizhi shenghua yangjiao, 124–5; Haung Shiyuan, Songzang mengju yi, p. 127; Xue Xiong, Shangguan tian shi zhou, pp. 137–38.

The original Qixia Huijian, established in 1716, was located in the East Garden (Xin Garden) of the Temple of the City God (see Xue Xiong, Shangguan tian shi zhou, p. 176), and assumed the costs of the annual refurbishment of the temple (see Hua Lai, p. 4). For another photograph of the Guanzhong Congregational Church, see Lynn Pan, Shangguan: A Century of Change in Photographs, fig. 13. Deng Ming, Shangguan huijian jicheng, p. 19, upper illustration.

According to Goodman, in her discussion of the Guanzhong Congregation's Yulanodun procession (Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 94–103), the following 1905 description of the interior of the compound: "The property is particularly large. There is a hall for the gods, a reception hall, an armillary sphere, and a small lake. In all seasons the flowers and birds can be enjoyed for the

scene."

For photographs of the Congregational Church, see Fang Zhenyuan, Xuedou, Fahnoulu, fa, p. 82. For another photograph of a group, see Deng Ming, Shangguan huijian jicheng, p. 19, upper illustration.


Chinese Art / Modern Expressions

Jonathan Pope
70. Corresponding to Western-style architecture in brick and stone were the two foreign media of Sino-Western painting (in oils and watercolors) and photography; the latter of which gradually replaced the former, as the earliest photographs often stated not as paintings. As practiced by Chinese artists, oil and watercolor painting and photography followed the basic conventions established by foreign practitioners. Although often discussed under the heading of export and import art, these art forms also had an important Chinese market, which led to a focus on particular genres and encouraged the development of a specifically Chinese aesthetic. On Sino-Western painting, see Glassman, The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: On Chinese photography in Shanghai, see Jonathan Hay, “Chinese Photographs and Advertising in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai.”

71. See, for example, illustrations in Shangh hai shixia minghang tuhuan, 1991, pl. 58; Hu Yun’s (1852–1896) Crisp Party on the Nongyang River of 1873, in the Palace Museum, Beijing, was painted during a visit to the temple Time An in the south of the walled town; see Pao Shenhong, Huaizhou minghang huitu (Painting by Famous Shanghai Masters) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1997). p. 41; Zhou Xian’s (1813–1875) Flowers, Fruit, and Vegetables album of 1867, in the Shanghai Museum, was painted in Yuyi Garden, also in the south of the walled town; see Shanghai huaxiang cong Huaizhou minghanghua tujuan ji, ed. no. 3, Pei Hao (1997), in the Twin Lotus in the Calmense Pond in 1994, in the Shanghai Museum, was painted after the artist’s visit to the famous lotus pond in the same garden; see Shanghai huaxiang cong Huaizhou minghanghua tujuan ji, pl. 37. A set of Eight Views of Yuyi Garden, which were engraved in stone and set in the walls of Yuyi Garden, was painted by Hu Yun. See Cao Bing- qian, Shanghai jinggu gongtu kao, pp. 197–99.


73. For, see, for example, the commentary in a description of 200 Garden (see above, note 66) in Shanghai shixia minghang tuhuan, 1991.

74. Zuyuan Gu is depicted in Shanghai shixia minghang tuhuan, 251–52.

75. The name of Yuyi Lou was itself checkily borrowed from the city’s most famous literary garden, Yuyi Yuan, located in the south of the walled city (see above, note 2). For illustrations of Yuyi Lou, see Shanghai shengjiang tuhuan, reproduced in Catherine Yen-Yee, “Reinventing Ritual,” p. 11.

76. The name of Yuyi Lou was itself checkily borrowed from the city’s most famous literary garden, Yuyi Yuan, located in the south of the walled city (see above, note 2). For illustrations of Yuyi Lou, see Shanghai shengjiang tuhuan, reproduced in Catherine Yen-Yee, “Reinventing Ritual,” p. 12. (For examples of Yuyi Lou from contemporary photograph albums, see below, note 76.)

77. In part, this was because Western photography required long exposures, and became even after the plates became available camera-restrained clumsy. However, photography was more deeply limited by its attachment to unambiguously ordered and public space, whereas the centrality of movement in Shanghai was a matter not only of crowds, but of the constant passage from one kind of space to another. Movement on foot was improvisatory, a constant negotiation of the geometric order of the street plan, as the pedestrian moved from street to alley, slightly in hold open at both ends, or across the false boundary of the facade, from street to commercial space, where the movement continued.

78. This view of modernity may be said to derive modernity to one of the theoretical consequences of this dichotomy. The tendency of the study of modern art is that it has made it difficult to find a place for attempts at recontextualization. The past critical assessments oscillate schizophrenically between avoidance of the recontextualizing dimension in order to secure such art as modern and acknowledgment of the attempt at recontextualization, which leads to the art in question being cast as conservative and anti-modern.

80. The earliest representations among the painters were the Lingnan school artists. See Ralph Griswold, Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Continuum) School of Painting, 1906–91 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

81. This argument is most explicitly made, with reference to a more recent period, in HanXu. Ai, Beyond the Noon Lights (1931, pp. 13–17, 294–531). A study of the relations of Shanghai life to rural culture invokes useful light on the many "natural" themes in Shanghai painting.

82. David Wang, Food-world Splendor, pp. 19–22 and passim.

83. For an argument on the modernity of earlier Qing dynasty painting, see Jonathan Hay, Shanghai Painting and Modernity in Early-Qing China (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 79–90 and passim.
70 Corresponding to Western-style architecture in brick and stone were the two foreign media of silk and watercolor painting, and photography. The latter of which gradually replaced the former, as the earliest photographs often startled us as paintings. As practiced by Chinese artists, oil and watercolor painting and photography followed the basic conventions established by foreign practitioners. Although often discussed under the heading of export and tourist art, these art forms also had an important Chinese market, which led to a focus in particular genres and encouraged the development of a specifically Chinese aesthetic. On Sino-Western painting, see Chou, The Decorative Arts of the Chinese Trade; On Chinese photography in Shanghai, see Jonathan Hay, “Chinese Photography and Advertising in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai.”

71 See, for example, illustrations in Shang-hai shizu minghuang hahshan, 2003.

72 Several other paintings can be identified with Shang-hai shizu minghuang hahshan.

73 In this middle-period culture, see Catherine Vance Yeh, “Reinventing Ritual: Late Qing Handicrafts for Proper Confucian Behavior in Shanghai Courtroom Homes,” in Chinese Courtroom Homes, ed. Catherine Yeh (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). Photographs of the decorations and furnishings in the houses can be found in the catalogue for the exhibition at The History of China’s Courtroom Homes at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, 1999.


