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The *Flâneur* in Shanghai: Moviegoing and Spectatorship in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era

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上海の遊歩者——清末民初の映画鑑賞について

菅原慶乃

本稿は、上海における映画受容を、都市と娯楽文化の近代化の総体的文脈の中に位置づけたうえで、(1) 遊歩や観劇文化の近代化の文脈における映画受容と、(2) 知的な文明、あるいは近代教育の工具としての映画受容の二つについて明らかにするものである。上海において、映画は観劇文化を代表とする伝統的娯楽文化と強い親和性を持ち、伝統的娯楽文化の近代化の過程においてその文脈の内に包摂されていった。数々の日記資料が明らかにするところによれば、映画鑑賞とは近代的娯楽の中核を成す遊歩という行為を構成する諸々の遊興行為の一要素であった。映画は遊歩に従属する行為であり、遊歩の過程で人々が目にする様々な都市の風景の一断片であった。遊歩に依拠した映画鑑賞態度は、1910年代には遊楽場という遊興施設を誕生させ、1920年代には国産映画の美学へ強い影響を及ぼすこととなった。他方、映画は娯楽文化とは全く異なる文脈においても受容された。西洋式の学校や公共施設、宗教団体の会所などで上映される映画や幻灯は、西洋（あるいは近代）がもたらす「啓蒙的」で「知的」なメディアとしても受容されていた。このような空間における映画上映は、「健全」なものとして市井の商業上映とは全く異なるヘテロトピア—映画の教育的ミリュー—を創造した。1920年代の国産映画が社会教化を強く志向したのは、このような映画受容に直接のルーツを求めることができるのである。

Preface

The development of digital technology and archival efforts to preserve and publish early movies through various media and opportunities has dramatically improved the accessibility of those unseen movies. Although many movies are to be repaired and researched yet, many early works are no longer antiques stored in the darkness of film archives, unseen for decades. Yet, some important questions about movie exhibition and spectatorship in the initial movie years remain unanswered or unexamined; they encapsulate the attitude of movie spectators, the social and cultural milieus of the movie exhibition venues, and the recognition and acceptance of movies as a new media by the early audience. Among the early studies on movie spectatorship and audiences, Miriam Hansen's *Babel and Babylon* should be marked as one of the most unique and insightful due to its methodology, which utilizes both aesthetic and historical methods in analyzing early spectatorship in the United States. One of Hansen's achievements in this work is her theorization of the different stages of early film spectatorship, based on her analysis of a profound number of early movies. She identified the distinct difference between the early and the classical spectatorship through a fascinating analysis of a kinoscope piece by Thomas A. Edison, *Uncle Josh At The Moving Picture Show* (1902), which is highly suggestive for this article. This short comedy re-enacted the typical "primitive" reactions of Uncle Josh, a country rube who allegedly watched a movie show for the first time. Jumping out of his seat, he rushed to the screen and attempted to dance with the woman on the screen, but then he ran away when the Black Diamond Express (a train) rushed toward the foreground. Finally, Uncle Josh tore the screen in envy and anger as the country couple on screen started touching and kissing each other. According to Hansen, there were two types of movie spectatorship. One was "primitive" spectatorship, as performed by Uncle Josh, who exemplified the earliest spectators of movies and the other was the "classical" spectatorship, who through their "progressive" sense about movies observed the ignorance of such "primitive" spectators.¹⁾

When adapting Hansen's two-spectatorship typology to the context of Shanghai, it would be necessary to set up alternative spectatorships peculiar to Shanghai's amusement culture, as moviegoers in Shanghai at the turn-of-the-twentieth century did not seem to have either a concrete purpose for watching movies or the pleasure of being absorbed into



Fig. 1 An early movie show in a teahouse, appeared on *Tuhua ribao*, No. 175, 1907

movies. A picture, from an issue of Shanghai's famous pictorial magazine, *Tuhua ribao*, in 1907 depicts a scene inside a small teahouse where a movie is being projected, encapsulating many of the manners of the original moviegoers of that era (Fig. 1). The two viewers in the front row are the only spectators concentrating on the show, while those behind them are sitting with their upper bodies slightly turned towards each other and seem to be chatting with each other in spite of the movie exhibition. A man standing alone on the left side definitely has his eyes away from the screen, and is watching something else in the room. He may be searching for friends whom he had agreed to meet at the teahouse, which was typical of a friends' meet during that period, as argued in the following chapter. The concentration of the two viewers in the front row might be also distracted by certain obstacles in the venue. For example, the light on the ceiling probably prevented a

clear view of the moving images for them. The musical band, of which no one takes any notice on the screen, seems to be playing quite arbitrarily. The band notably consists of only a drum and horns; their music is definitely not for corresponding with the kinetic arts on the screen, but rather for soliciting the people outside the teahouse to join the exhibition. Various noises reverberated through the venue, including the sound of chatting, eating, and drinking, which also must have interfered with the viewers' concentration on the screen. Indeed, the venues of movie exhibitions during the contemporary era were marked by the hybridity and conjecture of various sounds, people, and events, which created multi-purpose moviegoing. In this article, I will refer to the characteristic of this moviegoing cul-

ture as *discursive* spectatorship, originating from the modernization of leisure culture in Shanghai.

Establishing such a new and unique spectatorship in Shanghai simultaneously allows us to reconsider the dogma about the reception of movies in Shanghai during those years, a dogma that emphasized not only the separation, disconnection, and difference of the movies from any domestic amusement but also the disjuncture of China from the West. In this context, the novelty of movies has been strongly compared with traditional Chinese amusement culture; movies were considered a medium different from traditional amusements in terms of form, technique, and aesthetics. This recognition is problematic because it underscores another aspect of the reception of movies. Moviegoers were definitely diverted from traditional amusement culture in Shanghai in terms of the modernization of the leisure culture. Can the influx of movies be a “Western impact,” marking a watershed in the modernization of Shanghai’s amusement culture? What changed and what did not? A sociological and behavioral survey of moviegoing may provide an interesting answer to this question. To explore these questions, this study primarily focuses on the interrelationship between traditional amusement culture and modern moviegoing, which requires us to adopt a new perspective on the reception of movies in Shanghai and on the multiple reception of movies in different movie milieus.

There were at least two different ways movies were received in Shanghai. One was its reception as a modern attraction enjoyed in the context of traditional leisure culture. The other was as a medium outside leisure culture, creating another movie milieu. In the first instance, movies were projected in teahouses, traditional theaters, and Chinese gardens. In this context, the movie was *experienced*, rather than *watched*, similar to traditional theatergoing and the old traditional habit of the leisurely wandering, which I will explain later. There is hardly any obvious difference between traditional theatergoing and modern moviegoing taking into consideration the custom of leisurely behavior during that era. Therefore, moviegoing during that era can be considered part of traditional leisure culture. In contrast, in the second instance, the movie was watched and observed as a scientific tool projecting the real world. It was also a novel tool for social education. Since movies were considered novel technology and even novel knowledge in some cases, they held something authentic that was elemental for modernization. In this context, the movie was a textbook

for cultivating one's knowledge. The authenticity of movies created a movie milieu that was different from the traditional amusement sphere.

1 The *Flâneur* on the Streets of Shanghai: A Modern Experience

Walking has been an elegant and tasteful habit for the literati in China for generations; it has had different special names, such as *yeyou* (night walking) or *yuebu* (walking under the moonlight). Traditional walking was conducted either according to the celebratory customs based on the lunar calendar, such as the Chinese New Year, or to fulfill concrete and special aims, like for sending a friend leaving or for escaping from secular affairs. However, the activity of wandering underwent a gradual transformation in Shanghai with modernization. The focus of modern wandering was on the visual, auditory, and tactile experience of the modern city itself. The modern wanderers passed through the streets of the modern city aimlessly, their gaze cast upon the urban landscape that they were a part of; they observed accidentally, just as they were observed contingently.

The diary of Zheng Xiaoxu (a typical example of such a *flâneur*) is useful because it gives us an explicit and concrete image of this custom. During his service as the secretary of the South Section of Beijing–Hankou Railway (Luguang tielu) in Wuhan, Zheng Xiaoxu, a famous bureaucrat who committed himself to the Hundred Days Reform in 1898, as well as a poet and calligrapher, expressed his disappointment about life in Wuhan in this diary. He wrote, “I do not like Wuhan; living here for a long time makes me feel depressed.”²⁾ Zheng frequently visited Shanghai even amidst his busy days in Wuhan, located approximately 920 kilometers away from the city, to meet his friends, most of whom were also engaged in the Reform, and later started working for the Commercial Press and the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank. His days in Shanghai are expressed through delightful words; he ate and drank at famous teahouses and restaurants almost everyday, visiting theaters exhibiting traditional performing arts and strolling through broad streets filled with the liveliness of the commercial city, or beautiful Chinese-style gardens where people enjoyed both traditional and modern Western attractions for recreation. He obviously moved to Shanghai as soon as he quit his position in Wuhan, and after years of staying in an apartment, finally owned a private residence named *Haicang lou* [The Hidden Residence in Shanghai] in 1909. Some instances of his wandering can be the following: On

the afternoon of 8 September, 1897, Zheng strolled through Zhang yuan, a famous Chinese garden, with some friends after lunch, and at night wandered with other friends at Sima Road, a well-known street bristling with teahouses, and then finally entered Hua'e lou, a large-scale teahouse on that road. On 20 March, 1898, after spending time with friends wandering around Yu yuan and Zhang yuan in the afternoon, Zheng visited Baofeng lou with the friend, probably to eat and drink, and then finally attended Tianfu Theater, famous for Peking Opera, which he visited often. According to his diary, Zheng's wanderings were undertaken incidentally and aimlessly. On the other hand, the wanderings sometimes led him to new attractions. For instance, according to the diary, on 10 May, 1909, he witnessed a circus corps in Zhang yuan while wandering and their tent and animals had been ready. The circus corps preparing their stages was definitely one of the scenes he saw inside the garden and was part of the background when he passed through during his stroll. However, the background became the foreground after five days, when he attended the circus show with friends. Zheng's frequent visits to New World [Xin shijie] can also be attributed to his wanderings. On 9 August, 1915; he visited Zhang yuan with a friend by car and attended Xiao you tian Teahouse for dinner. On the way back home, he noticed the brilliant neon sign of New World. In his words, he "watched New World's neon sign bearing a dancing dragon with a very long tail and the head reached almost halfway to the sky." Accordingly, the neon sign of New World, as well as the scenery during his wanderings, appealed him to expand his wandering experience. This led to the beginning of Zhang's regular visits to New World.

Zheng Xiaoxu's wanderings may be similar to what Walter Benjamin referred to as the *flâneur*. As Anne Friedberg, drawing inspiration from Benjamin, suggested in *Window Shopping*, the *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* obtained a "mobilized and virtual gaze" as observers in a modern city. A typical *flâneur* in nineteenth century Paris was "wandering through its panorama of gaslit streets, cafes, theaters, brothels, parks, and passages, collecting images that he would record in newspaper reviews and prose poems."³⁾ Zheng Xiaoxu enjoyed teahouses, restaurants, theaters, gardens, and other modes of amusement throughout Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century. What differentiates the wandering of Zhang Xiaoxu from the traditional walking culture is not only his aimless strolling and his various interests toward amusement sites, regardless of the domestic or the foreign, but also the fact that his

wandering was accelerated by modern modes of transport, such as rickshaws, cars, and trolley buses, and these vehicles also expanded the range of his travel.

Thus, modern wandering was the sensory experience wherein *flâneurs* / *flâneuses*, utilizing their sensory organs, recognized the modernization of the urban city. They felt the noises that consisted of various dialects and languages, the speed that was attained by their riding modern vehicles, and visions that passed by their eyes successively, producing “a new experience of distance and time” and “a derealized sense of the present and a detemporalized sense of the real”.⁴⁾ This very gaze, Friedberg argues, can be attributed as one of the basis for movie spectatorship. She stated, “As a social and textual construct for a mobilized visuality, the habit of modern wander can be historically situated as an urban phenomenon linked to, in gradual but direct ways, the new aesthetic of reception found in ‘moviegoing’”.⁵⁾ Indeed, it was no coincidence that most of the initial movie viewers in Shanghai were such *flâneurs* / *flâneuses*, who had already been trained and familiarized with the “visual and mobilized gaze” through their practice of modern stroll. They simultaneously perceived movies as, literally, a part of the street scene they *were* passing through and created the unique aesthetics of movie reception, which was the origin of discursive spectatorship, as I mentioned in the first section.

If the *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* in Shanghai are regarded as the symbolic images of the modernization of the city corresponding with the modernization of the amusement culture, the notion of the “*Yangjingbang* style of Shanghai modern,” Zhang Zhen’s insightful idea in her *Amorous History of the Silver Screen*, provides us an useful explanation for understanding the mass entertainment culture in Shanghai during that era. Zhang indicates the unique character of Shanghai’s hybrid cultural sphere while building on that notion, “a composite worldly character, which is at once cosmopolitan and local, ambitious yet pragmatic.”⁶⁾ Influenced by Miriam Hansen, Zhang’s “*Yangjingbang* style” of vernacular modernism made it possible to go beyond binary frameworks, such as China versus West, traditional versus modern, or intellectuals versus petty urbanites (*xiaoshimin*). This article thus illuminates, by following up on Zhang’s idea, the actual process of the amusement culture in Shanghai, especially the habit of wandering and traditional theatergoing, influenced “*Yangjingbang*” modernism in the pre-cinema period, and how the modern wondering led people to experience movies.

2 The Wonder and Encounter with Movie Shows: Early Movie Exhibitions in the Chinese Gardens

The Chinese gardens were the favorite place for the *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* in Shanghai. Xu yuan, Yu yuan, and Zhang yuan were “the three representative gardens in Shanghai” during the late Qing dynasty,⁷⁾ while Yu yuan, Xi yuan, Liu yuan, and Qi yuan, as well as Xinjia huayuan and Suangqing bieshu, were also well-known beautiful Chinese-style gardens during that period. They were owned by individual rich merchants, however, these gardens were eventually opened to the public for a nominal price. Apart from the beautiful landscapes and buildings, numerous events were held inside: an orchid contest in early spring and a chrysanthemum contest in autumn, firework shows at night during summer, foreign and domestic commodity fairs, and on special occasions such as the Spring Festival, people could gather in the gardens to mingle and walk around, enjoying the various attractions, which included magic shows, fireworks, Chinese dramas, and movies. Even in the absence of any special events, however, people could enjoy just strolling in the cool breeze of the summer nights. The Chinese gardens also functioned as the intersection between Chinese and Western public spaces; many important political and social events were held there. According to Xiong Yuezhi, a famous historian, traditional theaters, teahouses, and the Chinese gardens became the novel public space during the late Qing period, where people gathered both for public / private entertainment.⁸⁾ In contrast to the large-scale teahouses and traditional theaters, which were often subject to the criticisms by the public due to

Table 1 Early movie exhibitions in Chinese gardens

Date (yyyy/mm/dd in the solar calendar)	Until mm/dd (if can specify)	Name of venue
1896/06/30	07/13	Xu yuan
08/02		Xu yuan
08/11	08/15	Xu yuan, Youyicun
1897/05/05		Zhangyuan
08/14	09/12	Qi quan
1898/07/07		Xu yuan
07/12		Xu yuan
1899/02/14		Xu yuan

Sources: Law, Kar. and Bren, F. *Hong Kong Cinema: a Cross-cultural View* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004); Huang, Dequan. *Zhongguo zaoqi dianying shishi kaozheng* [Investigation of historical evidence in the early stage of the Chinese film history] (Peking: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 2012): advertisements on *Shenbao*

noise and vulgarity, the Chinese gardens were considered to be relatively benefitting from the large-scale teahouses in terms of large space and capacity, while working through their demerits, particularly the difficulty in controlling immoral behavior.⁹⁾

The Chinese gardens were the most important venues that linked modern wanderers with movie exhibitions. Table 1 lists the earliest recorded movie exhibitions held at the Chinese gardens, which obviously indicates that most of the movie exhibitions at such venues were held during the specific events on the traditional lunar calendar and well-known annual events and amusement customs common in Shanghai: the Chinese New Year, the orchid and chrysanthemum contests, as well as during a series of night attractions during the summer months. Accordingly, the visitors of the Chinese gardens were *not* the only audience of the movie exhibitions held there, exclusively absorbed into watching the movies; rather, they included the *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* who wandered inside the gardens while gazing at different attractions continuously. They were onlookers of the movie exhibitions, rather than the empirical viewers of the same.

This hypothesis is supported by two diaries which recorded the movie exhibitions at the Chinese gardens: The diary of Zheng Xiaoxu and the diary of the Forgotten Mountain Cottage, the latter written by a bureaucrat of the late Qing era, Sun Baoxuan. As aforementioned, during his days in Shanghai, Zheng Xiaoxu frequented a tremendous number of entertainment venues — both Western and Chinese, modern and traditional. Although he recorded his first moviegoing experience on 31 August, 1897, rethinking the concept of *purpose* with regard to the earliest moviegoers becomes necessary while considering leisurely wandering. He wandered out very frequently as is shown in Table 2. Gardens, teahouses, and traditional theaters were his favorite venues during wandering. If one counts simply wandering aimlessly, he was outside at least three times a week, wandering through the streets and gardens. Moviegoing may simply have been a part of this modern wandering experience.

Similarly, strong evidence is also observed in the diaries from the Forgotten Mountain Cottage, which recorded the earliest moviegoing at Zhang yuan in June 1897. In this case, Sun Baoxian, the author of the diary, stumbled across the exhibition while wandering out in the cool breeze of the beginning of summer, rather than visiting the garden specifically for attending a movie. It was not merely coincidental that movie exhibitions in Chinese gar-

dens were concentrated during summer and the Spring Festival, which were typically when people were out and wandering. People visited the Chinese gardens specifically to wander, rather than to watch movies. The spectators of movies in the Chinese gardens, therefore, would have been an aimless, occasional, and discursive audience who *witnessed* the movie shows in the same way that they glanced the scenery inside the gardens; for the modern *flâneurs* / *flâneuses*, movies were just a part of the scenery of the gardens. Moreover, the relegation and weakness of their emotional response expressed in those diaries against the movies should also be noted. Zheng Xiaoxu's statement about his first moviegoing experience should be highly remarkable, not least in terms of its roughness and lack of curiosity toward the movies shown on that day. Any affective statements, such as astonishment and shock that the very novel medium purported to cater for the audience, did not appear in the record of his first movie-watching experience. The statement of Sun Baoxuan's first movie-watching experience in *The Diaries of the Forgotten Mountain Cottage*, as is the case with Zheng Xiaoxu, was also simple and matter-of-fact, without either astonishment or fascination. Indeed, the movie's reception in Shanghai definitely elicited two different types of response in viewers; one was a seemingly indifferent attitude toward the medium, while the other was an intellectual curiosity toward the medium. In contrast with the latter response toward movies by those who regarded them as a novel technology originating from the West and gradually established the independent movie milieu apart from the context of the traditional amusement culture as I will argue later, the lack of any emotional response toward the movie by the former must have been induced by both discursive spectatorship and due to hybridization, if we are to emphasize the character of vernacular modernity in Shanghai, of the attractions exhibited in the context of the modern leisure culture. On the level of the spectatorship, the movie exhibition was a part of the scenery that the wanderers witnessed during their leisurely stroll through their virtual and roving gaze. The movie show was embedded within the whole image of the scenery that they experienced through their wandering. The *Yangjingbang* hybridity of those attractions that were exhibited inside the Chinese gardens ranged from the domestic to the foreign, the traditional to the modern, the worldly to the cultivated, and accelerated discursive spectatorship; simultaneously, it also relegated the novelty and astonishment of the movie show. Fig. 2 indicates the programs exhibited at Xu yuan from the end of June to

mid-July in 1896, which was supposed to be the first movie exhibition in China although it has been alleged to be a magic lantern show. Apart from the empirical identity of those shows, the numerous and varied attractions performed inside the garden should be noted; movie shows were just a fraction of the varied attractions that constituted the whole of the mixed and fragmental program; during late June to mid-July in 1896, Xu yuan was full of lights and illuminations projected through a

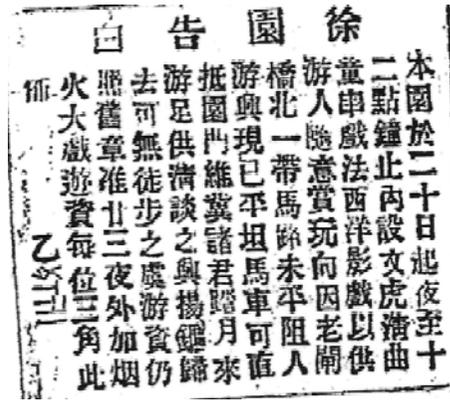


Fig. 2 The Ad of the Movie Exhibitions at Xu yuan during June to July in 1896

variety of attractions. The traditional amusements such as lantern riddles [*wenhu*], the stages of Yangzhou-style traditional music [*qingqu*], and the magic stage shows, while movies were later added (or magic lantern shows), with the “great firework attractions” on a particular day. Since that year, in Xu yuan, similar events were held regularly in summer and autumn and during the Chinese New Year. Other movie exhibitions, such as those held from late June to mid July, 1897 at Qi yuan, which Zheng Xiaoxu supposedly visited, for example, had an identical character in terms of the forms and variety of the attractions exhibited inside the garden. Accordingly, the Chinese garden was a miniature of modern Shanghai; strolling inside the garden was reminiscent of strolling the streets of Shanghai. It seems that the light and brightness of the movie, as well as the astonishment and surprise they purported to give the audience was inevitably defused and veiled, although it was a novel attraction for Shanghai’s wanderers. Under not very extreme cases, it was simply juxtaposed and deactivated under the more brilliant *Yangjingbang* modern local and universal amusements. By the summer of 1899, an independent building was specifically arranged for movie exhibitions and magic shows in Xu yuan. Simultaneously, since the autumn of that year, the additional fee for movie exhibition shows imposed on the audience was abolished; the movie show at Xu yuan was no longer extraordinary and temporal.

Table 2 Zheng Xiaoxu's activities, August to September, 1897 (Dates in the solar calendar)

	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
Date	1897/8/24			8/25	8/26	8/27	8/28
Morning			Arrived at Shanghai				
Afternoon						Restaurant(Shun yuan lou)	Xu yuwei
Night							
Date	8/29	8/30	8/31	9/1	9/2	9/3	9/4
Morning							
Afternoon		Restaurant(Yi pin xiang)	Restaurant(Ya su yuan)			Restaurant(Ju feng yuan)	Restaurant(Jiao shou)
Night			Qi yuan(movies)				Wandering to Tian le wo theater
Date	9/5	9/6	9/7	9/8	9/9	9/10	9/11
Morning							
Afternoon	Teahouse(Qin jiao lou)		Theater (Tian fu)	Wandering to Hua e lou	Wandering under moonlight	Wandering under moonlight	Wandering to Hua e lou
Night	Wandering to Hua e lou teahouse						
Date	9/12	9/13	9/14	9/15	9/16	9/17	9/18
Morning							
Afternoon				Restaurant (Wan nian chun), Wandering Si ma road	Theater (Lun jiao lou)	Teahouse(Hua e lou),Zhang yuan, Restaurant(Wan ja chun)	
Night		Shopping	Wandering Si ma road				
Date	9/19	9/20	9/21	9/22	9/23	9/24	9/25
Morning							
Afternoon						Restaurant(Shun yuan)	
Night		Wandering Si ma road, teahouse(Xin qing he fang)	Theater(Xiao guang han)	Restaurant(Wan ja chun), Theater(Tian fu)			
Date	9/26	9/27	9/28	9/29	9/30		
Morning							
Afternoon							
Night		Shopping, Teahouse(Yi zhen cha lou)	Theater(The name not specified)	Theater(Gao sheng lou)	Restaurant(Yi ja chun), Wandering streets		

3 The *Flânerie* and the Modernization of Theatregoing

It is highly suggestive that the appearance of commercial theaters in Shanghai in the 1860s promoted the emergence of the *Yangjingbang* style of traditional performing arts. Traditional performing arts were originally deeply associated with ritual ceremonies and agricultural events. The population of Shanghai also rapidly increased along with the modernization of Shanghai just after the Opium War; people were migrating to and from China. It was at the end of the *Yuan* period that theaters emerged in Shanghai. Public spaces, gardens of rich families, and temples were the most popular venues for traditional theaters;¹⁰ that said, “to the ordinary people, performing a theater meant to thank the gods, operas were for pleasing gods”.¹¹ After the Opium War, the northern district in Shanghai was incorporated into the foreign settlements, which soon became the center of economic prosperity and attracted large numbers of migrant merchants from neighboring provinces. The first commercial theater in Shanghai, *Sanya yuan*, was established for the entertainment needs of the migrant merchants and their families.¹² Commercial theaters in Shanghai then proliferated rapidly. According to some statistics, more than a hundred theaters were built in the city before the beginning of the twentieth century.¹³ Commercial theaters diminished the ritualism of the traditional drama, but they simultaneously intensified the display of traditional Chinese opera.¹⁴ Staging multiple programs consisting of different forms of Chinese operas became popular; Peking opera, *Kunju* and *Huiban*, sometimes also *Bangzi xi*

were often juxtaposed. Stage producers started utilizing lighting techniques, called *Dengcai xi*, to intensify the spectacle of the stagework. Once traditional theaters were hybridized and sensationalized they attracted audiences from various social strata. These trends, according to the studies concerned, were usually explained in terms of empirical reasons: the intensified competition among the theaters, the management strategy for winning back the audience whose interests had pivoted to the novel attractions rooted in the West.

The hybridization and sensationalization of the traditional theater stages, however, was also an embodiment of the new aesthetic of theatergoing associated with modern wandering. Due to the habit of modern wandering, watching a stage show was not the exclusive and ultimate purpose of modern theatergoing. It inevitably offered, with its fragmentation and division of the stage shows, a program that allowed the audience who came to enjoy any part of the program, regardless of the time they arrived or the context within each program. It was, therefore, no coincidence that the novelty of theatergoing changed the aesthetics of the stage performances of Chinese opera. It was not just the change derived from the aural pleasure, enunciated by the lyrics and the variety of the accent and tones in the actors' addresses, to visual pleasure, exhibited as a spectacle of lights and different forms of dramas. This change, needless to say, became the foundation for the acceptance of movies at such venues in the future. It seems that nothing happened to the habit of theatergoing after movies were listed on the programs of the traditional theaters. The series of movie exhibitions at Tianhua Theater, an exclusive Peking Opera theater on Fuzhou Road, from 26 July to 25 August in 1897, should be a typical example of this. During the one-month movie exhibition, which was apparently the first movie exhibition at a traditional theater in Shanghai, it was only



Fig. 3 The ads of Tianhua on August 14th 1897, appeared on *Shenbao*

during the first five days that the theater had exclusively movies on show. Following that, there was a mixed program consisting of Chinese opera stages, magic shows, and martial arts exhibitions (Fig. 3 shows the advertisements of the show during the one-month exhibition, listing a mixed program on three different stages: Chinese drama, a French magic show, and American movies). The program was segmented into different stages obviously, with a mixture of the traditional performances and the novel medium of the movies. The movie exhibition at Tianhua might have to be considered as an attraction for visitors in this recently established small theater owned by a new migrant merchant from Tianjin speaking fluent English.¹⁵⁾ However Tianhua's highly fragmented program can be still attributed to the modernization of theatergoing and leisure culture. It is precisely the modernization of theatergoing that left a significant impact on both the habit of moviegoing and the aesthetic of movie making in the 1920s, as observed in the following section.

4 The *Flânerie* on Fuzhou Road: Teahouses and Moviegoing

In Chinese film history, movie and their exhibition venues in the early era have been considered secular, sometimes vulgar spaces that were primarily oriented toward foreigners, capitalists, and the petite bourgeois. This image may have originated from the early film exhibitions at teahouses. Qian Huafo, a famous stage actor in Shanghai, in his retrospection of the Republican-era days, refers to the contemporary teahouses as follows: "Teahouses in Shanghai were, from the first, tremendously noisy; there were few that were clean and elegant. However, several decades ago, people still preferred to stay there."¹⁶⁾ Teahouses in Shanghai functioned as multi-purpose amusement sites, wherein, besides drinking tea, people enjoyed smoking opium, billiards, magic and movie shows, and other attractions. Some of the teahouses also provided erotic encounters with prostitutes.¹⁷⁾ Teahouses of Republican-era Shanghai can be classified into different categories: (1) those that primarily offered good food and drink for customers whose aim were casual interactions with friends and acquaintances, (2) those that provided a variety of attractions to cater to a wide range of customers, and (3) those that showed Chinese Opera and other performing arts, such as *Shuochang* (storytelling) and *Xifa* (magic). These categories, however, were not mutually exclusive; they were partly imbricated with each other. For instance, the early commercial theaters for Chinese operas in Shanghai were also called

teahouses,¹⁸⁾ wherein the audience was offered tea and sometimes snacks as well. Thus, the teahouse, the traditional theater, and the movie house were interchangeable in terms of their role and function as amusement sites. *Qingliang ge*, the representative teahouse in Shanghai, was the favorite teahouse among the recollections of teahouse culture in Shanghai; Qinglian ge, the former Zonghui teahouse, catered to the *flâneurs* / *flâneuses*' penchant for enjoying various types of amusement, both Western and Chinese, modern and traditional. Freak shows, lantern exhibitions, and peep shows were performed on the first floor, where one could also enjoy billiards, with tea being served on the second floor.¹⁹⁾ Playing at Qinglian ge could flush out any contentions against the world; it was the venue where one could render the vulgarity allowable and excusable through its "varied entertainment rooms, brilliant lightings, the crowd of people mingling, and the fog of sweat."²⁰⁾ The teahouse was also known to be the same venue where Antonio Ramos, the owner of Hongkew Cinema, purported to be the first movie house in China, put on movie exhibitions before establishing the cinema in 1908.

The rise in the number of teahouses in Shanghai corresponded with the rapid increase of migrants from neighboring provinces. In the modern era, it functioned as the leisure arena for the newly emerged middle-class workers as well as a novel public sphere, wherein those people, separated from their traditional ritual and regional ties, came together and shared the common aim of enjoying the attractions and performances while also refreshing their minds and communicating with each other. It was during the 1860s that the modern teahouses, such as Yi song feng ge (opened in 1862), Yi dong tian, and Li shui tai (both established in 1863) emerged consecutively; by the 1870s, Baoshan jie, the present Guangdong Road, became the representative street that bristled with a tremendous number of teahouses,²¹⁾ although later they eventually centered around Sima Road, the common name for Fuzhou Road.²²⁾

The trends of the people attending the teahouses, how and in what situation people dropped in at such venues, and who they were accompanied by is to be noted here. In the late Qing period, according to historical diaries concerning Chinese Opera theatergoing,²³⁾ it was common to visit teahouses for a meal and drinks before watching a stage show. Wandering the streets and strolling in the gardens with friends to kill time before going to the theater was also very common. In extreme but not rare cases, spending time with

friends while eating, drinking, and strolling was the primary purpose for their theatergoing rather than watching a stage show. The performance of a Chinese opera usually lasted several hours. Many people would watch only the main program, which usually did not start until a few hours after the first performance started. Consequently, people did not attach much significance to punctuality. Rather, they preferred to enjoy eating and chatting at teahouses or strolling the streets and the gardens until the main program started. Thus, wandering had been inevitably incorporated into the teahouse culture as well as theatergoing. A Shanghai guidebook published by the Commercial Press in 1909 is indicative of this trend. While the "Theater" section lists seven theaters with their details, the "Movie" section lacks proper venues where a traveler could enjoy movies. In the "Movie" section, only a street where movies were often screened was named, Fuzhou Road. This street, as aforementioned, was famous because it housed numerous teahouses as well as traditional theaters. The information provided by the guidebook implicitly recommended that travelers in Shanghai should stroll down Fuzhou Road en route to the theaters and teahouses if they wished to watch movies.

In this sense, the emergence of an exclusive movie house, Hongkew Cinema, might be revisited. It was owned by a Spanish merchant, Antonio Ramos, who was a movie exhibitor at Qinglian ge. Hongkew Cinema was opened in 1908, and its companion movie house, Victoria, in 1910, which was also located in the same area. The transfer of the center of movie exhibition in Shanghai from Fuzhou Road to Hongkew, a few miles north of the center of the International Settlement, however, did not imply the end of the leisurely stroll; conversely, modern wandering was accelerated and expanded through the introduction of the new trolleybus lines in 1908. Line Two connected the Tilan qiao area, the eastern end of Hongkew, to the Bund, with Line Three, which ran straight down North Sichuan Road to Cater Road, the western center of International Settlement via the famous commercial street, Nanjing Road, as well as Line Four which also connected Hongkew and the middle of International Settlement. Almost every important road in the northern part of the International Settlement and the Hongkew area were networked through the newly established trolley web. The proliferation of the movie houses in Hongkew around the year 1908 can be explained in terms of the expansion of modern wandering by means of the new trolley lines, though the related studies have not mentioned this. The American

Cinematograph Company, the Alhambra Cinematograph, and the Colon Cinematograph were well-known amusement sites in the Hongkew area, all established around 1908. In addition, there was the Natural Sound Cinematograph Company [Tianran youyin yingxi gongsi, reopened as Huanxian yingxi yuan in December 1908] at the west end of Nicheng qiao, which was located one-third mile north of Paoma ting, a trolley station on Line Three and Four. The *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* enjoyed their stroll left with a few cents for the trolleybus, travelling directly from Fuzhou Road to Hongkew. The resemblance of the movie show programs between Fuzhou Road teahouses and the cinema houses in Hongkew could be marked with its hybrid and mixture contents of stages. The American Cinematograph Company was not exclusively a movie house; there were also singers on stage, in addition to its movie exhibitions.²⁴⁾ The Natural Sound Cinematograph Company, which opened exclusively as a movie house in the summer of 1908, was soon renovated as the Huan xian xi yuan, a teahouse style amusement site which provided *Tanhuang*, Chinese style songs, magic shows, as well as movie exhibitions.²⁵⁾ Movie houses such as the Colon and the Alhambra in the American Settlement, the main patronage of which was supposed to be foreigners, also catered to the various requests of audiences with mixed and multi-stage performances; the latter was such a venue where “respectable people” attended and could enjoy cinema exhibitions as well as the singing on stage and other performances, an innocuous “road-house” style entertainment venue.²⁶⁾ In fact, there were hardly any exclusive movie exhibition around 1908 which were popular and prevailed in Shanghai; rather, the majority of movie houses during that period provided programs essentially identical to those of the teahouses on Fuzhou Road, with a jumble and mix of multi-stage shows. According to recent studies, the fact that Hongkew Cinema was considered to be the first movie house in China seems to be in doubt; however, it is significant to note that in most of the discourses, among the initial movie houses in Shanghai,²⁷⁾ the name of Antonio Ramos is recorded, as he used to be a movie exhibitor in Qinglian ge. Thus, it can be said that Ramos and his first movie houses were considered the direct descendents of the teahouse movie exhibition, a diverted version of the Yangjingbang-style Shanghai cinema culture.²⁸⁾

By the nineteen teens, the habit of modern wandering led to the emergence of new amusement venues, *Ye hua yuan* [night garden] and amusement sites such as Great World and New World that were constantly being established in the twenty teens. The whole

process of modern wandering in Shanghai was encapsulated into these amusement sites: everything that the wanderers in Shanghai would have gazed upon during their strolling were exhibited inside — beautiful scenery of gardens, theaters for traditional Chinese Opera, other performing arts such as storytelling and tricks, attractions from the West consisting lantern slide-shows, cinemas, circus and dance stages, as well as restaurants and bars. They were miniatures of the leisurely venues in Shanghai, simultaneously a package of the wanderer's experience. The significance of the amusement sites in Shanghai was not merely that they provided miscellaneous attractions, but also that they were the embodiment of the aesthetic of the modern leisurely stroll. On the level of the implementation of exhibition, the movie programs at the amusement sites, as well as at the other cinemas, consisted of several short films and even non-filmic performances such as dance, singing, and magic. Short films, including serials, were shown throughout the teens in Shanghai, although long feature films were easily accessible during that period. Moreover, it was quite common for different amusement venues to share the reels of serial films. One of the popular titles for serials in Shanghai in 1919 and 1920 was *Hei yi dao*, an American serial whose original title remains unknown. If one had watched one of the reels of *Hei yi dao* at Isis, Gonghe, or Apollo, one could watch the next reel at another amusement site, such as Great World or New World. This serial was exhibited repeatedly at these venues and finally, at the end of 1920, was adapted into a Chinese drama at Xiao Wutai, a famous Chinese theater where the Shanghai style of Peking Opera was performed exclusively. Identical content was common if we take a look at the newspaper advertisements of those amusement parks, movie houses, and traditional theaters, especially at the end of the teens. The disjunctive exhibitions of serial films, including its adaptation into a Chinese drama has crystallized that the movie audiences of the era preferred short serial films, rather than the long feature films. They were habituated to wandering around amusement venues. They were the modern *flâneurs* / *flâneuses*, rather than movie audiences, as their strolling was intended as an exercise of the modern habit of wandering, but not merely for watching a movie.

This habit of moviegoing simultaneously established the aesthetic of discursive spectatorship, the implementation of watching movies unique to Shanghai. Discursive spectatorship yielded a new type of narrative and realism on screen through *Yan Ruisheng* (1921),

the first feature film made in China. *Yan Ruisheng* was neither a mere reenactment of an actual murder that had occurred the previous year, nor the adaptation from several traditional Chinese opera stages, such as Gong Wutai, Xiao Wutai, Diyi tai, and Xin Wutai, which had all adapted the incident for the stage and yielded a massive profit due to their sensational and realistic performances. It was also not a cheap imitation of the Western detective short films that the alleged murderer Yan was purported to be inspired from and tempted by to commit the crime.²⁹⁾ Was it a reification of the aesthetic of the modern *flâneurs* / *flâneuses* in the film version of *Yan Ruisheng*? The film, which traced murderer Yan's escape from the police, precisely exhibits the realistic form of cinematic expression with the employment of the actor and actress, who very closely resembled the actual murderer and the victim, while the similarity of the location was also observed. The murderer's trajectory of escape was unequivocally traced by a display of the murderer's actual hiding spots succeeding the incident: a brothel in Fuyou li, Mr. Wang Dechang's retail shop for tea leaves, the famous restaurant Yi pin xiang, the rye field where the victim was found, the mountain and train station where the police chase occurred, and the Shanghai and military police stations, where the murderer was investigated after the arrest.³⁰⁾ The swift changes in the tone of the film, which range from "horror to comedy, and the chase, as well as the didactic ending,"³¹⁾ as well as the sensational and undulated narrative and the modern characters of the protagonists, a white-collar businessman working for a modern trading company and the beautiful prostitute; each of them symbolized the wondering in Shanghai. There was an identical tendency with another early feature film, *Laogon zhi aiqing* [Laborer's love], the oldest Chinese film in existence; the varied tones, at once comedic and didactic, melodrama and family drama were similarly observed. This article takes this film as cinema during a transition period, as Zhang Zhen points out, however departing from her conclusion slightly, a transition film from the cinema of attraction to classical narrative cinema. *Laogon zhi aiqing* is crystalized in the aesthetic of the discursive spectatorship of modern wanderers in Shanghai. Forms unique to classical Hollywood cinema are reenacted in a very typical way throughout the film. The whole narrative is formed around the cause-and-effect system, a young fruit vendor's struggle in coaxing his lover's father to allow their marriage in a peculiar and funny way, is a typical narrative in the classic cinema inspired from Hollywood. The Point of view (POV) shots that indicate an unclear view

of the young vendor wearing thick glasses, the cross cutting editing in the fighting scene at the night club, and the fast-forward technique in the slapstick scene in the stairway all obviously contribute to creating the omniscient point of the narrative, an indispensable position for classic narrative cinema. However, there are a number of deviations from the forms of classic cinema in the whole film: the apparent rough and unstable editing in the first sequence displaying the vendor's comic action with the handsaw cutting fruits is concentrated on displaying an imitation of Charles Chaplin, but hardly on the inclusive and integrated character of the protagonist. There is hardly any unequivocal continuity between each plot; it is a compilation of relatively independent scenes that results in the whole narrative remaining fragmented. The deficiency of the omniscient narrative is also seen in the usage of the subtitles, almost all subtitles indicate the protagonist's direct speech. The only exception is in the first few subtitles, which exhibit a very brief outline of the whole story and the subsequent ones introducing the main protagonists of the story; these exceptions were seemingly a substitute for the pamphlet (*shuoming shu*) of the Chinese Opera stage. All the evidence indicates that the film is a direct descendant of the aesthetic of discursive movie spectatorship in the teens, rather than a remnant of the cinema of attraction, as Zhang Zhen pointed out.³²⁾ The most crucial evidence that the film entails the literacy of the traditional theater stages is depicted in the stairway scene, one of the highlights of the film: the vendor sets a trick on the stairs of the night club located upstairs from his apartment, and when the leaving customers take the stairs, all the steps suddenly fold flat, and they all successively trip down the stairs. The trick is apparently the appropriation of a mobile set of the traditional opera stages, *jiguan bujing*, sales of which were booming throughout the Republican era.

5 The Intelligent Movie Milieu: a Heterotopia

Movies and their exhibition venues in Shanghai had an ambiguous and chameleon-like character similar to those in New York or Tokyo.³³⁾ Indeed, there was something authentic about magic lantern /movie programs since their influx into Shanghai, though they had also been considered dubious. During the first year of Guangxu's reign (1874-1875), it was forbidden to play any performing arts due to a nation-wide mourning for the emperor Tongzhi. Exhibiting magic lanterns for attracting more audiences thus were rapidly incor-

porated into the Chinese Opera stages³⁴). Advertisements of those theaters / teahouses in newspapers stressed the rarity of such Western attractions, and although these lantern slide shows sometimes failed to attract audiences due to a lack of enough projection and operation technique, this novel attraction soon encompassed Fuzhou Road.³⁵ Thus, what seems to be the first movie review appeared in a newspaper recognizing this new medium as different from the “strange and vulgar technology from the West” (*xi lai zhi qiji yinqiao*), a common expression when relegating something foreign in the old days. According to the review, movie exhibitions, as well as circus shows, oil paintings, and Western drama stages were very “novel” and were “worth watching very much for entertainment” (*zu yi ji shiting zhi yu*), and “it is rare to have an opportunity of watching them in China.”³⁶

The usage of the term *yingxi*, meaning “shadow play,” is also an example suggestive of Western authenticity. *Yingxi* originally meant Chinese traditional shadow play performances, and was later applied to the Western-origin magic lantern / movie with adjectives such as Western (*xiyang*), lightning-with-electricity (*dianguang*) and moving (*huodong*); all these words implied its relativity with new technology. The impact of the movie on the Shanghainese people was definitely due to these adjectives, rather than any resemblance with traditional Chinese shadow play, as these adjectives did not merely point out the functional character of the movie that had recently come to Shanghai, but also expressed the epistemological significance that the movie had. It was civilized, modern, and a product of the science and technological advancements of “lighting”. Light was the symbol of scientific technology, as well as, literally, of the *enlightenment*; therefore it inevitably entailed something modern, novel, and cultivated. The illuminated performance of the traditional drama stage that provoked a boom throughout Shanghai’s theater circles, the dengcai xi was implying the celebration of progress and prosperity for the merchant communities. The renovations and reconstruction of theaters and other buildings for amusement was undertaken and was designed for the newly arranged bright light equipment to illuminate the whole space accordingly at the venue; Figure 1 shown in the first chapter, depicting the ceiling light during a movie show, should serve as an example. Light, therefore, set an alternative — the civilized, modern, and enlightened, layer.

Although the impact of watching movies in the context of private amusement experience in the modern amusement culture had decreased and weakened, many of the earliest

movie reviews published in newspapers still provide a lot of evidence on people's astonishment and excitement about movies as a novel technology, rather than as merely a novel attraction for entertainment;³⁷⁾ the latter undoubtedly set up the novel milieu of the movies' reception. It is worth noting that it was not popular to publish such reviews in newspapers; the number of theater-show reviews in Shanghai, according to Takafumi Moridaira, remained less than twenty until the nineteen teens, when there was a rapid increase in the number of theater reviews.³⁸⁾ If writing about theater shows, as Moridaira points out, was institutionalized as late as the teens, then those accurate and correct reviews, if more adequately, *documents* of the early movie exhibitions before the institutionalization of stage reviews might entail a peculiar significance as those movie shows were considered to be something worth documenting and publishing since they described something special. The similarity of the reviews in terms of form and topic may be able to explain this well. The reviews of the early cinema exhibitions, without exception, included the following: what motive they had before the stage, when they arrived at the venue, who operated what kind of machine and tools, and techniques they used, as well as recording the very details about every part of the movies exhibited at the venue in the correct order of screening. Rarity, novelty and disparity from Chinese attractions were common highlights of those reviews. These early cinema reviews inheriting at least, in part, the style of the review of Chinese opera, reveals that they were obsessed with recording every action the reporter witnessed in the venue in order to recreate another perfect virtual show for the readers of the Chinese newspaper. In other words, the audience of movie exhibitions in the early days recognized watching cinema as an intelligent experience.³⁹⁾ For them, watching a movie show was an intellectual activity that required them to document sensorial experiences that they had never before realized into "proper" and "correct" language. Examples that reveal that movies were received as something with intelligence were elsewhere in newspaper articles of the era; some movie exhibitions were accompanied by Chinese commentators to explain the details of the movie to the audience.⁴⁰⁾ There was even a movie review that pointed out that movies could possibly be significant for pedagogy.⁴¹⁾

The reception of movies as a modern Western technology and an intelligent medium created a context different from that of a leisure activity. Western-style schools, public-interest groups, and Christian institutions such as the Young Men's Christian Association

(YMCA) were representative venues for such movie exhibitions. Audiences at those venues attended the movie exhibitions with a clear motive of participating in the events. Although these two movie milieus were not mutually exclusive, what marked the novel movie milieu was that both audiences and exhibitors considered such movies a healthy and cultivated form of entertainment that was different from commercial movies. From these cases, it can be said that among the cinematic milieu with intelligence, audiences had a concrete purpose for moviegoing; they attended with avid interest for understanding, rather than astonishment and curiosity, and such moviegoing had appeared in the Western public spaces among the foreign settlements. In addition to these spaces, cinema exhibitions by Christian missionaries and later the Shanghai YMCA, also played a significant role in associating an authentic and intelligent character with movies.⁴²⁾ The time around 1908 was significant both because of the rapid increase in cinemas as a result of the expansion of the wandering habit, as argued above, and because of the establishment of a hierarchy among cinema exhibition venues caused by the varied and diverse exhibition forms. Until 1908, the YMCA supplied free admission tickets for movie shows at a teahouse in Fuzhou Road. After the construction of the new building located at the center of the International Settlement in 1907 (that caused their transfer from their former meeting center located in the Hongkew area), the association gradually established a self-sufficient system of entertainment and cultural activities, simultaneously gentrifying a movie milieu that was different from the ordinary commercial exhibitions in the city. The main hall, named “Martyrs’ Hall”, was a modernized theater. The theater seats were imported from Grand Rapids, a well-known furniture-producing city in Wisconsin, increasing the capacity of the auditorium to house nearly one thousand people. The stage in the front of the hall could exhibit various shows and performances. Finally, disciplined behavior was expected and imparted, including the custom of staying calm and quiet while seated, and refraining from smoking opium.⁴³⁾ The modern equipment of the theater was germane to the emergence of the new discipline and spectatorship in another case, Xin Wutai, the first Western-style Chinese opera theater in China, which opened in 1908. Xin Wutai, located in the Chinese territory, Nanshi, a few miles away from Fuzhou Road, definitely motivated the audience to absorb the stage performances. Established under the conviction of social reform by the gentry merchants, Xin Wutai institutionalized a number of new systems: the ticket system, solicit-

ing the audience exclusively to watch the stage show but not drinking tea or chatting with friends, the auditorium without tables and with the rows of seats parallel with the stage so that the audience could face to the stage, and the floor sloping down to the stage, so that the audience in each line could get a clear sight. All these were designed for the audience to absorb the stage performances. The realism in the background paintings also strengthened the audience's absorption of the stage.⁴⁴⁾ The form of a theater, Hirabayashi argued, was inevitably decided by the behavior of the audience, and vice versa.⁴⁵⁾ In the case of Xin Wutai, a new habit of theatergoing was introduced for a concrete purpose; namely watching a stage put the sphere of theatergoers in a slightly different context from that of the traditional theatergoing on Fuzhou Road. Therefore, the moviegoing in this context created the alternative space for movie exhibition which was unequivocally different from the commercial movie exhibition: the Heterotopia that Michel Foucault conceptualized in his essay "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias".

This also coincided with the initiative of social education by non-governmental educational associations, such as The Society for Education in Kiangsu Province [Jiangsu sheng jiaoyuhui] or the National Association of Vocational Education of China [Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she], as well as the Shanghai YMCA, which as early as in the beginning of the teens, presented lectures with magic lanterns, and later films, which boomed until the twenties.⁴⁶⁾

The emergence of the new movie milieu partly diverted from the strengthened official control over amusement sites; the night gardens in Shanghai, in spite of their popularity and expansion during the first decade of the nineteenth century, were condemned as places of immorality and insanity. Some of the famous night gardens, such as Liu yuan, Yudun yuan, Bishu yuan, and Xi yuan, were accused of causing the collapse of social order through anomie and poor hygiene, and targeted due to their supervision by the authority of the International Settlement.⁴⁷⁾

Accordingly, movies in the early twentieth-century Shanghai was, since its inception, an ambiguous medium; it was at once a mere leisurely performance that illuminated the street scenes in Shanghai, just as other forms of entertainment performed in the vulgar and secular consumerist amusement culture. On the other hand, it was also the object of observation for intellectual curiosity against technology of Western origin, simultaneously being the reification of the philosophy and aesthetic of Western culture.

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, two findings are glaring. In Shanghai, movies were a part of the modernization of leisure culture, especially the habit of leisurely wandering and theatergoing. Moviegoing in Shanghai can be considered a part of the transformation of the traditional leisure culture with respect to this feature. On the other hand, movies were also accepted as a novel technology that could present new knowledge; it created a movie milieu different from that of the traditional leisure culture.

It is evident in the earliest stage of movie exhibition in Shanghai that the purpose of moviegoing was not exclusive movie-watching. It should be considered within the whole context of the leisure habit of audiences, especially traditional theatergoers, during the era. Moviegoing must be included as a series of theatergoing actions, the *flânerie*, a wandering habit that on the one hand, partly succeeded traditional walking habit and on the other hand, transformed it into a modern form.

In fact, the wandering habit for moviegoing continued after the emergence and spread of exclusive commercial movie houses; the diary of Lu Zhang'an, Yu Dafu, and Lu Xun during the 1920s prove that the habit of wandering streets or gardens with friends before / after moviegoing in the nineteenth century had sustained until the period. The authentic cinema milieu had also diffused the influence throughout Shanghai about the different contexts of traditional theatergoing parallel to this feature of moviegoing.

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- 3) Friedberg, Anne. *Window Shopping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) , 29.
- 4) Ibid, 4.

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- 6) Zhang, Zhen. *Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai cinema, 1896-1949* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 52.
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- 8) Xiong, Yuezhi. "Wan Qing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de duozhan" [The opening of private gardens and expanding of public space in late Qing Shanghai], in *Xueshu yuekan* [Academic monthly], vol.8, 1998, 75.
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- 10) "Yanchu changsuo" [Performing sites], in *Zhongguo xiqu zhi: Shanghai juan* [Chronicle of Chinese operas: Shanghai], 626.
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- 14) Tanaka, Issei. *Chuugoku engeki shi* [The history of Chinese theater] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1998), 379.
- 15) Chen Wowu, *Lao Shanghai sanshi nian jianwen lu* [A record of my recent thirty-year experience in Shanghai], Shanghai shudian, 1996, 72 (originally published in 1928).
- 16) Qian, Huafo. *Sanshi nian lai zhi Shanghai* [Recent thirty-year Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1984), 23 (originally published in 1946).
- 17) Bao, Shufang. "Shanghai xiuxian kongjian de biange: jiyu chaguan de kaocha" [The transformation of Shanghai leisure spaces' in the late Qing dynasty: Studies based on teahouses], in *Anhui shisue* [History studies in Anhui], vol. 2, 2013, 27-30.
- 18) During the three years of national mourning for the emperor Daoguang, all Chinese operas were prohibited from performing; for this reason, theaters had to change their names. See Haoma, *Shanghai jiu hua* [Classic stories in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1956), 1-2.
- 19) Zheng, Yimei. *Yihai yishao* [A small scope from the Sea of Art], Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1994, 186-187.
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- 21) Ge Yuanxi, *Huyou zazhi* [A memorandum of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 27. (originally published in 1876).
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- 24) A newspaper advertisement of the American Cinematograph Company appeared in *Shenbao*, on 11 August and 2 November 1908.
 - 25) A newspaper advertisement of the Natural Sound Cinematograph Company appeared in *Xinwen bao* on 21 August 1908, and Huanxian xiyuan was advertised in *Shenbao* on 4 December 1908.
 - 26) U.S. Court for China, the *North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, 19 September 1908.
 - 27) Among them, Chen Daojing's *The Development of Shanghai's Movie Theaters* [Shanghai dianyingyuan fazhan shi] is the most representative and influential (compiled in *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xujì* [Study of Shanghai, a sequel] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936); reprint version: *Minguo congshu*, vol. 4, no. 81 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1992).
 - 28) Although Antonio Ramos was one of the most important movie exhibitors in Chinese film history, his career has been veiled; recent Spanish studies such as mentioned below, however, unequivocally uncovered the details of his movie business in the Philippines and Shanghai; Juan Ignacio Toro Escudero, *España y los españoles en el Shanghai de entreguerras (1918-1939)*, master's thesis submitted to Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2012. I am grateful to Curt Fu for providing me with this material.
 - 29) For details on the process of filming the Yan Ruisheng incident, see Sugawara, Yoshino. "On the Variation of *Yan Ruisheng*: Visual Culture and Sensationalism in Republican China", *Yaso*, vol. 89, 1-29.
 - 30) A newspaper advertisement of the film *Yan Ruisheng* appeared in *Xinwen bao* on 29 June, 1921.
 - 31) Cheng, Bugao. *Yingtian yijiu* [Memories of Filmdom] (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 1983), 38-40.
 - 32) Zhang, *Amorous history of the silver screen*, 108-117.
 - 33) The multiple function of the movie and the cinema in New York is studied in Hansen's *Babel and Babylon* (Especially Chapter 3), while Komatsu Hiroshi argued a case study in Tokyo, see in the following literature: Komatsu, Hiroshi. "1923 nen izen no nihon ni okeru eigakan to jouei keitai: sono bigaku teki tokushitsu" [Film and its mode of presentation before 1923 in Japan: Film theater's aesthetic-cultural characteristics], in *Engeki-Eizo* [Studies on theater and film arts], no. 53, 2012, 1-10.
 - 34) Chen, Boxi. *Shanghai yishi daguan* [Overview of anecdotes about Shanghai] (Shanghai shudian, 2000), 503 (originally published in 1924).
 - 35) "Guan yan yingxi ji [A record of watching a lantern slide show]", *Shenbao*, 26 March, 1875.
 - 36) "Weichunyuan guanying ji" [A record of movie-watching at Zhang yuan], *Shenbao*, 5 September 1897.
 - 37) The following are representative movie reviews from the end of the nineteenth century in Shanghai: "Tianhua chayuan guan waiguo xifa guishu suojian" [A memorandum of watching a foreign magic show at Tianhua Teahouse], *Youxibao*, 16 August, 1897; "Weichunyuan guanying ji" [A record of movie watching at Zhang yuan], *Shenbao*, 5 September, 1897; "Guan Jialeli Fusi ixfa ji" [A record of watching the stage by Carl Hertz], *Shenbao*, 30 May, 1898; "Zai guan Ying shushi gai yan xifa ji" [A record of watching a repeat performance by the English magician], *Shenbao*, 5 June, 1898. The effort of Huang Dequan, referring critically to *The History of Chinese Movie Development*, a canonical work on Chinese cinema history, in finding these new newspaper movie reviews is highly attributed

- to the field of Chinese early cinema history: Huang Dequan, *Zhongguo dianying shi kaocha yanjiu*, (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 2012).
- 38) Moridaira, Takafumi, “Gekihyou ka Tei Seishū — Minritsuhou to Minkenhou wo chūshin ni” [Drama Critic Zheng Zheng-qiu: Analyzing *Min-li Bao* and *Min-quan Bao*], *Tōtetsu* [The Tao-tie], vol. 20, September 2012, 11. Moridaira counted the number of the theater reviews that appeared in *Shenbao* and found that it increased from 109 to more than three hundred considerably only in two years (1911 to 1912).
 - 39) In this regard, I owe a lot to the following work: Komatsu, Hiroshi. “1923 nen izen no nihon ni okeru eigakan to jouei keitai: sono bigaku teki tokushitsu”.
 - 40) “Tianhua chayuan guan waiyang xifa guishu suojian” [Record of watching a foreign trick show at Tianhua teahouse], *Youxibao*, 16 August, 1897.
 - 41) “Weichunyuan guanying ji” [Record of movie watching at Zhang yuan], *Shenbao*, September 5, 1897.
 - 42) For the further information on movie exhibitions by the Shanghai YMCA, see Sugawara Yoshino, “Waizatsu no higan he: “Kenzen naru goraku” to shite no eiga no tanjou to syanghai YMCA” [Toward the opposite side of vulgarity: the birth of cinema as a “healthful entertainment” and the Shanghai YMCA], in *Eizōgaku* [Japanese journal of image arts and sciences], vol. 90, 2013, 41-56.
 - 43) See Sugawara, “Waizatsu no higan he”.
 - 44) Hirabayashi, Nobukazu. “Chaen kara butai he—Shinbutai kajou to chuugoku engeki no kindai” [From teahouse to theatre: the opening of Xin wutai and modernization of Chinese Opera], *Engeki kenkyu*, vol. 19, 1995, 54-63.
 - 45) Hirabayashi, Nobukazu, “Chaen kara butai he”, 53.
 - 46) On the lectures with visual aids held at the Y.M.C.A., see Sugawara, “Waizatsu no higan he”. On the implementation of the social education policy utilizing lantern slides, see the author’s forthcoming article: Yoshino Sugawara, “Rekishi kara boukyaku sareta jusyō, Nin Kyōhin: kyōiku ka, aikoku ka, eiga kantoku” [Ren Jinping, a forgotten gentry merchant who lived as an educationist, patriot, and movie director], *Yaso*, vol. 95, (forthcoming).
 - 47) “Hu dao zhaohui zujie lingshou lingshi wen, jin yehuayuan” [A letter to the authorities of the International Settlement argued at the regular meeting of Shanghai Province], *Shenbao*, 9th July, 1910.