

上海美术馆
Shanghai Art Museum

土地人民歲月

上海社会思想与生活方式的影像遗产

LAND PEOPLE PASSING DAYS

Large Heritage of Shanghai's

Social Ideology and Lifestyle

魅影海上

张晴 编著
By Zhang Qing



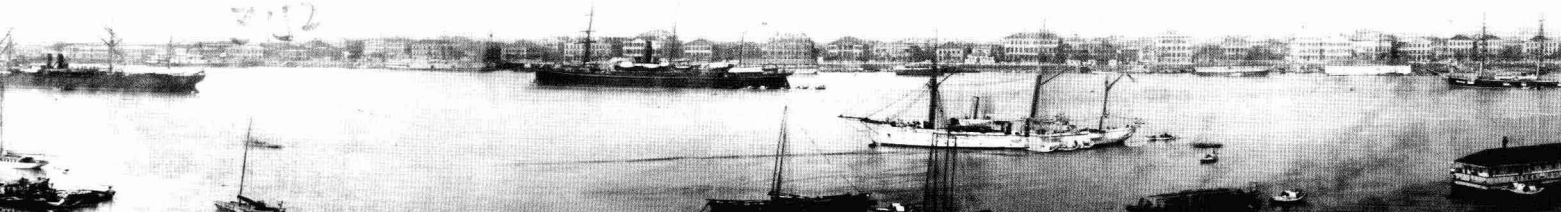
上海社会思想与生活方式的影像遗产

土地人民歲月

张晴 编著
By Zhang Qing

001-092

3132



图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

土地·人民·岁月: 上海社会思想与生活方式的影像遗产/张晴编著; —上海: 上海人民美术出版社, 2011

ISBN 978-7-5322-7567-0

I. ①土... II. ①张... III. ①社会学-思想史-上海市 ②生活方式-介绍-上海市 IV. ①C91-092 ②D669.3

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字 (2011) 第199949号

土地·人民·岁月——上海社会思想与生活方式的影像遗产

编 著: 张 晴

策 划: 邱孟瑜

责任编辑: 邱孟瑜 张旻蕾

特约编辑: 樊晓春

英文翻译: 陈 健 黄 一

英文指导: Mel Broe

英文编辑: 郑 超

装帧设计: 严克勤

封面设计: 张 驰

技术编辑: 季 卫

出版发行: 上海人民美术出版社

(上海市长乐路672弄33号)

印 刷: 上海丽佳制版印刷有限公司

开 本: 787×1092 1/12 18.66 印张

版 次: 2011年10月第1版

印 数: 0001-3000

书 号: ISBN 978-7-5322-7567-0

定 价: 120.00元

1843年前，上海在哪里？

当时的上海，只是20平方公里和仅有20万人口的小城镇。从此之后的158年间，这个小城镇之外的蜿蜒沙滩、江岸河边、良田村舍、芦苇湖荡、浜流溪涧，被来自不同语言的人群以不同的诉求不断填垦拓路，变更土地的形貌与归属。在世界性殖民的浪潮中，诸多西洋殖民激进分子和商贩纷纷登岸抢滩，圈地盘踞，像发现新大陆一般兴致勃勃，对这一片景色秀丽的江南渔村进行疯狂地掠夺与霸占，在这块连接长江入海口的风水宝地上点燃殖民与统治的欲望之火。这个欲望包含着全球化政治与经济的双重利益，从此几代各色各样的“淘金者”在这块土地上续薪继火，不灭的欲望之火百年燃烧，越烧越旺，透过莹璀璨的火帘我们眼前看到的正是这些若即若离的影像——“魅影海上”，这一部罕见的地方影像史恰如其分地显影出这块欲望的土地——上海。

在当今关于上海学的研究中，无论是追溯上海的文化历史演变，还是社会思想变迁，都离不开这块经历过翻天覆地变化的土地及其主人的变更。《魅影海上》记录了土地及人民的变更面貌，记录了土地上滚烫的欲望，记录了这座城市、道路及其各国建筑的日益膨胀，记录了一代又一代中外移民在“海上”淘金与春梦的“巡回排演”，记录了这座城市在苦难与狂喜、革命与保守、理想与灭亡之间跌宕起伏的无情岁月。这块土地是世界各种现代性在中国最巨大的实验室，在这里，不同国家的文化、不同民族的语言、不同宗教的信仰、不同地区的习俗及不同人种的血脉成功地进行混杂与交锋，所有这些力量都在爱恨交加的历史与现实中混杂出新的生命力，这一不断再生与更

新的生命力铸造了这块坚韧的土地、光荣的人民和峥嵘的岁月。土地、人民、岁月滋养了上海这座城市：一种特殊的社会思想与生活方式。《魅影海上》中的百余幅照片作为这座城市的影像历史遗产，正体现了这块土地和人民的价值观与人生观。所有这一切，从影像技术及照像机发明之始，即为上海开埠与创业的百年岁月保留了一部完整的城市与人的影像历史及其底片档案。

在文学、音乐、电影、绘画……中，上海总是不断地被人们以各种不同的方式记录和回味着。无论是张爱玲笔下那个烽火杀戮声中却遮掩不住庸常气息的上海容颜，还是陈歌辛作品中玫瑰般香艳的上海格调，或是陈逸飞《踱步》中体现出的从无路中寻找出路的顽强的上海精神，上海的各种表情、各个角落、各种层面的性格都从笔尖、曲端、胶片和画布中呈现出来。

而今天，在这个大众消费时代，“物的体系”对人的包围已经形成，市场经济与商品消费已经成为人们主要的生活形式，人们的角色在信息接受者、消费者及传播者之间不断转换。在这个深刻的转变过程中，影像作为一个不可缺少的元素深深影响着我们的意识形态和生活质量。正如社会学家丹尼尔·贝尔所说，“声音和影像，尤其是后者，约定审美，主宰公众，在大众社会中，这几乎不可避免”。摄影能够留住时间的脚步，跨越文化界限，揭示事物本质，捕捉事件精华。影像对事物和生活的表达，比文学、音乐和绘画更直接、写实，更不容置疑。影像的直观性、影像信息展示与传播的同时性使得影像成为最能表现自然和社会真实面目的符号，也是能够最直接明确地传达意义的视觉符号系统。影像不把言语作为自己的内容，而是把外部世界作为其内容，把言语和思维表现的对象作为内容。《魅影海上》中的老照片演绎了几代上海移民的千言万语，这些影像扑面而来，逼近的不仅是旧人旧物，还有那城那景，及其挥之不去的悲欢离合。通过时间和空间的距离，观者获得了从日常生活中抽脱出来的“视野”，使人们在重温情境的同时，也由于审视视角的不同而对情境进行某种重塑和重新认识，这也恰是影像的魅力所在。因此，透过影像来解析上海的城市发展与社会变迁，不但是上海学研究的途径之一，也是提供给迷恋上海的人们一睹其芳容的满足。

在今天这样的影像时代、后世博时代、城市化时代的多重节点上，从影像中重新认识上海的土地、上海的人民、上海的岁月，有更现实的意义。《魅影海上》分别从土地、人民、岁月的理念出发，用老照片向我们展示从清末到解放初期，直至现代上海的百年容颜。这些照片来自当年众多无名的摄影师，辗转流传，被藏家悉心收藏，慷慨捐赠，到今天汇聚成册，十分宝贵。这段岁月，我们在其他形式的媒介中读到的也许是一种印象，也许是一种传说，

而用摄影来描述的力量在于它的现场感和即时性,它的不容争辩,它的历历在目、掷地有声。这些摄影师用镜头在不同距离之外审视不同时代的上海,将城市与人不断地定格成像,用一种绝对的方式把观察者和被观察物分离,使得围绕城市活动的过程得以成型,增加了被观察对象的历史感和纵深感。用这样的方式重新释疑解惑这一段又一段历史时期上海的土地、上海的人民、上海的岁月,也许每个观者都会感同身受。

《魅影海上》的结构与研究紧紧围绕着三个层面而展开:第一是城市土地的变迁。这无疑是摄影师最容易选取的角度,也是最能体现城市变化的角度。同一个区域在不同的时期呈现出的不同地形地貌,使得上海的规划与发展形成清晰的脉络。其次是城市中的人民。对人民日常生活的关注,对历史上关键人物、关键事件的聚焦,则将对城市空间的描述推向更细微和丰富的层面,也是考察城市多元文化形成的重要线索。最后是通过前两者勾勒出城市在岁月流转中的诸多面孔与表情。这里最容易让人形成对城市的总体印象,使得上海的形象变得宏观且自信起来。

首先是土地。不是建筑,也不是城市。因为原本一切只是土地。建筑和城市建造、被改造、被摧毁、被重建,不变的是土地;土地上的人出生、成长、迁徙、死亡,见证和容纳一切的是且只能是土地。影像的传播特点改变了空间和时间的概念,形成了建立在人们认识基础上的虚拟的真实。穿梭在旧时的摄影里,上海这块土地的意义更丰富、更为凸显,这也正是影像的魅力所在。

魅者,魑魅、媚惑也。

魅影,或许是缠绕心头挥之不去的影像。“魅影海上”则是上海这座城市历经百年风雨,尝遍酸甜苦辣之后,留存在人们记忆深处的往事光影。它们可以随时浮现脑海,显影出“海上·上海”的影像生存,重新唤起这座城市百折不挠的进取心与信心。

“上海”与世界”

晚清五口通岸以来,国内外商船群集长江口岸,上海迅速成为中国第一大商埠。黄浦江边租界林立,洋行开市,既带来耻辱,也造就特殊的发展机会。上海成了中国人通往世界的窗口。事实上,世界就存在于上海。20世纪30年代,上海城市建设突飞猛进,加之西洋建筑风格鲜明,俨然成为“东方的巴黎”。人们紧追着国际流行的脚

步,无论在电影、美术、音乐、话剧、出版等等方面,上海均独步全国,光芒四射,成为一段永不磨灭的流金岁月。另一方面,帝国主义加速对中国的侵略,上海成为救亡运动的前沿。从“一·二八”到“八·一三”抗战,上海的抗敌行动成了中国必胜的象征。抗战胜利后,上海洗尽铅华,逐渐摆脱了被殖民的命运,步入了新中国的辉煌时代。

上海是一座充满着自我革命、自我解放与自我妖魔化的城市。她给不同时代的人们留下不同的启蒙现场、革命战场和情感剧场,《魅影海上》用影像讲述自从开埠以来的各个历史阶段的真相,它既对应着世界现代史的快进速度,又对应着中国晚清的潦败局面和辛亥革命前后的革命思潮与武装运动。老照片中对上海土地变迁的展现非常引人入胜。外滩的变化是上海变幻的象征:19世纪80年代,外滩各种洋行已初步形成外滩南面的建筑景观,部分尚未翻造的洋行仍然保留着宽敞的庭院,日益增多的浮动码头更增添了嘈杂的气氛;北面则还是一片滩淤,背后的天际线一片宽阔,一副刚开始兴建的模样。到20世纪30年代,放眼外滩建筑,明显高耸宏伟很多,已接近现在外滩建筑群的雏形,俨然已经成为殖民者、资本家、买办、政客、地下革命团体、爱国文人集聚的“乐园”。另一个让人觉得与今日差别较大的城市空间是福州路。老照片中展现的福州路是上海各种精英文化与娱乐文化汇聚之地,既是近代传媒的中心,也是风月场所,又是各种新式戏院的云集之地。当年福州路集中了《申报》、《新闻报》、《商报》等最有影响力的报馆,商务印书馆、中华书局、开明书局等最具地位的书局也荟集于此;同时又集中了近代都市娱乐与消费的茶楼、戏院和妓院。福州路上热闹非凡,文艺青年们白天在报馆高谈阔论,鼓吹变革,晚上到戏院里看戏,欣赏海派京剧,或者去青楼吃花酒,逍遥于这块疯狂都市的土地上。

摩登的上海沉浸在纸醉金迷的暧昧时光中,在美国丝袜、法国香水、英国学堂、俄国芭蕾舞交织的时尚生活的光影中,你同时也能看到壮怀激烈的革命青年的身影。在这个复杂、繁华的战乱时期,军阀、政要、革命者、艺术家、爱国人士在影像中交叠出现,揭示着当时社会的动荡和时局的紧张。但在历史的另一面,小人物的市井生活依然透着安详的生活气息:街边卖二胡的小贩,围观的行人;早餐店里的小职员,衣着整齐,穿戴讲究;茶馆和理发店里的人们,面对洋人的相机,现出淳朴的笑容。当日本侵占上海时,我们看到淞沪抗日军民众志成城的战斗场面;在抗战胜利后,一面是上海的金融和贸易的混乱,一面是百姓日常生活的趣味。

在《魅影海上》中,这些上海典型的场景与人物,叙述着与今天不同的城市气息,揭示着海派文化形成的轨迹,既有启蒙与传统,也有消费文化与娱乐,形成了精英的雅致与大众的世俗重叠又相通的海派文化,这种文化特质一直影响着上海人的性格,也使得今天的上海人在某种程度上与老照片中的上海有着一脉相承的神似。

“探索与幸福”

新中国成立后，上海恒久地保持着全国最大工商业城市的地位。上海生产的轻工业产品，受到全国人民的喜爱，照相机、缝纫机、钟表、服饰、皮鞋、暖水瓶、搪瓷脸盆等等，上海货成了高档商品的同义词。一般单位职工出差，最高兴的莫过于被派到上海办事，因为可以顺便逛逛繁华的市街，同时替自己和家人买一些上海生产的物品，增进家庭的幸福。另一方面，在新社会中，有关幸福的定义曾争论了30年，其中一种看法断定，只有扬弃个人物质的拥有，追求集体奋斗的生活，才算是获得了幸福。而上海，这座全中国最富裕且有个性的城市，自然成了关于多元幸福论的争论原点。

这些建国初期的照片均是当年的新闻照片，涵盖了上海市内和郊区的社会景观，记录了上海人民在各个时段中波澜壮阔的革命经历，也体现那时的道德观和人生观。诚然，关于幸福生活的探索历程，为日后改革开放的巨大进步作了必要的准备。对于上海人而言，这些影像生动地展现了其各自生活在上海这座城市中的往事与岁月。

这些影像涌动着当时人们对新生活的憧憬和高涨的劳动热情，有公私合营的故事，辛勤工作的工人、挥洒笔墨的年轻人、人民广场上的少先队员，里弄里浩大的革命歌曲合唱队伍……似乎隔着久远的照片还能感受到炽热的气息。人民的精神面貌和状态的变化也深刻地反映着社会、土地和岁月的变迁。

透过照片中情景变换的土地、不断更替的人民大众，人们解读出的是属于上海这块土地的“城市剧场”。从那个空旷的、充斥着外来统治者与殖民者的上海，到紧张的、经受战乱的上海，再到那个重新回到人民手中的百废待兴的上海，直至憧憬明天，抒发其海纳百川的气魄，乘着磁悬浮快车飞速发展的上海。心怀乡愁的异乡人和吴侬软语的本地人共同在这块土地上“设计”与“超设计”交叉地构建着今日上海“快城快客”的时代精神。作为影像媒介的照片，将时间和空间凝固，让人们在感受21世纪全球化新秩序的同时，能走到过去，感受这片土地上曾发生的一切，也许仔细留意，会发现有些细微之处竟和今天是如此相似，又截然不同。

《魅影海上》不仅仅梳理了上海重大历史事件的节点，而且更侧重于再现百年上海日常生活与生产的动人瞬间。许多的一瞬间不仅连缀成社会学中的叙事和上海学中的插图，更是连缀成城市与城市人集体记忆的涟漪，令观者如重临其境，或回溯往事，或笑谈市井，或默然沉思。所有这些褪了色的照片引发的种种感受，正是影像给予上海人的心灵追忆与温情。

2000年我策划第三届上海双年展时，其主题为“海上·上海——一种特殊的现代性”，到2004年策划第五届上海双年展时，其主题为“影像生存”，直至2008年策划第七届上海双年展时，其主题为“快城快客”，而今推出“魅影海上”展览及摄影集，通过影像贯串了上海双年展的多个主题内涵，按历史顺序结篇，以晚清时期、民国风云、抗战烽火、内战转折、人民中国、探索幸福6个史诗般的篇章编织“海上”影像传奇。同时，这也是我在同济大学博士后研究期间关于上海城市研究的项目，此项研究形成了对上海城市史、上海社会史、上海人口史及上海影像史的跨界思考与探索，并借此形成上海城市社会影像史研究的方法与视角。因此，整个展览如同上海这座城市的思想与生活方式的多重变叠的影像暗房，观众在这个城市暗房——展厅中阅读上海的“影像生存”，从中可以清楚地洞见上海这座城市百年气势磅礴的“都市营造”，以此让一代又一代的移民共同展望上海的未来，共同远望这独特的海派腔调和神奇的海市蜃楼。

当人们从上海城市影像历史遗产中找到某种久违的感觉，某种纠缠，某种感动，也许也就真的进入了“魅影海上”的前世今生。

2010年11月29日写于上海万航渡

Phantom on the Sea

by Zhang Weng

Where was Shanghai in 1843?

It was nothing more than a small town of some 2 square kilometers with a population of mere two hundred thousand. For the 158 years that followed, the landscape beyond the walls of the then obscure patch of land, by the sandy waterfront and riverside, amongst the fertile fields and cottages and in the midst of reedy lakes and brooks, had undergone major changes in land morphology and ownership, ground being continuously leveled up, wilderness reclaimed and roads built, by different groups of people with varied purposes. In waves of the colonization fever that swept across the world, activists and merchants from the west came ashore, taking so much delight drawing up lines for settlements as if they had discovered a new continent, ravishing and seizing everything from this small yet picturesque fishing village, kindling desires for colonialist glory and power on this auspiciously located land at the estuary of the Yangtze River. Such desire represented the two-fold interests of globalized politics and economy, for which generations of gold seekers never ceased their exploratory efforts on this piece of land. The unquenchable flame of desire was gaining in intensity and through this blazing wall of fire we saw the same images that comprise *Phantom on the Sea*, a history told by way of images, an accurate account made of the land of desire known as Shanghai.

All the studies in our times on the phenomenon of Shanghai, whether a recap of Shanghai's cultural and historical evolution or a log of social and ideological changes, end up exploring fundamentally the changes of the land and its owners. *Phantom on the Sea* represents a panoramic portrayal of the changes of the land and its people, the sizzling desire, the physical expansion of the city, its road system and cosmopolitan architectural styles, telling stories of generations of immigrants, both from China and overseas, arriving in the height of their dreams of gold discovery on the sea or a tour of rehearsals of romantic dreams as the

city itself went through ups and downs over an unfeeling period of hardship and ecstasy, revolution and conservatism, ideals and disillusion. Shanghai was and continues to be a colossal lab where various forms of modernity sampled from the world around are tried out. Here, different cultures, languages, religious beliefs, customs and bloodlines are quite successfully blended for hybridity and rivalry, giving birth to new life in the somehow enchanting and somehow wicked combination of history and reality. This constantly regenerative and renewed vitality helped found a land of tenacity, proud people and a glorious past. Land, people and the passing days are the nutrients on which the city thrives: a special form of social ideology and lifestyle. The one hundred plus photos that make up *Phantom on the Sea*, as heritages of the city in the form of images, illustrate the values of the land and its people. All these, from the advent of imaging technology and camera, have been contributing to an exhaustive history, and the record thereof, about the city and its people since Shanghai's opening up as a port city and its endeavors over the past century.

In literature, music, movies or paintings, Shanghai has been in various ways recorded and savored, once and again. Whether it was the look of Shanghai depicted by Zhang Ailing celebrating everyday mediocrity despite the bitterness of warfare, the rosy and ardent quality of Shanghai in Chen Gexin's work, or the indomitable spirit of Shanghai in face of dead-ends as seen in *Steps* by Chen Yifei, the expressions, places and dispositions of Shanghai have been represented on writing paper, music score, film or canvas.

Today, when people are surrounded by a system of objectivity in this era of consumerism, market economy and consumption of goods become the mainstay of everyday life as one's identity alternates between information recipient, consumer and communicator. In the course of this profound change, images, as an indispensable element, are making their ways into our ideological world and defining the quality of life. To quote the sociologist Daniel Bell It is almost inevitable in a public society that the sounds and images, the latter in particular, being covenants of aesthetics, will always dominate the public. Photography is a means of retaining the passing time and revealing the essence of objects and events by crossing over into other cultures. Expression by images is therefore more vivid and realistic, beyond questioning or challenge, than most of the literary, music approaches and brushwork. The visibility and synchronized display and delivery of message qualify images as the most appropriate symbols in exploring the truth of nature and society as well as the most effective visual system for straight-out expression of meanings. The contents of images dwell on the external world-the objects of expression and thinking-instead of on the language of expression itself. *Phantom on the Sea*, with its collection of old images, represents thousands of utterances by generations of immigrants to Shanghai. These images afford overwhelming exposure to not only the people and things in the past, but also the particular scenes of the city, the lingering sentiments and vicissitudes of life. The distance in time and space opens up a window abstracted from daily life, so that the scenarios are in a way reshaped and redefined

as people revisit from a different angle. This is exactly the charm of images. Hence, to analyze Shanghai's urban development and social transformation by way of images is not only an approach to the study of Shanghai, but also a satiable moment of truth for those with a Shanghai complex.

It is all the more realistic to reintroduce Shanghai's land, people and the passing days through the images at this particular moment bearing multiple identities as the era of image, the era of Expo or the era of urbanization. *Phantom on the Sea* unfolds in front of us old photos depicting the one hundred years of Shanghai from the end of the feudal Qing Dynasty to shortly after the liberation from the perspectives of land, time and people. These photos by anonymous photographers had been handed down, collected and donated to form this priceless collection today, without which this part of history would have been just a vague impression, or a legend, as recounted by other forms of media, but the very power of photos lies in the liveliness and instantaneity of expression, which is beyond contention, vivid as if from yesterday, elegant and valuable. The camera lens placed the city under scrutiny at varied distances, along its historical path, capturing images of the city and its people in frozen frames. The viewers are absolutely separated from the objects, so that the processes centering on urban activities may take shape to land the objects on deeper levels of historical profundity. Questions about Shanghai's land, people and the passing days in different historical periods get answered in such a way that it engenders a form of personal attachment for each and every viewer.

Phantom on the Sea has three major focuses in its construction and studies: First, the transformation of urban land, which is without doubt the most convenient approach for any photographer trying to find a vantage point for an account of urban changes. The landscape at one particular site changes over time down the lines of Shanghai's urban planning and development; second, the people in the city. A focus on people's daily life or on the key figures and events in history offers a more detailed and enriched portrayal of the urban space, leaving clues to the formation of multiculturalism in the city; and finally, the multitude of looks and expressions of the city-fundamentally outlined by the first two focuses, land and people-along with the passing of time, which may easily impart a general impression of the city, building up a macroscopic and confident image of Shanghai.

It all begins with the land, rather than the architecture, nor or the city, since back in time, there was nothing but the land itself, which remained unchanged as the city and the architecture were built, renovated, demolished and then rebuilt; as man is born, grows, moves around and breathes his last, the only thing to witness and accommodate all is and had to the land. The way the images communicate changes the concepts of time and space, and forms a virtual reality built largely upon people's cognitive system. In these photographic works that link the past and the present, the meanings of Shanghai as a piece of land are enriched

and highlighted, which again speaks of the charm of the images.

Phantom, by the name, is a ghost, an enticing fascination.

The word phantom may refer to the lingering images on our mind while *Phantom on the Sea* is indeed the light and shade down the heart of many sharing with the city a century of rains and storms, sweets and bitters. The phantoms may emerge at any time as the name "Phantom on the Sea" keeps reminding us of the visible images in Shanghai to rekindle the unbeatable pace and confidence of the city.

Shanghai and the World

Since the opening up of the five ports in the late Qing Dynasty, the merchant ships had foregathered at the ports along the Yangtze River as Shanghai rapidly became the largest port city of China. Foreign concessions sprang up alongside the Huangpu River and foreign firms opened business, inflicting disgrace and humiliation upon the Chinese nation nevertheless creating development opportunities in the meantime. Shanghai became China's gate to the outside world. In fact, the world was here in Shanghai. In the 1930s, the city's urban development was gaining momentum and soon became known as the Paris in the Orient for its distinct western architectural style. The people here were keeping pace with the international trends and fashions, whether in theatrical work, fine art, music, stage play or publishing, Shanghai was way ahead of the rest of the country, rising rapidly in dazzling glamour to record a period of indelible golden time. On the other hand, the imperialist forces hastened their invasion of China, pushing Shanghai to the frontier of the fight against the intruders. From the well-known 1.28 Shanghai Incident to the 8.13 Battle of Shanghai, Shanghai's anti-invasion stance became a symbol heralding China's victory. After the war, shedding off its old identity as colonized land, Shanghai was pepped up for new glory in the newly founded China.

The cosmopolitan city of Shanghai is continuously revolutionizing, emancipating and demonizing itself. A venue of enlightenment, a battle field, or a theatre in tribute to loving sentiments, Shanghai means differently to people from different times. *Phantom on the Sea* addresses the factuality of each historical period since Shanghai's opening up as a port city, making accounts of the rapid advance of modern history, the down-and-out late Qing Dynasty and the revolutionist thoughts and armed struggles before and after the Xinhai Revolution. The compelling representation of the transformation of Shanghai's landscape in these old photos may be best exemplified by the symbolic Bund. In 1880s, foreign firms in Shanghai had primarily formed the architectural landscape to the south of the Bund while some legacy buildings, yet to be refurbished, still maintained a large inner yard. The increasing number of floating docks added to the hustle and bustle in the area. The north of the Bund was yet a stretch of mudflat, revealing unblocked horizon in the background.

The Bund, by then, was up for the beginning of construction. Coming into the 1930s, the structures at the Bund became larger with growing magnificence. We could see what resembled the rudiment of the present-day Bund, literally a paradise for the colonists, capitalists, compradors, politicians, undercover revolutionists and patriotic intellectuals. Another urban space seen much different from today was the Fuzhou Road, which, according to the old photos, was once the center of elite culture and entertainment as well as home to modern media, brothels and new forms of theatres. Back then, Fuzhou Road hosted the most influential news agencies, Shen Bao, Xinwen Bao, Shang Bao, along with the big-time publishing houses like the Commercial Press, Zhonghua Book Company, Enlighten Enterprise, etc. The place was populated by sites of modern-day recreation-teahouses, theatres and brothels. A bustling street, Fuzhou Road was patronized by young literati who would spout ideals and ambitions at the press houses in the day, advocating social transformation, and visit theatres at night for an act of Shanghai-flavored Peking opera, or the brothels for a romantic drink, slaphappy down a devil-may-care life.

The modern Shanghai was caught in an enthralling dream of luxuriance and obliquity. But in a world of fashion flooded with American pantyhose, French perfume, British schools and Russian Ballet, you also saw the determined and vigorous figures of young revolutionists. In this complicated yet prosperous period of warfare and turmoil, warlords, politicians, revolutionists, artists, patriots frequently turned up in these images, revealing social instability and political tension. However, the other side of history relates otherwise to the life of the grass root, who yet managed to lead a peaceful life: a fiddle peddler by the street amidst a group of onlookers; a decently groomed-up petty functionary of a snack bar; patrons at the teahouse and the barber's smiling into the camera of a foreigner. During the Japanese occupation, we saw the militants and civilians acting as one in the combats against the intruders; when victory finally came, we witnessed on the one hand the chaotic postwar financial and trade situations, and on the other hand the fun of everyday life and Huang Jinrong's lavish Chinese courtyard where the cinnamon fragrance permeated the air.

These typical scenes and figures of Shanghai in *Phantom on the Sea* comprise a narrative of urban vistas much different from today, indicative of the line of development of the Shanghai Culture. These images speak of enlightenment and traditions, consumerism and entertainment, on which the Shanghai Culture featuring overlapping yet interconnected elitist elegance and secularism of the public, was conceived and took off. Such cultural propensity has always been an influence on the disposition of Shanghai's local residents to the extent that today's Shanghaiese still carry the impression of the past generations as depicted in these old photos.

Discovery and Happiness

After the new China was founded, Shanghai maintained for a long time its leading position as the largest city in terms of industrial and commercial capacity. Shanghai's light industry was able to offer much sought-after products to the people, cameras, sewing machines, clocks and watches, garments, leather shoes, water flasks, enamel washbasins and many more. Made in Shanghai became the synonym of top grade. Being sent on a business trip to Shanghai meant a blessed chance to pass by and shop around in Shanghai's business streets and bring home Made in Shanghai products to make the family happy. In the new society, debates on the definition of happiness are ongoing for three decades already. Some assert that happiness can be achieved only by abandoning personal material interests and going after collective success. Shanghai, the richest city in the country with a distinct personality, inevitably became the ground zero for the pluralistic happiness argument.

These photos taken shortly after the founding of the new China originally appeared in news reports. They depicted social landscapes in the center and on the outskirts of Shanghai, chronicled the experience of the residents of Shanghai in different stages of the billowy revolutionary cause, exhibiting the ethics and values upheld at particular points in history. Indeed, the efforts to explore a happy life prepped the city to embrace the great progress from what became known as the reform and opening up of China in the years to come. For the Shanghaiese, these images are vividly reminiscent of the past days and events as life went on in the city of Shanghai.

Exuberantly represented in these images were the prospects of new life and the height of enthusiasm for work and labor. These were stories about the campaign to increase state ownership in private business, about diligent workers, youngsters writing in ink, young pioneers on the People's Square, or a large chorus chanting revolutionary songs down the lane it seems as if we could actually feel the zeal flowing from these photos though so distant from our times. The spiritual outlook and mindset of the people are profound reflections of the transformation of the society and land as time goes by.

Through the alternating scenes of land and people from the images, the curtain of an urban theatre draws up in front of us with episodes depicting uniquely what Shanghai was and is: from the much abandoned, invaded and colonized Shanghai, to the stressed and war-torn Shanghai, to the Shanghai which was returned to its people up for reconstruction and revival, to today's Shanghai, riding on its maglev train at soaring speed, so broad in its capacity and tolerance to encompass all cultures, towards a brilliant future. The nostalgic newcomers and old residents speaking the local dialect are sharing this piece of land in designing and hyper-designing the Trans Local Motion of Shanghai-the spirit of our times. Photo, as an image-carrying medium,

freezes the time and space to offer a comprehensive view of both the new order in the globalized world in the 21st century and a retrospective view of what happened back in history on this piece of land. With attentive eyes, we may find both traces of astounding similarities and the dividing lines that set the past and present apart.

Phantom on the Sea is not merely intended as a detailed roadmap of Shanghai's past. A more important mission is to bring back the most touching moments in everyday life and production from the past century. Many a moment, when joined in a string, presents sociological narratives and illustrations for the study of Shanghai. More than that, the viewers may relive these moments-the ripples of collective memories of the city and its people-either in a return to the past course, or in a pleasant daytime conversation, or in solitary contemplation. These photos, the color of which has long since faded, generate image-specific sentiments so redolent of the warmth down the heart of the Shanghaiese.

Back in 2000 when I curated the 3rd Shanghai Biennale, the theme was Shanghai Spirit, A Special Modernity . The 5th Shanghai Biennale in 2004 featured the theme of Techniques of the Visible and the 7th took the theme of Trans Local Motion . These images enable the themes of past events of Shanghai Biennale to be carried on through the *Phantom on the Sea* exhibition, which, together with its photo album, composes a legend of "On the Sea" imagery in six epic chapters including Late Qing Dynasty, Former KMT Reign, Anti-Japanese War, Turn of Civil War, People's China, Discovery and Happiness. This was also a research field which I worked on during my postdoctoral studies at Tongji University, which examined Shanghai's urban development history, social development history, demographic history and photographic history in a cross-disciplinary mix, and further led to new methodology and perspectives for the study of the history of Shanghai's urban and social images. Therefore, the exhibition in its entirety resembles a darkroom where the snapshots of the multifaceted and changing social ideologies and lifestyles are developed and where the viewers can read and try to interpret the techniques of the visible and to discern the processes of the imposing urban creation for over a century, so as to enable generations of immigrants to share the new prospect of Shanghai and listen from a distance to the unique tunes flowing from the mirage known as Shanghai.

You are in for the past and present of *Phantom on the Sea* for real if you are able to find, amidst the heritage of Shanghai's urban images, a long-parted attachment, a fit of entanglement, or a touching moment.

November 29, 2010, at Wanhangu, Shanghai

魅影海上 / 序言

Preface / Phantom on the Sea

第一部分 晚清时期

PART I LATE QING DYNASTY

新军训练	2	Training of Recruits
旧城墙	4	Old City Wall
上海的独轮车	5	A Wheelbarrow
上海的纺纱机	6	A Spinning Wheel
外 滩	7	The Bund
南望外滩	8	View of The Bund from the North
外滩公园和周边建筑	9	Bund Park and Buildings
外滩气象台	10	Gutzlaff Signal Tower
租界内的水塔	11	A Water Tower in the International Settlement
租界的纪念仪式	12	A Memorial Ceremony in the International Settlement
湖心亭	13	Mid-Lake Pavilion by the Yuyuan Garden
豫 园	14	Yuyuan Garden
龙华塔	15	Longhua Pagoda
龙华寺	16	Longhua Temple
江海北关	17	Maritime Customs
外滩建筑	18	Buildings on the Bund
英国总会	19	Shanghai Club
外滩公园音乐亭	20	Music Pavilion in Bund Park
马加礼纪念碑	21	The Memorial Monument to Margary