Yu-chih Lai

Traditional Leisure in a Globalized Age: Selling and Consuming Japanese Illustrated Books in 1880s Shanghai[1]

Abstract Living in what became one of the most cosmopolitan cities in China in the late nineteenth century, people in Shanghai were fascinated by various kinds of newly imported urban activities. Shanghai soon became the center of globalized exchanges of leisure products. Its life was often characterized by an attraction to exoticism, which most of the time took of the form of spectacles. In contrast to watching or experiencing spectacles, reading as the most traditional form of leisure also underwent a great change in various aspects.

One of the most significant phenomena in the book industry at that time was the growing interest in Japanese books, most of which were illustrated ones. Therefore, this paper, focusing on the selling and consumption of Japanese books in Shanghai, would situate the whole phenomenon in the transcultural exchange of leisure products in East Asia and the fascination with "otherness" in Shanghai, and try to see why Japanese books, especially illustrated books, were so popular in Shanghai. It also asks by whom, how and what kind of books were chosen for the Shanghai market? Hopefully, this paper will show how reading as the most traditional form of leisure activity transformed itself in that global age, and how the Japanese books, neither the most traditional, nor the most exotic, played out its space in this process of transformation.

Keywords Late Qing visual culture, art reproduction, lithography, Ernest Major, *Shenbao*

1 This essay is partially based on my Chinese article, however, with significant modifications, new structure, and new arguments. See Yu-chih Lai, "Qingmo shiyin de xingqi yu Shanghai Riben huapulei shuji de liutong: yi Dianshizhai conghua wei zhongxing 清末石印的興起與上海日本畫譜類書籍的流通: 以《點石齋叢畫》為中心 [The rise of lithography during the late Qing and the circulation in Shanghai of Japanese books of the painting manual type: The *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*]," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 85 (Sept 2014): 57–127.

The world triangle

As a result of China's defeat at the hands of the British in the Opium War (1840–1842), which ended in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanjing, Shanghai and four other ports were opened to foreign powers for the first time in China's history, leading to Shanghai's transformation into one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. Under similar Western pressure, Japan in 1853 finally ended its long policy of national isolation in the face of the threat posed by American military forces under Commodore Matthew Perry. The increasing presence and intervention of Euro-American countries in Asia in the mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of modern political and economic globalization. Given the establishment of foreign settlements in Shanghai, Shanghai as a microcosm of international society and, most importantly, its experiences in coping with modernity, it made a perfect model for Japan to emulate in the early 1860s. However, the transformations following the Meiji Restoration in 1868 drew attention from China. The *Shenbao* 申報, Shanghai's most important early newspaper, frequently took Japan as a model for comparison with China and paid great attention to its efforts at Westernization. The paper was run by Ernest Major, an Englishman, who quickly expanded its publication formats to include books and periodicals done with metal font machine printing, and eventually an illustrated journal, book reproductions and art reproductions done with lithography.[2] Lithography reproduction can be done in black and white, for which only one stone surface is needed, or in color, but in this case each color has to be printed separately. The Dianshizhai studio used only the black-and-white monochrome. The image, furthermore, can be applied to the stone directly or via a photomechanical process, which also allows for reduction or enlargement of the size of the image. The Dianshizhai only used the latter method.[3]

As a consequence, many Chinese elite members might have been more sophisticated in their knowledge of the world than ever before, but it was actually this simplified triangular framework of "China, the East (*Dongyang*, i.e., Japan), and the West" that framed the daily life of members of the Shanghai middle-class, who wrote traditional Chinese poems, read newspapers, visited Japanese courtesan houses, watched Western plays, appreciated oil paintings, went to Western restaurants, and so on. At the same time, we also observe that these various activities involving different foreign cultures in daily life contributed at this time to the construction of a new worldview. In other words, while the activities of daily life might

2 On the publication strategy of this company, see Rudolf G. Wagner, "Advocacy, Agency, and Social Change in Leisure: The Shenbao guan and Shanghai 1860–1900," in this volume.

3 Rudolf G. Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai Huabao*," in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers*, ed. Rudolf G. Wagner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 105–174.

appear trivial on their surface, they actually defined one part of these peoples' lives and impacted the way in which they comprehended the world around them and interacted with it.[4]

In this context, we may wonder what everyday life was like in Shanghai during the late nineteenth century. Upon browsing contemporary newspapers, diaries, and journals, we might be surprised to find that the records of everyday life contained in them were almost all about entertainment or leisure activities,[5] such as meeting friends, looking for antiques, shopping for books, carriage-riding, dining at restaurants, going to shows, or visiting sites. In contrast, areas that might seem truly important such as work, family, or religion are barely mentioned. Despite the fact that we *do* see the nascent stages of a professionalization of work among literate Chinese in Shanghai at this time—examples are compradors for Western firms or journalists in Western-owned Chinese-language newspapers—and although leisure activities were clearly on the rise since the 1870s with peace reigning and prosperity rising, it remains highly questionable whether the conscious work/leisure dichotomy that was already shaping the life of the Western sojourners in the city was shared by the Chinese sojourners prior to the 1890s. In the English-Chinese dictionaries published before 1890 and used in Shanghai, the work/leisure pair has not yet stabilized with "leisure" often rendered by terms basically meaning "having free time."[6] Even by the early 1890s, Shanghai writers of the new genre of entertainment tabloids still felt a need to explain to their readers the Western-style conceptual and lifestyle division between times dedicated to "work" and those set aside for "leisure."[7]

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4 Western material culture, to give an example, re-defined the image of the courtesan in the late Qing Shanghai and these entertainers in turn led changes in urban taste, manners, fashion, and material culture, see Catherine V. Yeh, "Modeling the Modern: Courtesan Fashion, Furniture, and Manners in Late-Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," in her *Shanghai Love: Courtesan, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850–1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 21–95.

5 An 1884 publication by a subsidiary of the Shenbao publishing house might be considered representative of this perspective. It presented Shanghai as a series of tourist sites, see *Shenjiang shengjing tu* 申江勝景圖 [Great sites of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1884). For a detailed analysis of this illustrated volume, see Rudolf G. Wagner, "Advocacy, Commodification, and Agency," in this volume.

6 The terms are *dexian* 得閒 and *xianxia* 閒暇. See Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (Shanghae: London Mission Press, 1822), 252; Walter Henry Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghae: Mission Press, 1847), 783; Wilhelm Lobscheid, *An English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* (Hong Kong: Daily Press, 1866–1869), 1101; Wilhelm Lobscheid, *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, revised by Inoue Tetsujirō (Tokyo: Fujimoto, 1884), 673; and Kwong Ki Chiu, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghai: Wah Cheung; San Francisco: Wing Fung, 1887), 194.

7 See Catherine V. Yeh, "Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, *xiaobao* 小報," in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers*, ed. Rudolf G. Wagner (New York: State University of New York, 2007), 201–234.

As the work/leisure dichotomy only consolidated in the gradual process of an evolving urban lifestyle, it seems best to define leisure in Shanghai between the 1870s and the 1890s as "unregulated time." It had no fixed slot in the day, week, or year separating it from "work" time, and was actually still framed by traditional socio-cultural determinants rather than the newly evolving Westernized and urbanized Shanghai lifestyle. At the same time, the leisure activities pursued, which could be "of a physical, intellectual, artistic, or social nature," or even be "non-activities," such as rest, relaxation, thinking, day-dreaming, etc.,"[8] had the potential to act as the playful testing ground for new values and roles first pioneered by figures on the margins of elite society and as the privileged contact zone through which transcultural elements were absorbed. In this way, leisure activities were at the origin of much broader social change.[9]

It is important to note that, in addition to new leisure activities coming from the West, many others that found favor in Shanghai at this time were from Japan or had Japanese overtones. This does not only refer to the new entertainment offered by Japanese geisha or Japanese teahouses, but for the more aesthetically minded illustrated Japanese books. Starting in the 1880s, the *Shenbao* newspaper carried many advertisements for such books.[10] Judging from the frequency of such advertisements, the popularity of them was surprisingly greater than that of translated Western books.

In contrast to the better-studied Western presence in Shanghai, the present study is interested in the convergence and divergence of the modernization process in East Asia and the intricate shaping of the new worldview beyond the two poles of China and the West. These will try to decipher the complicated mindset and internal contradictions associated with a worldview formed by the triangular relationship between China, Japan, and the West during this vibrant time. Rather than focus on the political motives, the visible West, or the fascination with sensationally new imported wonders, it will explore the place of Japan in more traditional leisure products and activities in daily life during this early period, especially illustrated books (or painting manuals, *huapu* 畫譜) imported from Japan.

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8 For example, see Nicole Samuel, "The Prehistory and History of Leisure Research in France," in *Leisure Research in Europe: Methods and Traditions*, ed. H. Mommaas, H. van der Poel, P. Bramhan, and I.P. Henry (Wallingford: CAB International, 1996), 12.

9 The relationship between leisure and social change was the theme of one of the workshops leading up to the present volume. It is discussed in the "Theoretical Essay" concluding this volume under the proposition "The time/space of leisure is the privileged environment for the 'new'." One of the best case studies demonstrating the interplay between these two is Catherine V. Yeh's *Shanghai Love.*

10 During the same period, the *Shenbao* also carried many advertisements about other Japanese leisure offerings such as restaurants and acrobatic shows, see Xie Wei 謝薇, "Shinmatsu minchō Shanghai ni okeru Chūgokuga shinbun no Nihon kōkoku to shakai seikatsu yōshiki no hensen (1861 nen ~ 1914 nen) 清末民初上海における中国語新聞の日本広告と社会生活様式の変遷 [Japanese newspaper advertisements in Chinese newspapers in late Qing and early Republican Shanghai and changes in the forms of social life]," *Wakumon* 23 (2013): 29–42.

These illustrated books, although conventionally called painting manuals, were both, guides for the study of drawing, and objects of visual pleasure and appreciation.[11] Hopefully, this study will show how book perusal as the most traditional form of leisure activity was transformed in that global age, and what role Japanese illustrated books, which neither the traditionally Chinese nor utterly exotic, played in this process.

Publishing *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*

An exemplary case to illuminate what kind of Japanese illustrated books circulated in Shanghai and how they were appropriated in the Chinese context is the painting manual *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*, a lithography print compiled by the Dianshizhai subsidiary of the *Shenbao* publishing company that also published the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.[12] There are two editions, one from 1881, the other from 1886,[13] the second edition being one of the most popular, most widely circulated, and most frequently reproduced painting manuals from the time it was published until even today.[14] The version available to scholars in libraries is either the 1886 edition or reprints of it. The 1881 edition is extremely rare.[15] It came out just after the Dianshizhai lithographic studio had started operation and might have been a first test of the technology and the market with a small print run. The success came with the 1886 edition. The two editions, however, are not identical, but characterized by many differences in the structure, categorization of the images, form of the typesetting, the editorial strategy, and even the details of the images themselves. Interestingly, the most significant changes will be found in the Japanese images that were included into this painting manual and redone for the second edition. Because these Japanese paintings are not marked as such they have neither been identified by scholarship nor have the sources of many of them in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Japanese painting manuals or illustrated books

11 For the consumption of painting manuals and related visual products as important leisure products in Shanghai during this period, see Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai," *Art at the Close of China's Empire, Phoebus Occasional Papers in Art History* 8 (1998): 134–188.

12 *Dianshizhai conghua* 點石齋叢畫 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1881, 1886). The Dianshizhai specialized in the lithography reproduction of paintings and calligraphy as well as previously inaccessible old Chinese books. Since 1882, it published the first, and very successful, commercial illustrated paper in China, the *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 [Dianshizhai pictorial].

13 The preface of the second edition is dated in the eleventh month of the eleventh year in the Guangxu reign (i.e., December 6, 1885 to January 4, 1886) and was printed in the twelfth month of the same year (January 5, 1886–February 3, 1886). Some scholars erroneously took the eleventh year in the Guangxu reign as 1885 and mistakenly referred to this as its publication date. I will refer to the second edition as the 1886 edition.

14 More than seven reprints have come out since the 1970s.

15 I am grateful to Rudolf G. Wagner to make this 1881 edition accessible to me from his private collection.

been traced. Most importantly for this study, because of the inaccessibility of the 1881 edition, it has not been noticed that these two editions adapt and fashion these Japanese images in very different ways.

What might have prompted those changes? The remaking of the first edition in 1886 must have corresponded to a more precise grasp of the "reader's expectations," and this led to the popularity of the second edition. A comparison of the ways in which these two editions handled Japanese images will show how the presentation of Japanese images and related Japanese books was adjusted to the reception and consumption by Chinese readers steeped in a largely traditional mode of leisure pursuits.

Why, however, would the Dianshizhai publishing company compile such a traditional Chinese painting manual that included so many Japanese images in the first place? The preface to the 1881 edition by Ernest Major, the British manager of this company who was crucially involved in deciding all aspects of the publications of the Shenbao publishing company to which the Dianshizhai belonged, gives some clues about the selection criteria, the compilation process, his personal role in it, and the place of the *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* in the lives of the anticipated readers :

> It has always been true that only the action of illustrations and paintings is capable to enlarge one's mind and express one's feelings about the live action of nature's mysteries. When painting human figures, to achieve utmost likeness of their features, when painting landscapes to get their atmosphere completely realistic, when painting birds and beasts, grasses and trees as well as insects or fishes to completely show their development according to the particular situation. Even all the great figures of the Tang and Song [i.e. painters and writers] also never failed to heed this principle.
>
> I have always liked painting but have no skill in applying the brush. Whenever I came across painting books (*huaji* 畫籍) by famous people, I would purchase the all for my collection. Last autumn, I went to Japan and when I went out to the bookstalls, I saw some (works as precious as) "pieces of gold and jade". Although not undamaged, they were all done by famous artists, so I returned only after having bought them all. Combining them with my previous collection of many years, I assembled them into book volumes and added some pages with recent famous rubbings from stone, divided it into twelve chapters and gave it the title "Dianshizhai conghua [Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings]." [We] used photo-lithography imported from the West to reduce it to the small pocket-size (*xiuzhen* 袖珍) format as this is easier to take along when travelling. The delicacy and refinement of the brushstrokes and the way in which the expression is revealed [in the original] are perfectly matched [by lithography]. Browsing through it lets one form a composition in one's mind with the spirit roaming beyond the conventional. This greatly contributes to artists' exploring new ways. As printing was about to finish, I have

> added some words to share with other art lovers. Recorded in May, the summer, of the xinsi year (1881) of the Guangxu reign, by the Master of Dianshizhai. Meicha [=Major] (seal).[16]

Major was an art lover and collector. He argued that images were the ultimate means to express the life of nature. He apparently asserted a Western "realistic" approach to every genre of it and insisted that the Tang and Song masters also held the same point of view on painting. He went to Japan in the autumn of 1880 and collected "pieces of gold and jade" by famous artists. These new acquisitions, combined with his old collection and some recent famous works, constitute the main body of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*. The book was made with photo-lithography and miniaturized in size for the convenience of travel. Major defined it as a kind of guidebook or reference to help artists meditate on compositions, etc., thereby functioning like a traditional painting manual. Here, Major consciously marketed his experience in Japan, especially the foreignness and rarity of those Japanese sources.

What specifically do those Japanese "pieces of gold and jade," his old collection of famous "painting books" and recent famous ink rubbings from stone refer to? The twelve chapters in 1881 edition have headings defining the topic of the paintings. Some are taken from familiar themes of paintings such as *The Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety*, others from sayings of famous poets, and still others were newly created.[17] They do not seem to follow any known system of categorization.

The majority of the images are actually culled from Japanese illustrated books, such as the seven sets of *Illustrations of Tang Poetry* (1788–1836), the last two of which were illustrated by Hokusai (1760–1849);[18] the *Japan's*

16 Dianshizhai zhuren zhuren 點石齋主人 (Ernest Major), "*Dianshizhai conghua xu* 點石齋叢畫 序 [Preface to the *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*]," in *Dianshizhai conghua* 點石齋叢畫 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1881), vol. 1, 1a–b.

17 These headings are *Qunxian gaohui* 羣僊高會 [Lofty gathering of immortals], *Youmu chenghuai* 遊目騁懷 [Letting the eyes roam and give free rein to one's feelings], *Neng yi wo qing* 能移我情 [Apt to change my sentiments], *Ershisi xiao* 二十四孝 [The twenty-four exemplars of filial piety], *Zui fangrong* 醉芳蓉 [Intoxicated by fragrant hibiscus], *Li Yaomen Baijie tu* 李躍門百蛺圖 [Li Yaomen's Hundreds of Butterflies], *Chunse hong han* 春色紅酣 [Intoxicated by the red of spring colors], *Ji bei kong qun* 冀北空羣 [Northern Hebei emptied of all (talents)], *Qian yan jing xiu* 千巖競秀 [Myriad crags vying in splendor], *Qixiang wanqian* 氣象萬千 [Myriad shifting scenes], *Ru gu han jin* 茹古含今 [Taking in the ancient while cherishing the contemporary], and *Chao yu xiangwai* 超於象外 [Beyond representation]. *Northern Hebei Emptied of All [Talents]* refers to a preface by the Tang Dynasty essayist Han Yu 韩愈 (768–824 CE), which said that after the famous horse groom Bole visited Hebei, all the best horses were taken away. It mainly contains images related to frontier subjects. *Letting the Eyes Roam and Give Free Rein to One's Feeling* is a quotation from the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi王羲之 (303–361 CE). The last two chapters, i.e., *Taking in the Ancient while Cherishing the Contemporary* and *Beyond Representation*, incorporate mainly works by contemporary Shanghai artists, such as Hu Gongshou 胡公壽 (1823–1886) and Ren Bonian 任伯年 (1840–1896).

18 *Tōshisen ehon* 唐詩選畫本 (Tokyo: Susebō, 1788–1836). Set one was annotated by Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛 and illustrated by Tachibana Sekiho 橘石峰

Famous Mountains, Illustrated (about 1802);[19] the *Meishu Painting Manual* (1810);[20] *Fuyō Drunk with Paintings* (1809);[21] and *Classified Illustrations of the Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety* (1843), as well as *Kaisen's Eighteen Ways of Delineation* (1861).[22]

We can identify images from at least twelve Japanese illustrated books or book sets, some of them with many different illustrators. Most of them are illustrated woodblock printed books done by Japanese literati or Nanga painters active in the first half of the nineteenth century. Except for Oda Kaisen's two books, which were included in their entirety and in their original order, all other Japanese images were rearranged into the new categories. The Japanese "pieces of gold and jade" of Major's preface actually refer to Japanese painting manuals of the Edo period. In the same context, Major's old collection of "painting books" also refers to Chinese painting manuals, rather than actual paintings. But what do his "recent famous rubbings from stone" refer to?

Competition in the market of art reproduction

Art historians have noticed the involvement of Shanghai artists with the Shenbao guan Publishing House and pointed out how the new technology of reproduction might have had a great impact on artistic practices and

(1788–1805); the second, published in 1790, was annotated by Kobayashi Shinbei and illustrated by Suzuki Fuyō 鈴木芙蓉 (1752–1816); the third came out in 1791 with annotations by Kobayashi Shinbei and illustrations by Takada Enjô 高田円乗; the fourth came out in 1793, annotated by Kobayashi Shinbei and illustrated by Kitao Kōsuisai 北尾紅翠斎 (1739–1820); the fifth was published in 1832, annotated by Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762–1838) and illustrated by Komatsubara Suikei 小松原翠溪 (1781–1834); the sixth and seventh sets were annotated by Takai Ranzan and illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北齋 (1760–1849) and came out in 1833 and 1836 respectively. The whole collection had thirty-five sets. For an introduction to the whole set, see *Hokusai no ehon sashie* 北齋の繪本插繪 [Hokusai's book illustrations], ed. Nagata Seiji 永田生慈, (Tokyo: Iwasaki bijutsu-sha, 1987), vol. 2, 6, and 94.

19 Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1840), *Nihon meizan zue* 日本名山圖會 [Japan's famous mountains, illustrated] (Osaka: Bun'eidō, preface 1802), Waseda University collection.

20 Ōhara Tōno 大原東野 (1770–1840), *Meishu gafu* 名數畫譜 (Wakayama: Obiya Ihee, 1810). For an introduction to this book, see *Kindai Nihon kaiga to gahu, edenhon den* 近世日本繪畫と畫譜·繪手本展 [Modern Japanese painting and painting manuals, an exhibition of paintings], ed. Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijutsukan 町田市立國際版畫美術館 (Tokyo: Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijutsukan, 1990), chapter 2, 172–173.

21 Suzuki Fuyō 鈴木芙蓉 (1752–1816), *Gazu sui Fuyō* 画図酔芙蓉 (Edo: Suhara-ya Ihachi, 1809).

22 *Bunrui nijūshiō zu* 分類二十四孝圖 (Kyoto: Yoshitaya jihyōe, 1843) and *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō* 海僊十八描法 (Kyoto: Kaisen an, 1861) (Ritsumeikan University collection). Both came from the hands of Oda Kaisen小田海僊 (1785–1862). For an introduction to Oda Kaisen and his painting manuals, see *Oda Kaisen den* 小田海僊展 [Oda Kaisen exhibition], ed. Shimonoseki shiritsu bijutsukan 下関市立美術館 (Shimonoseki shi: Shimonoseki shiritsu bijutsukan, 1995).

visual culture in Shanghai.[23] This was followed by Rudolf Wagner's more comprehensive study of Major's use of the new lithography technology for the reproduction of texts and images, especially of traditional Chinese art works of ink painting and rubbings and of works by contemporary Shanghai painters, as well as the impact of his business strategies on the development of publishing in the Shanghai International Settlement.[24]

Roberta Wue further elaborated on the cooperation of Major's Shenbao guan company with contemporary Shanghai artists since his founding of the lithography studio Dianshizhai in 1879. Lithography allowed for the reproduction of black-and-white ink paintings and rubbings with a precision that made them practically indistinguishable from the originals, a point stressed in the Company's advertisements. Focusing on Ren Bonian's collaboration with the Dianshizhai Studio she points to the wide range of choices of reproductions of Ren Bonian paintings offered in the *Shenbao* and *Dianshizhai Pictorial* advertisements, which included the option for customers to buy the paintings mounted and/or handcolored. "Customers," she wrote, "had the chance to purchase a mass-produced Ren Bonian, just as attractive as the genuine article yet economically priced."[25] Ren Bonian's paintings are just one example from a wide range of paintings, calligraphy works, and stele rubbings from different times and artists that were offered in reproduction. An early list of such reproductions from 1879 shows, besides works by Ren Bonian, others by masters such as Li Gonglin 李公麟 (Song, 1049–1106), Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (Yuan, 1254–1322), and Dong Qichang 董其昌 (Ming, 1555–1636), in addition to lithographic reproductions of earlier woodblock painting manuals.[26] Is it possible that the "recent famous ink copies" refers to these lithography reproductions?

There are two reasons to support this argument. First, we do not see any invitations before 1881 by the Dianshizhai Studio to contemporary artists to produce painting manuals, sketches, or any images in the format that we see in *Dianshizhai Assorted Painting*s. Second, the lithography reproductions of painting manuals in the 1879 advertisement are based on the original woodblock-printed painting manuals, such as *Album of*

23 See Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai," 163; Wu Fangzheng 吳方正, "Wan Qing sishi nian Shanghai shijue wenhua de jige mianxiang: yi Shenbao ziliao weizhu kan tuxiang jixie fuzhi 晚清四十年上海視覺文化的幾個面向——以申報資料為主看圖像機械複製 [Some trends in Shanghai visual culture during last forty years of the Qing—a look at the mechanical reproduction of images primarily based on Shenbao materials]," *Renwen xuebao* 26 (December, 2002): 49–95.

24 See Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire"; see also his "Advocacy, Commodification, and Agency in Leisure Products" in this volume.

25 Roberta Wue, "Selling the Artist: Advertising, Art and Audience in Nineteenth Century Shanghai," *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (2009): 469.

26 Shenchang zhuren 申昌主人 [Ernest Major], *Dianshizhai yin shu hua bei tie dui* 點石齋印書畫碑帖對 [Dianshizhai lithography prints of books, paintings, rubbings, calligraphy and antithetical couplets, loose leaf insert in the copy of the Kansai University collection of Shenbao guan 申報館, ed., *Xu Shumu* 續書目 [Books on sale, sequel] (Shanghai: Shenbao guan, 1879).

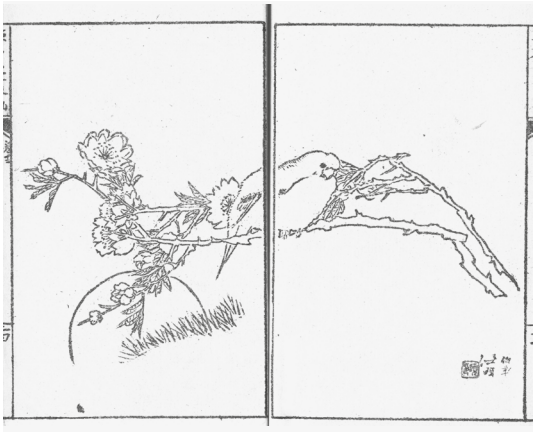

Figure 1: Ren Bonian, a leaf of bird and flower painting, in 1881 edition of *Dianshizhai conghua*.

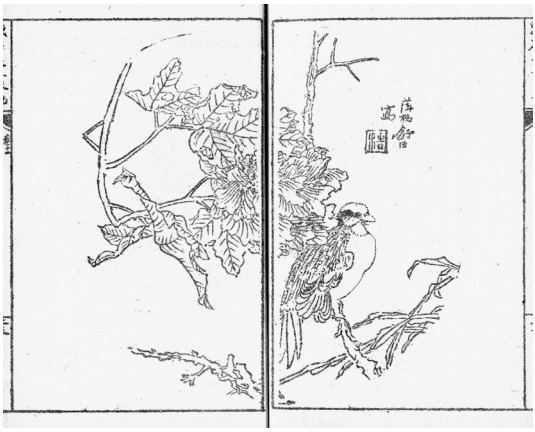

Figure 2: Su Qiaopin, a leaf of bird and flower painting, in 1881 edition of *Dianshizhai conghua*.

Paintings from the Hall of Endless Laughter and *Portraits and Biographies of Illustrious Forebears from Yuyue*.[27] Actually, if we take two leaves of bird-and-flower paintings by Ren Bonian (Fig. 1) and Su Qiaopin 舒橋萍 (Fig. 2) from chapter 12 of the *Assorted Paintings* as an example, we find that the quality and movement of the brushstrokes look very similar, despite the fact that they are supposedly by two different artists. The brushstrokes in both works appear to be awkward, rugged, tuneless, and occasionally

27 Zhou Shangguan 周上官 (1665–), *Wanxiao tang huazhuan* 晚笑堂畫傳 *and Yuyue xianxian zhuan tu* 於越先賢傳圖. Library searches did not show a Shenbao guan print, but because the Dianshizhai subsidiary was established in 1879 and this is the date of the advertisement, it must be the publication date.

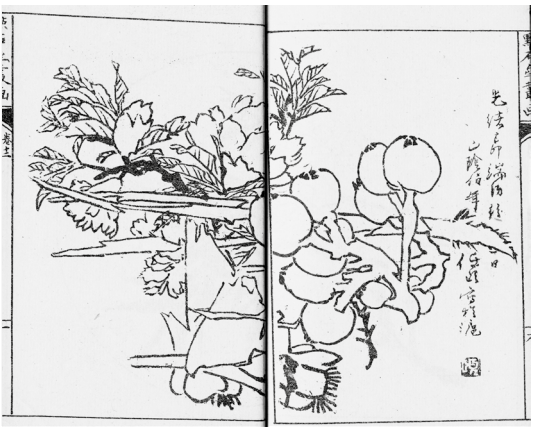

Figure 3: Ren Bonian, a leaf of loquat branches painting,
in 1881 edition of *Dianshizhai conghua* printed in lithography.

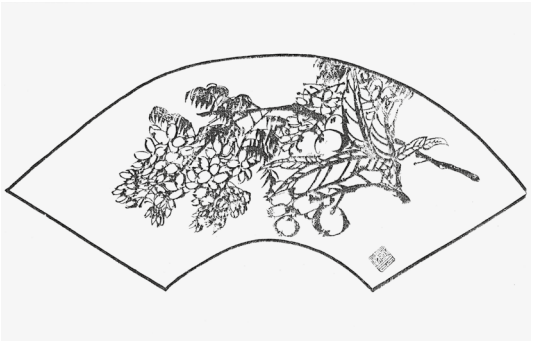

Figure 4: Ren Bonian, a leaf of loquat branches painting, in wood-block print.

with a hard angle. This is most likely due to the fact that these lithography images of woodblock transcribed the original paintings in a painting manual. One more piece of evidence to reinforce our argument is the leaf depicting loquat branches by Ren Bonian also in chapter 12 (Fig. 3).

Apparently, the transcriber was a careless and somewhat mediocre craftsman, who probably used a semi-transparent piece of paper on top of the original image, merely transcribing the outlines of the image. Moreover, he not only simply left everything blank inside the contours, he also failed to figure out the spatial relationship between the branches. This odd incompleteness becomes even more evident when the leaf is compared with a depiction of the same subject also by Ren Bonian from a woodblock-printed painting manual (Fig. 4), where the woodblock carver transcribed the image in a more precise way, delineating a clear relationship between the loquat leaves, fruits, and branches, but still with the inevitable traces of the angular and hard edges coming with the carving process.

In short, the "recent famous ink copies" referred to in the 1881 edition should be works photo-lithographically reproduced from woodblock prints of contemporary artists' painting manuals based on in Major's collection that offered hand-transcribed reproductions of the originals.
As mentioned earlier, most of the contemporary works are included in chapters 11 and 12. Browsing through them, we find most of the formats are leaves rectangular or fan in shape. Some of them are even closely related in subject and seem to come from serials. These formats are very different from the lithographic reproductions of paintings listed in the advertisement, which are almost all hanging scrolls. Therefore, the "contemporary" works included should be reproduced from Major's collection of traditional woodblock print manuals of paintings published by contemporary Shanghai artists, not from the originals or previous lithographic reproductions. [28]

It is important to note that lithography uses simple chemical processes to reproduce images. In contrast with woodblock printing, in which images are reproduced through the carving process, lithography basically has the image drawn with oil, fat, or wax onto the surface of the lithographic plate and uses the immiscibility of oil and water to reproduce the image faithfully. Without the mediation of a knife as in the woodblock printing process, lithography is able to reproduce the feeling of handwriting by either painting directly on the stone or photo-transcribing the original painting on the stone. However, if the base copies are still woodblock prints including prints of blocks transcribed by awkward craftsmen, the "faithfulness" of lithography could only reproduce whatever the woodblock edition offered. In other words, the 1881 edition of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* was a pioneer in the sense that it was most likely the first to apply the newly imported technology of lithography to the genre of the traditional painting manuals. Moreover, in addition to reproducing the images directly from woodblock prints, the Dianshizhai Studio tried to involve craftsmen to hand-transcribe some originally woodblock-printed painting manuals to create a softer sense of hand-drawing, though the poor quality of these transcriptions makes them even more remote from the originals.[29] Thus, despite the fact that Dianshizhai had the most advanced means and most innovative ideas for duplicating images faithfully, without the original or "faithful images" of the original, the results would only be faithful reproductions of unfaithful images.

It did not take very long for Dianshizhai Printing House to rectify this problem and realize how to take full advantage of the technology of lithography in the art field. Instead of using old woodblock prints as base copies,

28 According to Wagner's research, Major was a Chinese art lover and many collectors of the Jiangnan area sent him original art works to be reproduced. Major eventually asked Xu Jiali 徐家禮 to copy those works with his brush (rather than lithography) and later serialized Xu's copies as free lithography inserts in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* starting in Feburary 1889 (no. 178). See Wagner, *Joining the Global Imaginaire*, 154–155.

29 For examples, see Yu-chih Lai, "Qingmo shiyin de xingqi," 111.

it started to invite contemporary painters to provide their drawings directly for reproduction. Major's announcement on February 28, 1885, of a delay in the beginning of inserting instalments of a painting manual in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* gives the details:

> Because the two provinces of Suzhou and Hangzhou are rich in famous painting, our company has asked Ren Bonian, Ren Fuchang, Sha Shanchun, and Guan Quan to draw refined works of personalities, flowers, birds, and beasts. Originally we planned to insert at the beginning of the second issue of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in the new year, corresponding to issue number 31 a painting entitled *Running into Rain* free of charge and from then on send out [new inserts] continuously with each new issue so that one can bind them all together or form topical sets. Later, if one accumulates enough of them, they can be mounted into albums. Someone doing copies might use [these albums] as a painting manual, but they are also perfect for the cultivated man to indulge himself by just opening and enjoying them in front of a bright window on a clean desk. Because too many things were going on during the first month of the years, we did not finish the photographs. Therefore, [the beginning of the inserts] has been rescheduled and they will be sent out [beginning] with issue number 32 on January 26.[30]

The inserts in the successive issues could be taken out to be bound together into a painting manual as reference for those practicing painting or as pleasure for the eye for the "cultivated gentleman," *yaren* 雅人. It will be a new manual with paintings by some of the best-known contemporary artists from the area such as Ren Bonian, Ren Fuchang (Xun 薰, ca. 1835–1893), Sha Shanchun (Fu 馥, 1831–1906), and Guan Quan (Nianci 念慈, –1909). This *Pictorial* insert series was not a first. During the Sino-French War in 1884, the *Shenbao* newspaper had inserted, free of charge, a map of Vietnam to allow people to follow events, and the *Pictorial* itself had started free inserts of texts with their own illustrations shortly after it began publication with the first such insert in issue no. 7 in June 1884.[31] It was a marketing strategy, and the free inserts were announced on the cover page with statements such as "attached illustrated texts and painting manual [parts] as supplements free of charge."[32] Importantly, these lithography inserts were not reproduced from extant woodblock-prints,

30 Shenbao guan zhuren (Ernest Major), "Fensong huapu yuqi 分送畫譜預啟 [Announcement of the impending free insertion in instalments of a painting manual (into the *Dianshizhai Illustrated*)]," *Shenbao*, February 28, 1885.

31 See Wagner, "*Joining the Global Imaginaire*," 117–118, 126, 145, and fn. 84.

32 "Zengfu tushuo huapu, gai bu jia jia 增附圖說畫譜, 概不加價," see the announcement on the cover page of *Dianshizhai huabao* issue 51 dated eighth month, Guangxu 11, first decade, accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.timetw.com/19860.html. The "illustrated texts" were serialized writings by authors such as Wang Tao. They also could later be bound separately.

but were based on newly painted images by these artists, which allowed the brushstrokes of the artists to show rather than their translation into the carver's cuts.

It must indeed have been a sensation. We need to remind ourselves that painting manuals were mostly simple drawings showing only lines, compositions, and brushstrokes. Given lithography's strength in using simple chemical processes to faithfully recreate images, it could even reproduce the feel of hand guiding the brush through the photolithography based on the original paintings or drawings. The softness and carefree movement of the lines in the *Pictorial* inserts by Ren Xun depicting a lion and a deer are a good example (Fig. 5). The imagery of these inserts, which come without the frame usually seen in the traditional painting manuals, looks like a cartoon, or *gao* 稿, with its unusually spontaneous brushwork as well as composition. Given the accuracy of the lithography reproduction, it could be almost taken for an original. One striking example is the colored print of a painting by Jin Gui 金桂 depicting Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1010–1063) of the Song dynasty burning incense to pray on the day before its announcement for choosing the right top candidate of the national examination.[33] Fortunately, two versions survive. One is in the Musée Guimet (Fig. 6) and the other at The University of Tokyo (Fig. 7). Given the impression of the free movement of the brush strokes and the uncontrolled spreading of the colors, one may have difficulty in identifying the fact that these actually are prints. Not until we juxtapose the two, which share identical strokes, yet without the same traces of colors, do we realize that they are actually lithographic prints with hand coloring. It is important to note that lithography allowed for colored prints. However, Dianshizhai never used this process, but always went for handcoloring.

In short, this was the first time in Chinese printing history that an artist's hand drawing could be mass-produced almost "transparently." Given the relatively simple procedure of painting and the increased emphasis on strokes in the two-dimensional surface of the Chinese painting tradition, it is far easier to make a facsimile of a Chinese black-and-white painting than of a European oil painting. The impact of the "Age of Mechanical Reproduction" resulting from the invention of lithography (as described by Walter Benjamin) was far greater in China than in Europe because it was superbly suited to the Chinese tradition of black-and-white ink painting, calligraphy, and stone rubbings. From this perspective, we could imagine that the free inserts by contemporary artists, which reproduced so vividly traces of the hand's movements, must have caused a sensation in the industry of reproducing Chinese paintings and making painting manuals.

Given the competitive business world of Shanghai, the Dianshizhai foray quickly led to rivals copying the idea.[34] After seeing the 1881 *Dianshizhai*

33 This was a free insert for *Dianshizhai huabao*, no. 141 (February 1888).

34 This kind of cut-throat competition was also visible in novel publishing at the time; see Yeh, "Recasting the Chinese Novel," 187.

Figure 5: Two free inserts, by Ren Xun, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

Figure 6 (left): One free insert, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, in Musée Guimet.

Figure 7 (right): One free insert, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, in University of Tokyo.

Figure 8: Same image by Ren Xun for two different publications. The left one is the free insert for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, and the right one is included in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886 edition).

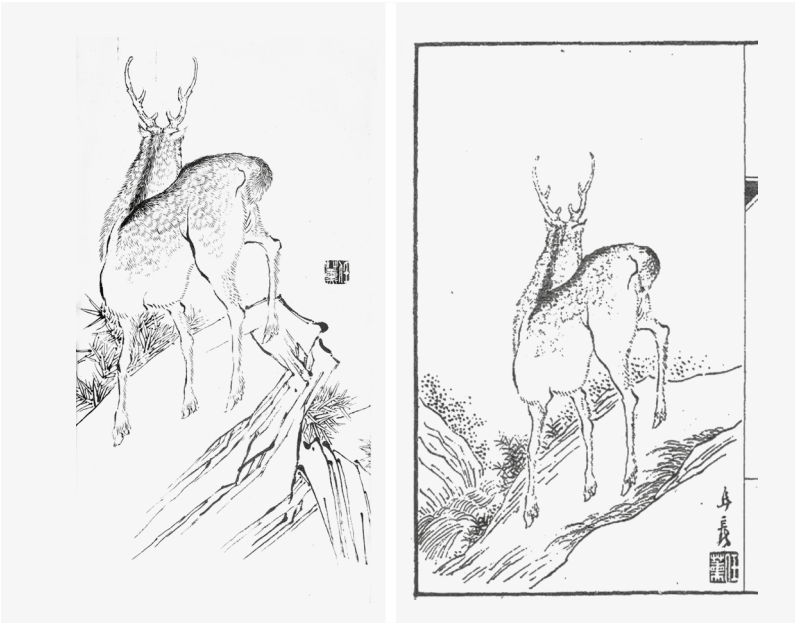

Figure 9: Same image by Ren Xun for two different publications. The left one is the free insert for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, and the right one is included in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886 edition).

Assorted Paintings and then in early 1885 the *Shenbao* announcement quoted above that the *Pictorial* would insert—without charge—lithography reproductions of new works by contemporary artists, the Menghuai Bookstore in Hangzhou quickly entrusted a Shanghai publisher, who had just bought a large set of devices for lithography reproduction, to make use of it for a painting manual with paintings by contemporary Shanghai artists entitled *Cartoon Drawings by Famous Shanghai Artists* that came out in November of that year.[35] Interestingly, of the painters published by the *Pictorial*, only Ren Xun was included in this manual.[36] It was such a great success that we see the original publisher even warning readers against pirated copies of this book in a *Shenbao* advertisement.[37]

The Dianshizhai Printing House, as the first one to come up with this idea and practice in 1881, must have felt the pressure. It published the second and revised edition of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* four months later.[38] As might be expected, the new edition incorporated some of the recent *Pictorial* inserts such as Ren Xun's pictures of the lion and the deer (Figs. 8 and 9).

The eleventh year of the Guangxu reign (February 15, 1885–February 3, 1886) not only saw competition between woodblock print and lithography as well as between lithography printers in image reproduction, but also a new entrant in the market, copperplate printing. It came from the Japanese bookstore and publisher Rakuzendō in Tokyo with its branch in Shanghai, who published a miniature painting manual *Yinxiangge Assorted Paintings*, *Yinxiang ge conghua* 吟香閣叢畫.[39] It shared a similar title, format, size,[40] and editing style with *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* of 1881,

35 *Haishang mingren huagao* 海上名人畫稿 [Cartoon drawings by famous Shanghai artists], ed. Menghuai shuwu 夢槐書屋 (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1885). This album was printed by the Tongwen Bookstore in Shanghai.

36 *Shenbao*, November 22, 1885. This two-volume painting manual reproduced 112 paintings by eight Haipai (Shanghai School) painters, namely Zhang Xiong 張熊 (1803–1886), Hu Yuan 鬍遠 (1823–1886), Deng Tiexian 鄧鐵仙 (–1896), Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837–1911), Zhou Yunfeng 週雲峰, Ren Fuchang 任阜長 (Xun 薰, 1835–1893), Xu Xiaochuang 徐小倉, and Shen Xinhai 沈心海 (1885–1941). Copies of this manual will be found, among others, in the East Asian libraries of the University of Toronto and Hong Kong University.

37 "Huagao zhenjia 畫稿真假" [On true and fake copies of the *Assorted Paintings*], *Shenbao*, December 30, 1885.

38 We actually do not know the exact publication date of *Cartoon Drawings by Famous Shanghai Artists*. The inscription and preface by Wu Gan 吳淦 and Xu Sangen 徐三庚 are both dated to the summer of 1885, but the *Shenbao* advertisement of the book did not appear until November 7, 1885. As for the second edition of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*, the preface is dated to the eleventh month of the eleventh year in the Guanxu reign (December 6, 1885–January 4, 1886), the printing date is the twelfth month of eleventh year in the Guanxu reign (January 5, 1886–February 3, 1886), and the first advertisement for this new edition appeared in the Shenbao on March 5, 1886, If we take November 1885 as the publication date of *Cartoon Drawings of Famous Shanghai Artists*, there is roughly four months' difference between the publication dates of these two books.

39 Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香, *Yinxiangge conghua* 吟香閣叢畫 (Tokyo: Rakuzendō, 1885). This work was first advertised in *Shenbao*, July 7, 1885.

40 The height of *Yinxiangge Assorted Paintings* is 12 cm, which is a little bit shorter than *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*, which is roughly 15.5 cm in height.

yet used copperplate engraving techniques imported from Japan. Judging from their formal similarities and also the fact that both painting manuals proclaimed to be based on the art collection of their owners, i.e., Ernest Major and Kishida Ginkō, this publication apparently was meant to emulate Major's *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*. Ginkō even hired Shen Jinyuan 沈錦垣 (1845–1900), the calligrapher who had written and designed the title pages of the chapters of the *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings*,[41] to assume the same duties for his *Assorted Paintings*.

The re-issuing of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* after five years in the beginning of 1886, signals the effort of the Dianshizhai Studio to regain its leading position in art reproduction. Why did the Studio come out with a revised edition instead of simply inviting contemporary Shanghai School artists to contribute to a brand new painting manual to compete with *Cartoon Drawings by Famous Shanghai Artists*? It might have been extremely difficult to assemble enough images from contemporary artists in such a short time, i.e., within a few months after the compete two-volume set had come out, but after all this set only had 112 images while the 1881 edition already had more and a greater diversity. The Dianshizhai Studio put its bets on diversity of time and space by including Japan, on quality by only going for the very best, and on quantity by eventually including six hundred paintings, and on price by offering the eight volumes of the 1886 edition for one yuan against the 1.6 yuan asked by the competition for its set of just one fifth of the images[42]. At the same time, and perhaps most importantly, it reworked many of the Japanese images in the 1881 edition to suit Chinese customers' preferences.

From the 1881 to 1886 edition: The invented "Chinese-ness"

The 1886 edition explicitly marked some differences from the 1881 edition. Its preface written by Major states:

> [. . .] Years ago, the images in the Assorted Paintings from our Studio numbered no less than six hundred, and all of them are (as precious as) pieces of gold and jade. This collection already has been quite appreciated by the best authorities of our country. Now we have collected several more images and as it happened that the first edition has been sold out, we have inserted these one by one in

41 It almost became a kind of standardized format for the Shenbao guan publications to have the book title on the cover written by Shen Jinyuan in seal script, cf. Rudolf G. Wagner, "Advocacy, Commodification, and Agency," in this volume.

42 For the prices, see the advertisement for the *Dianshizhai conghua* by the Dianshizhai, *Shenbao*, March 5, 1886, 1, and for the *Haishang mingren huagao*, *Shenbao*, November 21, 1885, 4. It is noteworthy that even the competition had to rely on the Shenbao to advertise its products because this was the only Chinese language paper in Shanghai carrying advertisements (and willing to carry those of the competition).

> the appropriate places while deleting those from the first edition we were not satisfied with to extent of twenty to thirty percent as we tried to make [this new edition] into the most beautiful among those that are good. There are other people with the same pursuits in the world, so I do not make statements that are too far-fetched to gain credulity. Preface written in the eleventh year of the Guangxu reign, the yiyou year, by The Master of the Zunwen Pavilion. Meicha (=Major) (seal).[43]

The new edition did not only delete twenty to thirty percent of the images as unsatisfactory, and added newly collected treasures, it also came to a completely new arrangement. The original twelve chapters were reduced to ten and while the naming style for these chapters remained similar, the new structure was arranged based on genre. This followed a long tradition of painting manuals canonized by Emperor Huizong's (1082–1135) *Xuanhe Painting Manual*.[44] Based on the postscript by the Shanghai painter Fu Jie 符節 in the 1886 edition,[45] who also worked for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, we know that he was hired by Major to do the editing of the revised version. His postscript reads:

> This revised edition consists of ten chapters. They are divided into eight genres with "Miscellaneous Paintings," *za hua* 雜畫, coming at the end. This book has been popular for a long time and almost every household has a copy. However, it was rushed to completion at the time and still needs some amendments. Recently the manager [of the Studio] reviewed [the original edition] for further improvements. Everybody's masterpieces are all there [in this new edition] as planned, but they arranged along magnificent orderly genres. They have been reduced in size to fit into a napkin box for the convenience of carrying in a vehicle or boat [when travelling]. I am already for many years engaged with painting. Compared with suffering from hunger and my brush lying fallow, suddenly being engaged in editing is like unexpectedly meeting an old acquaintance. Han Qi (sobriquet Zhigui 稚圭, 1008–1075, high official in the Northern Song dynasty) once said: "As to judging a painting's art, [the issue] is only whether it is true to life. Those that achieve fullness of truth [to life] are exceptional. Those that achieve it more or less, are superior." Browsing through this painting manual, one could say [these paintings] are indeed true to life. Connoisseurs compete to see its light and luster. This is the year of Duanmeng

43 *Dianshizhai conghua* (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1886), preface, 1a–1b.
44 *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (Taibei: Guoli Gugong bowuguan, 1971).
45 Fu Jie, sobriquet Genxin 艮心, was one of the illustrators for *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in the 1880s. See *Zhongguo meishujia renmin cidian* (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1987), 927.

(端蒙), and I wrote this in the tenth month. Fu Jie from Yaojiang did this postcript at the Dianshizhai Studio in Shanghai.[46]

Fu Jie emphasized the clear and sophisticated new arrangement of the images by genre and cites a classical comment on "truth to life" being the only criterion to evaluate the artistic merit of a painting. This corresponds to the emphasis Major put on realistic painting styles as in his preface to the *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* of 1881 we mentioned earlier as well as his preface to the first issue of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.[47] It is interesting to note that, in contrast to the 1881 edition, in which Major consciously marketed his journey to Japan and the rarity of these sources in his preface, nothing about Japan or Japanese sources is mentioned in either Major's new preface or Fu Jie's postscript to this revision. Even more significantly, in addition to the rearrangement of the structure and the replacement of some images, the greatest change in the 1886 edition was in its recrafting of the originally Japanese images.

Already the 1881 edition had made several changes. Technically speaking, lithography allows for deletions or insertions. This is done by covering or affixing the relevant pieces on the woodblock print before photo-lithography. Afterwards these pieces can be taken off again. On the lithographic reproduction the intervention is not visible. One of these changes was to delete the *kana* 假名, or Japanese syllabary, and the *kunten* 訓点, the guiding marks for rendering Chinese into Japanese, on the Japanese images (Fig. 10). The decipherable Chinese characters were mostly preserved and the marks, which were meaningless for Chinese viewers, would be erased. Second, as discussed earlier, perhaps for the sake of creating the softness of hand drawing, some of the original woodblock carved images and calligraphy were transcribed by brush first before being photo-lithographed. Transcribing or even rewriting the calligraphy was the easiest way to create the impression of the immediacy of handwriting (Fig. 11). The transcription of images, however, mostly would result in simplification and distortion of the original images (Fig. 12).

A third change was to rearrange the layout of woodblock renderings of the Japanese works. Many cases show that the original single-page square format layout was rearranged to fit the two pages of the book by cropping the accompanying inscriptions and inserting them into a new frame on the opposite page as seen in its adoptions from the *Meishu Painting Manual* (Fig. 13) and *Kaisen's Eighteen Ways of Delineation* (Fig. 14). This added volume and gave occasion to add exemplars of fine calligraphy. As the 1886 edition had new images to insert, some of the original arrangements were restored (Fig. 15).

46 *Dianshizhai conghua*, "Postscript," chapter 10, 60b.
47 For details, see Major's "Preface" to the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, translated in Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire," 132–134.

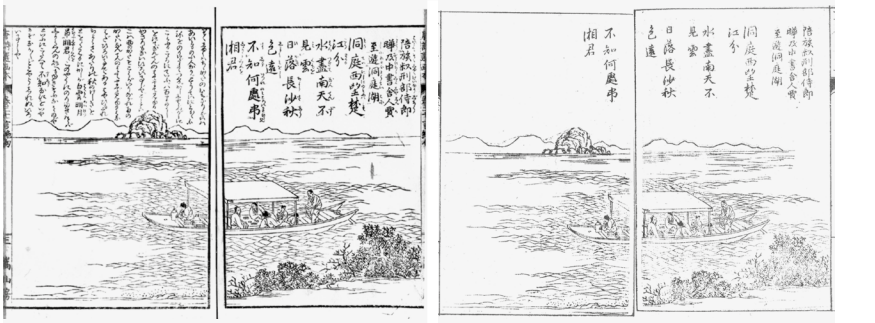

Figure 10: left, *Tōshisen eho*; right, The Chinese adaptation of *Tōshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881).

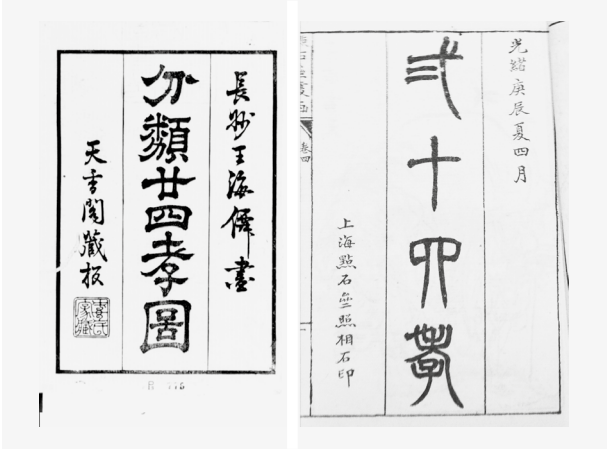

Figure 11: left, The title page of *Bunrui nijūshikō* zu (Classified images of twenty-four exemplars of filial piety); right, The title page of *Ershi si xiao* (Twenty-four exemplars of filial piety) in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881).

Figure 12: left, *Tōshisen eho*; right, The Chinese transformation of *Tōshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881).

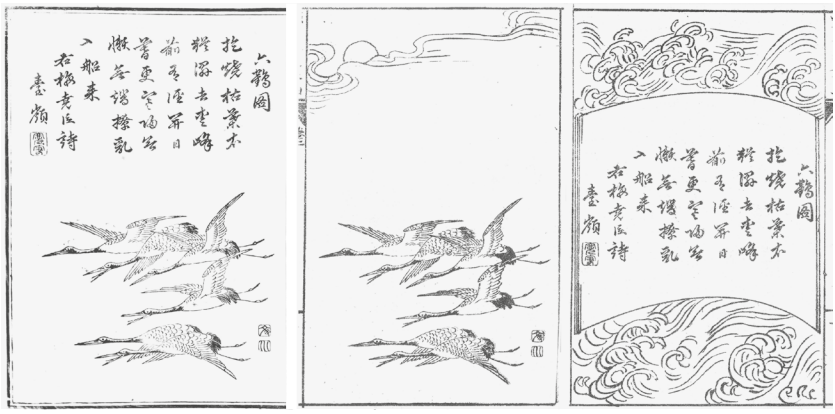

Figure 13: left, *Meishu gafu*; right, The Chinese transformation of *Meishu gafu* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881).

Figure 14: left, *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō;* right, The Chinese transformation of *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881) .

Figure 15: left, *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō;* middle, The Chinese transformation of *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); right, The Chinese transformation of *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886).

Fourth was the experiment of mechanically creating new images with the technology of lithography. As the first lithographic painting manual, Major or his executive editor seem to have been very keen in exploring the technological potential of lithography in not only reproducing but also creating new images from existing elements. For example, one leaf from chapter 10 of *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* of 1881, entitled Berthing at Xiangtan at Night, Xiangtan yebo 湘潭夜泊, is actually composed of the left part of the leaf Hayachine Mountain, Hayachine 早池峯, in Tani Bunchō's Japan's Famous Mountains, Illustrated and the lower left section of the leaf Fuzekama Mountain, Fusekamayama 臥斧山 (actually Kamafuseyama 斧臥山), in the same book (Fig. 16). A similar case can be also found in another leaf in chapter 10, entitled with a line from the Tang Poet Wang Wan 王灣 "The wind is straight, the sails all full,"[48] which is composed of the left part of the image illustrating the Tang poet Li Bo's poem "Song of the Moon Over Mount Emei" and the left part of the image on Li Bo's "Going Down to Jingmen in Autumn," both from the Japanese illustrated book Illustrations of Tang Poetry (Fig. 17). These two cases show that newly synthesized images actually do not appear to be very different visually from their original images respectively, which means that these re-makings were not for the sake of creating a new visual effect, but more for experimenting with creating new images through cropping and composing extant older images and finalizing by photo-lithography. The same technique had been used in the Dianshizhai Pictorial to create images of Western environments and fixtures with which the illustrators were not familiar. The sources were often advertisements in Western illustrated journals.[49] Major seemingly intended to march into the age of mechanically producing images, in which images were not necessarily created by hand, but by cutting-and-pasting. However, judging from the very limited number of cases found, this experiment must not have been very successful, visually or economically.

Another method of adapting the Japanese materials in the 1881 edition was re-contextualizing Japanese images from a Chinese perspective. For example, given the depiction of two people looking at a horse, then the image must be "Bole Appraising a Horse," *Bole xiang ma* 伯樂相馬, as titled in the 1881 edition (Fig. 18), although the Japanese original had no such title. The Japanese image of an old man riding an ox was considered to clearly refer to Laozi and a line from a poem by the Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) was inserted that referred to him, "An auspicious breath is coming from the East [as 老子 is approaching the pass where Yi Yin is serving as border guard], satisfaction is given to the [guard] of the Han[gu] Pass

48 *Fengzheng yifanxuan* 風正一帆懸.

49 For documentation, see Julia Henningsmeier, "The Foreign Sources of Dianshizhai Huabao, a Nineteenth Century Shanghai Illustrated Magazine," *Ming Qing Yanjiu* (Naples), (1998): 59–91. See also Wagner, "Joining the Global Imaginaire," 136–140.

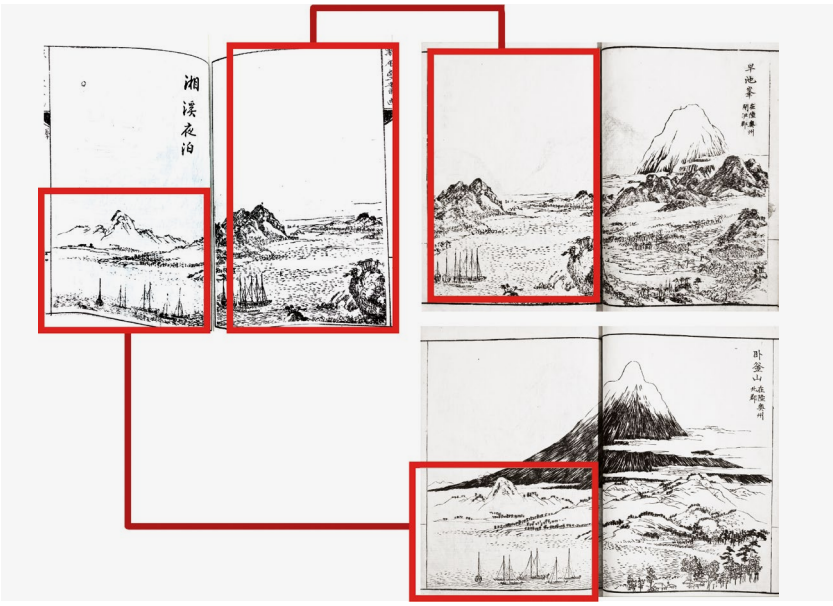

Figure 16: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); upper right, Hayachine Mountain from *Nihon meizan zue*; lower right, Fuzekama Mountain, from *Nihon meizan zue*.

Figure 17: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); upper right, *Tōshisen eho*; lower right, *Tōshisen eho*.

Figure 18: left, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Tôshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); right, *Tôshisen eho*.

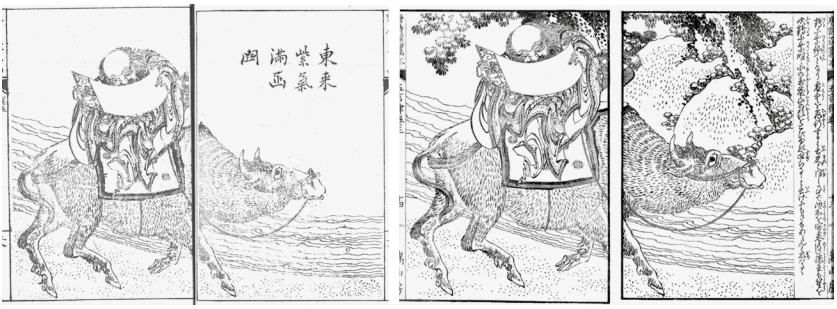

Figure 19: left, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Tôshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); right, *Tôshisen eho*.

[by Laozi writing the *Daode jing* as a farewell gift]"[50] (Fig. 19). However, the Japanese image with the horse is actually the illustration of another poem by Du Fu, "Journey of Protector-General Gao's Horse," *Gao duhu cong ma xing* 高都護聰馬行, which portrays the heroic horse that served in battle with its master, and the latter image with the old man riding the ox was meant as an illustration for Du Fu's poem "Yutai Pavilion," which describes the cloud-shrouded Yutai Pavilion in Sichuan province where immortals meet. Both are from the Japanese illustrated book *Illustrations of Tang Poetry*.

On the surface it might seem as if we were witnessing here a complex circular translation process between two cultures. When Komatsubara Suikei made the illustration for Du Fu's "Journey of Protector-General Gao's Horse" or Katsushika Hokusai drew his illustration for "Yutai Pavilion," they actually did not use images from the Japanese tradition as their prototypes, but deliberately drew on Chinese iconographic traditions to convey a sense of "Chineseness" for these illustrations on Chinese poems. However, Suikei and Hokusai drew on images familiar to them without being interested in

50 "*Donglai ziqi, man Hanguan*" 東來紫氣,滿函關.

keeping them linked to their original iconological context. Therefore, when they were appropriated in *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* for Chinese viewers, they went through the process of re-contextualization, and the dislocated semantic links were relocated, but the links to the poems referred to in the Japanese original were abandoned. The long journey of the re–sinification of Japanized images imported from China reaches its endpoint in the Dianshizhai manual. Nevertheless, the actual process is probably even more complicated, if we realize the fact that it is actually Ernest Major from England who orchestrated the selection and adaptation. Then, we wonder how this "Chineseness" came about and whose "Chineseness" it was? This is maybe why after this long journey, these originally Chinese affiliated images actually have changed, they look different and refreshingly exotic too.

The 1881 edition did not hide, but stressed its Japan connection. Most of the alterations mentioned above were made out of economic considerations, such as multiplying the number of pages, for the convenience of making the images more easily appreciated by Chinese readers by removing the Japanese marks or annotations, or to re-contextualize the images in a more intuitively Chinese way. The 1886 edition went further along this road.

In terms of the range of Japanese publications from which images were taken, the 1886 edition is roughly the same, adding only one new work, *Illustrations of the Famous Scenes in Kumano*, Kumano meishou zuga 熊野名勝圖畫, by Suzuki Fuyō,[51] while dropping some unidentified genre paintings with Japanese motifs as well as the first set of the *Illustrations of Tang Poetry*.

There is a basic difference between the 1881 and the 1886 editions. The changes and adaptations of Japanese paintings in the earlier work were dictated by pragmatic concerns, those made for the 1886 edition seem driven by the desire to recapture the Chinese painting manual market by matching the competition in the "Chineseness" of the paintings and their organization, and outdoing it in the quality and quantity of the paintings offered and the price asked. Most significantly in this later edition, the painters of most of the Japanese images now remain unidentified and as most of the Japanese paintings in the 1881 edition that were included had Chinese topics and drew on Chinese visual traditions, they could be taken as Chinese paintings. In the 1881 edition there had been some Japanese figure paintings in distinctly "Japanese style," *wayō* 和様, depicting beauties in recognizable Japanese costume or Japanese genre episodes or stories. These were not included into the 1886 edition. Many other images of Japanese origin have even been reworked or retouched so as to make them appear as Chinese paintings.

For example, one leaf from chapter 7 of the 1881 edition portrays a beauty with an oval face and an arched body, the emphasis being on the contrast between the black and white areas as well as the flat decoration on

51 Suzuki Fuyō, *Kumano meishou zuga* 熊野名勝圖畫, ed. Kitabatake Kakusei 北圃恪斎 (Edo: Suharaya Mohee, 1801).

Figure 20: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); right, *Wakoku hyakuzo*.

the kimono. These features evoke the images typically made by the early Ukiyo-e master Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618–1694) (Fig. 20). This kind of imagery with clear Japanese characteristics was expunged from the 1886 edition. The works of the Ukiyo-e master Hokusai still retained in the 1886 edition all picture Chinese subjects based on prototypes originating in Chinese images.

A similar process can be observed in the 1886 remaking of Tani Bunchô's *Japan's Famous Mountains, Illustrated*. In the 1881 edition, the inscriptions denoting the names and places of Japanese mountains are mostly left untouched. In the 1886 edition, however, these overtly Japanese texts are all replaced by Chinese poems, thus transforming the original place-specific Japanese topographical images with abstract poetic "Chinese" landscape paintings (Fig. 21).

Going beyond the simple deselection of Japanese motifs and addition of Chinese elements such as poetic inscriptions or seals, other pieces in the 1886 edition show a more radical stylistic reworking of Japanese paintings. The most straightforward way was to simply get rid of the more decorative elements of the original Japanese images. For example, in adapting a Hokusai illustration for a poem by Sun Di 孫逖 (696–761), the editor of the 1881 edition simply added a written Chinese title to denote the image, while the 1886 editor went further by deleting the flower-like pattern of pine needles and decorative dots in the background from the original Hokusai print and even adding a seal for "Traveler (*lüren* 旅人)" (Fig. 22).

These stylistic maneuvers make the Japanese images on Chinese topics almost indistinguishable from the local Chinese ones, especially when rearranged by genre and juxtaposed with Chinese images depicting similar subjects. In other words, as opposed to the 1881 edition, these Japanese images were no longer presented as foreign ones, but

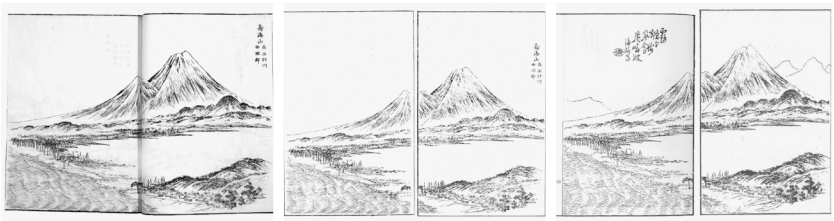

Figure 21: left, *Nihon meizan zue*; middle, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Nihon meizan zue* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); right, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Nihon meizan zue* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886).

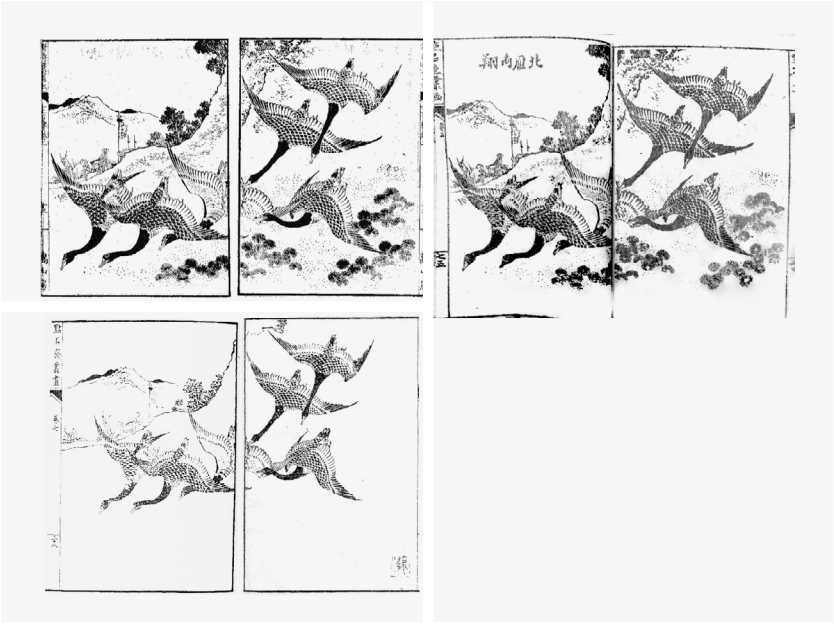

Figure 22: upper left, *Tôshisen eho*; upper right, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Tôshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881); lower left, The Chinese rewriting of the image from *Tôshisen eho* in *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886).

were recast as Chinese ones, though with some unfamiliar yet unspoken accent.

In sum, the new editorial strategy of the 1886 edition shows an assumption that what interested the Chinese community of readers were not really Japanese images, but unknown and unseen "Chinese" images. The Dianshizhai Studio and Fu Jie shifted the strategy of marketing the rarity of Japanese images in 1881 to a new one of offering something visually refreshing, yet still recognizably "Chinese," to meet what in their judgment was their readers' expectation. Apparently, their judgment proved to be accurate and successful, as the new edition has remained one of the best-sellers among traditional painting manuals ever since.

It should be noted, however, that that the aim was not simply "Chineseness," because there is a subtle balance between the authenticity of Chinese-ness and the thrill of the exotic. Taking the selection of images from *Illustrations of Tang Poetry* as an example, the 1886 editor chose to increase the number of images selected from sets six and seven as illustrated by Hokusai from seventeen images to forty while entirely dropping the images from set one drawn by Tachibana. In contrast to the works by Tachibana, which could actually be taken almost directly as Chinese without further modifications, those by Hokusai retain dramatic graphic differences with Chinese works even after with the stylistic reworking shown above. If pure "Chinese-ness" had been the goal of the 1886 edition, the opposite selection should have been made. Therefore, we see that, while the 1886 edition demonstrates an adjusted response to the assumed taste of the community of readers for images contained in Japanese illustrated books or painting manuals, the "Chineseness" on which the 1886 selection and reworking of these images was based was actually not a Chinese aesthetic conservatism but an invented tradition that was adjusted to a booming image market that was geared towards novelty,[52] the novelty of a Chineseness that was projected and mediated by a Westerner, Ernest Major. This is truly a product of a triangular negotiation of the three cultures, i.e., China, Japan, and the West.

The changing visual landscape

The revolutionary lithographic reproduction technique was much less labor intensive and much faster than woodblock carving. This reduced the price of books significantly, which in turn increased the range of people able to buy them. The old woodblock printed *Album of Paintings from the Hall of Endless Laughter* was sold for one *yuan* by Rakuzendō,[53] while the lithographic reproduction by the Dianshizhai only cost a third, 3.5 *jiao* 角 (0.35 yuan). At the same time, pricing of lithographic prints varied greatly. The eight volumes of the *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* with their 600 images cost one yuan, while the competition's two-volume *Cartoon Drawings of Famous Shanghai Artists* with its 112 images cost 1.6 *yuan*, although it did come in a larger format.[54] The advertisement for this latter set criticized previous painting manuals in woodblock printing as being

52 The inventive approach to tradition was in vogue in various genres and media in this period. See, for example, Lothar Ledderose, "Aesthetic Appropriation of Ancient Calligraphy in Modern China," in *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions*, eds. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith, 212–245.

53 Leshan tang zhuren 樂善堂主人, *Leshan tang fashou shumu* 樂善堂發售書目 [Catalogue of books on sale by the Rakuzendō bookstore], 31b.

54 The format of the *Haishang mingren huagao* was 29.5 cm in width and 17.5 cm in height, accessed September 11, 2018, http://book.kongfz.com/77244/195304061/ (according to a different source 28×18 cm, accessed Sept. 11, 2018. https://auction.artron.net/paimai-art0060702586/), that of the

transcribed by vulgar hands or reduced in size for the convenience of carrying, thereby either losing their true appearance or being only suitable for child's play, while for this set "eight famous Shanghai artists" had been hired to offer their first-hand "fine drawings for lithography reproduction," and still the price was "moderate."[55] Copperplate printing was much more expensive because of the need for skilled craftsmen to do the engraving.

The advertisements for these painting manuals emphasize their use for people studying painting to copy painting from and, second, that "cultivated men" could "just open and enjoy them in front of a bright window on a clean desk." The advertisement for *Cartoon Drawings of Famous Shanghai Artists* even suggested that

> in addition to taking those prints as painting manuals for copying, one could even use the printed leaves mounted as screens, zither-shaped hanging scrolls, or attach them on windows or lamps, all of which look very exciting. It is indeed one item with two functions.[56]

Lithography, it concludes is multi-functional, beautiful, and cheap and thus in all aspects superior to the woodblock prints. The Dianshizhai Studio actually started to use lithography to reproduce individual works of painting and calligraphy as early as 1879.[57] It even offered different prices for mounted and unmounted lithographs, printing on plain or colored paper, as well as with or without hand-coloring. Once painting manuals joined this mass-produced image-making of "painting" and "calligraphy" for display, the numbers of people who could afford "artwork" increased dramatically. Indeed, if we browse the various interiors depicted in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, especially those of entertainment quarters, almost all the walls, lamps, and windows are covered with various kinds of painting and calligraphy.[58] An 1883 guidebook for visiting Shanghai courtesan houses, [59] which provides all the information required to navigate the trendiest entertainment quarters in town,[60] mentions together with descriptions of the furniture, attire, accessories, food, tea, interior decoration, etc. seen in courtesan houses "lamps with calligraphy and painting":

Dianshizhai conghua had a width of 13.5 cm and a height of 15.5 cm. The width in both cases refers to the opened volume.

55 See the advertisement Menghuai shuwu, "*Haishang mingren huagao* 海上名人畫稿," *Shenbao*, November 22, 1885, 5.

56 See Menghuai shuwu, "*Haishang mingren*."

57 See Roberta Wue, "Selling the Artist," 463–480.

58 Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment," especially 75–77.

59 Zhimisheng 指迷生, *Haishang yeyou beilan* 海上冶遊備覽 (Shanghai: Jiyuexuan 寄月軒, 1883).

60 For courtesans becoming social celebrities and fashion leaders, see Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment," 82, and most importantly, Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, chapter one.

> The lamps hung in the courtesan houses deemed the most prized had previously always been made of glass. Later, lamps made of claws and adorned with beads were in vogue, and then lamps with calligraphy and painting took their turn as the most pervasively popular. Each room is equipped with four lamps. They are covered with white brocade written with poetry and painted with colored flowers or landscapes, which appears even more elegant. The frames of the lamps usually are made of mahogany and recently the more popular ones have been changed to use fine Xiangfei bamboo.[61]

This kind of the hanging lamp with small works of calligraphy and painting indeed became very popular, not only in courtesan houses but also in rich households, as seen extensively in the illustrations in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. Although it says that the paintings are painted on the white brocade, judging from the advertisement for *Cartoon Drawings of Famous Shanghai Artists* mentioned earlier, we know that they could also be the printed paintings on paper.[62] How many of these works of painting and calligraphy that covered the walls, windows, and lamps in interior spaces depicted in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were genuine? And how many of them were just reproductions? Are they lithographic printed images from painting manuals? And were there any disguised Japanese images among them? I wonder.

The Japanese illustrated books imported into Shanghai in the 1880s and 1890s were selected and dominated by networks of the Sino-Japanese art world. This trade rose and coincided with the expanding applications of lithographic printing. These cheap and mass-produced reproductions with their great variety made filling architectural spaces with high art, seasonal prints, images of leaders, and illustrated newssheets easier than ever before.

Conclusion

As the most important Chinese hub of international networking and information, late nineteenth-century Shanghai functioned almost like a showcase of Chinese adaptations and appropriations of modernity. The consumption of images that circulated on a global scale was the key that facilitated and created these adaptations and appropriations on an unprecedented scale and in accessible ways. Browsing through image reproductions and their narratives from the last decades of the nineteenth century, we find instead of the conventionally assumed duality of "East versus West," that they developed in a triangular relationship of China, Japan, and the West. The evidence from painting is confirmed by the practice of

61 Zhimishen, *Haishang yeyou beilan*, vol. 2, chapter 4, 8a.
62 See *Shenbao*, November 22, 1885, 5.

newspapers, journals, and magazines. Although there were Chinese voices claiming at the time that Japan was just the West in an easier accessible (and less costly) way, the market success of recent Japanese cultural (rather than adapted Western) goods in Shanghai points to the fact that these could provide a modern stimulus for the leisure hours of Chinese gentlemen. Still, the importance of this Japanese element is severely underestimated and, as a consequence, understudied.

What was the role of Japanese imported culture in the Chinese accommodation of this new modern world? This study takes a most traditional, most seemingly unchanged leisure activity, the consumption and appreciation of painting manuals, a cultural practice that had been commonly conducted in the daily life of educated men. It shows, on one hand, how the new printing technology from the West expanded the group that could/would consume "artworks," as well as the range of "artworks" accessible to the point of creating a new interior visual landscape in Shanghai. The initiative to make Japanese pictorial modernity accessible in China and to develop the distribution network to expand this accessibility across the country, and to adjust the Japanese images to a perceived Chinese sensitivity was with an Englishman from the "West", Ernest Major. This brings the triangular relationship full circle.

The lithography technology also facilitated the hybridization of these works that were part of a rapidly growing global circulation of images. Therefore, the issue is less which foreign sources of images were available, but more which foreign images were selected and how their foreignness was toned down to facilitate their reception in China. The Japanese printed images imported to China during the late nineteenth century depicted mostly landscapes and figures of the perceived traditional cultural center of East Asia, but they did so with a particular style and flavor, which Major felt would suit his own taste for the "real" in painting and act as a healthy antidote to a Chinese painting tradition with little appreciation for the "real." It is this flavor or style between the familiar and unfamiliar that made the Japanese printed images especially popular and well-received from the perspective of the Chinese painting manual tradition, and it contributed to a silent transformation of the mainstream Chinese styles in art circles. This will be seen in one of the most famous painters in Shanghai, Ren Bonian, as I have argued elsewhere.[63]

This unrecognized adaption of Japanese images in China did prepare for the emulation of Japanese artistic modernity by Chinese artists after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. For example, Lu Xun, who had studied in Japan for more than seven years and came back to China in 1909, time and again referred to his early acquaintance with Japanese images in *Dianshizhai Assorted Paintings* as a background to his own promotion of the Chinese modern woodcut movement. Just as Catherine V. Yeh has

63 See Yu-chih Lai, "*Surreptitious Appropriation*. Ren Bonian and Japanese Culture in Shanghai, 1842–1895." PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2005, chapter 4.

shown in her studies on Shanghai courtesan culture in Shanghai and the Shenbao Publishing House's publications of Chinese novels,[64] the field of leisure is a harbinger and testing ground for social change. Consuming visually attractive Japanese painting manuals, a seemingly insignificant leisure activity, brought about a long cultural and social process of accepting the previous protégé as a potential model for emulation. It also created a new aesthetic that pointed to a new direction for the Chinese traditional art world to engage with the promises and challenges of a transculturally shared modernity.

Figures

Fig. 1: *Dianshizhai conghua* (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1881), chapter 12, 23b–24a, in the collection of Rudolf G. Wagner.
Fig. 2: *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 12, 22b–23a.
Fig. 3: *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 12, 9b–10a.
Fig. 4: *Liufa daguan* 六法大觀 (1887) vol. 1, in the collection of Shanghai Library.
Fig. 5: Ren Xun, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, no. 46, *ding*-10 (1885.8.1–1885.8.9), 73a, in the collection of Kansai University.
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Fig. 8: left, Ren Xun, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, no. 46, *ding*-10 (1885.8.1–1885.8.9), 73a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1886), chapter 6, 1b.
Fig. 9: left, Ren Xun, for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, no. 46, *ding*-10 (1885.8.1–1885.8.9), 73a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1886), chapter 6, 39b.
Fig. 10: left, *Tōshisen eho*, serial two, chapter 2, 6b–7a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 10, 12b–13a.
Fig. 11: left, Oda Kaisen, *Bunrui nijūshikō zu* [Classified images of twenty-four exemplars of filial piety] (Kyōto: Yoshitaya jihyōe, 1843), vol. *ken,* front page; right, *Ershi si xiao* [Twenty-four exemplars of filial piety] title page, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 4, 1a.
Fig. 12: left, *Tōshisen eho*, serial 4, chapter 5, 13a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 1, 69a.
Fig. 13: left, Ōhara Tōno, *Meishu gafu*, vol. *chi*, 43b; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 2, 2b–3a.
Fig. 14: left, Oda Kaisen, *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō*, 3a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 3, 27b–28a.

64 Catherine V. Yeh, *Shanghai Love*; id. "Recasting the Chinese Novel."

Fig. 15: left, Oda Kaisen, *Kaisen jūhachi byōhō*, 1a; middle, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 3, 26b–27a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886), chapter 3, 80b.

Fig. 16: upper left, Dianshizhai conghua (1881), chapter 10, 11b–12a; upper right, Tani Bunchô, Nihon meizan zue, vol. di, Hayachine Mountain; lower right, Tani Bunchô, Nihon meizan zue, Fuzekama Mountain.

Fig. 17: upper left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 10, 23b–24a; upper right, Kobayashi Shinbei annotated, Suzuki Fuyō illustrated, *Tōshisen eho*, serial two, chapter 2, 5a; lower right, Kobayashi Shinbei annotated, Suzuki Fuyô illustrated, *Tōshisen eho*, serial two, chapter 1, 15a.

Fig. 18: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 8, 34b–35a; right, Ranzan annotated, Komatsubara Suikei illustrated, *Tôshisen eho*, series 5, chapter 4, 7b–8a.

Fig. 19: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 5, 57b–58a; right, Takai Ranzan annotated, Katsushika Hokusai illustrated, *Tôshisen eho*, series 6, chapter 2, 13b–14a.

Fig. 20: left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 7, 27a; right, Hishikawa Moronobu, *Wakoku hyakuzo*和国百女 [One hundred Japanese beauties] (1698), National Diet Library, Tokyo.

Fig. 21: left, Tani Bunchō, *Nihon meizan zue*, vol. *ten*, Umidori yama [Mount Umidori]; middle, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 9, 8b–9a; right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886), chapter 1, 13b–14a.

Fig. 22: upper left, *Tōshisen eho*, serial 7, chapter 2, 14b–15a; upper right, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1881), chapter 5, 74b–75a; lower left, *Dianshizhai conghua* (1886), chapter 7, 37b–38a.

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