ความเข้าใจประวัติศาสตร์เซี่ยงไฮ้: มุมมองทางประวัติศาสตร์การเกิดของเมือง

Visualizing Shanghai: The Ascendancy of the Two Skylines

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความวิชาการชิ้นนี้มีจุดมุ่งหมายที่จะนำเสนอความเข้าใจในพลวัตของประวัติศาสตร์นครเซี่ยงไฮ้ในอดีตโดยการเชื่อมโยงมิติความสัมพันธ์ทางประวัติศาสตร์ของกระบวนการการเกิดของสองเส้นภูมิทัศน์ขอบฟ้า (skylines) ซึ่งก็คือ เส้นภูมิทัศน์ขอบฟ้าของเดอะบันด์ (The Bund) และเส้นภูมิทัศน์ขอบฟ้าผู่ต่ง (Pudong) โดยมีจุดมุ่งหมายที่จะทราบถึงบริบทของสังคมของนครเซี่ยงไฮ้ที่ลึกลงไปกว่าเส้นภูมิทัศน์ขอบฟ้าที่มองเห็นได้ด้วยตา ผ่านการวิเคราะห์ความเข้าใจและกระบวนการรับรู้สภาพของเมืองของคนทั่วไป (humanistic understanding) วิธีการศึกษานั้นจะเน้นที่การวิจัยปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างอาคาร สิ่งก่อสร้างทางสถาปัตยกรรมในอดีตซึ่งเป็นองค์ประกอบสำคัญของเส้นขอบฟ้าผ่านทางรูปถ่ายซึ่งเป็นข้อมูลทางจดหมายเหตุที่หลงเหลืออยู่ และสิ่งก่อสร้างทางสถาปัตยกรรมในปัจจุบันผ่านการศึกษาพื้นที่จริง รวมไปถึงกระบวนการการเปลี่ยนแปลงของรูปทรงของเมืองที่เป็นไปตามสภาพสังคมและวัฒนธรรมเพื่อที่จะมองเห็น “สาร” (messages) ที่ถูกสร้างขึ้นผ่านทางการกระบวนการเป็นเมืองของเซี่ยงไฮ้ ซึ่งก็คือความสัมพันธ์ของกายภาพของเมืองกับโครงสร้างของสังคมชาวจีนที่มีความเกี่ยวพันอย่างแน่นแฟ้นในรูปแบบต่างๆ กับสังคมของชาวตะวันตกในนครเซี่ยงไฮ้

คำสำคัญ: เมืองเซี่ยงไฮ้, กระบวนการเป็นเมือง, เส้นขอบฟ้า, ปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างอาคาร, กระบวนการการรับรู้สภาพของเมือง

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Abstract

Lacing the iconic history of the Bund into the dynamic history of Shanghai, this paper seeks to understand the Shanghai from both a historical viewpoint and a street-level perspective of the Bund in the past and the iconic skyline of Pudong today. It looks at interaction between architecture and the urban form of the city, exploring how the city is perceived by its people. This permits a humanistic understanding of the city that goes beyond the dominating colonial buildings to present the microcosmic viewpoint of its residents. The Bund skyline evolved by accommodating the way people lived in the urban spaces along the waterfront. The emergence of *Shanghai* in the global stage of economy, around the last two decades of the twentieth century, ties utterly with its visual representation – the "pictorial gestures" of the Shanghai's skylines. This paper exemplifies the "messages" conveyed through the representations of the two dominant city's skylines of the two different times.

Keywords: Shanghai, Urbanization, Skyline, Architectural interaction, Urbanistic perception

Biography

Non Arkaraprasertkul is a doctoral scholar at the Oriental Institute of the University of Oxford in the UK and Visiting Lecturer in Architecture and Urban Design at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) where he teaches and conducts research on modern architecture, housing/ community design, and urbanism of East Asian regions with special focus on China. Trained in History, Theory, Criticism and Urban Design at MIT, Akaraprasertkul is a Bangkok-based practicing architect, urban designer and Adjunct Lecturer in Architecture and Urbanism at Chula-longkorn University. His interests concern issues of contemporary architecture and urbanism, specifically the effects of cultural construction and political economy on built form. Akaraprasertkul was a Fulbright Scholar in Architectural Studies at MIT from 2005-07, during which time he also named the recipient of the Rockefeller's Grants, the Asian Cultural Council Research Fellowships, Starr Foundation Fellowships in Cultural Studies, and W. Danfort Compton Memorial Scholarships for Architecture.

Introduction:

When discussing the history of Shanghai, one has always to ask, "Which historical period?" The city has developed abruptly during certain periods of time. While "pre-colonial Shanghai" refers to any time from the Song Dynasty to the beginning of the Treaty Port in the 1840s, "colonial Shanghai" indicates the continuous period from the 1840s until the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and "post-colonial Shanghai" encompasses several periods of change corresponding to local political agendas. Notwithstanding the handful of "Western-centered" narratives of Shanghai that seem to have dominated the general understanding of the city, each of the historical periods has its own distinctive characteristics. Nevertheless, regardless of the period, "the" landmark of Shanghai is the Bund, the city's linear waterfront consisting of a series of grand Western-style buildings, to which no other physical iconography of modern China can compare.[1] The Bund functioned

[1] When Tess Johhston and Deke Erh strolled us down the street of the Bund again in the 1900s, I was surprised by how little the image of this linear colonialist corridor has changed overtime. See Tess Johhston and Deke Erh, *A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Old China Hand Press, 1997)

extraordinarily not only as a commercial waterfront corridor of China's biggest trading port, but also as an international recreational district – "in the limelight as a charismatic world-class destination for life's finest pleasures."[2]

Shanghai in the 1930s was a city of immigrants and foreigners – the majority of its population was not the indigenous Shanghainese, but the foreign "Shanghai-landers" and the Chinese immigrants who recognized the business value of the port city established by treaty. Shanghai's urban history had been constituted by the outsiders from the outset. Marie-Claire Bergère observes that Shanghai was "Other China."[3] The contradictory urban scenes were brought about by the abrupt change of the city from rural to urban. While one might initially imagine a romantic cityscape like Paris when seeing Western style shops and glamorous foreigners in British-style suits, this romanticized Westernized scene would be rudely interrupted by crowds of shirtless beggars and poor rickshaw pullers in the background. (Figure 1) Interactions between streets and sidewalks, sidewalks and buildings, and buildings and urban form, are the three dynamic processes that paint the excitement onto the urban scene of Shanghai. The mediating agency uniting all of this was, of course, people. These relationships will be explored through old photographs of Shanghai. This essay seeks understanding of the condition of Shanghai urbanism – the key to *modern* China.

[2] Peter Hibbard, *The Bund, Shanghai: China Faces West* (New York: Odyssey, 2007): back-cover introduction

[3] Considering that the term "Chinese cities," according to a contemporary narrative and research account of Lawrence J. Ma, implies "the sharing of certain common characteristics or the constitution of a single cultural construct. See Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-1937*. Janet Lloyd. tarns. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Figure 1: Young rickshaw pullers in Shanghai, 1930s

Historical Sketch: Shanghai and The Bund

The Bund is a development of commercial necessity, not in origin the result of a calculated plan for civic improvement. In the early Land Regulations it was specified at the instance of Chinese authorities that in the building of the city a wide space should be reserved on the riverfront to preserve the tow-path used by trackers…Shanghai's beautiful "front door" of today is the result of this precaution.[4]

Although Shanghai is old, its urban history is not. From the involuntary opening to the West in the mid-nineteenth century to the great shift of political regime when the Communists took control over the country one-hundred years later, Shanghai's model for urbanization was drawn from colonial models. Streets were defined by the particular form of urban dwellings and institutional ideologies–boulevards, waterfronts, and recreational open

[4] H.J. Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai and Environs: A Standard Guidebook* (London, Oxford University Press, 1934): 44. Republished as on-line version on "Tale of Old Shanghai" website. "All About Shanghai Chapter 1 - Historical Background." http://www.talesofoldchina.com/library/allaboutshanghai/t-all01.htm (retrieved 17 April 2007).

spaces. The gridiron structures of Shanghai's urban fabric were defined to accommodate the presence of the natives, privileged foreigners, Chinese merchants,miscallaneous laborers, unregistered immigrants, and beggars.[5] These elements dynamically added flavors to the streets. Beginning in the early twentieth century, through the breakneck speed of the proliferation of foreign investments, Shanghai became a "cosmopolitan society" – a melting pot of foreigners and people from different backgrounds from all over China who came to Shanghai not only to find better job opportunities but also to experience the first moments of urban delirium.[6] The streets of Shanghai accommo dated modern cars, trams, rickshaws, and vendors, as well as pedestrians. The city was divided into three parts: the French Concession to the south, the British Settlement to the north— they occupied the most lucrative parts of the city – and the Chinese city on the "leftover" land. The Western-style gridiron structure was then superimposed on the existing land for convenience in dividing the land, laying plumbing infrastructure, and facilitating automobile traffic. (Figure 2,3)

[5] Observed by Pan Lynn, "Shanghai was at the receiving end of large waves of migration from the neighboring provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. War and natural disasters – flooding – impelled the influx, but so did opportunity and metropolitan allure." See Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, 1843-1949* (Hong Kong: Peace Book, 2005)

[6] Apart from the "Colonial Condition" that brought people from all over the world, constituting the condition of cosmopolitanism in Shanghai – as he presumes that "cosmopolitanism is a by-product of colonialism," which, to a degree, is agreeable – Leo Lee presumes the condition of "Chinese Cosmopolitanism"; not only in the realm of job and society, but also in the realm of culture that the diversity of Chinese ethnicity comprised " the very cultural space in which the implications of cosmopolitanism must be measure." See Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999): 313-4

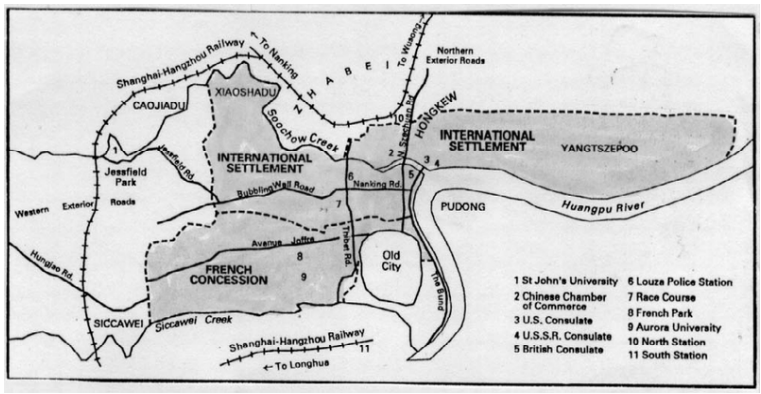

Figure 2: Shanghai map of 1920, showing the boundaries of the two foreign settlements

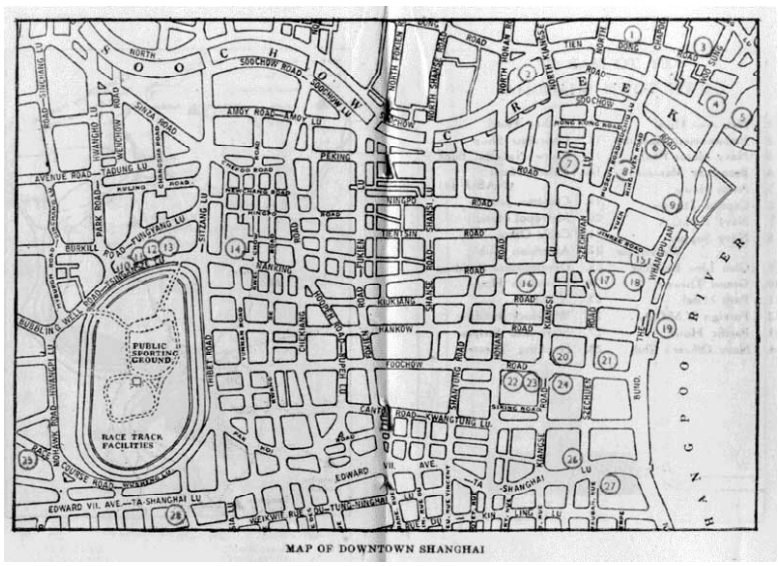

Figure 3: Map of downtown Shanghai in the British (later on merged with the American and become the "International") Settlement, 1945

With the "Land Regulations" of 1849, the Bund was subdivided into British and French concessions and into small blocks of "commercial necessity."[7] The Bund was not originally planned to be an iconic skyline, but a utilitarian waterfront as

[7] H.J. Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai and Environs*

a point of reception for trade. In H.J. Lethbridge's classic *All About Shanghai and Environs,* the Bund was described as: "the muddy tow-path of fifty years ago which has magically become one of the most striking and beautiful civic entrances in the world, faced from the West by an impressive rampart of modern buildings and bounded on the East by the [Haungpu] River."[8] In a series of rather romantic panoramic paintings, two elements were clearly depicted: the buildings and the ships. Horizontally divided by the shoreline, the water and the earth were clearly separated. The buildings looked identical.

With an impressionist sky, the Bund in such early paintings was seen more as a peaceful city than a bustling trading port. In contrast to these panoramas, the famous photo of the early Bund shows a street that was not even asphalted and a waterfront that was no more than an inclined slant with some small boats tied up alongside. (Figure 4,5) Its early photographs of the Bund right after the establishment of the Treaty port shows no more than a series of low-rise Western-style buildings in very simplified forms on the "muddy towpath" of the Huangpu River. (Figure 6)

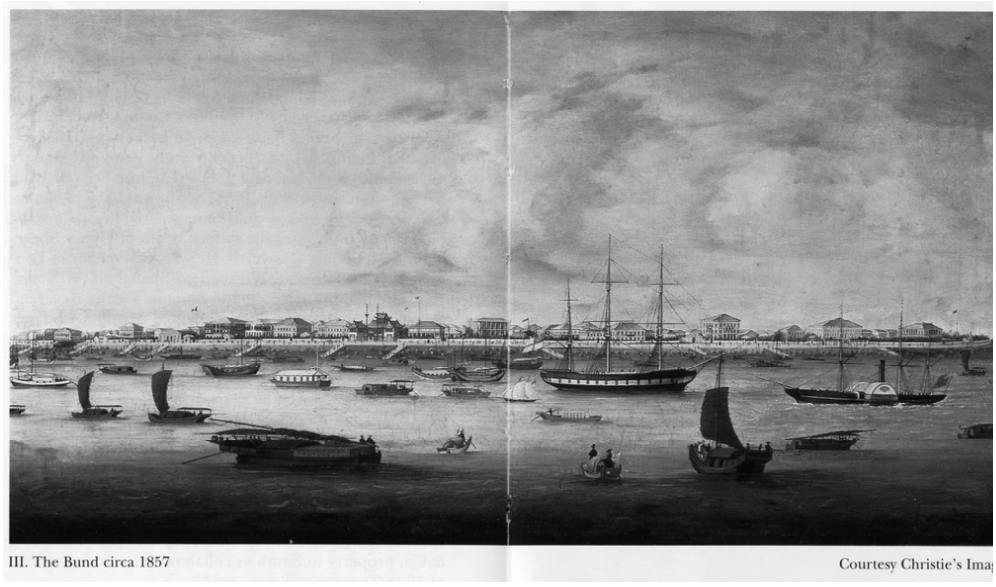

Figure 4: Painting showing a general view of the Bund in1857

[8] Ibid.

Figure 5: Painting showing the impression of the Bund in 1876-1879

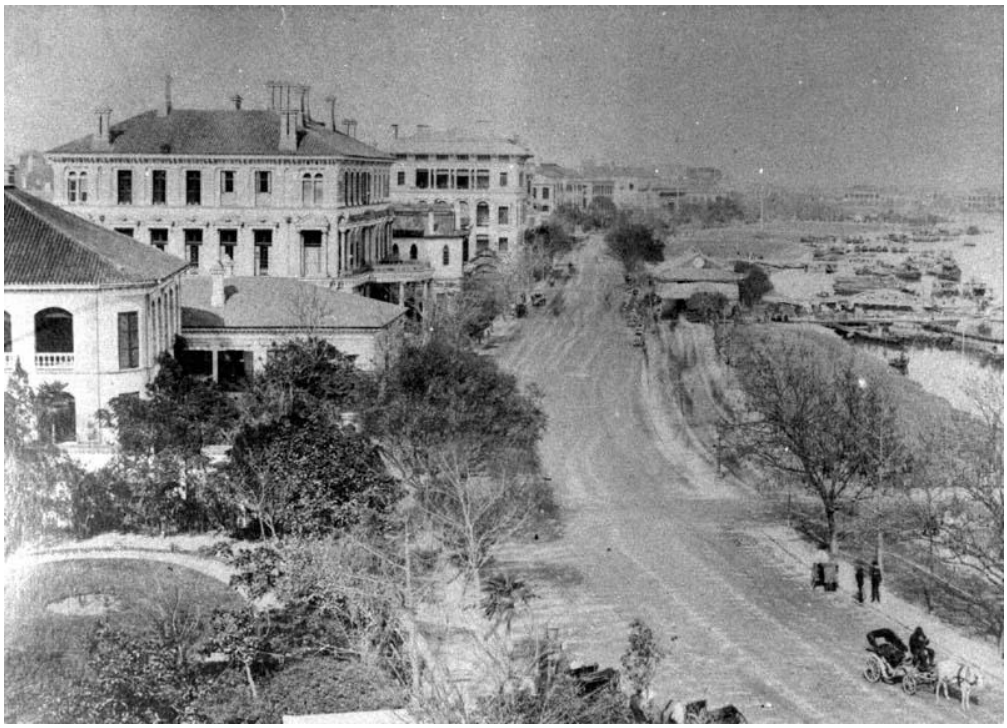

Figure 6: Photograph showing a view of the Bund at dawn, International Settlement part of Shanghai in the 1880s

Both the painting and the photo show the early stage of Shanghai urban development. The emergence of the treaty port was major factor that stimulated all large-scale developments in Shanghai. In fact, as Rhodes Murphy points out, it stimulated foreign trade and commercial production for export, established the

groundwork for Western-style higher educational institutions, and steered the city toward modern banking investments.[9]

By 1873, the first important building on the Bund was the British Consulate (the British Consular Residence was added to the compound in 1882; Figure 7). In this period, Shanghai's dynamism started to attract huge numbers of people from around the world. This was the first time that Shanghai surpassed Canton in the seaport business – both in numbers and in entrepreneurial atmosphere. The Bund, the part of the city closest to the ocean, was not only a point of physical transcations, but also of striking "visual reception" by virtue of the emerging *skyline.* Twenty buildings formed the Bund's skyline beginning with Edward VII Avenue (Yan'an Road) in the south, and ending with the Garden Bridge (Waibaidu Bridge) on Suzhou Creek.[10] Buildings on the Bund were perceived as proclamations of business prestige and prosperity. Consequently, the Bund was quickly filled with Western-style monumental buildings and became a truly representative image of business to the outside world. Among the famous buildings were the Russo-Chinese Bank (1902), the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank (1923), the Custom House (1927), and the Sassoon house or Cathay Hotel (1929), to name a few. The Bund was, perhaps, the only linear waterfront skyline in the world. Its dazzling image successfully imitated and was favorably compared with Manhattan's skyline and it definitely trounced the image of Paris in the same period. (Figure 8,9,10)

[9] Murphy believes that the Treaty Port did not give a substantial impact on the technological and industrial advancements, which were the factors of modernization in the Western worlds. He actually makes a claim that the emergence of such ad hoc urban place like Shanghai *de facto* "hurt China psychologically," more than it helped her economically. To me personally, this has been a debate and has not yet been finalized. See Rhode Murphey, "The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization" in *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds*, Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974): 17-71

[10] 12 of which were considered iconic due to its existence over half a century (the rest were built and re-built over time).

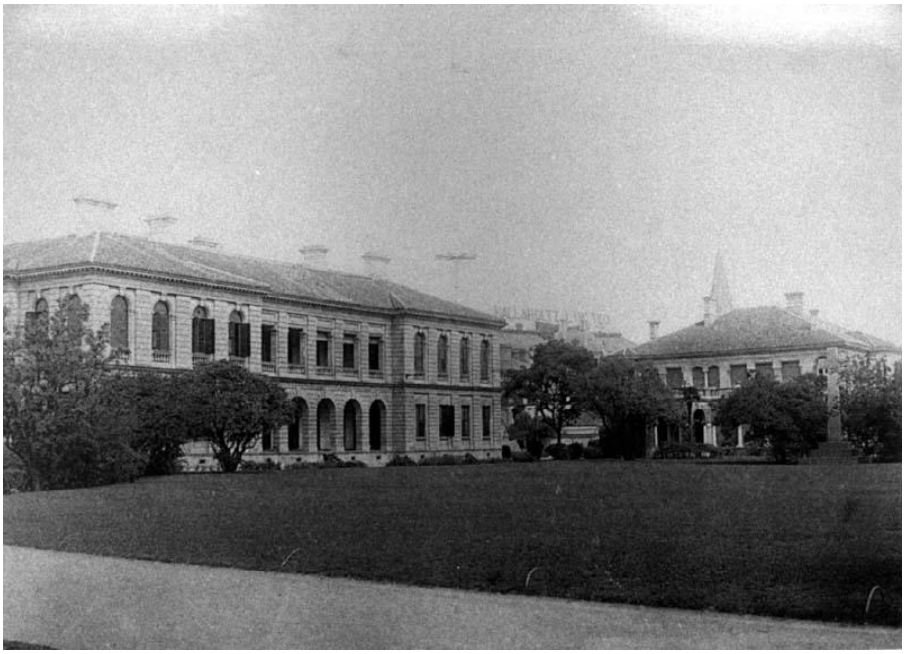

Figure 7: British Consulate, International Settlement, 1880-1910

Figure 8: The Bund in the 1930s

Figure 9: Paris Waterfront in the 1900s

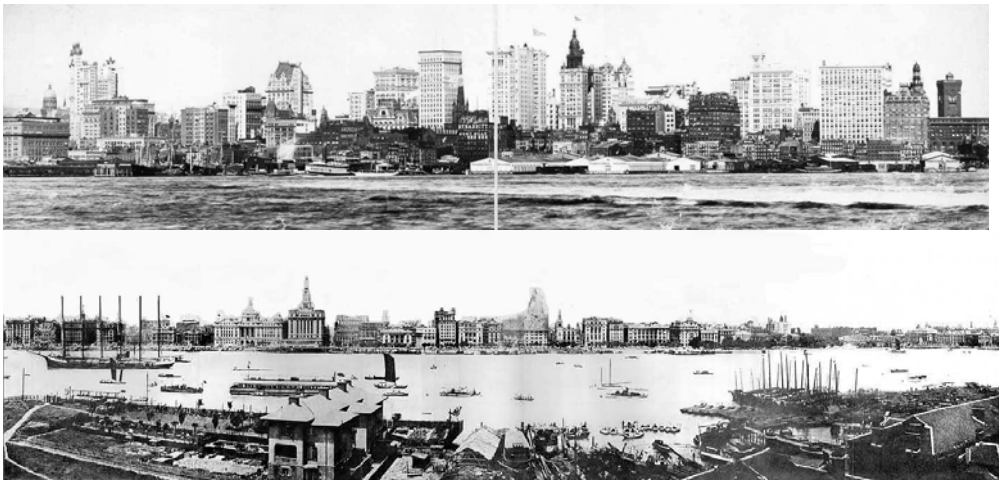

Figure 10: Skyline of Manhattan Waterfront in the early 1900s (above), compared to The Bund Skyline in the same period (below).

The Bund was built as a commercial hub for business and soon became an icon from the early twentieth century. Its favorable placement of being directly connected to the shore, to the two foreign settlements, and to the recreation area along the waterfront assured its preeminence throughout the course of the "rise" and "fall" during the three decades of Shanghai's Golden Age.[11] After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Bund was reclaimed from the foreign businesses and the Chinese used it as headquarters for Chinese banks and municipal institutions for a few decades. It was once at risk of being razed for the sake of the so-called "Chinese identity" during the Cultural Revolution.[12]

The Bund: Life on the Streets

> Shanghai is not China. It is everything else under the sun, and, in population at least, is mostly Chinese, but it is not the real China. For glimpses of genuine native life one must wander into the highways and byways beyond the confines of the International Settlements and French Concession.
>
> -- Introduction to the "Chinese Bund"[13]

Thanks to substantial accounts of Shanghai generated by scholars captivated by this fascinating city, and especially to Lu Hanchao's *Beyond the Neon Lights*, which is justly acclaimed for its incisive study of everyday life in Shanghai, we know that Shanghai street in the 1930s was animated by all kinds of people, making Shanghai "the most pleasure-seeking, rapacious, corrupt, strife-driven, licentious, squalid,

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[11] In this sentence, *rise* and *fall* refer to the period of economic boom and depravity. Although, in the heydays of Shanghai, the city called for attention in a different ways when viewing from different angles: "the Pearl of the Orient," "the Whore of Asia," "the Manhattan of the East," and "the Ugly Daughter of the Emperor," to name a few.

[12] Around the end of the 1990s, many buildings were deteriorating and vacant. Thus, Chinese government made an effort to revitalize them by means of business and preservation. They offered a building to be leased for a certain time with one string attached: the leasers must renovate the buildings back to their original form. This strategy worked very well as many foreign companies enthusiastically answered the call, making the appearance Bund today almost synonymous to its appearance in the 1930s.

[13] H.J. Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook* (Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University

and decadent city in the world. "[14] Lu also tells us that the reality of Shanghai was not always like what we see from movies or advertisements, which was a common misunderstanding. The majority of people were not native, but Chinese immigrants and refugees; thus, the city was a place of cultural amalgamation, where people from all over China came to seek opportunities to cultivate modern life and be entertained by Western-influenced cultural norms. While there was a large number of Chinese, ranging from those who were at the grassroots of the economic system to the bourgeoisie, small groups of foreigners held the key to not only political but also juridical and cultural powers, representing the class struggle and the "complexity of social distribution"[15] in modern China. Poverty, in contradistinction to the foreign elitism, was the dominant characteristic of the city that abruptly leaped from rural to urban. Most of the Chinese in Shanghai were poor, but some who succeeded in becoming part of the foreign society and their cultural enterprises elevated themselves to a so-called "bourgeois," living a relatively comfortable life.[16] Notwithstanding the elegance of the waterfront corridor, the ambience of "The Bund or Yangtze Road" was hetero geneous to the core. This search for the history of Shanghai at the street level looks closely at the importance of the Bund to the life of a typical Shanghainese.[17]

Originally utilized as a point for reception of goods from overseas, and as a shoreline where successive stretches of real estate were owned by separate businesses, the Bund was an important part of the treaty port at the outset of the

[14] Stella Dong, *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City* (New York: Perennial, 2001):1

[15] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Life in Early Twentieth Century Shanghai by Lu Hanchao," Reviewd Work, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 32 (2; Autumm, 2001): 277

[16] Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-1937*. Janet Lloyd. tarns. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

[17] Or "Shanghainian" in Jeffrey Wasserstrom's words. See Wasserstrom, *Neon Lights*, 263-79

colonialist period.[18] As population was still relatively low, compared to the tenfold increase a few decades later, most of the native Shanghainese still lived within the inner part of the old city's wall. Enlarged by the French and the British two decades after the founding of the treaty shoreline, both foreign settlements began to transform the city's urban fabric using rational geometry drawn from the Western planning model. (Figure 11)

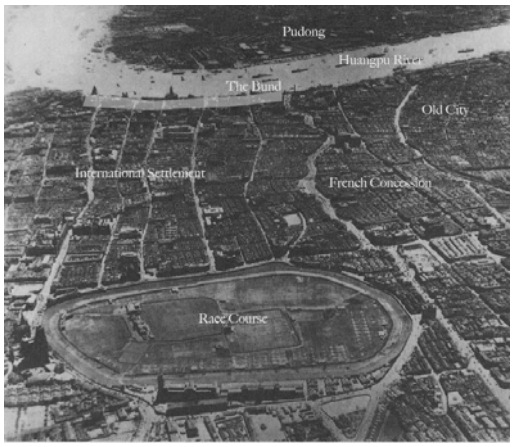

Figure 11: Bird's-eye view of Shanghai in 1937

The city's zoning was completely defined; the residential districts were in the inner part toward the East from the Bund. Not only did foreigners build, but they also inhabited and developed the city using urban design templates drawn from their diverse origins. The domination of foreign planning culture was absolute. Due to the extraterritorial privileges of the foreign powers, local residents failed to either

[18] The complication of the course of "quasi-colonization" (as Treaty Port system can be considered a "semi-colony"[18]) over the city – not the entire country – lies in the psychological means of classification in the society, and the production of external cultural construction ***vis-à-vis*** built form and environment – "although Shanghai did not face the same colonial situation as in colonial India…the discrepancies between the privileges and the rest of the city, levying on the Chinese, could be worst than the strict colony. The classic example is a sign "No Dogs Or Chinese Allowed" at the entrance of a park in foreign-leased-territory (i.e. race court and the Bund waterfront) in Shanghai, which fought with the strong sense of "ethnic nationalism" – an articulation of "Han Chinese" identity, dealing with the pre-conceived notion that they were the initiators of the civilization. Therefore, throughout the course of quasi-colonization, Chinese had to struggle to overthrow the aliens (the white imperialists for Shanghai, the alien Manchu rulers for the rest of the country). This was, of course, before the founding of the Republic of China under Kuomintang leadership. Har Ye Kan, email message to the author, 22 March 2007.SeeLeo Lee, "Shanghai Modern: Reflections on Urban Culture in China in the 1930s," *Public Sphere*, No. 27 (1999): 102

resist or challenge the planning culture: there was a surrender of power over local planning.[19] That is to say, from the beginning of the treaty port, the entire built environment of Shanghai was controlled by the foreigners – either Western-style or *hybrid,* but with no traditional-style Chinese buildings. The British initially realized the concept of a beautified waterfront in their small linear part of the Bund. It was their concession that was mainly recognized as the prominent image of the city when viewed from a ship from afar. Thus, they commenced the business strip and invited their associated traders to build their headquarters there. To facilitate modern commercial business, several kinds of infrastructure were introduced to Shanghai: banks (1848), boulevards (1856), gaslights (1865), electricity (1882), telephones (1881), running water (1884), streets for automobiles (1901), and trams (1908).[20]

Visualizing Shanghai in the 1930s

> The first walk taken by any visitor to Shanghai will probably be along the Bund, one of the most interesting, famous, and handsome thoroughfares in the world [, which in the 1860s]… was all mud and rubbish.[21]
>
> -- Reverend C.E. Darwent (1904)

Early photographs of the Bund seen from above clearly demonstrate the crowdedness of the streets. (Figure 12) They were divided into two major lanes for two-way vehicular traffic, with islanded parking spaces in between. There was a sidewalk and a tramline on one side, and a long waterfront service corridor for receiving goods from the ships on the other

[19] The most salient planning feature foreign developers introduced to the city was the "lilong," a low-rise housing adapted from the Western-style row houses to fit the occupancy of a family of a Shanghainese worker, who preferred to work for the foreign industries, and "the rule of law and the safety of the foreigners' enclaves."[19] The Chinese's favor in inhabiting in foreign settlements complicated the plurality of spatial experience in the city, which started to mobilize the condition of the society toward *cosmopolitanism*.

[20] Leo Lee, "Shanghai Modern: Reflections on Urban Culture in China in the 1930s," *Public Sphere*, No. 27 (1999): 77

[21] C.E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travelers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1904): I

side. Activated by the constant movement of all non-building elements, the atmosphere of the Bund became the energy of a metropolis. As Rev. Darwent observed in the early 1900s, from the Garden Bridge on Suzhou Creek, "[one] can view [the Bund with] the enormous traffic, thousands of vehicles passing in a day."[22] The Chinese occupied the streets of the Bund. The 60,000 foreigners (out of a population of 3 million) in Shanghai's heyday did not see the Bund as a place to dwell, but rather a place to do business and visit on an occasional basis. It was not easy for the foreigners to walk around in a place where the presence of native poverty contrasted so greatly with their elite status. This "Wall Street of the East" was a place of contradictions. The transformation of street life followed the constant growth of the Bund. In its early days, only laborers and traders were the users of the Bund. The "muddy tow-path" was little more than a path beside a river used for transporting goods. The crowds of people and automobiles dramatically changed the street scenes after a series of headquarters, institutions, and banks were erected along the waterfront. The rickshaw emerged as the most significant mode of transportation for Shanghailanders, and "5,000 rickshaws" dictated the movement in the street always surpassing the walking pace of people on the sidewalks. (Figure 13) In addition, after the public lawn and a promenade park were added to the West side of the Bund's corridor, the Bund invited people to enjoy its recreational opportunities. (Figure 14)

[22] Darwent, *Shanghai,* 2

Figure 12: View of the International Settlement Bund, 1910-1929

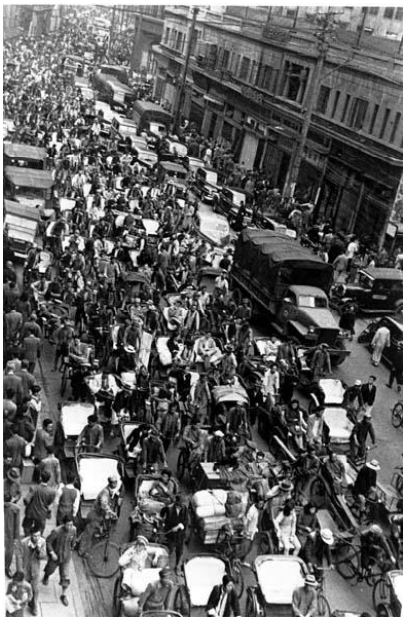

Figure 13: Traffic of rush hours in Shanghai, 1920-39

Figure 14: Waterfront Park on the Bund, 1930-39

Foreigners in the City: Tension through Photographs

Shanghai in the 1930s was a city of immigrants and foreigners. Although 60,000 out of a total population of three million residents was a small percentage for the number of foreigners, the number of the "native" Shanghai's was even smaller. The city was so attractive due to the relatively large demand for manual laborers to operate foreign-owned industries and be at the service of tourists, businessmen, and foreigners. The city's so-called "identity" was not made up by the original inhabitants, but by outsiders, who asserted their superiority. The "key" to modern China, Shanghai accommodated city dwellers who were proud of calling themselves "Shanghainese" regardless of their original birthplaces. This diversified ethnicity made Shanghai the Manhattan of China, echoing the fact that Manhattan in its early days was the land of refugees who traveled thousands of miles for opportunity in a metropolis.

Despite the fact that there are many collections of old photographs of the Bund, especially in the 1930s, it is surprising that none of them depicts the Bund from the pedestrian perspective. The clue to understanding what it was like to walk along the Bund at its peak of commercial glory is to understand the administrative functions of the 19 foreign-owned buildings.[23] The interactions between the buildings and the street were business transactions. Sidewalks served as the mediation. Beyond the mediating sidewalk, however, laboring activities and various modes of transportation were taking place. There were always Chinese laborers loading and unloading cargo from ships,

[23] McBain Building (also the Asiatic Petroleum Building; 1915), The Shanghai Club (1909), Union Assurance Company of Canton Building (1915) used by the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., The Nisshin Kisen Kaisha Building (1925), The British P&O Banking Corp., The Commercial Bank of China, The Tong Yok Kung or Tung Tzue Shing Companies, China Merchant Steamship navigation Co., States Steamship Co., and American Pioneer Line, The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank (1925), The Customs House (1927), Bank of Communications (1948), the Russo-Asiatic Bank (1902), Bank of Taiwan (1927), North China Daily News (1923), Chartered Bank Building (1923), Palace Hotel (1906), The Cathay Hotel (1929), The Yokohama Specie Bank (1924), and the Banque De L'indo-Chine (1914)

pulling rickshaws and waiting for customers, walking on the street hoping to get freelance employment, and so on. The Bund was usually crowded, but it was never over-crowded, since the major public and commercial spaces were located in inner parts of the city toward the foreign settlements, such as Nanjing and Fuchow Roads. One of the most fashionable vistas was from the top of a building on the West Bund, looking down to the street that curves to the East. Here, the Custom House and the Bank of China were the monumental landmarks. (Figure 15)

Figure 15: The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the Custom House (under construction), 1925-1927

Looking into the details of the street, we rarely see foreigners. Apart from the Bund's principal function as a reception point, it was a natural choice for people to travel between the West and the East side of Shanghai: from the French Concessions to the International Settlement. Images depicting the construction of the Cathay Hotel (also called the Sassoon House) during 1927-29 and the Custom House

(1925-1927) demonstrate the later influence of Western steel construction technique in Shanghai, despite the conventional Chinese wall-bearing construction. Both buildings were steel-framed using modern post-and-beam skeleton. In addition, followed the prevailing trend “neo-eclectic” stylistic presentation, both buildings were fabricated with the colonial façade to resemble the appearance of the Western architecture from which its construction techniques was derived. (Figure 16) [24] The major architectural firm in Shanghai was the Hong Kong-based British firm Palmer and Turner, whose work includes the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Cathay Hotel, and the Yokohama Specie Bank on the Bund. The model of architectural practice derived from Britain stylistically shaped the appearance of the city as a whole. The image of the International Concession resonates the image of London in the early 1900s. (Figure 17) [25]

Figure 16: The Bund in 1929, showing the construction process of the Cathay Hotel

[24] The neo-classical appearance of the “The most Modern Hotel in the Far East”[24] was a mere skin of a steel frame skeleton enhanced by the methods of Chinese construction.

[25] Founded in 1868 and worked extensively in East Asia. Today, the firm is still actively engaged in the building of corporate architecture in major Asian cities. In 1982, The Palmer and Turner partnership changed to a corporate structure, the P&T Group.

Figure 17: International Settlement in the 1920s (above), St. Pauls and Ludgate Hill from Fleet Street, London. 1906 (below)

Five modes of transportation were used on the Bund, according to social classification: feet, bicycle, rickshaw, tram, and car (Figure 18). The Bund was also a place of recreation. A linear promenade at the West side "had a leisurely feel, caught in a moment of pause."[26] Chinese were not allowed to freely access the public park until 1928 when certain rules, such as "Chinese must dress properly," were established to maintain the grace of Shanghai's public sphere. (Figure 19) In contrast to the claim that the Bund promenade was a place elite-class foreigners used on a daily basis, further adding diversity and ethnic contrast, it is surprising that we still do not see foreigners in any old photographs of Shanghai.

"Where were the foreigners?" There was literally no presence of any others but Chinese. Considering several scholarly references to Shanghai as a foreign city by the nature of semi-colonization, the absence of any co-presence of the French, the British and the Americans with Chinese in old photographs of Shanghai raises a question not only of its actual urbanity, but also of the relationship between the Chinese and the foreigners.[27] (Figure 20, 21)

[26] Pan, *Shanghai*

[27] For instance, Marie-Claire Bergère calls Shanghai the "other China," and Clifford calls it "in China but not of it." See Marie-Claire Bergère, "The Other China's: Shanghai from 1919 to 1949," in Christopher Howe. ed. *Shanghai Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981):1-34, and Nicholas R. Clifford, *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolutions of the 1920s* (Hanover and London: Middlebury College Press, 1991)

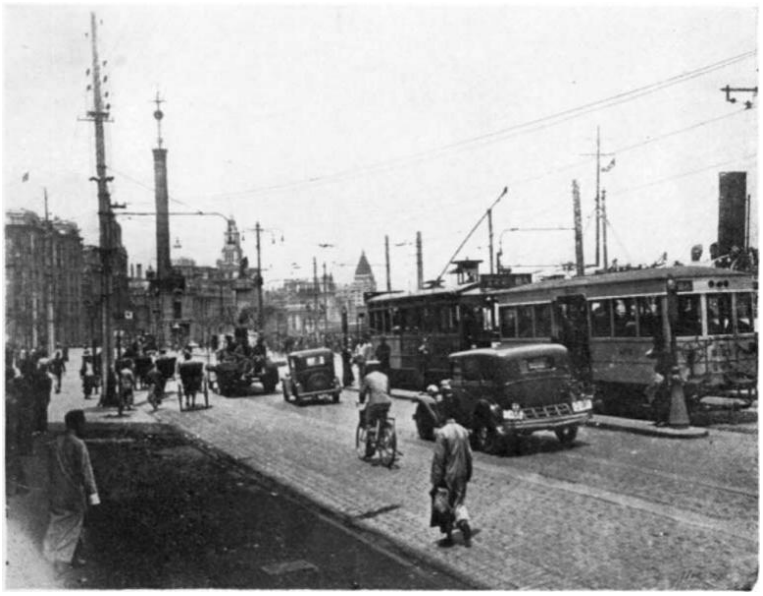

Figure 18: View of the Bund from French Concession, 1929-1935

Figure 19: The Bund Waterfront Park in the 1930s

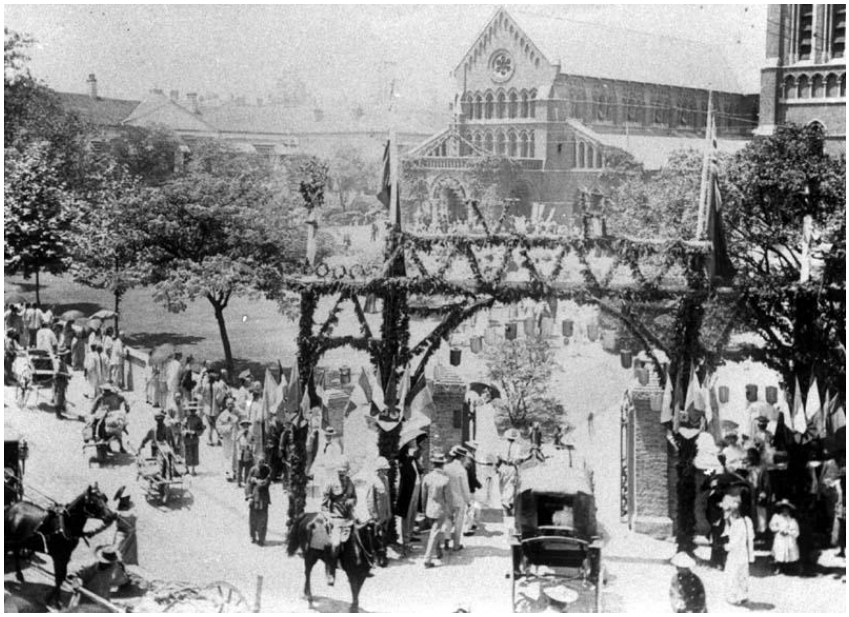

Figure 20: The 50th anniversary of Shanghai as treaty port in front of the Holy Trinity Cathedral, 1893

Figure 21: Foreigners in the Race course, International Settlement, 1930s

Photographs of foreigners in Shanghai reinforced the impression of a "fragmented entity": the formal establishments of the foreign settlements reflected a rigid division of social classes and a basic "served-servant" relationship *vis-a-vis* the Chinese. There was, of course, a certain psychological tension underlining the colonial situation in Shanghai. That is, there was pre-conceived supposition that the foreigners were privileged, and this was reinforced by the minimal resistance of the Chinese themselves who were economically dependent on the foreigners. Also, it was the foreigners who actually created something from nothing for Shanghai; therefore, they were fond of being the authoritative creators of the city, rather than the inhabitants. So, the interaction between them and the Chinese only happened through the necessity of business. (Figure 22,23,24)

Public spaces exclusively provided for foreigners "by foreigners" were separated from those for the Chinese. Many foreigners also came to Shanghai seeking certain experiences that they could not freely find in their home countries, most notably exotic pleasures. This was the major setting in which the presence of the foreigners and the Chinese overlapped: the estimated numbers of prostitutes in Shanghai in 1935 is 100,000.[28] (Figure 20, 21)Although there were no obvious portrayals of the feeling of the ambience of the Bund in a pedestrian perspective, it is assumable that it would be the same as other parts of the city, considering the fact that more than 95 percent of the city's occupants were Chinese. The Bund created societal status of the Chinese ***vis-à-vis*** the social struggle.

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[28] Shanghai's youth and lack of clear administrative and social controls enabled a natural environment for vice of all kinds to flourish, including prostitution, which by the 1920s, had become the major illegal business of the city. The municipal government of the International Settlement failed to control the dramatic increase of the numbers of informal brothels; therefore, they "adopted a resolution under which the number of licensed brothels in the Settlement was to be diminished gradually, until they were completely abolished." See "Vice, Brothels and Prostitution," *The Tales of Old Shanghai*, http://www.earnshaw.com/shanghai-ed-india/tales/t-brot01.htm [retrieved 7 May 2007]

Figure 22: Foochow Road in the International Settlement, known as the most infamous street for prostitution in Shanghai, 1920-39

Figure 23: Portrait of a prostitute on Shanghai, 1930s

Figure 24: Foreigners enjoying a cruise down the Suzhou Creek, 1900s -1920s

When all was said and done, however, the selling point Shanghai's tourism was the elegant image that replicated Western neo-classical styles. The Bund was on the tourist map because of its iconographic nature. Shanghai had been "the other China" from the beginning of the quasi-colonial era. Its accommodation of with many intruded cultures constructed the cultural "means" that did not mediate between tradition and modernity, but rather inclined toward prompt representations of external cultural norms. Also apparent in a microcosmic perspective, the inherent contradiction between local and foreign notions of open space – observed from the street scenes – represented the other notion of modern Chinese city, particularized by the tension between the leap towards Western modernity or finding of the new Chinese identity through the mixture of diversified cultures. (Figure 25, 26)

Figure 25: Billboard advertising American film and cigarettes on the street in the Internal Settlement.

Figure 26: Street scene in Shanghai in 1900s

Contrary to the common understanding that the streets of the Bund were foreigners' enclaves due to its hyper-Western appearance, the streets were animatedly occupied by the Chinese. In a larger scale, Jeffrey Wasserstrom's *take* on the condition of Shanghai's urban hybridity "as they would have been equally at home in 1920s Chicago,"[29] exemplifies the dynamism of this Western-style Eastern metropolis. The sense of belonging and a network of connection of Shanghai citizens in the 1930s were somehow *blurred*, as the environment they were living in was too difficult to be perceived as normal. To a certain extent, people's psychological perceptions of the city were shaped and re-shaped by the artificial environment they inhabited. Whether or not the people on the streets saw the monumental buildings along the Bund as urban icons they should be proud of or a mimic of Western metropolis that eroded their Chinese identity is important to the holistic understanding of Shanghai, which has to be contextualized and understood from every possible angle. Knowing what and from where we view the history of Shanghai enables us to see beyond the veneer of the magnificent scenery of the Bund and approach to the fuller "reality" of Shanghai.

Pudong: Shanghai's Today

> Looking across the river from the Bund in Shanghai 25 years ago, one could see an area consisting of agricultural and industrial uses, Today, it resembles a twentieth century
>
> *Gotham City,* with high-rises of differing forms and shapes and materials crashing withone another.[30]

If a Shanghai man who lived in the era of the city's Golden Age traveled through time and arrived at Shanghai today, he would not have any idea that where he had arrived was the city of his birth. He would be astonished by what he saw, despite the fact that Shanghai in the early twentieth century was already unmistakably advanced in its stylistic

[29] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Locating Shanghai: Having Fits about Where it Fits" in Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950, Joseph W. Esherrick, ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000): (192-201)193

[30] Edmund Ong, "Twenty-first century China," *Architectural Design*, vol. 75, no. 5 (2005): 74

representation. He would find that the Bund was no longer the city's image. Instead, its dominance was incomprehensibly replaced by the new skyline across the river, which was bigger, bolder, and more hyperbolized. Moreover, he would be lost, confused, and totally upset with what he saw. Not only would he nostalgic, like most of the Shanghainese who experienced the first-hand drama of the delirious change of Chinese commercial culture, but he would not associate himself with, either in the surface level of what he "saw," or the deep structure of the new city's conception. He was encountering the strongest *visualizing culture* – the images of built form – of which he could be part as well as inhabit, live, and occupy. (Figure 27)

Figure 27: The new waterfront skyline, Lujiazui (above), demonstrating the presence of modern skyscrapers synonymous to Manhattan today (below)

The new skyline of Shanghai – across the river from the Bund – is the intentional representation of the new global metropolis. Reinforced by the municipal governmental proclamation that the ultimate aim was to make Shanghai the world's metropolis, there are many reasons today for Shanghai's local media to only represent the image of this newly developed zone. Locating the iconic T.V. Tower, the "Pearl of the Orient," a skyscraper with a form that elicits curiosity, Lujiazui is a financial center located in the new "Pudong Development Zone" of Shanghai. The need for the city to develop during the Open Door era in the1980s, Pudong was chosen to be the area to which the city could expand, less because of its geographical appropriation, but more because of its potential to establish the new politicized skyline. At the time, Pudong was an undeveloped agricultural land and was treated no more than a *tabula rasa*: the planning of the area neither involved its existing inhabitation nor its geographical and typographical conditions. The inauguration of the new financial capital of the world absruptly changed the form of the city in almost no time. That is to say, we do not have to be the time traveler to be surprised by the speed of change during the last two decades. The shift in ideology was derived from the narrow understanding of the Western metropolis – high-rises and high-tech skyscrapers were considered "the" way to represent and to become like their Western counterparts. Therefore, in this case, the old colonial buildings and the charismatic appearance of the Bund could no longer fulfill its purpose. The ascendancy of one skyline over the other took off by virtue of politics. Lujiazui was planned to be the new district that serves mere international and local service sectors; the "tallest," the "biggest," the "widest," and the "longest" have, then, become the new conceptual ideologies of this new metropolis.[31] The purposes of the

[31] Pudong accommodates the Jin-Mao and the World Financial Towers, "the world's tallest skyscrapers;" Shanghai's International Conference and Theaters, "the world's biggest enclose public spaces"; the Century Avenue, "the one-meter-wider-than-the-Champs-Elysees" three-mile-long penetrating corridor, and the Shanghai's Expo 2010 Bridge, of course, "the longest single-span bridge in the world."

making of both the Bund's and Lujiazui's skylines are confined to a single keyword, "foreigners." But in a different way: foreigners built the Bund for themselves, while Lujiazui was created by the Chinese to attract foreign flows of capital. While the appearance of the Bund raises the question of modern Chinese identity, the making of Lujiazui proclaims the takeover of an artificial environment–purposeful imitation.

As seen in postcards sold in Shanghai today, the images representing the "superficiality" of the city through advanced photographic techniques, computer renderings, and enthralling bird-eye-views of the new shore, have become the means of representation of the city: the old colonialist image of the Bund is *ancillary* to Lujiazui. This is, of course, the government's *propaganda* – promotion of the city by the use of built forms and environment as dominant visual representations, which can be captured and remembered not only by the camera, but also by every visitor's eyes. In other words, notwithstanding its sophisticated look too ostensible to be true, the representation of Shanghai on a postcard is accurate. Central to this argument is that the iconography and urban symbolism of Pudong's skyline reinforce a hypothesis that artificial environments are constructed to create purposeful political images for economic reasons; that is, politics was the driving pressure that substantially forced the government to invest in Lujiazui skyline in order to demonstrate the potential of the place to be an economic engine for the region. The play of these strong internal pressures underlies the politics: the attempt of the local government to use the power of the built form and contemporary commercial architecture to reinforce the image of progress, to construct a new commercial identity, and to promote marketability with the prestige of built forms.

The Bund and Lujiazui: Shanghai Metropolises

Both the Bund and Lujiazui are important iconographies of this trading port city. The similarity between the two is that the images of both are meant to display the strong manifestation of the expected future of this *cosmopolitan* urban place. For the Bund, it was the commercial value of

individual business on the Treaty Port's shore, which the appearance of a Western environment could reinforce. The making of the Bund skyline was, then, natural: the need for the visual representation using built forms was mandatory to the establishment of the hybridization of culture that existed in Shanghai from the start. On the contrary, the visual representation of Lujiazui is by all means steroidal. Politics were paramount to the planning and making of the new skyline. As the Bund is a linear corridor, the appearance of the building is vivid by means of panoramic viewpoint – the height of buildings is not as important as the degree to which it can be seen from afar; a building can be clearly perceived no matter where the viewers are. But for Lujiazui, with a setting that spans the large urban space, the height and size of buildings are essential, which is why the scheme that encompasses the "tallest" and the "biggest" prevails.

The rhetoric of Shanghai's skylines lies deeply in the conceptual understanding of the city, not in the physical one. While the Bund is a skyline that allows both visual and physical interactions, for the image one sees and the physical interactions with the buildings are firmly reinforced by its inhabitable quality, Lujiazui's skyline is abstract to its core. Not only is the composition of Lujiazui skyline too complex to comprehensively perceive (only outlines and gestures are expressed through visuals), but the human scale and consideration for pedestrians is also lost in the overwhelming, vast planning of its public space. Coming up from a subway station, visitors might not have any clue they have arrived in Pudong. The image of Pudong is meant to be *perceived* only from afar. Regarding its principal connotation of progress by means of built form, Pudong presents a visualizing culture using the entire environment. While the Bund does not have a major iconic building that defines its symbolic significance, the image of Pudong is confined to the unorthodox appearance of the "Pearl," the pagoda-shaped skyscrapers, Jin-Mao Tower, and the series of modern reflective skin buildings. The inevitable emergence of modern and contemporary building typologies disturbs the cultural identity and the way people conceive their meanings. Both the Bund and Pudong are case studies of how complicated uses of

architecture as visuals in a city re-construct the meaning *vis-a-vis* global narrative. Whether they fail or not, what we have learned is people's ambition to communicate certain messages to the world at large using visual symbols of cultures is primary: the appropriation of the juxtaposing skylines of the Bund and Pudong is less a debate to be won than a relationship to be *realized.*

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All photos of Shanghai in this paper come from two main sources:

1) Christian Henriot's "Virtual Shanghai: Shanghai Urban Space in Time" project at IAO - Lyon 2 University (http://virtualshanghai.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/)
2) Lynn Pan, Shanghai: A Century of Change in Photographs, 1843-1949 (Hong Kong: Peace Book, 2005)

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