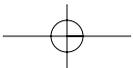
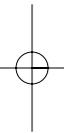
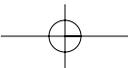
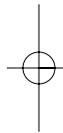
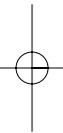
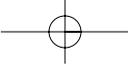
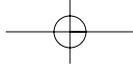


SELLING HAPPINESS





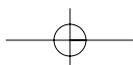


SELLING HAPPINESS

Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in
Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai

• ELLEN JOHNSTON LAING •

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII PRESS • HONOLULU



MM Publication of this book has been aided by a grant
from the Millard Meiss Publication Fund of the
College Art Association.

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Printed in the United States of America
09 08 07 06 05 04 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Laing, Ellen Johnston.
Selling happiness: calendar posters and visual culture in early-
twentieth-century Shanghai / Ellen Johnston Laing.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8248-2764-3 (hardcover: alk. paper)

1. Advertising—China—Shanghai—Posters. 2. Posters,
Chinese—China—Shanghai—20th century. 3. Calendars—
China—Shanghai. 4. Commercial art—China—Shanghai—
History—20th century. I. Title.

NC1849.A29L35 2004

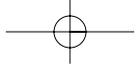
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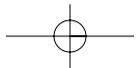
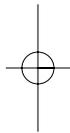
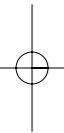
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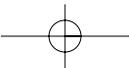
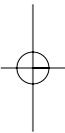
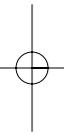
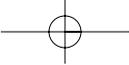
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To Richard Alan Laing
and to my sisters
Janet Johnston Cutting
and Laura Johnston Fulkerson

In memory of my parents
Stella Rubart Johnston
and David Archibald Johnston





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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is the consequence of the happy convergence of two of my scholarly interests: twentieth-century Chinese art and Chinese popular material culture. The catalyst was an invitation from Professor Julia Andrews at the Ohio State University to participate in a panel on “Commercial Art and the Publishing Industry in Old Shanghai” at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in 1997. My research for this presentation brought one of the most prolific of Chinese commercial artists, Xie Zhi-guang, to my attention. I later made Xie and his career as a commercial advertising artist the subject of other presentations on twentieth-century Chinese art delivered at professional conferences. From these modest beginnings, my study expanded into a multifaceted survey of visual culture and pictorial advertising in China.

Two collectors of Chinese advertisement calendar posters graciously permitted me access to their collections and allowed me to study and photograph them. I am very grateful to Wei Te-wen in Taipei, and to Robert Brown, director of the Robert Brown Gallery in Washington D.C., and his able assistant director, Geoffrey P. Spotts. A third collector, Christer von der Burg of the Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Woodblock Printing and Prints, greatly facilitated my research when I was in London in the spring of 1999.

Research for this book was conducted primarily at the University of Michigan. At this renowned institution, I owe thanks to Weiying Wan, head of the Asia Library, and to his expert staff, especially Mei-ying Lin and Chun-fang Li. Personnel at the Buhr Shelving Facility of the University of Michigan Library, in particular Carol McKendry, Dawn Wallace, Geoffrey Stoll, and Vince Lee, were exceptionally patient in filling my many requests. At the university’s Fine Arts Library, Deirdre Spencer and Katherine Kuehn provided more than the usual library assistance by listening to versions of sections of the book and offering invaluable comments. Susan J. Garrett, at the Media Union Library, was indispensable in locating obscure materials, and Tao Shi Gong, supervisor of the Kresge Business Administration Library, in resolving translation problems.

Several museum and library curators in Europe and the United States opened their storage rooms to me so I could search for special materials pertinent to my project, or helped in other ways. At the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin, my thanks go to the director, Dr. Willibald Veit, and to Dr. Herbert Butz; at the Museum für Völkerkunde, also in Berlin, I am indebted to Dr. Shun-Chi Wu of the Asian Department. In

England, Frances Wood, head of the Chinese Section, Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, and Yoshiko Yasumura, arts librarian, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, enabled me to discover significant early examples of calendar prints in their collections, as did David Holwell at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. In the United States, among those to be thanked are Laurel Kendall and Ann Wright-Parsons, Anthropology Division, American Museum of Natural History, New York City, and Elinor Pearlstein at the Art Institute of Chicago.

At the Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, through the graciousness of Li Xin, president and director of this establishment, and Li Wei Kun, its editor in chief, I was permitted to examine original paintings used in poster production after 1949.

In the academic world, many individuals helped in ways large and small, including Julia Andrews at the Ohio State University; Lisa Claypool at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon; Susan Erickson at the University of Michigan, Dearborn Campus; James Flath at the University of Western Ontario; Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker at the University of Michigan; Kuo Chi-sheng at the University of Maryland; Boris Riftin at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Shen Kuyi at Ohio University, Athens; Victoria Siu at the University of San Francisco; Tang Chon Chit at the University of Macau; Richard Wang at the Chinese University of Hong Kong; and Ann Wetherell at Pacific University in Portland, Oregon. Patrick Young's extraordinary skills with the camera greatly improved several illustrations. Carol Stepanchuk of Folk Art International Resources for Education lent her exceptional expertise in solving myriad questions. Lingyun Shih at the China Institute in New York City has been a constant supporter.

I am grateful for the cheerful, efficient, and thoroughly professional guidance from Patricia Crosby and Cheri Dunn of the University of Hawai'i Press in seeing this project through to its published form. I also thank Karen Weller-Watson for her meticulous copyediting. My husband, Richard Laing, has been thanked so many times for so many things in so many ways that he needs no further mention here.



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction



This book traces the careers and fortunes of Shanghai commercial advertising artists who, from the early twentieth century until the Communist takeover in 1949, designed colorful advertisement posters for hanging on the wall as well as black-and-white advertisements for placement in periodicals. As the first substantial investigation of commercial art in China, it adds to the existing studies of Shanghai culture and opens new vistas on twentieth-century Chinese art and visual culture. It discusses not only advertising art but also its production. It constructs extended biographies for the major artists, recounting as far as possible their art training, their daily personal lives, even their adventures in the brothels and occasional brushes with the law. It documents how they made their livelihood as independent artists or in association with an advertising department in a large company, or as a member of a commercial art studio. It tells of their artistic achievements outside the realm of advertising art, in such arenas as Chinese-style painting or photography.

Revealed for the first time are the fruitful relationships between commercial artists and fine artists as well as the important connections between commercial artists and the publishing industry: commercial artists supplied attractive covers for popular-fiction magazines, and popular-fiction authors wrote poetic inscriptions for the calendar posters. By examining commercial art in detail, and especially the distinctive advertisement calendar posters, this book explains how the early twentieth-century Chinese public came to accept Western-style art as normal.

The study focuses on Shanghai.¹ At the close of the Opium Wars of 1840–1842 the terms of the Nanjing Treaty (1842) opened five Chinese cities to Western trade, among them Shanghai. By the 1880s, Shanghai was China's foremost center of finance, trade, and industry. Westerners from England, the United States, and France staked out settlements on uninhabited or little habited lands surrounding the city in order to provide housing for their nationals. England and the United States eventually combined their

holdings to form the International Settlement, while the French remained in their French Concession. The foreign enclaves became places of refuge for Chinese merchants fleeing from rebels of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) that swept through southern China. In 1895 the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War, permitted foreigners to build factories in China's treaty ports, adding to Shanghai's burgeoning trade.

In the concessions amenities abounded. Foreigners constructed domiciles in the architectural styles of their homelands and sometimes their Chinese compradores, or commercial representatives, imitated these grand mansions. The foreigners built high-steeped churches and multistoried hotels. By 1930 a skyline of towering commercial buildings, unique in China, dominated the waterfront Bund. The city was run by a Western-style city council, which functioned independently of the Chinese local government, had a fire brigade, a racecourse, and lively nightlife, eventually encompassing cinemas and dance halls as well as traditional theater spaces for storytelling and Chinese opera. There were wide streets and avenues, gaslights, electricity, running water, and public gardens. The city was relatively free in its economic and political practices.

The foreign concessions nearly surrounded the old walled Chinese town with its narrow streets and crowded buildings. In the Chinese town, each street sold particular types of merchandise; Western products in shops attracted both the curious just to gawk and the wealthy to purchase some modern item. By the late nineteenth century, Shanghai Chinese were familiar with Western gadgets such as desk or mantel clocks, hanging oil lamps with glass globes, and other technological advances, soon to include trains, trams, and automobiles. In the first half of the twentieth century, Shanghai was the most Westernized and most modern city in the country.

The printing industry contributed to Shanghai's rise to commercial prominence. Lithography, introduced into China by missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, by the turn of the century was an accepted mode for mass-producing pictorials, novels, popular magazines, and other inexpensive ephemera. Many presses, originally scattered throughout south China, moved to Shanghai, making it the publishing hub of the country.

In the wake of the Taiping Rebellion, artists also flocked to Shanghai to seek their fortunes. Eventually, they, too, were affected by the commercial atmosphere that pervaded Shanghai. Faced with a decline in traditional patronage systems, which had in the past supported independent artists, and confronted as well by the challenges posed by the advent of photography in China, many artists were forced to go commercial. Calligraphers and artists in Shanghai banded together in support groups, often to set prices for their art on the open market; they later would advertise their price lists in magazines and teach in the art schools that opened after 1905, when the Manchu government abolished the civil service examinations. The rise of the printing industry, with its new genres of popular magazines and other inexpensive literature, was a genuine boon to some artists, opening new avenues for income from artistic endeavor. Many artists made a living from the demands of commerce, providing illustrations for popular magazines and novels or designing attractive book covers, line drawings for ads to be placed in newspapers, and of course, the ubiquitous advertisement calendar poster.

Thus Shanghai, the international and commercial heart of China, had all the prerequisites for a flourishing international, modern commercial art center: a thriving commerce, a solid financial footing, a prosperous printing industry, and a population of artists eager to make a living.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many large and small Western and Chinese companies aggressively and competitively promoted their wares and services. Printed advertising soon became indispensable to commerce.

Advertisement calendar posters were the most important of the many forms of visual advertisement in China. They were introduced from the West and printed in glowing color lithography. These calendar posters, known in China as *yuefenpai*, were directed primarily at Chinese, not Western, customers. By the end of Manchu rule, in 1911, there already were many artists in China specializing in designing advertisement calendar posters. It has been estimated that over the next three decades some 700,000 advertisement posters were printed for domestic and overseas Chinese markets.² One modern scholar lists the names of fifty-six artists who made advertisement calendar posters.³

Sometimes landscapes or, more rarely, floral subjects appeared as the central image of a calendar poster, but the most popular images were of women. Beauties dressed in the flowing garments of ancient times and in settings of elaborate traditional architecture appeared as illustrations to Chinese stories and legends. Their modern sisters were portrayed as fashionable women in contemporary domestic interiors, stylish beauties in gardens (plate 1), or as homemakers with their children. Pictures of the product advertised appeared at the bottom or along the edges of the poster. There might also be printed endorsements, information about where the item might be purchased, and sometimes even poetry. The whole ensemble was often bordered with printed designs simulating the patterned silk mountings of Chinese hanging scrolls and supplied with metal strips along the top and bottom and loops to facilitate hanging. Eventually, “hangers”—pictures alone, without calendars and sometimes without advertising—were also available. Reflecting Shanghai’s international complexion, some calendars were bilingual, with names of companies written in Chinese, or Japanese, or Russian, or English, or French. Lithographed calendar posters and hangers became extremely popular, not only in Shanghai, but throughout China and in Chinese communities outside China as well. Shanghai posters were highly appreciated in Hong Kong, even though that city had its own thriving industry in this art.

Advertisement calendar posters were everywhere; they were given as merchant’s gifts, or sold in bazaar stalls on the streets; they were rewards to customers who purchased specified monetary amounts of products, or were offered to attract magazine subscribers. They decorated the rooms where ordinary people lived and dramatically changed the visual culture of early-twentieth-century Shanghai. Artists and writers have preserved examples of where these calendars were posted and how they were used.

Wu Youru, a Shanghai artist (d. 1893), included a representation of a calendar in a sketch showing the main central room of a modest house.⁴ A vertical rectangle (without pictorial image) labeled at the top “*yuefenpai*” is pasted on the wall just to the left of

the traditional arrangement of a large painting flanked by inscribed couplets. Writing in 1922, Don Patterson observed that “picture calendars find almost universal favor and are often sold, even after the calendars have outlived their period of usefulness.”⁵ A cartoon from 1928 shows how one could have both a picture and a calendar: a hanger depicting a pretty girl advertising Sanyo products is on the wall of a contemporary bedroom; to its left is a thick Western pad calendar.⁶ Finally, the distinguished novelist Zhang Ailing (Eileen Chang, 1920–1995), acclaimed for her attention to important detail, mentions a calendar poster in a story published in 1943. The plot is set in Hong Kong where the heroine recalls the small but significant things from her life in Shanghai. She remembers the bedroom she shared with her sister, and the calendar poster of a beautiful woman fixed on its wall, noting that her mother penciled on the arm of the beauty the telephone numbers of the tailor, the soy milk vendor, the wife of her mother’s brother, and of her three sisters.⁷ The calendar poster had become an inescapable part of Chinese life, for which the Chinese found a variety of uses.

The Chinese advertisement calendar poster was an adaptation of Western advertising practices refashioned for Chinese tastes. Thus the story to be told in this book necessarily begins half a world away, where many of the ideas and practices typical of the design and production of advertisement calendars in China were first introduced and developed.

Pictorial Advertising and Advertisement Calendars in the United States

The long history of advertising in the West is well documented in several authoritative studies.⁸ By the eighteenth century a strong capitalist economy had evolved in Western Europe and printed forms of advertising were common in England and the United States. In England, printed pictorial advertisements from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took the forms of handbills, trade cards, and product wrappers, used by businesses, trades, and professions. Some were crude woodcuts, other were sophisticated engravings designed by leading artists and engravers of the times, such as Hogarth.⁹

In the United States, the printed advertisement calendar was inaugurated in the mid-nineteenth century; it would become one of the most popular promotional devices.¹⁰ It is generally acknowledged that it was the Americans who propelled advertising, including the visual kind, to unparalleled new heights in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Printers themselves were among the first to advertise with pictorial calendars. An early advertisement calendar, for the year 1863, was lithographed by Ehrgott, Forbriger & Co. Lith. of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1862 (figure 1.1). The large calendar for 1863 and the first six months of 1864 occupies the central field. It is surrounded with politically charged images: “an elaborate framework of floral and acanthus ornament, surmounted by the figure of Columbia or Liberty. The figure is based on Thomas Crawford’s statue of Freedom on the U. S. Capitol.”¹¹ Symbols of progress and artifacts of war, arranged to the right and left, are paralleled with a peacetime scene and one of a battlefield en-

[4]



FIGURE 1.1. Advertisement calendar for Ehrgott, Forbriger & Co. Lith. of Cincinnati, 1862, 34.2 × 26.5 cm. Library of Congress, Washington DC. After Bernard F. Reilly Jr., *American Political Prints 1766–1876: A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991), 1862–1917.

closed in oval frames, a feature already in use for seventeenth-century portraits. The name of the printing firm is emblazoned on a plaque festooned with roses and two putti below the calendar. Political themes recur in American and English advertisement calendars over the years. A second early advertisement calendar, for 1867–1868, was published by Jacob Haehnlen of Philadelphia (figure 1.2). A variety of font styles proclaimed the manufacturer's name and his location, the product name and its virtues.¹² In the center is an impressive six-story building seen from the corner angle to emphasize its scale and solidity, and, by analogy, the scale and solidity of the business. Well-dressed pedestrians and carts drawn by proud horses convey an air of prosperity, further lending to the impression the company wished to project to its customers. Such visual reminders of what the place of business or a factory really looked like were common on invoices, letterheads, and other printed goods associated with a business. In

JACOB HAHNLEY'S
Lithographic and Steam Power Letter Press
PRINTING ROOMS,
GOLDSMITHS HALL, LIBRARY STREET,
OPPOSITE PHILADELPHIA POST OFFICE.

1867

Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.	Satur.
JANUARY.						
	3	4	5			
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		
FEBRUARY.						
	1	2				
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		
MARCH.						
	1	2				
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						
APRIL.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				
MAY.						
	1	2	3	4		
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	
JUNE.						
	1					
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

1868

Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.	Satur.
JANUARY.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			
FEBRUARY.						
	1	2				
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MARCH.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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APRIL.						
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JUNE.						
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7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

*All Kinds of Commercial & Fancy Printing executed promptly
 keep on hand the Largest & most varied assortment of Wine, Liquor, Druggists,
 Perfumery & Fancy Labels. Show Cards in the United States.*

*Several styles Pharmacy-Physicians Labels kept on hand of the latest
 Publications, Importer, Dealer & Manufacturer of Fancy Paper, Ornaments,
 Sachets &c. All kinds of Materials for Printers & Lithographers.*

FIGURE 1.2. Advertisement calendar for Jacob Haehnlen, Philadelphia, 1866. Harry T. Peters, "America on Stone" Lithography Collection, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

vertical panels on each side of this picture is the full calendar for 1867, and, in a small panel at the bottom, a partial calendar for 1868.

By the 1870s the newly developed techniques of chromolithography allowed for the printing of brilliantly colored images and opened the doors to vigorous advertising in all media. Chromolithography is a method of copying a colored painting or drawing

on paper or metal such as tin.¹³ It is not a simple technique. To reproduce a painting, a lithographic artist copies the image and each of its individual colors on separate stones.¹⁴ As long as the registration is accurate, the image can be re-created by printing in successive order, one color after another, on the same sheet of paper until the desired effect is achieved. The craftsman has to know how to divide the image into the proper number of colors, which inks to use, how to register the exact impression for each successive color and how to decide the order in which the colors should be printed. By 1860 stippled dots of color were being used to achieve subtly graded colors. In this technique, color is put on the stone by using ink or crayon, dot by dot, and when several colors are thus applied to stones and then printed together, the dots mix in the viewer's eye to create a blended hue and varying intensities and shades.

Colorful advertisement calendars hit their stride around 1890 and have remained a prominent part of American life. Printers profited from marketing the calendars to businesses, which then had their business names and addresses printed on them. Calendars were offered as premiums to foster sales of products and were advertised in magazines as such. The premium, according to Carl Crow (1883–1945), a former newspaperman who opened an advertising agency in Shanghai, must be an article for which there is a universal demand and that is cheap in price, easily transportable, and not perishable.¹⁵ Calendars fulfilled these requirements exactly and have endured as the most popular of advertising novelties.¹⁶

Most often, calendar images supplied by printers had little or no connection with the product or service being retailed. They were produced with an abundance of different pictures to appeal to a range of customer interests. The major categories of subjects depicted were religious themes; patriotic and humorous subjects; lovely, glamorous or exoticized women, including Indian maidens; appealing babies; adorable children with or without cute animals; animals themselves, including dogs, cats, lions, horses, and deer; attractive flowers and refreshing scenery; hunting and fishing scenes; views of American landscapes or nostalgic scenes of rural America; idealized home life. Titles of pictures were sometimes printed on the calendar.¹⁷

Advertisement calendars took a mind-boggling array of different forms. The multiple page calendar or the small pad of twelve sheets attached to a cardboard backing were two favorites. A popular pattern was to cover the space with pictures, such as of flowers or faces of beautiful women, and to scatter the twelve calendars throughout the imagery, as in the Bijou Calendar for 1897 (figure 1.3).

From the 1880s on, printers like the Boston firm of Louis Prang provided stock images that other printers could purchase and then overprint the names and addresses of local businesses. By the 1880s, printers were offering printed images for promotion novelties, including calendars, to the trade through advertisements in professional journals such as *Inland Printer*. It became increasingly common for advertisers of advertising novelties to include illustrations of their wares. The immense popularity of these stock images for calendars meant that the identical image might be used by more than one business. The *Inland Printer* full-page advertisement for the Franklin firm promoting “the most artistic designs” and “the largest assortment” of calendar plates for 1898

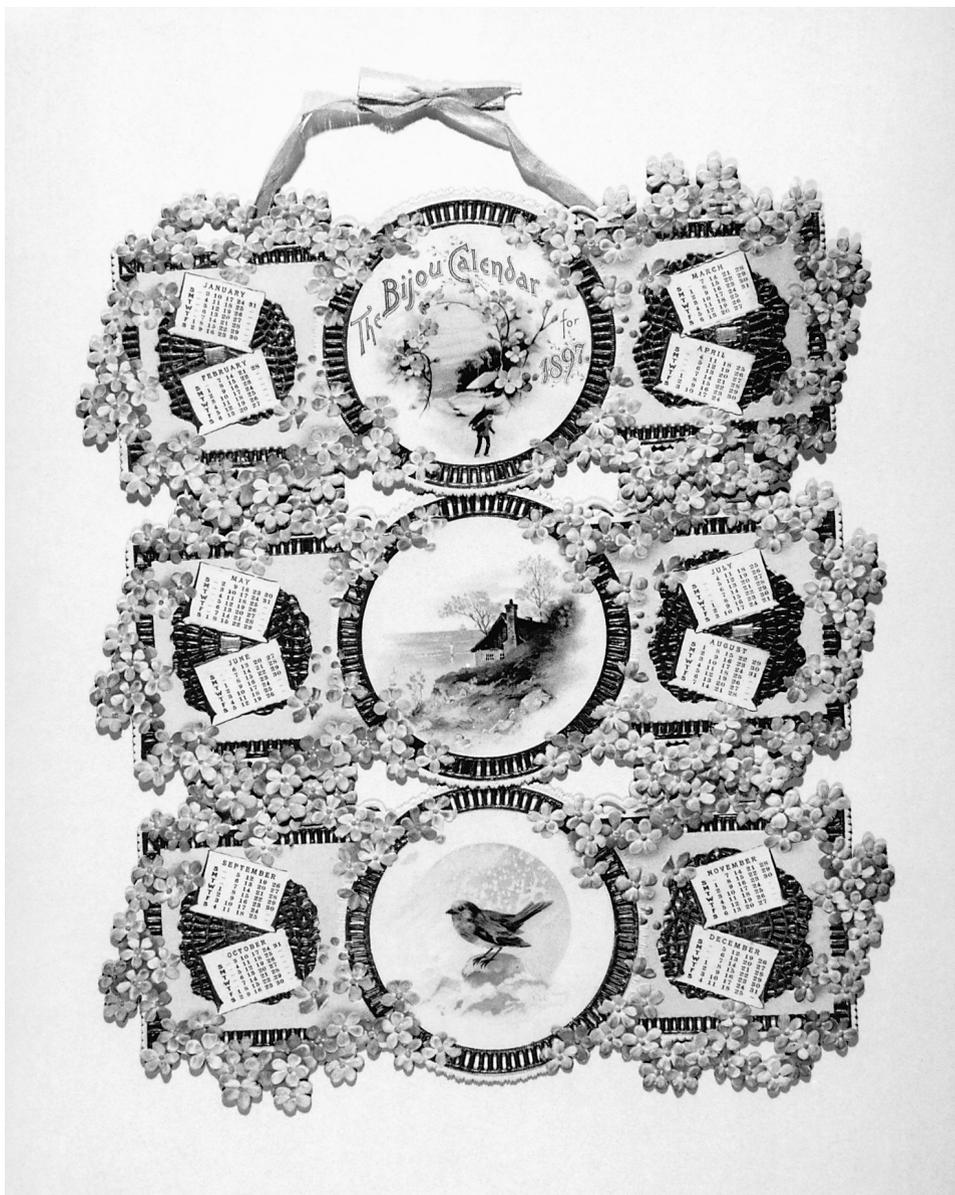


FIGURE 1.3. Bijou calendar for 1897, 23 × 20 cm. Author's collection.

featured a sample calendar depicting the four seasons; the calendar proper was in two vertical strips placed at the upper left and lower right (figure 1.4).

For the most part, the creators of the images provided by printing houses remain unknown. The organization of the Franklin Engraving and Electrotyping Company in Chicago may be typical of such firms. Aside from its calendar prints, the Franklin business included in its inventory a large number of “cuts” for designs for headings, borders, initials, and other decorative uses. The company had an art department and trained its

CALENDAR PLATES

FOR
1898-

Decorative flourish

The
Most
Artistic
Designs

Decorative flourish

The
Largest
Assortment

Decorative flourish

FOR
FULL
LINE
OF
SAMPLES
WRITE
TO

FRANKLIN ENGRAVING AND ELECTROTYPING CO. 341-351 Dearborn Street, CHICAGO.

FIGURE 1.4. Advertisement for Franklin Engraving and Electrotypics Company Calendar Plates for 1898, 27 × 20.5 cm. *Inland Printer* 20, no. 1 (October 1897): 19. Author's collection.

own workers.¹⁸ Other engraving houses had in-house art departments whose staff provided images to satisfy the commercial market. Advertising agencies, well established by this time, also had in-house printing departments. Some artists attended night school to improve their skills.¹⁹ In 1916 the art director of a farm journal described his ideal art department. On its staff would be artists proficient at representing animals, two people adept at lettering, one for unusual lettering for broadsides, folder, mailing cards, or posters, the other “capable of rendering copper-plate style, French script for advertisements, brochure titles and catalogue captions.” There were to be decorative designers to pull the creation together into a unified whole. The staff would also boast an art photographer and an airbrush specialist to make finer adjustments. This art director hoped to also have a specialist in automobile illustration, a colorist, and a layout man.²⁰

Around 1900, special advertisement calendars, designed by known artists and called “art calendars” were advertised in women’s magazines such as *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Truth*.²¹ Usually replicas of the calendar images were included in the advertisement as was a concise description of the calendar, giving the name or names of the artist or artists who created the original artwork. The calendars were not free but could be acquired by submitting some stated evidence of having purchased the advertiser’s product or for a small sum of money that could be sent in the form of cash or postage stamps. Separate plates of the calendar images, without text, could also be obtained for an additional fee. As advertised in *Ladies’ Home Journal*, the periodical *Leslie’s Monthly* offered a “beautiful art calendar” for the year 1902 as part of a package that came with a subscription to the magazine. The calendar featured “the most ‘Popular American Actresses and Their Favorite Flower,’ especially painted for us by Miss Maud Stumm of New York.”²² The *Leslie’s Monthly* calendar combined Stumm’s two artistic fortes: flowers and portraits of actresses.

By 1904 each pretty face in the Fairy Soap calendar was surrounded with “a frame effect in imitation of burnt leather, with borders and decorations in L’art Nouveau (The New Art), the latest French treatment in decoration, which is now all the vogue.”²³ Commercial designers had assistance in creating art nouveau designs, for one of the fruits of the art nouveau movement was the stylebook that embodied “principles and concepts developed or advocated by participants in the movement. . . [and] was often an appeal to designers of commercial products.”²⁴ *Two Hundred Fifty Authentic Art Nouveau Borders in Full Color*, reproducing designs executed by Maurice Pillard Verneuil and ten of his art nouveau colleagues, was published in 1904. The goal was to provide “ideas for designing decorative borders, focusing especially on how different figures and lines could be made to interact jubilantly in designs, how boring repeat patterns could be avoided and how the vertical and horizontal of a border design could be merged to form an attractive corner.”²⁵ Design handbooks are still published today.²⁶

As noted above, advertisement calendars sold through magazines sometimes offered calendar pictures without advertising text. It was obviously felt that these were the equivalent of fine art and, appropriately framed, were suitable for home decoration. Stock images for these “hangers” were sometimes offered by the job printers who supplied calendar plates and other printed advertising novelties.

In the aggregate, the most impressive of the advertisement posters and calendars printed in the United States are striking in their resourceful array of images and their flamboyant mixture of decorative text and representational image. Despite the broad range of inventiveness, they share certain pictorial elements. Calendars made for advertising purposes were produced in standard forms of a vertical rectangle with image and calendar pad, or image and scattered months. There were also irregularly shaped calendars. Although most calendars had simple line borders, many others had borders of fancy design or heavy foliage forms framing a representational image. Great imaginative ingenuity often went into the calendar images or overall design; and calendars were found on bookmarks and on trade cards. Sometimes, as noted above, the image had nothing to do with the product. In other instances, the images focused more di-

rectly on the product, providing pictures of the factory that produced the product advertised, or of people using the product, or of pretty women simply holding the product package. Close-up faces of pretty women or bust-length portraits remained standard in calendar and other types of advertising, as the many attractive “Coca-Cola Girls” attest.²⁷ Text, of course, was important. Advertisements often included slogans and always gave the brand name and usually gave the address of the retailer or manufacturer so people knew where to purchase the item, along with descriptions of the goods, emphasizing their superior qualities and benefits. Different typography styles were often used in one advertisement to print the text messages, and it was not uncommon for the ornate text to encroach into the space of the imagery, integrating text and image; sometimes text unfurled in strips of fluttering banners.

The majority of the calendars had stock images produced by printing houses for retail by other printers, and the designers remained anonymous. Artists practicing as illustrators were often commissioned to create unique images for “art calendars.” Both men and women contributed to these; most, however, regardless of their reputation at the time, have become obscure.

Pictorial Advertising in Traditional China

In contrast to the vast fund of data available about Western pictorial advertising, that of China has never been adequately addressed. Although the Chinese invented printing and were the first to use print technology to reproduce images in multiple, they did not develop and exploit pictorial advertising, because their traditional economic system was not consumer oriented. Evidence of painted or printed pictorial advertisements (that is, the use of a visual motif to advertise a product or service) in traditional China is sparse, scattered, and disparate.²⁸

The erratic history of pictorial advertisements in traditional China reveals, for the most part, how different it was from the consistently focused and intentional advertisement practices in the West. Many Chinese pictures construed below as constituting pictorial advertisements simply did not have publicity as their original objective.²⁹

Pictorial printed advertisements in China include merchandise wrapping paper, publishers’ logos and portraits, prints depicting entertainments, and finally, toward the end of the nineteenth century, cuts placed in periodicals. So few of these advertisements have survived that, even when assembled, the images do not lend themselves to a comprehensible overview, much less a coherent history of the topic.³⁰

Several factors doubtless have contributed to the destruction of actual examples of pictorial advertising. First, the very fragility of the media (ink, perhaps color, on paper) in which these advertisements were created make them difficult to preserve. Paper is a fragile substance that, unless properly cared for, is easily torn and soiled, readily disintegrating in a damp climate. Pictorial advertisement wrapping paper was subjected to wear and tear. Second, in China, scraps of paper that outlived their original purpose were sometimes recycled as layered shoe soles or as stiff armatures for paper figures destined to be burned in funeral ceremonies. Third, since picture advertisements would

in all likelihood be accompanied by text, this put them in the special category of “lettered paper.” An old tradition in China known as “reverence for lettered paper” urged collecting paper on which characters had been written, along with saving and proper disposal of such papers. The practice apparently began in the Song-Yuan period (960–1368) and was originally connected with the worship of Wenchang, God of Literature. In late-nineteenth-century China, there were societies for this purpose. As reported by Justus Doolittle, the goal of such associations was to preserve Chinese characters from “irreverent use.” Each club employed men who patrolled streets and alleys “collecting every scrap of lettered paper which may have fallen to the ground, or which may be found adhering loosely to the walls of houses or shops. Some men gather together refuse lettered paper, old account-books, advertisements, etc., which they sell to the head man or agent of these societies.”³¹ Members contributed to the cost of burning the lettered papers, storing the ashes, and finally having them deposited in the local river. It is possible that printed pictorial advertisements were among the papers deliberately collected and burned and their ashes properly drowned or carried out to sea.³²

The earliest known extant Chinese printed pictorial advertisement has survived only because its more durable double, its actual copper printing plate, dating to the Song dynasty (960–1260), was discovered in Shandong Province. The image is of a hare pounding a mortar (figure 1.5). The paper was used as a wrapper for acupuncture needles and the text tells customers to seek the shop at the sign of the white rabbit. The text along the top reads: “Acupuncture shop of Master Liu of Jinan”; the text on either side of the picture reads: “You will recognize it by the white rabbit that serves as a sign in front of the door.” Only part of the long text printed below the picture is legible: “We purchase fine-grade metal bars to make excellent needles.” The hare pounding the elixir of immortality is well-known in China and can be traced back to the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25–A.D. 220) when the rabbit was associated with Xiwangmu, Queen Mother of the West, a deity who conferred longevity and immortality; it is the perfect image to proclaim the therapeutic benefits of acupuncture.³³

A significant number of wrapping-paper images survive from the late-nineteenth-early twentieth-century printing establishments in Tainan, Taiwan. Made for drugstores, stationers, and incense shops, they also relied heavily on auspicious motifs.³⁴ The Xiedechuntang stationer’s shop logo was a vase holding a *ruyi* scepter, orchids, and *lingzhi* fungus. The character for “vase” is read “*ping*,” sharing the same sound as the character for “peace”; the *ruyi* is emblematic of the expression “as you wish”; the fungus is a sign of longevity; and orchids mean “concord,” from an expression in *Yijing* (Book of changes) that says: “When two people are in concord, their sharpness is broken. Words of concord are fragrant as orchids.”³⁵

Publishers and printers were particularly wont to create pictorial advertisements. In books, a printer’s colophon or trademark was normally found on the back of the title page or at the end of the table of contents. Colophons were boxed squares containing such information as the date and place of publication, the printer’s name, and occasionally a note on the process of production and an advertisement of the printer. Three Yuan dynasty (fourteenth century) printers incorporated into their colophons an ab-



FIGURE 1.5. Advertisement wrapper for the Liu Needle Shop of Jinan, Shandong, Song dynasty, 12.4 × 13.2 cm. National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing. After Lin Yan and Huang Yansheng, “Zhongguo dianpu huangzi yanjiu,” *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 2 (1995): fig. 7.

breivated message as an ornamental design, such as a hanging bell or an antique tripod of the type known as a *jue*, or a *ding*.³⁶ The *jue* vessel, a deep cup supported by three pointed legs, is associated with official office; the *ding* tripod represents the three senior dignitaries supporting the emperor and is included among the sets of precious good luck symbols; the bell is a verbal rebus, as the pronunciation of the character for “bell” (*zhong*) is a homophone for “to hit the mark” or “to obtain a degree.” These emblems are not only auspicious, but are especially appropriate for the scholarly, literati products they advertise. They brought the customer’s attention to the supposed superior quality of the printer’s products and perhaps also alluded to benefits to be gained from reading his publications. The visual images are easy to remember, and they remind the reader of where to go to acquire his next text or reference book.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many inexpensive single-sheet woodcut prints bear the name of the printing shop along one margin or in small characters following the title of the depiction, thus constituting an advertisement. The renowned Qi Jianlong shop in Yangliuqing, near Tianjin, went even further and employed what can only be interpreted as an abstract logo consisting of an outer circle of four arcs enclosing a solid circle, both crossed by a vertical and a horizontal line. This mark was not automatically included on all prints issued by this shop but appears on a disparate range of representations.³⁷ Some prints bearing this logo are superb in de-

sign, cutting, coloring, and printing; others are less accomplished, so it is impossible to determine what criteria determined the use of this emblem.

Publishers often printed text advertisements in their publications,³⁸ and even included portraits of themselves as part of the advertisement. The earliest known of these advertising portraits is dated 1492. In it the publisher sits cross-legged on a terrace in front of a landscape screen; he appears to be seated on a cushion or some other sort of support, reading a small book, and is attended by two youths.³⁹ Yu Xiangdou (ca. 1560–ca. 1637), a Fujian printer, went to extraordinary lengths to remind customers of his books and to impress them with his supposed scholarly status. Yu came from a long line of printers and publishers; he failed the civil service examinations and went into the family business. He claimed he hired

noteworthy scholars, winners in the civil-service examinations, to assist in the compilation and annotation of a number of titles ranging from Confucian classics through philosophical and religious works of several schools to collections of famous literary writings. He listed the titles he produced “for the benefit of scholars in their private studies.”⁴⁰

Three renderings of his portrait appear in at least six of his publications. The simplest depicts him as a gentleman-scholar, seated in front of a screen in a hall, his desk spread with books, brushes, and ink stone; a servant approaches with tea, while another sweeps the courtyard. Yu’s name and those of his publishing firms are prominently placed along the top frame of the screen and over the gate. Above the portrait, the caption proclaims Yu as the publisher, and text along the sides gives the title of the book and its table of contents, followed on the left by the statement: “In addition, it includes poems, lyrics, songs, rhapsodies, and fictional works of various authors which are too many to list. Examination candidates in the country: whoever buys this book will know this (claim is true) when he opens the cover.”⁴¹ In a final hint, the title of the book Yu is reading in his portrait is the very book he is promoting.

Other portraits of Yu as an affluent scholar are more elaborate. One version, published in his encyclopedia *Wanyong zhengzong* (The correct source for myriad practical uses), pictures him sitting in front of a landscape screen, surrounded by attending servants and grand household and garden accouterments announcing a wealthy man (figure 1.6). A placard above the courtyard gate names it Chonghuamen, the location of many printing establishments. Two of Yu’s many names, including one he used for his print shop, are inscribed above the picture frame.⁴²

Doubtless Yu wanted to be seen as one of the scholarly class, and his publishing firms as catering to the literati. His portrait in his publications made his name memorable, and thus his portraits served, in an impromptu fashion, to promote his publishing empire. Timothy Brook correctly assesses the advertising value of Yu’s portrait:

The pose is of scholarly endeavor, . . . We are not looking merely at vanity, but at the social aspiration to look like gentry, and as well the commercial motive to present the [encyclopedia] as the reading matter of a man of culture. . . . [The sur-



FIGURE 1.6. Portrait of Yu Xiangdou, 1599. After Yu Xiangdou, comp. *Wanyong zhengzong* (Fujian: Yushi shuangfangtang, 1599).

roundings] assure the purchaser that when he buys a book published by [Yu], he is getting an emanation from the world of the gentry.⁴³

Paper, ink sticks, and ink cakes, especially when ornamented with characters, scenes, and designs, are among the desk objects eagerly collected by Chinese scholars. Printed inventories picturing decorated letter papers, ink sticks, and ink cakes, perhaps used as merchandising ploys, began appearing in the seventeenth century. Although this advertising gambit remains to be fully explored, it is believed that at least one illustrated catalogue of ink sticks, the *Mopu*, was intended as a commercial strategy, and the possibility exists that a printed selection of letter-paper designs also served this purpose.⁴⁴ The illustrated ink-stick register featured designs sometimes based on existing pictures,

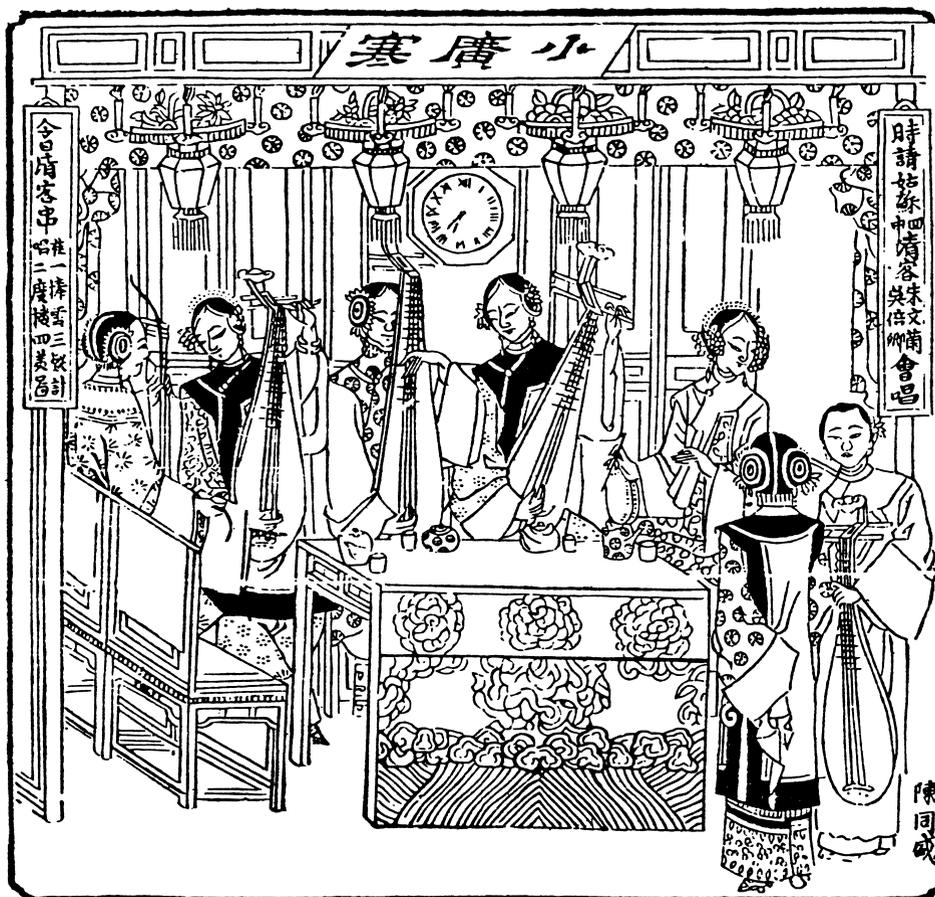


FIGURE 1.7. Xiao Guanghan, ballad-singing hall, Taohuawu, Suzhou, late nineteenth century, 24 × 25.6 cm. After Liu Ruli and Luo Shuzi, *Taobuawan muban nianhua* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961), 87.

sometimes commissioned by the manufacturer, that had been cut by craftsmen into the wooden molds into which the liquid solution would be poured and allowed to solidify. Catalogues of these designs were compiled and printed “both as record of the images used and also as practical means of advertising the decorative products to an élite market of scholars and connoisseurs.”⁴⁵

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Chinese entertainment world was a major source of images for the colorful popular prints.⁴⁶ When the theater is named in these prints, they can be considered advertisements. A rare print from the late Qing period depicts a Suzhou wineshop, the Qingchunlou, the Celebrating Spring Hall.⁴⁷ The shop name is inscribed on a board directly above the door. Customers are seen arriving and leaving; they stop at the front desk, where two men smoke and reckon accounts. Upstairs, customers seated at square tables chat and refresh themselves while enjoying a performance. Because the name of this wineshop is prominently visible in the print, it served simultaneously as a souvenir and an advertisement. A print depict-

ing a ballad-singing teahouse in Shanghai, the Xiao Guanghan (Small Far-reaching Cold) also falls into the souvenir/advertisement category (figure 1.7). The name of the teahouse, referring to the palace on the moon (Guanghangong), the residence of the moon goddess, Chang E, is on a placard above the performance area. Wooden boards on the side columns announce that Zhu Wenlan and Wu Beiqing have been especially invited from Suzhou to perform here and lists the four stories of their program.⁴⁸

More earthy diversions were acrobatics and juggling; entertainments current as early as the late Han period. Representations of them are found in Han tomb reliefs and on Song dynasty ceramic pillows.⁴⁹ Such exhibitions were still popular in the 1920s and 1930s. In one such spectacle in Beijing, they

put up a small enclosure, rather like a circus, with a high pole in the centre and a narrow track where the “horse-girls” appear. The show consists of alternate turns by riders and acrobats. Most of the performers are little girls dressed in red silk . . . One girl . . . balances a large earthenware jar and whirls it rapidly with her toes.⁵⁰

Woodblock prints from Shandong Province depict girls from the famous Wang family troupe executing dangerous acrobatic and juggling feats on horseback.⁵¹ According to Bo Songnian, these prints were designed by Yang Zhonghai (1875–1937), who worked for the Gongtai Huadian (Gongtai Picture Shop), whose name is on the prints.⁵² Because each girl’s name is inscribed next to her, the prints became more than mere souvenirs of a popular local amusement, and their value as advertisements cannot be overlooked.

These entertainment prints were neither advertisements ordered nor endorsed by the particular teahouse or acrobatic troupe, but were produced by the print shop for sale as commercial ventures. The initial concrete financial profit from their sale went directly into the print shop coffers. True, the entertainers might benefit from an increased audience and thereby perhaps an augmented income, but this is an intangible gain difficult to link to the prints themselves.

The introduction of lithography, and especially photolithography, into China in the late nineteenth century, and the publication of photolithographed pictorials, significantly enlarged the range of visual imagery, including pictorial advertisements, available to the common person. The primary geographical locus for photolithographic pictorials was Shanghai. During the 1870s the missionary-run *Gezhi huibian* (Chinese scientific and industrial magazine) carried picture advertisements, but apparently none has survived.⁵³ It was also in Shanghai, in 1872, that the English merchant Ernest Major used lithography and photolithography to print the first new-fashioned newspaper published in China, *Shenbao*. Lithography was also the medium for the pictorial *Dianshizhai huabao*, published every ten days between 1884 and 1898 by the book branch of *Shenbao*.⁵⁴ In addition to the *Shenbao* and *Dianshizhai* publishing houses, Major and his brother, Frederick, owned the Shenchang Shuhuashi (Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop), as well as a number of other enterprises in China.⁵⁵ From the very beginning, *Dianshizhai huabao* carried pictorial advertisements. Like Western newspaper and journal advertis-



本堂開設上海北門外拋球場南首朝東門面便是

本堂專辦各省名產... 凡欲購者請認明本堂商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈

四書味根錄 書間無善本... 本堂特備石手抄寫... 凡欲購者請認明本堂商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈

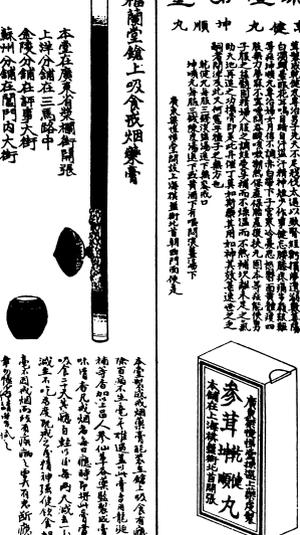


四書與制類 書一書久無... 本堂特備石手抄寫... 凡欲購者請認明本堂商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈



那燈堂 九健光 九順神

本堂在廣東... 凡欲購者請認明本堂商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈



新到水龍

本號新到英國水龍... 凡欲購者請認明本堂商標... 庶不致誤... 此佈

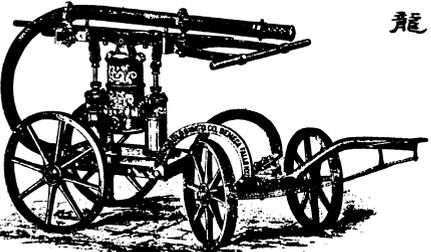


FIGURE 1.8. Advertisement page, *Dianshizhai huabao* 4 (1884, fifth month, middle ten days), advertisement section, collection *jin*, 2a.

ing in the 1880s and 1890s, each page contains pictorial advertisements for different products, along with text matter. One *Dianshizhai huabao* page from 1884 advertises a fan shop at the top (figure 1.8). Inside are eager customers, busy clerks behind the counters, among the stacks of boxes, and hanging displays of paintings. Lower down on the page are ads for two books published by Dianshizhai and Shenchang. The opium pipe and opium container do not advertise this drug, but rather a special medicinal paste to help people overcome the noxious habit. The Guangzhou firm offering this paste had branches in Shanghai, Jinling, and Suzhou. The box of ginseng pills (for

“male strengthening” and “female soothing”) advertises a product from a Guangzhou concern with a branch in Shanghai. A firefighting water pump made in Seneca Falls, New York, is “newly arrived” and for sale by the Shanghai firm of Quanheng Import Goods Shop (Quanheng Yangguanghuo Hao) on Third Avenue.

A consistent, coherent history of pictorial advertising in pre-1900 China is difficult to retrieve today. The best that can be recovered at this point is the occasional use of pictorial advertisements from the Song dynasty on. Purchases might be wrapped with paper decorated with the shop’s pictorial logo, to serve as a reminder for a repeat visit and to broadcast further the shop’s commodities. Auspicious motifs are conspicuous in the logos of Tainan businesses as well as in the publishing industry, where bookish types would recall the status of particular publishers by their pictorial logos or even their portraits. The names of the print shops that appear on many popular prints, and the use of at least one abstract design logo by one shop, were direct, deliberate advertisements. People who haunted the entertainment quarters might buy an inexpensive depiction of the wine shop they had just visited, or hoped to visit, or a certain ballad-singer establishment they favored. Even souvenirs of street entertainers could be acquired, taken home, and discussed with others. The inclusion in the pictures of the names of the tea- and wineshops and of the performers themselves publicized their location and attractions, and the performers’ skills. Even at this time, the theater was a source of pictorial imagery, although later on, it would be the star performers whose pictures sold commodities, or who endorsed products. Despite the indeterminate scope of pictorial advertising in traditional China, some visual elements can be identified as continuing to inform advertising pictures in twentieth-century China.

Saturation advertising, as known in the West, did not begin to affect China until the late nineteenth century when small pictures of products began to appear in the periodical press. Like the theater prints that included the name of the stage, the depictions found in the pictorial *Dianshizhai huabao* of the facades of fan shops brought familiar establishments to popular attention. Other pictorial cuts of newfangled firefighting equipment in *Dianshizhai huabao* transmitted a different set of images, one based on modern science and Western technology. In other words, advertising itself had now become a commercial enterprise, albeit still in its infancy.

The pictorial advertisements in *Dianshizhai huabao* mark for several reasons a dramatic change from the occasional Chinese advertisement pictures of the past. First, they are the earliest extant examples of reliance in China on the Western advertisement practice of placing images of numerous diverse products on a single page. Second, these images were ancillary to the purpose of the publication, i.e., a news pictorial. Third, presumably, aside from the in-house advertisements, someone paid to have these advertisement pictures published in this format. Some pictures were drawn by Chinese draftsmen, but the accurate rendering of the water pump suggests either it was supplied by the Western manufacturer or a picture of it was faithfully copied by a *Dianshizhai* staff member. Soon pharmaceutical, tobacco, and other companies would dominate the advertising business, most visibly in their colored advertisement calendar posters. The stage thus was set for grander accomplishments stemming from an amalgamation

of Chinese and Western ideas about the best ways to advertise commodities in China. But the images and compositional arrangements of the traditional Chinese calendars were not to be the model for the new *yuefenpai*.

Traditional Chinese Calendars

A major component of traditional Chinese woodblock print production was the calendar, which in almanac form goes back to the ninth century. The overview of traditional Chinese calendars presented herein demonstrates that the Chinese had a long tradition of printing pictorial calendars using distinctly Chinese motifs and for specific purposes.

In traditional China the passage of years was indicated by a set phrasing giving first the name of the emperor's reign followed by the number of the year of that reign, sometimes reinforced by two characters from the cyclical characters, the so-called branches and stems.

Months and days of the year were marked by much more complicated systems. The Chinese used both the lunar calendar (agricultural calendar, *nongli*) and the solar calendar.⁵⁶ The lunar calendar, based on the cyclical waxing and waning of the moon, divided the year into months either twenty-nine or thirty days in length. The former were known as "little or short months" (*xiaoyue*); the latter as "large or long months" (*dayue*). The first day of the month always falls on the day of the new moon; the fifteenth day of the month always falls on the day of the full moon. To keep the lunar calendar in approximate coordination with the seasonal cycle, an extra, intercalary month is inserted at selected times. In the lunar calendar the first month is called the "standard month" (*zhengyue*), and the remaining months are designated by numbers from two to twelve. In printed calendars, each lunar month is indicated as short or long.

The solar calendar divides the year into twenty-four spans (*jie*) either fifteen or sixteen days in length; the length of the spans are recalculated each year, and the sixteenth day reassigned, to coordinate with the seasonal cycle. The first day of each span, or "node," was given a special name, the whole sequence divided into odd (*jie*) and even (*qi*) numbers, so that the system is known as "the twenty-four solar spans and ethers" (*ershibisi jiejqi*). Each node has a name based on meteorological phenomena or agricultural circumstances. The first node is designated "the beginning of spring," followed by the period of "rain and water," and so on throughout the solar year to its concluding spans, "the inception of winter," the "light snow," the "heavy snow," the "winter solstice," the "lesser cold," and the "greater cold."

Calendars in traditional China existed in three forms. The first two, the state calendar and the almanac, appeared as books, and both have received scholarly attention. The third type of calendar is the illustrated single-sheet calendar, which, although data about them abounds, have never been formally investigated.

The official, government-issued, state calendar covered with imperial yellow silk had various titles. It was printed in different versions for the emperor, for the nobles, and for the civil and military officials, while a fourth was for purchase by the general public.⁵⁷

For ordinary people, there was the almanac, based on the official calendar and also

in book form but given an auspicious red cover.⁵⁸ The almanac provided useful information to assist in making decisions relating to daily life. Almanacs included charts of the auspicious and inauspicious days of the months, listing lucky and unlucky days for travel or sewing clothes, for weddings or funerals, for initiating a building project or starting on a journey. Almanacs had comments about the progress of a pregnancy, or health advice, along with charms against evil spirits. The almanac covered dream interpretation, physiognomy, and geomancy.⁵⁹ A common motif in the almanac book, one never found in the state calendar book, is the spring ox and his herd boy, Mangshen, wherein the weather for the coming year was forecast through a code. If Mangshen wears shoes, there will be plenty of rain; if he wears one shoe, the year will be dry; if he wears a hat, the year will be sunny; if his hat is worn on his back, it will be cool.⁶⁰

The third traditional Chinese calendar is the single-sheet, or one-page, pictorial calendar. Single-sheet pictorial calendars fall into three categories. One is associated with the image of the stove god (*zaojun*) posted anew each year, at New Year's time, after being sent off to make his annual report to heaven via ritual burning. His report determines the family's fortune during the coming year. These calendars normally are vertical in orientation and measure anywhere from 22 × 18 cm to 45 × 28 cm. The other two pictorial calendars are "Welcoming Joy" pictures (*yingxi tu*) and "Spring Ox" pictures (*chunniu tu*), and related to the spring ox, those that depict events associated with the spring-plowing ceremony. Welcoming Joy pictures are small, measuring 25.6 × 34 cm. The spring-ox and spring-plowing pictures are horizontal in orientation and range from 31 × 45 cm to 35 × 46 cm. Welcoming Joy pictures and the spring-ox and spring-plowing calendars all share pictorial images, the solar-lunar calendar, and charts of lucky and unlucky days, as well as other useful information for the conduct of daily life.

Pictorial single-sheet calendars were mainstays of the traditional print business, and a wide assortment were produced. The blocks for any given calendar image could be used year after year because it was possible to change the characters giving the year date and the calendar proper by carving new characters into removable plugs and inserting these into the notches.

The earliest illustrated calendar found is technically part of an almanac dated to 877. It was discovered at the Buddhist cave shrines at Dunhuang on the edge of the Gobi desert by Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and is now in the British Library. In a scroll fragment about four feet in length, information is printed in narrow horizontal strips, with "minute drawings and diagrams."⁶¹ The section just left of the center is a chart of the days of the year along with sketches of the twelve animals of the duodenary cycle: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog, and boar. Of these, as noted by Lionel Giles, only the rat, the serpent, and the monkey are marked with the character meaning "lucky." A second early calendar, unfortunately incomplete, was also brought back to England by Aurel Stein and is now also in the British Library. It can be dated to the year 978 and, as described by Giles, is

a group of finely executed drawings represent[ing] the Year-star God (the planet Jupiter) seated in the middle and surrounded by figures of the twelve "great spir-

its” and the four Lokapalas, guardians of the four quarters of space. Each of the former is wearing as a head-dress one of the twelve animals of the duodenary cycle . . . and eight of them carry ceremonial tables in their hands.⁶²

These illustrated calendars are very primitive in comparison to the sophisticated single-sheet examples from later centuries in China, but they do confirm the antiquity and importance of the duodenary animals in the popular calendar, a feature common in illustrated calendars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The stove god has a long history as a deity worthy of worship. Images of this god might have been in use in the Tang dynasty (618–906); they certainly were a vital part of New Year’s ceremonies in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).⁶³ It is not known when a calendar was combined with an image of the stove god. The images of the stove god printed with calendars surviving from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries observe a rigid, conventional composition arrangement (figure 1.9).⁶⁴ The stove god may be alone or accompanied by his wife and is surrounded by other figures. The god of the market and the boy who ushers in wealth are popular secondary figures. A large cartouche at the top margin is labeled with characters giving the dynasty name, the reign name, the year number, and the cyclical characters. Below them is the calendar proper in which the upper register lists the long and short months of the lunar calendar; the lower register contains coordinates for the twenty-four spans of the solar calendar. There may be sets of phrases along sides or bottom that give prognostication information about the year as based on the directional positions of the stars or planets of various deities, which changed every year. The calendar cartouche is frequently framed by a pair of dragons. A “basin of wealth” containing shining jewels or coins or silver ingots, or sometimes a money tree, is usually depicted at the stove god’s feet.

Stove-god prints, perhaps because they were used in important New Year’s rites, remained fixed in compositional arrangement with the calendar, regardless of whether it was directly in the center or split into the two parts invariably located above the sacred image.

Two early, identical single-sheet Welcoming Joy calendars were printed at the famous Taohuawu area in Suzhou. One, presently in the Tenri Library in Nara, Japan, is dated to 1766 (figure 1.10); the present location of the second, dated to 1772, is unknown.⁶⁵ A third example is known only from having been incorporated into a New Year’s still-life arrangement printed in Suzhou in 1745; unfortunately, for artistic effect, the calendar is draped (à la Salvador Dalí’s limp watch) over a book, leaving only text parts of it visible.⁶⁶

This Welcoming Joy calendar combines almanac data with calendar information. The whole sheet is divided by lines into rectilinear units, not unlike an almanac page. At the top a row of discs encloses characters for the date and the title *Welcoming Joy Picture*. At the bottom of each end of this strip, two small sections contain abbreviated agricultural prognostications for the coming year based on standard entries in the almanac: on the left, the “Earth Mother Classic,” and on the right, “Liu’s Biscuit Poem.” They frame the calendar proper. In the upper left corner is the octagonal divination



FIGURE 1.9. The stove god and his wife, with calendar for 1910, 30.4 × 19 cm. Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Wood Block Printing and Prints, London. Courtesy of Christer von der Burg.

compass used for selecting auspicious dates for marriages. The octagonal diagram on the right gives the locations of the god of joy, who determines lucky days. The large central panel is packed with images of money. The military god of wealth on the left is accompanied by two boys, the Harmony Brothers (Hehe). One holds a box (*be*), the other boy holds a lotus (*be*); the civilian god of wealth on the right is accompanied by the smooth-faced god of the marketplace and the bearded foreigner, with whom trading brings wealth.⁶⁷ The civilian god of wealth sits under a money tree whose branches sprout clusters of coins. Overhead, a dragon spurts coins, ingots, and coral branches into a basin of wealth that already holds rhinoceros horns and gleaming gems. A tiger crouches below. In ancient lore, the green dragon is associated with the east, the white



FIGURE 1.10. Welcoming Joy calendar for 1766, Taohuawu, Suzhou, 25.6 × 34 cm. Tenri Library, Nara, Japan. After *Chūgoku no Minsbin jidai no hanga* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1972), 87.

tiger with the west; perhaps these correlations still pertain here to convey an idea of a great expanse of geography. In the upper right corner is a label reading “gold mountain”; its counterpart, the “silver mountain,” is at the left margin. The secondary panels to the right and left of the central image provide data relating to days when it is inappropriate to sew clothing or light a fire, and, on the left, inauspicious days in general. Below are given the varying positions of, on the right, Jupiter, the planet that controls time and human fate and whose “residence” changes each year; and on the left, Venus. By the early nineteenth century, this style of Welcoming Joy calendars was out of vogue.

Beating the Spring Ox, a ceremony of great antiquity, was performed on the day of the solar calendar that marked the “beginning of spring.”⁶⁸ In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), local officials moved in procession beyond a city’s east gate, where a clay ox awaited them. Someone costumed as the spirit of spring, Mangshen the herd boy—or sometimes the officials themselves—would beat the ox until it fell to pieces and its innards, usually the five grains, scattered on the ground. This beating symbolized urging the ox to work to ensure a fruitful harvest. There were regional variations in the performance of this ritual, including that observed by Lewis Hodous in Fujian Province in the late nineteenth century. Hodous reported:

The procession was headed by a band of musicians. There were the tablets with the titles and offices of the magistrates. There were one or more umbrellas with

[24]

ten thousand names given to a popular official when he leaves his post. All official decorations were exhibited on this occasion which was made as magnificent as possible. Behind the open sedan chairs of the officials followed a long line of attendants each carrying a bouquet of artificial flowers belonging to the spring season.⁶⁹

Spring Ox calendars were extremely fluid in their iconography and composition. They share with Welcoming Joy calendars, however, the basic arrangement of important elements: the calendar is at top center, and panels or diagrams with secondary data are in upper right and upper left corners. The main motif is supposed to be the spring ox and the herd boy, but often they are so small in comparison with other images on the sheet that it is difficult to determine differences in the boy's attire, making it doubtful that this device was really useful for forecasting the weather. Beyond these basic affiliations with the other calendar forms, Spring Ox calendars vary widely in their imagery.

An early Spring Ox calendar, dated 1843, was printed in Suzhou and is now in the School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London (figure 1.11).⁷⁰ A riverbank is lined with mock-European towers and pergolas mixed with Chinese curved eaves. Maintaining the standard arrangement, the all-important calendar is positioned at top center, and secondary panels of data are incorporated into the architectural decoration at the upper right and upper left corners. Two processions of heavily laden wagons, one drawn by an ox and one by a mule, meet in the center of a bridge spanning the river. The title of this calendar is *Western Countries Bring in Riches, Spring Ox Picture* (*Yangguo jinbao chunniu tu*). The reference to foreign commerce proclaims that international trade brings wealth to China and suggests connections with the wealth advocated in Welcoming Joy calendars. In eighteenth-century Suzhou, woodblock prints were heavily influenced by Western engravings, copying both the trappings of Western perspective drawing as well as Western cityscapes. This print is a rare survival of that time. Unfortunately, the Suzhou print industry—its shops, its woodblocks, and its inventory—was destroyed in the blazes attendant on the siege and capture of the city by the Taiping forces in 1861. When the print business revived, European influence had vanished. The new Spring Ox calendars had different backgrounds and subsidiary images garnered purely from Chinese culture.

The new Spring Ox calendars tended to crowd available spaces with images so that sometimes the ox and his herder are lost in the medley. Nevertheless, these calendars adhere to a standard compositional formula, with the characters giving the year date in circles along the top margin. The calendar proper and its attendant panels of secondary information about the god of joy and inauspicious days are placed along the top of the page. The new Spring Ox calendars often merged motifs from plebeian culture. The "Spring Ox and Tea Pickers" calendar is an example. Here the minute ox and herder are at the very bottom center of the print. On the central axis, the ox supports a huge disc surrounded by representations of zodiac animals and at the top of the print are the civil god of wealth and his attendants. Figures of women hold flower lanterns. Every space is filled with the written text of so-called tea-picking ditties. There are twelve songs, one for each month. The lyrics of one risqué verse are: "When pomegranates turn red



FIGURE 1.11. Spring Ox calendar for 1843, Taohuwu, Suzhou, 32.7 × 48.8 cm. Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England.

in May, Ruilan met Jiang Shilong while picking tea; wedded in an inn one night, in the morning apart like east and west.”⁷¹ The whole is based on a local performance called the “Tea Picking Lantern Dance,” popular in Jiangxi and Guangdong Provinces. According to Wang Kefen, the show developed from local folk songs and dances, and judging from the fact that a decree forbade its performance, it must have been exceedingly common. The most popular version was “Tea Picking in Twelve Months,” in some locations performed by twelve young men dressed as women carrying flower baskets illuminated by lanterns covered in crimson silk. They formed a large ring, circling around, singing and dancing.⁷² This calendar is a new and clumsy rendition of an old pictorial cycle that had been printed two centuries earlier, not as a calendar, but in a much more accomplished and elegant guise.⁷³

Other Spring Ox calendars include sets of four large characters spelling out auspicious sayings, like “fortune and longevity come in pairs” (*fushou shuangquan*) with the interiors of the strokes of written characters crammed with motifs.⁷⁴ Here, as usual, the calendar and the supplementary information occupy the center and corners of the upper margin. The ox and his attendant are located at the center along the lower margin of the picture. Auspicious motifs such as the gods of wealth, longevity, and high official position, the Hehe brothers, basins of jewels, and bats (the word for which, “*fu*,” is a homophone for happiness, “*fu*”) fill up the sheet. Representations of the flower spirits for the twelve months was yet another way to enliven Spring Ox calendars.⁷⁵

They are modeled on the people who carried bouquets and marched in the processions in certain celebrations of the Beating the Spring Ox ceremony, as described above.

A calendar dated 1907 from Yangliuqing, in Tianjin, and now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, contains an image of the spring ox, but the subject actually is the first plowing of the spring. The ox and his herder along with an elephant and his attendant appear in front of a magistrate whose responsibility it is to represent the emperor in presiding over the spring plowing ceremony.⁷⁶ The elephant (*xiang*) is part of the expression “myriad things take on a new aspect” (*wanxiang gengxin*), the phrase on a banner held by the elephant’s keeper. Other motifs include a god of wealth holding a cornucopia of jewels and a branch of coral. The calendar itself is, as required, placed in the center top of the page.

Printers in Shanghai were especially ingenious in creating different calendar subjects, all the while retaining the traditional organization of placing the calendars along the center top of the page. By 1898 Western commercial firms had established a secure footing in China. As business boomed, commerce and banking began to be conducted according to the Western calendar. The local publishing industry supplied new calendars that stressed new types of practical information, such as indicating correspondences between the Chinese calendar and the Western calendar’s Sundays, and providing tide tables. The former data was important because Western firms did not conduct business on Sundays; the latter was important to shipping in Shanghai. These calendars were for neither the peasant nor the official, but the merchant. They generally measure approximately 54 × 31 cm.

Several new calendars are related to the Beating the Spring Ox subject. One, published by the Gu Mingji shop in Shanghai, is titled *The Prefect Beating the Spring (Ox)*. In the center, the prefect undertakes the ritual plowing of the new year; on the right, local officials stand in fine gowns; on the left are peasants in simple smocks and trousers. In the background is a shrine to the god of grain. The calendar consists of the Chinese solar and lunar schemes, along with a section labeled “*libai qi*” (Sunday chart) giving the coordinates for the Christian day of worship, and is divided into two parts, one placed in each corner. Another Shanghai calendar is labeled *Ox Picture*, but no ox is visible in it. Instead, four gods of wealth are ranged to either side of the most important god of wealth, Guan Yu, attended by his son, Guan Ping, and his sword bearer, Zhou Cang. To the right and left are the crenellated walls of the gold treasury and silver treasury; inside are shining ingots. A basin of jewels is at the center bottom of the scene. The two parts of the calendar are in the upper right and left corners. A final example, printed at the Wenyizhai shop in Shanghai, is titled *Meeting in the Peach (Garden)* (figure 1.12). The peach garden, belonging to the Queen Mother of the West, was the abode of the immortals. The calendar depicts the “Eight Immortals,” grouped four on a side, around a shrine identified as a Dragon Gate that houses a huge tripod full of glowing ingots, coral, and gems; Zhong Kui, the demon-queller, dances atop it to keep away thieves and evil. Two carp leap from waves below the shrine, and a dragon slithers from its lower eaves. These creatures carry out the theme of a carp transforming into a dragon, a

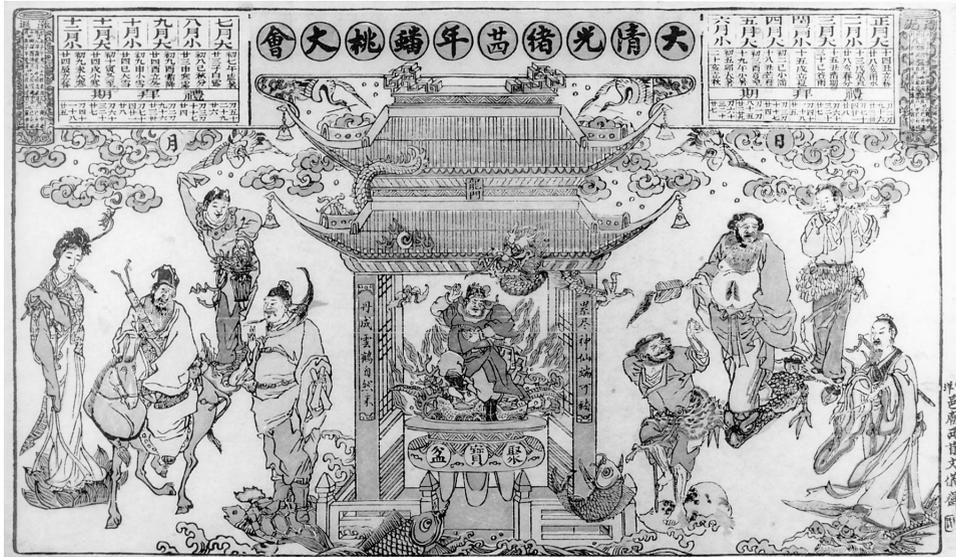


FIGURE 1.12. *Meeting in the Peach (Garden)*, calendar for 1898, Wenyizhai, Shanghai, approximately 54 × 31 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

metaphor for success in the civil service examinations. The Eight Immortals are usually associated with longevity, but they also connote commercial success. Four cranes of longevity complete the auspicious imagery. The solar-lunar and Sunday calendars, along with tide tables, occupy the upper corners of the page.

Traditional single-sheet pictorial calendars in China were printed in many forms and with a wide range of motifs germane to Chinese life. Unlike calendars in the West, which competed in different shapes and unusual arrangements of the calendar proper, the Chinese traditional calendars all adhered to a single compositional organization. The major image in the center of the format might be of the stove god (perhaps with his wife), or of gods of wealth “welcoming joy,” or of New Year’s ceremonies like Beating the Ox, or folk themes like tea-pickers’ songs. Nevertheless, the calendar proper, along with attached practical information or guides to lucky or unlucky days, is invariably located at the top margin of the print.

The traditional calendar is congested with secondary, auspicious motifs, in which those for wealth predominate. In the mid-1850s a new, different type of calendar, known as *yuefenpai*, had appeared in Hong Kong. By 1898, on the cusp of an explosion of international trade centered in Shanghai, the traditional Shanghai calendar makers must have been aware of this new calendar. Despite concessions to modern commerce, the traditional Chinese calendar never incorporated advertisement of commodities or services.

Indeed, the extremely limited and incoherent use of pictorial advertising in traditional China could not provide a secure foundation on which to construct a modern promotional program assimilating the advertisement calendar. The traditional pictorial calendar, itself, would lend some features to the new advertisement calendar. But the

passive age-old calendar images with their static hopes for good luck and wealth could not compete in the new advertising arena with its new iconography of persuasion requiring action to acquire happiness or wealth.

Advertisement Calendars in China

The new *yuefenpai* would become the dominant calendar printed in China during the twentieth century. Once the colorful *yuefenpai* were firmly established, they became major factors in effective advertising and were tremendously popular. The accepted format was a vertical rectangle with a large central area for the main image and the remainder of the surface subdivided into smaller rectilinear compartments for additional pictures or text (plate 1). The calendar appeared along the sides or at the bottom. This strictly rectilinear format was never seriously contested, unlike in the West, where there was a seemingly unlimited and irrepressible demand for novelty in format and in placement of the calendar itself. In China the advertisement calendar poster depicted mainly beautiful women rendered in close approximation of Western realistic representational style, significantly different from traditional calendar themes and pictorial techniques.

Once the business community in China began to advertise using the new pictorial calendars and new images, there was no stopping the flow of attractive pictures. They were not only offered through shops as premiums or given outright as gifts but also trickled down to street vendors, who sold them for pennies at stalls, so that they reached the lowest levels of society. The status of the calendars, however, was ambiguous; they were not wholeheartedly welcomed by all. Despite their acknowledged popularity among plebeian urbanites, the advertisement calendar posters elicited mixed feelings from others. Some Westerners expressed qualms about their effectiveness and their cost. Some Chinese voiced concerns about their constant depiction of attractive women in what was perceived as a low level of artistic competence. Because so many posters offered pictures of realistically rendered beautiful women at a minimal price, “fine art” purists denigrated their value and were convinced that such vulgar artistic expressions endangered the artistic sensibilities of society.

The Status of Advertisement Calendar Posters in Shanghai Commerce and Art

The advertisement calendar poster in China, just as in the United States, was an important part of large promotional campaigns aimed at bringing products to potential purchasers’ attention. Such drives encompassed newspaper and journal advertisement, with or without pictures, plus other forms of advertising, perhaps more immediately attractive and certainly more likely to permeate all levels of society. The latter included outdoor posters affixed to walls, handbills, window displays, and items of everyday use, such as bookmarks as well as rugs bearing company logos and placed in the bottoms of rickshaws. Small cards printed with pictures of animals, legendary heroes, or myriad other subjects (popularly known as “cigarette cards”)⁷⁷ provided stiffeners for soft cig-

arette packs, and people were encouraged to collect these. Customers were lured through coupons, promotional gifts, prizes, and premiums, such as “paper parasols, paper fans, cigarette boxes, towels, handkerchiefs, phonographs and bicycles.”⁷⁸ Eventually, advertising spread to billboards, radio, and film.⁷⁹

The importance of advertisement calendar posters or of hangers to Western and Chinese businesses as an effective means of reaching even the lowest levels of society, however, cannot be overestimated. In China medium-sized calendars, measuring 22 × 13.2 cm were included in the large cases of cartons of fifty packs of cigarettes. According to Wang Shucun, these had pictures of modern beauties or of Chinese scenes such as *Boating on West Lake*, or *Picking Tea*; each picture also had a representation of the cigarette package and a calendar on the reverse side. More impressive were the calendars printed on paper the size of a sheet of newspaper.⁸⁰

The gift calendar continued an established Chinese custom. In the late nineteenth century, the Reverend Justus Doolittle, an astute observer of Chinese life, describing festivals and customs of the twelfth month, recorded that shopkeepers made presents to their preferred customers who patronized them throughout the year. The presents, according to Doolittle, were of little value and “were understood as not only an expression of thanks for their past patronage, but also as the indication of a wish that it may be continued.” Among gifts mentioned by Doolittle are such things as bundles of wood from a carpenter and kitchen knives from a restaurateur.⁸¹

While some foreign merchants were immediately successful in their printed calendars, others, sometimes even Chinese traders themselves, encountered troubles in their choice of images or design of logos. The business community’s confidence in the usefulness of advertisement calendars fluctuated over the decades; sometimes they were highly praised and recommended, and at other times were said to be costly and ineffective. Successes, false starts, and difficulties characterized the production of advertisement imagery and of advertisement calendar posters.

Initially British American Tobacco (BAT), notorious for its massive advertising campaigns that blanketed China in the early twentieth century, relied on its staff of Westerners to formulate advertisements for its tobacco products and followed solely Western standards.⁸² Their cigarette cards bore illustrations to German fairy tales, and their posters pictured American landscapes and American heroes like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and even American women, or buxom women with décolleté necklines, or the figure of Atlas to advertise Atlas cigarettes.⁸³ A cigarette card included in a packet of Pin Head smokes from American Tobacco Company features two pictures of scantily dressed Western women, both of whom clasp their hands behind their heads in suggestive poses (figure 1.13). When it was brought to the company’s attention that the Chinese could not relate to such images, Chinese artists were hired to design new pictures that would appeal to their countrymen.

By 1909 calendar posters were hawked in the streets, although the imagery was still heavily foreign in content. The sketch of one such street vendor shows him seated on a box below his posted wares, three rolls of additional stock at his knee (figure 1.14). On the wall behind him, the four posters picture a warship, a factory, a mountain, and



FIGURE 1.13. Pin Head cigarette card issued by the American Tobacco Company, early twentieth century. After Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 52.

assorted flags of different nations. Two potential customers timidly approach. The text at the top, presumably the peddler's street cry like those of the ambulating dealers of popular woodblock prints described in chapter 2, reads:

Colored calendar posters, painted really beautifully. At ten cents foreign money, they are inexpensive. Please, sir, buy one and take it home. Take it home, hang it in your room. Each month [you can] easily note the Sundays. Sundays are rest days, no need to go out [to work]. At home, your wife will indeed be delighted.

The remarkable popularity of the calendar poster and its role as a status emblem is embodied in a humorous story carried in this same Shanghai pictorial. A certain Zhou Lianrong so thirsted for a calendar poster, he wrote a letter in a "foreign script," added the seal of the Dunqinglong firm, and took the letter to a foreign firm that sold alkali in order to "extort" a calendar from them. The people at the alkali firm, however, sent someone to Dunqinglong, where it was discovered that they had no knowledge of this letter. The attempted ruse was reported to the local police, who arrested Zhou and wanted to question him at the station. Zhou, however, started off in a rickshaw, where, mentally stressed, he produced a knife and slashed his throat until blood flowed freely. The judge gave a great deal of attention to this matter and being indulgent of Zhou's injuries, decided to destroy the incriminating evidence. Zhou was released without punishment.⁸⁴

The picture in figure 1.14 confirms the observations made in 1917 by James Hutchison, who worked in China as a BAT advertising and sales representative for more than two decades (from 1911 to 1933). He published a valuable account of his travels through-



FIGURE 1.14. Street vendor selling advertisement posters, 1909.
After *Tubua ribao* (1909–1910) no. 188:8 (reprint, Shanghai:
Guiji chubanshe, 1999) 4:452.

out China directing a team of workers pasting single-sheet posters on walls (not calendar posters, but simply posters), showing “a large open packet of cigarettes with brand name and caption,” and distributing leaflets and packets of cigarettes.⁸⁵ Hutchison was aware of the power of the calendar poster and left incisive testimony to its importance. Writing in March–July 1917, he says:

The check on the calendar’s value as an advertising piece was the price at which it sold on the market. Within ten days after distribution had started, picture hawkers

all over China displayed them with their other wares on the main shopping streets. If the price rose to eleven or twelve cents each, the calendar was a success.⁸⁶

In 1919 Julean Arnold, the commercial attaché, warned American businessmen to be sensitive to Chinese tastes, to select illustrations and colors in keeping with Chinese customs, and to avoid those that would fall afoul of Chinese superstitions. Arnold recommended hiring someone familiar with Chinese culture to design and execute illustrations and trademarks.⁸⁷ Trademarks were a thorn for marketers, for unless carefully designed, they could be easily counterfeited by unscrupulous Chinese manufacturers and draw revenue away from the original product sales. Counterfeiting was not limited to stealing from foreigners; Chinese firms were also victims of unscrupulous activity. In 1934 smokers of The Rat cigarettes were warned in advertisements to “beware of counterfeit trademarks.” The success of My Dear (Meili) cigarettes engendered direct copycats including the Meilee brand; eventually, My Dear brand “spawned at least 160 variants.”⁸⁸

Chinese firms were better prepared to supply appropriate material for their calendars, but even they erred on occasion. The Chinese tobacco company marketing Yellow River cigarettes produced a calendar for 1924 that bore the slogan “*jiaxi xinnian, Huang He mingyan,*” (1924 is a new year, Yellow River is a famous cigarette). Because of the many homophones in the Chinese language, people from Shandong Province, which often suffered from floods, read the slogan as “1924 is a new year, the Yellow River is famous for flooding.” Ultimately, Yellow River cigarettes were construed as “unlucky,” and the brand floundered.⁸⁹

American companies doing business in China were advised by Julean Arnold that the “use of calendars is one of the most favored forms of advertising in China, as the calendar is a most important thing in the life of every Chinese. He regulates his life by the sun, moon, and stars, and never enters upon an important negotiation or journey without a careful consideration of omens and signs.”⁹⁰ Arnold’s statement about Chinese reliance on calendars mistakes calendar posters for the traditional Chinese calendar or for the Chinese almanac, both of which provide data about lucky and unlucky days for a variety of activities. The calendar poster, or *yuefenpai*, never included such information, although its advertising copy conveyed useful information of another dimension, about products and their benefits. Arnold might not be the best informant, but he did speak from a position of authority, and these comments of Arnold’s echo those by Hutchison a few years earlier:

Most advertisers issue a calendar, and some who never advertise in any other way put out the most elaborate designs. They are highly treasured by the recipients, and a regular trade in them is maintained. When the calendars are issued there is a general rush for them by merchants, clerks, and coolies, who turn them over to the dealers for a consideration; but as a rule there is only a halfhearted attempt on the part of business houses to get these calendars into proper hands, as the best an advertiser can wish for is that his advertisement will be bought and paid for. In the Chinese cities one sees displays of dealers in calendars on walls and in alleys

where the dealers do a good business at profitable prices. . . . As in all advertising to the Chinese, the greatest care should be taken in design and wording, though this branch of advertising effort has received the least attention from the western concerns.⁹¹

In 1926 Carl Crow wrote the chapter “Advertising and Merchandising” for the new edition of Arnold’s handbook for businessmen in China. As one of the first foreigners to recognize the potential for an advertising agency in China, Crow was eminently qualified as a spokesman for advertising in China.⁹² His agency promoted newspaper and billboard advertisement; his clientele were mostly American companies doing business in China. An outspoken advocate of pictorial advertising, Crow repeatedly admonished merchants to use images in their advertising. In his 1937 best seller on doing business in China, he gave tips to pictorial advertisers, urging that the rendition of cigarette packets should always exactly replicate the real packet down to the most minute detail, not be a sketchy approximation of it, and that it should always be depicted open so as to display the full contents of ten cigarettes, confirming that the packet does indeed hold this number of cigarettes, and to show the bright yellow color of the tobacco. Crow recommends using red and gold lettering, which “the Chinese find so attractive.”⁹³

In his 1926 contribution to Arnold’s handbook, however, Carl Crow dismissed the cost-effectiveness of calendar posters in a terse paragraph:

Calendars are widely used for advertising purposes, and some of the calendars distributed at Chinese New Year are real works of art. The calendars are in great demand, as some of them are readily salable at as much as 50 or 60 cents each; but considering the high cost of calendars, it is doubtful that their distribution is ever justified by the advertising results obtained.⁹⁴

Part 2 of the very same handbook in which Crow maligns the calendar poster contains vital information about the location and population of important cities; about agriculture, manufacturing, and industrial development; minerals and mining; and other worthwhile facts for twenty-three consular districts. All reports were submitted by the local consul or trade commissioner and all contain data about the local situation regarding advertising and merchandising. The accounts vary in the quality and quantity of the intelligence they record. Most attention focuses on newspaper, poster, and billboard advertising and their costs. Only three areas report on the success of advertisement calendars. Consul Leroy Webber, writing about Xiamen, says, “The best means of advertising in this district are probably the poster, and the free distribution of such attractive specialties as mirrors, fans, calendars and similar articles.”⁹⁵ Advertisement calendars were also recommended for businesses in Changsha, where along with “caps, and fans [they] offer ample opportunity to the firm or agency for bringing its wares to the attention of the local public.”⁹⁶ The summary of the advertising situation in Kalgan bluntly states, “The only advertising mediums employed in the district, and perhaps the only advertising forms that could be effectively used, are billboards, posters, pictures and calendars. The use of these is widespread.”⁹⁷

In contrast to Crow's disparaging remarks about the calendar poster and the data from various areas of China that suggest the decline of the advertisement calendar poster, other evidence verifies that posters remained a significant part of advertising in China. In Arnold's commercial handbook, an entry by trade commissioner George C. Howard, "Import Trade of China," is a lengthy account of the various types of paper imported into China in 1923, from newsprint to book paper to banknote paper to blotting paper and another twenty or so types. In regard to a category of special papers, including art, enamel, and coated papers, Howard says:

A very large business is done in these classes of paper, used principally in half-tone and calendar work. Deliveries must be made in China before June, in order that the Chinese lithographers may have ample time to turn out the great volume of calendars for the Chinese New Year period. The calendar business is one of the largest single items in the trade. Principal supplies are from America, England, Italy, Scandinavia, Japan and Germany.⁹⁸

In 1921 the Cincinnati-based Ault and Wiborg China Company located on Canton Road in Shanghai, with branches in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Hankou, Tianjin, and Manila, advertised in a Shanghai newspaper that they manufactured printing and lithographic inks, dry colors, and aniline dyes, and dealt in printing and lithographic machinery, and in papers of all kinds.⁹⁹

Howard's observation about the volume of calendars printed speaks for the Chinese as well as the foreign merchant, and there is no doubt that both continued to advertise their products through the attractive medium of color calendars. Westerners were quick to appreciate special calendars. Varied mercantile calendars for the year 1925, for example, were lauded in the Shanghai English-language press. Asiatic Petroleum distributed a calendar to its Chinese customers with "An attractive scene from West Lake showing a temple and the old Thunder Peak Pagoda at Hangchow . . . reproduced in colors." The Chinese calendar from Callender's Cable and Construction Company had an

allegorical reproduction representing the power of thunder and lightning harnessed to the beneficial use of mankind by the "Goddess of Lighting." The principal figure is a Chinese goddess holding in her left hand the character representing "electricity" and in her right a mirror reflecting electricity into a Chinese city. Outside the Chinese city is a modern electric lighting station with lines of communication carrying electricity into the city.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, in the 1930s, advertisement calendars and hangers were still wildly popular, and picture hawkers were still selling them at street stalls, as seen in a photograph published in 1936 (figure 1.15). A comparison of the 1936 vending scene with that from twenty-five years earlier (figure 1.14) reveals the tremendous change that has taken place in the general acceptance of the poster. The modest array of four posters with a variety of pictorial themes is replaced by pictures almost exclusively of women and children literally papering the display wall. Men eagerly gaze at the lovely ladies and step forward to make a selection.



FIGURE 1.15. Photographer unknown. Street vendor selling advertisement posters, 1936. After *Meishu shenghuo* 26 (May 1936).

In 1937 Carl Crow was again writing about the posters, now not for their supposed ineffectiveness as advertising, but for their value to the Chinese as inexpensive interior decoration, observing that “Chinese buy these hangers as works of art and use them to decorate their homes, and see nothing especially objectionable in the fact that they may advertise a cigarette or a brand of cod liver oil. In Shanghai, and every other large city, there are dealers whose sole stock consists of these advertising calendars and hangers.”¹⁰¹ Sometimes, calendars were printed on the reverse of these hangers.

Chinese also recognized the value of the advertisement calendar. In 1928 the Chinese government, as part of a nationalistic endeavor to regain a hold on the country’s economy by promoting consumption of domestically produced goods, mounted an exhibition in Shanghai of such commodities. Ma Chonggan wrote an essay criticizing Chinese companies for their lack of good advertisement; the tract was published in the catalogue issued in conjunction with this exhibition. Ma insisted that manufacturers erroneously preferred to focus on written text, whereas, in his view, visual imagery was much more effective because only the literate could read the advertising copy and busy people were often too preoccupied to do that. He opined: “If [ads] have good quality illustrations, then they will catch people’s eye. Take a look at the ignorant public; when they see illustrated calendar posters none of them can put them down, and all are eager to find out the meaning of the illustration.”¹⁰²

Carl Crow was not the only person to belittle advertisement calendar posters. A number of Chinese artists and others active in the cultural realm also disapproved of them, but for radically different reasons. According to Mayching Kao, when some Chinese artists came in contact with real Western art, they were dismayed to discover “how successful the calendars had been in conditioning the public taste. After studying the masterpieces of Western art in art schools or abroad, the artists were unanimous in their condemnation of the vulgar and degenerate taste of the calendar painters and their superficial grafting of Western techniques.”¹⁰³

Writing in the radical journal *Xin qingnian* (New youth) in 1918, Lü Cheng took a dim view of the future of calendar posters. Lü believed that the recent trend for learning Western art and aesthetics had only superficially resulted in advertisement pictures of beautiful women being regarded as art, and the creators of these pictures considering themselves artists. He noted that there were artists talented at producing these pictures in Shanghai, but complained that faces did not differentiate male from female, limbs were out of proportion, and there was little evidence of any familiarity with human anatomy. He felt the emphasis was on fleshly suggestiveness and that this was “really lamentable. All beauty of art is lost and meaningful thoughts that great works of art show is replaced by vulgarity.”¹⁰⁴ Lü Cheng’s was just one of several cries raised against what were perceived as negative values expressed in advertisement calendar pictures. Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), the founder of *Xin qingnian* and one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, responded to Lü’s article, agreeing that pictures of women so popular in Shanghai were immature and outrageous.¹⁰⁵

In 1920 Lu Xun (1881–1936), the famous short-story writer and outspoken critic of traditional Chinese culture, as well as an advocate of revitalizing Chinese art, reportedly held up in a public lecture a poster of a lovely woman and decried it in no uncertain terms as an example of decadent art, hardly conducive to the development of revolutionary art in China:

Today . . . calendar posters are popular with ordinary people in Chinese society. The women in calendar posters are sick. Not only are calendar painters unskilled but the subjects of their paintings are disgusting and depraved. China has lots of women who are healthy and strong, but calendar painters only draw sickly ladies so weak they could be knocked down by a gust of wind. This kind of sickness does not come from society. It comes from the painters.¹⁰⁶

Writing in 1928, Yu Jianhua (1895–1979), a landscapist in the Chinese style, had no sympathy for any form of Western art in China. In an essay on contemporary art, he included a section on Western art wherein, in scathing language, he castigated Western-style painting as practiced in China. Yu maintained that twenty years earlier, no one had seen a real Western oil painting, but opportunistic men purchased postcards and prints of oil paintings and, on the basis of this, set up studios to teach Western painting. They acquired a few terms about Western painting and began to condemn Chinese painting. Yu classified Western art in China in five categories:

1. The true Western painting school, of which he claimed there was none in China, for only paintings by native Western artists are “real Western paintings” and Chinese artists, no matter how much they try, cannot rid themselves of a Chinese flavor in taste, composition, technique, or ideas. Even those artists who studied abroad, once they returned to China, reverted to Chinese style and some even began to paint in Chinese traditional medium.
2. The “gilded” Western painting school, referring to students who studied Western art abroad simply to enhance their social status and to enjoy Western food, movies, cafés, and Western women; they might have acquired rudiments of Western color or brushwork; and some even got jobs in art institutions when they returned to China.
3. The “fake” Western painting school, followed by artists whose capabilities were low, but who were good at establishing themselves. Some simply copied from prints; others painted in outrageous fashions. When they realized their art did not resemble Western painting, they termed it self-expression, life expression, developing independent character, or a unique style. Some, imitating neo-impressionism, expressionism, and futurism, considered themselves Cezannes, van Goghs, and Gauguins, even though they lacked fundamental art training.
4. The advertisement calendar posters.
5. Color-and-carbon portraits. In Yu’s eyes, only the color-and-carbon portraits ranked lower than advertisement calendar pictures. Of these two schools, he contended: “At the beginning, these two types of art were very popular for several years, but today they have declined like a spent arrow.” Commenting further: “Advertising calendar art and color-and-carbon portraiture seemed to become a profession; they were considered art in the past and dominated the Chinese art world for several years. Today, they have all disappeared from the artistic realm to become part of the commercial world.”¹⁰⁷

In 1936 Liang Desuo—photographer, self-trained in Western art, and member of the editorial board of the popular magazine *Liangyou* (Young companion)—surveyed modern art in China.¹⁰⁸ He lamented the decline in the level of artistic taste and placed much of the blame for this on *yuefenpai*. Liang included a segment on art and the publishing world, briefly reviewing the evolution of pictorials, illustrated books and textbooks, and “hanging materials,” including pictures such as *Ten Views of West Lake*, Sunday School pictures, classroom scientific charts, and commercial advertisements. Liang admitted that among landscape *yuefenpai*, the seasonal scenes by Hu Boxiang were praiseworthy and gave pleasure to “the elegant as well as the unrefined.” Liang maintained that *yuefenpai* subjects were mostly of the “pretty women” variety and that the majority of advertisement pictures were hackneyed. Moreover, he continued, because these pictures were readily available and their content simplistic, they became special items for decoration in ordinary people’s houses. As a consequence, the sale of reproductions of ancient and recent traditional-style paintings had decreased.¹⁰⁹

A more appreciative voice was that of Zheng Yimei (1895–1992), a well-known participant in the Shanghai entertainment, romance literature, and art world of the first half of the twentieth century. In his 1944 appraisal of the art scene of the last thirty years, he emphasized the commodification of art, the necessity for artists to retail their paintings and to provide price lists, or of calligraphers to sell their art by writing book titles for publishers. To Zheng *yuefenpai* were another means for artists to earn a living, and he remarks on a few *yuefenpai* artists, giving snippets of biographical information about them or brief characterizations of their artistic styles.¹¹⁰ Zheng was a good friend of at least two major calendar artists, and his reminiscences of early-twentieth-century Shanghai popular culture published in the late 1980s and early 1990s are important sources of significant information about *yuefenpai* artists and their world. For, indeed, regardless of the negative opinions of Lü Cheng, Chen Duxiu, Yu Jianhua, Lu Xun, and Liang Desuo, production of advertisement calendar posters and hangers continued unabated through the late 1930s.

Advertisement Art and Artists

In China the first artists employed in preparing these commercial advertisements emerged from the ranks of a vigorous print world that prospered by producing prints for mass consumption. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Shanghai print industry encompassed one domestic print technique, the woodblock print, and two imported techniques, lithography and photography. Each of these had its own traditions, conventions, and requirements in design and production, some of which were transferred into the advertising picture. The late stages of this continuum and the evolving print technology, including lithography and photography in China, are the subjects of chapter 2. Many procedures commonly practiced in the production of these traditional prints, from the structured workshop fabrication methods to the accepted habit of one shop reprinting an image originally issued by a different shop, but with a new title, would carry over into the making of advertisement calendars. Other calendar artists' initial artistic training was closely linked to Chinese portrait photography.

Pictorial calendars not only continued to be produced as advertisements for consumer goods and services but also became commodities in themselves. Chapter 3 describes how calendar posters were produced and marketed in China, confirming links between both traditional practices (such as workshop procedures) and modern ideas imported from the West (such as advertising a calendar in the news media). This chapter also elucidates the role of the painting school for young male orphans at the Jesuit center, Xujiahui, and of Commercial Press in training budding artists in Western painting techniques. Advertisements and calendar posters were produced through several channels. British American Tobacco, one of the largest and most powerful Western-owned multinational corporations in China, had its own advertising department and its own production procedures. Independent advertising agencies, some run by Westerners, some by Chinese, also contributed to pictorial advertisements.

The transformation of the Chinese advertisement calendar from its uneasy, experimental beginnings in the middle of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century into full-fledged confident maturity in the 1920s and 1930s was actually the achievement of the artists themselves. It is the artists with their differing artistic styles and different personalities who brought the calendar posters to life. Through their artistic capacities they visualized effective and captivating images, and through their technical skills, they rendered these images into perceptible form. Consequently, the remaining chapters of this book focus on the major commercial artists who designed *yuefenpai*. Their lives, their artistic styles, and their contributions to the development of advertisement calendar art are presented roughly in chronological sequence, placing both artistic and thematic changes in advertisement calendars and the artists themselves into their proper historical context.

Chapter 4 begins with early history of the advertisement calendar poster in Asia as it first appears in Hong Kong, in 1854, and moves to the two earliest extant chromolithographed calendars (for the years 1888–1889 and 1889–1890), made for English companies with branches in China. One of these calendars was prepared by Zhang Zhiying for Thomas Barlow and Brother, which had offices in Manchester, England, and in Shanghai. The calendar is decorated with a multitude of small motifs derived from Indian, English, and Chinese contexts. Zhang is the earliest-known Chinese calendar artist, and his calendar contrasts strongly with other late-nineteenth-century Chinese black-and-white lithographed advertisement calendars issued by newspapers and lottery offices, as well as with colored woodblock calendars that were made, not as advertisements, but for sale as commercial guides for merchants. The chapter concludes with an analysis of yet another type of calendar poster, the colored woodblock prints with current political events as pictorial subject matter.

Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923) is the first calendar artist about whom sufficient data exists to assemble an adequate biography and to evaluate his artistic accomplishments. He is the subject of chapter 5. Zhou is notable for creating a new image for the advertising posters: large-scale figures of Chinese women. His posters were prepared using traditional Chinese painting techniques; he fell on hard times late in life when he was unable to master a new painting technique perfected by Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), who came to the foreground of calendar poster production around 1915. Zheng and his collaborator Xu Yongqing are the focus of chapter 6. The special technique perfected by Zheng was known as rub-and-paint; it involved rubbing carbon into paper and then overlaying it with light watercolor pigments. Zheng Mantuo became famous not only for promoting this special technique but also for painting pictures of nudes or seminudes (not all necessarily for calendars) that were often offered as subscription premiums by romance-literature magazines. Very early in his career, Zheng collaborated with the older artist Gao Jianfu (1879–1951) in making pictures of pretty women and later, since Zheng was unskilled in landscape depiction, with Xu Yongqing (1880–1953), a former student at the Jesuit orphanage school, who provided backgrounds for Zheng's pictures of women. Xu himself did a number of attractive advertisement posters depicting famous sites and Buddhist temples in China. As an independent commer-

cial artist, Zheng Mantuo produced of necessity a vast number of calendar posters, some of which were embellished with poems by his friends from the romance-literature world. To keep ahead of his competitors in the depiction of modern women for posters, Zheng kept up perforce with the latest feminine fashions, and his art (and that of his colleagues) contains an invaluable record of changing feminine fashions in early-twentieth-century China, many of which are hybrids of Chinese and Western haute couture.

Of all the major advertisement poster artists, only Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976) also produced black-and-white advertisements for placement in newspapers; he was a recognized Chinese-style painter. He was extremely prolific, producing advertisement calendar posters, black-and-white ads for newspapers, covers for romance-literature magazines and for the well-known pictorial *Liangyou*. He was a student of Zhou Muqiao and of the prestigious artist Zhang Yuguang (1885–1968), from whom Xie received training in painting backdrops for photographic studios and theaters. Xie may have at one time been on the staff of the advertising agency owned by Carl Crow. In his mature career Xie worked primarily for two large Chinese-owned tobacco companies, the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company (Nanyang Xiongdì Yanco Gongsi) and the Huacheng Tobacco Company (Huacheng Yan Gongsi). Chapter 7 reviews Xie's life and works, covering the variety of advertising art he produced, including at least one nude.

The commercial artists associated with British American Tobacco produced an array of different posters—some quite lavish and all innovative—under the workshop system in effect there. Four of these artists are presented and their art discussed in chapter 8. Liang Dingming (1898–1959), whose posters were prepared using oil painting techniques, featured rich colors and golden highlights reminiscent of the work of the Pre-Raphaelite painters. Liang would later become a semiofficial painter for the Nationalist Party. Hu Boxiang's (1896–1989) interest in photography helped define and inform the landscapes and the beautiful women he depicted for BAT advertisements. Ni Gengye (dates unknown), during his stint at BAT, moved the portrayal of beautiful women from quiet, static, aloof, and distant young girls to provocative women who smile and gesture at the viewer with an invitational allure. Zhang Guangyu's (1900–1965) amazing flair for design was nurtured at BAT as he devised, using the latest in art deco motifs and artistic approaches, wondrously inventive and intricate borders for the pictures by Hu and Ni.

Contrasting with the advertisement department at the Western-run British American Tobacco Company is the Chinese-run Zhiying Studio, presented in chapter 9. This commercial art studio was founded by Hang Zhiying (1900–1947), who initially closely followed the style of Zheng Mantuo but eventually broke away from it. The Zhiying Studio depended heavily on the artistry of two men who stayed with the firm throughout its life: Jin Xuechen (1904–1997) and Li Mubai (1913–1991). Hang Zhiying took a paternalistic attitude toward his staff artists, sending Li Mubai to study at the White Goose Painting Institute in Shanghai. The products of the Zhiying Studio vary tremendously in quality, probably because it served as a training ground for some artists, and perhaps also depending on how much the customer was willing to pay. Images seen in advertisement posters prepared by the Zhiying Studio are sometimes copies of photo-

graphs of famous movie stars or entertainers, a practice not limited to the Zhiying Studio. New themes for beautiful women were introduced in the 1930s, especially semi-nudes, women surrounded with their children, and women engaged in athletic activities.

The florescence of advertisement calendar posters and other pictorial advertising during the 1920s was possible because of Shanghai's commercial prosperity during this decade of relative peace. Pictorial advertisements continued to thrive during the 1930s despite political crises both nationally and locally, when Shanghai's own physical and psychological structures were repeatedly interrupted. During this era, advertisement calendar artists produced posters with nationalistic themes, such as the patriotism of the famous woman warrior Hua Mulan. In 1937, fighting between the Chinese and Japanese broke out in north China, and in Shanghai, in response to this new Japanese threat, there were clashes with the Japanese military. Fighting took place on the ground and eventually also in the air as bombs from both the Chinese and Japanese air forces fell on the city, resulting in much civilian loss and extensive property damage. After three months of heavy combat, the Chinese failed to drive the Japanese from Shanghai. The widespread destruction wrought during this struggle was devastating. Trade was effectively strangled; most local industries were unable to function; shipping was limited and restrictions were placed on restoration of business, trade, and residence as well as on transportation within the city.¹¹¹ Shanghai was effectively cut off from the rest of the country.

For the next eight years, the flight of Western companies from Shanghai also eliminated a source of income for advertising artists. Some temporarily retired from their profession; others, because of nationalistic feelings, refused to work for the Japanese. A few artists continued to create advertisements for Chinese companies but at a much-reduced level. Production of advertisement posters for private companies ceased with the Chinese Communist takeover of China in 1949.

Chapter 10 outlines what happened to the calendar poster artists who lived and worked in Shanghai after the Communist takeover in 1949. At first they and the style they employed were difficult to fit into the new art scheme dictated by Communist and socialist ideological goals and purposes. During the 1950s, artists struggled to meet these new demands in the propaganda posters and in what were now termed *yuefenpai nianhua* (calendar new-year pictures) that they were required to create. Eventually, Li Mubai and Jin Xuechen, no longer under the supervision of the Zhiying Studio, blossomed as masters of this new mode. Xie Zhiguang developed his traditional ink-and-brush painting to a remarkable degree; his Chinese paintings are now widely sought after. In the early 1990s, though, new more-tolerant views of the past were accompanied by a swell of nostalgia and there began a renewed interest in the old advertisement posters. The posters intrigued people who saw them, and many began to avidly collect and publicize them.

CHAPTER TWO

Chinese Popular Prints in Late-Nineteenth- and Early- Twentieth-Century Shanghai

In late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Shanghai, inexpensive pictures for the mass market were printed by means of woodblocks, lithography, and photolithography. Woodblock printing was the traditional method of pictorial reproduction in China employed for both book illustration and single-sheet images used for various purposes. By the late nineteenth century hundreds of thousands of inexpensive single-sheet prints were produced every year by shops in almost every province of the empire, from the celebrated Yangliuqing near Tianjin, in the north, to the famous Taohuawu in Suzhou, in the south. The woodblock print enterprise in Shanghai, however, was a latecomer and was an offshoot of the Suzhou print industry, a business with a long history.

Missionaries introduced lithography into China in the mid-nineteenth century. The rapid acceptance by Chinese printers of lithography and then photolithography created a veritable explosion of printed images as new publications concepts, such as pictorial magazines and advertisements, added to the established mix of images produced by woodblock prints. Jonathan Hay defines the major components of this outburst as: illustrations in missionary publications, journalistic illustration, illustrations to fictional texts, advertising imagery, books of pictures with accompanying commentary, single-artist painting manuals, and collaborative painting manuals.¹ Some of these are pertinent to this study of Shanghai advertisement calendars and visual culture and will be discussed in this and later chapters.

Woodblock printing was used as early as the ninth century to produce illustrations; the earliest extant image, the famous frontispiece to a Buddhist scripture found at the Buddhist shrines at Dunhuang and now in the British Library, is dated A.D. 868.² Over the centuries, the woodblock technique provided illustrations in books: novels, plays,

and how-to volumes, including those designed to help beginners learn how to paint. Some were crude affairs; some were luxury items.

Single-sheet woodblock prints for the mass market depicted a range of images, some protective in function, some religious in purpose, others to convey wishes for the happiness of the family, yet others purely decorative.³ The protective depictions of military door gods were refurbished each year at New Year's time. Religious prints pictured nature and salutary deities used in ceremonies and rites throughout the year, including the stove god, ritually replaced each new year. Calendars, as discussed in chapter 1, were pillars of the popular-print market.

Many prints expressed hopes for happiness in the family; those wishing fertility and numerous offspring were appropriate for weddings; those wishing longevity, for birthday celebrations. Novelty auspicious prints included a huge character for longevity, *shou*, filled with small figures of the Queen Mother of the West at the top, the "Three Stars" of good fortune, wealth, and longevity in the center and the Eight Immortals in the lower part (figure 2.1). Deer, cranes, and pine trees (all symbols of longevity) filled background spaces. Beautiful women and their children conveyed subtle messages of fertility, happiness, and wealth. There were scenes from the opera stage, illustrations of ancient stories and legends, and vases of flowers of the four seasons.

There were also pornographic prints. Writing in 1925, Arthur De C. Sowerby reported that in north China, innkeepers bought such pictures for a few cents to post on their kitchen walls in the belief that they would prevent fires.⁴ Miniature color woodcuts mounted as albums or as horizontal scrolls provided explicit lovemaking scenes based on famous novels and stories; some are actually labeled *bihuo tu* (pictures that prevent fires), and may have been used to "protect" book collections (as well as providing titillating pleasures when the library owner wearied of studying and reading).⁵ A print collected by the Russian sinologist V. M. Alexeev (1880–1951) in the early part of the twentieth century depicts an episode from the *Jade Bracelet Stratagem* (figure 2.2). An attractive woman reclines invitingly and languorously on a bed; her coat falls open to expose both breasts, and one bound foot is also uncovered (considered highly erotic in Chinese culture). She has stopped fanning and reading to daydream and raises one arm behind her head, intensifying her provocative pose.

Most woodblock prints, including those from Suzhou and Shanghai, the focus of this chapter, were polychrome. Although specific data about the production procedures and business arrangements of the Suzhou and Shanghai shops is lacking, the practices of the Yangliuqing shops of Tianjin have been carefully recorded by Bo Songnian. Printing was a profit-making business, thus what is known of the Yangliuqing shops may have prevailed elsewhere in the country.

Producing a print involved the designer, the block cutter, the printer, sometimes a moulder, and the salesman.⁶ The head of a shop decided on a theme and asked the designer to prepare a draft, taking into consideration audience and market. The designer, using a stub of incense or charcoal, drew his design on paper made from macerated bamboo. According to Wang Shucun, artisans at Yangliuqing had copy books for human figures, beautiful women, children, actors, birds and animals, even tables and chairs.⁷

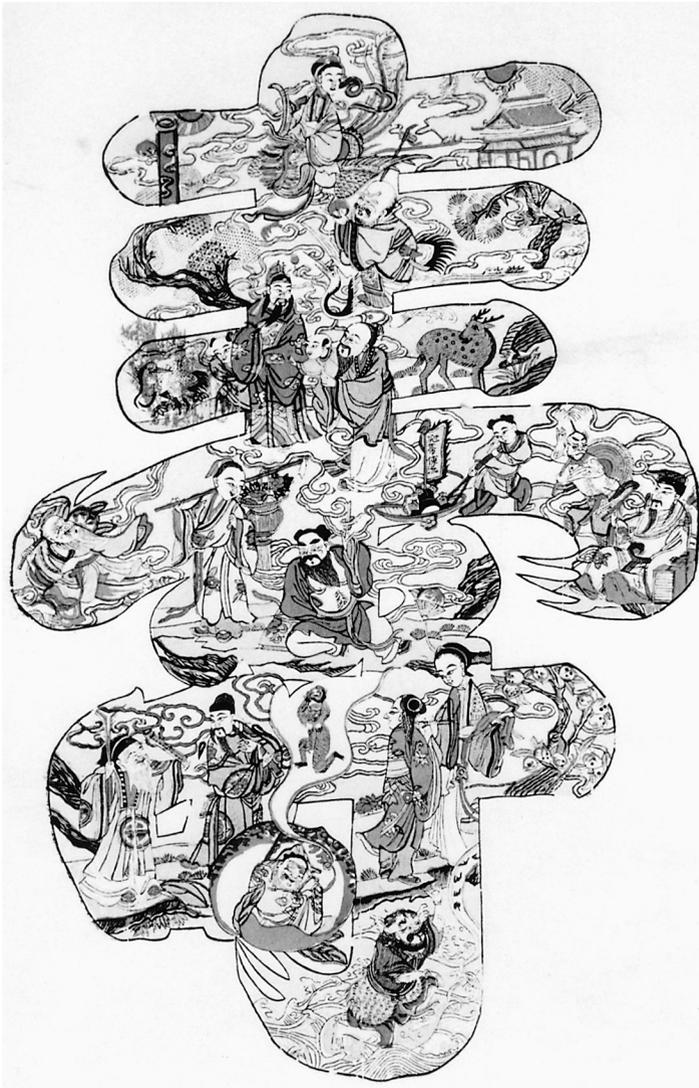


FIGURE 2.1. The character *shou* (longevity), Taohuawu, Suzhou, late nineteenth century, 86 × 67 cm. After *Suzhou Taohuawu muban nianhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 25.

After the shop head deliberated on the draft and solicited opinions about it, it was returned to the designer for modifications. The designer had to bear in mind buyers' preferences in auspicious content, aesthetic appearance, vitality of the figures, and quality of the brush lines. He had to know whether the print would be hung on a wall or placed on a table, and the print's expected sales life. He had to be cognizant of production and costs; many colors required extra labor and materials; large numbers of figures demanded more of the woodblock cutter's time;⁸ too few figures, and the print would lack excitement (*renao*). The presentation of ideas had to be appropriate, with everything in its proper place. These concerns demanded a high level of craftsman-



FIGURE 2.2. Scene from the *Jade Bracelet Stratagem*, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, Hermitage, St. Petersburg. After V. M. Alexeev, *Kitayskaya narodnaya kartina: Dukhovnaya zhizn starogo Kitaya v narodnykh izobrazheniyakh* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1966), 54.

ship. Upon approval of the draft, it was sent to the block carver, who in carving the blocks could not deviate from the approved design. Placing the semi-transparent draft face down on a block of pear or other fruit wood, the carver cut the lines for heads, faces, clothing, trees, and rocks. His cutting had to preserve powerful and vigorous lines as well as smooth and fluid ones; he had to maintain thin lines for heads, faces, and hands, as well as wider lines for clothing, and yet other types of lines for scenery, trees, architecture, and courtyards. Unskilled cutters risked losing the quality of the design and diminishing its ultimate effectiveness. The carved lines, which protruded from the block surface, had to have perpendicular sides in order to withstand the repeated pressure of multiple impressions and not disintegrate. After the print was cut into the block, four or five copies were printed for use in making additional blocks for the color printing. The designer needed a superior color sense; multiple colors appropriately arranged yielded a print that would be “alive,” few colors covering large expanses resulted in a “dead” print. Up to this point, production of a print could take twenty to thirty days.

To print the design in color, an impression was first made of the black outlines, then colors were printed. A water-soluble pigment was brushed over the block designated for that color; the page was then placed on top of it and the color transferred to the paper, aided by a stiff brush being rubbed over it. This procedure was repeated for each of the colors for a given print.⁹ After this treatment, the larger prints might be mounted with a stiff backing. In early times, water-soluble pigments made from local natural materials and handmade paper were used. In the late nineteenth century, these were replaced by foreign chemical pigments, especially intense magenta and bright green, and machine-made paper.

Each year there were two printing sessions. Prints from the spring session were generally better than those of the fall session because craftsmen could take more time in printing and the pigments dried quickly, producing bright, beautiful colors. In the fall session, shops prepared for the approaching busy sales season at New Year's time; artisans were under pressure to produce more, and so the prints were rather coarse. It is estimated that artists and cutters could produce seventy or eighty drafts a year, at most one hundred.

Each shop had its sales distribution network. Different types of prints were sent to different places according to local preferences. Some shops had branch stores in other areas; some had peddler routes. Every autumn the exteriors of branch stores came alive with prints hanging inside and outside the gates. Merchants from elsewhere gathered here to acquire prints to sell. To bring in business, some shops offered preferential treatment and sold on credit to old customers.

In cities, print dealers erected sheds or rented stores whose business had closed for the season and displayed prints there. In villages, print peddlers sold from stalls. They bundled their merchandise in reed mats or colored cloth and carried them on their backs as they shouted out their wares. These were called strolling picture-shops.

Small peddlers, to attract customers, explained in their calls and chants the subjects of the pictures they hawked. To sell a Spring Ox calendar, a peddler might sing: "Buy a Spring Ox, come buy a Spring Ox, buy a Spring Ox and see the calendar, the long and short months are all there, and the twenty-four nodes are above." Or for a decorative print, he might shout: "To the left a picture, to the right a picture, pasted within the room, they brighten it . . ." Thus peddlers brought attention to the subjects and to the artistic merits of their prints, the last suggesting that with fresh colors and white paper, fine prints made excellent decoration, brightening an otherwise dim room.

In the eighteenth century, Suzhou shops selling inexpensive paintings for the mass market clustered on Tiger Hill and along the Shantang riverbank.¹⁰ According to one report, their merchants hung pictures of the Three Stars to attract custom. The Three Stars is a standard grouping of the gods of happiness, emoluments, and longevity that dates back to at least the Yuan period.¹¹ A few picture shops were in the area of Taohuawu and the North Temple Pagoda. These shops mostly sold prints. In its heyday Taohuawu had more than fifty workshops, each year issuing more than one million single-sheet prints distributed throughout Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, and Shandong Provinces, as well as Southeast Asia. In the 1860s, Suzhou was extensively damaged when Qing forces fought the Taiping forces in the city; the marts on Tiger Hill and in the Shantang area were burned to the ground. Existing inventory was lost and carved blocks destroyed. After the suppression of the uprising, in 1862, only a few shops were able to resume production inside the Chang Gate (Changmen). In the late nineteenth century, Taohuawu shops, in keeping with the trend toward depicting famous local spots and modern life, made prints of the Shanghai Racecourse.¹² What was erroneously labeled as the "Suzhou" Railway Station (really the Shanghai South Station; discussed below) was a great favorite. But ultimately the focus of production shifted to Shanghai, where the popular woodcut-print industry prospered in the early twentieth century. In 1902–

1903 Berthold Laufer assembled some 134 prints, most of which can be identified as coming from ten Shanghai shops: Wenyizhai, Feiyingge, Wu Wenyi, Sun Wenya, Shen Wenya, Baohezhai, Gu Mingji, Yunxiangzhai, Yuanxing, and Zhao Yida.¹³

Suzhou and Shanghai are only sixty miles apart, and connections between Suzhou and Shanghai prints were extremely close and ultimately confusing. In Shanghai the woodblock print business began during the late Guangxu era (1875–1908) when shops located at the Old Parade Ground inside the North Gate of the Chinese city were commissioned to sell Suzhou prints. They also employed craftsmen from Suzhou and these prints were then sent back to Suzhou for sale. Because the prints sold so well, Shanghai shops commenced making their own prints, sometimes commissioning artists on the staff of the Shanghai pictorial *Dianshizhai buobao*, sometimes actually hiring craftsmen from Suzhou. Some artists worked in both cities.¹⁴ The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that several compositions, first printed by a Suzhou shop, were reissued with a Shanghai imprint.¹⁵ Among the many replicas, two examples are discussed here, representations of the railroad station and of beautiful women.

The railway between Shanghai and Wusong, thirteen miles away, where the Huangpu River meets the Yangzi, was a great attraction. After much opposition and nearly a decade of effort, it opened in 1876. Merchants set up stalls along the route, and crowds with tickets jostled for seats on the first run. The newspaper “*Shenbao* even sold photographs of the train ‘for the benefit of women and children, and people who live in distant areas and who have never seen a train . . .’”¹⁶ The train went from Shanghai to Wusong and back seven times a day, except Sunday. Although a Chinese was crushed to death by the train on August 3, 1876, people continued to flock to ride on it. Unfortunately, the train encountered displeasure from Chinese authorities; its equipment was dismantled and shipped to Formosa. Later the equipment was recovered, and in September, 1898, the railway reopened. According to C. E. Darwent, “It is very popular with the Chinese. The carriages are good, clean, and comfortable, and are fitted with sliding panels of blue glass to shade the eyes during the glare of the summer.”¹⁷ Darwent recommended an excursion by train to Wusong as one of the interesting things to do in the Shanghai area.

One woodblock print titled *The Suzhou Railway Company Train Departs for Wusong*, depicting the train at a station issued by a Suzhou shop, also appeared as *The Shanghai Railway Company Train Departs for Wusong*, printed in the Shanghai shop of Sun Wenya. The identical composition with the same title, but with the image in mirror reverse, was issued by the Suzhou firm of Zhou Hengxing.¹⁸ The station depicted in these prints is the Shanghai South Station, recognizable by the peaked gable and spire.¹⁹ Repetitions of this railway scene reflect Chinese fascination with this modern venture, and that everyone wanted a pictorial souvenir of it.

Identical pictures of beautiful women also were offered through various houses. *The Pipa Player* was published by the Wang Rongxing shop in Suzhou. The identical composition, signed “Mengqiao” (a pseudonym of Zhou Muqiao; the subject of chapter 5) and dated 1900, was issued by the Shanghai Feiyingge shop, where Zhou worked.²⁰ A third version, titled *Jade Hall Wealth and Honor*, is believed to be from a Suzhou shop.²¹

Converting generic flowers (perhaps roses) into an ostentatious bouquet of magnolia, crab-apple blossoms, and peonies transformed the scene into one conveying “wealth and honor in the Jade Hall” (*yutang fugui*). Magnolia (*yulan*) and crab-apple blossom (*haitang*) are homophones for “jade” (*yu*) and “hall” (*tang*), and the peony is sometimes called the flower of wealth and honor. “Jade Hall” is a poetic name for the Hanlin Academy.

In 1901 Zhou Muqiao made the drawings for single-sheet colored woodblock prints sold through Feiyingge. In *The Orchid Gives Birth to a Noble Son*, a boy holds a mouth organ (*sheng*), a homophone for “to be born”; the other boy holds a spray of cassia (*gui*), a homophone for “noble” as well as suggesting success in the civil service examinations.²² Zhou also created designs for Suzhou print shops. In 1903 two of his pictures of women with their children were issued, it is usually believed, in Suzhou. The auspicious wish in both prints is that the sons will attain official position; this is conveyed through the imagery of five children contending for the official cap in one print.²³ In the second print (figure 2.3), specific motifs repeat the message of the inscribed title *Official Hat and Belt* [i.e., official position] *Handed Down Generation Through Generation*. This is exactly what is happening in the print where a little boy pulls a toy boat (*chuan*). On the boat is an official’s hat (*guan*) and an official’s jade ornamented belt (*dai*); another boy holds a sprig of pomegranate (*shiliu*). Together the boat, its contents, and the fruit create the expression “*guandai chuanliu*.” These two prints are exceptional because of their beautifully designed borders, a feature seen only on better quality woodblock prints. Most border designs consist of generic flowers, some of which can be identified as peonies, and sometimes auspicious symbols are inserted in the floral patterns.

The wares of the Shanghai Feiyingge shop may be viewed as typical of the Shanghai woodblock print production during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many woodblock prints published by Feiyingge were designed by Yinmei, Zuixiang, and Zhou Muqiao. The identities of Yinmei and Zuixiang are unknown today because it was customary for artists to employ a pseudonym on their designs for popular prints. Zhou Muqiao, in contrast, is well-known. Through these three artists and others who worked for Feiyingge, this firm provided their clientele with theater scenes and famous local Shanghai attractions, such as Zuixiang’s 1900 rendition of the opium den in the Green Lotus Pavilion Teahouse and Opium Den (Qingliange Chaguan Yantang).²⁴ Zhou Muqiao led in representing beautiful women.

The women depicted in Shanghai prints are in luxuriant surroundings with vases of flowers, ornate stands, incense burners, decorated screens, and balcony seats of women’s chambers. Feminine figures are supple of pose; faces are oval and hairlines are rendered with fine, delicate lines. Colors are sharp and intense; figured fabrics are enriched with gold. The overall conspicuously lavish opulence perhaps reflects the glitter, riches, and affluence associated, rightly or wrongly, with Shanghai life, especially that of the courtesan.

Shanghai prints use basic ink outline and flat-color fill characteristic of popular prints throughout the country. In prints from other regions, contour lines are usually unmodulated and even; the delineation of garments is simple or even perfunctory. Shanghai prints, however, partake of the style used by contemporary Shanghai figure painters. A



FIGURE 2.3. Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923), *Official Hat and Belt Handed Down Generation Through Generation*, 1903, Taohuawu, Suzhou, 47 × 30 cm. After *Suzhou Taohuawu muban nianhua*, 10.

distinctive stylistic trait is the erratic, swiftly moving line rendering the uneven folds of a sleeve or the drape of a skirt or a shawl or sash, sometimes reducing these forms to jumbles of nervous lines. In the prints, inscribed titles, dates, and artists' signatures combine with attractive imagery to make them thrifty substitutes for more costly scroll paintings of beautiful women. Later, inexpensive color lithographed advertisement calendar posters, also in some cases provided with titles and signatures and in others even poetic inscriptions, would serve the same purpose.

Lithography, the technique of transferring an image or text from stone to paper was

invented in Germany by Alois Senefelder, in 1796. In the nineteenth century, lithography was introduced into China by missionaries, who used the technique for religious tracts and books on technical subjects. In 1876 French Jesuits opened a printing school at their orphanage on the outskirts of Shanghai, Xujiahui. There at the Tushanwan print shop, young boys were taught printing to prepare them for useful lives as adults.²⁵ Direct lithography involves drawing a design or text in a greasy crayon directly on the surface of a prepared stone. The stone is then bathed in various chemicals to set the image and to remove excess grease. The stone is placed in the bed of the press, and an oil-based ink applied to the stone surface adheres only to the greasy surfaces. The stone is then dampened and a sheet of paper is pressed firmly onto the stone surface by means of a weight operated by lever. The ink of the design appears on the paper, but in reverse from the image on the stone. The invention of the star-wheel press, in 1805, in which pressure was applied by means of a wheel with spokes operated manually by two men, made it possible to move the weight evenly over the stone, resulting in better-quality images and faster production. Eventually, gas-operated presses improved production even more. In the mid-nineteenth century it was realized that certain metals (such as aluminum and zinc) could be substituted for stone, and that a photographic negative could be used to place an image on stone or metal. Using this method meant that the printed image was in the same orientation as the original. By the 1880s, photolithography with the image printed from a metal plate rather than a heavy and cumbersome stone became widespread. Printing by means of lithography is complicated and requires special materials, equipment, and technical knowledge. If stones are used, the best ones are from Germany. Regardless whether direct lithography, using stones, or photo-lithography is employed, durable paper is needed—paper that can not only tolerate the repeated wetting of the stone or metal but can also withstand the immense pressure exerted during printing. Special presses are necessary. Hand- or gas-operated star-presses, or the later-introduced rotary presses, require investment in heavy equipment, along with space to house and the technicians to operate this equipment. For photolithography a camera with special lenses permits enlarging or reducing images.

Shanghai lithographers used stones and machinery from England and France, and a special bamboo paper known as *lianshibizhi* produced in Fujian and Jiangxi Provinces because it was locally produced and thus was cheaper and more readily available than foreign papers.²⁶

As mentioned in chapter 1, in 1872 the English merchant Ernest Major (d. 1908) used lithography to print the first new-fashioned newspaper published in China, *Shenbao*. After several false starts at publishing a pictorial aimed at a Chinese audience, Major succeeded with the renowned *Dianshibizhai huabao*. It began publication in 1884 and was published every ten days until 1898. There were usually eight pictures in each issue, printed on the special bamboo paper from Fujian Province. A stable of ten local artists supplied the large number of “journalistic illustrations” (to use Jonathan Hay’s apt expression) needed for this periodical.²⁷ The themes in this pictorial ran the gamut from fabulous and sensationalist events to current news items, scenes of and incidents in Shanghai, and overseas happenings. Like some traditional Chinese book illustrations,

the *Dianshizhai huabao* pictures spread over two pages, but they differed significantly from the book illustrations in at least two respects. First, *Dianshizhai huabao* consisted primarily of illustrations and statements, usually of some length, explaining the scene incorporated directly into the picture, and ended with the artist's signature and a seal containing "a pithy remark."²⁸ Nevertheless, the visual result was closer to the small-scale album-leaf painting than to the book illustration. Second, the artists of the *Dianshizhai huabao* used Western techniques to describe people realistically: young or old, male or female, relaxing or working, all were vividly drawn with telling poses and gestures, and were set in accurately rendered domestic interiors, crowded urban streets, or remote rural villages, imparting liveliness and actuality to the scenes. This stress on accurate delineation was combined with nervous line work especially visible in the rendering of garments, typically associated with the Shanghai school of painting. The procedures for obtaining picture ideas were unique at the time. As analyzed by Ye Xiaoqing, the methods fall into four groups: contributions, eyewitness reports, gossip and hearsay, and newspapers. Beginning with issue number 5, the pictorial and its sibling *Shenbao* advertised for artists throughout the country to sketch any unusual occurrence they felt was newsworthy and to describe the circumstances and to submit both to the pictorial. A fee was paid if the material was accepted for publication. According to Ye, in reality, only two outside contributions were actually used, but a number of ideas submitted by readers were rewritten and in-house artists used their imaginations to depict the event.²⁹ The editors and artists often recorded scenes of everyday life in Shanghai and local customs and the like from their own eyewitness observations. Some forty pictures were based on gossip and hearsay and were "provided by people visiting Shanghai from other parts of the country," or by Chinese who had traveled in the West.³⁰ By far the largest source of inspiration was Chinese newspapers, including *Dianshizhai huabao*'s sister publication, *Shenbao*. Major sometimes sent his *Shenbao* journalists to report on battles, and their accounts were converted into pictures by the *Dianshizhai huabao* staff.³¹ Artists who contributed to *Dianshizhai huabao* often availed themselves of pictures in Western magazines, copying them with a high degree of fidelity. Western scholars have noted this feature. Writing in 1933, Roswell S. Britton asserted that "Many of the foreign scenes were obviously drawn from photographs in foreign newspapers and magazines . . ." ³² Fritz van Briessen proposed that some of the foreign scenes must have been based on pictures in "a German magazine."³³ Don J. Cohn suggested the *Illustrated London News* as a prototype for the *Dianshizhai huabao*.³⁴ The *Portrait of President Grant* by Wu Youru (figure 2.4) is a clear-cut example. It was based on *General Grant's Illness—A Consultation* by T. de Thulstrup, which appeared on the front cover of *Harper's Weekly* April 18, 1885 (figure 2.5). The *Dianshizhai huabao* artist, however, amplified the scene with two boys, a Western fireplace, mantel clock, vases of flowers, and wineglasses. The artist made a succinct statement about Grant's place in history by introducing a Chinese multipan-eled screen behind the dying Grant on which are depicted cranes, traditional Chinese symbols of immortality. Borrowing was not all one way. *Signing of the Tientsin Pact*, published in the British magazine *Graphic* for August 30, 1884, is listed only as "by a Chi-

nese artist,” even though the artist’s name, Wu Youru, is clearly visible in the lower right-hand corner.³⁵

Major gave his editors great leeway in selecting news items and pictures. Other than the strategies described above, there is no information about how editorial decisions were reached, who might be assigned to produce a particular picture, who approved it for publication, or what standards were employed to make final decisions about the illustrative material.

The *Dianshizhai huabao* used both stone lithography and photolithography. A picture of the Dianshizhai press published in a picture album of famous local spots in Shanghai depicts the printing shop in some detail.³⁶ Inside spacious rooms are small two-man presses and five large hand-rotated presses with their full complement of wheels and rollers; each of the large presses has five or six workers attending it. Workers are shown unpacking and moving the stones. At the back of the work area, two men are seen grinding the surface of two large flat stones. Stacks of stones and reams of paper fill available spaces. Altogether, more than fifty Chinese workers are shown.³⁷ As with traditional woodblock print shops, lithography required the labor of numerous workers.

The depiction of the Dianshizhai print shop was rendered by Wu Youru. Of the bevy of artists who worked for *Dianshizhai huabao*, Wu Jiayou (better known under his alternate name Youru; d. 1893), Zhang Zhiying (Zhang Qi), and his close associate Zhou Quan (better known as Zhou Muqiao), were the most outstanding. Wu was a native of Yuanhe in Jiangsu Province. He was exceptionally talented in fine line drawing and could represent equally well: people, beautiful women, landscapes, flowers, plants, birds, insects, and fish. Wu left Suzhou during the Taiping Rebellion and fled to Shanghai, where he began to study painting, but shortly thereafter, he returned to Suzhou, where he became an apprentice in the Yunlange Mounting Shop (Yunlange Biaohuadian) on West Street near Chang Gate. The shop also sold calligraphy and paintings of popular subjects. Wu began serious study with the Suzhou artist, Zhang Zhiying (see chapter 4). As his skill developed and his reputation spread, Wu was invited to Beijing to paint the *Portraits of Meritorious Officials Victorious at Jinling*, a scroll that was submitted to the emperor for his inspection. On his way home Wu stopped in Shanghai, and there he was invited by Major to make pictures for the *Dianshizhai huabao*.³⁸ Wu became noted for his genre paintings and his sketches of current affairs, which were depicted in great detail and with exceptional realism.³⁹ He was involved with a set of representations of Taiping Rebellion battles.⁴⁰ In addition, several sophisticated pictures of children playing games created by Wu Youru in Shanghai were transferred into woodblock prints with but slight modification by the Shengxing Huadian in Yangliuqing near Tianjin.⁴¹

Zhang Zhiying also contributed many scenes to the *Dianshizhai huabao* enterprise. Little is known about Zhang, but as a member of the older generation of *Dianshizhai huabao* artists and given his Suzhou heritage, he might well have learned his Western realism from the heavily Westernized prints issued in Suzhou in the late eighteenth century. He may have actually seen these blocks prior to the vast destruction of the Suzhou print enterprises during the Taiping Rebellion of the 1860s.



FIGURE 2.4. Wu Youru (d. 1893), *Portrait of General Grant*. *Dianshizhai huabao* 38 (1885, fourth month, last ten days), collection *ding*, 33b–34a.

Dianshizhai huabao spawned a number of Chinese imitations, most notably that published by Wu Youru, who left *Dianshizhai huabao*, in 1890, to found his *Feiyingge huabao*.⁴² After Wu's death, in 1893, Zhou Muqiao, who must have been Wu's close colleague and companion, took over at *Feiyingge huabao*, but the pictorial itself did not survive much longer.⁴³ Although most pictures in *Feiyingge huabao* were new creations, on occasion the same picture appeared in both pictorials. This recycling indicates that in the print world, there was no compunction against reissuing images. For *Feiyingge huabao*, Wu created a serial of “modern women” (*shizhuang shiniu*) depicting up-to-date women at home and in public.

According to commentators, Wu was most acclaimed for his depictions of beautiful women and in this genre was likened unto the famous sixteenth-century Suzhou artist Qiu Ying. One art historian, Huang Mengtian, however, claims that cognoscenti appreciated Wu's beautiful women because of Wu's excellent drawing and especially lauded his version of the *Baimei tu* (One hundred beauties). They were aware of his contributions to the *Dianshizhai huabao* but disparaged these in favor of his feminine images, not realizing that “the reason Wu has a place in the history of Chinese art is mainly because of his genre paintings, that are so full of realistic significance.”⁴⁴ Wu Youru is also noted for his *Haishang baiyan tu* (One hundred Shanghai beauties), where

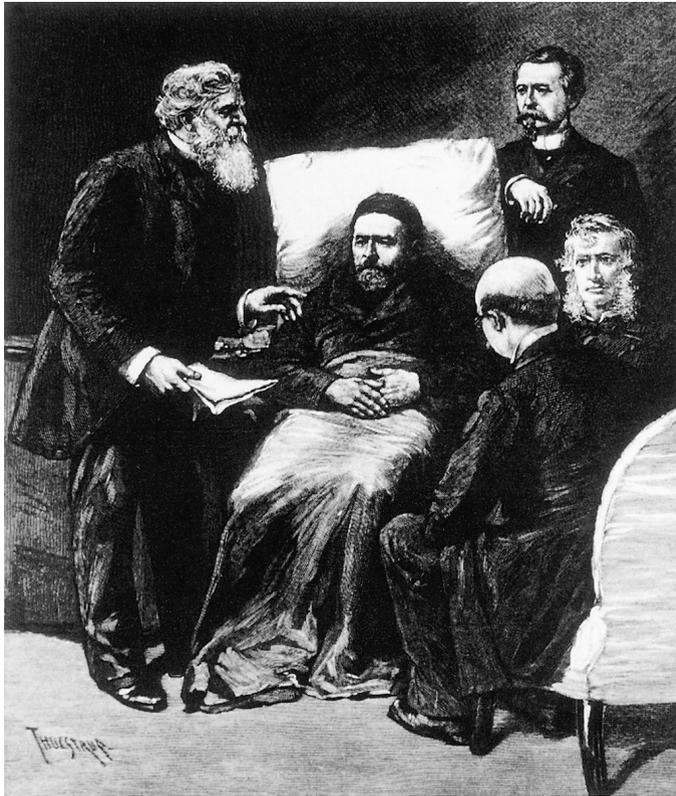


FIGURE 2.5. T. de Thulstrup, *General Grant's Illness—A Consultation*, 1885. After *Harper's Weekly* (April 18, 1885), front cover.

the “hundred beauties” theme was updated by depicting modern Chinese women in modern settings, including two women posing for their portrait in a photographer’s studio in his *Even I Feel Affection for You as I See You* (figure 2.6).⁴⁵ Catherine Vance Yeh astutely credits Wu with creating a new genre by fusing the modern beauty and the modern city.⁴⁶ This set was published in 1908 as by Wu Youru, but eight pages are signed by Zhou Muqiao.

Given the Western ownership of *Shenbao*, it is not surprising that it followed several practices current among Western journals. One practice was the issuing of calendars; an uncolored, lithographed calendar issued by *Shenbao* is discussed in chapter 4. Like Western counterparts, *Dianshizhai huabao* offered premiums: at New Year’s time, a free picture in return for proof of purchase of nine copies of the pictorial.⁴⁷ *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyongge huabao* also imitated Western magazines by printing “supplements” of colored pictures, again often at New Year’s time. In England in the early 1880s the *Graphic* included large colored pictures of subjects appealing to its British readership: hunts, military regiments, pretty women, five-o’clock tea in Paris. Some were reproductions of contemporary paintings. In China, J. M. W. Farnham, an American Presbyterian missionary in Shanghai, introduced the *Huatu xinbao*, in 1880. It was published until 1913. Billed as “the Chinese Illustrated News: Moral, Religious, Scientific, Instructive

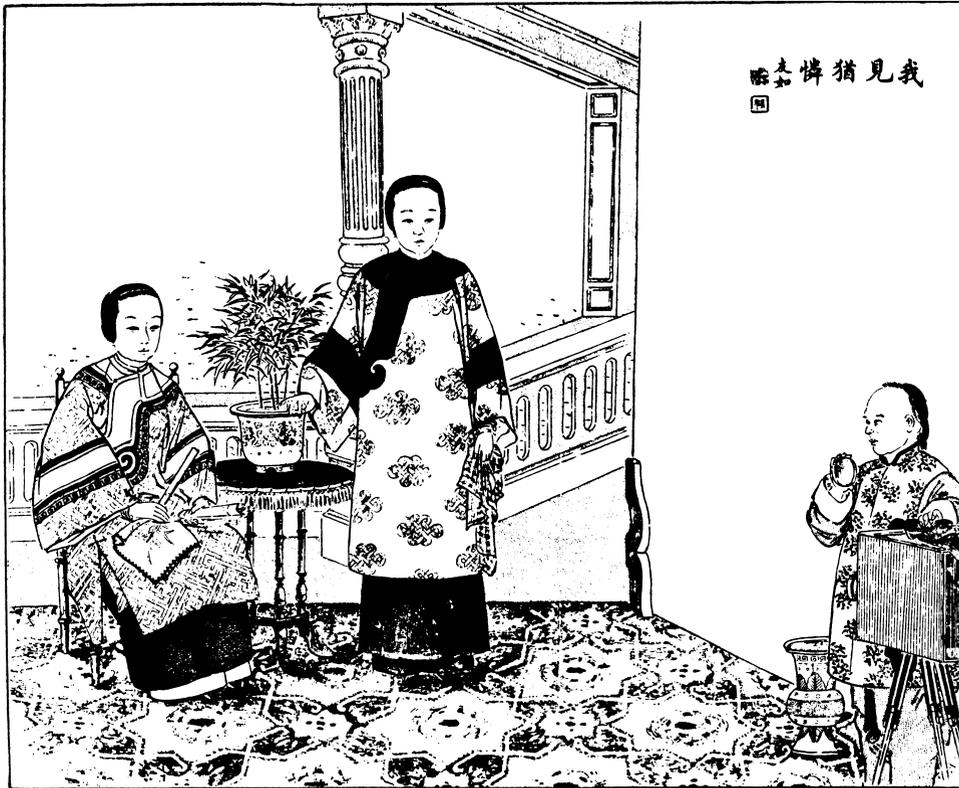


FIGURE 2.6. Wu Youru (d. 1893), *Even I Feel Affection for You as I See You*. After *Haisang baiyan tu* in *Wu Youru huabao* (1908; reprint, Shanghai: Guji shudian chubanshe, 1983), 1:3.16.

and Entertaining,” it included articles of educational value on such topics as geography and astronomy along with some news. It was illustrated with fine copperplate engravings with images of animals, technological apparatus, portraits of world leaders, and scenes of far-off places. In 1881, and for several years after, it offered new subscribers “four handsome coloured engravings.”⁴⁸ Although there is no indication of the subjects of these pictures, given the religious and educational thrust of the publication, they probably represented edifying themes.

In 1900, colored lithographs could not be printed in China. Although some presses experimented with color lithography, the results were unsatisfactory. It was not until 1906 that the Wenming Book Company (Wenming Shuju) asked Japanese technicians knowledgeable about color lithography to come to Shanghai and work at their press, and the next year, the Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshuguan) also invited Japanese specialists to Shanghai and began to use color lithography to publish reproductions of traditional-style paintings of landscapes, flowers, and figures.⁴⁹ Consequently, when, in Shanghai, *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyingshe huabao* issued bonus prints of attractive colored pictures of pretty women during the New Year’s season,⁵⁰ they had to use the traditional color woodblock print technique. Several prints enclosed in issues of *Feiyingshe huabao* were designed by Zhou Muqiao; a few of these are preserved along with the

Feiyongge huabao issues in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University.⁵¹ Thus the Feiyongge shop, as a going commercial venture, utilized both the old woodblock prints and the new lithographed pictorials for its merchandise.

Zhou Muqiao may have been nearly as prolific as his mentor, Wu Youru. Zhou provided the designs for many pictures published by means of lithography in *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyongge huabao*, as well as eight pictures of beautiful women for Wu's *One Hundred Shanghai Beauties*. Zhou also designed colored woodcut pictures issued by *Feiyongge huabao* and a number of woodblock prints for both Suzhou firms and the Feiyongge shop. Zhou, whose oeuvre is discussed in chapter 5, must have been one of the most renowned illustrators when he was asked by the British American Tobacco Company to provide a picture for their gift calendar for 1914, a picture that forever changed the view of the beautiful Chinese woman.

Photography, like lithography, was a foreign import, coming into China along with Westerners in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵² At first it was practiced mainly by Westerners in the treaty ports, especially in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. Westerners took pictures of Chinese customs, scenery, and sites, of Chinese peddlers and tradesmen, of ordinary and elite Chinese, of individuals as well as entire families. Eventually, Chinese photographers entered the profession, and by the early 1860s, photography had spread to the Shanghai area.⁵³ Chinese photographers specialized in indoor formal portrait photography, sometimes resorting to painting portraits or even supplying false teeth in order to survive. In the early years of portrait photography, rigid conventions were observed. The sitter had to be full face so that both eyes and ears would be visible; shadows were minimized (figure 2.7). The subject would hold a fan, a kerchief, a flower, or similar accessory. Propriety required that the person be in a decorous setting furnished by studio props and painted backdrops. Beside the sitter, a table sometimes covered with a fringed cloth held a vase or a pot of flowers, a teacup, a water pipe, or sometimes a Western clock. This formal portraiture goes back to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). In a painted portrait dated to 1439, a matron is in frontal view with the requisite table laden with a vase of flowers, a smoking incense burner, and a book; an attendant stands respectfully behind her mistress.⁵⁴ The same protocol is reflected in woodblock prints of women.⁵⁵ These woodblock prints normally show women seated at an angle, so that their faces are in three-quarters profile, and often a son stands at their knee. The woodblock prints are also vulgarized, debased versions of older, more elegantly polished portraits of beautiful women, for example an eighteenth-century hanging scroll of an imperial concubine sitting on a stool by a table on which is a vase of peonies; she holds a volume removed from the bound set of books on the table.⁵⁶

Not seen in woodblock prints of beautiful women but captured by Wu Youru's *Even I Feel Affection for You as I See You* (figure 2.6) are other commonplaces and necessities of the portrait photographer's studio, including a patterned floor-covering. Secondary accoutrements found their way into the pictures. One amusing touch is a ceramic dog placidly seated at the feet of his owner. Spittoons and large planters holding chrysanthemums or other flowering plants might also be used. If the studio lacked actual props of a fake balustrade and post, these might be included as part of the painted architec-



FIGURE 2.7. Photographer unknown. "Native of Hong Kong—Woman," before 1875, albumen silver print, 22.5 × 18.4 cm. Courtesy of David Wolf, Inc., New York City.

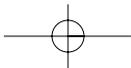
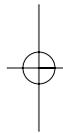
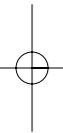
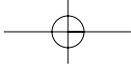
tural backdrop. Suitable subjects for the painted backdrops were traditional Chinese gardens, composed of waterside kiosks with curving eave ends set among a few trees, or those gardens of Western origin with Western architectural elements. Even when photography sessions were out-of-doors, a painted backdrop was erected to provide proper ambience. Images in these backdrops could be utterly simple or extremely elaborate. They could be painted with minimal skill or with great accomplishment. Demand for photographic backdrops was so great that Zhou Xiang (1871–1933) opened a training center specifically to produce backdrops, the Bujinghua Chuanxisuo (Cloth Scenery Painting Training Institute) also known as the Chinese Art School (Zhonghua Meishu Xuexiao).⁵⁷ Zhou Xiang was schooled in Western art at the Tushanwan Paint-

ing Studio at Xujiahui (see chapter 3), but according to Mayching Kao, instead of following their drawing manuals, Zhou copied illustrations from Western magazines.⁵⁸ Photographic backdrops were painted on a heavy fabric, perhaps canvas, or perhaps even a very stiff paper. In two photographs of members of the Chinese imperial family taken out-of-doors, the painted garden backdrop is severely cracked, which apparently bothered neither the royal sitters nor the photographer.⁵⁹ When more-casual poses, such as sitting sideways on garden rocks, became acceptable, studio props and painted backdrops continued to be used. These photography-studio practices persisted through the 1940s.

The pose described above was used for portraits of people from the elite walks of life, Chinese and Manchu alike. Courtesans and prostitutes used full-length or sometimes half-length photographic portraits to decorate their apartments or to present to favored clients; copies could also be purchased from photographic studios, giving these ladies of the night even more publicity.⁶⁰

Between 1900 and 1910, sophisticated methods of pictorial reproduction replaced lithography: innovations such as photogravure and collotype, along with advances in the printing technology where rotary presses replaced flat-plate machines.⁶¹ These developments, plus the phenomenal surge of popular romance and adventure stories, the so-called mandarin-duck-and-butterfly literature, contributed to the rise of commercial art during the early twentieth century. Romance novels and short-story monthlies typically had pictures of pretty women on their covers.⁶² Some also carried black-and-white pictorial advertisements inside. Following the decline in short-story magazines, pictorials like the monthly *Liangyou* attracted attention with a pretty girl on every cover. Close relationships evolved between writers of popular romance literature and creators of popular advertising images.

Several practices current in the Chinese popular-print business of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Shanghai persisted when the industry turned to the production of advertisement calendars: the workshop method, the unabashed repetition of a favored image by different shops, and the pirating of ready-made images, such as photographs and pictures published in periodicals. For Shanghai urbanites, the popular prints, whether woodcuts, lithographs, or photographs, provided up-to-date visual records of the modernization of their city as well as of its older aspects. These inexpensive pictures were meant to entertain and perhaps even to serve as interior decoration. People bought them to partake, even vicariously, of the many attractions of the modernizing city. Shanghai citizens and visitors alike appreciated the city's vibrant, exciting highlights, especially the world of amusement and entertainment. Later, advertisement calendar posters catered to these predilections with an endless parade of attractive modern women in luxurious surroundings.



CHAPTER THREE

Production and Marketing of Advertisement Calendar Posters in China

Once Western and Chinese companies found their footing in the calendar business in China, nothing could stop the flow of annual calendars. As in the United States, calendars were both advertisements for commodities and themselves commodities to be advertised.

Although some advertisement calendar images were created in traditional Chinese painting techniques, the majority were a blend of Western art techniques incorporating relatively anatomically correct figures in proper proportion, lifelike gestures and poses, detailed settings of Chinese or Western gardens, Chinese or Western interiors, and using perspective to suggest recession into space, and chiaroscuro to produce volume and mass in figures.

Western art had been a factor in China since the seventeenth century when it influenced elite artists and printers in the Nanjing area. In the eighteenth century, Western art precepts permeated the upper echelons and the lower strata of Chinese art. At the upper levels, Western techniques had a significant effect on art at the court in Beijing as well as among certain artists working in the environs of Yangzhou. At the lower levels, Western art ideas filtered from the court down into the popular woodblock prints produced at Yangliuqing. In south China, as mentioned in chapter 1, Suzhou woodblock prints of the eighteenth century imitated Western engravings, Western perspective drawing, and other Western techniques.

In the nineteenth century, Western painting prospered in the southern port cities of Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau, where both Western and Chinese artists provided watercolors, oil paintings, and even pencil sketches of local scenery, cities, and towns, as well as portraits primarily for sale to Western sojourners. By the end of the nineteenth century, moreover, Western art was not an oddity to the average person in

China. Even though few if any Chinese actually studied art in Europe at that time, the principles of Western art were promulgated to popular levels through several pathways, and many calendar print creators and illustrators were self-taught in Western representational art. One channel for this transmission was the Catholic church, another was the Chinese government, and yet another was the burgeoning publishing industry.

Xujiahui, the site of Jesuit headquarters in China, located on the outskirts of Shanghai, was the hometown of Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), prime minister under the Ming emperor Wanli, and one of the most notable converts to Catholicism. After 1847 the Jesuit mission there had a bishop's residence, a library, an observatory, a garden, several cathedrals, seminaries, and an orphanage at Tushanwan (included in the complex).¹ Eventually, the fathers operated occupational schools for orphans. Girls were taught silk and satin embroidery, weaving, dressmaking, washing, and ironing, in the clothing studio. For young men, there were a painting studio, a carpentry shop, a printing studio, and a metalworking studio. Boys were trained in woodworking, making ecclesiastical utensils, furniture, sideboards, and tables. The printing shop produced Chinese books and Western language books, magazines, and religious images. The publishing house connected to the print shop did bookbinding and bookselling. In the orphanage's Tushanwan Painting Studio, young men were instructed in drawing and tracing, copying pictures of ecclesiastical subjects for churches, schools, and individuals.² The school began as an art studio under the auspices of Joannes Ferrer (1817–1856). A Spaniard, he trained as a sculptor in Rome, and after he joined the Jesuit order, he was sent to China, in 1847. He convinced his superiors to open an art training studio, which was approved in 1852. Another brother, Nicolas Massa (1815–1876), an Italian who arrived in China in 1846, taught oil painting at the studio. After the elevation of the studio into a full-fledged school, the staff was augmented by Brother Lu Bodu (1836–1880), who studied with Ferrer and taught oil painting. The Frenchman Adolphus Vasseur (1828–1902) joined them in 1870; he was noted for his efforts to use in his art the linear style of traditional Chinese painting. He was largely responsible for creating the pictures later printed in the printing studio for reproduction in mass quantities. In 1880 Liu Bizhen (1843–1912), a student of Lu Bodu, became director of the school. Tushanwan productions became famous both at home and abroad; the school's artworks were entered in international exhibitions in Paris, in 1900, and in San Francisco, in 1915.³ Mayching Kao notes that in addition to religious images, masterpieces of Western secular painting were also copied and sold in China and abroad. She makes the important observation that the painting school at Tushanwan may be the first institution in China to provide training in Western art on a systematic basis.⁴

The teaching method at Tushanwan consisted of copying models, since replicas of standard images for religious purposes were usually required. The young men learned Western art through copying drawings in model books indicating how to render the tilt of the human head or the varied positions of the hands and even full figures (figure 3.1). In 1907, Tushanwan published two drawing manuals: *Qianbi xihua tie* (Practice models for pencil drawing) and *Huishhi jianshuo* (Painting simplified).⁵ They were continuations of model books used in the West by art educators to provide elementary guides to stu-

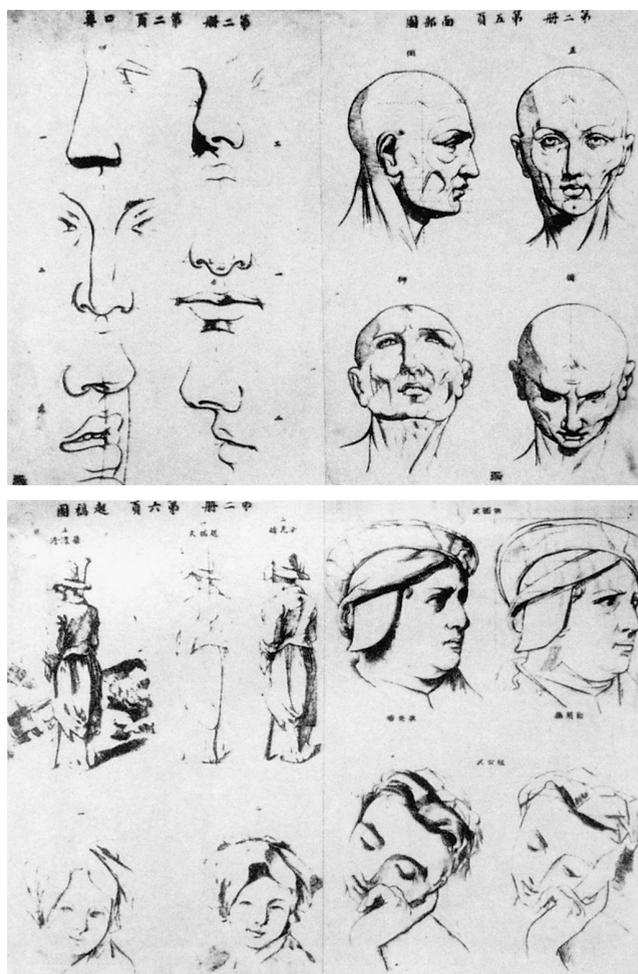


FIGURE 3.1. Drawing models used at the Tushanwan Painting Studio. After Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushi nian: 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 1.

dents by reducing the human body to simple, often geometrical and stereometrical, structures that became reservoirs of schematic formulas.⁶ Ernest Gombrich notes that “the most widespread and familiar of all the diagrammatic formulas taught in the Western tradition [is] the divided oval or egg shape that does duty for the head.” Students were urged to “practice the egg shape with the cross in it, without which no head can succeed.” Gombrich asserts that the value of such a device is that “it acts as an effective corrective to one of the most frequent mistakes untrained persons make when they draw a head: the mistake of identifying what interests us, that is, the face, with the whole head. . . . By asking the beginner to . . . think of the head first and of the face as subordinated to its three-dimensional structure, the teacher will certainly induce progress.”⁷

Although the Tushanwan model books were based on Western prototypes, they fit in with accepted Chinese modes of learning to paint from a guidebook, of which the

primary example is the well-known *Jieziyuan huazhuan* (Mustard-seed-garden painting manual).

Most paintings from the Xujiahui establishment have been lost, but prints of religious subjects acquired by Berthold Laufer in Shanghai around 1902–1903 (now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City) must preserve the accomplishments of the Tushanwan Painting Studio and the drawing manuals.

Although the emphasis at the painting school in Tushanwan was on religious imagery, at least four of their youthful students learned more than the basics of Western drawing and became major contributors to the Chinese art world in the early twentieth century. Zhou Xiang in 1911 opened the first public art school that taught Western art; Ding Song (1891–1969) became a sought-after illustrator, drawing cartoons and pictures of women; Xu Yongqing, perhaps China's first watercolorist of note, lent his talents to advertisement calendars; and Hang Zhiying would open a studio specializing in advertising art.⁸

Zhou Xiang's Chinese Art School, as mentioned in chapter 2, was a training center for scenic backdrops used in theaters and in photography studios. Zhou's teaching method was rooted in copying illustrations in foreign magazines and, according to Pan Tian-shou (1897–1971), his copies in turn were copied by his students.⁹ Wang Yachen (1894–1983), a noted Western-style painter, recalled:

Those who wished to learn Western painting looked for color reproductions in periodicals from the second-hand book stores on Peking Road. Once they saw some, whether these be designs or advertisements, they bought them for the purposes of copying them. Since there were no original Western paintings or proper places to study, I and my friends even made up model books to fool (the ignorant).¹⁰

At the same time that students were learning Western painting techniques at the Tushanwan Painting Studio, Western drawing techniques for drafting, cartography, and mechanical illustration were being taught in the earliest government schools, especially military academies and engineering schools, founded to provide training in Western languages, sciences, and technology.¹¹ One school, the Tongwenguan, established in Shanghai in 1862, became a college of Western studies by the mid-1860s, and included drawing in its curriculum. Under the direct auspices of the Chinese government, translations of Western science and technology books, including a number on drawing, were published. The missionary John Fryer (1839–1928), associated with the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai, was especially prolific in translating scientific works, including *The Engineer's and Machinist's Drawing Book* by V. Le Blanc and J. Armengaud, originally published in several editions in the 1860s, *Aids to Model Drawing* by F. Richardson, and *Drawing Instruments* (author's name not given). In 1896 these manuals were also available on the local market through the Chinese Scientific Book Depot in Shanghai.¹² Although these manuals were primarily appreciated for their direct application to the precise rendering of objects based on optical observation using perspective, a single light source, and shading, a secondary consequence was their availability to artists outside the schools who were curious about methods used to depict the objective world. The next step,

more straightforwardly concerned with creating fine art rather than technical illustration, was the publication of John Fryer's translation of *A Primer of Western Painting*, a six-volume introduction of Western painting methods. Mayching Kao concludes: "As far as we know, this is the first comprehensive and systematic study of its kind ever available in the Chinese language." It was apparently welcomed, for one person, writing in 1902, lauds this primer because it provided "detailed explanations in simple language and therefore [it is] easily understood by those who wish to learn." Guides to Western drawing were also serialized in periodicals; the series published in the missionary journal *Xiaobai yuebao* (Children's monthly) beginning in 1875, expounded "theories and practices of perspective, composition, color theory, drawing and study from life."¹³

Other publications, sponsored by Protestant missionaries, also provided a range of illustrations of scientific and technological value, although not intended to be drawing manuals. By the 1870s there were six such publications (three of which were based in Shanghai) containing pictures of Biblical and scientific subjects, including illustrations of the universe, animals, plants, trains, and mechanical devices.¹⁴ The abolition of the civil service examination system in 1905 and the acknowledged need to modernize China's education system resulted in specialized schools and technical institutes. Many new institutions throughout the country now offered training in the basics of Western art, with stress on the practicality of precise technical drawing. In 1906 the art curriculum of the Liangjiang High School in Nanjing included training in Chinese and Western painting, the last largely taught by Japanese artists. In the Western art classes, students were instructed in pencil and charcoal drawing, design, plane and three-dimensional mechanical drawing, perspective and various forms of projective geometry, revealing again the focus on practical art. Students also were exposed to painting in oils and watercolors, although apparently not as a mode of personal expression or creative art.

In addition to the translations of Western drawing manuals, the Chinese began to print their own. In 1906 the Commercial Press, recognizing that drawing was basic training for Western art, initiated a series of pencil-drawing model booklets suitable for use in middle and higher primary schools. The booklets contained images of figures, interiors, objects, flowers, fruit, trees, water, stones, animals, figures in profile and full view, drawn by "specially hired famous artists." In 1911 these booklets were authorized by the Board of Education.¹⁵ In 1916 the advertisement for a two-volume drawing model book by Zhang Yuguang, Liu Haisu (1896–1994), and Ding Song emphasized that a solid grounding in drawing was fundamental training in Western art. According to the advertisement, which pictured a pencil and an eraser, the first printing of more than eight thousand copies of this model book had sold out within three months; customers were urged to purchase their copies of the second printing as soon as possible.¹⁶ By 1916 the Commercial Press had expanded its art offerings by publishing in color four volumes of selections of famous European paintings from the Renaissance to the Bar-bizon school.¹⁷

How-to art manuals continued to be published in China. Six model guidebooks collectively titled *Xinpai meisbu fenlei tubua daquan* (Compendium of new-style art, classified

pictures) were published in 1922 (figure 3.2). The blurb inside volume 1 proclaims that the books would be of value to Chinese-style painters, to artists, to advertisers, and to young students. In an amazing array of images, volume 1 presents drawings of birds and fowl; volume 2, animals; volume 3, human figures; volume 4, flowers and grasses; volume 5, scenery; and volume 6, utensils and designs. The volume on human figures included several pages of heads obviously taken from the Tushanwan model books, much simplified. But there were also examples of individual facial features (eyes, noses, lips, ears) and hands in varied positions. More pertinent to the Chinese context were the pages of modern Chinese women's faces and of Chinese children and adults (male and female) engaged in mundane occupations and tasks, quiet pastimes, active sports, and daily life. The volume containing pictures of utensils and designs included sketches of implements of all kinds. There were writing, drawing, and school necessities, sports equipment, musical instruments, and agricultural tools; objects of everyday use (umbrellas, oil lamps, baskets, fans, clocks) and wearing apparel (shoes, hats); and old and new conveyances, from sedan chairs to airplanes. The design section offered traditional Chinese geometric patterns, as well as Western geometric and floral designs along with those derived from art nouveau theories.

It is difficult to evaluate the impact on budding artists of printed pictorial ephemera that flowed into China in the late nineteenth century. Persistent Chinese would-be painters might learn by copying the Western paintings advertised for sale in *Shenbao* in 1873 and 1878, or the album of eighteen copper engravings of Chinese and foreign scenery offered by *Shenbao* in 1876.¹⁸ Or, as suggested by Mayching Kao, would-be painters might copy the animals, ships, and other motifs appearing on cigarette cards. In addition, would-be artists might learn from the exquisitely rendered animals, birds, and human figures on the Barlow and the A. S. Watson Pharmacy calendar posters from 1888–1889, one of which was prepared by *Dianshizhai huabao* staff artist Zhang Zhiying (discussed in chapter 4), or eager artists might hone their skills by imitating other figures and scenes printed in *Dianshizhai huabao* or in *Feijingge huabao*.

Just at the time, then, that Western advertising began to appear in China, aggressive and determined Chinese could gain enough skill in Western art to satisfy the sometimes minimal standards demanded for the drawing of objects and figures prevalent in pictorial advertisements. Judging from the many clumsy and awkward line-drawing advertisements printed in *Shenbao*, for example, it is evident that numerous commercial artists and illustrators indeed did acquire these skills on their own (several modern sources insist that most commercial artists were self taught),¹⁹ but their efforts are mediocre, at best. When asked to produce full-scale calendar posters, their lack of systematic training or their want of talent became painfully evident. These failures, of course, make the work of the successful commercial artist stand out with greater prominence.

Once calendar posters became a major mode of advertisement in China, they were produced through five channels: in-house advertisement departments in major companies, large and small advertising agencies, printing firms, commercial art studios, and freelance artists.

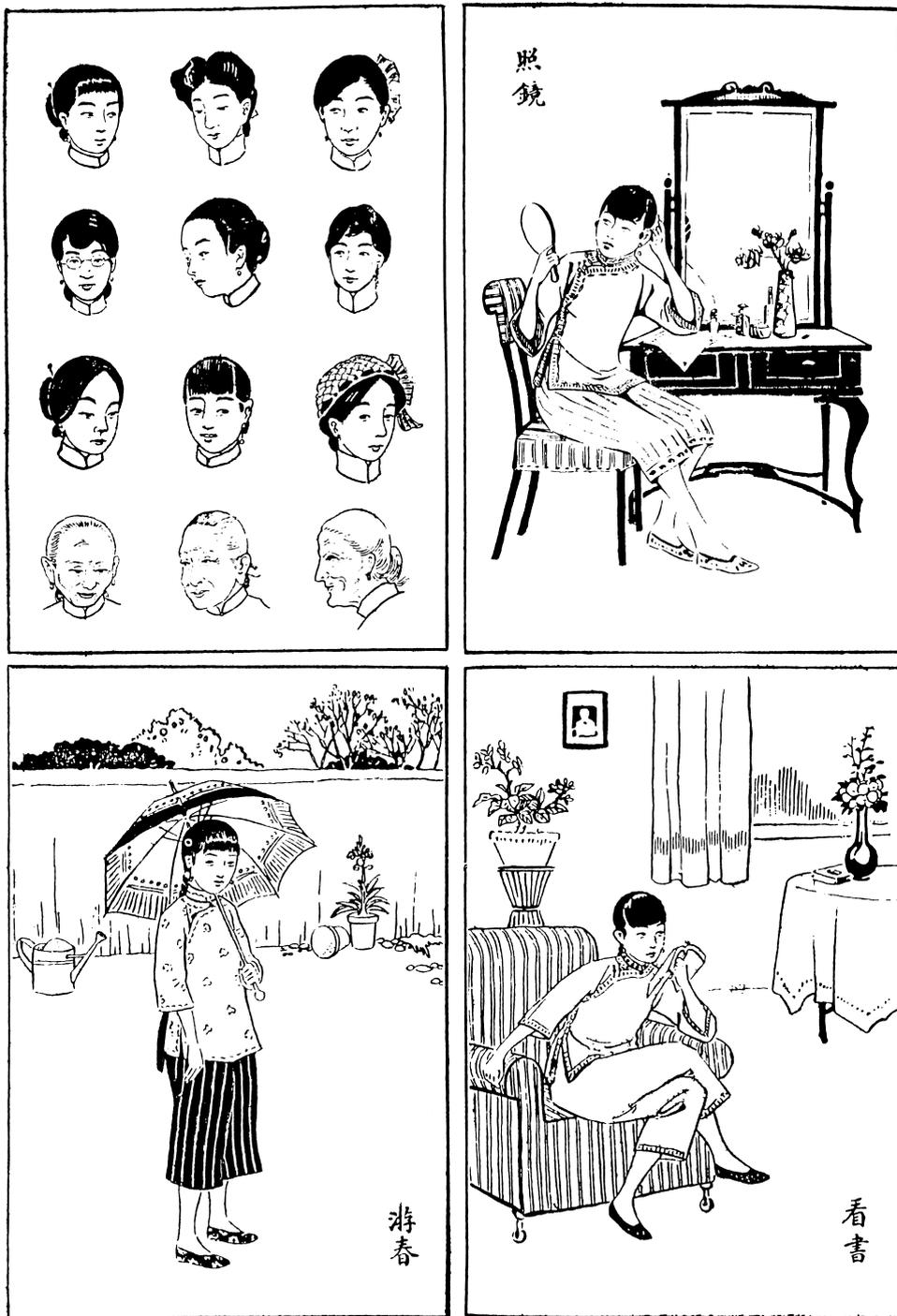


FIGURE 3.2. Drawing models published in a how-to-paint Manual, 1922. After *Xinpai meishu fenlei tubua daquan* (Shanghai: Xinxin meishushe, 1922) 3:15, 58–59, 63.

The British American Tobacco Company launched its advertising department in 1915; on its staff were American, Japanese, English, and German artists.²⁰ The names of foreign artists working for BAT are unknown. The Chinese painters on its staff included Hu Boxiang, Ni Gengye, Liang Dingming, Zhang Guangyu and his brother Zhang Zhengyu (1904–1976), Ding Song and his brother Ding Ne, Yang Qinsheng, Yang Xiuying, Tang Jiuru, Wu Bingsheng (known also as Wu Shaoyun), Yin Yueming, Ma Shouhong, and Wang Ying. Not all of these artists were responsible for creating calendar posters, and not all of them served BAT at the same time.²¹ James Hutchison, the BAT advertising and sales representative in China whose work was quoted in chapter 1, describes the procedure used at BAT in 1917 for creating advertisements and calendars:

Across the Whangpoo was a stretch of land, called Pootung, facing the Bund. Here the company had its own engraving and printing plant, as modern and well equipped as the leading ones at home. In addition to cigarette packets, cartons and stiffeners [the so-called “cigarette cards”], the factory turned out booklets, handbills, posters and highly complicated full-color calendars. In the lithographic department, a staff of Japanese did the work of transferring colors to zinc sheets.

In the advertising department we worked out the original ideas and drawings, as well as advertisements placed in the leading newspapers throughout the country, and distributed finished jobs to the field. We employed a large staff of artists, Chinese who entered as apprentices, and one or two Japanese. Since the average educated Chinese was by nature artistic and well trained in drawing characters with a brush, the trained Chinese artist was an unusually highly refined specimen. He turned out beautiful work, but always with a tendency toward the delicate, bordering on the effeminate.

The calendar was the big advertising smash each year. Leading popular Chinese artists, chiefly girl head specialists, were paid a good retaining fee to submit preliminary sketches nine months ahead of Chinese New Year, usually falling around the end of February, the date on which the calendars were simultaneously distributed in every nook and corner of the nation. These roughs were then sent out to all Division headquarters of the Chinese members of the staff to vote on their respective merits and check the titles to see that the characters carried no local double meanings.²²

At BAT artists were assigned explicit tasks from which they were not permitted to deviate. Hu Boxiang, Ni Gengye, Liang Dingming, Wu Bingsheng, and Ma Shouhong created color advertisements; the brothers Ding Song and Ding Ne drew only black-and-white newspaper ads, for which Song only did figures and Ne did the representations of cigarette packages and tins. Another artist was responsible for the artistic lettering; Yang Qinsheng wrote the foreign languages, specializing in inscriptions written in tiny Western alphabetic letters.²³ In the production of calendar posters, one artist painted figures for colored calendar or hanger posters, others only created the backgrounds for these figures, still others only designed the decorative borders, yet others were respon-

sible only for the written characters, some of which were in artistic forms.²⁴ In 1917 BAT founded a school to train specialists in painting, photography, and printing.

The Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, competitors with BAT for the cigarette market in China, had Zhou Bosheng (1887–1955) and Tang Lin on their advertisement department staff, and the Huacheng Tobacco Company boasted the services of Zhang Dihan (b. 1904) and the versatile Xie Zhiguang. Wang Yiman was employed by Xinyi Pharmaceutical (Xinyi Yaochang).²⁵ Artists could accept commissions from other businesses and often moved from one firm to another. A few companies endeavored to improve the artistic level of their ads by inviting well-known masters of Chinese-style painting as well as foreign painters to tutor their staff artists.

In addition to in-house advertising departments, independent advertising agencies under foreign and native management sprang up to provide services to smaller companies that could not afford their own advertising departments. Perhaps the earliest advertising agency in Shanghai was the Weiluo Advertising Agency (Weiluo Guanggao Gongsì), founded by Wang Zilian in 1909.²⁶

Carl Crow, the American who operated an advertising agency in Shanghai, wrote on advertising production in China, and his outline of how calendar pictures were produced by a series of specialists, tallies with the shop methods recorded as used by BAT and other firms, mentioned above.²⁷ Crow, a Missouri native, began as a printer's apprentice and, after attending the University of Missouri, became a journalist. In 1906 he was on the editorial staff of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*; in 1911 he moved to Shanghai to be associate city editor of the *China Press*. In 1913 he was in Japan, and in 1914 he returned to the United States, where he wrote for magazines in New York City. In 1916 Crow went back to China as Far Eastern Representative of the Committee on Public Information. Sources disagree on the date when he established his advertising agency in China. H. J. Lethbridge gives the date as 1914; Crow's obituary in the *New York Times* says it was after World War I.²⁸ Over the years, Crow employed at least nine Chinese artists; a Chen Jianhong was, at one time, head of Crow's art department.²⁹ Four Chinese were listed as being on Crow's staff in 1924: D. Doo, Y. C. Hsu, K. T. Yang, and a T. K. Zia (perhaps Xie Zhiguang).³⁰ Others might have been employed on a job-by-job basis: Teweì (b. 1915), Hu Zhongbiao, Xie Mulian (1918–1985), and Ye Qianyu (b. 1907).³¹ In 1927 the Englishman F. C. Millington, formerly connected with the Shanghai Municipal Service, established an advertising agency under the name Incorporated Advertising Consultant, although he had little formal acquaintance with the job, having been a Boy Scouts trainer in a public school in Shanghai.³² Most of his clients were English. He represented G. C. Shaw & Co., Ltd., which produced advertising novelties, another firm known as Multiple Advertising Clocks, and the London-based Far Eastern Advertising Agency, among others.³³ There were also advertising agencies run by Italians and other Europeans. Most of the advertising agencies, however, were Chinese owned. The two agencies owned by Crow and Millington, along with two owned by Chinese, the Chinese Commercial Advertising Company (Huashang Guanggao Gongsì), established in 1926 by Lin Zhenbin, and the United Advertising Company (Lianhe Guanggao Gongsì), established in 1930, were dubbed the "Four Big Advertising Companies."³⁴

In 1919 eleven advertising agencies were listed in a guidebook to Shanghai published by the Commercial Press;³⁵ the next year, thirteen agencies were on the roster, including the China Publicity Company (Zhongguo Shangwu Guanggao Gongsi), a subsidiary of the Commercial Press and located on their Henan Road premises.³⁶

Many advertising men were graduates of American universities, with degrees in business and majors in advertising. Lin Zhenbin, founder of the Chinese Commercial Advertising Company, was Phi Beta Kappa at Rochester University; he received an MA, in 1919, from Columbia University; he studied at Columbia's School of Business and majored in advertising at New York University. When he returned to China, he joined the China Publicity Company but then left in 1926 to launch his own company.³⁷ Ye Jianbai, Wang Yingbin, and Lu Meiseng were among the American-trained men influential in the Chinese advertising world around 1930.³⁸ Although there is no data available about the role these advertising agencies might have played in the production of calendar posters, it is difficult to believe that they did not participate at all.

On June 4, 1918, thirty-three businessmen associated with both Chinese and Western publishers in Shanghai, the British American Tobacco Company, the Sun Sun Artistic Studio, and other business firms formed the Advertising Club of China.³⁹ Throughout the next five years, notices of their special lectures on advertising and publicity by local and visiting pundits were posted in Shanghai's leading English-language weekly, *Millard's Review*. In August 1919 it was announced that the program for January 14, 1920 would include A. C. Row and C. F. Lin speaking on "Posters," and P. S. Chow and S. P. Westaway presenting their views on "The Three Ideas I Would Use for Wall Calendars or Novelties for the North China Trade."⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the content of these interesting lectures was never reported. Announcements about the Advertising Club ceased to appear in *Millard's Review* as of November 17, 1923, when the club was reorganized; presumably, it did not survive much longer.

As advertisement calendar posters themselves became commodities, printing firms began marketing them to other firms as well as offering them as gifts or premiums for their book customers. Initially, some printing firms recruited artists on an extremely casual basis. The Esthetic Bookstore (Shenmei Shuguan), operated from 1912 until 1918 by Gao Jianfu and his brother Qifeng (1889–1933), invited Xu Beihong (1895–1953) to provide pictures of beautiful women for use as *yuefenpai*. Xu was born in Yixing; his father, a self-taught artist, was his first teacher, and like his father, Beihong became a portrait painter; it is also said that he copied pictures on cigarette packs and other illustrated material.⁴¹ After his father's death, in 1914, Xu Beihong moved to Shanghai. Unsuccessful in finding employment there, he went home but returned to Shanghai again to seek a job. It is said he spent his spare time looking at the reproductions of paintings and of *yuefenpai* at the Esthetic Bookstore, located opposite the Commercial Press. When the Commercial Press failed to hire Xu,⁴² his friend Huang Jingwan endeavored to assist the financially strapped young man by introducing him to the Gaos, who asked Xu to paint a *yuefenpai* for them as proof of his artistic ability. Xu, however, detested *yuefenpai* and refused. Instead, he painted flowers and birds of the four seasons, which he signed. The artistic quality of these four paintings was not commensurate

with those used in reproductions, nor were they of a type that might sell easily, so, reluctantly, the Gaos paid Xu twenty yuan but did not publish his paintings. Eventually Xu painted two pictures of beautiful women for the Gao business but did not sign them. The Gaos had to pay him for them but disposed of the pieces by presenting one to an orphanage and the other to a school for the deaf and dumb, which in turn sold them to a painting reproduction shop that finally printed them.⁴³ In 1919 Xu Beihong left for Europe to study in the art capitals there, including Paris and Berlin.

The circumstances surrounding *yuefenpai* made by Yan Wenliang (1893–1988) are far happier. Yan was born in Suzhou and from about the age of fourteen had, in addition to his classroom schooling, been studying drawing and Chinese brush painting. He became adept at rendering scenery. In 1909 Yan went to Shanghai, where he was accepted as a talented pupil in the art class of the Commercial Press; he graduated the next year and was employed by the Commercial Press, in its engraving department; he also studied oil painting. In 1917 Yan prepared sixteen watercolors of famous scenic sites in Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Wuxi for his friend Yang Shouqi, owner of the publishing house Laiqingge Shufang, on Third Avenue in Shanghai. Laiqingge published old and recent books as well as reproductions of antique paintings and modern *yuefenpai*. Yan's landscapes, published in sets of four using three-color printing, were a tremendous commercial success. This same year, Yan made two advertisement calendar posters for Yang. One was entitled *Standing Alone in a Spring Garden*, the other, *Dreaming of the Past*. Both pictures depicted young girls.⁴⁴ The posters' subjects and the titles suggest languishing, daydreaming girls, perhaps not all that different from standard renditions of romantic females.

The youthful, sporadic, and erratic contributions of Xu Beihong and Yan Wenliang were inconsequential in the development of *yuefenpai* since neither artist was interested in pursuing commercial art. Xu wanted to learn Western oil painting to prepare for a career in the fine arts, not commercial art. After returning to China from his studies in Europe, Xu became an outspoken advocate of Western oil-painting techniques, and eventually China's most revered oil painter. Yan Wenliang was instrumental in making Western-painting training available in China. He founded the Suzhou Academy of Art, in 1922, where students learned a style of Western art "reminiscent of nineteenth-century Romanticism."⁴⁵

Of all the Shanghai presses, the Commercial Press, which commanded a gigantic publishing empire, is preeminent. It produced the new-style textbooks that were demanded by the shift in China's educational system toward Western curricula after 1906; it printed innumerable translations of Western technical manuals. It contributed hundreds of important ancient Chinese titles, providing libraries with massive compendia, such as the complete dynastic histories and a two-thousand-volume encyclopedia. It issued basic reference books and research aids. Its vast collection of rare books and unique manuscripts, a veritable repository of Chinese culture, was housed in the Eastern Library (Dongfang Tushuguan), located on Baoshan Street in Zhabei (just north of Suzhou Creek and near the railroad station). The Commercial Press expanded into periodicals, with short-story magazines and journals targeting special interest groups, like

women and children; it handled subscriptions to foreign magazines, such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. The press was quick to adopt new printing technology, hiring, in 1905, Japanese specialists to head their color-lithography workshop and adding shortly thereafter, in 1907, collotype printing, enabling the firm to print color photolithography. In 1909 it engaged an American to update its color-printing techniques using three-color copperplate photographic printing.⁴⁶ The Commercial Press also catered to business needs. By 1911 it was offering *yuefenpai* to businessmen and, like its American counterparts, advertising its calendar stock in the print media, mostly by in-house ads placed in its own journals. The trajectory of Commercial Press advertisements for calendar posters mirrors the rise in the popularity in China of this advertising medium. One of its earliest ads from the year 1911 placed in its own journal *Dongfang zazhi* (Eastern miscellany) simply states that colored calendar posters are available, along with other printed inventory, such as colored maps, account books, and handbills.⁴⁷ The advertisement features a picture of the Commercial Press printing plant on Baoshan Street.

In 1917 the Commercial Press sponsored an exhibition of calendar posters, but it was necessary to explain that calendar posters were vital to business advertising and to the future of commerce. The press, according to the announcement of the exhibition, had printed thousands of calendar posters that had received unanimous praise. To locate the most beautiful calendar posters, the press sponsored an exhibition, gathering calendar posters from large foreign and domestic companies and putting them on public display where the artists of the big companies and other advertising artists could study them.⁴⁸

The Commercial Press further publicized their calendars in advertisements in their guidebook to Shanghai, published in 1920.⁴⁹ After singing the praises of the firm, the text lists the items the Commercial Press could provide to businessmen: business cards, account books, advertisements, and calendar posters. By 1922 the Commercial Press was devoting space to advertisements for stock *yuefenpai* alone, and including enticing advertising copy, such as “Beautiful Calendar Posters! Isn’t that what everyone loves to look at? If your firm uses calendar posters to advertise, how much is the circulation (of your goods) increased?” The advertisement, which uses the equivalent of capital letters for emphasis, goes on to describe the images available in their calendars:

Beautiful women, landscapes, every other subject, are already printed and it is only necessary to insert a firm’s trademark and product information and there is an exquisite calendar poster. Use this type of modern calendar poster, the price is cheap, the selection is broad.⁵⁰

No picture of any of the images available on these calendars was published to further inform the businessman about the attractions of the Commercial Press *yuefenpai*. By 1923 the Commercial Press advertisement for calendar posters was pointing out that buying preprinted calendars saved businessmen the trouble of selecting and buying drafts of them, stating that the press had hunted up the most recent works of the most famous artists, representing beautiful women and scenery, as well as antique paintings;

these are all prepared in color with blank spaces, “exquisite beyond compare,” needing only the information about the product and firm to be printed in. The advertisement urges businessmen to place their orders early to avoid being disappointed.⁵¹ Advertisements like this for Commercial Press *yuefenpai* continued in *Dongfang zazhi* throughout the 1930s. The Commercial Press apparently never included illustrations of what their calendar poster pictures looked like.

The role of the Commercial Press in training and fostering commercial artists and illustrators has never been adequately described. In 1918 it published *Xinti tu'an hua* (New design pictures) by Song Junqing. The publication announcement claimed that artistic designs were a special branch of practical art used by architects, textile designers, and advertisers and that no designer, advertiser, industrialist, or design teacher could be without this new publication.⁵² By 1918 the press had established an advertising agency that offered merchants the services of advertising specialists and copywriters.⁵³ From June 1918 until November 1925, the Commercial Press published seven editions of “Something You Must Know About Advertising,” being a translation of the American book *How to Advertise*. This was followed by a translation of W. D. Scott’s *Psychology of Advertising*, in February 1926.⁵⁴ In 1933 one of the new books available from the Commercial Press was Twing and Holdich’s *Art in Advertising*.⁵⁵

Presumably to facilitate the production of illustrations for its many textbooks and magazines, as well as its advertising agency, the Commercial Press established an art department under the leadership of the well-known artist Wu Zheng (Daiqiu, 1878–1949), with an associated training school for young artists. Among the students were Li Yongsen, Jin Xuechen, Lu Shaofei (b. 1903), Ge Xianggang (1905–1964), Chen Zaixin, and Zhang Dihan. The press invited German and Japanese artists to teach in their classrooms.⁵⁶ Perhaps the most illustrious of the Commercial Press students was Hang Zhiying, whose commercial art studio is the subject of chapter 9.

Advertising departments and agencies capitalized on individual talents. The division of labor, detailed above, along with the procedure described by Hutchison for vetting the concept and the image by the staff, is a variant of the efficient workshop routine of the traditional woodblock print industry discussed in chapter 2. It recalls the ideal 1916 advertising agency in the United States described in chapter 1 that would have artists of varied skills on its staff. Carl Crow, however, saw this division of labor as part of the Chinese custom of apportioning work so as not to impinge on others’ turf and so that as many people as possible could be hired.⁵⁷

At least one press, the Sanyi Press (Sanyi Yinshua Gongsì, also known as the K & K Printing Company), publishers of *Meishu shengbuo* (Art and life), an upscale pictorial issued from 1934 to 1937, advertised its inventory of printed items in this periodical and routinely mentioned that it provided *yuefenpai*. The Sanyi advertisements included photographs of its factory, or of the types of printed pictures it offered: landscapes by the noted artist Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), or an image of a Santa Claus-like personage distributing printed items. Sometimes the illustrative part of the advertisement was a large-scale picture of a lovely woman; among these is one by Jin Meisheng and two by the Zhiying Studio (probably to be considered as hangers rather than strictly as calen-

dar posters).⁵⁸ Sometimes the Sanyi ads were printed in color. Sanyi also offered high-quality pictures, ready for framing, as hangers and as subscription bonuses. One such advertisement that appeared several times in *Meishu shenghuo* depicted, as American calendar vendors had done several decades earlier, multiple images on a single page (figure 3.3). The Sanyi offerings, already framed, included a portrait of Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), eight landscape scenes, four full-length figures of stylish women wearing flowered *qipao*, and a replica of *Daybreak*, a 1922 oil painting by Maxfield Parrish (1870–1966).

Every November representatives from throughout China congregated at the Green Lotus Pavilion Teahouse and Opium Den in Shanghai. Men frequented teahouses for refreshments, gossip, and to discuss trade. Representatives of corporations met in certain teahouses on a regular basis to transact business.⁵⁹ The multistoried tea shops usually also doubled as houses of prostitution. The Green Lotus Pavilion was one of the most famous teahouses in Shanghai.⁶⁰ It sold tea on the upper floor and provided variety shows on the lower floor, serving as an amusement center and as a gathering place for prostitutes.⁶¹ Its opium den was the subject of a woodblock print.⁶² In the late nineteenth century it was already on the tourist route and was pictured in an illustrated guidebook to Shanghai entertainment life.⁶³ It was also featured in a late Qing ditty.

On top of the Qing Lian Ge is a pheasant nest.
They fly back and forth like the shuttlecock [sic] on a loom.
The most shameless are the ones from Yangzhou.
The middlemen pull people's clothes with both hands.⁶⁴

“Pheasants” were the lowest level of prostitute. Customers for the calendar trade flocked annually to this teahouse to drink tea and view the coming year’s supply of new calendar pictures; one man regularly returned to his hometown of Tianjin with a goodly supply of pictures.⁶⁵ The Qinglian Teahouse was strategically located on Fuzhou Road, near several large printing houses specializing in calendar posters: the Chen Zhengtai Huapiandian, the Xu Shengji Huapiandian, the Sanyi, and the Huanqiu Huapian Gongsi.⁶⁶ Prices were set by the printing companies based on sales of the previous year and other considerations. Freelance advertisement calendar poster painters also went to the Green Lotus to sell their designs.

Production of advertisement calendar posters and hangers was highly competitive. Successful new ideas, images, and themes catching popular attention were immediately imitated to take advantage of the latest fad. Thus the new method of painting, developed by Zheng Mantuo, the “rub-and-paint” technique, quickly became the standard practice; versions of *The Hongwu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty Gambling*, first depicted by Xie Zhiguang, were at once put on the market by Zhou Bosheng, Ding Yunxian, the Zhiying Studio, and others. The identical composition may appear in posters by two different artists (or without a signature) for two different products. An artist might repeat his own design for a different product. The ornamental frame at the top of a poster designed by one artist could be appropriated by another. Images were recycled by substituting products held by a pretty girl, from a jar of face cream to a package of ciga-

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FIGURE 3.3. Sanyi Printing Company advertisement, 1935.
After *Meishu shenghuo* 17 (August 1935).

rettes. The job printer offered hundreds of stock calendar posters in which, with minimal changes, usually in the written copy, the same image might advertise different products. This repetition of motifs and images in the advertisement poster arena parallels that in the woodblock popular-print world as commented on in chapter 2. Reuse was accepted as customary, without any implications of deceit or dishonesty.

A few commercial artists accepted freelance calendar poster work independent of the company advertising departments and the commercial art studios. Zhou Muqiao and Zheng Mantuo are among these independents. In the 1930s the advertising industry flourished, so much so that a need was felt for an organization of commercial artists. The Chinese Commercial Artists Association (Zhongguo Gongshangye Meishu Zuoqia Xiehui) was founded in Shanghai in 1934 and within two years had 500 members, with branches in Hangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Wuhan, the Beijing-Tianjin area, and



FIGURE 3.4. Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company advertisement, 1921.
After *Shenbao* (March 3, 1921), 14 (1983 photocopy 169:460).

overseas.⁶⁷ In the *1947 Yearbook of Chinese Art*, published in Shanghai in 1948 but largely reflecting the art situation as it existed in the 1930s, 119 artists are listed in the commercial-artist category; but in reality, many more participated in commercial art.⁶⁸

Firms offering calendars as a means of advertising their commodities as well as rewards to customers for continued patronage followed the same strategies as their counterparts in the United States. In the March 1, 1910, issue of the influential Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, an advertisement offered free calendars from February 18 until March 1 to customers who purchased one yuan's worth of Dr. Jayne's patent medicines.⁶⁹ Customers were urged to come to take a look at the calendar and to do this soon "before it is too late," suggesting that such calendars were so popular the supply would soon be exhausted.

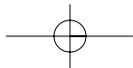
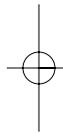
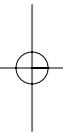
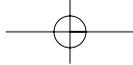
In the March 3, 1910, issue of this same newspaper, the Commercial Press ran an ad for a special sale at New Year's time (the Chinese lunar new year beginning, as usual, somewhat later than the Western new year). The ad uses the traditional expression popular at the season "myriad things take on a new aspect" (*wanxiang gengxin*) and states that the press has printed a special *yuefenpai*, elegant and splendid.⁷⁰ From the first week of the first month of the new year until the first week of the second month, anyone who purchased two yuan's worth, in cash, of Commercial Press publications was allowed one copy of the calendar; a purchase of four yuan's worth of books entitled the buyer to two copies of the calendar or a copy of the *Shanghai zhi nan* (Guide to Shanghai), a Commercial Press book, and so on. The ad continued, apologizing that there would be no gift for purchases of less than two yuan, noting that local wholesalers or those outside the city could obtain gifts from the Commercial Press branch stores, explaining that other rules applied to the purchase of their books, and reassuring the public that if the supply of calendars was exhausted, other gifts, to be announced, would be substituted. There was not the slightest hint of what the special *yuefenpai* looked like.

Most firms marketing commodities in China availed themselves of the practice so highly popular in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

placing an advertisement for goods in a journal and offering a calendar poster “at no extra cost,” or for a small fee, as a premium to customers who submitted evidence of having purchased their product. A large number of these ads are in *Shenbao* and other newspapers throughout 1919 and the 1920s. Unlike their American counterparts, however, in China the subject of the vaunted calendar was rarely described beyond the basic “beautiful woman” and sometimes indicating that it was printed in color. The advertisements ranged from small notices to large announcements placed by dispensaries, optical companies, chemical companies, Cadbury Cocoa company, and others; they usually required either purchase of the commodity from a shop or redemption, as in the case of Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company allowing fifty empty cigarette packets to be redeemed for a calendar.⁷¹ Sometimes there were time limits during which the calendars would be available.

As noted in chapter 1, it was common in the United States for businesses that advertised their advertisement calendars to reproduce the calendar image and to increase its artistic value by giving the name of the artist. In China this tactic was rarely used, the major exception being the offer of calendars in return for magazine subscriptions, when apparently the name of the artist was considered an enticement. An early reproduction of a calendar offered in the advertisement appeared in 1921, for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company (figure 3.4). In 1924 a reproduction of a calendar poster of a lovely girl standing in front of a flowering shrub accompanied the advertisement for the Sino-German Merchants, offering a special on thermos bottles. For the purchase of two yuan’s worth of any product sold in the shop, the customer would receive one calendar like that pictured; the beautiful-woman poster was painted by Zheng Mantuo and printed in thirteen colors; hung in the bedroom, the ad claimed, it would be even more appreciated. Although the actual cost of the calendar is more than three jiao, the valued customer can get it free.⁷² The featured calendar was one Zheng had made for the Tai Woo Dispensary (plate 1), but the Sino-German Merchants ad had its own company name substituted at the top. In 1934 the Dr. Williams Pharmaceutical Company (Weilianshi Yiyaoju) placed an advertisement for its calendar, to be acquired through buying their Respiroids bronchial tablets; the advertisement includes a reproduction of the calendar poster itself: a Chinese lady and three happy children in a garden.⁷³ In 1927 an advertisement for White Jade face powder offered a beautiful-woman *yuefenpai*, by Xie Zhiguang, and provided an illustration of the poster.⁷⁴ This was a special case because the cosmetic company had placed the ad in a Tianjin newspaper, *Beiyang huabao*, and clearly wanted to stress connections with Shanghai as a hub of beauty and “modernity.”

The lives, careers, and artistic achievements of the major artists who engaged in the advertisement calendar poster business are considered in the next chapters.



CHAPTER FOUR

Early Calendar Posters and Zhang Zhiying

By 1900 new compositional arrangements and subjects had emerged in the calendars titled *yuefenpai*, or calendar posters.

Some reveal the influence of Western designs and advertising; others, more conservative, continue Chinese imagery but with new emphases. Written phrases included among the images, for example, underscore trade, not lucky or unlucky days. These new calendar posters were not developed for peasants or officials, but satisfied merchants' needs. Other calendar posters reflected political upheavals and uncertainties.

In Asia, records of the early history of calendar posters are few. They began to be printed by newspapers in the mid-nineteenth century and were without pictorial imagery. The earliest known example of a calendar poster is the Anglo-Chinese calendar for 1854 printed in Hong Kong by the newspaper *China Mail*.¹ The central field contains Chinese and Western calendars, plus practical information pertinent to trade and commerce: the arrival and departure schedules of mail steamers; the exchange rates in Guangzhou and Shanghai; the Calcutta opium sale. A delicate filigree border is a decorative flourish. The next known example is from 1876, when an advertisement for a "Chinese English calendar poster" (*Hua Ying yuefenpai*) appeared in the Shanghai newspaper, *Shenbao*.² This advertisement contains the first known use of the term "*yuefenpai*." The calendar itself, which was all in English, indicated arrival and departure dates of British, American, and French ships. To avoid confusion for those who could not read English, there was some sort of color coding. Although the advertisement does not so state, the calendar must have been produced by means of a woodcut. Six years later, in 1882, the Hong Kong *Tsun Wah Yat Po* (*Xunbuan ribao*) newspaper carried an advertisement for a *yuefenpai* that readers could purchase. Printed by the China Printing Office (Zhonghua Yinwu Zongju), which also published the newspaper, this calendar appar-

ently had some sort of imagery, but exactly what is unknown.³ Unfortunately, no copies of either the 1876 or 1882 *yuefenpai* have survived.

The term “*yuefenpai*” became common parlance. Wu Youru included a representation of such a calendar in a sketch showing the main room of an ordinary house.⁴ A vertical rectangle labeled “*yuefenpai*” at the top is pasted on the wall. A short notice in a Shanghai guidebook, compiled in 1894, tersely describes the Western method of timekeeping under the heading “Western calendar” (*xili*), and calls attention to Sino-Western calendar posters by name, “*Zhong Xi yuefenpai*.”⁵

A major change in calendar poster production occurred in the 1880s, when colored pictorial imagery gave them added luster and visual interest. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries China lacked the technology and machinery to print calendars using chromolithography. Any company wanting calendars produced by this method had to have them printed outside China, usually in England or Japan. Early calendars, or notices of them, indicate the sensitivities or lack thereof in Western firms’ dealing with Chinese pictorial and verbal traditions.

The imagery in two exquisitely chromolithographed calendar posters from the years 1888–1889 and 1889–1890, made for British firms, respects Chinese predilection for auspicious messages conveyed through birds, animals, or other motifs as prevalent in the popular-print tradition discussed in chapter 2.

Most creatures in the borders of the 1888–1889 calendar for A. S. Watson Pharmacy, a company that had branches in Hong Kong and Manila, carry felicitous connotations (plate 2). Only a few are noted here. In the upper left-hand corner are two rams (*yang*) and one goat (*yang*). These three animals (*sanyang*) symbolize “three positives.”⁶ To the right, three deer (*sanlu*) suggest continued emoluments (*lu*) from civil service posts. In the upper right-hand corner a monkey (*hou*, a homophone for “descendants” and for the rank of “marquis”) picks peaches of longevity. The message is the long-lived continuation of the family and noble rank. The birds and flowers along the sides and bottom borders are reminiscent of the auspicious flora and fauna depicted in many contemporary scroll paintings and multipaneled screens. There are several long-tailed birds on branches. A generic Chinese term for a long-tailed bird is *shoudai niao* “the bird carrying [*dai*] streamers;” the streamers (*shou*) refer to ribbons or cords attached to seals of official office. A second meaning through homophones is “longevity (*shou*) through the generations (*dai*).” The pheasant is noted for its tenacity, conveying the notion of steadfastness; combined with the pomegranate (*shiliu*), the two motifs signify wishes for civil service appointments generation after generation since “*shi*” is a homophone for another word for “generation.” In the lower margin, the cock stands for achievement and fame; the cock’s comb, *guan*, is a homophone for “official post.” In the right-hand border, the narcissus, as an early blooming flower, augurs good fortune for the ensuing twelve months; doves are symbols of filial duty. Pairs of magpies connote happiness, through the expression “*shuangxi*” (double happiness), which is a homophone for “two magpies.” “Double happiness” is a wish for a happy and fruitful marriage. (Given the heavy dose of auspicious images, the presence of an owl—an ominous bird in Chinese beliefs—is inexplicable.) The thick bamboo stalks framing the calendar proper

signify steadfastness. In the lower center, the opened Chinese scroll contains descriptions of Watson products. Unfortunately the bottom of this calendar poster was torn off, and with it the name of the printer, and perhaps also the name of the designer.

The Thomas Barlow and Brother calendar of 1889–1990, approximately 30 inches high and 23 inches wide, has survived intact (plate 3). It is titled *A Chinese Almanac* in English at the top, and the calendar itself, printed on an open scroll at the bottom, is labeled “Chinese and English Calendars Combined” (*Hua Ying yuefen hebi*). The Barlow firm was located in Manchester and Shanghai, but the calendar itself was lithographed by John Heyward of Manchester, England. The international imagery in framed and unframed scenes is symmetrically arranged. Purely English motifs are the acrobat on horseback and the boar hunt; from India come the maharaja on a white horse, and a white elephant carrying a howdah, and a monkey. Chinese images include pagodas and junks, dragons and dragon pennants, the open handscroll at the bottom, the ornamental tripartite gate at the top, the yin-yang symbol and trigrams. The peacock with a spread tail (*kongque kaishan*) signifies profit in business; a fish in waves, balancing a flaming jewel, connotes success in the imperial civil service examinations. The woman holding a basket of silk skeins is probably Xi Shi, who supposedly earned her living washing silk; the King of Yue heard of her beauty and used her to distract his rival, the King of Wu, into “lustful dalliance” so that he could be easily defeated by the King of Yue. The identity of the military figure on the right is unknown. Framed scenes, clockwise from top right, are: a pair of cranes and three friends of winter (plum, pine, and bamboo); the “Wine Immortal,” a portrait of the Tang poet Li Bai drinking to the moon; five tigers, probably referring to the five generals from the *Sanguozhi yanyi* (Romance of the three kingdoms), a popular source of opera plots: Guan Yu (d. A.D. 219), Zhang Fei (d. A.D. 221), Zhao Yun (d. A.D. 229), Ma Chao (A.D. 176–222) and Huang Zhong. The subsequent scenes are of the eight steeds who pulled the chariot of King Mu (ca. 985–907 B.C.), enabling him to overcome his enemies; of Westerners in a Chinese city on a carriage excursion; and of the five characters from the novel *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the west). *Xiyou ji* was also a source of opera stories; here its five protagonists complement the “five tiger generals.”

The picture of King Mu’s eight horses is signed “Zhang Qi,” better known as Zhang Zhiying. Little is known about Zhang except that he was from Liangxi and was the teacher of Wu Youru, famed for his work with *Dianshizhai huabao*, to which Zhang also contributed.⁷ The carriage vignette in the Barlow calendar is similar to a sketch by Zhang for *Dianshizhai huabao* in 1890 of a street where people flock to ride on the Flying Dragon roller coaster.⁸ The stylized representation of foliage in other pictures in the calendar is consistent with Zhang’s depictions of leaves in his *Dianshizhai huabao* pictures, so there is no doubt that the Barlow calendar came from Zhang’s hand. Zhang Zhiying is, then, the earliest known advertisement calendar poster artist. It is conceivable that a British firm, wanting a printed advertisement, turned to Ernest Major, a compatriot with connections in that field, to recommend a suitable artist for the job.

Advertisements directed to a particular populace and deploying specific motifs to match an ethnic or national preference was not a new idea, but with regard to market-

ing in China, Watson's Pharmacy and Thomas Barlow Co. seem to have been major exceptions, for other Western companies blithely ignored Chinese preferences in favor of Western motifs. In 1901 the Hong Kong department store Lane Crawford and Company issued a color lithographed advertisement calendar printed by the famous London firm of Raphael Tuck and Company depicting *Love among the Flowers* with typically Victorian "little cupids decking frames with garlands of flowers."⁹ Such strictly Western imagery is to be expected from an English department store catering to Hong Kong's British population, which in all likelihood neither wanted nor appreciated the subtleties of Chinese motifs. By 1906 colored calendars could be printed locally in Hong Kong. According to a report in the *South China Morning Post*, these were

designed and executed in 14 colours by the "South China Morning Post," Limited. This is a new industry in the Colony, executed formerly for local orders in London and Germany. The wonderful results can only be obtained by the most intricate and expensive machinery. The calendars are much appreciated by the Chinese at New Year time, and find their way all over the Empire and in fact to every port of the world where Chinese are located.¹⁰

The earliest extant *yuefenpai* printed in Shanghai was a lithographed gift calendar for the year 1889 published by *Shenbao* (figure 4.1).¹¹ The motifs and organization of this gift calendar are entirely different from the traditional stove god or spring-ox calendars and their related images produced in Shanghai discussed in chapter 1. The visual order of emphasis is reversed. Instead of the calendar being positioned along the upper margin of the sheet with images placed below, here and in other early *yuefenpai*, the calendars now command the large central field, and pictorial images are pushed to the sides. In the 1889 *yuefenpai*, the whole is surrounded by small vignettes illustrating the "Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety." Since there is nothing akin in the Chinese calendar tradition to the arrangement of motifs seen in the *Shenbao* calendar, it must have been based on something similar to the 1888–1889 calendar advertisement for A. S. Watson and Company, Ltd., Hong Kong, China, and Manila (plate 2).

Lotteries of various types flourished in China.¹² In 1896 the Shanghai Hongfulai (Great Happiness Comes) lottery and cigar firm published a lithographed *yuefenpai* calendar (figure 4.2).¹³ It is similar in layout to the *Shenbao* calendar: that is, a calendar in the center, framed by multiple small images. The Hongfulai calendar, however, is printed on a separate piece of paper pasted into the blank space left for it, suggesting that perhaps this poster might be used for many years by merely pasting in a new calendar. Directly above the calendar is depicted a street corner bustling with pedestrians and other traffic; at the center is the Hongfulai ticket office. To the left is a shop whose sign proclaims it to be the Lithograph Bookstore (Shiyin Shuju); its products are visible on the shelves inside, and at the counter, a customer looks at a book. Since this calendar is also lithographed, it (and perhaps the lottery tickets also) might have been designed and printed by the staff at this lithography shop. Below the calendar, a long text presents rules for purchasing different types of lottery tickets.

Surrounding the calendar are scenes of Shanghai. To the right is a picture of the

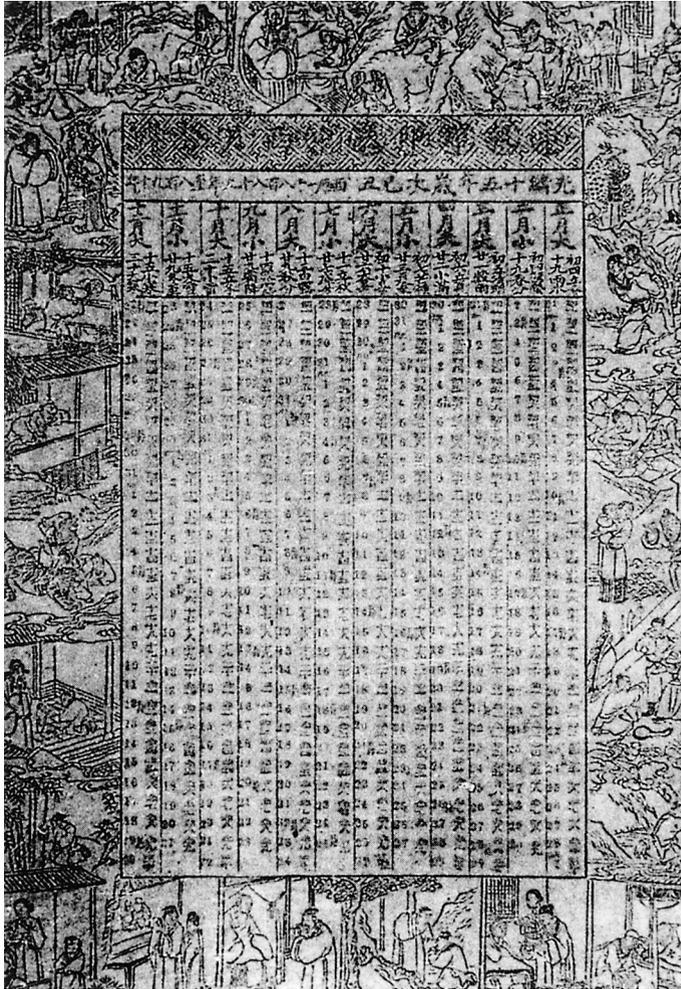


FIGURE 4.1. *Shenbao* calendar for 1889. After Li Chao, *Shanghai yonhua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 42.

“newly constructed police station on the English avenue,” that is, Central Police Station. To the left is the Self-chiming Clock Tower of the French Town Hall (Municipal Council). The Central Police Station was one of many notable sites in Shanghai. Constructed in 1891–1894 from the designs of T. W. Kingsmill and Brenan Atkinson, it was “erected of red brick in the early Renaissance style, [and] is perhaps the most dignified of all the municipal buildings.” It was headquarters for the police force, with quarters for foreign inspectors, constables, Sikhs, and Chinese. Here was also the armory and orderly-room of the Volunteer Force.¹⁴ Another intriguing building was the Self-chiming Clock Tower of the French Town Hall. This edifice and its memorial sculpture, neither of which still exist, is described as “an imposing building in the modern colonial style, which is seen to great advantage in the spacious ground surrounding it. . . . The principal building was erected in 1864, and the side pavilions in 1877 . . . a bronze statue on a granite pedestal, occupying the centre of the grounds. . . . is to Ad-

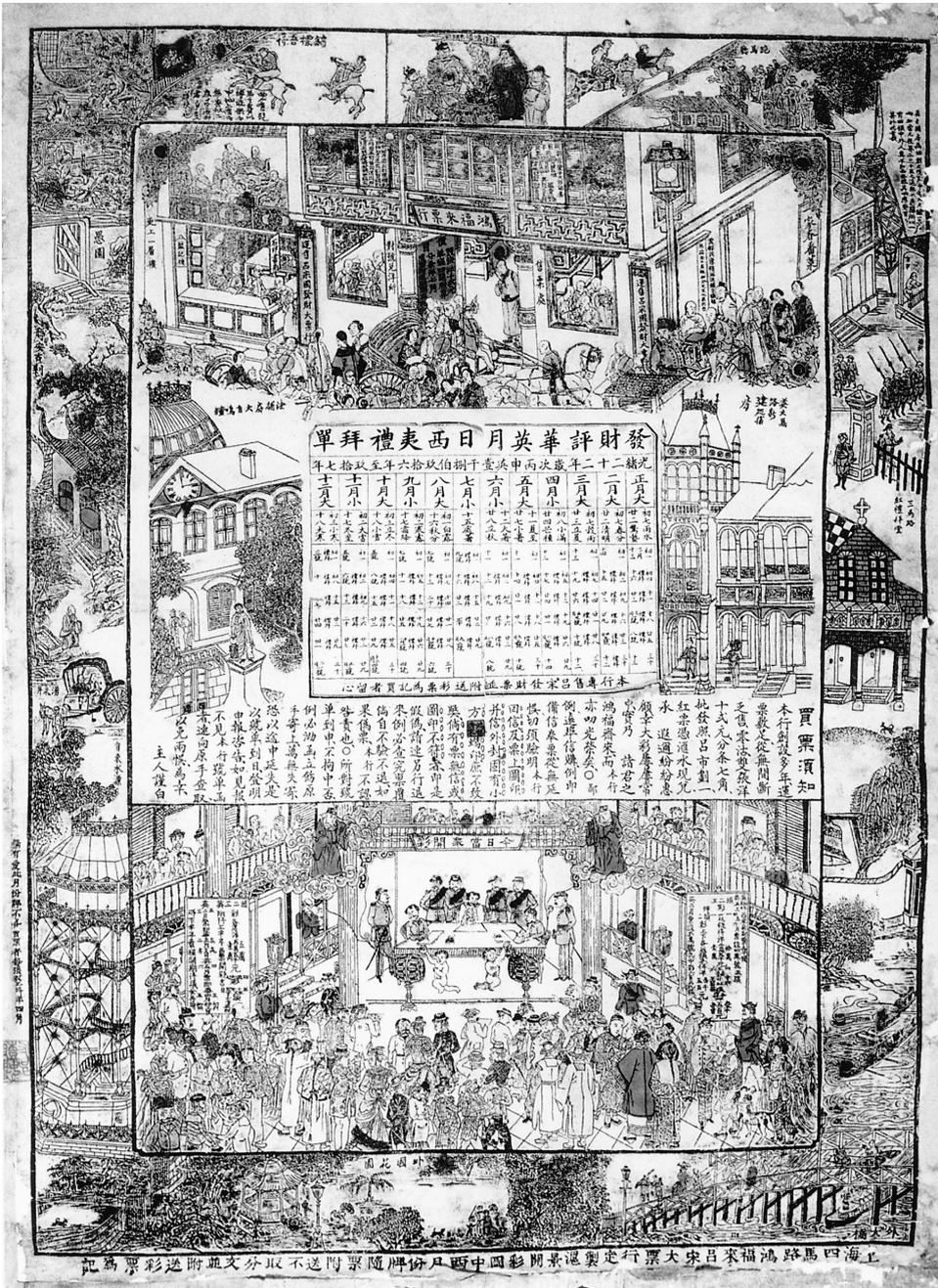


FIGURE 4.2. Hongfulai lottery and cigar firm calendar for 1896, 64 × 48 cm, Shanghai.
 After Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meishu quanji: nianhua*
 (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998), 2:29.

miral Protet, who was killed fighting against the Taiping rebels near Soochow [Suzhou] on May 17th, 1862.”¹⁵

Below the calendar in the lower portion of this section is a rendition of drawing the winning lottery tickets from two bins; the scene is filled with people in Chinese and Western dress along with two images of the God of Wealth who hover near the balcony on clouds generated by the ticket bins. In the wide border are scenes of famous places in Shanghai, including the racecourse at the upper right and the waterworks tower at the lower left.

By 1848 the British in Shanghai were indulging in one of their favorite pastimes, racing horses. Both Westerners and Chinese swarmed to the racecourse, attired in their finest raiment. “Race days became holidays. As early as 1861 the Spring and Autumn Meetings were described as ‘the grand festival of Shanghai.’ The place literally closed down for a week twice a year. . . . Wagers and bets were clearly on a large scale. . . . Lotteries were held at various places in town . . . in the grandstand and enclosure young men were keeping books. . . . Chinese always claimed they went to the races for the sheer enjoyment of it, which means they were betting.”¹⁶

The water supply for Shanghai came from the Huangpu River and Suzhou Creek. “The water from wells was brackish and unfit for drinking purposes, and the water carried from river or creek in buckets to the various houses was muddy and subject to contamination from sewers or refuse. It was poured into large *kongs* [*gangs*] or jars and settled by the use of alum. Then it was boiled, but even so there was considerable danger connected with using it for drinking purposes.”¹⁷ Repeated proposals to remedy the situation were rejected. Finally, according to C. E. Darwent, the Shanghai Waterworks Company, formed in 1881, “commenced to supply water in 1883. After being pumped from the river, and after settling in large reservoirs, the water is filtered by the ordinary process of sand filtration. It is then pumped by powerful engines to the water-tower” which had a capacity of 150,000 gallons. Of the waterworks, Darwent claimed, “the entrance lodge, ivy-covered, presents a handsome appearance,” and he asserted: “permission to view the works may be obtained at the offices of the company.”¹⁸ In 1887 the water tower was festooned with multicolored electric lights in celebration of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee, and that is how it appears in the calendar.¹⁹

At one end of the Bund, the Garden Bridge (depicted at lower right corner of the poster and labeled “Foreigners’ Great Bridge”) led to the Public Gardens (extending along the lower border of the poster, marked “Foreigner’s Garden”). Darwent describes it:

The very utmost use has been made of a small space: the lawns, shrubberies, flowerbeds, and paths are well laid out. There are two fountains—one with railings around it, beautiful with roses in May; the other, at the south end of the gardens, with two terra-cotta figures forming the body of the fountain.²⁰

He expands:

All the flowers in season are found in the beds. The lawns are a resort for infant Shanghai. On this account it is useless for any adult to go to hear the band at 5

p.m. There is a handsome band-stand. The Town Band discourses music in summer evenings, at 9 p.m. during July and August, when the residents assemble to hear the music and enjoy the cool breeze that blows from the sea.²¹

Other sites depicted in the calendar include the red church on Third Avenue, the Yuyuan Garden, the Bubbling Well Temple (Jing'an gucha), and Bubbling Well, itself.

At the top center of the calendar page are gods of wealth with a basin of jewels. Spots of hand-applied yellow and red brighten this lithographed print. In the lower margin, this poster is called a Sino-Western calendar poster (*Zhong Xi yuefenpai*).

In its imagery, this lottery *yuefenpai* pays homage to the city of Shanghai in its modern appearance and conveniences, mostly as constructed by English and French leaders. Text printed in the left margin of this *yuefenpai* says that anyone who purchased a lottery ticket was entitled to a copy of the calendar; and those who did not purchase a lottery ticket but wanted a copy of the poster could procure it for the cost of labor and materials: 4 jiao. By 1896 the calendar poster itself already had value as a commodity, as something that could be bought for a small sum of money and presumably posted on the wall, where everyone could admire its assortment of local Shanghai highlights.²²

The Hongfulai lottery *yuefenpai* measures 64 × 48 cm, almost double the size of an average traditional calendar. It is not printed on indigenous Chinese paper (made of cotton fibers that expand and contract in contact with water, thus too difficult to control for the lithography process) but on special paper imported by the Japanese Nakai Company, its *caisanxing* (beautiful three stars) paper.²³ In all probability, the cost involved in producing a lithograph necessitated the expedient of providing a space for a new calendar, since publication of the new calendar poster each year might have been prohibitive.

The expense of lithography and the inability to print color lithographs perhaps also led Chinese printers in Shanghai to manufacture *yuefenpai* by the old-fashioned method of woodblock printing, where a rich color palette could be easily realized. Two categories of subjects for woodblock *yuefenpai* have survived. The first is the *yuefenpai* for merchants, the second, those that reflect political events.

Woodcut *yuefenpai* for merchants emphasizing commercial goals are large, carefully designed, precisely cut, and beautifully printed. Seven Sino-Western calendars all dating to the year 1898 and all published in Shanghai are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.²⁴ Two of these calendars are discussed here. One (plate 4), published by the Wu Wenyizhai, has the calendars in the center. The Chinese lunar months with their lengths and conversions into the solar spans are above a Western calendar with dates given in both Arabic and Chinese numbers, along with indications in Chinese marking Sundays. To either side of this panel is an inscription. On the right is: "The resources of merchants of all the nations are amassed." On the left is: "The people of the four seas celebrate peace." Above the calendar are three gods of wealth; the one in the center is seated on a huge gold ingot. Below the calendar are pictured the Eight Immortals. Although commonly taken to convey the idea of immortality and longevity, in the context of mercantile profit, as here, this octet is remembered for its

power to convert anything they touch into gold, thus conveying the notion of making money. Profit is reinforced by the coins at each corner and by the “Eight Precious Objects” bobbing in the waves at the lower border. The international aspect is accentuated in flags along the margins representing (among those that can be deciphered) China, Japan, France, Russia, the United States, Korea, Spain, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden. The name of a country is written next to each flag. This calendar glorifies the money to be made in international trade, as stated bluntly in the phrase directly below the calendar: *baman jinbao* (the eight barbarian tribes bring in treasure).

The second mercantile calendar, a Chinese English calendar poster (*Hua Ying yuefenpai*) from the Wenyizhai shop, has a free-flowing curvilinear silhouette, not bound by the strict vertical and horizontal borders typical of Chinese calendars (figure 4.3).²⁵ A Generalissimo Liu, flanked by six armed bodyguards, sits at the top. From the curved frame hang baskets of huge peonies (flowers of wealth and nobility), narcissus (a spring-time bloom), and orchids (emblematic of love and beauty). Below the flower baskets stand two foreign gods of wealth, with bushy beards and conical hats; as noted earlier, commerce with foreigners brought great wealth. Each holds aloft a large dish overflowing with double coins, coral branches, peaches, rhinoceros horns, *ruyi* emblems of happiness, and red flowers. At the midpoint of the bottom, an elephant supports a basin of jewels. The calendar in the center of the poster has the lunar months, solar nodes, and a “Sunday chart.” Borders contain generic flowers, the twelve zodiac animals, and the characters for the twelve “branches.” Two vertical panels contain tide tables for the Wusong River. Between them a peacock displays its magnificent tail feathers, illustrating the expression “*kongque kaishan*,” “the peacock opens its fan,” also meaning “a significant fortune is awaiting you,” and two peonies. A crane of longevity completes the felicitous imagery. The irregular silhouette and the conceit of objects suspended from its curlicues marks this calendar as derived from eighteenth-century England when a common arrangement for business announcements was a curlicue frame festooned with objects tucked in among the curls or suspended from its hooks. A typical example of this genre advertised wares sold by James Simons, the purveyor of mathematical, philosophical, and optical instruments: globes, microscopes, and telescopes along with surveying, navigational, and scientific necessities, thermometers, and barometers (figure 4.4).

Political calendar prints reflect the turbulent times of early twentieth-century China. One early *yuefenpai* calendar from Singapore, not Shanghai, was designed to arouse revolutionary fervor. It was issued for the year 1905 by the *Tu'nan ribao*, the *China Daily News* of Singapore, founded by Chen Chu'nan and Zhang Yongfu. Each man had anti-Qing revolutionary publications to his credit. The first issues of their newspaper ran a thousand copies; but it attracted so few subscribers, they decided to entice readers by offering a complementary color calendar to new subscribers.²⁶ It is said that when Sun Yat-sen was in New York City, he saw a copy of this calendar and began to correspond with Chen and Zhang, and so the revolutionary movement began in Southeast Asia.²⁷ The calendar conforms to the *yuefenpai* scheme popular in the 1890s. In a banner at the top is the English phrase “Happy New Year 1905.” In the center are Chinese and Western calendars, bordered by flowers and zodiac signs. More important are the inscrip-

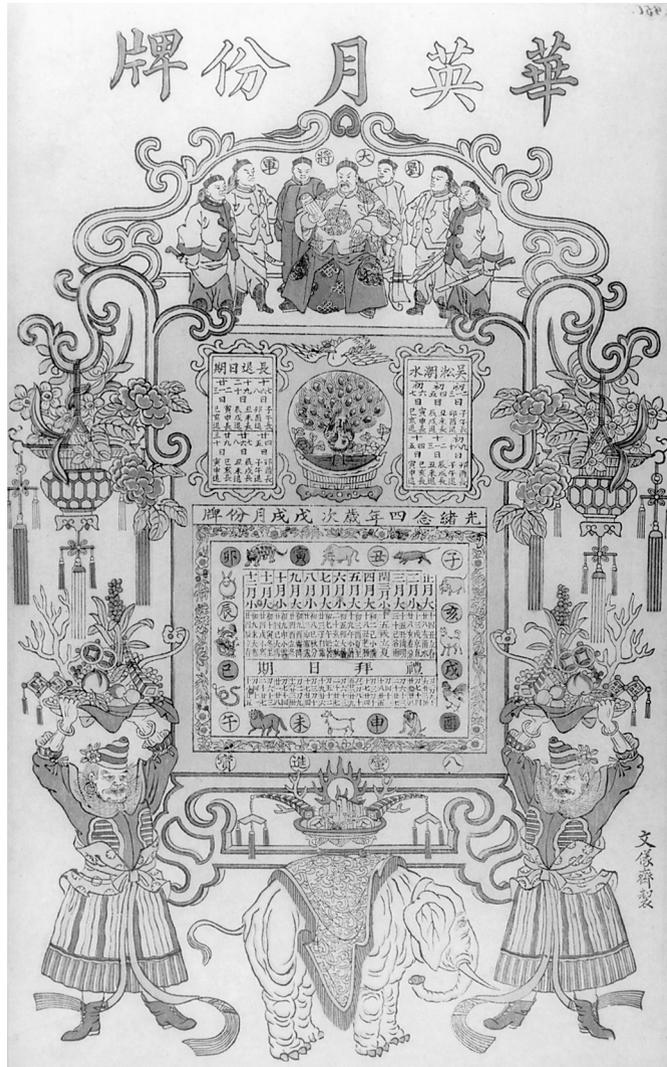


FIGURE 4.3. Calendar poster with Generalissimo Liu and calendar for 1898, Wenyizhai, Shanghai. Approximately 52.9 × 31.7 cm. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

tions and images at the top. One anti-Manchu statement calls on the Chinese people not to allow their civilization to decline but to lead the Chinese heroes in restoring their country. Other written phrases extol the power of newspapers in spreading revolutionary ideas, as one states, “to push the tide of revolution throughout the world.” In the center a freedom bell is placed above crossed banners, one of which is labeled “Independence Flag.” Unfortunately, the *Tu’nan ribao* calendar is nowhere reproduced with sufficient clarity, and although it would of course be ideal to have the complete visual message, there is enough to prove that the calendar print could be a propaganda vehicle, here urging support of the anti-Qing revolutionaries.²⁸



FIGURE 4.4. Business card of James Simons, instrument maker, eighteenth century, 16.5 × 10.7 cm. After Ambrose Heal, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1925; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1968), 48.

A later woodcut calendar poster, dated to 1912, conveys the political uncertainties that prevailed as a consequence of the clash between revolutionary and imperial supporters who struggled and negotiated for supremacy during the last months of 1911 and the first two months of 1912 (figure 4.5). Although the large characters at the top proclaim that it is the calendar poster of the Chinese great Han Republic (*Zhonghua Da Han Minguo yuefēnpai*), the central portrait is of Puyi, named the Chinese emperor. He is surrounded by, at the top left, Sun Yat-sen, as President of the Republic, and top right, Li Yuanhong (1864–1928), named as a general of the Republic. To the lower left and right are portraits of two women. On the left, according to the label, is Xu Wuying (military heroine Xu) in civilian dress; presumably this is Xu Zonghan (1876–1944). She is noted for having transported pistols and ammunition from Hong Kong in “installments hid-

den in cans of foodstuffs,” and in procuring and distributing ammunition. She is perhaps most famous for her actions during the Guangdong uprising:

On the day of the uprising, a pair of red banners announcing a wedding ceremony hung as camouflage on either side of the door leading to the revolutionaries’ secret headquarters. With the red banners as a sign to her comrades, Xu successfully carried out the difficult task of passing the weaponry hidden in the sedan chair of the “bride.” Springing into action at the sight of the red banners was the revolutionary Huang Xing. Together with two hundred compatriots, Huang attacked the office of the governor general.²⁹

Huang (1873–1916) and his allies were defeated; Xu obtained merchants’ clothing for Huang and helped him escape to Hong Kong to be treated for his wounds. At the hospital, Xu had to register as Huang’s wife, and indeed they did marry.³⁰ The figure on the right is Cao Daoxin, dressed in military tunic and hat, with a banner bearing the character “*ling*” for “command”; a label next to her portrait ranks her as a “woman general.” All that is known about Cao today is that she was a student who requested to join the army and was permitted to organize a female corps.³¹ Below are pictures (in fan and rectangular frames) of troops from Russia, England, and Germany surrounding a double portrait of Huang Xing (on the right) and Xu Shaozhen. After the Wuchang Uprising was well underway, in October 1911, Huang hesitated to support the fight. In early November he accepted the title of wartime commander in chief of the People’s Army, but ultimately his role in this revolt was minimal.³² Xu Shaozhen was the general instrumental in the capture of Nanjing in December of 1911. This woodcut calendar print must have been designed by January 1, 1912, for at that time, China had both a republican president, Sun Yat-sen, and a Manchu emperor, Puyi. The impasse was not resolved until February 12, 1912, when Puyi abdicated. And at that moment, at least one of the images in this calendar became politically anachronistic. The faces in the 1912 calendar are individualized portraits; Li Yuanhong’s most certainly was based on a photograph, prints of which were easily available in Shanghai in 1912.³³

This ensemble of Chinese military portraits recalls a late-Qing woodblock print of portraits of Qing emperors and high officials, all in frames of varied contours (oval, leaf-shape, multi-curved, and multi-angled),³⁴ as well as the 1899 gift calendar from the firm of Geo. A. Blackburn, an English tea merchant, embellished with portraits of English military heroes (figure 4.6).

The inconclusive political situation of January–February 1912 was succinctly reflected in a pictorial calendar printed in Suzhou, *Dragon Flying Calendar (Longfei yuefenpai)*.³⁵ It is an elaborate picture. At the top is a portrait of the child-emperor Puyi surrounded by ranks of officials, and at the bottom, more officials stand to either side of a basin of wealth, below which is the blank space for a calendar. There are many inscriptions, which, taken as a whole, indicate a degree of uncertainty about what is going on. At the top, four characters express wishes for the emperor’s long life; a banner below proclaims the year of the Republic, with a blank space for the year number. A pair of *duilian* along the sides can be read in two directions, vertically or horizontally,



FIGURE 4.5. Calendar poster for 1912, Shanghai, 52 × 30 cm. Ethnographic Museum, Academy of Science, Moscow. After Wang Shucun, Li Fuqing (Boris Riftin), and Liu Yushan, *Sulian cang Zhongguo minjian nianhua zhenpin ji* (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin chubanshe, 1989), 206.

and contain the characters Xuantong (Puyi's reign era name) and Tongzhi. The gist of these two inscriptions is that the people support the new government and its reforms. Reference to the Tongzhi era (1862–1874) reiterates hopes for the effectiveness of the new government in bringing peace and prosperity to the country by comparing it to the 1860s, which was judged a model time because “the decline of the dynasty was temporarily checked by a reassertion of Confucian principles of civil government.”³⁶

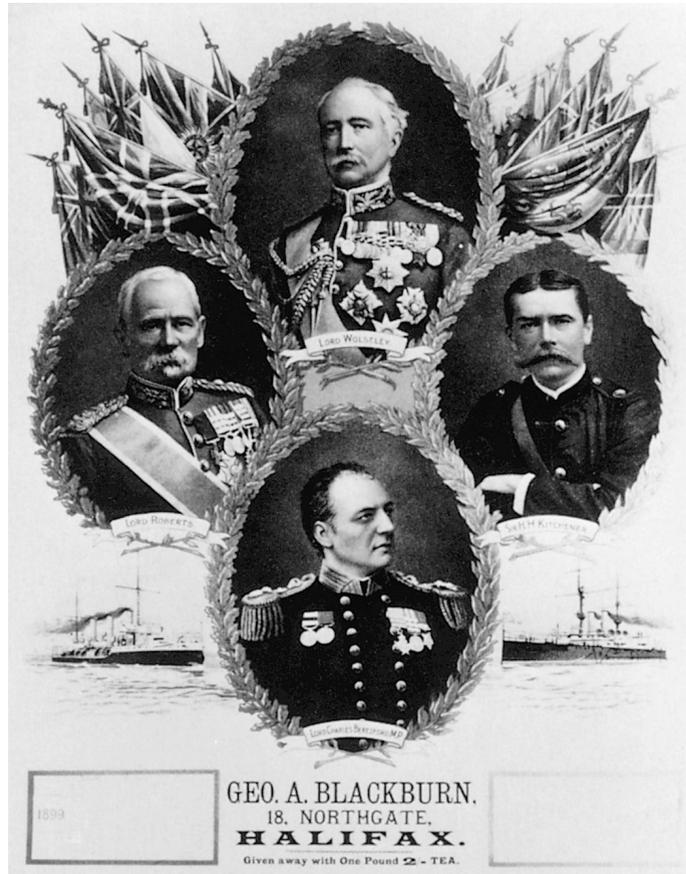


FIGURE 4.6. George A. Blackburn, tea merchant, gift calendar for 1899. Robert Opie Collection, London. After Robert Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Middlesex and New York: Viking, 1985), 64.

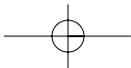
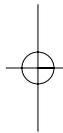
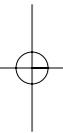
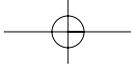
In this period the Taiping Rebellion was finally suppressed, civil administration over wide areas was reestablished, taxes were reduced, and an effort was made to improve the economy and to select and train men of talent for the government. So the hope for the new year and the new government was for prosperity and peace comparable to that of the Tongzhi period. It is assumed that this print was designed in 1911.

A final calendar in this mode was designed as part of Yuan Shikai's (1859–1916) attempt in 1915 to establish a constitutional monarchy in China with himself as emperor. According to the description of this calendar provided by Wang Shucun, it was labeled “A synopsis of new and old calendars for the first year of the Chinese Empire” (i.e., 1916). It had a colored border of dragons, symbols of Chinese emperors; in the center was a bust portrait of Yuan. Inscriptions referred to the founders of the Han, Tang, and Ming dynasties and to leaders in America, Japan, and Germany. At the bottom, inscriptions wished long life to the emperor on his birth date of September 16 and to his empress on December 12.³⁷

Some early Chinese calendar posters were strictly calendars and, like those produced

for merchants, did not advertise any product or service. Other calendar posters were associated with newspapers. The fact that one *Shenbao* calendar was a gift reveals an awareness of Western business practices, for in the West, gift calendars were all the rage in the late nineteenth century. The lottery poster both advertised the lottery and was a premium offered with the purchase of lottery tickets, for it could also be acquired separately for a set price. By the time the political calendar posters of 1911–1912 appeared, commercial advertisement calendars printed by means of chromolithography and, soon, color-photolithography had begun their ascent and would become major expectations for the New Year's holiday.

The next chapter describes the achievements of Zhou Muqiao and other advertisement poster artists in Shanghai between 1910 and 1920, when images of pretty women began to dominate advertisement calendar posters.



CHAPTER FIVE

Shanghai Beauties and Fresh
Starts in the Second Decade
of the Twentieth Century

Zhou Muqiao

Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923) is the earliest advertisement poster artist for whom an artistic personality can be reconstructed.¹ He was China's first professional commercial artist to take advantage of the many opportunities stemming from the burgeoning print culture of the early twentieth century. Born in Suzhou, Zhou Muqiao's original given name was Quan; details of his early life are unknown except that he was a student of Zhang Zhiying.

Zhou's alternate name, Muqiao, means "admirer of Qiao" and honored the Suzhou painter Hu Xigui (1839–1883 or 1858–1890), whose *zi* was Sanqiao.² Hu Xigui competently but conventionally depicted beautiful women and flowers.³ His women's faces are oval, with small eyes and petite noses. The brush lines are thin, regular, and smooth, with a minimum of jagged hook backs and erratic movement. The color is delicate. Zhou Muqiao also depicted beautiful women and flowers but, unfortunately, did not sign his flower paintings. His *Wind, Moon, Lute and Wine* was for the as-yet-unidentified Qiu Shuyuan.⁴ Two of Zhou's paintings were reproduced in *Liangyou*, in 1927: *Sending off Xi Shi* and a battle scene; unfortunately the murky reproduction is inadequate to permit an assessment of Zhou's painting skill.⁵

Zhou Muqiao apparently was addicted to opium, the theater, and storytelling. Among his favorite painting subjects were anecdotes from the *Sanguozhi yanyi* (Romance of the three kingdoms) recounting the conflicts at the end of the Han dynasty, and an unending source of exciting battles and intrigues for opera stage, storytellers, and popular woodblock prints.⁶ Zhou's good friend Huang Zhaolin was a storyteller specializing in spinning *Sanguozhi yanyi* narratives. It is said that when Zhou Muqiao lived on Jiangyuan Lane off Xinzha Road, Huang was performing at the Jade Screen Pavilion (Yupinglou), located on Xinzha Road. Zhou Muqiao often attended the show and would invite

Huang back to his house. There they would smoke and, when in a mellow mood, discuss ancient weapons and how they were wielded, using their opium pipes as weapons to demonstrate the poses ancient warriors took and causing great amusement among the people who saw them acting like this.⁷ Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu report that Zhou, in his depictions of stories from the *Sanguozhi yanyi*, used Huang Zhaolin's poses and expressions.

Today Zhou is remembered primarily for his printed pictures. As noted earlier, Zhou Muqiao worked with Wu Youru on the *Dianshizhai huabao*, contributing a large number of scenes to this serial, from 1884 until its demise, and to Wu's *Feiyingge huabao* from its inception, in 1890. After Wu's death in 1893, Zhou's own stewardship of the pictorial lasted but briefly. Zhou signed his pictures for these periodicals with different signatures, including Zhou Quan and Zhou Muqiao (variant characters for Muqiao were also used).

Zhou's lithographs in *Dianshizhai huabao* are distinguished by their many figures in domestic interiors or in landscapes, as in *Five Generations under One Roof* (figure 5.1). Typical of *Dianshizhai huabao* sketches, it is well observed and vividly drawn. The line contours of figures, architecture, and landscape elements are generally smoothly continuous, with few calligraphic hooks or flourishes. For *Feiyingge huabao*, Zhou illustrated a collection of biographies of ancient heroes and beauties, known as *Xu Wushuangpu* (Supplementary register of unparalleled [individuals]). In his representation of the third-century B.C. general Lin Xiangru, Zhou's drawing style conforms to the agitated nervousness typical of the Shanghai school of painting (figure 5.2).⁸ In 1894 Zhou Muqiao's depictions of twelve beauties from *Hongloumeng* (Dream of the red chamber) were published in *Feiyingge huabao*.⁹ The characters and episodes in this late-eighteenth-century novel had long been favorites with artists and the art public. Zhou's *Lin Daiyu Burying Flowers* from this set follows traditional iconography.¹⁰ Leaning on a hoe, she bends her head in sorrow over the fate of blossoms. In an interior, Phoenix stands tall and proud, as do the other women depicted in this scene.¹¹

Zhou's many representations of women show them as very much alive, participating in and enjoying life. His scenes for Wu Youru's *One Hundred Shanghai Beauties* as well as for *Feiyingge huabao* demonstrate Zhou's consummate talents at depicting women in a range of activities: celebrating holidays, at a shop selecting a pet bird, playing the *qin*, examining a document in *So Here It Is* (figure 5.3), and Chinese girls wearing long Western dresses and brimmed hats under an arbor. Most figures are rendered in Zhou's usual modification of the prevailing Shanghai style of painting. In another scene, however, of two Chinese girls wearing long Western dresses, he imitates a Western engraving.¹² Multiple parallel lines and hatched areas create a sense of shading and volume; the pronounced areas of black represent shadows. Zhou Muqiao was a competent copier.

The *Feiyingge huabao* and its short-lived successors floundered and collapsed. Zhou Muqiao turned to making drafts for single-sheet prints issued for sale at New Year's time by the woodblock print establishments in Suzhou and the Feiyingge print shop in Shanghai. As noted in chapter 2, Zhou's *Pipa Player* was issued, with modification, by at least two Suzhou shops as well as under the Shanghai Feiyingge imprimatur. In 1900



FIGURE 5.1. Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923), *Five Generations under One Roof*. *Dianshibizhai huabao* 15 (1884, eighth month, first ten days), collection *yi*, 3:19b–20a.

Zhou designed two horizontal woodblock prints for the Feiyingge shop. One is an interior scene: *Creating Havoc in the Nuptial Chambers*.¹³ The other is an exterior scene of girls amusing themselves in a garden: *Ten Famous Prostitutes in Shanghai*. Both portray numerous individuals moving easily in their household or garden setting. In *Ten Famous Prostitutes in Shanghai*, each girl has her name printed next to her. Among the well-known favorites are Jin Xiaobao, Zhu Ruchun, and Lu Lanfang.¹⁴ Zhou Muqiao contributed compositions for vertical single-sheet prints of beautiful women issued by Feiyingge. In *The Orchid Gives Birth to a Noble Son*, dated 1901, svelte ladies have long oval faces, elegant hands and fingers, swept-back hairdos and are dressed in fashionable trousers with long coats embroidered with floral and plant motifs.¹⁵ The descriptive contour line drawing is accurate and reserved, with only a few of the fluctuations of line typical of Shanghai figure-painting. In 1902 Zhou's talisman of Zhong Kui, the demon-queller, was also published by Feiyingge.¹⁶ In 1903, for the Suzhou studios, Zhou provided two pictures of beautiful women watching their children striving to obtain the cap and the belt of officialdom. Like the women in his 1901 print *The Orchid Gives Birth to a Noble Son*, the mothers in *Official Hat and Belt Handed Down Generation Through Generation* (figure 2.3) have oval faces and delicate hands; their long coats and trousers are rendered with the combination of descriptive and jagged lines of the Shanghai school



FIGURE 5.2. Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923), *Lin Xiangru*. After *Xu Wushuang pu*, in *Feiyinge huabao* (1893, eleventh month, first ten days), n.p.

of painting. Zhou signed these designs “Gu Wu Mengqiao.” “Gu Wu” is an old name for Suzhou. The sounds of the two characters “Mengqiao” are similar to “Muqiao.”

In 1906 Zhou’s rendition of fanciful towers of little boys was issued by a Suzhou shop.¹⁷ No single-sheet prints by Zhou Muqiao dated after 1906 are known, so it is possible that he began to focus on commercial advertisement pictures at about this time. Zhou perhaps gained entrée into this world through the Xihong Hall Calligraphy and Painting Shop (Xihongtang Shuhuapu). When this shop received requests from firms for advertisement pictures, commissions for shop signs and cigarette cards were sent to Zhou Muqiao to execute. For each of these, he received twenty-five ounces of



FIGURE 5.3. Zhou Muqiao (1868–1923), *So Here It Is*.
After *Haishang baiyan tu*, in *Wu Youru huabao*, 1:14a.

silver. Presumably through this avenue his name became known, and he was asked to create the advertisement calendar posters so important to the commodity market. Zhou's earliest *yuefenpai* depicted heroines of *Hongloulou* under the title *Xiaoxiangguan beiti wumei yin* (Five beauties reciting mournful poems in Xiaoxiang Hall). According to Xiao Chunyuan, one of these was created in 1903 for the Shanghai Zhida Yanghang firm and depicted Lin Daiyu burying chrysanthemum flowers.¹⁸ The entire suite of pictures seems to have disappeared. Whether Zhou's renditions of the "Five Beauties" for his advertisement calendars were similar to his *Hongloulou* scenes published in *Feiyingshe huabao* will perhaps never be known.

Between 1908 and 1913 Zhou Muqiao designed advertisement calendars for British American Tobacco Company; Asiatic Petroleum Company, Ltd., of London; and the Great China Dispensary (Zhong Xi Dayaofang). The main imagery is in the center of a vertical rectangle. At the top an unfurled banner is emblazoned with the name of the company, and in the case of the BAT calendars, this pennant is accompanied by two to four draped flags: the Union Jack of Britain, the Stars and Stripes of the United States, the Dragon and Pearl (two versions) of China. The Chinese version of holiday greetings, "*gonghe xinxi*" (or a similar phrase), is stated in four discs across the top of the picture, sometimes interspersed between banner furls. The Chinese lunar-solar and West-

ern calendars may be placed in a single small rectangle at the very bottom of the poster (a common placement for calendars printed in the United States), or split into two segments and located at the two lower corners or along the right and left margins (also a feature of calendars printed in the West). Depictions of product packages or product information fill spaces remaining along the lower margin, as they did in earlier Western advertisements.

Zhou's subjects for his calendars are illustrations to Chinese novels, legends, and pictures of scenery. He employed several styles in rendering these pictures. A 1911 calendar poster for BAT illustrates the episode from *Hongloumeng* where the imperial concubine returns to visit her family, to tour the garden specially constructed for her pleasure, and to visit her favorite, the young hero Baoyu (plate 5). These scenes including multitudes of small figures scattered among pavilions and kiosks are similar to those Zhou drafted for *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyingge huabao*. With greater detail and rich color, however, the posters are considerably more polished and attractive than the pictures in the pictorials. People generally are clothed in long gowns, robes, and sashes associated with costumes of the past; shading is not used on faces or hands.

Other advertisement calendar posters by Zhou Muqiao exhibit representational elements not seen in the pictorials: a high vantage point and a panoramic view that moves continuously upward from low foregrounds to very high horizon lines, soft clouds in the sky, ripples on the surfaces of streams, shadows cast on land and reflections on water, a single source of light, and barren mountains with strongly lighted slopes (plate 6). Some features, such as the high vantage point and the high horizon, are common in traditional Chinese landscape painting; others, however, such as clouds, shadows, reflections, and single light sources, are less frequently found in earlier Chinese painting. Zhou borrowed these elements from Western painting and blended them with traditional Chinese painting techniques.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, in varying forms and to varying degrees, Western art had an impact on Chinese painting. Closest to Zhou Muqiao's time were works by nineteenth-century Westerners traveling to the Pearl River delta or stationed in Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangzhou. Some of these Westerners were amateur painters who took up watercolor painting, made popular through the recent invention of metal tubes to hold the pigments, to describe through brush and color the scenery as they actually perceived it. A more significant influence, however, were the professional painters, both Western and Chinese, who opened businesses in these cities. In oil and watercolor, they portrayed local dignitaries and rendered harbor vistas and urban views, primarily for the export trade. Especially famous are George Chinnery (1774–1852) and his Chinese follower Lamqua (Guan Zuolin, 1801?–after 1860; for the sake of identification, names in Guangzhou dialect are retained here). Other Chinese artists of note include Tingqua (Guan Lianchang, active 1840–1870s), assumed to be Lamqua's younger brother, and Sunqua (active 1830–1870). Their port scenes depict the prominent maritime peaks of southernmost China. While most of these professional artists had studios in Hong Kong, Macau, or Guangzhou, one artist, Chow Kwa (fl. 1850–1880), opened a studio in Shanghai where, from around 1855 until 1880, he painted portraits, port

views, miniatures, and houses.¹⁹ Several mid-nineteenth-century oil paintings of the Shanghai harbor and Bund have been reproduced,²⁰ one of which is identified as by Chow Kwa.²¹ They share an extremely low horizon line uninterrupted by hills or escarpments, typical of the flat topography of Shanghai. Zhou Muqiao's landscapes, however, closely echo Hong Kong, Guangzhou, and Macau terrain.²²

Zhou Muqiao's most striking achievements in his advertisement poster work are two posters he created for BAT for the calendar year 1914. Both break sharply with the styles he used in *Dianshibizhai huabao* and *Feiyingshe huabao* scenes, in his *One Hundred Shanghai Beauties*, and in his early calendar prints. The framing elements of the 1914 calendars are similar to earlier calendars: the furling banner at the top, the calendars placed along the side margins, and the product display at the bottom. But the central images are now large-scale figures of women placed directly in the foreground with scenery receding behind them. In one poster, several women and children stroll along a canal.²³ The multiple lines of the canal and its sidewalks, in Western one-point perspective, converge toward a spot on the horizon line about in the center of the scene. The women wear Chinese long pleated skirts or trousers and hip-length high-collared jackets with side-fastenings fashioned from fabrics with large-scale flowers; their hair is pulled back from their faces, and their hairlines have been plucked to extend their foreheads. They no longer are dainty ladies tripping along on bound feet but are sturdy women wearing Western shoes on their natural-sized feet; one carries a Western leather handbag. A little boy also wears Western shoes.

In the other calendar, for the Xiehe Trading Company (Xiehe Maoyi Gongsì), a subsidiary of BAT, a woman stands on a stairway next to a garden rock (plate 7). She holds traditional Chinese feminine accoutrements: a flower and a handkerchief. A beauty holding a sprig of flowers and standing by a garden rock is a cliché in Chinese art. The horizon line is high, and a curving stream, paralleled by a pathway, pushes the viewer's eye back into space. Like two of the women in the canal scene, she wears a long jacket with a high collar and side fastening and a pleated skirt; her hair also is pulled back from her face. This attire had been specified by law in 1912 as formal dress for women (plate 8). In accepted form, the combined Chinese Western calendar is split, with the first six months of the year along the right margin and the last six months along the left edge.

It is difficult, however, to comprehend how Zhou Muqiao, so exceptionally talented in convincingly representing lithe and supple ladies in suave poses integrated seamlessly into architectural or landscape settings, as already amply proven, could produce such an awkward, clumsy picture. Not only is the subject stiffly posed, but the landscape has oddities: the little dog is patched in on the grassy bank; the structure on the distant hill resembles an Italian castle; the flowers lining the stairway look like Western botanical prints. The woman's heavy face and short hair give her a masculine cast, and it has been asserted that since no decent woman would have posed for an artist, this picture must be based on photographs of female impersonators from the Chinese opera stage.²⁴ Although Zhou need not have been copying a photograph of an opera star, everything about this picture signals a photographer's studio: the landscape backdrop, the props, the rigid pose. Indeed, a close interaction existed between photo-

graphs and portrait painting; it was common to have a colored portrait painted from a black-and-white photograph (at this time, the only type of photograph available, since color photography had not yet been developed), and such portraits often included the photography studio props and paraphernalia.²⁵

In addition to the standard banner at the top, the product advertising, and the wishes for a prosperous new year (two characters expressing wishes for a “lucky year of the goat,” *jijiang*, are inside the double gourds at the outside loops of the banner but are difficult to see), the Xiehe Trading Company calendar poster includes other motifs borrowed from Western calendar and advertising prototypes: the curling ribbon and its bow knot, and the mixed bouquet of roses and other blossoms at the top.

Possibly a subtle political message is conveyed in this calendar poster. A hint comes from substitution for the insignias of Britain, the United States, and Imperial China, usually part of BAT calendar imagery, with a slogan written across the top of the poster: “long live the Republic of China” (*minguo wansui*). The Republic of China was founded in 1912, on the heels of the revolution that overthrew the Manchu empire; Sun Yat-sen was installed in Nanjing as the Republic’s first, provisional president. At that time popular single-sheet prints commemorating the Republic were issued.²⁶ By 1914 the exhilaration over the new political situation must certainly have ebbed. Things did not go smoothly for the new republic. Yuan Shikai forced Sun Yat-sen to resign and then took over as president of the new republic. Members of Sun’s party objected, seeing Yuan as a dictator. Perhaps what Zhou’s poster is celebrating is not so much the 1912 event but the so-called second revolution that broke out in the summer of 1913. This rebellion was directed against the government of Yuan Shikai and its high-handed actions, and Shanghai became a center of hostilities and conflicts. Although Chinese merchants in Shanghai did not provide financial support to the rebels, they were “anxious for peace, and unwilling to pass through another long period of confusion.”²⁷

Zhou Muqiao’s two 1914 calendars introduced a totally new subject to calendar posters: the “modern Westernized” woman (tentative as that might be under government mandate) presented as a full-length figure and in large scale, either alone or with a single adult female companion and, or, a child. As will be shown in later chapters in this book, the beautiful woman became the most popular theme in advertisement calendar posters, and the few tentative touches of Western vogue seen here would expand into a large-scale endorsement of Western fashion. Through this new visual conception, Zhou Muqiao changed the course of Chinese advertisement calendars forever.

Zhou was not the first to depict “modern” Chinese women. Some modern Chinese writers assert that Japanese Ukiyoe prints imported into Shanghai in 1911 may have been a stimulus, since a subdivision in the Japanese beautiful-women genre was the theme of the lovely woman, usually a courtesan, at her toilette; other themes depicted ordinary housewives at their daily routines. In reality, however, in 1893 Wu Youru had already designed his *One Hundred Shanghai Beauties*, in which women were seen in ordinary occupations, and his updated *Modern Women* was serialized in *Feiyingge huabao*. As discussed in chapter 2, these pictures by Wu showed women at their daily tasks. Images of the modern, urban Chinese woman, sometimes prostitutes, captivated the Shanghai

public, and a spate of guidebooks, with these as their focus, as well as separate pictorial volumes, fueled this fascination during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1911 Wang Dungen wrote a fiction column, *Ziyoutan* (Unfettered talk), for *Shenbao*. Wang collected his own contributions to this column and issued them as a separate magazine. Response to this endeavor was so positive that Wang decided to initiate other fiction magazines; one of these was *Libailiu* (Saturday), which began in 1914.²⁸ In 1914, successive covers for *Libailiu* depicted “Famous Flowers (Prostitutes) of Society,” watercolor pictures by Ding Song. Leo Lee, speaking of the lovely women on the covers of the later magazine *Liangyou*, says such are continuations of late-Qing courtesan newspapers in which “famous flowers” (mostly courtesans who were acquaintances of the editor) appeared on the cover.²⁹

Shen Bochen (1889–1920) and Ding Song furthered the craze, each drawing pictures of “modern” Chinese women.³⁰ In 1913, Shen’s *Xin xin baimei tu* (New new pictures of one hundred beauties) was serialized in a newspaper and then published in book form by the Shanghai National Studies Book House (Shanghai Guoxue Shushi). Supplements appeared in 1915 and 1917. In 1916 this same press issued two volumes of Ding Song’s 1915 sketches of modern beauties in fashionable attire accompanied by sentimental poems composed by the author of romance fiction Chen Diexian (1879–1940) and others, *Shanghai shizhuang tuyong* (Poems and pictures of modern styles of Shanghai).³¹ Xu Yongqing’s twelve pictures of women for the covers of the twelve issues of *Funiu zazhi* (The ladies’ journal) for 1915, discussed in chapter 6, are part of this trend. Collections of pictures of modern women were published into the mid-1920s.³² The women in the albums by Shen and Ding, however, not necessarily prostitutes, are sometimes in Chinese garb, sometimes in Western dress, sometimes in a hybrid of the two. They all have natural-sized feet. Some women work at productive tasks: feeding silkworms, grinding grain, spinning, feeding goats, preparing food in the kitchen. For the more leisured, a sculptress shapes a clay figurine in her studio, and a musician, seated in a Western chair, practices the piano; one of Ding Song’s ladies, from 1915, sits in a Western room, listening to a gramophone. In an interesting visual comment by Shen Bochen on social advances, a photograph is being taken not in a formal studio by a male professional but in the privacy of the woman’s home, by a helpful sister, photographing the mother and daughter, commemorating the little girl’s first day of school (figure 5.4). The cultural and political messages behind these fresh images should not be ignored; they reinforce the rising empowerment of women to pursue a choice of lifestyles. Granted, except for the budding artists and musicians pursuing Western art, they have not yet moved beyond the traditional productive domestic responsibilities. Nevertheless, they are not helpless or listless, nor do they provoke sensual or sexual passions. Engrossed in their work, these women are confident and competent.

Zhou Bosheng augmented the genre with his drawings of women at their daily tasks for *Meiren baimian xiang* (One hundred faces of beauty) published by the periodical *Yuxing* (Surplus spirit) between 1915 and 1917 and printed in the newspaper *Shibao*. Charming and occasionally witty pictures of women and their children that *Yuxing* placed as advertisements in *Shibao* during this period were also by Zhou. Most of his women wear



FIGURE 5.4. Shen Bochen (1889–1920), *A Photographer Taking a Picture of a Mother and Daughter*.
After Wang Shucun, “Minchu de shizhuang funü huodong tu,” *Meishujia* 40 (1984): 54.

contemporary dress, including a highly fashionable lady with her knit cap and Western coat with a large fur collar, who warms her hands in a huge foxtail muff (figure 5.5).

Pictures of beautiful women, advertised merely as “beautiful women” or as “modern” beauties or even as “European beauties,” were printed by the Commercial Press and other Shanghai printers. They were advertised for sale in the media and were sometimes offered as bonuses for purchases at pharmacies and other shops.³³

Seen from this perspective, Zhou Muqiao’s cautious calendar pictures of women with natural-sized feet and sporting Western handbags are barely able to hold their own along the periphery of this trend. Indeed, they are a tad obsolete.

During 1913–1919, the calendar poster was in a period of flux, of experimentation, and of slow growth. Merchants could choose among many artists (although most posters are unsigned), artistic options, and subjects through which to advertise. Some calendar subjects and motifs invented during this era continued long after more modish subjects or decorative motifs came into vogue.

A. S. Watson Pharmaceutical, which as early as 1888 used Chinese auspicious images in its calendars, continued this policy in posters issued in 1907, 1911, and 1916. These calendars boast large-scale characters, such as those for “wealth,” “longevity,” and “enjoyment,” and like their Suzhou predecessors mentioned in chapter 2, the characters’ thick strokes are filled with figures of the Eight Immortals, the “Eighteen Lohan,” the elephant and boy from the traditional calendar’s visual idiom, and other auspicious



FIGURE 5.5. Zhou Bosheng (1887–1955), *A Woman in a Knit Cap*. Advertisement for *Yuxing*, 1915. After *Shibao* (January 1, 1916), 8.

motifs (figure 5.6). Around 1918 the Watson calendars switched to pictures of pretty women,³⁴ and by 1926 the figure-filled character ceased to be used by Watson.³⁵

Some Western companies marketing in China proclaimed their commercial power through images that were long staples in Western advertising. For 1913 Standard Oil of New York (Socony) offered a calendar with a map of Asia in its center, pictures of the substantial buildings housing their home offices in its upper corners, and an oil tanker and storage facilities in its lower corners.³⁶ In between the major images were depictions of Standard Oil's famed Mei Fou lamps, specially designed for burning kerosene and given away or sold for a few cents each. Such images of office buildings and other facilities, common in advertising in the United States, conveyed the solvency, permanence, and stability of the company. By 1918, however, Socony began issuing calendars showing Chinese girls in a garden setting (plate 9).



FIGURE 5.6. *The Character Fu (Good Fortune)*, advertisement calendar poster for A. S. Watson and Company for 1907. After Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 2.

Some artists relied on the photographer's studio, a safe public space, as the most acceptable setting for their depiction of women. Two calendar posters, one from 1915 and one from 1918, convey the continuing tug and pull between the old and the new in China. The calendar from 1915, created for British American Tobacco Company by the otherwise unknown Yang Qinsheng, depicts a Chinese matron in conservative, late-Qing dress: a full-length red skirt with heavy embroidered flowers, a long jacket with long sleeves worn over a pink under-blouse and closing at the right side, and a pearl-encrusted hat covering her ears.³⁷ Seated on an ornately carved chair, she holds a rose in one hand and a handkerchief in the other. Her modest jewelry consists of two thin bracelets held by a loop and four finger rings whose simple mountings hold single, col-

ored stones. She is flat-chested and her tiny, bound feet, encased in black shoes, barely peep out from beneath her skirt. The geometric design on the floor and the landscape backdrop, along with the stand holding a pot of flowering plum, the heavily carved Western-style chair, and the draped curtain at the right, bespeak the accoutrements of the professional photographer's studio. The two calendar strips dangling from curling hooks recall the ornate English trade cards mentioned in chapter 4. A careful observer might relish the delicate painting of a small bird on a flowering branch depicted on the planter and the poem inscribed next to it:

In the grey thrush's voice, hear the spring rain,
Carefully read the *Nanbua*, two or three sections.

"*Nanbua*" is another name for the Daoist text the *Zhuangzi*. Inscriptions of a poetic nature would become stock adjuncts in the calendar poster.

In the Lobowl Medical Company calendar for 1918 (figure 5.7), by an unknown artist, the Chinese woman is up-to-date: her natural-sized feet are clad in black slippers, and her hair is cut and arranged according to the latest fashion, a "swallow's tail" along the sides of the forehead, giving the face an oval shape; she also wears drop earrings and a Western wristwatch. Her garb is that of the mode around 1918: tubular trousers and long jacket cut on the horizontal at the bottom. The two pieces are made of the same fabric: a light yellow ground patterned with scattered, small, darker yellow floral sprigs. The central image is surrounded along the two sides by small scenes illustrating how the products cure various ailments, reminiscent of the seventeenth-century English advertisements, such as that for J. Russel's remedies in which a large central image is bordered with small, graphic images of surgical treatments for physical ills.³⁸ In the Lobowl poster, the central image is derived from formal, photographic studio portraits where a woman, holding a flower or a kerchief, sits next to a table on which are objects symbolizing a good life or her status in life. In the photographic tradition, as well as in the Chinese popular-print tradition, one grouping of objects includes a flower in a vase and a covered tea cup (figure 2.7). Also like the women in the prints and photographs, the Lobowl Medical poster woman holds a peony, the traditional Chinese symbol for wealth and honor, and is seated in a Western chair next to a round Western table, but the teacup is replaced by a pot brewing some decoction of the medicine from the package set nearby. The text inscribed above the landscape is product advertising. The pictorial message is that this woman enjoys a healthy and happy life because she uses the advertised products.

Incorporating product packages into the central image, sometimes in rather innovative ways, was in vogue during the years between 1915 and 1919. Product display was most easily integrated into pictures of women in interior settings, where commodities could be arranged on a table. This strategy was firmly ensconced in American calendar posters at least two decades earlier, where custom-designed calendars included visual references to the product or service being retailed. A calendar from around 1893 for Libby's Meats showed a woman slicing meat and a man in a chef's hat and gown preparing the sauce (figure 5.8). Depictions of Libby canned products are arrayed at the



FIGURE 5.7. *Seated Woman*, advertisement calendar poster for Lobowl Medical Company for 1918, 77 × 51 cm. After Ng Chun Bong, et al., comps. *Chinese Woman and Modernity* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 15

bottom of the picture along with the names of their contents. The Chinese used this idea on occasion but also solved the product display in a number of imaginative ways, even if resulting in unreal situations. An advertisement calendar poster by an anonymous artist for the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company depicts a woman rowing a boat; the packages are stacked on the seat she faces.³⁹ The Hong Kong based Guangshenghang Company (Kwong Sang Hong), purveyors of cosmetics and toiletries, used product display extensively in their consistently lush calendars, which are crammed with clusters of product packages and large blooming roses in each lower corner, the company banner at the top, and curling frames around the central image. Their logo,



FIGURE 5.8. *Libby's Meats*, calendar poster, ca. 1893, 90 × 72.5 cm. After Victor Margolin, Ira Brichta, and Vivian Brichta. *The Promise and the Product: 200 Years of American Advertising Posters* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), 65.

two girls representing their popular Girl Brand products, was always included, sometimes twice, in the calendar design. And two girls were always the subject of the central image as well. In 1916 and 1917 calendars, the two girls, in the stylish long coat and narrow tubular trousers of the era, are in outdoor settings.⁴⁰ Large product packages are placed in strategic locations on the ground or among rocks. A height of ingenuity in this category is the 1919 calendar created by the Hong Kong artist Hu Lianchuan, working out of a studio in Queen's Road Central.⁴¹ In addition to a doubling of the logo, the poster is cast as an elaborate rendition of a painting within a picture, another gimmick used in calendar posters of the late teens of the century.⁴² The lower edge of the painting within a picture curls up slightly. The advertised products drift down a stream. The required two girls on the bank watch toiletries and lotions bob among the fish playing in the flowing brook. The whole alludes to the fourth-century Orchid Pavilion Gathering hosted by the calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303–379). Poets celebrating the Spring Purification Festival at the Orchid Pavilion sat along the banks of a stream

on which floated cups of wine; they tumbled and composed verses; Wang Xizhi composed the *Lanting xu* (Orchid pavilion preface) for the poems, an essay that became a calligraphy and literature model. Hu's sly visual comment on this ancient theme converts tumbling male poets into admiring female beauties.

The more conventional ploy of arraying products on a table, borrowed from Western advertising, declined in popularity during the 1920s, but on occasion it was still believed to be effective in the mid-1920s, as documented in an advertisement for Palmolive, where its products are on a woman's dressing table.⁴³

Normally, the upper border of calendar advertisements produced during 1913–1919 received decorative attention. It was routine to place here a configuration combining in various ways a wide, furling banner, or ribbon, sometimes divided at the ends like a pennon, on which was announced the name of the company.⁴⁴ The banner was sometimes enhanced with draped national flags. Multicolored curlicues, artificial foliage, or large roses were further garnishments. The company emblem or logo was often placed in the center. These trimmings were all borrowings from the Western pictorial advertising lexicon. Such configurations might be considered the equivalent of correspondence letterhead. At their simplest, they announced the name of the company, sometimes in both Chinese and English or another Western language. When combined with an emblem or logo or product package they were supplemental visual verification of the name of the business; and when foreign flags were present, immediately pronounced the company's national affiliation. In China, where so much trade, so many commodities, and so many services were international in origin, this "letterhead" for the calendars was de rigueur: although the specific motifs might change as businesses came and went, for the next twenty years, placement of the company name at the top of the calendar prevailed.

The preferred format for advertisement posters was the vertical rectangle, its surface rigidly divided into rectilinear spaces into which were placed central images, calendar strips down the sides, or calendar blocks at the lower center margin; text sections detailing products, or listing a firm's branch offices, and the like. This fixed organization contrasts with the fluid arrangements characteristic of Western calendars. In American custom-made advertisement calendars, for example, the designer apparently had great freedom in deciding where to place the company name and how to arrange the calendar months. As discussed in chapter 1, in Western advertising, the company name could flow at an angle across the central field, and the twelve calendar months could be staggered in irregular placements.

The Socony 1918 calendar poster is an early example of a tall and narrow format, here with the calendar block in each lower corner (plate 9). Modifications of this form occurred later as it paralleled the Chinese hanging scroll through adding a section above the image, functioning like the *shitang* of gold speckled paper for titles or inscriptions of a traditionally mounted painting. Other minor alterations to this basic scheme also appeared in later calendar posters.

Ding Yunxian (1881–1946) experimented with horizontal formats in two 1921 post-

ers for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco, of girls in garden or landscape settings surrounded by a graceful sinuous art nouveau border and with the calendar in the lower center rectangle flanked by pictures of cigarette packages.⁴⁵ Again, in American calendar design, much more freedom in shape and outline was permitted, and it was not unusual for a calendar to have an irregular contour. In China later on, a horizontal format, closer to the traditional Chinese hand-scroll, might be used for hangers—that is, pictorial advertisements without calendars or even without advertising text—but for the advertisement calendar per se, the vertical orientation was preferred.

Explicitly Chinese were the discs bearing four characters expressing good wishes for the new year, tucked among the furls and curlicues of the “letterhead.” Political sentiments might be expressed in the wishes for the longevity of the Republic (*minguo wansui*). The perceived effectiveness of this top-margin motif cluster is confirmed by the Socony 1918 poster (plate 9). One woman, seated on a bench, holds a calendar poster of which only the top is visible: a repeat of the Standard Oil furling banner, a spread-winged eagle, and two U.S. flags. Thus, Standard Oil’s visual logos got double billing.⁴⁶

This particular decorative treatment of the upper border faded somewhat during the 1920s when it was replaced by elaborately ornamented borders; the furling banner and discs never regained their former popularity. Certain companies, however, continued using this old formula into the 1930s. The Japanese Mitsui Insurance Company not only used this configuration, but in several calendar posters of 1931 and 1932, for example, also wished for the long life, now not of the Republic (*minguo*), but of the Guomindang Nationalist Party, by converting the old expression “*minguo wansui*” into “*guomin wansui*.”⁴⁷ Possibly this rearrangement of the characters was a designer’s error, but it might have been Mitsui’s way of reassuring their Chinese customers that the company, even in the face of Japanese encroachments, still had a commitment, however hypocritical, to recognizing the Chinese government.

Zhou Muqiao’s paintings for calendar prints used traditional Chinese techniques of black ink outline and color fill, the colors perhaps applied by others. Outlines are visible in the prints made from Zhou’s painted originals and impart a certain artificial stiffness to the figures. Zhou’s posters were printed by means of chromolithography, and the strident color dotting used to effect shading, volume, and mass distract from the otherwise beautiful color palette.

By the time Zhou Muqiao produced the woman standing on the stairway for Xiehe Trading Company in 1914, there was a new star on the horizon. Zheng Mantuo, the focus of the next chapter, was cornering the advertisement calendar market with his new technique known as “rub-and-paint,” which permitted more-subtle gradations of tone to achieve the effect of shading and volume, and eliminated the need for outlining. Zhou Muqiao was unable to master this new technique.

Zhou’s 1915 picture of the Song dynasty general Yue Fei (1103–1141) having the words “Serve the nation with utmost loyalty” tattooed on his back bears a eulogy inscribed by the unidentified Zhu Qiting.⁴⁸ The subject is traditional and can have a political dimension. Zhou’s depiction of Yue Fei may indicate his persisting discontent

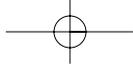
with Yuan Shikai. The monochrome old tree and rock, which is reminiscent of Yuan dynasty painting, depicted on a screen in the background of the Yue Fei picture, is a rare clue to Zhou's traditional Chinese painting style.

The demand for pictorial covers for the many fiction magazines that blossomed in Shanghai during 1913–1919 was a further source of income for commercial artists. Zhou Muqiao did his share, with covers in 1914 for *Qitian* (Seventh day) and in 1917 for *Xiaoshuo minghua daguan* (Fiction and picture overview), where his work was joined by that of younger men, such as Zhang Yuguang and Ding Yunxian.⁴⁹ In 1916 four *Libailiu* covers were by Zhou Muqiao.⁵⁰ As in his calendar prints of 1914, the women, here in sketchy surroundings, are clumsy and wooden. Perhaps Zhou was striving to formulate a different style; if so, the effort was futile. Perhaps he was addled with opium.

Zhou's 1919 picture of a woman and an automobile for the Yingkou Steamship Company (Yingkuo Lunchuan Gongsi) using the rub-and-paint method was a failure. According to Xiao Chunyuan, everything about it was old-fashioned: the subject, the pose and demeanor of the woman, and even her clothing.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Zhou Muqiao's pictures continued to be in demand. An advertisement placed by the Communication Library (Jiaotong Tushuguan) in the newspaper *Shibao* on December 31, 1919, offered "specially priced fine art work as premiums" for a limited time to customers whose purchases totaled specific amounts, from 5 jiao to 10 yuan.⁵² The premiums included color reproductions of scroll paintings by Zhou Muqiao, Hu Tanqing (Hu Tu), and Ding Yunxian. Hu's pictures were of landscapes and animals; Ding's of the opera star Mei Lanfang in a stage role and of *Xue Baochai Hitting Butterflies* (based on *Hongloumeng*). Zhou Muqiao's pictures were of beautiful women, flowers, Guan Yu reading the *Chunqiu* (Spring and autumn annals), one called *Examining Antiquities*, and of Yue Fei having his back tattooed. It is said that the one of Guan Yu reading the *Chunqiu* was famous, prints of this subject were ubiquitous, to be seen in oil and condiment shops, in barbershops and drygoods stores, and was reprinted year after year.⁵³

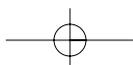
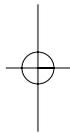
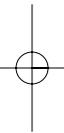
One of Zhou's last commissions was the design of a demon-queller swinging a "diamond club" (a club weighted at both ends, usually seen as wielded by Indra in Buddhist art, and considered especially efficacious in warding off evil), chasing a pack of small demons, for the front page of the first issue of a mosquito newspaper known as the *Jin'gangzuan*, October 8, 1923.⁵⁴ *Jin'gangzuan* (Diamond) was a rival publication of the magazine known as *Jingbao* (Crystal) and was founded by writers who had been attacked or satirized in *Crystal*. The decision to name the new publication *Diamond* suggested superiority over *Crystal* because diamonds can "cut anything."⁵⁵ Zhou Muqiao must have died shortly thereafter. In 1923 a collection of his pictures was published in a four-volume set under the title *Dayalou buabao*.

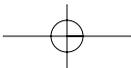
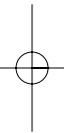
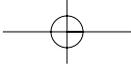
Zhou's reputation, despite his being overtaken by younger artists, still had value, and in 1925, three of his illustrations appeared in *Zhongguo buabao* (China pictorial). One picture depicted the seventh-century B.C. Guan Yiwu and Bao Shuya affirming their sworn brotherhood; another was of Zhang Binglin (1868–1936) writing a letter to Zhang Shizhao (b. 1881). Both Zhangs were anti-Manchu and anti-Yuan Shikai activists. The



third portrayed the reform advocate Liang Qichao (1873–1929) inscribing a fan.⁵⁶ These subjects, along with his pictures of Yue Fei, suggest that Zhou Muqiao occasionally used art to express republican sympathies.

Zhou Muqiao had few followers. His most famous student was Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), who became a leading master of *yuefenpai* and who is the subject of chapter 7.⁵⁷





CHAPTER SIX

New Techniques and Themes

Zheng Mantuo and
Xu Yongqing

Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961) was a major innovator in the world of Chinese advertisement calendar posters. He perfected the “rub-and-paint” (*cabi shuicai* or *cabi dancai*) technique for producing colored pictures, revolutionizing the business, and he introduced three themes for the calendar advertisement poster: seminudes, half-length figures, and modern women at their daily activities. He did not invent the rub-and-paint technique, nor did he create the new subjects, which all existed prior to his use of them, but he brought them into the advertisement calendar repertoire. Zheng Mantuo’s career was closely involved with the careers of “fine” artists and calligraphers and with members of the popular-literature sphere.

Zheng’s original given name was Da, his *zi* was Juru, and another name was Mantuo. He went by this last name. His family came from Shexian in Anhui Province, but he was born in Hangzhou, some 125 miles southwest of Shanghai.¹ From the time he was a youngster, Zheng had eye trouble. Zheng first studied English at the Yuying Academy (Yuying Shuyuan) in Hangzhou. The name of this school appears nowhere in surveys of English-language teaching in China, although, as pointed out by Mok Poonkan, during the late nineteenth century most such schools were operated by American missions. Mok quotes Liang Qichao, who observed: “In the coastal ports and cities along the river, schools flying the sign ‘English teaching’ are beyond number.”² The quality of teaching at such transitory institutions is questionable, as is the level of fluency Zheng attained in speaking or reading English. Apparently recognizing he had no flair for foreign languages, he turned to art as a means of making a living. His artistic training, however, was meager. He studied figure painting and portraiture as a youth with a certain Qian Shenfu (about whom nothing is recorded in the usual sources). In

Hangzhou Zheng studied watercolor painting on his own and portrait painting with a man surnamed Wang. Zheng quickly outstripped his teacher and strove to master the business, thus incurring the jealousy of his tutor. Zheng established a portrait studio in the Erwoxuan Photography Shop (Erwoxuan Zhaoxiangguan) in Hangzhou. The Erwoxuan Photography Shop printed copies of photographs of scenery, so Zheng, a portrait specialist, must have been a welcome addition to the firm. As noted in the chapter on Zhou Muqiao, portraits were often painted from photographic prints. Later Zheng heard about the popularity of advertisement calendar posters in Shanghai and moved there.

In 1914 Zheng exhibited four pictures of women, created with his rub-and-paint technique, in the Zhang Garden (Zhangyuan). Located off Bubbling Well Road, the Zhang Garden was built by a French merchant whose Chinese name was Genong; in 1882 it was sold to Zhang Shuhe and named Weichun Garden (Weichunyuan) but was locally called the Zhang Garden. Originally it occupied about 20 *mu* and was later expanded to more than 70 *mu*. In 1885 it opened to the public and became a place where streetwalkers congregated. Basically an amusement park, the Zhang Garden was noteworthy for the broad avenue that led directly to its main buildings. The Western-style Arcadia Hall (Ankaidi) housed meeting rooms, a dance hall, and a wine bar all decorated in Western style. It had a theater, where Chinese opera and entertainments were performed. Other attractions were a Western greenhouse selling Western blossoms, a tea shop, a storytelling hall, a tennis court, a photography studio, and a garden with an artificial mountain, the standard feature of any traditional Chinese garden. Especially enthralling was its Electricity Hall, displaying electric lights, fans, heaters, bells, and so on. A section with Japanese-style architecture had a teahouse, a dance hall, a restaurant, and a billiard parlor. Zhang Shuhe had a lantern-bedecked, pleasure “flower” boat brought over from Suzhou, which “stood in the middle of the lake, the waters plashing gently against its sides, and catching the colourful image of its lantern in the dusk. Girls of fifteen and sixteen acted as boatmen and bartenders, some working at the punt pole, others warming the wine.”³ This event was immortalized in a picture by Wu Youru.⁴ In later years Zhang Garden was the locale for political and nationalistic movements, especially those against the Manchu government.⁵

Understanding Zheng Mantuo’s artistic successes and innovations must, however, be situated in the broader light of prior and ongoing developments in artistic techniques and themes. The rub-and-paint technique used by Zheng involves applying carbon for what would be shaded parts of the figure and gently rubbing the carbon into the paper and then carefully applying water-soluble pigments. The shadows created by the carbon impart a quality of volume and mass to flesh and fabric, giving a heightened sense of realism. When correctly applied, this method reduces the reliance on visible ink lines and produces a more realistic appearance. The watercolor pigments are generally pleasingly soft and pastel in hue, but the grayish carbon beneath them results in a grayish tonality, especially evident in faces and arms.

Zheng Mantuo is usually given credit for inventing this technique, but it was common for portrait painters like Ren Bonian (1840–1895) to use powdered carbon and

colored wash for shading;⁶ this procedure was widespread among professional portraitists. Claudia Brown documents a range of methods for producing carefully modeled portrait faces in the early nineteenth century and even earlier, in the late Qianlong reign (1736–1795).⁷ The modern doyen of *yuefenpai* history, Buji, writing in 1959, quotes Xie Zhiguang, who remembered that around 1910 there were “pencil portrait” shops (*qianbixiao huadian*) on Wangping Street (modern Shandong Road) in Shanghai; one of them was commissioned to provide a picture of a woman for the Huaan Insurance Company (Huaan Baoxian Gongsì). The print run was small and the rush to acquire the picture intense; so no copies have survived. Xie further recalled that in 1911 a picture entitled *New People of the Republic* (*Minguo xinren*) was used as an advertisement calendar poster by the Kangnian Insurance Company (Kangnian Baoxian Gongsì). This picture was sketched in pencil to which watercolors were added. In 1979 Buji flatly stated that Zheng’s portrait-training in Hangzhou was “pencil portraiture.”⁸ Buji notes that the foundation for rub-and-paint already existed and Zheng’s contribution was to perfect it through experimentation.

In 1987 Wang Shucun published a description of the rub-and-paint technique, based on his own observation and information supplied by Jin Meisheng.⁹ Perhaps integrating later refinements in the method, it remains the most succinct account of this process. According to Wang, this technique was the same as that used in “Western style portrait studios” in large cities in China to convert a photograph into a painting. First, the portrait is enlarged by means of drawing a grid over the photograph and making an outline of the subject, square by square, on a piece of paper. Details are then added by rubbing with a special carbon brush. Pencils and other drawing tools can also be used at this stage. This forms the basis of the calendar painting. Artists usually made their own brushes for use in this technique. A new sheep-hair brush was soaked in glue, and after the glue dried, the brush tip was slowly burned off with a match. When the ashes were removed, the brush was ready to be dipped in carbon powder. New brushes usually have sharp tips and are thus best used for drawing details of faces, like eyes, nostrils, eyebrows, and the corners of the mouth. After continued use, a brush tip becomes loose and then it can be used to draw larger motifs. If necessary, a larger sheep-hair brush can be employed for this purpose. When the tip becomes too loose for drawing fine details, it can be reconstituted by rubbing around the tip a piece of paper saturated with glue. This will restore its firmness and is a method that can be repeated to maintain the brush tip. The paper used for the rub-and-paint technique must have a hard surface, otherwise the surface will become rough through repeated rubbing and the color will not adhere to it. After the outline is completed, details are added by brushing on carbon powder. The face and clothing are done first, moving from bright to dark areas, evenly spread for a smooth transition in shading, to create a three-dimensional effect. Background and settings are added next, again moving from bright to dark areas. Color is then added, again starting with light areas and moving on to the dark areas, based on the drawing and the prior application of carbon. Color is applied part by part until the carbon-drawn base is covered and none of the carbon is visible. Great care must be exercised in applying the color correctly and exactly because the water-

color pigment cannot be spread repeatedly on the same area, or the carbon and color will be messy.¹⁰

The four pictures Zheng Mantuo posted in the Zhang Garden in 1914 created an immediate sensation and launched his advertisement poster career. The instantaneous success of Zheng's pictures must have been partly because they were among the first, if not the first, display in a public place of pictures of women and partly because they coincided neatly with the current craving for easily accessible depictions of women. As discussed in chapter 5, this demand was already being fed by pictures published in the popular-print media by Zhou Muqiao, Shen Bochen, and Ding Song.

Zheng Mantuo's four pictures were purchased by the owner of the Shanghai Great Eastern Dispensary (Shanghai Zhong Fa Dayaofang), Huang Chujiu (1872–1931), for advertising purposes, and he hired Zheng.¹¹ Zheng, however, soon left to freelance.

Huang was simply following the prevailing approach to advertising in the pharmaceutical world. Beginning around 1910, and certainly by 1911, Japanese drug companies placed advertisements in *Shenbao*, using images of women to promote their cosmetics and medicines for feminine physical problems. Women held the advertised product, or sat at their dressing tables, or pointed to their beautiful complexions; they poured out hot infusions, or were poised to drink a cup of medicine or administer medicine to a child, or stood at the door of their home holding an infant. Most unusual was a female nude on a pedestal with a few sashes swirling around her as she held aloft a large pill inscribed with the name of the medicine.¹²

Zheng Mantuo's most daring calendar poster was of a seminude Yang Guifei coming from her bath. According to the account published by Buji, Zheng created the poster in 1915 for Huang Chujiu; nevertheless, two other authorities on *yuefenpai* artists, Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, do not mention the 1915 picture but instead reproduce one (figure 6.1) made in 1919 for the Dachang Tobacco Company (Dachang Yan Gongsi).¹³ Yang Guifei (717–756), a concubine of the Tang emperor Minghuang, so enchanted the emperor that he neglected government, to the ruin of the dynasty. In the past Yang Guifei had been depicted in many manifestations, including emerging from the warm waters of the Huaqing Palace (Huaqinggong) hot springs, a theme with overt sexual connotations. One elaborate version, perhaps from the Ming dynasty, shows her seminude; the licentious emperor, peering into her chamber, has an unobstructed view of his beloved's voluptuous form.¹⁴ Zheng Mantuo need not have exerted much effort to find a model. Pictures of women wearing filmy, see-through blouses circulated in late Qing China.¹⁵ As noted earlier, there were woodblock prints of nude couples, and female nudes had appeared in an advertisement in *Shenbao* in 1911. Even more relevant is the fact that the most common rendition of Yang Guifei coming from the bath shows her in a state of soft lassitude, her nakedness hardly hidden by a transparent robe; paintings of her are attributed to the eighteenth-century Yangzhou artist Hua Yan and to the eighteenth-century Beijing painter Leng Mei.¹⁶ Zheng might not have had access to these scrolls, but woodblock prints of the courtesan leaving her bath in the popular *Baimei tupu* (Register of one hundred beauties, illustrated) show her barely covered with a thin robe, through which her breasts and body are evident.¹⁷ This book was repeat-



FIGURE 6.1. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Yang Guifei Coming from Her Bath*, advertisement poster for the Dachang Tobacco Company, 1919. After Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 9.

edly reprinted and, as a relatively inexpensive item, easily would have been available to Zheng. As in previous portrayals of Yang Guifei coming from her bath, in Zheng's 1919 version, her legs, hips, and torso are distinctly visible through the clinging, diaphanous fabric of her peignoir, but in Zheng's version, one side of her gown has slipped off her shoulder revealing one bare breast. The question of whether Zheng first rendered the Yang Guifei subject in 1915 or 1919 might never be resolved, and it is entirely possible that he produced two interpretations of Yang Guifei after her bath. What is important is that Zheng was the first to introduce seminudes into advertisement calendar poster imagery.

None of Zheng Mantuo's pictures of women displayed in the Zhang Garden in 1914 is extant, nor is the 1915 *Yang Guifei Coming from Her Bath*. Four other pictures by



FIGURE 6.2. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Girl on the Telephone*; Li Junquan, *Schoolgirl*, around 1915. After *Dongfang zazhi* 13, no. 1 (1916): n.p.

Zheng painted around 1915, however, enable us to grasp his pictorial style at that time. Since two of the pictures are extremely amateurish and the two others are comparatively accomplished, as a unit, they presumably represent a sequential stylistic development. None has a date inscribed on it; the dates are derived from dated colophons and external evidence.

Girl on the Telephone, an early work by Zheng Mantuo, was published in 1916 in the Commercial Press magazine *Dongfang zazhi* alongside one of a schoolgirl by an otherwise unknown painter from Tianjin, Li Junquan (figure 6.2). The juxtaposition is instructive, for it succinctly demonstrates the structural weaknesses of Zheng's portrait: an oversized head,¹⁸ stunted arms, curiously unattractive face, and clumsily rendered tunic with unconvincing shadows, whereas Li's much more accomplished schoolgirl is properly proportioned, her smiling face is charming, and the folds of her blouse fall correctly over her shoulder and arm. Zheng's *Evening Makeup* is in the genre of "modern women" at their home life (figure 6.3). In her boudoir, a lady of the evening sits at her dressing table. She holds a mirror to admire her face while a wall mirror shows the back of her head; her attendant stands behind her, holding a comb. The side of the room is curtained off, and on the wall is a framed picture of a couple ardently kissing.¹⁹ Like *Girl on the Telephone*, *Evening Makeup* is severely marred by incorrect proportions of the figures, huge heads, ungainly postures, and frozen facial expressions. The rendering of the interior is equally inept. Zheng's first pictures were extremely crude and this clumsiness is recognized by Buji, who is quick to pronounce Zheng's early work as "ugly" (*bumei*).²⁰

Despite these inadequacies, Zheng Mantuo's art attracted the attention of Pan Da-



FIGURE 6.3. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Evening Makeup*. Inscription by Gao Jianfu dated 1914. After Wang Bomin, ed., *Jinxiandai meishu*, vol. 7 of *Zhongguo meishu tongshi* (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 96.

wei (1881–1929), a renowned revolutionary and artist who, as a journalist, promoted the 1911 revolution that overthrew the Qing. Pan was on the art staff of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, which in 1913 moved its headquarters from Hong Kong to Shanghai. Over the years, Pan would retain contacts with calendar advertisement poster artists and around 1925 invited the leaders in this field to pose for a group photograph with him (figure 6.4). Pan introduced Zheng to his artist friend Gao Jianfu, another revolutionary in many areas, political and artistic. Gao, a traditional-style artist from Guangzhou, studied Western art and drawing in Japan and advocated the blending of Chinese and Western art.²¹ He and his brother, Qifeng, were involved in several commercial enterprises, including a printing shop and the Esthetic Bookstore, which, among other items, sold printed copies of paintings. In 1914 Gao Jianfu inscribed Zheng's

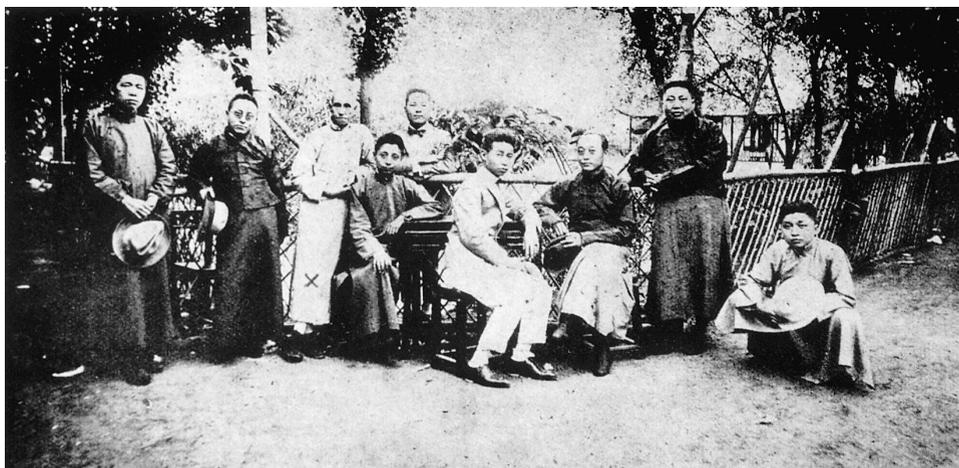


FIGURE 6.4. Photographer unknown. Calendar poster artists and other artists with Pan Dawei; from left to right: Zhou Bosheng, Zheng Mantuo, Pan Dawei (marked "X"), Ding Song, Li Mubai, Xie Zhiguang, Ding Yunxian, Zhang Guangyu, ca. 1925.
After *Shanghai manhua* 74 (September 21, 1929), 7.

Evening Makeup, recording that Zheng painted the picture several years earlier and had hidden it in his trunk, not showing it to anyone until he met the Gaos.²² The Gaos were sufficiently impressed with Zheng's *Evening Makeup* to reproduce it through their Es-thetic Bookstore.

Another early work by Zheng depicts a stylish young woman in a contrived and provocative pose (figure 6.5). She rests her upper arms on the back of a draped chair, one leg, with a natural-sized foot in a slipper is bent under her body and supported by the chair seat; the other leg is extended toward the floor. Her head is tilted downward as is her gaze. In a daringly seductive gesture, a spray of flowers is positioned in her lap. The pose approximates the "crossed legs" of courtesans.²³ This work must have been done in or before 1914, because that is the date of Gao Qifeng's inscription on it. The differences between this sensual woman and her colleagues in *Evening Makeup* and *Girl on the Telephone* are remarkable. Although the head is still somewhat large, the ungainly proportion, the gawky pose, the stilted gesture, have all disappeared. Zheng Mantuo evidently received tutoring in the niceties of accurate, realistic composition and drawing. Something had happened to transform Zheng's incompetent attempts at depiction into a polished art. Possibly because of his contact with the artistically sophisticated Gaos, Zheng's art was suddenly energized into a new style, graceful and charming. Zheng's rendition of a partial figure of a woman without background continued an old Chinese painting tradition but was a first for advertising posters.

In 1914 Zheng Mantuo's artistry was so esteemed by Gao Jianfu that Gao collaborated with Zheng. In *Silver Bank, Autumn Water* Gao rendered the tree trunk and the fluttering leaves; Zheng painted the woman leaning against the tree trunk (plate 10). Her facial expression is alert but veiled. Gao Jianfu wrote the following poem on this picture:



FIGURE 6.5. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Seated Girl*. Inscription by Gao Jianfu dated 1914. After Yi Bin, ed., *Lao Shanghai guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 25.

Silver bank and autumn waters, jade-like swaying gracefully
 Frosty leaves toss red, going out to the vastness
 How many desires inscribed in a poem, and sent to the Liao Sea
 Only hoping with the flowing water, to go to his side.

Two years later this picture was published by the Gao's Esthetic Bookstore.²⁴

The Gaos must have encouraged Zheng Mantuo to acquire a more attractive and realistic approach to figure depiction. The lovely woman standing near a blossoming shrub, a convention in traditional Chinese painting, became one of Zheng's signature poster images.

The Gao brothers were briefly involved with the magazine *Xiaoshuo congbao* (Thicket of fiction), inaugurated in May 1914. The cover of the third issue had a landscape by Gao Jianfu and a figure painting by his younger brother, Jianseng (1894–1916). The covers of issues five, six, and seven were by Zheng Mantuo, who was introduced by Gao Qifeng.²⁵ This exposure furthered Zheng's artistic career. Zheng became a highly

visible painter of beautiful women for covers of romance magazines as well as for calendars offered as subscription gifts and as premiums. That a picture was by Zheng was often announced in advertisements for these magazines (sometimes using characters larger than the remainder of the text) indicating the power of his name.

In February 1915, the Shanghai Guohua Bookstore (Shanghai Guohua Shuju) offered a full-color calendar depicting a full-length beauty by Zheng for the purchase of one yuan's worth of their own books or for two yuan's worth of books from other publishers.²⁶ The following year, Zheng's pictures of beautiful women ("just like calendar posters" and "suitable to be hung in the study or the women's inner quarters") were offered in the Shanghai Guohua Bookstore's New Year's sales campaign.²⁷ In March 1915 a new short-story journal, emulating *Thicket of Fiction*, was launched by the Shanghai Guohua Bookstore, titled *Xiaoshuo xinbao* (New fiction journal).²⁸ An advertisement for the second issue proclaimed that in response to the enthusiastic reception to the first issue, the publishers especially asked "the famous contemporary artist" Zheng Mantuo for two pictures of beautiful women to be offered to new subscribers.²⁹ A full-year subscription to *New Fiction Journal* deserved both paintings, a half-year subscription, one painting. Purchasers of individual issues would receive a colored voucher, and anyone who accumulated ten vouchers could redeem them for a painting. The titles of these two paintings by Zheng give some idea of their content: *Two Beauties Reading a Letter among Flowers* and *Two Beauties Chatting by a Red Window*. In addition, anyone who took a year's subscription to the journal was entitled to two calendar posters by Zheng, and those who subscribed for half a year, to one calendar poster by Zheng. In early 1916 Zheng's calendar posters of nude women were offered as subscription bonuses for the romance-story journal *Meiyu* (Eyebrow signals), published from October 1914 until March 1916.³⁰ Zheng Mantuo was not the only artist to provide pictures of nudes offered to subscribers: such pictures by Dan Duyu (1896–1972) were also considered effective in attracting new subscribers; Dan's work is described as "truly capturing the spirit of Western painting."³¹

In addition to the calendar posters, Zheng Mantuo contributed cover pictures for *Eyebrow Signals*, as well as for two other romance fiction journals: *Shuangxing* (Double star), which published only four issues, between March 1915 and June 1916, and *Chunsheng* (Spring voices), which published only six issues, between January and June 1916.³² Available records do not reveal the subjects of these covers, but many must have been of nude women, for in June 1916, a lawsuit was brought against Zheng Mantuo to prevent him from painting nudes. The text of the suit was published in *Shibao* under the title "Women Painters Sue to Prohibit Painting Master Mantuo from Painting Nudes." As summarized by Julia Andrews, the suit "criticizes Zheng for painting naked women for the delectation of frivolous young men, converting pure bodies into salacious ones, and thereby bringing shame and humiliation to women," asserting that Chinese womanhood was being sullied. It was requested that Zheng be "summoned to the court, be properly punished, and ordered to never again paint [naked] women."³³ The outcome of this accusation is unknown, but it did little to stem the tide of images of naked women in the media or have an adverse effect on Zheng's career.

As described in chapter 5, a common advertising gimmick was the incorporation of product packages into the central image. Zheng Mantuo's calendars for the Fook On Assurance and Godown Company of Hong Kong (Xianggang Fuan Renshou Shuihuo Baoxian Jian Huocang Youxian Gongsì) and for the Japanese Lion Brand Tooth Powder (Shizi Laopai Yafen) follows this basic concept. For his 1919 Fook On Assurance Company calendar, Zheng places an insurance policy envelope on a table; one of the two young women plays a musical instrument, suggesting that knowing about the insurance policy makes their happiness secure.³⁴ Outside, a pair of swallows flits through the blossoming shrub, presumably to their nest in the eaves, omens "of approaching success, or a prosperous change in the affairs of the owner or occupant of the premises."³⁵ When they make nests in the eaves of a house, swallows symbolize success, happiness, and children, as well as foretelling the approaching marriage of someone in the household.³⁶ Zheng's Fook On Assurance Company poster was for a Hong Kong company, but it was actually printed in Shanghai at the Commercial Press by means of chromolithography and was brightened by discreet application of gold on the borders, on unobtrusive curved ornaments, and elsewhere.

In Zheng's second calendar incorporating depictions of the product into the main image, an assortment of toothpastes and powders manufactured by the Japanese Lion Brand Tooth Powder firm is on a boudoir dresser.³⁷ A young lady holds a box of tooth powder in one hand and a toothbrush in the other. Here and in the Fook On Assurance poster, the women are in half-figure. Although the woman in the Lion Brand Tooth Powder poster advertises a dentifrice, her lips are closed, rather than parted to show the benefits of using this tooth powder. The women depicted in advertisement calendar posters of this era and well into the 1920s never have smiling faces, always appearing somewhat solemn, if not stern.

The women in these posters are dressed in the fashion of the day: tubular trousers and either a long coat or a short jacket cut square at the bottom. These upper garments fasten down the right side and have high, stiff collars that reach to just below the chin. Their hair is often parted in the center with a wide flange of hair at either side, an arrangement known as swallowtail, for obvious reasons. Round-toed, low-heeled or heel-less, soft slippers are on their natural-sized feet.

Zheng's pictures of modern women impressed people with their lifelike qualities, and viewers declared that the eyes of the women followed as one moved and that it seemed the women might respond to one's call. On certain prints, Zheng dotted the eyes with shiny dark lacquer.³⁸ It is rumored that when Zheng went to the movies, before the film started he would smile at a lovely girl nearby. He then mentally recorded her reaction and the next day, if he saw an advertisement in the newspaper from the Commercial Press soliciting drafts for *yuefenpai*, he would immediately paint the girl's expression.³⁹ The Commercial Press would eventually pay Zheng three hundred yuan for each calendar poster, whereas Zhou Muqiao had received a mere twenty-five.⁴⁰ Other sources say Zheng charged five hundred yuan for the first figure and one hundred for each additional figure.⁴¹

By 1919 Zheng was an established artist, one of a handful in the Commercial Press

Guide to Shanghai, where his speciality is listed as “Western painting” and his address is given as on Zhifu Street, near Guizhou Road.⁴² Although primarily working in Western techniques, Zheng also studied traditional Chinese painting with Zhao Ziyun (Yunhe, 1873–1955); from Suzhou, Zhao was himself a disciple of one of the most famous traditional Chinese painters of the early twentieth century, Wu Changshi (1844–1927).⁴³ It is said that Zheng Mantuo made paintings for Chen Diexian, the “Butterfly Immortal,” author of love stories known as “mandarin-duck-and-butterfly literature” and that these paintings were often inscribed by Chen.⁴⁴ In 1915, the year of the notorious Japanese “Twenty-one Demands,” a boycott against Japanese products effectively stopped the market for Japanese goods, including the popular Lion Brand Tooth Powder. Chen took advantage of this to promote his Peerless Facial and Tooth Powder (Wudipai Camian Yafen), which eventually overpowered the Japanese Lion Brand. Chen Diexian paid dearly for this feat when the Japanese deliberately bombed and totally destroyed his factory in the late 1930s.⁴⁵ Chen gave up writing to manufacture a hand cream known as Butterfly Frost, soap, and, eventually, cement. At his death he owned forty-two factories.⁴⁶ Whether Zheng Mantuo’s paintings for Chen Diexian were of the personal scroll type or meant to be commercial advertisements is unclear. Chen wrote an inscription on one of Zheng’s calendar posters to be discussed below.

Zheng Mantuo was a man-about-town. In his reminiscences of Shanghai, Chen Dingshan (1897–1989), Chen Diexian’s son, recalls that in 1920 Zheng formed an alliance with a beautiful prostitute noted for her private courtyard residence and for riding around town soliciting customers in a vehicle decorated in silk and copper.⁴⁷ Zheng used her as a model for his *yuefenpai*. The calendar posters sold very well and had made him famous, thus there was public interest in knowing who the model was. Previously, his models had been high-class courtesans, and when it was discovered that his new model was a street prostitute, even members of the courtesan and prostitute world refused to sit for him and refused to buy his calendars. Merchants stopped commissioning advertisement calendars from Zheng, turning instead to those of his two followers, Xie Zhiguang and Zhou Bosheng. Zheng was forced to switch to Chinese landscape painting, and his income declined. This story is a trifle romantic, and since Zheng Mantuo was inept in landscape painting of any kind (indeed, as will be seen, another artist, Xu Yongqing, sometimes painted the landscape settings for Zheng’s figures), and considering the continued popularity of Zheng’s posters of fashionable women, the story must be accepted with caution. In another tale of Zheng Mantuo’s adventures in the land of prostitutes, preserved by Chen Dingshan, Zheng and Shen Bochen visited one of the brothels. When the madame brought the girls out for the customers to make a selection, Zheng, who was nearsighted and perhaps a bit short in stature (judging from his appearance in the group photograph, figure 6.4), jumped on a table to see better. Noticing a somewhat retiring girl hiding her face behind her sleeve, Zheng selected her. After the two retired to a side room, he discovered her face was disfigured with pockmarks. He wanted to make another selection, but house rules did not permit this; when he tried leave, the woman wouldn’t let him go. Finally, claiming he needed to go to the

bathroom, Zheng fled.⁴⁸ The irony, of course, is that Zheng, the creator of pictures of beautiful women, was snared by an ugly one.

In addition to his short collaboration with Gao Jianfu, Zheng Mantuo also collaborated briefly with another artist, who provided the landscape backgrounds for his figures. Xu Yongqing (1880–1953) was for a time closely associated with Zheng Mantuo, although their artistic careers followed different trajectories. Xu was a native of Songjiang in Jiangsu Province, born into the Fan family.⁴⁹ Orphaned, he entered the Jesuit orphanage at Xujiahui, in Shanghai, and took the new surname of Xu, the surname of the Ming dynasty's Roman Catholic grand secretary, Xu Guangqi, who brought the first Jesuit missionaries to Shanghai and on whose property the Shanghai Jesuits established their mission. There, Xu Yongqing studied oil painting and watercolor with Liu Bizhen. Xu became proficient in drawing, and his cartoons were published in local newspapers, bringing him to the attention of the Commercial Press.

Zheng Yimei reports that when Xu was at the Tushanwan Painting Studio, he learned to paint from copying models of religious figures. Xu's works were extremely stiff and stereotyped. After graduation, he was hired by the Commercial Press to prepare pictures for textbooks. Since Xu was in the habit of copying and had no creative capacity, Zheng Yimei wondered how this could come about. According to Zheng Yimei, Xu purchased old Western magazines at a used-goods shop on Beijing Road, tore out the pictures, and pasted them into a scrapbook, thereby creating a model copybook for himself. Zheng Yimei asserts Xu developed the skill of modifying the pictures with ease.⁵⁰

At the Commercial Press, one of Xu Yongqing's goals was to develop the press as a center of commercial art. He believed that if art was to be useful to society, it must be involved with printing. Thus the Commercial Press should not limit its art to illustrations for its own books and advertisements but should also champion commercial art by making and promoting advertisement calendar posters. Initially, the Commercial Press agreed with Xu's ideas, and its subsequent success in this arena could not have been achieved without Xu Yongqing. In 1913 the Press opened an art department school, with Xu at the head. The school nourished many important commercial artists. The first class included He Yimei (1894–1972) and Ling Shuren, and later, Hang Zhiying and Ni Gengye. Xu and the Japanese artist Odake Takunobu coauthored a six-volume manual of pencil-drawing models for middle school students, *Zhongxueyong qianbi huatie*. Its precise, realistic depictions of flowers, augmented by watercolor, were greatly admired.

Some at the Commercial Press disagreed with Xu's programs, and Xu, deficient in human-relations skills, was forced out in 1915, but not before his pictures of women appeared on the covers of the Commercial Press magazine for women, *Funü zazhi*. For the covers of this journal, Xu devised twelve watercolors depicting women's tasks and preoccupations: reading by a window, painting a picture, embroidering, picking mulberry leaves, picking tea leaves before the rain, washing silk, spinning, chopping vegetables, preparing medicine, twisting twine, sewing clothing, and weaving.⁵¹ The figures are barely competent and display little or no connection with the faces or poses seen in



FIGURE 6.6. Xu Yongqing (1880–1953), *Clinic Nurse*, 1915.
After *Funü zazhi* 9 (1915), front cover.

the model books used at the Tushanwan Painting Studio. The interior settings are rudimentary; the landscape backgrounds are more developed and accomplished. Since Xu was not genuinely adept at rendering the human form, the pictures are somewhat of an anomaly in his career. Xu's picture of a nurse preparing medicine in a Western clinic must have been copied from a Western picture, like those placed in windows of drugstores in the West, confirming Zheng Yimei's assertion that Xu copied pictures from Western magazines (figure 6.6).

After Xu Yongqing left the Commercial Press, he organized the Color Lithography Art Society (Wucaihui Shiyishushe). Details of speakers and election of officers for the 1917 meeting of this society, including the fact that a group photograph was taken in the Zhang Garden, were reported in *Shenbao*.⁵² In 1919 Xu Yongqing was an art editor

for *Shenbao*; his office, open in the afternoons, was in the Shenbao building, a more convenient location than his home in Xujiahui. He offered every type of artwork, as well as serving as an agent for printers. Accompanying the notice of his *Shenbao* office was another, advertising his art classes. These he taught out of his studio in Xujiahui, offering a three-year course, including pencil drawing, brush painting, pen drawing, rub-and-paint, watercolor, oil painting, and color lithography. His advertisement urged youths ambitious to specialize in pictures to send for registration forms.⁵³ One of Xu's students at the Xujiahui studio was Jin Meisheng.⁵⁴

According to Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, one of Xu's earliest calendar posters, *Carrying Kerosene to the Countryside*, suffers from an excessive commercialism and is "not worth looking at." Xu Yongqing's landscape *yuefengpai* of famous sites, however, such as Mt. Lu; the Leifeng Pagoda (Leifengta), on the shores of West Lake in Hangzhou; the Jinshan Temple (Jinshansi), on an island in the Yangzi River;⁵⁵ or the pagoda on Tiger Hill, in Suzhou (plate 11), were considered exceptional. Blending Western watercolors and oil-painting techniques to create a style totally different from the traditional Chinese "literati" landscape, he recorded the appearance of these famous monuments so accurately that they can easily be identified today. Several Xu Yongqing landscapes are of Buddhist temples, suggesting he did not totally subscribe to the Christian instruction he must have received at Xujiahui. This is reinforced by inscriptions on Xu's landscapes by Wang Yiting (Wang Zhen, 1867–1938). Wang, a highly successful businessman, was a student of Wu Changshi and extremely active in the Shanghai art world. Wang held strong Buddhist beliefs and in later life became a devout Buddhist.⁵⁶ Xu Yongqing's 1924 Tiger Hill advertising calendar was for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco and, as part of their continuing campaign against the inroads made by foreign cigarette companies, includes the plea: "Please use domestically produced tobacco."

Xu Yongqing had multiple art interests. In 1919, along with Yan Wenliang and others, he was a founding member of one of the most successful annual exhibitions of art in China: the Art and Painting Competition Society (Meishuhua Saishe), hosting the competitions held in Suzhou the first two weeks of the new year, hanging all media, including Chinese-style painting, oil painting, watercolor, and works in pen, pencil, crayon, charcoal, lacquer, embroidery, and photography. It continued annually until 1933.⁵⁷ Xu Yongqing was also an accomplished photographer.⁵⁸

After Xu Yongqing left the Commercial Press, in 1915, the mantle of responsibility for the art department fell to his former student He Yimei. He Yimei came from impoverished circumstances, wore tattered garments, and was often taunted by others because of this. However, he persevered, and after seven years at the Commercial Press, he became well-known for his calendar posters. In 1922 He Yimei was invited to Hong Kong, where he was employed by the Yongfa Company (Yongfa Gongsi).

Since Zheng Mantuo was competent at figures but inept in depicting scenery, whereas Xu Yongqing was proficient at scenery but inferior in rendering figures, the two men began to collaborate on advertising posters for Nanyang Brothers and other tobacco companies. The collaboration debuted in 1921, but was short lived. Two examples of this association are discussed here. One calendar was prepared for the Dachang To-

bacco Company.⁵⁹ The banner and roses at the top and the style of clothing worn by the two girls indicate a date of around 1920 for the poster; one girl points to the cigarette packages in the right-hand border. The figures are well integrated into the Chinese garden setting, which moves easily from the foreground into the distance. It is beautifully rendered in exceptional detail, quite different from the perfunctory gardens so often encountered in advertisement posters. Xu Yongqing's background implies a narrative: the girls climb a small, gently winding stone stair with handrail, up to their rocky perch; in their tour, they will admire the fall foliage, the arched bridge, the small kiosk, and perhaps even the distant pagoda, serving as "borrowed scenery" that every properly designed Chinese garden should incorporate, and finally the hazy hill on the far horizon.

The calendar is inscribed by Tiantai Shannong, the alternate name of Liu Qing (1878–1932), well known in the world of romance fiction and a noted calligrapher. Liu was a native of Huangyan in Zhejiang Province; his father died when Qing was seven, and family life was bitter. After his basic education, he studied calligraphy and, on moving to Shanghai, began to compose fiction. Liu wrote a few romance stories but relied heavily on editorial work with romance-literature journals. Because his calligraphic hand was appreciated, he was also in demand to write in artistic styles the title pages of journals and books.⁶⁰

A second collaborative effort between Zheng Mantuo and Xu Yongqing was the 1923 poster for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company (plate 12). Zheng's girl poses, chin in one hand, on the low bank of a brook; a breeze gently wafts the hem of her soft, pale blue skirt to one side. She wears white shoes and stockings. As is common in Zheng's compositions, immediately behind the girl are a leafy shrub and a tree trunk. The autumnal bronze and yellow of the shrub and the irregularities of the stream bank are rendered with great skill by Xu, as are the girl's shadow, the gentle slope of the mid-ground, and the far-distant bank and gray hills in the back. Xu's accomplished watercolor landscape is a rich background complementing the muted presentation of the young girl.

Long before Xu Yongqing followed He Yimei to Hong Kong, the collaboration between Zheng and Xu had ended. It is unclear when Xu moved to Hong Kong. One source says 1929.⁶¹ Zheng Yimei, however, claims that Xu's house was near the Shanghai North Railroad Station and that when this area was bombed by the Japanese in 1932, Xu's house, because it was right along the railroad line, burned to the ground. Zheng asserts that Xu had no resources and became a wanderer and Zheng lost track of him.⁶² It is reasonable to assume that if this story is true, Xu Yongqing might have moved permanently to Hong Kong after this disaster. There are two versions of Xu's life in Hong Kong. The first, by Jack Lee, tells an optimistic story. In 1932 Xu Yongqing was employed on an art-and-design project with a Hong Kong printing firm. In March 1933 he organized a drawing class in West Point in Hong Kong and held a one-man show in the Central District of Hong Kong. A contemporary critic commented that Xu's deliberate use of simple lines in his watercolors was designed for ease in printing. In the late 1930s Xu moved his studio to the Wanzhai section of Hong Kong. His watercolor

and calendar pictures were displayed outside to attract students and to promote his drawing class. He charged a very high fee of approximately five dollars; nonetheless, many young people studied with him.⁶³ The second account, recorded by Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, is less sanguine. In Hong Kong, Xu worked for the Huayi Printed Metal Can Factory (Huayi Yintie Zhiguan Chang) as their art consultant. He instructed students in Western art techniques, in his private studio. Xu yearned for a one-man show and worked hard to produce art for it. When his exhibition was coolly received, he became dispirited and began neglecting his teaching; students drifted away, and he fell on hard times. Xu's former student He Yimei often provided financial support.

When the landscape backgrounds for Zheng Mantuo's posters were not by Xu Yongqing, other artists must have helped out, perhaps some on the staff of the press that printed the calendar; in other instances, it is evident that Zheng himself essayed a minimal natural setting. Zheng produced many calendar advertisement pictures depicting one or two young ladies in a variety of outdoor settings, both Chinese and Western gardens. These landscapes, clearly by lesser artists than Xu Yongqing, monotonously repeat a few components: flights of massive stone steps, moon gates, and pagoda eaves. Rarely were these elements recast into truly new settings. In a few instances the landscape is so inept as to suggest that Zheng himself provided it. Two of these have a girl seated on a rock or on a fence in front of blossoming trees.⁶⁴ Between her and some distant low hills, there is no landscape to speak of, for the ground is barely suggested by a generalizing color wash.

The girl-and-tree formula, for which the prototype is the 1914 picture painted in collaboration with Gao Jianfu (plate 10), was most successful when Zheng omitted any landscape setting, as in the 1924 calendar for the Tai Woo Dispensary (Shanghai Taihe Dayaofang; plate 1). A modern girl stands holding an open fan in front of the tree whose branches are delicate and curving, as is the maiden; she coyly tilts her head and partly shields herself with her fan. Zheng kept up with feminine fashions. In the early 1920s, stylish women's dress, as seen in the Tai Woo poster, consisted of a blouse with rounded hem and three-quarter-length sleeves flared at the cuffs into a bell shape. These were worn with gathered calf-length skirts of Western style. Light-colored low-heeled Western leather shoes have straps of contrasting color over the instep and around the edges. The hairdo mimics that in fashion in the West, where the hair was done up in braids wound over the ears; in the United States, these buns over the ears were popularly known as "earphones" or in more disparaging terms, "cootie garages."⁶⁵ "Earphones" were worn with bangs over the forehead. Zheng's girls have the appearance of a Western schoolgirl.

Propelled by the constant need for novelty in the world of advertisement and by the competition of other poster artists who began to put their talents on the market (artists like Xie Zhiguang, the staff at BAT, and members of the Hang Zhiying Studio), Zheng Mantuo had to invent new themes. To meet his own daily economic needs, Zheng also had to produce pictures, and in large numbers. It is understandable that he relied on accepted formulae, including some of those noted above.

Although based in Shanghai, Zheng Mantuo's Guangzhou and Hong Kong connec-

tions through the Gao brothers and Pan Dawei paid off. Throughout the 1920s, Zheng spun variations on the two-girl posters for the Hong Kong cosmetic firm, always adhering to their standard formula of two pretty women in the center of a landscape, edged with depictions of product bottles and packages and multitudes of flowers as blossoming trees or as border ornaments. Pan Dawei himself designed calendar pictures in Hong Kong; there he also opened a photography studio, named Baoguang, on Wellington Street, and in 1927 he commissioned Zheng Mantuo to make a calendar print for his photography business. The calendar was reproduced as part of an advertisement for Pan's business, placed in *Chinese Mail* in 1927.⁶⁶ Zheng's girl, posed next to a flowering tree by a stream, is simply a variant of the stock composition he so frequently employed.⁶⁷ Perhaps also when he was in Hong Kong, Zheng created a Guangshenghang calendar for 1928 (figure 6.7). The two girls wear the latest vogue. The girl on the left is in an ensemble of a long, sleeveless dress over a blouse; the girl on the right wears the newly fashionable, single-piece garment, the *qipao*, falling loosely in an A-shape entirely hiding feminine curves. The garments of both young women have right-side closings and high collars; the sleeves are still three-quarter length, but the flaring cuff is now accentuated with wide bands of decoration or ruffles. The most dramatic change is the hemline, which has dropped to the ankle, its ornamentation matching that on the cuffs. While the *qipao* silhouette is based on the traditional Chinese men's long robe (or as some modern scholars see it, the Manchu woman's long robe), as is the side closing and the high collar, the accentuated hem and especially the zigzag hem are Chinese accommodations of Western uneven hemline treatments, popular around 1922 for evening gowns.⁶⁸ The loose-fitting bodice of the Chinese *qipao* agrees perfectly with the Western flat-chested flapper ideal. The Chinese girls' faces are framed by hair cut in a short bob ending in points below the ears and bangs over the forehead. Chinese women were fascinated by bangs, giving them poetic names, such as "character for the number one," for hair cut in a straight horizontal, resembling the written character for the number one (as worn by the girl on the right); or "hanging silk," in which the bangs fell down the center of the forehead (somewhat like that seen on the girl on the left); or "star-studded sky" to describe very short bangs, which, like twinkling stars "when seen from a distance, it was as if they were there, and then not there."⁶⁹ The latest Western hairstyles were promoted by the sale of hairstyle picture cards and by photographs and drawings of hairstyles in the print media.⁷⁰ New fabrics are also apparent in the clothing of the two Chinese girls. Materials with scattered delicate floral sprigs have been replaced by textiles with overall patterns of large blossoms amidst curling tendrils or other swirling forms.

The large number of mundane pictures in Zheng's oeuvre make his more original, and sometimes unique, creations stand out with great clarity.

In keeping with his reputation for rendering pictures of women at their private lives, two of Zheng Mantuo's calendars from the early twenties are of interest because both are inscribed with poems. His 1922 *Spring Bath* (figure 6.8) is a direct descendant of Yang Guifei (figure 6.1). Instead of a palatial setting, the young woman, lethargic after her warm bath, relaxes in her modern bathroom. Her white and pink robe slips off one



FIGURE 6.7. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Two Girls*, advertisement calendar poster for Kwong Sang Hong (Guangshenghang) for 1928. After Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 21.

shoulder, not quite exposing one breast as she sits idly on a stool, her dress and black stockings carelessly thrown over the sofa and her high-heeled shoes on the red rug. Her head is slightly tilted, her gaze is listless, and her coiffeur is a bit disarranged. The title *Spring Bath* and the accompanying poem are inscribed by Tiantai Shannong (Liu Qing). The poem is dense with physical description in erotically charged clichés: jade flesh, rosy glow, spring thoughts (of love), orchid waves of the bath, delicately perfumed perspiration dripping off soft breasts. The theme has no connection with the tea company (Tiantai Hengcha Zhuang) that ordered the poster as gifts to its customers.



FIGURE 6.8. Zheng Mantuo (1888–1961), *Spring Bath*, advertisement calendar poster for Tiantai Heng Tea Company for 1922. After Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi, *Aomen zazhi* 8 (1999), 19.

Another Zheng Mantuo woman in a modern Western bedroom, complete with dresser and mirror, floor lamp, sofa framed with white wood, and a cabriole-legged table, holds a partially folded fan and sits quietly on her pink sofa (plate 13). The poem was inscribed by another famous calligrapher Gao Yong (1850–1921). Gao was a native of Hangzhou but lived in Shanghai. He held a minor government position in Suzhou. In 1908 he and several other artists established the Yuyuan Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association (Yuyuan Shuhua Shanhui). Among the goals of this group was that all work, except calligraphy, be collaborative. Half of the sale price reverted to the artists, half was invested in a Chinese-style bank, and the interest was used for charitable purposes. Gao also sold his calligraphy for his livelihood.⁷¹ The poem Gao in-

scribed above Zheng Mantuo's picture has a different emphasis from that in the poem written by Liu Qing for the Yang Guifei spin-off. In Gao's poem, the images, rooted in ancient poetry, especially that known as "palace poetry," are those associated with the deserted woman: sitting in her fine apartment, where the chill autumn west wind (betokening the cooling of a love relationship that had warmed in the springtime) easily enters, and so the fan, no longer needed, is replaced in its box. The cast-off fan refers to "Favorite Beauty Ban," of the first century B.C., replaced in the emperor's heart by another; venting her anger in a poem, she likened herself unto a discarded fan, useless in autumn.⁷² Again, the subject has nothing to do with the product advertised, Nanyang Brothers Tobacco's Patriot brand cigarettes.

Zheng Mantuo created yet another after-the-bath scene, this time actually including a view into the bathroom opening off the bedroom, where a woman in her bathrobe relaxes with her son nearby. As in the *Spring Bath* picture, garments have been carelessly shed on floor and armchair. At least three versions of this scene are extant, not unusual in the calendar poster world. In one, three pictures hang on the wall, and a flowering plant in a ceramic pot is in front of the boudoir standing-screen. In another, two of the pictures on the wall are gone, and the flowering plant is replaced by a small stand on which has been placed a packet of cigarettes, and a cigarette smoldering in an ashtray; and the third is a duplicate of the second one, but has an inscription by Chen Diexian.⁷³

An undated picture advertisement for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company's Patriot brand cigarettes, has neither prototype nor parallel in Zheng's oeuvre.⁷⁴ A woman is wearing a pink dress with a fashionable irregular hem known as a handkerchief hemline, with the flying panel at one side. The dress style is based on French designs such as those by the flamboyant and inventive designer Erté. The woman's hair is in the severe Eton cut, and on her feet are strap pumps. This thoroughly Western Chinese lady sits on the edge of a Western-style fountain on the grounds of a Western-style mansion. She holds a photograph she has just received; its envelope lies on the ground. That the photo is of her lover is intimated by the cupid atop the fountain who aims his arrow in her direction. Part of the message inscribed in the lower panel urges patriotic people to smoke "national products," a common plea in posters from the Chinese-owned Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company. Apparently, no one at the firm noticed the discrepancy between the visual message, so heavy with imported Western culture, and the written message urging rejection of imported foreign goods. On another level, perhaps they only saw two types of love, one between man and woman, *airen* for "lover," and between man and nation, *aiguo* for "patriotic." Zheng's innocent young schoolgirl of the early twenties has become a sophisticated, mature lady.

Among Zheng Mantuo's more striking advertisement posters are those depicting dance hall "hostesses" dancing together. Social dancing, of course, had long been a part of Western cultural life, and Westerners living in Shanghai enjoyed this pastime. After 1922, dance halls opened for Chinese clientele: the Black Cat Dance Hall (Heimao Wuting) on Tibet Road, the Moon Palace (Yuegong Wuting) and the Great China (Laodahua Wuting) on North Sichuan Road, the Lido (Lidao Wuting) on Ningbo Road being the most famous. The ballrooms featured small bands and taxi dancers who

charged customers per dance. There were also dance halls in the big department stores.⁷⁵ Dance halls were frequented by men who sought not only entertainment, but also sexual favors from the hostesses. The Chinese government generally disapproved of the dance hall activities, and Western social dancing got a mixed reception among the Chinese; the presentation of hostesses in the press ranged from innocent and mistreated to evil, greedy seductresses.⁷⁶ In the spring of 1929, the Tianjin newspaper *Beiyang huabao* reported that the rage in Shanghai was for two women to dance together as partners, and confirmed this by publishing three photographs of such same-sex couples (plate 14).⁷⁷

Zheng's large-scale dancers occupy the composition front and center and are notable for the fact that they, and the other pairs, are not immobile, but in action. One couple dances the Charleston (plate 15); the other, the tango (plate 16). Neither poster is dated, but the approximate date can be ascertained on the basis of the fashionable dresses: a compendium of French high style current between 1925 and 1927. As early as 1923, sleeveless evening dresses with the waistline dropped to the hip, accented by a fabric bow, and "handkerchief" panels creating irregular hemlines were introduced into the fashion world. Most of these details did not become popular for a few years. In 1926, skirts were still gathered at the waist, and the side draping was held by large fabric bows or flowers. In the beige and brown dress worn by one of the tango partners, this arrangement has been designed directly into the pattern of the dress. Wrap-around plant motifs, similar to that on the red dress worn by the other tango partner, were promoted in fashions in 1925. The diamond-shaped design of the bodice and the true fabric drape held by a flower seen in the dress worn by a dancer in the tango scene might have been derived from a similar frock from 1925 done up in silver lamé and peacock blue chiffon. By 1926 plunging V-shaped necklines were cut from the backs of evening gowns. The coiffeurs are late-1920s in style. In 1926 there appeared the most severe of hairstyles for women: the Eton crop. Hair was shingled all around the head and shaved at the nape of the neck; exposed ears permitted the display of long, drop earrings. This hair and jewelry style is worn by several of the female dancers. But by 1928 hair shingled at the back was softened by finger waves over the crown of the head and Spanish-style spit curls over the cheek, exactly as worn by the tango dancer dressed in red.⁷⁸ Most instructive, however, are French fashion illustrations dating from 1927 (plate 17), which could almost have been a model for Zheng's dancer's clothing. The particulars of the dance halls: a band shell sheltering an orchestra playing Western instruments, elegant pilasters, half columns, arched windows, and paneled walls suggest dance halls of some pretension; certain details resemble those of the Great China Ballroom.⁷⁹ Architectural components and the pair of mixed-gender dancers in one picture might have been copied from photographs. One poster advertises Nanyang Brothers Tobacco products; the other, textiles woven by the Wuxi Maolun Silk and Satin Factory (Wuxi Maolun Chouduan Zhuang). While there is little connection between tobacco and dancing to justify the former poster, the association with fabrics for the latter is effective, since the dancers showcase fashionable attire.

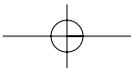
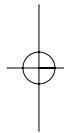
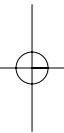
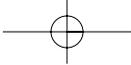
Apparently Zheng Mantuo stopped making calendar posters in the early 1930s. Later

he moved to Chongqing where he had a one-man exhibition of his art. Plagued, since a youth, with poor eyes, Zheng became extremely nearsighted. In 1947 he developed senile dementia and had to put down his brush.⁸⁰ He died in 1961.⁸¹ In 1941, when Japanese troops moved into Hong Kong, Xu Yongqing and He Yimei returned to Shanghai, where the Japanese mostly controlled the city, and the need for calendar advertisement posters was minimal. Xu spent the time of the War against Japan in Nationalist-held territories: Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangxi, and Guangdong; at the conclusion of hostilities, he returned to Hong Kong and then moved to Qingdao to reside with his second son. Xu Yongqing died there in 1953.⁸²

It is rare to have a eulogy for a commercial artist, but a brief one was written by the Shanghai writer Zheng Yimei. He noted that Zheng Mantuo recalled the message the Song dynasty poet Su Dongpo sent from exile on Hainan island and had a seal made that read “Mantuo will not die,” meaning that his art would live for ever. Zheng Yimei claimed that he and Zheng Mantuo often corresponded and Zheng Mantuo always used this seal to close his letters. Writing in the early 1990s, Zheng Yimei recalled “more than thirty years have passed and his likeness and smiling face still flutter in my breast. Recently a friend mailed me Zheng’s painting price list. It gave separate prices for oil portraits and watercolor portraits. It is evident Zheng did not take his art lightly.”⁸³

Given Zheng Mantuo’s meager artistic training when young, it must have been through dogged perseverance that he developed as a painter to compete successfully with other calendar poster artists for his share of the market. Understandably, the quality of Zheng Mantuo’s output was very uneven. His frequent use of established compositional formula enabled him to meet deadlines and earn a living, and simultaneously allowed him precious time to work on unique but more demanding and time-consuming pictures, such as the girl by the cupid fountain, or the dance hall hostesses.

Zheng Mantuo reputedly was very secretive about his techniques and pictorial ideas, refusing to let other calendar artists get a glimpse of his works in progress.⁸⁴ By the time Zheng Mantuo had firmly established himself as an artist in the early 1920s, others were already pushing into the foreground, including Xie Zhiguang, who would become Zheng’s major competitor.⁸⁵



CHAPTER SEVEN

Newspaper Advertisements, Advertisement Calendar Posters, and Chinese Paintings

Xie Zhiguang

Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976); (figure 7.1) simultaneously and successfully pursued multiple careers: designing advertisement calendar posters and hangers as well as newspaper advertisement pictures, and painting in Chinese style, thus bridging the very different worlds of commercial design and fine art. He was born in 1900, in Yuyao in Zhejiang Province, and as an adult his alternate name was Xuxuzhaizhu (Master of the Xuxu Studio). Xie occasionally romanized his name according to Shanghai pronunciation of the characters for Xie Zhiguang: T. K. Zia.¹

In contrast to the limited artistic education of Zheng Mantuo, Xie was exposed to a range of techniques, styles, and genres. In his early teens (perhaps at age fourteen) Xie was apprenticed to Zhou Muqiao in Shanghai.² The apprenticeship was unhappy. Required to tend young children in the Zhou family and to serve guests tea, Xie found little time to paint. Zhou, an opium addict and fond of listening to storytellers, often returned home too late at night to critique Xie's paintings. Despite these discouraging circumstances, Xie must have acquired from Zhou a solid foundation in line drawing and brushwork.

After two years Xie left Zhou to study with Zhang Yuguang (1885–1968). Zhang also hailed from Zhejiang Province, not from Xie Zhiguang's hometown, but Shaoxing.³ In Shanghai, Zhang lived on Xietu Street and had the alternate names of Yeouzhaizhu (Master of the Yeou Studio) and Haocangtou. Zhang was one of the most prolific, influential, and multitalented artists in early-twentieth-century Shanghai, being proficient in both Chinese painting and Western art. He followed Ren Bonian in Chinese painting and was self-taught in Western art. By the time Xie joined Zhang, Zhang was pursuing many different artistic talents, some of which would later be reflected in



FIGURE 7.1. Photographer unknown, “Xie Zhiguang and His Wife, Pan Jingyun.” After *Libailin* 151 (March 4, 1922), n.p.

Xie’s own career. Zhang’s professional life was marked by a succession of jobs. In 1904, he painted backdrops for a photography shop at the Huamei Drugstore (Huamei Yaofang). As mentioned earlier, realistic landscape, garden, and sometimes architectural interior backdrop scenes were basic equipment used in portrait photography. In 1905 Zhang taught Chinese painting at the Gaizhi Hall (Gaizhitang), run by natives of the city of Ningbo living in Shanghai, and in 1907, at the YMCA. In 1908 Zhang was again painting scenery, this time for the New Theater (Xin Wutai) in Shanghai. This theater, which opened on October 26, 1908, was the first designed for use by the reformed Beijing opera promoted by three Shanghai actors, Pan Yueqiao, Xia Yueshan, and Xia Yuerun (1878–1931), endeavoring to free Beijing opera from its customary performance spaces. Traditionally, Beijing opera was performed on a three-sided stage with no scenery and only a few, mostly symbolic, props. The New Theater, based on a Japanese model, had a revolving circular stage, lighting, and scenery. It was also used for spoken drama.⁴ Later Zhang would sculpt a bust of Xia Yueshan.⁵ From 1909 until

1911, a period of heightened anti-Manchu sentiment leading to the downfall of the Qing in 1911, Zhang contributed political cartoons to at least three partisan newspapers, *Minxu bao* (People sigh), *Minbu bao* (People cry), and *Minli bao* (People stand). His effective cartoons are smartly drawn with sprightly black lines (figure 7.2). In 1912 Zhang, along with Liu Haisu, founded the prestigious Shanghai Art Academy (Shanghai Meishu Zhuanke Xuexiao), where Zhang taught Western painting.⁶ He later taught at the Shanghai New China Arts School (Shanghai Xinhua Yishu Zhuanke Xuexiao) and at the Central University (Zhongyang Daxue) in Nanjing. Another of Zhang Yuguang's students to win fame and reputation in the Shanghai art world was Zhang Guangyu (1900–1965), about whom more will be said in chapter 8, on artists working for the British American Tobacco Company.⁷

From Zhang Yuguang, Xie Zhiguang learned stage design, and he created sets used in photographers' studios and in theaters. Later, Xie attended the Shanghai Art Academy, where, since Xie was needy, Zhang Yuguang arranged a work-study program for him.⁸ After graduation, Xie began his lengthy association with the Chinese tobacco companies for whom he made cigarette ads for several decades: Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company and, after 1929, with the Huacheng Tobacco Company.⁹ Xie was also associated with the Shengsheng Art Company (Shengsheng Meishu Gongsi). In all this, Xie found time to study traditional Chinese painting with Wu Changshi and with one of Wu's students, Zhao Ziyun (Yunhe).¹⁰

After Xie left Zhou Muqiao, there evidently was no rancor between the two men, for Zhou Muqiao contributed to a collaborative birthday painting for Xie's father. An elaborate undertaking, it included a portrait of Xie senior by Zhao Ousheng (a follower of Zhou Muqiao), a young boy carrying a lute by Zhou Muqiao himself, and two cranes by Zhang Yuguang; it had congratulatory inscriptions by seven other people, including the calligraphers Zhang Yanli (d. 1937) and Jian Jinglun (1888–1950), and from the publishing world, Wang Dungen and Bi Yihong.¹¹

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Xie Zhiguang conceived innumerable advertisements in line drawing and in color for insertion in newspapers and magazines, pictures for magazine covers, hundreds of advertisement calendar posters and hangers depicting both modern beauties and classical ladies, and untold numbers of Chinese-style paintings. Xie Zhiguang's vast pictorial oeuvre, combined with his constant self-promotion, permits us to know more about him than any other Chinese commercial artist active during the first half of the twentieth century. Only a limited account of his multifaceted artistic career is submitted here.

Xie Zhiguang and Zhang Guangyu were exactly the same age and began their professional careers together. In 1918, when they were both eighteen years old, they contributed to *Shijie huabao* (World pictorial), a journal that lasted only ten issues. Their mentor, Zhang Yuguang, also a contributor, perhaps obtained the commissions for his students. The very next year, Zhang Guangyu was the editor of *Huaji huabao* (Comic pictorial), another short-lived publication (only two issues) for which the same three men (Xie, Zhang Yuguang, and Zhang Guangyu) provided pictures. Xie and the Zhangs remained in constant demand as contributors to the ephemeral magazines that were



FIGURE 7.2. Zhang Yuguang (1885–1968), *Rice Buckets [greedy good-for-nothings]*, 1911.
After Wang Bomin, ed., *Jinxiandai meisbu*, vol. 7 of *Zhongguo meisbu tongshi*
(Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 259.

founded, and folded, in quick succession between 1918 and the early 1920s. Xie contributed covers to *Xinsheng zazhi* (New voices, 1921–1922), *Ban yue* (Semi monthly, 1922), *Qian qiu* (A thousand autumns, 1923), *Shehui zhi hua* (Flowers of society, 1924–1925), and *Zilanhua pian* (Fallen violet petals). It was not just cover pictures that were involved here, but photographs of the contributors and authors as well. A photograph of Xie appeared in *Ban yue* and again in *Libailiu* (Saturday, 1921–1923) along with that of Zhang Yuguang. *Jiating zazhi* (Household magazine, 1923–1924) went further by including photographs of Xie’s wife, the wife of Ding Song, and the wives and families of other contributing artists and authors.¹² Xie’s works appeared in a journal published from 1925 to 1931, *Lianyi zhi you* (Like-minded friends).¹³

By 1922 Xie Zhiguang had made numerous line-drawing advertisements for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco, placed in *Libailiu* and in *Shenbao*. *Libailiu* carried examples of his watercolor illustrations and of his Chinese-style paintings. These constitute an announcement of Xie’s artistic talents. Two photographs of him, also in *Libailiu*, are early indications of the self-promotion campaign he would pursue over the next two decades. In 1923 Xie was considered one of the most important contemporary artists working in Western style, along with Ding Song, Zhang Yuguang, and Zhang Guangyu.¹⁴

Although *Dianshizhai huabao* had sporadically printed pictorial advertisements, the practice became widespread in Chinese newspapers and journals only around 1910, and quickly a profusion of different art styles for advertisements emerged.¹⁵ A few are introduced here. In 1910 a technically polished portrayal of a robust Chinese man (possibly by someone named Fitzgerald) advertising “Dr. Williams’ Pink Pills for Pale People” was published in *Dongfang zazhi* (figure 7.3). The man is formally seated next to a table, a pose based on the current style for portrait photography. Evidently, when pub-

Agency, promoted newspaper and billboard advertisement and he insisted upon using images in advertising. Publicity literature for the advertising department of the Chun Mei News Agency stated, "No field of advertising is entered upon until it has been investigated. Our staff of Chinese who are familiar with Chinese marketing conditions, who know commercial China, have made this possible. Our staff of Chinese translators and artists assure you that no mistake will be made in the pictorial or worded appeal."¹⁶ Another Chun Mei advertisement claimed, "Advertising in the Chinese language is our special field. In the Chun Mei Agency have been assembled Chinese artists who know the type of illustrations which will appeal to their own people."¹⁷ In his essay "Advertising and Merchandising" Carl Crow insisted, "When all is said and done, there is only one rule which may be laid down for the preparation of copy, no matter whether it be for newspapers or posters, and that is that a picture of the product must be shown and, if possible, its uses illustrated. So large a proportion of the population being wholly illiterate, the ideal advertisement would be one complete in its picture without one word of text."¹⁸

Other advertising drawing styles are encountered in the Chinese press. In the unsigned 1920 advertisement for Tiger laundry soap, a woman hangs freshly laundered clothes on a line to dry; the power of the image derives from the juxtaposition of the large area of black of her dress to the large area of white of her apron.¹⁹ Her face, arms, and legs are defined with wide, even, black lines. Her facial features are barely indicated with dots. The neat drawing, the simplified, large bold shapes, and the elimination of detail can be associated with the art poster style all the craze in late-nineteenth-century France, England, and the United States.

By 1921 Carl Crow had expanded his business, now calling it Carl Crow, Inc. Confirmations of his advertisement credo are the advertisements for Colgate's Eclat toiletry products. In March 1921 two full-page advertisements for Colgate products in the newspaper *Shenbao* exhibited a new simplicity, clarity, and crispness in advertising imagery, whether it be the lady at her Western washstand holding up a towel and gazing at her reflection, or the elegant Chinese lady seated on a Western chair at her Western dressing table, holding various beauty aids (figure 7.4).²⁰ Carl Crow's logo of a sailing ship and the words "Carl Crow, Inc" appear in one corner, identifying these graceful advertisements as from his agency, although who designed them is unknown. The woman at her dressing table was reduced in size and placed on the same page with another advertisement showing an awkward woman stiffly holding aloft a jar of Three Stars face cream. In these circumstances, the superior artistic quality of Colgate's advertisement becomes immediately evident. Crow, himself, might have been responsible for bringing this elegant, sophisticated drawing style, redolent of Western art nouveau ideals, into China. It appealed to the Chinese audience, for it was adopted by several Chinese artists. In an advertisement published in June 10, 1921, the same Three Stars company that earlier used the awkward advertisement, had upgraded the artistic quality of its ads by using the new style for a depiction of a lady admiring herself in a hand mirror in her boudoir to advertise their toilet water. Her wide sash curls on the floor, echoing art

COLGATE'S

河而野子
化妝品天下
有名香皂香水
香粉香膏牙膏皆
以優美質料精製
顧者請認明英文商標
美商阿司利子公司製造

美 容 秘 訣

三 星 牌 雪 花 精

二號三角
大號三角
三號一角

進 化

美容有秘訣
肌膚宜潤澤
常用雪花精
面黃能轉白
觸鼻有奇香
嗅之自怡悅
寄語閩中人
此物不可缺

上海中國化學工業聯合公司啟

FIGURE 7.4. Top: *Lady at Her Dressing Table*, advertisement for Colgate products. Bottom: *Seated Woman*, advertisement for Three Stars face cream. After *Shenbao* (March 3, 1921), 9 (1983 photocopy 169:423).



FIGURE 7.5. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Man Smoking*, advertisement for Tower cigarettes, 1922. After *Libailiu* 193 (December 23, 1922), n.p.

nouveau ideas.²¹ In 1926 Zhang Dihan exploited this manner in his advertisements for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company.²²

In 1924 Carl Crow listed four Chinese in his art department: D. Doo, Y. C. Hsu, K. T. Yang, and, intriguingly, a T. K. Zia.²³ Thus, it is possible that Xie Zhiguang worked briefly for Carl Crow, although this is unconfirmed.

Throughout his career of designing newspaper advertisements, Xie Zhiguang mostly adhered to Carl Crow's credo; pictorial narrative is evident in all but a few of Xie's newspaper advertisements. Initially, Xie Zhiguang emulated his teachers' styles; later he would accept drawing modes and other techniques imported from the West.

A 1922 advertisement by Xie for Tower cigarettes, a brand manufactured by Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, simply depicts a man smoking a cigarette (figure



FIGURE 7.6. *Man Holding a Package of Cigarettes*, advertisement for China cigarettes, 1922. After *Shenbao* (July 7, 1921), 1 (1983 photocopy 171:121).

7.5), and appealed to patriots by assuring them that the cigarettes were made entirely of Chinese domestic materials, a phrase linked to the fierce competition between the two huge cigarette companies, the foreign-owned British American Tobacco Company and the Chinese-run Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, as well as to the frequent campaigns to boycott foreign goods.²⁴ The jagged lines of the sleeves rely on Zhou Muqiao's drawing style as used in his depictions of heroes for *Feiyingshe huabao* (figure 5.2). The positive impact of Xie Zhiguang's advertisement is evident when compared with a related, unsigned, advertisement for China brand cigarettes published that same year (figure 7.6). In Xie's dynamic composition, the tilted Tower cigarette package points to the grinning man enjoying a smoke along with his tea, his smile revealing his pleasure; in the static composition in the China cigarettes ad, the package is aligned parallel to



FIGURE 7.7. Top: Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), advertisement for Golden Horse cigarettes. Bottom: Anonymous, advertisement for Two Baby cigarettes. After *Shenbao* (September 19, 1921) (1983 photocopy 171:375).

the text section and the rectangular frame; the impassive man with an expressionless face stiffly points to the cigarette package he holds. In another comparison, a viewer understandably would be more attracted to Xie’s advertisement for Golden Horse cigarettes where a woman offers a man a can of cigarettes as they sit together in a banana grove than to the advertisement for Two Baby cigarettes where an ungainly woman gauchely puffs on a cigarette (figure 7.7). It is noteworthy that in 1921 women already were targeted as customers for cigarettes, although this particular image conveys no sense of any supposed benefits obtained from smoking.

Two of Xie’s line-drawing advertisements for Patriot brand cigarettes also manufactured by the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, appeared in the April 9 and May 17, 1921, issues of *Libailiu*. Both show figures in landscape settings: one is of a family feeding geese on a spring day; another, of two women conversing in a garden. These scenes and that in figure 7.7 recall the lifelike poses and detailed settings used by Zhou Muqiao in scenes for *Dianshizhai huabao* (figure 5.1).

Other pictorial advertisements by Xie Zhiguang in 1921 play on famous Chinese quotes. In one a waiter offering a tray of cigarettes to a gentleman says: “Sir (*jun*), do you know the finest Golden Horse cigarette? In social intercourse, one cannot for one day be without this gentleman (*jun*),” referring to the assertion by the bamboo-lover Wang Huizhi (d. A.D. 388) “How can I pass a day without this gentleman?”²⁵

In Xie Zhiguang’s advertisement for a cold-cream-and-toilet-water company (Shang-



FIGURE 7.8. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Girl Applying Perfume*, advertisement for Xiangya Company, 1921. After *Libailiu* 115 (June 25, 1921), n.p.

hai Xiangya Gongsì) placed repeatedly in newspapers and journals during 1921, an attractive girl holds a mirror and dabs fragrance on the back of her neck (figure 7.8). The line work, the black-and-white contrasts, and the sophisticated ambiance suggest a derivation from Colgate's lady, while the arm raised behind the head recalls the conventionally erotic gesture already a part of the popular-print tradition (figure 2.2).

Xie used this same convention for the cover of the June 25, 1921, issue of *Libailiu*, devoted to "love." The woman with her hand to the back of her head is about to be struck by Cupid's arrow; behind her is a heart (figure 7.9). Xie must have been influenced by the Western-art-poster movement characterized by large areas of unmodulated color; by simplified, flat forms; by images that extend beyond the frame; by ele-



THE SATURDAY No. 115 LOVE

FIGURE 7.9. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Love*. After *Libailiu* 115 (June 25, 1921), front cover.

gant hands and smiling faces, such as that published in 1895 as a sample from George D. Benedict and Company of Chicago (figure 7.10). Xie's cover girl, conveyed in large silhouetted forms and minimal detail, communicates through facial expression and pose a demeanor associated with the modern woman. It is strikingly different from anything Xie's mentors ever attempted.

As evident in these and other examples to be introduced later, for newspaper and journal advertisements, Xie would eventually shed his reliance on the indigenous Shanghai art style to follow more closely ever-changing foreign styles and commercial-art shortcut techniques.

In a watercolor by Xie Zhiguang of a Chinese girl playing the piano, published in the April 13, 1921, issue of *Libailiu*, the insistent lines of the rug, the piano stool, the key-



FIGURE 7.10 Advertisement for George D. Benedict and Company.
After *Inland Printer* 15, no. 2 (May 1895), 142.

board, and the wall, all moving toward a single vanishing point, give the picture the appearance of an art class exercise. Beyond this, however, is his evident ability to render objects in perspective as well as to portray a modern girl playing a Western musical instrument in a Western interior. The first steps in what was to be a long self-promotion program were the two photographs of Xie published in *Libailiu*. One is a small photograph of Xie in the upper left-hand corner of the scene of the piano player, hinting that he was already famous. The second photograph of Xie, this time with his wife, Pan Jingyun, was printed the very next year in *Libailiu* (figure 7.1). He looks very much the dandy, wearing a Western suit, tie, and hat, and carrying an overcoat, whereas his wife is dressed in conservative Chinese-style clothes.

At this time, Xie was already an accomplished artist in the Chinese style and two of



FIGURE 7.11. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Girl Holding Ken-i-kocho-jo Box*, advertisement calendar poster for Ken-i-kocho-jo Tablets for 1931, 78 × 54 cm. After Ng Chun Bong, et al., comps. *Chinese Woman and Modernity*, 26.

his Chinese-style paintings were reproduced in the August 6, 1921, issue of *Libailin*, one of a figure in a landscape, the other of Bodhidharma. Unfortunately, they are so poorly reproduced that little can be said about them.

Through this concentrated exposure in 1921 and 1922, Xie publicized the range of his talents: watercolors of pert cover girls and pretty girls in interiors, monochrome narratives in landscape settings for cigarette advertisements, and command of the traditional brush for his Chinese-style paintings. Also demonstrated were his dexterity in rendering landscape and interior settings, skills that would stand him in good stead for his advertisement calendar posters.

Xie Zhiguang's first advertisement poster (now lost) *Boats Rocking on West Lake* may have been rooted in his experience painting landscape backdrops for photography studios and the stage. It was printed in 1922 by the Commercial Press using collotype, a printing method permitting exceptional fidelity to the original painting. The print was distributed extensively and elicited widespread admiration; commercial establishments sought the artist's paintings, and others studied the special characteristics of his work.

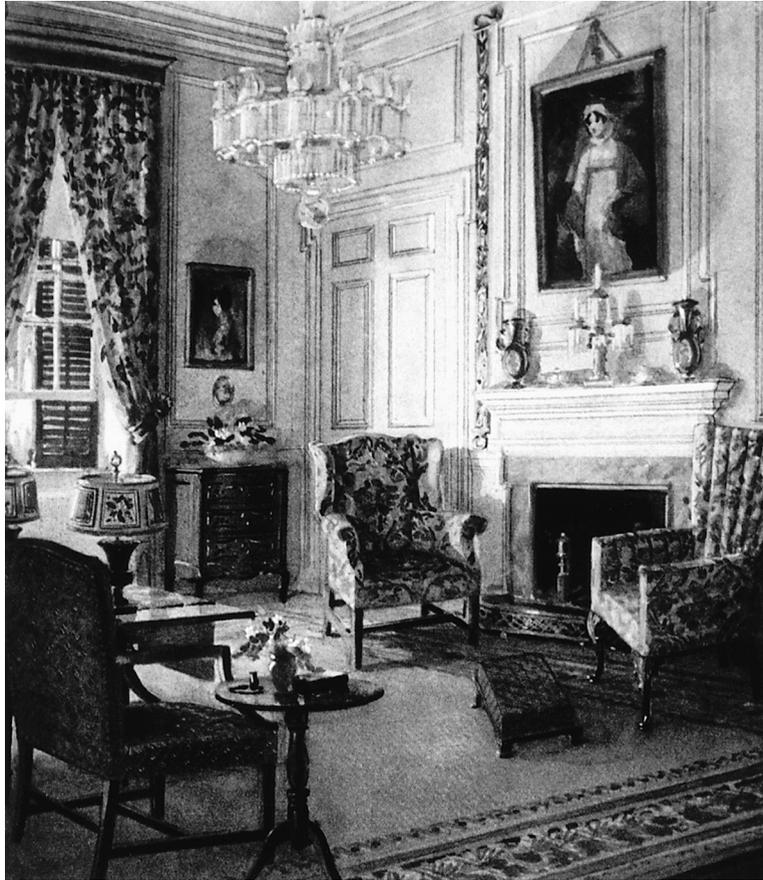


FIGURE 7.12. Advertisement for Karpen Furniture.
After *Ladies' Home Journal* (October 1928), 199.

However, life was not easy when Xie began his career. He received only three hundred yuan per poster, his “errand boy” (*paojie*) took two hundred yuan, and Xie spent more money on the socializing necessary to advance his career, leaving little cash for himself. After he became known, his financial situation improved.²⁶

During the 1920s Xie created a number of calendar posters depicting modern women in Western interior settings. Most have an aura of uncoordinated patchiness, as if the artist simply arranged pieces of Western furniture and decorative objects to occupy an interior space, not unlike the cumbersome arrangements of furniture in his 1921 picture of a girl playing the piano.²⁷ Around 1925 these settings become surprisingly coherent, pleasingly furnished Western living quarters, as Xie sometimes borrowed images of ideal Western interiors envisioned by American retailers of fine taste in home furnishings. The extensively detailed background of Xie’s 1931 advertisement poster for Japanese Ken-i-kocho-jo Tablets (figure 7.11) accurately reflects contemporary Western interior decoration because it was copied with some fidelity from the Karpen Furniture advertisement placed in the October 1928 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* (figure 7.12).²⁸ Like other calendar poster artists, Xie Zhiguang availed himself of existing

images. Such blatant copying of available material is simply a continuation of the popular appropriation of whatever visual material was available. Within the Chinese tradition of using copy books or painting manuals as resources, Xie and other advertising calendar poster designers quarried the *Ladies' Home Journal* and similar publications for Western settings.

In 1927 Xie's art was again fostered through a journal, this time the pictorial *Liangyou*, which reported world and local news via photographs and presented special features, with a heavy dose of art news in which deserving artists were routinely introduced. *Liangyou* also covered the myriad exhibitions that filled Shanghai galleries in the 1920s and 1930s. Such art exhibitions were often sponsored by art societies, to display members' works, or by art schools, to exhibit faculty and student achievements. Multipage photographic reviews in *Liangyou* reproduced selected art objects, sometimes accompanied by biographical data of the artists, all serving to raise public awareness of art to a level previously impossible and, simultaneously, to advertise and disseminate representations of contemporary and ancient art to the journal's subscribers, to other readers of the journal, and to the public at large. Xie Zhiguang rated a two-page spread in the November 1927 issue of *Liangyou*. The first page reproduced paintings in Xie's collection: two by Zhou Muqiao (mentioned earlier), a peacock by Zhang Yuguang, and a splashy lotus by the recently deceased Wu Changshi, along with a short biography of Wu to mark his passing. This page paid homage to Xie's teachers and proclaimed Xie's status in an artistic lineage.

The second page presented Xie's personal accomplishments: five Chinese-style paintings and one pretty calendar girl, along with a few words about Xie, introducing him to readers, and a photograph of him. One Chinese-style scroll was *Looking for Plum Blossoms in the Snow*, a figure on donkey-back, presumably Lin Bu (967–1028), in a landscape. Four bird-and-flower paintings are conventional variations of Wu Changshi's style. The ratio of Chinese scrolls to pretty-girl-in-calendar style (5 to 1) confirms the higher ranking of Chinese-style painting in Xie's mind.

Xie's career in Chinese-style painting prospered. It was common in the 1920s and 1930s for well-established painters to publish price lists.²⁹ In 1927 Xie placed an advertisement for his Chinese paintings in the newspaper *Shenbao*, and in 1928 the identical price list appeared in the June issue of *Liangyou*.³⁰ Xie's bird-and-flower paintings cost: for a Chinese four-foot scroll, twelve yuan; a six-foot scroll, thirty-two yuan; an eight-foot scroll, sixty yuan. (In 1933 the approximate value in U.S. currency of one yuan was twenty-six cents, so the most expensive of Xie's paintings cost \$15.60 U.S.). Xie's ad included his telephone number and his home addresses, so we know he resided at 964 Shanhai Li, off Shanhaiguan Road. Presumably he used the telephone for both his commercial and private art contacts. This price list contradicts the report that Xie willingly gave paintings to those who asked for them, so much so that he poked fun at himself, giving himself the sobriquet: Bainung Shanren, "The Recluse Who Works for Free."³¹ Although from a later date, Xie's Chinese-style painting of a simple courtyard has substantial freshness, nuance, and subtlety, and its connection with Wu Changshi's work is minimal.³² A fan painting of a woman, dated 1942 (figure 7.13), continues the metic-



FIGURE 7.13. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *A Beauty*, 1942, ink-and-color on alum paper, 17.8 × 50.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in memory of La Ferne Hatfield Ellsworth, 1986.

ulous figure-style of the earlier specialist in depicting lovely damsels Fei Danxu (1802–1850), combined with the florid brushwork of early-twentieth-century Shanghai painting. Unlike Hu Boxiang (discussed in chapter 8), who incorporated his traditional-style landscapes directly into his advertising pictures, Xie Zhiguang kept the two categories distinct. His advertisement posters of pretty women never have the slightest hint of traditional brush painting.

In 1928 Xie furnished cover girls for five issues of *Liangyou*. That for June indicates how far he had progressed in representing stylish modern women: this proud and confident woman wears a feather boa and drop earrings; she sits on a curved bench of a garden kiosk. It is far more accomplished than the pianist of 1921. The July cover of a woman in exotic costume is difficult to put in context, but the May cover shows a beauty whose face is lovely, yet assured and challenging, as she looks directly at the viewer. Xie signed this cover painting in Chinese and English (T. K. Zia). Xie was nothing if not modern: the English signature, the constant photographs of himself, the listing of his telephone number, the depictions of modern women. Not surprisingly, Xie's cover girls and those for his calendar pictures occasionally overlap.³³

A random check of Xie's newspaper-advertising activity in the early 1930s reveals that he was drafting new images with new drawing techniques, mostly Western derived. In 1932, for the picture of a chemist in his laboratory, an advertisement for My Dear cigarettes, he experimented with Western shading using multiple parallel lines.³⁴ But this cluttered style apparently was not to Xie's liking. In 1933 his new images were in keeping with shifting cultural tastes. In October of that year, he published advertisements on recreational themes for My Dear cigarettes, depicting, among others, a Ping-Pong game, a tennis player, and ballroom dancers. The dancers convey his command of the seeming offhand sketch, capturing the essence of the action (figure 7.14). The sharp lines of the ballroom dancers probably were rendered with an ink pen. An ele-



FIGURE 7.14. Xie Zhiguang, *Dancers*, advertisement for My Dear cigarettes. After *Shenbao* (October 13, 1933), 4 (1983 photocopy 309:386).

gant dancing couple was a common motif advertising chiffon hosiery and Enna Jet-ticks Shoes in American women's magazines (figure 7.15). Xie might have been inspired by these foreign prototypes. His My Dear cigarette advertisement is directed at men. The blurb plays on the Chinese name of the cigarette: *mei* and *li*, both meaning "beauty." The text says that a beautiful dancing partner and a beautiful cigarette, together, are unparalleled beauties. Advertisement pictures of a still life and of a pair of lovers seated on a sofa show Xie rendering unusual themes. The still life (figure 7.16), of which there is no other known to me among Xie's advertisements, is based on the traditional list of seven necessities required when one opens the door of a household in the morning—firewood, sugar, rice, soy sauce, salt, oil, and vinegar³⁵—and adds a package of The Rat brand cigarettes. It visually suggests that cigarettes are also a basic necessity. The cigarettes are advertised in rhymed slogan as "the flavor is good, the price is right," or in an attempt at English doggerel (as rendered by Richard Laing): "excellent flavor at a price to savor," or yet another translation (by Wang Xiaotong): "the flavor is rare and the price is fair." In the lovers for My Dear brand cigarettes, the pair sits on a sofa, an extremely daring image for a Chinese context when Chinese society still frowned on

*From Her Features
To Her Feet*



FLAWLESS! Like a precious jewel in a perfect setting! How he admires her spontaneous smile, her light step, her poise! Without perfectly fitted shoes smiles become frowns, light steps heavy and poise vanishes. Women realize these facts and select Enna Jettick Shoes for their perfect fitting qualities.

**WEAR
ENNA JETTICKS**

FIGURE 7.15. *Dancers*, advertisement for Enna Jetticks Shoes.
After *Ladies' Home Journal* (July 1932), 40.

public displays of affection or intimacy.³⁶ Again directed at men, the text once more plays on the two characters for “beauty” of the brand name in Chinese and claims that holding a beauty to one’s breast, then smoking a “beauty” cigarette, the heart and mind relax, creating happiness and joy without end.

The advertising pitch toward women smokers in China was already evident in the media in the early 1920s. But Xie carried it one step further in his 1934 buxom, curvaceous nude sprawled on her back on a rumpled white sheet, a smoldering cigarette held in one hand (figure 7.17).³⁷ The sexual message is clear. Xie’s 1937 advertisement for My Dear cigarettes, one of several full-page advertisements he made during 1936 and 1937, appeared on the back cover of the influential art journal of the 1930s *Meishu shenghuan*. A solitary girl, smoking a cigarette, is seated so that her fashionable *qipao* exposes her shapely leg and elegant shoes (figure 7.18). This figure may have been based on Lucky Strike cigarette advertisements published in Western magazines several years earlier (figure 7.19). The pose (without the smoking cigarette) was also exploited in the poster of the movie star Chen Yunshang (b. 1919) from the Zhiying Studio (figure 7.20) and was repeatedly pirated until it became hackneyed.



FIGURE 7.16. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Seven Necessities*, advertisement for The Rat cigarettes. After *Shenbao* (October 19, 1933), 2 (1983 photocopy 309:586).

Xie excelled in rendering glossy lips and saucy eyes, details of jewelry and textile patterns, as well as the soft shading that gives realistic volume to the arms and faces of his feminine subjects, and even special effects, such as the rosy glow reflected from a woman warming herself in front of an electric heater.³⁸

Xie produced unique pictures of sensual modern belles, such as the provocatively Western-style bathing beauty posing at the side of the pool of the Spanish-style Columbia Country Club in Shanghai (figure 7.21). This club was founded in 1917 and initially leased property in the French Concession; increased membership forced it to seek a new home. Some eight acres of land were acquired on the south side of Great Western Road, about a twenty-minute ride from the business district of Shanghai and near the homes of many Americans.³⁹ The expatriate American architect Elliott Hazard (1887–1943) was commissioned to design the new clubhouse and construction began in 1923. The club featured, in addition to tennis courts and parking lots, an “open air swimming pool, 42 feet wide and 100 feet long, surrounded by a Spanish pergola which will make an excellent setting; a large lounging space will be provided at the north end from which spectators may witness the aquatic sports.”⁴⁰ Thanks to refrigeration, the pool could be converted into a skating rink in winter. The decision to use



FIGURE 7.17. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Nude Smoking in Bed*, advertisement for My Dear cigarettes. After *Manhua shenghuo* 1 (1934), back cover.

the Spanish mission style was because it was “admirably adapted to the climate, local materials, and quality of workmanship available, lends itself charmingly, with its formal informality, to obtaining most artistic effects . . .”⁴¹ Commentary in a mid-1930s guidebook to Shanghai states that the Columbia Country Club “membership is not limited by racial lines. . . . It is particularly attractive in the Summer with its spacious verandah and swimming pool.”⁴²

A particularly striking, and more subtle, girl holds a lily in a poster for the Russia-China Tobacco Manufacturing Company (plate 18).⁴³ Here Xie borrowed artistic ideas from the sometimes tinted photographic portrait: the single figure seated on a chair, the soft-focus fading of the image around the edges, and the subtle shift in hue from light at the bottom to more intense at the top of the girl’s dress, which so effectively focuses attention on her lovely face. The orange color is also unusual.

It is said that Xie used teenage beauties attired in fashionable clothing as his models, thereby imbuing his female figures with a certain tenderness, and a direct loveliness and freshness other artists could not achieve. The photographs of Xie mentioned earlier show him as a good-looking man, and indeed, according to Zheng Yimei, Xie Zhiguang was one of the “six most handsome artists in Shanghai.”⁴⁴ Xie, like many



FIGURE 7.18. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Seated Girl Smoking*, advertisement for My Dear cigarettes. After *Meishu shenghuo* 35 (February 1937), back cover.

other men, had extramarital romantic liaisons; strangely, it is reported that the name of one of his lovers was the same as the name of his wife.⁴⁵ Perhaps his use of nubile girls as models understandably disturbed his wife. She apparently was intensely jealous of his work and his affairs. She was very demanding and wanted everything her own way. If she did not get what she wanted or did not like one of his calendar pictures, she would tear it into bits. It must be supposed that it was not on the basis of whether she approved of the achievement or not, but that the picture represented one of her youthful rivals. This was unfortunate for Xie because these were commissioned pieces, expected to be delivered by a set date, and usually there was not enough time to redo a job. His wife once learned about one of his affairs and went to the rendezvous place. Seeing his wife, Xie ran away; his wife followed him but could not catch up with him. She quickly thought of a way to capture him, and shouted “Stop! Thief!” A police officer stopped Xie. His wife then smiled at the officer and said, “He is not a real thief; this is just a fight between husband and wife. I wanted you to help me out and catch him. Everything is fine now.” The police released Xie, who was taken home for questioning by his wife.⁴⁶



Copyright 1934, The American Tobacco Company

THE HEIGHT OF GOOD TASTE
and in Cigarettes too — *Taste is Everything*

ALWAYS *the Finest Tobacco* and ONLY *the Center Leaves*

FIGURE 7.19. *Seated Girl Smoking*, advertisement for Lucky Strike cigarettes, ca. 1934. Author's collection.



FIGURE 7.20. Zhiying Studio, *The Movie Actress Chen Yunshang*, advertisement for Indanthrene color cloth. After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 1:40.

The popularity of calendar posters and hangers made them ideal tools for propaganda and political messages. During the years just prior to the 1911 revolution that overthrew the Qing imperial house, and again in the 1930s when the Japanese attacked and invaded Shanghai, artists designed calendars and hangers with revolutionary and nationalistic themes. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria, in 1931, fueled an anti-Japanese boycott in Shanghai that initiated a campaign of violence against Chinese who were found to be dealing in Japanese goods. The Japanese community in Shanghai held mass meetings protesting the passive attitudes of their authorities. Armed clashes between Chinese and Japanese broke out, with some fatalities. The hostile situation escalated and on January 28, 1932, Japanese naval forces and armed civilian reservists advanced toward the Shanghai-Wusong railroad line, where they encountered units of the Chinese Nineteenth Route Army. The Japanese admiral called in the air force, which bombed large portions of Zhabei, the location of the Commercial Press printing facility and its famous Eastern Library; they were extensively damaged.⁴⁷ Xie Zhiguang is



FIGURE 7.21. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Fun by the Pool*, 1930s, 63.5 × 41 cm. After Liang Jingwu and Zhao Xiangbiao, ed., *Lao guanggao* [Old advertisement], *Ersbishi jibunaijin xilie* [Remembering the old days of the twentieth century series] (Beijing: Longhua Shuju, 1999), 148.

lauded for his patriotic *One Overcomes Ten* praising the Nineteenth Route Army's stand against the Japanese at the Commercial Press Eastern Library in Zhabei.⁴⁸ It is claimed that all prints of Xie's picture are lost, and there is little chance of finding a copy today because this print so raised the ire of the Japanese army that it put pressure on the Shanghai government to get rid of it. Later, the Japanese army called in the plates and had them melted down.⁴⁹

If the account is true, this action did not deter Xie in his anti-Japanese propaganda campaign. Still surviving is his 1935 poster of the first Ming emperor, Hongwu, recklessly gambling.⁵⁰ The subject not only uses the Chinese love of gambling to suggest a deliberate flouting by them of the Japanese threat, but is a reminder that Hongwu restored China to Han rule. Earlier in the twentieth century Sun Yat-sen drew parallels between himself and Hongwu when on January 1, 1911, the day when he assumed office as President of the Republic of China, Sun paid an official visit to the tombs of the Ming emperors outside Nanjing to announce that the Qing had overthrown the Ming and now had themselves been ousted.⁵¹ Connections between the two men were soon made explicit when their portraits appeared side by side in the August 11, 1912, issue of *Zhenxiang huabao* (The true record), the journal published by Gao Jianfu and Gao Qifeng, two supporters of Sun Yat-sen.⁵² Posters with versions of Hongwu gambling were immediately put on the market by Zhou Bosheng, Ding Yunxian, the Zhiying Studio, and others.

Advertising posters depicting the military heroine Hua Mulan became popular in the 1930s. As told in a sixth-century poem, the young Hua Mulan, disguised as a man, took her father's place in the army, distinguished herself in battle and, after twelve years of service, refused the emperor's honors and returned home to her parents. She became a role model, and a favorite in the Chinese opera. Louise Edwards asserts that in China, military heroines are attractive because they both threaten the patriarchal power by breaking with the ideal of the meek and mild woman, and yet consolidate "existing Confucian social and moral order."⁵³ Women militia during the early part of the twentieth century specified Hua Mulan as a paragon to be emulated.⁵⁴ In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Hua Mulan was a heroine of Chinese spoken dramas written to raise popular patriotic sentiment through their anti-barbarian themes, to inspire unity and loyalty, and to provide spiritual strength.⁵⁵ According to Chang-tai Hung, during a time of strong anti-Japanese sentiment, perhaps no female warrior better exemplified the spirit of patriotism and resistance than Hua Mulan. She is youthful, sacrificing, loyal, courageous, and filial; she has integrity and exemplifies collective good, devotion to the nation, and love of her country. As a patriot, Hua Mulan is a reminder of China's continuing struggle against invaders.⁵⁶

These same goals undoubtedly apply to the calendar advertisement pictures of Hua Mulan. Traditional pictures of Hua Mulan represent her as robust and energetic, directly involved militarily. In an illustration to Lü Kun's (1536–1613) *Guifan* (Female exemplars), she rides on duty as a border guard (figure 7.22); in an eighteenth-century print, dressed in military gear she bids farewell to her parents to join waiting attendants who hold her horse.⁵⁷ The most frequently reprinted image of Mulan first appears in



FIGURE 7.22. *Mulan Rides as a Border Guard*, illustration to Lü Kun's *Guifan*, 1590. After Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 2:517.

eighteenth-century prints for illustrated collections of biographies of “beautiful women”; in military gear, she strikes an aggressive pose with one foot braced on a low rock as she tests her bow (figure 7.23). This trenchant portrayal of Mulan was duplicated intact in reprints published under different titles from the late eighteenth century through the late twentieth century.⁵⁸ This concept of Mulan as a committed military type continued into the 1930s.⁵⁹ She is rarely portrayed in a role other than military, the exception being after she returns home to resume her feminine persona.

In one anonymous advertising poster from the 1930s, Mulan strings her bow (a pose recalling that of her eighteenth-century portrait), preparatory to mounting her impatient white horse and taking command of the troops (figure 7.24). In two other pictures, she is shown returning home with honors. In a collaborative effort of ten artists, including Xie Zhiguang, Mulan, astride her prancing white steed, triumphantly leads her troops home through the countryside (figure 7.25).⁶⁰ Her aide carries her banner emblazoned with the large character “Hua,” to be understood both as her surname and as China. The message of a victorious China is evident. In a version by Xie Zhiguang, she returns to her family home and reverts to being a woman.⁶¹ Looking into a mirror she applies her makeup as, in the background, astounded troops gape at her transformation from commander to maiden. Victory and peace at the conclusion of hostilities is again the essence of the imagery.

Commercial and advertising art probably constituted the financial backbone for many artists. Xie Zhiguang's considerable talent for furnishing what his employers and the public wanted by way of commercial art guaranteed him economic security. This must have been substantial, for his nephew Xie Mulian began at the age of fifteen to produce pictures of women and calendar prints and, it is said, to assist his uncle paint *yuefempai*.⁶² In 1938 Xie Mulian was employed by Carl Crow's advertising agency as well as work-



FIGURE 7.23. Wang Bochi, *Mulan Testing Her Bow*, late nineteenth century. After *Baimei tupu* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995), 66.

ing as an artist for the Xinyi Advertising Agency (Xinyihang Guanggao Gongsì).⁶³ Xu Yiqing, who studied with Xie in 1928, became head of the Jinlei Advertising Company (Jinlei Guanggao Gongsì).⁶⁴

Xie Zhiguang belonged to the Dawn Art Association (Chenguang Meishuhui), formed in 1921 by Zhang Yuguang and several other artists interested in the study of Western art; other members included Zhang Guangyu, Hu Yaguang (b. 1901; a student of Zhang Yuguang), and Hu Boxiang; by 1925 this organization had more than three hundred participants.⁶⁵ The association “functioned more like an informal *atelier* where the artists could paint from models provided by the association”;⁶⁶ it nourished art through exhibitions and a lecture series, duly reported in the print media.



FIGURE 7.24. *Mulan Stringing Her Bow*, advertisement poster for Sower cigarettes, 76.7 × 50.6 cm. After Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 161.

If Xie was an active member of this association, his art perhaps benefitted from these modeling sessions, exhibitions, and lectures.

Xie Zhiguang's financial success in advertising art supported him in a way that his more personally expressive painting might not have been able to provide. In his heart, Xie favored traditional Chinese painting. He belonged to one of the most prestigious of Shanghai art societies, the Bee Painting Society (Mifeng Huashe). Founded in 1929 to promote Chinese-style painting, the Bee Painting Society was transformed, in 1931, into the Chinese Painting Society (Zhongguohua Hui).⁶⁷ Strangely, however, Xie's name does not appear in connection with the Chinese Commercial Artists Association (Zhongguo Gongshangye Meishu Zuoji Xiehui), founded in Shanghai in 1934. Indeed, he himself admitted that he used his commercial art to support his Chinese paint-



FIGURE 7.25. Zheng Meiqing, Zhou Bosheng (1887–1955), Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), Hang Zhiying (1900–1947), Wu Zhian, Jin Zhaoguang, Jin Meisheng (1902–1989), Li Mubai (1913–1991), Ge Xianggang (1905–1964), Tian Qingquan (b. 1906), Yang Junsheng (b. 1911), and Zheng Wuchang (1894–1952), *Mulan Returning Home*, 72 × 46 cm. Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei.

ing.⁶⁸ But his art life remained conflicted. In one biographical listing dating to 1947, he is under the heading of “Western-style painter,” but there is no mention of his work as a commercial artist or as a traditional-style painter.⁶⁹ Much later, in 1989, his area of expertise is listed as Chinese painting.⁷⁰

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, during the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, Xie continued his bifurcated talents, using commercial art to underwrite his career as a specialist in Chinese painting. He continued to make ads for My Dear and The Rat cigarettes, keeping abreast of Western advertising pictures. In the late 1930s Xie’s series of full-page color advertisements for My Dear cigarettes featuring women smoking were



FIGURE 7.26. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Girl Seated on Bed Smoking*, advertisement for Prosperity cigarettes. After Qi Zaiyu, ed., *Shanghai shiren zhi* (Shanghai: Zhanwang chubanshe, 1947), n.p.

placed in *Meishu shenghuo*. Some are modifications of Chinese-style painting with black lines contouring the figure, but with shadows and volume indicated through shading. In one instance, Xie has availed himself of the pre-prepared self-adhering patterns used by commercial artists to fill in spaces.

By the 1940s, women smokers were associated with automobiles; Xie's My Dear advertisements utilizing his facile drawing combined with photographic effects have fashionable women seated in or standing next to sedans.⁷¹ A counterpart was his advertisement sketch of a dapper man in a Western business suit, just stepping off the train.⁷² At the same time, Xie was depicting hanging scrolls of elegant, famous beauties from Chinese legend and history in landscape and garden settings.

One of the last commercial advertisements Xie designed brings his imagery full cir-

cle from the girl of 1921 advertising toilet water, with her hand behind her head (figure 7.8), to a slender lovely in a negligee, seated on the edge of a bed: in one hand she holds a lighted cigarette and the other is raised to adjust her hairdo (figure 7.26).

Xie resurfaced after the conclusion of the civil conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the Communist's victory in 1949. He would serve a new master, the Communist government, advertising a new product: the ideology and goals of socialism, as will be seen in chapter 10.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Artists at British American Tobacco

Liang Dingming, Hu Boxiang,
Ni Genqye, and Zhang Guangyu

Realizing the fortuitous import of its initials, BAT, the British American Tobacco Company used the picture of a bat as its logo. In China the bat is an auspicious creature because the sound of the character for “bat,” *fū*, is a homophone for “happiness.” Like other tobacco companies, British American Tobacco marketed different brands at varied prices to attract as broad a consumer base as possible. BAT also frequently changed brand names. Among the brands sold by BAT were the ever-popular Hatamen, along with Chienmen, New York, Kingfisher, Pin Head, Rooster, Pirate, Premier, and Hwanying. By 1921 BAT had acquired controlling interest in the Yongtaihe Tobacco Company (Yongtaihe Yancao Gongsi),¹ which then retailed BAT cigarettes. The brand names seen in Yongtaihe advertisements include Bridge, Thumbs Up, Beautiful Eagle, Victory, Empire, and Ruby Queen. Through its advertising, Yongtaihe made BAT’s low-priced Ruby Queen the company’s most popular brand in China and made BAT the second-largest cigarette seller in the world.² The Qidong Tobacco Company (Qidong Yancao Gongsi) apparently was also licensed by BAT to advertise and distribute BAT cigarettes. BAT brands advertised by Qidong include Double Crane, Three Castles, Gold Bar, Legation, Hatamen, and Ruby Queen. In 1925 the Ruby Queen appellation caused a furor during boycotts against foreign goods and foreign capitalists, promoted by the May Thirtieth movement. The Chinese name of the cigarette, Daying, was taken to mean “Great England.” As a consequence, sales fell; BAT changed the name to Red Pack, Hongxi Bao,³ a more felicitous name because red is the color of happiness and because the name calls to mind “red envelopes” containing coins given to children at New Year’s time.

As noted in chapter 3, the British American Tobacco Company inaugurated its advertising department in 1915; among the artists who worked for BAT were Liang Ding-

ming (1898–1959), Hu Boxiang (1896–1989) and Ni Gengye. Each employed a strikingly different approach to the central images while a fourth artist, Zhang Guangyu (1900–1965), designed wonderfully ingenious, sometimes extravagant, borders. BAT artists produced inventive, attractive, and, at times, lavish advertisement calendars and posters.

Liang Dingming's artistic career is unlike that of any other *yuefenpai* artist. His family was from Guangzhou, but he was born in Shanghai and was originally named Xierong. At age fourteen he entered the Nanyang Public School in Shanghai; at seventeen he attended the Nanyang Surveying and Painting School (Nanyang Cehui Xuexiao). By age eighteen he was supporting himself as a portrait painter in Xiamen. When he became engaged to the famous aviatrix Li Ruolan (Yuying), in 1929, they were photographed together several times by Xu Dungu (figure 8.1). Liang Dingming painted interesting modernist portraits and was proficient in Chinese-style tigers and Buddhist figures, the latter in the style of Wang Yiting.⁴ Liang Dingming's older sister, Liang Xueqing, was an accomplished oil painter and was in charge of advertising-art at certain companies.⁵ Her picture of a happy child was among the oils and watercolors by "female members" of the Tianhua Art Association (Tianhua Yishu Hui) illustrated in an article on the group in 1926.⁶ In 1926 her self-portrait was on the cover of the fifth issue of *Liangyou* (figure 8.2). In 1929 a photograph of her seated on a garden rock was published in another popular magazine.⁷ By 1930 Liang Xueqing had moved north, where she made a certain splash, for two photographs of her appeared in *Beiyang huabao*. The caption for one describes her as an art editor for the monthly *Wenhua yishushe yuekan* (Culture and art society monthly), published by the Qingdao Wenhua Art Club; in the second photograph, she and a woman friend are standing on a bridge.⁸ No further biographical data about Liang Xueqing seems to have been preserved.

In 1916 Liang Dingming joined British American Tobacco Company. His few dated calendars for BAT were done between the years 1921 and 1925. In 1923 several of them were sent to the Shanghai English-language newspaper the *Weekly Review*, where they were lauded as

most unique in their design and coloring. The calendars show the leading brands of cigarettes manufactured by the British American Tobacco Company and were made in their own lithographic department in Pootung [Pudong]. Liang Deung Ming [Liang Dingming], an artist in the advertising department of the company is responsible for the excellent work. One calendar is the suggestion of an old Chinese legend and the Chinese ladies are dressed in costumes portraying the style of that ancient day with the long loose mandarin dress, and high head-dress, while another calendar is a modern layout, showing the present day mode of dress the short coat and trousers, and low head-dress.⁹

Nothing is said in this report about the artistic style of these calendars.

Color in Liang Dingming's calendar posters is exceptionally rich because he painted the originals in oil, not in the rub-and-paint or light watercolor techniques used by most other calendar poster painters; he sometimes used pastels.¹⁰ Liang Dingming fa-



FIGURE 8.1. Xu Dunggu, *Liang Dingming and His Fiancée, Li Roulan*.
After *Shanghai manhua* 46 (March 9, 1929): 6.

vored saturated hues: deep crimson, emerald green, harvest yellow, ultramarine blue, and violet. He would use bright red for the ground, with blue or green shadows. Scumbling with white or yellow pigment created shimmering surfaces, shiny silk tissues, or light glinting off gold. Oil-painting brushstrokes are evident in Liang's calendar pictures. His *Nymph of the Luo River*¹¹ and his rendition of the sixth-century B.C. Long Yu, whose wondrous flute-playing attracted phoenixes (plate 19), attain an opulence unmatched by other painters. Liang's intense colors and golden highlights are highly reminiscent of the work of the Pre-Raphaelite painter Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898). Liang's figures, however, bear no trace of Burne-Jones' immobile, statuesque women. Liang imbued his figures with a narrative immediacy unlike individuals in other artist's posters, who rarely make eye contact with each other or focus on a specific object. Persons in Liang's posters communicate with each other or react to situations through facial expressions and glances, giving his works a unique vivacity. In *Yang Guifei Serving at a Banquet* the rapport between the lovers, Yang Guifei and Emperor Minghuang, is expressed through postures and exchanged looks (figure 8.3). The beauty, ready with a pot of wine, stands slightly behind the emperor; she leans invitingly toward him, tilting



FIGURE 8.2. Liang Xueqing, *Self-portrait*. After *Liangyou 5* (June 15, 1926), front cover.

her head coquettishly as she looks into his raised face. This advertisement poster is one of a set of illustrations of antique themes and bears an inscription by Cai Jiechen, who was responsible for the calligraphy on many BAT calendars.¹²

Liang's dainty young modern Chinese girls often engage in physical activity, unlike their sisters in other calendar prints who stand immobile and gaze off into space like manikins. In *Hitting Butterflies in the Shade of Willows*, two girls, their arms linked, seem to be actually walking: their soft, full skirts swing in response to their movement as both fix their attention on the butterflies they pursue.¹³ Erotic connotations abound. Butterflies are emblems of lovers; "in the depths of willow shade" is a metaphor for women's pubic hair.¹⁴

The strongly individualized facial features of Liang's compelling young woman seated on the edge of a couch (plate 20), especially the wide eyebrows and straight mouth, indicate that the sitter was Liang's older sister, Xueqing. Her pale, oval face is placed against a cool blue and green background, augmented with warmer tones of yellow, itself a wonderful foil for her blue slippers, her shiny silk or rayon stockings, her



FIGURE 8.3. Liang Dingming (1898–1959), *Yang Guifei Serving at a Banquet*, advertisement poster for Hatamen cigarettes, early 1920s. After Song Jialin, *Lao yuesenpai*, 144.

deep-red trousers ornamented with large flowers and her shining golden silk blouse decorated with traditional “unending knot” designs. As is expected in Liang Dingming’s calendars, Liang Xueqing appears to be in motion, about to rise from the couch.

In 1925 Liang moved to Guangzhou, where he had a one-man show and was introduced to Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek; 1887–1975) through a contact at the Huangpu Military Academy, where Jiang had his headquarters. Liang’s artistic career would hereafter be entwined with Jiang’s Nationalist Party.¹⁵

By the time Liang Dingming left BAT, in 1925, Hu Boxiang was already creating extraordinary calendars for the company. Hu (figure 8.4) was born into an artistic family in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province.¹⁶ His original name was Haoyi; his *hao* was Shichengweng, referring to his birthplace (Shitoucheng, “Rock City” is the name of a town west of Nanjing and behind Shitou Mountain). His father was Hu Tu, better known as Hu Tanqing. Several of Hu senior’s paintings, mainly of animals, but also some landscapes, have been reproduced.¹⁷ Hu Boxiang first studied with his father, then, at the age of eighteen, went to Shanghai, where he became a pupil of the Chinese-style masters Wu Changshi and Cheng Zhang (Yaosheng, 1869–1938), the latter a specialist in depicting animals. Hu Boxiang studied oil painting, watercolor, and copperplate engraving, but nothing in the records indicates where he learned these arts. Like Xie Zhiguang, Hu Boxiang would become noted for achievements in several art media: advertisement posters, Chinese painting, and, in Hu’s case, photography.

Once in Shanghai, Hu participated in at least four early art associations influential in assisting artists in selling their works through exhibitions, establishing prices, and generally functioning as support groups. In 1914 he painted covers for two romance fiction journals.¹⁸ For the cover of issue 18 of *Meiyu*, he described a girl at the wheel of an automobile (figure 8.5). There are many awkwardnesses: the head is too large for the body, the hands are ineptly rendered, and the body is uncomfortably placed in the car seat.

Hu Boxiang’s reputation grew, however, and the Commercial Press offered him a large salary to become one of its staff artists. British American Tobacco, however, stepped in and offered Hu five hundred yuan a month, plus “special treatment,” to entice him to join their art department. He started designing calendar posters for BAT in 1917. Unlike other calendar poster artists, Hu Boxiang did not use the rub-and-paint method popularized by Zheng Mantuo, but used layers of watercolors instead. It is claimed he made only one *yuefenpai* a year for BAT, and even then he rendered only the central figure or figures, the borders being designed by other artists, usually Zhang Guangyu. A large number of *yuefenpai* assigned to Hu still exist, weakening the assertion that he prepared just one calendar poster a year for BAT.¹⁹

Like Xie Zhiguang, Hu Boxiang was also a member of the Dawn Art Association, formed in 1921 to facilitate the study of Western art;²⁰ and like Xie, lessons learned in the modeling sessions, exhibitions and lectures sponsored by this association might have enabled Hu to improve his art techniques.

Hu Boxiang may have made his living creating calendar posters, but his real love was photography and it is for this art that he is usually remembered.²¹ Keen sensitivity to



FIGURE 8.4. Photographer unknown, “Hu Boxiang.” After *Liangyou* 26 (May 1928), 5.

light and its effects is a prerequisite for superior photography, and Hu Boxiang was clearly intrigued with light, which invests many of his calendar posters’ landscapes with special qualities. His photographs and paintings are habitually set during transitional times of dawn, dusk, twilight, or in subdued nuances of illumination caused by ephemeral weather conditions such as fog or rain.

In 1928 Hu Boxiang, along with Lang Jingshan and other photographers formed the Chinese Photography Society (Hua She) for the promotion and study of photographic arts. Hu was a founding member of the journal *Zhonghua sheying zazhi* (China photography magazine); he wrote the introduction for its first issue and became its manager. He also contributed essays about photography to other professional magazines,²² and he organized the first photography exhibition in China.²³ A prolific photographer, Hu usually shot people in landscapes; these were shown in many photograph exhibitions and widely published in *Shanghai manhua* (Shanghai sketches), *Liangyou*, *Wenbua huabao* (Culture pictorial), *Shidai* (Modern miscellany), and other journals. He was noted for his unusual subjects. His photographic landscapes reproduced in *Liangyou* and in *Shanghai manhua* frequently have as their subjects ordinary people hard at work, and often at dawn or dusk—fishermen, field hands at harvest, a basket peddler, a duck herder by a stream, a man carrying a double load on a bamboo pole at dawn, a person on a donkey’s back returning at nightfall, a woman carrying two large buckets down a slanted



FIGURE 8.5. Hu Boxiang (1896–1989), *Girl in an Automobile*. *Meiyu* 18 (March 1916), front cover. After Wei Shaochang, *Wo kan yuanying budie pai* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), n.p.

bridge at sunrise.²⁴ One photograph from 1933 shows farmers harvesting rice; another, of a vendor selling gigantic pottery jars and dwarfed by his wares, was included in the National Art Exhibition of 1929 and reproduced in its catalogue.²⁵ The titles indicate Hu's attraction to common life and transitional times of day, elements that also inform his Chinese landscapes and his calendar posters.

It might be expected that Hu Boxiang's subjects for BAT calendars would be mainly the plants and rocks of Wu Changshi's repertoire or the large animals of the Hu family legacy, but this is not the case.²⁶ Nevertheless, Hu Boxiang was an extremely versatile artist. For BAT he produced ink landscapes, "blue and green" landscapes, softly colored landscapes in a Western descriptive approach, highly colored illustrations to ancient Chinese legends and stories, and depictions of modern women. Among his stylistic specialities, some derived from photography are: a preoccupation with nighttime, with the transitional periods of dawn and dusk, with strong lighting, and with

soft-focus effects; the use of half- or three-quarter-length figures; placement of subjects against a blank background; and using simply two or three items to suggest an interesting setting.

Some seventeen of Hu Boxiang's landscape compositions from the 1920s are preserved in his advertisement calendar posters. Several are rendered in conventional brushwork of line contours and texture strokes, with very little use of color. Another is in a modified Mi-style handling of ink.²⁷ Other landscapes are suffused with light and atmospheric effects; in *Woodcutter Coming Out of the Mountains* (plate 21), mists glow luminously and ink is augmented with delicate colors sensitively applied. Hu Boxiang's *Five Ancients* poster is exceptional because it is executed, not in his familiar ink manner, but in a fashion very close to the strong colors of the antique "blue and green" convention.²⁸ *Winter Fishing Village* is dated 1924 and inscribed by the artist with a couplet composed by the eighth-century poet Wei Yingwu.²⁹ The mountains are flooded with brilliant light seemingly reflected off the snow, and the atmosphere is crisp; colors are fresh and translucent.

Returning at Sunset, a hanging-scroll ink-landscape calendar poster by Hu Boxiang from 1924 is heavily influenced by photography (plate 22). The clouds in the pale blue sky and, in the lower right corner, the concentric rings of the water created by the duck taking flight give the picture a snapshot quality; the realism of the bridge, donkey, rider, and trees reflected in the stream, as well as the light-suffused mid-ground, are further suggestions of photographic scene. The artist inscribed the title, the date, and his signature and impressed his square seal at the upper right.

Hu Boxiang's *Deer Cave in Autumn Rain*, advertising products from the Qidong Tobacco Company, could almost be mistaken for a photograph, with the glows highlighting the travelers, the wayside hut, and the distant buildings.³⁰ These are prime conditions for which a photographer would patiently wait to obtain an interesting photograph. The picture is in a Western frame, but it is conceived as a traditional painting, and in the upper right corner, Hu wrote the title and a long inscription, followed by his signature and seal.

Releasing Cranes on West Mountain (figure 8.6) falls into a special category. In this traditional-style landscape calendar poster for 1929, a man ascends a snow-covered slope, moving toward a pavilion where a colleague has released a pair of cranes seen winging off over the valley. An unusual design of stylized cranes ornaments the surrounding ersatz fabric mounting. At the bottom are four cigarette packages, two on either side of the central calendar panel. Actually, five BAT cigarette brands are advertised in this calendar. Four are obvious from the packages and tins bearing their names: Chienmen, Commander, Three Castles, and Navy Cut. The name of the fifth, Double Crane, is to be understood from the picture.³¹ This pictorial game is a rare example of the continuation in advertising posters of practices found in the popular prints of the past, when messages were articulated through pictorial motifs.

These paintings, surviving only in the advertising posters, enable us to understand a comment made in 1928 about Hu's special handling of ink and color and to appreciate Hu's achievements in traditional-style painting. In 1928 and 1929 Hu Boxiang's



FIGURE 8.6. Hu Boxiang (1896–1989), *Releasing Cranes on West Mountain*, advertisement poster for British American Tobacco, 1929. After Yi Bin, *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, 98.

traditional-style scroll paintings (as distinct from his poster landscapes) began to receive recognition in the Chinese press. In 1928 Hu's landscape scroll included in an exhibition of ancient and modern paintings held in the Great China Hotel was reproduced in *Shanghai manhua*. A short time later, Hu was accorded a full-page spread in *Liangyou*, where in addition to a photograph of the artist, three of his paintings were reproduced: a tiger on a rock and two landscapes, *Morning Breeze* (dated 1928; figure 8.7) and *Home from the Hunt*.³² Both landscapes depict ordinary people in the mountains, and the titles again underscore Hu's fixation with common life and transitional times of day. In the fall of 1928, another of his landscape scrolls was reproduced in *Shanghai manhua*.³³ It was accompanied by an appreciation of Hu Boxiang's creative use of brushwork and especially of color, the critic declaring Hu created a special feeling through his ability to comprehend natural phenomena and by adding his personal impressions to achieve a new national painting (*xin de guohua*).

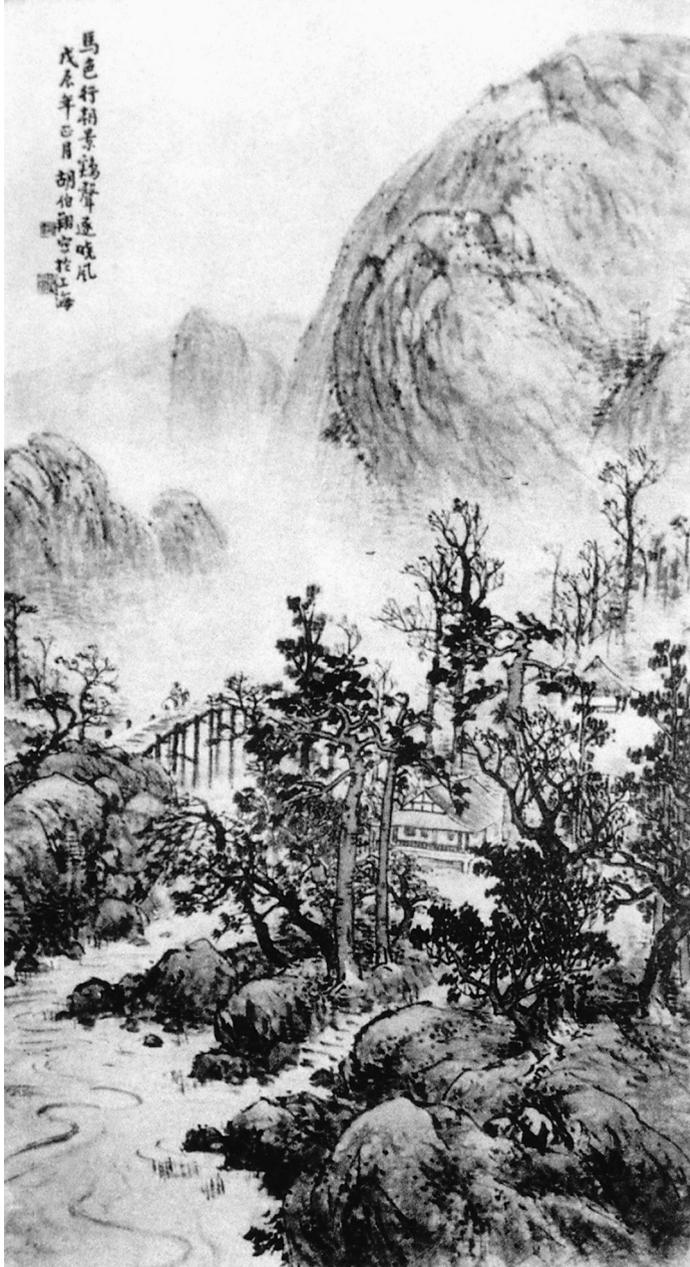


FIGURE 8.7. Hu Boxiang (1896–1989), *Morning Breeze*, 1928, painting. After *Liangyou* 28 (May 1928), 5.

The scrolls as published in *Shanghai manhua* and *Liangyou* are reproduced small in scale and indistinct. If they were the entire visual record of Hu Boxiang's landscape art available for study today, not only would it be impossible to understand the high praise given to Hu in *Shanghai manhua*, it would also result in a very distorted opinion of his talents.

In Hu's landscape advertisement posters for BAT, Hu Boxiang mixed the ink brushwork of tradition with glowing light, derived from his interest in photography, and added his distinctive coloring. In keeping with traditional practice, Hu sometimes inscribed the title of the picture and perhaps a line or two of poetry in one corner, followed by his signature and two square seals. The poems and couplets, some quoted from famous poets such as Du Fu (712–770), the eighth-century Wei Yingwu, and Wang Shizhen (1526–1590), are usually descriptive of the scene depicted. These poster pictures were printed to simulate actual hanging scrolls, complete with the surrounding area imitating the colors and the geometric floral patterns of textiles and papers used in mounting traditional scrolls. Including famous poetry elevated and dignified Hu Boxiang's scroll paintings and his calendar posters. As noted in chapter 1, Liang Desuo was an outspoken critic of advertisement posters, taking a dim view of what he believed to be the low quality of *yuefenpai* in general. He singled out Hu Boxiang as someone whose work was praiseworthy and giving pleasure to "the elegant as well as the unrefined."³⁴ Hu's accomplished brushwork, his exceptional use of color, and his use of famous poetic couplets as inscriptions must be among the reasons Liang regarded Hu Boxiang's calendar posters as noteworthy and superior to the ordinary advertising poster.

Through his landscape posters, Hu made quality traditional-style paintings accessible to the ordinary person. Since so few of Hu Boxiang's scroll paintings are either extant or illustrated in pictorial journals, it is fortunate that many of his landscapes were actually reproduced, and thus preserved, in advertisement posters.

Among Hu Boxiang's work for BAT in Western watercolor techniques is a set of four seasonal landscapes. They are like a circle tour of China. Spring begins in Shanghai, where two girls, with the Longhua Pagoda (Longhuata, a Shanghai landmark) in the misty background, feed ducks in the nearby stream; summer moves to the deep south in Fujian Province with a panorama of shipping on the Min River, on the banks of which a child relaxes in the grass as his buffalo grazes placidly; autumn shows boats navigating the Witches Gorges far to the west of the Yangzi River; and for winter, a camel train plods through the snow outside a Beijing gate (plate 23). Although these landscapes are not dated, they must come from after around 1926, for by that time, Hu had started using a round seal that he himself designed with two characters, *shi* (scholar) and *yue* (moon). In another word game, these two characters plus the circular shape of the seal could be recomposed to make up the character for his surname, Hu.³⁵ As is appropriate for Western paintings, these pictures are in circular frames inside rectangular ones, the ornate designs of which mimic the ornate carved and gilded frames of the West. Part of the framing includes titles and written statements by the BAT calligrapher Cai Jiechen.

Hu Boxiang's calendar landscapes, like his photographs, always included narrative elements: men walking on a bridge, men fishing with a seine net, a man riding a donkey over a bridge, girls feeding ducks, deer in a forest, a camel train in the snow. Some motifs familiar from Hu Boxiang's calendar landscape depictions, such as ducks or a dis-

tant pagoda, are incorporated into his renditions of modern women. In the late 1920s, Hu introduced pet dogs as companions to his pretty women.³⁶

Hu's pursuit of photography is also reflected in his attention to light and its sources in his figural *yuefenpai*. *Yang Guifei Returning Home Topsy*, *Two Courtesans Reading*, *A Girl Playing a Flute on an Autumn Night*, and other illustrations to ancient stories or themes have evening or nighttime settings illuminated by lanterns or the moon.³⁷ To be visually effective, black-and-white photography requires a sensitivity to strongly contrasting bright areas and shadows; the use of a single strong source of light aids in this process.

Hu Boxiang's soft-focus images are derived from photography practices. In his half-length picture of a girl holding roses, the lower part of the figure gradually fades away (figure 8.8). In photography, according to Lang Jingshan, a pioneer of photography in China, soft focus "was achieved by either placing a piece of gauze over the lens or pasting a sheet of paper over it. The paper was pierced with a large pinhole in the center and smaller holes around it. A photo taken this way would come out sharp in the center, but soft and misty toward the edges."³⁸ Hu Boxiang repeatedly imitated this special effect to great advantage, and it became a standard approach used by many other advertisement calendar poster artists.

Two extraordinary posters by Hu portray popular entertainers. One from 1930 depicts the ill-fated movie star Ruan Lingyu, who, in 1935, committed suicide subsequent to an unhappy love affair (plate 24). She sits by a stream where several ducks swim. In 1931 Hu portrayed a songstress who performed at the Great World entertainment center, Wang Meiyu, in a casual pose (figure 8.9). Actors from the Chinese opera world, especially Mei Lanfang, had already appeared around 1924 as subjects for calendar posters, and were always depicted in their stage roles.³⁹ Hu Boxiang's two calendars followed the lead of the Hang Zhiying Studio, which in 1929 converted a publicity photograph of the entertainment celebrity Liang Saizhen (b. 1906) into a poster (discussed in chapter 9), thus inaugurating in the 1930s a string of advertising portraits of captivating female entertainers, usually movie stars like Li Lihua (b. 1922) and Chen Yunshang. A colored publicity still of Hu Die (1907–1989), crowned as the Queen of Movies in 1933, was converted directly into advertisement posters.⁴⁰ Hu Boxiang's two entertainers break with the usual formal presentation of women in calendar posters as decorously standing or seated in furniture. Now, women relaxing, even lolling on the ground, and seen from unusual angles, begin to appear in advertisement posters. This departure from tradition coincides with the increasingly informal poses of women, both movie stars and others, as exemplified by a 1929 photograph of Zhang Guangyu's wife, Tang Suzhen, taken by the commercial photographer Shi Shipan (figure 8.10).

Unique among Hu's creations for BAT is his 1925 half-length figure of a girl wearing a pink jacket; seen from the back, she turns her head toward the viewer, her lips are slightly parted, barely revealing her teeth (plate 25). The girl is in neither an interior nor an exterior setting, but the lower part of her figure is confined by swags of beautiful chrysanthemums. Isolated from external intrusions, girl and flowers glow against a deep velvety-black ground. The gold inscription by Cai Jiechen mentions "autumn rip-



FIGURE 8.8. Hu Boxiang (1896–1989), *Girl Holding Roses*, advertisement poster for Hatamen cigarettes. After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:13.

ples,” a metaphor for “bewitching eyes, clear and bright.” In 1925, Chinese girls in the advertising posters did not smile broadly but were content to barely open their lips. Hu’s soft-focus *Chilly Beauty* clutching a wrap close over her shoulders just manages a smile (plate 26).

Hu Boxiang occasionally depicted overtly sexy women. His woman in a pale blue dress bordered at collar, cuff, and hem with wide, delicate gold patterns, and wearing a large pink flower reclines sinuously on a couch, resting against a pillow (plate 27). Her short skirt exposes her shapely silk-stocking-clad crossed legs and one arm is raised behind her head. Crossed legs and “exposed armpits” are, according to Francesca Dal



FIGURE 8.9. Hu Boxiang (1896–1989), *Portrait of Wang Meiyu*, advertisement calendar poster for British American Tobacco for 1931. After Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” *Aomen zazhi* 8 (1999): 25.



FIGURE 8.10. Shi Shipan, *Tang Suzhen, Zhang Guangyu's Wife*.
After *Shanghai manhua* 81 (November 9, 1929), 7.

Lago, invitational body language. She surveys examples of this pose and interprets Hu Boxiang's depiction thus:

The representation is more openly flirtatious than those analyzed so far . . . and displays certain signs that endow the figure with a sexually easy-going attitude: the relaxed self-consciousness and the "open" presentation of the self underlined by the body—the fleshy, soft texture of the pink peony pinned just above the breast and close to the folding sleeve, traditionally considered one of the erotic zones of access to more intimate body parts, the legs wrapped in sheer silk stocking. The most revealing detail is the enticing posture of the woman, seductively leaning against the covered armchair and exposing both her armpit and her legs up to the knees.⁴¹

Around 1905, when BAT used advertising images of skimpily dressed women with their arms raised exposing armpits (figure 1.13), they were received with repugnance, declared unsuitable and unacceptable to Chinese tastes. Now, in the late 1920s and 1930s, pictorial advertising had come full circle: the exploitation of such imagery was very much to Chinese liking.

Hu Boxiang's provocative woman was just a precursor to Ni Gengye's truly blatant sexy and promiscuous women. Nothing is known about Ni Gengye except that he was trained in art by Xu Yongqing and worked for BAT designing advertising posters. He apparently had no other artistic interests. His advertising posters are rarely dated, so it is impossible to establish exactly when he worked for BAT; the earliest calendar is dated 1928, and the latest, 1938. During this decade, Ni created in the standard categories of illustrations—Chinese opera stories and legends and modest, quietly posed, oval-faced modern lovelies in both exterior and interior settings, typified by the woman holding a parasol in a garden, dated 1928 (plate 28). His woman seated on a bench (plate 29) would later would be transformed into an alluring siren (plate 30).

Ni would find his real forte, however, in representing flamboyantly sexy women, and in this genre he developed a distinct, personal style. One picture by Ni, *Girl in Boudoir*, from 1932 (plate 31), initially seems to be an offshoot of Hu Boxiang's alluring woman (plate 27). Wearing the same short dress with flaring panel inset at the side and a blossom at the shoulder, Ni's seductress goes further than Hu's temptress. An oval mirror behind Ni's woman hints at the intimacy of a private bedroom. Her anklets with red designs at the top at once call attention to her exposed legs, leading the viewer's eye up to the red hibiscus on her shoulder, and ending at her alluring full, red lips. The flesh of her arms, shoulders, and chest is evident through the transparent fabric of her long sleeves and bodice. And, quite different from Hu's girl, Ni's woman stares directly out at the viewer with a challenging "come hither" expression. A second sultry woman, in *Jade Pure, Ice Clean* from 1933 (plate 30), sits on a garden bench like her sister from a slightly earlier date (plate 29); instead of gazing quietly to one side, she toys with her pearl necklace and gazes beguiling at the viewer, gesturing toward the vacant space beside her, as if extending an invitation for a companion to join her and sit at her side. Ni abandoned the oval-faced, expressionless beauties with their loose, body-concealing dresses for his own paragon of feminine beauty and attractiveness. Her face is rounded and she uses pink makeup to deepen her eye sockets. In Western style, her hair is fixed with finger waves; it is parted on one side, so that, in an asymmetrical arrangement, the waves of hair are fuller on one side of her face. Her close-fitting dress reveals the soft curves of her body. Her direct, piercing gaze further distinguishes her from her sisters of the period preceding and during the 1920s. Ni's women sometimes are more active, in the sense that they literally drape themselves invitingly over pieces of furniture, stretching as if with fatigue, signaling that bedtime is near, or teasingly slump in sofas or chairs.⁴² Dal Lago observes that in traditional Chinese culture "outstretched postures and a seeming lack of control over one's body could be associated with loose moral habits."⁴³

One of Ni Gengye's most successful piercing-gazed women is dressed in fashion based on Western art-deco fabric patterns and seated in silken magnificence among art-deco pillows, smoking a cigarette (plate 32). Seen from a low angle, as if the viewer is seated on the floor looking up at her, there is no barrier between viewer and subject. A slight, inviting smile animates her face, along with the usual intense gaze. The obvious message directed at women is that smoking is acceptable, it is becoming fashionable and is perhaps even charming and attractive. Everyone wants to emulate the modern glamorous woman. Another poster, *Always Thinking of You*, might be directed at men, insinuating that smoking Ruby Queen cigarettes gives them a social advantage with women (plate 33). Seated on a wooden pavilion bench on the shore of West Lake in Hangzhou, the woman, again in lovely silk, has her knees drawn up and rests her chin on them. The front half of her *qipao* skirt entirely conceals her legs, but the back half falls completely open, revealing her white slip and providing an insinuating visual invitation for intercourse. In contrast to the reliance on poetry to suggest sexuality as was done, for instance, in Zheng Mantuo's *Spring Bath* (figure 6.8), sex is openly purveyed in visual terms alone.



FIGURE 8.11. Photographer unknown, “Zhang Guangyu,” 1922. After *Libailiu* 146 (January 28, 1922), n.p.

What makes memorable many of the calendar prints for BAT by Liang Dingming, Hu Boxiang, and Ni Gengye are the distinctive borders. The elaborate encasements for the oval openings as well as for the round frames of Hu Boxiang’s seasonal landscapes (plate 23) were not designed by Hu Boxiang, but by Zhang Guangyu. Zhang’s father and grandfather, natives of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, practiced Chinese medicine.⁴⁴ When young, Zhang Guangyu studied at home, and at age fourteen he went to Shanghai and enrolled in the school attached to the Shanghai Second Normal College. After graduation he studied with Zhang Yuguang, the prestigious multitalented Shanghai artist, and helped him with his set designs at the New Theater (Xin Wutai), built to accommodate the new Beijing opera as performed in Shanghai.⁴⁵ Like other budding commercial artists, Zhang Guangyu did covers for romance fiction magazines, between 1918 and 1922.⁴⁶ In his 1922 photograph, he poses debonairly holding his oil painting palette and brushes (figure 8.11). In 1919 Zhang Guangyu joined the Shengsheng Art Company, publishers of *Shijie huabao* (World pictorial), with Ding Song as editor and himself as assistant editor. Between 1921 and 1925 Zhang Guangyu worked as an artist in the advertising department of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, where, in addition to drawing advertisements, he also painted calendar poster pictures. In 1925 Zhang was involved with publication of *Shanghai huabao* (Shanghai pictorial), and in 1926, he transferred to the Shanghai Mofan Factory (Shanghai Mofan Gongchang), doing artwork and managing the *Sanri huakan* (Three-day pictorial). From 1927 until 1934 he worked at BAT. During this time Zhang Guangyu also managed, with a friend,

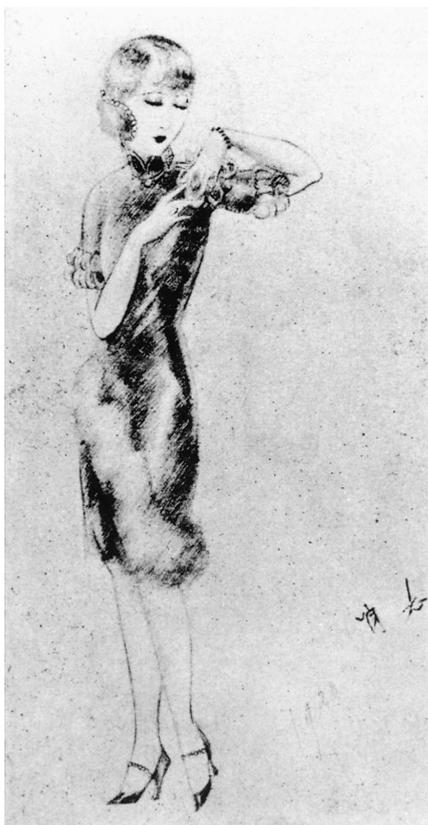


FIGURE 8.12. *He Zhizhen*. After *Shanghai manhua* 36 (December 22, 1928), 7.

the Eastern Art Printing Company (Dongfang Meishu Yinshua Gongsì), helped organize a sketching association, and was an editor for *Shanghai manhua*.⁴⁷

Zhang Guangyu became engaged with the world of fashion design. In 1928 the socialite and movie star Tang Yinghui, along with Shao Lizi and his wife, opened the Yunshang Fashion Company (Yunshang Shizhuang Gongsì). China had never had fashion designers like the couture houses in Paris and New York. Rather, fashionable Chinese learned of the latest styles indirectly through newspapers and magazines. To fill this gap, a group of artists developed a new art genre: fashion-illustration drawing. Zhang Guangyu, Ding Song, Ye Qianyu (b. 1907), Hu Yaguang, and two women artists, Zhang Lingji and He Zhizhen, drew fashion illustrations, published in the print media.⁴⁸ Zhang Guangyu and Ye Qianyu were spokesmen, so to speak, for the Yunshang Fashion Company, and between 1928 and 1929 their steady stream of pictures of new styles accompanied by brief style notes, along the lines of Western fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, circulated, in the pages of *Shanghai manhua* and other pictorials. He Zhizhen herself was a fashion plate, if a 1928 sketch of her is to be believed (figure 8.12); when she married, in 1933, the caption to her wedding photograph in *Liangyou* declared her a “fashion specialist” and a “well-known fashion designer.”⁴⁹

In 1934, in response to the patriotic movement to oppose imperialism in China, Zhang Guangyu decided he no longer wanted to be associated with a foreign company and resigned from BAT. With a friend, he founded the Modern Book Publishing Company (Shidai Tushu Gongsi), where he was financial manager. This company published five magazines: *Shidai buabao* (Modern pictorial), *Shidai manhua* (Modern sketches), *Shidai dianying* (Modern film), *Lunyu* (Discussion), and *Wanxiang* (Every phenomenon). Zhang excelled at cartoons, as did his mentor, Zhang Yuguang; both were pioneers in this genre in China. Few of Zhang Guangyu's calendar pictures are known today. His true strength in the production of calendar posters was design, and judging from the borders he created for pictures by Hu Boxiang and Ni Gengye, Zhang's was an extraordinary talent.

Artistic borders enclose a given pictorial space, to confine it and give it unity. Successful borders surrounding an image harmonize with and enhance it. Mountings of traditional Chinese scrolls and album-leaf paintings provide the pieces with supporting backings of heavy paper for the otherwise flimsy paper or silk, as well as broad, decorative, protective fabric or paper perimeters. The patterns are usually geometric diaper, medallion, or repeated floral motifs, and discerning mounters select tasteful patterns and appropriate colors to complement the colors or tonalities of the painting.

In prints, the earliest known patterned border is in a twelfth-century example discovered in Kharakhoto in the early twentieth century and now preserved in The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.⁵⁰ The inner border is of squared spirals. An additional wide border, at the top and at the bottom, consists of spiraling leafy vines; the top border includes two phoenixes. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, illustrated books sometimes had leafy borders around the pictures, or special motifs such as beribboned rings.⁵¹ In late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century popular prints, borders were of traditional geometric designs (figure 2.3), squared spirals, "cracked ice," swastika, or auspicious motifs: characters for happiness, cranes, bats, butterflies, melons, coins, ingots, "endless knots," or generic flowers.

Beginning in the early 1920s, calendar print designers began to pay more attention to all edges of their pictures. For the most part, however, traditional border motifs were not carried over into the calendar posters. A rare exception is in Hu Boxiang's *Girl Holding Roses* (figure 8.8), where the border is neatly composed of alternating squares of geometrical ornament and clusters of three split pomegranates (because of their many seeds, symbols of fertility). Mostly, boundary designs were derived from Western prototypes. An advertising picture for Nanyang Brothers Tobacco by Ding Yunxian, dated 1921, has an edging of sinuous art-nouveau stalks opening into modest leaf forms at the corners.⁵² A Liang Dingming poster (plate 19) has a lovely art-nouveau rim of delicate green with large yellow blossoms accenting corners of the central field and connected by a curvilinear design. The border colors repeat the soft green and golden glow of the picture. Even in the perimeter of Zheng Mantuo's suggestively erotic picture of the woman with a fan (plate 13), the delicate white blossoms on an angular green lattice against a green ground maintain the overall tonalities of the picture itself. A border design on a Hu Boxiang advertisement placard is remarkably close to a Jun-

genstil design from around 1905–1914.⁵³ These border patterns might have been inspired by those published in the art-nouveau stylebooks mentioned in chapter 1.

Hu Boxiang's portraits of beautiful women were often enclosed in oval frames. This shape was used occasionally in late-nineteenth-century China and became a favorite for both political portraits, as in the posters discussed in chapter 4, and for women, often prostitutes, adorning the front covers of romance fiction magazines. The oval portrait frame was not absorbed into Chinese advertising calendar imagery until the late 1920s. Mirrors were also sometimes oval in shape. In seventeenth-century England, oval Chippendale hall mirrors were surrounded by light frames of leaves, similar to those that enclose the *Chilly Beauty* (plate 26). Oval frames echo a woman's elliptical face and the curves of her arms. Other border patterns on Chinese advertisement calendar pictures are more generic interwoven scrolls or the like, but all are linked to Western origins.

During his career at BAT, Zhang Guangyu concocted extraordinary backgrounds for one-time use only, and he devised a new layout formula that continued to be used by BAT designers even after he left the firm in 1934.

Shortly after joining BAT, Zhang Guangyu created the surrounding design for Ni Gengye's woman with a parasol (plate 28): an intricate maze of curlicue patterns derived from contemporary European art-deco designs.⁵⁴ In the late 1920s, the strong simple shapes, geometric designs, intersecting squares, circles and triangles, angular chevrons and zigzags, smooth curves, and stylized representations of modernist art began to dominate the art-deco decorative language.⁵⁵ In Zhang's curlicue border, the two reclining deer above the cartouche are immediate clues to an art-deco origin, since deer, leaping or reclining, were motifs beloved by art-deco designers. Zhang's greatest affinity among European art-deco craftsmen seems to have been with the metalworkers, such as Edgar Brandt (1880–1960).⁵⁶ Decorative metalwork was readily visible in Shanghai itself, a primary example being certain windows of Sassoon House, headquarters of the Shanghai branch of E. D. Sassoon and Company as well as of the renowned Cathay Hotel (today the Peace Hotel). Construction of Sassoon House, the second-largest building on the Bund, began in 1926; it was completed in 1929. Situated on a triangular piece of land at the junction of Nanjing Road and the Bund, its twelve-story tower topped by a steep pyramidal-shaped roof became a landmark.⁵⁷ It was noted for its art-deco interior decoration and the windows garnished with felines, another cherished art-deco creature (figure 8.13).⁵⁸ Zhang's penchant for intricate interweavings and his infatuation with modernistic geometric form appear in *Cubist Shanghai Life*, a *Shanghai manhua* cover (figure 8.14).⁵⁹

Art-deco metalwork is also the basis of Zhang's amazing frames for Hu Boxiang's landscapes (plate 23), where even mitered corners and rivet heads are replicated. The gold color duplicates the shimmer of metal frames. Zhang's frame for Ni Gengye's *Adjusting an Earring* combines traditional Western leaf scrolls with art-deco corner motifs of layered, vibrating "shock waves" echoing the woman's undulating hair.⁶⁰

Zhang's design masterpiece was created for Hu Boxiang's 1930 calendar poster depicting Ruan Lingyu (plate 24). It is a thorough, sumptuous, and harmonious integration



FIGURE 8.13. Richard Jones, “Bronze Frieze Detail of Sassoon House Window.”
 After Richard Jones, “Metalwork of the Shanghai Bund,” *Arts of Asia* 14, 6 (November/December 1984): fig. 33.

of art-deco principles, demonstrating the high level of accomplishment in modern, abstract art achieved by some Chinese commercial artists. The blue and orange colors and the striped pattern of the movie star’s *qipao* fabric have no precedents in Chinese costume. Blue-and-orange is a color combination favored by art-deco devotees, and the stripes cut the garment into geometric shapes, another characteristic of art-deco dress design. Traditional Chinese garments often accentuated the neck, cuffs, and hem with floral or other decorative devices, but here they are ornamented by wide undecorated bands, the decoration at the side ending in a broad chevron, a key art-deco pattern. Ruan wears the so-called art-deco rose on her shoulder. The border design is entirely art-deco in concept and color. It is an overall abstract pattern of discs, arcs, and bars in the approved art-deco blue and orange. Zhang Guangyu’s design for this 1930 advertising poster echoes his geometric designs in the *Cubist Shanghai Life Shanghai manhua* cover two years earlier (figure 8.14). He took extreme care in designing this pseudo-mounting, introducing subtle changes and variations on the basic pattern shapes. On the right side of the image, the mounting design is constructed of connected bars; on the left side of the image, the design is of discs and curved forms. Above the central image the design is composed of connected arcs and bars. The intricate frame of highly stylized birds, pointed leaves, and flower forms that surrounds the calendar at the bottom of the scroll seems to imitate some sort of wrought metalwork. A related metalwork design frames a panel with small seal characters above the central image and extends to either side to underline the characters expressing wishes for a happy and prosperous new year.

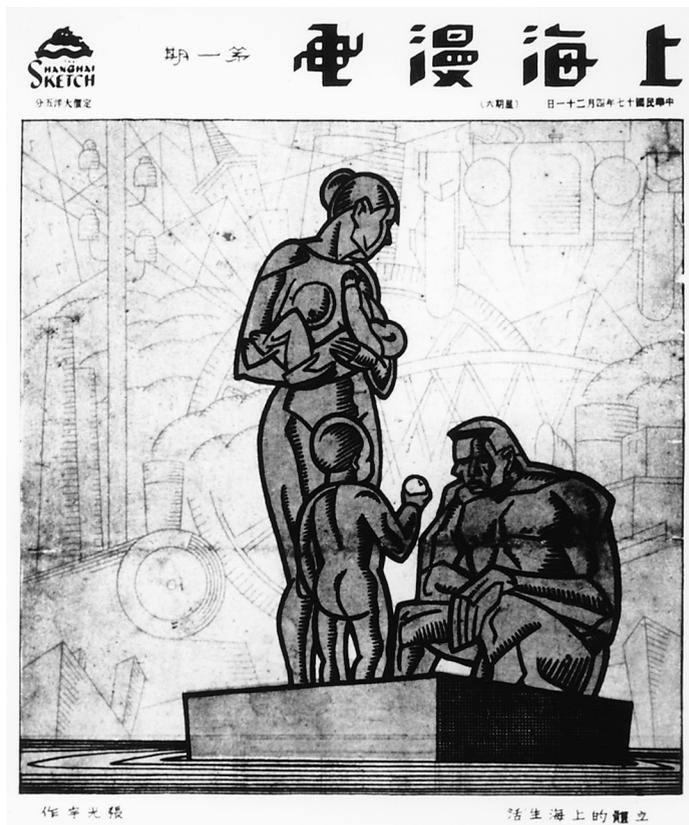


FIGURE 8.14. Zhang Guangyu (1900–1965), *Cubist Shanghai Life*. *Shanghai manhua* 1 (April 21, 1928), front cover.

These characters, as well as those for the brand name Hatamen, rendered in the highly decorative art-deco style, were probably prepared by yet a third person, a specialist in art calligraphy. Fancy script (known in Chinese as “design characters” *tu’anzi*) was all the vogue in China from the late 1920s on; in 1931 there was an exhibition of “design characters,” from which *Liangyou* published two pages of representative examples (figure 8.15). Art-deco typography had a pivotal impact on calendar pictures and magazine covers, as revealed in the striking contrast between the calligraphy used for the name of the 1915 magazine *Funiu zazhi* (figure 6.6) and that for the 1928 *Shanghai manhua*, designed by Zhang Guangyu (figure 8.14).⁶¹ Until art-deco calligraphy arrived in the late 1920s, the calligraphy printed on calendar pictures and magazine covers was in the standard (*kaishu*) script, in either its printed or brush forms; occasionally large seal script was employed. The more extreme art-deco calligraphy forms that included shadowing around character strokes, converting dots (*dian*) into geometrically perfect squares, triangles, or circles, are effects impossible to achieve easily with the brush. Art-deco Chinese characters are on many calendar prints, although sometimes the urge for artistic creativity overcame the necessity for legibility. Art-deco calligraphy permeated all aspects of Chinese popular culture and the urban landscape. The urban dweller was



FIGURE 8.16. Xie Zhiguang (1900–1976), *Two Girls Holding Spools of Thread*, advertisement poster for Central Agency, 1930s, 75 × 50 cm. Collection of Agnès Tabah, Washington, D.C.

style lighting emphasized the ornament of the fixture, but the new style depended on the light itself for decorative effect, thus greater emphasis was placed on the structure of the fixture, rather than on its decoration.⁶⁴ Small mirrors were moved out of the ladies' private boudoirs and into the more public living rooms, where their reflections of light would make small rooms appear larger. Secondary furnishings included book-ends like miniature skyscrapers and ashtrays made of shiny steel with brightly colored, glistening enamel linings.

Chinese advertisement calendar posters from the late 1920s and 1930s are replete with art-deco features. Modern interiors have stepped tables, some made with tubular steel supports, decorated with curved and rectangular patterns. Chairs may be upholstered with fabrics in abstract patterns of chevrons and triangles. Other art-deco furnishings include a steel and red enamel ashtray with a crouching panther whose lithe streamlined anatomy is synonymous with power and speed, two modern obsessions expressed in art-deco forms. The wall of one interior has a lighting fixture of a two-tiered soft white material (perhaps glass), relieved by two diagonal strips and a large round mirror.

On all social levels, art deco was a fact of modern life in the China of the late 1920s and 1930s, and its presence simply could not be ignored or escaped. It was so prevalent that people of all walks of life were exposed to it, whether they recognized it as such or not. For the fashionable at the top of the social scale who totally absorbed Western modes, art-deco design was accepted as the proper style for their dress and accessories as well as for the furnishings of their homes and apartments. Even those less committed to becoming entirely Western could not avoid the art-deco designs that had seeped into their physical surroundings. Urban movie mavens frequented cinemas constructed and decorated in art-deco style: the theaters' foyers, the floors, and the stairways were ornamented with geometric patterns. In the films the Chinese actresses wore *qipao* made from fabric printed with art-deco patterns, in art-deco settings. For ordinary persons, the sumptuous, elegant art-deco clothing and furnishings seen in the movies probably represented a level of luxury perhaps admired but acknowledged as unattainable.

In both China and the West, a basic requirement of a calendar picture is that the primary subject be presented in a representational fashion, and so calendar pictures always provided highly accurate pictures for their public. The Chinese happily acquired calendars with a few art deco or modernist motifs incorporated into stylish dresses or jewelry, or easily accepted a few abstract background patterns borrowed from the fashion photographer's studio that lent a degree of modernity to the scene, or tolerated art-deco frames around central images because they did not intrude into the main picture or detract from the human figure. The very presence of the art-deco motifs and of modernist styles in the pictorial calendars brought abstract art forms directly onto the streets of Shanghai for all, even the most lowly, to see. The advertisement calendar was instrumental in making the ordinary Chinese become accustomed to the abstractions of modern art.

Zhang Guangyu's new poster layout, first seen around 1931, was used mostly in the tall-and-narrow format, into which he introduced a large plaque for the calendar in the



FIGURE 8.17. Ni Gengye, *Girl at Airfield*, advertisement calendar poster for Qidong Tobacco Company for 1938, 103 × 38 cm. Collection of Agnès Tabah, Washington, D.C.

lower third of the space. This plaque itself was framed with ornamental designs and placed against a richly decorated background of various motifs, such as the repeat of angular stylized flower and leaf forms for Hu Boxiang's 1931 portrait of Wang Meiyu (figure 8.9). Arranged on each side of, and sometimes below, the central plaque were the cigarette packages. This formula was frequently utilized, and spin-offs continued at BAT throughout the 1930s, usually embellishments of the works of Hu Boxiang and Ni Gengye.

One of the last uses of Zhang's invention is seen in what must be among the final products for BAT by Ni Gengye, his woman at an airfield (figure 8.17). It is dated 1938 according to the reign characters Kangde, indicating that the poster was probably destined for advertisement in Manchuria, where the Japanese had set up the puppet state of Manchuko. She waves as if greeting an unseen person, having alighted from the airplane in the background, as she moves across the field toward the terminal. A different interpretation is also possible: the young woman might be departing, making her way across the tarmac, but turns to wave "farewell" to a friend, just prior to boarding the plane. If this is the case, Ni's picture is an ironic, unwitting, and poignant farewell to the era of advertisement calendars, for by 1938, the Japanese, entrenched in Shanghai, succeeded in pretty much cutting it off from the trade world and from the rest of China. Isolated, Shanghai had no need for elaborate advertisement calendar posters. Liang Dingming had thrown in his lot with the Nationalists and had long ago ceased making calendar pictures. Hu Boxiang was pressed by the Japanese for paintings, but he refused. In the 1940s, Hu embarked on a business career and, by 1947, was deeply committed to it, serving on the boards and management councils of at least five industries.⁶⁵ Zhang Guangyu had left BAT in 1934. Ni Gengye's fate is unknown.

By 1936 BAT had moved its headquarters from Shanghai to Hong Kong. In Shanghai, the factories and equipment of Chinese companies were taken over by the Japanese. BAT, according to Sherman Cochran, kept ownership of its Shanghai properties and "continued to do business in occupied as well as unoccupied China."⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the glorious era of lavish advertisement calendar posters was over.



CHAPTER NINE

The Zhiying Studio

Hang Zhiying, Jin Xuechen,
and Li Mubai



Hang Zhiying (1900–1947) was originally named Guanqun. His father was a secretary to Bao Xianchang, one of the founders of the Commercial Press and its general director from 1914 until his death, in 1929.¹ At the age of thirteen Hang Zhiying moved from his hometown of Haining in Zhejiang Province to Shanghai. Possibly he first studied at the Jesuit-run painting school for orphans, Tushanwan, but this is uncertain.² What is certain is that Hang entered the Commercial Press art department school, where he trained with Chinese and foreign art teachers, receiving instruction in book design, commercial art, advertising design, and practical art, as well as in Chinese-style and Western-style painting. One of Hang Zhiying's teachers at the Commercial Press was He Yimei. Because of the tremendous success of Zheng Mantuo's rub-and-paint method, others wanted to learn the technique; but as mentioned earlier, Zheng understandably did not want his procedure to be public. Hang Zhiying managed, however, to acquire the technique, and it subsequently became a standard method among many calendar poster artists. The story, as told by Jin Meisheng to Ding Hao, is that Hang and Jin, while still at the Commercial Press, noticed how popular Zheng Mantuo's calendar pictures were and really wanted to learn his method but didn't know how to begin. Hang and Jin went to the Commercial Press printing shop, where they took advantage of seeing Zheng Mantuo's original paintings for his calendar posters. Here they examined and analyzed Zheng's paintings and realized that the dark and bright portions of Zheng's figures were in all likelihood the result of his using carbon rubbed into the paper, and then adding color. The Commercial Press was near Wangping Street, the location of "painted pencil picture shops." During lunch breaks, Hang and Jin went to these shops to observe artisans at work using carbon. In the evenings, Hang and Jin practiced the technique,



FIGURE 9.1. Photographer unknown, “Hang Zhiying and his Bride Wang Luosui,” 1928. After *Shanghai manhua* 31 (November 17, 1928), 3.

and after repeated experiments, a painting produced by this method by Jin Meisheng was shown to the head of the Commercial Press printing plant, who pronounced it very satisfactory and purchased it. And so the rub-and-paint method became common.³ Upon completing his education at the Commercial Press school, Hang sold designs at the Press on a retail basis, which the Press then printed. He did this for four years, because Commercial Press regulations stipulated no less than four years of service. In 1920 (or, according to some sources, 1922), Hang Zhiying left the Commercial Press to establish his own studio at 430 North Shanxi Road, specializing in advertisement posters and product package design. When Hang married Wang Luosui, in 1928, their wedding picture appeared in *Shanghai manhua*, and he is identified as a “famous artist” (figure 9.1). Over the years, the studio would furnish advertisement calendar posters and hangers, moon-cake box designs and pictures of fashionable women for magazine covers.⁴

Hang’s initial calendar poster efforts clung to proven forms and ideas. A poster from



FIGURE 9.2. Zhiying Studio, *Two Women in a Room*, advertisement poster for the Palmolive Company, mid-1920s. After Ng Chun Bong, et al., *Chinese Woman and Modernity*, 7.

the mid-1920s indicates that Hang, as suggested by Xiao Chunyuan and others, was still in thrall to Zheng Mantuo (figure 9.2).⁵ The two women in a dressing room where Palmolive products are strategically scattered on the Western-style dressing table resemble paper cutouts pasted over an interior setting. One woman perches precariously on the arm of a chair; the other leans against the windowsill, but the improper positioning of her arm makes this pose unconvincing. Like most feminine images in posters of the mid-1920s, their faces are unsmiling and devoid of expression.

Two artists would join Hang Zhiying in his studio. Jin Xuechen (1904–1997), originally named Cheng, was from Jiading, Jiangsu Province, and was attracted to art as a youngster (figure 9.3). Jin's artistic talent became evident when he was in grade school, and he continued to teach himself painting. In 1922 he passed the entrance examination for the art department of the Commercial Press and in 1925 received an invitation from Hang Zhiying to become an associate in his studio. Jin was especially talented in

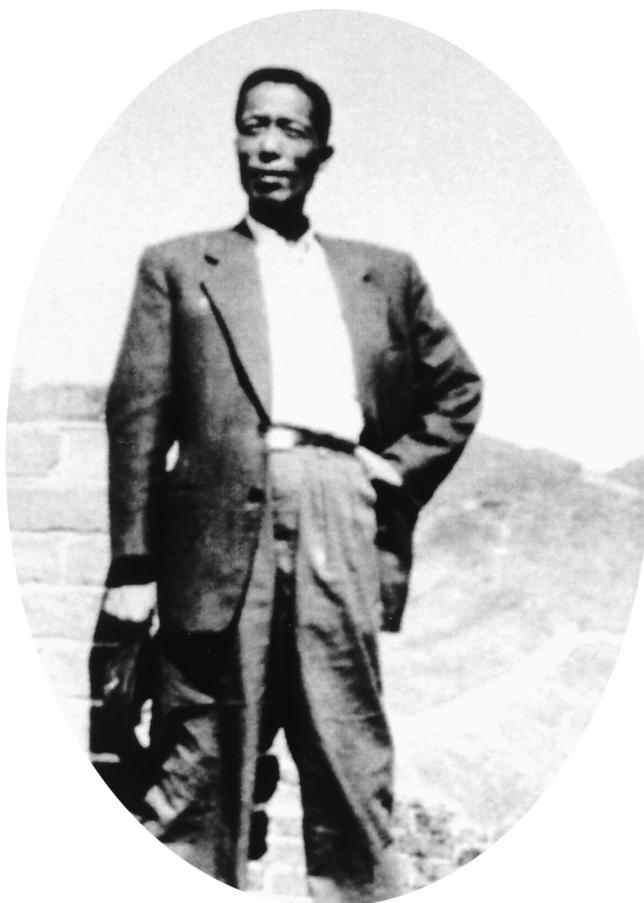


FIGURE 9.3. Photographer unknown, “Jin Xuechen at the Great Wall,” 1952. Hang Mingshi Collection. After Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenbua*, 110.

watercolors and Chinese-style painting and skilled in the use of the spray gun, the techniques of which he had studied with a German specialist. He was fond of *guyan* and *gushi* literary and poetic forms.⁶ In 1928 another gifted painter, Li Mubai (1913–1991), entered the Zhiying firm at the tender age of fifteen and became Hang Zhiying’s protégé. Li was a native of Hang’s hometown, Haining, Zhejiang, and presumably, on the basis of this hometown connection, received special attention from Hang Zhiying. Li married the sister of Hang’s wife, and Hang fostered Li’s career by sending him to study with Chen Qiucuo at the White Goose Western Painting Institute (Baie Xihua Yanjiusuo) in Shanghai.⁷

The White Goose Western Painting Institute had its origins with the White Goose Painting Society (Baie Huashe), established in 1923 by four former students of Liu Haisu: Chen Qiucuo (1906–1988); Pan Sitong (1904–1980), a specialist in watercolor who also designed advertisements and *yuefenpai*;⁸ Du Xueou; and Fang Xuegu. The society was located on Hengbang Road (present-day Sichuan North Road), but moved to Chang-

chun Road in 1928. In 1934 the affiliated school was known as the White Goose Preparatory Painting School (Baie Huihua Buxi Xuexiao). It offered basic courses in Western painting and pupils were encouraged to experiment. The school closed in 1937, but not before it had trained nearly a thousand students, many of whom went abroad for further study. Pan Sitong taught at the school and issued booklets of his pencil studies and watercolors that presumably could be used as model books, as did Fang Xuegu. Published by *Liangyou*, these manuals were advertised in that magazine.⁹ Between 1928 and 1933 the White Goose artists received unprecedented publicity in *Shanghai manhua* and *Liangyou*. A 1928 exhibition of paintings by Chen, Pan, and Fang was given extended notice in *Shanghai manhua*, and in December 1928, selections from an exhibition of works by White Goose students and faculty were presented in *Shanghai manhua*.¹⁰ The upcoming second exhibition of works by White Goose students and faculty was announced in *Shanghai manhua* in June 1929 and selections from it published in the July issue.¹¹ In 1929 group photographs of White Goose pupils and teachers appeared in the January 26, the July 27, and the November 23 issues of *Shanghai manhua*; the July 24, 1929, issue of *Shanghai manhua* carried an announcement of the school's curriculum.¹² *Liangyou* followed suit. A three-quarter-page spread devoted to the institute, its founders, its students, and their works appeared in the January 1929 issue.¹³ It reproduced landscapes by three of the founders (Chen, Fang, and Pan), and pencil sketches by three students, two of whom were women: He Aizhen and He Zhizhen. There was also a group photograph. Another woman student at the institute was Pan Ming. Over the next four years, a large number of covers, cartoons, designs, and paintings, both scenic and figural, by Fang, Chen, and Pan in particular were reproduced in *Shanghai manhua* and *Liangyou*. They reveal an amazingly eclectic mix of Western styles (figure 9.4), from purely decorative to postimpressionistic, to futuristic to realistic to stylized fashion plates. If this scattershot approach to Western art also reflects their teaching methods, it is difficult to conceive how their students received coherent schooling in Western art. Little of what is seen in the available works by Chen, Fang, and Pan surfaces in the calendar posters of the 1930s.

At the Zhiying Studio, Li Mubai specialized in painting depictions of women, and Jin Xuechen, the landscape backgrounds.¹⁴ One of Li Mubai's fortes was painting copies of newspaper photographs of beautiful women.¹⁵ Sometimes Hang is credited with painting the figures. After the firm was well established, Hang concentrated on managing the business and his artistic input was limited to creating a few compositions and making corrections. Eventually, there were as many as ten people on the Zhiying Studio staff.¹⁶

It is estimated that the Zhiying Studio annually produced two hundred advertising items and magazine covers per year, of which some eighty were calendar posters and hangers.¹⁷ The studio ultimately was responsible for a large percentage of the total output of posters. Pictures from the Zhiying Studio were sought after in Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Among their clients were the Guangsheng Company with their famous Two Girls brand of cosmetics, Indanthrene textiles, White Cat cotton cloth, Five Goose underwear, and many cigarette companies.¹⁸



FIGURE 9.4. Fang Xuegu, *Fading Youth*.
After *Liangyou* 79 (August 1933), n.p.

One client inadvertently caused a furor at the Zhiying Studio. Huacheng Tobacco Company launched a new cigarette in 1925 for the high end of their market. Named My Dear (*Meili*, “Beauty”) the package carried as its brand mark the picture of the beautiful entertainer Lü Meiyu. It is said that the general manager of Huacheng, Chen Chuxiang, spied the photograph of an extremely attractive woman in the window of a photography shop and, recognizing it as Lü, decided to use it on the new cigarette packaging in order to attract attention, assuming that everyone would want to buy a package with Lü’s image on it. Her face then appeared on all manner of My Dear advertisements: cigarette packets, tins, newspaper ads. Complications arose, however, when this brand became so popular that many copies appeared on the market. These imitations used modifications and variations of Lü’s My Dear image as their trademarks. In 1927 Lü and her husband sued Huacheng for infraction of “portrait rights.” Hang Zhiying was implicated because he had designed the trademark. In court Hang Zhiying defended himself forcefully and eloquently, arguing that the image he designed for the trademark and the other “pirated” trademarks were two different things. He was eventually declared innocent of the charges.¹⁹

The Zhiying Studio served as a training ground for commercial artists. Hang was noted for his nurturing of budding artists, for his firm hand in instructing the students, and for his sympathy for those in need. In addition to helping Li Mubai improve his art, Hang trained Wu Zhefu and Song Yunzhong.²⁰ When He Yimei, Hang's former teacher, returned to Shanghai from Hong Kong, Hang took him into the business. Hang paid the tuition for Studio apprentices to attend the White Goose Western Painting Institute. Hang himself continued to improve and expand his own painting style by studying traditional Chinese painting methods and all kinds of art from abroad.

In his own work Hang sought to blend stylistic traits from Western and Chinese art; his approach was passed on to his employees, both the accomplished Li Mubai and Jin Xuechen, as well as the many lesser talents who must have passed through the studio. This insistent blending of diverse styles left little room for individuality, and because the products of the Zhiying Studio were collaborative efforts, distinguishing the different hands is nearly impossible. Despite the uniformity of the Zhiying Studio output, a few useful observations can be made about it.

The Zhiying Studio was able to produce vast numbers of calendars, or, most often, hangers, because their pictures rarely had frills such as special fancy borders, or elaborate text passages, elements that would require more time in the design process, raising the production cost. At the lowest, presumably cheapest, level, Zhiying Studio pictures consist of an image only, with no background; the next level are those that include the name of a firm in large, standard script characters. Further up the scale, the images become more complex and may include depictions of product packages, and on up to full-blown calendar posters, replete with ornate borders and the minute characters of the calendar and perhaps a poem or other inscription. Companies wanting a Zhiying Studio poster must have negotiated with Hang Zhiying about appearance and costs. As a commercial firm, the Zhiying Studio naturally acquiesced to the patron's wishes; and even the Zhiying Studio had to continue the requirements of the Guangsheng Company for its Two Girls brand toiletries, requirements instituted decades earlier: two girls surrounded by a profusion of flowers and by depictions of the firm's many product boxes and bottles.

Perhaps to be factored into the cost of a poster might be the production artist who would actually execute the commission. Presumably if Hang Zhiying himself did the work or if Jin Xuechen or Li Mubai was the major designer, the poster might be expected to be of higher quality and its price higher than for one by an apprentice. A survey of Zhiying Studio advertisement posters reveals that the artistic level was uneven. Many Zhiying Studio posters are marred by women in ungainly poses, awkward and stiff figures, thick calves and ankles, anatomically incorrect proportions. Shortcuts might lessen the cost of production, and here Li Mubai's talents for converting photographs into advertisement posters, like his predecessor Zhou Muqiao, might have been put to good use. The 1929 Zhiying Studio calendar *Ballad of the Lute* for the Meiji Sugar Company (Meiji Seitō Kōshi), which depicts a woman playing a *pipa* on a boat (figure 9.5), was copied from a 1927 publicity shot of the actress and dance hall hostess Liang Sai-zhen (b. 1906), one of the famous four Liang sisters (figure 9.6). The theme is a restag-



FIGURE 9.5. Zhiying Studio, *Ballad of the Lute*, advertisement calendar for Meiji Sugar Company for 1929. After Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” *Aomen zazhi* 8 (1999): 21.

ing of Bai Juyi’s (772–846) famous *Ballad of the Lute* (*Pipa xing*) about a man in provincial Xunyang who, hearing the strains of a *pipa* coming from a boat, discovers that the musician had been a famous courtesan in the capital. An early-twentieth-century illustration of this poem is by Ma Tai (1885–ca. 1935; figure 9.7). In the Zhiying poster, however, the woman is so incorrectly positioned as to appear about to slide off the deck. The VAT 69 whiskey advertisement (figure 9.8) might have inspired *The Hero and the Beauty* poster for the China Huasheng Tobacco Company (Zhongguo Huasheng Yanco Gongsì) featuring the winner of a race at the Shanghai racecourse (figure 9.9). The torso and head of the jockey obscure the tower of the famous Park Hotel, designed by Laszlo Hudec (1893–1958), which when completed in 1934 was billed as the highest building in the Far East. But clearly depicted to the right are the flat roof and the stepped-



FIGURE 9.6. Photographer unknown, “Liang Saizhen Playing the Pipa.” After *Beiyang huabao* 144 (December 7, 1927), 1.

back facade of the foreign YMCA and its neighbor, the head office of the China United Assurance Society with its slender spire, both designed by Elliott Hazzard.

Although it is impossible to determine who initiated certain advertising poster themes, the sheer volume of Zhiying Studio’s output during the 1930s ensured their leadership in creating posters of new subjects, especially mothers and children and women sports enthusiasts. They also provided novel extensions of old subjects. Charming women endure, but some evolve into fashion models. Seminudes continue but with a greater emphasis on the titillating. Athletes, following the pattern of American pinup girls, are interpreted as soft pornography.

The Zhiying Studio experimented with a new form of calendar, the so-called “Yard Long Girl” calendars popular in the United States from around 1900 on (figure 9.10). The American versions had elongated figures of dazzling women in glamorous attire



FIGURE 9.7. Ma Tai (1885–ca. 1935), *The Courtesan of Xunyang*, ca. 1926. After Ma Tai, *Meiren baitai huapu* (Hong Kong: Rongbaozhai, 1956), 1:44b.

in a tall and narrow format. The calendar was printed on the reverse side. The Zhiying Studio adjusted these concepts to accord with Chinese ideas. Their set of four posters for Qidong Tobacco portrays famous beauties of the past, connected with the four seasons (figure 9.11). Yang Guifei, the favorite of the Tang emperor Minghuang, is traditionally associated with the peony, a springtime blossom. The second-century A.D. Diao Chan, raised by Wang Yun and his family, burned incense on a summer night to wish longevity to him, although she was a pawn in his ambitious plans when he offered her to two different men, thus making them adversaries, so that one murdered the other. The fifth-century B.C. Xi Shi, in front of an autumnal tree, earned her living washing

silk before she was used by the King of Yue to distract his rival and cause his defeat. Wang Zhaojun, married off to a northern tribesman, is wrapped in her signature fur-lined cloak and hood, holding her *pipa* in a bleak winter landscape. These four pictures mimic the traditional *pingzhang* or *pingtiao* sets of four or more narrow vertical scrolls of equal size and identical mounting, hung side by side as a suite. According to Benjamin March, “The flowers of the four seasons are typical. . . . The individual members [of the set] are as a rule so narrow that they are pleasing only in combination with the others.”²¹ Given the Chinese propensity for associating pretty women, even historical personages, with flowers, the Chinese versions of the “Yard Long Girls” might be understood as a pun on the original Chinese seasonal set.

The Zhiying Studio produced its share of routine seductive women, but more interesting are those posters in which the sexual is diminished and the fashionable intensified. Pictures of pretty women had always had an element of chic about them, but now fashion dominates. In close-ups of women wrapped in heavy, luxurious fox-fur scarves, they are more intent on displaying, as if for sale, their fashionable up-to-date accessories than their sexual allure (plate 34). They hold in prominent view handbags of art-deco design. In one example, the handbag is covered with a textile in an abstract pattern of geometric designs of long triangles, checkerboards, and spirals of the art-deco decorative language; in another, a woman holds an enameled armor-mesh vanity bag with an irregular lower edge. It is patterned with black and red diamonds and other angular motifs favored by art-deco designers. The woman also wears two art-deco finger rings of large, dark oval stones set with smaller stones and big pearl-drop earrings and a pearl necklace. Her dress is an excellent example of art-deco pattern. The world of the fashion model at a photographic shoot is effected in the background of four pictures for Shanghai Huiming Flashlights and Batteries Manufacturing Factory (Shanghai Huiming Diantong Dianchi Zhizao Chang; figure 9.12). The stocky women pose as fashion models: weight on one leg, hand on hip, pulling a wrap closer, or pushing a long coat away from her torso to better display the dress. Two models look to one side, rather than making eye contact with the viewer. Further evidence of the fashion shoot as inspiration for this set of advertisements are the geometrical designs of the background that might represent a photographer’s studio props or painted backdrops. These props were used for actual photographs of film stars like Chen Yanyan (1916–1999) modeling the latest fashions.²² Although by the early 1930s there were fashion shows in China, these were not the same as fashion shows in the West in which professional models showcased the latest designs of a given couturier. Rather, fashion shows in China were put on for “fun,” to raise money for charity, to mark the opening of a big business, or to commemorate the anniversary of a fabric store. Models were local socialites and movie stars who paraded dresses from their personal wardrobes.²³ In both fashion photographs and calendar posters these abstract background patterns lend an up-to-date art-deco flavor to the picture. A much more attractive set of fashion models grace four identical advertisement posters for two tobacco companies, the Manchurian company Fengtian Sun Tobacco (Fengtian Taiyang Yan Gongsì) and the Qidong Tobacco Company (plate 35). Tall, lithe models, in the mode of “Yard Long



FIGURE 9.8. *Vat 69 Whiskey Advertisement*. After the *Illustrated London News* (September 2, 1933), 376.

Girls,” pivot to show off the flattering, stylish cut of the back of a dress, or cuddle up in a robe, or pose with one hand on hip, the other at the back of the head. The women now finally have broad smiles revealing immaculate teeth. The purpose of these varied poses is to display the outstanding features of haute couture. In the background, vases of seasonal flowers continue Chinese traditions of associating beautiful women with flowers and the traditional spread of seasonal flowers of the *pingzhang* heritage.

Perhaps the height of the pretty woman, sometimes actually a movie star, as a fashion model, is found in the Zhiying Studio’s pictures for Indanthrene fabric. Indanthrene fabric was colorfast, unaffected by sun or rain, thus its logo of a cloudburst and a rayed sun. The dye used in this fabric had been discovered by Germans, but fabrics dyed with Indanthrene sold in China were actually woven in China.²⁴ Indanthrene dyes manufactured by companies such as Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrik, located in Ludwigshafer on Rhine were imported into China through their representative A. Ehlers &



FIGURE 9.9. Zhiying Studio, *The Hero and the Beauty*, advertisement poster for the China Huasheng Tobacco Company, 78 × 51 cm. After Liang Jingwu and Zhao Xiangbiao, ed., *Lao guanggao*, 57.

Co., which also placed advertisements on behalf of the company. One journal advertisement claims: “Indanthrene Dyes, which satisfy all demands in regard to fastness, which a dyestuff may be required to meet.”²⁵ Indanthrene-dyed fabric produced by the Shanghai Sanyou Company (Shanghai Sanyou Shiyeshe) was considered suitably sturdy and modest for the dresses of schoolgirls.²⁶ The fabric was unpatterned, limited to a single, solid color, and specific color numbers were advertised as being proper for certain types of garments worn on specific occasions. Number 25 was appropriate for sportswear; number 190, for theater; number 747, for social calls.²⁷ The humble status of these popular fabrics must have been affected when the movie star Wang Renmei (1914–1987) used a blue Indanthrene fabric for her wedding *qipao*, thereby setting a new trend in bridal dress.²⁸ Wang was born in Changsha, Hunan Province. Orphaned



FIGURE 9.10. *Yard Long Girls*, Papst Extract calendars for 1908, 1910, and 1914. After Sharon and Bob Huxford, *Huxford's Collectible Advertising*, 3rd ed. (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1997), 197.

by age eleven she joined a song-and-dance group eventually incorporated into the Lianhua Film Company. Wang scored a success with her third film *Dawn over the Metropolis* (1933) but is best remembered for *Song of the Fisherman* (1934). As her nickname Tiger Cat proclaims, she was known for “fiery, active roles.”²⁹

One Zhiying hanger with no advertising messages, titled *Spring Arrives with Abundant Flowers*, is deceptively simple.³⁰ The attractive, stately modern woman, with great poise, stands sedately in front of large sprays of white blossoms. By this time the once-shapeless *qipao* had become a full-length form-fitting glamorous garment, clinging to the now protruding bust and hugging the slender waist. Her close-fitting floor-length silk *qipao* is elegant with sprays of red blossoms and green leaves; she wears a wristwatch, earrings, multiple bracelets, and a triple-strand necklace of large pearls. The picture without background was also used to advertise Indanthrene colored cloth (figure 9.13); it is not signed as by Zhiying, so it is impossible to know whether it was produced by the Zhiying Studio or simply pirated by another firm. The most important modification is the replacement of the designed silk with a solid-color fabric. In this particular incarnation, the poster is titled *Miss Merry*.³¹ In another version, also from an unknown studio, even the pearl necklace has been eliminated for the sake of greater modesty. The



FIGURE 9.11. Zhiying Studio, *Four Beauties of the Past: Yang Guifei, Wang Zhaojun, Xi Shi, Diao Chan*, advertising posters for Qidong Tobacco Company, 1930s, 77 × 27 cm each.
After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggaobua*, 1:22–23.

movie star Chen Yunshang endorsed Indanthrene-dyed fabrics, and in an advertisement poster designed by the Zhiying Studio for the firm, she is seen not in a film role, but as herself (figure 7.20). In a popular side view, she is seated on a low stool so that the back of her *qipao* skirt falls vertically, yet there is little that is sexually suggestive about her pose. As required for Indanthrene advertising, her dress is a solid pink color; she wears red high-heeled pumps. The identical picture was repeated, with the movie star wearing a dark blue or black dress and dark shoes. Indanthrene also enlisted endorsements and pictures of the actresses Liang Saizhu (another of the famous four Liang sisters) and Li Lihua for their advertisements.

At the opposite end of the glamor scale were the seminude women depicted by many *yuefenpai* artists, those of the Zhiying Studio not excepted. It is understood that many of these images were simply copied from Western paintings of nudes, with facial features modified to represent Chinese faces.³² Some seminudes are placed in front of draped curtains and Western windows, reminiscent of Titian. Another favorite shows a voluptuous young woman in a provocative pose with exposed legs and sometimes also exposed or barely veiled breasts, standing near a stream or seated on a rock near a stream; some recall Rolling Rock beer advertisements. However, finding direct prototypes has proven elusive; perhaps exploration of men's magazines might turn up some models.

Not all nude calendar-pictures, however, needed to be based on Western prototypes; depictions of female seminudes were not unknown in earlier Chinese art, and in the first half of the twentieth century in China, pictures of female nudes and seminudes were rampant. In the chapter on Zheng Mantuo, mention was made of the prevalence



FIGURE 9.12. Zhiying Studio, *Four Models*, advertisement posters for Shanghai Huiming Flashlights and Batteries Manufacturing Factory, 1930s.
After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:109.

of traditional depictions of Yang Guifei, scantily clad in a see-through gown coming from her bath. Mention was also made of the outcry by women painters in 1916 over Zheng Mantuo's nude cover girls for romance magazines and of the advertising of calendars bearing pictures of nude women at about the same time. By the late 1920s, female nudity was everywhere. *Shanghai manhua* routinely printed photographs of nude Western women in almost every issue of its short run from 1928–1930. In 1927 and later, the Tianjin pictorial *Beiyang huabao* published reproductions of nude, seminude, or bare-breasted females by “famous French” or “Parisian” artists in almost every issue. A small selection conveys the flavor of these nudes: *Loitering Girl* (really depicting a female nude reclining lasciviously on a draped couch), by Ivan Thiele (1877–1948); *The Beauty Patch*, by the École des Beaux-Arts painter of genre scenes and nudes Maurice Millière (1871–1937), who was famous for his seminudes; a coy *Eve* by the painter and illustrator Gaston Cirmeuse (1886–1963); *Contemplation*, showing a woman whose open bodice exposes a bare breast, by Simone Marie Meunier (b. 1890); another woman with an open bodice in a garden, entitled *Les Oiseaux Familiars*, by Émile Friant (1863–1932); a fantasy entitled *Gossips* depicting a nude woman, long robe conveniently falling open, holding a cigarette, seated on a large birdcage perch next to a parrot, by the illustrator George Léonnec (b. 1870); a sketch of a bare-breasted model, by Fabien Fabiano (1881–1962); and finally a sculpture *Bacchante*, by Auguste Moreau (1834–1917). A series of “art photos” of nude women, again mostly Western in origin, included a wonderful photograph of the celebrated bare-breasted dancer Josephine Baker. The Chinese themselves contributed to this torrent. Hundreds of drawings of female nudes by Chinese artists were published in *Shanghai manhua*. Chinese photographers published their shots of nude Chinese women in *Liangyou* and, later, *Meishu sbenghwo*. In addition,



FIGURE 9.13. *Miss Merry*, advertisement poster for Indanthrene color cloth, 1930s, 77 × 51 cm. After Ng Chun Bong, et al., comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity*, 49.

they compiled books reproducing their photographs of nudes and, in advertisements placed in newspapers and magazines such as *Beiyang huabao* and the movie-fan magazine *Qingqing dianying*,³³ offered them for sale to the general public. In Chinese art academies, oil paintings of nudes in various poses and in various degrees of undress were rendered in various styles. Commenting on the pictorial contents of *Liangyou*, Lin Yutang quips: “This class of art magazine is constantly playing upon the nude motive,” adding the wry observation, as if to absolve them of any guilt, “. . . they can very well do so, having for their aim the study of human anatomy, the promotion of health and the introduction of Western civilization.” Lin continues, “In this connection I may mention the magazine *The Esthete* . . . , consisting of absolutely nothing besides nude pictures.”³⁴ Clearly, it was not only the Chinese from Singapore and Malaysia who appreciated pictures of seductive, shapely nude girls; Chinese in Shanghai must be



FIGURE 9.14. Zhiying Studio, *Woman in a Canoe*, advertisement poster for Great Eastern Dispensary, 1930s. After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:29.

counted among those who purchased and enjoyed voyeuristically the voluptuous charms of the nude women on calendars and hangers.

A subgenre of the seminude is the dressed or draped woman with one breast exposed. It has a long history in Western art, going back at least to the sixteenth century and appearing extensively in the works of the French painter Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) as well as in late-Victorian images and even border designs.³⁵ In a half-length portrait of a woman, supposedly from eighteenth-century China, she holds her blouse open to reveal fully one small breast and part of the other.³⁶ This motif of one bare breast became especially popular in the late 1920s and the 1930s. An early forerunner was Zheng Mantuo's *Yang Guifei Coming from Her Bath* (figure 6.1), where one of Yang Guifei's breasts is completely bare. In Zheng's *Spring Bath* (figure 6.8), the woman's bathrobe has slipped from her shoulder nearly, but not quite, revealing one breast.



FIGURE 9.15. Zhiying Studio, *Woman with Mosquito Repellent Incense Coil*, advertisement poster for Monkey Brand Mosquito Repellent Incense Coil Company, 1930s. After Song Jialin, *Lao yuefenpai*, 63.

Later, the “one bare breast,” sometimes unexpectedly appearing in an otherwise acceptable picture, instantly converts an ostensibly innocuous female image into a titillating one, as in the Zhiying Studio poster for the Shanghai Great Eastern Dispensary (figure 9.14). A modern woman wearing shorts and a halter top relaxes in a canoe; she is protected from the sun by her parasol but has pulled down her shoulder straps, and one of them is undone, exposing her small breast.

Another way to satisfy the desire for pictures of sexy women was to depict them wearing close-fitting dresses, so formfitting that the full, rounded shapes of their breasts, usually with protruding nipples, is clearly evident. One raised arm might pull the dress more tightly across the bust to emphasize its fullness, as in *Woman with Mosquito Repellent Incense Coil* (figure 9.15) an advertisement poster for Monkey Brand Mosquito Repellent Incense Coil (Houpai Miewen Xianxiang). By the early 1930s movie stars were photographed in this naughty pose.

While some women were depicted in provocative poses, there was also a reverse

movement, with calls for women to develop healthy physiques and to direct their energies to being homemakers and nurturers. During the so-called Nanking Decade (1927–1937), Jiang Jieshi endeavored to revitalize Chinese society through his New Life movement. On one hand, Chinese men and women were to develop strong, healthy bodies through physical fitness, and on the other hand, women should be homemakers.

Physical fitness did not necessarily mean developing skills to compete in Western athletics so much as developing strong, healthy bodies that could withstand and overcome enemy invasion. Such military ideas went back to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century reformers like Yan Fu (1854–1921), who insisted that when mothers were healthy, their children would be “fat” (i.e., healthy), and Liang Qichao, who asserted: “All countries that wish to have strong soldiers insure that all their women engage in calisthenics, for they believe that only thus will the sons they bear be full in body and strong of muscle.”³⁷ Jonathan Kolatch provides a closer look at the physical-education program as envisioned by the government in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In 1929 physical education was promoted through guidelines that included marching, exercise, rhythmic activities, sports skills, and games. These were to be for both men and women. The goals were to develop health as well as physical power, and the power to resist; bodily strength and weakness were to be addressed. In 1932–1933 the 1929 directives were revised to include, for primary-school pupils, games, outings, traditional (Chinese) sports, hill climbing, calisthenics, and ball games. Lower middle school students were to engage in gymnastic exercises, corrective exercises, ball games, track-and-field.³⁸ According to Susan Brownell, in the 1930s, Nationalist-backed physical-education programs consisted of military drills, goose-stepping and marching, and saluting.³⁹

The Chinese had not ignored Western sports; women began to participate in the Far Eastern Games held in Shanghai in 1921 and in the 1923 Olympic Games held in Osaka.⁴⁰ In both instances, however, female athletes were trained by a foreigner, Vera Barger, who was in 1921 the national director of physical education for the YWCA and principal of the Normal Training School for Hygiene and Physical Education in Shanghai and in 1923, principal of the YWCA Physical Training School. Brownell observes: “Because of the prevalence of foot-binding and the small number of girls who attended schools (Chinese or missionary), and because at that time sports in China were organized by Westerners with similar (though perhaps not as extreme) attitudes toward women, Chinese women did not participate in sports in significant numbers until the late 1920s.”⁴¹

Not until 1932 did the Nationalist government at the First National Physical Education conference held in Nanjing urge “the habit of participating in sports as recreations be developed among the people.”⁴² In 1933, President Wang Jingwei (1883–1944), with the threat of Japanese invasion continuing to loom on the horizon, stated at the National Athletic Meet: “The aim of the athletes present today should be not merely to win personal honours, but more especially to contribute towards the strengthening of the country and the race” in overcoming the national crisis.⁴³

The media did its part with photo-essays on sports such as in 1929, swimming and basketball for both sexes, as well as mini-golf when it became the rage in 1931.⁴⁴ In 1935

provincial, national, and international athletic meets were covered in *Meishu shenghua*.⁴⁵ Antonia Finnane reviewed the situation:

The modernization of the Chinese physique was not left to chance. Gymnastics, swimming, tennis, and other forms of athletic activity were strongly encouraged in schools, and Chinese successes in international sport received an enormous amount of publicity in newspapers and magazines. Female swimmers and gymnasts were not infrequently photographed in their sportswear, to appear in magazine features ostensibly designed to illustrate the unity of beauty and strength.⁴⁶

But the emphasis on athletic excellence and physical development seemed to run counter to the other part of the Nationalist program: that women should focus on homemaking. Finnane continues, outlining the conflicts presented to Chinese women: “In their education, in the mass media, and through political campaigns, Chinese women in the modernizing cities of the 1930s were thus presented with a series of contradictory social expectations. Education, physical fitness, and a domestic inclination were alike demanded of them.”⁴⁷

When sports became a pastime as well as a means of developing strong bodies, new themes appeared: sports advertising posters. These, however, rarely show women in athletic action; instead they perpetuate the stationary pretty-girl image as girls invitingly stand next to a bicycle with one foot on a pedal, or sit in the country-club garden holding a tennis racket, or sit on the beach, or hold a riding crop while standing next to a horse, or pose alluringly, poolside (as in Xie Zhiguang’s *Fun by the Pool*; figure 7.21). Most often this was another opportunity to exploit a now legitimate display of bare arms and legs, and shapely torsos. The *Beautiful Athlete* archer is one of the few posters that depicts a woman actually engaged in an athletic activity (figure 9.16); its prototype, however, is a publicity photograph of the Hollywood film star Jean Parker (figure 9.17) published in 1939 in a Chinese movie magazine.⁴⁸

With these 1930s seminudes and sports pictures, Chinese calendar posters had come full circle. Where once Western models of feminine beauty in décolleté dress as advertising images were rejected as “meaningless” or even scandalous to the Chinese eye, now seminudity and bare breasts are approved, despite the fact that seminudity and bare breasts had long been sanctioned in certain genres of Chinese traditional art (figure 2.2). In the late 1930s the Western ideal beauty with curvaceous torso and long limbs in scant sports garb ostensibly revealing a healthy beauty could now be more widely endorsed as part of the Chinese canon of acceptability.

The other half of the New Life movement demand, that women be homemakers, generated a spate of advertising posters of upper-class Chinese matrons in the company of their children. In a seemingly endless series, well-dressed mothers hold or play with their children of all ages, both boys and girls. One by Xie Zhiguang for China Haofeng Tobacco Company (Zhongguo Haofeng Yanco Gufen Youxian Gongsi) is typical (plate 36). Mothers, usually fashionably dressed in the almost ubiquitous *qipao* of modern cut and individual design, are loving and nurturing. Youngsters, usually wearing Western-style clothing and playing with Western toys, are robust and healthy as



FIGURE 9.16. Zhiying Studio, "Beautiful Athlete," late 1930s.
After Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:121.

they laughingly cluster around their mothers. Again, another circle has been completed: the emphasis on motherhood, fecundity, a large and happy family of many children, are all themes that for centuries were conveyed in scroll paintings and through the popular woodblock prints presented in chapter 2.

In the late 1930s, the Zhiying Studio contributed their share of political prints. In addition to collaborating with Xie Zhiguang and others on the poster of *Mulan Returning Home* (figure 7.25), the Zhiying Studio produced *Mulan Joining the Army* for the China Eastern Tobacco Company (Zhongguo Huadong Yanco Gongsi).⁴⁹

During the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, Hang Zhiying had so many family members relying on him, he decided to remain in the city but moved from Shansi North Road to Hoho Lane off Xiazheng Road in the French Concession (present-day Huaihai Central Road).⁵⁰ He refused to work for the Japanese and eventually gave up the poster business to study traditional Chinese painting with Fu Zhu (Tienian, 1886/87–1947), a specialist in birds and flowers.⁵¹ Hang Zhiying concentrated on traditional



FIGURE 9.17. Photographer unknown, “The Hollywood Movie Star Jean Parker as an Archer,” ca. 1939. After *Qingqing dianying* 4.7 (May 16, 1939): n.p.

literati subjects: plum blossoms, epidendrum, bamboo and chrysanthemums, or the Three Friends of Winter (plum blossoms, pine, and bamboo), this last understood as suggesting the strength of personal character in the face of unfavorable, cold conditions. Throughout this bleak period, he largely depended on friends for his daily sustenance.

During the war with Japan, Li Mubai made his living in Shanghai painting oil portraits, of which it is said he did more than one thousand.⁵² It is not known how Jin Xue-

chen survived. After the end of the War Against Japan, in 1945, the Zhiying Studio was reestablished. Hang, however, died in 1947. During the heyday of the studio, in the 1920s and 1930s, the artwork of Jin Xuechen and Li Mubai was almost entirely subsumed to the Hang Zhiying look, but Jin and Li would have their day after 1949 as artists who painted important propaganda posters supporting Chinese Communist Party ideology.

CHAPTER TEN

Calendar Poster Artists under
the People's Republic of China
1949–1980

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, in 1949, the few advertisement calendar poster artists still residing in Shanghai continued their careers in art but with important modifications and new challenges. Under the Communists, art and art production were institutionalized by the All-China Art Workers Association, which was established in 1949 to oversee art production along guidelines formulated to conform to new artistic goals. The new demands, based on Mao Zedong's pronouncements at the 1942 Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art,¹ were that art must be subservient to politics, and art must communicate political and social messages about Communist ideology and goals in clear, unequivocal images that ordinary people—workers, peasants, and soldiers—could easily grasp.

During the early 1950s, artistic energies in China concentrated on what were dubbed “new New Year's pictures” (*xinnianhua*) because these were construed as representing the art of the masses. However, subjects like door gods or the mythological figures conveying wishes for happiness or prosperity had to be refurbished with modern military gear or dressed in peasant clothing; political and socialist messages had to prevail. These “new” New Year's pictures were designed by the woodcut artisans retained at the traditional shops in Tianjin and Shandong, or by ideologically safe woodcut artists and Chinese-style painting artists who had been assigned to art academies in Beijing and Hangzhou. The prints characteristically had complex groupings of large numbers of figures in lively poses and with theatrical gestures. Continuing the mode of traditional folk prints, everything was outlined in black and filled with flat color, usually of water-based pigments, though some were reproduced by means of modern printing techniques.² Pictorial calendars reverted to, or continued, the old rural forms. Some wood-

block print centers were permitted to issue the old-fashioned stove god print with its traditional lunar calendar including notations of propitious and inauspicious days; others featured new rural images imparting socialist messages: peasants celebrating bountiful harvests or scenes of agricultural cooperation.³ Advertising posters were no longer made for private commercial firms but for government-run foreign trade bureaus.⁴ But a productive place had to be found in the larger system for the former advertisement calendar poster artists.

Few of the *yuefenpai* masters were still active after 1949. Hang Zhiying had died in 1947. Xu Yongqing had left the art world and moved to Qingdao, where he died in 1953. Zheng Mantuo, because of eye trouble, had ceased working as an artist, and died in 1961. Hu Boxiang also was no longer on the rolls of practicing calendar poster artists.⁵ After 1949 Zhang Guangyu was transferred to the Central Art Academy (Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan) in Beijing and taught at the Central Arts and Crafts Academy (Zhongyang Gongyi Meishu Xueyuan). He had his greatest success in illustrative art and occasionally published articles on popular prints.⁶ Xie Zhiguang remained in Shanghai as did Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, and Jin Meisheng (1902–1989). The reduction in the number of distinguished calendar poster artists left room for Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, and Jin Meisheng to shine. Since the bulk of their past work, the calendar posters, had been published at New Year's time, these artists were now considered designers of New Year's pictures. They and their new products were sometimes subsumed under *nianhua* pictures, sometimes distinguished from *nianhua* as *yuefenpai* (calendar posters) or *yuefenpai nianhua* (calendar poster New Year's pictures), even though there were no calendars on any of them. The artists were called “calendar poster artists” (*yuefenpai huajia*). Consequently, despite the inaccuracy of the terms, “calendar poster artist” and “calendar poster” will be used in this chapter.

Under the new regime, those who once made their living designing advertisements for commodities or services now drafted posters promoting socialist ideology. Thus, the type of realism perfected for 1920s and 1930s advertisement pictures did not disappear after 1949, rather, it endured as the dominant style for brightly colored placards selling optimistic socialist and political themes. As such, the artists had new masters who imposed new requirements. Their new master was the Communist Party, yet the part these artists and their works might play in the Communist demand that art should educate the masses remained controversial for many years. Debates about how the former advertisement calendar artists would participate in the arts of new China focused on subject and style.

Writing in 1951, Cai Ruohong (b. 1910), a leading art administrator and spokesman, lumped the Shanghai calendar and traditional popular-print styles together and proclaimed that leadership was the key to improving the new New Year's pictures. However, said Cai, artists could not be expected to solve current problems in art on their own. They should be organized, and there should be leadership in selecting correct topics to depict. Leaders should make clear that the new New Year's pictures must reflect contemporary economic and cultural life by depicting model workers, heroes, or the newly emerging positive aspects of people's lives. Leaders should help artists be-

come familiar with rural and factory life so they could grasp a basic understanding of that life, of peasants and workers, they were expected to depict. Practice and study were to be encouraged, with older and younger artists working together and holding seminars in which sketches by younger artists could be critiqued and discussed by older artists and political leaders. And last, artists should seek responses from the people and make improvements in their art accordingly. Cai felt that it was acceptable to depict landscapes as long as they had a patriotic theme and that beautiful women could still be used, now to portray “beautiful working women.” He suggested that both the folk popular-print artisans and the calendar picture artists had rich experience in art creation and they knew what it was people wanted to see. They could continue to create new New Year’s pictures in their respective styles as long as they reformed their art through depicting new, ideologically correct subject matter in a politically correct presentation.⁷

In 1954 the government, as part of its campaign to remove all businesses from private hands and turn them into state-owned enterprises, merged several privately owned publishers and created two publishing houses with different mandates. The Shanghai Picture Press (Shanghai Huapian Chubanshe) was to produce calendar pictures and New Year’s pictures. Li Mubai, once on the staff of the Zhiying Studio, was hired by the Shanghai Picture Press by an exceptional arrangement to be a “special artist” there.⁸ Li’s colleague at the Zhiying Studio Jin Xuechen also was assigned to the Shanghai Picture Press, as were Xie Zhiguang and his nephew Mulian.⁹ Later, Xie Zhiguang’s affiliation would be changed to the Shanghai Painting Academy.

Even so, lives of former calendar poster artists were far from tranquil. In the late 1950s during the “Let the Hundred Flowers Bloom and the Hundred Schools of Thought Contend” campaigns, the subsequent anti-rightist movement, and the Great Leap Forward, calendar poster artists suffered the barbs of those opposed to the calendar poster style, the rebukes of peasants called on to appraise their work, and demands for confessionals to condemn their life before the Liberation of 1949.

How *yuefenpai* pictures and their creators were to fit into the new scheme of things was a major artistic dilemma in the 1950s because many in the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Artists Association (Shanghai Meishujia Xiehui) did not regard calendar painting as true art.¹⁰ Arguments for and against the *yuefenpai* style as a legitimate art style suitable for use in the new China were aired in the journal *Meishu* (Art). The February 1956 exhibition Old and New New Year Pictures seems to have been the catalyst. A spate of essays on New Year’s pictures appeared in *Meishu*. They rarely mentioned calendar posters, and when they did, they were disparaged. Chen Yifan attacked the poster *Commune Chicken Farm* as being “clean as heaven,” and “so far from reality that he could not find any direct reference to farm life.”¹¹ He objected to its “clean and shiny” style, and although he did not designate it then as *yuefenpai* style, apparently it was. Only at the very end of his essay did he refer to calendar posters, suggesting that they need improvement. He Rong claimed they were vulgar and in bad taste.¹²

The illustrated catalogue of *nianhua* and propaganda pictures from the Second National Art Exhibition in Beijing makes it clear that the former Shanghai poster artists were not in high favor. Only one example by a known calendar poster artist was in-



FIGURE 10.1. Li Mubai (1913–1991), *Why Are His Hands Always Dirty*, New Year's picture, ca. 1955. After *Dierjie quanguo meishu zhanlan hui: nianhua xuanchuanhua xuanji* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1956), 37.

cluded in the catalogue: Li Mubai's *Why Are His Hands Always Dirty* suggests a recycled 1930s picture of a family of happy children; only now, of course, the message is educational: the importance of teaching children personal hygiene (figure 10.1).¹³

In 1956, perhaps in an effort to rectify the situation and to improve the ideological content and the general appearance of calendar poster New Year's pictures, the art theorist Zhu Shiji (b. 1922) was put in charge. Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, Jin Meisheng, and Xie Zhiguang were assigned studios at the Shanghai Picture Press to train the younger generation of artists; Zhu also invited leading artists like Yan Wenliang and Zhang Chongren to assist in tutoring; art critics and special art advisors were called in to help as well.¹⁴ In 1956 Xie Zhiguang's compact pyramid of mother and children of the 1930s for the China Haofeng Tobacco Company (plate 36) was transformed into *Warmly Love Chairman Mao* (plate 37).¹⁵ A subtext of this picture is that under the new ideology, Chairman Mao and his thoughts have replaced the nurturing parent to whom children turn for love and support. Zhu Shiji would eventually succeed in elevating calendar pictures to a high level in the artistic community, but not without dispute and setbacks.¹⁶

Controversy erupted in 1957–1958 during the Hundred Flowers Campaign. In 1957 an exhibition of New Year's pictures toured rural areas of Hebei Province, going to Wanxian, Tangxian, Baoding, Yangliuqing, Tongxian, and elsewhere. Pictures by Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, Jin Meisheng, and Xie Zhiguang were among those displayed. Opinions solicited from peasants were published in the April issue of *Meishu*.¹⁷ In general, pictures accepted by the peasants had clear colors, well-delineated figures, and

subjects that “looked real.” Rejections of pictures by the peasants were often done for ideological reasons. Xie Zhiguang’s *Lohan Money*, it was suggested, was incorrect because it looked as if people were gambling. Jin Xuechen’s picture of a new bride received high marks because “the color and scenery were good, it looked like the real thing,” but was accorded low ratings because the woman opposite the bride looked like a matchmaker of old. Thus both Xie Zhiguang’s *Lohan Money* and Jin’s picture suggested the continuation of evils existing in Chinese society before Liberation.

The report on peasants’ opinions of the new pictures was printed in *Meishu* as one in a group of essays under the tag “Problems with *nianhua*” along with additional articles under the heading “Problems about calendar poster New Year’s pictures.” These reports aired accusations, defenses, and arguments pro and con *yuefenpai nianhua*. The report by Xu Ling vented an extended list of criticisms.

Defenders of the calendar style and its special properties stepped forward: Wen Hua and the popular-print specialist Bo Songnian.¹⁸ They pointed out that calendar poster pictures had come to dominate the market, far outstripping in popularity, and in sales, pictures using the traditional style of New Year’s techniques. They noted that calendar poster pictures were purchased not only at New Year’s time but also throughout the year, sometimes for gifts. Customers were working-class people as well as college students and intellectuals. Wen Hua made the most cogent evaluation of the reasons calendar poster pictures were so popular. Their popularity, in Wen Hua’s analysis, stemmed from three points. First, the individuals in the paintings were clear and beautiful; second, the choice of subjects and the presentation satisfied public taste; and third, the colors were clear and bright. In addition, Wen Hua observed that calendar poster pictures usually had fewer figures in them, so that the main characters were large and directly in the foreground of the picture. Painted with such accuracy that details of facial features can be clearly seen gives them the effect of being “enjoyable both from a distance and close up.” The artists paid particular attention to the background scenes and to the colors used, rarely using red or yellow in large areas and almost never using gray as the major color. Wen Hua analyzed two versions of Chairman Mao accepting flowers from children to prove his point: A Lao’s *All Chinese Children Love You* and Li Mubai’s *Love Communism, Love Chairman Mao*. In the former, Chairman Mao’s clothes are blue and the background is blue also; in the latter, Chairman Mao’s clothes are bright blue and behind him is a bright red flag. A Lao’s picture sold only 680,000 copies, while Li Mubai’s sold 1,650,000 copies. Wen Hua pointed out that the “baby” pictures, so long a favorite in the popular-print idiom, have been given new, edifying subjects, like *Setting the Table* or *Let’s Plant Together*. Wen Hua and the others admitted that calendar pictures were unrealistic, but asserted that they had played an important role in educating the people; all agreed that further training of artists was necessary. For Wen Hua one defect of the calendar poster New Year’s pictures was stereotyped figures: “all babies look as if they had the same mother and all the women look like sisters.” This, Wen Hua felt, was because the artists still needed some experience of real life, rather than depending on old forms.

Bo Songnian chided He Rong and Chen Yifan for their negative opinions. Object-

ing to Chen's dismissal of the *Commune Chicken Farm* as being too clean, Bo asked: "What is wrong with a chicken farm being clean as heaven? After Communization, many moved their chickens into new barns and used new feeding methods. Does it have to be rough and messy to be real? Many people don't like New Year's pictures that depict untidy environments and disheveled clothing."¹⁹

Ge Lu (b. 1926), the editor of *Meishu*, maintained that ordinary people liked the pictures of babies, such as those by Li Mubai, for their smoothness and delicacy, saying:

Since Liberation, calendar painting has been making improvements in selecting subjects and how to illustrate them. Artists who study New Year's pictures should help to improve calendar painting. To improve does not mean to change it into something like folk New Year's pictures or the new New Year's pictures [which would be to destroy it]. Instead, it should keep its style and features that are welcomed by the public while getting rid of bad influences from the past. Under the "Hundred Flowers" policy, we should nurture calendar painting into a fresh, healthy flower.²⁰

He further opined that calendar poster pictures were "flowers."

Indeed, one calendar poster "flower" was introduced in an article by Zhang Manru entitled "A Nameless Flower." Zhang spoke mainly of the tremendous success of pictures by Li Mubai and Jin Meisheng that sold in the hundreds of thousands, proving that people love this kind of picture. He stressed the strong points of this style: bright colors, detailed drawing, beautiful people, attractive whether seen close up or from a distance. However, he claims, this is exactly what "artists" consider "bad." The *yuefenpai* style does not look as real as can be achieved by oil painting, nor does it have an individual artist's personal creative touch. The *yuefenpai* style fails to realistically convey human feeling and personality, or to explicate a person's background and experience. Because of its origins, *yuefenpai* style is satisfactory for rendering children and young women, but unconvincing for depicting soldiers or workers. He felt that calendar pictures were like flowers in the wild with no one tending them. Only one illustration accompanied Zhang's article: Jin Meisheng's *Vegetables Are Green, Melons Are Plump, Harvest Is Bountiful* (discussed below).²¹ Zhang, however, said nothing about this picture in his article.

In March 1958 some twenty former calendar poster artists now affiliated with the Shanghai People's Art Press (Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe) convened in a meeting at which they were required to vent opinions about their difficult life prior to 1949 and how they had painted simply to earn a living. Some of their comments were reported in the April issue of *Meishu*.²²

Antagonisms continued through June of 1958. Xu Ling's objections were answered by Chen Hui. And pictures earlier censured by peasants received an additional round of condemnation. In defense of Shanghai Picture Press, Chen set forth the principles under which it operated and by which it determined its production of New Year's pictures. Xu had argued that insufficient consideration had been paid to promoting pictures depicting the momentous changes the country had experienced since 1949, or

those that lauded the great achievements of socialist construction, and emphasized that the Great Leap Forward Movement in particular needed more attention.²³ Chen agreed with Xu that improvements should be made to control the proper proportions between different types of subjects depicted each year, admitting that the publisher had often erred in assuming that a picture based on an agricultural development policy of the 1940s was still valid. Chen admitted that the publisher tended to satisfy the public by giving them what they wanted as long as sales increased every year, such as pictures of “talented scholars and lovely ladies” and of traditional opera scenes; whereas pictures of real-life subjects, such as *Catching Sparrows* (part of a campaign to rid the country of creatures like birds and rats that consumed precious seeds), because they did not sell well were not reprinted. Chen also acknowledged that insufficient care had been given to training younger artists. The publisher, Chen said, recognized these problems and had taken steps to rectify them by improving the editors’ and the artists’ political mentality by sending them on a month-long stay on farms outside Shanghai. There they could experience real rural labor, could show their paintings to the local farmers, and could select subjects for subsequent projects. Working alongside the peasants, artists could experience the real feelings and thoughts of working people. They would have opportunities to hear peasant’s opinions about newly made pictures.

Jiang Han believed Zhang Manru erred in assuming that calendar pictures were flowers growing in the wild with no one tending them. Jiang wondered: Can you say that the huge numbers of prints sold indicate neglect? Are the new subjects of working-class society the result of neglect? Did these developments happen without assistance? *Yuefenpai* art has a gardener. Our Communist Party has given it nutrition and sunshine turning it into a real flower for the people.²⁴

Among the pictures selected for further disapproval was *New Dress for the Evening Meeting*, drafted by Yu Feng (b. 1916) and realized by Li Mubai. A lovely, smiling woman in a tight-fitting *qipao* gown, a long stole, flowers in her hair, and a spray of blossoms in her hand stands next to an ornately carved table on which is a vase of lilies.²⁵ The rationale behind the depiction was that the woman was happy because her name had been placed on an honor list. Devastating comments were leveled against this picture as peasant authorities asserted that the picture was like one from twenty years ago, that the woman looked like a prostitute of old, that it was redolent of capitalist ideology, and that the lavish dress of the woman was inappropriate in view of the frugal lifestyle everyone was being urged to follow. Some simply said the picture was “grotesque and weird.” Chen Hui was aware of the drawbacks of this picture and concurred with peasant’s comment that the dress was from twenty years ago. Chen declared that relying on photographs no longer sufficed; artists needed to experience life firsthand. This is a rare reference to the fact that some calendar pictures were copies of photographs, yet a second look at many of the images from this era hints that this probably was the case.

Xie Zhiguang’s *The Heavenly Official Bestows Happiness*, a perennial theme in the past, also was attacked. The traditional depiction was of a large-scale official surrounded by five little boys holding auspicious symbols; the official sometimes carried an open scroll on which was inscribed the expression “the heavenly official bestows happiness.”

Xie Zhiguang deleted the official, retaining the five children, now both boys and girls with toys and balloons, blowing horns as if in a parade, and carrying old symbols of happiness: huge peaches for longevity, a *nyyi* for “as you wish.” The child in the center holds up a scroll proclaiming “long live the Communist Party.” This picture was assailed as confusing. Peasants asked, it is reported, “What is the meaning? What is the connection between the Heavenly Official and the Communist Party?”²⁶

Another era of difficulties followed. During Chairman Mao’s economically disastrous Great Leap Forward (1959–1962), calendar pictures, according to one authority, barely survived.²⁷ A severe shortage of paper affected the publishing industry. Artists of the three studios were inspired to higher achievements when they faced a shrinking economy and extreme ideology. Although they kept on painting, both quality and quantity dropped, especially when the younger calendar artists were sent to farms on Shanghai’s outskirts where they were required to paint farm subjects. Artists worked in shifts to complete an unrealistic number of paintings and to satisfy the demand that they “keep the painting going even when they took breaks.” Artists were asked to duplicate paintings by farmers who exaggerated the size of produce depicted in order to emphasize the idea of “bumper” harvest.²⁸

By 1960 attitudes toward the glossy calendar poster picture style had mellowed, as evident in a review of a book of reproductions of such pictures, now called Shanghai New Year’s pictures (*Shanghai nianhua*).²⁹ The reviewer indicated that the selection demonstrated the great strides forward under the party’s leadership; that artists’ ideas were more positive, especially since the implementation of the Great Leap Forward; and that their pictures reflected the spirit of the Great Leap Forward. Artists were praised for having, through their initial difficulties, exerted their strength to elevate their thought, to face the new life, and to show great initiative in expressing new subjects, and so have given a new life to Shanghai New Year’s pictures. Works by Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, and Xie Zhiguang were among those praised for their correctness of subject matter and presentation. But in this review and in a separate article, it was Jin Meisheng’s *Vegetables Are Green, Melons Are Plump, Harvest Is Bountiful* from five years earlier that received the highest accolades.

Born in Shanghai in 1902 into a worker’s family, Jin Meisheng’s alternate names were Shimo and Shiheng; his earliest art training was in Chinese painting (figure 10.2). In 1919 he studied with Xu Yongqing; in 1921 he joined the Commercial Press art department but left in 1931 to establish his own studio specializing in advertisement calendar posters.³⁰ A competent artist, his advertising calendar posters upheld prevailing trends during the 1920s and 1930s in both style and subject, including glamorous women clad in elegant gowns, some in dishabille as in *Enjoying the Cool after Bathing*, for Huiming Flashlights and Batteries (figure 10.3). In “*Vegetables Are Green, Melons Are Plump, Harvest Is Bountiful*” (figure 10.4) Jin abolished the now obsolete, fashionable urban woman and replaced her with a robust, healthy and strong peasant girl. Applauding this picture, Miao Fenghang observed that there is neither a touching story here nor a multitude of rich details, just a young commune member, working in the fields.³¹ With this modest subject, the artist expressed the theme of a bountiful harvest. The picture is



FIGURE 10.2. Photographer unknown, “Jin Meisheng.”
After *Jin Meisheng zuopin xuanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai
renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985).

simple and the message is clear at a single glance. Although Miao did not say so, not only is the image politically correct, but all bourgeois affectations, like decorative calligraphy, elaborate borders, or shimmering metallic accents that so enhanced the advertisement calendar posters of earlier times, are also gone.

In the early 1960s, when more rational attitudes prevailed under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969), calendar painting returned to more normal circumstances, and Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, and Jin Meisheng continued their production of pictures for the state. But Xie Zhiguang’s career followed a different path, one that again pitted his two artistic interests against each other.

In 1960 Xie was appointed to a professorship in the newly founded Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy (Shanghai Zhongguohua Yuan), where he was expected to paint in the traditional Chinese style.³² He later served as chairman of the Shanghai branch of the prestigious Chinese Artists Association.³³ Hu Boxiang would also be associated with the Chinese Painting Academy.

At the same time, Xie modified his Chinese-style painting to agree with official demands for precisely descriptive scenes conveying Communist ideology, as in his 1964 rendition of the fictitious army hero Lei Feng telling edifying stories to a group of Young Pioneers in a Shanghai park.³⁴ Xie Zhiguang’s artistic life, however, was not trouble free.



FIGURE 10.3. Jin Meisheng (1902–1989), *Enjoying the Cool after Bathing*, advertisement poster for Shanghai Huiming Flashlights and Batteries Manufacturing Factory, 1930s. After Wang Shucun, ed. *Zhongguo xiandai meishu quanji: nianhua* (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998), 2:51.

The Great Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) shook Chinese culture to the core; art and artists were not excepted. During the Cultural Revolution, the so-called Gang of Four under the leadership of Jiang Qing (1914–1992), Chairman Mao’s wife, put a stop to the publication of calendar poster pictures for seven years; artists were deprived of their right to work, and the *yuefenpai* pictures were considered one of the hated “four olds,” to be eradicated.³⁵ Most of the artists in the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy were, as professional artists elsewhere were, subjected to demeaning treatment, placed under what amounted to house arrest, paraded through the streets wearing dunce caps, and forced to endure tortuous accusation sessions. It is said that Xie was among the last of the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy artists to be so treated, and so he was



FIGURE 10.4. Jin Meisheng (1902–1989), *Vegetables Are Green, Melons Are Plump, Harvest Is Bountiful*, New Year's picture, 1955. After *Jin Meisheng zuopin xuanji*, 14.

able to surreptitiously assist less fortunate colleagues, such as Qian Shoutie (1896–1967).³⁶

Jiang Qing, the declared art czar, used art as a political weapon against her personal enemies and more liberal adversaries. The audacity of Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), the premier of China, in making decisions about art without consulting with Jiang Qing, roused her ire. This came about because in 1972 Zhou Enlai approved paintings of nonpolitical subjects to be used for the decoration of new hotels at home and in embassies abroad. Jiang Qing responded by collecting the offending works and putting them on exhibition as “black paintings.” Xie Zhiguang’s scroll of an old pine tree was castigated by Jiang Qing and her minions as unsuitably nonrevolutionary in theme.³⁷ Possibly because of this misstep, Xie joined several other artists from the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy in depicting large-scale industrial scenes securely extolling Communist achievements and values, such as shipyards at night or the launching of a

cargo ship (1972), and congratulatory subjects such as the scenes of jubilation in Shanghai celebrating the Tenth National Congress (1973).³⁸

While Hu Boxiang's gift for Chinese painting seemed to stagnate at the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy,³⁹ Xie Zhiguang's genius flourished. Having achieved his goal of being a full-time painter in Chinese style, Xie's creativity soared, and he became even more expressive in his traditional-style paintings, with renditions of fruit, and floral and landscape subjects, deriving inspiration from the works of Bada Shanren (1625–after 1705), Shitao (1641–ca. 1720), Wu Changshi, Qi Baishi (1863–1957), and Qian Shoutie. It is said Xie painted his traditional works with innovative abandon, using cotton balls, bamboo chopsticks, or even spoons as painting implements, or sprinkling wine over the painting surface to which he added dots to create a picture.⁴⁰

In 1976 Xie Zhiguang, advertising designer, calendar picture expert, cover-girl artist, and Chinese painting master, died in Shanghai. He had finally found his own voice in traditional-style painting, an articulation for which he began to win acclaim in the 1980s when his Chinese paintings started to appear on the international art market. They have been avidly sought after by collectors and continue to be admired abroad and at home.⁴¹ In 1989 Xie Zhiguang's expertise was listed as Chinese painting,⁴² and writing in 1997, the eminent connoisseur, artist, and doyen of the Shanghai school of painting, Xie Zhiliu (b. 1910) placed Xie Zhiguang's Chinese paintings in the august classification of “untrammelled” (*yipin*).⁴³

Li Mubai and Jin Xuechen survived the Cultural Revolution and continued their calendar-poster-style propaganda pictures. They had a final victory with their 1979 poster illustrating the line “Sudden report from earth of having tamed the tigers” from Mao Zedong's 1957 poem in which he refers to the death of his second wife, Yang Kaihui (1901–1930).⁴⁴ Yang worked with Mao in revolutionary activities until she was arrested and executed. As in the poem, the poster depicts her ascending to heaven to take her place among the immortals.⁴⁵ This theme, a slap at Jiang Qing, was a popular one at the time, for the Great Cultural Revolution had been brought to an end with the arrest of Jiang Qing and her cohorts. At this time, portrayals of Yang Kaihui were effected in other media and clearly were part of the anti-Jiang Qing campaign mounted to vilify her just before her trial.

In 1984 Li Mubai recounted his experiences as a *yuefenpai nianhua* artist for an interview broadcast by Shanghai Television.⁴⁶ In 1985 tribute was paid to Jin Meisheng with a book reproducing thirty-four of his posters from the late 1930s on, as well as landscape paintings and pencil sketches.⁴⁷ In this same year, Li Mubai and Jin Xuechen were similarly honored with a publication illustrating forty-nine of their best works.⁴⁸ Jin Meisheng died in 1989, Li Mubai in 1991, and Jin Xuechen in 1997. By that time, their realistic art style had been superseded by a new advertisement style borrowed from the West that was dynamic, slick, and visually high-powered.⁴⁹

NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Twentieth-century Shanghai is the subject of several surveys, including: Betty Peh-t'i Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987); Pan Ling, *In Search of Old Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1982), as well as of a number of specialized studies, including Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Marie-Claire Bergère, “‘The Other China’: Shanghai from 1919 to 1949,” in *Shanghai: Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis*, ed. Christopher Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1–34; Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Wen-hsin Yeh, “Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in a Republican City,” *China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 375–394, and the essays in Sherman Cochran, ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999). For early Shanghai, see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port 1074–1858* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

2. Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” *Meishujia* 67 (1989): 66.

3. Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 55.

4. *Wu Youru huabao* (1908; reprint, Shanghai: Guji shudian chubanshe, 1983) 2.7:18b.

5. Don D. Patterson, “The Journalism of China,” *The University of Missouri Bulletin* 23, no. 34 (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1922), 56.

6. *Shanghai manhua* 1 (April 21, 1928): 6.

7. Zhang Ailing, *Chenxiang xie, diyilu xiang*, in *Zhang Ailing quanji* (Hong Kong: Huangguan chubanshe, 1995), 6:307. See also Guo Jisheng, “Yuefenpai de lishi, yishu yu wenhua,” in Guo Jisheng, *Yishu yu yishu piping de shijian*. Shiwu congkan no. 34 (Taipei: Guoli Lishi Bowuguan, 2000), 114–115.

8. Two useful surveys of advertisement are Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1929) and James Playsted Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958). Glimpses into the incredible range and types of advertisement images can be gained from three handy collections of them: Clarence P. Hornung and Fridolf Johnson, *Two Hundred Years of American Graphic Art: A Retrospective Survey of the Printing Arts and Advertising Since the Colonial Period* (New York: George Braziller, 1976); Floyd Clymer, *Floyd Clymer’s Historical Scrapbook of Early Advertising* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1955), which illustrates some five hundred examples; and Bob Perlongo, comp., *Early American Advertising* (New York: Art Direction Book Company, 1985), which includes at least another two hundred samples.

9. Presbrey, *History and Development of Advertising*, 26. For many examples, see Ambrose Heal, *London Tradesmen’s Cards of the XVIII Century: An Account of Their Origin and Use* (1925; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1968).

10. Illustrated calendars have a long history in the West and are found in a variety of media over

the centuries. Literature on various Western illustrated calendars includes, from ancient times, studies by Henri Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354: Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 55 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1953); Charlotte R. Long, "The Gods of the Months in Ancient Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (1989): 589–595. On medieval examples, see Olga Koseleff Gordon, "Two Unusual Calendar Cycles of the Fourteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 245–253. On metalwork calendars attached to watches, tablet covers, and snuffboxes of German and Dutch make decorated with signs of the zodiac, foliate designs, cherubs, scrollwork, swags, and laurel wreaths, see Edmund Esdaile, "Pocket and Pendant Calendars of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century," *Connoisseur* 95 (1935): 152–155. The most rewarding study of medieval calendars is Bridget Ann Henisch's *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Henisch points out that by the end of the medieval period the standard "Labors of the Months" themes had evolved into a cycle of seasonal occupations; they were used mostly for illustrations to Psalters and books of hours, where they often surround the calendar panel (7–8). These monthly calendars listed feast days and were in the form of a perpetual calendar. Pinpointing a date in the month is hard to grasp today because the medieval calendar conventions are so different from those used today. The medieval calendar employed the Julian calendar system in which dates were reckoned by their relation to three key days in each month: kalends, nones, and ides. In the central panel of the monthly depiction were abbreviations and numbers providing the knowledgeable with the system necessary to determine dates, days of the week, the date of Easter, and so on (215–221). It is unclear at what point illustrated calendars good for only one specific year became available on an annual basis.

11. Bernard F. Reilly Jr., *American Political Prints 1766–1876: A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991), 497.

12. For more examples of several different fonts used in a single poster, see Mary Black, *American Advertising Posters of the Nineteenth Century from the Bella C. Landauer Collection of the New-York Historical Society* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976).

13. The most complete information about chromolithographic techniques as practiced in the United States, including data on papers, presses, colored inks, their preparation, the preparation of the stones, and major printers and their products, is Peter C. Marzio, *The Democratic Art: Chromolithography 1840–1900: Pictures for a 19th-Century America* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979), chapter 5.

14. The brief outline of chromolithographic procedures that I provide in the text is based on the lucid descriptions in Marzio, *The Democratic Art*, 20, 32, 57, 203–204. See also Katharine Morrison McClinton, *The Chromolithographs of Louis Prang* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1973), 2–3.

15. Carl Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers: The Experiences—Some Happy, Some Sad of an American in China, and What They Taught Him* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937), 28.

16. Calendars are just one of a host of advertising novelties. For the full range of this paper ephemera, see Sharon and Bob Huxford, *Huxford's Collectible Advertising*, 3rd ed. (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1997); Ray Klug, *Antique Advertising Encyclopedia*, rev. 3rd ed. (Atglen, PA.: Schiffer Publishing, 1999); B. J. Summers, *Value Guide to Advertising Memorabilia* (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1994); Dorothy Hammond, *Advertising Collectibles of Times Past* (Des Moines, IA: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1974).

17. The Boston firm of Louis Prang printed hundreds of large advertising calendars between 1800 and 1890. The list of the subjects included on Prang calendars between the years 1887 and 1900 is amazingly rich (McClinton, *The Chromolithography of Louis Prang*, 66–67). For a selection of later calendars, see Rick Martin and Charlotte Martin, *Vintage Illustration: Discovering America's Calendar Artists 1900–1960* (Portland, OR: Collectors Press, 1997).

18. Ellen Mazur Thomson, *The Origins of Graphic Design in America 1870–1920* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 74.

19. *Ibid.*, 200 n. 24.

20. "Running an Art Department," *Federal Illustrator* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1916): 19, quoted in Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 76.

21. "Art calendars" by noted illustrators never lost their appeal. See Martin and Martin, *Vintage Illustration*.

22. *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1901, 33. Maud Stumm, whose birth and death dates are unknown, was born in Cleveland, Ohio. She studied at the Art Students' League in New York City and with Oliver Merson in Paris. Her earliest work was flower painting, in which she gained a substantial reputation. In Paris she began the study of figure painting; she exhibited in the Salon, where her work was appreciated for its coloring. Stumm apparently, like other illustrators of the time, provided non-advertisement calendars, for according to her own statement, her "calendars, too, are artistic and popular; some of these have reached a sale of nearly half a million." She listed her series of pastel studies of Sarah Bernhardt and a portrait of Julia Marlowe as among her best works. Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who Was Who in American Art* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1985), 604; Clara Erskine Clement Waters, *Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century BC to the Twentieth Century AD* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), 329–330.

23. *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1903, 45.

24. M. P. Verneuil et al., *Two Hundred Fifty Authentic Art Nouveau Borders in Full Color*. Originally published as part of the series Documents Ornementaux in 1904. Reprinted, abridged and slightly reduced (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), iii.

25. Ibid.

26. An example from the 1920s is J. N. Halsted, *Modern Ornament and Design* (Cincinnati: Signs of the Times, 1927).

27. See many such images reproduced throughout Chris H. Beyer, *Coca-Cola Girls: An Advertising Art History* (Portland, OR: Collectors Press, 2000). This book is a treasure trove demonstrating the varied forms advertising calendars could take and is also one of the few books to address the pictorial advertising put out by a single company.

28. It has been cogently argued that China had a consumer-oriented economy long before the entry of the Western commodity market into China in the late nineteenth century. Although Gary G. Hamilton and Chi-kong Lai in their study of brand names in late imperial China warn that strict classification of names is impossible, they do offer "commodity labels" that identify grades of foodstuffs (rice, tea, drugs, liquors), "brand names" that identify the maker or area of production (Shaoxing wine or Huizhou ink stones and brushes), and "brand names" that identify the seller (the Tongrentang Drugstore in Beijing). Gary G. Hamilton and Chi-kong Lai, "Consumerism without Capitalism: Consumption and Brand Names in Late Imperial China," in Henry J. Rutz and Benjamin S. Orlove, eds., *The Social Economy of Consumption*, Society for Economic Anthropology Monographs in Economic Anthropology, no. 6 (Lanham, New York, and London: University Press of America, 1989), 253–279. A longer version of this study in Chinese appeared as Li Zhigang (Chi-kong Lai) and Han Geli (Gary G. Hamilton), "Jinshi Zhongguo shangbiao yu quanguo dushi shichang," in *Jindai Zhongguo qiyu shi yantao hui lunwenji* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Jindaishi yanjiu suo, 1986), 1:49–79. Except for mentioning the Song dynasty needle shop advertisement (discussed later in this chapter), Hamilton and Lai do not attempt a survey of pictorial advertisements in traditional China. Sculptured or painted images hung out-of-doors as shop signboards are, of course, another type of pictorial advertising. A careful examination of them and their history is beyond the intended scope of this study. Relevant references are: Lin Yan and Huang Yansheng, "Zhongguo dianpu huangzi yanjiu," *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guanankan* 2 (1995): 72–88; Lin Yan, Huang Yansheng, Xiao Yunru, et al., *Lao Beijing dianpu de zhaobu* (Beijing: Bowen shushe, 1987); Louise Crane, *China in Sign and Symbol: A Panorama of Chinese Life, Past and Present* (London: B. T. Batsford and Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1927).

29. In a painting of a pickle vendor, the merchant has a decorated fan thrust through his belt; a radish painted on the fan calls attention to the nature of the peddler's wares. This association was

suggested by Ankeney Weitz, “Fan Paintings in Song Dynasty Material Culture,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York City, February, 2000. The painting, and a detail of the fan, are reproduced in Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), catalogue no. 111.

30. The section entitled “Advertising in Old China” in Xu Baiyi’s “The Role of Advertising in China” covers all kinds of advertising from early times to 1840 but is only four pages in length (typescript circulated by Kim Rotzoll, Governors State University, University Park, Illinois, 1989). A more complete survey is Wang Wenbao, “Manhua shangye xuanchuan minsu,” *Minjian wenxue luntan* 30, nos. 5/6 (1988): 157–165. It is entirely possible that the present skimpy evidence for visual advertising in traditional China could be fleshed out by a search through casual writings and miscellaneous records.

31. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese: With Some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1865; reprint, Taipei: Ch’engwen Publishing, 1966), 2:167–169. Citations are to the reprint.

32. Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884–1898*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 98 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), provides the most exhaustive account of the various practices associated with lettered paper (213–217).

33. For medicine in Song China, see Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250–1276*, paperback ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 167–172.

34. For these and others, see *Taiwan chuantong banhua yuanliu tezhan* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, 1985), 237–241.

35. Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986; reprint, London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 220. Citation is to the reprint.

36. Ming-sun Poon, “The Printer’s Colophon in Sung China, 960–1279,” *The Library Quarterly* (Chicago) 43, no. 1 (January 1973): p. 48, figs. 16–18; Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, vol. 5, pt. 1 of Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1233.

37. Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991) 2:511, 544, 553, 556, 576, 583, 652; Li Zhiqiang and Wang Shucun, eds., *Zhongguo Yangliuqing muban nianhua ji* (Tianjin: Tianjin Yangliuqing hua chubanshe, 1992), 37; Tianjinshi yishu bowuguan, *Yangliuqing nianhua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 20, 44.

38. Sometimes these advertisements were in verse. One couplet reads “This is of the first importance. / Those who would like to strive upwards ought to read it.” Translation by Richard G. Wang, “The Publishing of the Ming Novellas and the Print Culture,” *Monumenta Serica* 48 (2000): 125.

39. Reproduced in Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 1:143. For further information about these early pictorial advertisements, see Richard G. Wang, “Publishing of the Ming Novellas,” 126; and Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 520–521. Lucille Chia illustrates the portrait of a fifteenth-century publisher “noted for his medical expertise and his editorial work in collating medical classics [who] portrayed himself as a scholar among his books,” in *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 56 (Cambridge: Harvard University Area Center, 2002), 49a.

40. Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 137. For further information about Yu, see Hegel, 137–140 and elsewhere; Dell R. Hales, “Yü Hsiang-tou,” in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) 2:1612–1614; and Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 156–160, 237–239. Yu was also the author of three novels; see Richard Gregg Irwin, *The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 10 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 67–68, 102–103.

41. Translation by Richard G. Wang, "Publishing of the Ming Novellas," 125–126. Reproduced in Fu Xihua, comp., *Zhongguo gudian wenzue banhua xuanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981) 1:41.
42. The other two versions of this elaborate portrait are reproduced in Xiao Dongfa, "Jianyang Yushi keshu kaolüe, zhong," *Wenxian* 22 (1984): figs. 2–3. Yet another portrait of Yu published in his books depicts him standing inside a substantial pavilion furnished with scholar's table and writing equipment commensurate with that of a wealthy gentry family, gazing at the heavens. Reproduced in Xiao Dongfa, "Jianyang Yushi keshu kaolüe, zhong," 4; and in Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 49b.
43. Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 213.
44. Suzanne Elaine Wright, "Visual Communication and Social Identity in Woodblock-printed Letter Papers of the Late Ming Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999), 132–133, 137–139.
45. Philip K. Hu, comp. and ed., *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library, 2000), 39.
46. As early as the Yuan period, theater troupes advertised their names. A mural in the Mingying-wangdian in the Guangshengsi in south central Shanxi Province depicts a theatrical performance. Along the valance at the top of the stage is the name of the actress who performed here in May of 1324. This statement is accepted by many as an advertisement, and indeed, although this picture was not "portable," and thus did not circulate the name of this actress over a wide area, it certainly called attention to her among the local people who attended her performances. For additional comments on this mural, see J. I. Crump, *Chinese Theater in the Days of Kublai Khan* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 31–33, 36–39. I am grateful to Richard Wang for reminding me about this mural.
47. Reproduced in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tu*, 1:339.
48. For examples of similar theater prints that serve as advertisements, see *Suzhou chuantong banhua Taiwan shoucang zhan* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, 1987), 270.
49. For a useful, illustrated survey of these acrobatic performances, see Fu Qifeng, *Chinese Acrobatics Through the Ages* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985). The pillow has a depiction of an acrobat doing a handstand on horseback (Fu Qifeng, *Chinese Acrobatics*, fig. 54).
50. Juliet Bredon and Igor Mitrophanow, *The Moon Year: A Record of Chinese Customs and Festivals* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1927), 154, and the photograph opposite p. 154. More photographs of acrobats and other street entertainers can be seen in *Beijing lao Tianqiao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990).
51. Reproduced in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tu*, 2:747–748.
52. Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo nianhua shi* (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1986), 74.
53. Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai," in *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou, Phœbus Occasional Papers in Art History, 8 (1998), 136.
54. A valuable study of this publication was written by Yu Yueting in 1956–1957 but not published until 1981; see "Woguo huabao de shizu: Dianshizhai huabao chutan," *Xinwen yanjiu ziliao* 10 (1981): 149–181. The most thorough examination of *Dianshizhai huabao*, its artists, and the society it reflects is Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.
55. Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 33 n. 5.
56. The information I provide on lunar and solar calendars is based on explanations by Alvin P. Cohen, *Introduction to Research in Chinese Source Materials* (New Haven: Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 2000), 407–415.
57. Richard J. Smith, "A Note on Qing Dynasty Calendars," *Late Imperial China* 9, no. 1 (June 1988): 126; see also Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).
58. Almanacs can still be purchased in Chinese communities throughout the world. For page-by-page guides to a basic almanac, see V. R. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs* (Hong Kong: South

China Morning Post, 1956–1958), 3:1–12; and Martin Palmer, ed., *Tung Shu: The Ancient Chinese Almanac* (Boston: Shambhala, 1986).

59. Smith, *Fortune-tellers*, 84.

60. Palmer, *Tung Shu*, 43. For more about the Spring Ox picture, see the comprehensive study by Carole Morgan, “Le tableau du boeuf du printemps: Étude d’une page de l’almanach chinois,” in *Mémoires de l’Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, 14 (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1980). The lowly almanac is far more complicated than presented here; see Smith, *Fortune-tellers*, and his popular-level survey *Chinese Almanacs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

61. L. Giles, “Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, iv,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9 (1937–1939), pt. 4:1033 and pl. 7. See also, Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: The British Library, 1985), 23.

62. Lionel Giles, “Six Centuries at Tunhuang: A Short Account of the Stein Collection of Chinese MMS. in the British Museum,” in *Nine Dragon Screen: Being Reprints of Nine Addresses and Papers Presented to the China Society 1909–1945* (London: The China Society, 1965), 16.

63. Robert L. Chard, “Rituals and Scriptures of the Stove Cult,” in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley: University of California, Chinese Popular Culture Project 3, 1995), 9–10.

64. A readily available survey of stove-god imagery is in Po Sung-nien and David Johnson, *Domesticated Deities and Auspicious Emblems: The Iconography of Everyday Life in Village China* (Berkeley: University of California, Chinese Popular Culture Project 2, 1992), 23–59. For a scholarly account of the stove-god cult, see Chard, “Rituals and Scriptures of the Stove Cult.”

65. The 1772 calendar is reproduced in Liu Ruli and Luo Shuzi, *Taobuawan muban nianhua* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961), 44.

66. Reproduced in Liu Ruli and Luo Shuzi, *Taobuawan muban nianhua*, 32.

67. Scholarly studies on foreigners as a source of wealth trace the idea back to the Yuan period. Wang Kang, *Cai, caishen, caiyun* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1994), 52–53.

68. For scholarly comment on this ancient rite, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 204–209. The rite as practiced in north China during the Qing is detailed by Nagao Ryoza, *Shina minzoku shi* (Tokyo, 1942) 2:791–817. William C. Hu has amassed a large amount of information about regional variations in the “Beating the Spring Ox” ceremony in his *Chinese New Year: Fact and Folklore* (Ann Arbor: Ars Ceramica, 1991), 346–357.

69. Lewis Hodous, *Folkways in China* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1929), 20. Sections of a long scroll depicting the “Beating the Spring Ox” ceremony are reproduced in Gao Wen, Hou Shiwu, and Ning Zhiqi, *Mianzhu nianhua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 124–131.

70. In an earlier calendar, one for the year 1827, the main scene is symmetrically arranged around a large central octagonal disc containing the yin-yang motif along with the trigrams and the cardinal directions; in the final circle are the duodenary animals. This device, with a fancy border made up of *myi* “as you wish” forms, is flanked by an ox and a boy, on the left, and a magistrate on the right. The whole is set in the center of a terrace surrounded by mock-European buildings rendered in Western one-point perspective. The calendar is placed at the top center. Reproduced in Liu Ruli and Luo Shuzi, *Taobuawan muban nianhua*, 57.

71. Translation is based on *Suzhou Taobuawan muban nianhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 155. The calendar is reproduced in *Suzhou Taobuawan muban nianhua* 51, and in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu*, 1:368.

72. There were other variations of the tea-picking dance. Wang Kefen, *The History of Chinese Dance* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985), 80.

73. See Julius Kurth, *Der Chinesische Farbendruck* (Plauden: C. F. Schulz, 1922), 5–8; and Herbert Butz, “Zimelien der populären chinesischen Druckgraphik: Holzschnitte des 17. und 18. Jahrhun-

derts aus Suzhou im Kupferstich-Kabinetts in Dresden und im Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin,” *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst* 13 (Oct. 1995): 31–33.

74. Reproduced in Yao Yu, ed., *Taohuawu nianhua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), 5.

75. Reproduced and explained in Wang Shucun, *Zhongguo minjian nianhua bai tu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 53.

76. Description based on Maria Rudova, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1988), 90.

77. For Chinese cigarette cards, see Sun Chia-chi, “Cigarette Cards,” translated from the Chinese by Robert Christensen, *Echo of Things Chinese* 6, no. 4 (Jan. 1977), 58–67, 71, 74. A full range of cards is illustrated in Feng Yiyu, *Lao xiangyan paizi* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1996) and in Wang Haoming and Ma Yuanliang, eds., *Qicai xiangyan pai* (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 1998).

78. David Embrey Fraser, “Smoking Out the Enemy: The National Goods Movement and the Advertising of Nationalism in China, 1880–1937” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 142–143.

79. For a survey of various types of advertising in China, see Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan guiji,” in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 3–10.

80. Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” 71.

81. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 2:78–79.

82. See Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 19–22, 35–38, 134–135.

83. Sherman Cochran, “Transnational Origins of Advertising in Early Twentieth-Century China,” in *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945*, Sherman Cochran, ed. (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999), 38–39.

84. *Tubua ribao* (1909–1910), 166:10; (reprint, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1999), 4:190.

85. James Lafayette Hutchison, *China Hand* (Boston and New York: Lathorp, Lee and Shepard, 1936), 53, 102–123.

86. *Ibid.*, 267.

87. Julean Arnold, *Commercial Handbook of China* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919–1920), 2:391–392.

88. Fraser, “Smoking Out the Enemy,” 70–71, 160–161, 183.

89. *Ibid.*, 125 n. 47.

90. Arnold, *Commercial Handbook of China*, 2:392.

91. *Ibid.*

92. My book in progress “Carl Crow, Mildred Crow, and Elliott Hazzard: Three American Entrepreneurs in Shanghai 1917–1937” surveys Crow’s life and work in Shanghai.

93. Carl Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, 19, 20.

94. Carl Crow, “Advertising and Merchandising,” in Julean Arnold, *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1926), 200.

95. In Arnold, *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, 564.

96. *Ibid.*, 597.

97. *Ibid.*, 704.

98. George C. Howard, “Import Trade in China,” in Arnold, *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, 122.

99. *Weekly Review*, September 10, 1921, 84.

100. *China Press*, January 22, 1925, 7; January 31, 1925, 5.

101. Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, 65.

102. Based on Fraser, “Smoking Out the Enemy,” 159.

103. Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art: 1989–1937" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1972), 55. In some respects, the Chinese adverse comments about the calendar posters is a conflict between "high art" and "low illustration," a conflict that also existed in the United States and England. See Laurel Bradley, "Millais's *Bubbles* and the Problem of Artistic Advertising," in *Pre-Raphaelite Art in Its European Context*, ed. Susan P. Casteras and Alicia Craig Faxon (Madison and Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), 193–209; and the briefer comments in Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s–1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 102–104.

104. Quoted in Li Chao, *Shanghai youhua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 42.

105. *Ibid.*, 43.

106. Lu Xun, "Lu Xun zai Zhonghua yishu daxue yanjiang jilu," in *Xuexi Lu Xun de meishu sixiang* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979), 2–3, as translated and quoted by Sherman Cochran, "Marketing Medicine and Advertising Dreams in China, 1900–1950," in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond, 1900–1950*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 62.

107. Yu Jianhua, "Xiandai Zhongguo huachang de zhuangkuang," reprinted in Zhou Jiyin, ed., *Yu Jianhua meishu lunwen xuan* (Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 1986), 71–72. Yu's comments must be seen in the context of ongoing attacks against traditional Chinese literati painting; see Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Shock of the New: Li Huayi, Zhang Hong, and the Reordered Landscape," *Kaikodo Journal* 14 (November 1999), 11–25.

108. A biographical sketch of Liang and a reproduction of one of his Western-style landscape paintings is in *Liangyou* 7 (August 1926): 14; seven of his photographs of Taishan are reproduced in *Liangyou* 10 (November 1926): 6.

109. Liang Desuo, "Hui hua," in *Zhongguo xiandai yishu shi* (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu, 1936), 28.

110. Zheng Yimei, "Sanshi nianjian zhi shuhuaia," *Wanxiang* 4, no. 3 (1944): 20–21.

111. F. C. Jones, *Shanghai and Tientsin: With Special Reference to Foreign Interests* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), chs. 8–9.

Chapter 2: Chinese Popular Prints in Late-Nineteenth–Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai

1. Jonathan Hay, "Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai, in *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou, *Phoebus Occasional Papers in Art History* 8 (1998): 134–188.

2. For reproductions of and comments on this frontispiece, see Frances Wood, *Chinese Illustration* (London: The British Library, 1985), 10–11; Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, *Paper and Printing*, vol. 5, pt. 1, ed. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 253–254.

3. These prints are known today under the misleading rubric "new-year pictures" (*nianhua*), a term entirely too narrow to indicate the full range of subjects and purposes of prints, for it implies that all such prints were produced for use at New Year's time, usually to replace old, worn-out images, or those that were burned in New Year's ceremonies. In reality many prints were used at different times throughout the year, and many serve no other purpose than to provide pleasant and colorful decoration. The term "popular print" (*minjian banhua*) more accurately describes these works.

4. Arthur De C. Sowerby, "'Crossing the Year,'" *China Journal of Science and Arts* 3, no. 2 (February 1925): 55. Sowerby professes not to understand how these images became connected with the prevention of fire; it is possible that this presumed function was based on the Chinese euphemism for sexual intercourse: clouds and rain.

5. A hand-scroll example appears in the Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Wood Block Printing and Prints, London (unpublished). Three examples similar to that in the Muban Found-

dation, but unlabeled, are said to date to the beginning of the twentieth century, reproduced in Wouchan Cheng, *Érotologie de la Chine: Tradition chinoise de l'érotisme*, Bibliothèque Internationale d'érotologie 11, ed. Jean-Jacques Pauvert (Paris: N.p., 1963), 128–134; a scroll of printed erotica 15 cm in height and said to date from the 1930s is reproduced in Yimen, *Dreams of Spring: Erotic Art in China from the Bertholet Collection* (Amsterdam: Pepin Press, 1997), 202–203. Book collectors placed “Spring pictures” (i.e., of erotic subject matter) within book cabinets to ward off bookworms (Achilles Fang, trans. “Bookman’s Manual (Ts’ang-shu chi-yao) by Sun Ts’ung-t’ien,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 [1951]: 244). The recreational aspect of these images is slyly hinted at by Fang, who says “I do not see why such things can keep off bookworms, unless it be that one may be inclined to ‘frequently open and inspect’ the book cabinet containing them” (259 n. 180).

6. Data herein about print production is based on the description in Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo nianhua shi* (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1986), 59–64.

7. Wang Shucun, “Yangliuqing minjian nianhua huajue suoji,” *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (1958): 48–54, and 2 (1959): 38–50.

8. This was of special concern at Yangliuqing, where most prints were actually a combination of mechanical printing and hand painting, and too many figures in a print would mean an increase in the number of faces to be painted, thus increasing the cost of production of a print.

9. In the case of the Yangliuqing prints, they were then farmed out to local women and children who by hand added color to hands and faces along with details of eyes and eyebrows.

10. Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo nianhua shi*, 36–38.

11. The earliest known representation of the Three Stars appears in a tomb constructed between A.D. 1279 and A.D. 1367 in Fujian Province; see Yang Cong, “Tan Yuandai sanxingtu ji fulushou minjian shenxianghua chuxian de shidai,” *Meishu shilun* 2 (1993): 97–98. On the development of the iconography of the Three Stars, see Mary H. Fong, “The Iconography of the Popular Gods of Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity (Fu Lu Shou),” *Artibus Asiae* 44 (1983): 159–199.

12. American Museum of Natural History, New York City (70/4561 A58).

13. These prints are now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Several of these shop names are also listed by Bo Songnian, in *Zhongguo nianhua shi*, 39, and by Chen Yuyin, in “Suzhou Taohuawu muke nianhua de yishu jiqi yingxiang,” *Wenwu* 2 (1960): 33. Shanghai prints are reproduced in Wang Haoming and Ma Yuanliang, eds., *Qingmo nianhua huicui: Shanghai tushuguan guancang jingxuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000), 2:1–178.

14. Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo nianhua shi*, 39; *Suzhou chuantong banhua Taiwan shoucang zhan* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, 1987), 287–288.

15. The borrowing of illustrations has a long history. Katherine Carlitz and Anne Farrer have discovered that the appropriation and reuse of illustrations was common practice among late-sixteenth-century publishers (Katherine Carlitz, “The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienü zhuan*,” *Late Imperial China* 12, no. 2 [December 1991]: 118, 128; Anne Farrer, “The Shui-hu zhuan: A Study in the Development of Late Ming Woodblock Illustration,” [Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1984], quoted in Carlitz, 120). In the late nineteenth century, the recycling of established illustrations to stories or opera plots, or of other subjects in popular prints, was not limited to the Suzhou-Shanghai connection but existed throughout the popular-print establishments in other areas of China. Pictures were borrowed or, to put it in less-polite terms, pirated, even within Suzhou itself. For example the identical image of the Yang family women generals was published by Chen Tongsheng and Wang Rongxing, both in Suzhou. The Chen Tongsheng print is now in the American Museum of Natural History (70/4561 A38); its double is reproduced in Yao Yu, ed., *Taohuawu nianhua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), 85. Some prints were put to different uses. In 1911 a Suzhou print depicting a street parade, originally published with the title *Chinese and Foreign Merchants Celebrate with Decorated Lanterns*, was converted into a political print honoring Sun Yat-sen as president of the new republic by simply changing the title line. The original parade print is in the

American Museum of Natural History (70/4561 A61); the Sun Yat-sen parade print is reproduced in Yao Yu, *Taohuawu nianhua*, 115. A similar version of the Sun Yat-sen parade print is reproduced in Wang Haoming and Ma Yuanliang, *Qingmo nianhua*, 2:93.

16. Quoted in Ye Xiaoqing, "Popular Culture in Shanghai 1884–1898" (Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 1991), 235. A photograph of people standing along the railway to watch the train is reproduced in Deng Ming, ed., *Shanghai bainian liuying 1840s–1940s* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), 150, and in Wu Liang, *Old Shanghai: A Lost Age* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2001), 236.

17. C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest In and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., n.d.), 132. For the early history of this venture, see F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai: Being An Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement*. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1928), 103–104, and Ye Xiaoqing, "Popular Culture in Shanghai," 233–237. One of the most informative writings about the railway is "The First Railway in China: Some Little Known Details of the Original Shanghai-Woosung Line," *Far Eastern Review* 15, 12 (December 1919): 757–760.

18. *The Suzhou Railroad Train Departs for Shanghai* is reproduced in Yao Yu, ed., *Taohuawu nianhua*, 114. The print from the Sun Wenya shop is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City (Asia/0574 B02), and the version from the Zhou Hengxing shop is in the same collection (70/4561 A57). Yet a third version is reproduced in Wang Haoming and Ma Yuanliang, *Qingmo nianhua*, 2:92, as *The Shanghai Newly Constructed Railroad Train Departs for Wusong*.

19. A photograph of this station is reproduced in Tang Zhenchang, ed., *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity 1842–1949* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1996), 28.

20. In the American Museum of Natural History, New York City (70/4837 A42).

21. The version from the Wang Rongxing shop is reproduced in *Suzhou Taohuawu muban nianhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 26. The *Jade Hall Wealth and Honor* version appears in Yao Yu, *Taohuawu nianhua*, 30, and in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991) 1:344. In Wang Haoming and Ma Yuanliang, *Qingmo nianhua*, this print is assigned a Shanghai provenance (2:167).

22. American Museum of Natural History, New York City (Asia/0553).

23. Frequently reproduced, including Yao Yu, *Taohuawu nianhua*, 32, and *Suzhou Taohuawu muban nianhua*, 10.

24. American Museum of Natural History, New York City (70/4837 A36).

25. For the importance of this school, see Christopher Alexander Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai: Mechanized Printing, Modern Publishing, and their Effects on the City, 1876–1937" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996), 170–171.

26. *Ibid.*, 179, 217 n. 56, 218 n. 75.

27. For these artists, see Hay, "Painters and Publishing," 138, 177–178 n. 20.

28. Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884–1898*. Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 98 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 5.

29. Ye Xiaoqing, "Popular Culture in Shanghai," 42–43.

30. *Ibid.*, 44.

31. Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 6.

32. Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1933), 70.

33. Fritz van Briessen, *Shanghai-Bildzeitung, 1884–1898: Eine Illustrierte aus dem China des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag AG, 1977), 92, quoted in Ye Xiaoqing, "Popular Culture in Shanghai," 58.

34. Don J. Cohn, ed. and trans., *Vignettes from the Chinese: Lithographs from Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987), 2.

35. *The Graphic*, August 30, 1884, 224. Nor was there any indication of the source of this picture. It was, however, published in the third issue of *Dianshizhai huabao* in 1884. Another Western borrow-

ing of a Chinese picture is *French in Tonkin: the Recent Battle at Sontay*, that appeared in the *Graphic* for March 15, 1884, 256. It is captioned as a “facsimile of a drawing by a Chinese artist.” All place-names, given in Chinese on the original, are translated into English. Along the left margin is the note in Chinese (duly translated into English) that each sheet costs one cent. The commentary accompanying this picture mentions that it was “sold by thousands on the streets of Canton and Hong Kong.” This facsimile may actually preserve one of the illustrated broadsides hawked on the streets mentioned by Britton (*Chinese Periodical Press*, 5–7).

36. Zunwenge Zhuren [pseud.], *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (Shanghai: Shenchang shushi shiyin, 1883; reprint, Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1981), 1:60. Citation is to the reprint.

37. This description is based on that by Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 173.

38. For this and other biographical information about Wu Youru, I have drawn on the data compiled by Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshibizhai Pictorial*, 12–13.

39. Four of Wu’s album-leaf paintings from a set depicting women in the twelve months, dating to 1890, are reproduced in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 21.

40. Hongxing Zhang, “Studies in Late Qing Battle Paintings,” *Artibus Asiae* 60 (2000): 289–293.

41. Wu Youru’s sketches of boys playing kick ball and tug-of-war are reproduced in *Wu Youru renmu shinü bujü* (1908; reprint, Tianjin: Tianjin guji shudian, 1982), 1: 2: 22a and 23b; their color woodblock print versions produced at Yangliuqing by the Shengxing huadian are reproduced in Wang Shucun, *Ancient Chinese Woodblock New Year Prints* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985), 108, and Wang Shucun, *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu*, 2:575, respectively.

42. For a general introduction to these pictorials, see Zhang Tiexian, “Lüetan wan Qing shiqi de shiyin huabao,” *Wenwu* 3 (1959): 1–3.

43. For the complicated history of the Feiyongge publications and their various titles, see Hay, “Painters and Publishers,” 139.

44. Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshibizhai Pictorial*, 12.

45. The title of Wu’s print is a near quote from the story of Huan Wen’s jealous wife, who went to his new concubine’s apartment intent on killing the woman. But on seeing the beautiful, sedate, and sadly moving girl, the wife threw away her sword and, embracing the girl, exclaimed, “Dear child, even I feel affection for you as I see you; how much more must that old rascal!” Liu I-ch’ing (Liu Yiqing), *Shishuo xinyu*, translated as “*Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*,” trans. and ed. Richard B. Mather (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 353. I am indebted to Weiyang Wan for identifying the source of this caption.

46. Catherine Vance Yeh, “Creating the Urban Beauty: The Shanghai Courtesan in Late Qing Illustrations,” in *Writing and Materiality in China*, ed. Judith T. Zeitlin and Lydia H. Liu (Cambridge: Harvard University East Asian Center, 2003), 397–447.

47. Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshibizhai Pictorial*, 6.

48. *Huatu xinbao* issues for the years 1880 and 1881 are reprinted in *Zhongguo shixue congshu* 50 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1966). This advertisement is on 88b (reprint: 190).

49. Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 580.

50. A Ying [pseud.], “Mantan chuqi baokan de nianhua he rili,” in *A Ying sanwen xuan*, ed. Qian Xiaoyun and Wu Taichang (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1981), 280–281; Bo Songnian, *Zhongguo nianhua shi*, 168.

51. I am grateful to David Haliwell for enabling me to examine them.

52. Much of what follows in the text is based on the essays by Roberta Wue (“Picturing Hong Kong: Photography through Practice and Function”) and Edwin K. Lai (“The Beginnings of Hong Kong Photography”) in Asia Society Galleries, *Picturing Hong Kong: Photography 1855–1910* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1997), 27–47 and 49–57 respectively, and by Clark Worswick, “Photography in Imperial China,” in Clark Worswick and Jonathan Spence, *Imperial China: Photographs 1850–1912* (N.p.: Pennwick, 1978), 134–149. Two popular surveys of photography in China are Chin-san Long

[Lang Jingshan], as told to Betty Yung, “China and the Newfangled Invention,” *Echo of Things Chinese*, 6, no. 8 (1978): 13–19, 57–58; Elizabeth Tong, “Chinese Photographic Societies Reminiscences,” *Echo of Things Chinese*, 6, no. 8 (August 1978): 20–24, 58–59. The classic survey of the history of photography in China is Ma Yunzeng, Chen Shen, Hu Zhichuan, et al., *Zhongguo sheying shi 1840–1937* (Beijing: Zhongguo sheying chubanshe, 1987).

53. Ma Yunzeng, Chen Shen, Hu Zhichuan, et al., *Zhongguo sheying shi*, 47–48.

54. Shi Gufeng, *Huizhou rongxiang yishu* (N.p.: Anhui meishu chubanshe, 2001), 2.

55. For example, Bo Songnian, *Chinese New Year Pictures* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1995), 162–163.

56. Gugong Bowuyuan, *Gugong Bowuyuan cang lidai shiniubua xuanji* (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 31.

57. Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushi nian: 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 35.

58. Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art: 1898–1937” (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 1972), 68.

59. Liu Beisi and Xu Qixian, eds., *Gugong zhencang renwu zhaopian huicui* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1994), 90, 91. Examples of Chinese portrait photographs exist by the thousands and are routinely seen in the many volumes reproducing collections of photographs taken in China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

60. Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 83.

61. Perry Link Jr., *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 83.

62. For examples, see Wei Shaochang, ed., *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1962), 2–4.

Chapter 3: Production and Marketing of Advertisement Calendar Posters in China

1. A concise history of Xujiahui is found in “Xujiahui: Then and Now: A Special Pictorial Issue,” *Tripod* 12, no. 70 (July–August 1992). My thanks to Victoria Siu for sending me a copy of this publication.

2. C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest In and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., n.d.), 78–79.

3. Zhang Hongxing, “Zhongguo zuizao de xiyang meishu yaolan—Shanghai Tushanwan guer gongyiyuan de yishu shiye,” *Dongnan wenbua* 5 (1991): 124–130; Wan Qingli, “Zhongguo xiyanghua zhi yaolan,” *Xionshi meishu* 276, no. 2 (1994): 98–104.

4. Mayching Kao, “Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-style Painting Movement in China,” in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 152.

5. Ma Xuexin, Cao Junwei, Xue Liyong, and Hu Xiaojing, comps. *Shanghai wenbua yuanliu cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 18.

6. For the history and use of Western drawing guidebooks, see Ernest Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, 2nd ed. rev. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1961), 149, 156–172.

7. *Ibid.*, 168–169.

8. Mayching Kao, “Reforms in Education,” 152. It is unclear how Hang Zhiying, who was certainly not an orphan, was permitted to study at the school or how long he was a student there.

9. Quoted in Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art: 1898–1937” (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 1972), 68.

10. *Ibid.*, 70.
11. Except where otherwise noted, this paragraph is based on Mayching Kao, “Reforms in Education,” especially 147–151.
12. Jonathan Hay, “Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” in *Art at the Close of China’s Empire*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou, Phœbus Occasional Papers in Art History 8, 1998, 137.
13. Mayching Kao, “Reforms in Education,” 148.
14. See Hay, “Painters and Publishing” (136–137) for an overview of these publications.
15. Commercial Press advertisements in *Dongfang zazhi* 3, nos. 6 and 10 (1906); 5, no. 3 (1908); 8, no. 5 (1911).
16. *Shenbao*, July 7, 1916, 14 (1983 photocopy 141:110).
17. Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West,” 85.
18. *Shenbao*, January 4, 1873, 6 (1983 photocopy 2:15); October 21, 1878, 1 (1983 photocopy 13:385); May 26, 1876, 1 (1983 photocopy 8:481). These notices were brought to my attention in Chia-Ling Yang, “Artistic Responses to Foreign Stimuli and Early Western Art Education in Late Qing Shanghai” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York City, March 2003), 6. I am grateful to Chia-Ling Yang for sending me a copy of her paper.
19. For example, Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan gui’ji,” in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 8.
20. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 1:67.
21. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu—jilao Shanghai guanggao huajia qun,” in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 13.
22. James Lafayette Hutchison, *China Hand* (Boston and New York: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, 1936), 266–267.
23. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu,” 13–14.
24. *Ibid.* Ding, writing in the Communist era, claims that, in a few instances, artists who were multitalented found this rather rigid system frustrating because it did not permit them to develop their full artistic potential. This comment must be accepted only with care, since it may reflect the Communist tendency to demonize commercialism and pre-liberation society.
25. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:70.
26. Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan gui’ji,” 6.
27. Carl Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers: The Experiences—Some Happy, Some Sad of an American in China, and What They Taught Him* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), 104–106.
28. H. J. Lethbridge in his introduction to Carl Crow’s *Handbook for China*, 1933; reprint, with introduction by H. J. Lethbridge (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984), v–vi; *New York Times*, June 10, 1945, 32.
29. Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948), *zhu’an* 87.
30. *North-China Desk Hong List 1924* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1924), 65.
31. Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan gui’ji,” 7; for Teweï (primarily a cartoonist), Xie Mulian, and Ye Qianyu, see Zhongguo Meishuguan, ed., *Zhongguo meishu nianjian 1949–1989* (Guilin: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1993), 340, 374, 277. The name of Hu Zhongbiao is not in the usual biographical sources. So far, none of these artists’ products for Carl Crow has been identified.
32. *China Weekly Review*, 8 January 1927, 163. Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan gui’ji,” 6, gives the date for the founding of this agency as 1921.
33. *North-China Desk Hong List 1927* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1927), 174.
34. Xu Baiyi, “Lao Shanghai guanggao de fazhan gui’ji,” 6.
35. *Shanghai zhinan*, 10th ed. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919) 6:37a.
36. *Ibid.*, 11th ed. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1920) 6:37a.
37. Xu Baiyi, “The Role of Advertising in China,” unpublished typescript circulated by Kim Rotzoll of Governors State University, University Park, Illinois, 1989, 9.

38. *Ibid.*, 9–10.
39. *Millard's Review*, June 8, 1918, 70.
40. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1919, 405.
41. Li Chu-ting, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting (The C. A. Drenowatz Collection)*, Artibus Asiae Supplementum 36 (Ascona: 1979), 92.
42. For the reasons for Xu's not being hired at the Commercial Press, see Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 195.
43. Huang Jingwan, "Huiyi Xu Beihong zai Shanghai de yiduan jingli," *Wenhua shiliao congkan* 1 (1980): 84–85.
44. Lin Wenxia, *Xiandai meishejia: Yan Wenliang, bualun, zuopin, shengping* (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1982), 163–164.
45. Mayching Kao, "The Spread of Western Art in China: 1919–1929," in *China: Development and Challenge: Proceedings of the Fifth Leverbulme Conference, 1978*. Occasional Papers and Monographs, no. 32, vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1981), 95.
46. There are two full-length Western-language studies of the Commercial Press: Jean-Pierre Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai 1897–1949*, Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 7 (Paris: Collège de France, 1978); Florence Chien, "The Commercial Press and Modern Chinese Publishing, 1897–1949," (master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1970). Christopher Alexander Reed's dissertation, which includes some data about the Commercial Press, places it in a broader context of the competition in the Chinese publishing world; see "Gutenberg in Shanghai: Mechanized Printing, Modern Publishing, and their Effects on the City, 1876–1937" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996). Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 47–63. Perry Link also has a section on the Commercial Press in his *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 85–88. Much useful information is also to be found throughout Carol Lynne Waara, "Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912–1937," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994). See also Song Yuanfang and Li Baijian, *Zhongguo chubanshi* (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1991), 188–190.
47. *Dongfang zazhi* 8 (1911), no. 2, n.p.
48. *Shenbao*, March 14, 1917, 1 (1983 photocopy 145:239). In 1921 another exhibition of calendar posters was sponsored by Zhou Xiang in conjunction with his Shanghai Upper Middle Art School (*Shenbao*, July 16, 1921, 15 [1983 photocopy 171:313]). Both announcements include policies and rules governing submission of exhibits.
49. *Shanghai zhinan*, 11th ed., 1920, insert between *juan* 7 and 8.
50. *Dongfang zazhi* 19 (1922), no. 13, n.p.
51. *Dongfang zazhi* 20 (1923), no. 22, n.p. An advertisement placed in *Wenhua huabao* for November 1929 by an unnamed printing establishment announces the availability of its *yuefenpai* in similar language, adding the inducement of lower prices if the calendar posters are purchased in bulk; recorded in Buji, "Jiefangqian de 'yuefenpai' nianhua shiliao," *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 55.
52. *Dongfang zazhi* 15 (1918), nos. 3 and 6, n.p.
53. *Ibid.*, no. 4, n.p.
54. Xu Baiyi, "Role of Advertising in China," 10.
55. *Dongfang zazhi* 30 (1933), no. 6, n.p.
56. Ding Hao, "Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu," 15.
57. Crow, *Four Hundred Million*, 104–105.
58. The "Santa Claus" advertisement is in *Meishu shenghuo* 13 (April 1935); the array of images including the Sanyi Press and Sun Yat-sen in 14 (May 1935), 16 (July 1935), 18 (Sept. 1935), and 33 (Dec. 1936); a close-up of a pretty girl's face by the Zhiying Studio in 22 (Jan. 1936); a girl holding

a parrot by Jin Meisheng in 30 (Sept. 1936); a landscape by Zhang Daqian in 31 (Oct. 1936), and 32 (Nov. 1936); a landscape photograph in 34 (Jan 1937); a seated beauty by Zhiying Studio in 35 (Feb. 1937); a beauty seated on a garden rock by Zhiying Studio in 37 (April 1937). Jin Youcheng, the owner of the Sanyi Press, claimed to have been the first to suggest the use of color reproductions for calendar posters, but this assertion must be taken with a grain of salt, since such imagery had appeared in China several decades earlier (Jin Youcheng, “Yi ‘Sanyi’ de yuefenpai yu *Meishu shenghuo*,” *Duoyun* 4 [1982]: 136). Other printing firms who supplied calendar posters or hangers are listed in Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” *Meishujia* 67 (1989): 73, 74, and in Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai,’” 56 n. 11.

59. Wu Chenglian, *Jin Shanghai chaguan jiuou* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989), 58, 60.

60. A photograph of the teahouse, taken from an angle, and probably dating from around 1900, is reproduced in Dennis George Crow, *Historic Photographs of Shanghai, Hong Kong and Macao*. Sale catalogue. (Los Angeles: Dennis George Crow, 1999), 47.

61. Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishao xubian* (Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1996), 359.

62. See chapter 2, n. 24.

63. Meihuaanzhu [pseud], *Shenjiang shengjing tushuo* (2 vols., 1894; reprint in one vol., *Guoli Beijing daxue, Zhongguo minsu xuehui minsu congshu* 78 [Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1972], under the added title of *Folklore of Shanghai in 1880's*), 2:3a. Citation is to the 1972 reprint.

64. Translation by Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 426 n. 99.

65. Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” 54.

66. Wang Yuli, “Yuefenpaihua de yishu fengge,” in *Yuefenpai de lishi, yishu yu wenhua*, ed. Guo Jisheng (Taipei: forthcoming).

67. Wang Yichang, *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian, shi*, 9.

68. *Ibid.*, table of contents, 13.

69. *Shenbao*, March 1, 1910, 6 (1983 photocopy 105:7)

70. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1910, 2 (1983 photocopy 105:17)

71. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1921, 14 (1983 photocopy 168:654).

72. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1924, 18 (1983 photocopy 199:126).

73. *Dongfang zazhi* 31 (1934), no. 23, n.p.

74. *Beiyang huabao* 57 (January 27, 1927): 4.

Chapter 4: Early Calendar Posters and Zhang Zhiying

1. Reproduced in Jack S. C. Lee, “A Study of Calendar Poster Paintings in the Early Twentieth Century Hong Kong and Canton,” *Besides: A Journal of Art History and Criticism*, (1997): fig. 5.1. I am grateful to Shen Kuyi for bringing this essay to my attention.

2. *Shenbao*, January 7, 1876, 6 (1983 photocopy 8:23).

3. Jack Lee, “Study of Calendar Poster Paintings,” 92–93.

4. *Wu Youru huabao* (1908; reprint, Shanghai: Guji shudian chubanshe, 1983) 2:7.18b.

5. Meihuaanzhu [pseud], *Shenjiang shengjing tushuo* (2 vols., 1894; reprint in one vol., *Guoli Beijing daxue, Zhongguo minsu xuehui minsu congshu* 78 [Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1972]), 1:18a. Citation is to the 1972 reprint.

6. For the ramifications of the three rams, see Maggie Bickford, “Three Rams and Three Friends: The Working Lives of Chinese Auspicious Motifs,” *Asia Major* 12 (1999), pt. 1, 127–158.

7. Zhang Zhiying also painted scroll paintings; one of a standing woman is reproduced in *Zhongguo lidai shimin huaji* (N.p.: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe and Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 155. The artist’s inscription on this painting states he was from Liangxi; he dated his inscription with the

cyclical characters “*renwu*,” which the editors of *Zhongguo lidai shinü buji* interpreted as 1822. In all likelihood, given Zhang’s participation in the Shanghai-based *Dianshizhai huabao*, the date for this scroll should be 1882.

8. *Dianshizhai huabao*, collection *you*, 7:55b–56a, and in Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884–1898*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 98 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 40.

9. *South China Morning Post*, 13 December 1900, quoted in Jack Lee, “Study of Calendar Poster Paintings,” 93.

10. *South China Morning Post*, 1 November 1906, quoted in Jack Lee, “Study of Calendar Poster Paintings,” 93. Although it is not stated whether these calendars were used for commercial advertising, by 1913 advertisement calendars were standard advertising ploys used by various firms and companies in Hong Kong (94).

11. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, in *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 8, list a *yuefenpai* for 1894 titled *Eight Immortals Offering Longevity* made for the British Lihua Company, but neither reproduce it nor give a reference to its location.

12. J. Dyer Ball describes a number of these games of chance, among them a lottery based on the civil service examinations:

Some time before the examination, the monopolist, who runs the lottery, finds out the surnames of the candidates of a certain district, and the players select twenty names on which to stake, having previously endeavored to find out for their own guidance the capabilities of the candidates. Having made their selection, they send in the names and receive a receipt or ticket. These tickets are differently priced, but a book with half-dollar tickets amounts to \$500, as each book contains a thousand tickets. Of this money, \$50 goes to the monopolist for expense, leaving three prizes of \$300, \$100, and \$50 respectively, subject to be reduced by a ten per cent commission and a further deduction of a considerable amount for the expense of printing the books and distributing the prizes. The winners are, of course, those who have the highest number of names of successful candidates on their tickets.

J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese or Notes Connected with China*, 4th ed. (Hong Kong and Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1903), 581.

13. This calendar poster has been discussed in two articles by Wang Shucun, “Ji ‘Hujing kaicaitu Zhong Xi yuefenpai,’” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 57; and “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” *Meishujia* 67 (1989): 66.

14. C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest In and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, n.d.), 22.

15. *Ibid.*, 99.

16. Austin Coates, *China Races* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983), 35–36. Additional information about the English racetrack is in Darwent, *Shanghai*, 179–181; and in F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai: Being An Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1928), 83–84.

17. Pott, *History of Shanghai*, 109.

18. Darwent, *Shanghai*, 66. Chinese reaction to this modernization effort was not always positive. According to Pott, “There were rumours that the water was poisonous, or spoiled by lightning, or that people had been drowned in the water tower, and the Mixed Court Magistrate was obliged to issue a reassuring proclamation” (*History of Shanghai*, 110). Pictures of a ceremony at the French Town Hall building and its memorial sculpture and of a race in progress at the racetrack were printed in *Dianshizhai huabao* (collections *jia*, 8:63b–64a; and *yan*, 8:58b–59a, respectively).

19. Ye Xiaoqing, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 54. A sketch of crowds of visitors touring the waterworks with its festooned water tower, printed in *Dianshizhai huabao* (collection *gui*, 11:86b–87a), is reproduced as figure 23 in Ye’s book.

20. Darwent, *Shanghai*, 153.
21. *Ibid.*, 2.
22. Wang Shucun suggests that a possible forerunner for the rectilinear divisions of this *yuefenpai* is *Whiling Away the Double Nine Days of Cold*, preserved in a rubbing dated 1488 (“Ji ‘Hujing kaicaitu Zhong Xi yuefenpai,’” 57). This very old and rare image, however, is an unlikely candidate as a prototype. A far more plausible archetype is the English color-lithographed advertisement like that designed for the Chinese market by A. S. Watson and Company, Ltd., Hong Kong, China, and Manila (pl. 2).
23. Wang Shucun, “Ji ‘Hujing kaicaitu Zhong Xi yuefenpai,’” 57.
24. I am grateful to Dr. Shun-Chi Wu for allowing me to examine and photograph these rare calendars.
25. A 1904 *Hua Ying yuefenpai* published in Shanghai includes motifs of the Eight Immortals, the “Five Sons Aspiring To Become Officials,” and other symbols of prosperity; a second *Hua Ying yuefenpai* from the same year has a full-length portrait of the Guangxu emperor at the top and Queen Victoria at the bottom. Both calendars are reproduced in *Shanghai tushuguan guancang nianhua jingpin, Coleção de Xilografia da Biblioteca de Xangai* (Macau: Galeria de Exposições Temporárias da Câmara Municipal de Macau Provisória, 2000), 1, 3. I am grateful to Professor Tang Chon Chit, of the University of Macau, and Professor Boris Riftin for so generously sending me a copy of this book.
26. Fang Hanqi, *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi* (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1992), 744–745.
27. *Pictorial History of the Republic of China: Its Founding and Development* (Taipei: Modern China Press, 1981), 1:81; the calendar is reproduced on p. 82, fig. 4, and in Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan, ed., *Zhongguo jindaishi cankao tulu*, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1983), 366. See also my “Reform, Revolutionary, Political, and Resistance Themes in Chinese Popular Prints, 1900–1940,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 22 (Fall 2000): 146–147.
28. Most of the phrases are indistinct in the reproduction of this calendar available to me, but they are transcribed in Fang Hanqi, *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi*, 745, and in Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” 72. I am grateful to Professor Jin Feng for her help in translating these anti-Qing sentiments and pointing out their anti-Manchu allusions.
29. Ono Kazuko, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution 1850–1950*, ed. Joshua Fogel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 72–73.
30. A photograph of Xu Zonghan as a member of a bomb team is in *Pictorial History of the Republic of China*, 1:104.
31. Lin Wei-hung, “Activities of Woman Revolutionaries in the Tung Meng Hui Period (1905–1912),” *China Forum* 2 (1975): 287 n. 178.
32. For a detailed account of Huang’s role in the Wuchang revolt, see Joseph W. Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976; revised ed., Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 80 [Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998]), 220–228. Citation is to the revised edition.
33. See my “Reform, Revolutionary, Political, and Resistance Themes,” 153.
34. Reproduced in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 1:351.
35. *Ibid.*, 1:370; see also my “Reform, Revolutionary, Political, and Resistance Themes,” 154–155. A similar calendar of the same date, also with portraits of Puyi and others, is in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
36. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839–1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 47.
37. Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” 72–73. To my knowledge, no reproduction of this calendar has been published.

Chapter 5: Shanghai Beauties and Fresh Starts in the Second Decade of the Twentieth Century

1. Biographical information is based on Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 51–52; Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 12–16.
2. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 212. For Hu, see Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 632.
3. For example, see He Gongshang, comp., *Lidai meiren huaxuan* (Taipei: Yishu tushu gongsi, 1984), nos. 151, 153; Pan Shenliang, comp., *Shanghai mingjia huibua: Gugong Bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin quanji* (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), 140–144; a twelve-leaf flower album by Hu is reproduced in this same volume (139).
4. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian*, 169.
5. *Liangyou* 21 (November 30, 1927): 19.
6. Li Fuqing (Boris Riftin), “Sanguo gushi nianhua tulu,” *Lishi wenwu* 11 (1999): 30–50; 12 (1999): 4–22.
7. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye xubian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 88.
8. The first installment of biographies was illustrated in 1690. See Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 1:101; Josef Hejzlar, *Early Chinese Graphics* (Prague: Octopus Books, 1973), 1.
9. A Ying [pseud], “Mantan Hongloumeng de chatu he huace—Jinian Cao Xueqin shishi erbaizhou nian,” *Wenwu* 6 (1963): 3, 9. This same year, Feiyingge also issued a print depicting a Sino-Japanese War battle scene designed by Wu Youru and Zhou Muqiao; it was advertised in *Shenbao*, August 30, 1894, 4 (1983 photocopy 47:860).
10. Reproduced in Sherman Cochran, “Transnational Origins of Advertising in Twentieth-Century China,” in *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945*, ed. Sherman Cochran (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999), 2.1.
11. A Ying, “Mantan Hongloumeng de chatu he huace,” 9.
12. *Wu Youru huabao* (1908; reprint, Shanghai: Guji shudian chubanshe, 1983), 1:2.23a–24a.
13. A copy of this print is in the collection of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (no. 40). Another is reproduced in *Shanghai laochengxiang* (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 1999), 85; a color reproduction is in *Shanghai tushuguan guancang nianhua jingpin, Coleção de Xilografia da Biblioteca de Xangai*. (Macau: Galeria de Exposições Temporárias da Câmara Municipal de Macau Provisória, 2000), 18.
14. For these women, see Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 152–153, 171–172, and 148–149, respectively. Two versions of this print exist; one in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City (0574Bo8) has no indication of the press; one in the Shanghai History Museum bears the publisher’s name outside the lower left margin: Feiyingge. To the best of my knowledge, neither version is published. I am indebted to Huang Yin for sending me a copy of the Shanghai version.
15. American Museum of Natural History, New York City (Asia/0553).
16. Reproduced in Maria Rudova, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1988), 19.
17. The fanciful tower of little boys is reproduced in Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 1:337.
18. Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” *Aomen zazhi* 8 (1999), 18.
19. *Zhujiang fengmao: Aomen, Guangzhou ji Xianggang*. (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1996), 231.
20. Li Chao, *Shanghai youhua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 26–27, 30.
21. Reproduced in Patrick Conner, with contributions from David Sanctuary Howard and Rose-

mary Ransome Wallis, *The China Trade 1600–1860* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museum, 1986), 56.

22. Several unsigned calendar posters from this period are similar in style to Zhou's work and might actually be his designs. Two representatives are reproduced in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 27, 209.

23. Reproduced in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 73, and in Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 16, and elsewhere.

24. Photographs of the famous male Beijing opera star Mei Lanfang, who played female roles exclusively, are said to have been models. Zhuo Botang, "Yuefenpaihua de yan'ge: Zhongguo shangpin haibao 1900-40 nian," *Lianbe wenxue* 106 (1993.8): 99.

25. Régine Thiriez, "Photography and Portraiture in Nineteenth-Century China," *East Asian History* nos. 17–18 (June–December, 1999): 77–102. The Chinese were not the only ones copying photographs for their paintings. Several decades before Zhou Muqiao, the American artist Thomas Eakins took a photograph of fishermen on the Delaware River and then rendered the scene exactly as a painting. See Richard Woodward, "The Truth Is Out: How Realists Could Be So Realistic," *New York Times*, November 25, 2001, art sec., p. 34.

26. See my "Reform, Revolutionary, Political, and Resistance Themes in Chinese Popular Prints, 1900–1940," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 156–157.

27. F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai: Being An Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1928), 196. Pott summarizes action in Shanghai on 196–200.

28. Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 165. According to Link (253), *Saturday* was a small volume (5 × 7 inches and about 60 to 70 pages); beginning in June 1914, it appeared on Saturday mornings each week for one hundred weeks. After a hiatus, publication of the magazine was revived for another one hundred weeks beginning in March 1921.

29. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 65.

30. For appreciations of Shen Bochen's art by Ding Song and Zhang Guangyu, see *Shanghai manhua* 18 (August 18, 1928): 3.

31. Ding Song, *Shanghai shizhuang tuyong* (Shanghai, 1916; reprint, Taipei: Guangwen shuchu, 1968).

32. Wang Shucun, "Minchu de shizhuang funü huodong tu," *Meishujia* 40 (1984): 51.

33. Sample advertisements are in *Shibao*, April 7, 1915, 9; June 7, 1915, 9; January 3, 1916, n.p.; December 24, 1916, 5; January 29, 1917, 7; December 23, 1917, 7. These pictures are never illustrated in the advertisements, so it is impossible to know what they really looked like.

34. Xiao Chunyuan, "Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi," 18.

35. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 10.

36. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 2: 112.

37. Reproduced in Ng Chun Bong, Cheuk Pak Tong, Wong Ying, and Yvonne Lo, comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity: Calendar Posters of the 1910s–1930s* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 1.

38. Reproduced in Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London: The British Museum Press, 1999), 2.10.

39. Reproduced in Yi Bin, ed., *Lao Shanghai guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 83.

40. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:103, 104.

41. Jack S. C. Lee, "A Study of Calendar Poster Painting in the Early Twentieth Century Hong Kong and Canton," *Besides: A Journal of Art History and Criticism* (1997): 105.

42. Reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:48.

43. This poster (figure 9.2) is discussed in chapter 9.

44. A veritable treasury of these streamers is in Carol Belanger Grafton, ed., *Banners, Ribbons & Scrolls: An Archive for Artists and Designers* (New York: Dover Publications, 1983).
45. Reproduced in Yi Bin, ed., *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, 84.
46. Another “picture within a picture” calendar poster of this era is one for BAT by an anonymous artist depicting a standing woman holding an open hanging scroll on which are depicted cigarette packages, clearly a visual reference to the thousands of cigarette package posters pasted on walls throughout China. Unpublished; the Robert Brown Gallery, Washington, D.C.
47. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:115.
48. Unpublished; Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei.
49. Wei Shaochang, ed., *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1962), 301, 319. None of Zhou’s covers for these two journals seems to have survived.
50. These appear on the covers for issues 84 (January 8, 1916), 85 (January 15, 1916), 78 (November 27, 1915), and 88 (February 12, 1916).
51. Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” 19.
52. *Shibao*, December 31, 1919, 7.
53. Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” 19, and Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 72.
54. Yao Jiguang and Yu Yifen, “Shanghai de xiaobao,” *Xinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan*, 8 (1981, no. 3): 234. Included in the mosquito press were gossip, anecdotes, and fiction, and eventually regular newspapers. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 118–119.
55. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 123; see the appendix for a detailed account of the competition between various magazines of this period.
56. Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao*, 440.
57. Another follower of Zhou Muqiao was Zhao Ousheng (1888–1944). Zhao studied Chinese painting with Lu Hui (1851–1920) and Ni Tian (1853/55–1919), and later received training in sketching and coloring from a French artist. Zhao’s *yuefenpai* subjects were mainly illustrations to stories from the *Sanguozhi yanji* and to old themes such as *A Heavenly Maiden Scattering Flowers*. He turned to Zhou Muqiao for instruction in modeling and so the two men became very close (Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 16).

Chapter 6: New Techniques and Themes

1. Except where otherwise noted, the biographical information about Zheng is based on Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 52; Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 17–21; and Chen Chaonan, “Yuefenpai lishi, yishu yu zhuanji,” in *Yuefenpai de lishi, yishu yu wenhua*, ed. Guo Jisheng (Taipei: forthcoming).
2. Liang Qichao, *Yinbing shi wenji*, 2:28–29, quoted in Mok Poon-kan, “History and Development of Teaching English in China” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951), 110.
3. Pan Ling, *In Search of Old Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1982), 69.
4. Wu Youru, *Wu Youru huabao* (1908; reprint, Shanghai: Guji shudian chubanshe, 1983) 3 *Mingsheng huace*, 2a.
5. Ma Xuexin, Cao Junwei, Xue Liyong, and Hu Xiaojing, comps., *Shanghai wenhua yuanliu cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 382; Dai Yunyun, *Shanghai xiaojie* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1999), 136; Deng Ming, ed., *Shanghai bainian liuying 1840s-1940s* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), 198, which also has two photographs of the Arcadia Hall; Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishuo xubian* (Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1996), 192–193. Many photographs of this famous garden are reproduced in books of pictures of old Shanghai.
6. Wang Jingxian, “Ren Bonian qiren qiyi,” in China Fine Arts Gallery, *Ren Bonian jingpinji* (Beijing:

Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), 11, 14. Qi Baishi (1864–1957) also used these techniques; see Lang Shaojun, “Qi Baishi zaoqi huihua 1878–1909,” *Meishu shilun*, 3 (1992): 9–11. See also Wen Fong, *Between Two Cultures: Late-Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chinese Paintings from the Robert H. Ellsworth Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 35.

7. Claudia Brown, “Precursors of Shanghai School Painting,” in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 933–937.

8. Buji, “Yuefenpaihua he huajia Zheng Mantuo xiansheng,” *Meishu* 4 (1979): 10.

9. Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” *Meishujia* 67 (1989): 74–76.

10. Francesca Dal Lago gives a somewhat different account of this technique, based on a Chinese artist informant, describing “a three-dimensional effect through a process of rubbing, shading and erasing charcoal powder with the use of a cotton wad or a paper tortillon. This would create a soft, illusionist effect without the use of line-drawing. A pale wash of watercolor would then be added to create the look of the rouged skin, mainly on the cheeks and forehead,” in “Crossed Legs in 1930s Shanghai: How ‘Modern’ the Modern Woman?” *East Asian History* 19 (June 2000): 126.

11. For Huang and his drugstore, see Sherman Cochran, “Marketing Medicine and Advertising Dreams in China, 1900–1950,” in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond, 1900–1950*, ed. Wenhshin Yeh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 62–97. Huang branched out into the amusement business and, in 1917, financed Shanghai’s most famous entertainment center, the Great World, which included an aviary, a small zoo, a small racecourse, a roller-skating rink, several cinemas—at least two of which were open air—a Ferris wheel, gardens, two theaters, a Western restaurant, and a lottery, to mention just a few of the attractions. See “Where the Shanghai Chinese Amuse Themselves,” *Far Eastern Review* 14, no. 12 (December 1918): 510–511.

12. *Shenbao*, May 8, 1911, 18 (1983 photocopy 112:483).

13. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 21.

14. Reproduced in He Gongshang, comp., *Lidai meiren huaxuan* (Taipei: Yishu tushu gongsi, 1984), 24.

15. Two of these are illustrated in Dal Lago, “Crossed Legs,” 26 and 27.

16. The Hua Yan work is reproduced in *Shina Nanga Taisei* (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1935–1937), 7:133; the Leng Mei scroll is reproduced in Suzuki Kei, comp., *Chūgoku kaigai sōgō zuroku* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982), 4:336. Another rendition, also attributed to Leng Mei and once in the Del Drago collection, similarly shows her body thinly concealed (*Catalog of an Exhibition of Chinese Paintings Lent by Mr. and Mrs. G. Del Drago* [Buffalo, N.Y.: The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, 1931], 24).

17. *Baimei tupu* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995), 1:6.

18. Large heads were not uncommon in pictures of women adorning the covers of romance fiction magazines of just this era (see examples in Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao* [Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1962], 2), but they are not as grossly out of scale as in Zheng’s picture. Dal Lago notes that large heads sometimes appear in popular prints from Yangliuqing, near Tianjin (“Crossed Legs,” 122).

19. The woman at her dressing table is an ancient theme in Chinese painting and often has mildly erotic overtones. See my article “Chinese Palace-style Poetry and *A Palace Beauty*,” *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 284–295, for a brief discussion of the erotic dimensions of this subject. In another version of this picture, the ardent couple kissing was apparently too much and was replaced by a sailboat (*20 shiji Zhongguo meishu* [Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe; Jinan: Shandong meishu chubanshe, 1999], 1:29).

20. Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” 52.

21. For the Gaos, see Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906–1951* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

22. Gao Jianfu’s colophon is transcribed in Chen Chaonan, “Yuefenpai lishi, yishu yu zhuangji.”

23. For extended comment on this picture, see Dal Lago, "Crossed Legs," 126–128.
24. Jack S. C. Lee, "A Study of Calendar Poster Paintings in the Early Twentieth Century Hong Kong and Canton," *Besides: A Journal of Art History and Criticism* (1997): 105.
25. Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao*, 295–296.
26. *Shibao*, February 19, 1915, 1; February 25, 1915, n.p.
27. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1916, 9; February 6, 1916, 9.
28. For *Thicket of Fiction and New Fiction Journal*, see Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 254–255.
29. *Shibao*, April 8, 1915, 9. Similar advertisements for subsequent issues of *New Fiction Journal* appeared in *Shibao*, July 3, 1915, 10; August 2, 1915, 9; August 29, 1915, 9; and January 14, 1916, 9.
30. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1916, 9. An advertisement for issue thirteen of *Eyebrow Signals* offered a calendar poster of a nude woman, but no artist's name is given (*Shibao*, December 21, 1915, 10; and *Shenbao*, December 24, 1915, 15 [1983 photocopy 137:887]).
31. *Shibao*, December 15, 1918, 7. For biographies of Dan, see Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin, *Zhongguo manhua shi* (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1986), 56–61; Bi Keguan, *Zhongguo manhua shihua* (Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1982), 27–30; and Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994), 28.
32. Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao*, 290, 312, 315.
33. An Yalan (Julia Andrews), "Luotihua lunzheng ji xiandai Zhongguo meishu shi de jiangou," in *Haipai huibua yanjiu wenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 126. The charge against Zheng was published in *Shibao*, June 18, 1916. I am grateful to Julia Andrews for sending me the English-language version of her article and a copy of the charge as printed in *Shibao*.
34. Reproduced in Ng Chun Bong, Cheuk Pak Tong, Wong Ying, and Yvonne Lo, comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity: Calendar Posters of the 1910s–1930s* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 3.
35. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese: With Some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1865; reprint, Taipei: Chengwen Publishing, 1966), 2:328. Citation is to the reprint.
36. Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986; reprint, London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 280. Citation is to the reprint.
37. Reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 2:107.
38. Buji, "Yuefenpaihua he huajia Zheng Mantuo," 10.
39. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:87–88.
40. *Ibid.*, 1:91; Yi Ming, *Minguo yishu: Shimin yu shangyehua de shidai* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1995), 125.
41. Buji, "Jiefangqian de 'yuefenpai' nianhua shiliao," 53.
42. *Shanghai zhinan* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919), 7:14a.
43. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 20; for Zhao see Zheng Yimei, *Yilin shiqu* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1990), 79–83; for paintings by Zhao, see Ellen Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*, rev. ed., Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 76 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 29–30. Zheng Yimei became a close friend of Zheng Mantuo when a neighbor of Zhao Ziyun had a vacant room and invited Zheng Yimei's wife to move in; Zheng Yimei discovered that Zheng Mantuo and Xie Zhiguang were Zhao's students (Zheng Yimei, *Yiyuan suowen* [Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1992], 443).
44. Wang Yuli, "Yuefenpaihua de yishu fengge," in *Yuefenpai de lishi, yishu yu wenhua*, ed. Guo Jisheng (Taipei: forthcoming).

45. Zheng Yimei, *Yiyuan suowen*, 11.
46. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 159. For more on Chen see Zheng Yimei, *Yiyuan suowen*, 9–11; and Xu Baiyi, “Chen Xuyuan wenren ban gongye,” in *Shanghai bainian mingchang laodian*, ed. Gan Gu (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1987), 66–67.
47. Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen* (Taipei: Zhenguang yuekan she, 1964), 20–21; see also Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 57. For a biography of Chen Dingshan, see Wan Qingli, “Meishujia, qiyejia Chen Xiaodie—Minguo shiqi Shanghai huatan yanjiu zhi yi,” in *Haipei huibhua yanjiu wenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 9–29.
48. Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen*, 117–119.
49. Except where otherwise noted, the biographical information about Xu is based on Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 24–26.
50. Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishao xubian*, 43.
51. I am indebted to Melissa Abbe for taking color photocopies and slides of these pictures for me.
52. *Shenbao*, June 23, 1917, 10–11 (1983 photocopy 146:942–943).
53. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1919, 1 (1983 photocopy 156:161). One of his students, Hu Chaoguang, would work as an advertising artist for movie theaters. Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* (Shanghai: Shanghaishi wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948), *zhuanyan*, 48.
54. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 24.
55. Reproduced in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 262.
56. Kuiyi Shen, “Transitional Painting in a Transitional Era, 1900–1950,” in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 80–81. The Buddhist associations expressed in Wang’s paintings are spelled out in Walter B. Davis, “For Fate, Faith and Charity: Wang Yiting’s Paintings of Street People,” in *The Challenge of Modernity: Chinese Painting of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Kuiyi Shen and Julia F. Andrews (Hangzhou: China National Academy of Arts Press, forthcoming).
57. Lin Wenxia, *Xiandai meishujia: Yan Wenliang, bualun, zuopin, shengping* (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1982), 164–165; Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian: 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 190–192.
58. Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishao xubian*, 43.
59. Reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:88.
60. Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao*, 488 (for Liu’s biography), and 309, 311, 329, 340, 352, 448 (for his editorial and calligraphic work).
61. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 26.
62. Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishao xubian*, 43.
63. Information in this paragraph comes from Jack Lee, “Study of Calendar Poster Paintings,” 96.
64. Two are reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:70 and 107.
65. Ellie Laubner, *Fashions of the Roaring '20s* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1996), 83.
66. Jack Lee, “Study of Calendar Poster Paintings,” fig. 5.21.
67. Another version was produced under the title *A Beauty by a Clear Stream* for the Huacheng Tobacco Company. Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei. Unpublished.
68. See examples illustrated in Laubner, *Fashions of the Roaring '20s*, 44.
69. Dai Yunyun, *Shanghai xiaojie*, 28–29.
70. *Shanghai manhua* 65 (July 20, 1929), 7; 79 (October 26, 1929), 2–3, 6–7.
71. Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 783; Julia F. Andrews, “Traditional Chinese Painting in an Age of Revolution, 1911–1937,” in *Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century: Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition*, ed. Cao Yiqiang and Fan Jingzhong (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Art Press, 1997), 582.

72. The attribution of this poem to Lady Ban has not gone uncontested; see David R. Knechtges, “The Poetry of an Imperial Concubine: The Favorite Beauty Ban,” *Oriens Extremus* 36, no. 2 (1993): 130–136.

73. The first poster is reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:120; the second is unpublished (Robert Brown Gallery, Washington, D.C.); the third is reproduced in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 83.

74. Reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:69.

75. See Wu Shenyuan, *Shanghai zuizao de zhongzhong* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989), 119–120; Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 13, 24–27. In China, dance halls became particularly popular during the 1930s.

76. Andrew D. Field, “Selling Souls in Sin City: Shanghai Singing and Dancing Hostesses in Print, Film, and Politics, 1920–49,” in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, ed. Yingjin Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 114. See also Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History 1849–1949*, trans. Noël Castelino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 103–114.

77. The three photographs were published in *Beiyang huabao*, March 28, 1929, 2; April 18, 1929, 2; and May 16, 1929, 2.

78. Information about dress and hairstyles comes from Laubner, *Fashions of the Roaring '20s*, 48, 50–51, 84; JoAnne Olian, ed., *Authentic French Fashions of the Twenties: 413 Costume Designs from “L’Art et La Mode”* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 70–71, 78–79, 88, 99; Carol Belanger Grafton, ed. and arranger, *French Fashion Illustrations of the Twenties: 634 Cuts from La Vie Parisienne* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), 67, 70.

79. See illustrations of this ballroom in Chen Congzhou and Zhang Ming, eds., *Shanghai jindai jianzhushi gao* (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1988), 72.

80. Chen Chaonan, “Yuefenpai lishi, yishu yu zhuanji.”

81. Zhao Chen says Zheng died in 1959 (*Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 82) and Wang Shucun gives Zheng’s death year as 1995 (*Zhongguo xindai meishu quanji: nianhua* [Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998], 2:18). Both dates are incorrect.

82. Wang Weifang, “Zhongguo shuicaihua de kaichuangzhe Xu Yongqing” *Meishu shilun* 2 (1986): 59.

83. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian*, 345.

84. Zheng Yimei, *Yiyuan suowen*, 194.

85. Their rivalry is hinted at by the story related by Zhang Yimei, who had stopped by Xie Zhi-guang’s studio: Xie, putting the finishing touches on a poster, quipped to Yimei that had he been Zheng Mantuo, Xie would never have let him see his work, since Zheng never let Xie see his work (Zheng Yimei, *Yiyuan suowen*, 194).

Chapter 7: Newspaper Advertisements, Advertisement Calendar Posters, and Chinese Paintings

1. I am grateful to Ling-yun Shih for explaining this to me.

2. Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 52–53.

3. Biographical information about Zhang is based on Wang Bomin, ed., *Jinxiandai meishu*, vol. 7 of *Zhongguo meishu tongshi* (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 258–259; Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, ed., *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 33–35.

4. The theater burned down in 1927. Ma Xuexin, Cao Junwei, Xue Liyong, and Hu Xiaojing, comps., *Shanghai wenhua yuanliu cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 668; Zheng Yimei, *Yibai yishao xubian* (Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1996), 168–175; Colin Mackerras, *The Chinese Theatre in Modern Times: From 1840 to the Present Day* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 121. For photographs of this theater, see *Shanghai laochengxiang* (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue

chubanshe, 1999), 120. For more on Zhang's involvement with this theater, see Li Chao, *Shanghai youhua shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 46–47.

5. Reproduced in *Beiyang huabao*, March 2, 1927, 3.

6. Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art: 1898–1937" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1972), 69.

7. According to Zheng Yimei, Zhang Yuguang's students all used the character "guang" in their alternate names (Zheng Yimei, *Wenyuan huaxu* [N.p.: Zhongzhou shuhua chubanshe, 1983], 55); this would suggest that "Zhiguang" is not Xie's original name. Six of Zhang's fourteen students listed in Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shi wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948), *shi*, 2, have names ending in "guang," and a seventh, Zhang Guangyu, has "guang" as the middle character of his name.

8. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 28.

9. David Embrey Fraser, "Smoking Out the Enemy: The National Goods Movement and the Advertising of Nationalism in China, 1880–1937" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 113.

10. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 20.

11. *Ibid.*, 75.

12. Information in this paragraph is from Wei Shaochang, ed., *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao* (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1962), 290–293, 321–322, 326–327, 330–333, 344–345, 351–352, 358; a murky reproduction of Xie's woman on the cover of an issue of *Ban yue* in 1922 is reproduced on p. 3.

13. Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu jikan guoyan lu (1911–1949)* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992), 28.

14. Ma Juanhun, "Meishu xiaohua," *Shenbao*, November 11, 1923, 16 (1983 photocopy 197:331).

15. See my "The Fate of Shanghai Painting Style in Early Twentieth-Century Printed Advertising," in *Haipai huibian yanjiu wenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 953–1003.

16. *Millard's Review*, November 22, 1919, 497.

17. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1919, 14.

18. Carl Crow, "Advertising and Merchandising," in *China; A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, ed. Julian Arnold (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926), 195–196.

19. *Dongfang zazhi*, 17, no. 12 (1920), n.p.

20. The woman hanging up a towel is in *Shenbao*, March 27, 1921, 13 (1983 photocopy 169:459).

21. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1921, 14 (1983 photocopy 170:721).

22. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1926, 2 (1983 photocopy 227:464).

23. *The North-China Desk Hong List 1924* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1924), 65.

24. For information about these two tobacco companies and their rivalry, see Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry 1890–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

25. *Shenbao*, February 30, 1921 (1983 photocopy 168:602).

26. Buji, "Jiefangqian de 'yuefenpai' nianhua shiliao," 53.

27. For an example, see Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 2:105.

28. Another example of copying an interior from a Western magazine is Xie's incorporation of a Blabon floor-covering advertisement published in *Ladies' Home Journal*, (November 1927, 140) into his cigarette poster reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:89. Subscriptions to *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal* and other imported magazines were available through the Commercial Press (*China Weekly Review*, March 15, 1924, 104; and *Dongfang zazhi* 22, no. 24 [1924], n.p.).

29. Zheng Yimei, *Zheng Yimei xuanji* (N.p.: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1991) 2:441–443. I am grateful to Shen Kuiyi for bringing this reference to my attention.

30. *Shenbao*, March 15, 1927, 9 (1983 photocopy 232:317); *Liangyou* 27 (June 1928), 39.
31. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu—ji lao Shanghai guanggao hua-jia qun,” in *Lao Shanghai Guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 16.
32. Robert H. Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 1800–1950* (New York: Random House, 1986), painting no. 143.02, pl. 275.
33. The exotic girl from the *Liangyou* July cover appears in a cigarette poster for the same year; reproduced in Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 43.
34. *Dongfang zazhi*, 29, no. 8 (1932), n.p.
35. Lists of seven daily essentials go back to at least the Song dynasty, although the actual required commodities differ from list to list; see Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, tr. Mark Elvin. Michigan Abstracts of Chinese and Japanese Works on Chinese History 2 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan 1970), 205–206.
36. *Shenbao*, October 2, 1933, 6 (1983 photocopy 309:42)
37. I am indebted to Julia Andrews for this image.
38. Reproduced in Ng Chun Bong, Cheuk Pak Tong, Wong Ying, and Yvonne Lo, comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity: Calendar Posters of the 1910s–1930s* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 28.
39. *China Weekly Review*, November 10, 1923, 440–441.
40. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1923, 443.
41. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1923, 445. This issue of the *China Weekly Review* also published the north and south elevations and the ground plan of the first floor, in which the swimming pool and its surroundings are easily seen (440–441 and 444).
42. *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook*, 1934–1935, reprint with an introduction by H. J. Lethbridge (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press paperback, 1986), 88.
43. This same image was also used by the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company.
44. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye huibian*, 17.
45. *Ibid.*, 168.
46. *Ibid.*, 244.
47. For an account of the damage, see the report *Shanghai Shangwu yinshuguan beihui ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai yinshuguan, 1932) and the pamphlet *Shangwu yinshuguan fuyebou gaikuang* (Shanghai: Shanghai yinshuguan, 1933).
48. Wang Shucun, “Yuefenpai nianhua shihua,” *Meishujia* 67 (1989), 74.
49. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 29.
50. Reproduced in Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 30; and in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 93.
51. Carl Crow, *China Takes Her Place* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 55.
52. Carol Lynne Waara, “Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912–1937” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994), 152.
53. Louise Edwards, “Women Warriors and Amazons of the mid-Qing texts *Jinghua yuan* and *Honglou meng*,” *Modern Asian Studies* 29 (1995): 231.
54. Mulan also appealed to the emerging “new female citizen” in the early twentieth century, throughout the May Fourth era, and later. Susan Mann observes that Mulan “becomes an emblem of the new female citizen and a reproach to her contemporary counterparts who have neglected their duty to their country and failed to take advantage of the new opportunities opened to them by their enhanced physical strength,” in her “Presidential Address: Myths of Asian Womanhood,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (2000): 854. The “enhanced physical strength” was, of course, in large part a result of not binding their feet.
55. Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 9, 72–74.

56. Ibid., 72, 74, 76–77.
57. Reproduced in Mann, “Presidential Address,” 2, after Luo Wenchao, *Lidai mingyuan tushuo* 1779 (Shanghai: Dianshizhai reprint, 1879), 2:5a.
58. The publishing history of this particular image of Mulan remains to be unraveled; see Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 209, 314; and her “Presidential Address,” 856.
59. A painting of a fiery Hua Mulan leading troops into battle by Hu Bin (b. 1897) is reproduced in *Meishu sbenghuo* 9 (December 1934): n.p.
60. The picture was conceived by Zheng Meiqing; Zhou Bosheng made the draft; Hang Zhiying painted Mulan; Wu Zhian painted her relatives; other contributors were Jin Zhaoguang, Jin Meisheng, Li Mubai, Ge Xianggang (1905–1964), Tian Qingquan (b. 1906), and Yang Junsheng (b. 1911). Zheng Wuchang (1894–1952) wrote the inscription.
61. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:78.
62. Nian Xin, “Yuefenpai nianhuaajia Xie Mulian,” *Nianhua yishu* 4 (1988): 36. I am grateful to Professor Boris Riftin for supplying me a copy of this reference.
63. Zhongguo Meishuguan, *Zhongguo meishu nianjian 1949–1989* (Guilin: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1993), 374; *Zhongguo xiandai meisbujia renming dacidian* (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 395.
64. Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, *zhuhan*, 55.
65. Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994), 44–45.
66. Mayching Kao, “China's Response to the West,” 114.
67. For this society, see Julia F. Andrews, “Traditional Chinese Painting in an Age of Revolution, 1911–1937,” in *Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century: Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition*, ed. Cao Yiqiang and Fan Jingzhong (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Art Press, 1997), 578–595.
68. Wang Bomin, *Jinxiandai meishu*, 7:97.
69. Wang Yichang, *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, *zhuhan*, 118.
70. *Zhongguo xiandai meisbujia renming dacidian*, 392.
71. *Liangyou* 160 (November 1940): n.p.; 161 (December 1940): n.p.
72. *Wanxiang* 1 (1941): 72.

Chapter 8: Artists at British American Tobacco

1. Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 130.
2. Ibid., 181.
3. Ibid., 181.
4. Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushi nian: 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 357–359; Chu-tsing Li, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting (The C. A. Drenowatz Collection)* Artibus Asiae Supplementum 36 (Ascona: 1979), 50–55. Liang Dingming was featured in the inaugural issue of *Liangyou* 1 (February 1926). The issue included representative examples of his paintings (15). His portrait of Zhuo Peifang was on the cover of issue no. 6 (July 1926). Liang Dingming's watercolor landscape *Autumn Morning* was reproduced in *Dongfang zazhi* 21, no. 10 (1924), n.p. Later, an entire page was devoted to Liang Dingming and his works, in *Liangyou* 26 (May 1928), 33; and one of his battle scenes was reproduced in *Liangyou* 29 (August 1928), 12. Liang and his art were also featured in *Shanghai manhua* 10 (June 23, 1928), 2; and his engagement to the aviatrix Li Ruolan was covered in *Shanghai manhua* 46 (March 9, 1929), 6. Liang Dingming was also accomplished with the camera: his photo of a laughing infant was included in the first exhibition of Mei She, a Nanjing-based photography group (*Liangyou* 35 [February 1929], 5).

5. Liang Xueqing was also featured in the inaugural issue of *Liangyou* 1 (February 1926).
6. *Liangyou* 3 (April 1926), 11.
7. *Shanghai manhua* 68 (August 10, 1929), 3.
8. *Beiyang huabao* 444 (March 11, 1930), 2; and 505 (July 31, 1930), 2.
9. *Weekly Review*, February 10, 1923, 434–436.
10. Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 140.
11. Reproduced in *ibid.*, 143; and in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 2:66.
12. Cai's association with BAT remains obscure; he is listed only as a landscapist in traditional Chinese style (Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meisbu nianjian* [Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948], *zhuān*, 106). Nothing more is said about his life or his calligraphic talents.
13. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:80.
14. Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986; reprint, London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 52, 314. See also my "Notes on *Ladies Wearing Flowers in their Hair*," *Orientalism* 21, no. 2 (February 1990): 32–39.
15. Liang joined the Nationalist Party in 1926 and became editor in chief of the *Revolution Magazine*. He set up a studio in the Huang Family Temple and spent half a year finishing a painting *The Bloody Battle in Shaji*, which then hung in the auditorium of the Huangpu Military Academy. Liang nearly lost his life in 1927 and was saved only by his future wife. In 1927 Liang became director of the art division at the Nationalist Party Army headquarters, and later on, the head of the political organization unit for the Eighth Army. He participated in the suppression of the Communist-led Nanchang Uprising. In 1929 Liang went to Europe to acquire art materials and, in the ensuing years, was entrusted by Jiang Jieshi with creating a pictorial record of Jiang's Northern Expedition, which Jiang led against the warlords. Liang, in effect, became an official Nationalist Party artist and continued to depict the battles against the Communists and, later, the Japanese. In these endeavors he was often assisted by his two brothers, who were also ardent Nationalist Party supporters (for their biographies, see Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian: 1898–1949*, 359–360). Liang Dingming and his brothers accompanied the Nationalist government to Sichuan in the late 1930s and then to Taiwan in 1949. There, Liang continued his artistic commitment to the Nationalist government until his death, in 1959. For his paintings, including many of his battle scenes, see *Liang Dingming xiansheng huaji* (Taipei: Committee for the Publication of Liang Dingming's Works, 1962).
16. Except where noted, this biography of Hu Boxiang is based on information in Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao Guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 32–34; Ding Hao, "Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu—ji lao Shanghai guanggao huajia qun," in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 13; Ma Yunzeng, Chen Shen, Hu Zhichuan, et al., *Zhongguo sheying shi 1840–1937* (Beijing: Zhongguo sheying chubanshe, 1987), 182–183; and Ma Xuexin, Cao Junwei, Xue Liyong, and Hu Xiaojing, comps., *Shanghai wenhua yuanliu cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 487.
17. Ellen Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*, 1984; rev. ed. Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 76 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 193–194.
18. Wei Shaochang, ed., *Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* (Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1962), 290, 303.
19. Ding Hao, "Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu," 13.
20. Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meisbu shetuan manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994), 44–45.
21. The relatively lengthy entry for Hu in an encyclopedia of Shanghai culture, for example, does not even mention his *yuefenpai* career (Ma Xuexin et al., *Shanghai wenhua yuanliu cidian*, 487). Hu's brother Bozhou was also an enthusiastic photographer.

22. Ma Yunzhen et al., *Zhongguo sheying shi 1840–1937*, 236–237, 272. For additional notices of Hu’s activities in photography societies, see Elizabeth Tong, “Chinese Photographic Societies Reminiscences,” *Echo of Things Chinese* 6, no. 8 (1978): 58.
23. Ng Chun Bong, Cheuk Pak Tong, Wong Ying, and Yvonne Lo, comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity: Calendar Posters of the 1910s–1930s* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 162.
24. These photographs and others are reproduced in *Liangyou* 23 (January 1928), 17; 33 (December 1928), 4; 34 (January 1929), 6; 41 (November 1929), 32; 42 (December 1929), 27; 55 (March 1931), 26; *Liangyou Annual* (1933–1934), n.p.; *Shanghai manhua* 35 (December 15, 1928), 6; 85 (December 7, 1929), 2; 88 (December 28, 1929), 2.
25. The harvest-scene photograph is reproduced in Ma Yunzhen et al., *Zhongguo sheying she 1840–1937*, 186. The vendor is reproduced in *Meizhan tekan* (Shanghai: Zhengyishe, 1929), *jin*, n.p.
26. Among Hu’s calendars, there is only one plant-and-rock composition and only one picture of a stag and a doe near a lake. The flowering-plant-and-rock calendar is reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:81; the stag and doe is in the Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei (unpublished).
27. Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 250.
28. Song Jialin, *Lao yuefenpai*, 118.
29. Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 211.
30. *Ibid.*, 281.
31. This picture was actually printed as a pair to one illustrating Tao Qian’s (365–427) *Asking the Way to the Peach-blossom Spring*; each picture was provided with a printed ornate Western-style frame, and the advertising was reduced to an inconspicuous brand name at the bottom. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 12–13.
32. *Shanghai manhua* 2 (April 28, 1928), 6; *Liangyou* 26 (May 1928), 5.
33. *Shanghai manhua* 25 (October 6, 1928), 3.
34. Liang Desuo, “Hui hua,” in *Zhongguo xiandai yishu shi* (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu, 1936), 28.
35. Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggao hua shiyi,” *Aomen zazhi* 8 (1999), 26.
36. For a rendition of a girl with pagoda in background, see Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao*, 2:80; this picture also includes a pet dog. Another poster of a modern woman with a pet dog is in the Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei (unpublished).
37. The Yang Guifei picture is reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:66; the girl playing the flute in moonlight is in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 259; the other calendar poster is in the Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei (unpublished).
38. Long Chin-san, as told to Betty Yung, “China and the Newfangled Invention,” *Echo of Things Chinese* 6, no. 8 (August 1978): 18.
39. Two Mei Lanfang posters are reproduced in Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 286–287.
40. One poster is reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:97; and the other, in the Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei, is unpublished. The photograph is published in *Meishu shenghuo* 3 (June 1934), n.p. The reliance on photographs continued throughout the 1930s; an undated poster for a Beijing brewery of two girls standing under a tree by Jin Meisheng (Wei Te-wen collection, Taipei, unpublished) was lifted from a photograph published in *Liangyou* 103 (March 1935), 20. The Zhiying Studio artists also copied photographs; see chapter 9.
41. Francesca Dal Lago, “Crossed Legs in 1930s Shanghai: How ‘Modern’ the Modern Woman?” *East Asian History* 19 (June 2000): 133.
42. Examples are reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 2:106; and in Song Jialin, *Lao yuefenpai*, 129, 135.
43. Dal Lago, “Crossed Legs,” 137.
44. This biography of Zhang is based, unless otherwise noted, on data in Wang Bomin, ed., *Jin-xiandai meishu*, vol. 7 of *Zhongguo meishu tongshi* (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 279–281. For recent appraisals of Zhang Guangyu’s art, but not touching on his work for BAT, see Jian Zhai,

“Huainian huajia Zhang Guangyu,” *Meishujia* 39 (1984): 65–71; Yu Yuan, “Huainian Zhang Guangyu,” *Meishujia* 58 (1987): 44–47; Huang Miaozi, “Zhang Guangyu de yishu,” *Meishujia* 69 (1989): 38–49. Unfortunately, none of these assessments do justice to the scope of Zhang’s talents.

45. For this theater, see chapter 7.

46. Wei Shaochang, *Yuanyang budie pai yanjiu ziliao*, 292, 321–323, 340.

47. For this phase of Zhang’s career, see Bi Keguan, *Zhongguo manhua shi hua* (Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1982), 48–54; Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin, *Zhongguo manhua shi* (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1986), 82–90.

48. Su Su, *Qianshi jinseng* (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1996), 169–171.

49. *Liangyou* 83 (December 1933), 17.

50. Reproduced in Wang Shucun, ed. *Zhongguo minjian nianhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 1:21; and in Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 1:82.

51. Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu*, 2:379, 405.

52. Reproduced in Yi Bin, *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, 84. There is a vast literature on art nouveau. Among the readily available titles are Jean-Paul Bouillon, *Art Nouveau 1870–1914* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 1985); and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986). Compendia of border designs include: Carol Belanger Grafton, ed. *Art Nouveau Frames and Borders* (New York: Dover Publications, 1983), and by the same author, *Treasury of Art Nouveau Design and Ornament: A Pictorial Archive of 577 Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980).

53. The Hu Boxiang poster is reproduced in Song Jialin, *Lao yuefenpai*, 113; and the Jungenstil frame is in Siegfried E. Fuchs, *Der Bilderrahmen* (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1985), 88.

54. For a survey of art-deco elements in Shanghai calendar pictures, see my “Art Deco and Modernist Art in Chinese Calendar Posters: Initial Identifications,” in *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s–1930s*, ed. Jason C. Kuo (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).

55. Bevis Hillier and Stephen Escritt, *Art Deco Style* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 19; Dan Klein, Nancy A. McClelland, Malcolm Haslam, *In the Deco Style* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 113.

56. See many examples in Henri Clouzot, *Art Deco Decorative Ironwork* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1997); and especially in Joan Kahr, *Edgar Brandt: Master of Art Deco Ironwork* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1999).

57. Jon W. Huebner, “Architecture on the Shanghai Bund,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 39 (March 1989): 135; Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, *A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai*, 3rd ed. (Hong Kong: Old China Hand Press, 1993), 96.

58. Richard Jones, “Metalwork of the Shanghai Bund,” *Arts of Asia* 14, no. 6 (November/December 1984): 93–98. See also examples in Johnston and Erh, *A Last Look*, 70–102.

59. The second cover is *Shanghai manhua* 11 (June 11, 1928).

60. Reproduced in Song Jialin, *Lao yuefenpai*, 134.

61. The most informative survey of the rise of art-deco typography and its forms is Steven Heller and Louise Fili, *Deco Type: Stylish Alphabets of the '20s & '30s* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997).

62. See Julia F. Andrews, “Commercial Art and China’s Modernization,” in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 181–192; and Scott Minick and Jiao Ping, *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 44–63.

63. Interestingly, however, Xie Zhiguang used art-deco-flavored characters for his signature on his Chinese paintings made during the 1960s and 1970s.

64. Alastair Duncan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Art Deco* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988), 68–69.

65. Ng Chun Bong et al., *Chinese Woman and Modernity*, 162; Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua*, 156, 158–159; Qi Zaiyu, ed., *Shanghai shiren zhi* (Shanghai: Zhanwang chubanshe, 1947), 89.

66. Cochran, *Big Business*, 199.

Chapter 9: The Zhiying Studio

1. Except where noted, biographical information about Hang Zhiying is based on Wang Weifang, “Yuefenpai nianhuajia Hang Zhiying,” *Meishu shilun* 4 (1987), 36–38; Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushi nian: 1898–1949* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989), 367–368; Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 36–38; Chen Chaonan and Liu Yuwen, “Yuefenpai yu yuefenpai huajia,” *Yishu shijie*, nos. 5–6 (1998): 26–28.

2. Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin (*Zhongguo xibua wushi nian*, 367) and Li Chao (*Shanghai youhua shi* [Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995], 8, 329) say Hang Zhiying was a student at the Jesuit orphanage painting shop, Tushanwan, but the mechanism enabling Hang, certainly not an orphan, to study there is not defined.

3. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu—ji lao Shanghai guanggao huajia qun,” in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 14–15. It is sometimes said that Hang was influenced by Walt Disney’s color cartoons; however, the nature and scope of this influence remains to be defined.

4. Reference to moon-cake boxes in Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye xubian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 3; Hang Zhiying is said to have painted most of the covers for the magazine *Shehui zhihua* (Zheng Yimei, “Xiaoshuo zazhi congghua,” in *Yuanyang budie pai wenxue ziliao*, ed. Wei Shaochang, Jia Zhifang, and Xu Naixiang [Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984], 1:237); Zhiying’s June 1930 cover of a popular literature magazine is reproduced in Scott Minick and Jiao Ping, *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 84. On occasion, Hang Zhiying also contributed to other journals, including the *Huaji buabao* (Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu jikan guoyan lu* [Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992], 23).

5. Xiao is actually commenting on a work by Hang done in 1922 (Xiao Chunyuan, “Yuefenpai guanggaohua shiyi,” *Aomen zazhi* 8 [1999], 22).

6. “Baishou xielao, huabi changqing,” in *Li Mubai Jin Xueben nianhua xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), n.p.; Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyu, *Lao guanggao*, 37.

7. For basic information on the White Goose Painting Institute, see Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shi wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948), *shi*, 3; Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu jikan guoyan lu*, 72; Xu Zhihuo, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994), 58–59; Mayching Kao, “The Spread of Western Art in China: 1919–1929,” in *China: Development and Challenge: Proceedings of the Fifth Leverhulme Conference, 1978*, Occasional Papers and Monographs, no. 32, vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1981), 93; and Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushi nian: 1898–1949*, 84–85, 242. Hang started his own son and daughter on artistic careers, sending them to study sketching and watercolor with the Western-trained painter and sculptor Zhang Chongren (b. 1907). The son, Hang Mingshi (b. 1931), graduated in 1955 from the Lu Xun Art Academy (Lu Xun Meishu Xueyuan) in Shenyang in Liaoning Province (*Zhongguo xiandai meishujia renmin dacidian* [Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989], 265). Later he would work in Suzhou; his 1984 depiction based on dancers seen in the murals at the Buddhist site of Dunhuang won third place in the Third National New Year Picture Competition (Wang Shucun, ed. *Zhongguo xiandai meishu quanji: nianhua* [Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998], 2:79 and pl. 207). The daughter, Hang Guanhua (1929–1985), graduated from the sculpture department of the Eastern Branch (Hangzhou) of Central Art Academy (Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan) in 1954 (*Zhongguo xiandai meishujia renmin dacidian*, 265).

8. For biographies of Chen and Pan see Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xibua wushinian 1898–1949*, 244–246 and 243–244 respectively. I have not seen any calendar posters by Pan. A collection of watercolors by Pan gives a good idea of his approach to the technique (*Pan Sitong shuicaihua xuan* [Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963]).

9. *Liangyou Annual* (1933–1934), inside front cover.
10. *Shanghai manhua* 12 (July 7, 1928), 7; 37 (December 29, 1928), 7.
11. *Shanghai manhua* 62 (June 29, 1929), 7; 63 (July 6, 1929), 6.
12. *Shanghai manhua* 41 (January 26, 1929), 7; 66 (July 27, 1929), 7; 83 (November 23, 1929), 3; 70 (July 24, 1929), 7.
13. *Liangyou* 34 (January 1929), 37.
14. Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2 (1959): 53.
15. Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 38.
16. The woman painter Zhang Yuqing from Jiashan, Zhejiang, initially pursued Western art with Hang Zhiying but later switched to Chinese painting; she was a member of the Chinese Women’s Calligraphy and Painting Society (Zhongguo Nüzi Shuhua Hui) (Wang Yichang, *Zhonghua minguo san-shiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, *zhuhan*, 72). For the Chinese Women’s Calligraphy and Painting Society, 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, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 1–29.
17. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu,” 15; Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” 53.
18. Wang Weifang, “Yuefenpai nianhuajia Hang Zhiying,” 36; Buji, “Jiefangqian de ‘yuefenpai’ nianhua shiliao,” 54; Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai* (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 53; Chen Zhaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao*, 38.
19. Shen Jian, “‘Meili pai’ xiangan susongan,” in *Shanghai bainian mingchang laodian*, ed. Gan Gu, (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1987), 27–28; Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guanggao wenhua* (Changchun: Jilin kexue jishu chubanshe, 2001), 106–108; David Embrey Fraser, “Smoking Out the Enemy: The National Goods Movement and the Advertising of Nationalism in China, 1880–1937” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 119, 121–122.
20. I have been unable to locate any information about these two men.
21. Benjamin March, *Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1935), 14. For more information on these sets, which also come in twos and threes, see R. H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 20.
22. *Meishu shenghuo* 3 (June 1934), n.p.
23. Su Su, *Qianshi jinsheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1996), 177.
24. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Taipei: Hansheng zazhi, 1994), 1:69–70.
25. *China Weekly Review*, August 25, 1923, supplement, 11.
26. Hu Jining, “Shanyu huayang fanxin de Sanyou shiyeshe,” in *Shanghai bainian mingchang laodian*, ed. Gan Gu (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1987), 64–65.
27. Ng Chun Bong, Cheuk Pak Tong, Wong Ying, and Yvonne Lo, comps., *Chinese Woman and Modernity: Calendar Posters of the 1910s–1930s* (Hong Kong: Joint Publisher [H. K.] Co., 1996), 68–69.
28. Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:69.
29. Jay Leyda, *Dianying: Electric Shadows: An Account of Films and the Film Audience in China* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1972), 386.
30. Reproduced in Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai*, 2:117.
31. Ng Chun Bong et al., *Chinese Woman and Modernity*, 144.
32. Zhang Yanfang, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua*, 1:85.
33. *Beiyang huabao* 278 (February 5, 1929), 4; *Qingqing dianying* 9 (1934), inside back cover.
34. Lin Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), 156.
35. John Rivers, *Greuze and his Models* (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1912), unnumbered plates reproducing *The Listening Girl*, *Votive Offering*, *Grief*, *Friendship* (or *The Sisters*), *Young Girl Reading a Letter*. Carol Belanger Grafton, ed., *Victorian Pictorial Borders* (New York: Dover Publications, 1984), 112, 117, 121.

36. Michel Beurdeley, *Chinese Erotic Art*, trans. Diana Imber (Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1969), 190.
37. Quoted in Susan Brownell, *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 46.
38. Jonathan Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China* (Middle Village, N.Y.: Jonathan David, 1972), 35–38.
39. Brownell, *Training the Body for China*, 51.
40. *Millard's Review*, May 28, 1921, 695; and *Weekly Review*, May 26, 1923, 458.
41. Brownell, *Training the Body for China*, 43.
42. Kolatch, *Sports, Politics and Ideology in China*, 38–39.
43. *Ibid.*, 44.
44. Basketball and swimming coverage in *Liangyou* 36 (March 1929), 22–23; 38 (August 1929), 17. Mini-golf was allotted seven photographs in *Beiyang huabao* 648 (July 9, 1931), 2.
45. *Meishu shenghuo* 15 (June 1935), n.p.; 16 (July 1935), n.p.; and 20 (November 1935), n.p.
46. Antonia Finnane, “What Should Chinese Women Wear? A National Problem,” *Modern China* 22, no. 2 (April 1996): 118.
47. Finnane, “What Should Chinese Women Wear?” 118–119.
48. It is tempting to interpret this healthy archer as an incarnation of Hua Mulan, now blending patriotism with the ideal of physical strength developed to resist enemy invasion.
49. Zhao Chen, *Zhongguo jindai guangao wenhua*, 151.
50. Information about Hang based on Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, *Zhongguo xihua wushinian 1898–1949*, 368; and Wang Weifang, “Yuefenpai nianhuajia Hang Zhiying,” 38.
51. Ellen Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*, 1984; rev. ed., Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 76 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 140.
52. “Baishou xielao, huabi changqing,” n.p.

Chapter 10: Calendar Poster Artists under the People's Republic of China 1949–1980

1. The standard translation and discussion of Mao Zedong's “Talks” is Bonnie S. McDougall, *Mao Zedong's “Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art”: A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*. Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 39, Center for Chinese Studies (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1980).
2. For a review of these propaganda prints, see Julia F. Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China 1949–1979* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 58–64.
3. For a selection of these new rural calendars, see Wang Shucun, ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meishu quanji: nianhua* (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1998), 293, 95, 96, 105.
4. Wang Shouzhi, “Dalu yuefenpai nianhua de fazhan he shuailuo,” *Lianbe wenxue* 1 (1994): 130.
5. Hu would be assigned to the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy, where, it is said, he produced three noteworthy paintings (*Zhongguo xiandai meishujia renming dacidian* [Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989], 298).
6. Wang Bomin, ed. *Jinxiandai meishu*, vol. 7 in *Zhongguo meishu tongshi* (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 281. For examples of Zhang's writings, see Chang Kuang-yu (Zhang Guangyu), “Folk Festival Prints,” *China Reconstructs* 6 (1956): 15; and Zhang Guangyu, “Lüetan minjian nianhua de zhuangshi xing,” *Meishu* 3 (1956), 11–12. For the location of reproductions of two of his paintings from this era, see my *Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*, 1984, rev. ed., Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies 76 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 10.

7. Cai Ruohong, "Lun xinnianhua chuanguozhong jige zhuyao de wenti," *Renmin ribao*, October 6, 1951, reprinted in Cai Ruohong, *Cai Ruohong wenji*, ed. Chen Boping (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 40–46.
8. "Baishou xielao, huabi changqing," in *Li Mubai Jin Xueben nianhua xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), n.p.
9. Wang Shouzhi, "Dalu yuefenpai," 131; Zhongguo Meishuguan, ed., *Zhongguo meishu nianjian 1949–1989* (Guilin: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1993), 374. For a short statement about Xie Mulian's career after Liberation, see Nian Xin, "Yuefenpai nianhua jia Xie Mulian," *Nianhua yishu* 4 (1988): 36–37. I am indebted to Professor Boris Riffin for this reference. For a 1961 picture by Xie Mulian, see Wang Shucun, ed. *Zhongguo xiandai meishu quanji: nianhua*, 2:177.
10. Wang Shouzhi, "Dalu yuefenpai," 131.
11. Chen Yifan, "Kan xinjiu nianhua: yige qiaoqile jingzhong de zhanlanhui," *Meishu* 4 (1956): 21.
12. He Rong, "Shitan nianhua de tedian jiqi fazhan wenti," *Meishu* 8 (1956): 22–27.
13. *Dierjie quanguo meishu zhanlan hui: nianhua xuanchuanhua xuanji* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1956).
14. Wang Shouzhi, "Dalu yuefenpai," 131–132.
15. For other pictures by Xie in this mode, see *Xin Zhongguo meishu zuopin 1949–1979*, auction catalogue (Beijing: Zhongguo jiade [China Guardian], October 25, 1997), 752–753.
16. A sympathetic evaluation of Zhu's accomplishments is recorded in Nian Xin and Zi Mei, "Zhu Shiji he yuefenpai nianhua," *Nianhua yishu* 2/3 (1986), 18–19. I am indebted to Professor Boris Riffin for a copy of this article.
17. "Qunzhong xihuan shemmeyang de nianhua," *Meishu* 4 (1958): 10–11.
18. Wen Hua, "Guanyu 'yuefenpai' nianhua he nianhua tedian wenti," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 18–20.
19. Bo Songnian, "Wei yuefenpai nianhua shuo jijuhua," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 21. Bo's article was actually written in 1956 as a rebuttal of opinions expressed by He Rong and Chen Yifan after the 1956 exhibition.
20. Ge Lu, "Kan wawa nianhua: dengxia sanji," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 14.
21. Zhang Manru, "Yi dou wuming de hua," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 17–18.
22. "Yuefenpai nianhua zuozhe de hua," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 22–23.
23. Xu Ling, "Nianhua gongzuozhong cunzai de zhuyao wenti," *Meishu* 4 (1958), 6–9. Chen Hui, "Tantan nianhua chuban gongzuo," *Meishu* 6 (1958), 27–28.
24. Jiang Han, "Dui 'Yi duo wuming de hua' de yijian," *Meishu* 6 (1958), 32.
25. Tian Kai, "Wanhui xinzhuan tu," *Meishu* 6 (1958), 31. Yu Feng studied art in Europe in the 1930s; over the years, her reviews of art exhibitions were published in *Beijing Review* and elsewhere.
26. "Qunzhong xihuan shemmeyang de nianhua," 11; and Yi Ding, "Dui 'Tianguan cifu' de yijian," *Meishu* 6 (1958), 32.
27. The explanation is based on Wang Shouzhi, "Dalu yuefenpai," 134.
28. All this was part of the government's efforts to blur distinctions between city and countryside, between mental and manual labor. In accordance with Mao's staunch belief in the Chinese peasant, they were supposed to become China's models for poetry and art, as well as being food producers, and so rural folk were asked to compose poems and paint pictures. For this phase of Chinese art history and for some examples of these well-meaning exaggerations in peasant paintings, see Ellen Johnston Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 29–32.
29. Li Shu, "Shanghai nianhua de yige xinde licheng: jieshao 'Shinianlai Shanghai nianhua xuanji,'" *Meishu* 1 (1960), 5–6.
30. Biographical information from Wang Yichang, ed., *Zhonghua minguo sanshibiliu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shi wenhua yundong weiyuanhui, 1948), *zhuàn*, 41; the editorial preface in *Jin Meisheng zuopin xuanji*, n.p.; Buji, "Jiefangqian de 'yuefenpai' nianhua shiliao," *Meishu yan*

jin 2 (1959), 53; Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao guanggao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), 44–46; and *Zhongguo xiandai meishujia renming dacidian*, 259.

31. Miao Fenghang, “Cailu guafei shengliangdou,” *Meishu* 1 (1960), 10, 14.

32. Wu Guanghua, ed., *Xie Zhiguang huaji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994), postface, n.p. Xie, it seems, had continued to paint in traditional Chinese style; his portrait of the famous artist Qi Baishi was in an exhibition of Chinese painting in Beijing in 1956 (see Kai Xiang, ed., “Guanzhong dui dierjie quanguo guohua zhanlanhui zhanpin de yijian,” *Meishu* 8 [1956], 9).

33. Preface to the exhibition catalogue by Qu Guliang and Mo Yidian, eds., *Xie Zhiguang* (New York: Research of Chinese Art in America, 1989), n.p.

34. *Xin Zhongguo meishu zuopin 1949–1979*, 805.

35. Nian Xin, “Zhanwang yuefenpai nianhua,” *Meishu congkan* 2 (1979), 24.

36. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin sanye xubian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 237.

37. He Zi, “Liangfu ‘hei hua,’” *Mingbao yuekan* 4 (1979), 87.

38. The 1973 painting of launching a cargo ship is reproduced in *Xin Zhongguo meishu zuopin 1949–1979*, 835; shipyards at night in *Jinian Mao Zhuxi “Zai Yan’an wenyi zuotan huishang de jianghua” jabiao san-shizhounian meishu zuopin xuan* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1973), 45; the Tenth National Congress subject is reproduced in *Zhongguo huaxuan: yijiuqisannian quanguo lianbuan hua, Zhongguobua zhanlan zuopin* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1974), 2.

39. His 1930 landscape was reproduced around 1981 in *Shanghai Zhongguobua yuan zuopin xuanji* (Hong Kong: Jiguzhai, n.d.), 14.

40. Ding Hao, “Jiang yishu caihua fengxiangei shangye meishu—ji lao Shanghai guanggao huajia qun,” in *Lao Shanghai guanggao*, ed. Yi Bin (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 16.

41. Xie Zhiguang’s works were brought to even wider public recognition through exhibitions of his art and publication of books reproducing his paintings. In 1989 his first one-man show of twenty scrolls was held in New York City (Qu Guliang and Mo Yidian, eds., *Xie Zhiguang*). This was followed by the publication of two books reproducing Xie’s paintings: *Xie Zhiguang*, issued as part of the series *Dangdai mingjia Zhongguobua quanji* (n.p.: Guwuxuan chubanshe, 1992) and the 1994 collection of illustrations, Wu Guanghua, ed., *Xie Zhiguang huaji*, bringing even more publicity to Xie’s Chinese paintings. In 1993 four of Xie’s scrolls were among the twentieth-century Chinese paintings exhibited at four locations in the United States and were reproduced in the exhibition catalogue (Jason C. Kuo, *Heirs to a Great Tradition: Modern Chinese Paintings from the Tsiensiang-chai Collection* [College Park: University of Maryland, Department of Art History and Archaeology, 1993], 107–110). Finally, Xie was accorded a full-scale one-man exhibition of ninety works (mostly from the 1970s) in Hong Kong at the Chelsea Art Company in 1997; the exhibition was accompanied by a lavish catalogue (Xiao Huilong, ed., *Xie Zhiguang huaji* [Hong Kong: Chelsea Art Company, 1997]). In this catalogue Xie’s colleagues, young and old, at the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy contributed glowing appreciations of his art, elucidating the appeal of his paintings to a contemporary audience.

42. *Zhongguo xiandai meishujia renming dacidian*, 392.

43. In Xiao Huilong, ed., *Xie Zhiguang huaji*, n.p.

44. A translation of Mao’s poem is in Mao Zedong, *The Poems of Mao Tse-tung*, translated and annotated by Wong Man (Hong Kong: Eastern Horizon Press, 1966), 54.

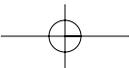
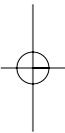
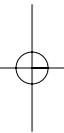
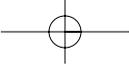
45. The poster is reproduced in Nian Xin, “Zhanwang yuefenpai nianhua,” 39.

46. Gao Guoqiang and Yuan Hanyong, “Li Mubai tan yuefenpai nianhua,” *Nianhua yishu* 1 (1984): 15–18. I am indebted to Professor Boris Rifkin for this reference.

47. *Jin Meisheng zuopin xuanji*.

48. *Li Mubai Jin Xuechen nianhua xuan*.

49. Many examples are in Stefan Landsberger, *Chinese Propaganda Posters: From Revolution to Modernization* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1995).



GLOSSARY

- aiguo* 愛國
airen 愛人
A Lao 阿老
Ankaidi 安埏第
Bada Shanren 八大山人
Baie Huashe 白鵝畫社
Baie Huihua Buxi Xuexiao 白鵝繪畫補習學校
Baie Xihua Yanjiusuo 白鵝西畫研究所
Bai Juyi 白居易
Baimei tu 百美圖
Bainung Shanren 白弄山人
baman jinbao 八蠻進寶
Ban yue 半月
Baoguang 寶光
Baohezhai 寶和齋
Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙
Bao Xianchang 鮑咸昌
Baoyu 寶玉
bihuo tu 避火圖
Bi Yihong 畢倚虹
Bujinghua Chuanxisuo 布景畫傳習所
bumei 不美
cabi dancai 擦筆淡彩
cabi shuicai 擦筆水彩
Cai Jiechen 蔡子塵
caisanxing 彩三星
Cao Daoxin 曹道新
Chang E 嫦娥
Changmen 閩門
Chen Chu'nan 陳楚楠
Chen Chuxiang 陳楚湘
Chen Diexian 陳蝶仙
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Cheng 鍼
Chenguang Meishuhui 晨光美術會
Cheng Zhang, Yaosheng 程章, 瑤笙
Chen Jianhong 陳劍虹
Chen Qiucuo 陳秋草
Chen Tongsheng 陳同盛
Chen Yanyan 陳燕燕
Chen Yunshang 陳雲裳
Chen Zaixin 陳在新
Chen Zhengtai Huapiandian 陳正泰畫片店
Chonghuamen 崇化門
Chow Kwa 周呱
chuan 船
chunniu tu 春牛圖
Chunsheng 春聲
Da 達
Dachang Yan Gongsi 大昌煙公司
dai belt, to carry 帶
dai generation 代
Dan Duyu 但杜宇
Dayalou huabao 大雅樓畫報
Daying 大英
dayue 大月
dian 點
Diao Chan 貂蟬
ding 鼎
Ding Ne 丁訥
Ding Song 丁悚
Ding Yunxian 丁雲先
Dongfang Meishu Yinshua Gongsi 東方美術印刷公司
Dongfang Tushuguan 東方圖書館
Du Fu 杜甫
duilian 對聯
Dunhuang 敦煌
Dunqinglong 敦慶隆
Du Xueou 都雪鷗
ersbisi jieqi 二十四節氣
Erwoxuan Zhaoxiangguan 二我軒照相館
Fan 范
Fang Xuegu 方雪鵠

- Fei Danxu 費丹旭
 Feiyingge 飛影閣
 Fengtian Taiyang Yan Gongsi 奉天太陽煙公司
fu bat 蝠
fu happiness 福
fushou shuangquan 福壽雙全
 Fu Zhu, Tienian 符鑄, 鐵年
 Gaizhitang 蓋智堂
gang 缸
 Gao Jianfu 高劍父
 Gao Jianseng 高劍僧
 Gao Qifeng 高奇峰
 Gao Yong 高邕
 Genong 格農
 Ge Xianggang 戈湘崗
Gezhi huibian 格致彙編
gongbe xinxi 恭賀新禧
 Gongtai Huadian 公泰畫店
guan official's hat, cock's comb 冠
guan official post 官
guandai chuanliu 冠帶傳流
 Guanghangong 廣寒宮
 Guangshenghang 廣生行
 Guan Ping 關平
 Guanqun 冠群
 Guan Yiwu 管夷吾
 Guan Yu 關羽
gui cassia 桂
gui noble 貴
Guifan 閩范
 Gu Mingji 顧鳴記
guomin wansui 國民萬歲
gushi 古詩
guwen 古文
 Gu Wu Mengqiao 古吳夢蕉
Haishang baiyan tu 海上百艷圖
haitang 海棠
 Hang Guanhua 杭觀華
 Hang Mingshi 杭鳴時
 Hang Zhiying 杭穉英
 Haocangtou 鶴蒼頭
 Haoyi 鶴翼
he box 盒
he lotus 荷
 He Aizhen 何愛貞
 Hehe 和合
 Heimao Wuting 黑貓舞廳
 He Yimei 何逸梅
 He Zhizhen 何志貞
 Hongfulai 鴻福來
Hongloumeng 紅樓夢
 Hongwu 洪武
 Hongxi Bao 紅錫包
hou descendants 後
hou marquis 侯
hou monkey 猴
 Houpai Miewen Xianxiang 猴牌滅蚊線香
 Huan Baoxian Gongsi 華安保險公司
 Huacheng Yan Gongsi 華成煙公司
Huaji huabao 滑稽畫報
 Huamei Yaofang 華美藥房
 Hua Mulan 花木蘭
 Huang Chujiu 黃楚九
 Huang Xing 黃興
 Huang Zhaolin 黃兆麟
 Huang Zhong 黃忠
 Huanqiu Huapian Gongsi 環球畫片公司
 Huaqinggong 華清宮
 Huashang Guanggao Gongsi 華商廣告公司
 Hua She 華社
 Hua Yan 華岳
Hua Ying yuefen bebi 華英月份合璧
Hua Ying yuefenpai 華英月份牌
 Huayi Yintie Zhiguan Chang 華益印鐵製罐廠
 Hu Bin 胡斌
 Hu Boxiang 胡伯翔
 Hu Bozhou 胡伯洲
 Hu Chaoguang 胡朝光
 Hu Die 胡蝶
Huishi jianshuo 繪事淺說
 Hu Lianchuan 胡蓮川
 Hu Tanqing 胡荻卿
 Hu Tu 胡塗
 Hu Xigui 胡錫珪
 Hu Yaguang 胡亞光
 Hu Zhongbiao 胡忠彪
 Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石
 Jiang Shilong 蔣世龍
 Jiang Qing 江青
 Jian Jinglun 簡經綸
jiao 角
 Jiaotong Tushuguan 交通圖書館
Jiating zazhi 家庭雜誌
jiazi xinnian, Huang He mingyan 甲子新年黃河
 名煙
jie spans in year 節
jie odd number in calendar 節
Jieziyuan huazhuan 芥子園畫傳
 Jing'an gucha 靜安古刹
Jin'gangzuan 金剛鑽

- Jingbao* 晶報
 Jinlei Guanggao Gongsì 金雷廣告公司
 Jin Meisheng 金梅生
 Jinshansi 金山寺
jiyang 吉羊
 Jin Xiaobao 金小寶
 Jin Xuechen 金雪塵
 Jin Zhaoguang 金肇光
jue 爵
jun 君
 Juru 菊如
kaishu 楷書
 Kangde 康德
 Kangnian Baoxian Gongsì 康年保險公司
 Ken-i-kocho-jo 健胃固腸錠
 King Mu 穆王
kongque kaishan 孔雀開扇
 Laiqingge Shufang 來青閣書坊
 Lamqua 喇呱 (Guan Zuolin 關作霖)
 Lang Jingshan 郎靜山
Lanting xu 蘭亭序
 Laodahua Wuting 老大華舞廳
 Lei Feng 雷鋒
 Leifengta 雷鋒塔
 Leng Mei 冷枚
 Liang Dingming 梁鼎銘
 Liang Qichao 梁啓超
 Liang Saizhen 梁賽珍
 Liang Saizhu 梁賽珠
 Liang Xueqing 梁雪清
 Lianhe Guanggao Gongsì 聯合廣告公司
lianshizhi 連史紙
Lianyi zhiyou 聯益之友
 Li Bai 李白
libai qi 禮拜期
 Lidao Wuting 立道舞廳
 Li Junquan 李浚泉
 Li Lihua 李麗華
 Li Mubai 李慕白
 Lin Bu 林逋
 Lin Daiyu 林黛玉
ling 令
 Ling Shuren 凌樹人
lingzhi 靈之
 Lin Xiangru 蔭相如
 Lin Zhenbin 林振彬
 Li Ruolan, Yuying 李若蘭, 玉英
 Liu Bizhen 劉必振
 Liu Haisu 劉海粟
 Liu Qing 劉青
 Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇
 Li Yongsen 李泳森
 Li Yuanhong 黎元洪
Longfei yuefenpai 龍飛月份牌
 Longhuata 龍華塔
 Long Yu 弄玉
lu 祿
 Lu Bodu 陸伯都
 Lü Cheng 呂澂
 Lu Hui 陸恢
 Lü Kun 呂坤
 Lu Lanfang 陸蘭芳
 Lu Meiseng 陸梅僧
 Lü Meiyu 呂美玉
Lunyu 論語
 Lu Shaofei 魯少飛
 Lu Xun 魯迅
 Lu Xun Meishu Xueyuan 魯迅美術學院
 Ma Chao 馬超
 Mangshen 芒神
 Mao Zedong 毛澤東
 Ma Shouhong 馬瘦紅
 Meiji seitō kōshi 明治製糖公司
 Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳
meili 美麗
Meiren baimianxiang 美人百面相
 Meishe 美社
 Meishuhua Saishe 美術畫賽社
Meiyu 眉語
 Mengqiao 夢蕉
 Mifeng Huashe 蜜蜂畫社
 Minghuang 明皇
minguo 民國
minguo wansui 民國萬歲
Minguo xinren 民國新人
 Mingyingwangdian, Guangshengsi 明應王殿,
 廣勝寺
Minbu bao 民呼報
minjian banhua 民間版畫
Minli bao 民立報
Minxu bao 民吁報
 Mitsui 三井
Mopu 墨譜
 Muqiao “admirer of [San]qiao” 慕橋
 Nakai 中井
Nanbua 南華
 Nanyang Cehui Xuexiao 南洋測繪學校
 Nanyang Xiongdi Yanco Gongsì 南洋兄弟
 煙草公司
nianhua 年畫

- Ni Gengye 倪耕野
 Ni Tian 倪田
nongli 農歷
 Odake Takunobu 尾竹卓布
 Pan Dawei 潘達微
 Pan Jingyun 潘敬雲
 Pan Ming 潘明
 Pan Sitong 潘思同
 Pan Tianshou 潘天壽
 Pan Yueqiao 潘月樵
paojie 跑街
ping peace 平
ping vase 瓶
pingtiao 屏條
pingzhang 屏障
pipa 琵琶
Pipa xing 琵琶行
 Puyi 溥儀
qi 氣
Qianbi xibua tie 鉛筆習畫帖
qianbizhao buadian 鉛筆照畫店
 Qianlong 乾隆
Qian qiu 千秋
 Qian Shenfu 錢申甫
 Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵
 Qi Baishi 齊白石
 Qidong Yanco Gongsì 啓東煙草公司
 Qi Jianlong 齊健隆
 Qingchunlou 慶春樓
 Qingliang Chaguan Yantang 青蓮閣茶館煙堂
qipao 旗袍
Qitian 七天
 Qiu Shuyuan 丘菽園
 Qiu Ying 仇英
 Quan 權
 Quanheng Yangguanghuo Hao 全亨洋廣貨號
renao 熱鬧
 Ren Bonian 任伯年
renwu 壬午
 Ruan Lingyu 阮玲玉
 Ruilan 瑞蘭
ruyi 如意
Sanguozhi yanyi 三國志演義
sanlu 三鹿
 Sanqiao 三橋
Sanri buakan 三日畫刊
sanyang three positives 三陽
sanyang three rams, goats 三羊
 Sanyi Yinshua Gongsì 三一印刷公司
 Shanghai Guohua Shuju 上海國華書局
 Shanghai Guoxue Shushi 上海國學書室
Shanghai huabao 上海畫報
 Shanghai Huapian Chubanshe 上海畫片出版社
 Shanghai Huiming Diantong Dianchi Zhizao Chang 上海匯明電筒電池製造廠
 Shanghai Meishujia Xiehui 上海美術家協會
 Shanghai Meishu Zhuanke Xuexiao 上海美術專科學校
 Shanghai Mofan Gongchang 上海模範公廠
Shanghai nianhua 上海年畫
 Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社
 Shanghai Sanyou Shiyeshe 上海三友實業社
 Shanghai Taihe Dayaofang 上海太和大藥房
 Shanghai Xiangya Gongsì 上海香亞公司
 Shanghai Xinhua Yishu Zhuanke Xuexiao 上海新華藝術專科學校
 Shanghai Zhida Yanghang 上海志大洋行
 Shanghai Zhong Fa Dayaofang 上海中法大藥房
 Shanghai Zhongguohua Yuan 上海中國畫院
 Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館
 Shantang River 山塘河
 Shao Lizi 邵力子
Shehui zhi hua 社會之花
 Shen Bochen 沈泊塵
 Shenchang Shuhuashi 申昌書畫室
sheng to give birth to 生
sheng mouth organ 笙
 Shengsheng Meishu Gongsì 生生美術公司
 Shengxing Huadian 盛興畫店
 Shenmei Shuguan 审美書館
 Shen Wenya 沈文雅
shi generation 世
shi scholar 士
 Shicheng weng 石城翁
Shidai 時代
Shidai dianying 時代電影
Shidai huabao 時代畫報
Shidai manhua 時代漫畫
 Shidai Tushu Gongsì 時代圖書公司
 Shiheng 世亨
Shijie huabao 世界畫報
shiliu 石榴
 Shimo 石摩
 Shi Shipan 石世磐
shitang 詩堂
 Shitao 石濤
 Shitoucheng 石頭城

Shiyin Shuju 石印書局
shizhuang shini 時裝仕女
Shizi Laopai Yafen 獅子老牌牙粉
shou longevity 壽
shou streamer 綬
shoudai niao 綬帶鳥
shuangxi 雙喜
Shuangxing 雙星
Song Junqing 宋雋青
Song Yunzhong 宋允中
Su Dongpo 蘇東坡
Sunqua 新呱
Sun Wenya 孫文雅
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
tang 堂
Tang Jiuru 唐九如
Tang Lin 唐琳
Tang Suzhen 湯素珍
Tang Yinghui 唐瑛會
Taohuawu 桃花塢
Tao Qian 陶潛
Tewei 特偉
Tianhua Yishu Hui 天化藝術會
Tian Qingquan 田清泉
Tiantai Hengcha Zhuang 天太恒茶莊
Tiantai Shannong 天台山農
Tingqua 庭呱 (Guan Lianchang 關聯昌)
Tongrentang 同仁堂
Tongwenguan 同文館
Tongzhi 同治
Tsun Wah Yat Po (Xunbuan ribao) 循環日報
tu'anzi 圖案字
Tu'nan ribao 圖南日報
Tushanwan 土山灣
Wang Dungen 王鈍根
Wang Huizhi 王徽之
Wang Jingwei 汪精衛
Wang Luosui 王蘿綏
Wang Meiyu 王美玉
Wang Renmei 王人美
Wang Rongxing 王榮興
Wang Shizhen 王世貞
Wang Xizhi 王羲之
Wang Yachen 汪亞塵
Wang Yiman 王逸曼
Wang Ying 王鶯
Wang Yun 王允
Wang Zhaojun 王昭君
Wang Zhen, Yiting 王震, 一亭
Wang Zilian 王梓濂

Wanli 萬歷
Wanxiang 萬象
wanxiang gengxin 萬象更新
Weichunyuan 味蓴園
Weilianshi Yiyaoju 韋廉士醫藥局
Weiluo Guanggao Gongsì 維羅廣告公司
Wei Yingwu 韋應物
Wenchang 文昌
Wenhua huabao 文華畫報
Wenhua yishushe yuekan 文華藝術社月刊
Wenming Shuju 文明書局
Wenyizhai 文儀齋
Wu 吳
Wu Beiqing 吳倍卿
Wu Bingsheng 吳炳生
Wucaihui Shiyishushe 五彩繪石藝術社
Wu Changshi 吳昌碩
Wudipai Camian Yafen 無敵牌擦面牙粉
Wu Jiayou 吳嘉猷
Wu Shaoyun 吳少雲
Wu Wenyi 吳文藝
Wu Wenyizhai 吳文藝齋
Wuxi Maolun Chouduan Zhuang 無錫懋倫綢緞莊
Wu Youru 吳友如
Wu Zhefu 吳哲夫
Wu Zheng, Daiqiu 吳徵, 待秋
Wu Zhian 吳志厂
xiang 象
Xianggang Fuan Renshou Shuihuo Baoxian
Jian Huocang Youxian Gongsì 香港福安人壽水火保險兼貨倉有限公司
Xiao Guanghan 小廣寒
Xiaohai yuebao 小孩月報
Xiaoshuo congbao 小說叢報
Xiaoshuo minghua daguan 小說名畫大觀
Xiaoshuo xinbao 小說新報
Xiaoxiangguan beiti wumei yin 瀟湘館悲題五美吟
xiaoyue 小月
Xia Yuerun 夏月潤
Xia Yueshan 夏月珊
Xiedechuntang 協德春堂
Xiehe Maoyi Gongsì 協和貿易公司
Xie Mulian 謝慕連
Xierong 協榮
Xie Zhiguang 謝之光
Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳
Xihongtang Shuhuapu 戲鴻堂書畫鋪
xili 西歷
xin de guohua 新的國畫

- xinnianhua* 新年畫
Xin qingnian 新青年
Xinsheng zazhi 新聲雜誌
Xinti tu'an hua 新體圖案畫
 Xin Wutai 新舞台
Xin xin baimei tu 新新百美圖
 Xinyihang Guanggao Gongsì 新一行廣告公司
 Xinyi Yaochang 信誼藥廠
 Xi Shi 西施
 Xiwangmu 西王母
Xiyou ji 西游記
 Xuantong 宣統
 Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻
 Xu Dunggu 許敦谷
 Xue Baochai 薛寶釵
 Xu Guangqi 徐光啓
 Xujiahui 徐家匯
 Xunyang 潯陽
 Xu Shaozhen 徐紹楨
 Xu Shengji Huapiandian 徐勝記畫片店
Xu Wushuang pu 續無雙譜
 Xu Wuying 徐武英
 Xuxuzhaizhu 栩栩齋主
 Xu Yiqing 徐衣青
 Xu Yongqing 徐詠青
 Xu Zonghan 徐宗漢
 Yan Fu 嚴復
 Yan Wenliang 顏文樑
yang ram, goat 羊
 Yang Guifei 楊貴妃
Yangguo jinbao chunniu tu 洋國進寶春牛圖
 Yang Junsheng 楊俊生
 Yang Kaihui 楊開慧
 Yangliuqing 楊柳青
 Yang Qinsheng BAT artist 楊芹生 (perhaps same as following)
 Yang Qinsheng (fl. ca. 1915) 楊琴聲 (perhaps same as preceding)
 Yang Shouqi 楊壽祺
 Yang Xiuying 楊秀英
 Yang Zhonghai 楊中海
 Yeouzhaizhu 冶歐齋主
 Ye Qianyu 葉淺予
Yijing 易經
 Yingkuo Lunchuan Gongsì 營口輪船公司
yingxi tu 迎喜圖
 Yinmei 吟梅
 Yin Yueming 殷悅明
yipin 逸品
 Yongfa Gongsì 永發公司
 Yongtaihe Yancao Gongsì 永泰和煙草公司
yu 玉
yuan 元
 Yuan Shikai 袁世凱
 Yuanxing 源興
 Yue 越
yue 月
 Yue Fei 岳飛
yuefenpai 月份牌
yuefenpai buajia 月份牌畫家
yuefenpai nianhua 月份牌年畫
 Yuegong Wuting 月宮舞廳
 Yu Feng 郁風
yulan 玉蘭
 Yunlange Biaohuadian 雲藍閣裱書店
 Yunshang Shizhuang Gongsì 雲裳時裝公司
 Yunxiangzhai 筠香齋
 Yupinglou 玉屏樓
yutang fugui 玉堂富貴
 Yu Xiangdou 余象斗
Yuxing 餘興
 Yuying Shuyuan 育英書院
 Yuyuan Shuhua Shanhui 預園書畫善會
zaojun 灶君
 Zhang Binglin 章炳麟
 Zhang Chongren 張充仁
 Zhang Daqian 張大千
 Zhang Dihan 張荻寒
 Zhang Fei 張飛
 Zhang Guangyu 張光宇
 Zhang Lingji 張令濟
 Zhang Qi 張淇
 Zhang Shizhao 章士釗
 Zhang Shuhe 張叔和
 Zhang Yanli 張延禮
 Zhang Yongfu 張永福
 Zhangyuan 張園
 Zhang Yuguang 張聿光
 Zhang Yuqing 張宇清
 Zhang Zhengyu 張正宇
 Zhang Zhiying 張志瀛
 Zhao Ousheng 趙藕生
 Zhao Yida 趙一大
 Zhao Yun 趙雲
 Zhao Ziyun, Yunhe 趙子雲, 雲壑
 Zheng Mantuo 鄭曼陀
 Zheng Meiqing 鄭梅清
 Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌
zhengyue 正月
Zhenxiang huabao 真相畫報

zhong 鐘
Zhongguo Gongshangye Meishu Zuoqia
Xiehui 中國工商業美術作家協會
Zhongguo Haofeng Yancao Gufen Youxian
Gongsi 中國鶴豐煙草股份有限公司
Zhongguo huabao 中國畫報
Zhongguo Huadong Yancao Gongsi 中國華東
煙草公司
Zhongguohua Hui 中國畫會
Zhongguo Huasheng Yancao Gongsi 中國
華昇煙草公司
Zhongguo Nüzi Shuhua Hui 中國女子書畫會
Zhongguo Shangwu Guanggao Gongsi 中國
商務廣告公司
Zhonghua Da Han Minguo Yuefenpai 中華
大漢民國月份牌
Zhonghua Meishu Xuexiao 中華美術學校
Zhonghua sheying zazhi 中華攝影雜誌
Zhonghua Yinwu Zongju 中華印務總局
Zhong Kui 鐘馗
Zhong Xi Dayaofang 中西大藥房
Zhong Xi yuefenpai 中西月份牌

Zhongxueyong qianbi huatie 中學用鉛筆畫帖
Zhongyang Daxue 中央大學
Zhongyang Gongyi Meishu Xueyuan 中央
工藝美術學院
Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan 中央美術學院
Zhou Bosheng 周柏生
Zhou Cang 周倉
Zhou Enlai 周恩來
Zhou Hengxing 周恒興
Zhou Lianrong 周蓮榮
Zhou Muqiao 周慕橋, 暮橋, 慕喬
Zhou Quan 周權
Zhou Xiang 周湘
Zhuangzi 莊子
Zhuo Peifang 卓佩芳
Zhu Qiting 朱企亭
Zhu Ruchun 祝如春
Zhu Shiji 朱石基
Zhu Wenlan 朱文蘭
Zilanbua pian 紫蘭花片
Ziyoutan 自由談
Zuixiang 醉翔



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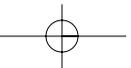
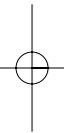
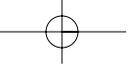
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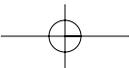
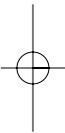
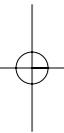
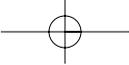
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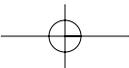
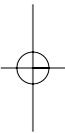
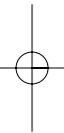
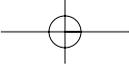
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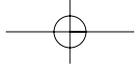


ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ellen Johnston Laing received her doctorate in Chinese art history from the University of Michigan in 1967 and is presently a research associate at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan. She has published more than fifty articles on Chinese art and material culture in both scholarly and popular journals. Among her books are *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); *Photographs of Bygone Taiwan: Taiwan in the 1960s* (Taipei: Artist Publishing, 2002); *Art and Aesthetics in Chinese Popular Prints: Selections from the Muban Foundation Collection* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies Publications, University of Michigan, 2002); and, coauthored with Helen Hui-ling Liu, *Up in Flames: the Ephemeral Art of Pasted-Paper Sculpture in Taiwan* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).







Production Notes for Laing | SELLING HAPPINESS

Cover and Interior design by April Leidig-Higgins in Monotype Garamond, with display type in Metropolis and Parisian.

Composition by Copperline Book Services, Inc.

Printing and binding by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

Printed on 70# Fortune Matte, 500 ppi

