

Liangyou

Kaleidoscopic Modernity and the Shanghai Global Metropolis, 1926–1945

EDITED BY PAUL G. PICKOWICZ, KUIYI SHEN, YINGJIN ZHANG

This collection of original essays explores the rise of popular print media in China as it relates to the quest for modernity in the global metropolis of Shanghai from 1926 to 1945. It does this by offering the first extended look at the phenomenal influence of the *Liangyou* pictorial, *The Young Companion*, arguably the most exciting monthly periodical ever published in China. Special emphasis is placed on the profound social and cultural impact of this glittering publication at a pivotal time in China.

The essays explore the dynamic concept of “kaleidoscopic modernity” and offer individual case studies on the rise of “art” photography, the appeals of slick patent medicines, the resilience of female artists, the allure of aviation celebrities, the feistiness of women athletes, representations of modern masculinity, efforts to regulate the female body and female sexuality, and innovative research that locates the stunning impact of *Liangyou* in the broader context of related cultural developments in Tokyo and Seoul.

Contributors include: Paul W. Ricketts, Timothy J. Shea, Emily Baum, Maura Elizabeth Cunningham, Jun Lei, Amy O'Keefe, Hongjian Wang, Ha Yoon Jung, Lesley W. Ma, Tongyun Yin, and Wang Chuchu.

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Volume 1

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Kuiyi Shen

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10-4 "Shanghai jietou yishu zhanlan" ("Art Exhibition on a Shanghai Street"), *Liangyou*, no. 103 (1935): 34.

Acknowledgments

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The Editors



Introduction

Liangyou, Popular Print Media, and Visual Culture in Republican Shanghai

PAUL G. PICKOWICZ, KUIYI SHEN, AND YINGJIN ZHANG

LAUNCHED IN FEBRUARY 1926 and self-promoted confidently as “the most attractive and popular magazine in China” a year later,¹ *Liangyou* (*The Young Companion*) is truly unique in the history of Chinese modernity for several reasons. First, it was the longest-running Chinese-English bilingual monthly pictorial that offered a visual testimony, however indirectly, to the sea change in China from the Republican decade (politically centered in Nanjing, 1927–37) through the Eight Year War of Resistance against Japan (administratively headquartered in Chongqing, 1938–45).² Second, it was the most cosmopolitan and comprehensive periodical in the first half of the twentieth century that managed, in a significantly non-partisan way, to capture almost every aspect of the kaleidoscopic life of Shanghai, a rising global metropolis at the time. Third, with its eclectic taste for visual pleasures, the lavishly designed magazine constitutes the best emporium for a retrospective investigation of a vibrant—indeed “flowering”—urban culture that would see no parallel in mainland China until the

1990s.³ More than anything else, *Liangyou* excels in its stunning visuality. The impact of *Liangyou*, nevertheless, extends far beyond the visual realm, for over time it had built a strong following at home and abroad and had served as a trusted source of information and advice—like a “good companion” (as its Chinese title suggests)—to its tens of thousands of readers in their everyday negotiation with modernity and all its consequences.⁴

This collection of fresh research essays explores the rise of popular print media in China as it relates to the quest for modernity in the global metropolis of Shanghai from 1926 to 1945. In this first extended critical look at the phenomenal influence of *Liangyou*, arguably the most dynamic monthly periodical ever published in China, special emphasis is placed on the profound social and cultural impact of this glittering publication at a pivotal time in China when many urbanites were grappling with the confusing and often disorienting offerings and temptations of modernity. Many considered *Liangyou* to be a virtual guidebook on the journey to modernity and could hardly wait for the next issue to appear. Its special attraction was that the consumer could not only “read” about modernity at home and

“Mr. Lei Xiadian and His Wife,” *Liangyou*, no. 16 (1927): 25, detail of fig. 7-5.

abroad, but also actually “see” it in the form of the spectacular and alluring images that filled its pages. Part of the remarkable appeal of *Liangyou* is that it did not present a party line or one-dimensional view of modernity. *Liangyou* offered something for everyone, and its main characteristic was its conspicuous hybridity. *Liangyou* had lessons to teach and thus it was to some extent a didactic publication. But it was also a highly profitable commercial enterprise that paid great attention to the changing dynamics of the market place. It conveyed political messages about civic responsibility and the importance of patriotism, but in virtually every issue it catered to and promoted individualistic, decadent, selfish, and even narcissistic tastes. *Liangyou* was full of contradictions, but as this collection of essays shows, its thrust was consistent with many of the directions taken in similar periodicals published in Berlin, Tokyo, and Seoul. The publishers of *Liangyou* believed that, in a global perspective, the road to modernity was not straight, but zigzag. Consequently, the “pictures” of modernity featured in *Liangyou* were not static but kaleidoscopic. The publishers of *Liangyou* shook their kaleidoscope each time they published a new issue and distributed, to the delight of its readers, another intriguing set of “pictures” of modernity.

The rest of this introduction consists of three sections. First, we situate *Liangyou* in its cultural context and highlight its incredible variety that, taken together, constitutes an impressive visual emporium of cosmopolitanism. Second, we summarize major topics and arguments in ten chapters and an appendix—all specifically written for this collection—which reexamine *Liangyou* from an interdisciplinary perspective in relation to a brand new world in China and abroad at the time. Third, we return to the central question of visibility and assess *Liangyou*'s contribution to the variegated experience of a vast spectrum of Chinese modernity through a distinctive cross-platform format and the relevance of its far-reaching implications to current scholarly debates on affect and intermediality.

LIANGYOU AS A VISUAL EMPORIUM OF COSMOPOLITANISM

From the late Qing through the Republican era, Shanghai had quickly developed as the epicenter of print media and visual culture in China.⁵ Newspapers and magazines provided a new venue for traditional literati, who had been deprived of their opportunity to enter officialdom after the dismantling of the millennium-old civil service examination system in Imperial China, as well as for their modern-day counterparts, to invent or reinvent themselves as professional writers, translators, editors, and publishers. Among new print publications, fiction and nonfiction magazines were particularly popular in large cities like Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing (the latter renamed Beiping from 1927 to 1949), and they have attracted belated scholarly attention in recent decades since the significant paradigm shift in the 1980s made it possible to extend critical inquiries from the elite realm of intellectual history and canonized literature to popular culture and everyday practice.⁶ Restricted by the academic division of labor, nonetheless, pictorial magazines have rarely received sustained scrutiny because they do not belong to the disciplines of history, literature, or visual arts proper.⁷ Yet, as the rich materials unearthed in this collection convincingly illustrate, the value of a pictorial like *Liangyou* resides not so much in the visual pleasures it generated—and still generates today—as in its sheer variety of information awaiting a serious examination from an interdisciplinary perspective.

In many ways, *Liangyou* constitutes a veritable visual emporium of cosmopolitanism. Its cosmopolitanism derives not only from its unmistakable international outlook and bilingual format, regularly featuring examples of Western and Chinese arts, crafts, designs, and technologies, but also from its underlying confidence in traditional Chinese cultural forms such as ink-wash painting (see Chapter 9 by Lesley Ma and Chapter 10 by Tongyun Yin). Although its editors clearly favored modernist aesthetics originating in the West, *Liangyou* maintained a neat balance of the parallel, often-

times contrastive, presentation of examples East and West, traditional and modern, rural and urban, masculine and feminine, young and old. The pictorial intentionally displayed and, on many occasions, intensified contrasts and contradictions as an essential experience of modernity, but our metaphor of “emporium” means that, in the *Liangyou* pages, all kinds of visual and textual information coexisted in such a manner that they were “traded off”—visually, of course—without creating an overt hierarchy of value judgments. Indeed, juxtaposition—boosted frequently by fragmentation and disproportion—was a new design aesthetics embraced by *Liangyou*—as much as by its contemporary European and Japanese counterparts (see Chapter 1 by Paul Ricketts and Chapter 2 by Timothy Shea).

As a visual emporium, *Liangyou* pursued not just the variety of information—from current affairs (mostly political figures and military news) to visual arts (e.g., photography, painting, calligraphy, sculpture, design, cartoon), cultural practice (e.g., literature, film, theater, dance, music), leisure activities (e.g., sports, tourism, fashion, shopping), and family matters (e.g., health, hygiene, home economy, some of which is discussed in Chapter 3 by Emily Baum and Chapter 8 by Ha Yoon Jung)—but also a singularly effective way of presentation, which we describe as “kaleidoscopic.” In both content and form, the kaleidoscopic effect of the pages in *Liangyou* sustains itself by repetition with alteration, offering similar materials in strikingly different designs or contrastive materials in similar fashions, or virtually anything in between. The kaleidoscopic effect thus creates the impression of change without disruption, or brings opposing features into juxtaposition without prescribing a solution or establishing an apparent domination of one over the other. Understood this way, the kaleidoscopic effect perfectly matches the pictorial's non-partisan editorial policy and its proud endorsement of the kind of cosmopolitanism typical of the global metropolis of Shanghai at the time—self-confident, self-reflexive, locally based but trans-locally networked, hybrid, heterogeneous, future-oriented, and unabashedly flaunting con-

ceptual and visual curiosities and novelties.

Since none of the chapters in this volume is devoted specifically to film and literature, two main areas of standard *Liangyou* coverage, we may pause briefly to appreciate the variety of filmic and literary materials offered by this rich visual emporium. The inaugural issue of *Liangyou* introduced *The Ten Commandments* (dir. Cecil DeMille, 1923), a Hollywood silent epic, enhanced visually with film stills.⁸ In a parallel coverage, the pictorial featured film stills from domestic Chinese productions *Konggu lan* (*Orchid in an Empty Valley*, dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1925) and *Yichuan zhenzhu* (*A String of Pearls*, dir. Li Zeyuan, 1925), respectively adapted from Japanese literature by Bao Tianxiao (1876–1973) and from French literature by Hou Yao (1903–42). The glamor of film stars was indispensable to an ambitious cosmopolitan pictorial like *Liangyou*, so film stars—typically Chinese actresses—immediately became the staple of the *Liangyou* cover pictures: Hu Die (1907–89) appeared on issue no. 1 (February 1926), Wang Hanlun (1903–78) on no. 2 (March 1926), and Li Minghui (1909–2003) on no. 3 (April 1926). Anna May Wong (Huang Liushuang, 1905–61), a Chinese-American silent movie star, made it onto issue no. 16 (June 1927) and again on no. 34 (January 1929), the second time adding “Oriental Yours” above the English and Chinese autographs on her cover picture (fig. 0.1). To showcase its cosmopolitanism, *Liangyou* covered Douglas Fairbanks and his wife Mary Pickford's visit to China in 1929, calling them “martial arts stars” (*wuxia mingxing*) to cash in on the contemporaneous craze for Chinese martial arts films.⁹ In a rare but humorous instance of self-promotion, even Mickey Mouse was transformed into an enthusiastic reader of *Liangyou* in a cartoon (fig. 0.2).¹⁰ As star images were routinely circulated to sell commodities and ideas,¹¹ *Liangyou* presented a steady parade of Chinese and Hollywood stars as alluring models for the latest fashions,¹² and soon-to-be-famous Chinese artists like Ye Qianyu (1907–95) were regularly recruited to draw fashion sketches.¹³ Star images were also deployed to introduce new activities of modern life

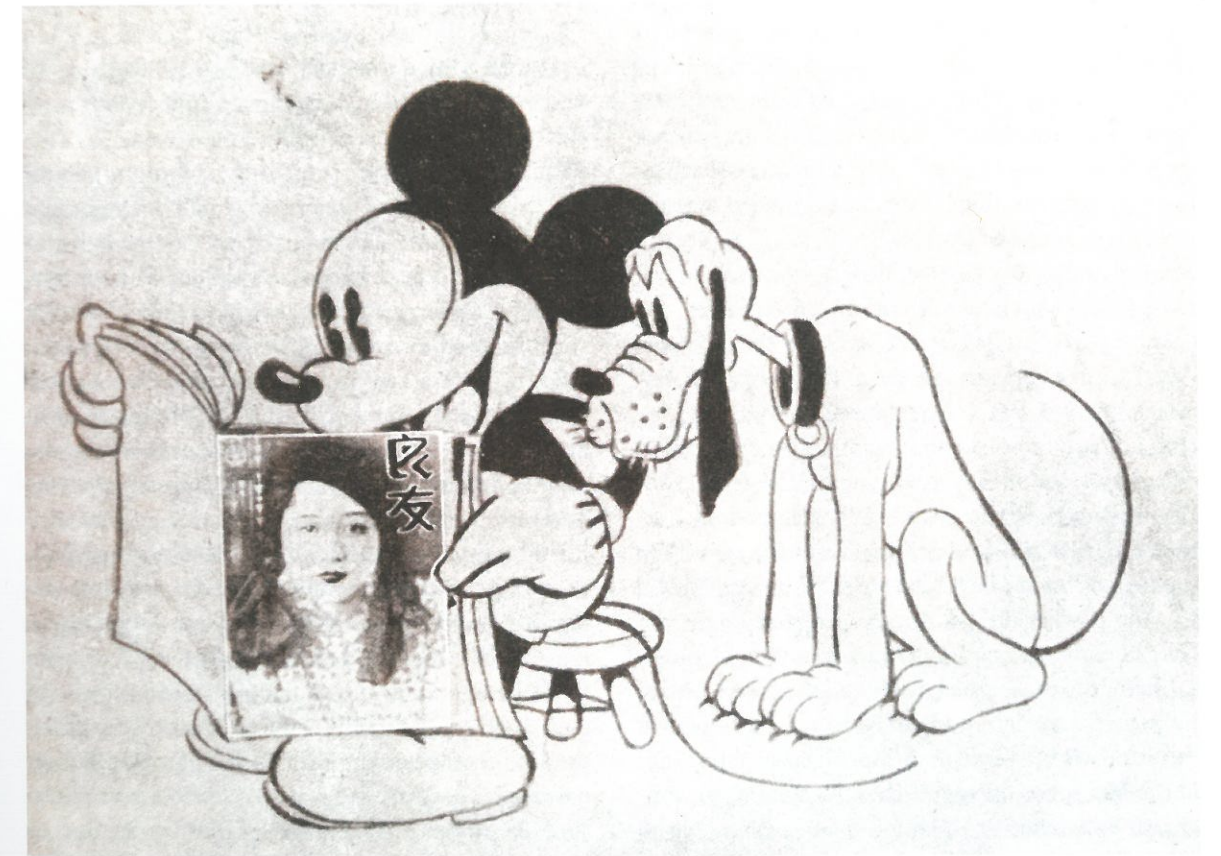


0-1 Anna May Wong, a Chinese-American silent movie star, appeared as a *Liangyou* cover girl, adding "Oriental's Yours" above her English and Chinese autographs, *Liangyou*, no. 34 (January 1929): front cover.

(e.g., car driving, motorcycle racing, horseback riding, mountain climbing, tennis playing, and swimming in revealing bathing suits) and exemplify new concepts of femininity—"athletic and healthy beauty" (*jiangkang mei* or *jianmei* for short) (see Chapter 4 by Maura Cunningham and Chapter 5 by Jun Lei), although masculinity still commanded visibility—albeit in more traditional, less alluring fashions—in almost every issue (see Chapter 6 by Amy O'Keefe and Chapter 7 by Hongjian Wang).

The non-partisan policy of *Liangyou* is most evident in its parallel and consistent presentation of artists and writers from different and sometimes conflicting ideological persuasions. Right before the fierce debate on "soft film" (*ruanxing dianying*)

consumed so much space in Shanghai newspapers and periodicals in 1934, *Liangyou* published an essay by Zheng Boqi (1895–1979), a core member of what would be known retrospectively as the "leftist" or "leftwing" (*zuoyi*) film group in Shanghai, as well as film stills of *Kuangliu* (*Torrents*, dir. Cheng Bugao, 1933), one of the earliest leftist films that tended to dramatize class tensions.¹⁴ The next issue carried "Hei mudan" ("Black Peony"), a story of urban fatigue and phantasmagoric encounter by Mu Shiying (1912–40), with illustrations by Wan Laiming (1900–97), one of the pioneers of Chinese animation film.¹⁵ Mu belonged to the New Perceptionist group (*xin ganjue pai*), which was influenced by Japanese and French literary modernism, and



0-2 Even Mickey Mouse was transformed into an enthusiastic reader of *Liangyou* in a cartoon, *Liangyou*, no. 72 (December 1932): n.p.

would join fellow modernists like Huang Jiamo and Liu Na'ou (1900–40) in an all-out attack on the emergent leftist films for allegedly turning the “soft” (*ruan*) celluloid into a “hard” (*ying*) ideological weapon. As a matter of fact, “ice cream for the eyes” (*gei yanjing chi de bingqilin*) was one of the Shanghai modernists’ peculiar metaphors for envisioning film as primarily a form of soft visual entertainment. Another metaphor from soft film advocates is that film provides a “sofa for the mind” (*gei xinling zuo de shafa yi*), again playing up the soft, comforting psychological effect of entertainment films.¹⁶

To a great extent, the editors of *Liangyou* shared the modernist vision of soft visuality and its mesmerizing effects—indeed, in 1936 editor Ma Guoliang (1908–2001) would use exactly the term, “ice-cream for the eyes,” to describe *Liangyou*.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the pictorial’s emporium structure and its kaleidoscopic effect had successfully saved it from ever being dragged into a partisan fight in the tension-filled cultural field in China at the time.¹⁸ Instead of partisanship, *Liangyou* skillfully steered away from controversies and debates and continued to solicit contributions from and on writers and artists of opposing political camps. Shi Zhecun (1905–2003), another New Perceptionist writer, and Mao Dun (1896–1981), a well-known leftist writer and critic, each contributed an essay on the arguably “soft” topic of spring to issue 76 (May 1933). A few issues later, *Liangyou* carried a piece by Ding Ling (1904–86), a famous leftist woman writer, together with news about *Chuncan* (*Spring Silkworms*, dir. Cheng Bugao, 1933), an early leftist film adapted by the leader of the leftist film movement, Xia Yan (1900–95), from Mao Dun’s story of the same title.¹⁹

Admittedly, the editors of *Liangyou* might not have been quick enough to anticipate the ideological fallout between the leftists and the New Perceptionists, for the latter group had a brief moment of flirtation with Marxism and proletarian literature in the late 1920s.²⁰ Nonetheless, in spite of its consistent lip service to Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975),²¹ the supreme national leader in the Republican era, through publishing photographs of his wedding and military life, *Liangyou* also had a

long history of covering the leftist or soon-to-be leftist writers and artists. An essay by Tian Han (1898–1968), a high-profile leftist dramatist and filmmaker, appeared with a picture of him with his newly wed wife Miss Huang, and his written impressions of Japan were published shortly thereafter.²² Yuan Muzhi (1909–78), a talented actor-turned-leftist film director who would become a leader in Communist filmmaking in Yan’an and New China, appeared in the pages of *Liangyou* respectively in theater costume, facial makeup, and stage performance.²³ Undoubtedly, *Liangyou* attempted to publicize the cultural rather than the ideological profile of these writers and artists, and this fundamentally “soft” approach to managing the visual emporium is best demonstrated by a series of cartoons by Ma Guoliang that feature a disparate group of “dignitaries” (*mingjia*) such as Chiang Kai-Shek, Feng Yuxiang (1882–1948, a powerful military leader), Lu Xun (1881–1936, revered as the father of modern Chinese literature and the nominal head of the leftist writers), Tian Han, and Xu Beihong (1895–1953, a famous painter who was trained in France and would become a national figure in visual arts).²⁴ Thanks to the kaleidoscopic effect, these figures associated with various political, military, and artistic camps were brought together on the same page for the reader to appreciate.²⁵ In one extreme case, the pictorial even carried a set of five pictures of Karl Marx, albeit without any reference to his Communist ideas.²⁶

As a visual emporium, *Liangyou* extended its coverage beyond the realm of culture and leisure to introduce other aspects of modernity, especially those of science and technology pertaining to everyday life. Apart from advertisements for cameras (e.g., “Agfa Movex” and “Ciné Koda”), *Liangyou* published articles introducing the techniques of sound film production, offered pictures showing the architecture and interior design of major Shanghai movie theaters, and featured drawings or photo spreads comparing vehicles of transportation or contrasting city scenes in different historical periods.²⁷ The attention to the technology of modernity demonstrates that *Liangyou*, as a venue of visual

knowledge, was interested not just in *what* modernity was to its readers but also, and more importantly, *how* it looked and *why* it mattered when the pictorial presented it in a particular way. A mere topical summary of its coverage, therefore, is insufficient to measure the pictorial’s true impact, and for in-depth explorations of several key areas of Shanghai modernity *Liangyou* presented to its readers, we now turn to a preview of the chapters in this collection.

LIANGYOU IN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

This book highlights four thematic clusters: Designing Modernity, Embodying the Modern, Negotiating Genders, and Modernizing Tradition. Each cluster and all the chapters adopt an interdisciplinary approach, combing the theoretical and methodological perspectives associated with historical, literary, art, and cultural studies.

In Chapter 1 in the cluster on “Designing Modernity,” Paul Ricketts explores “Kaleidoscopic Modernisms” by investigating the “golden age” (1927–37) of Chinese and Japanese modernist magazines and providing insight into precisely how the points of contact and cultural mediations they fostered led to a shared design language that transcended national boundaries. By focusing specifically on Shanghai’s *Liangyou* and Tokyo’s *Asahi guraifu* (*Asahi Graph*), Ricketts deploys a montage typology to highlight the gradual shift of these pictorials from a panoramic aesthetic of continuity to a montage aesthetic that featured fragmentation and juxtaposition. He examines how graphic designers in Shanghai and Tokyo appropriated the technique of photomontage from avant-garde European artists in their attempts to satiate their burgeoning readership’s desire for capitalist modernity with all its exotic, decadent, and material allures. His chapter argues for an understanding of the arrangement of images in these popular illustrated magazines not as mere reflections of the new material and visual cultures, but as playing an integral role in shaping how urban readers in China and Japan per-

ceived and experienced the kaleidoscopic spectacle of modern life.

In Chapter 2, Timothy Shea continues to probe kaleidoscopic design by looking at how the “ordinary” was “reframed” in the intriguing and path-breaking art photography that appeared in *Liangyou*. Art photography arose in China as an accepted category of fine art at approximately the same time *Liangyou* began publishing in 1926. From its earliest issues, and especially under the editorial direction of Liang Desuo after 1927, *Liangyou* played a leading role in elevating the status of art photography by introducing individual photographers, covering exhibitions and individual works, and making clear the distinction between art photography and the more mundane works of photojournalists that dominated the periodical press. Indeed, *Liangyou* devoted almost as much space to art photography as it did to ink painting and other established fine arts. Shea’s innovative chapter explores the early history of art photography in China by analyzing the ways in which the photographs functioned within the unique and particularistic site of the pictorial magazine. He argues that in bringing to bear the graphic design principles of the modern pictorial magazine, influential *Liangyou* reframed early art photography for its own purposes as a truly modern art form.

Our second thematic cluster is entitled “Embodying the Modern.” It is true, of course, that previous research into the *Liangyou* phenomenon has paid considerable attention to the topic of the human body, but in almost every case the emphasis has been almost exclusively on the glamorous bodies and beautiful faces of the movie stars and beauty queens who appeared with regularity on the front cover. The three chapters in this cluster argue convincingly that “embodying the modern” involved much more than an appreciation of the pretty faces of “modern girls.”

In Chapter 3, “Health by the Bottle,” Emily Baum explores evolving modern notions of bodily health. She does so by examining the history of patent medicines in Shanghai as revealed in the fascinating story of the Dr. Williams’ Medicine Com-

pany, makers of the popular patent medicine Pink Pills for Pale People. Between 1908 and the early 1950s, the Dr. Williams' Medicine Company attempted to transform popular medical culture in Shanghai and beyond through the introduction and sale of over-the-counter cure-alls. Advertisements boasted of the universal effectiveness, easy accessibility, and inexpensiveness of these medicines, and claimed that such products were more reliable at curing a range of ailments than trained medical professionals. The captivating ads in *Liangyou* aimed to push medicine into the realm of consumerist culture, thereby making such medicines as Pink Pills seem like an integral part of the modern lifestyle. Baum argues that the consumption of Pink Pills in early twentieth-century Shanghai reflected less an ideological choice about the benefits of Western medicine over Chinese medicine than a decision to pursue a path to health that was in keeping with the modern imperatives of efficiency, accessibility, and mass consumerism.

In Chapter 4, Maura Cunningham looks specifically at the healthy body of what she calls "the modern girl in motion." Focusing on representations of women's sports in *Liangyou*, Cunningham uses the famous pictorial as an entry point into a discussion of Chinese women's athletics during the Republican era. Many scholars have explored the changing roles of women during the interwar period, but they have not yet given extensive consideration to women's participation in modern sporting activities at either a casual or semi-professional level during this time. Studies of beautiful girls, modern girls, and new women have examined these people as archetypes of consumerism, sexual liberation, and transnationalism, but the athletic passions of modern Chinese women have been largely missing from research agendas. A close inspection of the kaleidoscopic *Liangyou* reveals that many young women in China did in fact participate in athletics. Cunningham's chapter shows that their inclusion in the magazine's sports pages points to an energetic, "mobile" version of femininity that differs from that put forward in *Liangyou's* own alluring but "frozen" cover images of "beautiful modern girls."

Chapter 5, on the role of science in the regulation of the female body and sexuality, concludes our section on "Embodying the Modern." In this chapter, Jun Lei argues that enlightened journals and newspapers in Republican China, including the trendy *Liangyou*, provided a fertile field in which to sow the seeds of what might be called "vernacular sociology." By analyzing the texts and images contained in *Liangyou* and its sister magazine *Furen huabao* (*Woman's Pictorial*), Lei showcases the "double-edgedness" that occurred when these publications functioned as a platform for the dissemination of popular science and sociology. On the one hand, these periodicals inspired new imaginations of feminine beauty, female sexuality, and female-male relationship dynamics. On the other hand—and somewhat paradoxically—they constrained discussions and expressions of physical beauty and freedom of female sexuality by making "modern" reference to natural science, particularly scientific knowledge of biology and evolution. These popular and highly influential periodicals set norms and standards that promoted a type of modern woman who was able to pass the scrutiny of the "scientific gaze" and contribute to the progress of the "modern nation."

The theme of gender roles in flux is taken up in the third cluster entitled "Negotiating Genders." Once again, *Liangyou* refrained from offering one-dimensional images of thoroughly modern women and men. Instead, readers were exposed to a visual emporium in which kaleidoscopic modernity was on display in virtually every new issue.

In Chapter 6, "Stars in the Nation's Skies," Amy O'Keefe demonstrates that *Liangyou* was much more than an entertainment magazine. Significant space was dedicated to national and international figures and news of high politics and war. And *Liangyou's* editorial staff was especially creative when it came to packaging the news in ways that fostered a sense of modern national identity among its broad readership. O'Keefe makes these points by discussing how *Liangyou* promoted the celebrity status of two dashing Chinese aviators and the ways in which the images of these aviators were used to

generate magazine sales and a sense of national unity. Aviation celebrity, embodied by Zhang Huichang (1899–1980) and Sun Tonggang (1895–1978), underwent a metamorphosis in the ever-changing political and military milieu of the 1920s and 1930s. In the course of Zhang's and Sun's respective "flights of stardom," the phenomenon of aviation celebrity soared into full-on, nation-wide fame and then just as quickly glided out of sight. Under the considerable pressures of war, the promotion of the individual flying hero gave way in popular media to the more practical and more pressing aviation goal of building a strong collective air force for an increasingly unified Chinese nation.

Scholars have asked many questions about early twentieth-century Chinese conceptualizations of "modern girls" and "new women," yet much less is known about modern men. Chapter 7 addresses this issue by dealing explicitly with photographic representations of modern Chinese masculinity. In this chapter Hongjian Wang challenges some core assumptions about the nature of Chinese modernity, including the notion that "modernity is Westernization" and the suggestion that "femininity is the key indicator of China's modernization/Westernization." Wang does this by giving the omnipresent images of males contained in *Liangyou* a long overdue "gaze" and concluding that *Liangyou* was not really a magazine "focused on women." Wang demonstrates that *Liangyou* was fairly conservative in its photographic representations of modern Chinese masculinity. Modern men were to be respected from a distance and admired mainly for their intellectual integrity and spiritual pursuits. They were shown moving easily within the public sphere in order to deal with public affairs and safeguard customary values and culture. In short, the leading popular pictorial of the Republican era promoted a "modern" China in which the gender hierarchy is held intact and men are still "the pillar of the nation."

Chapter 8, "Searching for the 'Modern Wife' in Prewar Shanghai and Seoul Pictorials," concludes our segment on "Negotiating Genders." In this chapter Ha Yoon Jung adopts a regional approach, comparing images of "modern wives" contained in

Liangyou to similar images published in the popular Korean magazine *Samcheolli* (*Three Thousand Li*). Jung finds that there was no one-type-fits-all standard put forward in either publication. Instead, the emporium highlighted multiple strains from the United States, Japan, Korea, and China. Furthermore, portraits of the modern wife in *Liangyou* and *Samcheolli* were sometimes simultaneously infused with both Confucian and liberal values. Jung shows that the search for the "modern" wife was well under way in the pre-war years but far from complete. She asserts that when one seeks to explain the differences that set *Liangyou* images apart from *Samcheolli* images, multiple variables must be taken into consideration. These include the early twentieth-century historical dynamics of China, the colonized circumstances of Korea, and the contrasting strategies of the editorial boards of the two magazines. Comparing Shanghai and Seoul allows us to appreciate different modes of modernity and thus de-homogenize our understanding of East Asian modernity.

The problem of the place and function of "tradition" in representations of "modernity" is the topic of our final thematic cluster, "Modernizing Tradition." Modernity is often treated as a radical departure from customary modes and values and it is true that *Liangyou* and its readers had little interest in preserving "tradition" for the sake of preservation. But there was a keen interest in the ways in which tradition might be modernized, especially in the crucial field of painting.

In her study of "female painterly modernities" in Chapter 9, Lesley Ma explores the ways in which women entered into the field of painting, a medium traditionally dominated by men. She argues that the *Liangyou* kaleidoscope allows us to compare and contrast the modern identities of women painters with the identities of women in other creative fields. By examining the range of women's social performances in *Liangyou*, one begins to understand the complexities of the artistic and social roles for women painters constructed by the famed pictorial. Women artists were presented simultaneously in *Liangyou* as artists, women and Chinese citizens. For each of the roles, the meanings of modernity

By referencing affect, immediacy, and intermediality, this collection seeks to contribute to a reexamination of modernity and visuality that promises to be not only retrospective but forward-looking as well. Much recent scholarship has demonstrated how film, literature, and popular print worked together to foster a Shanghai brand of visual modernity, with print culture or film culture at the center.³³ Not surprisingly, *Liangyou*'s success story as presented in our subsequent chapters continues this Shanghai-centric narrative, although we have endeavored to point to comparable developments in Tokyo, Seoul, and elsewhere. As *Liangyou* demonstrates, print culture played a dominant role and was able to absorb other genres and media in much of twentieth-century China. The cross-platform saturation of affective immediacy and intermediality as represented by *Liangyou*, therefore, has far-reaching implications hitherto not yet fully recognized, and we look forward to future research that incorporates other genres and media such as music and theater and links print culture to a wider network of cultural production, circulation, and reception inside and outside China.³⁴

Notes

- 1 See *Liangyou*, no. 13 (March 1927): front cover; English original.
- 2 After the war, *Liangyou* was put on hold and then relocated to Hong Kong, where it was published from 1954 to 1968.
- 3 The word "flowering" is borrowed from Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- 4 By its own estimate, the pictorial would issue 50,000 copies and reach 500,000 readers in 1933. See *Liangyou*, no. 72 (December 1932): back cover. For more information regarding the magazine's circulation, see the Appendix by Wang Chuchu in this volume.
- 5 For a growing list of books on Shanghai print culture, see Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004); Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern*; Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?: Power, Identity,*

and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2004); Weipin Tsai, *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism and Individuality in China, 1919-1937* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007); Xiaoqing Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003); Catherine Vance Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

- 6 For fiction, see Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); Alexander Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007). For non-fiction, see Charles A. Laughlin, *The Literature of Leisure and Chinese Modernity* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008); Qian Suoqiao, *Liberal Cosmopolitan: Lin Yutang and Middling Chinese Modernity* (Boston: Brill, 2011).
- 7 Notable exceptions are found in some articles collected in two volumes: John A. Lent, ed., *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines and Picture Books* (London: Curzon Press, 2001); Jason Kuo, ed., *Shanghai Visual Culture, 1850s-1930s* (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2007).
- 8 *Liangyou*, no. 1 (February 1926): 8-9.
- 9 *Liangyou*, no. 42 (December 1929): 6-7. A similar proof of cosmopolitanism is the picture of Douglas Fairbanks and Wu Liande (1900-72), which the latter, as the manager of the Liangyou Company and the founder of *Liangyou*, took in Hollywood during his visit to the United States. See *Liangyou*, no. 17 (July 1927): 17.
- 10 *Liangyou*, no. 72 (December 1932): n.p.
- 11 For a study along this line, see Mary Farquhar and Yingjin Zhang, eds., *Chinese Film Stars* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- 12 For instance, see *Liangyou*, no. 28 (July 1928): 4-5, which includes Hu Die, Ruan Lingyu (1910-35) and others; no. 82 (November 1933): 24, which again features Hu Die.
- 13 Examples can be found in *Liangyou*, no. 13 (March 1927): 34; no. 25 (April 1928): 31; no. 31 (October 1928): 28-29.

- 14 *Liangyou*, no. 73 (January 1933): n.p. Rather than the ideologically loaded term "leftist," several Chinese film historians now prefer "newly emerging" (*xinxing*) and "new-born" (*xinsheng*), as these terms were actually used in film criticism in the 1930s. For example, see Lu Hongshi, *Zhongguo dianying shi 1905-1949: zaoqi Zhongguo dianying de xushu yu jiyi* (Chinese Film History, 1905-1949: Narratives and Reminiscences of Early Chinese Cinema) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2005), 61; Li Daoxin, *Zhongguo dianying wenhua shi, 1905-2004* (History of Chinese Film Culture, 1905-2004) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995), 128-31.
- 15 *Liangyou*, no. 74 (February 1933): n.p.
- 16 See Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai, and Xing Zuwen, *Zhongguo dianying fazhan shi* (History of the Development of Chinese Film), 2nd edition (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 1981), vol. 1, 397. For a recent analysis of the soft film debate from a non-partisan perspective, see Zhen Zhang, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 244-97.
- 17 *Liangyou*, no. 119 (August 1936): n.p.
- 18 For mappings of the cultural field of the time, see Michel Hockx, ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); Kirk A. Denton and Michel Hockx, eds., *Literary Societies of Republican China* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008).
- 19 *Liangyou*, no. 79 (August 1933): n.p.
- 20 For instance, see Yingjin Zhang, *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 154-76.
- 21 One early example is found in *Liangyou*, no. 8 (September 1926): 6.
- 22 *Liangyou*, no. 15 (May 1927: 11); no. 19 (September 1927): 14, 16, and 21.
- 23 *Liangyou*, no. 49 (July 1930): 39; no. 67 (July 1932): 26; no. 71 (November 1932): 14-16.
- 24 *Liangyou*, no. 47 (May 1930): 34-35.
- 25 Earlier, the pictorial carried a short autobiography of Lu Xun, together with Liang Desuo's (1905-38) photo

- of Lu Xun at work, Situ Qiao's sketch drawing of Lu Xun, and an editorial commentary. See *Liangyou*, no. 25 (April 1928): 23.
- 26 *Liangyou*, no. 35 (February 1929): 33.
- 27 See *Liangyou*, no. 45 (March 1930): 22-23; no. 62 (October 1931): 32-33; no. 113 (January 1936): 28-29; no. 115 (March-April 1936): 16-17.
- 28 We thank an anonymous Brill reader for posing these and other questions on visuality.
- 29 Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 16.
- 30 For a selection of *Dianshizhai* illustrations based on thematic clusters such as "Chinese and overseas news" and "technological innovations," see Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong, eds., *Tuxiang wan Qing* (Illustrated Late Qing) (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2001).
- 31 For early examples from a growing body of scholarship on this area, see Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, eds., *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Mark Sandberg, *Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- 32 See *Liangyou*, no. 87 (April 1934): 26-27. Paris (Bali) and Cathay (Guotai) were two famous movie theaters in Shanghai at the time, and *Foot-Light Parade*—the title printed in English in the original story—was a Hollywood musical directed by Lloyd Bacon and released in 1933. Ai Xia (1912-34) was a female film star who committed suicide at her prime. For an analysis of Hei Ying's story, see Yingjin Zhang, "The Texture of the Metropolis: Modernist Inscription of Shanghai in the 1930s," *Modern Chinese Literature* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 11-30.
- 33 Zhen Zhang, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen*.
- 34 For one such example, see Weihong Bao, *Dances of Fire: Aesthetic Affect and the Intermediation of Chinese Cinema, 1884-1945* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

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