

《上海畫報》（1925-1933）與 上海的現代視覺文化之創造*

安雅蘭**

本文考察了 1925 年至 1933 年間出版的《上海畫報》（*Pictorial Shanghai*）中的中國新文化與社會的誘人圖像。此畫刊為每三日出版，刊登名人時事和社會新聞軼事的攝影插圖，為其讀者家庭帶來了最新的資訊、時尚與有關藝術、劇場、文學、音樂、教育、體育、出版、攝影的信息，也間或涉及政治題材。報刊的許多編輯、設計師、攝影師、漫畫家與專欄作家們，皆與上海美專有密切的關聯，多是教授或校友。《上海畫報》版面上所展現的新文化世界，不僅反映了編輯人員的社群關係與生活經歷，還反映了他們對都市瞬息萬變的視覺形象和情緒走向的藝術敏感以及高度個人化的想像創造。

由於其與上海美專的密切關係，《上海畫報》藉由富於特性的文字和圖像反映了中國藝術精菁和受其激勵的青年們的展覽，表演和個人生活，創造出一個使其讀者備受誘惑的複雜且構成豐

* 本文曾發表於宜蘭佛光大學人文學院歷史學系主辦「萬象更新國際學術研討會：現代性、視覺文化 & 二十世紀中國」（*Through the Kaleidoscope: Modernity, Visual Culture and Twentieth-Century China*）議程 V（2013 年 5 月 29 日）。

** 美國俄亥俄州大學藝術史系教授。

富的生活方式。出現在其頁面上的照片、軼聞、宣傳與評論，提供了生動的材料使我們更好地去理解 1920 年代這一現代藝術的初創年代的（男、女）藝術家們。隨著時間的推移，這本出版物創造了一個新的中國的現代性之視野，界定了那些可與引進的生活方式元素適宜地結合的傳統社會和藝術實踐領域。《上海畫報》為我們提供了對於 1920 年代晚期文化心理的生動洞察，當時的作者們可以既受過中國古典文化的教育又得到歐洲文化的薰陶，同時高談道家的避世又闊論歐人的倦怠。然而，本文將在最後論證，儘管《上海畫報》於表面上並置著隨機性的文章與圖像，但其有效地服務於創造與紀錄一個都市中國文化的新的品味。這種都市文化把它的痕跡一直留至今日上海的文化中。

（翻譯：張維晏，作者修訂）

關鍵字：上海畫報、視覺藝術、現代性、國畫、1920 年代、女性藝術家、江新、劉海粟

***Pictorial Shanghai* (*Shanghai huabao*, 1925-1933) and Creation of Shanghai's Modern Visual Culture**

Julia F. Andrews*

The inaugural issue of *Pictorial Shanghai* (*Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報), which was published on June 6, 1925, is somewhat startling even today (Fig. 1). Above the fold, as though introducing the new publication to would-be readers, is a single large photograph. We see, at center, a nude female model posing for a classroom of art students, while the besmoked instructor looks on with a proprietary gaze. In the context of Chinese art and society in 1925, what does such an image promise its audiences, and what does *Pictorial Shanghai* actually deliver?

Shanghai huabao, founded by the lawyer turned novelist, poet, and editor Bi Zhenda 畢振達 (1892-1926), or Bi Yihong 畢倚虹, was revolutionary in its time for the primacy of its photographic images, which appear on every page. The brief text under this photograph names the people and place, but the image itself, not the text, provides the real impact. Moreover, the image, like almost all published over the 8-year run of the newspaper, is not anonymous, but bears a credit line, just as do the articles, poems, paintings, and short stories. Unlike most journalistic

* The author is Professor in the Department of History of Art, Ohio State University.

photos in the history of the genre, therefore the mediation of the artist is acknowledged.

The caption explains the picture:

The Shanghai Art Academy was established by Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994). In China, using a model to practice life drawing was started at this school. Now, conservatives always criticize it, but Mr. Liu is undaunted by rumors and resolutely carries on. Bringing a fresh atmosphere to the art world, thus, is all Mr. Liu's doing. Because outsiders still don't understand, they have all sorts of suspicions about this model business, which causes rumors and many misunderstandings. Liu Haisu specially invited our reporter to the school to take a photograph of the life drawing class as it really looks. The person with face turned and nude body is the model.¹

¹ The claims made in this caption are exaggerated. First, Liu claimed to have founded the Shanghai Art Academy, but was in fact the youngest member of a group of classmates, Wu Shiguang 烏始光, Yang Xingxing 楊惺惺, Xia Jiankang 夏健康, and Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, who worked together to open it in 1913. Liu did not become academy director until 1919. Second, although Liu Haisu later claimed to have initiated life drawing at Shanghai Art Academy in 1914, Li Shutong 李叔同 (1879-1940), who graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1911 and then worked at the Zhejiang Higher Normal School, was the first instructor known to use nude models and *plein air* painting as instructional techniques, probably in 1913. Li Shutong's pupil Wu Mengfei 吳夢非, in a reminiscence published in 1960, gave the date of 1914 for Li Shutong's first life drawing class. This has been followed by scholars who recognize Li Shutong's primacy until recently, when 1913 has been proposed. For Wu's article, see Zhao Li 趙力 and Yu Ding 余丁 eds., *Zhongguo youhua wenxian* 中國油畫文獻, 1542-2000 (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2002), p. 410, and for discussion of

Thus we see here, through the eyes of pseudonymous photographer Yisheng, the inside story of the Shanghai Art Academy.² Not described in words are obvious facts conveyed by the image—that the school is dedicated to Western learning—it is coeducational, its class-size small, its curriculum classically European, and, if the picture can be believed, both students and instructors earnest and diligent. This inaugural feature initiated a long-term relationship between *Shanghai huabao* and the faculty of the Shanghai Art Academy, which enabled the newspaper to rely in part on the art academy network for images, information, and gossip. Thus, as *Pictorial Shanghai* gave visual form to Shanghai's new

Li's innovations, see Mayching Kao 高美慶, *China's Response to the West in Art: 1898-1937*, diss., Stanford University, 1972, p. 77; Zhu Boxiong 朱伯雄 and Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林, *Zhongguo xihua wushinian* 中國西畫五十年, 1849-1949 (Western Painting in China) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), p. 32; and Julia F. Andrews, "Art and the Cosmopolitan Culture of 1920s Shanghai: Liu Haisu and the Nude Model Controversy," *Chungguksa yǒn'gu—The Journal of Chinese Historical Researches* (The Korean Society for Chinese History) 35, special issue, Chinese History through Art (April, 2005): 14. For 1913 as correct date for the famous photo depicting Li Shutong's students drawing from a male model, see Mayching Kao, "Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement in China," in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen eds., *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth Century China* (New York and Bilbao: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), p. 156, and Zhao Li 趙力 and Yu Ding 余丁, p. 388. Liu Haisu's colleague Wang Yachen recalled 1920 as the date for the first nude model classes at Shanghai Art School. Also see excellent research by Yen Chuan-ying 顏娟英, "Buxi de biandong—yi Shanghai Meishu Xuexiao wei zhongxin de meishu jiaoyu yundong 不息的變動——以上海美術學校為中心的美術教育運動," in *Shanghai meishu fengyun—1872-1949 Shenbao yishu ziliao tiaomu suoyin* 上海美術風雲——1872-1949 申報藝術資料條目索引 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2006), pp. 76-80.

² A correction to this credit line appears on the back cover of *Shanghai huabao* (*Pictorial Shanghai*, hereafter *SHHB*) 10 (July 3, 1925), where it is given as Xinxin Photo Studio on Nanjing Road 南京路.

cultural world, its relationship with the art academy served to imbed China's new art circles at the core of urban society.

Pictorial Shanghai, issued every three days for 858 issues between 1925 and 1933, was unique when it first appeared. Printed on high quality glossy paper rather than newsprint, it was one of the first Chinese newspapers to make lavish use of well-printed photographs as part of its journalistic and entertainment mission. With its comparatively rich range of color and ink tonalities, and its three-day publication schedule, it opened up a new niche in Shanghai publishing. In some ways it follows the well-trodden path of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 點石齋畫報, published every ten days, and uses the same Chinese term for pictorial, *huabao*. Yet where *Dianshizhai* used hand-drawn images that were lithographically reproduced on thin paper, and accompanied almost all of them with lengthy texts, *Shanghai huabao*'s new focus on half-tone photographs, and its mix of images and stories of entertainment news, celebrity gossip, and high culture gave it a different appearance and emphasis, producing and documenting the new visual culture of the 1920s.

As though to establish its excellent networks within the Shanghai publishing world and its difference from other papers, it celebrated in its first issue the prepublication support it enjoyed from editors at such other newspapers as *Shenbao* 申報, *Xinwenbao* 新聞報, *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報, *Minguo ribao* 民國日報, *Chunribao* 春日報, *Jingbao* 晶報, *Jingangzuan* 金鋼鑽, and *Fengren* 風人, envisioning itself not so much

as a competitor but as a new genre in the Shanghai publishing world. In its first issue it also advertised its use of Chinese-made paper, an important gesture in the anti-foreign atmosphere of the day, and the help of Shanghai's Kailuo Company 開洛公司 in announcing *Pictorial Shanghai* on the radio.³

Published in a four-page tabloid format, *Pictorial Shanghai* ran features and photographs on theater, film, art, literature, society, and politics printed with “copper plates” (銅版紙) in a manner normally seen at that time in China for magazine covers and posters. Bi Yihong is sometimes given credit for *Pictorial Shanghai*'s pioneering work in Chinese photojournalism, particularly for printing photographs of events related to the May 30, 1925, shooting near the newspaper's office in the international concession.⁴ Hard news was certainly not Bi Yihong's exclusive focus, however. On the back page of the first issue we find chapter one of his new serial novel *Jile shijie* 極樂世界 (The World of

³ Editorial notice on the front page of *SSHB* 1 (June 6, 1925) (hereafter *SHHB*).

⁴ Zhang Wei 張偉, “Shangshiji ershi niandai de tuxiang xinwenzhan 上世紀二十年代的圖像新聞戰 (The Pictorial Press Battle of the 1920s),” online version of article published in *Xinmin wanbao*, June 17, 2007. Web. <http://www.news365.com.cn/wxpd/bhygb/shzd/200706/t20070618_1456532.htm> (accessed July 6, 2007) and Li Weiyang 李為揚 and Liu Zhige 劉止戈, “Yizheng mingrenlu--yidai xiaoshuo mingjia Bi Yihong 儀征名人錄——一代小說名家畢倚虹 (Famous People of Yizheng, The Once Renowned Novelist Bi Yihong), Yizheng Municipal Political Committee 儀征市政協 ed., Yizheng, Jiangsu, 2007. Web. <<http://www.yzszx.gov.cn/detail.php?newsid=32544>> (accessed March 3, 2007). Zhang Wei has been reprinted in *Zhiyun youchang: ren yu shu de wangshi* 紙韻悠長：人與書的往事 (Taipei: Showwe Information Co., 2009).

Pleasure), accompanied by the photo of a courtesan reportedly coveted by warlord Zhang Zongchang 張宗昌 (1881-1932), but inscribed in English to another admirer (Fig. 2).⁵

Bi Yihong's commitment to the visual image, and particularly the photograph, remained a hallmark of the newspaper throughout its existence—the photos themselves, be they art or information, were as important as the colorfully written texts. Captions sometimes suggest how the reader might begin thinking about the photograph, or how the paper's writer had responded to it, but never attempted to tell the whole story.

While technological possibilities and international trends may have made it natural that someone in the Shanghai publishing world would initiate such a venture, Bi Yihong was particularly well-suited to seizing the possibilities of modern photographic printing in the leisure newspaper format. His own fiction, which appeared on the pages of

⁵ In his 1949 reminiscence, Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 differentiates *xiaobao* 小報 (small papers, or mosquito newspapers), such as *The Crystal* (Jingbao 晶報), and papers in similar formats, such as *SHHB*, from *dabao* 大報 (major newspapers) as follows: “What are the contents of *xiaobao*? Of course, they center on entertainment (*quwei* 趣味), and first and foremost do not discuss politics or involve themselves with the major affairs of the nation.” Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, *Chuanyinglou huiyilu* 鈞影樓回憶錄 (Hong Kong: Dahua chubanshe, 1971), p. 445. As Perry Link suggests, however, this was not a hard and fast rule, and some small papers allowed themselves, from time to time, to be used as instruments of factional politics. Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 118-120.

Shenbao 申報, *Shibao* 時報, and other papers, is praised by its admirers for its realism. Literary scholars have pointed out the great specificity of time and locale to be found in serial fiction of the era,⁶ and some readers believe they can identify the real people behind the characters in Bi's novels.⁷ There is a sensory richness in his writing that is equally evident in his editorial sensibility. Despite the comparatively high quality of his photos, he constantly apologized to his readers that he and his printers had not yet attained the photographic clarity he envisioned for the paper.

In order to provide visual images as well as text he hired three prominent artists, Zhang Guangyu 張光宇 (1900-1964), Wang Dunqing 王敦慶 (1899-1990), and Ding Song 丁悚 (Muqin 慕琴, 1891-1972), as part of his original editorial team, a step that would have an enduring effect on the newspaper. They were accompanied by two writer-friends, Xu Kuibao 許窺豹 and Jiang Hongjiao 江紅蕉 (1898-1972). Ding Song, his most steadfast colleague, had worked for *Libailiu* 禮拜六 (Saturday), an earlier entertainment newspaper, and had served as academic dean of the fledgling Shanghai Art Academy in its first decade. Among *Pictorial Shanghai's* many other roles, it was especially rich in its reporting on the modernizing Shanghai art world, the role to be

⁶ Alexander Des Forges, "Building Shanghai, One Page at a Time: The Aesthetics of Installment Fiction at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62.3 (Aug. 2003): 786-787.

⁷ Li Weiyang and Liu Zhige, *ibid.* Bi Yihong's *Renjian diyu* 人間地獄 (*Hell on Earth*) of 1923, first published as a serial in *Shenbao's* "Ziyoutan" 自由談 (Unfettered Talk) is one such example. For a reprint see Bi Yihong, with supplement by Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, *Renjian diyu* (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1994), 3 vols.

examined in this article. Particularly in the 1920s, before the boom in large format illustrated magazines, such dissemination of art news was essential to creation of its modern institutional forms. *Shanghai huabao* reported on art world exhibitions and activities, hired artists, made celebrities of painters, professors, and art editors, and thoroughly wove the new art institutions, particularly exhibitions and art schools, into the fabric of Shanghai society.⁸

The worlds of art education and commercial publishing had substantial overlap in the 1920s. Art professors contributed to this publication, as editors, writers, cartoonists, and photographers, both creating its visual forms and, on occasion, serving as the newspaper's story themselves. As editors and reporters they not only documented the new Shanghai cultural and social world, but themselves were presented on its pages as people who lived the new life style this publication helped create.

Just as Shanghai Art Academy director Liu Haisu seized upon the nude for the school's own promotional purposes, the life drawing photo (which also ran in the school yearbook), encapsulates several themes

⁸ For a study of three mass media magazines with similar importance to the art world, namely *Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報, *Liangyou* 良友, and *Meishu shenghuo* 美術生活, see Carol Lynne Waara, *Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912-1937*, diss., University of Michigan, 1994. Of these magazines, only the short-lived pioneering *Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報 (The True Record, 1912-1913) predates *Pictorial Shanghai*. It was party funded and appears not to have been economically viable.

that might attract readers to *Pictorial Shanghai*. Here, and in other publicity of the time, Liu Haisu presented drawing the nude as integral to a Western, modern, scientific, curriculum, as a symbol of enlightened thinking, and as a target for conservative attack.⁹ The newspaper, by means of this photo, similarly promises a strongly artistic orientation, a European flavor, and a modern, even iconoclastic, viewpoint.

Bi Yihong commissioned a masthead that displays such a modern aesthetic in both its Chinese and English versions (Fig. 3). Instead of featuring the elegant Chinese calligraphy (*shufa* 書法) one finds ornamenting so many periodicals of the period, the new paper's bilingual title for *Pictorial Shanghai/Shanghai huabao* appears in avant-garde hand-drawn modernist lettering (*meishuzi* 美術字) closely related to that of Russian constructivism or to typography inspired by German modernists of the early 1920s. The 1925 Parisian exhibition of decorative arts that is commonly assumed to have marked the invention of Art Deco took place in the same year as *Pictorial Shanghai* began publication, so in this regard the newspaper was quite up to date, even advanced, for its time. *Pictorial Shanghai* defined a modern urban lifestyle and aesthetic.

Thus, at first glance, readers are told that this newspaper is informed by the most progressive of European artistic practices. At the same time, exposing Shanghai Art Academy's life drawing class to the public readership is titillating, and brings with it suggestions of a world

⁹ He thus presented an avant-garde defense of an academic practice.

outside the classroom of artistic liberation and sensual abandon. While life drawing is about art, not sex, the enthusiasm for courtesans and female entertainers evident elsewhere in the newspaper promises a tantalizing world of another kind. *Shanghai huabao* suggests, in visual terms, that its subscribers may enjoy privileged views into the worlds of art, culture, and entertainment; first-hand contact with the leaders in all spheres of contemporary Shanghai life; and the true story of what was happening in celebrity circles. The culture Bi Yihong offers his readers and spectators is that of the most worldly and enlightened members of Shanghai's elite—cosmopolitan, liberated, and creative geniuses who will take them into worlds of drama and sensation they might never imagine for themselves.

Along with serial fiction and gossip, poetry or inscriptions appeared in almost every issue, along with cartoons, photos of paintings, calligraphy, seals, movie stars, Peking opera stars, Shanghai beauties, courtesans, amateur actors, debutantes, students, celebrities from all walks of life, society gossip and news of current affairs, brides, babies, soldiers, and members of the literary and journalistic establishment. Classical flourishes were applied to the text with gusto, and modern-style punctuation not initially required. The mind-bending mixture of dissimilar subjects both reflected the complicated culture of 1920s Shanghai and firmly established roots for a particularly Chinese kind of modernity that matured in the 1930s.

The first few issues set the course for the paper's future. Editor-in-Chief and publisher Bi Yihong continued to stress to his new readers his high standards of quality for the newspaper's production, both in paper and printing. In issue 6, June 21, 1925, he emphasized the newspaper's collectibility. Henceforth, the paper was mailed to subscribers in sturdy, sealed, envelopes rather than as ordinary printed matter. Once again adopting a page from the long-ago commercial success of such early publications as *Dianshizhai huabao* or *Feiyingge huabao* 飛影閣畫報, he wrote that his goal was to ensure that all papers arrived in good condition, suitable for binding. He concluded by characterizing his newspaper as strongly artistic (*meishuxing* 美術性) and enduring (*yongjiuxing* 永久性), telling readers that he could not, therefore, relegate it to the mail as though it were ordinary newsprint. In the eighth issue, Bi Yihong announced that issue number one had gone into its third printing, and anyone still wishing to buy it might order a copy.

Issue ten, of July 3, 1925, is quite typical of the newspaper's early stage (Fig. 4). Most issues featured a movie star on the front page, and the interior is scattered with a variety of photos and short texts, many written by Bi himself. On the interior (Fig. 5) we find the obituary of opera singer Wang Keqin 王克琴 (1894-1925), the carefully designed photo feature of a darling five-year old girl called Wang Aiai 王愛愛, an ironic and gossipy story about Li Zukui 李祖夔, the Shanghai magistrate, who is claimed to have gone on the ninth day of the fifth lunar month to the temple of the fire god, to pray for rain. The story, like

many about the politically powerful, is treated ironically, comically suggesting imperial pretensions on the part of the magistrate, but reporting with a straight face that the much needed rain actually fell. Headlined “Li Zukui Understands the *Thousand Character Classic*,” it begins:

In the past several days Shanghai was always sunny and had no rain. On May ninth of the lunar calendar Shanghai magistrate Li Zukui announced a one-day ban on butchering and went to the Temple of the Fire God to pray for rain. In the afternoon, at about four o'clock, dark clouds gathered and a heavy rain fell. Someone said that Magistrate Li has the skill of calling the wind and rain. Why, however, pray for rain at the Fire God Temple and not the Dragon King Temple? We have always heard that thunder will cause rain, but never that fire can bring rain, so we don't know where he got this new trick. It is very interesting. But then a learned gentleman joked, “Magistrate Li's prayers at the Fire God Temple have a classical reference. Didn't you ever read the line in the *Thousand Character Classic*, “Long shi huodi, niao guan renhuang 龍師火帝鳥官人皇: the dragon is pupil of the fire emperor, the bird official is emperor of men)?”¹⁰

¹⁰ A more conventional translation is “Dragon Master, Fire King, Bird Official, Lord of Men.” See Nathan Sturman trans., “The Thousand Character Essay (Qian Zi Wen 千字文).” Web. <http://www.camcc.org/_media/reading-group/qianziwen-en.pdf> (accessed Sept. 3, 2013).

The writer continues to parse this phrase with ridiculous wordplays that make fun of the writer himself, the imaginary classical scholar, the magistrate, and Confucian assumptions, thus providing readers with a variety of amusing topics of conversation.

The dragon follows the fire emperor, so if you pray to the dragon's teacher, how can the dragon refuse to rain? Li Zukui, as magistrate of Shanghai, which has such a large population it is called the *renhai* 人海 (sea of people), is the *renhuang* 人皇 (emperor of the people), thus the suitability of this *niaoguan* 鳥官 (piddly official), acting like the emperor. No wonder everybody wants to be magistrate of Shanghai.”

Whether this offended or amused Li Zukui is unknown. The newspaper subsequently ran many features on the lovely Tang Ying 唐瑛 (1910-1986), who later married his cousin Li Zufa 李祖法 (1895-1994), as well as on his younger sister, Li Qiujun 李秋君 (Li Zuyun 李祖雲, Li Qiu 李秋, 1899-1971), who was an artist.

On the opposite page, a child movie star, her photo placed in an artful lay-out, appears alongside a melancholy photograph of the old imperial palace in Beijing, now abandoned by the emperor and a lonely place. A political cartoon by staff artist Wang Dunqing, a photo of a nude model, a caricature of Charlie Chaplin, stage actress Zhang Caixia 張彩霞, languid film actress Zhu Yunhua 朱蘊華, and a seal impression by the late Chen Hengque 陳衡恪 (1876-1923), carved for

his female student, the artist Jiang Cai 江采 (1902-1986),¹¹ make up the images on this page.¹² A biting political cartoon by staff member Ding Song accompanies a fine painting by the most venerable of Shanghai *guohua* painters, the eighty-one-year old Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927). At upper right is a not entirely legible photograph of worker's demonstrations in Wuxi,¹³ and beside that a memorial to a beloved pet cat. While completely incoherent in theme, these carefully placed images mix the categories of real life and the worlds of culture and entertainment that Shanghai readers will avidly follow—Chinese and Western movie stars, stage actors, current politics, nostalgia for imperial days, modern domesticity, modern photographic art, traditional painting, and even antiquarian skills.

¹¹ Jiang Cai 江采 was usually known as Jiang Nanping 江南蘋.

¹² In *SHHB* 8, June 27, 1925, Jiang Cai herself appeared in a group photo, along with Yuan Shikai's literary son Yuan Hanyun 袁寒雲 and other friends. Her plum painting, which was inscribed by Yuan Hanyun, appeared in the same issue. Jiang Cai taught at the Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society).

¹³ The small photographs of anti-imperialist demonstrations that appear in the first few issues have been noted by those who emphasize the fearlessness of Bi Yihong's editorial policy. See Zhang Wei, "Xiri Shanghai de yibu shengdong yingji 昔日上海的一部生動影集," online version of article published in *Xinmin wanbao*, June 19, 2005. Web. <http://www.news365.com.cn/wxpd/bhygb/shzd/200506/t20050620_547411.htm> (accessed July 6, 2007) and Li Weiyang 李為揚 and Liu Zhige 劉止戈, "Yizheng mingrenlu—yidai xiaoshuo mingjia Bi Yihong 儀征名人錄——一代小說名家畢倚虹 (Famous People of Yizheng, The Once Renowned Novelist Bi Yihong), Yizheng Municipal Political Committee 儀征市政協 ed., Yizheng, Jiangsu, 2007. Web. <<http://www.yzszx.gov.cn/detail.php?newsid=32544>> (accessed March 3, 2007).

Pictorial Shanghai is thus filled with photos and text that make it possible to look at a formative period of Shanghai modernity, the mid-1920s to early 1930s, from a number of different angles. It documents the world of fiction, Peking opera, and film, and in its early period sheds light on the most highly admired female entertainers and courtesans of the day. Bi Yihong was a cinema enthusiast, and wrote many of the film reviews himself. The interior pages often ran pictures from current movies, and movie notices became a larger and larger part of the paper's advertising over time. Of particular interest, however, is *Pictorial Shanghai*'s richly textured relationship with the world of art. Bi Yihong's claims for the paper's artistic value are not empty boasts—the pages of this newspaper are in many cases the only surviving accounts of activities of important figures in the art world of the day, and the newspaper itself became one of their modern activities. Many young artists were promoted on the pages of this paper, and female artists appear frequently.

Marking the first month of the newspaper's publication, on the cover of issue ten Bi Yihong announced that the circulation of *Pictorial Shanghai* had exceeded 20,000. Calculating that each issue was read by five people, he celebrated creation of a community of 100,000 friends. The paper was soon emulated by others. Zhang Guangyu resigned from Bi Yihong's publication after only a month to establish his own competing 3-day paper, *Sanri huakan* 三日畫刊. More than two dozen copy-cat publications started during the paper's first two years, but

Pictorial Shanghai remained popular into the next decade.¹⁴ By the time it ceased publication, in 1933, many of its functions had been supplanted by large format magazines with color pictures. Yet, in the 1920s, *Pictorial Shanghai* played an important role in creating the visual images of the modern city, bridging the nineteenth century sensibility of *Dianshizhai huabao* and those of more fully modern publications such as *Young Companion*, *Art and Life*, *Shanghai Sketch*, or *Modern Miscellany*.

In Issue 16 (Fig. 6), we find photos of Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901-2001), the Northeastern provinces Air Force Academy (which he headed), the inside story of a Pacific Films production, Bastille Day in the French concession, a foreign nude, political cartoons by Wang Dunqing and Ding Song, and, at left, a *guohua* 國畫 painting by Shanghai Art Academy director Liu Haisu, here called “The Traitor to Art.” Liu Haisu later blamed the appellation “Traitor to Art,” on condemnations by conservative educators, but its frequent appearance as his artistic name on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* shows that he relished identifying himself with creative talents he considered iconoclastic masters, or fellow “traitors to art.”

¹⁴ Zhang Wei (2007) has calculated that more than thirty tabloid-sized newspapers that copied *SHHB* in design and publication schedule were published in 1925 and 1926, but most were short-lived. The stiffest competition in terms of art world news came from Bi’s original collaborator, Zhang Guangyu, in his *Sanri huabao*.

Bi Yihong's habit of addressing his readers directly, as though they were friends with whom he was in daily correspondence, gives the publication great immediacy and warmth. He builds up his readers' trust, brings them into his social circles, and initiates them into his taste.

Bi Yihong was a brilliant product of a unique age (Fig. 7).¹⁵ The son of a late Qing official, he grew up in Hangzhou 杭州, where he received an exemplary education. His father's maternal grandfather was Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 (1836-1896), who served as governor of Taiwan from 1885 to 1892. Bi Yihong was married to a great-granddaughter of Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901), Yang Fenruo 楊芬若 (Quanyin 全蔭), with whom he had seven children. With his learning, pedigree, and family wealth he was able to obtain a job in the late Qing government while still a teenager. Diplomat Chen Enzi 陳恩梓, who met him in Beijing, appointed the young man to serve on his embassy staff, but Bi's potential career in the foreign service was brought to an abrupt halt by the revolution—as the diplomatic contingent prepared to leave Shanghai for its Southeast Asian posting, the dynasty fell.

With the assistance of his family, Bi then enrolled in Shanghai for a law degree, a subject he was reputed to have easily mastered despite skipping many classes. Throughout much of his subsequent career as an

¹⁵ For a good biographical summary see Li Weiyang 李為揚 and Liu Zhige 劉止戈. For an excellent account of Bi's literary activities and related biographical details, see Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 115, 117, 148, 157, 164, 168, 174-175, 222, 224-225.

editor he continued to practice law. Yet, during his early years in Shanghai he sought the acquaintance of editor and fiction writer Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876-1973), and was soon recruited into the ranks of Shanghai's editors and "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly" novelists. According to one story, he first met Bao Tianxiao after submitting writings in the name of his wife to a ladies magazine edited by Bao. The two men began a life-long friendship with this encounter. From that time forward, Bi published his fiction in publications edited by Bao Tianxiao, and worked with him as an editor at *Shibao*.¹⁶ He also came to work closely with writer and editor Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑 (Guoxian 國賢, 1895-1968), editor of *Shenbao*'s "Ziyoutan 自由談 (Unfettered Talk)." He published his most famous novel, *Hell on Earth* (*Renjian diyu* 人間地獄), in which thinly disguised real-life characters, including Bao Tianxiao and himself, appear, on its pages in 1923. All of these activities met with the strong disapproval of his father, who expected him to embark upon a conventional job suited to a young man of his background and education. For a time he commuted between Hangzhou and Shanghai, as he attempted to satisfy the requirements of Confucian family and modern career, and even briefly resigned his editorial position in Shanghai. With his father's death, however, he inherited an enormous debt, only resolved with the help of Bao Tianxiao 包天笑. He then returned to full-time work in the city, now bearing the financial

¹⁶ See Link, p. 148. For other information on Bao, see Bao Tianxiao, and Link, 101, 105-106, 181-184, 255-257.

burdens of his large family. *Shanghai huabao* was not Bi Yihong's first publishing venture—he had previously started one of China's first movie magazines, *Yindeng* 銀燈, along with other periodicals—but it was his last project, and is an important part of his legacy.

On January 3, 1926, in the new year's edition of *Shanghai huabao*, Bi Yihong, who was ill, announced that he was unable to continue as publisher.¹⁷ Perhaps depressed by his physical weakness, he complained that many of his original editors were unable to help him—Zhang Guangyu had quit to run the competing *Sanri huabao* only a month after the paper opened, Wang Dunqing had fallen ill and stopped work in the fall of 1925, Jiang Hongjiao 江紅蕉 became too busy with his writing for *Jingbao* to contribute, and Xu Kuibao was, in typical Mandarin Duck style, so listless from a broken heart he could not write for the paper. This left only Bi himself and Ding Song to produce *Pictorial Shanghai*. Ding had another job at British-American Tobacco Company, so the workload was too great for them. Bi Yihong arranged the sale of the paper to the Sihe gongsi 四合公司, and the new owner hired Bi's friend Zhou Shoujuan, editor of *Shenbao*'s “*Ziyoutan*,” as managing editor beginning with issue 71, using Qian Jiechen 錢芥塵 (1886-1969) as editor. According to Zhang Wei 張偉, Qian Jiechen was a supporter of the northern warlord Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (1875-1928), and Zhang and his artistically inclined son Xueliang began providing financial

¹⁷ *SHHB* 71 (January 1, 1926).

backing for *Pictorial Shanghai*.¹⁸ Political pressure forced Qian to resign about two years later, in February, 1928, whereupon Zhou Shoujuan took over editorial duties, assisted by Zhang Danfu 張丹斧 (1868-1937), Huang Meisheng 黃梅生, Yu Kongwo 余空我 (1898-1977), Qin Shouou 秦瘦鷗 (1908-1993), and Shu Sheyu 舒舍予 (Laoshe 老舍, 1899-1966).

Bi Yihong died on May 15, 1926, less than a year after initiating this ambitious publication, and shortly before his thirty-fourth birthday. He left eight children, and his wife's subsequent struggle to earn a nursing degree was recounted on the pages of the newspaper. Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 raised one of the boys, and a fund-raising effort for the family was strongly supported by Zhang Xueliang, who came to admire Bi Yihong after being interviewed for the newspaper.¹⁹

Bi Yihong emerged on the pages of *Pictorial Shanghai* as an advocate for the new art world. This momentum was not only maintained but even accelerated under the paper's new leadership. Bi Yihong had devoted issue 22, of August 9, 1925, to reviewing and documenting the seventh exhibition of one of Shanghai's most important art societies, the Heavenly Horse Society (Tianmahui 天馬會; Fig. 8). The society, of which Ding Song was a co-founder in 1919, was

¹⁸ Zhang Wei 張偉, "Shangshiji ershi niandai de tuxiang xinwenzhan."

¹⁹ Zhang Wei (2005); Link, p. 165. His third son, Bi Jilong, as if returning to the family's diplomatic heritage, served as Deputy Secretary of the United Nations from 1979 to 1985. Another became a translator.

ostensibly devoted to promoting oil painting. Its practice was far broader, however, eventually incorporating sculpture and art photography. Equally important for the Shanghai art world of the day, however, was the Tianmahui policy of exhibiting traditional ink painting along with its Western-style examples. The practice of hanging modern art and *guohua* 國畫 together in the same venue may have evolved naturally, as many of the society's founders worked in both formats and had friends and colleagues who were important ink painters. In the context of May Fourth iconoclasm and growing cultural nationalism, successful implementation of such a practice by the most important group in China's largest and most significant art center was significant—establishing a middle course between cultural conservatives and radicals.²⁰

Bi Yihong reported that he hired a photographer to accompany him on his August tenth visit to personally review the show:

The seventh exhibition of the Tianmahui opened on August 10 and that afternoon I went with a photographer from Zhonghua Photo Studio. With permission from the organizers we have photographed work for publication in our paper.

²⁰ For a more detailed study of the Heavenly Horse Society, see Julia F. Andrews (An Yalan 安雅蘭), "The Heavenly Horse Society (Tianmahui 天馬會) and Chinese Landscape Painting," in *Ershi shiji shanshuihua yanjiu wenji* 二十世紀山水畫研究文集 (Studies on 20th Century Shanshui) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2006), pp. 556-591.

The exhibition was divided into northern and southern sections, with *guohua* [Chinese painting] exhibited in the southern building and *yanghua* 洋畫 [oil, gouache, watercolor, drawing] in the northern. The *guohua* were more numerous than *xihua* 西畫, which shows the tendency of the Tianmahui.

Because the Tianmahui was an oil painting society, the last observation is somewhat surprising, but only emphasizes the broad and conciliatory nature of their activity. Bi continues:

Liu Haisu specializes in *yanghua* 洋畫, but recently has worked hard on making *guohua*. Tianmahui exhibition juror Wang Jiyuan 王濟遠 (1893-1975) told me that Liu Haisu's *guohua* has the brushwork of western painting, and this is his distinction from other artists.

The journalistic objectivity conveyed in this statement is remarkable. To anyone with knowledge of the aesthetics of traditional Chinese painting, the previous statement would certainly be understood as a criticism of Liu Haisu's ink painting technique, but it reads here as though it might be interpreted as a complement. Liu Haisu's surviving work of the period tends to validate this observation (Fig. 9). *Crashing Waves at Fanyin Cave*, painted and reproduced in *Shanghai huabao* two years later, is remarkably similar, particularly in its execution of rocks, one of the most fundamental parts of traditional Chinese paintings, to his oil painting on a similar theme of 1932 (Fig. 10). The characteristic thick outline stroke of Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890), which was a clear influence on Liu Haisu's oil

painting, is transformed into a rather blunt, even crude, form of Chinese brushwork. Bi continues:

I saw [Liu's] *Layered Green Among Streams and Mountains* (*Xishan diecui* 溪山疊翠), a huge painting, and the brushwork was forceful and free, with his genius evident everywhere, not the simple limning of a technician. The price [for the painting] is set at one thousand yuan, the highest of any in this Tianma exhibition. Previously Mr. Liu painted an oil, *The Dance of Nature*, which was priced at \$5000, so *Layered Green* is only one fifth.²¹

Presumably the sale of this work at such a price would have been worthy of mention if it had occurred, so the posted price may reflect Liu Haisu's high self-esteem rather than realistic market value. "Wu Changshi 吳昌碩," he continues, "exhibited two works, *Loquats* and *Gourds*, that have a hoary strength and antique power. People told me that they were preserved in the Wu family collection as inheritance for his sons and grandsons, and are not often shown to anyone. They are really precious. I have already photographed his *Loquats* which we will show in the next issue."²² Bi continued to praise ink painting by businessman-artist Xu Langxi 徐郎西 (1885-1961), sculpture by Shanghai Art Academy professor Li Jinfa 李金發 (1900-1976), watercolors by Wang Jiyuan,

²¹ [Bi] Yihong, *SHHB* 22 (August 9, 1925).

²² Wu Changshi's *Gourds* is reproduced in the following issue of the tabloid.

drawings by Ding Song, and an oil portrait by Liu Haisu, reproducing many of the works in the newspaper:

Xu Langxi is man of power and strength. And his work is also like this. In his *Old Tree and Twin Peaks*, we see his direct and upright character and an untrammled elegance. Xu Langxi came to the opening, with white hair and long beard, so I joked that his paintings are really like the man. In the southern hall were exhibited many plaster portrait sculptures by Li Jinfa. Thus, the society, in addition to two dimensional art, is also researching three dimensional art, and is an important voice in the art world.

Tang Ying, the daughter of Western physician Tang Nai'an 唐乃安, is a flower of Shanghai society, good at dancing and music, spirited and beautiful. Liu Haisu painted a portrait of her, which he exhibited in the north hall. It has very rich color. If you say it has a weakness, it might be that it doesn't entirely resemble her. You should know that the most important aspect of portrait painting is to capture the spirit of the sitter. Liu's work aims to depict her spirit, and is not the mere similitude of an artisan. I made a point of photographing this for our paper, because I feel that both Tang's spirit and Liu's painting have the power to shake Shanghai society.

Ding Song produces very few works, so only exhibited two portrait drawings. One represents his wife, Ding Sujuan 丁素娟

and the other his friend Wang Dunqing. In his wife's image, one can feel her fatigue; in Dunqing's we can feel his strength. I joked with him—Muqin, you are really lucky to have these two models, who help you succeed!

Wang Jiyuan exhibited many landscape watercolors depicting West Lake. West Lake was where I used to live, and as soon as I entered the gallery...I [was transported to Hangzhou]...I felt the light off the water and the color of hills, the shadows of trees and mists on the lake, hazy like dusk...²³

Bi's observations on the mix of exhibits in the Tianmahui exhibition, as well as his recognition of the importance of both *guohua* and sculpture within an organization ostensibly devoted to oil painting, are acute, and indeed encapsulate larger trends of the time—the increasing acceptance of a renewed form of Chinese painting in modern cultural circles, and at the same time the expansion of involvement with Western art, to include such areas as sculpture that are largely outside classical Chinese systems of value. In addition, Bi Yihong reproduced many “art photographs” usually landscapes or still-lives in his newspaper, a practice that was continued by his successors (Fig. 11). Antiquities appear from time to time—a Six Dynasties Buddhist sculpture seems to mark a particular turn in collecting, one that parallels the interests of Western collectors of Chinese art in figurative

²³ [Bi] Yihong, *SHHB* 22 (August 9, 1925).

sculpture.²⁴ Westerners, of course, were rarely Buddhists, and thus had no aversion to bringing such an icon into the home as a collectible object, but this was novel in China. In visual terms the Tianmahui and this newspaper reach an accommodation with the forces of old and new, from Wu Changshi to aviation, thus celebrating the new while seeking comfort in the lasting values of the old.²⁵

Bi Yihong concludes what would otherwise be a standard modern-style art review with a mixture of nostalgia and celebrity gossip that brings us conclusively out of the exhibition and into the difficult world of the female entertainer, a subject on which he was considered something of a specialist.²⁶ He recalls visiting the Tianmahui exhibition site, Xueyi daxue 學藝大學 (Art Study University) on Jing'ansi Road seventeen or eighteen years previously in the company of his father. It was at that time the home of a Cantonese businessman who subsequently fell into financial hardship and sold the house. Bi Yihong remembers his two lovable daughters, Aiai and Xixi, aged about 11 or

²⁴ See *SHHB* 28 (August 27, 1925).

²⁵ A work from the exhibition that seems less than successful in joining the old and the new is French-trained Li Yishi 李毅士's nude *Yang Guifei Getting Out of the Bath*, which appears in reproduction somewhat less solemnly classical than is generally expected of academic history painting. *SHHB* 25 (August 15, 1925).

²⁶ Perry Link writes in his discussion of "brothel literature" that Bi Yihong, "comparatively speaking, took quite seriously the need to expose the condition of brothels." *Mandarin Ducks*, p. 174. Gail Hershatter, writing about social exposés of brothel life, characterizes Bi's *Hell on Earth* as a classic. *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), p. 395.

12, who had long hair and sweet smiles. “I don’t know what happened to Xixi, but Aiai became famous as a flower of Shanghai society under the name A.A. Recently we heard that she was staying alone in an undisclosed location, where she was murdered by a personal enemy. Yesterday, when I walked past A.A.’s old house, I saw the garden fence, pavilions, and walkways are all still there, but the person who lived there has left us...I visit this site with nostalgia....” Bi Yihong’s prose conjoins different worlds, just as do the pages of his newspaper.

The cartoons of staff artist Ding Song ran in almost every issue of *Pictorial Shanghai*, and paralleled Bi Yihong’s observations about current events, often satirizing the selfishness of civil war. Although best known for his commercial art, he served as a faculty member and dean of Shanghai Art Academy from its earliest days, and remained closely involved with the school. As Ellen Laing has noted, Commercial Press published a “how-to-draw” book authored by Ding Song, Zhang Yuguang 張聿光, and Liu Haisu in 1916.²⁷ On August 15, 1925, in his capacity as a founding member of the Tianmahui, Ding Song wrote the kind of autobiographical essay that is the hallmark of the paper (Fig. 12). Entitled “The Curse of the Tianmahui,” Ding’s article begins with a basic history: the group was founded in 1919 by Jiang Xiaojian 江小鶻 (Jiang Xin 江新, 1894-1939), Yang Qingqing 楊清磬 (1895-1957),

²⁷ Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), p. 65.

Zhang Chenbo 張辰伯 (Yong 邕, 1893-1949), Chen Xiaojiang 陳曉江 (Guoliang 國亮, d. 1925), Liu Yanong 劉亞農, and Ding Song, and the name coined by Ding himself.

In his view, their society has established a good reputation, but unknown to the wider world was its dark secret, the curse of the Tianmahui exhibitions. Ding continued to elaborate upon matters never before disclosed, that seven deaths and three serious illnesses occurred among seven families closely associated with Tianmahui during their seven exhibitions. “It’s very strange. I recall that on the day of our founding meeting, Zhang Chenbo’s wife died. During the first exhibition, Chen Xiaojiang’s father died. During the second exhibition, Liu Haisu buried his son. At the third exhibition Jiang Xin was so ill he almost died. On the eve of the fourth exhibition, Wang Jiyuan’s brother-in-law suddenly died and I was terribly ill. During the fifth exhibition I buried my son, and during the sixth Yang Qingqing lost his son. At the seventh, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894-1983)’s father died and my young daughter became awfully ill. All these terrible things do not happen earlier or later, it is really strange.”²⁸

Ding blames his own bad luck on the fact that he was the one who selected the name Tianmahui, Heavenly Horse Society for the group. As if to prove the inauspiciousness of this essay, twelve days later the paper ran an obituary of Tianmahui organizer and Shanghai Art Academy

²⁸ Ding Song, “Tianmahui zhi xiong 天馬會之凶,” *SHHB* 25 (August 15, 1925).

professor Chen Xiaojiang, age 32, who had just died of pneumonia after a lecture trip to Beijing.

The coverage of the art world is thus striking not only for its features on individuals who remain well-known today, but also for extensive coverage of people we would hardly know about otherwise. Many of these very accomplished individuals were struck down by one of the lethal and now easily curable illnesses that were so common in the period, particularly tuberculosis and pneumonia. At least from this distance in time, a subtext of the lives described on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* is one of the inevitability and frequency of loss. Very few of these artists' reputations survived once they were gone from the scene, particularly after the war and the establishment of the Communist state, and in many cases no body of art work is known to survive.

Chen Xiaojiang is one such example. Although recorded in the Shanghai Art Academy's first published yearbook, *Meishu*, in 1918 as a member of the small instructional staff, little else is known.²⁹ In his obituary, his friend Yang Qingqing records that his friend was from Zhenhai 鎮海, had studied at Shanghai Art Academy, and then been retained as an instructor. He was modest and cheerful, outwardly peaceful, quiet, and easy to get along with, but the boldness and liveliness of his painting revealed an intense inner life that was not visible otherwise. After

²⁹ At that time, school director was Zhang Yuguang, Vice-director Liu Haisu, provost Ding Song, and dean of students Zhang Xuantian. See Shanghai Municipal Archives Q258-1-153, p. 0012.

he travelled to Japan in 1918, he became crazy about “the art movement.” He sought to beautify human existence through art and to transform everyone’s actual life. Raising aesthetic aspirations and reviving Oriental art became his mission. In 1919, he, Ding Song and Jiang Xin founded the Tianmahui, along with Zhang Chenbo, Yang Qingqing, and Liu Yanong. The Tianmahui, soon, joined by Liu Haisu, Li Chaoshi 李超士 (1894-1971), and Wang Jiyuan, was, in the author’s words, “a thunderclap in our isolated country.” In 1920, when Jiang Xin was sent to Europe by the Jiangsu provincial government, Chen went along at his own expense. He loved French painting, pointillism and impressionism, but after studying in France also liked to do classical painting. In 1922 he established the Oriental Art Research Center (Dongfang yishu yanjiusuo 東方藝術研究所) in the French concession.³⁰

One of the last papers edited by Bi Yihong ran two photographs (Fig. 13), one of Shanghai Art Academy director Liu Haisu, labeled “Traitor to Art (*yishu pantu* 藝術叛徒),” and another of Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962), labeled, “Traitor to Literature (*wenxue pantu* 文學叛徒).”³¹ Previously he had published a fan painted on one side by the traitor to art and inscribed on the other by the traitor to literature.³² In the

³⁰ Yang Qingqing, obituary for Chen Xiaojiang 陳曉江, *SHHB* 28 (August 25, 1925). His *hao* 號 was Guoliang 國亮. For a reminiscence of Chen Xiaojiang and Jiang Xin by Chen Dingshan, see *Chunshen jiuwen* 春申舊聞 (Taipei: Shijie wenwu chubanshe, 1978 reprint), pp. 100-104.

³¹ *SHHB* 64 (December 15, 1925).

³² *SHHB* 58 (November 27, 1925).

same vein, a casual essay on “The Two Traitors” accompanies a drawing by Liu Haisu of Hu Shi. “Liu Haisu calls himself the traitor to art. This summer he went to the capital and met Hu Shi.... Hu Shi told him, ‘You are the traitor to art, so I am the traitor to literature.’...Liu Haisu insisted, ‘We must commemorate this occasion,’ so he got out his pencil, made a sketch of Hu Shi, and on it he wrote, “Traitor to art Liu Haisu, a portrait for the traitor to literature, Hu Shi....” Liu Haisu is known to have called his favorite European painter, Vincent Van Gogh, a traitor to art,³³ and as the reporter Qiumeng commented, the two friends seemed to exult in being called *pantu* 叛徒 (traitor or renegade).

Any of Bi Yihong's imagined community of 100,000 readers would learn a great deal about the contemporary art world from the magazine's pages. After Zhou Shoujuan took over the newspaper, and particularly after the death of Bi Yihong, connections with the art world seemed to grow even stronger. Artists in Ding Song's circle, particularly the core members of the Tianmahui, were a constant presence in the newspaper. Readers learn, in visual terms, the varied forms that contemporary art might take, and also the varied lifestyles of the contemporary artist. Artists became, through the press, and particularly through *Pictorial Shanghai*, celebrities of the day.

Jiang Xin, Tianmahui founder and Shanghai Art Academy professor, is one of the most colorful characters to emerge from the pages of the

³³ Liu Haisu, “A Traitor to Art,” in Zhu Jinlou 朱金樓 and Yuan Zhihuang 袁志煌 eds., *Liu Haisu yishu wenxuan* 劉海粟藝術文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), pp. 102-104.

newspaper. Devoted, like his fellows, to creating in China a world that was beautiful, he was a prime mover in modern art movements in Shanghai in the 1920s and early 1930s. His death of illness (or, in the opinion of Chen Dingshan 陳定山, overwork) in Kunming in 1939 have left him virtually unknown today.³⁴

Perfectly suited as a subject for pictorial reporting, like Bi Yihong, he was known both for his talent and his good looks.³⁵ As the sons of high officials in the Qing regime, Jiang Xin and Bi Yihong came from similar backgrounds. Jiang Xin's father, Jiang Biao 江標 (Jianxia 建霞, 1860-1899), was tapped by reformist educators to serve as Hunan commissioner of education from 1895 to 1897 and is best known to history for his strong support of new learning.³⁶ A *jinshi* degree holder who had gone on to study foreign languages at the Tongwenguan 同文館 and to visit Japan in search of Western learning, he altered the curriculum of the civil service examinations in Hunan province to include modern subjects and established the first newspaper in the

³⁴ One of the few brief mentions of Jiang Xin in English may be found in Michael Sullivan's *Art and Artists of Twentieth Century China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 159-160, and *Modern Chinese Artists* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), p. 70. His close friend Chen Dingshan 陳定山 published a reminiscence in his newspaper column in *Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報 first reprinted in 1964 as *Chunshen jiuwen* 春申舊聞 (Taipei: Shijie wenwu chubanshe, 1978 reprint), ch. 60, pp. 100-104.

³⁵ Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen*, ch. 60, p. 100, and ch. 34, p. 46.

³⁶ John K. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu eds., *Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing*, 11, part 2, 1800-1911 (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 302.

province.³⁷ Hunan became a hotbed of reform in the 1890s through the efforts of Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902), Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1931-1900), and Jiang Biao. Returning to his home in Suzhou after retirement, Jiang Biao became known as an art collector.

Jiang Xin, while not the very first, was one of the earliest Chinese students to complete an art degree at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. After six years abroad, he graduated with a degree in oil painting in 1917 and returned home to become a teacher at the Shanghai Art Academy.³⁸ He traveled again to Paris in 1920 and remained there until 1927, when he hit the pages of *Shanghai huabao* with a splash. Jiang Xin thus spent his early adulthood abroad, and he was an object of great fascination to Zhou Shoujuan and other writers. His life was, perhaps even more than that of Bi Yihong, one in which the categories of art, vocation and social behavior are difficult to categorize, and indeed cross any of the boundaries we might set up to contain them. With over a dozen years abroad, he might seem a modern man, and he was. His 1917 graduation self-portrait in oil from Tokyo School of Fine Arts was

³⁷ Onogawa Hidemi 小野川秀美, *Shinmatsu seiji shisō kenkyū* 清末政治思想研究 (Kyoto: Toyoshi Kenkyukai, 1960), pp. 276-284, 317.

³⁸ Yoshida Chizuko provides very careful and detailed material from school records on the activities of Chinese students at the school. See Yoshida Chizuko 吉田千鶴子, "Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō no gaikokujin seito (Foreign Students of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, part I)," in *Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku bijutsu gakubu kiyō* (Bulletin of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music) 33 (March, 1998): 5-74, and *Kindai Higashi Ajia bijutsu ryūgakusei no kenkyū: Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō ryūgakusei shiryō* 近代東アジア美術留学生の研究: 東京美術学校留学生史料 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 2009).

gently modern in style, and the sculptural commissions he sought after his return from Europe, commemorative works cast in bronze, were modern in their mastery of the techniques and ideology of European-style nationalistic art, if not in style. Yet, on the pages of *Pictorial Shanghai*, if nowhere else in his biography, he reveals an excellent mastery of traditional landscape painting in ink.

Jiang Xin was a founding figure in establishment of the Yunshang Company 雲裳公司 (Atelier Yangkweifei), which promoted original women's fashion that was artistic and à la mode, but not extravagant. The company's opening was announced in the paper on August 12, 1927, with an eye-catching photo of Lu Xiaoman 陸小曼 (1903-1965) and Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897-1931), along with many other shots of the festivities (Fig. 14).³⁹ Photographs of founders Song Chunfang 宋春舫 (1892-1938), as chairman of the board, Tang Ying and Xu Zhimo, as members of the executive board, Lu Xiaoman, as special advisor, Zhang Yujiu 張禹九, Jiang Xin, and Chen Dingshan (Xiaodie 小蝶, 1897-1987), as board members, and Doctors Hu Shi and Zheng Yuxiu 鄭毓秀 (1891-1959) as artistic advisors, accompany a page of promotional articles.⁴⁰ Zheng Yuxiu is introduced elsewhere as China's first female Ph.D.⁴¹ The text announces

³⁹ *SHHB* 262 (August 12, 1927).

⁴⁰ Zhang Jingqiu 張景秋 and Zhu Caiping 朱采平 are also identified in photos, but not listed as company founders. Others note that one of the actual founders was Zhang Youyi 張幼儀, Xu Zhimo's ex-wife and sister of Zhang Jingqiu, Junmai 君勳, and Gongquan 公權, but the newspaper focuses instead on the more sensational Lu Xiaoman in feature after feature.

⁴¹ *SHHB* 306 (December 14, 1927).

a policy of adapting the world's most fashionable styles to Chinese taste, using, as far as possible, Chinese supplies, and trying to keep prices low in order to popularize new fashions. Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894-1968), *guohua* artist and grandson of Qing official Wu Dacheng, generally considered the scion of literati ink painting, wrote a seal script inscription for the company that may be the basis for the commercial logo used in frequent advertisements in *Pictorial Shanghai*.

On September 3, 1927, a large photograph and feature entitled “The Two Artists of Yunshang” depicts two artfully posed young men (Fig. 15). The photogenic Jiang Xin looks directly into the camera with soulful eyes. The caption informs us that the two artists leading this new fashion company are Jiang Xiaojian, son of the famed Confucian scholar Jiang Biao and Zhang Jingqiu 張景秋. Readers are told their backgrounds: after receiving an education at home, Jiang studied in Japan and was well-known among students abroad for his writing and for his handsome looks. Upon return to China, he was still unsatisfied and went to France for further training in art. The other Yunshang artist, Zhang Jingqiu, who studied at Qinghua and in Germany, is described as a brother of Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1887-1968) and Zhang Gongquan 張公權 (1889-1979), who would have been known to readers as a political thinker and banker respectively.⁴²

⁴² *SHHB* 269 (September 3, 1927).

Jiang Xin appears again on October 6, 1927, in a photo captioned, “Five Artists.” Sporting Bermuda shorts, argyle socks, and his famous goatee, he is accompanied by oil painter Wang Jiyuan, who wears a suit jacket with floppy French tie, the dark-suited but tieless Mao Bin 毛賓, recently returned after exhibiting in the French salon, Chen Dengque 陳登恪 (1897-1974), brother of the Chen Hengque, in a long summer scholar’s robe (*changpao* 長袍), and Tianmahui colleague, Zhang Chenbo, in a white summer suit (Fig. 16). Zhang Chenbo is described as skilled at portrait painting and decorative painting, although he was later known as a sculptor.⁴³

On November 12, 1927, a more formally dressed Jiang Xin is photographed with fellow organizers of the Tianmahui, Zhang Chenbo, Yang Qingqing, Ding Song, Tang Jisheng 唐吉生, Wang Jiyuan, and Wang Yachen (Fig. 17). On December 6, 1927, a strikingly illuminated three-quarter view of his goateed visage was published with the caption, “Recent Photo of the Leader of the Tianma Drama Club, Jiang Xiaojian.”⁴⁴ In the same issue a cartoon by his friend Yang Qingqing caricatures four Tianmahui actors, Su Shaoqing 蘇少卿 (1890-1971), Zhang Guangyu, Xu Zhimo, and Jiang Xin (Fig. 18).⁴⁵ The paper announced on April 21, 1928 that Jiang Xin has accepted an invitation from Japan to hold a solo exhibition in May, and a photo of him with his

⁴³ *SHHB* 280 (Oct. 6, 1927). The caption incorrectly identifies Chen Dengque as Chen Hengque’s son.

⁴⁴ *SHHB* 300 (December 6, 1927).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

writing brush is explicated: he has recently been painting and practicing seal script (*xiaozhuan* 小篆) calligraphy. For this reason, the report continues, this spring he resigned from managerial duties at the Yunshang Company, which he helped found, to prepare his exhibition. *Pictorial Shanghai* speculates that the company, which is increasingly busy, intends to hire him back.⁴⁶

Jiang's dapper figure, posed like a fashion model, appears on July 6, 1928, wearing a tie and unusual long striped jacket with velvet lapels, a design possibly related to those of the Yunshang Company (Fig. 19). Several issues reproduce his exquisite fan paintings in a traditional style.⁴⁷ He appears again on August 24, this time with his wife, in a feature about Yiyuan 藝苑 (Art Garden), the elegantly appointed studio on Linyin Road at Ximen that he shared with Wang Jiyuan. He is photographed wearing a white work shirt, intently sculpting the plaster model for one of his major works, an equestrian statue of Chen Yingshi 陳英士 (Qimei 其美, 1878-1916) later erected at the park by West Lake (Fig. 20). Meanwhile, in separate images, Wang Jiyuan draws a nude model in the studio, and Jiang's wife is captured photographically at work on her own art, which was to transfer Jiang Xin's paintings into embroideries.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *SHHB* 344 (April 21, 1928).

⁴⁷ *SHHB* 369 (July 6, 1928). For an example see *SHHB* 345 (April 24, 1928).

⁴⁸ *SHHB* 385 (August 24, 1928).

Well-educated, handsome, and impassioned, Jiang Xin became a leader in the world of modern art, organizing and administering various art societies, exhibitions, and modern publications over the course of his brief career. His work with Ding Song and others to establish the Heavenly Horse Society (Tianmahui) in October 1919, and to reenergize it upon his return from France in 1927, pushed the entire Chinese art world in a more cosmopolitan direction. Chen Dingshan noted that in the early years of the Tianmahui, which was financed by Jiang Xin, artists were not permitted to post prices for their work, creating instead of a commercial event a salon-like environment.⁴⁹

Female artists of the Republican era are particularly poorly documented in existing histories of Chinese art. Li Qiuqun 李秋君, for example, is best-known in the popular imagination for stories of her unrealized romantic interest and lifelong friendship with the brilliant painter Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899-1983).⁵⁰ On the pages of *Shanghai*

⁴⁹ Chen Dingshan, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ At this point in their lives (1925-1933), Zhang Daqian 張大千 may have been less prominent than Li Qiuqun 李秋君. In 1931 and 1932 Li Qiuqun appears in the English *Who's Who in China*, where we learn that she was appointed an organizer of the First National Exhibition in 1929, involved in organizing Chinese art exhibitions in Brussels, Paris, and Japan, and she also held various teaching positions, including one at the Shanghai Fine Arts College. In 1933 she donated \$50,000 toward the establishment of the Shanghai Art Museum and the following year was instrumental in establishing the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society. She was involved in other charities, particularly an orphanage. *Zhongguo meishu nianjian* 中國美術年鑑, biographies, 28; Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen, xu* (Taipei: Shijie wenwu chubanshe, 1978 reprint), ch. 65, pp. 150-152; *Who's Who in China, 1918-1950* (Hong

huabao, however, we see Li Qiujuun as a substantial figure in her own right, one that corresponds better with the artist, arts organizer, patron, administrator, and philanthropist one finds in publications of the 1930s and 1940s.⁵¹ Despite the paper's focus on celebrity gossip and its earlier satire of her brother, the politician Li Zukui, she is presented simply as an artist and pillar of Shanghai society. Among the first mentions of Li Qiujuun in the paper is the caption for her figure painting, published on August 12, 1927. The text describes her as third daughter of revolutionary Li Weizhuang 李薇莊 (1873-1913), younger sister of former Shanghai magistrate Li Zukui, disciple of Wu Shujuan 吳淑娟 (Xingfen 杏芬, 1853-1930); her teacher Wu Shujuan is identified as mother of artist Tang Xiong 唐熊 (1892-?), and an excellent painter.⁵²

Regular readers of *Pictorial Shanghai* would already be familiar with her brother Li Zukui, the Shanghai magistrate, and might know the prosperous family's background in the banking business. *Shanghai huabao* reproduced a number of her paintings, as well as examples of her seal carving, including this stone, "Langweng 朗翁," carved for painter-general Xu Langxi 徐朗西 (1885-1961) during his brief tenure

Kong: Chinese Materials Center, 1982), vol. 3, 4th ed., 1931, p. 232; supplement, 1933, p. 166; and 5th ed., 1936, p. 137.

⁵¹ For an earlier summary of Li Qiujuun's activities, see Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: The Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 11.1 (Spring, 1999): 6, 7, 9, 12-15, 22-23.

⁵² *SHHB* 262 (August 12, 1927).

as director of Shanghai Art Academy (Fig. 21).⁵³ Although none of her published work attains the power of her teacher Wu Shujuan's landscape painting, by 1928 she had established a substantial reputation as an artist in Shanghai. Among the senior artists who are mentioned in this biography as having admired her talent were Li Pingshu 李平書 (1854-1927), Wang Zhen 王震 (Yiting 一亭, 1867-1938), Xu Langxi, and Di Pingzi 狄平子 (Baodian 葆賢, 1873-1941). The newspaper thus portrays her as a serious young Chinese painter, and one thoroughly imbedded in Shanghai's elite society (Fig. 22).

Her figure painting appears again in April of 1928,⁵⁴ and two biographical essays were published in conjunction with her participation in the eighth exhibition of the Tianmahui in 1928, one by staff writer Huang Meisheng and the other by Xia Qiyu 夏啓瑜, who identifies himself as older brother of Li Weizhuang's wife.⁵⁵ Huang Meisheng 黃梅生 notes that the Li family was from Zhenhai, and identifies several of Li Qijun's prominent brothers, Li Zukui, the politician who served as Shanghai magistrate, and Li Zuhan 李祖韓 (1891-?), who was also a famous painter, calligrapher, and epigraphy specialist, as well as businessman.⁵⁶ He mentions her famous cousin, Li Zufa 李祖法 (1895-

⁵³ *SHHB* 335 (March 24, 1928).

⁵⁴ *SHHB* 345 (April 24, 1928).

⁵⁵ *SHHB* 336 (March 27, 1928).

⁵⁶ A family genealogy of the Xiaogang Li clan lists Li Zuhan as the eldest son and Li Zukui as the second. See Xiaogang lishi jianpu 小港李氏簡譜. *Lee's Family from Xiaogang of China*. N.p., n.d. Web. <<http://xgls.vicp.net/xgls/lsljp-Frameset-c.htm>> (accessed July 9, 2007).

1994), and the beautiful socialite and philanthropist Tang Ying he married.⁵⁷ Xia Qiyu describes Li Qiujun as having been a very mature child and become an intelligent young woman. She graduated with a good academic record from Wuben School for Girls 務本女子中學 in 1915.⁵⁸ She learned painting and calligraphy from her talented oldest brother, Zuhan, according to reporter Huang Meisheng, but her relative adds that she studied the calligraphy of Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690) and the painting of Dai Xi 戴熙 (1801-1860) and then became a formal disciple of the famous woman landscape painter Wu Shujuan.

The newspaper particularly emphasized female graduates of universities abroad. One woman artist who is represented very differently in *Pictorial Shanghai* from the romantic persona popularized in contemporary movies and TV dramas is the French-educated oil painter Pan Yuliang 潘玉良 (1895-1977). Coming from the heart of the “Mandarin Duck and Butterfly” literary scene, one might expect *Pictorial Shanghai* to write about Pan Yuliang’s rise from prostitution to respectability, but she is treated only as a returned scholar and artist in this publication. On July 27, 1928, Liu Haisu introduced Pan Yuliang in a letter to Huang Meisheng as follows: “Pan Yuliang is from Anhui and in 1919 entered the Western painting department of Shanghai Art Academy. In 1922 she went to France, enrolling in the National Art

⁵⁷ Li Zufa was her cousin and Tang Ying his wife.

⁵⁸ The date in *SHHB* differs from that given in Li family genealogies, 1912, but it seems more reasonable.

Academy. After graduating, she traveled to Rome for further study at the Royal Art Academy, the greatest institution for art in the world. She is the only Chinese to have entered this institute. Upon her return, Shanghai Art Academy hired her as Western painting dean. She will have an exhibition before school begins with two others returned from Europe....”⁵⁹ In the published photo, she is represented dressed in a most proper and stylish Western manner, including hat and gloves. On Oct. 9, 1929, a photo by famed photographer Lang Jingshan 郎靜山 (1892-1995) depicts a bespectacled and besmoked Pan Yuliang holding her painting (Fig. 23), labeled “Italian female painter Pan Yuliang and her painting of a skull that has astonished the art world.”⁶⁰ Her unsmiling face gazes out from issue 552 on January 30, 1930 (Fig. 24), and again in issue 588, on May 21, 1930,⁶¹ in another Lang Jingshan photo (Fig. 25). The latter commemorates a welcome reception held by Zhang Ji 張繼 (1882-1947) of the Antiquities Preservation Society on the return from abroad of two female graduates, Pan Yuliang and Dr. Lin Baoquan 林寶權. In all, she presents herself as a serious career woman.

Space precludes discussion of all the major artists who appear on the journal’s pages. Lu Xiaoman 陸小曼 (1903-1965) was a particular favorite and appeared regularly as the cover girl, in a variety of guises—amateur actor, famous wife (Fig. 26) and talented painter. Many of the

⁵⁹ *SHHB* 22 (July 27, 1928).

⁶⁰ *SHHB* 515 (October 9, 1929).

⁶¹ *SHHB* 588 (May 21, 1930).

female ink painters who joined Li QiuJun in 1934 to found the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society establish their credentials much earlier on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* and other periodicals. Bi Yihong informs readers that woman painter Feng Wenfeng 馮文鳳 (1903-1971), for example, recently moved to Shanghai from Hong Kong to establish a branch of her school for training women artists (Fig. 27). She was described as daughter of a translation official in Hong Kong and a gold medal winner in art exhibitions.⁶²

Zhou Lianxia 周練霞 (1908-2000), reported to be not only beautiful but talented as a writer and painter, appears several times in the paper, as a cover girl, stylish young woman, and artist (Fig. 28).⁶³ On March 24, 1930, the front page featured a photograph identified as "Secretary in the Interior Ministry, Hou Biyi 侯碧漪 (1900-?), and her son." Beside the photo is one of many price lists that were published for Hou Biyi's work, which documents her artistic pedigree as a student of Wu Guandai 吳觀岱 (1862-1929), and lists the elder artists, including He Luzhi 賀履之 (Liangpu 良樸, 1861-1937) and Sun Shizheng 孫師鄭 (1866-1935), who endorsed her previous pricelist.⁶⁴ Although this advertisement predates establishment of the Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society by

⁶² *SHHB* 18 (July 27, 1925).

⁶³ *SHHB* 249 (July 3, 1927). In *SHHB* 280 (October 6, 1927), she is depicted eating breakfast, her sleepy eyes turned coyly to the camera, in *SHHB* 167 (October 27, 1926), and *SHHB* 277 (September 27, 1927), as the cover girl. In both she is identified as a famous painter.

⁶⁴ *SHHB* 619 (August 24, 1930). Five months earlier, she had appeared on the cover as "Fei Siqiao 費四橋's wife, Miss Hou Biyi," *SHHB* 569 (March 24, 1930).

several years, it documents the increasing push toward professionalisation, even among women who might not really need the income from their art. Her new prices are approximately the same as those posted by Liu Haisu three years earlier, although the friend who set them, Xu Shiying 許世英 (1873-1964), wrote that they were rising because Hou Biyi had insufficient time to fulfill all the requests for her work (Fig. 29).

As cultural nationalism became a more explicit force in art publishing following the Manchurian incident and Shanghai war of early 1932, we find reported the solo exhibition of sometime Guomindang official Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1884-1948), held from July 15 to 19, 1932, at World Academy (Shijie xueyuan 世界學院), 393 Ferguson Road.⁶⁵ A bold inscription by Shanghai Art Academy professor Wang Jiyuan (1893-1975), in the blunt, carved manner of a Northern Wei inscription, identifies Chen Shuren's position in the art world, "Pioneer of the Revolution in Art." Such a text, like others by his colleagues, articulates their understanding of his early involvement with the Revolutionary Alliance, his career as a politician, and his somewhat non-traditional painting and poetry. The works reproduced include bird-and-flower paintings and landscapes from his travels around China. Texts by other colleagues express the contemporary view of Chen Shuren as artist and public figure. His old revolutionary comrade Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883-1944) contributed a poetic preface in which he modestly denied any qualifications for writing about art, but praised Chen's character and poetry. Liu Haisu praised his landscape paintings from life

⁶⁵ *SHHB* 787 (July 16, 1932).

and his originality. Ding Yanyong 丁衍庸 (1902-1978), a fellow artist from Canton, who had, like Chen, studied in Japan, provides a biographical summary, traces the roots of his style back to his Cantonese painting master Ju Lian 居廉 (1828-1904), but then goes on to describe his activities outside painting once he had decided to become a revolutionary—both his heroic exploits and his many administrative offices within the national government. He Xiangning 何香凝 (1878-1972), widow of Liao Zhongkai 廖仲愷 (1877-1925), similarly was given a special issue when she held a benefit exhibition of her painting and calligraphy on December 27, 1931, to raise money for the national crisis, that is, the conflict with Japan.

One of the most frequently seen artists on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* is the painter Liu Haisu, who served as director of the Shanghai Art Academy at the time the newspaper was established in 1925. Although there is no dearth of textual material about Liu Haisu, *Pictorial Shanghai* provides a much fuller picture of his work than words alone can possibly convey. From a contemporary perspective, it has been somewhat difficult to understand both the great reputation Liu enjoyed and his notoriety. While many artists, particularly in the modern period, have used the media to help shape critical reception of their careers, Liu Haisu succeeded in accomplishing a creative writing and multiple rewriting his own history over the course of his long life. Compounding difficulties in understanding this pillar of modern Chinese art are castigations of him during the anti-rightist campaign and Cultural Revolution, as well as hagiographic corrections to those negative images. Later versions are

filled with so many easily recognizable errors of fact as to cast doubt on virtually his entire biography. *Shanghai huabao*, which documents the period when his career was established and one of his most active periods as an exhibiting artist, provides a healthy corrective to both the hagiographic accounts and the overly skeptical view that might be inspired by his own rather exaggerated accounts. The rich photographic record illustrates his concrete achievements as a painter and the public testimonials of support he obtained from some of the most powerful figures in the cultural world of the time. It is thus possible to understand the long-lasting impact his artistic style had on the art world of Shanghai.

Paintings inscribed by a range of important people were noted in the newspaper during this period. On May 9, 1927, a work with no title is captioned, “Inscribed by Guo Moruo 郭沫若, Zhang Junmai, and Huang Renzhi 黃任之 (Yanpei 炎培, 1878-1965). Painted by the Traitor to Art, Liu Haisu.”⁶⁶ Guo Moruo (1892-1978) was then deputy director of the political department of the Nationalist Army, which had recently arrived in Shanghai after defeating warlord Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳 (1885-1935). Sun was responsible a year earlier for approving a ban on nude models at Shanghai Art Academy that threatened the very survival of the school. Zhang Junmai was editor-in-chief of *Shishi xinbao*. Huang Renzhi was director of the Jiangsu Provincial Education Association. In the May 18, 1927 issue of the newspaper appeared a painting that survives in the Liu Haisu Memorial in Shanghai (Fig. 30).

⁶⁶ *SHHB* 231 (May 9, 1927).

Pictorial Shanghai captions it simply, “Painted by Liu Haisu, inscribed by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) and Wu Changshi.”⁶⁷ Explanation of who these important people were would have been unnecessary in their day. In the same issue, May 18, is published his price list: “large hanging scrolls (zhongtang 中堂), a three foot length for 25 yuan, four feet for 30 yuan, five feet for 38 yuan, six feet for 60 yuan, eight feet for 100 yuan. Flowers, fans, and so forth, half price, sprinkled gold paper and gold fans, double price... (Fig. 31)” Apparently confident of his own authority, Liu Haisu lists no elder as reference on his price list. In a photo published a month later Liu poses with Wang Jiyuan, his longtime colleague, in front of the two works discussed above (Fig. 32) at an exhibition in Japan.⁶⁸

The newspaper offers extensive coverage of Liu Haisu’s “Exhibition of Recent Works in Ink and Oil,” which was held from December 17 to 23, 1927, at the Shangxiantang 尚賢堂 on Xiafeilu 霞飛路 (Avenue Joffre, now Huaihailu 淮海路),⁶⁹ beginning with publication of a collaborative work, *Pine and Eagle*, to which Wang Zhen (Yiting) had added flowers. Liu Haisu quite conspicuously builds upon the social position of his elder colleague on the Shanghai Art Academy’s Board of Trustees, a man with deep connections into the economic, cultural, social and political life of the city. The page is sprinkled with testimonials by

⁶⁷ *SHHB* 234 (May 18, 1927).

⁶⁸ *SHHB* 257 (July 27, 1927).

⁶⁹ *SHHB* 303 (December 15, 1927).

other notables, including Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 (1877-1938), Hu Shi, Wu Changshi, and Cai Yuanpei. Cai Yuanpei lends his reputation by earnestly praising Liu Haisu for leaving behind the limitations of traditional Chinese art, which copied the ancients, and classical Western art, which copied nature, in favor of the more subjective, individual form of expression that might lead the human race to self-awareness. Cai writes, as well, that although Liu's work is close to Van Gogh and Gauguin (1848-1903), he never copies them.

This special feature reproduced primarily oil landscapes, but also a variety of ink paintings. It is probably safe to assume that most of the paintings that appear on the pages of the newspaper do not survive, but occasionally one appears. The small image of a large 1927 ink painting, *Crashing Waves at Fanyin Cave*, may be identified as a painting recently contributed to the Kyoto National Museum by the family of Japanese diplomat Suma Yakichiro 須磨彌吉郎 (1892-1970), who socialized with Liu Haisu and other artists during his posting in China (Fig. 9).

The 1927 exhibition took place in a rather difficult period for Liu Haisu, after he had been removed from his directorship of the Shanghai Art Academy by the board in order to resolve the student protests that led to mass staff resignations and student withdrawals at the end of 1926. With the support of board members such as Cai Yuanpei, Liu was able to arrange an extended trip to Europe, his first long period abroad, a plan that is celebrated on the pages of *Shanghai huabao*. Liu Haisu's

departure for Europe is further publicized by interviews published in the spring of 1928,⁷⁰ and an exhibition primarily devoted to his ink paintings was featured on November 15, 1928. Articles and prefaces by Cai Yuanpei, He Tianjian 賀天健 (1891-1977), and other friends appear in the paper at that time.⁷¹

Upon Liu Haisu's return to China several years later, his solo exhibition, organized by the Shanghai Municipal government, received extensive advance coverage and subsequent reporting. The exhibition was held from October 15 to 31, 1932, at the Yingshi Memorial Hall at Number 7 Guizhou Road in the international concession.⁷² At the close of the exhibition *Shanghai huabao* reported that more than 100,000 viewers had seen the show and that thirty-three works were purchased by domestic and foreign visitors.⁷³ The reporting culminated with the artist posing beside chairman of the Republican government, Lin Sen 林森 (1868-1943), for a photograph in front of his oil paintings.⁷⁴ Liu Haisu's diligently cultivated social and political network is amply evident, but even more important is the nature of his painting, both its more reliable characteristics, such as his Van Gogh-inspired landscape oils and his Shitao-inspired landscapes in ink, which were competently painted in a

⁷⁰ *SHHB* 344 (April 21, 1928), and *SHHB* 345 (April 24, 1928).

⁷¹ *SHHB* 412 (November 15, 1928).

⁷² *SHHB* 833 (October 16, 1932).

⁷³ *SHHB* 846 (November 11, 1932).

⁷⁴ *SHHB* 846 (November 11, 1932). The exhibition displayed oil paintings of Italian and Chinese scenes, as well as ink paintings of flowers and animals.

recognizable personal idiom, and his occasional misadventures in portraiture and animal drawing.

Numerous articles about returned student Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953) appear during this period, when he was at a critical stage in formation of his career. The paper ran several interviews, including one in which he detailed his idealistic justification for turning down job offers at both the West Lake Art Academy and Nanjing's Zhongshan University. He stated at that time that he preferred to work with his friend Tian Han 田漢 (1898-1968) to establish a school purely for art, the Nanguo Art Academy.⁷⁵ He, his family, and his works are featured repeatedly, and in some cases the paper preserves the only known example of an early photo. In *Shanghai huabao* 464 (May 6, 1929) we see Xu Beihong in a photo taken by Ge Gongzhen 戈公振 (1890-1935), along with his wife, identified as musician Jiang Biwei, and their son and dog. Xu's body of work has largely survived, and the features about him are most important for what they tell us about views of his art and career in the years immediately following his return from Europe. The paper thus documents well two of the three major figures who would emerge in art education of the Republican period, Liu Haisu and Xu Beihong (Fig. 33), both of whom were Jiangsu natives. Missing, however, is the third member of the triumvirate, the Cantonese Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991), another French-educated oil painter who was charged by Cai Yuanpei with

⁷⁵ *SHHB* 326 (February 24, 1928). Xu Beihong later did accept a post at National Central University.

establishing the National West Lake Art Academy.⁷⁶ The Shanghai art world, while it was the dominant force nationally during the period, did not include everything of significance, nor does *Pictorial Shanghai*.

In addition to art world celebrities such as Wu Changshi, Liu Haisu, and Xu Beihong, viewers are brought into intimate contact with many less famous artists, including the newspaper's contributors, by its publication of photographs of the wives of the artists either alone, in groups, or posed with their husbands. Among those who contributed to this portrayal of the artists as modern men with modern families are the wives of Zhang Guangyu, Ding Song, Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1897-1967), Jiang Xin, Wang Jiyuan, Liu Haisu, Chen Xiaodie, and Zhou Shoujuan (1895-1968), as well as Lu Xiaoman and Chen Xiaocui 陳小翠 (1907-1968), both married but referred to by their own names.⁷⁷

Some of the articles and photographs published in *Pictorial Shanghai* are valuable for the rarity of their content. Rediscovery of the work of the modernist painter Chang Yu 常玉 (Sanyu, 1901-1966), who died alone in

⁷⁶ The Shanghai Municipal Library collection of *Shanghai huabao*, consulted for this article, has suffered some damage and loss. It is possible that an article about Lin Fengmian appeared in a missing issue, but Liu Haisu and Xu Beihong are far more dominant figures in the newspaper.

⁷⁷ *SHHB* 280 (October 6, 1927). In issue 294 (Nov. 18, 1927), the wives of Wang Jiyuan and Jiang Xin appear, as well as a photo of Qian Shoutie and his wife.

Paris, has produced great interest in his work recent years.⁷⁸ Although Pang Xunqin, founder of the modernist Storm Society in Shanghai in 1931, mentioned Chang Yu with admiration in his autobiography, written fifty years later,⁷⁹ the extent to which Chang Yu's modernist work might have been known to Chinese artists who did not travel to Europe is more strongly suggested on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* than in other publications. In his review of the eighth exhibition of the Tianmahui, Zhou Shoujuan praised the strength of line and remarkable technical skill of a sketch by Chang Yu that was hung in the Western painting section.⁸⁰ Chang Yu had briefly returned to China earlier in the year to attend the wedding celebration of his friend from Paris, Shao Xunmei 邵洵美 (1906-1968). Of the 111 Sanyu oil paintings acquired by the French art dealer Henri-Pierre Roché between 1929 and 1932, the artist considered *Nude on a Tapestry* to be one of his best. Previously thought to be a work of the 1930s, it can be dated slightly earlier in the artist's career with its appearance on the pages of *Pictorial Shanghai* on September 9, 1929. The caption to the photo, contributed by prominent journalist Ge Gongzhen reads: "Recent Work by

⁷⁸ Rita Wong's excellent publications, particularly *Sanyu: Catalogue Raisonné: Oil Paintings* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) and "Sanyu: A Short Biography," in the catalogue for an exhibition she initiated at the Musée Guimet in Paris, *Sanyu: L'écriture du corps* (Milan: Skira, 2004) have been particularly useful in understanding Sanyu's biography and surviving paintings.

⁷⁹ Pang Xunqin 龐薰琴, *Jiushi zheyang zouguo laide 就是這樣走過來的* (Beijing: Xinhua, 1988), pp. 83-85. The autobiography, written while Pang was hospitalized in 1980 and 1981, was published posthumously.

⁸⁰ Zhou Shoujuan, "Tianma sipeiji (A Glimpse of the Tianmahui)," *SHHB* 292 (November 12, 1927).

the French painter Sanyu. His paintings are filled with Oriental color, and are therefore highly valued by Europeans. This painting was recently exhibited at a Paris art exhibition, and is the artist's favorite work (Fig. 34).⁸¹,

Conclusion

Pictorial Shanghai, established by novelist-editor Bi Yihong fourteen years after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, assisted in the construction of a new culture and social milieu in Shanghai and regions under its influence. Holders of political power may appear from time to time on the pages of the paper, but they are often regarded with irony. The paper celebrates and intensifies enjoyment of the new way of life in Shanghai, while at the same time directing a slightly sour humor against the new ruling class. While the paper documented the new, it evidences a strong attachment to the old. An undertone of nostalgia for the old political and social structure in which the paper's writers and readers had grown up is never completely absent. With abandonment of the old political system and rules of social hierarchy, people from plebian backgrounds struggling to rise in the new society, along with those from Qing official families trying not to fall, were able to redefine themselves as celebrities on the pages of this newspaper. *Pictorial Shanghai*, filled with gossip, self-promotion, scandal, and cynicism toward the political elite, helped establish an enduring foundation for the city's modern

⁸¹ *SHHB* 505 (September 9, 1929).

culture. Enjoyment of the art, film, theater, and fiction of the new urban life, ease with the coexistence of foreign and Chinese forms of expression, and familiarity with the latest stylish thing, was expected of the new cultured class and assisted by this high-class tabloid.

Emphasis on female participation in society moves seamlessly from prostitution to feminism, featuring girls of the brothels, actresses, high society party-girls, wives of important men, women artists, female educators, and lady scientists. The new celebrities, if possessed of talent, might come from the most plebian of backgrounds, but many of them, like Bi Yihong and Jiang Xin, were children of discarded Qing officials who sought to prove themselves in a world where standards had radically changed.

The paper crosses boundaries between all expected categories, making it neither a literature paper, art paper, society paper, nor newspaper in the normal sense of the word. Popularizing elite sensibilities, and creating through photographs a visual imaginary of celebrity life, it both entertained and sought to create a community of like-minded readers. In its fluidity of purpose and content it may reflect the blurred boundaries of Shanghai social and cultural life in the Republican period. Yet central to its function and effectiveness is the primacy of the photographic image. Whether accompanied by text or, as so often was the case, not, the photographs created vivid mental images of the celebrities and activities documented on the newspaper's pages. Photographs of Wu Changshi, Wang Yiting, and

Kang Youwei 康有為 seated with Japanese visitors, for instance, situate Shanghai and its artists in a larger Asian cultural context and provide helpful clues for the hints of Japanese taste seen in some of their painting and calligraphy of the period (Fig. 35).⁸² Similarly, the lingering appeal of traditional art in the modern age is vividly illustrated by the juxtaposition on the same page of the fashionably garbed Jiang Xin and his traditional fan painting.

Shanghai huabao was new in bringing visual images, both photographs and works of art, directly into the discourse of print culture, and by its selection of content, which wove the developing Shanghai art world into the fabric of modern society. Moreover, the early twentieth century art world, as depicted on the pages of *Shanghai huabao*, is far richer than the standard histories of twentieth century art can acknowledge. Dualistic formulations by which art is usually classified, traditional vs. modern, conservative vs. revolutionary, Western vs. Chinese, are inadequate to describe the complicated *mélange* that characterizes this period, and this newspaper, *Pictorial Shanghai*. In the

⁸² Among recent studies of Sino-Japanese artistic exchanges are Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), Kuyi Shen, *Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, diss., Ohio State University, 2000, and Anita Chung ed., *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)* (New Haven: Yale University Press and Cleveland Museum of Art, 2011), and Joshua Fogel ed., *Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

mid-1920s, the traditional and modern merged into a new cultural structure that would strongly affect what was to follow in the twentieth century. *Shanghai huabao* privileged neither the old nor the new. Venerable elders of Shanghai ink painting exhibited their works in the same Tianmahui exhibitions as did foreign-educated oil painters and sculptors, art photographers and commercial designers. With its emphasis on visual representation through photography, *Pictorial Shanghai* served very effectively as a promotional vehicle for this new Shanghai art world, enabling art world organizers and ambitious artists to publicize their achievements and activities. By bringing their art, their lives, and their faces into the public sphere, they succeeded in creating a new, modern art world to replace those of the court and the Confucian literati class that were no more. Henceforth, success would be marked by showing in the National Art exhibition, or in Tokyo, Paris, or Berlin, or by appearance in a publication like *Pictorial Shanghai* and the even more lavishly illustrated successors that would follow.

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Pictorial Shanghai
(*Shanghai huabao*, 1925-1933) and Creation
of Shanghai's Modern Visual Culture

Julia F. Andrews

Abstract

This paper examines the seductive images of China's new culture and society that emerge from the pages of the tabloid periodical *Shanghai huabao (Pictorial Shanghai)* from 1925 to 1933. The newspaper, published every three days, printed a photographically illustrated mix of celebrity and society news and gossip, bringing the latest information, fashions, and rumors about art, theater, literature, music, education, athletics, publishing, photography, and, occasionally, politics, into the homes of its readers. Many of the newspaper's editors, designers, photographers, cartoonists, and columnists were closely associated with the Shanghai Art Academy, either as professors or as alumni. The new cultural world created on the pages of *Shanghai huabao* reflected not only the social connections and life experiences of its editorial staff, but also the artistic sensitivity and highly personal imaginative creations of the city's constantly changing visual imagery and emotional tenor.

Closely connected to Shanghai Art Academy, *Shanghai huabao*, by featuring in words and images the exhibitions, performances, and personal lives of both China's artistic elite and its aspiring youth, created a complex and richly textured lifestyle into which its readers were lured. The appearance on its pages of photographs, gossip, publicity and reviews offers vivid material for better understanding artists, both male and female, of the formative decade of the 1920s. Over time the publication created a vision of a new Chinese modernity, demarcating those areas of traditional social and artistic practice that might suitably merge with elements from an imported lifestyle. *Shanghai huabao* offers vivid insight into the cultural psychology of the late 1920s, when writers might be both classically-educated and European-trained, and simultaneously speak in a tone of Neo-Daoist escapism and European *ennui*. Yet, this paper will finally argue that *Shanghai huabao*, despite the seeming randomness of the articles and images it juxtaposed, served effectively to create and to document the new tastes of a cosmopolitan Chinese culture, a culture that has left its traces in that of Shanghai's cultural world today.

Keywords: *Shanghai huabao*, visual culture, modernity, guohua, 1920s, women artists, Jiang Xin, Liu Haisu