



**Body Un/Dis-Covered:
Luoti, Editorial Agency and Transcultural Production
in Chinese Pictorials (1925-1933)**

**Inaugural-Dissertation
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde
an der Philosophischen Fakultät
der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Institut für Sinologie**

**vorgelegt von
SUN Liying**

**Erstgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Barbara Mittler
Zweitgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Joan Judge**

Datum: 28 November 2014

This doctoral dissertation was submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy at Heidelberg University on November 28, 2014 and defended on March 20, 2015. Minor revisions have been made since the submission.

Some materials of the dissertation have been published in the following journal articles and book chapters:

Introduction and Chapter 1

“Dangerous Fiction and Obscene Images: Textual-Visual Interplay in the Banned Magazine *Meiyu* and Lu Xun’s Role as Censor.” *Prism: Theory and Modern Chinese Literature* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2019): 33–61. <https://doi.org/10.1215/25783491-7480325>. Co-authored with Michel Hockx.

Chapter 2

“An Exotic Self? Tracing Cultural Flows of Western Nudes in *Pei-yang Pictorial News* (1926-1933).” In *Transcultural Turbulences*, edited by C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer, 271-300. Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011.

Chapter 4

“Cong *Sheying huabao* dao *Linglong*: qikan chuban yu Sanhe gongsi de jingying celüe (1920s-1930s)” 從《攝影畫報》到《玲瓏》：期刊出版與三和公司的經營策略(1920s -1930s) (From *Pictorial Weekly* to *Linloon Magazine*: The Periodicals Production and Publishing Strategies of San Ho Company, 1920s-1930s). *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究, no. 23 (June 2014): 127–181. In Chinese.

“Engendering a Journal: Editors, Nudes and Transcultural Production in *Linglong* and its Global Context.” In *A Space of Their Own: Women and the Periodical Press in China’s Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Joan Judge, Barbara Mittler and Michel Hockx, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

“‘Gaoshang yule’? *Linglong* zhong de luoti tuxiang, shijue zaixian yu bianji juece” “高尚娛樂”？《玲瓏》中的裸體圖像，視覺再現與編輯決策 (“Sophisticated Entertainment”？Nudes, Visual Representations, and Editorial Agency in *Linglong* (1931-1937)”). In *Xingbie yu shijue--bainian Zhongguo yingxiang yanjiu* 性別與視覺——百年中國影像研究 (Gender and Visuality: Research on Chinese Images from the Last One-Hundred Years), edited by Wang Zheng, Lü Xinyu. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2018. In Chinese.

For my mother

CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Abbreviations	vi
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vi
Conventions	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 <i>Luoti</i> in Editors' Mind Maps	30
1.1 Etymology and Genealogy	31
1.2 The Semantic Constitution of the Concept of Unclothed Bodies	56
Chapter 2 "Art from around the World"? Aestheticization, Taste-making, and Nudes in <i>Beiyang huabao</i>	108
2.1 BYHB Editors: Gentry-Merchant and <i>Literati</i>	111
2.2 "Disseminating Knowledge" and "Promoting Fine Arts": Publishing Goal and Implied Readers	115
2.3 The Visual Sources of Nudes in BYHB	123
2.4 Editing Nudes in BYHB	149
Chapter 3 "Science and Art"? "Comparing Human Bodies across the World" in <i>Shanghai manhua</i>	167
3.1 SHMH Editors: Commercial Artists	172
3.2 Editorial Strategies: "Science and Art"	178
3.3 Editorial Practice: Discussing Science through Nudes or Exhibiting Nudes under the Name of Science?	199
Chapter 4 "Sophisticated Entertainment"? Nudes and Gender in <i>Linglong</i> and <i>Sheying huabao</i>	224
4.1 Lin Zecang and His Publishing Empire	229
4.2 "Sophisticated Entertainment" or Sophisticating Entertainment? Understanding the Publishing Goal of <i>Linglong</i>	250
4.3 Editing Nudes into <i>Linglong</i> and <i>Sheying huabao</i>	264
4.4 The Circulation of Nudes around the Globe: Reading Nudes in <i>Linglong</i> against Western Print Materials	290
Conclusion	304
Bibliography	315

Abstract

In the past ten years, art historians have done research to explore Chinese “tastes” for *luoti* (literally: “unclothed bodies”) in Republican China, mainly focusing on the visual representations of nudes in fine art history as well as the related history of Western artistic education in the Shanghai area. Many scholars have noted that nudes, especially “Western” female nudes, appear frequently in print media; however, existing studies have not yet provided satisfying answers to the following questions: how was *luoti* understood in the Republican Era? How was *luoti* represented in the popular press, particularly in pictorials? From where did the “Western” nudes “flow” to China, eventually appearing in Chinese media? Who produced the nudes? Who (re-)arranged the nudes in the pictorials? How and why?

The dissertation examines a large amount of textual and visual representations of *luoti* which were discussed, debated and presented in illustrated newspapers and magazines of the 1920s-30s, such as *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (“Pei-yang Pictorial News,” 1926-1937), *Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (“Shanghai Sketch,” 1928-1930), *Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報 (“Pictorial Weekly,” 1925-1937) and *Linglong* 玲瓏 (“Linloon Magazine,” 1931-1937). On the one hand, I investigate the genealogy and formation of a Chinese understanding of the term *luoti*, and analyze its linguistic and discursive variations in Chinese literature and public debates of the period. On the other hand, I deal with visual materials of the period, the theme and form of which has roots in Chinese historical heritage, and also largely resulted from the “cultural flows” at the time. Having systematically traced the (often Western) origins as well as the trajectories of dissemination of nude photographs, this study scrutinizes editorial strategies that aimed at incorporating nudes into periodical publications. Ultimately, I argue, editing visual and textual representations of *luoti* into pictorials was part of transcultural production, and “editorial agency” played a pivotal role in selecting, framing, contextualizing, and interpreting nudes. The culture of “uncovered bodies” was thus discovered.

Acknowledgements

It has taken me a long time to complete this research. During these years, I have received support from numerous individuals and institutions, which encouraged me to continue the journey, and finally walk through the “tunnel.” I owe the greatest debt to my supervisor Prof. Barbara Mittler, who provided most generous intellectual as well as emotional uplift for me, especially during the most frustrating days. She was always ready to answer my questions, offer comments on my writing, and give suggestions on my academic performance. She showed me a fantastic example of how to be enthusiastically engaged with critical thinking, and my intellectual growth has benefited tremendously from her seminars, lectures, and office hours. Without her constant encouragement and inspirations, I would not have been able to bring out this research.

In the last few years, I have been working for several research projects with many outstanding scholars, and the experience fundamentally shaped my view of this research topic. In many ways, this study grew out of the collective wisdom of these projects, among which I am extremely grateful for two, in particular. One is “A New Approach to the Popular Press in China: Gender and Cultural Production, 1904-1937” (2008-2011) (currently, it has entered its second phase, “Early Chinese Periodicals Online,” 2012-2015). Besides Prof. Mittler, Professors Joan Judge and Michel Hockx have been equally supportive throughout these years, reading various parts of this study, offering comments, and helping me sharpen the arguments. Their knowledge and expertise deeply nurtured this research, for which words are inadequate to express my gratitude. I am also very thankful for other members of the research team, Professors Julia Andrews, Grace Fong, Lien Ling-ling, Catherine Yeh, Yu Chien-ming, who listened to many of my presentations at different stages. Their questions motivated me and challenged me to keep rethinking and rewriting. My dear colleagues Matthias Arnold, Annika Jöst, Li Yu-Chieh, Doris Sung, and Ke Xiaojing have been working on the same project with me, generously sharing their knowledge, collegiality, friendship, and mutual support.

The second project is “Rethinking Trends” (2008-2011) at the “Cluster of Excellence: Asia and Europe in a Global Context,” University of Heidelberg, which taught me a great deal about transcultural studies. The project members, Laila Abu-Er-Rub, Jennifer Altehenger, Nora

Frisch, Sebastian Gehrig, Jennifer Gross, Lena Henningsen, Huang Xuelei, Annika Jöst, Cora Jungbluth, Petra Thiel, and myself, enjoyed regular meetings together. We spent wonderful times discussing theories, reading each other's work, and organizing workshops and conferences. Many other scholars at the "Cluster of Excellence" have made essential contributions to my intellectual development collectively, and the names would be too long to list here. I wish to thank the Cluster of Excellence as an entity for providing such a stimulating academic environment.

I also wish to thank the staff at the Institute of Chinese Studies, where I have been studying and working, for creating such a friendly and inspiring research and work atmosphere. I thank particularly Prof. Rudolf Wagner for always being ready to answer "ten thousand whys" and beyond, inside and outside seminars and lectures. The institute's library is opened for the longest hours possible, and Anne Labitzky and other librarians have always been patient and supportive. My colleagues, specifically Lena Henningsen, Ulrike Büchsel, Emily Graf, Marina Rudyak, Odila Schröder, worked together with me for different periods. Not only did we share office space and work responsibilities, but also camaraderie and friendship.

During my work for these projects, a few foundations, including DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, DFG (German Research Foundation), Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation, generously funded my trips to consult libraries and archives world-wide, such as the Shanghai Library, Shanghai Municipal Archive, The National Library of China, Tianjin Library, Tianjin Municipal Archive, Harvard-Yenching Library, SOAS Library, and the McGill University Library. These trips have been crucial for me to excavate the understudied material as well as establish the connections between Chinese periodicals and Western sources.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to scholars and friends in different places in the world. Francesca Dal Lago, Renate Erhart, Huang Guorong, Jia Xuefei, Will Straw, Wu Hao, Zhu Junzhou, and my late friend Jiang Wei (1963-2011) either generously shared their own precious private collections with me, or assisted me to locate important collections and materials. Together, they relieved my obsession with old periodicals, postcards, and rare materials. I am also grateful that Chen Shuo-win, Cheng Wen-hui, Joscha Chung, Guan Kean-Fung, Rachel Hsu, Shuk Man Leung, Li Hsin-yi, Pan Shaw-yu and Jerome Tien shared their knowledge and

experience during my research. Finally, I thank Petra Thiel and Wu I-wei for their long-term friendship and support in Heidelberg, for their time chatting about everything: happiness, inspirations, confusions, frustration, on sunny days and rainy days.

With special appreciations, I acknowledge Jonathan Ward, Annika Jöst, Petra Thiel and Doris Sung, for proofreading or commenting on my final writing. Any errors that might remain are my sole responsibility.

Last but not least, I thank my mother, my brother and sister-in-law, my adorable niece, the Stotz family, and Jon, for their company, encouragement, tolerance, and love in so many ways. My father did not have the chance to witness this moment, but I know he would have been pleased.

List of Abbreviations

- BYHB *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (“Pei-yang Pictorial News”)
DSRB *Diansheng ribao* 電聲日報 (“Movie Radio News”)
SHMH *Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (“Shanghai Sketch”)
SYHB *Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報 (“Pictorial Weekly”)

List of Tables

- Table 1-1 *Luo, luoti* in Chinese-English and English-Chinese Dictionaries
Table 1-2 “Naked” in Chinese Bibles
Table 1-3 *Ratai* in Japanese Dictionaries
Table 1-4 The Semantic Constitution of Unclothed Bodies
Table 1-5 A Timeline of Signifiers
Table 4-1 A List of Images of Unclothed Bodies in *Linglong* (1931-1933)

List of Figures

- Fig.0-1 Orders of signification.
Fig.1-1 Results searched in the database of Scripta Sinica.
Fig.1-2 Advertisement, *Minlibao* (May 18, 1911), 2.
Fig.1-3 The book cover of *Xiyang nüxing quxian mei*.
Fig.1-4 Book cover of *Sekai ni okeru on'na no rataibi no shin kenkyū*, 1922.
Fig.1-5 Book cover of *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Aimei she, 1930, 6th edition).
Fig.1-6 Advertisement of “Taiyang deng,” *Shenbao* (Aug. 5, 1931), 10.
Fig.1-7 Hong Shen having a sunbath. *Sheying huabao* vol.8 no.364 (Sept. 3, 1932), 25.
Fig.2-1 “Guying zilian,” BYHB 104 (July 16, 1927), 3.
Fig.2-2 Kiki posing in front of a mirror.
Fig.2-3 An image of Kiki from the same series of erotic postcards.
Fig.2-4 “Qiaoxiao,” BYHB 156 (Jan. 18, 1928), 2.
Fig.2-5 “Guxiang,” BYHB 220 (Sept. 12, 1928), 3.
Fig.2-6 Two nudes, “With lotus” and “Dignity,” BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 6.
Fig.2-7 The full page, BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 6.
Fig.2-8 Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China*, cover, n.p.
Fig.2-9 Two nudes, published in Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China*, n.p.
Fig.2-10 Book cover and inside cover of *Nüxing renti mei* (The Beauty of Female Bodies), 1928.
Fig.2-11 “Xifang meiren,” BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 3.
Fig.2-12 “Xifang meiren” published in *Manzhou bao*, BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 3.
Fig.2-13 “The Nude Image Question,” BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.
Fig.2-14 “Eve by G. Cirmeuse,” BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.
Fig.2-15 Cirmeuse, “Sacré matin!” *Le Sourire* 31 no. 608 (Dec. 27, 1928).
Fig.2-16 Cover image of *Le Sourire* vol. 31 no. 608 (Dec. 27, 1928).
Fig.2-17 “Hanshui zhi furen,” BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3.
Fig.2-18 The full page, BYHB 21 (Sept. 15, 1926), 3.
Fig.2-19 “Tianru zhi mei,” BYHB 108 (July 30, 1927), 3.

Fig.2-20 A postcard for comparison. *Erotic French Postcards*, 2009, n.p.

Fig.2-21 “wenquan shuihua xi ningzhi,” BYHB 263 (Dec. 29, 1929), 3.

Fig.2-22 Front illustration, *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu*, 1925.

Fig.3-1 Nude studies by Muray, SHMH 7 (June 2, 1928), 2.

Fig.3-2 “The Porcelain Figure,” *Photograms of the Year 1925*, Plate XXII.

Fig.3-3 Cover of *Nüxing mei/La Beaute Feminine* (Feminine Beauty).

Fig.3-4 The full page. SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

Fig.3-5 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 1,” SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

Fig.3-6 “Miao min fengsu tu”, SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

Fig.3-7 “Shou,” SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

Fig.3-8 Advertisements, SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

Fig.3-9 Photos of Chinese women in *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1927.

Fig.3-10 Hu Lijuan from “Kai huabang,” *Youxi bao* (Oct. 3, 1898), 1.

Fig.3-11 Chinese women in *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 34-35.

Fig.3-12 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 22,” SHMH 42 (Feb. 3, 1929), 3.

Fig.3-13 Recent Shanghai dancing girl’s fashion, SHMH 42 (Feb. 3, 1929), 2-3.

Fig.3-14 “Shijie renti bijiao 17,” SHMH 36 (Dec. 22, 1928), 3.

Fig.3-15 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 29,” SHMH 55 (May 11, 1929), 6.

Fig.3-16 *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 528-529.

Fig.3-17 *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 526-527.

Fig.4-1 Recent Photo of Lin Zecang.

Fig.4-2 Precious Photo of Ms. Liang Aibao, *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (Oct. 10, 1931), cover.

Fig.4-3 Lin-Liang Wedding, SYHB vol.8 no.370 (Oct. 15, 1932), 78.

Fig.4-4 “Personalities: Ling-Liang Wedding,” *The China Press* (Oct. 23, 1932), A4.

Fig.4-5 “Ta tongku de shihou,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 8 (May 6, 1931), [287].

Fig.4-6 “Gu ying zi lian,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 9 (May 13, 1931), [323].

Fig.4-7 “Jianmei zhe de dikang,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 11 (May 27, 1931), [395].

Fig.4-8 Nude model, *Shanghai huabao* no.1 (June 6, 1925), 1.

Fig.4-9 “Yubi,” SYHB vol.1 no.5 (Sept. 19, 1925), 2.

Fig.4-10 “Yuba,” SYHB vol.1 no.11 (Oct. 31, 1925), 4.

Fig.4-11 Examples of nudes in SYHB between 1925 and 1930.

Fig.4-12 An incomplete nude photograph, SYHB vol.5 no.228 (March 8, 1930), 219.

Fig.4-13 Yvonne Gregory, “Nude Study,” *Photograms of the Year 1929*.

Fig.4-14 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1964.

Fig.4-15 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.42 (Jan. 1, 1932), 1675.

Fig.4-16 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.38 (Dec. 2, 1931), 1488.

Fig.4-17: Li Li, *Linglong* vol.1, no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1534.

Fig.4-18: Li Li, SYHB vol.8, no. 366 (Sept. 17, 1932), 49.

Fig.4-19 Photographs circulated between *Linglong* and SYHB.

Fig.4-20 A male nude, *Linglong* vol.1, no.17 (July 8, 1931), 606.

Fig.4-21 A male nude, SYHB vol.5 no.250 (Aug. 9, 1930), 399.

Fig.4-22 “Aiji shaonü,” *Linglong* vol.1, no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1958.

Fig.4-23 *American Photography* vol.25 no.4 (April 1931), front cover.

Fig.4-24 “Greek Slave,” *American Photography* vol.25 no.4 (April 1931), 189.

Fig.4-25 Advertisement, *Linglong* vol.1 no.11 (May 27, 1931), 382.
Fig.4-26 “Juanyan xingsong,” SYHB vol.5 no.227 (March 31, 1930), 215.
Fig.4-27 Front cover, *Photograms of the Year 1929*.
Fig.4-28 “So Tired,” *Photograms of the Year 1929*, Plate XXX.
Fig.5-1 “Dui ying cheng san ren,” BYHB 355 (Aug. 8, 1929), 3.
Fig.5-2 “Zhongguo shaonü zhi cexing,” SHMH 68 (Aug. 10, 1929), 6.
Fig.5-3 “Renti mei xiezhen,” *Liangyou* 40 (Oct. 1929), 29.
Fig.5-4 Editors and Transcultural Production.

Note on the Images

Most images included in this dissertation are taken directly from magazines and books published in the 1920s and 1930s. Every effort has been made to contact or trace copyright holders of these images for the required permissions. However, in some cases this has not been possible. Should any errors or omissions occur, corrections will be made at the earliest opportunity.

Conventions

1. The *Pinyin* system of Romanization is used throughout the dissertation, except in citations from sources using other systems. Chinese characters are provided for all Chinese names, terms, and titles throughout the text when they first appear. Afterwards, *pinyin* and characters are only given when I consider necessary.
2. For primary source materials cited in this study, I give full citations in footnotes when they first appear, including author, *pinyin*, Chinese characters, English translation in brackets, publisher, year, and page number. Afterwards, only author, *pinyin*, and page number are provided in footnotes.
3. A list of all journals I consulted is included in the bibliography. The titles of pictorials are given in *pinyin*, Chinese characters and English translations, together with the dates of publication. In addition, the names of libraries or the databases where I consulted the journals are also provided. In the main text, the full citation of the journal will be given when they first appear; afterwards, the abbreviations of four major pictorials are used, unless I deem it less confusing if the names in *pinyin* are fully spelled out.
4. If I have found the original English (or French) title of a Chinese periodical, it is provided in quotation marks. In these cases, I do not offer my translation. In the primary source materials cited in this study, if a caption of an image, an article title, or a book title, is bilingual, I use quotation marks to separate original English (or French) from my own translations.

5. Cited works are listed in the Bibliography. Some journal materials I refer to, especially those without page numbers or identifiable authors, are cited in the footnotes, but not included in the Bibliography.

Introduction

On the afternoon of May 19th, 1917, a meeting was held by the Fiction Section (*xiaoshuo gu* 小說股) of the Popular Education Research Association (*tongsu jiaoyu yanjiuhui* 通俗教育研究會), an institution established by the Ministry of Education (*jiaoyu bu* 教育部) of the Beiyang Government in Beijing.¹ The Fiction Section was responsible for the evaluation of popular literature and literary magazines, promoting instructive and excellent works as well as criticizing indecent and harmful ones. During the meeting, attendees were engaged in discussing the quality, readability, and morality of current publications, especially fictions in the format of books and magazines circulating on the market. Discussions on two cases led to heated debates: one was about the banning of a fiction titled *Changhen* 長恨 (Everlasting Sorrow), and the other case was about a physiological book, *Qingyu baojian* 情慾寶鑑 (Warning for Lovers).

Some suggested to ban the fiction *Changhen*, because the book was basically a collection of short stories previously published in the literary journal *Meiyu* (Eyebrow Talk 眉語, 1914-1916). *Meiyu* had been banned nine months prior to the meeting, becoming the first Republican journal banned by the government.² Having regularly published nudes on its covers and front illustrations, *Meiyu* was perhaps the first Chinese journal that included nudes to such an extent.³ In the official announcement of the ban, the fiction and the illustrations in *Meiyu* were assessed

¹ The content of the meeting is paraphrased from “Xiaoshuogu di sanshijiu ci huiyi wuyue shijiu ri” 小說股第三十九次會議 五月十九日 (The 39th Meeting by the Fiction Section, May 19th), in *Tongsu jiaoyu yanjiuhui di san ci baogao shu* 通俗教育研究會第三次報告書 (The Third Report of the Popular Education Research Association) (Beijing: Jinhua yinshuju, 1917), 12-14.

² *Meiyu* was edited by the couple Xu Xiaotian 許嘯天 (Xu Jiaen 許家恩, Xu Zehua 許則華, 1886-1948) and Gao Jianhua 高劍華 (Gao Qin 高琴, ?-?). Some research materials regarding the banning of *Meiyu* is included in a joint article by Liying Sun and Michel Hockx, “Dangerous Fiction and Obscene Images: Textual-Visual Interplay in the Banned Magazine *Meiyu* and Lu Xun’s Role as Censor,” submitted for publication.

³ In the introduction, I use “nudes,” “nude paintings,” “nude photography,” and “nude images” to refer to the various visual presentations of “unclothed bodies” without referring to the discourse of “nudity vs. nakedness” in art history. “Nude/nudity” and “naked/nakedness,” are discussed in detail later in this introduction; for a detailed explanation of *luoti*, see Chapter One.

as presenting “licentious behavior and gestures, for ridiculous purposes (狀態猥褻, 意旨荒謬).”⁴ A member of the Fiction Section, however, reminded everyone “in the past, the argument for our Association to ban the journal of *Meiyu* was due to its **editorial style**,” and “[we] never said that all the fictions in the journal must be banned. (本會前者禁止眉語雜誌係就其編輯體例立論，非謂其中所列之小說皆必須禁止).”⁵ The power of the journal’s “editorial style,” as frankly acknowledged in the statement, played a critical and crucial role in the subsequent decision of banning.

The meeting continued to debate the book *Qingyu baojian*, which introduced the male and female reproductive systems from physiological and medical perspectives. The authorities however, considered that the content “exclusively focused on the functionality of genital organs and venereal diseases, therefore questionable.”⁶ Even more problematic was the fact that the book also included eight nudes. Although someone suggested that “nude paintings are also one form of art, and famous artists from all countries have expertly studied the technique (裸體畫亦係一種美術，各國著名畫家亦曾精研此道),” other officials thought nudes in this book were largely “obscene and indecent” (*huixie* 穢褻), and “nudes attached in the book definitely can not be regarded as artworks (其中所附裸體畫則決不能視為美術品).”⁷

After nudes were introduced to China during the Late Qing, they were often condemned as immoral and obscene, not only by Chinese moralists, but also by foreigners traveling in China.⁸ Regular reports on banning *yinhua* 淫畫 (obscene pictures) or *luoti hua* 裸體畫 (nude images) in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* between the 1880s to mid-1910s, for example, seem to

⁴ *Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公報 11 (1916): 12.

⁵ “Xiaoshuogu di sanshijiu ci huiyi wuyue shijiu ri,” 13-14.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ “Xiaoshuogu di sanshijiu ci huiyi wuyue shijiu ri,” 14.

⁸ Robert Bickers, “The Lives and Deaths of Photographs in Early Treaty Port China,” in *Visualising China, 1845-1965 Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives*, ed. Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 3–38.

suggest that strict limits were placed on the public circulation of nudes. The debate on *Changhen* and *Qingyu baojian* is one of the earliest documents exposing how censors dealt with nude images being circulated in popular print media. The censors recognized not only the power of “editorial style,” but also the importance of intention when deploying nudes, rather than the quality and morality of nudes *per se*. It was not the nudes – at least not merely - that made the book *Qingyu baojian* and the journal *Meiyu* so problematic; it was the combination of nude images and the editorial style that caused some assessors’ abhorrence. The inclusion and arrangement of nudes was not random. Translators, editors and/or publishers of the journal and book deliberately organized them in a particular way. In many years to come, nudes continued to appear in popular print. Yet, as of the mid-1920s, the perception of Western nudes had evidently changed: they were considered “aesthetic,” they were iconized and had even become symbols of “Western civilization” (used as the translation for Chinese *xifang wenming* 西方文明).⁹ Consequently, the art form flourished and it shaped (as it was shaped by) substantial cultural flows in Chinese print, which later became indispensable in Chinese pictorials.

While many scholars have noticed that female “unclothed bodies,” especially “Western” female nudes, appeared frequently in pictorials, existing studies have not yet explored some fundamental questions, to which I seek answers throughout this dissertation:

- How did people understand unclothed bodies at that time and why?
- If it was so problematic to locate nudes in the context of introducing sex organs, as shown in the case of *Qingyu baojian*, then in which context were nudes legitimized?
- How did “editorial style(s)” contribute to the legitimization? How did editors articulate their power?

⁹ My understanding of the “West” derives from Shu-mei Shih’s *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 1-2), in which the “West” is used not only to refer to “the nations of Europe and North America,” but also as “a symbolic construct.” Shih adopts the latter from the definition developed by the Indian Subaltern Studies group, which considers the “West” as “an imaginary though powerful entity created by a historical process that authorized it as the home of Reason, Progress, and Modernity.” Shih concludes that the “West” is “a construct distributed and universalized by imperialism and nationalism.”

- Where did the visual materials of unclothed bodies come from?
- What were their original contexts? Why and how were they incorporated into Chinese periodicals?

Located at the intersection of three research areas - periodical studies, visual culture, and body history - this interdisciplinary research aims to shed light on editorial practice in dealing with visual representations of unclothed bodies in periodicals from the 1920s to the 1930s. The practice was ultimately part of transcultural production in the Republican era.¹⁰ It is my purpose to probe the meaning of *luoti* (unclothed bodies) as constructed in the media, and thus contest theories on nudity vs. nakedness in Western art history; to investigate the background of the editors who had the power to decide the kinds of nudes to be published in pictorials; to explore the “editorial styles” and strategies through which nudes were dynamically interpreted in pictorials; to trace the sources of nudes which appeared in Republican journals; and to compare the Chinese cultural context of the nudes to the cultural context from where the nudes originated.

This introduction will outline three perspectives of the unknown history of nudes in early Republican popular periodicals, and then provide an initial glimpse into three significant related issues, as well as theories and methods that have inspired my approach to the subject. Finally, it will present the employed source materials and the structure of the dissertation.

An Unknown (Trans-)cultural History: Nudes in Early Republican Popular Periodicals

The period between the 1900s and the 1930s witnessed the booming of popular print culture all over the world—also in China. In spite of constant social conflict and political unrest, more

¹⁰ The two terms “transculturality” and “transculturation” are key concepts in transcultural studies. Wolfgang Welsch developed “transculturality” a key term to discuss transcultural issues, see his “Transculturality—The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today,” in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, edited by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), 194–213. The term “transculturation” was initially coined by Fernando Ortiz in his *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York: Knopf, 1947), 103. Later Nicholas Mirzoeff used Ortiz’s concept to analyze visual culture, see Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009). In this study, transculturality can serve as lens to explore the cultural phenomenon of nudes, and it can also be understood as a characteristic. The term used in the title of the dissertation, “transcultural production,” is based on Pierre Bourdieu’s concept “the field of cultural production,” examining cultural production from transcultural perspective. Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

and more readers had the opportunity to enjoy print culture, especially through illustrated newspapers and magazines, or “*huabao*” 畫報 (pictorials), as they were often named. This occurred thanks to improvements in print technology on the one hand, and an increasing level of education on the other. In these periodicals, foreign images and translated texts appeared frequently. These were an indispensable source of knowledge production at the time while contributing to the development of a particular transcultural popular culture in China. Among the foreign images appropriated in Chinese popular periodicals, nudes—or visual representations of *luoti* (i.e. unclothed bodies)—and especially nude/*luoti* photographs, became a particularly prominent visual genre. The background to and the significance of the sudden public flourishing of nudes in print forms an enormously intriguing (trans-)cultural history, which we know very little about. In the following, I will outline three perspectives of this unknown history.

The Circulation of Nudes in the Popular Media

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, displaying unclothed bodies in popular print became a prominent global phenomenon. Existing scholarship shows that in cities like St. Petersburg, New York, Toronto, Beirut, Tokyo, and Seoul, visual representations of unclothed bodies were widely circulated, carried by affordable reproduction of photographs and paintings, such as postcards and illustrated newspapers and magazines. In each of these locations, unclothed bodies were almost unanimously regarded as icons of civilization and largely associated with local debates on aesthetics, bourgeois lifestyle, and modernity.¹¹ In this context, the “visual flow” of nudes arrived in China, and China became another stop for this

¹¹ Examples see Heather Dawkins, *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870-1910* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Jane Nicholas, “‘A Figure of a Nude Woman’: Art, Popular Culture, and Modernity at the Canadian National Exhibition, 1927,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41, no. 82 (2008): 313–344; Alyssa Picard, “‘To Popularize the Nude in Art’: Comstockery Reconsidered,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 03 (2002): 195–224; Bram Dijkstra, *Naked: The Nude in America* (Rizzoli, 2010); Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* (Getty Publications, 2011).

global phenomenon.¹² Images of unclothed bodies can be divided into two categories. The first category consists of original visual representations of unclothed bodies, such as nude paintings and nude photography. The second category encompasses reproductions of visual representations, such as nudes reproduced in postcards, pictorials, and other popular periodicals. The “visual flow” and the circulation of nudes in popular media mainly refers to the visual reproductions described in the second category, especially in the form of photography in the 1920s and 1930s.

Scholars have detected the absence of unclothed human bodies in Chinese art before the Late Qing, despite the fact that the private enjoyment of erotic and pornographic paintings had existed for centuries.¹³ As Mark Elvin, a specialist in Chinese history, pointed out, “the unclothed human bodies were not seen as an aesthetic object in China before Chinese taste was—in the largest cities—influenced by Western ideas on this subject.”¹⁴ In the past ten years, art historians have begun to explore the visual representations of nudes in Republican China as well as the related history of foreign art education in the Shanghai area. Yet, these art historians have primarily focused on those nudes that could be considered “high art” by

¹² The use of “cultural flows” here is inspired by Arjun Appadurai’s concept of “scapes and flows” and Welsch’s interpretation of “transculturality,” I view the emerging visual representations as the transcultural products of “cultural flows,” which conveyed concepts, commodities, and lifestyles to China. See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) and *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹³ See John Hay, “The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?” in *Body, Subject, and Power in China*, ed. by Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42-77; François Jullien, *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Art historian James Cahill gives a detailed literature review on the collections of and writings on Chinese erotic paintings, see *Chinese Erotic Painting*, published in his blog <http://jamescahill.info/illustrated-writings/chinese-erotic-painting>, (accessed on Feb. 20, 2014). Among the most important works, see for example, Robert Hans Van Gulik, *Erotic Color Prints of the Ming Period, with an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch’ing Dynasty, B.C. 206–A.D. 1644* (Tokyo, 1951); Robert Hans Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); John Byron, *Portrait of a Chinese Paradise: Erotica and Sexual Customs of the Late Qing Period* (London: Quartet Books, 1987).

¹⁴ Mark Elvin, “Tales of *Shen* and *Xin*: Body-Person and Heart-Mind in China during the Last 150 Years,” in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body (=Zone 4)*, ed. Michel Feher, R. Naddaff and N. Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 312.

definition.¹⁵ Those nude images that are either regarded as “low” visual culture or carried by popular media belonging to “low” culture (such as postcards and popular journals), have been largely out of researchers’ scope. This situation is changing. More recent studies, undertaken by scholars not only from the field of art history, but also from film and literature studies, show a growing interest in the numerous nudes displayed in various popular media in the early twentieth century, including advertisements, photographs, calendar posters, cartoons, and illustrations in books and journals. For example, Leo Oufan Lee is among the earliest scholars who paid attention to the emerging of nudes in popular pictorials and advertisements in relation to modernity.¹⁶ Ellen Johnston Laing has explored nude and semi-nude figures represented in calendar posters and magazine covers.¹⁷ And there is more article-length research discussing nudes from various points of view, such as the relation between female bodies and modernity; between female bodies and (fe-)male viewership; as well as consumerism. Nudes appearing in the popular periodical press, however, have not been fully considered.¹⁸

¹⁵ See An Yalan 安雅蘭 (Julia F. Andrews), “Luoti hua lunzheng ji xiandai zhongguo meishushi de jiangou” 裸體畫論爭及現代中國美術史的建構 (The Controversy of Nude Paintings and the Construction of Modern Chinese Art History), in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* 海派繪畫研究文集 (Studies on Shanghai School Painting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 117–150; Wu Fangcheng 吳方正, “Luode liyou - ershi shiji chuqi zhongguo renti xiasheng wenti de taolun” 裸的理由——二十世紀初期中國人體寫生問題的討論 (The Reason for the Nude: Questions Concerning Nude Figure Drawing in China at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century), *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New Studies in History) vol.15, no. 2 (2004): 55-110; Zheng Jie Jane, *The Shanghai Art College, 1913-1937* (Hongkong: The University of Hong Kong, 2005), master thesis.

¹⁶ Oufan Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), Chapter Two.

¹⁷ Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004). In a later article, she analyses representation of nudes in *Shanghai Manhua* (Shanghai Sketch) in her paper “*Shanghai Manhua*, the Neo-Sensationist School of Literature, and Scenes of Urban Life” (the MCLC Resource Center, <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/laing.htm#fn1>, accessed on 30.09.2010.)

¹⁸ In addition to Leo Lee’s and Ellen Laing’s work, David Clarke briefly discusses nudes appearing in the *Peiyang Pictorial News* in his “Iconicity and Indexicality: The Body in Chinese Art,” *Semiotica* 155 (2005): 229-248. The book *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s* (edited by Jason C. Kuo, Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, LLC, 2007) includes three papers on nudes or female bodies: Yingjin Zhang’s “Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials,” 121-161; Carrie Waara’s “The Bare Truth: Nudes, Sex, and the Modernization Project in Shanghai Pictorials,” 163-203; Shu-mei Shi’s

While scholars have noted the existence of foreign nudes in Chinese pictorials, and have assumed that the nudes were adopted, appropriated, or reproduced from foreign sources, we know very little about what exactly these sources were, from where the nudes travelled from to China and how, not to mention details of their circulation and (re-)production. No researcher has yet to systematically deal with the circulation and appropriation of nudes (mostly foreign) in Chinese popular periodicals. Nudes continue to be viewed as somewhat “indecent,” and are thus often excluded in scholarly writings, even today. Outlining the landscape of the *luoti* culture in a given time is regarded as one of the purposes in the dissertation.

Pictorials as Transcultural Products

Scholars have pointed out that the global phenomenon of the “pictorial turn” or “visual turn,” had begun in China from the Late Qing.¹⁹ It was visual materials, especially those transported through illustrated newspapers and magazines, which played an increasingly important role in disseminating and transmitting modern knowledge and in shaping new reading habits.²⁰

The boom of pictorials occurred precisely in what Walter Benjamin called “the age of mechanical reproduction.”²¹ Their development directly benefited from the rapid technological

“Shanghai Women of 1939: Visuality and the Limits of Feminine Modernity”, 205-240. Yingjin Zhang has an earlier article on the erotic stimulations in Shanghai pictorials and cartoons, see “The Corporeality of Erotic Imagination: A Study of Pictorials and Cartoons in Republican China,” in *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines and Picture Books*, ed. John A. Lent (London: Curzon Press, 2001), 121-136. Catherine V. Yeh, “Recasting Depravity as the Icon of the Modern: The Female Nude in *the Young Companion (Liangyou huabao)* and *the Pei-yang Pictorial News (Beiyang huabao)* of the 1920s,” paper presented at Session 145 “A New Way to Imagine the Order of the World: Chinese Pictorials of the 1920s and 30s,” AAS Annual Meeting, 2007.

¹⁹ For “The pictorial turn,” see W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-34. “The pictorial turn” in the Chinese context see Laikwan Pang, “The pictorial turn: realism, modernity and China’s print culture in the late nineteenth century,” *Visual Studies* vol. 20, no.1 (April 2005): 16-36; Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 1-33.

²⁰ For example, Fang-Chen Yu 余芳珍 gives a detailed literature review on the significance of *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 in the history of reading, before she discusses how *Liangyou*, as a representative modern pictorial, changed individual reading habit in the 1920s, see “Yueshu xiao yongri: *Liangyou* tushu yu jindai Zhongguo de xiaoxian yuedu xiguan” 閱書消永日：良友圖書與近代中國的消閑閱讀習慣 (Reading for Pleasure: *Young Companion (Liangyou)* Publishing House in Modern China, 1926-1941), *Si yu yan* 43, no.3 (2005): 191-282.

²¹ Cf. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London: Penguin, 2008).

evolution around the globe, from the lithograph (*zhaoxiang shiyin* 照相石印) to photoengraving (*zhaoxiang tong xin ban* 照相銅鋅版) in the 1920s, and then to photogravure/heliogravure (*yingxie ban* 影寫版) in the 1930s.²² Empowered by the evolving printing technology, publishers in Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin were engaged in large-scale reproduction of images, and further increased the number of available images from the mid-1920s on, at an affordable cost. The year 1925, in particular, marked “the boom of pictorials” (*huabao chao* 畫報潮), and from June 1925 to June 1926 alone, 30 to 50 pictorials were freshly founded, although few of them survived more than one year.²³ When an increasing amount of nudes flooded to China, pictorials became (trans-)cultural sites, or what Mary Louise Pratt has called “contact zones” in print, where all kinds of ideas behind nudes could “meet, clash and grapple with each other.”²⁴ By selecting, framing, contextualizing, and interpreting foreign visual materials such as nudes, editors were actively engaged in “autoethnographic” (Pratt’s term) and transcultural tasks, and eventually shaped pictorials into transcultural products. Substantial research on Chinese pictorials is mainly limited to a handful well-known examples, including *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1884-1898) and *Liangyou* 良友 (*The Young Companion*, 1926-1945). For most of these examples, their history from a transcultural perspective has yet to be further explored.²⁵

²² For the general development of printing technology, see He Shengnai 賀聖齋 and Lai Yanyu 賴彥于, *Jindai yinshushu* 近代印刷術 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), repr. 1947; Shi Meicen 史梅岑, *Zhongguo yinshu fazhanshi* 中國印刷發展史 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), 174-177. Christopher A. Reed discusses the history of industrialized printing technology in detail in his monograph *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 25-87.

²³ Xinleng 心冷, “Zhounian kan zhong de jinian” 周年刊中的紀念, SYHB vol. no.50 (June 1, 1926), 394. This phenomenon has not yet been carefully investigated. Zhu Junzhou has showcased the rich materials in this period, see Zhu Junzhou 祝均宙, *Tu jian bainian wenxian: Wanqing Mingguo nianjian huabao yuanliu tedian tanjiu* 圖鑑百年文獻：晚清民國年間畫報源流特點探究 (Taipei: Airiti Press Inc, 2012).

²⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991): 34.

²⁵ For *Dianshizhai huabao*, see Xiaoqing Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2003); Rudolf G. Wagner, “Joining the Global

Research on popular periodicals in general has only recently come into the focus of scholars both in China and the West.²⁶ On the one hand, the sheer volume of these sources is overwhelming. Their ephemerality is an additional challenging factor that has led to the rather random and selective archiving of these materials in public libraries. Their “popular” nature has resulted in them eluding librarians’ and scholars’ attention. Accordingly, we have very little knowledge about these popular journals, and gathering even the most basic biographical information is not at all trivial and requires much effort. This situation is now changing, for two major reasons. Firstly, the digitization (full text and otherwise) has granted scholars access to a growing number of periodicals, and periodical databases have significantly accelerated information retrieval.²⁷ Secondly, scholars have shown an increasing interest in the discourses of vernacular modernity, visual modernity, everydayness, transgressiveness, or transculturality reflected in these popular journals.²⁸ I hope this dissertation can contribute to the field of periodical studies by offering substantial case studies of four periodicals.

Imaginaire: the Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai huabao*,” in Rudolf G. Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (Sunny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 105-174. For the recent research on *Liangyou*, see Paul Pickowicz, Kuiyi Shen, and Yingjin Zhang, eds., *Liangyou: Kaleidoscopic Modernity and the Shanghai Global Metropolis, 1926-1945* (BRILL, 2013). More research on the pictorials that I focus on in Chapter 2, 3, 4 will be reviewed at the beginning of each chapter respectively.

²⁶ Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, “The Rise of Periodical Studies,” *PMLA* 121-2, 2006, 517–531. In addition to the research on Chinese pictorials mentioned above, a few scholars have dealt with popular literary journals, such as Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001); Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁷ The bibliography includes a list of databases that I have consulted, which represents the current development of digitalization projects of periodicals.

²⁸ For example, Joan Judge 季家珍, “Everydayness as a Critical Category of Gender Analysis: The Case of ‘*Funü Shibao*’ (The Women’s Eastern Times) 性別分析的關鍵範疇「日常性」：以《婦女時報》為中心,” *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究 no. 20 (December 2012): 1–28; Michel Hockx, “Raising Eyebrows: The Journal *Meiyu* and the Regulation of ‘Harmful Fiction’ in Modern China,” in *A Space of Their Own: Women and the Periodical Press in China’s Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Joan Judge, Barbara Mittler and Michel Hockx, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming. American film scholar Miriam Hansen established the concept of “vernacular modernism” in her book *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991). Zhang Zhen applied this concept in her book *An*

Editors and Editorial Practice

The names of famous editors of the Republican period are well known, but they represent only a small percentage of this large group of professionals. For most editors of popular periodicals, we have little access to biographical information in existing lexicons or scholarship. In most cases, even for those well-known editors, we know who edited which journals, but we have little knowledge of their actual editorial practice. The styles of writers and illustrators have all been studied, but little has been said regarding “editing styles,” nor has there been an established methodology for such studies. Yet, editors occupy a key position in the cultural field. Editors produced visualized knowledge or concepts of *luoti*/unclothed bodies in pictorials based on their own particular habitus, desire, ideology, and networks, as well as based on mechanisms of the market and the socio-cultural climate. The knowledge and concepts thus produced were then transmitted to a “mass audience,” most likely the growing urban middle class, including male and female readers. In this sense, the functionality of “editors” and their (trans-)cultural production are crucial for us to understand the actual process of transculturation and the pursuit of modernity. In tracing the sources of the nudes in pictorials, consisting of popular prints, books and periodicals, it is one of the purposes of this study to uncover these rhizomatic connections, thus illustrating how these editors acted as cultural interpreters, gatekeepers (sometimes censors) and often trendsetters. After sketching three research perspectives of the unknown (trans-)cultural history of nudes in early republican popular periodicals, I will introduce two concepts which are crucial to frame this research.

The Field of *Luoti* Culture in the Early Twentieth Century China

Having applied French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s analytical framework of “field,” I use “the field of transcultural production” to describe and define the social space, where transcultural products were constantly produced.²⁹ “The field of *luoti* culture” was a sub-field of “transcultural production,” where transcultural products, either centering on or containing

Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1931 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). Recently, scholars began to use the concept to rethink “Chinese popular literature” in the early Republican era, see Theodore Hutters and Chen Jianhua’s recent publications.

²⁹ Bourdieu, *ibid.*

visual and textual elements of “unclothed bodies,” were produced. My approach was inspired by Michel Hockx’ research on the Chinese “literary field,” in which he first introduced the Bourdieuan concept of “field” into Chinese literary studies.³⁰ My purpose of constructing “the field of *luoti* culture” is, first and foremost, to offer an overview of the various agents who were engaged in producing transcultural products related to the theme of *luoti*, thus reaching an understanding of which position editors may have occupied, and to prepare the discussion of editors’ power in the field. Furthermore, the important Bourdieuan concept of “position-taking” in the field contributes to comprehend editors’ - as well as other agents’ - motivation to compete in the production of nude culture.

In the field of *luoti* culture, various agents and institutions, interwoven by networks, coexisted. Agents here include artists of all kinds (academic/commercial), intellectuals, editors/publishers and the mass audience, while institutions include schools, universities as well as publishing houses. Various agents played different roles in the field, and seven active groups of agents can be observed and described below.³¹

1). *Academic artists*. They were either trained abroad (many in France), or accepted the training of Western-style painting in the few early Chinese art academies, such as Shanghai Art School founded in 1912. Following Western norms, these artists accepted unclothed bodies as aesthetic objects, and explored nude figure artwork in various genres: sketches, oil paintings, sculptures, and so on. Frequently condemned by the moralists at the time, academic artists took the power to define which visual representations of unclothed bodies could be regarded as “art” in the 1910s and early 1920s, in spite of the different voices within the group. To publicize their ideas of art and Western-style paintings, the artists enthusiastically organized exhibitions and published albums of nude figures. Academic artists possessed great cultural and social

³⁰ Michel Hockx ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, Honolulu, 1999); “The Literary Field and the Field of Power: The Case of Modern China,” *Paragraph* 35, no. 1 (March 2012): 49–65.

³¹ An earlier version of the concept of “the field of *luoti* culture” has been included in my Chinese article, “1920 niandai Shanghai de huajia, zhishi fenzi yu luoti shijue wenhua--yi Zhang Jingsheng ‘Luoti yanjiu’ wei zhongxin” 1920年代上海的畫家、知識份子與裸體視覺文化——以張競生〈裸體研究〉為中心 (Artists, Intellectuals, and the Visual Culture of Unclothed Bodies in 1920s Shanghai: Zhang Jingsheng’s “A Study of Unclothed Bodies”), *Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Literature* 10 (December 2013): 287–340.

capital. Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994), Chen Xiaojiang 陳曉江 (1893-1925), Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970), among others, were such examples.³²

2) *Commercial artists*. Not always trained in the art academies, they had acquired artistic skills, for example, from masters through apprenticeship. They introduced nude images to commercial mass products, including calendar posters, illustrations in newspapers and magazines, cartoons, and advertisements. They had the capacity to satisfy the demand on the market and thus profited from the market in turn. Their “tastes,” however, were vaguely between then perceived “high” and “low,” thus often criticized by academic artists and intellectuals. Ellen Laing has discussed many artists in *Selling Happiness*, including Zheng Mantuo 鄭曼陀 (1884-1961), Hang Zhiying 杭穉英 (1900-1947), Xie Zhiguang 謝之光 (1900-1976), and Ding Song 丁悚 (1891-1972).

3) *Intellectuals, writers, and art critics*. Producing artworks was not their profession, but they were engaged in the public debates and discussions on unclothed bodies in artworks through their writing. Their power in the field was, on the one hand, to contest the existing concept of *luoti*, and on the other hand, to introduce new (Western) concepts and ideologies of unclothed bodies. Their power, to a certain extent, shaped or led public opinion, sometimes even governmental policies. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), Zhang Jingsheng 張競生 (1888-1970), and Xiong Foxi 熊佛西 (1900-1965) can be counted in this category.

4) *Publishers and editors*. They possessed power to select, arrange, and interpret nude images in all kinds of print products, including newspapers, magazines, and books. I will discuss their power more fully in the next section in the introduction. The editors that I research in the dissertation belong to this group, for example, Feng Wuyue 馮武越 (1895-1936), Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907-1995), and Lin Zecang 林澤蒼 (1903-1961).

³² I discussed the roles that Chen Xiaojiang and Zhang Jingsheng played in the field, as well as their interaction in the article “1920 niandai Shanghai de huajia, zhishi fenzi yu luoti shijue wenhua--yi Zhang Jingsheng ‘Luoti yanjiu’ wei zhongxin.”

5). *Film directors and actors/actresses*. Together they produced nude images in the new medium of motion pictures. The number of agents in this category was not so great, compared to other categories. However, films, as a new form of media, magically empowered the nude images produced by these agents, and the directors and actors gained huge responses in the market. Those that belonged to this category include well-known early director Dan Duyu 但杜宇 (1897-1972) and his wife Yin Mingzhu 殷明珠 (1904-1989).

6). *Other amateur photographers or disseminators of luoti visual products*. Some of them helped prostitutes create nude photographs to attract customers; some produced nude images for personal interests; and some sold nude photographs and erotic pictures along the street to make a living. Occasionally, journalists reported their business in newspapers.

7). *Viewers and readers*. They were actual consumers of *luoti* visual products. In many cases, they were also the recipients, or implied recipients, of diverse interpretations of nudes offered by various other agents.

All the agents functioned differently in the field. Their identities, however, could change under certain conditions. A teacher of Shanghai Art School could serve as a calendar poster artist, such as Ding Song; a calendar poster artist could also act as cartoonist and film director, such as Dan Duyu; a cartoonist could work as pictorial editor, such as Ye Qianyu; and an editor could surely be a viewer or reader. The relationship between individuals also presents complexity: some were teachers and students, some were fellow students or friends, and some were relatives. This description is based on materials that I encountered, but by no means the only way to sketch the agents in the field. The period of the 1920s and 1930s was a golden era when all agents actively produced *luoti* transcultural products. Through their professional skills, they competed for the power to define what “good” and proper *luoti* culture was by promoting their own “taste.” The following section will focus on the second important concept within this body of research.

Editorial Agency: Editors' Power in Transcultural Production

In the environment of the 1920s and 1930s, treaty ports, such as Shanghai and Tianjin, offered fertile ground for transcultural production. Many editors in the dissertation rooted in the cultural “contact zone,” after receiving higher education either abroad (such as *Beiyang huabao* editor Feng Wuyue), or at China-based foreign educational institutions (such as *Shanghai manhua* editor Zhang Guangyu and *Sheying huabao* editor Lin Zecang). In this multicultural environment, editors were exposed to materials imported across the linguistic and cultural borders, from Japan, France, Germany, UK, and USA.

Occupying an essential position in the field, the “editor” as an agent is my major concern in this study. On the one hand, editors act as creators, who consciously engage in collection, selection, arrangement, interpretation, and integration of textual and/or visual material. Their consciousness and engagement reveals their reflections on, and perhaps also “absorption” of, current national or transnational socio-cultural trends. Their everyday selections and decisions frame, shape and construct the appearance and content of cultural products, thus they simultaneously function as gatekeepers, or sometimes-even censors. On the other hand, they are intermediaries or communicators. They need to be aware of, and then constantly manage relations between authors (providers of texts), illustrator (providers of images, e.g. photographers, cartoonists, painters), publishers, and readers, especially when running a serial cultural product (such as book series’ or periodicals).

The editor had both the opportunity and the ability to link to other agents in the field: “absorbing” and “digesting” knowledge, the *zeitgeist* and the newest ideology from intellectuals on the one hand; and on the other, “bricolaging” available *luoti* materials either by Chinese or other artists at all levels into his/her cultural production.³³ This ability is what I call “editorial agency.”³⁴ To name the activities that editors perform in the field of transcultural

³³ “Bricolage,” see John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 1989), 142-143. I explain more in detail in Chapter Two.

³⁴ To my knowledge, no substantial scholarship has been undertaken to discuss “editorial agency” in the production of illustrated magazines, although the term once was used by Jeronimo Pizarro Jaramillo in the English title of her dissertation written in Spanish: “Editorial Agency. On the Posthumous Life of the Written Word (La

production, we could apply the term “transediting” (transcultural editing) for late analysis.³⁵ The concept of “agency” builds on Giddens’ argument discussing human agency, when he writes that “to be an agent is to have power,” and “‘power’ in this highly generalized sense means ‘transformative capacity,’ the capability to intervene in a given set of events so as to alter them in some way.”³⁶ “Editorial agency” is indeed “transformative,” as editors have the capability to combine, compress, and then convert various cultural components into new (trans-)cultural products, such as pictorials, books, or even websites, if we take new media into account. I view “editorial agency” as the key power possessed by editors in the field, which enabled them to select, collect, frame, and integrate materials into their final (trans-)cultural production, thus creating something novel, exotic, perhaps even spectacular.³⁷

Terminology

Naked/Nakedness vs. Nude/Nudity: Dynamic Boundaries

Stemmed from the classical Latin *nūdus*, the Norman French rooted word “nude” means “open, simple, plain, naked, bare, unclothed.”³⁸ The equivalent word from an Indo-European base is “naked,” carrying the meaning of “having no clothing on the body, stripped to the skin;

Mediation Editorial. *Sobre La Vida Postuma De Lo Escrito*)” (Harvard University, 2008). The dissertation mainly examines the function of editors in producing literary works.

³⁵ “Transediting” means “transcultural editing.” The term “transediting” appeared in Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, *Global Infatuation: Explorations in Transnational Publishing and Texts. The Case of Harlequin Enterprises and Sweden* (Uppsala: Section for Sociology of Literature at the Department of Literature, 1998). The book mainly uses the term to refer to the editorial practice in the production of translational text, therefore, the “trans-” means “translation.”

³⁶ Anthony Giddens, *The Nation State and Violence*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 7.

³⁷ For the concept of “everydayness” and the possible resistance in the everyday life, see Michel Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

³⁸ See OED (Oxford English Dictionary), online edition, <http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/128980> . The same entry offers the variants in different Latin languages: “French †*nud* painting of a naked human figure (1676). Compare Anglo-Norman and Middle French *nu*, *nud* (early 12th cent.; French *nu*), Italian *nudo* (a1294; a1472 in sense ‘painting of a naked human figure’), Portuguese *nu* (13th cent. as *nuu*), Spanish *nudo* (1629 in legal sense).” Other less relevant meanings include “(in legal use, of a promise) not attended by any formalities or pledges.”

unclothed, nude.”³⁹ For centuries, the boundary between “nude/nudity” and “naked/nakedness” was not clearly demarcated, and both can refer to the condition of “unclothed” as shown above. The current Oxford English Dictionary explains the distinction between the two words as following:

“naked and nude as applied to the human figure are partly synonymous, but have somewhat different connotations. Naked tends to connote vulnerability and absence of normal clothing; nude tends to be applied to nakedness regarded in positive or aesthetic terms, esp. in artistic contexts. Esp. in Middle English, naked was frequently used in the context of a person’s birth, perhaps to connote a new born child’s vulnerability or innocence.”⁴⁰

The two terms were constructed as analytical terms in artistic discourses by critics active in the early 18th century. Later, the terms were summarized and remarked upon by one of the best known British art historians in the mid-20th century, Sir Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) in his classic, monumental study *The Nude: a Study in Ideal Form*, published in 1956. He states early in the book:

“The English language, with its elaborate generosity, distinguishes between the naked and the nude. To be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, and the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition. The word ‘nude,’ on the other hand, carries, in educated usage, no uncomfortable overtone. The vague image it projects into the mind is not of a huddled and defenseless body, but of a balanced, prosperous, and confident body: the body re-formed. In fact the word was forced into our vocabulary by critics of the early 18th century in order to persuade the artless islanders that in countries where painting and sculpture were practiced and valued as they should be, the naked human body was the central subject of art.”⁴¹

Clark’s explanation demonstrates three significant perspectives. Firstly, he uses the terms *nakedness* and *nudity* as analytical tools to polarize the status of the unclothed body in art history. The distinction between the two words was not Clark’s invention, but the mode of polarizing the two words was influential to later art historians, and was widely accepted in

³⁹ The etymology of the word “naked” is “Cognate with Old Frisian *nakad*, *naked*, *naket*, Middle Dutch *naect*, *nāket* (Dutch *naakt*), Middle Low German *nacket*, *nackt*, *nāket*, *nākt*, Old High German *nackot*, *nackut* (Middle High German *nacket*, German *nackt*) [...] a participial derivative of the Indo-European base which is also represented by Sanskrit *nagna*.” See OED, online edition, <http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/124890?rskey=ZOMtNN&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>. Also cf. Philip Carr-Gomm, *A Brief History of Nakedness*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 7.

⁴⁰ OED online, <http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/124890?rskey=GHOuRD&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

⁴¹ See Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (New York: Pantheon Books), 1.

artistic discourse for decades. Clark emphasized how “we” would feel if we are in the situation of either “nakedness” or “nudity”: “to be naked” “implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition,” while nudity is the description “not of a huddled and defenseless body, but of a balanced, prosperous, and confident body.” However, we shall notice that the polarization is initially an artificial construct in Western artistic discourse.

Secondly, Clark seems to show his preference for “nudity” rather than “nakedness” in artistic discourse. Here, “to be naked” is described as a status, or fact, of having “no clothes.” To contrast, the word “nude” can be comfortably used to project “the body re-formed” in the positive sense of “a balanced, prosperous, and confident body,” rather than a “huddled and defenseless” one. The preference of “nudity” is challenged by, for instance, English art critic John Berger. He shows the possibility of subverting Clark’s preference of “nudity,” and further introduces the debate of subjectivity vs. objectivity embedded in nudity.⁴² Berger suggests that “to be naked is to be oneself” and “to be without disguise,” while “to be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself.” He further points out that “nakedness reveals itself, nudity is placed on display,” and “a naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become a nude.”⁴³ Berger stresses the feeling that “one” has while being “naked,” that is “to be oneself,” and “without disguise.” “To be seen naked by others” without self-recognition would mean that subjectivity does not necessarily exist when one is “to be nude.” Whether one is “to be nude” depends on how one is objectified. In other words, to push it to the extreme: as long as one stays oneself and is not “disguised,” “others” can turn one’s naked body into an aesthetic object, and one’s body is to be nude as a consequence. Berger’s interpretation mainly turns “nudity” from a “subject” to an “object,” and empowers viewers to judge whether a representation of unclothed figures can be aesthetically qualified to be “nudity.”

⁴² John Berger (born in 1926) is a British art critic, novelist, painter, and author. He is known for his book *Ways of Seeing*, a collection of his analyses and criticism on Western art history. The book was initially a draft used for a TV program produced by BBC, but later became well regarded and popular, and remains to be teaching material in universities today.

⁴³ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972), 54.

Only one category of female nudes, as Berger points out, can exceptionally escape from spectator's gaze that ultimately turns "the naked" into "the nude": the female nudes painted by the artists as their lovers.⁴⁴ It is the intimate relationship (or love) between the artists and the unclothed female that makes other potential male spectators incapable to turn female figures into "the nude," the voyeuristic spectacle. Nudity in Berger's analysis does not exist by itself, but exists because of others' gaze, which marks the major difference from Clark's interpretation.

Finally, Clark mentions that the appropriate selection of terms requires adequate education. Clark emphasized how "we" would feel if we were in the situation of either "nakedness" or "nudity." The differentiation between "nakedness" and "nudity" *is*, although not merely as a matter of aestheticization, which reveals subjective understanding and evaluative opinion.⁴⁵ A viewer needs to learn to observe, distinguish, and judge, which kind of bodily representation is "balanced, prosperous, and confident," so that the appropriate terms can be applied. Precisely because one has to be educated to select the right term, the distinction between "nakedness/naked" and "nudity/nude" is not natural, unchangeable, or unarguable. The boundary that stands in between is dynamic, thus can shift due to different perspectives, understanding, education, or cultural background.

In this sense, Berger's idea resonates with Clark's. Berger's example of artists' lovers as the nude figures in painting demonstrates how knowledge is supposed to change viewers' understanding of a nude painting. Stating that male spectators are unable to turn the painting into "the nude" requires two premises: one, the potential male spectators must possess necessary knowledge to understand the background of the nude figure, such as the identity of the nude figure, the artist that created the nude painting, and the relation between the two persons. The second is that Berger presumes that after knowing the intimate relationship between the painter and the nude figure, most male viewers, if not everyone, would position

⁴⁴ Berger, *ibid*, 57-60.

⁴⁵ Later authors seem to abandon the discussion on the differentiation, but determinedly stick to their own choices. See, for instance, Philip Carr-Gomm, *A Brief History of Nakedness* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), and Bram Dijkstra, *Naked: The Nude in America* (Rizzoli, 2010).

themselves as “outsiders,” thus are unable to turn female figures into voyeuristic spectacle. The two premises require spectators to be highly informed and cultivated, and furthermore follow a certain cultural logic, or “way of seeing.” However, we shall ask, what would happen if one of the nudes from such a category is displayed to less informed audience in a non-Western context? Would spectators then naturally follow Berger’s ways of seeing, being unable to turn the painting to “the nude”? More specifically, when the action of viewing happened in Republican China that this study focuses, where viewers had different assumptions and perceptions of unclothed body, can we then assume that the viewers would naturally follow Berger’s logic?

Signifiers vs. Signifieds: Arbitrary Signification

In the discourse of nudity vs. nakedness, one perspective to be fundamentally rethought is the connection between the two terms and the concept of unclothed body, which both Clark and Berger tried to establish. Their interpretations and definitions are regarded as milestones in art history, thus most frequently quoted and continuously discussed by the later art critics. Their interpretations are, however, not self-evident, but bound to a certain socio-cultural, gender context. Structuralist linguist Ferdinand de Saussure used a “dyadic” or two-part model, i.e. “signifier” vs. “signified,” to discuss a sign system. A “signifier” (*signifiant*) is the *form* which the sign takes; and the “signified” (*signifié*) is the *concept* it represents. The relation between the signifier and the signified is “signification.”⁴⁶ Saussure also pointed out, that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, and the arbitrariness is a fundamental principle.⁴⁷ In a sign system, there is “no necessary, intrinsic, direct or inevitable relationship between the signifier and the signified.”⁴⁸ No absolute one-to-one link between signifier and signified exists; and signs always have multiple rather than single meanings. This

⁴⁶ See Ferdinand de Saussure, Roy Harris trans., *Course in General Linguistics* (London: Duckworth, 1983, originally published in 1916).

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 67, 78.

⁴⁸ Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (Routledge, 2007), 22.

means, one signifier may refer to many signifieds, and one signified may be referred to by many signifiers within one language.

Roland Barthes further developed Saussure’s model of the sign system in his *Mythologies* by pointing out its multiple layers.⁴⁹ A sign is comprised of a signifier and signified, and that entire sign can then be viewed as another signifier of more ambiguous meanings, or what Barthes called “connotations.” A new and higher level of “sign” is thus formed. Barthes borrowed the notion of “orders of significations” from Louis Hjelmslev, and defined “denotation” as a first order of signification, and “connotation” a second order that is associated with the first.⁵⁰ (Fig.0-1) Furthermore, a sign system includes not only textual material, but also visual material. Together, the creation and growth of a sign system continues with rich varieties.

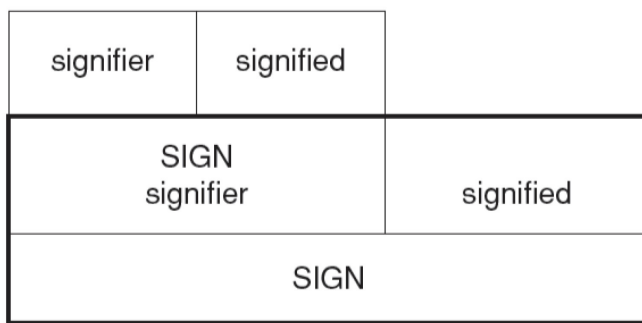


Fig.0-1 Orders of signification, adapted from Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957), 124.

For example, if we take the term “nudity” or “nakedness” as signifiers, then what Clark and Berger have done is to use the terms to signify certain types of images. Together, the term and the image form a sign system, which signifies their own interpretations, i.e., certain concepts of unclothed bodies. Yet, their interpretations are not “intrinsic.” They are not the only possible interpretations for understanding unclothed bodies, and these interpretations are not directly related to the Chinese discourse of the unclothed body, or the Chinese term *luoti* 裸體 that I will discuss in detail in Chapter One. When cultural practitioners in the Republican era discussed the word *luoti*, they could link *luoti* to various types of images, and various ideas of

⁴⁹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957).

⁵⁰ Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, trans. Francis J. Whitfield (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

the unclothed body in their mind maps. This arbitrariness between signifiers and signifieds allowed new possibilities and creative interpretations to happen during (trans-)cultural production, and offered the broadest space to shuffle the links between signifiers and signifieds. Simultaneously, new signifiers and signifieds could be brought into life and find their new places within the sign system.

I shall emphasize that this research in Chinese context is independent from Western artistic discourse, and it is *not* my purpose to ascertain whether a specific visual representation of *luoti* is defined as nudity or nakedness, either in Clark's or Berger's sense. Therefore, I do not refer to the discourse of nudity vs. nakedness in art history, although I do use English equivalences to refer to Chinese terms. Here are the principles of terminology:

- To use “unclothed body” or “uncovered body” to refer to the status of a body without clothes.
- When “nude” is used as a noun, it refers to visual representations of unclothed bodies. Depending on the context, “nude” could refer to the Chinese equivalent *luoti* 裸體 or *luoti hua* 裸體畫.
- Except for explicit explanation, the use of “naked (adj.)/nakedness (n.)” and “nude (adj.)/nudity (noun)” will be based on my understanding and the linguistic convention, without referring to the aforementioned debate, for instance, “nude paintings,” “nude photography,” or “a nude figure.”
- In some cases, I follow contemporary Chinese-English dictionaries. For example, a 1920s Chinese-English dictionary translated *luoti meiren* 裸體美人 to “a naked beauty,” so I also use the translation in related discussions.⁵¹

Writing a study on *luoti* in English would naturally require a clear definition and translation of key terms and concepts, initially rooted in Chinese culture. As we know, “translingual practice” is never merely a simple process of translating each single word, but, according to Lydia He Liu, a comparative literature scholar studying “translated modernity,” it is also “the very site

⁵¹ Zhang Pengyun (O.Z. Tsang) 張鵬雲, *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary* 漢英大辭典, Revised Edition (Shanghai: The Republican Press, 1929), 593.

of struggles.”⁵² It is as such when I choose English words for *luoti* in this study, and it also holds true to those Chinese cultural brokers, who were passionately engaged into transcultural production of nudes in the 1910s-1930s. Confronted with “Western” visual and textual materials, these cultural brokers would have to select appropriate Chinese terms so as to transfer their understanding to readers. They would choose terms from cultural legacy, imported exotic terms, existing popular translations, or their own inventions. Therefore, the process of selection, translation, and interpretation is also a process of construction, creation, and production of meaning.

Methods to Approach Periodicals

As Latham and Scholes pointed out, “to address periodicals as typologically distinct and historically coherent objects, we may have to develop new scholarly methodologies adequate to the task.”⁵³ In this sense, the dissertation has provided me with a testing ground to explore different methods to read periodicals. Three primary approaches were used:

First, I applied “horizontal,” “integrated,” and “situated” reading methods.⁵⁴ “Horizontal” reading treats one journal issue as a whole. Based on the interlinked advertisements, images, and articles in the journal, it leads to a better understanding of the publishing goal, editorial practice, and readership of a journal. Integrated reading refers to the practice of reading journals against other journals, such as journals published by a same company, or other journals of the same period or over time. Finally, situated reading integrates the study of other source materials, for example, biographical, fictional, visual, or historical/archival sources.

Another approach was analyzing “periodical codes.” Derived from “bibliographical codes,” Brooker and Thacker developed the concept of “periodical codes.” They propose to investigate:

⁵² Lydia He Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1995), 26.

⁵³ Latham and Scholes, *ibid*, 529.

⁵⁴ Joan Judge, Barbara Mittler and Michel Hockx eds., *A Space of Their Own: Women and the Periodical Press in China's Long Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). In addition to the three methods, the article also introduced “vertical reading,” which, refers to studying one particular theme across time.

“a particular subset, the periodical codes at play in any magazine, analyzing a whole range of features including page layout, typefaces, price, size of volume..., periodicity of publication (weekly, monthly, quarterly, irregular), use of illustrations (color or monochrome, the forms of reproductive technology employed), use and placement of advertisements, quality of paper and binding, networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, payment practices towards contributors, editorial arrangements, or the type of material published (poetry, reviews, manifestos, editorials, illustrations, social and political comment, etc.).”⁵⁵

Indeed, analyzing “periodical codes” has some overlap with “horizontal reading.” Both methods emphasize the elements that conventional reading methods would ignore. What the concept of “periodical codes” contributes is additional focus on page layout, editorial arrangement, and materiality of periodicals. Periodical editors considered in this study deliberately arranged nudes and their interpretations in a certain “editorial style,” which formed their individual “periodical code” in their products. This research pays great attention to page layout, publishing goals, “editor’s notes,” special issues in celebration of anniversaries, colophons, and advertisements. In this context, I particularly investigate how captions were arranged to augment the interpretation of images, which I consider important sites on the page for greater understanding of “editorial agency.”

Additionally, there are no previous examples to follow that deal with the circulation of images in periodicals.⁵⁶ I began with gathering and analyzing nudes in Chinese pictorials and found most nudes were displayed as the reproduction of photographs. Ideally, it might be possible to trace the sources of these photographs, if enough nude photographs are collected for comparative data. For comparative purposes, I also assembled as many nudes as possible originally produced or published from the 1890s to 1930s, mostly in France, Germany, the UK, and the US. I then proceeded with conducting an examination of the cultural context in which the nudes were produced or published, as well as the Chinese context in which the same nudes were reproduced.

⁵⁵ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 6. My emphasis.

⁵⁶ I am aware of the new development of “visual recognition.” Digital tools like “TinEye Reverse Image Search” (<http://www.tineye.com/>) and “Google Images” (https://www.google.com/imghp?gws_rd=ssl) are able to identify certain amount of images, but no substantial aid can be offered regarding the images related to this research. Generally speaking, searching for identical images appearing in historical materials is still critical.

Sources and Chapters

As displayed in the title, I focus on the period from 1925 to 1933. This is because the first issue of *Sheying huabao* appeared in 1925; and after 1933 nude images almost completely disappeared from all the major pictorials as the New Life Movement spread. Built on historical documents and municipal archives, the dissertation includes understudied or newly discovered materials from pictorials, memoirs, albums, anthologies of poems and novels, as well as private collections or heritage. It is comprised of four chapters.

Chapter One serves as a “handbook” or “lexicon” of the term *luoti*, and aims at laying ground work for later analysis. It first explores etymology and genealogy of the term *luoti* in Chinese, English-Chinese, and Chinese-English dictionaries, showing how the character *luo* 裸 and the word *luoti* 裸體 gradually exhibit more frequency. Additionally, it surveys two sources that reflected the development of related Chinese terms: the description of unclothed Adam and Eve in Chinese Bibles, as well as the Japanese word *ratai* 裸體. Chapter One then moves on to the semantic constitution of the concept of unclothed bodies, which includes (but not limited to) terms of four categories: erotic suggestions, religious belief, artistic education, and scientific association. For selected terms in each category, I attempt to sketch how these terms were used in the early Republican popular media by showing examples from newspapers, magazines, and books, mostly prior to the major pictorials used for later chapters, such as *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai News), *Xiangyan zazhi* 香豔雜誌 (Enticing Magazine). The semantics of *luoti* and other associated terms, I believe, reflected possible mind maps of editors at a collective level in the 1910s-30s, when those editors studied in coming chapters received their education and became active in publishing and editing enterprise.

Chapter Two to Four are organized based on four case studies. They have common ground regarding research approaches, for which I will offer general explanation before introducing chapters individually. Each chapter starts with literature review before gathering editors’ background information, analyzing their *habitus* by closely examining their family and educational background, social networks, professions, and hobbies. Then I investigate each pictorial’s publishing goals, which were usually included in inaugural manifestos, editor’s

notes, or advertisements of self-promotion. The publishing goals embodied editorial intentions, which, sometimes explained editorial practice, but in some other cases, formed tension between editorial intention and editorial practice. Each case study demonstrates how editors of individual pictorial selected nudes from different Western sources, and edited nudes based on their own cultural logic.

Chapter Two uses *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (“Pei-yang Pictorial News,” 1926-1937) as an example. Founded in Tianjin in 1926 by Feng Wuyue, *Beiyang huabao* is regarded as one of the most representative copperplate photographic pictorials, especially in the Northern China. Together with another successful Shanghai long-run pictorial *Liangyou*, *Beiyang huabao* marked the peak of modern Chinese printing history. Publications and studies on the *Liangyou* have been developed further in the last decade; by contrast, *Beiyang huabao* has not yet been well explored. I hope the research on *Beiyang huabao* in the dissertation can offer us a wider vision of the cultural phenomenon in the modern print culture beyond Shanghai area. Claiming “disseminating knowledge” and “promoting fine arts” as its publishing goal, *Beiyang huabao* regularly included nudes on its pages. I then present two major Western sources of nude photographs published in *Beiyang huabao*, before analyzing the extent the pictorial “introduced art from around the world,” as the editor Feng Wuyue claimed. The last section of this chapter serves as an example to analyze editorial skills, including bricolage, contextualize, and interpretation, which were generally practiced in pictorials at the time.

Chapter Three focuses on *Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (*Shanghai Sketch*, 1928-1930), one of the most important cartoon pictorials in the Republican China, which frequently juxtaposed nude photographs and other line drawn, satirical nude images. Most editors and contributors of the pictorial belonged to Shanghai cartoonists’ circle, and they emphasized “science and art” as their criterion to present nudes. By tracing the source of a series of photographic images entitled “Comparing Human Bodies across the World” (*Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 世界人體之比較), the chapter shows how editors reproduced nudes from a “scientific” German book to create a new stream of *luoti* culture in the print market, and further probes whether editorial practice discussed “science” through nudes or exhibited nudes under the name of “science.”

As indicated in its title and length, Chapter Four deals with two pictorials in parallel. Taking *Linglong* 玲瓏 (*Linloon Magazine*, 1931-1937) and *Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報 (*Pictorial Weekly*, 1925-1937) as examples, this chapter explores the two journals published by the San Ho Company 三和公司 owned by Lin Zecang. As a photographer, Lin contributed to introduce photographic techniques as well as nude photographs to the wide audience in *Sheying huabao* from 1925. He continued to do so after the *Linglong* was founded in 1931, and gradually developed *Linglong* into one of the most popular gendered journal in the 1930s. By comparing the images used in *Sheying huabao* and *Linglong*, I survey Lin's attitudes and strategies to select and interpret nude images for implied readership of different genders, under the guidance of promoting "sophisticated entertainment" as publishing goal. Together with the two case studies, this research displays the dynamics of transculturality through the analysis on creative editorial strategies to select and interpret nudes.

I shall emphasize that apart from the pictorials, the use of materials newly discovered in archives or freshly introduced into this field highlights the research results. For example, for the research on the sources of nude images I located the archive of the significant photographer Heinz von Perckhammer, which is preserved by Renate Erhart, his great niece, in Innsbruck. Another example is the discovery of the family registration of editor Lin Zecang and his family members in Shanghai. The material is essential for the discussion on the gender perspective of "editorial agency." Apart from the public or private archival materials, I also assembled a large amount of Western nude images for the purpose of comparison, which have been considered part of "lowbrow" visual culture, thus long ignored. It turned out that they were crucial for identifying the original cultural contexts of many nude images in *Beiyang huabao*. Similarly, various British, American, and French magazines and books were gathered for comparison purposes, and together they offered a global context in which Chinese pictorials were situated.

The Conclusion summarizes the major methodological and historiographical implications of the research. I draw a few major themes of *luoti* culture from these case studies, and present a diagram of editors' transcultural practice in pictorials. My purpose is to bring the understanding of "transediting" to a more abstract level. Finally, the Conclusion provides a

brief glance at the decline and revival of the *luoti* culture in the long twentieth century, which can be viewed as the continuity of this cultural phenomenon to be further explored.

Chapter 1 *Luoti* in Editors' Mind Maps

Langue, the language system, is a treasure deposited by the practice of speech in the members of one community, a grammatical system virtually existing in each brain, or more exactly, in the brains of a set of individuals. For *langue* never exists completely in one individual, it only does so in a community. [...] Language is a system of signs expressing ideas.

-- Saussure, *Course de linguistique générale*⁵⁷

This chapter aims at mind-mapping 1920s pictorial editors' knowledge structure of *luoti* by conducting an "archaeology of editors' knowledge." It sets out to survey the etymology and genealogy of *luoti*, and then analyzes the semantic constitution of the term, and the concept of *luoti* as a whole. As Saussure pointed out almost a century ago, language, a system of signs, exists in a community, and the members of the community share the system, expressing their ideas through the system in practice. I view pictorial editors in the given time as a "community" in the field, who shared a certain language and knowledge of *luoti* through their education as well as their everyday readings and communication. Based on this understanding, I analyze the formation of the concept of unclothed bodies, and summarize four categories of connotations that words related to *luoti*/unclothed bodies could signify: erotic, religious, artistic, and scientific. The chapter brings together examples from dictionaries, books, newspapers and magazines, including dictionary entries, advertisements, argumentative essays, fictional writings, and New Poetry. These materials reflected the changing history of the term and the concept of *luoti* in the early Republican era on the one hand; on the other, they may have been an accessible source of knowledge regarding *luoti* among the pictorial editors.

1.1 Etymology and Genealogy

In 1927, a short essay entitled "*Luoti* 裸體 (Unclothed Bodies)" was published in *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 (Republican Daily News, Guangzhou) under the pen name Beifeng 北風 (lit.:

⁵⁷ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course de linguistique générale* (1916), 30, 33, quoted from Pieter A. M. Seuren, *Western Linguistics: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 148.

northern wind). Judging from the language and writing style, the author might be a well-educated amateur Cantonese writer. His essay describes the popularity of the word *luoti*, comments on the increasing widespread use of the term, and discusses how the businesses of cigarette sales, publications, and movies were promoted by using *luoti* to attract costumers. It also mentions that:

“Initially these two characters [*luoti*-author] were found in dictionaries, and by chance they matched well together. It was unexpected in the beginning that people would welcome [the word] as warmly as such, so warmly as crazy. [People] got used to it, [and then] created another novel and lovely name: beauty of curves (*quxian mei*).

本來從字典中找出了這兩字[裸體]，偶然相合，初不料人們這般熱烈歡迎，歡迎得狂了。慣了，又別構新穎可喜的名，叫做曲線美。”⁵⁸

Revealingly, these lines show that to the contributor’s understanding, the term *luoti* was compounded by two morphemes, i.g. *luo* and *ti*, which were newly selected from dictionaries. Soon after the combination was “invented,” the word *luoti* had been broadly accepted by the year of 1927. Another term, *quxian mei* 曲線美 (beauty of curves) was thereafter made up to attract consumers’ eyes and substitute *luoti*, for which I have a separate section to discuss in later text. In fact, Beifeng’s observation is in accordance with the results that I found in the Chinese dictionaries, published from the 19th century to the early 1920s. The dictionaries demonstrate that in most cases, *luoti* was *not* habitually included as a separate entry, a fixed term, or a stable translation in Chinese, English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries or lexicons. As we know, dictionaries often show the canonized linguistic and lexical knowledge. If a dictionary collects a character or word, then the character or word must have been regarded either as linguistic legacy or have been practiced at certain frequency. This section shows how the character *luo* 裸 and the word *luoti* 裸體 gradually appear with more frequency in Chinese dictionaries, English-Chinese, and Chinese-English dictionaries. The section then surveys two sources that reflected – or possibly brought impact to - the development of Chinese terms related to unclothed bodies, i.e., the description of unclothed Adam and Eve in Chinese Bibles, and the Japanese word *ratai* 裸体.

⁵⁸ Beifeng 北風, *Luoti* 裸體 (Unclothed Bodies), *Guangzhou minguo ribao* (Nov. 2, 1927), 11.

***Luoti* or *luo* in Chinese Dictionaries and Classics**

Existing scholarship points out that, except for *luo* 裸, a few competing Chinese characters such as *luo* 倮, *luo* 裸, *luo* 羸, historically existed to express the meaning of “being unclothed,” but only *luo* 裸 eventually survived until today.⁵⁹ The character 裸 can be found in classical Chinese dictionaries, for example, in the first Chinese dictionary, Xu Shen’s 許慎 (c.a.58-c.a.147) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Simple and Analysing Compound Characters) published in 121 CE., and *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (The Kangxi Dictionary) published in 1716.⁶⁰ Yet, in both dictionaries the word *luoti* 裸體 appears neither as a separate entry, nor as part of the allusions to illustrate the character *luo* 裸. It is perhaps partially because of the so-called “monosyllabic nature” of Chinese language, and the single character *luo* rather than any combination of characters was listed as an entry in the dictionaries.⁶¹ However, under the entry of the character 裸 in the *Kangxi Dictionary*, there are disyllabic words among the examples such as *luocheng* 裸程 (v. to strip), *luoshen* 裸身 (*adj+n.* unclothed body), *luochong* 裸蟲 (*n.* literally: unclothed beings, meaning: human beings).⁶² The fact that *luoti* is excluded shows

⁵⁹ See Feng Qubing 馮去病, “‘Luo’ yu ‘luo’” ‘倮’与‘裸’ (Two Characters of Luo), *Chinese Character Culture* 漢字文化 no. 2 (1999): 60; Xu Fuyan 徐福艷, “‘Xi luo’” 析‘裸’ *Modern Chinese* 現代語文(語言研究版), no. 6 (2011): 157-158. Both authors argue that *luo* 裸 eventually “won” the competition thanks to its reasonable and accessible combination of radical and phonetic.

⁶⁰ In *Shuowen jiezi*, *luo* 裸 is indexed as no. 5317 in vol. 8, part one, the 90th character under the radical 衣. *The Kangxi Dictionary* was the standard dictionary during the 18th and 19th century. In *Kangxi Dictionary*, *luo* 裸 can be found on page 1119, section *Shen*, part two.

⁶¹ Cf. in particular “From monosyllabic to polysyllabic language” in Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* no. 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993), 121–127. But Masini emphasizes that the “monosyllabic nature” should not be exaggerated.

⁶² I quote *Kangxi Dictionary*: “〔古文〕羸【唐韻】郎果切【集韻】魯果切，𠵽音卵。赤體。【說文】袒也。【孟子】雖袒裻裸裎於我側。【左傳·僖二十三年】曹共公聞其駢脅，欲觀其裸。【魏志·裴松之註】襴衡

the infrequency of the term by the early 18th century. Interestingly, other included examples went into the dictionaries compiled by missionaries in the 19th century, to be discussed in the next section (Cf. Table 1-1).

However, the fact that *luoti* is not collected in the two representative traditional dictionaries does not mean that *luoti* was never used in classical texts. On the contrary, rich examples of actual usage of *luoti* can be found by searching databases of Chinese canons, such as “Analytical System for the Complete Tang Poetry 全唐詩分析系統,”⁶³ “Analytical System for the Complete Song Poetry 全宋詩分析系統,”⁶⁴ “The Complete Classics Collection of Ancient China 古今圖書集成,”⁶⁵ and “The Treasured Chinese Classical Works 國學寶典.”⁶⁶ Taking the search results from “The Treasured Chinese Classical Works” database as an example, I draw the following preliminary conclusions:

Firstly, the character *luo* 裸 (2527 hits, in 793 books) is far more frequently mentioned in classical texts than its variants *luo* 儻 (448 hits, in 185 different books), *luo* 羸 (162 hits, in 81 books), and *luo* 躄 (10 hits, in 9 books). Noticeably, the books including *luo* 裸 generally appear in the later historical period than its variants. Similar to the character *luo* 裸, the word

爲漁陽摻搗，不易衣，吏呵之，衡乃脫衣裸身爲之。又人曰裸蟲。【晉書·五行志】裸蟲，人類，而人爲之王。又川名。【述異記】桂林東南邊海有裸川。【桓譚·新論】呈衣冠于裸川。又海上有裸人鄉。又館名。【拾遺記】靈帝初起裸遊館千間。【韻會】作羸，別作儻。儻。

⁶³ There are two results of searching in the database “Analytical System for the Complete Tang Poetry 全唐詩分析系統” (<http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/BeiDaQuanTang/211.166.9.44/tang/>). One is in Wang Fanzhi’s 王梵志 (? – c.a.670) “Shi (bing xu) 15” 詩(并序)十五 (Poems and their Prefaces, 15th), “儻體逐他走，渾舍共號悲”; another one is Li Bai’s 李白 (701-762), “Xiari shanzhong” 夏日山中 (In the Mountains in Summer), “懶搖白羽扇，儻體青林中。脫巾挂石壁，露頂洒松風。”

⁶⁴ In “Analytical System for the Complete Song Poetry,” there are three results. They are Mei Yaochen’s 梅堯臣 (1002-1060) “Miaozhiwan ci” 廟子灣辭, and Fang Hui’s 方回 (1227-1307) “Ke kuangliuyan wushou qi yi” 客况六言五首 其一 and “Wei Zhang du muyi ti Zhuawa wanghou jiangxiang tu” 爲張都目益題爪哇王后將相圖.

⁶⁵ The database is via CrossAsia <http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/gjtsjc/taizhong.sbb.spk-berlin.de/home/SearchReport.asp?cmd=search¶m=smp>. There are 80 hits for *luoti* 裸體, 37 hits for *luocheng* 裸程; but none for *luoti* 儻體 or *luoti* 躄體.

⁶⁶ “The Treasured Chinese Classical Works 國學寶典” (www.gxbd.com) is a database of collections of Chinese classical works. The 2010 version includes 4303 books, compendiums, and encyclopaedias.

luoti 裸體 (353 hits, in 204 books) is used with far more frequency than the variants *luoti* 裸體 (4 hits, in 4 books), *luoti* 羸體 (0 hit) and *luoti* 裸體 (0 hit).

Secondly, other disyllabic compounds such as *luocheng* 裸裎 (128 hits, in 92 books, lit: to strip), *luoshen* 裸身 (160 hits, in 110 books, lit.: unclothed body) and *chiluo* 赤裸 (7 hits, in 6 books, lit.: stark and unclothed) are also important in describing “unclothed bodies.”

Thirdly, there is an obvious difference between the hits of the morpheme *luo* 裸 (2527 hits) and the total hits of the common compounds of *luoti* 裸體 (353 hits), *luocheng* 裸裎 (128 hits), *luoshen* 裸身 (160 hits) and *chiluo* 赤裸 (7 hits, lit: unclothed). Even if we consider other possibilities that *luo* 裸 might be compounded with, such as *luonü* 裸女 (9 hits, in 9 books, lit: unclothed woman), *luofu* 裸婦 (29 hits, in 21 books, lit.: unclothed woman), *luochong* 裸蟲 (37 hits, in 27 books, lit.: unclothed) and *luoguo* 裸國 (58 hits, in 43 books, lit: unclothed country, a country of unclothed people), the difference, presumably, reflects the frequency of *luo* 裸 appearing as a monosyllabic word.

Fourthly, the number of *luoti* 裸體 references noticeably increases in works published during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), especially in the 19th century. For example, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Maps and Documents on Maritime Countries), published in 1844 and one of the most important books introducing the knowledge of foreign countries in modern Chinese history, uses *luoti* 19 times.⁶⁷ The results perhaps indicate a process of linguistic development, and *luoti* became more frequently used as a disyllable word in writing. Searching *luoti* in the database of Scripta Sinica (漢籍全文資料庫) published by Academia Sinica seems to suggest a similar process (see Fig.1-1). Out of 13 books (30 hits), which range from Jin Dynasty (265-

⁶⁷ Federico Masini offers a content and linguistic analysis on *Haiguo tuzhi* in his *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* no. 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993), 22–30.

420) to Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), three books, written from the 18th to 20th century, contribute 12 hits.⁶⁸

#	部類	書名	作者	版本	筆數	命中	
1	子	閱微草堂筆記	(清)紀曉嵐著		8	10	
2	史	正史	明史	(清)張廷玉等撰;楊家駱主編	5	5	
3	史	正史	晉書	(唐)房玄齡等撰;楊家駱主編	3	3	
4	史	正史	梁書	(隋)姚察(隋)謝靈運(唐)魏徵(唐)姚思廉合撰;楊家駱主編	2	2	
5	史	地理	金陵大報恩寺塔志	(民國)張惠衣著	民國二十六年國立北京研究院史學研究會排印本	2	2
6	集	小說	三國演義	羅貫中編著;毛宗崗批評;饒彬校訂	2	2	
7	史	正史	三國志	(晉)陳壽撰;(南朝宋)裴松之注;楊家駱主編	1	1	
8	史	正史	魏書	(北齊)魏收撰;西魏書(清)謝啟昆撰;楊家駱主編	1	1	
9	史	正史	舊唐書	(後晉)劉昫撰;楊家駱主編	1	1	
10	史	正史	新唐書	(宋)歐陽修;宋祁撰;楊家駱主編	1	1	
11	史	正史	清史稿	趙爾巽等撰;楊家駱校	1	1	
12	史	地理	金陵梵刹志	(明)葛寅亮編;(民國)濮大凡總校	民國二十五年金山江天寺印本	1	1
13	集	小說	三遂平妖傳	馮夢龍著	1	1	
14	集	小說	醒世姻緣	(清)西周生著	1	1	

Fig.1-1 Results searched in the database of Scripta Sinica (漢籍全文資料庫).

Apart from linguistic attributes, databases can further provide us with an overview of the contexts in which *luo* is associated in classics. Five meanings can be summarized to present a “classical” understanding of *luo* or *luoti*, which were often associated with savagery/exoticism (barbarian; minorities; tropical peoples), abandoned/deviant life(style), immorality/obscenity, political statement, and innocence.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ They are *Yuewei caotang biji* 閱微草堂筆記 (Random jottings from the Cottage of Close Scrutiny), *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (Draft History of the Qing Dynasty), and *Xingshi yinyuan* 醒世姻緣 (Marriage That Awakens the World). See the database of Scripta Sinica (漢籍全文資料庫) by Academia Sinica via CrossAsia (<http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/ScriptaSinica/hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery?@@@1454830659>, searched on June 14, 2013.)

⁶⁹ For example, 1) 平妖傳/第三十八回話“王則陣裏並無一人出來。卻說左癩師裸體跣足，不穿衣甲。”2) 水滸傳/第八十一回“賤體雖有些花繡，怎敢在娘子根前揼衣裸體！”3) 水滸傳/第八十一回說道：“錦體社家子弟，那里去問揼衣裸體。”4) 醒世姻緣/第二十七回一場，“就如害了心病的一般，胡言亂語，裸體發狂。” The four examples are results of searching “裸體” in “Academia Sinica Tagged Corpus of Early Mandarin Chinese 近代漢語標記語料庫 <http://db1x.sinica.edu.tw/cgi-bin/kiwi/pkiwi/pkiwi.sh?ukey=1800667137&qtype=1&ssl=1111111111&scope=0> . The expressions of *luoti xianzu* 裸體跣足 (unclothed and bare feet) and *luoti fakuang* 裸體發狂 (unclothed and ecstasy) in the examples were rather fixed expressions, and appeared in many traditional writings.

The meanings, I argue, sketched an overall impression of *luoti* in a mind map of a Chinese with a “traditional educational background.” As we know, a Chinese who received primary and middle education between the 1900s and 1920s would still be expected to read a plentiful number of classics, in spite of the abolishment of the *keju* 科舉 system (Imperial Examination) in 1905. The editors in my case studies were generally in their twenties or thirties in the mid-1920s, and it was very likely for them to acquire literary education of classics, in addition to Western literary or artistic education. Therefore, I argue that these educated people likely possessed the knowledge of the traditional meaning of *luoti* in their mind map. If a word like *luoguo* 裸國 is scattered in classics, intellectuals would have a strong chance to have encountered the word during their reading of classics. And we could boldly presume that this word would sketch a scene of a spectacular, remote place in a readers’ mind, where exotic people wore no clothes.

One example is *Ciyuan* 辭源 (lit.: The Origin of Words, original English title: The Encyclopedic Dictionary), one of the foremost Chinese lexicographical works, first published in 1915. As stated in its preface, the dictionary featured a selection of what they deemed to be the most significant literary quotations from classics to help readers better understand the writings in the early Republican Era, which frequently mixed allusions with new terminology from Japan or the West.⁷⁰ In the dictionary, *luo* 裸 is collected as a separate entry, under which seven words are listed, including *luoguo* 裸國 (a country of unclothed people), *luocheng* 裸裎 (unclothed), and *luoti hua* 裸體畫 (lit.: pictures of unclothed bodies, or Nude as agreed in my

⁷⁰ In the introduction to *Ciyuan*, it writes: “...如閱一報紙，俄而國家政聞，俄而里巷瑣語，俄而為矜嚴之論，俄而為戲謔之辭，文之體裁不同，而遣辭斯異。且人所與為周旋交際者，必不止一種社會，故此為恆言，彼為術語，此則盡人可解，彼則畢世罕聞，所業不同，言辭又異，因一辭不得其解而求之專門辭書 [...] 此書編輯之時，皆分類選辭，至脫稿以後始分字排比。就學術一方面而論，謂之百科辭書亦無不可，惟其程度，皆以普通為限，楓窗小牘譏冊府元龜，謂開卷皆目所常見無罕觀異聞，此則普通辭書所不免，可引為此書解嘲者也。” “*Ciyuan shuolue*” 辭源說略 (A Brief Description of the Encyclopedic Dictionary), *Ciyuan* 辭源 (“The Encyclopedic Dictionary”) (2nd edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, [1915] 1916), 2.

vocabulary).⁷¹ The pronunciation record system (*qieyin* 切音) of *luo* 裸 and the sources of *luoguo* 裸國 and *luocheng* 裸程 were clearly legacy from the classics, possibly the *Kangxi Dictionary*.⁷² The knowledge of *luo* continued its dissemination in the early Republican Era through the encyclopedic tradition. As a contrast, *luoti hua* 裸體畫 (nude pictures, nude paintings) was a rather new term in 1915, and the inclusion of the term showed how widespread Western artistic education was in the Shanghai area, in the 1910s. Interestingly, the word *luoti* does not appear as a separate entry, not even in the explanation of *luoti hua*.

English-Chinese and Chinese-English Dictionaries

Protestant missionaries compiled the earliest English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries in 19th century China, and these books were circulated among both Chinese and Western intellectuals. Published from 1815 to 1823, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* was the first English-Chinese dictionary, created by Robert Morrison (1782-1834) of the London Missionary Society, the first protestant missionary group in China.⁷³ It consists of three parts. Part One includes Chinese and English arranged according to the radicals; Part Two features Chinese to English words arranged alphabetically; and Part Three is English to Chinese. The character 裸 is collected under the pronunciation “lo” in Part Two, where none of the variants, (𦍋, 羸, 𦍋) are included.⁷⁴ The selection indicates that the character 裸 was a more frequently used character in the 19th century than the others. Interestingly, the word *luoti*

⁷¹ The explanation writes: “(魯夥切音卯哿韻)赤體也。《左傳》欲觀其裸。[...]【裸國】古有國人不衣服者。禹至其國，裸入而衣出，因其俗也。見《呂氏春秋》。一作保國，見《淮南子》。【裸程】露身也。《孟子》雖袒裋裸程於我側，爾焉能浼我哉。【裸體畫】畫裸出之體，摹寫人之肌肉以顯其意態者。西洋當希臘時，即已盛行。” Other four words, *luo ya* 裸芽, *luo hua* 裸花, *luo mai* 裸麥, *luozi zhiwu* 裸子植物, belong to botanic vocabulary. See *Ciyuan* 辭源 (“The Encyclopedic Dictionary”), 2nd edition (Shanghai: Commercial Press, [1915] 1916), 申 173, available at Cornell University.

⁷² *Qieyin* 切音 is the method to indicate the sound of a character by confluent consonants and vowels of two characters.

⁷³ More about Robert Morrison, see Christopher Hancock, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism* (T & T Clark, 2008).

⁷⁴ Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, Part II (Macao: East India Company’s Press, 1820), 149.

can be found neither under “naked” nor under “nakedness.” The entry of “Naked” appears in Part Three, with the Chinese explanation *chishen* (赤身). To explain the word, the dictionary offers an example “Man, naked comes, and naked goes,” which is translated to “ren chishen er lai chishen er qu” (人赤身而來赤身而去). (See Table 1-1.)⁷⁵ Unlike the entry of “naked,” the entry of “nakedness” does not correspond to the word *chishen* (赤身), but the word “*xiuti* (羞體).” *Xiu* (羞) literally means “shame” or “to feel ashamed,” and *xiuti* (羞體) reveals the connection between naked body and the sense of shame.⁷⁶ The word *xiuti* was very likely the missionaries’ invention, as it does not merge in major databases of Chinese classics.⁷⁷ The creation and selection of the word well reflects Morrison’s religious background and reminds us of a new perspective to discuss the unclothed body.

It is also worth noting that the words “nude” or “nudity” are not included as individual entries in Morrison’s dictionary. The exclusion might indicate the linguistic relevance in the biblical context, as “naked” was the word to describe Adam and Eve after eating the fruit in Genesis.⁷⁸ Moreover, the absence of the word *luoti* in the explanatory text under “naked/nakedness” does not mean the word *luoti* did not exist. It could be found under the word “sacred,” when Morrison explained the ritual of “the service of God,” “bude chishen luoti jin zhi” 不得赤身裸體近之 ([they] must not approach them naked).⁷⁹ It shows that the word *luoti* did exist, but Morrison considered *chishen* a more frequently used translation.

⁷⁵ Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, Part III (Macao: East India Company’s Press, 1822), 289.

⁷⁶ The explanation of *xiu* can be found in Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, vol. II, Shanghai: London Mission Press; London: Trübner & Co., 1865, reprinted, 244.

⁷⁷ I could find no result when searching *xiuti* in the databases of “The Treasured Chinese Classical Works” (國學寶典), Scripta Sinica (漢籍全文資料庫), and “The Complete Classics Collection of Ancient China” (古今圖書集成).

⁷⁸ For instance, in “Genesis 2:25,” *King James Version of Holy Bible* (Revised version, Oxford at the University Press, 1898), 3. For details and more examples, see Table 1-2.

⁷⁹ Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, Part III, Macao: East India Company’s Press, 1822, 373.

Most dictionaries compiled by missionaries in the 19th century that I have examined do not include the word *luoti* (裸體). Generally, *luo* (裸), *luoshen* (裸身), or *luocheng* (裸裎) appear most frequently in the entries of “naked/nakedness” and “nude/nudity.” No distinction can be observed between the terms “naked” and “nude.” For instance, missionary Justus Doolittle’s *A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language* 英華萃林韻府 was published in 1872 (Foochow: Rozario, Marcal, and Company), and on page 320, “naked” and “nude” are arranged in one entry. The translation reads: “Naked, or nude, 光身 *kuang shen* [*pinyin*: *guangshen*, added by author, same to the words below], 赤身 ‘*chih shen* [*chishen*], 裸赤 *lo* ‘*chih* [*luochi*], 裸 *lo*; strip [*luo*], 脫光光, ‘*to kuang kuang* [*tuo guanguang*]; feet, 光腳 *kuang chiao*” [*guangjiao*]; “Nakedness (in the Scriptural sense) 羞體 *hsiu ti* [*xiuti*]; to discover one’s 露羞體 *lu hsiu* ‘*ti*. [*lu xiuti*].” The explanation of “shameful body” (*xiuti* 羞體) explicitly referred to Bible scripture. Similar interpretations might have revealed the connection between Doolittle’s and Morrison’s dictionaries. Herbert A. Giles’ *A Chinese–English Dictionary* (1892) includes *luochong* (裸蟲) (lit.: unclothed insects, or unclothed beings), a word from classical texts that I previously mentioned. The selection evidently exhibits missionaries’ constant efforts to enrich their vocabularies by drawing on Chinese classics.

The absence of the word *luoti* is apparent in a later secular dictionary, *Commercial Press’ English and Chinese Dictionary* 商務書館華英字典 published in 1900 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press), in which “naked body” is associated to “赤體” (*chiti*, lit.: unclothed body), not *luoti*. In this dictionary, “naked” is illustrated by “*chishen* (赤身), *luo* (裸), *guang* (光), *lu* (露), *wuwei* (無偽)” (lit.: *chishen*: unclothed body; *luo*: unclothed; *guang*: bare; *lu*: exposed; *wuwei*: without disguise) and “nakedness” by “*luo zhe* (裸者), *guang zhe* (光者)” (*luozhe*: unclothed ones; *guangzhe*: bare ones.). “Nude” is included too, and “*chishen* (赤身), *luo* (裸), *xu* (虛)” (*chishen*: unclothed body; *luo*: unclothed; *xu*: empty) are used as explanation. Again, the translation of “naked” and “nude” share the same Chinese characters and words. The only

early dictionary including the word *luoti* that I have located is Lobscheid's *English and Chinese Dictionary with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* 英華字典 (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office, 1868). It uses *luoti* to translate the term "naked."⁸⁰

Unlike the dictionaries that we have discussed so far, a major change can be spotted in dictionaries compiled in the 1920s. There, *luoti* started to appear as a fixed term. For example, *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* 綜合英漢大辭典 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1927) translates both "naked/nakedness" (page 1706) and "nude/nudity" (page 1754) as *luoti* (裸體).⁸¹ Similar to the *Commercial Press' English and Chinese Dictionary I* discussed in the previous paragraph, *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* lists "naked body" individually, where *luoti* (裸體) is used as the first translational option, followed by *chishen* (赤身). Another example, the *Complete Chinese-English Dictionary*, first published in 1920 (rep. in 1929) by a teacher of translation who worked at St. John's University, Shanghai, explains *luo* and *luoti* as follows: "裸 (*adj.*) Naked; bare; nude; unclothed; (*v.*) To unclothe. 裸身 or 裸體 Naked; nude; unclothed; bare."⁸² This definition, which tallies with explanations in other dictionaries of the time, will be used as the basic meaning of *luoti* throughout this study.⁸³ It shows that the common understanding of *luoti* in the 1920s was basically "unclothed/uncovered bodies." Again, the contemporary Chinese usage of the word *luoti* did not (yet) distinguish different status and meanings of "nakedness" and "nudity" in the way practiced by Western art critics and gender historians. There are admittedly at least two different states when an unclothed body becomes an aesthetic object. The question is, then, whether a similar debate existed in Republican Chinese discourse; if yes, what were the possible terms that distinguished the two polarized states? I seek for the answers in this chapter,

⁸⁰ W. Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* 英華字典 (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office, 1868), part III, 1809.

⁸¹ *Luoti hua* (裸體畫) is included to explain the word "nude" in the same dictionary.

⁸² Zhang Pengyun, *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary*, 593.

⁸³ One more example is in Mathew's *Chinese-English Dictionary* (Revised Edition, published 1931) which includes an entry on page 590 "裸/裸 Naked. To strip; to unclothe; 裸體 naked."

by showing how Chinese conception opened up new avenues of seeing *luoti* beyond the dichotomies offered by Clark and Berger.

After Eating the Mythical Apple: Adam and Eve in Chinese Bibles

The examination of English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries demonstrates that *luoti* is not a frequently selected word by missionaries to describe the status of the unclothed body in the 19th century. What would happen if one had to translate the English word “naked” into Chinese texts, word for word? Which term would then be selected to replace “naked”? The translation of “Genesis” from the *Holy Bible* offers us a wonderful example, in which Adam and Eve start to be aware of their state after eating the forbidden fruit. I list four sentences including “naked” below, which are from King James Version, the version widely circulated among missionaries in China in the 19th century. Here the word “naked” merely means “having no clothing on the body,” and is unrelated to Clark’s or Berger’s artistic and theoretical discussion.

- 2:25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.
- 3:7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.
- 3:10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.
- 3:11 And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?

The translation of the Chinese *Bible* provides us with an opportunity to link missionaries’ linguistic knowledge to their translational practice. Comparing the English sentences to their Chinese translations tells us how missionaries understood “naked” and further found equivalent words in Chinese. As we know, the translation of the Bible into Chinese led to impassioned debates among various churches and missionaries in the 19th century.⁸⁴ In the centre of the

⁸⁴ See Wang Zhixin 王治心, *Zhongguo jidujiao shigang* 中國基督教史綱 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2004); Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, and Knut Walf, *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999); Marián Gálik, *Influence, Translation, and Parallels: Selected Studies on the Bible in China* (Institut Monumenta Serica, 2004); Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version, Or, the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999); Toshikazu S. Foley, *Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek: Verbal Aspect in Theory and Practice* (BRILL, 2009).

debates lay two core issues. One was about the translation of essential terminology like “God” and “Bible”; the other concerned the linguistic registers being aimed at different readerships. Generally, three writing styles in the Chinese *Bible* existed in the 19th and early 20th century, aimed at readers of different educational levels: classical (*shen wenli* 深文理, “high *wenli* / a high form of classical Chinese”), literary (*qianwenli* 淺文理, “easy *wenli* / a lower form of classical Chinese”), Mandarin (Peking colloquial, or *guanhua* 官話, lit. “official tongue,” or *guoyu* 國語, “national language”).⁸⁵ Missionaries translated the Bible into all three writing styles in order to reach the broadest readership possible. By comparing the translation of “naked” in eleven versions of Chinese Bibles (see Table 1-2), I observe that in the 19th century, the character *luo* 裸 (to be unclothed), or compounds including *luo*, such as *luoti* 裸體 (unclothed body) or *luocheng* 裸程 (to be unclothed) were often selected in very concise classical writing (*shen wenli* 深文理), whereas *chishen* 赤身 (unclothed body), *chishen luti* 赤身露體 (lit.: unclothed body and exposed body), *chilu shenti* 赤露身體 (lit.: unclothed and exposed body) were often applied in colloquial translations.

For example, *Jiuyue wenli* 舊約文理 (Old Testament *Wenli*) translated by Joshua Marshman (1768-1837) was published in 1822. (See Table 1-2.) He interpreted Genesis 3:11 as such: “曰，孰云汝裸程乎？我囑勿食之菓，汝食之乎？” The King James Version is “3:11 And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?” However, the literal Chinese translation is “[God] said, who told [you that] you [were] unclothed? The fruit that I ask [you] not to eat, [did] you eat it?” In the sentence, typical classical writing style embodied in the verbs *yue* 曰 (to say) and *yun* 云 (to say so), the interrogative pronouns *shu* 孰 (who), the pronoun *ru* 汝 (you), and

⁸⁵ Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version*, 161; Foley, *Biblical Translation in Chinese and Greek*, 23-25. The translation of *wenli* follows Zetzsche.

the final particle *hu* 乎 (to turn a statement to a question).⁸⁶ In the context, *luocheng* 裸裎 was meant to be a written word which transmitted the meaning of “having no clothes.” As a contrast, *Jiuyue chuang shiji* 舊約創世紀 (Old Testament Genesis) by Griffith John 楊格非 (1831-1912) was written in colloquial style and published in the beginning of the 20th century. The same sentence (Genesis 3:11) runs: “耶和華上帝說，誰告訴你是赤身露體呢？我吩咐你不吃的那樹菓，你吃了麼？” (the Chinese sentence literally means “Jehovah the God said: who told you [that you] were unclothed [body] and exposed [body] (*chishen luti*)? I asked you not to eat the fruit on the tree. Did you eat [it]?”) Significant and evident replacement happened to the selection of vocabulary. The colloquial word *chishen luti* 赤身露體, among other words such as *shuo* 說 (to say) and *shui* 誰 (who), substituted the written words *luocheng* 裸裎. It demonstrates that *luocheng* 裸裎 was highly regarded in written Chinese rather than in colloquial Chinese, whereas *chishen luti* 赤身露體 was used with more frequency in colloquial Chinese than in written Chinese.

The word *luoti* 裸體 appeared less often than the single character *luo* 裸, but it did find its place in three versions of the Bible that I have examined.

- “二人目明，自知裸體，遂編蕉葉為裳。” (*Xin jiu yue quanshu* 新舊約全書, Delegates’ Version, 1855. *wenli*.)
- “二人之目即明，自知裸體，遂編無花果葉為裳。” (British & Foreign Bible Society Shanghai Wenli Bible, Union Version 1919. *wenli*.)
- “二人之目即明，始知其裸體，遂編無花果樹葉為裳。” (S. I. J. Schereschewsky 施約瑟, *Xinjiuyue chuanzhu* 新舊約串珠, 1927. Easy *wenli*.)

The above three sentences are the Chinese translation of Genesis 3:7 (King James Edition): “And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.” Ranging from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, all three translations selected the word *luoti* 裸體. The first two translations practiced the classical writing style (*wenli*), while the last one in 1927 applied the easy classical

⁸⁶ See Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* (UBC Press, 1995).

style (*qian wenli* 淺文理). The change suggests that the language level of the word *luoti* gradually moved downward. If we also consider that more and more English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries of the 1920s collected the entry of *luoti*, as I have discussed earlier, then the adjustment of the language level in the Bible echoed the popularity of the word *luoti*.

Translated by the earliest Protestant missionaries in China, the Chinese Bibles provide us with rich linguistic archive of the words *luo* and *luoti*. By comparing the English Genesis (2:25, 3:7, 3:10, 3:11) to different Chinese translations, I found that *chi* 赤 (stark naked) or *chishen* *luti* 赤身露體 were frequently chosen as colloquial to translate “naked,” while *luo* 裸, *luoti* 裸體 or *luocheng* 裸裎 were selected as written words to express the same meaning. The linguistic levels are crucial to understand the meaning of the unclothed body in Early Republican literature and editorial practice. Similarly important is the Christian idea of the unclothed body. *Xiuti* 羞體 (shameful body), and the imagery of Adam and Eve’s loss of paradise brought religious aspects into the concept of the unclothed body in Early Republican China, for which I will give more examples in later analysis on “Religious Belief.”

Ratai 裸体: the Role of Japanese Print Culture

I have shown earlier, the Chinese word *luoti* 裸體 already existed in Chinese Classics, intellectual writings, and biblical translations during the Late Qing period. But the sources might not be able to fully explain why suddenly the word *luoti* was overwhelmingly popular in the 1920s. As scholars have long pointed out, Japan played a crucial role in the procedures surrounding cultural exchange between China and the West in the Late Qing and early Republican Era. Chinese vocabularies, for instance, loaned a large amount of words through Japanese translations of Western works in the 19th century.⁸⁷ Abundant Japanese print

⁸⁷ Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* no. 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993); Liu, *Translingual Practice*.

materials of unclothed bodies were imported to China in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era, and my hypothesis is that these images were intimately engaged in the formation of the discourse of *luoti*. Did Japanese print culture also play a role in promoting the term *luoti* in Early Republican China? Was *luoti* a Japanese loan word? This section seeks answers those two questions. I first look at the words “naked” and “nude” in English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries, and then examine the development of the visual culture of the unclothed body in Japan at the turn of 20th century.

Table 1-3 shows the result of checking the words “naked/nude” in four English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries ranging from 1830 to 1904. From the sources that I have seen, the options to translate “naked/nude” include *hadaka* ハグカ, 裸カナル and *ratai* 裸體. The option of *ratai* is the Romanized pronunciation of the *kanji* 裸體 in Japanese, equivalent to Chinese characters *luoti*. For example, in the 1830 dictionary *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary: Compiled from Native Works* (by Walter Henry Medhurst Batavia), “naked” is translated to “Ha-da-ka, ハグカ.” Words like “nude/nudity/nakedness” are not included. A later dictionary, *A Japanese and English Dictionary* published in 1867 (James Curtis Hepburn, Akira Matsumura, and Naobumi Hida, American Presbyterian Mission Press, p.68) includes the entry of “naked: *Hadaka, ratai*,” while “nude” is not included. In 1896, 和英大詞典 *An Unabridged Japanese English Dictionary* (F. Brinkley Bunyiu Nanjio et al. eds, Tokyo: Sanseidō) clearly established an entry of “*ratai*,” explained as “裸体 *n.* Naked body; [...] Syn. akahadaka, maruhada” (p.1116). *Ratai* and its *kanji* 裸体 are linked to the word “naked.” A similar example appears in *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language* published in 1904 (1904 edition), in which “*ratai* 裸體” and “*ratai gwa* 裸體畫” find their places in the entry of “nude” (p.574). The latest example listed in Table 1-3 comes from a 1913 dictionary, *A New English-Japanese Dictionary* 新撰英和字典 (Masuda et al. eds., Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka: Maruzen Company Ltd.), where *ratai* was further fixed

to the English words “naked/nude.”⁸⁹ Compared to similar dictionaries and lexicons in China at the turn of the 20th century, Japanese dictionaries included the entries “*ratai* 裸體” and “*ratai gwa* 裸體畫” (nude paintings) more than a decade earlier.⁹⁰

The inclusion of these terms reflects the development of Western artistic education in Japan. By the turn of the 20th century, Japan had experienced a major public debate on nude paintings, and this debate was echoed by the Chinese more than twenty years later. In this public controversy, “the father of modern Western-Style painting in Japan,” artist Seiki Kuroda 黒田清輝 (1866-1924) was an extraordinary leading figure.⁹¹ Having studied oil painting in France, Seiki Kuroda submitted a life-size nude painting entitled “Morning Toilette” to the Fourth National Industrial Exhibition in Kyoto in April 1895. The exhibition caused an on-going debate in the media, essentially focusing on the position of Western-style painting (*yōga*) in Japan at that particular historical moment, full of the tension of modernization and cultural revitalization. Moralists harshly criticized both nude paintings and their public exhibition.⁹²

⁸⁹ It is worth noticing that “sexual organ” (生殖器) is used to explain “nakedness” in *A New English-Japanese Dictionary* 新撰英和字典 (Masuda et al. eds., Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka: Maruzen Company Ltd.), 740. The explanation is not seen in other dictionaries in Table 1-3. It indicates that “nakedness” was connected to sexual organ through referring to *ratai*.

⁹⁰ The earliest appearance of *luoti hua* 裸體畫 in Chinese dictionaries I have found is in *Ciyuan* 辭源 (“The Encyclopedic Dictionary”). See *Ciyuan*, 2nd edition, (Shanghai: Commercial Press, [1915]1916), 申 173.

⁹¹ See Tanaka Jō, “Meiga no tanj--Kuroda Seiki--Nihon yōga no chichi” (The Birth of Masterpieces--Kuroda Seiki--Father of Western-style Painting in Japan), *Chūō koron* (August 1979), 324-29; and “Seiki Kuroda: Pioneer of Western-Style Painting,” *Daily Yomiuri* (July 21, 1986). More details see Seiki Kuroda 黒田清輝, 《裸体画谈》, 《绘画的将来》(中央公论美术出版社, 1983); 《裸体画問題に就て文展の裸体画作品問題》, 《绘画的将来》, (中央公论美术出版社, 1983). Tetsugawara Jun 勅使河原純, *Rataiga no reimei: Kuroda Kiyoteru to Meiji no nūdo* 裸体画の黎明——黒田清輝と明治のヌード (The emergence of the nude in painting: Kuroda Kiyoteru and the Meiji nude), (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shimbunsha 日本経済新聞社出版局, 1986); Hideo Miwa 三輪英夫, *Kuroda Seiki* (shippitsusha Miwa Hideo; hensha Nihon Āto Sentā), in *Shinchō Nihon bijutsu bunko* 新潮日本美術文庫 27 (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1998); Kuroda Memorial Hall online <http://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/gallery/english/tikanjo02.html>.

⁹² Alice Y. Tseng, “Kuroda Seiki’s ‘Morning Toilette’ on Exhibition in Modern Kyoto,” *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 417–440, doi:10.2307/20619620. More research see Kojima Kaoru 児島 薫, “On ‘The Beauty of Waving Line’ of Nude Paintings in Meiji Period” 明治期の裸体画論争における「曲線の美」について (末永照和教授 退職記念号), *Jissen Women's University aesthetics and art history* (実践女子大美術美術

However, this public denial and rejection could no longer prevent a boom of nude paintings, and abundant related publications appeared on the market in the 1900s. Just as in China in the 1920s, many Japanese publications introduced the art and concept of nude paintings to readers, while some others carried titles of *ratai*, but were less relevant to visual art. Chronologically, Shōkei Okumura 奥村柁兮's *Ratai Bijin* 裸體美人 (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Shuppankan, 1897) was the earliest title of this kind I have identified, and it significantly marks the early emergence of the expression “a naked beauty” (裸體美人). Three years later, Samuro Ota's 太田三郎's *Sekai ratai bijutsu zenshu* 世界裸體美術全集 (Complete Collection of Nudes in World Fine Arts) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1900) was published, which was one of the earliest and most important Japanese collections of nudes from all over the world.⁹³

Although missing links are to be further researched, I would consider that Japanese print culture contributed to the rise of the word *luoti* in 1900s China for the following two reasons. First, the public debate on academic nude paintings in Japan happened in the late-1890s, whereas a similar debate commenced in China from the end of 1910s. Seiki Kuroda was acting as principle professor at the Department of Western Style painting, while Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942) was studying at Tokyo Art School (東京美術學校) from 1906 to 1911. During his study, Li created nude paintings, and later he became the first Chinese person to introduce

史學) vol.17 (Dec. 1, 2002): 31-50. For the idea of beauty in Meiji period see Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* (Getty Publications, 2011). General background of the development of Western style painting in Japan, see Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (University of California Press, 1989).

⁹³ More publications of this kind could be found in the catalogue at the National Japanese Library, such as Masaaki Terada 寺田政明, *Ratai dessan* 裸体デッサン (Tōkyō : Daidō Shuppansha 大同出版社, 1900); Geiyō Masaoka 正岡芸陽, *Ratai no nohon* 裸體の日本 (Tōkyō : Tōto Shuppansha 東都出版社 1902); Tamotsu Shibue 渋江不鳴, *Ratai ryokō: Eiyū shōsetsu* 裸体旅行：英雄小説 (Tōkyō : Daigakukan 大学館, 1908); Tetsugoro Yorozu 萬鉄五郎, *Ratai bijin* 裸体美人 (Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 東京国立近代美術館, 1912); Namiroku Murakami 村上浪六, *Ratai no ningen* 裸体の人間 (Tōkyō : Shiseidō Shoten 至誠堂書店, 1919).

nude models to artistic training in China in the mid-1910s.⁹⁴ Compared to the Chinese discourse of *luoti*, the frequent appearance of the word *ratai* or *ratai bijin* 裸體美人 (a naked beauty) in Japanese print was also approximately a decade earlier. It should not be a coincidence that one of the earliest expressions of *luoti meiren* 裸體美人 referred to “A Japanese naked beauty,” i.e. “Riben luoti meiren xieying 日本裸體美人寫影 (A Photo of a Japanese Naked Beauty)” published in *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報 (Fiction Times) in 1910 (no.5, illustration). Further research may unearth more sources, for instance, by checking the translation of “naked” in historical Japanese translations of Genesis; examining additional English-Japanese/Japanese-English dictionaries between the 1890s and 1920s.

⁹⁴ Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, “Li Shutong zai Dongjing meishu xuexiao--jiantan Li Shutong yanjiu zhong de jige wuqu” 李叔同在東京美術學校——兼談李叔同研究中的幾個誤區, *Journal of Hangzhou Teachers College* no.1 (Jan 1998): 46-50. Although another well known artist Liu Haisu claimed that he was the person who first brought nude models to art school, most scholarships agree that Li Shutong introduced nude models to Zhejiang Combined Teachers’ College (*Zhejiang liangji shifan xuetaang* 浙江兩級師範學堂) in Hangzhou. A contemporary author Zheng Wenbin 鄭吻允 clearly mentioned that Li Shutong began to use nude model for education (中國之 living model 產生於西子湖畔即浙江兩級師範李叔同所主辦的藝術科中，已創始研究，不過當時因社會空氣惡劣，絕對不取公開態度，專學術上之觀摩。以後上海美術學校，專科師範，國立美專，以及其他各藝術團體接踵繼起), see his *Renti mei* 人體美 (The Beauty of Human Bodies) (Shanghai: Guanghai shuju, 1927), 55. But Yan Juanying questions why Li Shutong’s acquaintance or students such as Feng Zikai 豐子愷 never mentioned the fact in their writing, see Yan Juanying *Shanghai meishu fengyun - 1872-1948*, 53. Feng Zikai wrote an essay “Riben de luoti hua wenti” 日本的裸體畫問題 (The Issue of Nude Paintings in Japan) firstly published in *Yuzhou feng* 宇宙風 (Cosmic Wind) vol.3 no.1 (Sept. 16, 1936), then collected in *Riben guankui* 日本管窺 (Yuzhou feng she, 1936) and *Yishu mantan* 藝術漫談 (Shanghai: Renjian shuwu, 1936). Feng’s essay quoted many original sources from Japanese newspapers and magazines.

Table 1-1 Luo, luoti in Chinese-English and English-Chinese Dictionaries

Year	Editors	Dictionaries	Location	Publishers	Words Collected
1822	Robert Morrison	A Dictionary of the Chinese Language	Macao	Printed at the Honorable East India Company's Press by P.P. Thoms. Published and sold by Black, Parbury, and Allen, London	P289 NANKED 赤身. Man, naked comes, and naked goes. 人赤身而來赤身而去. Their caps and clothes fell off, and they were both naked (said by the Mahomedans of Adam and Eve,) 冠裳盡落, 彼此赤身 NAKEDNESS, as the word is used in SS. is called by the Mahomedans 羞體, sew te, denoting, "corporis parles que sine verecundia nominari non possunt." NUDE is not included. P373 "SACRED, 不得赤身裸體近之 they must not approach them naked"
1843	Walter Henry Medhurst	Chinese and English Dictionary: Containing All the Words in the Chinese Imperial Dictionary, Arranged According to the Radicals, vol. II	Batavia	Printed at Parapattan	P1000 裸 Naked 裸裎 part of the body bare, as with the poor and labouring classes. 慾觀其裸 he wishes to see him naked 裸身 a naked body, the naked worm, applied metaphorically to man. The name of a stream, of a district, and an office. P1099 赤體, a naked body
1868	W. Lobscheid	English and Chinese Dictionary with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation 英華字典, part III,	Hong Kong	Printed and published at the Daily Press office, Wyndham Street	P1231 "Nude, bare, 裸 'lo. Lo, 裸身, 光身, 赤身. Void, 虛, Hü." P1231 "Nudity 裸 裸身 赤身" P1209 Naked 裸體
1872	Justus Doolittle	A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language 英華萃林韻府	Foochow	Rozario, Marcal, and Company	P320 "Naked, or nude, 光身 kuang shen, 赤身 'chih shen, 裸赤 lo 'chih, 裸 lo; strip, 脫光光, 'to kuang kuang; feet, 光腳 kuang chiao"; clothe the 衣裸 i lo; insect. The 裸蟲 lo'chong. "Nakedness (in the Scriptural sense) 羞體 hsiu ti; to discover one's 露羞體 lu hsiu 'ti"
1892	Herbert A. Giles	A Chinese-English Dictionary	London	Bernard Quaritch	P746 "裸 (no.7308) Naked; to strip; to unclothe. 裸身 or 裸裎 naked; without clothes. 裸蟲 the naked animal, -- man. 裸蟲之屬 savages. 裸體罵賊 be bared his body and cursed him for a rascal. 衣裸 to clothe the naked." 羸 (no.7307) and 裸 (no.7309) are collected. P67 裎(no.756) To take off clothes and expose the body. To carry in the girdle. 裸裎 half-naked.
1900	Davis, D. H. and J.A. Silsby	Shanghai Vernacular Chinese-English Dictionary	Shanghai	Printed at the American Presbyterian Mission Press	P147 裸 Naked.
1900		Commercial Press' English and Chinese Dictionary 商務書館華英字典, Revised and Enlarged	Shanghai	Commercial Press	P165 Naked 赤身, 裸, 光, 露, 無偽; Naked feet 赤足; naked body 赤體 Nakedness 裸者, 光者 P168 nude 赤身, 裸, 虛
1927	Huang Shifu 黃士復 and Jiang Tie 江鈇	A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary 綜合英漢大辭典	Shanghai	The Commercial Press, Ltd.	P1706 "Naked [形] (~ of clothing) 未着衣的, 裸的, 裸體的; (轉為) 無保護的, 無裝飾的, 不鋪張的, 無隱蔽的, 明顯的, 率直的, 僅此的. Naked body 裸體, 赤身. Naked eye, 肉眼. Naked truth 真正的道理. Naked facts,

					毫無隱蔽之事實. Naked word (or promise), 僅只口頭之約束. Naked statement (or assertion), 僅只口頭 (無憑據) 之敘述. Naked sword, 白刃. Stark naked, 赤身露體, 一絲不掛. To strip one naked 使赤身, 裸之. To strip oneself naked, 赤身露體. ~ly [副] 裸, 裸露: 無飾, 率直, 顯明. ~ness. [名] 裸體, 隱部, 私處; 率直, 顯明 P1754 “Nude [名] [藝] 裸體畫, 裸體像. [形] 1. 裸, 赤裸, 裸裎, 裸露, 赤露; 2. [法] 無效, 虛.” “Nudity [名] 1. 赤裸, 裸裎, 裸露, 赤露; 2. 裸體, 裸露物”.
1929	Zhang Pengyun (O.Z. Tsang) 張鵬雲	A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary 漢英大辭典	Shanghai	The Republican Press	P 593 “裸 (adj.) Naked; bare; nude; unclothed; (v.) To unclothe. 裸身 or 裸體 Naked; nude; unclothed; bare. ~足 Barefoot. ~裎 The upper having no clothing, in a state of nature, stark-naked. ~蟲 The naked insect-the human being. ~體 Having no clothing; (成) in a state of nature; stark-naked. ~體美人 A naked beauty. ~體罵賊 To rail at the rascal with naked body.
1931	R.H. Mathews	Chinese-English Dictionary	Shanghai	Inland Mission and Presbyterian Mission Press	P 590 “裸 Naked. 裸/裸 Naked. To strip; to unclothe. 裸曬 exposed naked to the sun; 裸葬 buried naked; 裸蟲 the naked animal—man; 裸裎 or 裸身 naked; 裸體 naked.”
1946, Second Edition, 1955	Shau Wing Chan	A Concise English-Chinese Dictionary		Stanford University Press	P174 Naked, adj. (nude) 裸體 (的); stark naked, 赤條條 (的), naked eye, 肉眼; (devoid of covering) 光(的). P182 Nude, adj. 裸體 (的)
1970	Wei Wen 蔚文	漢英詞彙手冊	Beijing	Waiwen chuban she	裸體 is not collected
1979	北京外國語學院英語系《漢英詞典》編寫組編	A Chinese-English Dictionary	Beijing	Shangwu yinshuguan	P450 裸體 : naked; nude.

Table 1-2 “Naked” in Chinese Bibles

Year	Edition	Translators	Publisher	Examples in Chinese Bible: Genesis			
				2.25	3.7	3.10	3.11
??	《舊約創世記、出埃及記》	Morrison (?debatable)		兩個夫妻為裸，而弗羞也。	兩人之目已開，而知為裸，乃縫綴無花果樹葉以作半圍與已。	對曰，我聞爾聲在園內，又因自裸，即惶故隱避。	曰，誰告爾知爾為裸。豈爾喫了吾所命爾必勿喫之樹乎？
1813-1821	《舊約文理》	馬殊曼 Joshua Marshman	塞蘭坡差會出版社	蓋夫妻二人將成一體，雖相裸而不知愧也。	眼目遽開，方知體露，隨取蕉葉結蔽前軀。	曰，聞汝聲在園內。己緣裸袒，故惶悚迴避耳。	曰，孰云汝裸袒乎？我囑勿食之菓，汝食之乎？
1863	《舊約全書第一卷至第五卷》	裨治文 (E.C. Bridgman)、克陸存 (Michael Simpson Culbertson)	江蘇滬邑美華書館活字版	夫婦二人並裸，亦無愧焉。	二人目即明，始覺身裸，乃編無花果樹葉為裳。	曰，在園中，我聞爾聲，以裸故，懼而自匿。	曰，誰告爾裸乎？我禁爾勿食之樹，爾食之乎？
1865	《舊約全書創世記至士師記第一卷至第七卷止》	裨治文 (E.C. Bridgman)、克陸存 (Michael Simpson Culbertson)	蘇松上海美華書館藏板	夫婦二人並裸，亦無愧焉。	二人目即明，始覺身裸，乃編無花果樹葉為裳。	曰，在園中，我聞爾聲，以裸故，懼而自匿。	曰，誰告爾裸乎？我禁爾勿食之樹，爾食之乎？
1855	《新舊約全書》	委辦譯本 (Delegates' version)。麥都思 (Walter Henry Medhurst)、文惠廉、裨治 (E.C. Bridgman) 文、施敦力 (John Stronach)、婁理華、克陸存 (Michael Simpson Culbertson)、理雅各、美魏茶 (米憐之子) 等 12 人	香港英華書院	亞當與妻並裸，亦無愧焉。	二人目明，自知裸體，遂編蕉葉為裳。	曰，我聞爾聲於園，以我裸故，畏而自匿。	曰，孰言爾裸乎？我命汝勿食之樹菓，爾乃食乎？
1874	天主版舊約全書	施約瑟 (S.I.J. Schereschewsky)	京都美華書院	和妻子連合成為一體，夫妻二人赤身露體，並不羞愧焉。	二人眼睛就明亮了，這纔覺得自己是赤露身體，就拏無花果樹的葉子為自己編作裙子。	說，我在園中，聽見你的聲音，我因赤露身體懼怕，就藏起來。	說，誰告訴你是赤露身體？莫不是你吃了我禁止你吃的那樹上的果子麼？
1910	《舊約創世紀》	楊格非 (Griffith John)	漢鎮英漢書館鉛板印	夫妻二人赤身露體，也不羞愧	二人的眼睛就明亮了，覺得自己赤身露體，就拿無花果樹的葉子，編作裙子。	亞當說，我在園中聽見你的聲音，我因赤身露體，所以懼怕，自藏起來。	耶和華上帝說，誰告訴你是赤身露體呢？我吩咐你不吃的那樹菓，你吃了麼。
1911	《舊約聖經》官話串珠	美國施約瑟新譯	上海大美國聖經會	夫妻二人赤身，並不羞愧。	二人眼睛就明亮了，這才覺得自己是赤身，就拿無花果樹的葉子為自己編作裙子	亞當說，你在那裏，說，我在園中聽見你的聲音，我因赤身懼怕，就藏起來。	說，誰告訴你是赤身？莫不是你喫了我禁止你喫的那樹上的果子麼？
1919	文理和合譯本 British & Foreign Bible Society Shanghai Wenli Bible, Union Version	深文理譯本委員會。湛約翰 (John Chamlers)、謝衛樓 (Davello Z. Sheffield)、韶	上海大英聖書公會印發	夫婦并裸，亦無愧焉	二人之目即明，自知裸體，遂編無花果葉為裳。	曰，我聞爾聲於園，以我裸故，畏而自匿。	曰，孰語爾裸乎？我戒爾勿食之樹果，爾食之乎？

		潑 (Martin Schaub)、惠志道 (John Wherry)、艾約瑟 (Joseph Edkins)、皮堯士 (Thomas W. Pearce)、羅為霖 (Llewelyn Lloyd)、安飽德 (Patrick J. Maclagan)					
1927	新舊約串珠淺文理施約瑟主教譯本	施約瑟主教譯	上海美華聖經會印	夫婦二人並裸，亦無愧焉。	二人之目即明，始知其裸體，遂編無花果樹葉為裳。	曰我聞爾聲於園中，以我裸體故，遂畏而自匿。	曰孰告爾裸體乎？我禁爾毋食之樹果，爾或食之乎？
1930	官話和合譯本 Mandarin Bible, Union Version, Term <i>Shangti</i> . American Bible Society, Shanghai, 1930.			當時夫妻二人赤身露體，並不羞恥。	他們二人的眼睛就明亮了，才知道自己是赤身露體，便拿無花果樹的葉子，為自己編作裙子。	他說，我在園中聽見你的聲音，我就害怕，因為我赤身露體，我便藏了。	耶和華說，誰告訴你赤身露體呢？莫非你吃了我吩咐你不可吃的那樹上的果子嗎？

Table 1-3 Ratai in Japanese Dictionaries

Year	Editors	Dictionaries	Location	Publishers	Words Collected
1830	Walter Henry Medhurst	An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary: Compiled from Native Works	Batavia		“Nude/nudity/Nakedness” are not collected. P92 Naked: Ha-da-ka, ハダカ
1866	Tatsunosuke Hori	A pocket dictionary of the English and Japanese language 英和對譯袖珍辭書, Second and Revised Edition,		Kamenosuke Horikoshi	P539 Nude, 裸カナル。覆ヒナキ。 Nudity 裸カナルフ。裸カナル部 P59 Bare, adj. 裸ナルムキソノ。ホル クテ居ル打明テフル。 Bare-ed-ing. V.a. 裸ニスルヌ打明ル。
1867	James Curtis Hepburn, Akira Matsumura, and Naobumi Hida	A Japanese and English Dictionary: with an English and Japanese index		American Presbyterian Mission Press	Japanese- English section: P6 “AKAHADKA, アカハタカ, 赤裸, Naked, bare of clothing, -ni naru; -de soto ye deru, to go out of the bouse naked, Syn. SZHADAKA ”; P438 “SZHADA, スハダ 素肌, n. Bare or naked body, --de neru, to sleep in a state of nudity.” Ratai is not included. English-Japanese section: P68 “Naked: Hadaka; ratai”; Nude is not included;
1896	Frank Brinkley, Bunyiu Nanjio et al. eds.,	和英大詞典 An Unabridged Japanese English Dictionary		Tokyo.	p1116 “Ratai: 裸体 [sic] n. Naked body; having no [sic] Syn. AKAHADAKA, MARUHAD”
1904	Ernest Mason Satow and Ishibashi Masakata	An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language (3 rd edition)	Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong & Singapore	Kelly & Welsh Ld.	P560 Naked, a. hadaka na; (fig.) mukidashi no; akarasama no. ... body (i.e. part of the body), hada; ratai to be..., hadaka, or ratai, ni natte oru. Nakedness, n. (being unclothed) ratai (裸體) [sic]; hada. P574 Nude, a. hadaka na; v. Naked. paintings from the..., ratai gwa (裸體畫)
1913	T. Masuda	A New English-Japanese Dictionary 新撰英和字典	Maruzen Company Ltd	Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka	p.740 “naked a. 1)裸體ノ, 裸(ハカダ)ノ; 覆ヒナキ, 被包ナキ, ムキダシノ; nakedness n.1)裸, 赤裸マ, 露出. 2)生殖器 p.761 “nude . a. 1) 裸ノ, 裸體ノ覆ヒナキ, 露出ノ” p.761 “nudity 1) 赤裸, 露出 2) 露出部 3) 被包ナキ物”

1.2 The Semantic Constitution of the Concept of Unclothed Bodies

Drawing on Saussure and Bathes' ideas on signifier vs. signified and denotation vs. connotation, I go beyond Clark's and Berger's dichotomized meanings of the unclothed body by presenting more signifiers through semantic and discursive analysis, in order to adequately describe the picture in early 20th century China. This section elaborates a dozen important signifiers, such as *chungong* 春宮 (Spring Palace), *chuyu* 出浴 (after a bath), *luoti meiren* 裸體美人 (a naked beauty), *mote'er* 模特兒 (model), *quxianmei* 曲線美 (beauty of curves), *renti mei* 人體美 (beauty of human bodies), and so on. They can be roughly put into four categories, depending on the context these terms existed or the connotations these terms conveyed: erotic suggestions, religious belief, artistic education, and scientific association, as displayed in four colors in Table 1-4. Most signifiers belong to more than one category, and they are situated in different intersections of the four categories. In each of the categories, the terms are arranged chronologically (Table 1-5). The order of the terms, in fact, reflects how the new signifiers constantly emerged in the discourse, and then experienced a natural life cycle.

Usually, a signifier carried a relatively strict denotation when it freshly appeared in the discourse. However, once signifiers made their ways to the discourse, the principle of linguistic "arbitrariness" would allow the signifiers to bring their own meanings into the discourse. In turn, the connotations of individual signifiers were also gradually expanded. A general tendency seems to be evident that towards the start of the 1930s, most signifiers could signify erotic connotation in urban print culture. It explains why the red circle in Table 1-4 includes more terms than other circles.

All the terms were empowered to signify the "unclothed bodies," but the relations between these signifiers and the word *luoti* can differ. In classic linguistics, synchrony and diachrony are two major dimensions. The distinction of synchronic dimension from diachronic one was regarded as one of Saussure's major contributions.⁹⁵ From Saussurean view, a linguistic synchrony consists of "the associative [paradigmatic] relations and the syntagmatic relations

⁹⁵ Seuren, *Western Linguistics*, 153.

of words and morphemes with respect to each other.” In Table 1-4, some of the signifiers have syntagmatic relations with *luoti*, while others have what Saussure called “associative” (or later referred to as “paradigmatic”) relations.⁹⁶ Syntagmatic relations are those between elements in a syntagm, which is a “morphological construction on a set phrase or locution.”⁹⁷ For instance, the set of terms sharing the element of *luo* 裸 (unclothed) and/or *ti* 體 (body) have syntagmatic relations with *luoti*, such as *luoti mei* 裸體美 (beauty of unclothed bodies), or *luoti meiren* 裸體美人 (a naked beauty), *xiuti* 羞體 (shameful body), *renti* 人體 (human body) and so on. Associative or paradigmatic relations “exist between a given sign and others that are somehow similar.”⁹⁸ For example, the words *mote'er* 模特兒 (model), and *ziran zhuyi* 自然主義 (naturism) were intimately associated to *luoti*. Syntagmatic and associative relations together construct the synchronic dimension of language. Another dimension, the diachronic one, refers to the historical aspect of language. In the previous section, the historical aspect, i.e. etymology of *luo* and *luoti*, has been explored. In this section, the category of “erotic suggestion” again touches upon the historical aspect, as many terms associated to *luoti* from this category were inherited from traditional erotic lyrics. Words like *chuyu* 出浴 (after a bath), *yuti* 玉體 (lit: the jade body), and *Yangfei* 楊妃, often appeared as tired clichés in the description of unclothed bodies throughout the 1910s and 1920s.⁹⁹ I believe the semantic fragments of *luoti* constituted

⁹⁶ Seuren, *ibid.*, 154.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Apart from the four categories, I am aware that the discourse of unclothed bodies could involve more categories, such as political and medical perspectives. The two perspectives are less relevant to editorial practice in the 1920s/30s pictorials, therefore not dealt with in this study. Researchers in the field of medical history have already surveyed the meaning of the unclothed body. One example is Catherine Despeux, whose work examines the visual representation of body, and who points out that “in China the representation of the body did not spill over from the technical field into art as it did in the West, where images of the naked body came to reflect the power and the glory of the human person.” See Catherine Despeux, “The Body Revealed,” in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, Sinica Leidensia v. 79, Francesca Bray and Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, eds., (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 666. One of the terms to be discussed in Chapter

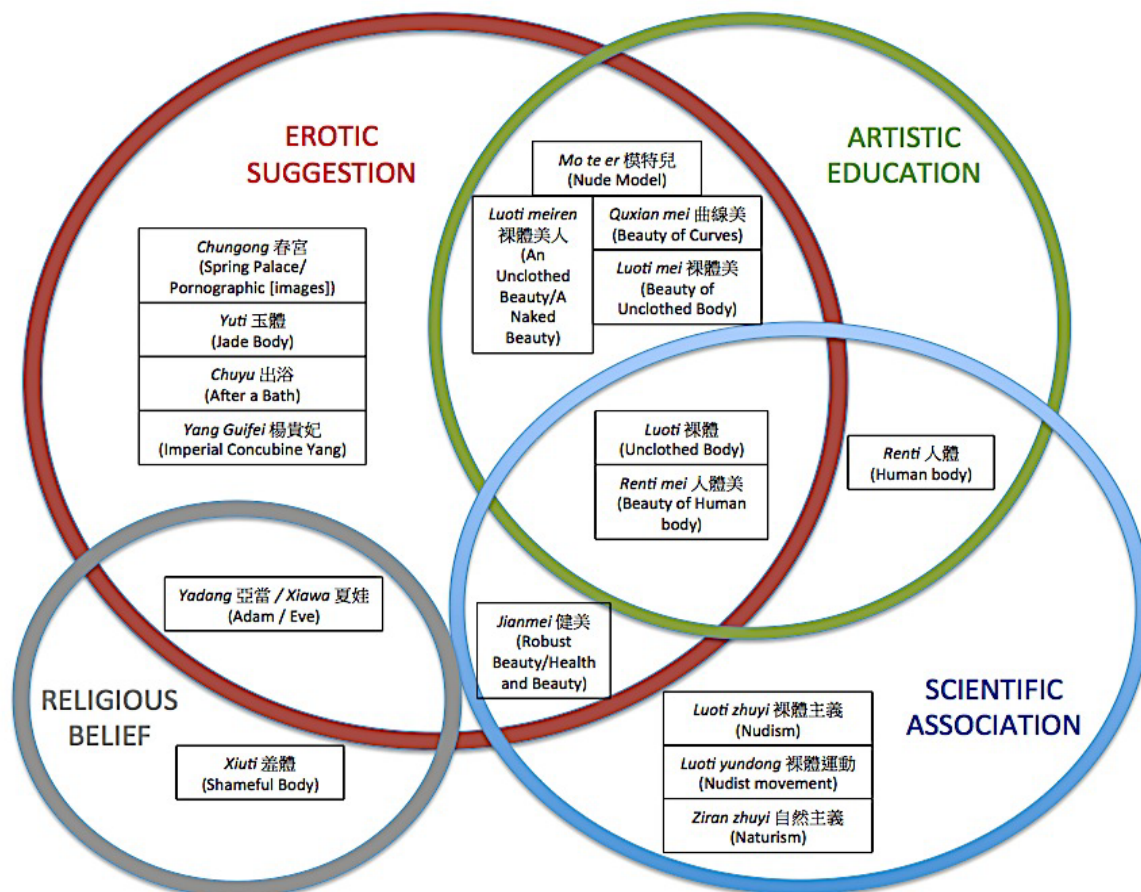
the linguistic ground of editors' mind-maps. Editors further expressed their understandings of unclothed bodies by interpreting these images in certain ways.

Like many other important cultural transformations and developments at the time, contesting the concept of unclothed bodies would inevitably encounter the dichotomies of *chuantong* (傳統 tradition) vs. *xiandai* (現代 modern), and *zhong* (中 Chinese) vs. *xi* (西 Western). Although historical words like *yuti* (jade body) and *chuyu* (after a bath) embodied aesthetic and literary sensitivity, their erotic quality was recognizable. The eroticism was intensely contrasted when new words like *luoti* and *renti* emerged in the discourse. Many new words, as I will show in this chapter, were imported from the West or Japan. These loan words were often associated with artistic, scientific, or religious discourses, thus considered “Western” and “modern.” The tension between the dichotomies of Chinese vs. Western, tradition vs. modern, I would argue, was deeply embedded in cultural practitioners' mind maps, and was further expressed through their cultural practice. Editors, in my case, coped with the tension by interpreting images of unclothed bodies in their editorial work. The interpretation required editors to compare and select appropriate terms to refer to unclothed bodies. In many cases, editors competently played with the signifiers so as to balance their needs to pursue both cultural and commercial profit.

This section attempts to explain the meaning of the selected terms by using a wide range of materials, such as advertisements, essays, and literary works published in periodicals and books. These materials, however, are generally not the periodicals I will focus on in Chapters Two to Four. My purpose here is to collectively depict the group of 1920s editors' mind maps, by thinking of a wide range of source materials that likely shaped, or reflected, editors' knowledge. Once the availability of the terms is grasped, I will further investigate in subsequent chapters, what words editors selected to interpret images, and what meanings the terms signify. Simultaneously, it can be further argued that the words that editors did *not* choose actually served as the context, or hidden counter-text, of their editorial practice.

Three, *renti* (human bodies) is put into the category of “science.” Surely enough, we could also argue “science” includes many other subjects related to body, such as anatomy, ethnography, physiology, and so on. In this study, “science” is defined to cover the aforementioned specific subjects.

Table 1-4 The Semantic Constitution of Unclothed Bodies



Note: Red: Erotic Suggestion; Green: Artistic Education; Grey: Religious Belief; Blue: Scientific Association

Table 1-5 A Timeline of Signifiers

	Before 1900	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	1932	1934	
luoti 裸體 (unclothed body)																				
chungong 春宮 (Spring Palace)																				
chuyu 出浴 (after a bath)																				
Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (Imperial Concubine Yang)																				
yuti 玉體 (jade body)																				
luoti meiren 裸體美人 (a naked beauty)																				
xiuti 羞體 (shameful body)																				
Yadang Xiawa 亞當夏娃 (Adam & Eve)																				
mo te er 模特兒 ([nude] models)																				
quxianmei 曲線美 (beauty of curves)																				
luoti mei 裸體美 (beauty of unclothed body)																				
renti 人體 (human body)																				
renti mei 人體美 (beauty of human body)																				
jianmei 健美 (robust beauty/health and beauty)																				
luoti zhuyi 裸體主義 (nudism)																				
luoti shenghuo 裸體運動 (nudism movement)																				
ziran zhuyi 自然主義 (naturism)																				

Note: The start and the end of terms are not sharp, and the colour does not reflect quantitative difference. The timeline is based on data appearing in periodicals and books. Except for my own collections, three databases offered crucial data: Shenbao Fulltext database, Dacheng Old Periodicals Fulltext Database, and Late Qing and Republican Periodicals Fulltext Database 1833-1949. URLs can be found in the bibliography.

Semantic Category 1: Erotic Suggestions

Although nude figure paintings never developed into a separate genre in Chinese art history, there were numerous ways to refer to unclothed bodies, and many of them were associated with erotic lyrics and allusions. At the turn of the early 20th century, the most remembered terms include *chun* 春 (lit: spring)/*chungong* 春宮 (lit: the Spring Palace), *yuti* 玉體 (lit: the jade body), and *chuyu* 出浴 (out of a bath; after a bath).

***Chun* 春 (Spring)**

Chun 春 literally means “spring,” and at the same time, it has the meaning of “vernal, wanton, lewd, obscene, glad, pleased, joyous.” The character endorses linguistic arbitrariness in the Saussurean sense, for that it could either express “joyous-looking; gay” “thoughts of love; lustful desires; passion,” as shown in the words *chunxin* 春心, *chunyi* 春意, and *chunqing* 春情, or “obscene” in *chungong* 春宮.¹⁰⁰ *Chungong* 春宮 means “the spring palace,” and it was used to refer to pornographic pictures or obscene pictures since the Song Dynasty, as explained in the *Encyclopedic Dictionary (Ciyuan)* in 1915.¹⁰¹ The variants of the word include *chunhua* 春畫 (lit: spring pictures), *chungong hua* 春宮畫 (lit: spring palace paintings), 春宮祕戲圖 (lit.: spring palace secret pleasure painting), *chunce* 春冊 (lit: spring album) and they were explicitly annotated as “obscene pictures” or “books with indecent plates” in Chinese-English dictionaries.¹⁰² In moralists’ criticisms against nude paintings in the 1920s, the word *yinhua* 淫

¹⁰⁰ Zhang, *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary*, 311; Giles, *Chinese English Dictionary* (1892), 293.

¹⁰¹ *Ciyuan* listed *Chungong* as a separate entry: “淫穢之圖畫也。宋畫苑有春宮祕戲圖。” [1915] 1916, *chen* 辰 21.

¹⁰² Giles, *Chinese English Dictionary*, 293; Tsang, *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary*, 311.

畫 (obscene pictures) was often explicitly spelt to replace *chunhua* 春畫. Although nude paintings are not pornographic images (regardless of aesthetic quality), they were criticized as pornographic thus immoral in early public debates. In other words, moralists used *chunhua* 春畫 or *chungong* 春宮 to signify images of unclothed bodies. In the early 1900s, *Shenbao* often reported the condemnation or censorship of *zhaoxiang chungong* 照相春宮.¹⁰³ The word could signify real “pornographic photographs/photographic pornography,” but could also signify photographs of unclothed bodies with negative moral judgment.¹⁰⁴

***Yuti* 玉體 (Jade Body)**

Yuti 玉體 (lit.: jade body) is another example to refer to (a beautiful woman’s) unclothed body. *The Encyclopedic Dictionary (Ciyuan* 辭源, 1915), the important lexicographic dictionary that I have used previously to examine the word *luoti* 裸體, explains two meanings of *yuti* as such: 1) to refer to an honorable body/person (猶言尊貴之體); 2) to describe a beautiful body (言其體之美).¹⁰⁵ As explained in the *the Encyclopedic Dictionary*, *yuti* 玉體 was often used in the idiom of *yuti hengchen* 玉體橫陳 (a jade body/a beautiful body lying down/stretched). *Ciyuan* writes that idiom was quoted from Sima Xiangru (179-117 BC), a famous poet and musician

¹⁰³ For example, “Qing jin yihua, zhaoxiang chungong huapian” 請禁淫畫 照相春宮畫片, *Shenbao* (Oct. 2, 1902), 3.

¹⁰⁴ Chun was not always used for critical purposes. Sometimes it contributed to implicit eroticism in the form of pun in writing, such as *chunse* 春色 (lit.: Spring colour, or the sign of spring; it could be understood as an erotic expression).

¹⁰⁵ The full explanation is “一、猶言尊貴之體。《國策》恐太后玉體之有鄰也，故願望見；二、言其體之美《司馬相如賦》花容自獻，玉體橫陳。” *Ciyuan*, [1915] 1916, 午 11. The discussion on *yuti* in the discourse of Chinese medicine see “Cultivating the Jade Body,” in T. J. Hinrichs, T. J. Hinrichs, and Linda L. Barnes, *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History* (Harvard University Press, 2012), 49-51.

in West Han Dynasty (206 BC-9 AD).¹⁰⁶ Sima's writing was renowned for his thoughtful composition and eloquent words. Some of his sentences were regarded as classical erotic description, including *yuti hengchen*.¹⁰⁷ In the Republican Era, it required certain literary training to be able to understand the eroticism implicitly conveyed in Sima's writing. Therefore, the expression *yuti hengchen* signified an erotic scene of a beautiful woman's unclothed body, tender and smooth, lying down. At the same time, it could signify classic erotic writing as well as literary education.

Chuyu 出浴 (*After a Bath*)

The term *chuyu* 出浴 (lit.: coming out of a bath; after a bath) contains many similarities to the case of *yuti*. It originally depicts a scene of Imperial Concubine Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環 (commonly known as Yang Guifei 楊貴妃, or Yang Taizhen 楊太真 719-756), a famous beauty in Chinese history. Her love story with Emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (685-762) of the Tang Dynasty was described in the long poem “*Chang hen ge*” 長恨歌 (Song of Everlasting Sorrow) by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), now a classic of Chinese literature. In the poem, a sentence describing the particular image of Yang's bath is extremely well known: “her cream-like skin is cleansed in the slippery hot spring water” (溫泉水滑洗凝脂). This sentence has become an influential image for later Chinese writers and painters, and has stimulated erotic works throughout history. Originated from the same classical allusion, *yu hou* 浴後 (after a bath), *Guifei chuyu* 貴妃出浴 (Imperial Concubine after a bath) or *Taizhen chuyu* (Taizhen

¹⁰⁶ Zhang Pengyun only covered the meaning of “Your precious self” in his *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary* 漢英大辭典 (Shanghai: The Republican Press, 1929), 425. *Yuti* is explained as “a smooth and tender body of (a beautiful woman)” in Gao Wanlong, Wang Aiqin, and Frances Weightman, *A Handbook of Chinese Cultural Terms* (Trafford Publishing, 2012), 248.

¹⁰⁷ Sima's idiom of *yuti hengchen* 玉體橫陳 was integrated into later literary works, such as poet Li Shangyin's 李商隱 (813-858) *Beiqi er shou* 北齊二首 (Two Poems on North Qi [Dynasty]). The idiom was intertextualized thus even more known to educated people.

after a bath), and *Yangfei* 楊妃 (Imperial Concubine), signified unclothed female bodies with erotic connotations in the Republican discourse.¹⁰⁸

Luoti meiren 裸體美人 (*A Naked Beauty*)

In the final years of the Late Qing, the word *luoti meiren* 裸體美人 became increasingly popular. *Meiren* literally means “a beautiful person,” but in fact it is gender-specific, and usually points to female. In Chinese art history, a genre of figure painting called *meiren hua* 美人畫 (painting of beautiful women) enjoyed appreciation both by intellectuals and by common people. The genre developed into different forms in popular print culture, one of which was *baimei tu* 百美圖 (One Hundred Beauties), a picture album of one hundred most famous and beautiful women in history, usually accompanied by well-known sentimental stories, such as the story of Imperial Concubine Yang discussed earlier.¹⁰⁹ In the first twenty years of the twentieth century, various versions of *baimei tu* were printed, catering to a vast market. Some versions followed the traditional album without changing the selection of the beauties, while others started to innovatively depict fashionable ladies in cosmopolitan Shanghai.¹¹⁰ In this context, *luoti meiren* merged on the marketplace, combining the visual

¹⁰⁸ In Chapter Two, I will show how *Beiyang huabao* applied the various terms to interpret nudes.

¹⁰⁹ Lisa Claypool, *The Social Body: “Beautiful Women” Imaginery in Late Imperial China*, Department of Art History and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon, MA Thesis, 1994. Catherine V. Ye also discusses *baimei tu* in her article “Creating the Urban Beauty: The Shanghai Courtesan in Late Qing” (Hanan, Patrick, Judith T. Zeitlin, Lydia He Liu, and Ellen Widmer, *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute: distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003), 397-436. Recent research on the topic, see Xiaorong Li, “Who Are the Most Beautiful Women of China? --The ‘One Hundred Beauties’ Genre in the Qing and Early Republican Eras,” *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 7, no. 4 (December 2013): 617-53.

¹¹⁰ *Wu Youru huabao* included a section of *Gujin baimei tu* 古今百美圖 (Portraits of One Hundred Beauties in Chinese History) (Shanghai: Biyuan huishe, 1910); Shen Bochen 沈伯塵 and Zhang Danfu 張丹斧, *Xin xin baimei tu* 新新百美圖 (The Newest Collection of One Hundred Beauties) (Shanghai: Shanghai guoxueshi, 1913); Li Shucheng 李澍丞, *Zuixin baimei yanying daguan* 最新百美艷影大觀 (Fuzhou: Youjin shushe 友錦書社, published by Fuzhou hongwen ge, 1916, 1st edition); Ding Song 丁悚, *Baimei tu* 百美圖 (Pictures of One Hundred

repertoire of beautiful ladies and the spectacular nude figures. The term *luoti meiren* was widely accepted in the 1910s, and was later collected in a 1920s Chinese-English dictionary, explained as “a naked beauty.”¹¹¹ I will apply this contemporary translation for *luoti meiren* below, and again “naked” here means “unclothed” without referring to Clark’s and Berger’s discourse.

From the materials that I have examined, *luoti meiren* clearly referred to unclothed women, usually in association with Western paintings, but also with sculpture or ceramics. One of the earliest examples that I have discovered in periodicals is an essay published in *Minxu ribao* 民吁日報 in 1909. Founded by Yu Youren 于佑任 (1879-1964), *Minxu ribao* was a revolutionary newspaper in the Late Qing. It belonged to the so-called “*shu san min* 豎三民 (Upright Three People),” three newspapers founded by the same publisher.¹¹² The short piece starts with a sentence “there have been absolutely few naked beauties in Chinese famous paintings (中國自昔名畫絕少裸體美人).”¹¹³ Here, *luoti meiren* was directly associated with painting. Another example is an advertisement published in the revolutionary newspaper *Minli bao* 民立報 more than a year later. Four large, eye-catching *luoti meiren* characters highlight the selling point, illustrated by the price of the nude painting listed as “one hundred million Francs (價值一百五十萬法郎).” (Fig.1-2) To promote nude pictures, the ad begins with the explanation: “naked

Beauties) (Shanghai: Jiaotong tushuguan, 1916); Dan Duyu 但杜宇, *Duyu baimei tu* 杜宇百美圖 (Portraits of Hundred Beauties Drawn by Dan Duyu) (Shanghai: Xinmin tushuguan 新民圖書館, 1921); Meishu shuhua she, ed., *Qianjiao baimei: shima baimei tu* 千嬌百媚: 時髦百美圖 (Beautiful and Charming: Portraits of Fashionable Hundred Beauties) (Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1922). When photography gradually played important role in presenting beauty, *baimei tu* became photo albums, but the figures were usually courtesans. For example, *Huaguo baimei tu* 花國百美圖 (Shanghai: Xin shijie baoshe, 1918).

¹¹¹ Zhang Pengyun, *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary* 漢英大辭典, 593.

¹¹² *Shu san min*, includes the *Minhu ribao* 民呼日報 (People’s Cry, May 15, 1909), *Minxu ribao* 民吁日報 (The People’s Sigh, Oct. 3, 1909), *Minli bao* 民立報 (People’s Stand, Oct. 11, 1910).

¹¹³ The column of “Can shan sheng shui” 殘山剩水 (Broken Mountain and Leftover Water), *Minxu ribao* 民吁日報, no. 34 (Nov. 5, 1909). Cf. Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: “Shibao” and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*, Studies of the East Asian Institute (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 30.

beauties (*luoti meiren*) are considered one [subject] of the fine arts in Japan and Western countries. [They exist] either in oil paintings, stone sculptures, or wax statues. [They are] exhibited [along] broad roads or in living rooms, because they are understood as elegant techniques, and no one could ridicule them for being obscene. 東西洋各國皆以裸體美人為美術之一種，或油繪，或石鑿，或蠟制，陳之廣衢，列於客座，蓋皆視為優美之技術而從無人以猥褻譏之也。” It seems that the author regards *luoti meiren* as a subject matter that could be represented in many art forms. Two opposite attitudes towards the subject, appreciation or criticism, were contrasted. “Japan and the Western countries” emerge as a good model, and “people from civilized countries” (文明各國人) appreciate *luoti meiren*; therefore the “nude pictures” (裸體畫片) promoted in the advertisement should also be valued. The advertisement uses the invaluable nude painting to legitimate the “vivid and absolutely lifelike” (活色生香，惟妙惟肖) nude pictures, which were brought from abroad by friends, and sold at the price of “one *yuan* for a dozen.” The word *huose shengxiang* 活色生香 (lit.: lively color brings forth fragrance) was usually applied to indicate erotic scenes involving beautiful women. Together with the word *luoti meiren*, the verbal selection in the advertisement revealed the intention of promoting nude pictures with sensuality.

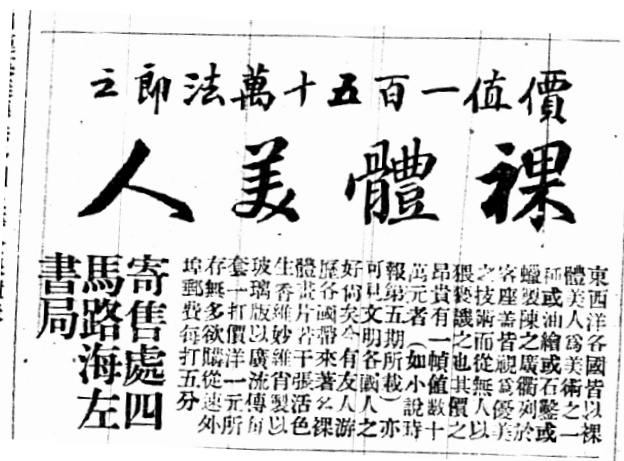


Fig.1-2 Advertisement, *Minlibao* 民立報 (May 18, 1911), 2.

From 1910 to 1919, many commercial periodicals, such as *Xiaoshuo shibao*, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Fiction Monthly), *Xiangyan zazhi* 香艷雜誌 (Enticing Magazine), *Meiyu* 眉語, and *Shenbao* 申報 (The Shanghai News), published advertisements, essays, or pictures with *luoti meiren* in their titles or captions.¹¹⁴ Some of the publications involved Japanese sources. *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報 (Fiction Times), for example, published “Riben luoti meiren xieying” 日本裸體美人寫影 (Photographs of Japanese Naked Beauties) in its front illustrations in 1911. A few months later, the same journal again published “Riben haishuiyu zhi luoti meiren” 日本海水浴之裸體美人 (Japanese Naked Beauties bathing in the seawater).¹¹⁵ As I have pointed out, the early emergence of *luoti meiren* (a naked beauty) in Chinese print was very likely linked to the rise of the *ratai bijin* 裸體美人 in Japanese print. Evidence actually shows that Japanese print capital directly promoted the sales of *luoti meiren* in China in the 1910s. An advertisement in *Shenbao* in 1912, for instance, announced that the Japan Dacheng Calligraphy and Painting Company (*Rishang Shuhua Dacheng gongsi* 日商書畫大成公司) circulated the following images: “Zhongguo luoti meiren jiamei tu” 中國裸體美人假寐圖 (Pictures of a Chinese naked beauty pretending to be asleep), “Zhongguo luoti meiren guajing” 中國裸體美人掛鏡 (A Chinese Naked Beauty in a Hanging Glass Picture

¹¹⁴ “Faguo bowuyuan zhian Meiyong huabo luoti meiren hua” 法國博物院中梅英畫伯裸體美人畫 and “Yidali bowuyuan luoti meiren hua” 意大利博物院裸體美人畫, *Xiaoshuo shibao* no.12 (1911), front illustration, n.p.; “Xiyang luoti meiren tu” 西洋裸體美人圖, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* no.1 (1911), front illustration, n.p.; Zhou Pan 周槃, Tianran 天然, *Luoti meiren lun* 裸體美人論 (On a Naked Beauty), *Xiangyan zazhi* vol.1 no. 2 (1914); Gao Jianhua 高劍華, “Luoti meiren yu” 裸體美人語 (Words from a Naked Beauty), *Meiyu* vol.1, no.4 (1915), *duanpian xiaoshuo* section, 1–6, also in *Zhongguo shiye zazhi* 中國實業雜誌 vol.7 no.10, 1916. According to Yan Juanying and Wu Fangcheng ed., *Shanghai meishu fengyun*, “*luoti meiren*” was mentioned in advertisements or essays published on the following dates in *Shenbao*: (June 18, 1911), last ¼ page; (Nov. 18, 1913), 4; (Feb. 21, 1914), 10; (Feb. 18, 1916), 10; (July 21, 1916), 4; (Mar. 7, 1917), 4; (Sept. 26, 1917); (Mar. 25, 1919), 14. No additional references to *luoti meiren* could be found after 1919 in the book.

¹¹⁵ “Riben luoti meiren xieying” 日本裸體美人寫影 (Photographs of Japanese Naked Beauties), *Xiaoshuo shibao* no.5 (1911), front illustration, n.p.; “Riben haishui yu zhi luoti meiren” 日本海水浴之裸體美人 (Japanese Naked Beauties bathing in the seawater), *Xiaoshuo shibao* no.14 (1912), front illustration, n.p.

Frame), “E De Fa sanguo luoti meiren guajing” 俄德法三國裸體美人掛鏡 (Russian, German, and French naked beauties in a hanging glass picture frame), and “Taixi luoti meiren youxi tu” 泰西裸體美人遊戲圖 (Pictures of Playful Western Naked Beauties), “Zhongguo meiren chuyu tu” 中國美人出浴圖 (Pictures of a Chinese Beauty after a Bath), “Dongyang meiren chuyu tu” 東洋美人出浴圖 (Pictures of a Japanese Beauty after a Bath), and so on.¹¹⁶ *Luoti meiren* 裸體美人 and *chuyu* 出浴 were apparently highlighted as selling points by the Japanese advertiser, which again shows the connection between Japanese print culture and the use of *luoti meiren* in the early 1910s.

In many early cases, “a naked beauty” in Chinese context, in the 1910s, was used to offer sensual and sensational pleasures for reader. Images of “a naked beauty” could be displayed after a bath, on a beach, in jail, or in a museum. However, some cultural practitioners aimed at challenging or defining the meaning of the *luoti meiren*. The attempt underlines conceptual transition of the unclothed body, from an exotic and aesthetic - mainly erotic - concrete existence to a philosophical space that opened up for newer interpretations. Once a new meaning was produced, *luoti meiren*, strictly speaking, did not only belong to the category of “erotic suggestion,” but also to other categories, such as “artistic education” and/or “scientific association.” I will use an example to elaborate the point below.

“Luoti meiren lun” 裸體美人論 (On a Naked Beauty)

One of the earliest argumentative essays probing the meaning of “a naked beauty,” “*Luoti meiren lun*” 裸體美人論 (On A Naked Beauty) published in *Xiangyan zazhi* (Enticing

¹¹⁶ See advertisements, in *Shenbao* (Feb. 27, 1912), 5 and (May 9, 1912), 5. The list continues: “Taidong Xi ziyou jiehun fufu aiqing xiezhen” 泰東西自由結婚夫婦愛情寫真 (Love photographs of Eastern and Western Couples of Free Marriage); “Taixi luoti nüfan sheying” 泰西裸體女犯攝影 (Photographs of Western Unclothed Women Criminals), including “Lian rao quanshen tu” 鏈繞全身圖 (Pictures of Chains around the Whole Body) and “Yuzhong xiyou tu” 獄中洗浴圖 (Pictures of Having a Bath in the Jail).

Magazine) shows a refreshing view of the term.¹¹⁷ Overtly and covertly, the magazine did not only collect extraordinary anecdotes, but also aestheticized women for the market, catering to both male and female implied readers, including *shaonian* 少年 (the young) and *laonian* 老年 (the old), *wenren* 文人 (*literati*) and *wuren* 武人 (military officers), *furen* 夫人 (married women) and *nülang* 女郎 (unmarried women).¹¹⁸ Having realized that “the twentieth century is especially [the time when] women’s civilization is becoming extremely well-developed” (二十世紀尤為女界文明極盛時代), *Xiangyan zazhi* regarded itself as “Chinese women’s excellent achievement” (香艷雜誌者，中國女子優美之成績也). By producing content on “virtuous ladies (賢媛淑女),” “famous courtesans and the talented [women?] (名妓才人),” “beauty and gentleness (美麗溫柔),” “suaveness and sophistication (風流倜儻),” the journal provided readers with “spiritual pleasure and company [by pretty women] (精神上之艷福).”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Zhou Pan 周槃, Tianran 天然, “Luoti meiren lun” 裸體美人論 (On a Naked Beauty), *Xiangyan zazhi* vol.1 no.2 (1914), 1-4. The translation of the magazine follows Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 2003, 132. According to an advertisement on the journal appearing in another contemporary journal *Youxi zazhi* 遊戲雜誌 (The Pastime no.1, 1914, n.p.), the first issue of *Xiangyan zazhi* enjoyed a circulation number of eight thousand. Hockx applies the method of “horizontal reading” to analyze the advertisement in his book *Questions of Style*, 2003, 132. If this number was true, then the circulation numbers were very satisfying for the time. The original text is “本雜誌第一期出版風行各省銷數已達八千以上，女界定購尤夥。每冊洋四角，中華圖書館。” For comparison, the journal *Meiyu* (Eyebrow Talk) claimed that its first issue reached the circulation number of 5,000, see advertisement in *Meiyu* no.1 (Jan. 5, 1915, third edition), n.p.; or 10,000 copies for Issue no.7 in 1915, see an advertisement in *Meiyu* no.13 (Nov. 7, 1915), also see an advertisement in *Shenbao* June 14, 1915, 14.

¹¹⁸ Advertisement, *Libai liu* 禮拜六 (Saturday, no.3, June 20, 1914) describes the implied readers as follows “少年讀之，翩翩自喜；老年讀之，暮景全忘。文人讀之，詞華煥發；武人讀之，儒雅非常。夫人讀之，伉儷彌篤；女郎讀之，齒頰留芳。天地靈秀之氣，獨鍾於女子，故香閨佳話代有所聞。二十世紀尤為女界文明極盛時代，香艷雜誌者，中國女子優美之成績也。其間，賢媛淑女、名妓才人、美麗溫柔、風流倜儻，展卷讀之，如見其人，如聞其語，是實精神上之艷福也。[...]願當世才子美人咸來購閱此書。” Quoted from Rui Heshi, Fan Boqun et al. eds., *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派文學資料 (Research Materials on Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Literature) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984), Band I, 18-19. It seems that *Xiangyan zazhi* was fully aware of its female readers.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

The essay “On a Naked Beauty” is skillfully written in classical Chinese, with abundant four-character idioms, allusions, and rhythmic sentences. As one of the earliest substantive discussions on *luoti meiren*, this essay articulates many important views to build up the new concept of the unclothed body. Taking Japan and Western countries as modern examples, the author tries to convince readers that *luoti meiren* as a subject matter never existed in traditional Chinese art, not even in *chunhua* 春畫 (pornographic/erotic paintings), but was extremely significant in terms of physical appearance, fine arts, romantic love, and medical treatment for women. In so doing, the essay presents the complexity of the signifier *luoti meiren* in depth.

It starts with “the birth of the earth and the creation of human beings (混沌即開，始有人類),” who suffered from the poor living conditions and uncivilized habits, such as “consuming uncooked animals with fur and blood (所茹者毛，所飲者血)” to avoid starvation.¹²⁰ Severe living conditions were so challenging that naturally, human beings did not pay attention to clothing. Later, men and women gradually had the idea that it was indecent or improper to face each other while being unclothed, and then they started to cover their sex organs with tree leaves (或曰男女裸裎相見，漸覺不雅，乃以樹葉掩其下體).¹²¹ Here, *luocheng* 裸裎 is used to refer to “unclothed,” a word that was used in both Chinese Bibles and dictionaries at the time. Then, the author continues to discuss what a *meiren* 美人 (beautiful woman) would look like, “[her] glowing body is exposed, of which each delicate detail can be seen clearly, and there is no place to put any accessory (然臆想斯時所謂美人者，皓體呈露，纖悉畢見，無假飾之餘地).”¹²² Therefore, the essay says, “a beauty has to be naked to prove that her beauty is not faked,” i.e. overly decorated. “If her unclothed body is pretty enough, then her beauty is real (故慾別美人之真贗，要非裸體不可，能以裸體見美，斯謂真美).”¹²³ In

¹²⁰ Zhou Pan, Tianran, *Luoti meiren lun*, 1.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

contrast, “[if] a beauty is [only] good at using accessories to make herself pretty, then she is accessories’ slave (美人以裝飾見長，則為裝飾品之奴隸).”¹²⁴ The comparison between the unclothed body and the clothed body with excessive accessories was one of the major concerns in early Republican debates on “a naked beauty.” Some authors started to challenge the average beauty ideal at the time, which had long since led women to concentrate more on their faces, clothes, and accessories rather than their bodies. In the following text, the essay spent several paragraphs arguing that *luoti meiren* is of great importance in relation to three perspectives: physical appearance, fine arts, and heterosexual love (吾謂裸體美人於美觀上、美術上、與男女愛情上，均似有絕大之關係).¹²⁵

The argument was a breakthrough in the discourse on the unclothed body at the time, as this essay covered both the inherited Chinese view on female physical beauty and the imported view on fine arts and intimate relationships. According to the essay, the first aspect of ideal physical appearance (*meiguan* 美觀) begins with Western and Japanese customs, which allow women to expose their necks and shoulders, or feet. The essay continues to summarize ideal female body, or “a broad view of the unclothed body (*luoti zhi daguan* 裸體之大觀),” such as a pretty face, soft hands, warm and tender breasts, [bound] feet “as pointed as bamboo shoots (*jian ru sun zhe* 尖如筍者),” a slender yet curvy body shape, and white and gleaming skin.¹²⁶ Although this ideal physical beauty is largely based on a traditional view, the essay argues, “Nature can certainly triumph over humans. How can those, who excessively make up and dress up, be placed on a par with [those with natural beauty] (天定勝人，豈專事修飾者所可同日而語耶)?”¹²⁷ Here, the ideal unclothed body is regarded as something natural and undisguised, something opposite of excessive artificial beautification and decoration. The second part of the essay focuses on the significance of *luoti meiren* in relation to fine arts, and

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Zhou Pan, Tianran, *ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

positions the subject at the center of the development of fine arts in China. Again, Western artists are taken as good examples: “The beauties in paintings and sculptures, created by painters and sculptors from Western countries, are mostly unclothed (泰西各國之畫師及雕刻師，其所繪畫與所雕刻之美人大抵裸體的為多).”¹²⁸ The essay continues, stating that magnificent Athenian palaces and recently excavated Pompeian relics were all decorated with unclothed beauties, which simply symbolizes the prosperousness of arts and crafts in a country. Unlike Western countries, criticizes the essay, China “does not advocate fine arts. Most sculptors are ordinary, and painters can only depict the spirit (*xieyi* 寫意). Occasionally, there are people who are good at this [painting unclothed beauties--author], and have secretly painted them. But they dare not announce it to the world because of moral taboos, and [they might] easily break the law. (吾國美術不講，刻匠多屬庸手，畫師只能寫意，間有工此者，秘密為之，不敢公問諸世，亦以風尚廉恥，易觸法禁耳。)”¹²⁹ Therefore, “no wonder that [Chinese] fine arts stay at an inferior level compared to foreign arts? (曷怪美術上之夷於劣敗地位也).”¹³⁰ The third part of the essay discusses the unclothed female body in relation to [heterosexual] love. The author believes that “the function of the feeling of electricity partly accounts for heterosexual love (男女愛情半由電氣感觸之作用).”¹³¹ Although the pure love might emphasize spiritual rather than physical intimacy, physical beauty surely has an effect on the intensity of the affection (情之至者，愛之正者，或重精神而不重肉體。然肉體之美醜自能增損精神熱度之高下).¹³² The unclothed body could therefore contribute to heterosexual love.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Zhou Pan, Tianran, *ibid*, 3.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

In the concluding remarks, the author raises two important points. One is the denial of the existence of “a single naked beauty” (*dandu luoti meiren* 單獨裸體美人, nude figure paintings) in Chinese art history, despite the fact that famous artist Qiu Shizhou 仇十洲 was well-known for implicit or explicit pornographic and erotic paintings (*chunhua* 春畫).¹³³ Qiu’s paintings admittedly presented “creative thoughts” (*qiaosi* 巧思), but was not worth mentioning (*buzu dao ye* 不足道也). In the author’s mind map, Qiu Shizhou and his pornographic/erotic paintings were of the closest genre to [Western] nude figure paintings. This understanding was also embodied in editorial practice, such as the publishing of Qiu Shizhou’s painting “Yang Guifei after Bath” in *Xiaoshuo Shibao* (no.3, 1909, 1) and *Beiyang huabao* (no. 201, July 7, 1928, 2), juxtaposed with other nude paintings.¹³⁴ The second important point related to the function of unclothed (female) body in the context of medical treatment. More women would agree to accept (male) doctors’ treatment, if they were encouraged to show their places of infection on a sculpture or painting of an unclothed beauty, rather than their own bodies. As I have mentioned in earlier text, the medical perspective was generally less emphasized in the discourse of the unclothed body, especially so in later editorial work. This essay shows a meaningful example of how early discussion on *luoti meiren* also covers a medical/scientific aspect, in addition to aesthetics, fine arts, and [heterosexual] romantic love.¹³⁵ The essay ends with an excerpt of an anecdote on nude models in Japan. The author relates that he had heard that Japanese women from good families are willing to act as nude models for artists, entirely out of their own respect for the fine arts. In dramatic contrast, Chinese women would cover

¹³³ Ibid. Qiu Shizhou (c.1498-c.1552) was originally from Taicang (Suzhou prefecture). He was regarded as a master of female figures, birds, animals, and landscapes. He was also famous for pornographic or erotic paintings.

¹³⁴ “Qiu Shizhou Hua Yangfei Chuyu Tu” 仇十洲畫楊妃出浴圖 (Yang Guifei after Bath Painted by Qiu Shizhou), *Xiaoshuo Shibao* 小說時報 no. 3 (1909): 1; “Qiu Shizhou hui Guifei chu yu tu” 仇十洲繪貴妃出浴圖 (Imperial Concubine after a Bath Painted by Qiu Shizhou), *BYHB* 201 (July 7, 1928), 2.

¹³⁵ For the study on women and medical history, see Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China’s Medical History, 960-1665* (University of California Press, 1999); for the research on women’s health issues reflected in the early Republican journals, see Joan Judge, “Everydayness as a Critical Category of Gender Analysis: The Case of ‘Funü Shibao’ (The Women’s Eastern Times),” *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* no. 20 (December 2012): 1–28.

their ears and run away. The anecdote perhaps reflects the development of artistic education in Japan. No matter how and where the anecdote came from, Japanese women's attitude towards the unclothed body and nude modeling was designed to serve as a good example for Chinese women. The selection of the example again indicates the Japanese role in shaping the concept of the unclothed body in China.¹³⁶

Semantic Category 2: Religious Belief

Compared to the other three categories, religious connotation was referenced less often in the discourse of the unclothed body. It is, however, significant to understand how intellectuals (including editors) thought of the unclothed body at a metaphysical level. I will give two examples related to Christianity, but this category is by no means limited to Christianity.¹³⁷

Xiuti 羞體 (Shameful Body), Yadang 亞當 (Adam) and Xiawa 夏娃 (Eve)

Initially, the word *xiuti* 羞體 (shameful body) appeared in the first missionary dictionary, Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1822), as well as Doolittle's *A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language* (1872), as the translation for the English word "nakedness." (Table 1-1). I have argued that this revealed the link between the unclothed body and Christian sense of shame.¹³⁸ Describing the bodily status of "nakedness" "in the scriptural sense" (Morrison, 1822, 289), *xiuti* was most likely created by Morrison to describe Adam and

¹³⁶ The original text of the conclusion is "由此言之裸體美人之關係，顧不重哉，我國畫家，如明之仇十洲以春畫著名，有明寫法。有暗寫法，具見巧思。然狀男女褻事，近於誨淫，不足道也。至單獨裸體美人，為美術上之作用，我國人向無見及之者，抑有進於此者。我國閨閣，瘍生隱處，往往諱疾忌醫。有此裸體以作模範，按部指視，醫者亦可措手，則於醫術亦有絕大關係也。吾聞日本良家女，有願為模範，裸體以任畫師之平視而描寫者，未始非崇尚美術之心理有以致之也。若我國婦女聞之，必掩耳而走矣。"

¹³⁷ Terms drawn from Buddhism also appeared in editorial practice. For instance, "*fa shen*" 法身 (lit. "law body.") It is the word Chinese Buddhist translators explained the Sanskrit *dharmakāya*, lit. "truth body" or "reality body"), referring to one of the three bodies (*Trikaya*) of the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism, was used to interpret nude photograph by Heinz von Perckhammer in *Beiyang huabao* 234 (Oct. 23, 1928), 3. Another frequently used phrase is "*se jishi kong*" 色即是空 (phenomenon is emptiness) or "*kong jishi se*" 空即是色 (emptiness is phenomenon), which was also used to interpret Perckhammer's nude photograph in *Beiyang huabao* 238 (Nov. 1, 1928), 3.

¹³⁸ Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, Part III (Macao: East India Company's Press, 1822), 289; Doolittle, *A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language* (1872), 320. See Table 1-1.

Eve after eating the forbidden fruit. A search in prominent historical databases shows that the *xiuti* was rarely used in major periodicals and *Shenbao* (1872-1949).¹³⁹ Nor was the word deployed in the verses of Genesis in different Chinese Bibles (see Table 2). Nonetheless, I regard it as one of the signifiers to refer to the unclothed body in the sign system.

More promising signifiers were *Yadang* 亚当 (Adam) and *Xiawa* 夏娃 (Eve). Either of them could be used to refer to *luoti*, with a sense of sacredness and dedication; at the same time, Adam and Eve's eating the forbidden fruit is highly metaphorical. It marks the two poles of the perception of the unclothed body. Before eating the fruit, Adam and Eve were feeling no embarrassment, no awkwardness, and no shame of their own unclothed bodies. Soon after eating the fruit, they acquired "sharp eyes," and became highly self-reflexive and aware of their own unclothed bodies. More importantly, Adam and Eve linked the sense of "shame" to their own unclothed bodies, although Adam's body should resemble God's shape, thus be perfect. Adam's body stayed the same before and after eating the fruit, the (self-) perceptions, however, were completely opposite before and after eating the fruit. Metaphorically, the process of eating the forbidden fruit can be deemed to be education, cultivation, or tameness. Eating the fruit means the acceptance of certain religious/cultural logic. Had the religious/cultural logic been that the unclothed body means healthy, aesthetically appreciated, and something positive, why would Adam be "naturally" ashamed? Again, the religious/cultural logic is not "natural"; on the contrary, it is culturally and historically specific. Careful selection of these terms would also mean an association with the cultural logic behind them.

¹³⁹ I searched *xiuti* in "Shenbao Fulltext database"; "Dacheng Old Periodicals Fulltext Database"; "Late Qing and Republican Periodicals Fulltext Database 1833-1949." URLs can be found in bibliography. The only result I found is "Zuihan zhaoshi" 醉漢肇事 (A Drunk Man Making Troubles), *Shenbao* no.7963 (June 22, 1895), 9. In the report, it is written "...at that time, a mid-aged woman was bathing, and [she] could not cover her shameful body...(適一中年婦正在沐浴，羞體難遮)."

An eloquent example is Liu Dabai 劉大白 (1880-1932)'s poem "Ti luoti nüxiang" 題裸體女像 (On a Female Nude Statue).¹⁴⁰ Already an established poet in the classical tradition before the May Fourth Movement, Liu Dabai was devotedly engaged in vernacular poetry after 1919, and this poem is such an example.

“從空虛混沌裏，	From the void, from the chaos,
有了要有的光；	Comes the light that ought to be;
這是骨中骨、肉中肉的光體，	This is the light, bone-of-my-bones, flesh-of-my-flesh,
照著那獨居不好的亞當。	Lighting over Adam, unwilling to staying alone.
伊是誰？	Who is she?
女人夏娃。	Eve the woman.
是誰創造？	Who created her?
神耶和華。	God Jehovah.
怎地是伊底真？	What is her truth?
赤條條地裸露？	Stark naked?
怎地是伊底善？	What is her goodness?
純潔地無暇，清白地不污。	Chastely flawless, innocently stainless.
怎地是伊底美？	What is her beauty?
均勻地豐濃、繁複地屈曲。	Evenly voluptuous, complicatedly curvaceous.
[...]” ¹⁴¹	

The title indicates that the artistic object - the female nude statue - inspired the author. Liu Dabai, however, did not write a poem to describe or praise the aesthetic value of the statue, as many contemporary artists would do. Instead, he created a poem based on the scenes of Genesis. He viewed “Eve the woman,” created to accompany Adam, as the embodiment of truth, goodness, and beauty. Her truth is “naked”; her goodness is “flawless”; and her beauty is “voluptuous” and “curvaceous.” Having possessing the perfection, Eve, is abstracted to a signifier, referring to an unclothed yet flawless body.

¹⁴⁰ Dabai 大白 (Liu Dabai), “Ti luoti nüxiang” 題裸體女像 (On Unclothed Female Statue), *Minguo ribao: Juewu* 民國日報:覺悟 (July 20, 1921), 2. Written on July 15th, 1921. The poem was collected into his anthology *Jiumeng* 舊夢 (Old Dreams) (Shanghai: Shangwu yunshuguan, 1924) and *Zaizao* 再造 (Re-Creation) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1929). For a short introduction, see Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie, *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century* (C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1997), 42-43; Wang Lianghe 王良和, “A study of the poetry and literary ideas of Liu Dabai (1880-1932)” 劉大白詩及其詩論研究 (The University of Hong Kong, 1994. MA thesis, <http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkuto/record/B31212700>).

¹⁴¹ Dabai, *ibid.*

Liu's poem was published in the supplement of *Minguo ribao*, a wildly circulated newspaper. If one doubts that Liu Dabai was a famous poet, and his knowledge of the Bible and Eve was not strong, then the next example published in *Shenbao* in 1927 might give us a better sense to which extent readers were familiar with the story of Adam and Eve. The essay is authored by Lu Zhiyun 盧穉雲 (?-?), who writes about his personal view on a recent Hollywood movie *Lihua jie* 麗花劫 (lit.: A Beautiful Flower's Inexorable Doom).¹⁴² I have identified that the movie was in fact *Fig Leaves*, made by the 21st Century Fox and released in 1926.¹⁴³ The film was designed to explore the relations between men and women, clothes and body, in modern society. To familiarize general readers with the biblical background, the author quotes Genesis (1:21-2:7) at length (“直錄舊約全書創世記第一章第二十一節第二章第七節止原文”), clearly contextualizing the film in the biblical meaning of Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve were also used in the context of nudism in the 1930s, referring to the state of innocence and purity. According to *Shenbao*, a nudist society was founded in May 1933. Warmly supported by many Russian nudists, the society was entitled “Adam and Eve.”¹⁴⁴ The name associated the biblical figures to the nudist movement, indicating that unclothed nudists were as innocent and pure as Adam and Eve.

¹⁴² Lu Zhiyun 盧穉雲, “Ji Lihujia” 紀麗花劫 (On “Fig Leaves”), *Shenbao* no.19508 (July 4, 1927), 18. Little is known about the author, except that he used to be one of the chief editors for *Dianying huabao* 電影畫報 (Movie Pictorial), see http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/book/book_introduction.jsp?bookId=15113.

¹⁴³ IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0016854/?ref=fn_al_tt_1. The database offers a storyline: “In the modern day (1920s) story, Adam, a plumber, is happily married to Eve, a wardrobe-obsessed housewife, until she accidentally meets a supercilious fashion designer. At the prompting of her neighbor, who has secret designs on Adam, Eve secretly becomes a fashion model by day, knowing that her husband would disapprove. This tale is book-ended by a sequence of the two principals in the Garden of Eden, having the same preoccupations amid the dinosaurs and boulders.”

¹⁴⁴ Niu 牛, “Yadang yu Xiawa” 亞當與夏娃 (Adam and Eve), *Shenbao* 申報本埠增刊 no.21593 (May 25, 1933), sec. *Tanyan* (談言).

Semantic Category 3: Artistic Education

The aspect of the artistic and aesthetic quality of unclothed (female) body became increasingly important in the 1920s, with the emergence and development of artistic education in cities like Hangzhou and Shanghai. *Quxian mei* 曲線美, for example, was closely linked to the introduction of nude model (*mote'er*) system to Chinese artistic education, and appeared frequently in the popular press from the mid-1920s. *Mote'er* 模特兒 and *quxian mei* became the new signifiers to refer to the artistic/aesthetic aspect of the unclothed body in the 1920s. The words *luoti mei* 裸體美 (beauty of unclothed bodies) also emerged in the context of *luoti hua* 裸體畫 (nude paintings). The popularization of the words started a pattern of using “*ABC mei*” to refer to the unclothed body.¹⁴⁵ According to Saussure, *luoti mei* 裸體美 still includes the term *luoti*, thus has syntagmatic relations with *luoti*; while the other three terms have associative or paradigmatic relations with *luoti*.

Mote'er 模特兒 (*Nude Model*)

Following the introduction of Western artistic education to China, “nude model” was gradually identified not only as an infamous profession, but also as “a distinct social type and cultural trope,” just like its Parisian origins.¹⁴⁶ In Paris, the model “was typically assumed to be female and frequently characterized as sexually available in the popular imagination by the end of the nineteenth century.”¹⁴⁷ This stereotype also existed in the Chinese popular imagination, especially after the infamous “Nude Model Controversy” occurred in Shanghai in mid-1920s,

¹⁴⁵ *Renti mei* 人體美 (the beauty of the human body), *jianmei* 健美 (health and beauty, physical beauty, robust beauty), *jiankang mei* 健康美 (healthy beauty, robust beauty), and sometimes *nüxing mei* 女性美 (female beauty) were such examples. *Renti mei*, *jianmei*, *jiankang mei* were derived from the imported “scientific” concepts of physical education, eugenics, ethnography, and nudist movement, to be discussed in the next section. The last example *nüxing mei* 女性美 was not limited to the discussion of the unclothed body, but femininity in general.

¹⁴⁶ Introduction to Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 8.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

which underscored two opposing attitudes towards (mutually female) nude models.¹⁴⁸ Typically, the pro-nude-model side, which included some artists, intellectuals, and writers, argued that the nude model played indispensable role in the basic training of Western-style painting. One could not learn the essence of the Western painting, or Western culture, without sketching nude models first. Moreover, it was argued that nude models existed in both the “West” and Japan, all of which developed prosperous fine arts, therefore, they asked, why was nude modeling problematic in China? The anti-nude-model side, which included morally concerned officials and cultural conservatives, argued that nude models were extremely harmful because of women’s willingness to offer public exposure. Since China had a local socio-cultural environment, why, they asked, should China allow nude models to exist, even though Western countries and Japan did so?¹⁴⁹

In the first few years of the 1920s, the translation of “model” included *mote’er* 模特耳, *moxing* 模型, or mostly, *mote’er* 模特兒.¹⁵⁰ The first two words were short-lived, and already outdated by the mid-1920s. Initially, *mote’er* was used to signify models in general, clothed or unclothed, male or female.¹⁵¹ Only an explicit term as *renti mote’er* 人體模特兒 or *luoti mote’er* 裸體模特兒 would refer to female nude models. With the increasingly heated debate on nude models, the situation changed, and *mote’er* alone equaled female nude models, or an unclothed female body.

¹⁴⁸ As a historical figure, Liu Haisu was controversial not only in the 1920s and 1930s, but has remained so in recent academic research.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Examples of *mote’er* 模特兒 and *moxing* 模型 see Zhou Qin hao 周勤豪, “Mote’er” 模特兒 (Models), in *Meishu* 美術 2, no.2 (April 30, 1920): 65-67. Bao Tianxiao, *Aishen zhi moxing* 愛神之模型 (The Model of Love Goddess) (*Xingqi* 星期, No.12. 1922). In some cases, *mote’er* is merely used as to translate “mode” or “model” in the sense of “pattern.” For example, a short essay entitled “*Dianying de mote’er*” 電影的模特兒 (The Model/Pattern of Movies), published in *Xinyue* 新月 1, no.2 (1925), 107, illustrated eight *mote’er*, most frequently used scenes, in early Chinese films to mock the stereotypical settings in contemporary movies, such as the scenes of West Lake landscape, a flirtatious couple, an old woman or man dying, pretentious crying, loss of love (失戀), confession, an ignorant, big figure, or a child jumping around.

¹⁵¹ Zhou Qin hao 周勤豪, “Mote’er” 模特兒 (Models), *Meishu* 美術 2, no.2 (April 30, 1920), 65.

These words did not only signify the imported profession, which allows/requires the person to uncover her/his own body, but also the impact of “modern” and “Western” cultural values. Both attributes enabled *mote'er* to be a sensational and spectacular term in popular culture. To explore the motif, cultural practitioners applied various genres contesting, depicting, or imagining stories of models, such as fiction, theatrical scripts, poems, comic verse based on *Sanzijing* 三字經 (Three Character Classic), and so on.¹⁵² Thematically, some cultural products focused more on the social background of female nude models, asking why they would be willing to be models. Others paid more attention to the relations and interaction between (male) artists and their (female) nude models, romantic or not.

Writers from different social, ideological, and intellectual background took an interest in the theme. For example, commercial writers, so-called “Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School” writers, for instance, wrote about the motif.¹⁵³ Bao Tianxiao, one of the best known commercial writers, published satirical short stories such as “Aishen zhi moxing” 愛神之模型 (The Model of Love Goddess, 1922) and “Mote'er zishu” 模特兒自述 (An Account in A Model's Own Words, 1925) in magazines.¹⁵⁴ Also from Bao's literary circle, Cheng Zhanlu 程瞻廬 (1879-?) created “Mote'er Sanzijing” 模特兒三字經 (Three Character Classic of

¹⁵² There are also films involving scenes of artists painting (nude) models, such as *Zhaixing zhinü* 摘星之女 (Between Love & Filial Duty), produced by Changcheng huapian gongsi, directed by Li Zeyuan 李澤源 and Mei Xuechou 梅雪儔, 1925; *Zhangong* 戰功 (Amid the Battle of Musketry), Dazhonghua yingpian gongsi, directed by Xu Xinfu 徐欣夫, 1925; *Zaisheng* 再生 (Resurrection), produced by Dachangcheng Film Company, directed by Chen Tian 陳天, 1933. The original films are no longer available, but the plots and stills can be found in *Zhongguo dianying yishu yanjiu zhongxin*, and *zhongguo dianying ziliaoguan* ed., *Zhongguo yingpian dadian* 中國影片大典 1905-1930 (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 1996), and Chinese Movie Database www.dianying.com.

¹⁵³ “Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School” is a polemical term used by writers from the May Fourth Movement; for a more detailed discussion of this complex issue, see Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); Hockx, *ibid*. Also see more recent work by Theodore Hutters and Chen Jianhua.

¹⁵⁴ Bao Tianxiao, “Aishen zhi moxing” 愛神之模型 (The Model of Love Goddess), *Xingqi* 星期 no.12. (1922): 1-8; Bao Tianxiao, “Mote'er zishu” 模特兒自述 (An Account in A Model's Own Words), *Xinyue* 新月 1, no. 1(1925): 1-8.

Models), a form based on the traditional *Three Character Classic* 三字經 for children's literacy.¹⁵⁵ The so-called May Fourth writers, or New Literature writers, however, paid equal attention to the motif of nude models. Wang Tongzhao 王统照 (1897-1957), one of the founders of the Chinese Literary Association (*Wenxue yanjiu hui* 文學研究會), published a fiction *Chensi* 沉思 (Deep Meditation) in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 (The Short Story Magazine) in 1921, even earlier than Bao Tianxiao's works.¹⁵⁶ The same magazine also published Xiong Foxi's 熊佛西 (1900-1965) play script "Mote'er" 模特儿 (Model) in 1931.¹⁵⁷ As we can see, the authors from various backgrounds used multiple genres to probe social and cultural issues about nude models from multiple perspectives. This fact exhibits a persistent curiosity of nude models as a cultural site of unclothed bodies. In later editorial practice in pictorials, we will find similar interest.

¹⁵⁵ Cheng Zhanlu 程瞻廬, "Mote'er Sanzijing" 模特兒三字經 (Three Character Classic of Models), *Hong Meigui* 紅玫瑰 2, no. 3 (1925).

¹⁵⁶ Wang Tongzhao, *Chensi* 沉思 (Deep Meditation) in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 (The Short Story Magazine), vol.2 no.1 (Jan. 11, 1921): 23-27. Wang participated in the "May Fourth Movement," and was one of the twelve founders of the Chinese Literary Association (*Wenxue yanjiu hui* 文學研究會), established on Dec. 4, 1920, and officially inaugurated on Jan. 4, 1921. Wang Tongzhao was a famous May Fourth writer for his creation of issue-oriented fictions guided by the dictum "literature for life's sake." "Love" and "beauty" were two foci in his writing. The Literary Association was one of the first societies for New Literature. See Hockx, 2003, 53-55; Michel Hockx, "The Chinese Literary Association (*Wenxue Yanjiu Hui*)," in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, ed. Michel Hockx and Kirk A. Denton (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 79-102. For research on *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, see Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁷ Xiong Foxi, "Mote'er" 模特兒 (A Model), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 vol.22, no.1 (Jan. 10, 1931), 121-129. Written in 1930. Xiong Foxi was a well-known Chinese playwright, who actively took part in the May Fourth Movement, and later studied theatre and literature at Columbia University. He went back to China in 1926 and wrote *Model* in 1930. Afterwards he was engaged with his experimental theatre work in Ding County, Hebei Province, aiming at creating a peasants' drama in order to educate and entertain the Chinese peasants. There are more literary works involving models, see for example, Qin Wen 欽文, "Mote'er" 模特兒 (A Model), *Chenbao fukan* 晨報副刊 (Jan. 6, 1924), 3. Yuan Muzhi 袁牧之, "Linghun de jiaohan" 靈魂的叫喊 (Yelling from the Soul), *Wanxiang* 万象, 1945.

Quxian mei 曲線美 (*Beauty of Curves*)

Quxian 曲線, according to a Chinese-English dictionary in the 1920s, means “a curved line.”¹⁵⁸ *Quxian mei* 曲線美, thus literarily means “beauty of curves.” The term was primarily used in artistic discussion on models. As early as in 1920, Zhang Shoutong 張守桐, a teacher at Shanghai Art School, already published an essay in the section of *sichao* 思潮 (trend of thought) in their school journal *Meishu* 美術 (Fine Arts), entitled “*Quxian mei shi shenme*” 曲線美是什麼? (What is Beauty of Curves?).¹⁵⁹ In the essay, he argues “‘beauty of curves’ is something very aesthetic in this world. Everything [aesthetic] is created successfully by curves (‘曲線美’就是這世界上很美的東西，無論什麼，都是曲線造成功的).” Furthermore, he points out that sketching curves is one of the basic drawing techniques, and that nude life drawing in the West pays much attention to female nude (西洋的裸體寫生注重的是女裸體). With circumstances in China not being ideal for nude models, Zhang hopes that young people can make efforts to fight against the conservatives, so as to promote nude life drawing and develop fine arts in China.

The word *quxian mei* appeared so often in the public debate that later it was no longer a term merely about beauty, but turned to signify the imagery of unclothed bodies, particularly the nude model. In 1925, an essay, published in the most circulated Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, comments, “[people of] the entire country were nearly insane, and rushed to look at models for their pleasure. Book merchants created new titles [for books], naming them ‘genuine beauty,’ or ‘beauty of curves.’ (舉國若狂，爭必一睹模特兒為快，書商則巧立其

¹⁵⁸ Zhang Yunpeng, 1929, 319. The item of *quxian mei* is not collected in the dictionary.

¹⁵⁹ Zhang Shoutong 張守桐, “*Quxian shi shenme*” 曲線美是什麼? (What is Beauty of Curves?), *Meishu* 美術 2, no.3 (1920), 101-103.

名曰真美，曰曲線美)。”¹⁶⁰ The 1927 essay quoted in the beginning of this chapter, also revealed that the “novel and lovely” term *quxian mei* was created to replace *luoti*, in order to attract consumers’ attention. Three years later, the term *quxian mei* was even more popular, and an author was intrigued enough to describe the phenomenon, further investigating the source of the term *quxian mei*. He writes:

“The three characters ‘Beauty of curves’ (*quxian mei*) are truly magical. By using it, bookstores could sell a few more books. By using it, cinemas could attract a few more customers. Ha! Ha! We should do a study on why these three characters contain such enormous magic. Before studying something, [we] should know the history. [I] have looked up the three characters *quxian mei*. Do not mention that *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典) does not collect this term; even the very famous *Encyclopedic Dictionary* (*Ciyuan* 辭源) does not [collect it], either. Therefore, we can see that the Miss (borrowed [to refer to *quxian mei*]) is definitely not a local product of our country.

So, if [we] want to know her (referring to the ‘Beauty of curves’ thence) history, [we] shall have to go further, and spend more time surveying. It turns out that [the word] is imported from foreign countries. She was introduced to China by our artists. Therefore, the owners of bookstores and cinemas should thank these few artists.

‘曲線美’三個字，真是魔力大極了。書店用了牠，能夠多銷幾本書。戲院用了牠，能夠多得幾個看客。哈！哈！我們不能不研究一下，為什麼這三個字有偌大的魔力。未研究一件事之前，應要知其的來歷。查‘曲線美’三個字，不說康熙字典沒有這句名詞，就是很著名的辭源也沒有。可見得這位密司（借用）必定不是我國的土產了。

所以要知道她（指曲線美，後仿此）的來歷，不能不跑遠些，用多點時候來調查。原來是外國的舶來品。她是我國藝術家介紹到中國來。因此書店和戲院老闆應該向那幾位藝術家道幾聲謝才是。”¹⁶¹

The essay raised two important points. One point is that the author checked dictionaries like the *Kangxi zidian* and *Ciyuan* to confirm whether *quxian mei* was a “local product.” These two encyclopedic lexicons were also used in this chapter to trace the etymology of *luo* and *luoti*. Additionally, the essay accords with the previous evidence, that artists originally introduced the word to China, and then book merchants made good use of the word *quxian mei* for effective marketing.

¹⁶⁰ Li Yuyi 李寓一, “Lun zhenmei yu quxian mei” 論真美與曲線美 (On Genuine Beauty and Beauty of Curves), *Shenbao* no.18861 (Sept. 2, 1925), 17, Section of *Ziyou tan* 自由談 (Speaking freely). Li Yuyi (?-?) was an art critic, who also published a book *Luoti yishu tan* 裸體藝術談 (Talks on the Art of the Nudity) (Shanghai: Xiandai shuju, 1928).

¹⁶¹ You 猷, “Quxian mei shi shenme dongxi” 曲線美是什麼東西 (What is Beauty of Curves), *Wanyou zhoukan* 萬有週刊 (The Weekly Encyclopedia) 1, no. 2 (1930): 10.

For example, Liangyou Book Company, as one of the most important Chinese publishing enterprises, promoted a photo album of unclothed females in 1928, entitled both in Chinese *Xiyang nüxing quxian mei* 西洋女性曲線美 (lit.: Beauty of Western Females' Curves) and in English "Open Air Studies." The English title and the Chinese word *xiyang* 西洋 (the West) well emphasize its Western origin. Also highlighted are the name of the photographer, Marcel Meys (1885-1972), and the information that the book first appeared in Paris in 1928, regardless of the reliability.¹⁶² From the cover image (Fig.1-3) to the photos inside, the book consists of 39 photos of unclothed Western women, posing in natural settings.¹⁶³ The book exemplifies the promotion of images of unclothed women in the name of *quxian mei*.

Marketing *quxian mei* not only existed in Shanghai. Publishers in the northern city of Tianjin were also familiar with the trendy term. An advertisement "*Quxian mei huapian*" 曲線美畫片 (Pictures of Beauty of Curves), appearing in *Changshi huabao* 常識畫報 ("Le *Vulgarisateur*") in 1928, states: "To advocate arts and strike down 'fleshy' nude photographs, our pictorial has elaborately selected and reprinted a few kinds of pictures to study 'beauty of curves,' in order to make readers understand what is artwork, and what is propagating 'fleshiness' [sensuality]. 本報因為提倡藝術，打倒“肉”性裸體照片，特選關於曲線美研究之畫片數種精印，使閱者了解何為藝術作品，何為肉性的宣傳。”¹⁶⁴ Here, editors use *quxian mei* to signify and promote "good" nude photographs, while othering "bad" ones and categorizing them to be *rouxing* 肉性 (fleshy, sensual).¹⁶⁵ However, the boundary between "good" and "bad," artistic and sensual, elegant and vague, high and low, is determined entirely

¹⁶² Marcel Meys, *Xiyang nüxing quxian mei* 西洋女性曲線美 (Lit.: Beauty of Western Females' Curves), original English title: "Open Air Studies" (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1928.) Having checked BNF (National Library of France) and WorldCat, I am unable to locate any book authored by Marcel Meys and published in Paris in 1928 or later. It could mean, Marcel Meys' photo album did exist but was not qualified for library collection; or Liangyou Company mis-documented the information, and the photo album never existed in Paris as a book.

¹⁶³ The cover image appears once again in the book, and I count it twice.

¹⁶⁴ Advertisement, *Changshi huabao* vol.1 no.10 (Dec. 24, 1928), 1. I will introduce more on *Changshi huabao* in Chapter Two.

¹⁶⁵ In fact, the "other" sensual nude photographs mentioned in the essay above are so-called "French postcards," which were abundantly published in *Beiyang huabao*, the competitor of *Changshi huabao*. The focus of Chapter Two is precisely to explore how *Beiyang huabao* actually defined and interpreted this type of visual material. It shows how editors and publishers struggled for more power to make their own definition of the "artistic" unclothed body.

by editors' definition. If we once more think of the debate on "nakedness vs. nudity," we would find the editors attempted to polarize the visual representations in a similar way. The difference is, there were many more than two terms to refer to the unclothed body in the Chinese context. The next signifier, *luoti mei*, is another example of how new terms were created to refer to the artistic unclothed body.

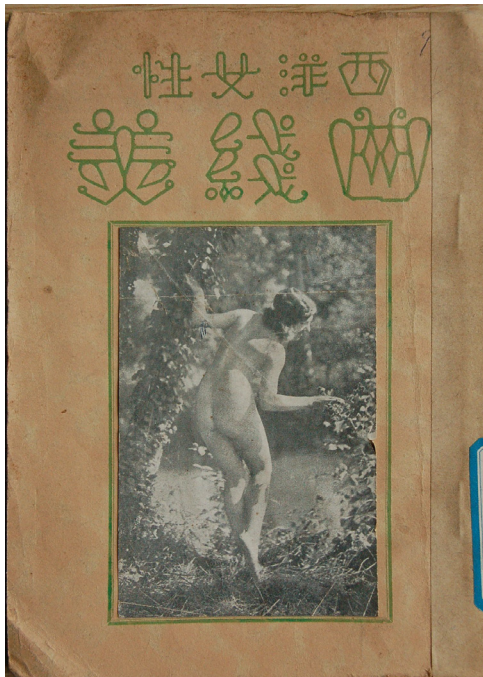


Fig.1-3 The book cover of *Xiyang nüxing quxian mei* (Shanghai: Liangyou 1928). Shanghai Library.

***Luoti mei* 裸體美 (*Beauty of Unclothed Bodies*)**

From the early 1920s, the term *luoti mei* 裸體美 gradually became popular in Chinese print culture. Similar to *luoti meiren*, evidence seems to suggest that the emergence of the Chinese word *luoti mei* 裸體美 was in line with the Japanese publishing enterprise in the 1920s, and was usually deployed to demonstrate the aesthetic value of the unclothed body.

At least six Japanese books, published between 1922 and 1931, included *rataibi* 裸体美 (*kanji* for Chinese characters of *luoti mei*) in the titles.¹⁶⁶ One of the authors, Sawada Junjirō 澤田順次郎 (1863-1936), was “an immensely prolific writer on sexual issues” in Japan, and was “characterized as *the* authority on sexology” at the time.¹⁶⁷ He also enthusiastically worked on the issue of female physical beauty, and published a book titled *Sekai ni okeru on'na no rataibi no shin kenkyū* 世界に於ける女の裸体美の新研究 (New Research on Beauty of Female Unclothed Bodies in the World) in 1922. (Fig.1-4) One year later, this particular book was translated into Chinese by Chen Bai'ou 陳白鷗 (?-?), a Chinese playwright who had studied in Japan, and was eventually published by Aimei she 愛美社 (literarily: loving beauty publishing house/society) in 1925 with the title *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* 裸體美之研究 (A Study on the Beauty of Unclothed Bodies).¹⁶⁸ (Fig.1-5) Starting with an important preface by Chen Bai'ou, the book covers a wide range of issues, including “the relation between primary sexual

¹⁶⁶ The following five books can be found in Japanese National Diet Library: Sawada Junjirō 沢田順次郎, *Sekai ni okeru on'na no rataibi no shin kenkyū* 世界に於ける女の裸体美の新研究 (New Research on Beauty of Female Unclothed Bodies in the World), in *Sawada Sei no kenkyū sōsho* 沢田性の研究叢書 (Sawada's Research Series on Sexology) vol.4 (Seibunsha 正文社 1922); Ikeda roku 池田録, *Rataibi* 裸体美 (Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) (Sei kenkyūjo 性研究所, 1923); Sakurai hitoshi 桜井均 ed., *Rataibi* 裸体美 (Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) (Shunkōdō 春江堂, 1924); Tōzai bijutsusha 東西美術社 ed., *Rataibi* 裸体美 (Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) vol.1 (Tōzai bijutsusha 東西美術社, 1924); Naigai shuppan kyōkai 内外出版協会, *Rataibi: Nazo no shinpi* 裸体美: 謎の神秘 (Beauty of Unclothed Bodies: The Myth of the Puzzle) (Naigai shuppan kyōkai, 1928); Negishi sakae Takashi 根岸栄隆, *Rataibi no kankaku* 裸体美の感覚 (The Impression of the Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) (Jidai sesō kenkyūkai 時代世相研究会, 1931).

¹⁶⁷ Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (University of California Press, 2003), 103. The advertisement is on *Sei* (February 1923), advertising section, see Frühstück, 111.

¹⁶⁸ Shanghai ai mei she 上海愛美社, ed., *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* 裸體美之研究 (A Study on the Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) (Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1925). Written in November 1923, Chen Baiou explicitly states in his preface that the book was translated from “a Japanese book called *Shijie de nü zhi luoti mei zhi xin yanjiu* 世界的女之裸體美之新研究 by “famous Japanese sexologist Mr. Sawada Junjirō (Riben xingjia dajia Zetian shuncilang xiansheng 日本性家大家澤田順次郎先生).” This is exactly Sawada Junjirō's book *Sekai ni okeru on'na no rataibi no shin kenkyū* 世界に於ける女の裸体美の新研究. I have examined the Japanese book in NDL collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/914192>. The translational connection has been further confirmed by comparing the table of contents of the two books.

desire and unclothed life; the imagination of the unclothed body (原始的性慾與裸體生活的關係及裸體憧憬),” “the boom of the unclothed body in arts (裸體美藝術的發達),” “Japanese nude sculpture (日本的裸體雕刻),” “investigation on the Goddess of Venus (維納斯女神之考察),” “nude paintings (裸體畫),” “the unclothed body and censorship of the art of the unclothed body (裸體及裸體藝術的取締).” The book enjoyed significant success judging from the fact that it had been reprinted three times by October 1926, and six times by August 1930.¹⁶⁹ This would also indicate that Sawada Junjirō’s Japanese book notably contributed to the Chinese discourse of unclothed bodies.

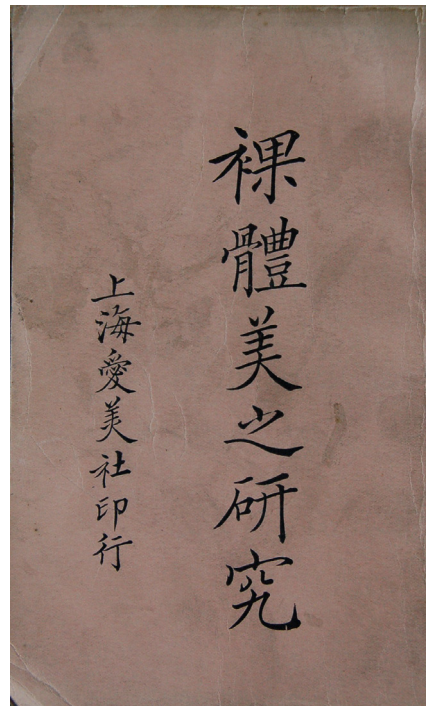
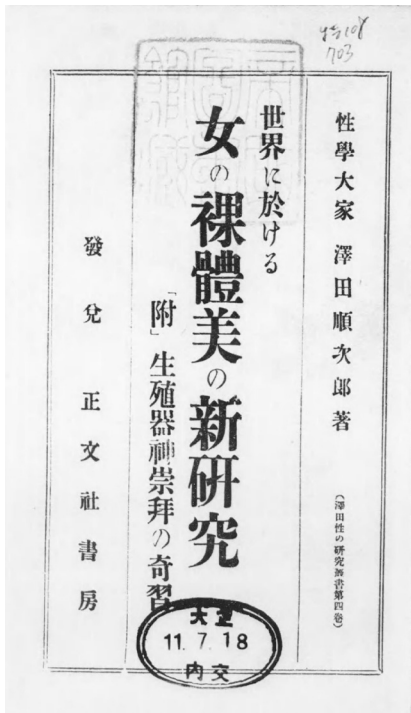


Fig.1-4 Sawada Junjirō, *Sekai ni okeru on'na no rataibi no shin kenkyū* (Seibunsha, 1922). NDL collection.

Fig.1-5 *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Aimei she, 1930, 6th edition), book cover. Private collection.

The word *luoti mei* frequently appeared in the context of artistic education and art criticism, and it was largely associated with Cai Yuanpei’s (1868-1940) influential thought of “artistic

¹⁶⁹ The three editions are collected at Shanghai Library.

education” (*meiyu* 美育).”¹⁷⁰ The change from *luoti meiren* to *luoti mei* indicates that the discourse on the unclothed body began to focus more on “beauty” on an abstract level rather than on visual beauty *and* gendered persons (*meiren*). The emphasis admitted the premise that the unclothed body *is* beautiful, or, one had to be convinced that there is certain beauty existing in the unclothed body. Qijin (泣堇), for instance, wrote an essay titled “Luoti hua yu luoti mei” 裸體畫與裸體美 (Nude Paintings and Beauty of Unclothed Bodies) in *Yishujie zhoukan* 藝術界週刊 (Art World Weekly) in 1927. The journal was published by Liangyou Printing Company and was known for its serious criticism in the literature and arts circles.¹⁷¹ Similar to the book mentioned above, the essay also argues for the aesthetic value of unclothed bodies and their visual representations in three sections, “the origin of nude paintings (裸體畫的起源),” “the study of unclothed bodies (裸體的研究),” and “respect and rejection of beauty of unclothed bodies (裸體美的尊重與排斥).”

For the category of “artistic education,” I have elaborated on three examples: *mote'er* 模特兒 (nude model), *quxian mei* 曲線美 (beauty of curves) and *luoti mei* 裸體美 (beauty of unclothed bodies). All three terms were born during the rapid development of Western artistic education throughout the 1920s, and all terms were intimately linked to the rising new genre *luoti hua* 裸體畫 (nude paintings). After the terms were adapted from artistic circles to popular print media, each of the terms gradually became infused with a mix of artistic and erotic value.

¹⁷⁰ Cai Yuanpei, “Yi meiyu dai zongjiao” 以美育代宗教 (Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education), translated by Julia F. Andrews in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk A. Denton (Stanford and California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 87. For more analysis on aesthetic education, see Chapter Two.

¹⁷¹ Qijin 泣堇, “Luoti hua yu luoti mei” 裸體畫與裸體美 (Nude Paintings and Beauty of Unclothed Bodies), *Yishujie zhoukan* 藝術界週刊, no. 4 (February 12, 1927): 10-12. I will introduce more details of the journal in Chapter Three on *Shanghai manhua*. An even earlier essay on similar topic see PM, “Luotimei yu luoti hua” 裸體美與裸體畫 (Beauty of Unclothed Bodies and Nude Paintings), *Jiating* 家庭 (The Home Companion, Shanghai: Shanghai shijie shuju 上海世界書局) no. 6 (1922).

This gradual evolution also happened to the words exemplified in the following section, with most of them arising from or associated with “scientific” discourse.

Semantic Category 4: Scientific Association

The element of “science” in the title of this section will follow its historical context, in which people perceived imported “Western” knowledge as somewhat “scientific” or “modern” including physiology, anatomy, hygiene, and ethnography. In the late 1920s, when an author wanted to associate an unclothed body with “science” and modernity, the author would often choose *renti* 人體 (human body), *renti mei* 人體美 (beauty of the human body), or *jianmei* 健美 (health and beauty). In the 1930s, more words related to nudism (or naturism) appeared in the discourse, such as *luoti zhuyi* 裸體主義 (nudism) and *ziran shenghuo* 自然生活 (natural life). This section will explain *renti mei*, *jianmei* and *luoti zhuyi* in detail, and showcase how these words constitute the “scientific” aspect of the unclothed body.

***Renti* 人體 (Human Bodies) and *Renti mei* 人體美 (Beauty of Human Bodies)**

The word *renti* (lit: human bodies) had already appeared in the late Qing periodicals, most frequently in essays introducing modern science, including physiology, medicine, personal hygiene, and anatomy. Unlike the word *luoti*, *renti* emphasized the materiality of a non-gender-specific human body, regardless of the state of clothedness or unclothedness; and *renti* carried a scientific connotation. The later combination of *renti* and *mei* turned the human body into an aesthetic object.¹⁷² Although *renti mei* could be used to talk about male bodies, such as “nanxing *renti mei*” 男性人體美 (beauty of male bodies), the underlined gender of the word was still inevitably female. The effect was reinforced when the word was introduced into the art world approximately in the mid-1920s. Artists began to replace the word *luoti mei* and *quxian mei* with *renti mei* in the market, stressing the scientific aspect of nudes. Other

¹⁷² Wuling 嫵靈, “*Renti mei*” 人體美 (The Beauty of Human Bodies), *Funü Shibao* 1, no. 2 (1911): 7.

commercial publishers also followed the trend, selling cultural products named after *renti mei*. When the term was used to refer to female nudes with an increasing frequency, readers were trained to grasp the connection between nudes and the word *renti mei*.

An early example was an essay entitled “Renti mei,” published in *Funü shibao* in 1911.¹⁷³ The author Wuling 嫵靈 explored several intriguing aspects of *renti mei*: aesthetic criterions of a beautiful body, the structure of a beautiful body, the function of clothing, the proportions of well-designed clothing, and how gravity effects body shape. Full of scientific terminology, the essay also contained five line-drawing illustrations, including four abstract female figures exhibiting dresses of Chinese, Japanese, and Western styles. Considering the strong connection between *Funü shibao* and Japan, in addition to the translational register and the illustrations, this essay seems to indicate Japanese sources. In my research I discovered that a Japanese book entitled *Jintaibi ron* 人体美論 (On the Beauty of Human Bodies) had been published in Japan as early as 1908.¹⁷⁴ Whether the term *renti mei* was imported from Japan will need further inquiries.

The frequent use of *renti mei* began in the mid-1920s, and it was regularly used by artists, art critics, and editors. Artist Zheng Wenbin 鄭吻欠, for instance, dedicated a book on the topic in 1927, titled *Renti mei* 人體美 (Beauty of the Human Body).¹⁷⁵ Two figures from art circles, Chen Baoyi 陳抱一 and Li Yuyi 李寓一 wrote prefaces for the book. The four chapters of the book surveyed the meaning, the criteria, and the appreciation of *renti mei*, as well as the relation between *renti mei* and art. A handful of illustrations were attached to the book, and most of them were nude oil paintings by well-know artists like Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, Lin Fengmian 林

¹⁷³ For research on *Funü shibao*, see Joan Judge’s recent work.

¹⁷⁴ Yasushi Kawasaki 川崎安, *Jintaibi ron* 人体美論 (On the Beauty of Human Bodies) (Tokyo: Ryūbunkan 隆文館, 1908).

¹⁷⁵ Zheng Wenbin 鄭吻欠, *Renti mei* 人體美 (Beauty of the Human Body) (Shanghai: Guanhua shuju, 1927). Reprinted in 1929. Another similar example is Yu Jifan’s 俞寄凡 book *Renti mei zhi yanjiu* 人體美之研究 (A Study on Physical Beauty) (Shanghai: Shenbao yuekan she 申報月刊社, 1933).

風眠 and Fang Junbi 方君璧. Together, the group of artists endorsed the artistic meaning of *renti mei*.

In about 1925, *renti mei* also became an eye-catcher in advertisements. *Jingbao* 晶報, for instance, used *renti mei* in a large font size to advertise an album of nude drawings by a group of Shanghai artists, including Chen Xiaojiang, Xie Zhiguang, and Xu Yongqing 徐詠青. In addition to the three characters of *renti mei*, the ad also used other phrases to attract readers: “the success of art of nudity” (裸體藝術之成功), “the expressions of human body curves” (人體曲線之表現) and “life drawings of [nude] models” (模特兒寫生).¹⁷⁶ Generally speaking, towards the late 1920s, *renti mei* developed into a signifier carrying both scientific and artistic connotations. In the next three chapters, *renti* and *renti mei* will appear in various materials and contexts.

***Jianmei* 健美 (*Health and Beauty / Robust Beauty*)** ¹⁷⁷

In the Late Qing, the concept of the “healthy body” was often attached to nationalist discourses, represented as the opposite category of “the sick man of East Asia” (*dongya bingfu* 東亞病夫).¹⁷⁸ Being part of the discourse of enlightenment, systematically propagated by Chinese

¹⁷⁶ Advertisement, *Jingbao* (March 18, 1925), 1.

¹⁷⁷ *Jianmei* does not appear in the dictionary edited by Zhang Yunpeng (1929).

¹⁷⁸ As recent scholarship points out, the epithet “sick man” was initially a metaphor used by British (often with Chinese sympathies) to criticize Late Qing government after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. However, from the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese patriotic intellectuals gradually shifted the metaphor of “sick man” from a criticism on the Qing government to a humiliating label on Chinese people for being physically weak and inadequate, used by imagined condescending Western imperialists. The shift was marked by Liang Qichao’s (1873-1929) *Xinmin shuo* 新民說 (On Renewing the Citizenship) published in 1903, which contains a chapter to advocate militarism. Liang emphasized that Chinese people should strengthen their race so as to survive in the world. For this purpose, they should be actively involved to *tiyu* (體育) “physical culture,” and cultivate a “martial spirit.” Susan Brownell notices the existence of an asymmetrical perception of the “sick man” between Chinese and “Westerners” even to today, see Susan Brownell, “The Global Body Cannot Ignore Asia,” in *The Body in*

intellectuals in the Late Qing, the self-positioning of the “sick man” was largely associated with nationalism, social Darwinism, eugenics, and racial science. The connection between the “sick man” and the Chinese race, on the one hand, caused excessive concern with the “sick body,” and these worries further manipulated a long-lasting, widely-effective emotional trauma in the sinophonic world throughout the 20th century. On the other hand, this understanding reinforced a Chinese collective identity, thus contributing to the building of nationalism. In this historical context, especially considering the ongoing national crisis that China faced, the promotion of “healthy bodies” as well as “physical culture,” was often related to nationalism, although occasionally it was merely used as a form of rhetoric within consumer culture.

By contrast, the concept of the “healthy body,” from the mid-1920s onwards, was no longer simply a medically and physically ideal status, but also actively promoted as an aesthetically and materially appreciated object. The changing notion was well supported by the emergence of a fixed term, “healthy and beautiful” (*jianmei*), and corresponding visual representations, especially photographs, advertisements, and satirical images in illustrated magazines. After examining 1920s/30s dictionaries and analyzing the discourse on *jianmei*, I believe that the term began to regularly appear in the media from the end of the 1920s.

Intriguingly, when Jean Baudrillard discusses bodies as “the finest consumer object,” he suggests using “phryneism vs. athleticism” as feminine and masculine poles to understand the “functional body.” He writes: “Though valid for both men and women, they are, nevertheless, differentiated into feminine and masculine poles. The two opposing models--the basic elements

Asia, ed. Bryan S. Turner (Berghahn Books, 2009), 23-39. Yang Jui-Sung 楊瑞松 discusses the genealogy of the term in “Xiangxiang alsominzu chiru: Jindai Zhongguo sixiang wenhua shi shang de Dongya bingfu” 想像民族恥辱: 近代中國思想文化史上的“東亞病夫 (Imagining National Humiliation: “Sick Man of East Asia” in Modern Chinese Intellectual and Cultural History),” *Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao*, no. 23 (2005): 1-44. He points out that Yan Fu’s *Yuan Qiang* (On the Origin of the Strength) used “sick man” to refer to China as a country in 1895, earlier than the Western media. Also see Yang Jui-Sung’s recent book *Bingfu, huanghuo yu shuishi: xifang shiyi zhong de Zhongguo xingxiang yu jindai Zhongguo guozu lunshu xiangxiang* 病夫、黃禍與睡獅: 西方視野的中國形象與近代中國國族論述想像 (Sick Man, Yellow Peril, and Sleeping Lion: The Images of China from the Western Perspectives and the Discourses and Imaginations of Modern Chinese National Identity) (Zhengda chubanshe, 2010).

of which are largely interchangeable -- might be termed *phryneism* and *athleticism*.”¹⁷⁹ The word athleticism comes from “athlete”; while the word, “Phryneism,” comes from “Phryne,” the name of a courtesan in ancient Greece.¹⁸⁰ Phryneism defines the pole of feminine beauty, the magic power of beautiful bodies.

Drawing on Baudrillard’s view, I argue that the Chinese term *jianmei* is beyond “robust beauty,” “strong beauty” or “double beauty,” as scholars argued in the last decade.¹⁸¹ It includes the two poles of “health” and “beauty,” or correspondingly, athleticism and Phryneism. Depending on historical context, the desired model of *jianmei* could move between the two poles. Moreover, *jianmei* contains an additional element beyond “healthy (bodies),” that of “*mei* (beauty),” which, I believe, reflects not only the widespread discourse of “aesthetic education” from the 1910s advocated by Cai Yuanpei, but also the attributes of a mature consumer culture from the late 1920s.

Luoti zhuyi 裸體主義 (Nudism) and Ziran shenghuo 自然生活 (Natural Life)

As a strong ideology-supported bodily practice, nudism, also known as *Nacktkultur* (lit.: “naked culture”) or later *Freikörperkultur* (lit.: “free body culture”, abbr. FKK), originated in Germany. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany witnessed rapid population growth, increased living standards, successful industrialization, and urbanization on the one hand; on the other hand, anxieties about modernization, together with the fear of racial degeneration, drove a growing number of Germans to search for perfect health and beauty. Some Germans voluntarily organized, and enthusiastically engaged themselves with the “Life

¹⁷⁹ Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1998), 133.

¹⁸⁰ It is said that she was once accused of profaning a god. When it seemed as if she was going to lose the case, her lawyer tore open her robe and displayed her body. The judges were so impressed by the beauty of her body that she was immediately acquitted.

¹⁸¹ Yu Chien-ming (You Jianming), “Jindai Zhongguo nüzi jianmei de lunshu (1920-1940 niandai)” 近代中國女子健美的論述 (Modern Discourses on the Strong Beauty of Chinese Women, 1920s-1940s), in *Wu sheng zhi sheng(II): jindai Zhongguo funu yu wenhua, 1600-1950* (Given English title: *Voices Amid Silence (II): Women and Culture in Modern China, 1600-1950*), ed. Yu Chien Ming (You Jianming) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2003), 141-172. Yunxiang Gao, “Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on Jianmei (Robust Beauty) during China’s ‘National Crisis’ in the 1930s,” *Gender and History* 18, no. 3 (November 2006): 546-573.

Reform Movement” (*Lebensreformbewegung*) during the Kaiserreich (1871-1919) and the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). They believed that such a movement could reform Germans and Germany, and eventually prevent Germans from further decay. These “life reformers” greatly valued the significance of nakedness and sunlight, and practiced vegetarianism, therapeutic baths, and psychotherapies.¹⁸² Among all the “life reformers” who propagated nudism, Hans Surén (1885-1972), Adolf Koch (1894-1970) and Richard Ungewitte (1868-1958) were most well known, in spite of their different political views.¹⁸³ Unlike the other two nudist ideologists, Adolf Koch, for instance, largely promoted nudism among proletarian men and women; furthermore, he organized nudist schools throughout Germany, which attracted 60,000 enrolments by 1930.¹⁸⁴

The ideological core of nudism lies in the desire to transform the body so as to peruse healthy and beautiful bodies. In German historical context, the pursuit was always linked to the preservation or revival of “Germanness.” Nudists encouraged people to go outdoors without anything between their skin and nature, in order to link the modern body more closely to nature, and to give the body a freer presence in the “great outdoors.” The body was regarded as a vehicle of national transformation. Combined with the modern concept of hygiene, nudism promised a way to regain and repair the mastery of one’s own body-mind-soul, or “trinity” as

¹⁸² Chad Ross briefly introduces the history of the terms in his book *Naked Germany: Health, Race and the Nation* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 12-13. Also see Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890 - 1930* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1-8; Karl Eric Toepfer, *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture, 1910-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 30-38; Maren Möhring, *Marmorleiber* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2004); Heiko Stoff, *Ewige Jugend: Konzepte der Verjüngung vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis ins Dritte Reich* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2004). For the discussion on nudism in the contexts of racial aesthetics, hygienic culture, see Kerstin Gernig, *Nacktheit: ästhetische Inszenierungen im Kulturvergleich* (Böhlau, 2002); Georgieff, *Nacktheit und Kultur: Adolf Koch und die proletarische Freikörperkultur*. John Alexander Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism, and Conservation, 1900-1940* (Stanford University Press, 2007). For more general historical context, see Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Bernd Wedemeyer-Kolwe, *“Der neue Mensch”: Körperkultur im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Königshausen & Neumann, 2004); Erik Jensen, *Body of Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010).

¹⁸³ Toepfer summarizes the main intellectual ideas of the three nudists. See *Empire of Ecstasy*, 33-38.

¹⁸⁴ More discussion on Adolf Koch and his nudist schools, see Andrey Georgieff, *Nacktheit und Kultur: Adolf Koch und die proletarische Freikörperkultur* (Wien: Passagen, 2005).

Chad Ross puts it.¹⁸⁵ One essay published in 1904 says, “our ideal of physical education [...] should be a psycho-physical aesthetic culture; raising awareness of the body and its movements as a mirror, a symbol of the soul; as a part of ourselves worthy of being educated and trained to freely master its limbs, and to achieve harmonious beauty in all its expressions of life.”¹⁸⁶

Accompanying the growing influence of nudist ideology and practice, abundant cultural products were eventually fabricated, including numerous textual and visual materials published in books and journals. In the 1920s, around thirty popular *Nacktkultur* journals were circulated, at least in the German market, such as *Freie Körperkultur*, *Freikörperkultur und Lebensreform*, *Kraft und Schönheit*, *Licht-land*, *Nacktsport*, *Sonne ins Leben*, just to name a few.¹⁸⁷ Apart from print, the new media of the day - film - was also used to depict the nudist life in Germany. The high point was marked by the UFA film *Wege zu Kraft und Schönheit* (Ways to Strength and Beauty) in 1925, directed by Wilhelm Prager. Many stills from the film, shot by photographer Gerhard Riebicke (1878-1957), remain classics in the history of visual representations of nudist movement. In fact, in the Weimar Republic period, visual depictions of nudism had already significantly changed compared to the pre-Weimar period. Generally speaking, sensitive impressionistic images were replaced by these new depictions, which actively involved sports and exercises.¹⁸⁸

Undoubtedly, in Germany, nudism was not merely a utopian ideal, but also a holistic lifestyle, packaged together with ideology, bodily practice, and visual representations, promoted in both elite and popular culture. Sharing modern knowledge of the body and race, as well as the anxieties about the modern industrialized society, other “Western” countries rapidly accepted nudism as a trendy theory at the turn of the twentieth century. To my

¹⁸⁵ Chad Ross, *Naked Germany*, 4-6.

¹⁸⁶ Heberle, “Körper-Kultur,” in *Der Kunstwart* 17, no.22 (1904), 410. Quoted from Ulrich Pohlmann, “We’re naked and on a first-name basis! Naturism and the Return to the Roots,” in Ulrich Pohlmann and Rudolf Scheutle, *Nude Visions: 150 Jahre Körperbilder in der Fotografie* (Kehrer, 2009), 75.

¹⁸⁷ A list of the journals can be found in Michael Andritzky and Rautenberg, Thomas Rautenberg, *Wir sind nackt und nennen uns Du: von Lichtfreunden und Sonnenkämpfern : eine Geschichte der Freikörperkultur* (Anabas, 1989), 97.

¹⁸⁸ Ulrich Pohlmann, “We’re naked and on a first-name basis! Naturism and the Return to the Roots,” in Ulrich Pohlmann and Rudolf Scheutle, *Nude Visions*, 77.

knowledge, nudism enjoyed speedy growth in France, Belgium, Great Britain, the USA, and New Zealand.¹⁸⁹ In spite of the religious, political, and moral regulation and censorship, nudism seems to have transmitted its ideological impact to local cultures, while addressing current social concerns. In this sense, nudism was indeed a global transcultural trend from the 1910s to 1930s.

Since the turn of the twentieth century, China could no longer be excluded from global cultural flows of all kinds, in spite of social, economic, and political unease, domestic or international. Introduced as a method of healing, nudism in textual materials had already appeared in Chinese media by the early 1910s. The earliest article that I have discovered is entitled “Luoti yundong zhi yi” 裸體運動之益 (The Advantages of the Nudist Movement), published in *Zhong Xi yixue bao* 中西醫學報 (Sino-Western Medical Journal) in 1911.¹⁹⁰ The article was authored (*shu* 述) by “*Jinshan tinu* 金山偶奴.” According to the convention at the time, *Jinshan* is perhaps the hometown of the pseudonym “Tinü,” while the character “*shu*” indicates that the article was orally translated by “Tinü.” The translational attribute can be well endorsed by the linguistic register as well as the loaned vocabulary, such as *kongqi* 空氣 (air), *guangxian* 光線 (light), *zhiwu* 植物 (plant), and 營養 *yingyang* (nutrition).¹⁹¹ By analyzing

¹⁸⁹ Evert Peeters, “Authenticity and Asceticism: Discourse and Performance in Nude Culture and Health Reform in Belgium, 1920-1940,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 3 (2006): 432-461; Evert Peeters, “Degeneration und Dressur. Naturheilverfahren, Vegetarismus und Naturismus als Entwürfe einer modernen Gesellschaft 1890-1950,” in *Deutschlandbilder in Belgien 1830-1940*, ed. Hubert Roland, Marnix Beyen, and Greet Draye (Waxmann Verlag, 2011), 262-291; Nina Morris, “Feeling Nature: Naturism, Camping, Environment, and the Body in Britain, 1920-1960,” Ph.D. diss., (University of Hull, 2003); Brian Hoffman, “Challenging the Look: Nudist Magazines, Sexual Representation, and the Second World War Brian Hoffman,” in *Sexing the Look in Popular Visual Culture*, ed. Kathy Justice Gentile (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 67-83; Caroline Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure: Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2003).

¹⁹⁰ Tinü 偶奴, “Luoti yundong zhi yi” 裸體運動之益 (The Advantages of the Nudist Movement), *Zhong Xi yixue bao* 中西醫學報, no. 14 (1911): 8-9. The journal existed from 1910 to 1930.

¹⁹¹ For more studies on the loaned words, see Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, *Journal of Chinese linguistics* no. 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993); Liu, *Translingual Practice*.

how unclothed bodies could benefit from the light and air, the article plainly advocates nudism. Interestingly enough, the two crucial elements emphasized in the article, i.e. light and air, accord perfectly with *Licht* and *Luft*, which were featured the contemporary nudist ideology. Furthermore, the article was arranged in the column of *Xueshuo* 學說 (theory), a section often including the newest ideas on bodies, medicines, and healing.

Although German FKK ideology was internationally influential at the time, it is still too early to conclude that the article was directly translated from a German source. The first reason is that the founder of the journal, Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874-1952), regularly traveled to Japan to investigate the medical profession there.¹⁹² In 1902, he co-founded *Wenming shuju* 文明書局 (Wenming Bookstore), “the largest and most important Chinese-owned general publishing firm of the early 1900s, in Shanghai.”¹⁹³ Accessibility to the newest publishing information would have been an advantage of his occupation. The second reason is that quite a few books on nudism had already appeared in the Japanese market by the early 1910s. One example is Yone Yanagisawa 柳沢米子’s translation *Ratai seikatsu* 裸体生活 (Nudist Life), based on *The Fresh Air Book*, a book by a famous Danish gymnast and educator J.P. Müller (1866-1938).¹⁹⁴ Theoretically, it would be possible for Chinese writers to pick up information from Japanese sources, but more solid research is needed. Nonetheless, we can observe simultaneity and multiple-directionality in the dissemination of nudism. Admittedly, the short essay in *Zhongxi*

¹⁹² Ding Fubao was a well-known Wuxi scholar and physician. In 1909, Ding travelled to Japan, investigating the medical situation there. See Wu Chengping ed., *Shanghai mingren cidian 1848-1998* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2001), 5.

¹⁹³ See Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 60.

¹⁹⁴ Yoneko Yanagisawa 柳沢米子, *Ratai seikatsu* 裸体生活 (Nudist Life) (Tōkyō: Bunshōkaku 文昌閣, 1911), digital version on NDL see <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/951844>; J. P. Müller, *The Fresh-air Book* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1910). According to Yoneko, *The Fresh-air Book* was a supplementary to Müller’s *My System*. The latter one (Copenhagen: Tillge’s boghandel, 1905) was extremely successful since its birth in 1905. Altogether, it was sold around 1.5 million copies and was translated into 26 languages, including German and Japanese. For more details about J. P. Müller, see Hans Bonde, *Gymnastics and Politics: Niels Bukh and Male Aesthetics* (Museum Tusulanum Press, 2006), 324.

yixue bao is a rare case in introducing nudist ideology before the mid-1920s, and it is hard to evaluate whether it ever brought an “impact” to its readers, considering the specialized topic of the journal. I intend to believe that the short essay remained “theoretical,” or, perhaps even merely anecdotic, to its readers, the majority of whom were presumably intellectuals or the well educated.¹⁹⁵ Another example is a short essay published in *Shenbao*, one of the most influential newspapers in 1930s Shanghai. Simply titled “*Luoti yundong*” 裸體運動 (Nudist Movement), it was written in rather strict classical language (*wenyan*), and arranged under the column of “*Weisheng*” 衛生 (Hygiene).¹⁹⁶ Similar to the previous example, this essay emphasized the significance of air and sunshine to the nudist movement. At the essay’s conclusion, a brief note provides us with the essay’s original source, stated as being “translated from a New York magazine on physical culture” (譯自紐約體育雜誌).

From 1911 to the mid-1920s, the print media offered little information about nudism. The next wave of importing nudism did not appear until Zhang Jingsheng 張競生, the infamous “Dr. Sex,” published his book *Mei de rensheng guan* 美的人生觀 (*An Aesthetic Outlook of Life*) in 1925.¹⁹⁷ This book contained a section on “*Mei de tiyu*” 美的體育 (Aesthetic Physical Culture), which regarded bodily hygiene and nudism as the two most important approaches to staying healthy. Zhang suggested four ways to practice nudism: performing exercises naked in

¹⁹⁵ One article published in *Xiehe bao* 協和報 in 1914 will require further research, because this journal had German background, and introduced new medicines and healings. “*Riguang yu zhi liaobing fa*” 日光浴之療病法 (Healing Power of Sunbath), *Xie he bao* 5, no. 5 (1914).

¹⁹⁶ Su Zhaolong 蘇兆龍, “*Luoti yundong*” 裸體運動 (Nudist Movement), *Shenbao no.17487* (Oct. 27, 1921), sec. *Weisheng* (衛生).

¹⁹⁷ Zhang Jingsheng, “*Mei de rensheng guan*” 美的人生觀 (*An Aesthetic Outlook of Life*), reprinted in *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* I 張競生文集 上 (*Zhang Jingsheng Anthology*) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1998), 23-263. More recent research on Zhang Jingsheng see Leon Antonio Rocha, “Sex, Eugenics, Aesthetics, Utopia in Life and Work of Zhang Jingsheng (1888-1970)” (University of Cambridge, 2010), Ph.D. dissertation. Hee, Wai Siam (Xu Weixian) 許維賢, “‘Xingyu’ de dixian: yi Zhang Jingsheng zhubian de *Xin Wenhua* yuekan wei zhongxin” “性育”的底線：以張競生主編的《新文化》月刊為中心, *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 40, no.1 (March 2011): 75-113; Hee Wai Siam, “On Zhang Jingsheng’s Sexual Discourse: Women’s Liberation and Translated Discourses on Sexual Differences in 1920s China.” *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 7, no. 2 (2013): 235–270.

the open air; swimming naked in the sea; walking naked with one's lover in nature; playing games naked among a group of children.¹⁹⁸ These four methods generally reflected Zhang's own nudist experience when he studied in France from 1912 to 1919. According to his own memoir, he joined the "French Naturist Movement" (*Faguo Ziranpai yundong* 法國自然派運動) and witnessed the flourish of nudism in France.¹⁹⁹

Apart from his four methods, Zhang evidently realized the limited social tolerance for Chinese to practice nudism at the time. He wrote: "In our society, nudist exercises can not be practiced publicly, of course. Only under the moonlight at night, one can do it by oneself, or with one's family or other [nudist] supporters. If [one] stays in one's own room, [one] should cultivate a good habit by often doing exercises naked." Moreover, Zhang suggested sleeping naked and wearing loose clothes at home.²⁰⁰ Zhang's advice shows his awareness of local conditions, creativity, and a flexible attitude towards nudist practice. As long as a practitioner could benefit from nudism, Zhang did not mind an adjustment of time and location. Compared to Zhang's sensational book on sex education (*Sex Histories*), his promotion of nudism seems to be much less attractive and impressive, and was hardly discussed in the media in the 1920s.

Zhang Jingsheng was not the only Chinese student who witnessed the FKK while studying abroad in the 1910s/20s. Several others devotedly introduced nudism by describing their travel experiences, or translating related references into Chinese. Under the pseudonym of *Guihong* 歸鴻 (lit.: "returned swan"), for instance, two books were published in 1931 to introduce the nudist movement active in Germany as well as the whole of Europe: *Deren zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen* 德人之新生活寫真 (Depiction of German New Life) and *Ouzhou zhi xin shenghuo*

¹⁹⁸ Zhang, "Mei de rensheng guan," 57-59.

¹⁹⁹ Zhang Jingsheng, "Fusheng mantan: huainian qingren" 浮生漫談 懷念情人, in *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* II, 9; Zhang, "Ai de xuanwo: meide juzhu he fengjing de chuango" 愛的旋渦: 美的居住和風景的創造, in *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* II, 178. The term "ziran pai" 自然派 that Zhang mentioned here is more like naturism in a broader sense, rather than purely nudism. In 1932, Zhang Jingsheng discussed naturism in an article entitled "Ziran pai xueli ji shixing gangyao" 自然派學理及實行綱要 (The Theory and Practical Principles of Naturism) published in *Dushu zazhi* 2, no.6 (1932): 374-376. He emphasized the importance of vegetarianism, physical work, utopian community, and mental self-cultivation.

²⁰⁰ Zhang, "Mei de rensheng guan," 58-59.

xiezhen 歐洲之新生活寫真 (Depiction of European New Life).²⁰¹ The first book was translated from a series of journalistic reports written by two Frenchmen, Roger Salardenne and Louis Charles Royer, while the second book was based on the content of the first book, along with additional investigations written by Guihong.

In the 1930s, the number of textual materials on nudism steadily grew. Whether translated from foreign sources or paraphrased from Chinese publications, these materials covered the introduction to nudist theory, the history of nudism, and journalistic reports on nudist practices in Germany, USA, and France.²⁰² Two major carriers of the materials were books and essays, which were not only published in newspapers, but also in periodicals, gendered or not. Most commonly, these publications emphasized the exotic (or arguably, German) characteristics of the nudist movement; meanwhile, they also constructed a global vision of nudism, participated in by the most developed countries in the world at the time. While originating in Germany, the knowledge of nudism, however, flowed into China from multiple channels, such as France and the United States, which demonstrates that nudism in China was part of a global trend.

In documents on nudism in the 1910s-1930s, sunshine (*Licht*), open air (*Luft*), and nakedness (*Nacktheit*) were the three core elements in practice. However, as Zhang Jingsheng pointed out in his book in 1925, in China, nudism was usually practiced in a more reserved way, due to cultural environment. In the 1920s, private spatiality featured early nudist practice

²⁰¹ Guihong 歸鴻, *Ouzhou zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen* 歐洲之新生活寫真 (Depiction of European New Life) (Shanghai: Ziran shuju, 1931. Repr. Beijing: Beijing zhongxian tuofang keji fazhan youxian gongsi, 2007). Guihong 歸鴻 tran., Sanading 薩納丁 (Roger Salardenne) and Luoyayi 羅亞逸 (Louis Charles Royer), *Deren zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen* 德人之新生活寫真 (Depiction of German New Life) (Shanghai: Taidong shuju 泰東書局, 1931). According to the preface by Guihong in *Deren zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen*, “new life” was meant to a variation of “nudist movement.”

²⁰² See, for example, Ranzhi 冉之, “Kexue yu xin zhishi: Deguo liu xing de luoti yundong” 科學與新知識: 德國流行的裸體運動 (Science and New Knowledge: Nudist Movement Popular in Germany), *Xiandai xuesheng* 現代學生 1, no. 10 (1931): 1-7; Yuanxie 原絜, “Deguo luoti yundong” 德國裸體運動 (Nudist Movement in Germany), *Xunhuan* 循環 1, no. 2 (1931): 33; Yongyan 永研, “Haiwai tongxin: cong nüku wenti shuodao luoti yundong” 海外通信: 從女袴問題說到裸體運動(法國通訊) (Letters from Oversea: From Women’s Trousers Question to Nudist Movement: News from France), *Qingnian jie* 青年界 1, no.2 (1931).

14; Boluo 波羅, “Luoti yundong zai Meiguo” 裸體運動在美國 (Nudist Movement in the US), *Shiritan* 十日談, no. 34 (1934): 12-13; Y.H., “Faguo zhi luoti yundong” 法國之裸體運動 (The Nudist Movement in France), *Jiankang shenghuo* 健康生活 1, no. 2 (1934): 42-43.

and practitioners often enjoyed sunbathing, swimming, and other light sports while being unclothed or semi-unclothed.

Tang Ying 唐瑛 (1910-1986), a well-known belle of Shanghai upper class society, for instance, was involved in an anecdote about nudism in BYHB from the period: “She is practicing sunbathing now. Everyday, she applies cream to her body [while being] stark naked under the sunshine on the balcony to strengthen her body. It really could be perceived as Dr. Zhang’s *An Aesthetic Outlook of Life* (女士現在講求日光浴，每日身塗油膏，赤裸裸地在陽台上曝曬，以壯身體，大有張博士‘美的人生觀’的觀感云).”²⁰³ Although we may never know whether this actually occurred, at least we can state that the media was attracted by such a striking combination: a beautiful woman, upper class, nakedness, sunbathing, Zhang Jingsheng and his *An Aesthetic Outlook of Life*. In fact, from the 1930s, the selective combination of sunbathing and beautiful women, naked or semi-naked, became the key visual and textual element in the media to promote a healthy lifestyle. The images were not limited to beautiful Chinese women (such as girl students, middle upper class women, movie stars, opera stars); in fact, “Western” women (French and Hollywood movie stars) were abundantly used in the media. At the same time, businessmen, seizing on this new trend of sunbathing, began to introduce tanning lamps to those who wished to practice “sunbathing” at home. Fig.1-6 shows an example of such an advertisement in which a semi-naked female body is the focus. Articles on sunbathing in the context of nudism appeared more and more frequently, and people started to reveal their own experiences with the practice in the media.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ See “*Jushuo*” 據說 (It is said), *Beiyang huabao* 176 (April 4, 1928), 3.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, “Kexue yu xin zhishi: Deguo liu xing de luoti yundong: Deguo nu zi wabushi luoti yundong tu” 科學與新知識:德國流行的裸體運動:德國女子蛙步式裸體運動圖 (Science and New Knowledge: Nudist Movement now is popular in Germany: German Women Swimming the Breast Stroke in the Raw), *Xiandai xuesheng* 現代學生 1, no. 10 (1931): 3; “Kexue yu xin zhishi: Deguo liu xing de luoti yundong: Riguan gyu wei mu di de ye wai wudai luoti yundong tu” 科學與新知識:德國流行的裸體運動:日光浴為目的的野外舞蹈裸體運動圖 (Science and New Knowledge: Nudist Movement Now is Popular in Germany: Nude Dancing in the Wild for the Purpose of Sunbathing), *Xiandai xuesheng* 現代學生 1, no. 10 (1931): 5; Ranzhi 冉之, “Kexue yu xin zhishi: Deguo liu xing de luoti yundong” 科學與新知識:德國流行的裸體運動 (Science and New



Fig.1-6 Advertisement of “Taiyang deng,” *Shenbao* (Aug. 5, 1931), 10.

Although many had to practice nudism privately, others, including celebrities, practiced nudism in the public sphere. A famous stage director, playwright and film director, Hong Shen 洪深 (1892-1955), for instance, went for a naked swim in the Putuo area, Zhejiang Province. After swimming, he posed for the journalist, and a photo of his unclothed body was published in a special issue on “nudist bathing” (裸浴專號) in *Sheying huabao* (Fig.1-7).²⁰⁵ It remains unknown, however, to what extent Hong’s seven-year studying experience in the USA (1916-1922) enabled him to be so “daring,” and whether or how Hong had witnessed nudist practice in America. The image of Hong after his nudist bath is one of the few printed examples I have discovered that proves the actual existence of the nudist movement in reality - at least “the reality” constructed by the media.²⁰⁶

Knowledge: Nudist Movement Now is Popular in Germany), *Xiandai xuesheng* 現代學生 1, no. 10 (1931): 1-7; Huili 惠利 and Lisha 麗沙, “Yige canjia luoti yundong zhe de zi shu” 一個參加裸體運動者的自述 (Words from Someone Who Took Part in Nudist Movement), *Wanying* 萬影 no. 8 (1937): 11-12.

²⁰⁵ See photos in *Sheying huabao* vol.7 no.364 (Sept. 3, 1932), 25, 30, 31.

²⁰⁶ For another early example, see Pan Jianwei 潘劍惟, “Huidao ziran qu” 回到自然去 (original English title: “Back to Mother Nature”), *Liangyou* 47 (May 1930): 24. In this photo, five unclothed men are sitting on the rock close to a lake and waterfall, but it is more an artistic photo than one that captures the nudist movement.



Fig.1-7 Hong Shen having a sunbath. *Sheying huabao* vol.8 no.364 (Sept. 3, 1932), 25.

Impressively, neither the editing style nor the text of the “naked bath” article was regarded as scandalous, but instead as an effective way to live a “natural life” (自然生活). In the same issue, not only men, but also women were exhibited participating in a “nudist bath.” The striking difference is that the women (or, rather, girl students), were all wearing swimming suits and swimming caps, in the setting of an open air swimming pool, and men and women were *not* mixed. The women in swimming suits were contextualized within the “nudist bath” setting, and further juxtaposed against a group of stark naked men (with only some of them wearing swimming pants) despite the fact that the women were well covered, and merely at an open air swimming pool.

Apart from spontaneous nudist practice, more institutions emerged to introduce, support, and eventually expand the trend. For example, the earliest nudist club seems to have been founded in 1931 at the National Jiaotong University in Shanghai. In spite of the shortage of money, space, and knowledge, the club managed to attract a few students to take up muscle

building under the sunshine.²⁰⁷ The first renowned and effective nudist club was registered in Hong Kong on March 10th, 1932, of which the organizer was H.E. Lanepart, a Latvian in his forties.²⁰⁸ On July 10th, 1933, the Hong Kong Nudist Club organized an event that became public. According to a journalist sent by *Shenbao*, only three people presented at the nudist club, including one Chinese woman who wore a bathrobe, while the only completely naked member was Lanepart.²⁰⁹ The news and reports on the Hong Kong Nudist Society immediately caused rumours and a moral panic within Shanghai's International Concession, and many professional societies held meetings to discuss how to control and censor nudism.²¹⁰ Not only Shanghai and Hong Kong, Harbin also belonged to the cosmopolitan cities where new ideologies were conceived and accepted. According to *Shenbao*, a nudist society, “Adam and Eve”, was founded in May 1933, and warmly supported by many Russian nudists.²¹¹ It seems that the trend of nudist practice at institutional level existed more in the so-called “contact zones,” where “foreigners” could act at or interact with local practitioners.

This chapter first explored the etymology and genealogy of the words *luo* and *luoti*, and then compiled a lexicon of *luoti* and other terms that might signify unclothed bodies with different connotations. Evidence from various materials, such as dictionaries, Chinese classics, and

²⁰⁷ “Benxiao luoti tiyu julebu fangwen ji” 本校裸體體育俱樂部訪問記 (A Visit to the Nudist Sports Club of Our University), *Jiaoda zhoukan* 交大週刊 2, no.5 (1931): 46-47.

²⁰⁸ “Guang luoti julebu chengli” 港裸體俱樂部成立 (The Hong Kong Nudist Society Founded), *Shenbao* no.21590 (May 22, 1933), sec. 國外要電. Jinghuan 靜觀, “Luoti yundong zai Xianggang” 裸體運動在香港 (Nudist Movement in Hong Kong), *Huanian* 華年 3, no. 31 (1934): 13-14. Lu Yan offered detailed information in his article, “Xianguang luoti yundong de xingqi yu huanmie” 香港裸體運動的興起和幻滅 (The Rise and the Fall of the Nudist Movement in Hongkong), *Guangjiaojing* 189 (June 6, 1988), 92-98.

²⁰⁹ “Xianggang Luoti yundong” 香港裸體運動 (Nudist Movement in Hong Kong), *Shenbao* no.21639 (July 11, 1933).

²¹⁰ “Benshi jiangyou luoti yundong chuxian” 本市將有裸體運動出現 (Nudist Movement will Appear in Our City), *Shenbao* no. 21627, (June 27, 1933). “Wang Yandong han Wu shizhang chajin luoti yundong 王延松函吳市長查禁裸體運動 (Wang Yansong mailed Mayor Wu for banning Nudist Movement),” *Shenbao* no.21629, (July 1, 1933), sec. *Benshi xinwen* (本市新聞).

²¹¹ Niu 牛, “Yadang yu Xiawa” 亞當與夏娃 (Adam and Eve), *Shenbao* 本埠增刊 no.21593, (May 25, 1933), sec. *Tan yan* 談言.

Chinese Bibles, show that the word *luoti* emerged as a popular term in the 1920s, accompanied by the rise of modern visual culture and urban print culture. By the year 1925, so many words related to *luoti* had emerged in popular media that it became increasingly confusing, yet stimulating for cultural practitioners to explore. The popular novelist Bao Tianxiao satirized how a *huashi* 畫師 (painter) explained the significance of nude paintings in a fictional work published in 1925:

“The painter said, ‘this is beauty of human bodies (*renti mei*), beauty of curves (*quxian mei*), feminine beauty (*nixing mei*). [You] should know that drawing is art. A person learning painting must first begin with the unclothed body (*luoti*). [The person] would prefer to put aside other types of life-drawing, [but] must practice nude painting (*luoti hua*).
那畫師道，這是人體美、曲線美、女性美，要知道圖畫是美術，學畫的人第一先要從裸體著手，寧可別種寫生且緩，這個裸體畫不可不畫。”²¹²

Through the painter’s voice, Bao Tianxiao satirically demonstrated how five different terms referring to unclothed bodies could be juxtaposed in such a short paragraph to convince readers that nude paintings should be valued. If the setting in Bao’s writing was still in the realm of artistic education, his peer and friend Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅 (1895-1992) documented an even more interesting case in a doggerel entitled “*Mote’er* 模特兒 (A [Nude] Model),” depicting the “chaos” of the emerging new terms. Zheng first explained the reason to write such verse: “Since Shanghai artists started to advocate the beauty of human curves (*renti quxian mei*), the [overly] exposed nude photos (*luoti zhaopian*) can then be openly sold. Therefore, I formed a doggerel as follows... (海上畫家，自提倡人體曲線美後，於是軒豁呈露之裸體照片，遂得公然出售。予因成打油詩一絕云...)”²¹³ The doggerel includes four lines:

“玉體橫陳絕世姿 A lying smooth and tender body, the best figure in the world,
蕩人心魄惹人癡 has infatuated people, and enchanted people.
分明片面春宮冊 [It is] clearly a piece from the Spring Palace album;
豔說西方模特兒 [They] say [it is] a Western nude model.”

²¹² Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, “Tu shang jinian hui 土商紀念會,” *Shenbao* no. 18855 (Aug. 27, 1925), 17. Section of *Ziyou tan*.

²¹³ Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅, “*Mote’er* 模特兒 (A [Nude] Model), *Xin Shanghai* 新上海 no. 6 (1925): 73.

Zheng's short doggerel reveals a viewer's confusion when facing nude images and the new terms to address these images. The words in the poem include not only those emerging terms related to artistic education (*quxian mei* 曲線美, *mote'er* 模特兒), and scientific implication (*renti* 人體), but also these of erotic connotation (*yuti hengchen* 玉體橫陳, *chungong ce* 春宮冊). Obviously, Zheng had a certain understanding of what was the "Spring Palace album" (*chungong ce*) in the back of his mind, and he was puzzled why those nude images were introduced under the heading of "Western [nude model]." This confusion, or cultural stimulation, was similarly encountered among editors active in the same period – the time when all the editors in my research were actively engaged in the production of pictorials. These editors received middle or/and higher education through self-education within a certain community, or by studying at Chinese schools and universities, as well as universities abroad. When editors selected and interpreted nude images in their pictorials, they needed appropriate words to express their understandings of unclothed bodies, and to frame nudes in a certain legitimated realm. The moment of selection was precisely when "editorial agency" was involved, and also precisely when transcultural production was set in motion. Sometimes, editors linked nude images to the erotic by using suggestive allusions; sometimes, they attempted to disconnect the underlined sexuality of unclothed bodies by accentuating the artistic and scientific value of the nudes. The next three chapters will offer four case studies, showing how editors performed in the field of transcultural production.

Chapter 2 “Art from around the World”?

Aestheticization, Taste-making, and Nudes in *Beiyang huabao*²¹⁴

“Our pictorial is determined to publish nude images, with the sole purpose of introducing art from around the world. 吾報毅然刊登裸體畫片，完全為介紹世界美術起見。”

--Feng Wuyue, BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.²¹⁵

Founded by Feng Wuyue 馮武越 (1895-1936) on July 7, 1926 in Tianjin, *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 was regarded one of the most important photoengraving pictorials in Republican China.²¹⁶ After successfully running BYHB for six years, Feng Wuyue sold BYHB in 1933 to

²¹⁴ I thank Profs. Rudolf Wagner and Monica Juneja for their invaluable advice and comments on different parts of this chapter. The background of the pictorial, some materials and narrative in this chapter have been published in my article “An Exotic Self? Tracing Cultural Flows of Western Nudes in Pei-Yang Pictorial News (1926-1933),” in *Transcultural Turbulences*, ed. C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011), 271–300. I will add footnotes to explain in the chapter, when a section has been included in the article.

²¹⁵ Bigong (Feng Wuyue), “Luoti hua wenti” 裸體畫問題 (The Nude Image Question), BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3. The English translations of the two terms *meishu* 美術 and *yishu* 藝術 in the early Republican era could be both “art” and “fine arts.” The use of the terms were, however, often interchangeable depending on the context. According to Lydia Liu, *meishu* (art; *bijutsu*) was one of the “modern Japanese compounds that have no equivalent in classical Chinese,” and *yishu* (art) was an example of “return graphic loans,” i.e. *Kanji* terms *geijutsu* derived from classical Chinese, see Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 33, 305. Julia Andrews mentioned the difference between the two terms in the 1950s, “A distinction is made here between *meishu*, art that is limited to the visual arts, and the much broader term *yishu* arts. *Yishu* encompasses *meishu*, but also includes drama, opera, music, and film, realms of greater immediate concern to Mao than pictorial art.” In her article “Traditional Painting in New China: *Guohua* and the Anti-Rightist Campaign,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no.3 (Aug 1990), 561. Other discussions on the terms, see Cheng-hua Wang, “New Printing Technology and Heritage Preservation: Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities in Modern China, circa 1908-1917,” in *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive/University of California Press, 2012), 273–308; Kong Guoqiao, “The Essential Meaning of Chinese Calligraphy and its Loss,” in *A New Thoughtfulness in Contemporary China: Critical Voices in Art and Aesthetics*, eds. Joerg Huber, Zhao Chuan (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011), 45-58. I translate the two terms according to the context throughout the dissertation.

²¹⁶ A brief history of BYHB can be found in the “Chuban shuoming” 出版說明 (Publisher’s Note), (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985), appearing on the first page of each volume reprinted.

Tan Linbei 譚林北 (?-?), owner of Tianjin Tongsheng Photo Studio (同生照相館). BYHB continued for another four years, before it ceased production due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. BYHB was initially published weekly, then every three days, and finally every other day. It went through 1,587 issues and 20 supplementary issues.²¹⁷ After its inception, the circulation number was approximately 1,400, then it increased to 8,400 copies by the end of 1927, and then reached about 10,000 by the early 1930s.²¹⁸ The readers of the journal were mainly from northern Chinese areas, such as Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Inner Mongolia, Jilin, Liaoning, and Heilongjiang provinces. The increasing frequency, lengthy existence, and wide geographical coverage designated the popularity of the journal.

Reprinted in 1985, BYHB has been intensively used in both popular and academic writings, often as the counterpart to the prosperous Shanghai illustrated magazines, particularly *Liangyou*.²¹⁹ Yet, the scholarly writing on the publishing background of BYHB did not emerge until recent years, mostly paper-length research contributed by young scholars from Northern China. Their scholarship revolved around the following three themes: advertisements and urban consumer culture; the construction of female images and gender relations (cover girls, dancing girls, “new women,” or modern girls); the formation and features of Tianjin popular literature; and the features of the journal.²²⁰

²¹⁷ For more detailed description of BYHB publishing history see Wu Yunxin 吳雲心, “Bianyin jingzhi de Beiyang huabao” 編印精緻的《北洋畫報》(The Finely Edited and Printed Pei-yang Pictorial News), in “Tianjin baohai gouchen” 天津報海鈎沉 (Seeking Lost Writings in the Ocean of Tianjin Newspapers), ed. *Wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui* 文史資料委員會 (Committee of Cultural and Historical Materials) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2003), 132-134.

²¹⁸ The number 8,400 is calculated from the announcement “This time [we] received about 1800 replies, roughly 1.5/7 of all our readers, truly a great event. (此次所收答案一千八百餘件，約合讀本報者全數七分之一·五，洵稱盛事)” See “Beiyang huabao di liu ci xuanshang da jingsai jiexiao” 北洋畫報第六次懸賞大競賽揭曉 (Announcing the prize of the Sixth Pei-yang Pictorial News Contest), BYHB 145 (Dec. 10, 1927), 4. In July 1927, one year after BYHB was founded, Feng Wuyue mentioned that “now [BYHB] is selling five times more than at the beginning. (現在的銷路比較初出版的時候，超過五倍以上)” Wuyue, “Guoqu weilai” 過去未來 (The Past and the Future) BYHB 101 (July 7, 1927), 2. If we roughly count 8,400 copies in July 1927, then BYHB perhaps sold about 1,400 copies in the summer of 1926. Wu Yunxin mentioned the circulation number of 4,000 without giving reference in his short essay, “Bianyin jingzhi de Beiyang huabao,” 133.

²¹⁹ The reprint is *Beiyang huabao* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985).

²²⁰ Zhang Yuanqing 張元卿, “Dutu shidai de shenshang, dazhong duwu yu wenxue: jiedu Beiyang huabao” 讀圖時代的紳商、大眾讀物与文學: 解讀《北洋畫報》 (Gentry and Merchants, Popular Reading Material and

Few of the research papers, however, have noticed the regular appearance of nudes in BYHB, similar to the status of the research on the periodicals in other chapters, which is my focal point in this study. This chapter seeks answers to the following research questions: Who were the editors? What kinds of nude images were selected for BYHB? And what was their *habitus*? What were the sources of the reproduced nudes? What was their publishing goal? How did the editors interpret the nudes according to the editorial strategy? These questions will be investigated in four sections. The first section will analyze the background of the BYHB editors, particularly the founder and publisher Feng Wuyue. I argue that mainly by contact with a circle of writers and cultural celebrities, Feng and other editors were exposed to both Western and Chinese cultures, and promoted both cultures. The second section explores the journal's publishing goals, and I show that the editors strategically pursued *quwei* 趣味 (taste) by following and promoting Cai Yuanpei's doctrine of "aesthetic education." In this context, the BYHB editors defined nudes as "art." After a brief description of the genres of nudes in BYHB, the third section will trace source materials and the circulation of two themes of nudes reproduced in BYHB: so-called "erotic postcards," as well as nudes of Chinese women created by the Austrian photographer Heinz von Perckhammer (1895-1965). Both themes of nudes travelled across cultural boundaries and found their ways onto the pages of BYHB. The last section will analyze Feng Wuyue's attitudes towards nudes, and the ways how he and his editorial team contextualized and interpreted nudes through their "editorial agency." Having compared the original Western cultural context and the context editorially created in the

Literature in the Age of Reading Images), *Tianjin shehui kexue* 4 (2002), 122–125; Chen Yan, *ibid.* Chen Yan, "Beiyang huabao yu Jinpai tongsu xiaoshuo xin leixing" 《北洋畫報》與“津派”通俗小說新類型 (Pei-yang Pictorial News and The New Genre of Tianjin School Popular Fictions), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue congkan* no. 2 (2012): 19–32; Chen Yan, "Beiyang huabao yu xiandai tongsu xiaoshuo de shengchan" 北洋畫報與現代通俗小說的生產 (Pei-yang Pictorial News and the Production of Modern Popular Fictions), *Xiandai zhongwen xuekan* (Journal of Modern Chinese Studies) no. 1 (2012): 34–40. Han Hongxing 韓紅星, "Jindai chengshihua jincheng zhong de baoye shengcun – yi Minguo Beiyang huabao wei yanjiu duixiang," 近代城市化進程中的報業生存 (original English title: "The Survival of Newspaper in the Process of Modern Urbanization: A Case Study on the Northern Illustrated"), *Dangdai chuanbo* 3 (2011): 68-70; Han Hongxing, *Yi bao yi tiantang: Beiyang huabao guanggao yanjiu* 一報一天堂: “北洋畫報”廣告研究 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2012). Some more short papers touched upon the aspect of gender relations, such as Li Congna 李從娜, "Cong Beiyang huabao kan Minguo shiqi doushi jiaojiwu ye" 從《北洋畫報》看民國時期都市交際舞業, *Zhongzhou xuekan* 175 (January 2010): 167-169; Chen Yan 陳豔, "'Xin nüxing' de daibiao: cong aiguo nüxuesheng dao nü yundongyuan--ershi shiji sanshi niandai Beiyang huabao fengmian yanjiu" “新女性”的代表:從愛國女學生到女運動員--20世紀30年代《北洋畫報》封面研究, *Guangxi shehui kexue* 174 (Dec., 2009): 88-92.

BYHB, I argue that BYHB editors functioned as tastemakers, and uplifted the aesthetic value of erotic nudes according to their own taste and their promotion of “aesthetic education.”

2.1 BYHB Editors: Gentry-Merchant and *Literati*

Feng Wuyue

Also known as Bigong 筆公 in BYHB, Feng Wuyue was born to a renowned family and had a politically and economically supportive social network.²²¹ In addition to an education in Chinese classics, he spent a few years studying aviation and radio in France and Belgium in the late 1910s, thus was familiar with both Chinese and European culture. His life experience was later well reflected in the selection of abundant French materials in BYHB.

According to his own narrative, Feng was fascinated by reading and publishing periodicals as a new form of medium from his early years, and invested enormous money and energy into the publishing enterprise.²²² In 1908, at the age of thirteen, he co-founded a short-lived *Ertong zazhi* 兒童雜誌 (Children’s Magazine) in Beijing. After returning from abroad, he first founded a weekly magazine on movies in Beijing around 1920, and then *Tuhua shijie* 圖畫世界 (Pictorial World) in 1924. In spite of the continuous trial and failure, by the time Feng founded BYHB, he had gained considerable knowledge in running periodicals, and cultivated his *habitus* as editor and publisher, one who had intercultural experience and established his own networks in the publishing and cultural circle.

²²¹ Bigong (Feng Wuyue), “Bigong ziji” 筆公自記 (Note by Bigong), BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 5. Feng Wuyue was an important figure in Tianjin during the Republican era. His father, Feng Xiangguang 馮祥光 (1875-??) was a diplomat (see Xu Youchun 徐友春 ed., *Minguo renwu da cidian* 民國人物大辭典 (Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary of the Republican Period), Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2007, 2054); his uncle, Feng Gengguang 馮耿光 (1876-1953), acted as head of the Bank of China, and his wife Zhao Jiangxue 趙絳雪 (?-?) was the sister of the famous Marshal Zhang Xueliang’s 張學良 (1901-2001) lover Zhao Yidi 趙一荻 (1912-2000). Very little of Feng’s biographical information is available in existing biographical dictionaries and current scholarship. A short paragraph was written by Wang Xiangfeng 王向峰, a librarian at Tianjin Library, “Tu shuo lao Tianjin: Beiyang huabao chuangbanren Feng Wuyue” 圖說老天津：《北洋畫報》創辦人馮武越 (Illustrating Old Tianjin: Feng Wuyue as the Founder of *Beiyang huabao*), <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-07-24/00103807426.shtml>, (accessed on March 15, 2010).

²²² Bigong, “Bigong ziji,” BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 5. According to Feng, the magazine *Tuhua shijie* only survived three issues before it became *Jingbao* 京報’s supplement due to financial difficulties. It continued as a supplement for another ten issues.

As Feng described, he liked “reading newspapers, enjoying newspapers. Even enjoying foreign newspapers, was also something very often done (喜歡看報，玩報，而且玩外國報，也是常幹的事).”²²³ The word *wan* 玩 literally means “to appreciate,” “to enjoy,” “to play with,” and the word is frequently associated with collection and aestheticization of antiques or precious things. The expression of *wan bao* 玩報 exposed Feng’s attitude towards newspapers. On the one hand, Feng’s new education and experience of studying abroad enabled him to value the social function of newspapers; on the other hand, his inherited *wenren* 文人 (*literati*) spirit enabled him to aestheticize newspapers, therefore newspapers were then categorized among other precious collections, such as famous calligraphies, paintings, and antiques.²²⁴

Acting as publisher and editor, Feng was culturally, economically and socially competent to run a periodical. This competence was part of editorial *habitus* that Feng developed during his cultural practice. What differs Feng Wuyue from other editors in my research, such as Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 and Lin Zecang 林澤蒼 to be discussed in Chapters Three and Four respectively, might be his prominent family background and educational experience in Belgium and France. The experience empowered Feng’s cultural and social capitals. Unlike Ye and Lin, Feng Wuyue did not have to earn cultural and social capital in the field by producing artistic works in addition to his editorial and publishing practice, but acquired these capitals through his intercultural experience and family networks. This might explain why, as an editor, Feng exhibited strong aesthetic preference and judgment in the selection and interpretation of material. The judgment was so firm, sometimes even aggressively expressed, yet Feng was neither an artist nor a writer in profession and did not make a living producing cartoons or photographic artworks. Feng legitimated his judgment of taste by strategically promoting Cai Yuanpei’s “aesthetic education,” which will be discussed in the upcoming section on publishing goals. Feng was regarded as a member of the *xinpai shenshang* 新派紳商 (new style gentry-merchants) in recent scholarship, representing a class of well-educated

²²³ Bigong, “Bigong ziji,” BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 5.

²²⁴ Generally speaking, the term *wenren* 文人 (singular and plural) means a man who has been *wen*-ized, i.e. cultured or educated, in spite of historical development throughout the time. In the Late Qing and the early Republican Era, *wenren* was used to refer to intellectuals, and it can be roughly translated to *literati*. See Catherine Yeh, “The Life-Style of Four *Wenren* in Late Qing Shanghai,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57, no. 2 (Dec. 1, 1997): 419–470. Kam Louie has discussed the concept of *wen* and *wenren* in contrast to *wu* 武 (martial valour) in the construction of Chinese masculinity in *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

businessmen who enthusiastically devoted themselves to running cultural enterprises during the urbanization of modern China.²²⁵ Judging from Feng's background, he indeed represented the privileged gentry-merchant class; additionally, he was engaged in cultural activities such as writing, editing, publishing, and enjoyed being among his circle of *wenren*. Feng Wuyue was fully aware of his cultural power; at the same time, he also expressed critical opinions towards *wenren* regarding their attitude towards pictorials. In the later text, I will discuss this point in more detail when analyzing Feng's inaugural manifesto.

Other Editors: Wang Xiaoyin, Zhang Liaozi, Liu Yunruo, and Wu Qiuchen

A number of active cultural celebrities, mainly based in the Beijing and Tianjin area, contributed to the BYHB editorial enterprise from 1926 to 1933, for instance, Wang Xiaoyin 王小隱 (?-?), Zhang Liaozi 張繆子 (1895-?), Liu Yunruo 劉雲若 (1903-1950), and Wu Qiuchen 吳秋塵 (?-1957). According to short biographies on editors, journalists, and cultural figures in Tianjin, this group generally had strong educational backgrounds before taking editing as their profession.²²⁶ At the same time, many of them regularly produced playful essays, fictions, and comments on current affairs for BYHB and other Tianjin periodicals. Among them was Wang Xiaoyin, a professor at a university in Peking before joining the publishing circle. Zhang Liaozi also studied at Peking University, and actively participated in the cultural debates during the so-called May Fourth period. Liu Yunruo, later well known for his urban romances in the 1930s, started his fictional writing from the days when he was working for BYHB.²²⁷

²²⁵ Zhang Yuanqing, "Dutu shidai de shenshang, dazhong duwu yu wenxue: jiedu Beiyang huabao," 123. This label is not found in BYHB to describe Feng. The so-called "class of gentry-merchants" emerged in the late nineteenth century, as gentry were involved in trade, which led them to become merchants, and as merchants became gentry by purchasing degrees and official titles. Cf. Zhongping Chen, *Modern China's Network Revolution: Chambers of Commerce and Sociopolitical Change in the Early Twentieth Century* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

²²⁶ Wu Yunxin, "Bianyin jingzhi de Beiyang huabao," 132-134. The book includes a list of short biographies of important Tianjin local editors and journalists entitled "Jindai Tianjin baoren xiaozhi" 近代天津報人小志, such as Wang Xiaoyin (p.180-181), Feng Wuyue (p.186-187), Liu Yunruo (p.191-192) and Wu Qiuchen (p.215).

²²⁷ Liu Yunruo's writing has been considered to represent the Tianjin-styled humorous popular fictions in recent scholarship, see Chen Yan, "Beiyang huabao yu xiandai tongsu xiaoshuo de shengchan," *Xiandai zhongwen xuekan* 10 (2012): 34-40; Zhang Yuanqing 張元卿, "Liu Yunruo zhuan lue" 劉雲若傳略 (A Brief Biography of Liu Yunruo), *Xin Wenxue Shiliao* 新文學史料, no. 4 (2008): 111-122.

Interestingly, none of these BYHB editors were actively engaged in the production of visual arts, unlike the editorial teams working for *Shanghai manhua* and *Sheying huabao*. Moreover, their social networks largely consisted of local cultural figures, the majority of whom were writers, Chinese painters and calligraphers. Loosely speaking, BYHB editors belonged to the *wenren* circle rather than a modern artists' circle. It can be argued that the fact that these editors (including Feng Wuyue) were not visual artists by profession explains, to a large extent, why their selection and interpretation of "art" was based more on the judgment of *quwei* (taste) rather than concrete artistic skills.²²⁸

When the BYHB editors changed their jobs, they spread their editing experience to other pictorials. Some materials suggest that Feng Wuyue was extremely thrifty, greatly underpaying editors and manpower in the first few years.²²⁹ Consequently, editors like Liu Yunruo felt exploited after working for the journal for some time, thus decided to leave BYHB and work for other competing Tianjin periodicals. Liu joined *Tianjin Shangbao* 天津商報 ("Tientsin Commercial Daily News") and founded *Tianjin Shangbao tuhua zhoukan* 天津商報圖畫周刊 (Tientsin Commercial Daily News Pictorial Weekly) in 1930.²³⁰ His editorial experience gained during his time at BYHB was obvious in the newly founded pictorial. From the selection of the materials to the composition of the page and the color tone, Tientsin Commercial Daily News Pictorial Weekly greatly resembled BYHB, including the regular publication of Western nudes at fixed places on a page.

Having examined the background of Feng Wuyue and his editorial team, I will now explore how these editors presented and practiced their publishing goal in BYHB. The next section will offer a detailed reading of the inaugural manifesto and editor's notes, assessing the connections between the publishing goal and the pursuit of "beauty" and "aesthetics." My purpose is to understand the context in which nudes became an important subject matter for BYHB editors to uplift the "taste" of the journal.

²²⁸ "Taste" is not only the aesthetic judgment for artworks but also for literary writings, in particular journals, cf. Susan Daruvala, "Yuefeng: A Literati Journal of the 1930s," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 18, no. 2 (October 1, 2006): 39–97.

²²⁹ Wu Yunxin, "Bianyin jingzhi de Beiyang huabao," 132–133; Chen Yan, "Beiyang Huabao Shiqi de Liu Yunruo Yanjiu" 《北洋畫報》時期的劉雲若研究 (A Study of Liu Yunruo in Pei-Yang Huabao Period), *Zhongguo Xiandai Wenxue Yanjiu*, no. 4 (2011): 43.

²³⁰ Ibid.

2.2 “Disseminating Knowledge” and “Promoting Fine Arts”: Publishing Goal and Implied Readers

Publishing Goal

Having had prior experience in running illustrated magazines, Feng Wuyue explicitly expressed his wish to edit an outstanding pictorial from the first issue of BYHB. The inaugural manifesto presented Feng’s understanding of the function of images in pictorials, the importance of a systematic and stable editing format, the editorial attitude, the editing of the core content of “current affairs, common knowledge, fine arts” and the targeted readership. I quote the text at length below:

“Considering people’s current knowledge level, Chinese newspapers and magazines are relatively developed. Pictorials, needed most urgently by the society, however, are still very insufficient. It is the advantage of pictorials that everyone is able to read [them], and everyone likes to read [them], too. Therefore, pictorials should take advantage to include all types of content, which can be spread through drawings, paintings, and photographs, [so as to] fulfill the mission of disseminating knowledge. [We] should not regard pictorials to be literati’s playful objects (文人的遊戲品). All kinds of images and texts, such as [those related to] current affairs, art, science, fine arts, games, should be selected and published in the pictorial, and then [the pictorial] can become a perfect newspaper. Such a well-organized and complete pictorial, China has not yet had even one. Therefore, [we] colleagues published this semi-weekly according to the goal. If well developed in the future, the pictorial might possibly be changed to a daily. Yet, usually the development of a newspaper does not only depend on its own improvement, but also on the help offered by other people in the society. Therefore, at the very moment when we are publishing the inaugural issue, we hope people from all the social circles could generously advise [us] and help us.

中國的報紙雜誌，就現今人民知識程度而論，總算夠發達的了。然而社會所最需要的畫報，卻還十分缺乏。畫報的好處，在於人人能看，人人喜歡看，因之畫報應當利用這個優點，容納一切能用圖畫和照片傳佈的事物，實行普及知識的任務；不應拿畫報當做一種文人的遊戲品看。舉凡時事，美術，科學，藝術，遊戲，種種的畫片和文字，畫報均應選登，然後纔能成為一種完善的報紙。這樣組織完備的畫報，中國還沒有一個。所以同人按着這個宗旨，刊行這半週刊，將來發達以後，再改為日刊，也說不定。不過大凡一個報紙的發達，不單靠報紙本身的善進，必須社會的人們從旁幫忙。所以我們在這創刊的時候，希望社會各界的人士，多多的指教和幫助我們。”²³¹

²³¹ Jizhe, *ibid*, my emphasis. The term 遊戲品 was used in literary work prior to Feng’s manifesto, for example, in the chapter titles to label the sections of explicit sexual description in *Xu Jing Pin Mei* 續金瓶梅 (A Sequel to The Plum in the Golden Vase), an erotic fiction by Ding Yaokang 丁耀亢 (1599-1669). Scholar Siao-chen Hu translates it into “playful section” or “playful category” in her article “In the Name of Correctness: Ding

The manifesto describes Feng's ideal pictorial, a "well-organized and complete pictorial" (組織完備的畫報), which contains various visual and textual materials (種種的畫片和文字), carried out by editorial practice. In Feng's understanding, images could effectively spread information among readers; a pictorial, as a medium containing abundant images could be accessible to a wide readership, including those who were less educated. Therefore, BYHB should take advantage of its accessibility and pursue the goal of "*puji zhishi*" 普及知識 (disseminating knowledge) by including more content related to art and news.²³²

Interestingly, Feng seems to have a critical type of pictorial in mind to argue against, as indicated in the sentence "[We] should not regard pictorials to be *wenren/literati*'s playful object (不應拿畫報當做一種文人的遊戲品看)." Feng's viewpoint was that a pictorial should not be regarded as a playful object only for cultured people, but an educational instrument for *renren* 人人 (everybody). The thought, I would argue, revealed Feng's critical self-awareness of the *wenren* social group. Having realized how normally a *wenren* would edit or read a pictorial, Feng did not agree with a *wenren*'s attitude embodied in their editorial and reading practice. Moreover, *wenren* were not his only targeted readers; on the contrary, Feng wished to extend his journal to a much broader audience, and most ideally, to "everybody" so that his goal of "disseminating knowledge" could be achieved.

Feng's wish, however, was not fulfilled over the next few years. While reiterating the importance of *pingmin* 平民 (common people) as implied readers, in 1930 BYHB received feedback suggesting that "some people regard our pictorial as reading materials for the elite (人有日本報為貴族讀者者矣)"; three years later, BYHB was still criticized as a pictorial "seemingly only appreciated by petite bourgeoisie young boys and girls resting on a sofa" (好

Yaokang's *Xu Jin Ping Mei* as a Reading of *Jin Ping Mei*," in *Snakes' Legs: Sequels, Continuations, Rewritings, and Chinese Fiction*, ed. Martin W. Huang (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 80 and 88. It is not clear whether the manifesto used the term *youxi pin* to refer to the erotic literature intertextually. Another concrete example published in 1929 seems to suggest that *youxi pin* was synonym to *yule pin* 娛樂品 (entertainment object) and *xiaoqian pin* 消遣品 (playful thing), see the advertisement "魔術是新年的娛樂品，家庭的遊戲品，假期的消遣品" in *Da Changshi* 大常識 121 (Nov. 28, 1929), 1. For more discussion on the term *yule* and *xiaoqian*, see Chapter Four.

²³² Jizhe 記者, "Yao shuo de ji ju hua" 要說的幾句話 (A Few Words I Want to Say), BYHB 1 (July 7, 1926), 2. My emphasis.

像是專為坐在沙發上小資產階級少爺小姐們所欣賞的)。²³³ The situation continued even after Feng sold BYHB to the next owner. On the tenth anniversary of BYHB, the editors summarized its publishing history, stating “our pictorial has always been called a newspaper for the elite (本報向來被稱為貴族的報紙).”²³⁴ These self-descriptions and feedback suggest that BYHB was circulated among the readers of the urban middle class and above, as well as intellectual circles and educated people (*zhishi jie* 智識界) in North China.²³⁵ Judging from the fact that the pictorial contained plenty of images, perhaps a certain amount of less educated people would still be able to enjoy BYHB, although we know little about the actual reading habits and experiences.

How did BYHB attract a readership described as “elite,” “intellectual,” or “petite bourgeoisie,” while using abundant images that “everyone” was able to enjoy, including many nudes? Regarded as one of the core values, the term *mei* 美 (beauty/beautiful or aesthetics/aesthetic) in association with the term *meiyu* 美育 (aesthetic education) frequently appeared, not only in the “editor’s note” (編輯者言), a column existing in each issue of BYHB, but also in the essays written to celebrate each publishing anniversary. I would argue that editors’ strategic promotion of *meiyu* through editing images created a certain “taste,” or aesthetic judgment, which was then mutually shared among the above-mentioned readership. The following paragraph is such an example. Selected from an essay written for the successful completion of the first year of publishing, it discusses the concept of “aesthetic education”:

“Ever since science began flourishing, the development of material civilization was extremely rapid. Mankind gradually became doubtful towards religious belief, which maintain spiritual life. Therefore, a philosopher advocated the idea of replacing religion with aesthetic education. Indeed, the need for materials in life, such as clothing and food, is indispensable; mankind’s spiritual consolation and the mental cultivation (而人類心靈的安慰，性情之陶溶), however, are even more important issues. Our pictorial has been taking the promotion of fine arts as [our] profession and goal. On the one hand, [we] contribute antique Chinese artworks; on the other hand, [we] import creative artworks from the West and Japan. During the last year, [our] contribution to the art world was not insignificant. Moreover, in addition to the promotion of arts, there were still photos of current events, and a record of interesting social news. Have all these [contents] evoked readers’ interest in inspecting and learning from these works?”

自近世科學昌明以來，物質文明之進步，一日千里，人類對於維繫其靈性生活之宗教的信仰，漸抱懷疑的態度，於是一部哲人，乃倡以美育代宗教之說，誠以人生之物質的需要，如衣食種種，固為生活上所不可少，而人類心靈的安慰，性情之陶溶，尤為切要問

²³³ Jizhe 記者, “Si zhounian zhiyu” 四週年致語 (On the Fourth Anniversary), BYHB 495 (July 7, 1930), 2; Yexin 夜心, “Zhu Beihua qi zhounian jinian” 祝北畫七週年紀念 (Congratulations at BYHB’s Seventh Anniversary), BYHB 956 (July 7, 1933), 2.

²³⁴ Yunruo 雲若, “Beihua shi nian” 北畫十年 (Ten Years of *Beiyang huabao*), BYHB 1422 (July 7, 1936), 11.

²³⁵ Yunruo, *ibid.* Other important evidence see Jizhe, “Si zhounian zhiyu”; Yexin, “Zhu Beihua qi zhounian jinian.”

題也。本報素以發揚藝術為職志，一部分供獻吾國舊有之藝術的作品，一部份輸入東西洋美術之創造物，此一年間，有造於藝術界者，為功非渺，況於宣揚藝術之外，復有時事的寫真，與社會間有趣新聞之紀載，俱使讀者起研究觀摩之興味耶？”²³⁶

The paragraph states the significance of the idea of “aesthetic education” in the process of spiritual construction, and then summarizes how BYHB was committed to promote the idea. Two interesting points are raised. Following Cai Yuanpei’s doctrine, BYHB regarded *yishu* 藝術 (fine arts) as an important tool to implement aesthetic education. The arts, according to BYHB, consisted of antique/traditional artworks from China and “new” artworks from foreign countries such as Japan and “the West.” Although art from both China and Japan/“the West” was considered constructive in aesthetic education, the two categories were dichotomized as traditional-China vs. modern-West/Japan, a mode that was widely accepted in the media at the time. Another equally interesting point is that those at BYHB appeared very convinced that the pictorial would eventually contribute to the “art world” (藝術界) through its “promotion of fine arts” (發揚藝術), despite the fact that none of the major editors were artists by profession, as I have previously discussed. Perhaps precisely because of the non-artistic background, BYHB editors were even more determined to use the strategy of promoting “aesthetic education,” because BYHB editors were then empowered to foster their aesthetic judgment in the selection and interpretation of images. The judgment was emphasized over and over again. In 1930, BYHB claimed, “in our selection of materials over the last four years, we have never ignored ‘beauty’ as the basic criteria. [Our] goal in the future will be to regard perfect beauty as the end point. (本報四年來之選材，莫不以美為基本條件，將來之目標，一以最美為終點。)”²³⁷

“Aesthetic Education”

One of the foremost thinkers and practitioners in the New Culture Movement, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) was not only a founder of the modern Chinese education system, but also an advocate who indefatigably promoted *meiyu* (aesthetic education) throughout the first two

²³⁶ Jian’an 健齋, “Di er nian” 第二年 (The Second Year), BYHB 102 (July 9, 1927), 3. My emphasis.

²³⁷ Jizhe, “Si zhounian zhiyu.” For more examples of editor’s note discussing “beauty,” see Xiaoyin Wang 王小隱, “Yi nian yilai” 一年以來 (The Past Year), BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 2.

decades of the Republican era.²³⁸ Cai claimed that he was the first person who translated the word *meiyu* from the German term “*ästhetische Erziehung*” in 1912, and “prior to this the expression did not exist.”²³⁹ Yet, according to recent scholarship, the term *meiyu* had already appeared in Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927)’s 1903 essay “Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi” 論教育之宗旨 (Discussion on Purposes of Education) as a Japanese loanword.²⁴⁰ It remains unknown whether Cai Yuanpei directly drew from Wang’s work when he started to publish essays on the topic; what we do know, however, as many researchers have discussed, is that Cai’s learning experience at Leipzig University in Germany from 1908 to 1911 invoked his thoughts of aesthetic education.²⁴¹ Appointed as the first Minister of Education in the Republic of China’s provisional government, Cai released his “Opinions on the New Education” in 1912, proposing five concepts that should “all receive equal attention in today’s education.” They were national militarism (*junguomin zhuyi* 軍國主義), pragmatism (*shili zhuyi* 實利主義),

²³⁸ Cf. Chao-hua Wang, “Cai Yuanpei and the Origins of the May Fourth Movement: Modern Chinese Intellectual Transformations, 1890--1920” (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2008).

²³⁹ Cai Yuanpei, “Ershiwu nian lai Zhongguo zhi meiyu 二十五年來中國之美育 (Twenty-five Years of Aesthetic Education in China),” in *Cai Yuanpei meiyu lunji* 蔡元培美育論集 (A Collection of Cai Yuanpei’s Essays on Aesthetic Education), ed. Gao Pingshu (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1987), 216-230. The essay was written in 1933.

²⁴⁰ In the essay, Wang Guowei greatly valued aesthetic education for its function in leading people to a stage of perfection through the cultivation of their feelings and emotions. See Wang Guowei 王國維, “Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi” 論教育之宗旨 (Discussion on Objectives of Education), 1903, collected in Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 eds. *Zhongguo jinxindai meiyu lunwen xuan* 中國近現代美育論文選 (1840-1949) (Selected Papers on Aesthetic Education in Modern China, 1840-1949) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu, 1999), 11. Chen Wenzhong argued that Wang Guowei should be the first Chinese who introduced the term *meiyu* to China, although Cai was more recognizable for his contribution. See Chen Wenzhong 陳文忠, *Meixue lingyu zhong de zhongguo xueren* 美學領域中的中國學人 (Chinese Scholars in the Aesthetic Field) (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 26, quoted from Yuk Lin Cheng, “Learning from the West: The Development of Chinese Art Education for General Education in the First Half of 20th Century China” (doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern Queensland, 2010), 113-115.

²⁴¹ From 1908 to 1911, Cai chose various courses at Leipzig University, including psychology, aestheticism, and philosophy. For more research on Cai’s thoughts and his education in Germany, see Yang Jiayou 楊家友, *Xile yu Cai Yuanpei de shenmei jiaoyu sixiang bijiao yanjiu* 席勒與蔡元培的審美教育思想比較研究 (A Comparative Study on Schiller’s and Cai Yuanpei’s Aesthetic Education Thoughts) (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009). Cf. Peili Wang, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und Cai Yuanpei: eine vergleichende Analyse zweier klassischer Bildungskonzepte in der deutschen Aufklärung und in der ersten chinesischen Republik* (Waxmann Verlag, 1996).

moral educationalism (*deyu zhuyi* 德育主義), *Weltanschauung* (*shijieguan* 世界觀) and aesthetic educationalism (*meiyu zhuyi* 美育主義).²⁴²

Among Cai's rich interpretations and writings on *meiyu* from 1912 to 1938, an article entitled "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao" 以美育代宗教 (Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education) was canonized to be the most influential doctrine regarding *meiyu* both in Cai's time and in later historiography. It was originally a lecture delivered to the Shenzhou Scholarly Society (*Shenzhou xueshe* 神州學社) in 1917, and was later published in *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (vol. 3, no. 6, August 1917), one of the most significant journals during the May Fourth Movement.²⁴³ As indicated in the title, the article suggested that religion could successfully affect people's emotions but could also be carried to extremes. Aesthetic education, in contrast, would offer numerous advantages: "what cultivates our emotions in pure aesthetic education is that it produces pure and lofty habits and gradually eliminates selfishness, as well as the concept of benefiting ourselves through harming others. If beauty is universal, there cannot exist within it the consciousness of ourselves as differentiated from other people."²⁴⁴ Scholars have pointed out that Cai's concept of aesthetic education was not a philosophical topic; and that it was conceived as a "preeminent discourse of enlightenment and cultural revolution, against China's stagnant tradition," while providing a "humanistic and utopian dimension to

²⁴² Cai Yuanpei, "Duiyu xin jiaoyu zhi yijian" (Opinions on the New Education), *Cai Yuanpei quanji* vol.2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 130-137.

²⁴³ Cai Yuanpei, "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao" 以美育代宗教 (Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education), in *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選 上卷 (Selected Writings on Art in China in the Twentieth Century, Vol. I), ed. Lang, Shaojun 郎紹君 and Shui Zhongtian 水中天, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999, 15-20. Julia F. Andrews translated the essay, and it is collected in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk A. Denton (Stanford and California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 182-189. Carrie Waara discusses Cai's thoughts in her paper "Ts'ai Yuan-pei's Theory of Aesthetic Education," *Spring-Autumn Papers* 1.1 (Spring 1979), 13-30.

²⁴⁴ Cai Yuanpei, "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao," trans. Andrews, *ibid.* For more analysis on this article, see Chen Pingyuan, *Touches of History: An Entry Into "May Fourth" China*, trans. Michel Hockx et al. (BRILL, 2011), 178-186. Wu Fangcheng discusses Cai's thoughts in his article "Tuhua yu shougong: Zhongguo jindai yishu jiaoyu dedansheng 圖畫與手工——中國近代藝術教育的誕生 (Drawing and Handicraft: The Birth of Early Modern Artistic Education in China), in *Shanghai meishu fengyun*, 2006, 41-42. Wu Fangcheng points out that Cai's thought on "beauty" was derived from Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) aesthetic philosophy "purposive without purpose" (無關利害之美), sometimes translated as "final without end." Cf. Immanuel. Cf. Kant, Paul Guyer, and Eric Matthews, *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Chinese modernity, influenced primarily by Western scientific reason.”²⁴⁵ Therefore, his aesthetics education concept is best grasped as a “key constituent of his overall project of enlightenment and education.”²⁴⁶

When pointing out that “beauty” had a universal value and transcended reality, Cai used nude paintings by famous Chinese and Western artists as examples:

“Because of the universality of beauty, the distinction between myself and other people no longer exists, and there can be no relationship based on self-interest or harming others. [...] All men love female beauty, but when we look at the unclothed statues of Greece, we don’t dare feel lust. In viewing nudes painted by Raphael or Rubens, we don’t entertain the thoughts aroused by Zhou Fang’s painting *Secret Pleasures*. Beauty’s transcendence of reality is thus.”²⁴⁷

Zhou Fang 周昉 was a late eight-century artist who specialized in painting beautiful women. He was also famous for his erotic painting “Spring Night Secret Pleasure Painting” (春宵秘戲圖), after which “Secret Pleasure Painting” (秘戲圖) was named as a genre to designate erotic or pornographic paintings. Later, “Secret Pleasure Painting” became known as “Spring Palace Paintings” (春宮圖).²⁴⁸ In the framework of “aesthetic education,” Cai praised the pure “beauty” of “the unclothed statues of Greece,” and contrasted “nudes painted by Raphael or Rubens” with the “thoughts aroused” by Chinese erotic paintings. Here, Cai might have merely meant to use *Secret Pleasures* to signify erotic pornographic images, but this comparison seems to have established a dichotomy, equating Western nudes with art (or aestheticism) while linking Chinese nudes with *Secret Pleasures*. Intellectuals, writers, and art critics often applied this pattern in later debates.²⁴⁹

Cai’s promotion of “aesthetic education” encouraged a whole generation of artists and intellectuals as well as cultural practitioners to practice the pursuit of *mei*, and *meiyu* frequently appeared in early Republican media. In the intellectual circle, its deep impact was reflected in the cases of two of the most famous and controversial figures of the 1920s: Liu Haisu and

²⁴⁵ Chen Pingyuan, *ibid*, 182; Kang Liu, *Aesthetics and Marxism: Chinese Aesthetic Marxists and Their Western Contemporaries* (Duke University Press, 2000), 27.

²⁴⁶ Kang Liu, *ibid*.

²⁴⁷ Cai Yuanpei, “Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education,” trans. Julia F. Andrews in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893–1945*, 187.

²⁴⁸ For more research on this topic, see James Cahill, *Chinese Erotic Painting*: <http://jamescahill.info/illustrated-writings/chinese-erotic-painting>. Also cf. Chapter One.

²⁴⁹ For example, Zhang Jingsheng’s “Luoti yanjiu” 裸體研究 (A Study on Unclothed Bodies), in *Xin wenhua* 新文化 (New Culture) 1 (December, 1926): 52-68; and Liu Haisu’s “Renti mote’er” 人體模特兒 (Live Models), *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (Current Events Newspaper Supplement) (October 10, 1925).

Zhang Jingsheng. Liu Haisu emphasized “aesthetic education” in his activities while developing the Shanghai Art School (上海美專), and he promoted the use of nude models in art education.²⁵⁰ Consequently, academic instruction in Western-style painting developed rapidly and played an enormously important role in localizing and promoting the acceptance of *luoti* images in public. Zhang Jingsheng, the infamous “Dr. Sex” that I have briefly discussed in Chapter One, also advocated aesthetic education. He published the books *An Aesthetic Outlook of Life* (美的人生觀) and *The Organization of a Society of Beauty* (美的社會組織法) in 1925.²⁵¹ Aesthetic education became an essential element of the *Zeitgeist*, and was expressed in popular contemporary publications in the 1920s and 1930s. In this context, Feng Wuyue and his peers tirelessly pursued *mei* in its long publishing and editing activities. If the BYHB editors always regarded aesthetic value as the basic criterion, then all the visual materials, including nudes, must have been considered an embodiment of beauty to serve the aesthetic education. The next section will investigate the types of nudes and their visual sources published in BYHB.

2.3 The Visual Sources of Nudes in BYHB²⁵²

BYHB editors integrated a substantial amount of visual materials related to the motif of *luoti*/unclothed bodies into their publication, involving various art forms, genres and discourses. For instance, *luoti* as a motif was depicted in oil paintings, watercolors, photography, and line drawings, and these works could be academic, erotic, or related to reports

²⁵⁰ Cai Yuanpei and Liu Haisu knew each other in person, and Cai promoted Liu’s paintings and supported his activities in the art circle. See Li Anyuan 李安源. “Cong Shanghai Meizhuan dao Bolin Zhongguo meishuzhan—Liu Haisu yu Cai Yuanpei jiaowang yanjiu” 從上海美專到柏林中國美術展——劉海粟與蔡元培交往研究 (From the Shanghai Art School to an Exhibition of Chinese Arts in Berlin: A Study on the Interaction between Teacher and Students), 21st Century 68 (November 2007), <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c/supplem/essay/0701040.htm>, (accessed March 19, 2009); Pan Yaochang, “Cai Yuanpei yu Shanghai Huatan” 蔡元培與上海畫壇 (Cai Yuanpei and the Shanghai Art World), in *Haipai Huihuayanjiu Lunwenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua chubanshes, 2001), 833-853.

²⁵¹ Zhang Jingsheng, “Mei de renshengguan” 美的人生觀 (An Aesthetic Outlook of Life) and “Meide shehui zuzhi fa” 美的社會組織法 (The Organization of a Society of Beauty), in *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* 張競生文集 (Zhang Jingsheng Anthology) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1998), 23-263.

²⁵² An earlier version of this section has been published in my article “An Exotic Self? Tracing Cultural Flows of Western Nudes in Pei-Yang Pictorial News (1926-1933),” in *Transcultural Turbulences*, ed. C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011), 271–300.

or satires on nudism (FKK). As an editing principle, BYHB printed thirteen to fifteen images in each issue and insisted on a relatively fixed layout in order to cater to their readers' habits.²⁵³ At least one nude image, usually a photograph or an oil painting, could be found in more than eighty percent of the issues from 1926 to 1933, normally on the third page.

Photographs of Western Female Nudes as Majority

Artistic media did not appear with the same frequency in BYHB issues. By scrutinizing the issues from 1926-1933, one gets the impression that images of nudes appeared frequently, and that most nudes are photographs of Western women except for a series of Chinese women that I shall discuss in detail later.²⁵⁴ Nude photography was published significantly more often than oil paintings and watercolors, while line drawings were often used for satirical images and sometimes for sketches. For example, in order to validate this impression, I undertook a statistical investigation of September issues of BYHB from 1926 to 1933, in which the following questions were considered: How many issues are there in the month of September in total? How many nudes were published? How many nudes depict Western females? How many nudes are photographs? The result is shown in Table 2-1.

Column A demonstrates that BYHB published two issues weekly from 1926 to 1928, and three issues weekly from 1929 to 1933. If we consider an average of four weeks per month, column B shows that one to two nudes appear weekly on average, though they are not in each issue and sometimes only once every fortnight.²⁵⁵ Columns C and D draw our attention to the fact that most nudes are in fact photographs of Western women. This statistical survey supports the initial impression that photographic nudes of Western women are indeed the majority of nudes in BYHB between 1926 and 1933.

Table 2-1 Statistical Investigation of Nudes in BYHB September Issues (1926 -1933)

²⁵³ See Wuyue, "Guoqu weilai" 過去未來 (The Past and the Future), BYHB 101 (July 7, 1927), 2; Bianzhe 編者, "Beihua zhenzheng jiazhi zhi suozai" 北畫真正價值之所在 (The Genuine Value of Pei-yang Pictorials News), BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 3.

²⁵⁴ "Western females" mainly refer to European and North American women. Although not always the case, most females presented in the images of nudes are Caucasian.

²⁵⁵ I noticed that only two images were published in September 1928, which seems to be below average. As an additional comparison, I examined the earlier as well as later issues, and found four in August and five in October, which means the average number of nudes stays at 3-4 every month. The result is accordant with the conclusion that roughly one to two nudes appear weekly on average from 1926 to 1933.

September of	A)Issues in total	B) Number of Nudes	C)Western	D)Female	E)Photography
1926	8	3	2	2	2
1927	7	6	6	6	6
1928	8	2	2	2	2
1929	13	5	4	5	4
1930	13	6	5	5	5
1931	13	8	8	8	8
1932	14	6	0	4	2
1933	12	4	3	4	3

The fact that these nudes seem to be depicted in a rather similar style challenges us to consider where they originated. Is it possible to trace the sources of the nudes and delineate trajectories of the visual flow? Ideally, we would like to be able to identify each of the Western nudes in the pictorial by comparing them to other sources. Yet, the origin of each particular photograph is difficult to determine, as the majority of photographs carry neither their original title nor the artist’s signature or studio name. All we see is the rare occurrence of a general description such as “Famous Western Nude Photograph,” or “Nude study” but these are too vague to be of use. Nevertheless, having compared the data on the appearances of nudes, I was able to determine the origins of two series of nudes: one source is erotic postcards, or so-called “French postcards,” sometimes “naughty postcards”; the second source is a series of Chinese women photographed by Heinz von Perckhammer. In the following section, I will explain in detail the two sources of the nudes, both of which were used regularly in BYHB.

Source I: “French Postcards”/Erotic Postcards

Erotic postcards, according to Martin Stevens’ introduction to his collection in *French Postcards: Album of Vintage Erotica*, appeared almost immediately after the birth of photography itself, and experienced their “golden age” from around 1900 until the end of World War I.²⁵⁶ Michael Köhler points out in *The Body Exposed* that erotic postcards experienced their unchallenged control of the market from 1905 to 1925.²⁵⁷ For instance, more than 14 million erotic postcards had been produced and circulated in Great Britain alone by

²⁵⁶ Martin Stevens, introduction to *French Postcards: Album of Vintage Erotica* (New York: Universe, 2006).

²⁵⁷ Michael Köhler ed., *The Body Exposed: Views of the Body, 150 Years of the Nude in Photography* (Zurich: Edition Stemmler, 1995), 57.

1899; and by 1910, more than 30,000 people were employed in the erotic postcard industry in Paris.²⁵⁸ “This concentration - and France’s reputation for liberty - earned all nude and erotic cards the euphemistic nickname “French postcards,” even if they were not produced in France.

²⁵⁹ Although their original stated purpose was “compensating for the shortage or permissiveness of the painters’ models,”²⁶⁰ erotic postcards served as a cheap mass medium for the transmission of erotic fantasies, and were thus distributed world-wide.²⁶¹ Erotic postcards can be divided into two categories: one showing “nudes,” and the other “sexual behavior.” The latter category was never officially allowed to circulate by mail.²⁶² Even trade of the first category remained illegal until after the turn of the 20th century.²⁶³ Except for these few details, not much is known about the production of these postcards, since many of the photographers and publishers seem to have preferred to remain anonymous.²⁶⁴

Identifying “French Postcards”/Erotic Postcards in BYHB

How can one establish whether an image in BYHB comes from an “erotic postcard” or not? In the most ideal scenario, one would be able to locate identical nudes in Western collections of erotic photographs and erotic postcards (or French postcards); or, if this is impossible, the second option is to ascertain whether the models appearing in the nudes in the Chinese pictorials could be identified through comparison to the Western images, even though the original postcard images are not found in any known collection; the third is to assess if one model appears in other nudes in BYHB and if her picture thus seemingly belongs to a series of photographs; fourth, to confirm if the nudes bear seals of their producers, photographers or photo studios that specialized in the production of erotic images; fifth, to gauge if the “style” of the images matches that of the most popular genres of postcards in the West; and sixth,

²⁵⁸ Cf. Allison Pease, *Modernism, mass culture, and the aesthetics of obscenity* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 84.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Martin Stevens, *ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Dupouy, introduction to *Erotic French Postcard*, 2009.

²⁶¹ Joseph Slade gives a good summary of academic works on this theme in his *Pornography and Sexual Representation: A Reference Guide*. vol.2 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 588-590.

²⁶² Cf. William Ouellette, and Barbara Mildred Jones, *Erotic Postcards*, 1977.

²⁶³ Michael Köhler ed., *The Body Exposed*, 57.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Michael Köhler ed., *The Body Exposed*, 57. Lisa Z. Sigel discusses the producer and the circulation of the postcards in “Filth in the Wrong People’s Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914,” *Journal of Social History* vol.33, no. 4 (2000): 859-885.

examine if an image fits with other images selected and edited in the same pictorial. The methods above are not necessarily mutually exclusive; on the contrary, the more evidence that can be detected in one particular nude, the more convincing our conjecture of its possible origins will be. In the following discussion, two examples will be used to illustrate these aspects.

The first example is Fig.2-1, reproduced in BYHB in July 1927. In the image, a female model is sitting on a chair in front of a mirror with the curves of her back and bottom being displayed to the viewer. She supports her body with her left elbow on the frame of the mirror and her right hand drops down softly, holding a flower. The large mirror plays a central role in the image: it reflects the front of the model's body, yet at the same time as it enables the model to gaze at the potential spectators through the mirror. Besides a pair of high-heel shoes, she wears some accessories, such as a necklace, a watch or a bracelet, and a ring. The same image can be found in the section of "Erotic Postcards" in a book entitled *1000 Nudes*, a collection by Uwe Scheid (1944-2000), who is regarded as "a leading expert on erotic photography" and who has "built up one of the largest and most remarkable collections of its kind."²⁶⁵ (Fig.2-2)

Three other images with slightly different postures but the same model and settings are collected in *Erotic French Postcards* (no page number), *Der Akt von Damals* (page 107) and online sources (see Fig.2-3). Therefore we can conclude that Fig.2-1 is in fact one image of a series. Moreover, in the right corner of Fig.2-1, the signature "J. Mandel" draws our attention. "J. Mandel" is Julian (or Julien) Mandel, a successful photographer of popular erotic nudes, many of which were reproduced as postcards, though his background remains ambiguous and controversial.²⁶⁷ The woman in Fig.2-1, 2-2 and 2-3 can be identified as Alice Ernestine Prin (1901-1953), better known as "Kiki de Montparnasse" thanks to her enormous fame as a singer, actress, artist and model. She was praised as the "Muse of Paris," and worked for many artists, including Chaim Soutine (1893-1943), Julian Mandel, and Jean Cocteau (1889-1963).²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Hans-Michael Koetzle and Margie Mounier, *1000 Nudes*, 351. The quotation is from the back cover.

²⁶⁷ In *Erotic French Postcards*, "J. Mandel" is identified as "Julien Mandel" (see index part, no page number). Related academic research is not known yet. Some online information claims that "Julian Mandel" (1872-1935) and "Julien Mandel" are different spelling in English and German, but both names might be pseudonyms. Nonetheless, he was a famous erotic photographer based in Paris. See: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julien_Mandel?uselang=de (accessed on Jan. 10, 2010).

²⁶⁸ For the life of Alice Prin, see her memoir *The Education of a French Model* (Kiki and Ernest Hemingway, New York: Bridgehead Books, 1955) and Billy Klüver and Julie Martin's *Kiki's Paris: Artists and Lovers 1900-*

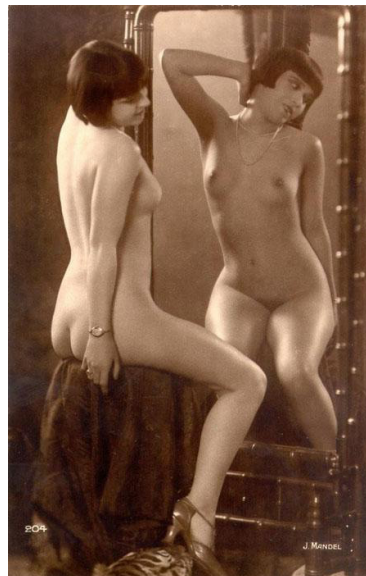


Fig.2-1 Left: “Guying zilian” 顧影自憐, BYHB 104 (July 16, 1927), 3.

Fig.2-2 Middle: the same postcard of Kiki reproduced in BYHB 104 can be found in *1000 Nudes* (1994), 351. For reasons of copyright, it is omitted here. The image on display is Kiki with a similar pose. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/0f/Erotic_postcard_by_Julien_Mandel.jpg (accessed on Nov. 10, 2022, public domain). This image also appears in *Erotic French Postcards* (2009), n.p.

Fig.2-3 Right: an image of Kiki from the same series of erotic postcards https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Julian_Mandel_6.jpg (accessed on Nov. 10, 2022, public domain). Another example can be found in *Der Akt von Damals* (1976), 107. Also for reasons of copyright, it is not included here.

The imprint of “J. Mandel” provides an important link among the different images. In addition to this, the imprint can be clearly traced to a group of other nudes in BYHB, such as “*Shuixie* (睡鞋)” (Sleeping shoes, BYHB 71, March 19, 1927, 3); “*Quxian de zhen mei* (曲線的真美)” (The Genuine Beauty of Curves, BYHB 75, April 2, 1927, 3) and “*Couching Ci fu* (雌伏)” (BYHB 131, Oct. 22, 1927, 3), just to name a few. Besides the prints by “J. Mandel,” “P.C PARIS” and “A·N PARIS” are often found in BYHB nudes as well. Imprint signatures, as mentioned previously, is a crucial means of identifying “postcards.” Both Fig.2-4 and Fig.2-5 (to be discussed later), for example, bear the imprint “P.C PARIS” in the lower left corner. In certain cases, one postcard could be found to carry more than one imprint or signature; in these cases, we can surmise that the postcard had been distributed by more than one channel.²⁶⁹ For example, the photograph in Fig.2-1 published in BYHB bears the imprint of “J. Mandel,”

1930 (New York: Abrams, 1989). There is also a French graphic novel that depicts Kiki’s life, see Catel Muller and José-Louis Bocquet, *Kiki de Montparnasse* (Bruxelles: Casterman, 2007).

²⁶⁹ Klinger collects and sorts several of the most important European early photography studios, including “Leo Paris,” “Noyer Paris,” “PC Paris,” “AN Paris,” J. B. Paris,” “A.N.-J. Mandel Paris,” “J.A.-ER-EP Paris” and “ELF Paris.” See *Die Frühzeit der erotischen Fotografie und Postkarten/The Early Period of Erotic Photography and Postcards*, vol.5, 44-55.

but the identical image collected in *1000 Nudes* has “204 A.N PARIS.” In fact, more studio imprints can be spotted in Chinese print media throughout the Republican era, including periodicals such as *Youxi zazhi*, *Meiyu*, and *Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報 (“Pictorial Shanghai,” 1925-1933) among others.²⁷⁰

An editor’s note in BYHB in 1928 further confirms this observation. When the editor describes how to successfully run a long-term pictorial periodical, he explicitly mentions that the visual sources in BYHB include “foreign postcards.” Considering the abundance of erotic postcards in BYHB, the “foreign postcards” mentioned in the editor’s note quoted below indicates the general acceptance and use of erotic postcards in journals such as BYHB:

“No doubt it is not that difficult to run a pictorial: [one can reprint] one’s friends or relatives’ antique calligraphies and drawings inherited from their ancestors; [one can reprint] several people’s artwork produced over the course of their lives; and then [one can] reprint a certain number of old editions and reprint several foreign postcards. It is fairly easy to publish three to five hundred issues of such pictorials repeatedly, but it is quite difficult to support this process indefinitely...辦畫報固然不難，把親戚朋友以及祖傳的古董書畫，和幾個人的畢生著作，再翻印若干若干舊版，翻印幾張外國明信片，忠則盡命的印行三五百期畫報，尤其易上加易，但是維持永久便難了.....”²⁷¹

The “foreign postcards” mentioned above are not yet literally linked to “French postcards.” However, the connection is plainly revealed by one of BYHB’s adversaries in a debate. The debate started with a letter by BYHB editor Wang Xiaoyin in December 1928. He wrote to the editor of another recently established Tianjin pictorial, *Changshi huabao* 常識畫報 (“*Le Vulgarisateur*”) so as to correct a mistake in their previous issue.²⁷² In the following month, *Changshi huabao* actively engaged in criticizing BYHB or publicly responding to BYHB’s

²⁷⁰ Background information of *Youxi zazhi* and *Meiyu* is discussed by Michel Hockx in *Questions of Style*, 118-144. The postcards phenomenon in the journal *Meiyu* is examined in a joint research project “Women and Scandal in Early Modern Chinese Literature: The Journal *Meiyu* (Eyebrow Talk, 1914-1916)” by Michel Hockx and myself.

²⁷¹ Jizhe, “Juan shou yu” 卷首語 (Inaugural Words of the Volume), BYHB 251 (Dec. 1, 1928), 2. My emphasis.

²⁷² *Changshi huabao* was founded almost two and half years later than BYHB (Nov. 8, 1928). Only fourteen issues (no.14, 21 January 1929) are preserved and reprinted in *Minguo huabao huibian Tianjin juan* 民國畫報彙編 天津卷一 (*Comprehensive Pictorials in Republican China: Tianjin vol.I*) (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2007). As its French name “*Le Vulgarisateur*” suggests, *Changshi huabao* had, in fact, a close association to Chinese networks in Paris. A group of Chinese students planned and founded a *Changshi she* 常識社 (Common Knowledge Society) in Paris, and then decided to create such a pictorial in order to advocate physical, scientific and aesthetic education in Tianjin. For more details see “Bianji shi suo hua” 編輯室瑣話 (Editor’s Note), *Changshi huabao* vol.1 no.1 (Nov. 8, 1928), 7. A few books mentioned the pictorial very briefly, but they contain significant errors. No academic research is known to me.

criticism. Without directly mentioning BYHB's name, one essay started its argument that "a certain pictorial has reprinted hundreds of foreign postcards...while blaming us for reprinting [postcards] (某畫報翻印外國明信片不下數百張，反說我們翻印)." This was followed by a whole paragraph of detailed information concerning how and where BYHB collected the postcards:

"[Let's] be honest: which Chinese pictorial does not reprint foreign postcards? This certain pictorial, from its first appearance until now, has already reprinted hundreds [of postcards]. Not only [did they] reprint postcards, they also reprinted all [kinds of] foreign lewd photographs, lewd albums and film magazines. [I] would ask: among them, oil paintings are mostly collected by foreign museums and galleries, how could [you possibly] acquire [the collections] here? Among the reprints, the photographs do not go beyond the products of three French printing companies: André Noyer, Spina and Braun, and each costs ranging from fifty to ninety centimes in Paris. As for "fleshy" photographs, they were initially secretly bought from foreign countries...

我們老老實實的說一句：中國的那份畫報不翻印外國的明信片！某畫報從出版到現在翻印的已是數百張了。不只翻印明信片，併外國海淫照片，海淫照相冊，電影雜誌全都翻印。試問其中油畫多是外洋各博物院，美術廳所存的，能羅織得來麼？其中畫片，不外是法國 André Noyer, Spina, Braun 三印刷公司的出品，在巴黎每張售價自五十生丁至九十生丁..."²⁷³

The short essay points out that reproduction of the postcards was not a secret in editing pictorials in the late 1920s. Apart from postcards, foreign - particularly French - photographs, albums, as well as film magazines could all be selected to enrich the pictorials' content. Interestingly, the essay stated that André Noyer, Spina, and Braun were the three major postcard-printing companies and one could buy their products conveniently in Paris.²⁷⁴ If we consider that the editor-in-chief studied in Paris in the 1920s and just returned to China in 1928, it is not implausible that he had viewed postcards in Paris and could recognize the reproduction of French postcards in BYHB, or in pictorials in general.

Another example of the dissemination of French photographs is a group of four nudes published in BYHB in 1927 and 1928. We can trace the origins of this group of images through the means mentioned above.²⁷⁵ First of all, they present a single model wearing various

²⁷³ Guai'an 怪厂, "Mou huabao zhi dafaisuowen" 某畫報之答非所問 (An Irrelevant Answer by a Certain Pictorial), *Changshi huabao* vol.1 no.14 (Jan. 21, 1929), 62.

²⁷⁴ Further study on the three printing companies is required. As I mentioned, the imprint of "A. N." appears frequently, but it is more commonly identified as "Alfred Noyer." See a list of postcards publishing houses <http://www.metropostcard.com/guideinitials.html> (accessed on Jan. 25, 2011).

²⁷⁵ The four images are "Jinmei (盡美)," BYHB 151 (Jan. 1, 1928), 7; "Qiaoxiao (巧笑) Smile," BYHB 156 (Jan. 18, 1928), 2; "Guse guxiang (古色古香) Babylonian Beauty," BYHB 161 (Feb. 11, 1928), 3; and "Guxiang (古

accessories while standing, sitting, or lying down. In spite of these different poses, the emphasis on her body's voluptuousness as well as her smile heightens the erotic atmosphere of the scene. Secondly, by comparing with the collections in *Der Akt von Damals* (The Nude of the Past), we can identify this model as "Marguerite." The nickname "Marguerite" was well known among the collectors of erotic postcards because of her "elegant curves [and] gestures" as well as her "glamour and inexplicable smile."²⁷⁶ According to the same book, she appears so often in antique erotic postcards that almost one in every three images in the collection is an image of her - mostly unveiled, sometimes in *dessous*.²⁷⁷ Thirdly, in two of the four images (Fig.2-4 and Fig.2-5), she is veiled with exactly the same transparent satins and stays in front of the same vase and curtain, which means the two nudes probably belong to the same series. Fourthly, each image bears the imprint of "P.C. PARIS." This evidence again leads us to one conclusion: the nudes in the pictorial are reproduced from erotic postcards.



Fig.2-4 "Qiaoxiao," BYHB 156 (Jan. 18, 1928), 2.
 Fig.2-5 "Guxiang," BYHB 220 (Sept. 12, 1928), 3.

香) Self- Satisfacanti [*sic*]," BYHB 220 (Sep. 12, 1928), 3. Except that the first image "*Jinmei*" (literally: Perfection) does not have English title, all of the English titles are taken directly from BYHB, including "Self-Satisfacanti," which should be a misprint for "Self-Satisfaction."

²⁷⁶ Günter Bartosch, *Der Akt von Damals*, 119 and 150.

²⁷⁷ Information on Marguerite see Günter Bartosch, *ibid*, 119,150. According to the same book (119), Marguerite literally means "pearl," and it was only a fictitious name. In fact, the name could mean "daisy" in French as well.

The Trajectories of the Visual Flow

The examples of Kiki and Marguerite's nudes demonstrate that flows of images of nudes can be identified. Further, they show the actual involvement of erotic postcards in BYHB's visual presentation. The question is then: how did the flow actually transpire; how did these postcards flow to China, and why did they appear in BYHB? In this section, I will describe the flow from two perspectives: first, from the point of origin, i.e., how popular the production of erotic postcards was in Europe; and secondly, from the point of arrival, i.e., what were the possible ways that BYHB could have received the postcards so as to reproduce the images?

How did these European postcards get to China? European erotic visual materials, not only postcards, had already been exported to China in the Late Qing period. We do not have any official statistics to prove the scale of the phenomenon, nevertheless, debates or news reports on "obscene pictures" (*yinhua*) can be found in print media such as *Shenbao* and *Shibao* 時報 (The Eastern Times), appearing regularly from 1878 to 1928.²⁷⁸ Aside from "obscene pictures," a later report in *Shenbao* also mentions "*aiqing hua youpian*" 愛情畫郵片 (postcards of love) and "*luoti shaonü youhuapian*" 裸體少女畫郵片 (postcards of a naked young girl).²⁷⁹ Based on the description in the reports and debates in the 1910s, Wu Fangcheng presumes that the images which caused this uproar might have been imported or brought by foreign companies, thus flowing to China, then to be sold either secretly by individuals on the streets in the cities or close to a harbor where foreign ships gathered, or even publicly by particular publishing houses.²⁸⁰ One early example of how erotic postcards were reproduced in Chinese print media is the journal *Meiyu* (Eyebrow Talk). In my work with Michel Hockx, we found that more than thirty images in the front illustrations of eighteen issues can be verified as postcards, above half of which include Western nudes. In short, at least more than a decade before BYHB existed, erotic postcards, with or without sexual activity, were already circulating in China.

²⁷⁸ *Shenbao* and *Shibao* were both daily newspapers, and were among the most important newspapers in Shanghai. After examining reports and articles in *Shenbao*, Wu Fangcheng concludes that from 1878 to 1928, reports on *yinhua* appear rather regularly (i.e., ranging from one to three reports almost every year, and five in 1912); however, the reports disappear after 1928. For concrete numbers see Wu, "Luo de liyou."

²⁷⁹ "Xiwen yin shuhua lai yuan yi duan" 西文淫書畫來源已斷 (Lewd Western Books and Images Cut Off at Source), *Shenbao* (5 January 1919). Cf. Wu Fangcheng, *ibid*, 61-62.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Wu Fangcheng, *ibid*, 61-63. The "postcards of a naked young girl," according to Wu, can be illustrated by an image from the advertisement on *Shibao* (Sept. 7, 1917), see Wu, *ibid*, 62.

How did the images of nudes migrate through geophysical territories? How did the editors of BYHB possibly find the nudes that they were going to use in their journal? By checking captions, editors' notes and discussions, we can identify two manners in which these nudes were disseminated: Firstly, nudes were donated by famous people from their own private collections, such as Feng Wuyue's collection of postcards "Putao xianzi 葡萄仙子 'Tasting Grapes'," "Guying zilian 顧影自憐 'Mirror'," and Jianwen's "Chunse 春色 'Spring'."²⁸¹ Secondly, nudes were sent by journalists or volunteers from various places in Europe. For instance, a journalist named Hansheng 漢生 often mailed images of nudes from Germany to BYHB. A nude entitled "Xiwu 習舞" (Practicing Dancing) was explained as "Hansheng zi De ji 漢生自德寄 (Sent by Hansheng from Germany)" in the caption of the image.²⁸² In a 1928 essay, BYHB claimed "[within] these past two years, [letters with] materials provided to our pictorial, have been fluttering to us like snowflakes from home and abroad (本報兩年以來, 供給材料的, 國外國內幾如雪片飛來)."²⁸³ As a pictorial founded by Chinese who used to study in Paris, *Changshi huabao* seemed to have more opportunities to buy postcards directly from Paris because it even describes how "lewd photographs" could be bought from the Place de la Concorde and near the Arc de Triomphe.²⁸⁴ Additionally, considering that postcards were circulated in an underground market (illegally, as mentioned earlier), one could presume that the working staff of *Changshi huabao* might be able to purchase nudes in the market as well.

In short, BYHB reproduced a number of nudes, the vast majority of which were erotic photographs depicting Western females. Most of these were originally erotic postcards. Though not allowed to be mailed, erotic postcards were still widely circulated in Europe, and their existence in China was recorded from the 1880s in debates and reports on "obscene pictures" (*yinhua*) in Chinese print media. Between these two points, the possible trajectory of the image

²⁸¹ Feng's two images carry Chinese titles, but the Chinese titles are not necessarily direct translations of the English titles, see "Putao xianzi," BYHB 21 (Sept. 15, 1926), 3; "Guying zilian," BYHB 69 (March 12, 1927), 3. I found an identical image of "Mirror" in Michael Köhler ed, *The Body Exposed*, 61. The seal of "PC Paris 2151" appearing in both images clearly marks that it was originally a postcard. Jianwen's donation is "Spring" (*Chunse* 春色), BYHB 299 (March 30, 1929), 3. A series of postcards donated by Jianwen are called "Bali juchang houtai suojian" 巴黎劇場後臺所見 (A Travers les Couliesses Parisiennes, IV), see BYHB 258 (Dec. 17, 1928), 3; V, BYHB 261 (Dec. 25, 1929), 3; VI, BYHB 267 (Jan. 10, 1929), 3.

²⁸² BYHB 274 (Jan. 26, 1929), 3.

²⁸³ Jizhe, "Juan shou yu," BYHB 251 (Dec. 1, 1928), 2.

²⁸⁴ Guai'an, *ibid.*

flow might be formed either by commercial agents or by the staff related to BYHB. It is clear that as erotic postcards travelled from Europe to China, they also delivered the attraction of the strange or foreign to the Chinese audience and provided the audience with “exotic” visual pleasure and excitement.²⁸⁵ This section can fix a beginning and end point of the flow of nudes, but the in-between route still needs further investigation (which is perhaps the most difficult aspect of research on such flows).²⁸⁶

Source II: Heinz von Perckhammer and his Nude Photographs

Besides the “French postcards” as the visual source of the nudes in BYHB, I also identified the source of a series of twelve Chinese nude photographs in BYHB. Often marked as “mailed by a journalist from Germany,” these twelve nude studies, created by photographer Heinz von Perckhammer, were published in BYHB from July 1928 to February 1930. Compared to the erotic postcards that I have showcased, the number of photos in this series is limited, but the visual quality is unique and distinctive.

Heinz von Perckhammer in Tianjin

Born to a photographer’s family in the South Tyrol city of Meran, Perckhammer was fascinated by photography as a child. Serving as a seaman on the warship *Kaiserin Elisabeth*,

²⁸⁵ “Exotic” means, as explained in *Oxford English Dictionary*, “introduced from abroad, not indigenous,” or “having the attraction of the strange or foreign, glamorous” (<http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/66403?redirectedFrom=exotic#> accessed on Jan. 30, 2011). “Exotism” means “Resemblance to what is foreign; a foreign ‘air’” (<http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/66407> accessed on 30 January 2011), while ‘exoticism’ means ‘Exotic character; an instance of this, anything exotic’ (<http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/66406?redirectedFrom=exoticism#>, accessed on Jan. 30, 2011). The equivalent words in Chinese might be *qi* (奇) in the Late Qing period while *yiguo qingdiao* 異國情調 in the 1920s. Catherine Yeh argues that *qi* means “the extraordinary,” “the fantastic,” and “the exotic” in her book *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006, 184). Heinrich Otmar Fruehauf analyzes *yiguo qingdiao* in the Japanese and Chinese context in *Urban Exoticism in Modern Chinese Literature, 1910-1933* (University of Chicago, 1990), doctoral dissertation. In my understanding, not everything “foreign” is automatically “exotic.” “To be exotic” is not merely an objective description of the outlandish origin, but also involves subjective feelings, imaginaries and understandings of how “foreign” things could or should be. These features are then strengthened so as to exaggerate the differentiation between the Self and the Other as well as to create or display a foreign “air.” Therefore, “Western nudes,” selected and reproduced in BYHB, did not only provide “outlandish” spectacles, but also an “exotic” atmosphere.

²⁸⁶ Or, perhaps it would be the case that it is not so important as long as we have ascertained that an object has in fact originated elsewhere and ended up in another place.

Perckhammer came to Qingdao (Tsingtau) in 1914. He was then sent to Beijing and Tianjin at the outbreak of World War I, and then interned by China in 1917. After the war, he was set free and started to work for the Kodak Shop in Tianjin, or *Lihua Zhaoxiangguan* 麗華照相館 (lit: Lihua Photo Studio).²⁸⁷ During this time, Perckhammer made a series of nude photographs of Chinese women.

His interest and activities were known to a local Chinese named “Lian” 蓮 (lit.: lotus), who published a short essay in BYHB in July 1926, reporting that a certain Austrian photographer “Mr. P” (P 君), whose hometown became part of Italy after the World War, “paid a lot of his own money to lure quite a few beauties of our country, and had them act as his [nude] models (嘗自出重資餌吾國美女多人，使為模特兒)”; as a result, he eventually “took more than ninety nude photographs (先後攝得裸體之影九十餘幀).”²⁸⁸ According to Lian, Perckhammer showed Lian these photos, and Lian truly appreciated their quality: “erotic or dignified, there are [photos with] both qualities, and none of them are associated with obscenity. As for the beautiful composition, the appropriate lighting [...] this is nothing that common [nude photos] can be compared to, not one iota (香豔莊嚴，兼而有之，殊不涉穢褻。至布景之美，用光之當[...]迥非常見者之所可比擬於萬一).”²⁸⁹ After describing the photos in details, including the hairstyles and the poses of the nude models, Lian reported that “Mr. P” would bring these “*baozang*” 寶藏 (treasures) back to his hometown, and then select the best photographs for publication.

Two years later, another essay in BYHB echoed Lian’s writing. In the 201st BYHB issue (July 7, 1928), which celebrated its second anniversary, BYHB published two nude images by

²⁸⁷ For a short biography of Perckhammer, see Renate Erhart’s introduction to Renate Erhart, Gerd Kaminski, and Österreichisches Institut für China- und Südostasienforschung, *Paizhao: das alte China in der Linse österreichischer Fotografen* (Wien: ÖGCF, 2008), 5-12; Florian Pichler, *Südtirol in alten Lichtbildern: Die Anfänge der Photographie in Südtirol und die ältesten Photographen* (Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1979), n.p. Except for the above-mentioned materials, Perckhammer’s early experience in Tianjin is also based on archival photos provided by Renate Erhart, Perckhammer’s heir. I would like to extend my special gratitude to Renate Erhart for granting me permission to reproduce related images in this chapter. Her generous help and insightful comments enabled me to not only add the missing links in my research, but also gain a deeper understanding of Perckhammer’s experience in China.

²⁸⁸ Lian 蓮, “Guan xiren suo she Zhongguo luoying zhi” 觀西人所攝中國裸影誌 (Notes on Viewing Chinese Nudes Photographed by a Westerner), BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3. Renate Erhart states that Perckhammer’s archive actually contains more than one hundred negatives of nude photographs from this period.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

“H. von Perckhammer” entitled “*Hexiang* 荷香 ‘With Lotus’” and “*Zhuangyan* 莊嚴 ‘Dignity’” (Fig.2-6). The author mentioned that BYHB should “be thankful for Austrian Heinz v. Perckhammer’s contribution (不能不感謝奧國人 Heinz v. Perckhammer 君的功勞)”; and that “he began to collect [the nude photos] a few years ago, and the album did not come out until now. Our second issue already mentioned it back then (10 July 1926). (他是數年前着手徵集的，直到現在纔得出集。當時本報第二期就有紀載（十五年七月十日）。” The two images were juxtaposed with a painting of the *Guanshiyin* 觀世音 (Goddess Kwanyin) by Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953), the painting “Imperial Concubine Yang after a Bath” (貴妃出浴圖) by Qiu Shizhou 仇十洲 (Ming Dynasty), and a painting of the “Korean Imperial Concubine Minfei” (閔妃, artist and date unknown) to explain the concept of “‘Oriental Beauty’ 東方之美” (Fig.2-7).²⁹⁰ According to the explanatory text, the “Goddess Kwanyin” represented the ideal of beauty in India; the “Imperial Concubine Yang” symbolized the ideal of beauty in ancient China; and the “Korean Imperial Concubine Minfei” embodied the Korean ideal of beauty. Within the context of presenting “oriental beauty,” Perckhammer’s nude photos were juxtaposed to show the “beauty of Chinese bodies.” They were described as “creative achievements unprecedented in China (中國空前的創獲)” as they made it possible that “something deemed to be obscene [and] thus unacceptable” could “gain an opportunity of expressing dignity (向來認爲猥褻而排斥的，却有机会作莊嚴的表現).”²⁹¹ In fact, Perckhammer was not the first one to publish Western or Chinese female nude photographs in Chinese pictorials, but he was probably the first non-Chinese photographer to produce high-quality, artistic nude photos of Chinese females and publish them in both the West and the East. The comment reveals the conventional negative attitude towards nudes, as well as the efforts to teach readers to appreciate Perckhammer’s images without apprehensions about moral decline or sexual lure.

This understanding was emphasized by the titles of the two nude studies. In “With Lotus,” both the title and the image are linked to the lotus flower, which is considered “symbolically supreme, being the symbol of friendly summer, spiritual purity, creative power, and the

²⁹⁰ Kwanyin 觀音 (Pinyin: Guanyin) is a goddess in Chinese mythology, known in the West as the Goddess of Mercy.

²⁹¹ Yiwan luzhu 憶婉廬主, “Dongfang zhimei (東方之美)” (“Oriental Beauty,” original English title), BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 6.

blessing of immortal gods.”²⁹² To a Chinese in the 1920s or even today, the best-known classical allusion to the lotus flower would possibly be “growing out of the mud without being soiled (出淤泥而不染).”²⁹³ A widespread idea at that time was that only prostitutes would agree to pose for nude photographs or nude paintings. Therefore, the lotus flower, with its roots in the mud, in this case, most likely functions as a metaphor to indicate the standing girl possesses purity and innocence in spite of bodily exposure. Similarly, the other title, “Dignity (莊嚴),” highlights the venerable atmosphere in which the nude figure seems to be performing a religious rite. The halo in the background symbolizes a Buddhist connotation; her body posture is that of a bodhisattva in meditation. Drawing on such an iconographic arsenal revealed the photographer’s purpose of lifting the images into the realm of the aesthetic. The combination of the image and the caption exhibits a strong editorial effort to de-link sexuality from aesthetics. Both nude studies were intended to present “Oriental beauty” and command the same respect and public aesthetic appreciation as depictions of the goddess Kwanyin and famous historical consorts such as Yang Guifei.

²⁹² Terence Barrow, Introduction to *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs: A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art through the Ages* (Charles Alfred Speed Williams, Rutland: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 25.

²⁹³ From “Ai lian shuo” 爱莲说 (On the Lotus Flower) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 (1017–1073), Song Dynasty.



Fig.2-6 Two nudes, "With lotus" and "Dignity," BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 6.

和

第六期 一期二第 報洋北 THE PEIYANG PICTORIAL NEWS, TIENTSIN. 日七月七年七十

天香市場 養生妙劑
 大品五角 金容香晶
 洋八角 六個五分 容香晶
 五角 八個五分 容香晶
 洋八角 六個五分 容香晶

好香
 煙名好運道 即是無患牌
 完全我國貨 香味甘且佳
 煙枝吸入口 其樂也無涯

像音世觀繪鴻悲徐
 "GODDESS KWAN YIN" BY PEON SHU

敬！之體大之貴不勝的可人印始
 為美之格仙仙能結向以體度且
 吾健之容妙之代式出比高中在
 東康則康者悲若永却沒較麗國我
 之之者所，有方的也有一，們
 人美也而以則餘之美可徐下
 轉也。不表紀，美人出勝的
 頭，鳴呼於出正畫而升一國聯

美之方東
 主•風•貌•位

ORIENTAL BEAUTIES

且出本報前週紀念號，其友華公認爲撰一短文，
 聲聞曰：「東方之美」。吾至是不不能不演說之。舊例
 句，無正色，東日即爲味，已經正，天下正，一層有清
 是下所體，美在二年前所刊載的，全人，所以
 所寫之「東日即爲味，已經正，天下正，一層有清
 於人對於美之貴，其大分若以其本族所認爲體
 對所寫之「東日即爲味，已經正，天下正，一層有清
 於人對於美之貴，其大分若以其本族所認爲體
 對所寫之「東日即爲味，已經正，天下正，一層有清
 於人對於美之貴，其大分若以其本族所認爲體

圖浴出妃貴繪洲十仇
 "YANG KWEE PEI AFTER BATH" BY T'ZOU SHIH-CHOW (MING DYNASTY)

"WITH LOTUS"
 ORIENTAL NUDE FIGURES BY H. VON PERCHAMANN

"DIGNITY"
 影攝編美氏網漢克塔

像遺妃閔麗高
 A KOREAN BEAUTY: THE LATE PRINCESS MIN.

張二第號念紀年周二版畫

Fig.2-7 The full page, BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 6.

Publication of Edle Nacktheit in China / The Culture of the Nude in China

In 1928, one year after Perckhammer returned to Europe, thirty-two of these photos were published by Eigenbrödler-Verlag Publishing house in Berlin and Zurich in a book entitled *Edle Nacktheit in China* (lit.: Noble Nudity in China) (Fig.2-8).²⁹⁴ An English version was simultaneously published by the same publishing house, with a slightly different title, *The Culture of the Nude in China* (Berlin: Eigenbrödler-Verlag, 1928).²⁹⁵ Noticeably, the Chinese title of both the German and English versions is *Bai mei ying* 百美影 (lit.: “images of one hundred beauties”), which is evidently associated with the Chinese traditional artistic genre *bai mei tu* 百美图 (portrait of one hundred beauties).²⁹⁶

Perckhammer wrote a three-page preface to *The Culture of the Nude in China*, in which he showed great interest in exploring the concept of ideal beauty, and presented his knowledge and understanding of this concept of physical “beauty” in a Chinese historical context. The preface starts, “It is one of the most pleasurable tasks to enter into the spirit of the ideal of beauty in different notions, and establish how female beauty has been regarded at different times.”²⁹⁷ He further prepared his Western readers by comparing Chinese painting history to that of Western cultures, such as Ancient Greece: “In China nudity has never been the object of plastic art as in Greece, Rome, India, not even approaching Egyptian art.”²⁹⁸ Still, he praised that Chinese culture “was mother to many arts and teacher to many nations. For centuries the histrionic and plastic arts have flourished here.”²⁹⁹ Perckhammer was aware that Chinese art was less known to the European readers than Japanese art, because “the manifold Japanese art has given us thousands of women’s portraits, so that the Japanese woman has been more familiar to us than her Chinese sister.” He was also aware that the exposure of the bosom in

²⁹⁴ The publishing house, Eigenbrödler-Verlag, had branches both in Berlin and Zurich. According to the list of the books available in library catalogs, the publishing house was interested in producing photograph albums, with visual and textual materials on female bodies.

²⁹⁵ Heinz von Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China* 百美影 (*Baimei ying*) (Berlin: Eigenbrödler-Verlag, 1928); *The Culture of the Nude in China* 百美影 (*Baimei ying*) (Berlin: Eigenbrödler-Verlag, 1928). No evidence shows that Perckhammer had published his works elsewhere before his book came into print. In addition to the thirty-two images, three more nudes were published in *China and the Chinese* (London: Routledge, 1931). Their titles are “A Manchurian Village Beauty,” “An Opium Smoker,” and “A Chinese Girl.”

²⁹⁶ Cf. the discussion on the term *luoti meiren* in Chapter One.

²⁹⁷ Perckhammer, *The Culture of the Nude in China*, 5.

²⁹⁸ Perckhammer, *ibid*, 6.

²⁹⁹ Perckhammer, *ibid*, 5.

China was associated with eroticism: “Women of rank never bared their bosom in society as in Japan, even the lower classes only do it in certain parts, for instance in Schami. One may conclude that the bosom, in contrast to Japan, plays in any case a certain role in erotic [*sic*].”³⁰⁰ Furthermore, he thought that the practice of “crippling her feet” among Chinese women greatly affected their attitude towards the exposure of their bodies, “so that her images only permit us to admire face and hands, again in contrast to the Japanese women.”³⁰¹ Considering the lack of the images of unclothed Chinese women in the European market, Perckhammer claimed, “it was my intention to show the Chinese woman as she really is nude.”³⁰²

What were the possible visual and textual references available that Perckhammer could have used to compose his photographs? The preface shows that Perckhammer was familiar with the allusions and stories of Chinese beauties, which frequently appeared in amorous poems, lyrics, or fictions. For example, he mentioned that “A Chinese quotation says: ‘One glance from her and walls crumble, a second glance, and thrones are broken.’ [一笑傾城，再笑傾國 - author]” He also introduced the story of Yang Guifei after a bath to his readers, linking Yang Guifei’s physical beauty to her romantic love with the Emperor and their intimate interaction.³⁰³ He further mentioned the name of “the famous notorious one Gin-ping-me [*Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (The Plum in the Golden Vase) - author],” commenting that “pictures of nude women, setting aside the ugly caricatures of the ‘Spring pictures’ of erotic scenes, simply do not exist in China. Therefore, I believe, I have created something entirely new and of value.”³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Perckhammer, *ibid*, 6.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*.

³⁰² *Ibid*.

³⁰³ *Ibid*. It writes: “Yong Gunfe [*sic* – author’s note: Yang Guifei], the sweetheart of the emperor Ming Muang [*sic* – author’s note: Emperor Ming Huang] (8th century A.D.): When Yang Gunfe came from her bath, one [page 6 finishes, page 7 starts] breast was bare. The emperor stroked it and made the following verse on it ‘Soft and warm she is like freshly peeled fruit of Euryale ferose.’ The Turkish favorite An-lu-schan who was present at the time, competed it with the words: Smooth like the shiny Kumys beyond the boundary passes. The beauty thus praised replied laughingly: ‘Such a wild Turk only thinks of his Kumys.’” Cf. the discussion on the term *Chuyu* in Chapter One.

³⁰⁴ Perckhammer, *ibid*, 7.



Fig.2-8 Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China*, cover, n.p. Renate Erhart's private collection. The cover was the sample copy that the publishing house gave Perckhammer. Inside the cover, it is written "Einbandentwurf und Buchschmuck von Heinz von Perckhammer (cover design and decoration by Heinz von Perckhammer)."



Fig.2-9 Two nudes, published in Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China*, n.p. Renate Erhart's private collection.

Having spent more than a decade in China, and having acted as a professional photographer for about seven years, Perckhammer was quite familiar with both Western artistic (including

photographic) traditions and the photographic market in China. His nude photographs echoed the “pictorialist” style that was popular in Europe in the 1910s; at the same time, the photos seem to reflect highly conscious staging, which successfully combined Chinese female nudes with traditional Chinese cultural symbols, such as Buddhism, the lotus flower, Chinese vases, and lanterns.³⁰⁵ Through this packaging strategy, his nude images were a novelty but were not entirely unfamiliar to both Chinese and Western eyes. On the one hand, Perckhammer’s artistic nude photos of Chinese women satisfied Western curiosity, but they also followed the Western artistic trend of pictorialist nudity. On the other hand, Perckhammer promoted the pursuit of *mei* (beauty), as BYHB consciously did, especially the images of unclothed bodies in China, whether intentionally or accidentally. He transmitted appreciation of oriental female nudes into the European art world; at the same time, his dignified nude works were introduced to a Chinese audience and disseminated in Chinese publications. In this sense, Perckhammer was positioned at a special cultural junction where a global trend found its transcultural dimension, and his nude studies showed a new possibility of displaying “oriental beauty” both to the European and Chinese world.

The Circulation of Perckhammer’s Nude Photos

After Perckhammer’s book had been published in Berlin in 1928, his nude studies flowed back to China. BYHB was probably the first Chinese pictorial that reproduced Perckhammer’s work, and the photos, entitled “With Lotus” and “Dignity,” were the earliest examples. (Fig.2-9). However, BYHB’s competitor, *Changshi huabao*, harshly criticized BYHB for reproducing Perckhammer’s nude photos, condemning Perckhammer for “seducing Chinese prostitutes” for his sexual desire. More radically, *Changshi huabao* regarded the reproduction of Perckhammer’s obscene photos in BYHB as *guochi* 國恥 (national shame).³⁰⁶ When criticizing BYHB, *Changshi huabao* also revealed the details of circulation of the book in Tianjin, “as for

³⁰⁵ Pictorialism is the name of a photographic movement from ca. 1888 to 1918 in which art photography emulated the painting and etching style of the time. Cf. Patrick Daum, F. Ribemont, and Phillip Prodger eds., *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888–1918* (London: Merrell, 2006). For more discussion on Pictorialism as reflected in Perckhammer’s work, see Gu Zheng 顧錚, “Chinese Nude Culture Created by Camera” 被鏡頭創造出來的中國裸體文化, *Dongfang zaobao*, May 4, 2008, see: http://epaper.dfdaily.com/dfzb/html/2008-05/14/content_57003.htm, (accessed July 2, 2008).

³⁰⁶ Guai’an, “Yishu jie de fendou” 藝術界的奮鬥 (The Efforts Made by Artistic World), *Changshi huabao* 1, no. 9 (Dec. 17, 1928), 62.

Perckhammer's *Baimei ying* [*The Culture of the Nude in China* - author], which Western painting shop in Tianjin does not sell? The price is 6.5 *yuan*. [...] A certain pictorial [referring to BYHB - author] did not consider its dignity, and continued publishing [the nudes], which is truly shameless! (至於 Perckhammer 的百美影，天津那一個洋畫店沒有？定價六元五角……某畫報不顧體面，接續登載，這才是恬不知恥呢！)”³⁰⁷ It seems that Perckhammer's book did find its sales channel in shops in Tianjin, although BYHB claimed that the images they published were “mailed by our correspondent from Germany (由本報駐德記者寄來).”³⁰⁸

Beyond the Tianjin publishing world, Perckhammer's fanciful nude studies attracted the Shanghai press as well. Twenty-seven of his nude photographs were compiled and published in 1928 as an album titled *Nüxing renti mei* 女性人體美 (The Beauty of Female Bodies) by the Liangyou Printing and Publishing Company in 1928.³⁰⁹ (Fig.2-10) The journal *Liangyou*, run by the same company, did not reproduce Perckhammer's nude images on its pages, though it did advertise for the book on a back cover.³¹⁰ Zhang Jianwen 張建文, together with “Heinz von Perckhammer,” were listed as photographers, and published three nude photos in the album.³¹¹ Zhang also wrote the preface to the book, and commented:

³⁰⁷ Guai'an, “Mou huabao zhi dafaisuowen” 某畫報之答非所問, no. 14 (Jan. 21, 1929), 62. *Dayang* (literally: “big foreign-style currency”) was one of the currencies used at that that time. As a comparison, a regular issue of BYHB in 1929 was sold as 0.05 *dayang*.

³⁰⁸ Yiwan luzhu, *ibid*.

³⁰⁹ Zhang Jianwen and Heinz von Perckhammer, *Nüxing renti mei* 女性人體美 (The Beauty of Female Bodies) (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1928). The album includes the two nudes “With Lotus” and “dignity” published in BYHB. Wu Hao 吳昊 mentions this book in his *Duhui yunshang: Xishuo Zhongguo funü fushi yu shenti geming 1911-1935* 都會雲裳：細說中國婦女服飾與身體革命，1911–1935 (Splendid Clothes in Metropolis: on the Revolution of Chinese Women's Clothes and Bodies) (Hong Kong: Sanlian chubanshe, 2006), 217-219. I thank Leung Shuk-man for helping me get in touch with Wu Hao in Hong Kong; also many thanks to Wu Hao for sharing the photos of this book with me generously. The Liangyou Company ran one of the most popular pictorials *Liangyou* in the 1920s and 1930s. The scholarship today often describes *Liangyou* and BYHB as two representatives of the most popular illustrated entertainment periodicals in the Northern and Southern China respectively.

³¹⁰ An advertisement, *Liangyou* 39 (Sept. 1929), back cover.

³¹¹ No academic research is known about Zhang Jianwen. From the information scattered in pictorials at that time, we can infer that Zhang Jianwen actively participated in many photographic activities both in Tianjin and Shanghai. For example, he regularly published artistic photographs in pictorials (such as BYHB and *Liangyou*), and wrote short essays to introduce photographic skills; he was member of the Pei-yang Photographic Society 北洋攝影會, the Pei-yang Society of Art 北洋美術社 as well as the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain in

“‘The beauty of human bodies’ from Europe and America, haven’t we seen enough? How poor are Chinese citizens, who have been locked in the box of old thoughts all along! [They] even had no chance to get to know the beauty of the females that surround them. Those pictures, which do not meet the standard of ‘beauty’ yet are being sold secretly, could destroy our worship of the Chinese ‘female beauty.’ [This book] regards “beauty” as its only standard, and its style is completely oriental. This book can be said to be an unprecedented contribution.

歐美的人體美，我們都看夠了吧？一向關在舊思想的箱裏的中華國民們，多可憐！竟沒有認識認識自己身旁的女性們的美的機會。一些不以美為標準的秘密發售的圖片適足以推倒我們對於中國女性美的崇拜。完全以美為標準，完全是東方色彩的，此書敢說是空前未有的貢獻。”³¹²

Evidently, Zhang was not only aware of the circulation of nudes from “Europe and America” (*Ou Mei*) in the print market, but also those of Chinese women, somewhat less aesthetic but still “secretly” sold. Perckhammer’s nudes, however, presented the novelty of the artistic representation of Chinese female nudes, “completely oriental” yet “aesthetic.” Similar to BYHB, Zhang Jianwen framed Perckhammer’s nudes in the discourse of “*mei*” (beauty/aesthetics),” and tried to fundamentally differentiate his and Perckhammer’s artworks from those vulgar pictures in the market, which often aimed at showing sexual titillations. The emphasis on *mei* reflected the wide acceptance of Cai Yuanpei’s “aesthetic education” in the 1930s.

London. See Miaoguan 妙觀, “Zhongshan feng yi sheying wenti” 中山奉移攝影問題 (The Issue of Recording the Transfer of Sun Yat-sen’s Coffin), BYHB 322 (May 23, 1929), 2; Ma Guoliang 馬國亮, *Remembering Liangyou: A Pictorial Journal and A Historical Period* 良友憶舊：一家畫報與一個時代 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2002), 229. Zhang was noted as member of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain in Zhang Jianwen (C.W. Chang), “囚籠 ‘Cages’,” *Liangyou* 47 (May 1930), 21. Additionally, I have mentioned in the section on “erotic postcards” that a few postcards published in BYHB were marked as “donated by Jianwen,” which should be Zhang Jianwen. The bilingual caption of an image published in BYHB 260 (Aug. 29, 1928, 3) states: “‘奏罷’ 嶺南美術家張建文君發明發明彩紙貼成之立體派圖畫其一. Colored paper combination cubist. Invented by Mr. Chang Kien Wen, a young artist from Canton, now in charge of the Art Department, the Commercial Daily News Tientsin.” It is unknown whether it was exactly the same person.

³¹² Zhang and Perckhammer, *Nüxing renti mei*, n.p.

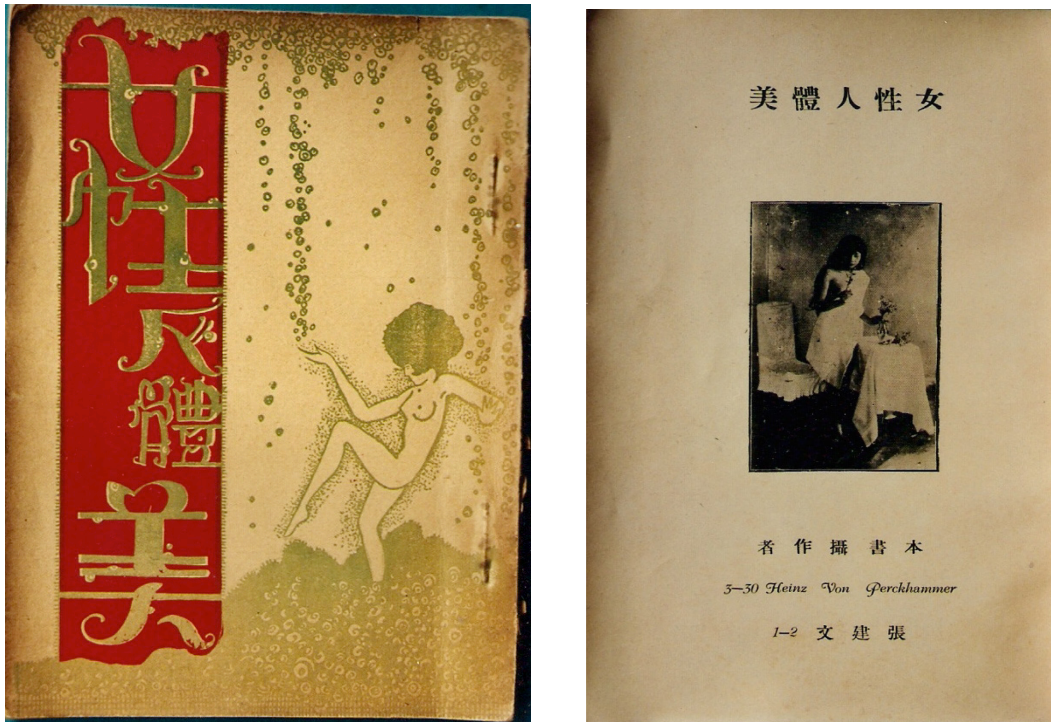


Fig.2-10 Book cover and inside cover of *Nüxing renti mei* (The Beauty of Female Bodies) by Zhang Jianwen and Heinz von Perckhammer, (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1928). Wu Hao's private collection.

BYHB Nudes Reproduced in Other Chinese Magazines

While BYHB published visual materials which originated outside of China, the flow of nude images also took place between Chinese publications. In 1928, BYHB was proud to announce that “Occidental Beauty” (Fig.2-11), a nude photograph originally published in BYHB, was “reproduced by a Japanese-owned newspaper in Manchuria” (Fig.2-12) precisely because the latter considered BYHB’s images to be of high quality.³¹³ As desirable visual material, individual nude images could be circulated repeatedly, thereby rapidly augmenting the trend.

In fact, judging from the model’s ethnic features, her accessories and pose, and especially the imprint in the lower left corner, this image, like another image mentioned earlier, “Tasting Grapes,” (Fig.2-18) belongs in the category of “erotic postcards.” Brought to China by traders or tourists, erotic postcards were not only privately circulated, but also openly distributed by publishing houses or bookstores in the 1920s. By 1928, a large amount of erotic postcards were circulating openly at least in treaty ports like Shanghai and Tianjin. Unsurprisingly, the postcards were then selected and reproduced by pictorial editors for their own editorial practice,

³¹³ For two further examples of images first published in BYHB and reproduced elsewhere, see BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 3.

and this phenomenon was rather common. I have been able to identify a series of nudes (presumably postcards) which were disseminated in more than one Chinese periodical. In other words, it was not a stand-alone phenomenon that a certain amount of postcards were shared as visual sources by pictorials from 1925 to 1933, although it is not entirely clear in most cases whether pictorials reprinted images from other pictorials, or directly from postcards. Nonetheless, the example of BYHB claiming the reproduction of a nude by another newspaper provides us with good evidence to delineate a trajectory of the *circulation* within Chinese publications.



Fig.2-11 “Xifang meiren,” BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 3.



Fig.2-12 “Xifang meiren” published in *Manzhou bao*, BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 3.

Albums of Nudes Sold by BYHB

In his pursuit of “beauty,” Feng would also have considered the profit potential of nudes, since he claimed to be the only investor of BYHB and had additional financial support.³¹⁴ While it is difficult to gain a full overview of the market, two examples demonstrate that BYHB had no reason to be innocent of market requirements.

³¹⁴ Feng was reportedly the only investor of BYHB; see “Bianjizhe yan,” BYHB 20 (Sept. 11, 1926), 4; Bigong, “San zhou li yu” 三週例語 (Introductory Words on our Third Anniversary), BYHB 341 (July 7, 1929), 2; Jiang Gongwei, “Beiyang huabao jiu zhounian jinianri” 北洋畫報九週年紀念日 (The Ninth Anniversary of *Beiyang huabao*), BYHB 1266 (July 7, 1935), 2. Feng’s close relation to Zhang Xueliang family often provokes historians’ reasonable suspicion of his financial background in spite of his reiteration of independent investment, but I have been unable to find any archival record to prove it.

The first example is an advertisement published in the very first issue of BYHB in 1926, which illustrates the public's eagerness for images. Signed "M," the advertiser sought to "solicit for Chinese models' photos" because "M" studied painting and collected photos of both foreign and Chinese models; however, satisfactory photos of Chinese models were rarely seen. (徵求中國模特兒照片：鄙人研究畫學，搜羅中外模特兒照片。惟中國此項佳片，甚不多觀。現特登報徵求中國模特兒照片).³¹⁵ *Mo te er*, the term used here, may have generally meant "model," but referred more specifically to the "nude model," since the Nude Model Controversy in the mid-1920s. Given that the advertisement was not placed by the BYHB editors or related staff, it indicates the presence of a more general desire for nude images in Chinese society at that time.

The second example is a promotional advertisement by BYHB dating from 1928. BYHB announced that an initial volume of forty nude images entitled *Renti mei* (人體美) had been printed. The book was not meant to sell, but as a gift to readers. Very soon, the book was out of stock, and BYHB realized this great need among their readers. Therefore, BYHB printed five hundred extra copies, and advertised them for sale.³¹⁶ Half a year later, a second volume was released, while the first volume continued to be reprinted.³¹⁷ I have not located the two volumes of *Renti mei* in any library or anyone's private collection, and we know next to nothing about actual reading practices. As scholars have pointed out, the readership of newspapers in China during that period can be roughly estimated as many as 20 readers per copy.³¹⁸ If we assume that the number of readers to BYHB and *Renti mei* was similar to that of a newspaper copy, we could estimate that about five hundred people were involved as buyers; in addition, if we consider that *Renti mei* could be read by about ten to twenty readers, then 5,000 to 10,000 readers could have seen the album of nude images. Had there not been enough market demand, BYHB would not have collected nude images and published them. If publishing the album of

³¹⁵ See an advertisement in BYHB 1 (July 7, 1926), 2-3.

³¹⁶ See an advertisement in BYHB 177 (April 7, 1928), 2-3. The original Chinese text is "本報彙印人體美畫照，其第一集業已出版。本為贈送之用，不擬發售。現因各方來函求購，甚為殷切，不得已加印五百部，精裝發行。欲購者從速匯款至本報，當即寄奉不誤。外埠購書用郵票無效。天津北洋畫報白。"

³¹⁷ See an advertisement in BYHB 217 (Sept. 1, 1928), 4. "北洋畫報印行人體美發行預約第一集再版第二集初版預約每本一元六角，外埠外加郵費二角。郵票代洋概不收取。" The advertisement for the second volume of "The Beauty of Human Bodies" ran until 1929, e.g., in BYHB 270 (Jan. 11, 1929), 4.

³¹⁸ Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?: Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 38.

nudes were not considered successful as a marketing strategy, BYHB would not have been reprinted the first volume and produced the second volume.

2.4 Editing Nudes in BYHB

The reproduction of Western nudes (especially those taken from erotic postcards) plays an important role in the visual presentation of BYHB. The process of editing and arranging the Western nudes in BYHB can be considered on several levels: What was editors' attitude towards the nude images? How did editors use their "editorial agency" to edit and frame Western nudes in the process of transcultural production, when these nudes appeared in an entirely different cultural context? How were nudes arranged on the page? These questions will be discussed below. In this section, I will first analyze Feng Wuyue's attitude towards nudes, providing an understanding of how and why Western nudes were chosen, and then I will review BYHB's editing style, exploring how Western nudes were contextualized and interpreted.

"The Nude Image Question": Editorial Attitude towards Nudes

In his essay "Luoti hua wenti" 裸體畫問題 (The Nude Image Question), published in BYHB in 1927, Feng Wuyue clarified his attitude towards nudes, and further offered the reasons why nudes were selected in BYHB.³¹⁹ The essay began with a quotation in Chinese "books have no such distinctions as moral or immoral. [The distinction] depends on readers' moral or immoral ideas (書無正邪之分，在乎讀書者觀念之邪正而已)." Feng claimed that the sentence was quoted from a "great English writer Oushiga Wei'erde" (英國大文學家歐時嘎威爾德). From this quotation, Feng deduced that everything in the world could be explained according to this logic (抑知舉世一切事物，莫不可以此例之). Nude images were as well such examples. The quoted sentence was probably from Irish writer and poet Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)'s Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, first published in 1890. However, the original sentence was quite different: "There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written,

³¹⁹ Bigong, "Luoti hua wenti," BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.

or badly written. That's all.”³²⁰ Comparing Feng's sentence to Wilde's, we find that the first segment of Feng's writing matches Wilde's, whereas the second seems to be Feng's own interpretation. Wilde's point is not to judge a book by morality but by the writing itself. Feng's point, however, is that a reader's moral judgment of a book reflects one's own morality. Feng further applied this logic to explain his attitude towards nude images:

“as for the nude images, in the eyes of those who study art, [they] only see the beauty of curves, and absolutely do not have any lustful or immoral ideas. Those, who view nudes as the carriers of obscenity, precisely show indecent ideas in their minds and eyes. However, I am not saying that obscene images do not exist among nude images. All these [images] can be counted in the category of obscene images: the depictions which do not belong to art; or expose the pubic area and exhibit lust or immorality on purpose. [...] Our pictorial is determined to publish nude images, with the sole purpose of introducing art from around the world, not to propagate licentiousness. [We] are confident that we have selected materials with great care. They are famous works from all over the world, publicly sold in European and Western countries, and qualified to be used for reference by the art world in our country.

至如裸體畫一物，在研究藝術者之目光中，只見其曲綫之美，絕無淫邪之念可言；其視為誨淫之具者，適足以見其心目之不正而已。然吾非謂裸體畫中無誨淫者，凡其體態不正，不屬藝術的描繪，或將陰處暴露，故示淫邪者，均為誨淫之類也。[……]吾報毅然刊登裸體畫片，完全為介紹世界美術起見，絕無誨淫之意，自信選材非常慎重，類皆世界名作，而為歐西各國所公然刊行發售，及足資國內美術界之借鏡者，明眼人自能鑒別之也。”³²¹

This paragraph reveals Feng's own attitude towards nudes, as well as the perception of nudes among viewers that Feng projected. His words displayed his confidence in his aesthetic judgment, his ability to differentiate artistic works from those of obscene quality. His confidence was supported by the fact that he selected nude images “with great care”; therefore, the images in BYHB could be used by “the art world.” But the question is, how did Feng judge whether these Western nude images were “art,” and why did he feel qualified to recommend these images for “the art world” as a reference, especially when he was not a visual artist by profession? The previous section in this chapter has showed in detail that erotic postcards were one of the major sources of nudes in BYHB, despite the fact that some nudes of other genres were also included, such as Perckhammer's nude photographs. The erotic postcards and Perckhammer's nudes were indeed “publicly sold in Europe and Western countries,” even if some of them might have been sold in the underground market. However, erotic postcards, very likely Perckhammer's nudes too, were not perceived as “art” in the places where they were produced; on the contrary, they were normally considered part of lowbrow visual

³²⁰ Oscar Wilde, Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1908), 5.

³²¹ Bigong, *ibid.*

culture.³²² That is partly why its competitor *Changshi huabao*, as quoted in earlier text, harshly criticized BYHB. In other words, there was an evident difference between the perception of erotic postcards in their original cultural context and in the context of BYHB. According to Feng, he excluded those nudes which were graphically explicit, and selected those which he thought of aesthetic value. Feng's emphasis on the "art" was part of his promotion of *mei* in the framework of aesthetic education. By labeling Western nudes as the "famous works from all over the world," Feng legitimized the publication of nudes in BYHB, and established his own "taste" of selection.

As Feng explained in the beginning of the paragraph, BYHB's readers were expected to follow his taste, concentrating on the "beauty of curves" instead of any potential "lustful or immoral ideas." If someone accused nude images in BYHB of being "obscene," then it must have had precisely reflected one's own indecent ideas, because the nudes in BYHB were always aesthetic. Similar statements were frequently expressed in many other "editor's notes," and BYHB editors thought their readers must have had better abilities in aesthetic judgment by enjoying the images in BYHB.³²³ Here, beauty was the key concept and was considered as the only value of and in visual representation. Many cultural critics have commented on the issue whether a viewer's sexual desire is aroused while appreciating the aesthetic value of a nude. German Philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), for example, satirically stated: "...under the spell of beauty it is possible to contemplate *even* statues of naked women 'without interest,' one is entitled to have a little laugh at their expense—the experiences of the *artists* are on this thorny issue 'more interesting', and Pygmalion, as in any case *not* necessarily an 'unaesthetic man'."³²⁴ A well-known Chinese artist Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970) freely admitted in 1925 that artists indeed had strong affections (*relie de ai* 熱烈的愛) for nude

³²² Cf. Lisa Z. Sigel, "Filth in the Wrong People's Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (2000): 859-885; Hans-Michael Koetzle, and Margie Mounier, *1000 Nudes: Uwe Scheid Collection* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1994). Perckhammer's nudes were likely not perceived as "art" either, judging from the fact that none of his nude photos of Chinese women were selected into the important German and British photographic journals *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* (I checked 1927-1938) and *Photograms of the Year* (I checked 1925-1936). These two photographic journals will be discussed more in Chapter Three and Four.

³²³ For example, Xiaoyin Wang 王小隱, "Yi nian yilai" 一年以來 (The Past Year), BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 2.

³²⁴ See "What is the Meaning of Ascetic Ideals?" in Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals: A Polemic. By Way of Clarification and Supplement to My Last Book Beyond Good and Evil* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 6. Pygmalion is a figure in ancient Greek mythology. He fell in love with one of his sculptures, which then came to life.

models during their artistic creations, and one could not totally stay in an uninterested state.³²⁵ Therefore, the expectation that Feng put on the viewers might not be realistic; rather, it shows Feng's own gesture and taste.

Notably, right next to the essay, Feng juxtaposed a nude painting, and the reasonable explanation is that Feng used this image to illustrate his understanding of an artistic nude. (Fig.2-13) The image depicts a standing young woman. (Fig.2-14) Looking directly at viewers, she turns her body slightly to her left side. Her curly dark hair is dropping loosely along her back and side, which contrasts the light color of her skin. Her left hand rises up towards her neck and covers her left breast, while her right hand is holding the end of her long hair, right above her pubic area. The contour of the right side of her body is emphasized, showing that her body is not straight and relaxed. A smile appears on her face, conveying a subtle shyness and curiosity. The bilingual caption of the image writes “Xiawa Bali meishu jie mingzuo Xiermosi shi hui (夏娃 巴黎美術界名作 西爾摩司氏繪) ‘Eve by G. Cirmeuse’.” The biblical name Eve, as discussed in Chapter One, could guide readers to the religious meaning of the unclothed female body. The Chinese title “Bali meishu jie mingzuo” (lit.: famous work from the Parisian art world) further uplifts the image to the level of art, and thus legitimates the nude. The intention of adding the captions as such echoed Feng's attitude towards nudes, discussed earlier.

In fact, the artist mentioned in the caption is Gaston Cirmeuse (1886-1963), an understudied French “painter, illustrator, and poster artist.”³²⁶ Works under Cirmeuse's name frequently appeared in French humorous illustrated magazines, particularly in *Le Sourire* (lit.: The Smile),

³²⁵ Ni Yide, “Luoti yishu zhi zhenyi” 裸體藝術之真義 (The True Meaning of the Art of Nudity), *Chenbao fukan* no.1275 (Sept. 19, 1925), 2.

³²⁶ Born in Paris, Gaston Cirmeuse was the pseudonym of Georges Crémieux. According to “Oxford Art Online,” he “was “discovered” at a young age by the painter Jules Lefebvre, to whom he was subsequently apprenticed. At the age of 14, he painted a large decorative panel for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Four years later, he embarked on a tour of France with his two brothers, starting in Lens and finishing in Nice, where he settled. He quickly established himself as a successful illustrator both in France and internationally, publishing political and humorous sketches for newspapers and reviews such as *Le Sourire*, *Eros* and *Fantasio*. His paintings show a rather facile virtuosity, but his drawings are striking and characterful, with a remarkable sense of detail.” (http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/subscriber/article/benezit/B00038548?q=Gaston+Cirmeuse&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit), accessed on July 20, 2013).

depicting cheerful and sexy pin-up girls in transparent lingerie and stockings.³²⁷ I have not yet been able to verify the source of the image “Eve,” but *Le Sourire* was the most probable journal from where Feng selected this image, because quite a few other French illustrators’ works appeared in both BYHB and *Le Sourire*, such as Maurice Millière (1871-1937), Simone Marie Meunier (1890-?), Émile Friant (1863-1932), just to name a few. Fig.2-15 is an example of Cirmeuse’s work published in *Le Sourire*, and Fig.2-16 is the cover of the journal. Entitled “Sacré matin!” (lit.: Sacred morning), the cartoon depicts the moment when a semi-unclothed young girl awakens in a comfortable bed in the morning.³²⁸ The cover image also contains a cartoon, in which a semi-nude woman is blowing a horn with delight. The examples provide us with some visual references, and it could be true that “Eve” probably came from a “publicly sold” Parisian journal. It is questionable, however, whether this particular image of “Eve” was indeed a “famous work,” or whether it was viewed as “art” in Paris. For my research purposes, the most important point is that Feng promoted this image by naming it as “Xiawa/Eve” and as “famous work from the Parisian art world,” which again embodied his “taste” and taste making. This editorial strategy was practiced in many other cases in BYHB, and I will give one more example below to elaborate it.

³²⁷ For more examples of the artist’s works, see <http://hprints.com/search?q=Gaston+Cirmeuse&p=1&t=x> (accessed on July 20, 2013).

³²⁸ The “Sacré matin!” could be understood as an exclamation “Damned morning!”



Fig.2-13 "The Nude Image Question," BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.



Fig.2-14 "Eve by G. Cirmese," BYHB 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.



Fig.2-15 Cirmese, "Sacré matin!," *Le Sourire* vol. 31 no. 608 (Dec. 27, 1928), Illustration, n.p. Private collection.



Fig.2-16 Cover image of *Le Sourire* vol. 31 no. 608 (Dec. 27, 1928). Private collection.

The first nude image published in BYHB appeared in the second issue (July 10, 1926), under the bilingual title “Sleeping Lady, by X. Bricard, selected from the Paris Salon; 酣睡之婦人 勃里格作 本屆巴黎美術展覽會傑作之一.”³²⁹ (Fig.2-17) The full name of “X. Bricard” is Xavier Bricard (1881-1935), a well-known French painter of the early twentieth century.³³⁰ In the painting, an unclothed Western woman is lying down on her back in bed, her left arm is stretching up around her head, while her right arm is gently resting along the soft edge of blanket, relaxed. Her face is turned to the right side, i.e. the “viewers” direction, and seemingly she is enjoying her sound “sleep” wholeheartedly. The expression on her face as well as her uncovered breasts are visually the center of attraction. Interestingly enough, she turns her waist so that her left thigh and leg could turn and press against her right side while the left knee is bent. With this gesture, the outline of her buttocks is exaggerated, which connects with the outline of her upper body, and diagonally divides the whole image into brightness and darkness. Bilingual captions around the image emphasize that it comes from an art exhibition in Paris, the world art center of the time, and was one of the “outstanding art works” (*jiezuo* 傑作). Intriguingly, the image of “Sleeping Lady” was arranged next to Lian’s essay “Notes on Viewing Chinese Nudes Photographed by a Westerner,” which commented on “Mr. P’s” (Perckhammer’s) nude photos, as discussed earlier. In a short essay “Shalong zhi hua” 沙龍之畫 (Paintings from Salon) on the same page, Feng introduced the convention of Salon exhibitions in Paris. He then commented that there were no “amazingly superb works (無驚人奇作)” in the spring exhibition this year, but “quite many good compositions (而佳構則殊夥

³²⁹ X. Bricard, “Hanshui zhi furen” 酣睡之婦人 (Sleeping Lady), BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3.

³³⁰ The French painter Xavier Bricard was born in Angers. According to Oxford Art Online, he specialized in “figures, nudes, portraits, landscapes, and flowers. Xavier Bricard studied under Cormon and Jean Tournoux. From 1904 he exhibited at the Salon des Artistes Français and became a member of the Société. He was awarded a gold medal in 1920 and the Prix Henner in 1921. He also exhibited, though less regularly, at the Salon des Artistes Indépendants and the Salon d'Automne. He was made a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur in 1933.” (http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/subscriber/article/benezit/B00026453?q=Bricard&search=quick&pos=5&_start=1#firsthit accessed on Oct. 10, 2013).

)." He then wished to select strong examples from the exhibition, "for Chinese people to appreciate [the works] (以供國人之鑑賞)." ³³¹ The fact that "Sleeping Lady" was chosen as the first nude in BYHB means Feng thought highly of it, and the image could be used to serve the purpose of "introducing art" to his readers. The selection of nude paintings reflected BYHB's earliest attempt of engaging with the publishing strategy. By displaying the painting and the accompanied explanation, Feng showed its artistic selection, or rather its aesthetic judgment and preferable appreciation.

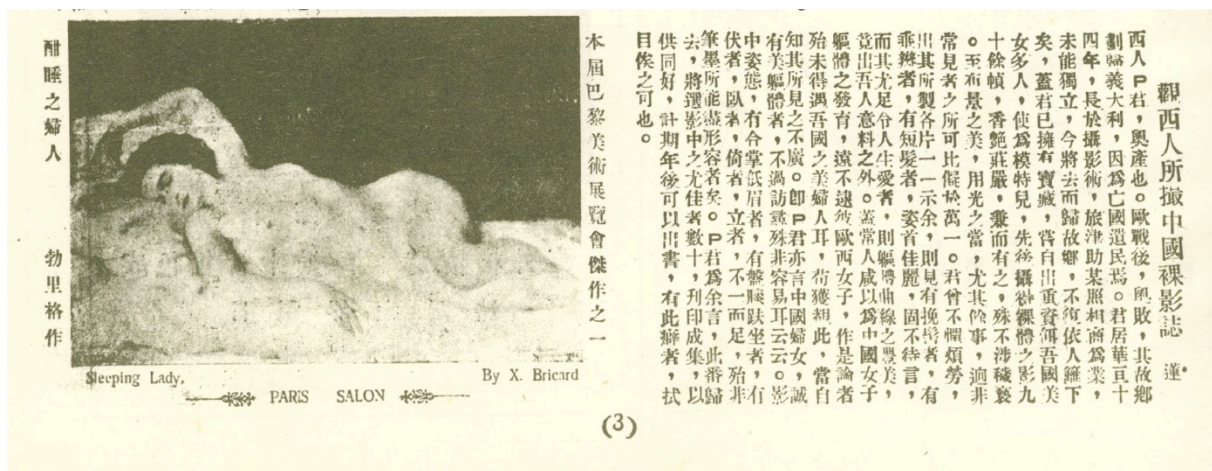


Fig.2-17 "Hanshui zhi furen" 酣睡之婦人 (Sleeping Lady), BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3.

Editorial Practice: beyond "Bricolage"³³²

Feng Wuyue stated repeatedly that current affairs, common knowledge, and fine arts were thought to be the three central principles that BYHB should apply when selecting materials.³³³

³³¹ Longfu 龍父 (Feng Wuyue), "Shalong zhi hua" 沙龍之畫 (Paintings from Salon), BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3.

³³² An earlier version of this section has been published in my article "An Exotic Self."

³³³ This slogan appeared in many articles, for example, Jizhe, "Juan shou liyan" 卷首例言, BYHB 51 (Jan. 1, 1927), 2, and Bigong, "San zhou li yu," BYHB 341 (July 7, 1929), 2. One intriguing point here is that Feng mentioned in the first year that he would like to continue to pursue "current affairs, fine arts and *science*" (時事藝術科學, my emphasis), which was the practice in his *Pictorial World* period. Yet, "science" was replaced by "common sense" in later days. It might be seen as condescension or as a compromise to the market. See "Bianjizhe yan," BYHB 20 (Sept. 11, 1926), 4; Wuyue, "Huabao tan, zhong" 畫報談中 (On Pictorials II), BYHB 19 (Sept. 8, 1926), 2.

Accordingly, Feng designed an outline to direct the editors' work, and emphasised the function of each page:

“The most exquisite, most valuable or most news-related pictures are arranged at the upper middle of covers. On page two [we] publish news photos, satirical images, photos of figures as well as landscapes, and short essays on current affairs. This page can be called a ‘dynamic page’ (動的一頁). On page three [we] publish artworks, such as famous drawings and calligraphies by renowned ancient and contemporary figures, inscriptions, sculptures and famous photography; artistic photos of theatrical performances, [stills from] movies and entertainment; photographs of ladies and children; short essays on fine arts. This page can be called a ‘static page’ (靜的一頁).

以最精美，最有價值或最與時事有關係的圖片登於封面上方中部。第二頁登新聞照片，時事諷畫，及與時事有關的人物風景照片，小品文字亦取切合時事者編入此頁內；是可名為動的一頁。第三頁登美術作品：如古今名人書畫，金石彫刻，攝影名作；藝術照片：如戲劇，電影，遊戲；閨秀及兒童等照片；文字則取合於藝術方面的；是可稱為靜的一頁。”³³⁴

It is worth noting that in Feng's view, there is a difference between “dynamic” pages (page two) and “static” pages (page three). Although he did not explicitly interpret the differences between the two, we can see that page two involves more current events and politics, thus the content as well as genres might differ accordingly and remain flexible and dynamic; and page three encompasses various genres of the arts for aesthetic appreciation, meaning it is more focused and stable and less subject to change.

This editing style can be viewed and analysed from the idea of “bricolage,” which John Fiske adopted from Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) in his book *Understanding Popular Culture*:

“Bricolage is, according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, the everyday practice of tribal peoples who creatively combine materials and resources at hand to make objects, signs, or rituals that meet their immediate needs. It is a sort of non-scientific engineering, and is one of the most typical practices of ‘making do.’ In capitalist societies bricolage is the means by which the subordinated make their own culture out of the resources of the ‘other’... Bricolage is equally, if less obviously, at work in the reading of popular texts, in the construction of fantasies, and

³³⁴ “Bianjizhe yan,” BYHB 22 (Sept. 18, 1926), 4. My emphasis.

in the mingling of mass with oral culture, of cultural commodity with the practices of everyday life.”³³⁵

In this sense, “bricolage” describes the process of how different material resources are brought together that are not usually or necessarily linked to each other; or “bricolage” seems to bring different cultures together, yet, whether that forms a coherent body open to debate. If one examines the way in which images are arranged in BYHB, the pictorial is seen to endorse a “bricolage” style by juxtaposing Western nudes together with diverse materials, such as photos of current news, movie stars, movie stills, reproductions of antique calligraphies, anecdotes, satirical images and essays. The “bricolage” character is particularly strengthened by the attributes of erotic postcards: cheap mass products widely circulated and thus easy to get hold of serve to “make do.” However, relatively easy accessibility does not indicate that the Western nudes would be arranged standalone without any connection to other visual materials. On the contrary, the Western nudes are integrated into BYHB’s editing logic, and thus they are simultaneously interlinked to other visual materials. In the next section, I will discuss how BYHB, by practicing its stable/dynamic bricolage, rearranged and thus “transediting” Western nudes.

Contextualization and Interpretation³³⁶

BYHB framed Western nudes by two means: contextualization and interpretation. The first indicates how editors edited the Western nudes, and the second explains how they framed the images for a particular understanding. Judging from the “editor’s note” quoted above, editors’ arrangements explicitly revealed their understanding or definition of nudes. However, the Western nudes were in most cases placed on page three, which means they were meant to be

³³⁵ John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 1989), 142-143. My discussion of “bricolage” continues the discussion in Zhang Yuanqing’s article “Dutu shidai de shenshang, dazhong duwu yu wenxue: jiedu Beiyang huabao,” *Tianjin shehui kexue* 4 (2002), 122–125. The author tries to analyse BYHB’s editing style and historical background in spite of some misinterpretation of the materials. Michel de Certeau (1925-1986) also cited Lévi-Strauss’s concept of “bricolage” to summarize a model of reading practice. See *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (University of California Press, [1984] 2011), 174-176.

³³⁶ An earlier version of this section has been published in my article “An Exotic Self.”

perceived as “art,” at least from the editors’ point of view. For example, there are a total of 40 images in the statistics in Table 2-1, only 3 of which are *not* on page three but page two. They are two photos of males (no. 530, Sept. 27, 1930, 2; no. 826, Sept. 3, 1932, 2) and a sketch (no.830, Sept. 13, 1932, 2). In fact, the “page three” phenomenon is not unique to BYHB, but has a long tradition in Western popular culture extending to this day.³³⁷

In Feng’s understanding, as long as nudes in BYHB were carefully selected from Western publications, the motivation for publishing nudes should not be doubted, and the nudes would be able to contribute positively to Chinese artistic development. Again, he highlighted the nudes as “famous works from all over the world” (*shijie mingzuo* 世界名作), which emphasized the “exotic” aspect of nudes, or the cultural capital it may have contained. Western nudes were considered to belong to the category of “art” and thus were arranged on page three, but how did the Western nudes exactly link with the larger context of the pictorial, and how were they further affected by other images? I understand the framing of BYHB’s Western nudes from two angles. Firstly, “page three” regularly featured items from collections belonging to famous cultural figures, including renowned ancient calligraphies and genuine paintings. Displayed among them, Western nudes thus become a separate genre within valuable collections. This effect could be enhanced by the signatures of the owners or collectors on the nude photographs. Taking the “page three” of BYHB 21 (Sept. 15, 1926) as an example (see Fig.2-18), there are five images on this page, including a nude “Tasting grapes” with the caption of “Collected by Wuyue” (*Wuyue cang* 武越藏), a rubbing of a “Chinese old coin” with the caption “A rubbing collected by the owner of Tao Garden” (*Taoyuan zhuren cang ta* 韜園主人藏拓), and a painting titled “Insects drawn by the actor King Pih-Yeh” (*Jin Biyan hua caochong* 金碧艷畫草蟲) with the caption of *Hanyun cang* (Collected by Hanyun), and so

³³⁷ I thank Ajay Sinha for reminding me of the general “page three” phenomenon. In this context, “page three girl” could be used similarly as “pin-up girl.” He especially pointed out that there was an Indian film entitled “Page 3” directed by Madhur Bhandarkar in 2005. I notice that there is an underlying contradiction, however, because the editors of BYHB intended to make page three the static and stable art page.

on.³³⁸ Phrased as one item from these collections, the nude featured in “Tasting grapes” is no longer just an unveiled body, but a desired aesthetic object. In fact, by 1926 it was not new for *wenren* to collect exotic foreign “artistic pictures.” For example, Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑 (1895-1968), one of the most important writers of the so-called “Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School,” claimed in 1922 that he liked “collecting foreign pictures and artistic works especially (專收外國畫片和美術品).”³³⁹ Four years later, a contributor to *Shenbao* described how collecting “postcards of paintings” (*huihua mingxin pian* 繪畫明信片) had become his new hobby, although he did not necessarily admit publicly that he collected erotic postcards as well.³⁴⁰

To come now to the second aspect, the Western nudes are often connected with two kinds of captions. The first kind always mentions “beauty” (*mei*) or “art” (*meishu*) to indicate the nude’s aesthetic value, in the context of “aesthetic education.” This value can also be confirmed by the fact that erotic postcards were collected by famous cultural figures. The second kind of caption often contains fragments of classical allusions, especially those from erotic Tang poems and Song lyrics. The following example demonstrates how BYHB combined the discourse of aesthetic education with that of current affairs in presenting a nude. Again, BYHB used the technique of bricolaging different elements to contextualise and interpret the nudes. Fig.2-19 is a nude published in BYHB in 1927, which proves to be one of a series of erotic postcards.³⁴¹(Fig.2-20) Although the English caption reads “The beauty of the human body,” the Chinese caption is “*tianru zhi mei* (天乳之美),” which means “the beauty of the natural breast” and alludes to the “*Tianru yundong*” 天乳運動 (Natural Breasts Movement) advocated

³³⁸ The English is originally published with the images.

³³⁹ Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑, “Banyue zhi yinian huigu” 半月之一年回顧 (Looking Back at the First Year of the Half Moon Journal), *Banyue* vol.2, no.8 (1922), 7.

³⁴⁰ Baoheng 保衡, “Wo de xin yule - huihua mingxin pian zhi souji” 我的新娛樂——繪畫明信片之蒐集 (My New Entertainment: Collecting Postcards of Paintings), *Shenbao Supplement* (Dec. 19, 1926), 1.

³⁴¹ An identical image was found online: <http://storage.canalblog.com/41/07/274511/12772742.jpg> (accessed on Jan. 21, 2010). Other images from the same series include one in *Erotic French Postcards* (2009), n.p., as shown in Fig.2-20.

by Zhu Jiahua 朱家驊 (1893-1963) in July 1927.³⁴² Two short essays surrounding the image endorsed the background discourse more explicitly. One is entitled “*Tianru yundong*” expressing an ironic view of the movement; the other is “*Ru de weifeng*” 乳的威風 (The Prestige of Breasts), supporting the movement, offering rational explanations from the perspective of health, and then interpreting the issue with a folk doggerel.³⁴³ The relevance between the titles, the content of the essays, and the Chinese caption of the picture would naturally link the text and the image. Consequently, the image not only presents an exotic body spectacle to attract readers, but also illustrates the desired beauty of the “natural breasts” while being enriched by the current social discourse attached. In this way, a Western nude becomes part of the Chinese discourse, so that the exoticism offered by the erotic postcard embodies a possibility to bring new visual elements to the Chinese discourse. The entanglement of the image, the caption, the discourse and aesthetics behind, demonstrates one example during the process of transcultural production.

³⁴² Zhu Jiahua was named acting chairman of Canton provincial government’s standing committee and commissioner of civil affairs in 1927. Later he held office in the National Government as minister of education (1932-1933; 1944-1948), minister of communications (1932-1935), and vice president of the Examination Yuan (1941-1944). For his biography, see Howard L. Boorman ed, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 437-440. In July 1927, he advanced a proposal on unbinding breasts, which was called the Natural Breasts Movement. The event is still understudied and only known through Lu Xun’s article “You tianru” 憂天乳 (Concerns about Natural Breasts), in *Yusi* 語絲 (Thread of Talk) 152 (Oct. 8, 1927), reprinted in *Lu Xun quanji: Eryi ji* 魯迅全集: 而已集 (Complete Works of Lu Xun: And That’s That) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1981), 467-470.

³⁴³ Mo Zhu 墨珠, “*Tianru yundong*” 天乳運動 (The Natural Breasts Movement) and He Ke 鶴客, “*Ru de weifeng*” 乳的威風 (The Prestige of Breasts), *BYHB* 108 (July 30, 1927), 3.



Fig.2-19 “Tianru zhi mei,” BYHB 108 (July 30, 1927), 3.



Fig.2-20 A postcard for comparison. *Erotic French Postcards*, 2009, n.p.

The second kind of caption shows us another possibility for framing Western nudes not only to endorse current events, but also to enrich the imaginary of classic (erotic) literature or allusion. For example, the caption frequently chose words related to the theme of “After a bath” (*chuyu* 出浴) and the Imperial Concubine Yang Yuhuan (or Yang Guifei) as elaborated in Chapter. Occasionally, BYHB reprinted a number of famous ink paintings on the theme of Yang Yuhuan, such as the series “After a Bath” (*Chu yu tu*), containing erotic elements such as plump and exposed limbs.³⁴⁴ Apart from this, BYHB did not merely reproduce these ink paintings, but also selected postcards with Western nudes and arranged them together with fragments of the poem “*Chang hen ge*” (Song of Everlasting Sorrow). For instance, Fig.2-21 shows us three naked Western women are playfully bathing by a creek. Being displayed in

³⁴⁴ For instance, “Qiu Shizhou hui Guifei chuyu tu” 仇十洲繪貴妃出浴圖 (Imperial Concubine after a Bath Painted by Qiu Shizhou), BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 2; “Taizhen chu yu tu” 太真出浴圖 (Taizhen after a Bath) BYHB 1018 (Nov. 30, 1933), 3. Both paintings depict Yang’s beautiful, soft and plump body after a bath.

different poses from different angles, their beautiful bodies and curves have a powerful visual impact on the readers; moreover, their facial expressions of enjoyment as well as the soft transparent cloth in their hands radiate an erotic atmosphere. The same three females are found to pose slightly differently twice in exactly the same setting in a contemporary book entitled *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* 裸體美之研究 (Study on the Beauty of Unclothed Bodies), published in 1925.³⁴⁵ For one example, the image in BYHB can reasonably be deduced as originating from an erotic postcard.³⁴⁶ (Fig.2-22) The caption provided the image with an immediate interpretation, citing the famous lines “wenquan shuihua xi ningzhi” 溫泉水滑洗凝脂 (her cream-like skin is cleansed in the slippery hot spring water). The line linked the visual material to the symbolic imagery of Yang Yuhuan. On the one hand, the caption was empowered to frame an exotic nude in the Chinese aesthetic setting, while on the other, when fragments of classical allusion were used to interpret an erotic postcard with Western nudes, the Western nudes possibly reinterpreted the poem in turn and thus enriched the Chinese erotic imaginary.

³⁴⁵ Shanghai ai mei she ed., *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu*, 1925. I have introduced this book in detail in the section of “*Luoti mei*” in Chapter One.

³⁴⁶ Two images from front illustrations can be compared with Fig.2-21. It shows that erotic postcards were not merely reproduced in periodicals but also in books at the given time.



Fig.2-21 “wenquan shuihua xi ningzhi,” BYHB 263 (Dec. 29, 1929), 3.

Fig.2-22 Front illustration, *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu*, 1925.

This chapter has examined the background of BYHB editors, and the fact that Feng Wuyue and his editorial team were mainly from *literati* and gentry-merchant circles rather than artists' circles. Feng and other editors emphasized their “taste” of editorial practice, and strategically used “aesthetic education” to practice their pursuit of *mei*/aesthetic value, and promote “art” in Feng’s definition. In his understanding, nudes, or more precisely, his selection of nudes, were “art.” BYHB utilized various media, genres, and discourses to present unclothed bodies, and my assessment shows that the majority are photographs of Western females. After comparing a large volume of materials containing Western nudes, “erotic postcards” (or “French postcards”) can be identified as an important source in BYHB. In addition, I verified that Heinz von Perckhammer was the photographer of a series of nudes of Chinese women. Heinz von Perckhammer positioned himself at a significant cultural junction by presenting Chinese females in Pictorialist nude photographs that were published first in the West and then in China. Furthermore, tracing the flow of these images from its point of departure in Europe and at its point of arrival in China from the 1880s to the 1920s delineates the possible trajectories of

image dissemination. It shows how visual material could be circulated within and across cultural boundaries, thus tracing its transcultural dimension. This visual flow enabled BYHB to select and reproduce Western nudes or nudes by Westerners to showcase their definitions of “art,” although many of these nude photographs were in fact excluded in the category of “art” in their original cultural context. When selecting the Western nudes, BYHB editors used their editorial agency to contextualize and interpret nudes in different ways. For example, some nudes were used as examples of Western “art” to uplift aesthetic education; some were used to illustrate contemporary Chinese discourses; and some others were surrounded with traditional Chinese cultural elements as well as captions containing Chinese literary quotations. All of these combinations enriched the meaning of nudes in Chinese pictorial culture, and BYHB eventually created its unique position in transcultural production.

Chapter 3 “Science and Art”?

“Comparing Human Bodies across the World” in *Shanghai manhua*

“We have always introduced human bodies with a complete focus on both science and art.”

我們歷來介紹人體，是完全以科學和藝術二者為着眼
--Ye Qianyu, SHMH 49 (March 30, 1929), 3.³⁴⁷

“To collect photographs is to collect the world.”

--Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 3.

On January 2, 1928, one trial issue of the lithographic and polychromatic *Shanghai manhua* (“Shanghai Sketch,” abbr. SHMH) was published by Wang Dunqing 王敦慶 (1889-1990), Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907-1995) and Huang Wennong 黃文農 (1901?-1934), three important figures in Chinese cartoon history. The trial issue failed to attract any Shanghai periodical distributors, who were reluctant to bring the copies to the market, because they believed the inappropriate design might not yield a profit. “It is not like a newspaper!” concluded the distributors, when they saw only one side of the pictorial carrying print, with the backside completely blank. All the copies were dumped as waste, and consequently, Ye and Wang were unable to continue the publication. This gloomy beginning was suddenly rewritten a few months later, when Zhang Guangyu 張光宇 (1900-1964), an experienced commercial artist in Shanghai, went to meet Ye Qianyu, showing both his appreciation of Ye’s artistic talent and his interest in polychromatic illustrated magazines. Together they decided to produce a brand new journal but still under the name of SHMH, combining pages of colorful cartoons with pages of black-and-white photographs and short essays.

³⁴⁷ *Shanghai manhua* used *kexue* (science) and *yishu* as two terms to assess images of *renti* (human bodies). As discussed in a footnote in the beginning of Chapter Two, the use of *meishu* and *yishu* in the Republican era was interchangeable. Here, I consider that the *yishu* SHMH meant was “art,” because the editor states how to frame *renti*, which are mostly in the form of photography as visual art.

This decision gathered together a cluster of respected, like-minded artists, and SHMH ran for 110 issues in its short history from April 21, 1928 to June 7, 1930.³⁴⁸ As Ye Qianyu commented, the short but significant life of SHMH represented “the most prosperous era of cartoon art (漫畫的藝術全盛時期).”³⁴⁹ In spite of its significance in cartoon history, SHMH was far more than just a cartoon magazine. It also provided a public space and a testing ground for not only cartoonists, but also photographers, painters, and writers to express, describe and record their understanding of the rigid socio-cultural economic transformation. As art historian Ellen Laing summarized, SHMH is “more than a collection of photographs of contemporary people, biting political cartoons, humorous scenes, mild jokes, along with witty observations and pictorial comments on urban life. The lively cartoon sketches capture the city streets and home life in a way that the static photographs cannot.”³⁵⁰

The existing scholarship on SHMH covers the following four aspects: using the visual materials of the journal to interpret the modern Shanghai style; evaluating SHMH and related artists in art history, mostly cartoon history; investigating the visual representations of naked bodies on the journal covers or Ye Qianyu’s cartoons; and exploring the editorial structure of pictorials published in Shanghai. For example, Pan Lynn’s book situated comics and cartoons in a broader visual context, in which paintings, books and magazines, advertising, architecture, and interior decoration all shared the modern “Shanghai Style.” SHMH was precisely such a visual embodiment at a micro level.³⁵¹ Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin laid the groundwork with a general history of Chinese cartoons, in which they collected detailed biographical

³⁴⁸ Ye Feng 葉風, “Zhongguo manhua de zaoqi zhengui wenxian: *Shanghai manhua*” 中國漫畫的早期珍貴文獻: 上海漫畫 (The Early Precious Document of Chinese Cartoons: *Shanghai manhua*), in SHMH vol.1, reprint (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1996), 1-3.

³⁴⁹ Ye Qianyu, Preface to *Manhua daguan* 漫畫大觀 (Zhongguo meishu kanxingshe, 1931), quoted from Bi Keguan 畢克官 and Huang Yuanlin 黃遠林, *Shanghai manhua shi* 中國漫畫史 (History of Chinese Sketches) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1986), 90.

³⁵⁰ Ellen Johnston Laing, “*Shanghai Manhua*, the Neo-Sensationist School of Literature, and Scenes of Urban Life,” MCLC Resource Center, <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/laing.htm#fn1>, (accessed on Sept. 30, 2010). I thank Ellen Laing for sharing her unpublished paper “Images in *Shanghai manhua* (Shanghai Sketch) 1928-1930” with me, part of which has been included in the MCLC article mentioned above.

³⁵¹ Lynn Pan, *Shanghai Style: Art and Design Between the Wars* (South San Francisco: Long River Press, 2008), 133-157.

information of the most important cartoonists, and further outlined the brief history of SHMH.³⁵² Based on Bi and Huang's archival work and the SHMH materials, Ellen Laing discussed how these cartoonists substantially promoted the development of calendar posters in the Republican Era.³⁵³ In scholarly narratives, the art of the cartoon, however, is usually considered "commercial" thus not strictly part of "high" culture. In his book, Paul Bevan uses SHMH as part of his major evidence to show that the fact that cartoons were mainly published in journals instead of exhibitions contributed to a scholarly bias. The development of cartoons in China was one chain of events in the modern art movement that had many international connections. These cartoonists had avant-garde tendencies, and their works should be treated as part of modern art history rather than merely "commercial" art.³⁵⁴ By closely examining the changing attitude towards *manhua* 漫畫 (cartoons) in a historical context, Chu Chi-Shuan showed the dynamic boundary between "high" and "low" visual culture. SHMH was one of his case studies, and he argued that SHMH used a substantial amount of nude figures in cartoons in order to show a visual reference of the "fine arts," hoping that the promotion of nude sketches could eventually uplift the image of the journal.³⁵⁵ Hak Keung Lee focused on Ye Qianyu's cartoons in SHMH, and probed the readership of the journal. Part of his research analyzed the nude cartoons in the journal, and he found 26 out of 110 journal covers included nude figures. He further argued that artists used the form of nude cartoons, often called *seqing manhua* 色情漫畫 (erotic cartoons) in the 1930s, to express their sensual and sensational life experience in the metropolis; yet, the market and profit were ultimately the most important

³⁵² SHMH is often mentioned in the general history of Chinese sketches, such as Bi Keguan, *Zhongguo manhua shihua* 中國漫畫史話 (Talks on the History of Chinese Sketches) (Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1982); Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin, *Zhongguo manhua shi*.

³⁵³ Laing, *Selling Happiness*.

³⁵⁴ Paul Graham Bevan, "Manhua Artists in Shanghai 1926-1938: From Art for Art's Sake to Wartime Propaganda" (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2012. Ph.D. Dissertation.)

³⁵⁵ Chu Chi-Shuan (Qiu Zhixuan) 邱稚亘, "Liudong de jiangjie: yi manhua wei li kan Minchu shanghai gaojie yu tongshu meishu de fenlei yu jixian wenti" 流動的疆界:以漫畫為例看民初上海高階與通俗美術的分類與界線問題 (Flowing Boundaries: on Categorization and Barriers of High and Popular Art in the Early Republican Era of China Shanghai) (MA thesis, National Central University, Taiwan, 2004), 107-114.

motivation for SHMH to include nude cartoons to such a large extent.³⁵⁶ As mentioned earlier, Ellen Liang is among the scholars who first valued SHMH. In one of her articles, she established the social and cultural connections between SHMH and *xin ganjue pai* 新感覺派 (Neo-Sensationist School) by exploring visual and textual metaphors, the symbolic meanings of the female nudes in cartoons, as well as the artists and their networks involved.³⁵⁷ A more recent article by Richard Vinogra, uses SHMH as one of the examples to survey the interaction of editorial structure, reader/viewer experience, and mediation in these journals.³⁵⁸

All the previous scholarship observed the equally abundant nude photographs in addition to nude cartoons, particularly a series entitled *Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 世界人體之比較 (Comparing Human Bodies across the World. abbr. “the World Series”), typically by sourcing Ye Qianyu’s memoir, which I will analyze in detail later. In contrast to detailed discussion on the nude cartoons, none of the existing research, however, offered any further analysis on the nude photography beyond Ye’s narrative. Many questions still remain puzzling yet crucial to our understanding of how exactly SHMH editors enriched the meaning and visual typology of nudes in pictorials, by selecting nude photographs from a certain source.

The sentence quoted at the beginning of the chapter was published in 1929, in which the editors of the journal elaborated on two keywords, “*kexue* 科學 (science)” and “*yishu* 藝術 (art),” their editorial criteria to select and legitimate nudes. Compared to *Beiyang huabao*, SHMH editors produced very different visual impressions and semantic meanings of *luoti* by practicing “science and art” in their selection, contextualization, and captioning of nudes. We

³⁵⁶ Laing, “*Shanghai Manhua*, the Neo-Sensationist School of Literature, and Scenes of Urban Life”; Lee Hak Keung 李克強, *Manhua hui yue: Shanghai manhua shiqi Ye Qianyu de zuopin ji qi shouzhong 1928-1930* 漫畫繪閱:《上海漫畫》時期葉淺予的作品及其受眾, 1928-1930 (Ye Qianyu’s Cartoons and His Readers in Shanghai Sketch, 1928-1930) (MA thesis, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2008), 53-72.

³⁵⁷ Laing, *ibid.*

³⁵⁸ Richard Vinograd 文以誠, “Multi-Medium, Site, and Dream-World: Aspects of Shanghai Pictorials of the 1920s and 1930s (多重媒材、地點與夢想世界：1920 至 1930 年代間上海畫報的面向),” *Yishuxue Yanjiu* 藝術學研究, no. 12 (September 2013): 171-214. The author described this series of nude photographs in SHMH as “perhaps the most striking episodic feature” (*ibid.*, 192), and pointed out that the pictorials were “vehicles for an ever more global spatial imaginary” (*ibid.*, 193), but the article has not offered further analysis on the content or the sources of the series.

may ask: who were the editors of SHMH? What was their *habitus*? How did SHMH editors edit nudes? What were the sources of the reproduced nude photographs? How did their interpretation fit into the editorial strategy of “science and art”?

This chapter first investigates the background of major SHMH editors and contributors, and then seeks for the individual and institutional *habitus*. I hope to provide an understanding as to why SHMH editors appreciated a certain type of nude photograph, and whether there was a connection between editorial practice and the taste of the journal. The chapter then scrutinizes the genres of nudes included in the journal and their function. I also trace the reproduction and circulation of the nudes in the journal’s World Series. Like other editors discussed in my research, Zhang Guangyu and Ye Qianyu possessed the editorial agency and the power to select, arrange, and interpret the materials. By claiming “science and art” as their editorial strategy, the two main editors, Zhang Guangyu and Ye Qianyu, juxtaposed abundant nudes in the forms of cartoons and photography, and both forms embodied visual modernity in the late 1920s. The nude photographs were mainly reproduced from a German book titled *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (The Racial Beauty of Females), whereas the lengthy interpretations of these images were added most often by Ye Qianyu. Unlike the editors of BYHB, SHMH editors selected few female nudes from erotic postcards; instead, they chose arguably “scientific” nudes, accompanied by “scientific” explanation rather than poetic Chinese allusions. Most typically, Ye Qianyu discussed the skin color, physical health, and bodily proportion of women across the world in his texts. At the same time, he showed his concerns of how to position Chinese women in the world by adding nude photographs of Chinese women into the series, criticizing their “unhealthy” bodies degenerated through “bad habits” like breast-binding, waist-binding, and foot-binding. In so doing, the editors generated their own understandings of *luoti* in relation to “science” and “art” and thus propelled it into the discursive field of *luoti* during the course of transcultural production.

3.1 SHMH Editors: Commercial Artists

Most cartoonists, like Zhang Guangyu and Ye Qianyu, the two primary editors I discuss below, were not born to culturally elite families, and few of them graduated from universities. Their

drawing and painting skills were mainly gained from following master painters or amateur self-teaching. This method of learning was the major one in Chinese tradition, before the art schools emerged and flourished in Shanghai area in the first two decades in the Republican era. Neither of them had studied abroad, unlike Feng Wuyue, the founder and editor-in-chief of *Beiyang huabao* discussed in the Chapter Two. Nor did they have a chance to enter Christian colleges, unlike Lin Zecang, the founder and editor-in-chief of *Sheying huabao* and *Linglong*, discussed in Chapter Four. Thus, they did not hold significant cultural capital through their family backgrounds or academic education. These cartoonists, however, never abandoned artistic practice in spite of their lack of academic education. Nurtured by the booming print culture and vital everyday life in Shanghai, culturally one of the most important cities during the 1920s, this group of artists vigorously interacted with other local and international modernist artists. They eagerly grasped knowledge from all kinds of available foreign print materials, and channeled their artistic sensibility and editorial creativity through their everyday cultural practice. By working with or for various illustrated magazines, Zhang and Ye cultivated the editorial *habitus* as both charismatic cartoonists and bureaucratic professionals.³⁵⁹

Zhang Guangyu

Born in Wuxi, Jiangsu province, Zhang Guangyu went to Shanghai at age fourteen, where he pursued his successful career. He earned his fame in modern Chinese cartoon history not only for his artistic creativity, but also for the successful combination of his talent with a commercial publishing enterprise. Most of the artists he studied with or worked with belonged to the commercial artists' or graphic designers' circle, a group that was actively engaged in artistic education, publishing, and editorial practice in the early Republican Era. The well-known artist Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885-1968), for example, introduced basic Western-style drawing

³⁵⁹ These multiple dispositions precisely fit into the competence of an ideal periodical editor that Matthew Philippotts described in his article discussing “editorial habitus.” Matthew Philippotts, “The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus,” *The Modern Language Review* 107, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 54.

skills to Zhang Guangyu, and acted as headmaster of the Shanghai Art School in addition to being the stage designer at the New Stage Theatre (*Xin wutai* 新舞台).³⁶⁰

As a youngster, Zhang Guangyu assisted his teacher with stage design at the New Stage Theatre, gaining early experience as a commercial artist. He became increasingly active from the late 1910s, and contributed to periodicals such as *Huaji huabao* 滑稽畫報 (Comic Pictorial, founded in Oct. 1919, co-founder), *Shijie huabao* 世界畫報 (The World Pictorial, 1918-1927, assistant editor), *Jiefang huabao* 解放畫報 (Emancipation Pictorial, 1918-1921, illustrator), *Libailiu* 禮拜六 (“The Saturday,” 1914-1916, 1921-1923, cover designer), *Ziluolan* 紫羅蘭 (The Violet 1925-1930, cover designer), *Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報 (“Pictorial Shanghai,” 1925-1933, illustrator), *Sanri huabao* 三日畫報 (“China Camera News,” Aug. 2, 1925-?, founder), and later *Shanghai manhua* (1928-1930).³⁶¹ At the same time, he kept a well-paying

³⁶⁰ Xin Wutai Theatre opened on October 26, 1908, and burned down in 1927. Designed after a Japanese model, it was initially used to present Beijing opera on a modern stage with scenery painted in a Western style. The stage design added new elements to the traditional Beijing opera stage, which was featured as a plain three-sided stage with no scenery and usually limited symbolic props. Later, the theatre was also used for spoken drama. Cf. Ellen Laing, *Images in Shanghai manhua* (Shanghai Sketch), 1928-1930, unpublished paper, 2009. For Zhang Yuguang, see Zhang Xiuping 张修平, “Xianfu Zhang Yuguang shengping jishi” 先父張聿光生平紀事 (A Biography of My Later Father Zhang Yuguang), *Luwan shihua* 盧灣史話 4 (1994): 179-187; Ma Xuexin, Cao Junwei, Xue Liyong, and Hu Xiaojing, comps., *Shanghai wenhua yuanliu cidian*, 668; Zheng Yimei, *Yihai yishao xubian* 藝海一勺續編 (A Scoop from the Sea of Art, Continued) (Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1994), 168-175. For more on Zhang’s activities at this theater, see Li Chao, *Shanghai youhua shi* (History of oil painting in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995), 46-47. For the research on Xin Wutai Theatre, see Zhong Xinzhi (Joscha Chung), “Zouxiang xiandai: Wan Qing Zhongguo juchang xin bian” 走向現代：晚清中國劇場新變 (Toward Modernity: Innovations in the Chinese Theatre of the Late Qing Dynasty), PhD dissertation (Taipei: Taipei yishu daxue, 2012), 143-157.

³⁶¹ Zhang Guangyu’s zealotry in periodicals continued in the post-SHMH era, and he (co-)published, (co-)founded or (co-) edited *Shidai huabao* 時代畫報 (1929-1937), *Shidai manhua* 時代漫畫 (1934-1937), *Wanxiang* 萬象 (1934-1935), *Shidai dianying* 時代電影 (?-?, co-publisher), *Lunyu* 論語 (1932-1949, published by the Shidai Book Company from no.29), *Duli manhua* 獨立漫畫 (1935-1936), *Poke* 潑克 (1937), *Xinsheng huabao* 新生畫報 (1938), *Xingdao zhoubao* 星島週報 (1939; 1946). Cf. Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu* 葉淺予自敘 (Ye Qianyu Memoirs), (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 1997), 107-110; Bi Keguan, *Zhongguo manhua shihua*, 110-113; Shanghai tushuguan, Zhu Junzhou eds., *Shanghai tushuguan guancang jinxiandai zhongwen qikan zongmu* (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2004, 1st edition), 277, 1359.

job as a commercial artist first at Shengsheng Art Company (*Shengsheng meishu gongsi* 生生美術公司), then in the advertisement department at the British and American Tobacco Company (*Yingmei yancao gongsi* 英美煙草公司), where he also produced calendar posters.³⁶² Within both companies, a circle of commercial artists gathered, and Zhang Guangyu built up significant networks for his future activities as founder and organizer. For instance, he founded the China Artistic and Photographic Society (*Zhongguo meishu sheying xuehui* 中國美術攝影學會) with Lu Shaofei 魯少飛 (1903-1995), Ding Song 丁悚 (1891-1972), Hu Boxiang 胡伯翔 (1896-1989) in 1924; and the Shanghai Cartoon Society (*Shanghai manhuahui* 上海漫畫會) in 1926, which involved Ding Song, Lu Shaofei, Zhang Zhengyu 張正宇 and others.³⁶³ Zhang Guangyu was remembered as a charismatically warm-hearted and caring “big brother,” who generously offered help to younger artists’ early careers, including Ye Qianyu. His personality attracted many artists to work with him. The cartoonists and photographers of the two organizations mentioned above, as an example, formed the SHMH editorial board and were also contributors.

Ye Qianyu

Ye Qianyu was born in Tonglu, Zhejiang province in 1907. He spent his youth in his hometown, and was employed at age 18 by the Japanese Sanyou Company in Shanghai after submitting a well-regarded drawing sample.³⁶⁴ He began as a shop assistant, then as a designer

³⁶² Cf. Laing, *Selling Happiness*.

³⁶³ Lu Shaofei 魯少飛 (1903-1995) created many SHMH covers and wrote their explanatory texts. Born to a folk artist’s family, Lu showed early interest in graphic design. He studied briefly at the Shanghai Art School, where Zhang Guangyu’s teacher was one of the directors, yet he soon abandoned his education, as he was unable to afford the cost of tuition. Before acting as editor-in-chief for *Shidai manhua* in 1934, he dedicated himself to cartoon education while working as a freelancer. He was also co-founder and member of the China Artistic and Photographic Society and Shanghai Cartoon Society. His biographical information is based on Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin, *ibid*, 113-116.

³⁶⁴ Biographical information is from Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 64-106; Bi Keguan, 116-121.

in the advertising department. Unlike Zhang Guangyu, Ye did not have the chance to receive a formal artistic education at an academy or study with a well-known artist. His early interest in art originated with viewing commercial artwork in everyday life, such as calendar posters, outdoor advertising signs, illustrations to textbooks and journals. Before working for SHMH, he was making a living as a commercial painter and illustrator. He illustrated textbooks, painted stage scenery for theatre productions, designed clothing patterns and political propaganda posters, and also published several amateur satirical drawings. In 1925, his first cartoon *Liangmaoqian bao yanfu* 兩毛錢飽眼福 (Satisfying [Your] Eyes by [Paying] Twenty Cents) was selected for publication in *Sanri huabao* edited by Zhang Guangyu.³⁶⁵ Based on real life experiences, the cartoon satirized nude dancing as a popular entertainment in 1920s Shanghai nightlife, and that the audience could have easy access to this sensational visual pleasure by paying an entrance ticket at twenty cents. Ye later mentioned in his memoir that the dancing that the white Russian women performed in the show was, “strictly speaking, [an example of] foreign culture. (嚴格說來，這是一種外國文化).” This was evidence of Ye’s gift for accurate observation, cultural sensitivity, and artistic capability. Many of his cartoons, including those published in SHMH, were deeply rooted in the everyday life of Shanghai. The exposure of female bodies became one of the most important motifs repeatedly appearing in SHMH, not only in the form of cartoons, but also in photographs.

Ye was saved from frustration by Zhang Guangyu after the failure of the SHMH trial issue. The second life of the journal brought him hope, and Ye became devoted to the design, editing and printing of SHMH, from cover design, cartoons and illustrations, from copy editing, typesetting to platemaking. According to his memoir, Ye was responsible for the colorful pages 1, 4, 5, and 8, while Zhang Guangyu was responsible for the black-and-white pages 2, 3, 6, and

³⁶⁵ I have not been able to locate the magazine and the illustration. *Sanri huabao* is not included in the following databases of Republican Periodicals: China Academic Digital Associative Library (CADAL. <http://www.cadal.zju.edu.cn/Index.action>); National Digital Library of China 中國國家數字圖書館 (<http://mylib.nlc.gov.cn/web/guest/minguoqikan>); Dacheng Old Periodicals Database 大成老舊刊全文數據庫 (<http://www.dachengdata.com>, via CrossAsia); Chinese Periodical Full-text Databases 晚清民國時期期刊全文數據庫 1833-1949 (<http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/shangtu-qikan>, via CrossAsia).

7. It is worth noting that the series “Comparing Human Bodies across the World” was mostly arranged on pages 3 or 6, and theoretically arranged by Zhang Guangyu, though most of the interpretations and captions were credited under the name “Qian” (淺) or “Qianyu” (淺予). It seems that Zhang and Ye had reached a mutual consent in publishing “Comparing Human Bodies across the World,” therefore the series reflected their collective editorial decision.

Other Contributors

SHMH editors provided a valuable platform for a rather closed and stable group of contributors from entangled social networks: artists from the Shanghai Cartoon Society, the China Photography Society and the Shanghai artistic academies; established writers from the later called Neo-Sensationist School and other like-minded *literati*.³⁶⁶ Several of these artists will be introduced later when their works emerge in this discussion.

The contributors and their works represented the modern artistic and literary concepts at the time, and they contributed to SHMH in three aspects: firstly, they had their literary or artworks selected by the editors in SHMH, and their works brought cultural capital to the journal; secondly, the established artists and writers contributed symbolic capital to SHMH; thirdly, by gathering together in the journal and in reality, they formed an intermingled social network, which also contributed social capital to SHMH.

By attracting well-regarded contributors and selecting the desired materials for publication, the editors shaped the “modern” taste of SHMH. Consequently, the SHMH bureaucratic editorship, or institutional *habitus*, appeared to be visual, aesthetic, literary, satirical,

³⁶⁶ According to Laing’s article, The SHMH editors became familiar with famous writers such as Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳 (1904-1975), Mu Shiyong 穆時英 (1912-1940), Shi Zhecun 施蜚存 (1905-2003), Fu Yanchang 傅彥長, Zhang Ruogu 張若谷 (1905-1967). Ye, Mu, Shi, Fu, and Zhang, along with Liu Na’ou 劉訥鷗 (1900-1939) were all members of the “neo-sensationist” clique. Ye Qianyu remembered vividly in his memoir how Ye, Mu, Shi, Fu, Zhang often visited the SHMH editors’ office, and commented on the current affairs in the cultural circle. Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 105. All these people stayed very close to Shao Xunmei 邵洵美 (1906-1968), the most important sponsor of SHMH and the founder of Shidai Book Company. His participation brought not only abundant financial support to SHMH, but also a friendly environment for SHMH to interact with the modernist literary, artistic, publishing circles.

transcultural, and accessible. The habitus empowered editors to combine making profit and pursuing aesthetic values successfully, and SHMH earned not only economic capital but also cultural, social, and symbolic capital in the field, either individually or institutionally. For example, when offering a field for different artistic and literary figures to inspire and stimulate each other, SHMH editors also acquired more cultural and social capital, which eventually boosted its reputation, and promoted the realization of the economic and symbolic capital.

The concept of the Bourdieuan “capital” can be used to explain why editors chose certain visualizations of *luoti*. One of the most eye-catching key visuals in 1920s Shanghai print media, female nudes were certainly indispensable components in illustrated magazines. The by then well-perceived connection between “art” and nudes empowered nudes with cultural capital, whereas the natural link between nudes and sexuality could lead to economic capital. Towards the beginning of 1928 in Shanghai, the reproduction of nudes were legitimated in the genres of oil paintings, cartoons, sketches, sculptures, but not yet so in photography, as what happened two years later--if any, the photographs were most likely “erotic postcards,” as I discussed in the previous chapter. SHMH enthusiastically embraced this visual theme. Yet, the *habitus* of the SHMH editors differentiated their product from other illustrated magazines. First of all, SHMH editors either produced or included a large amount of aesthetic, metaphoric, sometimes erotic nudes in cartoons, a visual genre considered very “modern” at the time. SHMH also deployed modernist poems and prose to interpret the meanings of nudes, which further added cultural capital to nudes. Additionally, SHMH introduced many academic artists and their nudes in the journal, and the nature of highbrow culture transferred cultural capital to both the journal and the meaning of the nudes. Last but most important to my research, SHMH edited and contextualized a series of nude photographs under the heading of “science and art,” which expanded the typology of nudes in the market, and further won themselves more cultural capital in the field of *luoti* visual culture.

3.2 Editorial Strategies: “Science and Art”

SHMH usually contained eight pages. Seven pages (pages 1-6, 8) were full of images, and one page (page 7) frequently included 1-4 short essays, juxtaposed with images. Four pages (1, 4,

5, 8) were color, and the rest (2, 3, 6, 7) were black and white. Cartoons and photographs were two featured visual genres that appeared in SHMH. The four color pages were normally reserved exclusively for cartoons, while most of the black and white pages were reserved for photographs, and on occasion the reproduction of artworks, such as paintings and sketches. The theme of nudes appeared frequently on the SHMH pages. My impression is that throughout its publishing history, more than ninety percent of SHMH issues included nude images, either cartoons or photographs, and very often both genres.

A few art historians have explored the cultural significance of cartoons containing nude figures, as summarized in the overview in this chapter; the emphasis of my study is, therefore, the nude photographs in SHMH, particularly the series “Comparing Human Bodies across the World.” I seek the understanding of what SHMH editors meant by “science and art” when introducing “*renti*,” and how they used their editorial agency to add the value of “science” to nudes. By tracing the original source material used for the series, and analyzing the captions as well as the mentality behind their inclusion, I argue that the editors considered photography as science; therefore, nude photographs were in and of themselves “scientific.” They used the term *renti* rather than *luoti* to refer to unclothed bodies, and selected nude photographs from photographic albums, most importantly from a German “scientific” book.

Nude Photography as the Embodiment of Science and Art

SHMH did not start to publish nude photographs until the appearance of Issue 7 (June 2, 1928), although the advertisement for the forthcoming publication already occupied a noticeable place in Issue 3. It reads:

“Notice: The artworks of the world[-famous] nude photographer, Nickolas Muray, are extremely precious. Our journal has collected many of them, and will start to introduce them from the next issue. [The images of] beautiful curves of women across the world [that we have] counted are around several hundred [in number]. All of them are photographs, and will be published issue by issue. People of our country know very little about the customs of the Miao [ethnic] people. Our journal has found dozens of pictures of Miao customs, and [we have] added explanations, which ought to update readers’ knowledge.

預告 世界人體美術攝影家 Nickolas Muray 作品，極為名貴，本報搜集甚多，於下期起陸續介紹。世界女子曲線美，統計約有數百種，全部均係攝影，逐期披露。苗民風俗，國人知者甚鮮，今由本報覓得苗俗畫幅數十種，並加說明，當一新讀者之見聞也。³⁶⁷

The advertisement emphasized three selling points to be expected in the future: nude photographs by Muray, photographs of the “beautiful curves” of women across the world, and pictures of *Miao* people (*Miaomin* 苗民). In the first selling point, Nickolas Muray (1892-1965) was referred to as “*shijie renti meishu sheying jia*” (the world[-famous] nude photographer), which literally emphasized “world” (*shijie*), “human body” (*renti*), “art” (*meishu*) and “photography” (*sheying*).³⁶⁸ These four words accord with my argument of what SHMH meant by “science.” The term *shijie* was frequently used to refer to “international,” “across the world” or “world-wide” at the time, suggesting a sense of being global, modern, and open-minded, just as in the second selling point “*shijie nüzi quxian mei*” (beautiful curves of women across the world). Moreover, the editors used *renti* rather than *luoti* to refer to Muray’s nude photography, perhaps because *renti* sounded more scientific thus compatible with the word *sheying* / photography as one of the new technologies.

In contrast, “*quxian mei*” (the beauty of curves), was used to describe female nudes across the world, a term that emerged in popular media from the early 1920s, semantically signifying erotic female nudes in all genres at the time of publication. Noticeably, the ad stressed that the medium depicting female nudes from across the world was “*sheying*,” and the number of photographs was in the “several hundreds.” The description revealed with certainty that the “*shijie nüzi quxian mei*” was the series of nude photography later entitled “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao*” (Comparing Human Bodies Across the World). It can be argued that this method of commercial promotion above all reflected the readers’ interest estimated by the editors, namely, “*quxian mei*” indicated eroticism and “sex sells”; at the same time, it may have reflected the editors’ actual understanding of the World Series, which is the World Series

³⁶⁷ SHMH 3 (May 5, 1928), 7. My emphasis.

³⁶⁸ Nickolas Muray was a Hungraian-American photographer and professional fencer. He is well-known for making photographic portraits of renowned cultural figures and celebrities, and also for twice competing on the U.S. Olympic fencing team. For more biographical information, see Nickolas Muray’s official website: <http://nickolasmuray.com/> (accessed on Aug. 25, 2013).

equaled to “*quxian mei*.” The term “science,” however, was not explicitly mentioned in the advertisement.

In addition, the third selling point was the depiction of Miao customs. The visualization of a remote and unfamiliar ethnic group, though within Chinese territory, partly resonated with mentality of showcasing women across the world. Similar to the case of *Beiyang huabao*, the SHMH editor’s devotion to the collection and appreciation of *qi* 奇 (the extraordinary, the fantastic, or exotic) exposed the *literati*’s *habitus* as I discussed in the previous chapter. It was the expansion of “*jianwen*” 見聞 (literally: seeing and hearing), the visual and anecdotic knowledge, which would potentially attract readers and further satisfy their curiosity. We might even argue that the curiosity of remote, exotic ethnic groups and their living environment was precisely the interest in “science” in the 1920s.

Apart from the Notice for the planned three visual attractions, another advertisement entitled “*Zhenggao*” 徵稿 (Call for Contributions) appeared on the same page. It provides us with several categories that SMHM editors desired, of which “science” was one.

“Call for Contributions:

Our journal aims at enriching the selection of the materials. Hereby is the criterion of Call for Contributions as follows:

Photographs [of] news, ladies, art, monuments, science, customs.

Texts [of] satire, new fashion, amusement, graphic design, life, fine arts.

Once the contribution is accepted, the monetary reward will be good. Please sign and seal on the back of the contribution.

徵稿

本報取材力求豐富，茲定徵稿條例如下：

照片 新聞的，仕女的，美術的，古蹟的，科學的，風俗的。

書稿 諷刺的，新裝的，滑稽的，圖案的，描寫生活的，發揮藝術的。

來稿一經錄用，酬金從優，請於稿後簽名蓋章。”³⁶⁹

Covering both visual and textual materials, the advertisement explicitly declared that the desired visual medium was photography, perhaps because the four black-and-white pages (2, 3, 6, 7), the pages usually arranged for ten to twenty photographs, were constantly under the pressures of time and manpower. If we compare this ad to the three selling points in the notice

³⁶⁹ SHMH 3 (May 5, 1928), 7. My emphasis.

discussed previously, Muray's nude photographs are clearly "art," and the pictures of Miao "customs." The hundreds of nude photographs of women across the world, according to the editorial interpretation quoted at the beginning, fall into both categories of "science" and "art." By arranging the "Call for Contributions" and the "Notice" for the visual materials on the same page, the SHMH editors advertised their desired visual categories, while simultaneously exemplifying photographs of "science" and "art."

This viewpoint differed slightly from BYHB's attitude of instrumentalizing photography as an aesthetic educational tool. Nor did it resemble Lin Zecang's approach, which deemed photography to be "sophisticated entertainment" and the soft entry to pursue modernity. For example, after having been advertised in Issue 3, Nickolas Muray's four nude photographs eventually appeared in Issue 7 (Fig.3-1), together with his portrait and an introduction by Foqing 佛青.³⁷⁰ It was the first time that SHMH published fine-art nude photographs. The introductory essay offered brief biographic information on Muray, especially noting his residence in Greenwich Village in New York, where numerous artists and *mo te er* (live models) gathered. The essay further commented on the four nudes entitled "*Dikang yu qufu*" 抵抗與屈服 (Resistance and Submission), "*Hong*" 虹 (The Rainbow), "*Ci xing gan zhi renti*" 瓷性感之人體 (The Porcelain Figure), and "*Gongshou*" 弓手 (The Anchor).³⁷¹ Taking "The Porcelain Figure" as an example, the author Foqing clarified that the source material of the photographic reproduction was the "World Yearbook published in 1925 in the UK" (一九二五年英國出版之世界年鑑), and further translated comments by the editor of the Yearbook:

"At this year's Salon in London, "The Porcelain Figure" by Nickolas Muray was outstanding among the nude studies, because the artist created in a living figure the representation of the quality of the porcelain. The fineness of the lines and the composition, the suitable background, and the accurate photosensitivity were the necessary successful factors of the work.

³⁷⁰ Foqing, or Qi Foqing 祁佛青 (?-?). He was member of China Photography Society ("Huashe" 華社), and elected as Secretary of the society in 1928, see Ma Yunzeng et al., *Zhongguo sheying shi*, 163.

³⁷¹ Foqing 佛青, "Meiguo renti sheing mingjia Nigulasi Mulei" 美國人體攝影名家尼古拉司沐雷 (American Famous Nude Art Photographer Nickolas Muray), SHMH 7 (June 2, 1928), 2.

在本年倫敦攝影展覽會內，人體類中特出者為尼古拉司沐雷之‘瓷性感之人體’一幅，蓋作者之力有表現生人肉體成瓷性之創作。至於線條結構之美麗，背景之適宜，感光之精良，皆為是幅成功之要素。”

The interpretation showed strong appreciation of the photographic aesthetics and techniques, which echoed to the editorial guideline of “science and art.” In fact, the yearbook in question is titled *Photograms of the Year 1925*, edited by F.J. Mortimer, which indeed included “The Porcelain Figure” (Fig.3-2), in spite of the absence of the other three nudes by Muray.³⁷² The editor of the yearbook eloquently evaluated all the selections, and dedicated an entire paragraph to Muray’s nude study. I quote his lengthy interpretation below, in order to understand the context of the translated quotation in SHMH:

“Notable among the nude studies at this year’s Salon were the contributions by Nickolas Muray. This artist has on many previous occasions contributed some of the most admired pictures that have been seen at the London exhibitions, and he has generally been extremely fortunate in his choice of models. This year his contributions were rather in the nature of a ‘stunt,’ and, while attracting considerable attention, also roused the ire of some of the critics. Yet his intention was clear. It was evidently to imitate in the living figure the peculiar surface texture qualities of porcelain or polished ivory. How this was accomplished is the photographer’s secret, but one suspects a coating of oil or glycerine. The example reproduced, ‘The Porcelain Figure’(XXII), carries out the idea to perfection, and the illusion is helped considerably by the perfection of the lines of the model. The background has also played an important part in emphasizing the tones aimed at.”³⁷³

The underlined sentences, stressing the visual analysis, were roughly assembled into the Chinese interpretation. Yet, the rest, in which Mortimer informed readers about the feedback at the London exhibition, along with the possible methods of making the photo, was almost completely ignored. Obviously, the Chinese interpretation was not a word-to-word translation. Perhaps it could not be regarded as translation at all. Quoting an English “*shijie nianjian*” (a World Yearbook), however, did not only express the author’s open-mindedness in the world “*shijie*,” but also presented a broader intellectual horizon. In so doing, more cultural capital

³⁷² The image of “*Dikang yu qufu*” (Resistance and Submission) appears in F.J. Mortimer ed., *Photograms of the Year 1927* (London: Iliffe & Sons Limited), Plate XXXIV. I examined the journals of 1920-1928, and did not locate the other two images.-Muray’s works were selected from different issues. As shown in the front page of *Photograms of the Year*, and as shown in Lin Zecang’s editor’s note in *Sheying huabao*, one could buy the journal in the international chain bookstore Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai. More discussion on Kelly and Walsh as well as the circulation of the photographic periodicals is in the next chapter on *Sheying huabao* and *Linglong*.

³⁷³ F. J. Mortimer ed., *Photograms of the Year 1925* (London: Iliffe & Sons Limited), p.II.

was transferred to nude photography. It seems that no one was bothered by the inaccuracy of the translation, thus the cultural capital did not diminish for that cause. It could be argued at this point that being “scientific” in SHMH meant more like having a welcoming attitude towards modern aesthetics, technology, and knowledge, rather than being strictly precise and accurate in what to be said. We will encounter these characteristics again with Ye Qianyu’s interpretation of the World Series.



Fig.3-1 Nude studies by Muray, SHMH 7 (June 2, 1928), 2.

Fig.3-2 “The Porcelain Figure,” in Mortimer ed., *Photograms of the Year 1925* (London: Iliffe & Sons Limited), Plate XXII. Private collection.

The appreciation of photography was more explicitly articulated in this same issue, in a separate essay titled “Muray’s Art.”³⁷⁴ This essay began with the confident assertion that the “Western arts are based on science (西洋藝術之以科學為基礎),” and then pointed out that “the invention of photography depended on scientific principles so as to apply the techniques. (攝影之成立，更賴科學原理以佐其技巧之運用).” According to the author Chenbo 辰伯,

³⁷⁴ Chenbo 辰伯, “Mulei zhi yishu” 沐雷之藝術 (On Muray’s Art), SHMH 7 (June 2, 1928), 7.

although photography came to the world much later than sculpture and architecture, the technology developed so rapidly that photography could be compared to painting and sculpture. He then discussed the importance of science in relation to art, and justified that the value of the fine arts depended on the content, not the techniques and tools (藝術之可貴，在於作品之內容，不在技巧與工具). In this framework, Chenbo praised Muray as “an extraordinary genius” (卓越的天才), and generously assessed Muray’s four nude studies.

Accompanied by the detailed analysis on the aesthetics and techniques, the comprehensive editorial efforts established an intellectual tone in the journal’s first introduction to art nude photography. Intentionally or not, this tone contributed to the legitimation of the forthcoming hundreds of female nudes, viewed as the perfect embodiment of science and art.

“Scientific” Source Material: Reproduction of Nude Photographs

From Issue 11 (June 30, 1928) to Issue 98 (March 15, 1930), SHMH continuously published 35 entries in the series *Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 世界人體之比較 (Comparing Human Bodies across the World).³⁷⁵ Only a limited number of nude photographs were published outside the series in SHMH.

Most typically, each series collected two to five photographs. They were exclusively naked women, covering different races from continents across the world. Clearly, the editors had planned beforehand how to thoughtfully organize the series. Racial aesthetics and eugenics were two of the most frequently emphasized and repeated themes in the interpretations that accompanied the images, written by Ye Qianyu.³⁷⁶ Unlike the erotic postcards selected by the BYHB, the World Series did not only exhibit Caucasian beauties with perfect curves, but also showcased the varieties of human bodily features. In this case, females presented for human

³⁷⁵ The original print shows that the series was numbered to Series 37, but the 18th and 28th Series never existed. Presumably, the misprinted or miscalculated numbers were not corrected. Series 23 was misprinted as Series 22, which resulted in the duplicated Series 22. Series 24 came in at the right place.

³⁷⁶ It is confirmed both by Ye’s signature in the interpretation and his memoir. See Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 83.

beings as a whole. With the exception of about 18 images, most photographs of human figures from the series possessed a fairly unified style: the women usually were standing straight, with their faces or backs to the camera, or sometimes showing the profile.³⁷⁷ The majority does not have any particular facial expressions, certainly no inviting expressions, as often shown in erotic postcards. Rarely do these women wear accessories, or wear any clothing. After studying a substantial amount of visual data, I conclude that these images do not belong to the category of erotic postcards, but of ethnographic images(s), specifically from the German book *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* by Dr. Carl Heinrich Stratz (1858-1924) published at the turn of the twentieth century. In the following section, I will exhibit evidence of the connection between SHMH and Stratz's book.

Evidence of the Reproduction

The 35 fragments of the World Series contain 120 images in total, among which 114 are photographs of living women.³⁷⁸ Except for 13 images, I found that 107 photographs (about 90%) in the series were possibly reproduced from one of the three editions of *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*: the 16th-17th (1922), the 18th-19th (1923), or the 20th edition.³⁷⁹ All three editions contained 426 images in the same order, and offered timely feasibility to travel across geographic borders before the publication of the World Series in 1928. Ye Qianyu's memoir further supports my conclusion. He mentioned:

“The seventh page of SHMH continuously published the column ‘Comparing Human Bodies across the World’ since 1929. Each issue had one set of female nude photographs, with a focus on the analysis of the different physiological attributes of the peoples across the world. It was me who wrote the explanations, and the source of the photographs was a photo album published in Germany, [in which there were] female nude photographs across the world. 《上海漫畫》

³⁷⁷ There is one image in no.15 (July 28, 1928), 6; three in no.16 (Aug. 4, 1928), 6; five images of sculptures in no.17 (Aug. 11, 1928), 6; one in no. 22 (Sept. 15, 1928), 6; three in no.28 (Oct. 27, 1928), 16; one in no. 38 (Jan. 5, 1929), 3; two in no.47 (March 16, 1929), 3; two in no.68 (Aug. 10, 1929), 6; one in no.96 (March 1, 1930), 3.

³⁷⁸ The six images are one Batik painting, no.17 (Aug. 11, 1928), 6; one photo of mummy, no.49 (March 30, 1929), 3; four drawings of body proportions, no.47 (March 16, 1929), 3, no.48 (March 23, 1929), 3, no.49 (March 30, 1929), 3, no.55 (May 11, 1929), 6.

³⁷⁹ I compared the 1902, 1904, 1922, 1927 editions of *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, and it turned out that some photos included in SHMH only exist in the 1922 and 1927 edition. The 13 images will be explained in the section of “other sources.”

第七版，自 1929 年起連續發表《世界人體比較》欄目，每期一套女性裸體照片，著重分析世界各地不同民族的生理特徵，由我執筆寫說明，照片來源是德國出版的一本世界婦女裸體攝影集。”³⁸⁰

It is intriguing to observe how Ye, as the editor who selected and interpreted the images, remembered the visual source of the World Series. After more than half a century, Ye's impression of the World Series was as a column of “female nude photographs,” and Stratz's book was merely a “photo album full of female nudes across the world.” Furthermore, he used the term “*luoti*” instead of “*renti*” to refer to Stratz's book. One could argue that Ye tried to describe the content of the World Series to readers, and *luoti* was the term more common than *renti* in the 1990s when the memoir was written; yet, it could also be argued that Ye, as many other SHMH people, regarded the ethnographical images in SHMH to be a variant of *luoti* culture. He was undoubtedly interested in the visual references in Stratz's book, but perhaps understood few of its arguments. The language barrier was certainly one of the problems, though it seems that he gained necessary translational aid, and most of his interpretations actually accord well with the original references.

According to Ye's memoir, the World Series was considered to be “*youshang fenghua* 有傷風化” (offensive to general standards of behavior/offensive to social morals) thus sued by the Provisional Court of the International Settlement (公共租界臨時法院) in Shanghai in the fall of 1928.³⁸¹ Ye acted as the representative for SHMH on the court, as the Zhang Guangyu brothers were reluctant to do so. The Zhang brothers hired a good lawyer for Ye, and witnessed the trial. Cleverly, the lawyer brought the “German photo album of female nudes across the world (德國版世界婦女裸體攝影集)” as evidence. Ye remembered that the lawyer:

“...finally took out the German nude photo album...and pointed out that it was a document on the science of physiology which had nothing to do with social morals. The interpretations by SHMH editors were written completely from the perspective of physiological structure of human beings, [so as to] demonstrate variant physical features of variant ethnic groups across the world. It was purely academic discussion and nothing to do with [the] so-called social moral question...”

³⁸⁰ Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 83. My emphasis.

³⁸¹ Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 83-84

最後拿出那本德文版的人體影集，指出這是一種生理科學研究的文獻，與風化無關，《上海漫畫》編者的說明文字也完全從人體生理構造出發，論證世界不同民族的不同體態，純粹是學術討論，一點也不涉及所謂的社會風化問題...”³⁸²

This paragraph not only confirms the connection between SHMH and “a German book,” but also shows important points to understand the negotiation between the legal aspects and editorial practice. Firstly, SHMH indeed had access to the original copy of the complete “German book,” neither the book in French or Japanese translation, nor scattered reproduction of the photos. Secondly, Ye reiterated his impression that the book was “a photo album of nudes,” though he used the term *renti* (not *luoti*) to refer to it this time. I have argued in the first chapter that the term *renti* used here was a variant to signify *luoti*, with an emphasis on the “scientific” function of nude images. Thirdly, the lawyer defended, and of course Ye agreed, that SHMH’s visual components should not be regarded as transgressive, and the editorial practice and intention should be legitimated, precisely because all the images were reproduced from “a German book,” a scholarly product focusing on “science.”

Also according to Ye’s narratives, the entire case was surprisingly finished “within ten minutes,” and soon after SHMH was acquitted by the court, with the judge accepting their reasoning as valid defense. At the same time, the case also demonstrated that the visual reproduction of a German book of nudes was *not* illegal. It seems that reproduction of the images was well tolerated, and was not considered violation of copyright law.³⁸³ This message encouraged the SHMH editors, and they continued publishing the World Series after the case. Judging from the increasing circulation numbers, readers responded positively.³⁸⁴

No further archives or related narratives have been found that compare to Ye’s memoir. Yet, his story is rather convincing, if we examine SHMH closely. In 1928, the World Series 1-16 was published regularly from Issue 11 (June 30, 1928) to Issue 28 (Oct. 27, 1928), almost

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Little scholarly work on the copyright issue of periodicals in Republican China is available. Fei-Hsien Wang, “Creating New Order in the Knowledge Economy: The Curious Journey of Copyright in China, 1868--1937” (Ph.D., The University of Chicago, 2012); Pelzer, Nils. “Die Anfänge Des Urheberrechts in China (The Start of the Copyright Law in China),” in *Tradition? Variation? Plagiat? – Motive Und Ihre Adaption in China*, eds. Lena Henningsen and Martin Hofmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013).

³⁸⁴ Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 83-84.

every week, occasionally every two weeks. Then, the series did not appear until nearly two months later, in Issue 36 (Dec. 22, 1928). In issue 36, Ye wrote that “when this column was stranded, readers must have understood how we struggled with this terrible environment. Now we have reached an understanding, and readers must have waited very long. From this issue on, we will publish [the column] regularly, and continue our unfinished work. (本欄擱淺的時候，諒讀者都已明晰我們怎樣的和惡環境經過一番奮鬥。現在我們已被諒解，想讀者期待已久，從本期起當逐期的發表，繼續未完的工作。)”³⁸⁵ The two month break between issue 28 and 36 should have been the time when SHMH was officially informed that the World Series was considered problematic. Examining how SHMH treated nudes in these issues will help us understand where the negotiable boundary might have been located.

In the following section, Stratz’s major publications and the circulation of his ideas in China will be outlined. I argue that Stratz’s books and ideas were considered scientific and academic both locally and globally, in the first four decades of the 20th century. Therefore, by selecting and reproducing images from Stratz’s book, SHMH editors practiced the strategy of “science and art,” and further empowered nudes with “scientific” attributes.

Carl Heinrich Stratz’s “Science” on Racial Aesthetics

Racial aesthetic concepts can be traced back to anthropologist Johan Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), an important figure among the German intelligentsia at the time. At the turn of the eighteenth century, European physicians and anthropologists actively promoted racial typologies. One of the most important popularizers of racial theories of the period, Carl Heinrich Stratz, believed that each race had a holistic psycho-physical constitution, and only women of the most highly developed race - the Nordic race - could be genuinely beautiful.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 17,” SHMH 17 (Dec. 22, 1928), 3.

³⁸⁶ Michael Hau dedicated a chapter titled “Racial Aesthetics” to a discussion on figures like Stratz in his book *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 82-100.

After spending several years studying medicine in Heidelberg, Freiburg and Leipzig, Germany, Stratz served as a sanitary officer in the Dutch army in Indonesia between 1887 and 1892.³⁸⁷ After which, he authored numerous popular “scientific” books in the first three decades of the twentieth century, such as *Die Frauen auf Java – eine gynäkologische Studie* (Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1897); *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers* (the 1st edition, Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1898);³⁸⁸ *Die Frauenkleidung und ihre natürliche Entwicklung* (the 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1900); *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (the 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1901); *Die Körperformen in Kunst und Leben der Japaner* (the 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1902); *Der Körper des Kindes und seine Pflege* (the 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1903); *Was sind Juden? Eine ethnographisch-anthropologische Studie* (Vienna: Verlag F. Tempsky; Leipzig: Verlag G. Freytag, 1903), *Die Körperpflege der Frau* (the 1st edition, Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1907), and *Lebensalter und Geschlechter* (Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1926). Stratz’s books were almost exclusively published by the Ferdinand Enke Publishing house, leading publishers of medical literature. These books were so popular that many of them enjoyed multiple reprints. Stratz’s second book *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers* (The Beauty of Female Bodies), for example, was first published in 1898. In two years, the book reached its eighth edition, and eventually a 45th edition in 1941. Another of Stratz’s bestsellers, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (The Racial Beauty of Females), was first published in 1901, had its second edition in 1902, and by 1927, it had already reached its twentieth edition.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ Stratz was born in Odessa on June 14, 1858. He registered at Heidelberg University for winter semester 1877/1878, winter semester 1878/1879 and summer semester 1879. Later, he also studied in Freiburg during winter semester 1879/1880, and then in Leipzig in winter semester 1881/1882. On Aug. 2, 1883, Stratz received his doctoral title in Heidelberg. My description of Stratz’s life and research is based on H. Grimm, “Carl Heinrich Stratz (1858 to 1924), one of the First Researcher in Growth and Development-Chronological Tables of his Life and Work,” in *Sonderabdruck aus Ärztliche Jugendkunde* vol.70 no.3 (1979) (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth Verlag)..

³⁸⁸ Searching in Worldcat shows that the English translation, *The Female Beauty*, was published by August Koster in Amsterdam in around 1900. I have not examined the original copy.

³⁸⁹ The time line of different editions are as follows: the 1st (1901), 2nd (1902), 3rd (1902), 4th (1903), 5th (1904), 6th (1907), 7th (1911), 8th (1917), 9th (1918), 10th-11th (1920), 12th (1921), 13th-15th (1922), 16th-17th (1922), 18th-

These two books were richly illustrated with photographs of female nudes, and increasingly used nudes as illustrations in their later editions. Taking *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* as an example, the first edition used 226 images, and then the second (1902) and the fourth editions (1903) used 233 images. The image number in the fifth edition (1904) reached 271, while the seventh edition (1911) 346 images. The number of the images continued increasing, and the 16th-17th editions in 1922 included 426 images, almost twice the amount as the first edition. After Stratz's death in 1924, the number of the images remained at 426 until the 22nd edition in 1941. In each edition, not all the images were nude, but nudes occupied at least half, and the remaining images also referenced female bodies. Similar situations occurred with Stratz's other books such as *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers*.³⁹⁰ The fact that there were radical increases of visual components in Stratz's books - mostly photographs of female nudes - shows the marketing strategy by the A. Enke Publishing House on the one hand; on the other, the equally increased circulation of the books shows the positive response to the exotic women by the readers, perhaps mostly, but not limited to, the German speaking area. In this sense, Stratz's "scientific" books were promoted by the large amount of female nudes; at the same time, his books also promoted readers' interest in "women across the world."

Having used identical photographs to illustrate different books, Stratz appeared to possess a vast visual library of female bodies, to which both Stratz and his friends contributed their private collections.³⁹¹ In the chapter titled "Major Mongolian Races" in the second edition

19th (1923), 20th (1927), 21st (1940) and 22nd (1941). The twentieth edition lasted longer, and the 21st edition came out 13 years later, in contrast to the frequency of his books reprinted in the 1910s. The editions that I have examined and compared for this research are the 2nd (1902), 5th (1904), 13th-15th (1922), 16th-17th (1922), 20th (1927), 21st (1940) and 22nd (1941). Michael Hau used the 5th (1904) for his research. The circulation numbers of those books remain unknown. Recently, his books were reprinted, for example, *Die Frauen Auf Jav: Eine Gynäkologische Studie* (BiblioBazaar, 2010) and *Die Frauenkleidung (German Edition)* (Let Me Print, 2012).

³⁹⁰ The 1st edition in 1898 included 69 images, and 17th edition in 1905 had 270 images, then 303 images in the 22nd edition, and the 38th and 39th ones 350 images.

³⁹¹ The acknowledgment of the book *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (the 2nd edition, 1902) mentioned a long list of image contributors, and it can give us a glimpse at Stratz's global networks: "Gustav Fritsch in Berlin, Johannes Ranke in Munich, Ernst Grosse in Freiburg, L. Blankenberg, L. F. Driessen, J. Groesbeek, C. Kraaij in Amsterdamm, Doering, P. Ehrenreich, E. Gutscher, C. Günther, Schweityer, C. Von den Steinen, R. Stratz, Tanera,

(1902), he discussed Chinese women, illustrated by six photographs, of which two displayed the front and back of an unclothed 18-year-old girl, of Chinese and Malay heritage.³⁹² According to the explanation, the two nudes came from “Hagen’s Anthropologist Atlas.”³⁹³ In his trip to Hong Kong and Canton in April, 1892, Stratz did not have any opportunities to see a naked Chinese woman. His “first and last time to see more than the face, hands and feet of a pure-blooded Chinese woman” was an unexpected encounter with a fisherwoman.³⁹⁴ He was utterly fascinated by her body, especially her feet and hands, and described her as “a little yellow ivory figure” (“*wie ein gelbliches Elfenbeinfigürchen*,” p74). The source of the photos of the clothed Chinese women remains unclear, and Stratz only claimed that he got the photographs from his friends and that he should not disclose more information on the subject. As for the sources of the rest of the photographs, the captions have offered some hints, which accords with the names he wrote in the acknowledgements.³⁹⁵

Stratz’s book indeed provided readers a spectacular “world” of female bodies, and one could argue that his books contributed to readers’ imagination of the globe, perhaps even readers of both sexes. Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), a British physician, psychologist, and social reformer who is well-known for his study on human sexuality, for instance, favorably valued Stratz’s work in his influential books on the psychology of sex. When discussing the power of the images in Stratz’s books, Ellis wrote:

Widenmann in Berlin, Alexandre in Brussels, R. Temesváry in Budapest, F. Kleinwächter in Czernowitz, R. Rzkens in Cezlon, B. Hagen in Frankfurt a. M., Max and Berta Ferrars in Freiburg, Groeneveldt im Haag., Kuhn-Faber and L. Meyer in Kopenhagen, Schmeltz in Leiden, R. de Villiers in London, E. Selena in Munich, F. Legars in Paris, J. F. Snelleman in Rotterdam, Helene Edlund ind O. Montelius in Stockholm, A. Thilenius in Strassburg; A. Enke in Stuttgart, Westenberg in Sumatra, D. H. Van der Goot in Transvaal, R. Shuffeldt in Washington, R. Von Larisch in Wien and R. ten Kate in Yokohama.”

³⁹² Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1902, 72-85. The two nude photographs are on page 82.

³⁹³ Bernhard Hagen, *Anthropologischer Atlas ostasiatischer und melanesischer Völker* (Kreidel’s Verlag, 1898).

³⁹⁴ Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1902, 75, “Das war das erste und das letzte mal, das ich bei einer Chinesin von reinem Blut mehr ale das Gesicht, die Hände und die Füße gesehen habe, und da ich nicht annehmen kann, dass dies arme, kleine Fischermädchen eine seltene Ausnahme darstellt, so bin ich wohl zu den Schluss berechtigt, dass unter den chinesischen Frauen und Mädchen noch zahlreichere so zierlich und hübschgebildete Wesen sich finden.”

³⁹⁵ Images in Stratz’s book were reproduced from multiple sources, such as Wilhelm Plüschow’s collection, Kraay’s collection.

“...Early familiarity with the nude in classic and early Italian art should be combined at puberty with an equal familiarity with photographs of beautiful and naturally developed nude models. In former years books containing such pictures in a suitable and attractive manner to place before the young were difficult to procure. Now this difficulty no longer exists. Dr. C. H. Stratz, of The Hague, has been the pioneer in this matter, and in a series of beautiful books (notably in *Der Körper des Kindes*, *Die Schönheit des Weiblichen Körpers* and *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, all published by Enke in Stuttgart), he has brought together a large number of admirably selected photographs of nude but entirely chaste figures. More recently Dr. Shuffeldt, of Washington (who dedicates his work to Stratz), has published his *Studies of the Human Form* in which, in the same spirit, he has brought together the results of his own studies of the naked human form during many years.”³⁹⁶

Ellis' impression on “a large number of admirably selected photographs of nude” figures collected in Stratz's books was that they were “entirely chaste,” which offers an important record of historical feedback related to Stratz's images. Another author Ellis mentioned, “Dr. Shuffeldt in Washington,” dedicated his book to Stratz. Shuffeldt was among those in the long list in Stratz's acknowledgements with whom Stratz exchanged nude photographs. A genuinely global circulation of visual and textual materials featuring nudes already existed in the early 20th century.

Equally relevant is the example of Heinz von Perckhammer, the Austrian photographer I have discussed in Chapter Two, who was also familiar with Stratz's works. In the preface to his book *The Culture of the Nude in China*, he mentioned that “it was infinitely difficult to approach the models. The difficulty of seeing a nude woman, Straatz [*sic*, should be “Stratz” as correctly spelt in the German version--author], amongst others, described in his work *Beauty of Race of Women*. It was only possible after a lengthy acquaintance and a searching study of psychology of these women to bring them to the camera.”³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex Volume 6 Sex in Relation to Society*, 1927. This book has been digitalized by the Gutenberg Project, see digital version pages 55-56, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13610>.

³⁹⁷ Heinz von Perckhammer, *The Culture of the Nude in China* (Berlin: Eigenbrödler Verlag, 1928), 7. In his German version, Stratz' name and his book title were correctly spelt: “*Es war unsäglich schwer, an die Modelle heranzukommen. Die Schwierigkeit, eine Frau nackt zu sehen, hat u.a. Stratz, in seine ‘Rassenschönheit des Weibes’ (S.91) richtig geschildert.*,” Perckhammer, *Edle Nacktheit in China*, (Berlin: Eigenbrödler Verlag, 1928), preface. Perckhammer did not show clearly which edition of the book he meant. The 2nd (1902), 16th-17th (1922), and the 20th editions (1927) of *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* do not have related content on page 91, whereas the 5th edition (1904) does.

Stratz's Scientific Ideas in China

Stratz's books were widely spread across the world. Not only German speakers read Stratz's books, but Chinese, too, had a chance to interpret his thoughts, in many different ways.³⁹⁸ The earliest example I located is found in a Chinese book entitled *Nüxing mei* 女性美 (Feminine Beauty) published in 1926. The book was a translation by Ji Zhiren 季志仁 (1901-?) from part of a 1923 French book titled *Les Trois âges de la femme* (The Three Ages of Woman), written by French physician Héliana Gaboriau.³⁹⁹ Focusing on the definition of feminine beauty, the

³⁹⁸ Zhang Jingsheng mentioned in his memoir that he occasionally got his hands on a book, in which “a German travelled around the world, and specially collected [images of] grotesque parts in female bodies, such as ‘breasts like cloth bags,’ such as huge vagina of Heteto Tribes [?] (一本德國人遊歷世界專門搜集婦女身上的奇形怪狀，如布袋奶哪，如荷忒托民族的廣陰大部哪)” Zhang Jingsheng mentioned neither the name of the book, nor the name of Stratz. See Zhang Jingsheng, “Fusheng mantan” 浮生漫談, in *Zhang Jingsheng wenji xiajuan* 張競生文集下卷 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chuban she, 1988), 85. Zhang Peizhong 張培忠, an author of Zhang Jingsheng's biography, claimed that the book Zhang Jingsheng mentioned was Stratz's book which was brought to Peking University by a missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (1927-1916, Chinese name: Ding Weiliang 丁韞良). See Zhang Peizhong, *Wenyao yu xianzhi: Zhang Jingsheng zhuan* 文妖与先知：張競生傳 (Literary Demon and Prophet) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008), 73. I had thought the book was Stratz's, but it may not be the case. Zhang Jingsheng, in another section of his memoir, mentioned that this book collected images of vaginas from different women all over the world, which Stratz's book does not. See Zhang Jingsheng, *Liangdu lü Ou huixiang lu* 兩度旅歐回想錄, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌 2 no.6, 1932. The book could be a different one, which I have not been able to locate. Or, the book Zhang Jingsheng read was Stratz's book, but his memory focused more on the sexual organs than anything else, so as to convince his readers where his enthusiasm on the sexology originated.

³⁹⁹ See Mme. H. Gaboriau, Ji Zhiren 季志仁 tran., *Nüxing mei* 女性美 *La Beaute Feminine* [Feminine Beauty] (Shanghai: Beixin shuju, 1926). Sun Fuxi 孫福熙 (1898-1962) wrote the preface to the book, which was published in *Xin nüxing*, see Sun Fuxi, Shenme shi nüxing mei 什麼是女性美 (What is Feminine Beauty), *Xin nüxing* vol.1 no.5 (1926), 359-362. The book was translated from Héliana Gaboriau, *Les trois âges de la femme: puberté, maternité, ménopause* (Paris: Larousse, 1923.) Ji Zhiren studied in Paris in the 1920s, and he was a close friend of Chen Xuezhao 陳學昭 (1906-1991), a well-known female writer, and Cai Boling 蔡柏齡 (1906-1988), the Berlin-born son of Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940). It is said that the three had a love triangle in Paris. No additional scholarly research is available on Ji. Some journalistic essays on Chen Xuezhao's love life mention that Ji studied medicine in Paris, which perhaps can explain why he was interested in translating the French book. Cf. Cai Dengshan 蔡登山, *Chen Xuezhao de ai yu bei'ai* 陳學昭的愛與被愛 (Chen Xuezhao's Loving and Being Loved), *Jinan shibao* (Aug. 15, 2011), B10, <http://jnsb1.e23.cn/html/jnsb/20110815/jnsb9579324.html> (accessed on 2013). Among other essays on the beauty of female bodies, the book *Nüxing mei* was reprinted in *Mei de shenmi yu mote'er* 美的神秘與模特兒 (The Mystery of Beauty and Models) (Taipei: Dalin chubanshe, 1973, 1-46). For more about Héliana Gaboriau and her viewpoints on women's hygiene and sex education, see Mary Lynn

book presents the idea that good physical proportion reflects ideal beauty and health, as the book cover clearly illustrates. (Fig.3-3) This type of visual reference frequently appeared in Stratz's books, and I will show an additional example when analyzing the images in SHMH. In Ji's translation (page 8), the author mentions that "the analysis on the physical beauty (外形美的分析)" is indispensable but has already been done by "Ch. Stratz [sic]" in his book "*Funü de mei* 婦女的美 (*La Beauté de la Femme*)" with "scientific spirit (科學的精神)," and his research is very "complete."⁴⁰⁰ The author's description here is simple: if readers think her description inadequate, they could extend their reading to Stratz's book. On pages 81 to 83, Stratz is quoted under the misspelt name "Ch. H. Strats [sic]," arguing that the highest goal of natural feminine beauty is to obtain "individual health and racial preservation." In fact, as early as in 1900, Stratz's book, most likely *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers*, had already been translated into French as *La beauté de la femme* (Paris: Gaultier, Magnier, 1900). Like his books in German, the French translation was reprinted many times in later years, 1902 and 1905, for example. Through these translations, Héline Gaboriau familiarized herself with Stratz. In an indirect way, Stratz's ideas were introduced to Chinese readers by means of this translated French book.

Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s-1930s* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); and Mary Lynn Stewart. "Sex Education and Sexual Initiation of Bourgeois French Girls, 1880-1930," in *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750-1960*, ed. Mary Jo Maynes, Birgitte Søland, and Christina Benninghaus (Indiana University Press, 2005), 172.

⁴⁰⁰ Mme. H. Gaboriau, Ji Zhiren tran., *ibid*, 8.



Fig.3-3 Cover, Mme. H. Gaboriau, Ji Zhiren tran., *Nüxing mei* 女性美/*La Beaute Feminine* (Feminine Beauty) (Shanghai: Beixin shuju, 1926). Shanghai Library.

Stratz's thoughts were further expressed in a subsequent article in the journal *Yishujie zhoukan* 藝術界週刊 (Art World Weekly) by Zha Shiyuan 查士元 (?-?), who was primarily known as a translator of modern Japanese literature.⁴⁰¹ Entitled “Nüxing Xingtǐ Zhi Meihua” 女性形體之美化 (The Building of Female Bodies), Zha Shiyuan first emphasized the importance of women's healthy physiques, and then introduced the “correct body gestures” before listing several exercises that women should practice at home.⁴⁰² Similar to Ji's translation, Zha quoted but misspelt Stratz's name in the book. Explicitly, Zha mentioned that his article was based on a German book by “*Deguo wai de la zhi boshi* 德國外德拉志博士 (a German, Dr. Waidelazhi).” Seemingly, Zha had no idea what Stratz's original name would sound like, if “wai” was not a printing mistake. Nor did Zha know that the Chinese title *Nüxing*

⁴⁰¹ I have not located additional biographical information of Zha Shiyuan. Shumei Shi mentioned this person's name in her book *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 241, 401, 402. By checking the Dacheng Old Periodical Database, I found that Zha Shiyuan was fairly active in the literary circle in the 1920s. His publication and translation covered important journals such as *Xin yue* 新月, *Wenxue zhoubao* 文學週報 and *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌.

⁴⁰² Zha Shiyuan 查士元, “Nüxing xingtǐ zhi meihua” 女性形體之美化 (The Beautification of Female Bodies), *Yishujie Zhoukan* 藝術界週刊 (Feb. 5, 1927): 11–15.

mei yanjiu 女性美研究 (A Study on Feminine Beauty) was not the direct translation of the German book he quoted, albeit misspelt, “Dil Körper [sic.] Pflege der Frau” (*Die Körperpflege der Frau*. Women’s Personal Hygiene). Due to the great fame of German doctors and their medical treatment, perhaps it was not that important to the Chinese writers and readers who Stratz really was, and which book he wrote, as long as a German authority supported the viewpoints in the article. Considering that Zha used to study in Japan and later translated Japanese modern literary works, it is highly possible that Zha adopted Stratz’s ideas from the Japanese translation of Stratz’s book published in 1924, which was exactly entitled “A Study on Feminine Beauty” (女性美の研究).⁴⁰³ This case shows that the Japanese translation might be the second possible route for the import of Stratz’s thoughts to China, as demonstrated by many other cases in intellectual history.⁴⁰⁴

The third example is the different Chinese translations of Havelock Ellis’ *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Ellis and his thoughts on sexuality were one of the intellectual attractions in 1920s China. Renowned Chinese cultural figures such as Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967), Zhang Jingsheng, and Pan Guangdan 潘光旦 (1899-1967) all dedicated discussions on Ellis or his works. These people all encountered Stratz’s name, although no evidence has been found that they were specifically familiar with Stratz’s published works. For instance, as early as in 1926, Zhang Jingsheng selected three translated portions of Ellis’ book entitled “Shijue yu xingmei de guanxi” 视觉与性美的关系 (Relations between Visuality and Sexual Aesthetics) in his short-lived journal *Xin Wenhua* 新文化 (New Culture, 1926-1927).⁴⁰⁵ In the translations, Stratz was mentioned multiple times. The translator was Peng Zhaoliang 彭兆良(?-?), who also worked as editor and contributor for both *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao* in the 1930s.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Carl H. Stratz, Yasuda Tokutarō 安田徳太郎 tran., *Joseibi no kenkyu* 女性美の研究 (A Study on Feminine Beauty) (Tokyo: Ars, 1924).

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Liu, *Translingual Practice*.

⁴⁰⁵ Ailisi 霭理思 (Havelock Ellis), Peng Zhaoliang tran., “Shijue yu xingmei de guanxi” 视觉与性美的关系 (Relations between Visuality and Sexual Aesthetics), *Xin wenhua* 1 no.1 (Dec. 1926): 22-23.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Chapter Four.

Zhang Jingsheng's opponent, Pan Guangdan, was interested in Ellis since his studies at Tsinghua University in 1920, and both translated and published his translation of Ellis' entire volume under the name of *Xing xinli xue* 性心理學 (Psychology of Sex) in 1941.⁴⁰⁷

An additional example was a 1936 book entitled *Nüxing renti mei yu kexue meirong fa* 女性人體美與科學美容法 (Feminine Physical Beauty and Scientific Methods of Beauty Care) by Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1891-1968), an important art educator and critic on aesthetics in Republican Shanghai.⁴⁰⁸ The book claims that females are the most important factor in forming the world of aesthetic values, and that it is no longer adequate for women to only pay attention to their faces. Instead, they ought to pursue “*jiankang mei* 健康美 (healthy beauty),” cosmetic beauty, and beauty in fashion. Moreover, the author recommends that women should update their scientific knowledge on medicine and pharmacy, so as to serve the ultimate purpose of the cultivation of mental health as well as physical beauty. The author listed beauty standards for each part of the female body before he gave concrete suggestions on beauty care. One section of the book briefly discussed racial aesthetics under the subtitle “*Shijie nüxing renti zhi youlie*” 世界女性人體美之優劣 (A comparison of female bodies across the world).⁴⁰⁹ Without giving any specific reference, Yu mentioned that according to the research by a “German anthropologist” (*Deguo renleixuejia* 德國人類學家), the most excellent beauties in the world were Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese women, although the beauty ideal in these countries were changing. The description carried the idea that each race would have a holistic and unique psycho-physical constitution, and the white race possessed universal beauty ideal. This understanding possibly had some connections to Stratz's books, particularly *The Racial Beauty of Females*.

⁴⁰⁷ See introduction to Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, *Xing xinli xue* 性心理學 (Psychology of Sex) (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shuguan, 1941). Reprinted in 1994.

⁴⁰⁸ Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, *Nüxing renti mei yu kexue meirong fa* 女性人體美與科學美容法 (Feminine Physical Beauty and Scientific Methods of Beauty Care) (Shanghai: Xinya shudian, 1937).

⁴⁰⁹ Yu Jifan, *ibid*, 55-56.

All of the four examples seem to provide a cultural and historical context in which Stratz's ideas on racial aesthetics were linguistically transmitted: they were often associated with translational register, full of foreign regions and peoples spelt in Latin letters; the vocabulary involved scholarly words like *yanjiu* 研究 (study), *kexue* 科學 (science), *renleixue* 人類學 (anthropologist), *renzhong* 人種 (race) and so on; discussion on feminine beauty eventually pointed to the physical improvement that Chinese women should strive for; and that improvement would be connected either to nation-state building, or the progress of a modern society and civilization. Interestingly, none of the above mentioned examples used the rich visual references from Stratz's books. In this sense, SHMH found its unique place in the (re-)production of the knowledge on racial aesthetics.

3.3 Editorial Practice: Discussing Science through Nudes or Exhibiting Nudes under the Name of Science?

The previous discussion has explored “scientific” aspects in SHMH from the desires of editorship, the editorial understanding of nude photography, and the nature of the source materials. The next section will continue the exploration by investigating the editorial practice in the World Series in detail. I argue that SHMH largely reproduced images from one of Stratz' books, but also revealed their own editorial agency by creatively re-arranging, (mis-)interpreting, and adding images. In so doing, the SHMH editors, especially Ye Qianyu, presented the nudes in the World Series from primarily a “scientific” perspective. The following approaches could be deduced: SHMH editors constructed a “world” through nudes to the readers; sought for a proper place for Chinese (women) in the world; and reiterated the scientific topics of race, eugenics, and physiology, while reflecting on the current situation of Chinese race/women.

Constructing a “World” through Nudes

As mentioned previously, 107 photographs in the World Series were reproduced from Stratz’s book. This, however, does not mean that SHMH editors mechanically copied and translated everything from the original into their journal. From the linguistic perspective, even if the editors had wanted to, the language barrier must have had been exceedingly challenging to overcome, as no evidence indicates any SHMH editor understood German.⁴¹⁰ That is perhaps the reason why Ye’s interpretations seem to be rather different to the originals. From the visual perspective, the original order of the images appears to be shuffled in SHMH, and the combination of the images in individual series seems to be inventive. The different aesthetic qualities between a book and a magazine might partly explain the rearrangement on the one hand. On the other hand, it could be argued that Ye created a “world” through digesting and re-arranging nude images from a foreign source, but it was largely based on his own logic and understanding. During the course of rearrangement, the meaning of “world,” as part of “science,” was added to the female nudes.

Unlike other contemporary pictorials such as *Beiyang huabao* and *Sheying huabao*, the “world” of nudes that Ye constructed not only included the so-called “white” race (Caucasian women) and “yellow” race (mainly Japanese, Chinese, and Mongolian women), but also 21 photos (about 1/5 of the total) of races then classified as “black” or “brown.”⁴¹¹ I consider this point one of the major differences between SHMH and other pictorials in my study. The emphasis on so-called “white” and “yellow” races was not a coincidence. As Frank Dikötter pointed out, some primary school and middle school textbooks in the 1910s and 1920s carried standard narratives on racial politics, emphasizing the evolutionary advantage of “white” and

⁴¹⁰ Ye had basic English education in middle school, and he could roughly understand English newspapers. See Shanfeng ed., *Ye Qianyu zixu*, 127.

⁴¹¹ The classification of races by “colors” is largely considered outmoded, pejorative, and inappropriate today, and clearly has a negative connotation. It was, however, widely used in the first several decades in the 20th century. In this study, all the classification of races by color or “racial variants” represents a historical view or historical terminology, not present-day.

“yellow” races in the world.⁴¹² The exhibition of “black” and “brown” races, admittedly, were aimed more or less at being visually spectacular, or *qi* (the extraordinary, the fantastic, or exotic), as I mentioned when analyzing editorial choices. This is partly due to the engagement of the gaze by colonial anthropologists behind the photographs in the 19th century. To a certain extent, the alienated gaze at the non-“white” races can also be sensed in the depictions of Miao people. As a result, these two sets of materials in SHMH could not avoid the intervisual connections, even if they were not juxtaposed on one page, not to mention the possible intertextual discussion.

Fig.3-5, for instance, is the first product of the World Series. It contains four nude photos of “black,” “yellow,” “brown,” and “white” races: “*Feizhou Huodingzu de furen*” 斐洲霍丁族的婦人 (An African Hottentot Woman), “*Riben zhi shaonü*” 日本之少女 (A Japanese Maiden), “*Ershi sui zhi Yindu shaofu*” 二十歲之印度少婦 (A Twenty Years Old Indian Young Woman), and “*Shiju sui zhi Deguo shaonü*” 十九歲之德國少女 (A Nineteen Years Old German Maiden).⁴¹³ The four identical images can be found in Stratz’s 1927 book, being arranged on four distant pages of 101, 295, 530 and the front illustration.⁴¹⁴ Compared to the original captions in Stratz’s book, three out of four Chinese captions are rather accurate, and at least not incorrect. Only one caption, “Indian Young Woman,” is somewhat confusing, as the

⁴¹² For example, a 1921 curriculum of reading material in a primary school states “Mankind is divided into five races. The yellow and white races are relatively strong and intelligent. Because the other races are feeble and stupid, they are being exterminated by the white race. Only the yellow race competes with the white race. This is so-called evolution [...] Among the contemporary races that could be called superior, there are only the yellow and the white races. China is [i.e. Belongs to] the yellow race.” Quoted from Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (“Jindai Zhongguo Zhi Zhongzu Guannian 近代中國之種族觀念”) (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 163, originally from L. Wiegner, *Moralisme officiel des ecoles*, en 1920, Jien-hien, 1921, p180, original Chinese text. Dikötter’s book does not cover the racial discourse in popular periodicals or Stratz’s racial aesthetics in China.

⁴¹³ Qian, “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao 1*,” SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.

⁴¹⁴ The four images are from pages 101 (“Fig. 73 Hottentottin mit Steatopygie”), 295 (“Fig.223 Japanerin von 18 Jahren”), front illustration (“Singhalesin”) and 530 (“Fig.397. Dunkle Bayerin von neunzehn Jahren”) in Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1927. Today the word “*Hottentottin* (Hottentot)” is regarded as pejorative thus replaced by “Khoikhoi.”

original German explanation is merely one word “*Singhalesin*” (Sinhala), the ethnic group that is found primarily in Sri Lanka.⁴¹⁵

With visual juxtaposition and captions, the editorial selection covered four ethnicities of four skin colors from four regions, and outlined the perceived racial variants in the “world.” The distinctive physical features were not only presented in the images, but also explained in Ye’s interpretation as follows:

“Comparing Human Bodies across the World 1

The beauty of the contour in female bodies lies in the charming and soft curves. Surely, fullness and resilience are the correct standards for muscles. As for the structure of all the bones, most black people have extremely long hands; African Hottentot women have especially developed hips, which stick out of the body. The lower limbs of Japanese women are too short, not compatible to their trunks. The Indian women are well developed, and their muscles are full and strong. The way their limbs and trunks match is slightly masculine (稍帶有男性的情味). With natural figures, in addition to the environment and habits, white women have an excellent opportunity to be well protected, and who, no matter the [skin] tone, contours, muscles and bones, [I] think, exceed others. However, from a different standpoint, sometimes we have an extreme appreciation of other kinds of people. For example, when black people are reveling in dancing, or, when a black-and-white mixed-race dancer is performing half nakedly, it acts as another force to stimulate our nerves.

世界人體之比較一

女性的肉體，其輪廓之美，在於有韻致而柔軔的弧線；其肌肉當然以豐滿而富於彈性為正確的標準，至於全部骨骼的支配，黑人大都具有特長的兩手，斐洲霍丁族的婦人，其臀部特別發達，伸出於體外。日本婦人，則下肢過短，與軀幹不稱。印度的女性，發育十分健全，肌肉飽滿而結實，四肢與軀幹的支配，稍帶有男性的情味。白種女性，以天然的身材，加以環境與習慣的關係，有極好的機會使她們好好的保護起來，不論色調，輪廓，肌肉，骨骼，都覺得是超過其他的。但是因為立場的不同，有時候我們也極端讚賞別一種人的：如黑人在她們熱狂的跳舞的時候，黑白混種的舞蹈家，在半裸體表演的時候，那是另一種力量刺激着我們的神經了。”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Stratz, *ibid*, 346.

⁴¹⁶ SHMH 11 (June 30, 1928), 3.



Fig.3-4 The full page. SHMH 11 (June 30, 1928), 3.

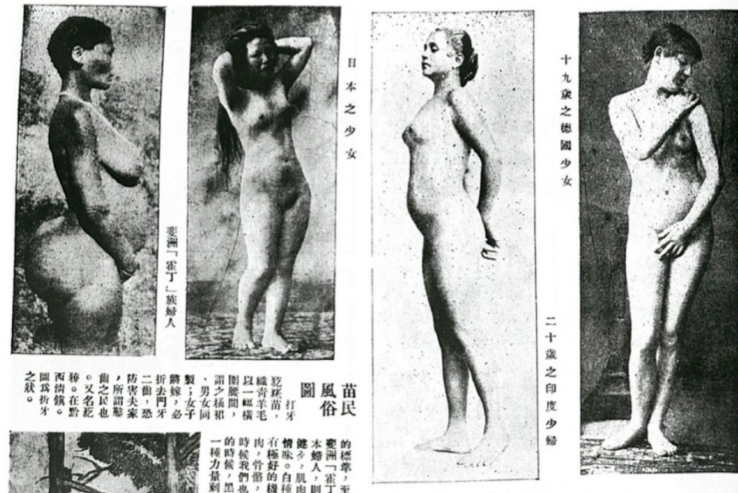


Fig.3-5 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 1,” SHMH 11 (June 30, 1928), 3.

In the first explanatory text of the World Series, Ye strategically continued the “scientific” way of viewing the nude photographs, which did not focus on the photographic aesthetics or techniques, as the comments on Muray’s photos, but on the feminine beauty based on racial, regional, and physical differences. “The charming and soft curves,” together with full and resilient muscles, were considered a universal “correct” standard. The first criterion referred back to the term *quxian mei*, the popular signification to feminine nudes that Ye also used to advertise the World Series. As for the composition of bones, Ye offered subjective remarks on the four individual “races” from left to right. A brief and negative assessment was given to “Japanese women,” whereas evident appreciation was dedicated to the “white race,” as if there was such a holistic physical feature for a race or ethnicity. Ye’s preference of Caucasian nudes, especially German, French, and Italian, was repeatedly expressed in his future editorial comments throughout the series. His view was in accordance with Stratz’s central argument, and reflected the popular concept of racial aesthetics in 1920s China.⁴¹⁷

Ye’s remarks on the Indian and African women were rather descriptive without strong emotion, though the description of a slight “masculinity” of the Indian body could be understood negatively. It is noticeable that the word “qingwei” 情味 (taste) was used in

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*.

conjunction with the gender difference (稍帶有男性的情味), and the attitude embodied Ye's conscious objectification and aestheticization of female bodies through the discussion of curves, muscles, skin colors, and bodily proportion. It can be argued that the World Series offered a world of females no less objectified than in Stratz's book. The choice of the African woman was by no means representative, and it articulated editorial promotion for sensational effect. Otherwise, Ye could have chosen a photo with less distinguishable physical features, as many of the others selected in the Series. In the text, however, Ye also justified his comparison between "black" and "white" races by mentioning a different standpoint. He praised the passion embedded in performance by "black people" or a "black-and-white mixed-race dancer," though today that viewpoint could also be construed as patronizing or racist.

The half naked dancer Ye mentioned was very likely Josephine Baker (1906-1975), an American-born French dancer who was famous for her "savage dancing" from Paris to Shanghai.⁴¹⁸ Her iconic image was widely spread in Chinese 1920s entertainment periodicals, including *Beiyang huabao*. Shortly prior to the World Series, SHMH published two of Baker's iconic photos, followed by the news of her current film *Shenxian yanwu* 神仙艳舞 (lit.: Fairies' Exciting Dancing, the original title is "Siren of the Tropics," 1927) playing at the Summer Peak Cinema (*Xialingpeike dianyingyuan* 夏令配克電影院).⁴¹⁹ It was possible that Ye had seen the film; at least he was well informed by his own editorial selection. In his memoir, Ye Qianyu never tried to hide the fact that he was fascinated by the Shanghai night entertainment at clubs, cinemas, and theatres, and his cartoons and satires often touched on the theme. At the clubs,

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Jean Claude Baker and Chris Chase, *Josephine Baker: The Hungry Heart* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1993); Ramsay Burt, *Alien Bodies: Representations of Modernity, "Race," and Nation in Early Modern Dance* (London: Routledge, 1998), 49-71.

⁴¹⁹ SHMH 2 (April 28, 1928), 3. *Beiyang huabao* also published the images and stories of "Josephine Baker, a celebrated dark dancer in Paris" (BYHB 180, 3). Later, *Shidai manhua* 時代漫畫, the continuation of SHMH, also published Josephine Baker' image together with Guo Jianying 郭建英's playful comment on her charm entitled "Seqing wenhua" 色情文化 (Erotic Culture), *Shidai manhua* 1 (January 1934), 19. Peng Hsiao-yen has carefully analyzed the cartoon in the context of Neo-Sensationist School in her book, *Hsiao-Yen Peng, Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flâneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2010).

jazz was the most popular music at the time, which, according to Andrew Field, “was often associated with ‘primitive’ Africa and with a more ribald sensuality,” and Josephine Baker “emblemized the culture of Roaring Twenties.”⁴²⁰ Therefore, by drawing on his perception of Josephine Baker, Ye created the extra comments on “black race” and “mixed-blood,” and balanced the seriousness of “science” and the playfulness of popular culture in the constructed “world.”

Directly below the photos of the African and Japanese women, a picture of “Miao min fengsu tu” 苗民風俗圖 (Illustrations of Miao People Customs, Fig.3-6) is featured with a brief explanation. Guided by the text, viewers saw a painting of a vivid moment in a wooded area. In the painting, one person holds a woman’s mouth from her behind, while another one is trying to fracture her front teeth. It is explained as a Miao custom that a woman needs to have her front teeth removed, so as to avoid possible attack on her husband and his family. The collocation of the somewhat bizarre custom and the sensational display of naked women created an extraordinary and exotic atmosphere. This atmosphere is additionally enhanced by a photo of deer entitled “*Shou*” 獸 (Animals, Fig.3-7), immediately below the photos of the Indian and the German women. Finally, readers have finished a visual adventure, and then go to an ideal modern “world” constructed by five commercial advertisements. (Fig.3-8) As implied in the images of ads, before both male and female consumers - perhaps even a couple - take a photo or develop negatives at Chiyo Yoko Photo Supplies (千代洋行), they could first go to Xinguang Hairdresser’s, and then use hair cream sold by Meili Foreign Trading Company (美利洋行). Feeling exhausted now? The elegant and clean *Guangshengyuan* Café (冠生園飲食部) supplies delicious tea, light refreshments, seafood, alcohol and ice-cream.

⁴²⁰ Andrew David Field, *Shanghai’s Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919-1954* (Chinese University Press, 2010), 26-27.

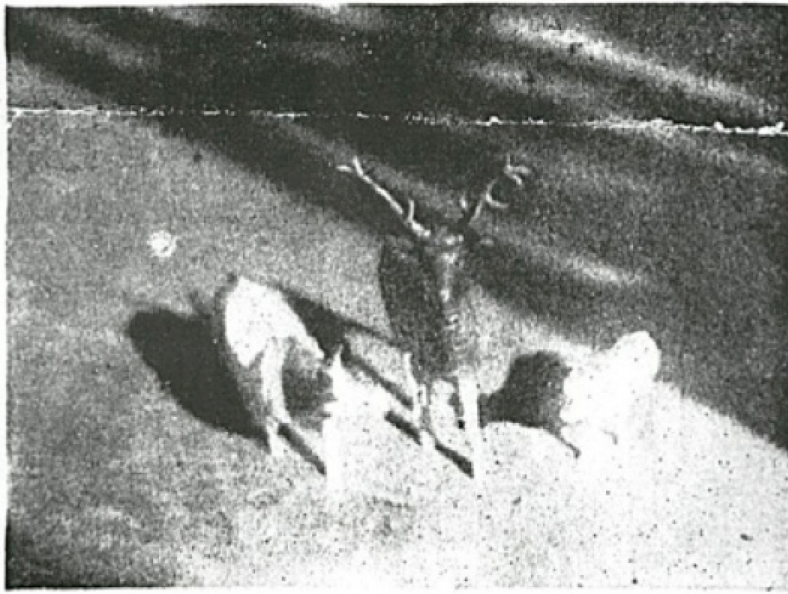
苗民風俗圖

打牙 乾猪苗，織青羊毛以一幅橫圍腰間，謂之桶裙，男女同製；女子將嫁，必折去門牙二齒，恐防害夫家，所謂駝齒之民也。又名乾粹。在黔西清鎮。圖為折牙之狀。



的標準，至於全部骨骼的支配，黑人大都具有特長的兩手，本婦人，則下肢過短，與軀幹不稱。印度的女性，發育十分健全，肌肉胞滿而結實，四肢與軀幹的支配，稍帶有男性的情味。白種女性，以天然的身材，加以環境與習慣的關係，有極好的機會使她們好好的保護起來，不論色調，輪廓，肌肉，骨骼，都覺得是超過其他的。但是因為立場的不同，有時候我們也極端贊賞別一種人的：如黑人在她們熱狂的跳舞的時候，黑白混種的舞蹈家，在半裸體表演的時候，那是另一種力量刺激着我們的神經了。
(待續)

Fig.3-6 "Miao min fengsu tu", SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.



小鷺攝

獸

Fig.3-7 "Shou," SHMH 11 (June 30,1928), 3.



Fig.3-8 Advertisements, SHMH 11 (June 30, 1928), 3.

The “world,” which SHMH editor constructed through his editorial practice, consists of naked examples of foreign women, exotic Miao people, and animals, in contrast to the most desirable and convenient modern lifestyle. As part of the exciting visual journey, foreign nude photographs presented a spectacle, an event, and a sensation; at the same time, they also satisfied a curiosity for scientific knowledge on the body and race. Is this world complete? Why did Ye use a Japanese woman to present the “yellow race”? Why were Chinese women absent? How many photos of Chinese women were included in the World Series, and how were they presented? I will use five examples to explore these issues in the next section.

Positioning Chinese Women in the World

Since the World Series was based on the reproduction of Stratz’s book, it is first necessary to examine how Chinese women were presented in the book. Taking the 20th edition (1927) as an example, Stratz used 426 images in total (including photos and drawings), out of which 12 photos depicted Chinese women.

As shown in Fig.3-9, six photos in the first row are clothed women, and another six are the front and back of three naked women.⁴²¹ The first portrait is the enlarged image of the woman in the fourth photo. She sits up straight on a western-styled chair, and crosses her legs with both of her tiny bound feet exposed. The loose and wide garments, the broad and bare forehead, the tightly knotted hair, and the hair decoration were dated as 1890s fashion, which accords with the time when Stratz travelled to Hong Kong and Canton in 1892.⁴²² The geometric patterns of the floor, unnaturally connected with the obscure background of different flooring and stone balustrade, indicates the interior settings of a photo studio.

The fact that she performed in front of the camera, with her bound feet deliberately displayed, might well suggest her identity as courtesan. Her straight gaze into the camera, her calm and natural facial expressions, and her body gestures, are “speaking a language of self-assertiveness,” as Catherine Yeh summarizes when analyzing the visual attributes of Late Qing courtesans’ photographic depictions.⁴²³ In her book, Yeh used a portrait of Hua Lijuan 花麗娟 as an illustration, a Shanghai courtesan who was ranked the second in a “flower competition” in 1898 (Fig.3-10). Hu’s hairstyle and clothes closely resemble the portrait used in Stratz’s book, which help us confirm the time of the photo and identity of the woman. In Stratz’s book, the caption of the photo “Chinesisches Mädchen aus Shanghai (Samml. Kraaij) (Chinese girl from Shanghai, collection by Kraaij)” suggests the circulation or perhaps consumption of

⁴²¹ These images were used in Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, both the 16th-17th edition (1922) and the 20th edition (1927), and the images located in exactly same pages in the two editions. From left to right, the images of the first row appear on the pages 34, 35, 261, 262, 263, 265; the images of second row appear on the pages 266 (front and back), 267 (front and back), 269 (front and back). The photos 3, 4, 5,6 in the first line, the front and back photos of the third naked woman in the second line also appear in *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1902, 77-80, 82. The first and second naked women did not appear in the 1902 version, and partly appear in the 1904 version. It again shows that SHMH reproduced images from a certain 1920s edition of the book.

⁴²² For the changing fashion in the Late Qing and Republican China, see Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

⁴²³ According to Yeh, Hua Lijuan was a Shanghai courtesan, and her photograph (Fig.3-10) was “taken by the Yaohua studio. Hua Lijuan had taken second place in Entertainment’s flower competition of 1898. To publicize the event, the newspaper offered glued-in photographs of the top three contestants.” See Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 88. More about the photographs of courtesans in the Late Qing, see Catherine Yeh, “The Photograph and the Fading Image,” *ibid*, 84-95.

photos as such in the Late Qing, thus further supporting the assertion of the woman as a courtesan.⁴²⁴



Fig.3-9 Photos of Chinese women in *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1927.



Fig.3-10 Hu Lijuan from “*Kai huabang*” 開花榜 (Courtesan Competition Column), *Youxi bao* 游戲報 (Oct. 3, 1898), 1. Quoted from Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 88.

Selected from “B. Hagen’s *Anthropologischer Atlas*,” the six uncovered photos of Chinese women in Stratz’s book were explained as “*Chinesische Frau mit verkrüppelten Füßen*”

⁴²⁴ Stratz, 1927, 262.

(Chinese women with bound feet), “*Chiesische Frau mit normalen Füßen*” (Chinese Woman with normal feet), and “*Achzehnjährige Chinesin mit malaiischer Beimischung*” (Eighteen-year-old Chinese woman with Malay blood). The (bound) feet became a sight of attention, and the images of Chinese women served to illustrate “exotic,” ethnic physical attributes in Stratz’s publications from 1901 to 1941. This period, however, was precisely the era when China had to face gigantic and radical socio-cultural challenges, and then expeditiously react upon them. Foot-binding, as an old social custom to regulate femininity, became one of the very first targets by reformers. As Dorothy Ko’s research outlines, after the foot-unbinding practices from the 1900s to 1930s, bound feet eventually were regarded as antique from the 1930s to 1941.⁴²⁵

It is intriguing to imagine how Ye Qianyu reacted when he encountered the photos of foot-binding and the Late Qing fashion. Although nothing in his memoir offered any explanation, his reflections on the position of Chinese women in the world was revealed through his editorial efforts. First of all, Ye neither included the six photographs of clothed Chinese women, nor the naked woman with bound feet. I would argue that the deliberate exclusion discloses the editors’ awareness of their own time and space. As a result, they avoided outdated visual representations of Chinese women in the World Series, precisely revealing the function of editorial agency.

The editors’ intention is more explicitly expressed in the following example. In Fig.3-11 above, the first two photographs, depicting the face and the profile of two Chinese women, were initially used to represent the so-called “yellow” race in Stratz’s book, juxtaposed with “Australian,” “European,” “Zulu young girl” or “Bari negro.” Ye obviously accepted the idea of this juxtaposition, because most of the photos in Fig.3-11 can be found in the SHMH World Series 22 (Fig.3-12). Yet, one evident change is that photos of both Chinese women were replaced by photos of more updated-looking women at the time, with long and thick bangs, and few hair accessories. Unlike the Late Qing Fashion, the clothes around their necks and shoulders show rather simple patterns and less color contrast. The popular hairstyle and clothing fashion correspond to a selection of photos arranged on pages two and three of the

⁴²⁵ Cf. Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella’s Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2005), 69-106.

World Series, entitled “Zuijin Shanghai wunü zhuangshu yiban” 最近上海舞女裝束一斑 (A View on Recent Shanghai Dancing Girls’ Fashion). These photos show not only then-fashionable hairstyles, but also the short-haired flapper, the fashion style of the “modern girl” around the world, in the 1920s. (Fig.3-13)⁴²⁶ Surely, the SHMH editors were unable to change the way how Chinese women were visually presented in a German book, but they utilized their agency, so as to decide on the outlook of Chinese women in their own product.

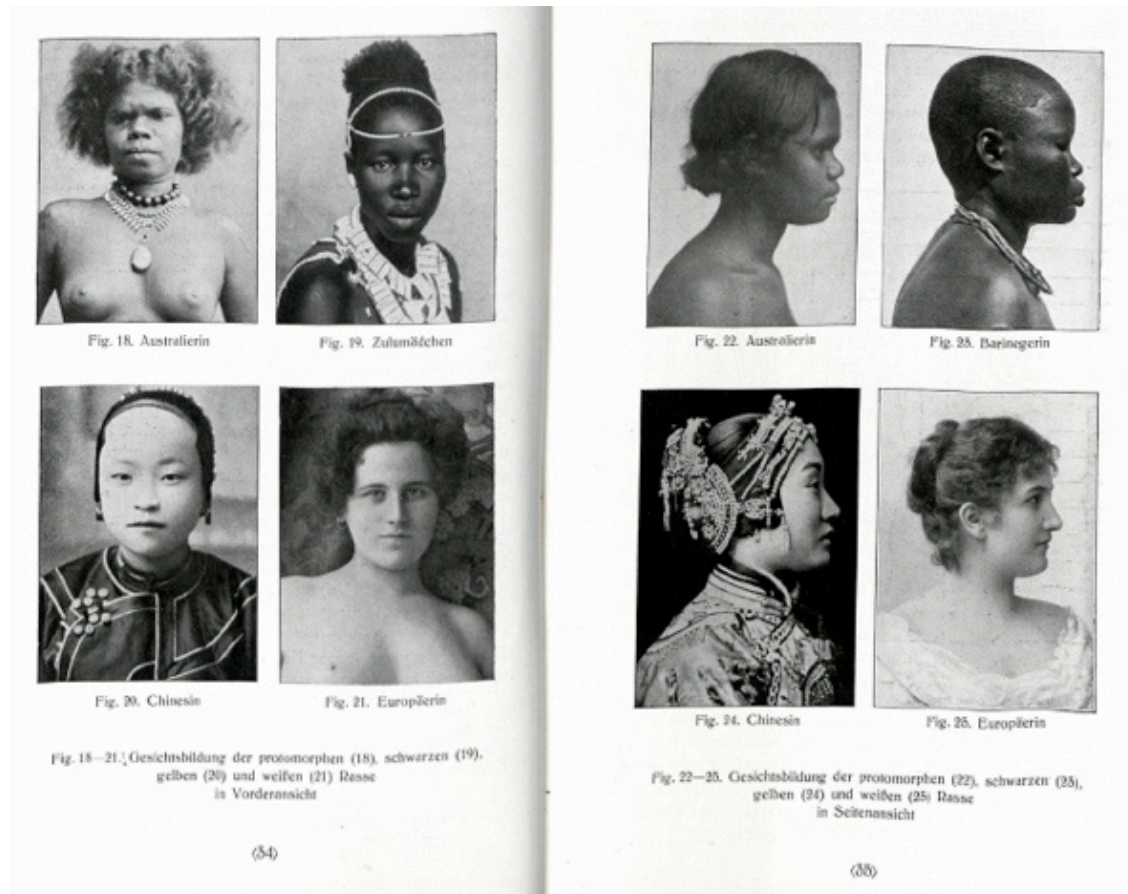


Fig.3-11 The pages including Chinese women, in *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 34-35.

⁴²⁶ Cf. The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, ed., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).



Fig.3-12 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 22,” SHMH 42 (Feb. 3, 1929), 3.



Fig.3-13 “Zuijin Shanghai wunü zhuangshu yiban” 最近上海舞女裝束一斑 (A View on Recent Shanghai Dancing Girl's Fashion), SHMH 42 (Feb. 3, 1929), 2-3.

Two editorial details are worth attention. One is that SHMH changed slightly the size of the photos in their reproduction. In Stratz's book, the photo of the “Australian” shows her breasts completely, whereas her breasts can no longer be seen in SHMH. Similarly, SHMH removed the image below the shoulders in every other photo. Since SHMH displayed abundant naked bodies prior to this series, I do not think morality was the cause of the change. More

likely is the consideration of spatial composition. Another detail is that SHMH replaced the Chinese women with clothed figures instead of nudes, perhaps because it was not easy to find what the editors perceived as satisfying faces of Chinese naked women. This leads to the investigation of the next question: what types of nude photos depicting Chinese women are displayed in SHMH?

As I mentioned above, the naked woman with bound feet is excluded in the reproduction in SHMH. Yet, the other two naked women are displayed in World Series 17, the first series after the column was stranded for two months due to the legal case. (See Fig.3-14). Ye explained:

“Two Chinese women [shown] here probably can represent common females in the inland small towns and villages. Except for cooking, washing clothes, looking after children and other trivial housework everyday, they have to help [their] men work in the field. Therefore, they are absolutely not so tender and charming as common females in the cities. They do not use makeup; yet, they are physiologically well developed.

這裡兩個中國的婦人，大約可代表內地小鎮及鄉村的一般女性，她們每天除了在家裏燒飯洗衣，看護孩子等雜事之外，還得幫助男人在野間工作，所以她們絕不如城市中一般女性的那麼柔嫩嫵媚，她們不知道修飾，但她們生理上的發育，卻十分健全。”

Unlike Stratz’s book, the “Eighteen-year-old Chinese woman with Malay blood” was simply explained as “the front and back of a young woman” (一個少婦的正背影) in Ye’s following interpretation. The photo initially described as a “24 year old” “Chinese Woman with normal feet” in Stratz’s text (p.268) was described as “the front and the back of a woman close to forty, [her] muscles have become much looser because of giving birth and [labor] working (左面是將近四十歲婦人的正背影，因為生育，勞動的關係，肌肉已寬弛得多了).”⁴²⁷ Again, Ye used the images from Stratz’s book to serve for his own narratives.

⁴²⁷ Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1927, 267-268.



Fig.3-14 “Shijie renti bijiao 17,” SHMH 36 (Dec. 22, 1928), 3.

Creative (Mis-)Interpretation: the Limitation of the “Science” in SHMH

Like the “translated” comment on Muray’s photograph, some of Ye’s interpretations did not follow Stratz’s originals. The next example (Fig.3-15) evidences Ye’s creativity, but at the same time also marks the limitation of the “science” in SHMH. In World Series 29, Ye arranged two photographs and a drawing of a body’s proportion, so as to present “perfect” Swiss beauty. The explanation states:

“Comparing Human Bodies across the World 29 Switzerland is the country with the best landscape in Europe. Naturally, people living in Switzerland are affected by the environment. [Therefore], they grow very pretty, having slender figures and gentle curves, and [they] deserve to be regarded as perfect human bodies. The picture on the right side is the back of a young girl; on the left side is the front of a young woman. You simply cannot find any deficiency. The picture above is the contour measurement of the picture on the left. [We] can understand the beauty of her curves more clearly.

世界人體之比較（二九）瑞士是歐洲一個風景最好的國家，居住在瑞士的人自然也受了環境的感應，她們生長得十分秀美，修長的身材，柔和的曲線，真配得上算是完美的人體，右圖是一位少女的背影，左圖是一位少婦的正影，無論在那一部分，你簡直找不出一點缺憾。上圖是左圖的輪廓測量，可以更瞭然於她那曲線配置的優美。”

Having no traveling experience abroad, Ye was convinced that Switzerland had an incomparable landscape, and people living in the beautiful environment greatly benefited from it. The environmental determinism that Ye believed was deeply rooted in the long history of racial discourse in China, and it can be traced back to Wang Chong's 王充 (27-97) comments on the five colors of China's soil in relation to the nature and man, collected in his famous essays *Lunheng* 論衡 (Discourses Weighed in the Balance).⁴²⁸ In fact, Ye's understanding of the environment in the making of diverse female bodies across the world was more explicitly expressed in the World Series 2:

“Women's flesh differs, because of congenital and acquired [factors]. The congenital [factor] is the born temperament, which is inherited from an ethnic group's blood and genes. The acquired [factor] is related to the influence by the environment and habit, [and the factor] is triggered by the movement of the muscles and bones of the whole body.

女性肉體之不同，原因一由於先天的。一由於後天的。先天的是承受天賦的氣質。發源於一民族的血和性的遺傳。後天的是關連於環境和習慣的影響。發動於全身體的肌肉和骨骼的運用。”⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Frank Dikötter discussed “environmental determinism” in the history of Chinese racial discourse, see Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, 7-8.

⁴²⁹“Shijie renti bijiao 2,” SHMH 13 (July 14, 1928), 6.



Fig.3-15 “Shijie renti zhi bijiao 29,” SHMH 55 (May 11, 1929), 6.

Back to World Series 29, the description of the female body again focused on the beauty of curves (*quxian*), a word initially used by people from artistic circles, professional or amateur. From the mid-1920s, *quxian* or *quxian mei* began to flourish in popular periodicals such as *Beiyang huabao*, and finally became cliché, thus were outdated by the early 1930s. The drawing and measurement of body proportion was an essential method in Stratz’s works, as I have examined when discussing the book cover of *Feminine Beauty* by Ji Zhiren. Ye

reproduced the image and interpreted it as the measurement of the contour, in order to let readers understand the beauty of her curves. I would argue that the schematic and the skeleton-like representation, together with numbers and lines, was used to transmit somewhat “scientific” information, in perfect combination with an “artistic” explanation of the beauty of curves. The editorial goal of “science and art” seems to find another living embodiment. How were these images interpreted in Stratz’s book, if any? Did Ye translate Stratz’s text? All the three images in SHMH can be found in Stratz’s 20th edition (1927).⁴³⁰ Most ironically, the geographical name, the key factor of the “environmental determinism” where the beauty was bound to, turns out to be Bavaria, instead of Switzerland, although the two places are close enough to be embraced by Alps. (Fig.3-16). Published on page 528, the figure facing the camera belongs to the section of “*Die weiße Rassenzweige*” (The White Racial Branch) and “*Deutsche*” (German), and is explained as “Fig. 395 *Oberbayrische Blondine*” (Fig.395 Upper Bavarian blonde). On the next page, the schematic representation of proportion is plainly explained as “Fig. 396 Proportionen von Fig. 395” (Fig. 396 Proportion of Fig. 395). Although his tone was mostly positive, Stratz did not show visible praise of the figure in the text, and did not mention the perfection of her body proportion as Ye did.⁴³¹ Towards the end, he mentioned the flaw of the figure that the shape of her toe was “slightly inwardly-turned.” Using the length of the head as the basic unit, Stratz also often discussed the proportion of the whole body in relation to the length of head, and this point seems to be absent in SHMH interpretation. I cite Stratz’s comment below:

“...a representative of a blond southern German type (Fig.395). The body-height is 8 head-height, the proportions (Fig.396) are normal. The middle of the body stays is her crotch [?], the length of the legs exceeds 4 head-height, the axis is straight. The blue eyes, blond hair and the shape of the nose give the visibility of Nordic character, which is enhanced by the strong

⁴³⁰ From left to right, page 528, 529, 527. The first two images can also be found in the 5th edition (1904), but not in the 2nd edition (1902). I noticed that Stratz’ selection of images differed in each edition, and the SHMH reproduction was not from the 2nd (1902) edition.

⁴³¹ However, Michael Hau quotes Stratz’s 5th edition (1904, 380), “Proportions of a Bavarian woman representing the perfect beauty of the middle-land race according to Stratz.” Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 89. Hau also quoted the interpretation to the image from the 5th edition (1904, 21), “Schematic representation of proportions of the same Bavarian woman. There is perfect correspondence between the ideal proportions (unbroken lines) and the woman’s proportion (dotted lines). Stratz, 21.” see Hau, *ibid*, 90.

development of the chin mouth area. The shoulders are strong, broad in the joint of the arm, and femininely round. The body hair is thin, the navel is small, deep, and stays very high. The flaw to be mentioned is the slightly inwardly-turned big toe.

Diesem Dunklen reiht sich würdig eine Vertreterin des blonden süddeutschen Typus (Fig.395) an. Die Körperhöhe beträgt 8 Kopf-höhen, die Proportionen (Fig.396) sind normal. Die Körpermitte steht im Schritt, die Länge der Beine überschreitet 4 Kopfhöhen, die Achsen verlaufen gerade. Die blauen Augen, die blonden Haare und die Form der Nase geben dem Sicht den nordischen Charakter, der durch eine etwas kräftige Entwicklung der Kinnmundpartie noch verstärkt wird. Die Schultern sind kräftig, breit im Ansatz zum Arm und weiblich gerundet. Die Körperbehaarung ist spärlich, der Nabel ist klein tief und steht hoch. Als Fehler ist die leichte Einwärtsdrehung der großen Zehe zu erwähnen.”⁴³²

The third image in SHMH was explained as the back of a young Swiss girl. In fact, the image is explained as “Fig.394 Rückansicht von Fig. 393” (Fig. 394 The back view of the Fig.393) in Stratz’ book, while the “Fig. 393,” seen from the front is explained as “Zwangzigjähriges Mädchen vom Rhein (20 Year Old Maiden from Rhein).” (See Fig.3-17) In this case, SHMH was correct that the two images were not the same woman. The photo of “20 years old maiden from Rhein” was published in the World Series 3, explained as:

“an extremely beautiful gesture by a young woman from the province of Rhein, Germany. It has the aesthetic quality of ancient sculpture (帶有古代雕刻的趣味). Females of colorless race, they can never let us find the ugliness, no matter what gestures they show. This is because [their] correct curves and gentle [skin] tone contain nothing we dislike.

德國來因省少婦一個極美的姿態，帶有古代雕刻的趣味。無色人的女性，她們在不論什麼姿態上，總不會使我們發現她們的醜處。這是由於正確的曲線與柔和的色調沒有使我們討厭的地方。”⁴³³

Again, the editor of SHMH used nude photography to express his ideal “beauty of curves,” skin color, and gesture. These kinds of comments were included in Stratz’ book, but obviously SHMH created most of the interpretations instead of following a word-to-word translation. We could call it “misinterpretation” in the transcultural practice, or perhaps also “creative misinterpretation,” precisely because the interpretation drew on editors’ individual understanding and judgment from their own cultural memory and experience. The mixture and entanglement stimulated the vitality in the transcultural product.

⁴³² Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, 1927, 526-529.

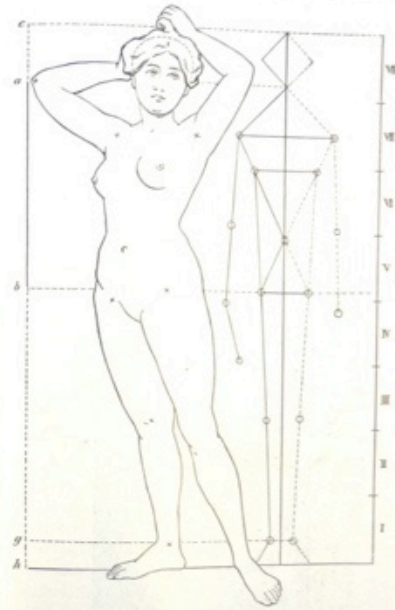
⁴³³ *Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 3, SHMH 14 (July 21, 1928), 6.



Fig. 595. Oberbayrische Blondine

Nase geben dem Gesicht den nordischen Charakter, der durch eine etwas kräftige Entwicklung der Kinnmundpartie noch verstärkt wird.

Die Schultern sind kräftig, breit im Ansatz zum Arm und

Fig. 596.
Proportionen von Fig. 595

weiblich gerundet. Die Körperbehaarung ist spärlich, der Nabel ist klein, tief und steht hoch.

Als Fehler ist die leichte Einwärtsdrehung der großen Zehe zu erwähnen.

Stratz, Rassenschönheit des Weibes

34

Fig.3-16 Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 528-529. Private collection.



Fig. 598. Zwanzigjähriges Mädchen vom Rhein

Diesem dunklen reihet sich würdig eine Vertreterin des blonden süddeutschen Typus (Fig. 595) an. Die Körperhöhe beträgt 8 Kopfhöhen, die Proportionen (Fig. 596) sind normal.



Fig. 594. Rückansicht von Fig. 598

Die Körpermitte steht im Schritt, die Länge der Beine überschneidet 4 Kopfhöhen, die Achsen verlaufen gerade.

Die blauen Augen, die blonden Haare und die Form der

Fig.3-17 Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1927), 526-527. Private collection.

Chinese Artists Involved in the World Series

In World Series 4, 20, 33, and 35, SHMH selected five more artistic nude photographs of Chinese women, juxtaposed with the photos of two unclothed women from Stratz's book. The five photographers were Lin Xuehuai 林雪懷, Huang Zhenyu 黃振玉, Zhang Jianwen 張建文, and Ding Song.⁴³⁴ The four names belonged to entangled personal and institutional networks in the field of *luoti* visual culture, and their backgrounds affirmed the perceived tastefulness of the nudes selected for SHMH. Although it is not the focus of this study to explore Chinese photographers and their work, I will briefly sketch their backgrounds as reference for future research.

Lin Xuehuai was the co-founder of the “Heibai yingshe” 黑白影社 (Black and White Photographic Society). Zhang Jianwen was also a member of this society. As introduced in Chapter Two, Zhang was also the editor of *Nüxing renti mei*, an album of Perckhammer's nude photos. Huang Zhenyu (also: Huang Jian 黃堅) was co-founder of Peking University's Guangshe Photo Studio (“Guangshe” 光社) founded in 1923, the first Chinese photographic institution. Some scholars believe that Huang Zhenyu created the very first Chinese artistic nude photo in history.⁴³⁵ Later, he went to Shanghai and founded the *Zhonghua sheying xueshe* 中華攝影學社 (China Photography Society, often called “Huashe 華社”) with Lang Jingshan 郎靜山 (1892-1995), Hu Boxiang 胡伯翔, and Zhang Zhenhou 張珍候 (?-?), of which Ding

⁴³⁴ Lin Xuehuai, “*Zhongguo zhi shaofu* 中國之少婦” (A Chinese Young Lady), in “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 4,” SHMH 15 (July 28, 1928), 6; Huang Zhenyu 黃振玉, “*Manzhou shaonü*” 滿洲少女 (Manchurian Girl), “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 20,” SHMH 40 (January 19, 1929), 3; Zhang Jianwen, “*Zhongguo shaonü zhi cexing* 中國少女之側形” (The Profile of A Chinese Girl), “*Zhongguo shaonü zhi beiying*” 中國少女之背影 (The Back of A Chinese Girl), in “*Shijie renti zhi bijiao* 33,” SHMH 68 (Aug. 10, 1929), 6; Ding Song, “*Zhongguo shaonü de tige* 中國少女的體格” (The Physiques of A Chinese Girl), SHMH 96 (March 1, 1930), 3.

⁴³⁵ “*Woguo di yi zhang luoti sheying*” 我國第一張裸體攝影 (The First Nude Photograph in Our Country), *Lianhe bao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), Dec. 25, 1983.

Song was also a member.⁴³⁶ Ding Song, born in Jiashan, Zhejiang province, was among the most important figures in modern Chinese cartoon and commercial art history. He had been interested in art since his youth, later studying with Zhou Xiang 周湘 (1871-1933), one of the first Chinese artists to established his own school to promote education in Western art. Ding studied both Western art and sketching and Chinese-style figure painting. Ding taught at Shanghai Art School for many years, and also worked for British American Tobacco. He was active in *literati* and artist's circles in Shanghai, and published cartoons, photographs, sketches, illustrations, and essays in local periodicals, such as *Xinwen bao* 新聞報, *Shenbao*, *Funü shibao* 婦女時報, *Eastern Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報 (Shanghai Pictorial) and *Sanri huabao*, *Ziluolan* 紫羅蘭 (Violet), *Banyue* 半月, and *Sheying huabao* among others.⁴³⁷ Due to these photographers' activities, their networks broadened, involving them in more pictorials used in this research. Taking Zhang Jianwen as example, he worked for the branches of exhibition and research at the Black and White Photographic Society in Shanghai, of which, Lin Zecang, the chief editor of *Sheying huabao* and *Linglong*, was another co-founder. Zhang Jianwen was also member of the Pei-yang Art Society 北洋美術社 in Tianjin and he published photographs periodically in BYHB. As we can see, supported by the institutions and their networks, visual artists acquired sufficient cultural capital in the field of *luoti* visual culture, and their nude photographs were considered aesthetically valuable. By choosing their works, SHMH legitimated the nudes of Chinese women in the World Series.

⁴³⁶ For the brief history of *Zhonghua sheying xueshe*, see Hu, Zhichuan 胡志川, Ma Yunzeng 馬運增 eds., *Zhongguo sheying shi* 中國攝影史 1840 - 1937 (History of Photography in China 1840-1937) (Beijing: Zhongguo sheying chubanshe, 1987), 163-167. Lang Jingshan was among the first Shanghai photographers, who started to seriously practice “artistic” nude photography. His nudes were widely published in the 1930s journals like *Liangyou*, *Sheying huabao*, *Meishu shenghuo* 美術生活 (Arts and Life), and *Zi qiangwei* 紫薔薇. For the discussion on Lang's nude photographs, see Carrie Waara's “The Bare Truth: Nudes, Sex, and the Modernization Project in Shanghai Pictorials,” in *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s* (edited by Jason C. Kuo, Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, LLC, 2007), 192-197.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Laing, *ibid*; Bi, *ibid*.

In 1930, Ge Gongzhen 戈公振 (1890-1935), a famous journalist and historian of Chinese journalism contributed a short essay to congratulate the hundredth issue of SHMH. He praised the pictorial for developing its own features:

“A newspaper must have its own features to survive and develop. Daily newspapers, for example, could focus on foreign affairs, or domestic politics, or, economy, or society, and [they] have many ways to go. [...] to survive and develop. Daily newspapers, for example, could focus on foreign affairs, or domestic politics. *Shanghai manhua* has gained its own position nowadays, has gained it great success, if it continues its efforts.

一種報紙，要有其一種特色，然後才能存在和發展。譬如日報，或注重外交，或注重內政，或注重經濟，或注重社會，可走的路很多。[...]畫報也是如此，大可分道揚鑣，不必模仿，更不必妒嫉，上海漫畫現在已有了牠的地位了，再加以繼續的努力前途是很有希望的。”⁴³⁸

Lasting almost two years, the World Series was the longest thematic series in SHMH, and also the earliest and longest series of thematic nudes in all the 1925-1935 illustrated magazines that I have investigated. Surely, additional pictorials also regularly reproduced and published nudes, such as *Beiyang huabao*, which published erotic postcards and Perckhammer's nudes, but no pictorial that I have researched was so theme-oriented and editorially strategic as SHMH. It featured “science and art” as the editorial policy. In this framework, editors compiled the series “Comparing Human Bodies across the World,” selecting nude images mainly from Stratz's German book *Die Rassen Schönheit des Weibes* (The Racial Beauty of Females). Editors like Ye Qianyu and Zhang Guangyu creatively contextualized and interpreted the nude images, and uplifted the spirit of “science and art” in their understanding. The “science” presented in SHMH might have its own limitation, but these types of female unclothed bodies displaying “racial beauty” brought the pictorial invaluable cultural capital in the competitive field of *luoti* visual culture. Together with abundant nude cartoons that other scholars have studied, SHMH expanded the typologies of the visual presentations of *luoti* in the print market, and displayed one more dynamic of transcultural production.

⁴³⁸ Ge Gongzhen 戈公振, *Texing* 特性 (Features), SHMH 100 (March 29, 1930), 2.

Chapter 4 “Sophisticated Entertainment”?

Nudes and Gender in *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao*

“To promote women’s elegant and beautiful lives, and encourage sophisticated entertainment in society”

增進婦女優美生活，提倡社會高尚娛樂

--Publishing goal, *Linglong* vol.1 no.1 (March 18, 1931), 13.

“The denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile—in a word, natural—enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane. That is why art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences.”

-- Bourdieu, *Distinction*.⁴³⁹

How can we, from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, understand nudes included in *Linglong* 玲瓏 (“Linloon Magazine,” 1931-1937), a 1930s pictorial conventionally considered a “women’s magazine,” which claimed the publishing goal of “promoting women’s elegant and beautiful lives, and encouraging sophisticated entertainment in society” (增進婦女優美生活，提倡社會高尚娛樂)? How did the editors apply “sophisticated entertainment” to their editorial performance? What were the visual sources of the Western nudes in *Linglong*? How was *Linglong*’s editorial strategy different from the ones practiced by *Beiyang huabao* and *Shanghai manhua*?

⁴³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, introduction to *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 7.

The weekly illustrated magazine *Linglong* was founded on March 18, 1931 in Shanghai, and ran for 298 issues in total until August 11, 1937.⁴⁴⁰ It cost *dayang* 大洋 seven cents for each of the first three issues, and then eight cents from the fourth issue (April 8, 1931) to the thirty-eighth issue (Dec. 2, 1931).⁴⁴¹ Eventually, the price rose to ten cents from issue 39, and remained at that price.⁴⁴² Intentionally designed to be an exquisite pocket-sized, illustrated magazine, *Linglong* was bound on the right hand side, readable from both front covers and back covers onwards to the middle. The colophon is usually located in the middle, dividing the magazine into two parts: the part from the front cover to the middle is “traditionally” arranged, with texts printed vertically, and pages turned from left to right; the rest of the magazine is arranged in “Western” style, with texts printed horizontally, and pages from right to left. Between covers, abundant texts and images could be found, including thoughts on new (wo)men and instructions on how to compose love letters, from housekeeping practices to

⁴⁴⁰ Women’s magazines, as Margret Beetham suggested in her important work *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine, 1800-1914* (Routledge, 1996, 1), “has defined its readers ‘as women.’ It has taken their gender as axiomatic. Yet that femininity is always represented in the magazines as fractured, not least because it is simultaneously assumed as given and as still to be achieved. Becoming the women you are is a difficult project for which the magazine has characteristically provided recipes, patterns, narratives and models of the self.”

⁴⁴¹ *Dayang* literally means “large foreign-style money,” and *fen* 分 was a unit of account. In the 1914 currency reforms, *fen* was defined as one-tenth of a *mao* 毛 or one-one hundredth of a *yuan* 元. Based on Eduard Kann’s *The Currencies of China, an Investigation of Gold and Silver Transactions Affecting China* (New York: Sanford J. Durst Numismatic publications, 1978. Originally by Kelly and Walsh, 1926), Roger R. Thompson summarizes: “The National Currency Regulations issued in 1914 had envisioned a uniform standard, with one Yuan Shikai silver dollar equal to, for example, five 20-cent silver coins or 100 copper cents (coppers). In reality, however, the currencies of daily commerce and of government and large commercial transactions were separate. The so-called subsidiary silver currency (*xiaoyang*), mostly 20-cent pieces or bank notes (called fractional currency notes), were discounted slightly relative to the standard Yuan Shikai, and later, Sun Yatsen dollars (*dayang*). In similar fashion, the 1914 regulations specified that 100 copper cents equaled one silver dollar. This exchange rate also existed only on paper. In the 1910’s and 1920’s, the exchange rates between copper cents and silver coins fluctuated significantly. In Shanghai, for example, one silver dollar could buy 132 coppers in December 1912, 206 coppers in December 1924, and 278 coppers in December 1929.” See Roger R. Thompson’s translation of *Mao Zedong: Report from Xunwu* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 221-223.

⁴⁴² As a comparison, *Sheying huabao*, the weekly-illustrated newspaper owned by the same company, cost five cents. *Shenbao*, one of the most important daily newspapers in Shanghai cost four and a half cents on the day when *Linglong* was founded. According to a few advertisements in *Shenbao* on Mach 18, 1931 (no.20816, supplement, 3-8), the cost of watching a movie would range from thirty to one hundred cents.

kissing techniques, from depicting local Shanghai girl students to gossiping about the fashion and lifestyles of Hollywood movie stars.

The magazine can be roughly categorized into six sections: 1) Front covers and front illustrations: normally they were portraits of local Shanghai girl students or famous educated women. 2) Essays on love, sex, and family, ranging from ten to twenty pages, formed the column of “*Funi*” 婦女 (Women), mostly written by female Chinese middle school or university students, and very often illustrated by authors’ portraits. 3) Essays on pregnancy and children (e.g. health and education) were collected into the column of “*Ertong*” 兒童 (Children). 4) Essays on everyday life and new knowledge belonged to the column of “*Changshi*” 常識 (Common Knowledge). Here one would normally find content introducing modern Western goods and materials, such as modern furniture design. 5) Essays and gossip on the fashions and life styles of (Hollywood) movie stars were gathered in the column of “*Yule*” 娛樂 (Entertainment). Most essays were translated from English materials, judging from the topics and linguistic registers. 6) A limited amount of advertisements, mostly for the products by the San Ho Company (*Sanhe gongsi* 三和公司).⁴⁴³ 7) Back covers and illustrations, usually occupied by photographs, including glamour portraits of Hollywood movie stars, and stills of popular Hollywood movies. Nudes, typically “Western” female nudes, also played an important role in shaping the visual impression of *Linglong*. Generally speaking, *Linglong* was well positioned to be an educational tool, a communicative platform, an everyday life advisor, and a delightful entertainer. These sections were relatively stable, although *Linglong* constantly developed and adjusted the content and the layout of the magazine.

As early as a decade ago, Leo Ou-fan Lee had already recognized the value of *Linglong* as integral to Shanghai urban print culture, which contributed to the collective pursuit of

⁴⁴³ The name of “San Ho Company” follows the original English spelling.

modernity in the metropolis.⁴⁴⁴ After the digitization of *Linglong* Magazine conducted by Columbia University with support from the University of Heidelberg, scholars have benefited from accessibility to the journal and have examined *Linglong* from multiple perspectives.⁴⁴⁵ For example, Yunxiang Gao largely relied on the data in *Linglong* while discussing the discourse of “robust beauty” (*jianmei*) in relation to nationalism and feminism.⁴⁴⁶ Among the earliest scholars who systematically examined *Linglong*, Barbara Mittler explored the discourse of “new (wo)men” as well as gender relations in *Linglong*, and rightly pointed out that the journal was “polyphonic, sometimes internally contradictory.”⁴⁴⁷ She further used *Linglong* to investigate the construction and function of genres in women’s magazines, and suggested the need for future research on the people and institutions behind the journal in order to better understand it.⁴⁴⁸ In his recent article, Gary Wang explored the journal’s editorial group, and offered a new understanding of the representational tensions in the construction of heteronormative marriage in *Linglong*.⁴⁴⁹ However, there is no known scholarship that has read

⁴⁴⁴ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 86-88. Later, Li Keqiang published a short article to discuss the image of modern women constructed in *Linglong*, see Li Keqiang, “Linglong zazhi jianggou de modeng nüxing xingxiang” 《玲瓏》雜誌建構的摩登女性形象 (The Image of Modern Women Constructed in *Linglong* Magazine), *Ershiyi shiji shuangyuekan* 60 (Aug., 2000): 92-98.

⁴⁴⁵ See the website: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/linglong/collection_index.html.

⁴⁴⁶ Yunxiang Gao, “Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on *Jianmei* (Robust Beauty) during China’s ‘National Crisis’ in the 1930s,” *Gender and History* 18.3 (2006): 546-573; also in *Sporting Gender: Women Athletes and Celebrity-Making during China’s National Crisis, 1931-45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 58-80.

⁴⁴⁷ Barbara Mittler, “In Spite of Gentility: Women and Men in *Linglong* (Elegance), a 1930s Women’s Magazine,” in *The Quest for Gentility in China: Negotiations Beyond Gender and Class*, ed. Daria Berg and Chloe Starr (New York: Routledge, 2007), 208-234.

⁴⁴⁸ Barbara Mittler, “New Women and Old Scandals: Making News, Mixing Genres and Gendering the Fictional and the Factual in *Linglong* (1931-1937) and earlier women’s magazines,” unpublished paper presented at the conference “New Women and the Reconfiguration of Genres: China in international Perspective,” May 2007, Heidelberg.

⁴⁴⁹ Gary Wang, “Making ‘Opposite-sex Love’ in Print: Discourse and Discord in *Linglong* Women’s Pictorial Magazine, 1931-1937,” *NAN Nü* 13, no. 2 (2011): 244-347. Gary Wang’s article is based on his MA thesis. A few additional MA theses on *Linglong* have been produced in recent years, both in Taiwan and Mainland China, but they are similar in methods and arguments. Some of them have been published, see for example, Kung Ling-Jr, *Cong Linglong zazhi kan yijiu sanling niandai shanghai xiandai nüxing xingxiang de suzao* 從《玲瓏》雜誌看1930年代上海現代女性形象的塑造 (Modern Women: Making Image of 1930s Shanghai through *Linglong* Women’s Magazine) (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2011).

Linglong against other Chinese periodicals by the same publisher, or other non-Chinese magazines circulated at the time. All existing scholarship takes it for granted that *Linglong* is a “women’s magazine,” and most of the scholarship considers its contents to have been written in a genuine female voice.

This chapter tries to go beyond the conventional reading of the journal. The first section examines the cultural and gender background of the *Linglong* editorial board in detail, and then discusses the extent to which *Linglong* was a “women’s magazine” (ideally designed for women, read by women, perhaps also edited by women), and whether its gendered voice and prominent style of “*xiang nanzi jingong*” 向男子進攻 (attacking men) was determined by its “female editorship.” I argue that in the first two years (1931-1933), *Linglong* was first and foremost a commercial product targeting not only women, but also men, and that the gendered voice was edited by male editors. The second and third sections analyze the meaning of “sophisticated entertainment,” showcasing how Lin Zecang, the founder and publisher of *Linglong*, developed his understanding of sophistication and nudes from the pre-*Linglong* period in the 1920s. By comparing *Linglong* to other periodicals created by the same publishing house, such as *Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報 (*Pictorial Weekly*, 1925-1937) and *Diansheng ribao*, I exhibit how Lin carried out the editorial practice of addressing different readerships with same visual materials, such as nudes. In the fourth section, I delineate the route of the global circulation of the foreign materials published in *Linglong*, and discuss the transcultural quality of the journal. Ultimately, I argue that visual and textual materials, including nudes, are not gendered *per se*, as both more gender specific and less gender specific magazines can use them. At the same time, however, the materials can contribute to, or perhaps reinforce the shaping of a gendered voice through editorial practice. In this context, “sophisticated entertainment” was first and foremost an editorial strategic category, which empowered editors like Lin to define what form and content of entertainment was tasteful, appropriate, and desirable, for whom, and how. During the process, he aimed to legitimate selected Western nudes, and establish “the sacred sphere of culture” as Bourdieu put it, from the very beginning, and further used Western nudes as an educational tool for *Linglong*’s readers, particularly female readers. Moreover, the

entire discourse of body representations and gender relations in *Linglong* had a global dimension, which reflected the editors' efforts to "promote globalization."⁴⁵⁰

4.1 Lin Zecang and His Publishing Empire⁴⁵¹

In spite of regular change of editors, a few figures, both male and female, remained central in the editorial board, such as Lin Zecang 林澤蒼 (1903-1961, male, founder, publisher, chief editor), "Chen Zhenling nüshi" 陳珍玲女士 ("Ms. Chen Zhenling," copy editor, later responsible for the section of "Women/*Funü* 婦女"), Lin Zemin 林澤民 (1905?-1938, photography), and Liang Xinxi 梁心璽 (1908-?, female, named copy editor from Dec., 1932 to Feb., 1933).⁴⁵² I will introduce the background information of these figures in details below, which is of great significance for my later analysis on the "editorial agency."

Lin Zecang: "Jack of All Trades"

Founder and editor of *Linglong*, Lin Zecang (Fig.4-1) and his editorial practice are crucial for us to understand the making of the journal. Born and raised in a prominent Christian family

⁴⁵⁰ "Bianjizhe yan," SYHB vol.6 no.261 (Oct. 25, 1930), 81.

⁴⁵¹ Some materials regarding the background of *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao* have been included in my various research papers both in Chinese and English, including "Cong *Sheying huabao* dao *Linglong*: qikan chuban yu Sanhe gongsi de jingying celüe (1920s-1930s)" 從《攝影畫報》到《玲瓏》：期刊出版與三和公司的經營策略(1920s -1930s) (From Pictorial Weekly to *Linloon* Magazine: The Periodicals Production and Publishing Strategies of San Ho Company, 1920s-1930s), *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究, no. 23 (June 2014): 127-181; "'Gaoshang yule'? *Linglong* zhong de luoti tuxiang, shijue zaixian yu bianji juece" "高尚娛樂"? 《玲瓏》中的裸體圖像，視覺再現與編輯決策 ("Sophisticated Entertainment"? Nudes, Visual Representations, and Editorial Agency in *Linglong* (1931-1937)"). In *Xingbie yu shijue--bainian Zhongguo yingxiang yanjiu* 性別與視覺——百年中國影像研究 (Gender and Visuality: Research on Chinese Images from the Last One-Hundred Years), edited by Wang Zheng, Lü Xinyu. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, forthcoming; "Engendering a Journal: Editors, Nudes and Transcultural Production in *Linglong* and its Global Context," in *A Space of Their Own: Women and the Periodical Press in China's Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Joan Judge, Barbara Mittler and Michel Hockx, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

⁴⁵² There were additional editors working for *Linglong*, including Cao Lengbing 曹冷冰 (?-?, editor of *Changshi*), Zong Weigeng 宗惟賡, Huang Shiyong 黃士英, and Liang Yongfu 梁永福, just to name a few important figures. Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907-1995), editor and cartoonist of *Shanghai manhua* discussed in my previous chapter, was also responsible for the illustration (*meishu*) from Issue 48 (April 27, 1932) to Issue 79 (Dec. 11, 1932).

from Gutian, Fujian Province, *Linglong*'s founder Lin Zecang received his Bachelor of Commerce from Kwang Hua University (*Guanghua daxue* 光華大學) in Shanghai in 1926.⁴⁵³ He had outstanding bilingual proficiency, and was able to fluently read original English materials. During his study, Lin also participated in various university clubs and organizations, and was a member of the "Photography Club," the "Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Club," the table tennis club, and others.⁴⁵⁴ It is not surprising that one of his fellow students described him as a "Jack of all trades."⁴⁵⁵ Skilled at combining knowledge and practice, culture and market, Lin's extremely well developed instinct for new products and potential markets was clearly shown in his later publishing and editorial enterprise. He was representative of a group of cultural brokers in 1920s and 1930s Shanghai, who were interested in introducing Western culture for both educational and commercial purposes.

⁴⁵³ Lin first went to study at Saint John's University in 1921, and then Kwang Hua University after the May Thirtieth Movement occurred in 1925. Saint John's University enjoyed great fame for its high quality education, English-speaking environment, and also for its expensive tuition. It was one of the most prestigious (church) universities in Shanghai, or even in the whole of China at that time, see Xiong Yuezhi, Zhou Wu eds, *Shengyuehan daxue shi* 聖約翰大學史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007). The May Thirtieth Movement was a labour and anti-imperialist movement. On May 30th, 1925, Shanghai Municipal Police officers opened fire on Chinese protesters in Shanghai's International Settlement, and nation-wide anti-foreign demonstrations followed. Cf. Peter Gue Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949* (London: Routledge, 2005), 203-209. More than 500 patriotic teachers and students at Saint John's University supported the demonstration and left their university on June 3rd. Three months later, these students joined Kwang Hua University, a newly founded university to substitute Saint John's University. More details see Zhang Zupei, "Liu san shiliao" 六三史料 (Historical Materials of the June Third Incident), *Guanghua daxue ershiwu zhounian jinian tekan* 1925-1950, June 3, 1950, 14-16. Shanghai Municipal Archive: U124-0-38.

⁴⁵⁴ *The 1926 Kwang Hua Annual*, 86, 128.

⁴⁵⁵ *The 1926 Kwang Hua Annual*, 60.



Fig.4-1 “Lin Zecang jun jinying” 林澤蒼君近影 (Recent Photo of Lin Zecang), in Lin Zecang and Gao Weixiang, *Zengguang sheying liangyou* 增廣攝影良友 (Shanghai: Zhongguo sheying xuehui faxing, 1928), illustration.

As early as January 1922 when he was still at university, Lin founded the San Ho Company. Later in 1925, he established the China Photographic Society (*Zhongguo sheying xuehui* 中國攝影學會).⁴⁵⁶ The China Photographic Society was an association based in Shanghai which greatly contributed to the early development of Chinese photography, and established important links to international photographic organizations, including the Royal Photographic

⁴⁵⁶ At the beginning, its English name was “China Camera Club,” then it was changed to “China Photographic Society” in 1926. See Lin Zecang, “Sanhe gongsi shiwu zhounian jinian zhi huigu” 三和公司十五週年紀念之回顧 (Looking Back on San Ho Company to Commemorate its Fifteenth Anniversary), *Diansheng zhoukan* vol.6 no.1 (Jan. 1, 1937), 79-81.

Society of Great Britain and the French Photographic Society.⁴⁵⁷ These connections explained the source of “foreign” images in *Linglong*, which I will discuss later in this chapter. Unlike the China Photographic Society, the San Ho Company was not labeled as a cultural institution, but as a commercial body to deal with “all trades.”⁴⁵⁸ It extended its business to publishing in 1925, and founded SYHB in the name of Chinese Photographic Society that same year. The pictorial positioned itself as part of entertainment tabloid (*xiaobao* 小報) culture in Shanghai, although it reserved space for discussions of photographic technology.

From that time on, Lin made great efforts to build up his publishing empire. Along with SYHB, he founded a series of illustrated newspapers and magazines: *Changshi* 常識 (“Common Knowledge,” 1928-1931), *Linglong*, *Diansheng* 電聲 (including *Diansheng ribao* 電聲日報 “Movie Radio News,” 1932-1933, abbr. DSRB; *Diansheng zhoukan* 電聲週刊 “Movie Tone. The National Movie Weekly,” 1934-1941), *Jiating liangyou* 家庭良友 (“Home Mate,” 1937, 1939-1940), *Jinghua zhoukan* 精華週刊 (Essence Weekly, 1940s), *Zhongwai yingxun* 中外影訊 (Chinese and Foreign Movie News, 1940s).⁴⁵⁹ It is notable that SYHB had existed for almost six years when *Linglong* was established, and the two periodicals co-existed

⁴⁵⁷ Lin Zemin, “Canguan Yingguo huangjia sheying xuehui ji” 參觀英國皇家攝影學會記 (A Visit to the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain), SYHB vol.6 no.271 (Jan. 10, 1931), 167.

⁴⁵⁸ As Lin commented in 1937, the company regularly sold three kinds of products from the very beginning: table tennis equipment, photos of movie stars, and photographic devices. See Lin Zecang, “Sanhe gongsi shiwu zhounian jinian zhi huigu,” *Diansheng zhoukan* vol.6 no.1 (Jan. 1, 1937), 80. Of the three, “photos of movie stars” indicates the possible sources of images used for reproduction in *Linglong*.

⁴⁵⁹ *Changshi* issue no.13 is dated Feb. 1, 1928. Since the newspaper was published every three days, it was perhaps founded at the beginning of January 1928. The newspaper existed four years, and later was incorporated into *Linglong* as a column, see *Linglong* vol.1 no.4 (April 8, 1931), 126. Lin Zecang’s name usually did not appear in *Diansheng ribao* as editor, but as founder (*chuangban zhe* 創辦者). The publisher was documented as San Ho Company. There is no known scholarship on the relation between *Diansheng* and other publications founded by San Ho, to my knowledge. The information on *Zhongwai yingxun* and *Jinghua zhoukan* is documented in *Shanghai Tushuguan guancang jinxian dai zhongwen qikan zongmu* (Catalog of Holdings of Modern Chinese Periodicals in the Shanghai Library), ed. Zhu Junzhou, (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2004, 1st ed.). However, the information is not easy to find, because the Chinese name of San Ho Company contains a typo (和 mistaken as 合), and no editor’s name is listed.

until August 1937. Bearing a “pre-history” and viewed as a “little sister,” *Linglong* was not a stand-alone cultural carrier, but part of a commercial and cultural publishing system.⁴⁶⁰ In this system, not only SYHB, but also *Diansheng* were *Linglong*’s “parallel text,” provides rich historical materials to decode the editorial strategy practiced in *Linglong*. Sufficient scholarly attention, however, has not yet been given to SYHB, whereas *Linglong* holds a privileged position in terms of preservation, digitization, and accessibility.

Other Male Editors: Lin Zemin, Lin Zeren, and Zhou Shixun

Either as contributors or editors, a considerable amount of well-educated and talented young graduates supported Lin’s enterprise of publishing and photography. Many of them were Lin’s relatives, who received elite educations and had been broadly exposed to Western culture. For example, two editors, Lin Zemin 林澤民 (1905?-1938) and Lin Zeren 林澤人 (1907?-?), were Lin Zecang’s younger brothers. Also having studied at Saint John’s University and Kwang Hua University, Lin Zemin acted as executive secretary of the China Photographic Society while working as photographer and editor for both SYHB and *Linglong*. Like his brother Lin Zecang, Lin Zemin also had excellent English language skills, and once travelled to London at the end of 1930 to visit the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, strengthening the institutional link between the two photographic societies.⁴⁶¹ Another brother, Lin Zeren, received an exceptional education at Soochow University (*Dongwu daxue* 東吳大學). He was also talented at photography and well versed in the English language. He not only acted as editor for the column “*Changshi*” in *Linglong*, but also contributed to the photography sections in both *Linglong* and SYHB.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ An editor’s note in SYHB literally says *Linglong* “is our journal’s little sister” after *Linglong* published two issues. The female personalization of *Linglong* noticeably shows how Lin initially designed and positioned *Linglong*, see SYHB vol.6, no.281 (March 28, 1931), 247.

⁴⁶¹ Lin Zemin, “Canguan Yingguo huangjia sheying xuehui ji,” SYHB vol.6 no.271 (Jan. 10, 1931), 167.

⁴⁶² See, for example, *Linglong* vol.1 no.26 (Sept. 9, 1931), 941.

The editors of *Linglong* were not limited to Lin's relatives. Zhou Shixun 周世勳, editor of the "yule" 娛樂 (entertainment) section in *Linglong* from Issues 1 to 21, for example, had ample experience in reporting on Hollywood movie stars. By the early 1920s, he had already published several essays on the topic in the journal of *Banyue* 半月 ("The Half Moon Journal," 1921-1925). In 1926, he founded the renowned entertainment newspaper *Luobinhan* 羅賓漢 ("Robin Hood," 1926-1949), and worked for different cinemas, translating film descriptions of imported Hollywood movies.⁴⁶³ His experience was then dedicated to the section of "Yule," first for SYHB in the late 1920s, and then for *Linglong* thereafter. Interestingly, Zhou Shixun edited a special issue on movies in SYHB in February 1931; only two weeks later, he laid the groundwork for the section of movies in the first issue of *Linglong*.⁴⁶⁴ The connection exhibits once again that *Linglong* was not a stand-alone journal, but linked to other periodicals, and the investigation into editors' backgrounds can contribute to the discovery of this and other connections.

Female Editors: "Ms. Chen Zhenling" and Liang Xinxi

Ms. Chen Zhenling: "Hiding Genuine Ling"?

In addition to male editors like the Lin brothers, two women's names also appeared on the colophons of *Linglong* in different periods: "Ms. Chen Zhenling" and Liang Xinxi. Having appeared in every single issue of *Linglong* throughout its seven years of publication, Ms. Chen Zhenling's background is essential for us to understand the journal, yet equally mysterious.

⁴⁶³ *Banyue* was edited by Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑 (1895-1968).

⁴⁶⁴ For early examples that Zhou Shixun discussed films, see Zhou, "Yingpian yiming tan" 影片譯名譚 (On Translating Movie Names), *Banyue* vol.3 no.2 (1923); "Yinghua" 影話 (Words on Movies), *Banyue* vol.3 no.5 (1923); "Yingxi tongyu" 影戲痛語 (Critical Words on Movies), *Dianying zazhi* 3 (1924). There is a special issue on movies published in SYHB vol.6 no.277 (February 28, 1931). Recent study on Zhou Shixun see Xu Wenming, "Jiqing yu ganga: Zhongguo yingjie de zhengyi renwu Zhou Shixun" 激情與尷尬：中國影界的爭議人物周世勳 (Passion and Embarrassment: Zhou Shixun, A Controversial Figure in Chinese Film World), *Dianying yishu* 2 (2011): 134-139.

Researchers, such as Barbara Mittler, Gary Wang, Kung Ling-Jr and myself, have individually tried to identify Chen Zhenling in the past. We noticed that the only available biographical information of “Zhenling” that has been found so far is a brief self-statement published in the first issue. The statement claims that “Zhen” (珍) had no opportunity to meet her schoolmates and old friends after leaving [middle] school; now she has been appointed editor of the “women” section of *Linglong* magazine, and “wishes to be the mouthpiece (*houshe* 喉舌, literally: the “throat and tongue”) for her female compatriots from the whole country.”⁴⁶⁵ We also noticed that a few books of *Linglong Series* (*Linglong congshu* 玲瓏叢書) were edited under Chen’s name. We have discovered little, however, about her further publications. Nor did we find any photos of her. As Gary Wang points out, *Linglong* published a large amount of photographic portraits of its female authors and readers, and it is almost impossible that Chen’s photo had no chance to be published if she was a real person. Therefore, Chen Zhenling might not be a real person. Gary Wang further creatively decodes that “she” might be a pseudonym for a group of male editors, with “Zhenling” implying that the magazine is “preciously elegant.” Additionally, he offers a linguistic interpretation, noting that “Chen” could sound like “cheng” (成)—meaning “to become”—in Shanghai dialect. So Chen Zhenling would literally mean, “becoming preciously elegant.”⁴⁶⁶

I concur with Wang’s attempt to decipher Chen’s name by thinking of its contemporary and localized pronunciation. I would go even further, however, and suggest that Chen Zhenling was just one of Lin Zecang’s female-featured pseudonyms. If educated in Christian colleges, almost every graduate had a name spelt in the Wade-Giles Romanization system. Lin Zecang’s name was written as “Tse Tsang Ling,” or often “T. T. Ling” as abbreviation. If one reads his

⁴⁶⁵ “Gei jiemei men” 給姐妹們 (To Sisters), *Linglong* vol.1, no.1 (March 18, 1931), 5. The original text writes: “珍自離校後與同學及老友每少聚首之機會，消息久疏。今就任本雜誌婦女部編輯，願為全國女同胞之喉舌，發揮女子之積愆，並請同志踴躍賜稿，能附本人或本文照片尤感。” The rhetoric “throat and tongue” was recurrently used in later advertisements for the journal, and presented one of the foci of the journal.

⁴⁶⁶ Gary Wang, “Making ‘Opposite-sex Love’ in Print: Discourse and Discord in *Linglong* Women’s Pictorial Magazine, 1931-1937,” *NAN Nü* 13, no. 2 (2011): 247.

name in reversed order (“Tsang Tse Ling” 蒼澤林) in Shanghai dialect, it sounds like “Ch’ en Chen Ling” (Wade-Giles for “Chen Zhenling”). Interestingly, “Tsang” (蒼) shares the harmonious pronunciation with “*cang*” (藏), meaning “to hide.” In this case, “Zhenling” might not only be interpreted as “preciously elegant,” but also indicates “genuine Ling” (真林), thus “Chen Zhenling” very likely stands for “hiding genuine Ling” (藏真林). Creating a pseudonym out of one’s real name, either by pronunciation or by meaning of the characters, is not particularly novel; in history, Chinese *literati* often played with the trick. Not only “Ms. Chen Zhenling,” but also several other names containing the syllable of “Ling” in SYHB and *Linglong* were likely created by Lin Zecang, such as “Ling” (玲), “Lin” (琳), “Linling” (琳玲), “Lingling” (玲玲), “Meiling” (玫玲).⁴⁶⁷

Two more pieces of evidence I found would support the argument that Chen Zhenling did not exist in reality. Firstly, in a group photo of editors employed by San Ho Company in 1937, no female editor can be identified.⁴⁶⁸ Secondly, the Shanghai Municipal Police once accused *Linglong* of publishing “obscene content,” and Chen Zhenling as well as another mail editor Peng Zhaoliang 彭兆良 were naturally considered responsible for the misbehavior.⁴⁶⁹ On the

⁴⁶⁷ For example, “Ling 玲” as an author appears in SYHB vol.5 no.225 (Feb. 15, 1930), 193. “Meiling 玫玲” in SYHB vol.5 no.222 (Jan. 18, 1930), 171; “Xuedie zhi song,” *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (March 25, 1931), 62. This short comment was most likely written by Lin Zemin. I assume that “Meiling” was Lin Zemin’s pseudonym. “Lin Ling 琳玲” appears in SYHB vol. 5, no.221 (Jan. 11, 1930), 162 and vol.5 no.223 (Jan. 25, 1930), 177; “Cha wu zhi yule” 茶舞之娛樂 (The Entertainment of Tea and Dancing), *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (March 25, 1931), 62. I believe the last short essay was written by Lin Zecang, because Lin discussed the ballrooms mentioned in the essay previously, and the photo published as illustration to the essay was made by Lin Zecang). “Ling Ling 玲玲” in SYHB vol.5 no.224 (Feb. 8, 1930), 191; *Linglong* vol.1 no.10 (May 20, 1931), 344.

⁴⁶⁸ See “Sanhe gongsi shiwu zhou jinian quanti zhiyuan sheying” 三和公司十五週紀念全體職員攝影 (A Group Photo of All the staff of San Ho Company for its Fifteenth Anniversary), *Diansheng zhouban* vol.6 no.1 (Jan. 1, 1937), 80.

⁴⁶⁹ “Linglong dengzai huixie wenzi” 玲瓏登載穢褻文字 (*Linloon Magazine* Published Indecent Text), *Shenbao* no.22536 (Jan. 28, 1936), 14.

day when the court subpoenaed both editors, only Peng Zhaoliang was present, “because Chen Zhenling was not in Shanghai.”⁴⁷⁰

In fact, the name “Chen Zhenling nüshi” (Ms. Chen Zhenling) did not only appear in *Linglong*. Around 1932, the name was also marked as “editor-in-chief” of *Funü ribao* 婦女日報 (Women’s Daily), a supplement to *Diansheng ribao*.⁴⁷¹ Likewise, the column “Zhenling xinxiang” 珍玲信箱 (“Zhenling’s Mailbox”) also appeared in *Funü ribao*, in addition to its concurrent presence in *Linglong*. Even after *Linglong* ceased its publication in 1937, the “Zhenling’s Mailbox” column remained present in *Diansheng* until at least 1940.⁴⁷²

Liang Xinxi: Hiding a Female Editor?

Listed as “copy-editor” next to “Ms. Chen Zhenling” in colophon, Liang Xinxi participated in the editorial activities for eight issues of *Linglong* (1932.12 – 1933.02). In the same period of time, she continued to work as editor for the “Movies” section in DSRB, which Liang had edited from the very first day it was founded.⁴⁷³

Launched on May 1, 1932 also by San Ho Company, DSRB occupied a very important place in film history, and “witnessed the first attempts of film criticism in a Chinese newspaper.”⁴⁷⁴ It offered star and industry news, film reviews and controversial but

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Edited by “Linglong funü zazhi” 玲瓏婦女雜誌 (Linloon Women’s Magazine), *Funü ribao* became a supplement to *Diansheng ribao* from no.217 (Dec. 4, 1932, 866). Unfortunately, *Funü ribao* has been preserved in very poor condition, and many issues, as part of *Diansheng ribao*, have been destroyed. See the microfilm collected at University of Heidelberg. Little research has been conducted on the journal. In *Diansheng ribao* no.545 (Nov. 10, 1933), *Funü ribao* was marked as Issue 301.

⁴⁷² Kung Ling-Jr provides a very detailed list of the titles appearing in “Zhenling’s Mailbox” both in *Linglong* and *Diansheng*, see *Cong Linglong zazhi kan yijiu sanling niandai shanghai xiandai nüxing xingxiang de suzao*, 231-253.

⁴⁷³ These eight issues are *Linglong* vol.2 no.77 (Dec. 7, 1932), no.78 (Dec. 14, 1932), no.79 (Dec. 7, 1932), no. 81 (Dec. 28, 1932); vol.3 no.1 (Jan. 11, 1933), no.2 (Jan. 18, 1933), no.3 (Feb. 1, 1933), no.5 (Feb. 15, 1933). It is very likely that Liang performed the role of Ms. Chen Zhenling.

⁴⁷⁴ For the impact of *Diansheng* on the Shanghai film press, see “Dianying kanwu zhi kongqian jilu” 電影刊物之空前紀錄, DSRB 191 (Nov. 8, 1932). Also see Laikwan Pang, *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-Wing Cinema Movement, 1932-1937* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 32.

independent rankings. Movie fans quickly embraced the newspaper.⁴⁷⁵ By early 1930s, the popular film press had been active in China for more than a decade.⁴⁷⁶ Huang Xuelei has pointed out that, in mid-1932, DSRB triggered a sudden surge in the popular film press, and many Shanghai leading newspapers created film sections or supplements. Countless film magazines and tabloids flooded the market, but most remained short-lived.⁴⁷⁷

Although this newspaper has been intensively used as historical material for film studies, the existing scholarship has not yet determined much information about the editor Liang Xinxi.⁴⁷⁸ Most scholarship has not noticed that the editor was actually female, and simply assumes a male was behind the name.⁴⁷⁹ Five reasons might explain the situation. First of all, just like “Ms. Chen Zhenling,” no photo of Liang Xinxi can be found in periodicals published by San Ho Company. Moreover, the combination of Chinese characters *xin* 心 (literally: heart) and *xi* 璽 (literally: imperial signet, royal signet) in the name could be used either for men or women, which makes it more acceptable to assume that Liang was male. Furthermore, the

⁴⁷⁵ For an introduction of the journal, see the website of *Shanghai nianhua* 上海年華 http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/book/book_introduction.jsp?bookId=18053 (accessed on Feb. 10, 2014).

⁴⁷⁶ For a discussion of the early Shanghai film press see Yiyun Gezhu 憶雲閣主, “Tan dianying kanwu” 談電影刊物 (On Periodicals of Movies), *Zhongguo wusheng dianying*, 267-268 (first published in *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 on 28 Aug. 1926); Xu Chihen, “Guanyu yingxi chubanwu zhi diaocha,” *Zhongguo wusheng dianying*, 269-273 (first published in *Zhongguo yingxi daguan*, 1927). For an internet bibliographic database see “Zhongguo xiandai dianying qikan quanmu shuzhi” 中國現代電影期刊全目書志 (A complete bibliography of contemporary Chinese film periodicals): http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/book/book_index.jsp.

⁴⁷⁷ For instance, the *Shibao*’s “Dianying shibao” 電影時報 (Movie Times) launched on 21 May 1932, the *Shishi xinbao*’s 時事新報 “Xin Shanghai” 新上海 (New Shanghai) on 4 June, and the *Chenbao*’s 晨報 “Meiri dianying” 每日電影 (Movie Daily) on 8 July. See Lu Si, “Yingping yijiu,” DSRB 191 (Nov. 8, 1932), Lili (Chen Wu), “Shanghai dianying kanwu de jiantao,” *Diansheng* 192 (9 Nov, 1932) and “Dianying kanwu zhi kongqian jilu,” DSRB 193 (Nov., 10, 1932). See Huang Xuelei, *Shanghai Filmmaking: Crossing Borders, Connecting to the Globe, 1922-1938* (BRILL, 2014), 109.

⁴⁷⁸ Laikwan Pang, *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-Wing Cinema Movement, 1932-1937* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 32.

⁴⁷⁹ For example, Zhang Wei has examined in detail the complete issues of *Diansheng*, but he took it for granted that Liang Xinxi was male. See Zhang Wei, “Minguo diyikan” 民國第一刊, in *Tanying xiaoji—Zhongguo xiandai yingtian de chenfeng yiyu* 談影小集—中國現代影壇的塵封一隅 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2009), 215. It reflects one of the challenges that periodical research is facing: on the one hand, periodicals could be important historical material, over and again quoted in scholarly works; on the other, so little about the editors is known.

absolute majority of the tabloid editors/publishers/contributors that we have identified were indeed male. For instance, the editors/publishers/contributors of *Jingbao* 晶報 (“The Crystal,” 1919-1941) were Yu Daxiong 余大雄 (?-?), Yuan Hanyun 袁寒雲 (1889-1931); and those of *Shanghai huabao* were Bi Yihong 畢倚虹 (1892-1926), Qian Jiechen 錢芥塵 (1886-1969).⁴⁸⁰ Another reason was that as a tabloid, the style of the DSRB was naturally sensational and gossipy, which was normally unexpected to be associated with well-educated women of the time. Additionally, and most importantly, I would argue below in detail that “Liang Xinxi” was designed to be a non-gender specific name, and Lin Zecang conspired to hide Liang Xinxi’s real identity and gender to his readers.

Liang Xinxi vs. Liang Aibao

Archival materials reveal that Liang Xinxi’s real name is Liang Aibao (梁愛保 or 梁愛寶, literally: loving and protecting, or loving and treasuring / loving treasures), whose family was initially from Guangdong.⁴⁸¹ Just like Lin Zecang, she was also a Christian, and had an English name, “Esther.” Described as a “sociable” person, “good at talking,” “pretty and nice,” and “gifted” in SYHB, she graduated from the St. Elizabeth’s School, where she probably gained her bilingual education.⁴⁸² In 1927, she started learning shorthand and typing, and always “kept the idea of being independent.”⁴⁸³ Her educational background and her wish to become independent showcased the concept of “new women,” a discourse frequently debated in media

⁴⁸⁰ Julia F. Andrews, “Pictorial Shanghai (*Shanghai Huabao*, 1925-1933) and Creation of Shanghai’s Modern Visual Culture,” *Journal of Art Studies* 藝術學研究, no. 12 (September 2013): 44–128.

⁴⁸¹ See “Shanghaishi gonganju hukou dengji biao” 上海市公安局靜安分局石門二路派出所戶口登記表 (Household registration form preserved by Shimenerlu Local Police Station, Jing’an District, Shanghai). Many thanks to Prof. Zhu Junzhou for visiting the local police station with me in Shanghai in October 2009. Without his help, the fieldwork would have been much more difficult.

⁴⁸² Her English name was found in “Personalities: Ling-Liang Wedding,” *The China Press* (1932.10.23), p.A4. Lin Zemin, “Qiri yi nüshi Liang Aibao nüshi” 七日一女士 梁愛寶女士 (A Lady Weekly, Ms. Liang Aibao), SYHB vol.3 no.116 (Nov. 26, 1927), 126. The original text is “...善交際，談吐風生，姿容秀麗，且為人和藹，嬌娜可親，天資穎敏，學冠儕輩，為同學所愛戴。現女士改學 (Short hand) 及打字，其藝超人，成績斐然。聞不久將卒業。卒業後，即入社會服務。蓋女士時以獨立為念者也。”

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

at the time.⁴⁸⁴ Under the name “Liang Aibao,” she contributed a short essay to *Linglong* in 1931, and one of her photographic portraits was published on the cover of *Linglong* magazine. She was in fact one of the elegant and modern *Linglong* cover girls.⁴⁸⁵ (Fig.4-2)

The names of Liang Xinxi and Liang Aibao were associated with different social images, and the decision-makers of the San Ho Company actively manipulated the difference. Liang Xinxi was shaped to be a non-gender specific editor, specializing in film criticism and news; whereas Liang Aibao was an elegant, intelligent, and independent modern girl. Despite the fact that the two names, Liang Xinxi and Liang Aibao, were in fact identified as the same person, Lin Zecang and Liang Xinxi, however, seemed to have no intention to reveal the connection between the two names.



Fig.4-2 “Liang Aibao nüshi yuying” 梁愛保女士玉影 (Precious Photo of Ms. Liang Aibao), *Linglong* vol.1 no.30 (Oct. 10, 1931), cover.

This can be observed from a series of reports on Lin Zecang and Liang Aibao’s wedding, held on October 10th, 1932, five months after Liang Xinxi had acted as editor-in-chief of DSRB. The photo of their grand Western-styled wedding was published in SYHB a few days later,

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Mittler, “In Spite of Gentility.”

⁴⁸⁵ “Shiyu de yizhuangtai” 室隅的衣裝台 (A Corner Toilet Table), *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (Oct. 10, 1931), 1138. “Liang Aibao nüshi yuying” 梁愛保女士玉影 (Precious photograph of Ms. Liang Aibao), *Linglong* vol.1 no.30 (Oct. 10, 1931), cover.

with a caption mentioning the name of “Ms. Liang Aibao,” *not* editor Liang Xinxi.⁴⁸⁶ (Fig.4-3) A slightly different wedding photo was also published in *The China Press*, an English newspaper published in Shanghai (Fig.4-4), with the caption “Ling-Liang Wedding. Mr. T. T. Ling manager of the San Ho Company, and Miss Esther Liang, a former student of the St. Elizabeth’s School, were married on October 10.”⁴⁸⁷ Lin Zecang’s job and title was explicitly explained, whereas Liang was described merely as an educated woman. The aspect of her profession as an editor of a tabloid was completely missing.

Linglong and DSRB released even less information on Liang. Both periodicals published the announcement entitled “Happy Event” (*xiqing* 喜慶), in which, the news of the Lin-Liang wedding was dramatically reduced to “Lin’s wedding,” and not even bride’s family name was mentioned.⁴⁸⁸ By reading DSRB alone, readers would have no chance linking the editor Liang Xinxi to the bride of the wedding. Considering that Liang Xinxi was publicly serving as editor - at least for DSRB - precisely during that period, I would therefore argue that *Linglong* and DSRB intentionally protected the information of Liang Xinxi’s gender, Lin and Liang’s relationship, as well as Liang Aibao’s actual profession as a female tabloid editor.

⁴⁸⁶ SYHB vol.8 no.370 (Oct. 15, 1932), 78.

⁴⁸⁷ “Personalities: Ling-Liang Wedding,” *The China Press* (1932.10.23), p.A4.

⁴⁸⁸ “Xiqing” 喜慶 (Happy Event), *Linglong* vol.2 no.70 (Oct. 10, 1932), 953.

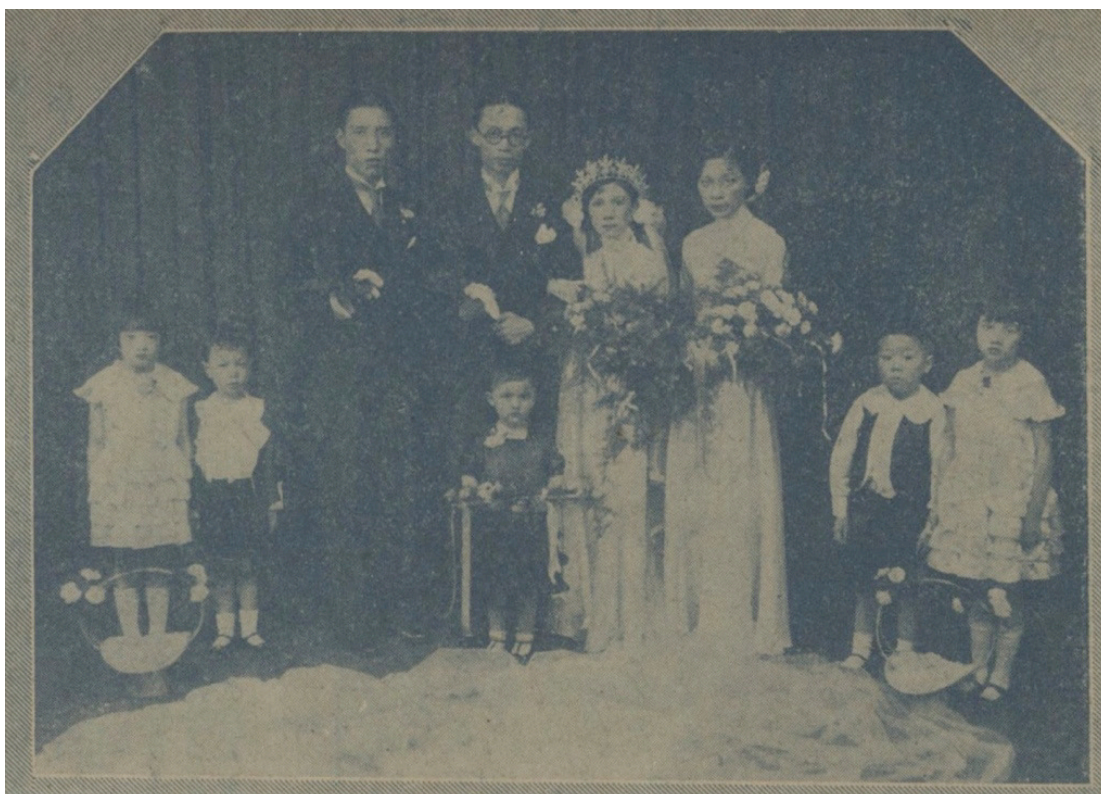


Fig.4-3 Lin-Liang Wedding, SYHB vol.8 no.370 (Oct. 15, 1932), 78.



Left.—DR. A. M. KAZI-
MIROW, one of the few
women dentists in
town, who has just re-
turned from holiday and
resumed her practice at
the Hamilton House.—
Carson Studio.

Above. — LING-LIANG
WEDDING. Mr. T. T.
Ling, manager of the
San Ho Company,
and Miss Esther Liang,
a former student of the
St. Elizabeth's School
were married on October
10.—Carson Studio.

Fig.4-4 “Personalities: Ling-Liang Wedding,” *The China Press* (Oct. 23, 1932), A4.

A similar argument could be made when examining Liang’s photographic portraits around and after the wedding. Except for the two photos of the Lin-Liang wedding mentioned above, all the additional four photos of Liang Aibao that I have discovered are her single portraits, without mentioning any information on her profession as editor.⁴⁸⁹ Here, in addition to the

⁴⁸⁹ The four photos include two portraits in her wedding dress, and two in more “casual” fashions. The two portraits in her wedding dress are “Liang Aibao nüshi xinhun yuying” 梁愛保女士新婚玉影 (The Precious Photo of Ms. Liang Aibao after her New Marriage), *Linglong* vol.2 no.75 (Nov. 23, 1932), 1176-1177; “Shanghai Sanhe gongsi jingli Sheying hubao zhugan Lin Zecang jun zhi xinfuren Liang Aibao nüshi xinhun shi zhi sheying” 上海三和公司經理攝影畫報主幹林澤蒼君之新夫人梁愛保女士新婚時之攝影 (The Photo of Ms Liang Aibao, recently married to Lin Zecang, Manager of Shanghai San Ho Company and editor-in-chief of *Pictorial Weekly*), *Shangbao huakan* vol.12 no.4 (1932), 3. The two portraits in new fashion are “Liang Aibao nüshi jinying” 梁愛保女士近影 (A Recent Photo of Ms. Liang Aibao), *Linglong* vol.2 no.77 (Dec. 7, 1932), 1269. Lin Zecang, “Liang Aibao nüshi” 梁愛保女士 (Ms. Liang Aibao), *SYHB* vol.9 no.1 (Jan. 1, 1933), 8.

quality of elegance, Liang Aibao was also presented as a pretty, gentle, fashionable, beloved, and happy woman or bride. In contrast, the name Liang Xinxi was shaped to signify an independent non-gender specific person, a diligent editor who specialized in copy-editing and editing movie criticism. No image under the name of “Liang Xinxi” has been found in San Ho’s periodicals. The intention of hiding Liang Xinxi’s real identity was even more explicitly revealed, when a photo, under the name of “Liang Aibao,” was published in DSRB, while Liang Xinxi’s name was displayed as editor-in-chief of movie section on the same page. Clearly, Liang Aibao/Liang Xinxi herself knew the careful decision of non-disclosure of her own identity in DSRB and LL. Even if it was not completely her own decision, she must have agreed on the arrangement.

So far I have discussed in detail the background of the editors of the San Ho-owned periodicals: their education, hobbies, genders, and their function/position on the editorial board. To sum it up briefly, Lin Zecang was founder of the San Ho Company, and founder as well as sponsor of SYHB, *Linglong*, *Diansheng ribao*, et al. Lin Zecang, his two brothers (Lin Zemin, Lin Zeren), his cousin (Gao Weixiang), and his wife (Liang Aibao) formed the main networks of the San Ho Company. I also argued that “Ms. Chen Zhenling” was a pseudonym, operated by Lin Zecang and other male editors before Liang Aibao officially joined the editing group in December 1932. It is possible that Liang Aibao continued the editorial work under the name of Ms. Chen Zhenling after December 1932. Based on this knowledge, the next section will take the publishing goal of *Linglong* as an example, analyzing how Lin Zecang emphasized “sophisticated entertainment” in the publishing and editorial activities in his publishing empire.

Linglong: A Women’s Magazine in Formation

Most existing scholarship has assumed that since *Linglong* targeted female readers, and that it was edited by Ms. Chen Zhenling, it was a typical “women’s magazine.” Scholars have thus used *Linglong* as a source for discussing the women’s voice on such issues as gender relations,

bodies and femininity in relation to modernity and nationalism.⁴⁹⁰ However, I would argue that *Linglong* was *not* strictly a “women’s magazine” in its first two years (March 1931- beginning of 1933) in the way “women’s magazine” is usually understood. The journal was not exclusively designed for women, edited by women, or exclusively read by women. Rather, it was a new product created by San Ho Company to stimulate the market, an exquisite combination of addressing the “women question” and offering “sophisticated entertainment,” as its publishing goal claimed from the very first issue.

Linglong was initially designed in March 1931 to be a lifestyle and leisure magazine aimed at both female and male educated young readers, although female readers were emphasized, as reiterated by the word “women” in the publishing goal. One and a half years later, namely between September 1932 and August 1933, Lin Zecang started to adjust *Linglong* to solely focus on female readers, whereas SYHB targeted male readers. Thereafter, as a result of marketing and interaction between editors and readers, *Linglong* was developed into a gendered magazine that distinctly focused on female readers.

Evidence for this shift can be found in the advertisements of both *Linglong* and SYHB. In August 1931, SYHB, the “paralleled text” of *Linglong*, still aimed at young people of both sexes, stating the journal was “especially welcomed by women, and even more admired by young people. (尤為婦女所愛閱 更受青年之傾倒)”⁴⁹¹ Similarly, *Linglong* did not forget its male readers. It launched a short advertisement from September 2, 1931 to January 1, 1932, that addressed a *male* reader: “Brother Ying, [if] you want to have satisfying love life, a happy family, and find a job successfully, then [you] must often read ‘Linloon Magazine.’ (英哥，你要愛情美滿，家庭幸福，謀事順利，那末必須常閱‘玲瓏雜誌’。)”⁴⁹² Another piece of

⁴⁹⁰ In earlier scholarship, researchers were usually convinced that Chen Zhenling was a real female editor, thus seriously considered editorials under her name as female “alternative voice.” See, for example, Yuxiang Gao, “Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on *Jianmei* (Robust Beauty) during China’s ‘National Crisis’ in the 1930s,” 548.

⁴⁹¹ SYHB vol.7 no.302 (Aug. 22, 1931), 12.

⁴⁹² My emphasis. The advertisement was published from September 1931 to January 1932 in the following issue: *Linglong* vol.1 no.25 (Sept. 2, 1931), 915; vol.1 no.28 (Sept. 23, 1931), 1024; vol.1 no.31 (Oct. 14, 1931), 1209; vol.1 no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1510; vol.1 no.42 (Jan. 1, 1932), 1661.

supporting evidence is that both the Chinese and English titles of *Linglong* constantly changed from 1931 to 1933, alternately including and excluding the term *funü* (literally: women) or “ladies.”⁴⁹³

I have not found hard evidence to explain why the publishing strategy was unstable at the time, but I would argue that Lin Zecang was trying to maximize readership and profits. It seems that once Lin knew that *Linglong*'s female readership was rather stable, he wanted to divide its readership by suggesting SYHB was for men, while *Linglong* was for women. When SYHB realized in August 1931 that, although it targeted young people of both sexes, and its major readership was *female* (本報女性讀者允[*sic*, 尤]佔多數), it began to guide its female readers to instead purchase *Linglong*.⁴⁹⁴ An advertisement in January 1932 stated, “If men read SYHB, [then their] happiness is incomparable; if women read *Linglong*, [then their] worries disappear (男子看看攝影畫報快樂無比；女子看看玲瓏雜誌煩悶全消).”⁴⁹⁵

At the same time, the editors of *Linglong* strived to present the journal as women's “*houshe* 喉舌 (throat and tongue).” Under the name of “Zhenling,” the editor of the Women's Section at the time wrote to female readers:

“To sisters: our journal is your only throat and tongue, your best community. Sisters, please send us your long-standing sadness, your worries, your troubles, or your true stories of being cheated by men. You can give vent in our journal, because the submissions are completely open. 給姊妹

⁴⁹³ The Chinese title of the journal included *funü* (women) for the first time in vol.3 no. 96 (May 24, 1933). After a few times of changes back and forth, with or without the term *funü*, the Chinese title was finally stabilized from vol.3 no.107 (Aug. 23, 1933). The English title of the journal was first “Linloon Magazine” from vol.1 no.1 (March 18, 1931)-no.25 (Sept. 2, 1931), then it was changed to “Ladies' Magazine” from vol.1 no.26 (Sept. 9, 1931) to no.29 (Sept. 30, 1931). From vol.1 no. 30 (Oct. 10, 1931), it was changed to “Lin Loon Magazine” again, exactly when the advertisement targeted male readers. This continued until vol.2 no.62 (Aug. 10, 1932), and then the vol.2 no. 63 (Aug. 17, 1932) issue began to add “the Ladies' Journal” to “Lin Loon Magazine,” claiming its status as a women's magazine more explicitly. A few months later, the issue of vol.3 no.90 (April 5, 1933) replaced the title with “Lin Loon Ladies' Magazine,” which lasted to no. 217 (Dec. 25, 1935). The English title eventually disappeared in the magazine from no.221 (Jan. 22, 1936).

⁴⁹⁴ See Gao Weixiang, “Sheying huobao he sheying tongzhi” 攝影畫報和攝影同志 (Pictorial Weekly and Photographic Amateurs), SYHB vol.6 no.300 (Aug. 8, 1931), 400.

⁴⁹⁵ See an advertisement in SYHB vol.7 no.324 (Jan. 31, 1932), 188.

們：本刊是你們唯一的喉舌，最好的園地。請姐妹們將心中的積鬱，煩悶，苦衷，或是受男子們欺騙[sic, 騙]的事實寄來，可以借本刊發洩一下，因為投稿完全是公開的。”⁴⁹⁶

The expression “throat and tongue” shows that *Linglong* viewed itself as a reserved space for women to voice themselves and complain about men, although many essays by female authors in the same section equally criticized women. This expression seemed to be well-accepted by the San Ho Company and its female readers. For example, in 1931 SYHB published an advertisement to promote *Linglong*, highlighting that it was “*duanxiao jinghan; funü houshe*” 短小精悍 婦女喉舌 (concise and vital, women’s throat and tongue).⁴⁹⁷ An “Editor’s Note” (*Bianjizhe yan* 編輯者言) also repeated the rhetoric in *Linglong*: “our magazine is the ‘throat and tongue’ to express women’s opinions (本刊為發表婦女意見之喉舌).”⁴⁹⁸ In the same issue, an author named “Ms. Saili” (賽麗女士) reiterated the metaphor of “throat” in a poem:

“玲瓏	<i>Linglong</i>
是姊妹們的喉嚨	is sisters’ throat!
請把心中的積怨，	please litigate your rancor,
煩惱和悲哀提出向青春法院裏訴訟。	worries, and sorrows to the court of youth.
玲瓏呀，	<i>Linglong</i> ,
多麼的玲瓏！	so <i>petit</i> and exquisite!
困於煩惱中的青年們！	Young people who are trapped in vexations!
快來到這美滿的園地裏尋個快樂和好夢吧。	Come to this happy community soon,
	seeking joy and good dreams.” ⁴⁹⁹

Evidence shows that Lin Zecang also strategically developed SYHB to channel male readers’ opinions, while shaping *Linglong* to be the “throat and tongue” for women. In January 1932, SYHB made an announcement in *Linglong* entitled “Speak up against Unfairness towards Men (為男子鳴不平).” It states that although it was “fairly reasonable” for *Linglong* to “attack men,” the magazine ridiculed men so much that “male readers were unsatisfied (男讀者有所不滿).” SYHB would, therefore, start a new column called “Speak up against the Unfairness (

⁴⁹⁶ *Linglong* vol.1 no.5 (April 15, 1931), 147.

⁴⁹⁷ SYHB vol.7 no. 309 (Oct. 10, 1931), 69.

⁴⁹⁸ “Bianjizhe yan,” *Linglong* vol.1, no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1552.

⁴⁹⁹ No title, *Linglong* vol.1 no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1517.

不平之鳴)。”⁵⁰⁰ Even more radically, Lin later openly advocated a style of “attacking (進攻),” which purposefully encouraged the two pictorials to compete with each other, claiming that *Linglong* was “to discuss women’s issues, promote elegant and beautiful lives, and *attack men* (討論婦女問題增進優美生活, 並向男子進攻),” whereas SYHB was designed to “*attack women* (專向女子進攻).”⁵⁰¹ These examples clearly reflect Lin’s marketing strategies, and it explains why *Linglong* displayed a tendency of “misandria,” as Mittler pointed out.⁵⁰² She also found the voice of “misogyny” equally important in *Linglong*, however, which, to my understanding, is largely related to the style of “attack” in both journals. If we closely read SYHB, we would equally find the voice of “misogyny” and “misandria.”

In advertisements, we can find seemingly contradictory but very telling lines about the style of “*jingong*” 進攻 (attack). For example, one advertisement in SYHB claims on the one hand to “particularly attack women (專向女子進攻),” while on the other, it states the journal is “most welcomed by young people and women (最受青年及婦女之愛閱),” and “...deeply favored by fashionable women, and greatly admired by fashionable young men (深受時髦婦女所愛閱, 更為時髦青年所傾倒).”⁵⁰³ I would argue that simultaneously “attacking” women and satisfying female readers was precisely one of the editorial strategies that Lin successfully practiced.

In the first two years of its publishing history, *Linglong* was not exclusively designed for women, nor was it edited by women, or only read by women, although women were its most

⁵⁰⁰ *Linglong* vol.1 no.46 (originally misprinted as 45) (Jan. 27, 1932), 1873.

⁵⁰¹ *Linglong* vol.1, no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1941; an advertisement in SYHB vol.7, no.352 (June 11, 1932), 308. The advertisement claims to “attack women” on the one hand, but also claims to be enjoyed by women and youngsters on the other. I analyze it in the text soon.

⁵⁰² Mittler, “In Spite of Gentility,” 209-210, 217-225.

⁵⁰³ SYHB vol.7 no.352 (June 11, 1932), 308.

important implied readers, especially from 1933 to 1937.⁵⁰⁴ I believe *Linglong* should not be simply considered a “women’s magazine,” or at least we should show the complexity of considering *Linglong* to be “a magazine of her own.”⁵⁰⁵ It might be more appropriate to call *Linglong* a “gendered” journal, because it focused on femininity and gender relations; and more importantly, because the imagery of the magazine was personalized as female (“little sister”), and the voice of the journal was gendered female, albeit by male editors.⁵⁰⁶

The very same strategy of “attacking” was also applied to men and male readers. SYHB stated that the journal “has always welcomed uncovering the crimes of men, because truly many [readers from] women’s world read our journal (對於揭發男子的罪惡，素來是歡迎的，因為婦女界看本報實在不少)”; and that “modern men are really hateful, and [we] should expose their secrets and dishonesty (現代的男性實在可惡，應該披露他們種種的隱私同了虛偽).”⁵⁰⁷ SYHB also stated: “recently, quite many magazines on women have been published by other publishers, most of which, however, seem to take sides with women, so that many men feel this is unfair, having nowhere to publish and explain [their ideas]. Our journal is the only throat and tongue for men. Contributions from readers to expose women’s inside stories are very welcome. (近來外間所出版之關於婦女之雜誌頗多，然類多偏袒女子，致有許多抱不平的男子，亦以無處發表，無從伸訴。本刊為男子之唯一喉舌，讀者如有揭穿女子

⁵⁰⁴ The evidence that *Linglong* was read by men has been cited by Gary Wang and Kung Ling-Jr. In particular, evidence in the form of a letter titled “Bubi dafu de xin” 不必答覆的信 (A Letter No Need to Reply, *Linglong* vol.5 no.214, Dec. 11, 1935, 4077) by a male reader from Guangzhou. The letter reads: “Among the many publications, *Linglong* can perhaps be considered rather exquisite. It definitely has genuine appeal, and moreover has a lot of valuable knowledge to tell us. I—a young chap—am male, but with regard to *Linglong* (a women’s magazine) I nonetheless have an undying interest for it. When I am in class or in the study hall at school, it certainly never leaves my hands. There are many schoolmates who laugh at me, saying that I am like a girl, and yet I will never cast [the magazine] aside and stop reading it because of this.” The translation is quoted from Wang, “Making ‘Opposite-sex Love’ in Print,” 249. The example also shows that the male reader was laughed at by his fellow students for reading *Linglong*, because *Linglong* clearly targeted female readers in 1935.

⁵⁰⁵ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own*.

⁵⁰⁶ Similar examples of how male editors manipulated the “female voice” and female authorship can be found in Victorian magazines, see Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own*, 188.

⁵⁰⁷ SYHB vol.6 no.274 (Jan. 31, 1931), 185.

黑幕的文字，歡迎投稿。)”⁵⁰⁸ This complexity reminds researchers that one can not simply judge the gender of implied readers by showing wo/men are satirized in a journal, because the “attacking” or ridiculing itself can be an “editing style.” The style could potentially draw both male and female readers’ attention, and could be applied regardless of the gender of the magazine. This understanding is very important for my later analysis on the interpretation of nudes in SYHB and *Linglong*.

4.2 “Sophisticated Entertainment” or Sophisticating Entertainment?

Understanding the Publishing Goal of *Linglong*

From the very first issue, *Linglong* magazine clearly stated its publishing goal as “Zengjin ‘funü’ youmei shenghuo, tigao shehui gaoshang yule” 增進“婦女”優美生活，提倡社會高尚“娛樂” (To promote “women’s” elegant and beautiful lives, and encourage sophisticated “entertainment” in society).⁵⁰⁹ “Women” (*funü* 婦女) and “entertainment” (*yule* 娛樂), the two essential words in the goal emphasized by the publisher, reflected two sections that appeared

⁵⁰⁸ SYHB vol.8 no.363 (Aug. 27, 1932), 17.

⁵⁰⁹ See, for example, *Linglong* vol.1, no.1 (March 18, 1931), 13. “Yule,” according to the debate at that time, initially was the Chinese translation of the English word “recreation,” see Wu Xiechen 吳燮臣, “Funü yu yule” 婦女與娛樂 (Women and Entertainment), *Funü Zazhi* 婦女雜誌 vol.10 no.1 (Jan. 1, 1924), 77. But Wu also pointed out that the translation was not ideal, because “recreation” would cover more meaning than “yule” at the time when he wrote the essay. Therefore, Wu argued that the meaning of “yule” should be extended to be as broad as “recreation,” so as to include bodybuilding, moral restraint, knowledge accumulation, and mental development. The original text is “娛樂這兩個字，是從英文的‘Recreation’翻出來的。這字的意義，卻是翻的很不完善；因為‘Recreation’的意義，就是使身心復原的意思；這是狹義的解釋。由廣義的說起來，範圍極廣：凡足以強健筋骨，發達神經，涵養德性，發展知識，培養身心等等，都可以稱為娛樂。他的範圍，包括休息，遊戲，體操，愉快，活動等等。” In my understanding, the Chinese term “yule” in *Linglong* went beyond “recreation,” if “recreation” is defined as “activity done for enjoyment when one is not working.” It was closest to the English word “entertainment” as we commonly understand today, including “amusement,” “interesting enjoyment.” The definition of “entertainment,” see OED, <http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/62856?redirectedFrom=entertainment&> (accessed on March 5, 2012).

in *Linglong* from the first issue.⁵¹⁰ “Elegant and beautiful” (*youmei* 優美) describes an ideal lifestyle for women, whereas “sophisticated entertainment” (*gaoshang yule* 高尚娛樂) aims at offering high-minded and tasteful pastimes and enjoyment within society (*shehui* 社會). A publishing goal usually provides editors and readers with a glimpse at the content of the periodical. It presents the essence of the periodical for readers, and functions as a compass for editors in their working practice. Advertised in each issue as an overarching slogan, the goal suggests *Linglong*’s self-positioning, self-fashioning, and self-styling.

Photography and Entertainment as “Soft Entry” to Modernity

In her recent examination of *xiaobao*-tabloid and entertainment culture in *Shanghai*, Catherine Yeh argues that leisure and entertainment became the “contact zone” between the common people and global flow of concepts, institutions, and practices, and that “entertainment acted as the most non-confrontational mediator which translated these global flows for society in the form of amusement, and secured wide acceptance among the public.”⁵¹¹ Having closely examined the layout and content of *Xianshi leyuanribao* 先施樂園日報 (*The Eden*), she concludes that “the world as entertainment with its flat hierarchies and the pleasure of the consumer dominating the scene can be seen as an attempt to readdress the power dynamics in the real world between China and West and no less so within China itself.”⁵¹²

Inspired by Yeh’s view of entertainment as a “soft entry” to modernity in Late Qing Shanghai, I observe that entertainment was still instrumentalized to pursue a modern mental state and lifestyle in the 1920s. Not only for intellectuals, but also for other social groups and

⁵¹⁰ Later, the variety of the topics were further developed, and more sections were created, for example, the section of “Common Knowledge” (*Changshi* 常識) and “Children” (*Ertong* 兒童).

⁵¹¹ Catherine Yeh, “Guides to a Global Paradise: Shanghai Entertainment Park Newspapers and the Invention of Chinese Urban Leisure,” in *Transcultural Turbulences*, ed. C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011), 97-131. Yeh also discussed the formation of entertainment culture in relation to courtesans and intellectuals in Shanghai, see *Shanghai Love*. David Der-Wei Wang also examined the courtesan entertainment culture in Shanghai in his *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911* (Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁵¹² Yeh, “Guides to a Global Paradise,” 129.

institutions, such as students, women, farmers, and government, entertainment became an increasingly important issue.⁵¹³ In contrast to the intellectuals in Yeh's research, some "globalized" highbrows such as Lin Zecang who received a Western-style elite education, considered "yule/entertainment" an indispensable part in the pursuit of life, an effective tool for education, and an efficient approach to be modern (現代).

Joining in the so-called "tide of pictorials" or "boom of pictorials" (*huabao chao* 畫報潮), Lin founded SYHB in August 1925, exactly when numerous ephemeral pictorials were brought into the world. In the beginning, Lin did not distinguish his journal much from other entertainment tabloids, such as *Shanghai huabao* founded by Bi Yihong that I have mentioned previously, in terms of the holistic visual impressions conveyed through editing style. Before long, Lin started to arrange a significant amount of photographs, and reserved a permanent space to transmit his knowledge, experience, and understanding of photography, one of the most modern technologies to visualize the world at the time. This transition exhibited Lin's creativity and innovation in the circle of pictorial publishing. A good friend of Bi Yihong confirmed the novelty of SYHB in 1926:

"...although there were other pictorials before *Pictorial Shanghai*, it was he [Bi Yihong-author] who created a pictorial that combined the spirit of *Shibao's Pictorial Weekly* [*Tuhua shibao* 圖畫時報] and *The Cristal* [*Jingbao* 晶報]. Others are all imitators. But this pictorial [SYHB-author] recently has been using photographs as principal part; the style seems to have somewhat changed.

...雖然《上海畫報》以前，也有畫報，不過以《圖畫時報》和《晶報》的精神來合併的畫報，確是他[畢倚虹-author]獨創的。別人可說都是摹仿的。不過本報近來以攝影為主體，體裁似乎變了一些。"⁵¹⁴

⁵¹³ For related discussions see "Guixiu zhi Yule" 閩秀之娛樂 (Educated Women's Entertainment), SYHB vol.4, no.167 (Dec. 1, 1928), 130; Miyun 迷雲, "Xiandairen de yule zitai" 現代人的娛樂姿態 (Modern People's Attitude towards Entertainment), *Xin Wenyi* 新文藝 1, no. 6 (February 1929): 1189-1193; Wu Xiechen 吳燮臣, "Funü Yu Yule" 婦女與娛樂 (Women and Entertainment), *Funü Zazhi* 婦女雜誌, no. 1 (1924): 77-81; "Lun funü zhi Yule" 論婦女之娛樂 (On Women's Entertainment), *Zhongguo Weisheng Zazhi* 中國衛生雜誌 (Collection of the second year 1931), 312-315; Wang Xianxing, "Qingnian yinggai zenyang yule" 青年應該怎樣娛樂 (How Should Young People Have Entertainment), *Xuesheng wenyi congkan* 學生文藝叢刊 vol. 2, no. 10 (1925); "Tichang nongmin yule banfa gangyao" 提倡農民娛樂辦法綱要 (The Outlines to Promote Farmers' Entertainment), *Nanghai xianzheng jibao* 南海縣政季報, no. 6-7 (1931).

⁵¹⁴ Hongjiao 紅蕉, "Benbao jinian yu Bi Yihong" 本報紀念與畢倚虹, SYHB no.50 (June 1, 1926), 395.

This comment demonstrates that *Pictorial Shanghai* was considered innovative at the time, because it combined the spirit of both the tabloid and pictorial newspaper, offering light-hearted, entertaining, and accessible writing to common readers. The editing style was widely accepted by a large amount of illustrated newspapers in the “boom of pictorials,” and SYHB was among them. Lin Zecang, however, distinguished his pictorial from others soon, by emphasizing the significance of photography. He claimed in an announcement in 1926 that “photography is yet a new science in China,” and begun to extend the proportion that photographs possessed in the editorial layout in SYHB.⁵¹⁵ Gradually, his journal formed its own style: entertaining topics, accessible writing, and aesthetically tasteful visual materials - primarily high quality photographs.

Between 1925 and 1930, SYHB experienced a few instances of change and adjustment, including changes in layout, editorship, readership, and editing style. Finally, before SYHB launched its 250th issue in August 1930, Lin Zecang announced “Ten Guidelines for Our Journal” (本報之十大方針) as “major reforms in the future” (今後之大改革).⁵¹⁶ Four key concerns were stressed as slogans: “To emphasize urban elegant life” (注重都市優美生活), “To advocate modern physical robust/healthy beauty of human bodies” (提倡現代人體健美), “To promote social intercourse between men and women” (促進目下男女社交), and “To satirize the recent promiscuous relations between the two sexes” (諷刺近世兩性濫交).

Part of the rhetoric in the first slogan, such as “*youmei shenghuo*” 優美生活 (elegant life), also appeared in *Linglong*’s publishing goal a few months later in March 1931. The difference is that SYHB emphasized the “urban elegant life” (都市優美生活) whereas *Linglong* highlighted “women’s elegant and beautiful lives (婦女優美生活).” The similar rhetoric reveals the internal connections and continuation between the two journals operated by the

⁵¹⁵ T. T. Ling (Lin Zecang), “To All Promoters of Photography: Regarding China Camera Club,” SYHB vol.1 no. 21 (Jan. 9, 1926), 1.

⁵¹⁶ SYHB vol.5 no.249 (Aug. 2, 1930), 386.

same company. The second slogan is pivotal for us to understand Lin's motivation to publish nudes, though the unspoken commercial factors were equally important. First of all, the slogan refers to the discourses of *xiandai* (modern) and "health and beauty" (*jianmei*), and the carefully chosen *renti* (human bodies) - rather than *luoti* (unclothed bodies) - to present the more scientific connotation, as I have analyzed in the first Chapter. It is an editorial strategy to "sophisticate" nudes, which I will discuss in the next section in detail. The third and fourth slogans exhibited the important themes that the editorial principal would consider, covering a wide range of short essays, cartoons, and satirical images.

The four slogans are followed by detailed "Ten Guidelines," which provide us with important context as to how Lin would steer his publishing empire on the market from August 1930 onwards, which I consider one of the most crucial reasons of the birth of *Linglong*. I will quote the "Ten Guidelines" at length below:

"Our next issue will be the last issue of the fifth year, and also the start of the sixth year. We shall announce our guidelines to reform during the transition period between these two weeks. 1) Room decoration should draw the attention of modern families. We shall publish it by combining pictures and texts. 2) New fashion is worth learning by new women. 3) Fashion for men, should also be advocated and improved. 4) Although slightly too fashionable, we will select good [examples] of urban entertainment to publish. 5) All the healthy and beautiful human bodies should be published prudently, as long as they are of sophisticated aesthetic [value]. 6) European and American popular movie stars are to be published together with exciting textual and pictorial materials. 7) Our journal has been advocating modern social intercourse. We will continue our efforts and emphasis. 8) Newest cartoons, which fit modern life well, will be published in every issue under the support of [the journal] *Shanghai Sketch*. 9) Satirical images, carrying in-depth texts, have been emphasized by our journal all along. We will continue our selection and [continue] publishing in the future. 10) New-fashioned writings, such as "modern" dialogues and the art of kisses, are worth studying by young people. It is in our consideration of reforms.

“下期的本報，是五週的最後一期，六週的將起之報。我們在這兩週交替的時期，似乎應當將今後所要改革的方針，盡量宣佈出來。（一）房間美化的裝璜也是新派家庭所當注意的，我們也把它用圖文合作的方法，採取了登出來。（二）婦女的新裝是值得新女子摹仿的。（三）男性的裝飾，也應該提倡和改良起來。（四）都市中的消遣方法，雖然略帶時髦漂亮的色彩。我們也擇善而刊之。（五）人體的健美，凡是有高尚的美感的，都慎重的刊佈。（六）刊登歐美電影界紅星，而附有興奮資料的照片和文字。（七）現代的社交，本報曾一度提倡。今後我們還要加工高唱。（八）合乎現代生活而最新式的漫畫由上海漫畫幫助我們按期刊佈。（九）諷刺畫附帶深刻的文字，是本報素來注重的，

以後還精選着繼續發表。(十)現代對話，吻的藝術等類的新派文字，也是青年們值得研究的。也在我們改革刊佈之中。”⁵¹⁷

Most interestingly, “new” (*xin* 新), “new-fashioned” (*xinpai* 新派), and “modern” (*xiandai* 現代) were keywords in the guidelines, in response to the four slogans mentioned above. These ten guidelines explicitly defined the criteria of “modern” components in San Ho pictorials. They functioned as working principles for editors to deal with projected readers’ expectations on the one hand; on the other, we could argue that the guidelines instructed and shaped readers’ tastes. This cultivation seems to have been effective, since readers sent very positive responses to the editing team. Readers’ support and encouragement, in turn, confirmed Lin’s commercial instincts. Seven months later, Lin created the pocket-sized magazine *Linglong*, which included almost all the components raised in the guidelines except for “men’s fashion.” In both periodicals, entertainment, illustrated by photography (as well as cartoons), was considered to be on the right path to be “modern,” and a way to pursue “elegant” urban life.

“Gaoshang (Sophistication)”: Taste, Distinction

The terms *gaoshang* and *yomei* were part of the discourse of “aesthetic education,” developed by Cai Yuanpei in the early Republican era.⁵¹⁸ He emphasized the terms in a public speech at East City Girls’ School (*Shanghai Chengdong nüxue* 上海城東女學) in Shanghai in 1913, entitled “Yangcheng youmei gaoshang sixiang” 養成優美高尚思想 (Cultivating Elegant and Sophisticated Thoughts).⁵¹⁹ Later, Cai would frequently use the term *gaoshang* to discuss the significance of aesthetic education and the value of fine arts. He mentioned in one of his later speeches, for example, “fine arts are sophisticated entertainment, because they can promote the

⁵¹⁷ SYHB vol.5 no.249 (Aug. 2, 1930), 386. My emphasis.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Chapter Two.

⁵¹⁹ Cai Yuanpei, “Yangcheng youmei gaoshang sixiang: zai Shanghai Chengdong nüxue yanshuo ci” 養成優美高尚思想——在上海城東女學演說詞 (Cultivating Elegant and Sophisticated Thoughts—A Speech at Shanghai East City Girls’ School), in Nie Zhenbin ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meixue mingjia wencong: Cai Yuanpei juan* 中國現代美學名家文叢：蔡元培卷 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2009), 25-28. Originally published in 1913. Yin Lee Wong translated the title to “On Becoming a Dignified Being,” see “Women’s Education in Traditional and Modern China,” *Women’s History Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 367.

spirit of creativity (美術所以為高尚的消遣，就是能提起創造精神)”; “cigarettes, alcohol, and gambling, are harmful pastimes, we should pursue sophisticated enjoyment (菸酒，賭博，又系有害的消遣，吾們應當求高尚的消遣).”⁵²⁰

Cai Yuanpei had already begun to distinguish entertainment, based on different functions and purposes. Similarly, in Lin and other editors’ eyes, not all the entertainment deserved their attention and engagement; only these *gaoshang* (sophisticated) ones should be valued. Michel Hockx has observed a similar phenomenon in a 1930s Shanghai literary salon. He used the “Tea Talk Meeting” (文藝茶話會) as an example to discuss the notion of “sophisticated entertainment” in 1930s literary circles.⁵²¹ Just like those from literary circles, Lin attempted to distinguish his publications and his taste from vulgarity. As early as in 1926, he had already claimed that his pictorial “has a sophisticated purpose (宗旨高尚).”⁵²² Not only did he talk about “sophistication,” but he also organized or supported all manner of activities and events to promote the concept. An “official” promotion of the concept “*gaoshang yule*” was marked

⁵²⁰ Cai Yuanpei, “Zai Aidingbao Zhongguo xueshenghui ji xueshu yanjiuhui huanyinghui yanshuoci” 在愛丁堡中國學生會及學術研究會歡迎會演說詞 (A Speech at the Reception held by Edinburgh Chinese Students’ Union and Research Associate), in Nie Zhenbin ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meixue mingjia wencong: Cai Yuanpei juan* 中國現代美學名家文叢：蔡元培卷 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2009), 77. Originally published in *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊 (1921).

⁵²¹ See Michel Hockx, “Gentility in a Shanghai Literary Salon in the 1930s,” in *The Quest for Gentility in China: Negotiations Beyond Gender and Class*, ed. Chloë Starr and Daria Berg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 58–72. In some cases, he translates “*wenyi de gaoshang yule* (文藝的高尚娛樂)” to “sophisticated enjoyment of literature and arts,” and “sophisticated entertainment” can also refer to “*gaoshan de xiaoqian* (高尚的消遣).” Indeed, “*xiaoqian* (消遣)” was used to refer to “entertainment,” “pastime,” or “amusement” at the time, but Chinese intellectuals again voiced to clarify that “*yule bushi xiaoqian*” 娛樂不是消遣, which, depending on authors’ definitions, could be translated as “entertainment is not pastime/killing time.” See, for example, Bingxin 冰心, “*Ji xiao duzhe*” 寄小讀者 (Letters to Young Readers), in *Binxin sanwen ji* 冰心散文集 (Beijing: Beixin shuju 北新書局, 1934).

⁵²² Lin Zecang 林澤蒼, “Huabao chao zhi huigu” 畫報潮之回顧, SYHB no.50 (June 1, 1926), 395.

by an essay “Suggestions on A Specific Organization of Sophisticated Entertainment (高尚娛樂具體組織之建議)” in SYHB in 1928.⁵²³

In the essay, the author Lin Ying 林英 (?-?) used “*quwei*” 趣味 (taste) and “*jingji*” 經濟 (economical) in the subtitle.⁵²⁴ It begins with the criticism that “currently, youth’s entertainment often intends to be vulgar (目下青年娛樂，每多趨於下流),” and then goes on to describe its harm. In response to “the need of state and society (應國家社會之需要),” the essay suggests that Chinese youth should “cultivate body and mind (修養身心).” Then, the author Lin Ying states that he will dedicate his passion to study the “youth entertainment question (青年娛樂問題).” He suggests to establish an organization to look for methods to practice “sophisticated entertainment,” which should include members with good “personalities (人格),” “regardless of gender (不分男女).” To ensure members’ possession of good “personalities,” Lin further suggests a process of “censorship (審查).” The lowest criterion is “having graduated from middle school and also having a proper job.” In addition, to meet the criterion, a recommendation by two members and the agreement by the committee will be necessary. According to an “editor’s note” in a later issue, some readers criticized the strict requirements, although the majority of readers’ responded positively and with support.⁵²⁵ Most prominently, Lin Ying listed several examples of “holding Chinese and Western sophisticated entertainment (舉行中西高尚娛樂),” “aiming at sophistication and elegance (以

⁵²³ Lin Ying 林英, “Gaoshang yule juti zuzhi zhi jianyi” 高尚娛樂具體組織之建議 (Suggestions on a Specific Organization of Sophisticated Entertainment), SYHB vol.4 no.168 (Dec. 8, 1928), 138. Lin Ying was Lin Zecang’s fellow student at Saint John’s University and Kwang Hua University. I have not found further biographic information.

⁵²⁴ The subtitle of the article is “shen wei jingji, fuyou quwei” 甚為經濟 富有趣味 (economical, of great taste). These two keywords were reiterated over and over again in the next few years, for example, an essay entitled in *Linglong* three years later “Jingji de yule” 經濟的娛樂 (Economical Entertainment), *Linglong* vol. 2 no.57 (July 6, 1932), 46.

⁵²⁵ “Bianjizhe yan,” SYHB vol.4 no.169 (Dec. 15, 1928), 145.

高尚而清雅者為目的),” for instance, “music (音樂), singing (唱歌), tea talk (茶話), farce (趣劇), ballroom dance (交際舞).” It goes on to explain the duty and the rights of a membership, and finally requests contributors from “all circles (各界)” and “all groups and schools/universities (各團體學校)” to submit their ideas to Lin Ying via the San Ho company.

To my best knowledge, the cultural practice of “*gaoshang yule*” was first institutionalized by the World Chinese Students’ Federation (*Huanqiu Zhongguo xueshenghui* 寰球中國學生會) in 1921.⁵²⁶ Perhaps the term “*gaoshang yule*” as rhetoric and a trend was then spread among university students, such as at Tsinghua University in Beijing, and other universities in Shanghai.⁵²⁷ Lin Ying also mentioned in the proposal that this proposed group would be in contact with the World Chinese Students’ Federation as well as other students’ unions. A few months later, an organization called “Huaguang Social Club” (*Huaguang lianhuanshe* 華光聯歡社) was founded in August 1929, located at Nanking Road 56, precisely where San Ho Company was. Many well-known women from upper class Shanghai families joined the events organized by Huaguang, and their portraits were published in SYHB and later in *Linglong*.⁵²⁸

Overtly and covertly, Lin Zecang articulated his point of view as editor with the inclusion of Lin Ying’s proposal. Heated discussions and debates on the “entertainment question”

⁵²⁶ See a short message on *Shenbao*, “Huangqiu hui gaoshang yule bu xiaoxi” 寰球會高尚娛樂部消息, *Shenbao* 17310 (May 3, 1921), 11, section “Benbu xinwen” 本埠新聞 (Local News). The full text is “寰球中國學生會組織高尚娛樂部。先從招集基本會員入手，已由宋漢章君徵得五人等情已二誌前報。茲悉前日吳和士君亦徵得一人，為楊譜笙君。楊君為前浙江官產處處長云。”

⁵²⁷ “Qinghua xiju she qishi: xiju shi yizhong zui gaoshang de Yule” 清華戲劇社啓事：戲劇是一種最高尚的娛樂 (An Announcement by Tsinghua Theatre Society: Theatre is a Kind of Most Sophisticated Entertainment), *Qinghua zhoukan* 清華週刊 342 (1925), 1-2.

⁵²⁸ Lin Ying 林英, “Gaoshang yule zhi xin zuzhi” 高尚娛樂之新組織 (A New Organization of Sophisticated Entertainment), SYHB vol.5 no.201 (Aug. 17, 1929), 6; Meigui 玫瑰, “Gaoshang yule zhi xin zuzhi” 高尚娛樂之新組織 (A New Organization of Sophisticated Entertainment), *Shenbao* 20267 (Aug. 24, 1929), 22; Liusansheng 六三生, “Huaguang Lianhuanshe Tonglehui jinxun” 華光聯歡社同樂會近詢 (Recent News on [the clubs of] *Huaguang Lianhuanshe* and *Tonglehui*), SYHB vol.5 no.203 (Aug. 31, 1929), 18; “Gaoshang yule zhi xin faxian” 高尚娛樂之新發現 (The New Discovery of Sophisticated Entertainment), SYHB vol.5 no.223 (Jan. 25, 1930), 179.

followed, continuing to be present on the pages of SYHB, and eventually influencing the well-defined publishing goal in *Linglong*. Associated with gender issues, the publishing goal in *Linglong*, “encouraging sophisticated entertainment in society (提倡社會高尚娛樂),” reflected legitimization and definition of entertainment by differentiating the “lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile,” from the “sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures.”⁵²⁹ The power of judgment and differentiation was the embodiment of “editorial agency,” the power to shape the “taste” and style of a periodical, to *sophisticate* entertainment, and further to guide the journal to the “new” (*xin* 新), the “new-fashioned” (*xinpai* 新派), and the “modern” (*xiandai* 現代), as raised in the announcement of “Ten Guidelines for Our Journal.”

Sophisticated Entertainment: Visual Aesthetics, Elegant Gatherings, and Cultivation of Taste

Which activities or practices, then, were considered “sophisticated” in Lin’s cultural products? I would argue that “sophistication” in Lin’s understanding was meant as the development of aesthetic sensitivity in visual products and certain cultural practices. The “visual products” included photographs, movies, and pictorials. Photography, as I have analyzed, was Lin’s hobby from his early life at Saint Johns University; later, Lin founded the Chinese Photographic Society in 1925. In addition to regular gatherings, members of the society also periodically organized National Photography Exhibitions. The society also founded SYHB as its official publication, which involved an impressive amount of “masterpieces of photography” (攝影傑作) from Germany, France, and America. Photography was generally viewed as “sophisticated entertainment” in this context, as Gao Weixiang, Lin Zecang’s cousin discussed; therefore,

⁵²⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 7.

labeling a photograph as “a masterpiece” was a way of exhibiting professionalization, aestheticization, and sophistication.⁵³⁰

Movies and pictorials were also promoted by Lin, and seen as fashionable and “modern” at the time. However, not all movies were considered to be tasteful; the process of sophistication existed in the choice of movies. SYHB readers organized a *Guanying tongzhi hui* 觀影同志會 (Movie-watching Club) in January 1930, aimed at evaluating popular movies from all countries, as long as they were being screened in Shanghai cinemas. The club members published their evaluations and comments in SYHB, and later in *Linglong*, so as to exhibit their impartial view on the film production, preventing the audience from “wasting time and money” on the “worthless” ones.⁵³¹ The evaluation and recommendation of movies exhibited the “taste” among *tongzhi* 同志, those who shared similar interest and cultural values, who “at least had more than ten-years-experience of watching movies.”⁵³² These like-minded people, typically from the urban middle or upper classes, read and wrote for these journals published by San Ho Company, and were collectively engaged with the sophistication of entertainment. The club existed for a few years, and their sharp movie criticism contributed to the success of *Diansheng ribao*.⁵³³

More activities were valued as “sophisticated” in *Linglong*, particularly for women. Some of them could provide women with what was then considered as mental enjoyment, such as

⁵³⁰ The argument of viewing photography as entertainment had already appeared in the first issue of *Linglong*, see, for example, Gao Weixiang 高維祥, “Meiyou biege yule” 沒有別個娛樂 (No Other Entertainment), *Linglong* vol.1 no. 1 (March 18, 1931), 26.

⁵³¹ Shuji 書記, “Guanying tongzhihui de zuzhi yu dongji” 觀影同志會的組織與動機 (The Organization and Motivation of the Movie-watching Club), SYHB vol.5, no.221 (Jan. 11, 1930), 163. It says “上海的影戲院，太沒有道德，每把許多不值得一看的影片，鼓吹得天花亂墜，害得愛觀電影的同志們，把快樂的光陰，有用的金錢，暗地裏拋棄了。我們有鑒於此，有鑒於彼，不忍心再把光陰和金錢，作他們欺人的試驗品，所以邀集了許多同志，組織這個觀影同志會。[……]” The writing published in *Diansheng ribao* and *Linglong*, see, for example, “Chengshi zhi guang” 城市之光 (The Light/Glory of the City) and “Bianjizhe yan,” *Linglong* vol.1, no.8 (May 6, 1931), 280 and 273.

⁵³² Shuji, *ibid.*

⁵³³ For example, “Gao guanying tongzhi” 告觀影同志 (To Movie-watching Friends), DSRB vol.1 no.19 (May 19, 1932), 2.

listening to music, singing, and decorating rooms.⁵³⁴ Others could help women build “healthy and beautiful” bodies, such as playing golf, tennis, swimming, boating, walking dogs.⁵³⁵ “Elegant” gatherings were appreciated, too. Tea talks, salons, dancing groups, or playing games could, according to *Linglong*, broaden women’s social contacts, and demonstrate their knowledge and lifestyle.⁵³⁶ For “good” entertainment, *Linglong* editors often inserted a few comments in order to show a didactic gesture. The comments might address both women and men, but more commonly addressed women. In one case, when showcasing tennis as a beneficial sport, editors explained in the caption that “tennis is the most gentle outdoor sport, suitable for both men and women. [It] is a sophisticated entertainment to strengthen your body (網球為戶外運動最柔和者，男女均宜，乃高尚健身之娛樂).”⁵³⁷ In another case, together with a photo of a woman standing with a dog, the editor’s caption reads “women of our country seldom do sports, so their bodies are weak. Here is a modern girl, who has a well-bred dog. Everyday she walks it in the park, which is entertainment, and a method of exercising [one’s] body and mind. 吾國女子，素鮮運動，故身體羸弱，近有摩登女子，畜有良犬，每日必與偕遊公園，既為娛樂，又為鍛鍊身心之媒介也。”⁵³⁸ Scholars have pointed out that *tiyu* 體育 (physical education) and *yundong* 運動 (sports) had been one of the most important discourses since the Late Qing. Female citizens, as *guomin zhi mu* 國民之母 (the mothers of China’s future citizens) were educated to strengthen their bodies for the project of nation-state building. In the 1930s, the popular discourse of *jianmei* revealed similar anxieties in the context

⁵³⁴ See Li Cuizhen 李翠貞, “Nüzi yu yinyue” 女子與音樂 (Women and Music), *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 1 (March 18, 1931), 6; “Jingji de yule” 經濟的娛樂 (Economical entertainment), *Linglong* vol. 2, no. 57 (July 6, 1932), 46; “Nüzi yu tiaowu” 女子與跳舞 (Women and Dance), *Linglong* vol.1, no.1 (March 18, 1931), 15.

⁵³⁵ An illustration of playing tennis, *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 1 (March 18, 1931), 24; Ling Zhiming 凌志明, “Xiatian de yule” 夏天的娛樂 (Entertainment in Summer), *Linglong* vol.1, no.20 (July 29, 1931), 38; an illustration of walking a dog, *Linglong* vol.1, no.49 (May 4, 1932), 22.

⁵³⁶ Social intercourse and entertainment were widely discussed in the 1930s. The couple Xu Xiaotian and Gao Jianhua also published a book on the topic, entitled *Jiaoji yu yule* 交際與娛樂 (Social Intercourse and Entertainment) (Shanghai: Minghua shuju, 1936).

⁵³⁷ *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 1 (March 18, 1931), 24.

⁵³⁸ *Linglong* vol.1 no.49 (May 4, 1932), 2008.

of national crisis.⁵³⁹ At the same time, the discourse was widely applied to legitimate the public display of (female) bodies for commercial purposes, which, inevitably, added ambiguity to the discourse.

In contrast to “good” entertainment, “bad” entertainment was targeted and condemned. Mah-jong, for instance, was generally deemed to be harmful. Although one author argued that Mah-jong was originally “*xiaoqian miaopin*”消遣妙品 (a wonderful pastime),” she admitted that many people practice gambling while playing Mah-jong. Even worse, some might end up with fighting with each other over losses.⁵⁴⁰ An essay, entitled “*Maque shibushi gaoshang de yule*” 麻雀是不是高尚的娛樂 (Is Mah-jong A Sophisticated Entertainment?), criticized the women who often played Mah-jong at home to kill time, and further supported the ban of the game.⁵⁴¹ Not only women were criticized for indulging in “bad” entertainment, men were also targeted. In one satirical image, a man is holding two birdcages in both hands, delightedly looking at a third birdcage, hanging in front of him. However, the creatures in each of his cages are not birds, but women. The title of the image reads “*Nanzi de yule - jiqie chengqun*” 男子的娛樂——姬妾成羣 (Men’s entertainment - accumulating concubines).⁵⁴² The man in the cartoon treats women as his possessions and playthings; he collects concubines, as if it were a means of entertainment, just as playing mah-jong.

⁵³⁹ Yu Chien-ming and Yunxiang Gao have done extensive research on the topic, see Yu Chien-ming, “Jindai Zhongguo nüzi tiyuguan chutan” 近代中國女子體育觀初探, *Xin shixue* 新史學 7, no.4 (Dec. 1996): 119-158; “Jindai Huadong diqu de nü qiuyuan (1927-1937): yi baozhang zazhi weizhu de taolun” 近代華東地區的女球員(1927-1937)：以報章雜誌為主的討論, *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* no. 32 (Dec. 1999): 7-59, 61-122; “Jindai Zhongguo nüzi jianmei de lunshu, 1920s-1940s” 近代中國女子健美的論述（1920-1940年代）, in Yu Chien-ming ed., *Wu sheng zhi sheng 2. Jindai Zhongguo de funü yu shehui (1600-1950)* 無聲之聲 II. 近代中國的婦女與社會(1600-1950) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2003, 41-172. Also see Yunxiang Gao, “Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on *Jianmei* (Robust Beauty) during China’s ‘National Crisis’ in the 1930s,” *Gender and History* 18.3 (2006): 546-573; later published as a chapter in her book *Sporting Gender: Women Athletes and Celebrity-Making during China’s National Crisis, 1931-45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 58-80.

⁵⁴⁰ Chen Yingqi 陳英琪, “*Quezhan shi qiaoqian miaopin*” 雀戰是消遣妙品 (Playing Mahjong Is a Wonderful Pastime), *Linglong* vol. 1, no.37 (Nov. 25, 1931), 1456.

⁵⁴¹ “*Maoque shibushi gaoshang de yule*” 麻雀是不是高尚的娛樂 (Is Mah-jong a Sophisticated Entertainment?), *Linglong* vol.1, no.54 (June 15, 1932), 182.

⁵⁴² *Linglong* vol.1, no.53 (June 8, 1932), 129.

By offering space to discuss the “entertainment question,” polarizing “good” and “bad” activities, and differentiating “vulgar” and “sophisticated” tastes, Lin Zecang and other editors promoted “sophistication” through entertainment, and eventually distinguished their editing and publishing enterprise from other pictorials. In this sense, the world as entertainment might be still “with flat hierarchies” as Yeh argues; yet, entertainment itself was certainly not flat, but indeed hierarchized and unequaled.⁵⁴³ *Yule* went far beyond being merely an amusement or pastime; rather, it was instrumentalized by the elite - editors in this case - to educate people (readers) and to pursue *xiandai* (modernity).

I have argued that Lin Zecang instrumentalized photography and entertainment as a “soft entry” to modernity; at the same time, Lin used *gaoshang yule* (sophisticated entertainment) to differentiate the “good taste” from the vulgar, the “low.” In Lin’s perception, photography, together with watching valuable movies, represented good entertainment that offered visual aesthetics and the cultivation of good taste. Following this logic, Lin would only present those photographs in *Linglong*, which fit into his definition of sophistication. But then, why did he selected many photographs to show unclothed bodies? How did Lin edit nudes into *Linglong* within the framework of “sophisticated entertainment”? Did *Linglong* deal with nude photographs differently from other San Ho journals, such as SYHB and DSRB?

4.3 Editing Nudes into *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao*

One day in May 1931, a few teenage girl students at the Shanghai McTyeire School for Girls (*Zhongxi nüzhong* 中西女中) were “invited” into the canteen by Ms. Hu Jingzhao, head of the

⁵⁴³ Barbara Mittler argues convincingly in her book that one of the stock features of Shanghai is being a city “of unequaled entertainment possibilities,” see *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai’s News Media, 1872-1912* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 312-330.

Students' Behavior Office.⁵⁴⁴ Frequently holding serious didactic talks at the canteen, Ms. Hu was notorious not only for her purposeful “invitations” to those students whose behavior she thought necessary to be regulated, but also for her strict control over extracurricular readings, regardless of the quality and value. All the girls appearing at the canteen had something in common: they had subscribed to a recently founded illustrated magazine, which unfortunately drew Ms. Hu's attention. How would Ms. Hu deal with the magazine? Would she forbid students to read it any longer? All the students were uneasily waiting for her talk. More or less to their surprise, Ms. Hu said to the girl students with great patience and sincerity:

“...the content of *Linglong* magazine, according to our assessment, is still somewhat beneficial to students. [We are] only afraid [that it will] distract students from making progress, therefore, [we] hope you will not have the magazines delivered to our school in the future...
...玲瓏雜誌經我們的審定，覺得它的內容對學生尚屬有益，惟恐有分學生上進之心，所以希望你們叫它們以後不要寄到學堂裏來。”⁵⁴⁵

To avoid being “invited” to this kind of conversation once again, all the students soon had their mailing addresses changed, so that they could continue to receive and enjoy their reading materials. The full name of the illustrated magazine, which both attracted and “distracted” many teenager girl students, yet was considered “beneficial” by the school teachers, was *Linglong*. By the time one of the witnesses playfully documented and published this anecdote in SYHB, *Linglong* had published eleven issues. Abundant short essays could be found in the pocket-sized journal, and monochrome or colorful covers and illustrations acted as attractive selling points. Interestingly, most of the eleven issues included images displaying partially exposed “Western” female bodies, especially bare legs, arms, shoulders, and sometimes abdomens. Three issues included nude photographs as stand-alone illustrations (Fig.4-5, Fig.4-6, Fig.4-7).⁵⁴⁶ If we believe that Ms. Hu and other teachers had carefully checked the eleven

⁵⁴⁴ The McTyeire School for Girls, Shanghai, was founded in 1892 by Southern Methodist missionaries to offer liberal education to young Chinese women of “the well-to-do classes.” For the history of the school, see Heidi A. Ross, “‘Cradle of Female Talent’: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892-1937,” in Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: from the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 209-227; Jean F. Craig, *Brief History of McTyeire School for Girls, Shanghai, China*, 1982.

⁵⁴⁵ Mozuozhe 末座者, “Zhongxi de linglong jucanhui” 中西的玲瓏聚餐會 (An Exquisite Lunch Gathering at McTyeire), SYHB vol.6 no.290 (May 30, 1931), 318.

⁵⁴⁶ The three nude photographs are on *Linglong* vol. 1 no. 8 (May 6, 1931), 287; vol. 1 no. 9 (May 13, 1931), 323; vol. 1 no. 11 (May 27, 1931), 395. I will discuss them in detail later.

issues of *Linglong* before warning the students, then the comment of “somewhat beneficial” (尚屬有益) presented educators’ general positive attitude towards the content of *Linglong* magazine, including the three nudes.



Left: Fig.4-5 “Ta bei’ai tongku de shihou,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 8 (May 6, 1931), [287].

Middle: Fig.4-6 “Gu ying zi lian,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 9 (May 13, 1931), [323].

Right: Fig.4-7 “Jianmei zhe de dikang,” *Linglong* vol. 1, no. 11 (May 27, 1931), [395].

Does it mean that school educators at that time generally allowed girl students to read magazines containing nudes without concerns? A similar anecdote from roughly the same time may provide us with a comparison. In March 1930, a meeting held by all the teachers at Qingxin Girls’ School (清心女校) yielded a decision, that students of all grades at the school would be prohibited to read *Dalu bao* 大陸報 (“The China Press”).⁵⁴⁷ The reason was that “the illustrated cinematic magazine, recently published by the press, often printed advertisements for cinemas as well as photos of movie stars, which are mostly nude or in alluring costumes. [The teachers] think that it might possibly cause students to have dirty thoughts, or dress in luxury clothes. 因該報近來出版之電影畫報，常刊載影戲院之廣告，及明星照片，大都裸體艷裝，認為

⁵⁴⁷ As quoted previously, the same newspaper published Lin-Liang’s wedding photo, see “Personalities: Ling-Liang Wedding,” *The China Press* (Oct. 23, 1932), A4.

有引起學生思想污濁，服裝奢華之可能。”⁵⁴⁸ These lines demonstrate a different attitude from the earlier example: the statement was not regarding the preferred location to read the magazine, but about dissatisfaction with the indecent content. As a result, the educators had no tolerance for the magazine. These different attitudes towards *Linglong* and *Dalu bao* challenge us to question why *Linglong* magazine was “beneficial” enough to survive that level of control.

Today, we tend to believe that only a men’s magazine would regularly publish images of nudes or pin-up girls, in order to entice male readers. Conversely, if a magazine is actively engaged in publishing body exposing images, it could be easily considered a men’s magazine. Both the *Dalu bao*-related magazine and *Linglong*, however, were read by girl students yet contained nudes or the display of sensual movie stars. However, the two magazines had different treatments: the *Dalu bao*-related magazine was “censored” by educators, while *Linglong* was thought to be “beneficial.”

In this section, I will argue that *Linglong* sophisticated nudes on its pages through editorial agency, which enabled nudes to be acceptable to the instructors. I first use Lin’s editorial notes to elaborate his attitude towards nudes from SYHB, then I analyze the three nudes in *Linglong*, seemingly in spite of the fact that the school teachers at McTyeir School may have deemed the publication as “beneficial” to girl students, showing how the captions framed the nudes to be primarily “masterpieces of photography.” By comparing images and captions from *Linglong* and SYHB, I will further examine whether interpretations of nudes were gendered in *Linglong* by reading *Linglong* against SYHB (and if possible, *Diansheng ribao*).

Lin Zecang and His Attitude towards the Publication of Nudes

As the most important editor in this study, Lin Zecang’s comments on nudes are invaluable for us to understand his editorial principles, as well as his practice to either include or exclude

⁵⁴⁸ Xiongmei 雄妹, “Qingxin zhi jiaozhiyuan huiyi, jinkan luoti yanzhuang zhi huabao” 清心之教職員會議, 禁看裸體艷裝之畫報 (The Staff of Qingxin School Holding A Meeting; Forbidden to Read Pictorials full of Nudes and Alluring Costumes), SYHB vol.5 no.230 (March 22, 1930), 238. The Full text is “上星期滬南清心女校教職員會議決議。自本星期起, 凡屬該校學生, 無論何級, 一律禁止看大陸報, 其原因, 因該報近來出版之電影畫報, 常刊載影戲院之廣告, 及明星照片, 大都裸體艷裝, 認為有引起學生思想污濁, 服裝奢華之可能, 聞此決議之提議者, 為該校美教員大林云。”

nudes. In August 1925, an “Editor’s Note” by Lin on the second issue of SYHB revealed his view on nudes and his interaction with his readers’:

“...Many people sent us letters, hoping that we [can] improve readers’ level by not following the crowd to publish [images of] immoral models. We are very grateful. However, there are quite a few types of models. If [some of them are] really of artistic value, [we] should carefully select and publish them from an artistic view. But taking models as an excuse, [is something that] we have decided not to do.

有許多人來信，希望我們提高讀者程度，不要隨波逐流的登傷風敗俗的模特兒。我們很是感激。不過模特兒也有好幾種，如果真有美術思想，當以藝術的眼光，慎重選登。不過借模特兒做幌子，我們決定不做的。⁵⁴⁹”

If there was a list of top keywords of cultural and social events in 1925, when the quoted text was published, “*mote*” 模特 (model) or “*luoti mote*” 裸體模特 (nude model/live model) certainly would have deserved important places. As discussed in Chapter One, the so-called “Nude Model Controversy” (裸體模特之爭) and its key figure Liu Haisu, caused heated debates in print media. Various social groups expressed support, suspicion, or suppression for various reasons. Some of them condemned the “nude model” as an example of moral degeneration, whereas others supported Liu Haisu and “nude models” for the development of Western-style painting in China, specifically nude paintings in this case. Admittedly, there was a large amount of visual material featuring nudity circulating on the market around 1926, and not all of those materials were of “sophisticated” taste. Some were so-called “erotic postcards” or “French postcards” imported from the “West,” as I have discussed in Chapter Two; some were albums of nude sketches or oil paintings, and some were clumsy imitations of Western nude photographs featuring Chinese women, mostly prostitutes.⁵⁵⁰

Chapter One has shown that, as an imported concept, the “nude model” was an exotic profession for which both readers and the media showed voyeuristic desire. For example, the very first image in *Shanghai huabao* (no.1, June 6, 1925) was the scene of a female nude model posing for a nude figure drawing class at the Shanghai Art School. (Fig.4-8) The pictorial

⁵⁴⁹ “Bianjizhe yan,” SYHB vol.1 no.2 (Aug. 29, 1925), 1.

⁵⁵⁰ Wu Fangcheng discussed the debate and official ban of “obscene pictures” (淫畫) by examining the materials in print media in Late Qing, such as *Shenbao* and *Shibao*. Cf. Wu Fangcheng, “Luo de liyou.”

regularly published at least one photo of a female nude in each of the first fifteen issues, either Chinese or “Western.”⁵⁵¹



Fig.4-8 Nude model, *Shanghai huabao* no.1 (June 6, 1925), 1.

Unlike the reader who wrote to SYHB, Lin did not object to nude models. On the contrary, he emphasized the need to foster aesthetic judgment to distinguish the nudes of “artistic value” from the “immoral,” and he showed his willingness to publish images of nude models. Only one week later, his attitude dramatically changed. In his regular response to readers, Lin wrote: “now we have decided to improve readers’ level. No photographs of models and prostitutes will be published in the future. 我們現在決定提高讀者的程度，模特兒及妓女的照片，以後一概不登。”⁵⁵² Lin listed photographs of “models” next to “prostitutes,” and denied to publish either category, to present content of a higher educational level. Lin did not explain why he changed his attitude towards nude models only within a week. What he did mention in the same editor’s note was that they “received sixty-nine praise letters within a week” (在這一

⁵⁵¹ The image of a nude model at Shanghai Art School, see *Shanghai huabao* no.1 (June 6, 1925), 1. More nudes see “Wan dao” 晚禱 (Praying in the Evening), *Shanghai huabao* no.3 (June 12, 1925), 2; “Yu li” 玉立 ([A] Fair [Lady]), (June 15, 1925), 2. For the recent research on *Shanghai huabao*, see Julia Frances Andrews, “*Pictorial Shanghai* (Shanghai Huabao, 1925-1933) and Creation of Shanghai’s Modern Visual Culture,” *Journal of Art Studies*, no. 12 (September 2013): 44-128.

⁵⁵² “Bianjizhe yan,” SYHB vol.1 no.3 (Sept. 5, 1925), 1.

星期中，我們又收到六十九封讚許的信)。Perhaps readers' opinions, expressed in these letters, convinced Lin to exclude the images of "nude models" and "prostitutes."⁵⁵³

After successfully running the pictorial for a year, Lin summarized his experience in retrospect, stating that "published by China Photographic Society, our journal is of sophisticated and pure purpose. No obscene pictures and texts have been published. The popular photos of models and prostitutes are also among those to be abandoned. Luckily, readers spoke favorably [of us], and called [us] 'standing out like a crane in a flock of fowl.' (本報既由中國攝影學會出版，是宗旨高尚，陳義純正，誨淫圖畫文字，概不登載，盛極一時之模特兒及妓女照片，亦在併棄之列，幸得讀者贊許獎掖有加，稱為‘鶴立雞群’。)"⁵⁵⁴ Lin's publishing strategy and taste was also praised by his friend Yingbao: "I know the readers of SYHB would definitely have a good impression of this journal. And this kind of good impression is purely shaped by artistic taste, [and the good impression] would never be gained by those, [who are] under the guise of 'nudity' or 'beauty of curves.' (予知讀攝影畫報者對於此報必生好感，而此種好感，純為藝術興味所制成者，決非彼假裸體曲線美之美名之輩所能博得者也。)"⁵⁵⁵ The establishment of a sophisticated taste, as discussed in the previous section, was essential throughout Lin's editing and publishing practice.

Paradoxically, disclaiming the publishing of images featuring "models and prostitutes" did not mean that Lin excluded all images of unclothed bodies; in fact, we can find a dozen of nude or semi-nude photographs of Western women in the first fifty issues. (Fig.4-11) In my observation, these photos share certain common features: they are mostly artistic photographs; they emphasize the use of light; they present a holistic body contour; they are frequently labeled as "masterpieces of photography." It means that what Lin meant by "models and prostitutes" probably did not include Western female nude photographs.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Bianzhe, "Huabao chao zhi huigu," SYHB vol.1, no.50 (June 1, 1926), 395.

⁵⁵⁵ Yingbao 英寶, "Huabao mingcheng zhi ganxiang" 畫報名稱之感想 (Thoughts on the Name of the Pictorial), SYHB vol.1 no.50 (June 1, 1926), 394. No biographical information on Yingbao has been found out.

For example, two weeks after Lin announced that he would not publish images of “nude models” and “prostitutes,” a photo of semi-unclad Western woman appeared (Fig.4-9) in SYHB (Sept. 19, 1925). Entitled “Yubi” 玉臂 (Jade-like Arms / Beauty’s Arms), the monochrome image draws viewers’ attention to her uncovered smooth arms, fingers, neck, shoulders, and back. In fact, her breasts are covered by a piece of dark cloth (perhaps a towel), and the color is so dark that it is hard to distinguish the cloth from the background. The light color of her flesh forms a contrast to the dark background and the cloth, and the whole image thus emphasizes her status of uncladness. Another semi-unclad image, entitled “Yuba” 浴罷 (After a Bath, Fig.4-10), appeared one month later (Oct 31, 1925). One can clearly see the contours of the entire female body, although transparent and delicate fabric covers the model. Both titles of the images, “Jade-like Arms / Beauty’s Arms” and “After a Bath,” carry typical interpretations of unclad bodies, extracted from Chinese *xiangyanci* 香豔詞 (erotic lyrics and poems). Chapter One has discussed that *yuti* 玉體 (literally: jade body) and *chuyu* 出浴 (after a bath) are two typical tropes with erotic suggestions. The titles of “Yuti” and “Yuba” are variations of such expressions, thus they suggest erotic perceptions. Many pictorials, edited by old-style *literati* (*wenren* 文人), intended to choose these types of captions, such as the captions in *Shanghai huabao* and *Beiyang huabao*.

From 1926 to 1930, more nude photographs were published, often in the column titled “Study of Photography.” (Fig.4-11) Most of these nude photographs were selected from photographic yearbooks or albums from Germany, France, and America, which I will discuss more in detail in the last section of this chapter. In the first one to two years, SYHB followed the *xiaobao*-tabloid editing style (represented by *Shanghai huabao*), integrating allusions from classic erotic lyrics and poems into the captions. Soon, Lin began to focus more on the appreciation of photographic techniques, with detailed explanations of the exposure of light, placement of stage property, and body shapes, aiming at improving readers’ aesthetic sensibilities. Gradually, Lin reduced the amount of erotic or suggestive texts used in captions.



Fig.4-9 “Yubi” 玉臂, SYHB vol.1 no.5 (Sept. 19, 1925), 2.



Fig.4-10 “Yuba” 浴罷, SYHB vol.1 no.11 (Oct. 31, 1925), 4.

Amazingly, according to Lin, all the unclothed images published prior to March 1930 (Fig.4-9, Fig.4-10, Fig.4-11), were not yet “entirely” unclothed, in Lin’s understanding. After browsing albums of “world photographic masterpieces” (世界攝影傑作), he was utterly impressed by the amount of nudes included in the albums: “An extraordinary amount of nude or semi-nude photographs were published in the albums of world photographic masterpieces this year - twenty out of thirty-eight are nudes – which has broken the record kept for more than ten years. 今年所出版之世界攝影傑作錄中全裸與半裸照片特多——三十八幀像中裸者計有二十幀之多——開十餘年之紀元。”⁵⁵⁶ Lin selected one nude from one of these albums and published it in the 228th issue (March 8, 1930), which was described as having excellent “face, gesture, curves, light, and artistic composition (其玉容，姿勢，曲綫，光線，章法，均甚佳妙).”⁵⁵⁷ (Fig.4-12) Most dramatically, he did not reproduce the whole photograph, but only the part above the breasts of the unclothed female. Lin explained in the caption:

⁵⁵⁶ SYHB vol.5 no.228 (March 8, 1930), 219.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

“the original photograph was completely unclothed...our journal has not published any completely unclothed images in five years. Judging from the general social conditions, it is not yet the [right] time to publish [unclothed images], and [we] do not want to lose this chastity. Therefore, [we] have no other choice but to publish merely the upper part [of the photo], [which has] lost much of its original appearance. 此原影為全裸圖……本報出版五年從未刊載全裸圖，依社會之大體言尚未至發表時期，不愿破此貞操，故不得已，刊其上部，失實良多也。”⁵⁵⁸

Experienced in reading global photographic albums, Lin understood the artistic value embedded in the nudes, as well as the development of the nude photography in Europe and the USA. Yet, he decided not to publish the complete nude photograph, considering the current social situation in China. There were a large amount of cheap nude images in the market, for example, reproductions of nude photographs and erotic postcards, among other. From books to pictorials, from albums of nude photographs to collections of nude sketches, from translated or imported materials to the one locally produced, the publishing enterprise of *luoti* boomed in the late 1920s. Lin was not against nudes, but was mainly concerned with the proper articulation of nudes to his readers. To Lin, publishing an image of a body “*quanluo*” (全裸) (lit.: completely unclothed) would be no less evil than “losing the chastity,” and Lin preferred to sacrifice visual quality to avoid the situation.

In fact, Yvonne Gregory (1889-1970), a well-known British photographer, created the original photograph shown in Fig.4-12.⁵⁵⁹ Entitled “Nude Study,” the photo was published in *Photograms of the Year 1929*.⁵⁶⁰ (Fig.4-13) In the original photo, an unclothed female is sitting on a piece of soft, light-colored fur, in front of a dark curtain, with both legs curled to her right side. Both her arms are raised, with both hands resting behind her head, which is turned slightly to her right side. Her upper body is almost straight, gently twisting to her left side. Her eyes do

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ The website of National Portrait Gallery in London describes Yvonne Gregory (1889-1970): “Photographer; wife of Bertram Park. Gregory married the photographer Bertram Park in 1916, and together they set up business in Dover Street, London, with the financial backing of Lord Carnarvon, the Egyptologist. Marcus Adams trained with them and ran their Nursery Studio for children; Paul Tanqueray also had premises in the same street, as did Hugh Cecil and Alexander Bassano. Bertram Park was one of the most successful society photographers of the day.” <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp08077/yvonne-gregory> (accessed Aug. 25, 2014).

⁵⁶⁰ Yvonne Gregory, “Nude Study,” *Photograms of the Year 1929* (London: ILIFFE & SONS Limited, 1930), Plate XXII. Private collection.

not face the camera directly, but look toward the lower left corner of the picture. Her breasts, abdomen, and right side of her waist occupy the visual center of the picture, emphasizing the qualities of female softness, curviness, and delicacy. Lin's comments, stating that the photo with excellent "face, gesture, curves, light, and artistic composition," described the image well.

Interestingly, Lin considered this photo as *quanluo* (全裸), probably because it is close enough to the camera, clear enough to view each part of her body, and without any cover. In contrast, the pictures showed in Fig.4-9 and Fig.4-10 were not regarded as *quanluo* (全裸) per Lin's understanding in 1930, either because they were partly covered by cloth, a towel, or bathrobe, or because the figures were placed a good distance from the camera, or in shade.

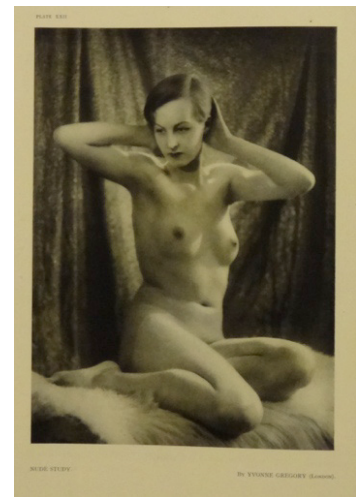
Five months after Lin published the image in Figure 4-12, he announced "Ten Guidelines for Our Journal." As I have discussed earlier, one of the slogans in the guidelines was "to advocate modern physical robust beauty/healthy beauty of human bodies" (提倡現代人體健美), which was explained later: "All the healthy and beautiful human bodies should be published prudently, as long as they are of sophisticated and aesthetic [value]..." (人體的健美，凡是有高尚的美感的，都慎重的刊佈). *Jianmei* and *gaoshang de meigan* 高尚的美感 (sophisticated aesthetic value) are the keywords to interpret *modern* (modern) human bodies in this sentence. Soon after the "Ten Guidelines" came out, Lin began to publish nudes more frequently. Most of the nudes were Western females, and fit his definition of *quanluo* (completely unclothed). In other words, "Ten Guidelines" marked the change of Lin's attitude towards nudes: prior to the "Ten Guidelines," Lin was reluctant to include photographs of completely unclothed females posed close to the camera; afterwards, these types of images appeared frequently in his journals. I would therefore argue below that *jianme* and *you gaoshang de meigan* (of sophisticated aesthetic value) were the two important categories that Lin used to legitimate and sophisticate the publication of nudes.



Fig.4-11 Examples of nudes in SYHB between 1925 and 1930. From up to down, left to right: “Shijie jiezuo zhiyi” 世界傑作之一 (One of the Masterpieces in the World), vol.1 no.23 (Jan. 23, 1926), 3; “Haibin yuri” 海濱浴日 (A Sunbath on the beach), vol.3 no.112 (Oct. 29, 1927), 95; vol.5 no.223 (Jan. 25, 1930), 179; “Xingsong” 惺忪 (Drowsy), vol.5 no.227 (March 1, 1930), 215; “Chongbai” 崇拜 (Worship), vol.5 no.225 (Feb. 15), 199.



Left: Fig.4-12 An incomplete nude photograph, SYHB vol.5 no.228 (March 8, 1930), 219.



Right: Fig.4-13 Yvonne Gregory, “Nude Study,” *Photograms of the Year 1929* (London: ILIFFE & SONS Limited, 1930), Plate XXII. Private collection.

Editorial Strategies to Sophisticate Nude Photographs

Both SYHB and *Linglong* published a significant amount of nudes between 1931 and 1933. Taking *Linglong* (Table 4-1) as an example, more than seventy-three nudes appeared in its

pages between 1931 and 1933, and approximately seventy to eighty percent the images are photographs of Western females. The inclusion of photographs can be traced back to the very beginning of SYHB, in 1925. Lin Zecang took SYHB as the communicative space for members of China Camera Club, thus it regularly reserved at least one page to discuss photochemistry and aesthetic aspects of photography. “Photographic literacy” remained an important educational element in both SYHB and *Linglong*, and it was one of the factors used to “upgrade” nudes to the package of “sophisticated entertainment.” Comparing these images to the ones published in *Beiyang huabao* and *Shanghai manhua*, nudes in *Linglong* are usually associated neither to erotic lyrics (with limited exceptions), nor to racial beauty or anthropological comparison. Instead, editors often framed these images in the discourses of aesthetic appreciation and *jianmei* through “editorial agency.”

“Masterpieces of Photography” and “Artistic Photographs”⁵⁶¹

In Table 4-1, there are eleven photographs out of seventy-three images that are either marked as “*sheying jiezuo*” 攝影傑作 (lit.: outstanding photographic work; masterpieces of photography), “*sheying mingzuo*” 攝影名作 (lit: famous photographic work; masterpieces of photography) or “*meishu sheying*” 美術攝影 (artistic photography). In addition, there are eleven photographs for which the photographers’ names are documented.⁵⁶² In the story mentioned at the beginning of this section, three nude photographs had so far been shown/included in *Linglong* by May 1931, when the schoolteachers positively judged the

⁵⁶¹ Some materials and arguments in this section are included in my forthcoming Chinese article “‘Gaoshang yule’? *Linglong* zhong de luoti tuxiang, shijue zaixian yu bianji juece.”

⁵⁶² Marked as “masterpieces of photography” or paintings, fourteen out of seventy-three nudes published in *Linglong* from 1931 to 1933 are associated with German, American, French, or international (*Shijie* 世界) origins, while eleven are described as “Chinese nude artistic photography” (中國人體美術攝影) (see Table 4-1). A few male Chinese artists were named, including Chen Bingde 陳昺德, Lu Shifu 盧施福, and Chen Chuanlin 陳傳霖, who were members of the well-known Black & White Photographic Society 黑白影社 in the 1930s, and who exclusively used Chinese models. Except for five nude paintings, all the rest images are photography. Two types of images are excluded in the Table 4-1: 1) several photos of unclothed baby or children (under five years old?), such as “Yiwei huopo de yang xiao guniang” 一位活潑的洋小姑娘 (A Lively Foreign Little Girl), *Linglong* vol. 3, no.101 (July 5, 1933), 1046; 2) unclothed bodies used in satirical images are excluded.

journal. All the three nudes feature “Western” female bodies, and present the “ideal” female body with professional photographic technique. All three images are marked as “masterpieces of photography,” two from Germany, and one America.

The first nude (Fig.4-5), for instance, appeared in the eighth issue. Facing towards the left side of the photo, a woman is kneeling down on her knees, raising her arms above her head while looking to the ceiling. Slightly leaning back, her upper body, head, and left arm form an arc, whereas her calf and thigh form a right angle. The geometrically varied contour of her profile is meant to connote a certain female refinement, grace, and elegance. Each part of her body, such as legs, buttocks, and arms, suggests firmness and softness combined. Exposed to the light from her left side, her curves are projected on the wall behind. Playing with the light and shadow in nude photography was one of most popular photographic techniques at the time. In addition to the distinctive remark “A Masterpiece of German photography (德國攝影傑作),” the caption below the image writes “when she is in deep sorrow and pain, [she] will abandon everything, and give no thoughts to her appearance. (她悲哀痛苦的時候，要拋棄一切不顧形骸).” The second half of the sentence, “abandon everything, and give no thoughts to her appearance,” refers to her status of unclothedness. The reason, however, was explained as “deep sorrow and pain.” If by only observing her facial expressions, the viewer likely would not link her appearance to sorrow and pain. This sentimental interpretation seems to have justified and legitimized her unclothedness, and has detached the (erotic) imagination between the unclothed status and enjoyment. Similarly, the Fig.4-6 in the ninth issue depicts a woman, looking at herself in a mirror, accompanied by the caption “looking at [her] image in the mirror and pitying/appreciating oneself (顧影自憐).” Also marked as “A Masterpiece of German photography (德國攝影傑作),” the editors attempted to draw viewers’ focus to the aesthetic value of the photo. The captions expressed editorial intention, which might have guided viewers to sublimate sexuality to a “pure” aesthetic appreciation. The guidance demonstrates the function of editorial agency, and the framing of nudes in the context of “sophisticated entertainment.” Although some readers could still “resist” the editorial guidance, and practice their own “ways of seeing” – which we likely will never know - the editorial intention exhibited

the gesture of sophistication, thus seeming to be “somewhat beneficial” to the school educators.⁵⁶³

*Jianmei*⁵⁶⁴

Health and robust beauty was another common theme to legitimate the nudes. Most frequently, editors would include the following terms in the caption: *jianmei*, *jiankang mei* 健康美 (healthy beauty), *jiankang de tige* 健康的體格 (healthy physiques), *jianmei de tige* 健美的體格 (healthy and beautiful physiques). In Table 4-1, twelve captions contain the various terms of *jianmei*.

The first example is Fig.4-7. If the caption for Fig.4-6 is descriptive enough to suit the image, then the interpretation for Fig.4-7, “The Resistance of a Healthy and Beautiful One (*Jianmei zhe de dikang* 健美者的抵抗),” might not be immediately understood. Labeled as “A Masterpiece of American photography (美國攝影傑作),” the image captures a moment of movement (dancing?) of a standing unclothed female sticking out her left leg, and making a small step towards her right side. She is standing on her toes, as if she tries to lift her body upright. This impression is strengthened by the position of her right arms, with her right hand placed close to her right ear. Her right arm is visually balanced by the long line shaped by her left arm, which is outstretched to the lower right corner of the photograph. Exhibiting muscles and soft curves, the slim yet powerful figure is meant to represent an ideal *jianmei* (healthy and beautiful) body. Mainly inspired by German physical culture, particularly *Freikörperkultur* (Nudism), “*jianmei*” became increasingly important not only in elite discourses but also in popular culture in the 1930s, as the term bridged the grand narrative of nationalism, bodily

⁵⁶³ Cf. Judith Fetterley, *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Indiana University Press, 1978).

⁵⁶⁴ Some materials and arguments in this section are included in my forthcoming Chinese article “‘Gaoshang yule’? *Linglong zhong de luoti tuxiang, shijue zaixian yu bianji juece.*”

aesthetics, and commercialism.⁵⁶⁵ Numerous visual representations referring to this discourse were published in almost every illustrated periodical.

The true reasons for adding “resistance” to the caption may stay unanswered forever, because no direct explanation can be found in the text. However, as Hockx points out regarding the “horizontal reading” strategy, each issue of journal should be read as a whole, “with all their textual and visual content, as if confronting the historical readers at the time of reading.”⁵⁶⁶ Following this reading strategy, we would find an article on the next page, entitled “Nüxing de quanwei” 女性的權威 (Authority of Women), discussing how Hollywood female movie stars had absolute power over men.⁵⁶⁷ Perhaps as part of intertextual reference, the word “resistance” means to show readers (both female and male) a possible new gender relation by directing them (or being linked to) the article on the next page.

Another example is a photograph published in 1932 (Fig.4-14). An unclothed woman is lying on her left side, with her left hand under her head, lying on the sand, relaxed. Her upper body is fully exposed, under bright sunshine. Her breasts and face occupy the visual center of the image. Her bodily expression is of total relaxation, - the half-opened mouth, the lightly closed eyes, the soft and tensionless flesh, the comfortable body position - places the image in a lustful ambiance. In the right corner, at the bottom of the same page, a line of simple caption effectively twists the ambiance: “A healthy physique is the envy of everyone (健康的體格為人人所羨慕的).” By referring to the “healthy physique,” the caption de-eroticizes the unclothed image and draws readers’ attention to sophisticated emotions. The caption points out

⁵⁶⁵ Chad Ross briefly introduces the history of the terms in his book *Naked Germany: Health, Race and the Nation* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 12-13. Also see Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890 - 1930* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1-8; Karl Eric Toepfer, *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture, 1910-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 30-38; Maren Möhring, *Marmorleiber* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2004); Heiko Stoff, *Ewige Jugend: Konzepte der Verjüngung vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis ins Dritte Reich* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2004).

⁵⁶⁶ Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 156.

⁵⁶⁷ “Nüxing de quanwei” 女性的權威 (Authority of Women), *Linglong* vol. 1, no.11 (May 27, 1931), 394.

that such a figure is “the envy of everyone,” which might possibly cause a competitive feeling among readers.



Left: Fig.4-14 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1964.

Right: Fig.4-15 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.42 (Jan. 1, 1932), 1675.

Another example is an image published in *Linglong* in January 1932 (Fig.4-15). An unclothed woman is displaying the right side of her body to the camera. Her arms are hanging down alongside her body, while both hands are resting in front of her pubic area, holding a piece of cloth. Similar to the last example, her facial expressions show a mixture of enjoyment, confusion, or perhaps even invitation. In fact, two images of sensual showgirls “from Paris” are displayed next to this one on the same page, and the intervisual connection would suggest some relationship between this unclothed woman and the showgirls. The caption, however, once again leads viewers to the “beauty of curves” as well as the concept of *jianmei*: “The picture below represents French women’s beauty of curves, and also demonstrates her robust beauty / health and beauty [*jianmei*] (下圖是代表法國女子的曲線美，而且也是她健美的表露).” The editors arranged images and captions in a way that their “editorial intentions,” through captions, framed the images in the discourse of *jianmei*. At the same time, the intervisuality would still allow certain ambiguous readings, through which the state of unclothedness was associated with sensuality.

In some cases, the caption can be even more didactic. The Fig.4-16 features an unclothed female who also displays the right side of her body to the camera. Unlike Fig.4-15, she stretches both arms and hands above her head, with her entire body slightly bent back. Her face was turned to her right side, very close to her right arms. The dark background forms a contrast with her light-colored flesh, like many popular photographs at the time. A short caption writes: “Healthy and beautiful physiques are needed by the women of our country. [you] should not pay too much attention to your face (健美的體格是我國女子所需要的, 对于你的脸部不宜太看重).”⁵⁶⁸ The caption directly addresses *ni* (you) and *woguo nüzi* (by the women of our country), telling “you” what not to do, and what is “needed.” The caption shows how *Linglong* educated its implied female readers on the one hand; on the other, it also shows how editors legitimated and sophisticated the unclothed female bodies.

Gradually, the *Linglong* editors developed their interest in nudism and photographic reports on the nudist life. They mixed the *jianmei* discourse with *luoti shenghuo* 裸體生活 (nudist life), *ziran shenghuo* 自然生活 (natural life), *riguangyu* 日光浴 (sunbathing) / *riyu* 日浴 (sunbathing), and *luoyu* 裸浴 (naked bath). An additional twelve captions in Table 4-1 are the evidence.

⁵⁶⁸ *Linglong* vol.1 no.38 (Dec. 2, 1931), 1488.

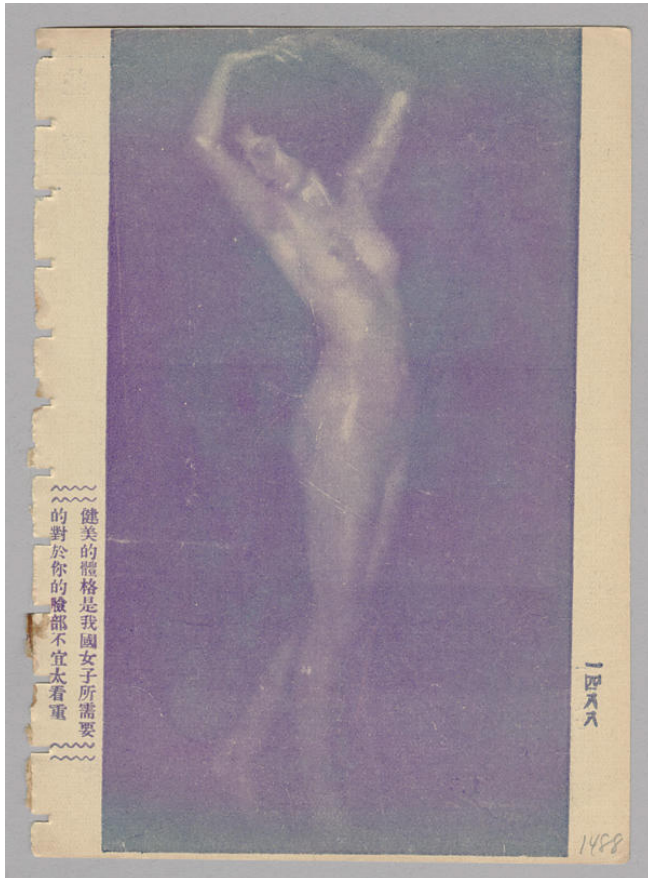


Fig.4-16 A nude, *Linglong* vol.1 no.38 (Dec. 2, 1931), 1488.

*One Image, Two Captions?*⁵⁶⁹

Visuality was essential to the success of *Linglong* in the market. Nudes, especially nude photographs, were important elements in shaping *Linglong* as a modern and artistically sophisticated journal. Should we interpret the nudes in *Linglong* differently from those found in other periodicals, for instance, SYHB? To what extent would the difference, if any, reflect a different implied readership? In this section, I will compare how nudes were displayed in the two periodicals.

Female Nudes: Healthy or Scandalous?

Did *Linglong* and SYHB interpret nudes differently? An identical image published in both journals gives us a good basis to compare. Fig.4-17 is a stand-alone nude photograph published

⁵⁶⁹ A similar version of this section is included in my forthcoming article “Engendering a Journal.”

in *Linglong*, depicting the upper body of a female nude. The darkness of her hair and background create a strong contrast to the lightness of her softly depicted body. It is an aesthetic artwork; yet the caption relates the nude to notions of *jianmei*. It says, “Women in our country are always satirized for being either healthy without beauty, or beautiful without health. The picture above is a healthy and beautiful woman. Who, then, can say that [Chinese] women don’t have healthy and beautiful physiques? (我國女子，往往有健而不美，美而不健之譏。上圖是健而且美的女子，誰能再謂女子無健美之體格).”⁵⁷⁰ The caption thus attempts to focus more on the discourse of *jianmei* rather than the aesthetic values of the unclothed body, although readers might have “resisted” this suggested reading.



Fig.4-17: Li Li, *Linglong* vol.1, no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1534.



Fig.4-18: Li Li, SYHB vol.8, no.367 (originally misprinted as no.366, Sept. 24, 1932), 49.

Yet, this image was not necessarily bound to the *jianmei* discourse. Half a year later, the identical image was used in SYHB (Fig.4-18). After describing the woman’s “graceful posture and medium stature (體態輕盈 修短適宜),” the caption says: “Li Li, a dancing girl from Peking, used to be an actress in the Peking Qingtian Film Company. She has moved to Shanghai

⁵⁷⁰ *Linglong* vol.1 no.39 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1534.

now, and is one of the famous dancing girls in Shanghai. This is her semi-nude photo. (北平舞女李麗，曾一度入北平青天影片公司任演員。現移居上海，為滬上著名舞星之一。此為其半裸影)。” Instead of commenting on her physique, the explanation concentrates on her profession as a movie actress and as a famous dancing girl, and offers ambiguous associations between her semi-nude photo and her profession. More sensationally, a long story entitled “Sixty thousand Yuan for a dancing girl; Li Li’s whole lovelorn story” occupies the entire front page. It recounts Li Li’s scandalous affair with a man, and explains why she made the semi-nude photo:

“...at first, Li Li was renowned in the circle of dancing girls in Peking. She had very broad social contacts, and did not care much about social conventions. Therefore, she didn’t reject the invitation to take nude photos of her. She came to Shanghai after the 9·18 Incident, and met Zhu Lide, employee at the post office, at the old Carlton Dance Hall...

李麗本有聲于北平舞女界，交際極廣不拘小節，故有邀拍裸體照片，亦不以為忤。九一八後來滬，在老卡爾登舞場識郵局職員朱立德。”⁵⁷¹

Unlike the caption in *Linglong*, the story emphasizes not Li’s beautiful physique but her carelessness about social conventions, which allowed her to pose for the nude photo. The photo, thus, illustrated social news full of sex and gossip. Perhaps the editor also felt that the combination of the nude and the scandal would not be considered “sophisticated” enough, so he added an “Editor’s Note” (編者按) in the end, questioning “how those lechers and married men would think about it? (好色之徒與有婦之夫對此事作何感想?)”⁵⁷² The question functions as a warning in this context, which, to a certain extent, prevents the report from being entirely scandalous. As analyzed in the first section of this essay, SYHB was, from January 1932, already focused more on male readers. Therefore, we can conclude that Li’s nude photo was used to attract mostly “the male gaze,” so as to bring men “incomparable happiness (*kuaille*

⁵⁷¹ “Liuwanyuan yi wunü Li Li shilian zhi shimo” 六萬元一舞女 李麗失戀之始末 (Sixty Thousand Yuan for A Dancing Girl; Li Li’s Whole Lovelorn Story), SYHB vol.8, no.366 (Sept. 17, 1932), 49.

⁵⁷² Ibid. A gossip said that Li Li’s semi-nude photo was taken by Chu Baoheng, a professional photographer who had an affair with her. See Sanjiaojia, “Li Li pai luoti zhao” 李麗拍裸體照 (Li Li Took Nude Photos), *Kaimaila* 開麥拉 110 (1932), 2.

wubi 快樂無比).”⁵⁷³ An identical nude image was, thus, used as an instructive figure for a mostly female implied audience in *Linglong*, while it was interpreted as an ambiguous illustration to a report on sex and scandals for the male gaze in SYHB.

In fact, circulating identical or similar photographs - not necessarily nudes - between *Linglong* and SYHB was a rather common phenomenon (see Fig.4-19). Generally speaking, SYHB intended to connect images to social activities, current affairs, or sometimes satirization of women, while *Linglong* deliberately related images to fashion, health and beauty, instructive advice, or sometimes “attacking men.” The phenomenon once again suggests that images are not intrinsically gendered, and editors could use captions to frame and interpret one image for different journals. Editors often would guide specific implied male/female readers to diverse - sometimes even reversed - ways of seeing. Here, we are not discussing reading practice, such as how readers would react to the nudes, whether they would read, believe, or follow the captions. All what is being debated here is “editorial intention,” the editorial attempt to guide readers’ gaze, and the effort that “editorial agency” undertook to engender the “sophisticated” taste.

⁵⁷³ For the discussion on “the male gaze,” see Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).



Fig.4-19 Photographs circulated between *Linglong* and SYHB. First line: Left: SYHB vol.8, no.362 (Aug. 20, 1932), 11; LL vol.1, no.49 (May 4, 1932), 2034. Right: SYHB, vol.7, no.304 (Sept. 5, 1931), 25; LL vol.2, no.79 (Dec. 21, 1932), 1345. Second line: Left: SYHB vol.7, no.313 (Nov. 7, 1931), 97; LL vol.1, no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1940. Right: SYHB vol.7, no.307 (Sept. 26, 1931), p.49; LL vol.1, no.29 (Sept. 30, 1931), 1058. Third line: Left: SYHB, vol.6, no.268 (Dec. 13, 1930), 137; LL vol. no.11 (May 27, 1931), 362. Middle: SYHB vol.7, no.309 (Oct. 10, 1931), 70; LL vol.1, no.30 (Dec. 9, 1931), 1098. Right: SYHB vol.8, no.372 (Oct. 29, 1932), 89; LL vol. no.76 (Nov. 30, 1932), cover.

Male Nudes: Good Example for Physical Training?

The style of “attacking men” in *Linglong*, as we might predict, can be easily understood as reflecting the female voice: a style created by women and for women, and, thus, published in a women’s magazine. Yet, my research reveals that “attacking men” was not a unique attribute of *Linglong*, nor was it necessarily voiced by and for women. For instance, Fig.4-20 is one of the three male nudes (out of the more than fifty stand-alone nudes) published in *Linglong* between 1931 and 1934.⁵⁷⁴ It represents the aesthetics of strength and masculinity, or “cuirasse

⁵⁷⁴ The image is counted as a “nude” in spite of wearing briefs. Generally speaking, very limited male nudes were published in pictorials from the 1910s to the 1930s, and the absolute majority of them were shown either in briefs, or only upper bodies. Even if we count these kinds of male nudes, my impression is that male nudes only occupy approximately 5%-10% of the total publication of nudes in the pictorials that I have examined from that period.

esthétique” as art historians would put it. The caption writes: “It is most important for men to train their bodies, [thus] not only can [their] spirit be delighted, but also [they] can get rid of illness and have longer lives. This image clearly shows the fully developed muscles of a physically healthy man. Who knows how many men from our country can have such a physique? 男子身體之鍛煉，最為重要，不特精神愉快，且可却病延壽。此影足示健美男子肌肉之飽滿，未知吾國男子具此體格者有幾人。”⁵⁷⁵ The last sentence disparages the physiques of Chinese men while referring to the discourse of “health and beauty.” In the context of *Linglong*’s “attacking” style, the critique can be understood as a female satirization of men.

The colophon of this issue, however, evidently shows that a man, Zhou Shixun 周世勳, was the editor of the “Entertainment” section, in which Fig.4-20 was arranged.⁵⁷⁶ He, therefore, should have been responsible for the editorial decision. Even if other editors aided him, only Lin Zecang and Lin Zemin’s names were listed on the colophon, both of whom were male. The only supposedly female-featured name, Chen Zhenling, was not even listed as an editor on the colophon, but on the page of the “Woman” section. Therefore, the male editors created a voice to suit the “style” of the journal. As mentioned earlier, the voice in the caption often reflects “editorial intention,” and no evidence has been found in *Linglong* to contextualize how female/male readers reacted to the male body and the satirical caption.

⁵⁷⁵ *Linglong* vol.1, no.17 (July 8, 1931), 606.

⁵⁷⁶ Zhou Shixun has been introduced in the first section of this chapter.

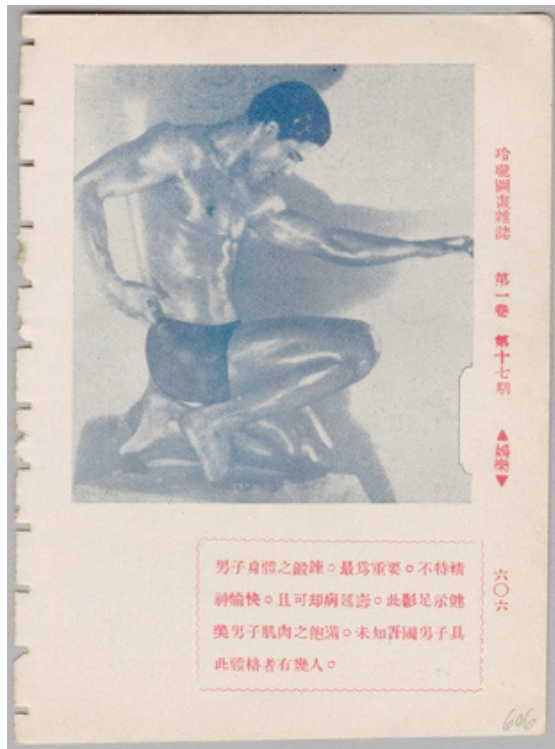


Fig.4-20 A male nude, *Linglong* vol.1, no.17 (July 8, 1931), 606.

The satirical or the playful comments, as shown in this example, can be called “editorial irony,” which reveals editors’ critical attitude towards the materials that they have arranged.⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, the editorial irony can be (en)gendered, in order to make nudes more acceptable. Did the gendered “editorial irony” only exist in *Linglong*? Was *Linglong* the only magazine that satirizes men or male nudes, in order to evoke a sympathetic response from female readers? Fig.4-21, published in SYHB, is the same male nude as in Fig.4-20. The image was included in the column “Photography Studies” (*Sheying yanjiu lan* 攝影研究欄) in SYHB in 1930, more than one year before the publication of Fig.4-20 in *Linglong*. As I have mentioned, this section was typically edited by Lin Zecang (sometimes by Lin Zemin), and was a fixed space for both (male) professional and amateur photographers to exchange information on photochemistry, exposure settings, analysis of “masterpieces,” and the activities of the China Photographic Society. The fact that the male nude was included in this section indicates the editors’ appreciation of its artistic value. The caption for the image repeats almost the same sentences

⁵⁷⁷ I thank Michel Hockx for sharing many insights on the issue of “editorial irony” with me.

as the caption to Fig.4-20 in *Linglong*. Comparing these two captions, we can see that the caption of Fig.4-20 in *Linglong* was based on the one in SYHB (Fig.4-21) published a year before, and the disparaging sentence remains identical. In other words, “editorial agency” allowed the decision to accept the satirical tone of the half-naked men published in SYHB, and reproduced in *Linglong*. The only difference is that one sentence is absent in SYHB but present in *Linglong*: “not only can [their] spirit be delighted, but also [they] can get rid of illness and have longer lives. 不特精神愉快，且可却病延壽”⁵⁷⁸ The additional sentence in *Linglong* emphasizes how men can mentally and bodily benefit from physical training. This is in accord with our observation of Li Li’s semi-nude: that images in *Linglong* often stressed the ideology of beauty and health rather than eroticism, and the images were contextualized and gendered by a female voice in a gendered journal.



Fig.4-21 A male nude, SYHB vol.5 no.250 (Aug. 9, 1930), 399.

⁵⁷⁸ The complete caption of Fig.4-21 is “It is most important for men to train their bodies. This image clearly shows the fully developed muscles of a physically healthy man. Who knows how many men from our country can have such a physique? (男子身體之鍛鍊最為重要。此影足示健美男子肌肉之飽滿。吾國男子具此體格者有幾).” SYHB vol.5 no.250 (Aug. 9, 1930), 399.

4.4 The Circulation of Nudes around the Globe: Reading Nudes in *Linglong* against Western Print Materials⁵⁷⁹

“To collect the essence of various magazines in the world” (採集世界各種雜誌之精華)
--Advertisement, *Linglong* vol.1 no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1977.

I have shown in the previous section that the editors (mainly Lin Zecang) contextualized and interpreted nudes through “editorial agency” in *Linglong* and SYHB. In this section, I will demonstrate that the nudes in *Linglong* (mostly Western) were part of the global circulation of visual materials, carried by periodicals, reproducible photographs, and photographic albums.

Photographic Albums from the “World”

As the founder of the *China Photographic Society*, Lin Zecang was devoted to collecting all kinds of photographic journals and albums. In SYHB, Lin often mentioned his appreciation of “*Shijie sheying jiezuo*” 世界攝影傑作 (World Photographic Masterpieces) from Germany, France, America, and Britain. These masterpieces, according to Lin’s essay, included *Das deutsche Lichtbild* (The German Photography), *XXII Salon D’art Photographique de Paris* (The 22nd Paris Salon of Photographic Art), *American Photography*, *Photograms of the Year*, and *American Annual*.⁵⁸⁰ I have previously discussed an example from one of these photographic albums, Fig.4-12, which was originally published in *Photograms of the Year* 1929, and which Lin Zecang was reluctant to reproduce as a whole in SYHB. Lin either purchased these serial albums or yearbooks directly from foreign bookstores in Shanghai, such

⁵⁷⁹ An earlier version of this section is included in my forthcoming article “Engendering a Journal.”

⁵⁸⁰ Lin Zecang, “Ping Ying Fa De Mei niankan (yi)” 評英法德美年刊(一)(A Review of British, French, German, and American Yearbooks, Part One), SYHB vol.3 no.125 (Feb. 11, 1928), 195; Lin Zecang, “Ping Ying Fa De Mei niankan (xia)” 評英法德美年刊(下)(A Review of British, French, German, and American Yearbooks, Part Two), SYHB vol.3 no.126 (Feb. 18, 1928), 203.

as Kelly and Walsh (*Biefa shudian* 別發書店), or exchanged them with international photographic societies.⁵⁸¹

Kelly and Walsh (founded in 1876) was an important foreign bookstore in Shanghai in the 1920s and 30s, and greatly contributed to the cultural exchange between China and the West. Located on Nanking Road, Kelly and Walsh offered an entrée into international photographic developments not only for Lin, but for international photographic publishing enterprises into the Chinese market. *Das deutsche Lichtbild*, for example, explicitly listed “Kelly and Walsh Ltd., Shanghai, Hong-Kong” as its distributor in China.⁵⁸² Lin mentioned that Kelly and Walsh imported only eight copies of *Das deutsche Lichtbild* and they were soon sold out in February 1928.⁵⁸³

The interaction between the China Photographic Society and other international organizations was another important channel of foreign materials. The French Photographic Society (*Société Française de Photographie*) for instance, mailed their yearbooks to Lin in 1929, 1930 and 1931. Lin shared his enjoyment of reading the yearbooks in SYHB.⁵⁸⁴ The Chinese Photographic Society was also able to receive “several thousands of copies of *American Photography*, the most valuable periodical in the US (茲收到美國攝影雜誌數千本 (係美國最有價值之月刊[...])),” in August 1929. It further distributed the copies to its

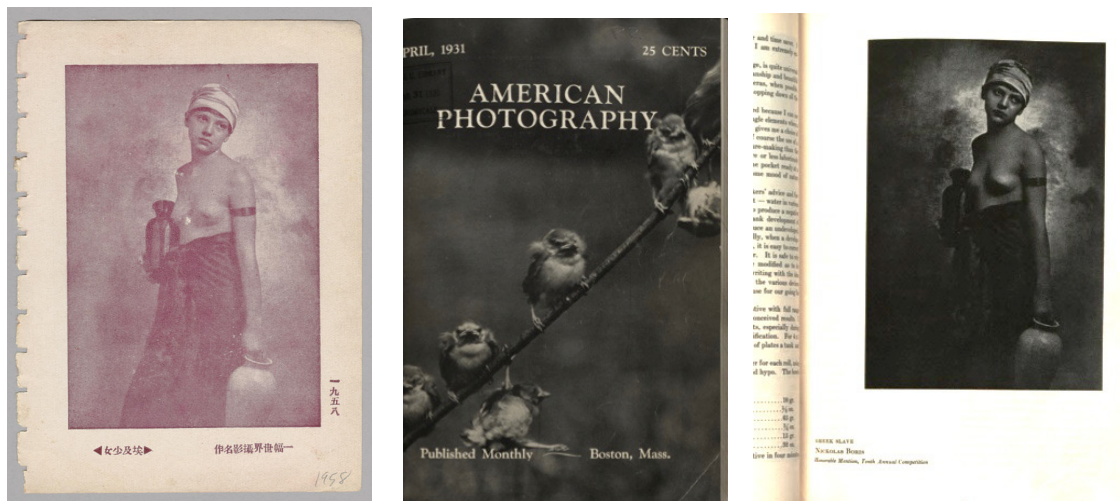
⁵⁸¹ Lin Zecang, “Ping Ying Fa De Mei niankan (xia),” SYHB no.126 (Feb. 18, 1928), 203. Recent research on Kelly and Walsh, see Wong Hoito, “Biefa yanghang kao: jianlun jindai Zhongguo zhishi fenzi yu Biefa yanghang 別發洋行考：兼論近代中國知識份子與別發洋行 (A Study on Kelly & Walsh: also on Kelly & Walsh and its Relation with the Chinese Intellectuals in Modern China), in Cheng Pei-kai and Fan Ka Wai eds., *Jiuxue xinzhij: Xianggang chenshi daxue zhongguo wenhua zhongxin shi zhounian lunwen ji* 舊學新知集：香港城市大學中國文化中心十週年論文集 (Classic Learning and New Perspectives: Essays to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Chinese Civilisation Center at City University of Hong Kong) (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2008), 213-256.

⁵⁸² Hans Windisch, *Das deutsche Lichtbild Jahresschau 1927* (Berlin: Robert & Bruno Schultz, 1927), inside cover.

⁵⁸³ Lin Zecang, “Ping Ying Fa De Mei niankan (xia),” SYHB vol.3 no.126 (Feb. 18, 1928), 203.

⁵⁸⁴ “Ben hui chubabu xiaoxi” 本會出版部消息 (An Announcement by the Department of Publication of Our Society), SYHB vol.4 no.174 (Jan. 26, 1929), 191; “Fa Sheying xuehui ji zeng nianjian” 法攝影學會寄贈年鑑 (The French Photographic Society Mailed Yearbooks [to us] as Gift) SYHB vol.5 no.224 (Feb. 8, 1930), 190; “Faguo sheying niankan” 法國攝影年刊 (French Photographic Yearbooks), vol.6 no.277 (Feb. 28, 1931), 215.

members.⁵⁸⁵ It remains unknown whether Chinese photographers were able to subscribe to or regularly read *American Photography*, but a certain connection might have existed between the journal and *Linglong*. Fig.4-22 is a photo called “An Egyptian Young Girl” (*Aiji shaonü*) published in *Linglong* (vol.1, no.48, April 27, 1932, 1958). Labeling it as “a world photographic masterpiece,” *Linglong* indicated the artistic value of the photo. The identical image can be found in *American Photography* (Fig.4-23 and Fig.4-24), but it is titled “Greek Slave.”⁵⁸⁶ Given the widespread circulation of *American Photography*, it is possible that the photo in *Linglong* was reproduced from the American journal. Another example can confirm the link between foreign photographic journals and Lin’s publishing enterprise: “*Riguang yu luoti*” 日光浴裸體 (A Sunbathing Nude) (SYHB vol.8 no.363, Aug., 27, 1932, 23) was perhaps reproduced from “Cast Shadows,” a nude photographed by Edmund Kesting and published in *The Year's Photography*.⁵⁸⁷ In both examples, the images in Chinese journals are identical with their foreign counterparts, but the titles have been appropriated to the Chinese context.



Left: Fig.4-22 “Aiji shaonü” (An Egyptian Young Girl), *Linglong* vol.1, no.48 (April 27, 1932), 1958.

Middle: Fig.4-23 *American Photography* vol.25 no.4 (April 1931), front cover.

Right: Fig.4-24 “Greek Slave,” *American Photography* vol.25 no.4 (April 1931), 189.

⁵⁸⁵ “Ben hui qishi” 本會啟事 (An Announcement by Our Society), SYHB vol.5 no.203 (Aug. 31, 1929), 23.

⁵⁸⁶ Nickolas Boris (Honorable Mention, Tenth Annual Competition), “Greek Slave,” *American Photography* vol.25 no.4 (April 1931), 189.

⁵⁸⁷ *The Year's Photography*, Plate LXXIV, collected in *The Photographic Journal* vol.71 (New Series, vol.55) 1931. I thank Jennifer Garland and her colleagues at the Department of Rare Book Collections, McGill University Library for helping me locate these 1920s/30s photographic journals.

Covers and Illustrations: “Photos of Movie Stars”?

As mentioned in Lin’s brief biography, *dianying mingxing zhaopian* 電影明星照片 (photos of movie stars) were one of three major products traded by the San Ho Company from 1921. Ten years later, the company was still running and advertised in *Linglong*. According to one of these San Ho Company advertisements, not only could photos of Chinese movie stars be purchased, but also photos of both females and male “foreign movie stars.” The diagonal size of the photos ranged from ca. 16.5 cm (*wucun* 五寸), 33.3 cm (*shicun* 十寸) to ca. 60 cm (*shibacun* 十八寸), at the price of seven *jiao* 角, one *yuan* 元 and two *yuan*.⁵⁸⁸ More than “a thousand kinds” of photos were available, and most of them were “*duo you waiyang yun shou*” 多由外洋運售 (transported from foreign countries). These photos were categorized into the following eight types: “*jiaoyan* 嬌豔 (tender and beautiful),” “*meili de* 美麗的 (beautiful),” “*wumei* 嫵媚 (lovely),” “*fengsao* 風騷 (coquettish/flirtatious),” “*rougan* 肉感 (sensual),” “*qingxiu* 清秀 (delicate and pretty),” “*piaoliang* 漂亮 (pretty),” and “*shimao* 時髦 (fashionable).”⁵⁸⁹ Among these adjectives, the word *rougan* was most arbitrarily used. *Rou* 肉 means “flesh” and *gan* 感 “feelings,” so the combination of the two characters could be understood as “fleshy,” “voluptuous” or even “sexy” and “erotic” in the 1930s context. In 1930s media, the term *rougan* was frequently used to refer to exposed female bodies. *Linglong* also published photos that usually depicted Hollywood actresses and dancing girls with *rougan* in the titles or captions.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ “Zhong wai dianying mingxing zhaopian” (Photos of Chinese and Foreign Movie Stars), *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (March 25, 1931), 60. The same advertisement appears also in issues 3, 7, 8, 10, 20, 22, 26. *Jiao* and *yuan* were the Chinese term for currency, and one *yuan* equaled>equals to ten *jiao*. See the introduction to *Linglong* by Columbia University, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/linglong/about.html>. As a comparison, the second issue of *Linglong* was sold at 0.7 *jiao*. With two *yuan*, one can afford a photo of 60 cm, whereas it is enough to book 20 issues of *Linglong* for five months and domestic postage was included, see advertisement in *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (March 25, 1931), 56.

⁵⁸⁹ *Linglong* vol.1 no.2 (March 25, 1931), 60.

⁵⁹⁰ *Linglong*, for example, published photos with *rougan* in titles or captions, “Rougan shijie” 肉感世界 (A Carnal World), *Linglong* vol.3 no.1 (Jan. 11, 1933), 29; “Sao nülang Lubofanlisi de rougan fengzi” 騷女郎露泊范麗斯

Readers could easily link *rougan* to the visual stereotype of sexy girls with bare legs in short dresses.

Illustrated by four photos, another series of advertisements by San Ho Company to sell *Bali Yimei jingjia* 巴黎藝美鏡架 (Parisian *Yimei* photo frames. *Yimei*, a brand name, literally: artistic and beautiful) reveals the possible images, matching the categories mentioned above.⁵⁹¹ (Fig.4-25) The first image from the left is a Western female, loosely covered by a long gown with her breasts and the front of her body exposed. Entitled “Juanyan xingsong” 倦眼惺忪 (Drowsy Eyes), the photo had already appeared in the column of “Photographic Studies” in SYHB a year prior. (Fig.4-26) Lin marked it as a “world photographic masterpiece,” and praised its professional technique.⁵⁹² The photo was created by photographer William Mortensen (1897-1965) under the title “So tired.” It was originally published in *Photograms of the Year 1929*, a few pages from Figure 4-12 of which Lin only reproduced half.⁵⁹³ (Fig.4-27, Fig.4-28)



Fig.4-25 Advertisement, *Linglong* vol.1 no.11 (May 27, 1931), 382.

的肉感豐姿 (A Sexy Gesture by Flirtatious Girl *Lubofanlisi*, [her original English name to be checked - author]), *Linglong* vol.3 no.10 (April 5, 1933), 374. For an example how *rougan* was discussed in relation to film see Feng Xizui, “Rougan yu dianying” 肉感與電影 (Eroticism and Movies), *Dianying yuekan* nos. 11-12 (1929).

⁵⁹¹ *Linglong* vol.1 no.11 (May 27, 1931), 382.

⁵⁹² SYHB vol.5 no.227 (March 31, 1930), 215. Also reproduced in Shao Wuzhai 邵無齋, Chai Pinlu 柴聘陸, and Xue Zhiying 薛志英 eds., *Shijie Renti Sheying Mingzuo* 世界人體攝影名作 (Shanghai: Weimeishe, 1936), n.p.

⁵⁹³ William Mortensen, “So Tired,” *Photograms of the Year 1929*, Plate XXX. Mortensen was American photographer, teacher, and author. For a brief biography, see Michael R. Peres, *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (Taylor & Francis, 2014), 277.



Fig.4-26 “Juanyan xingsong,” SYHB vol.5 no.227 (March 31, 1930), 215. Also published in Shao Wuzhai, Chai Pinlu, and Xue Zhiying eds., *Shijie Renti Sheying Mingzuo* (Shanghai: Weimeishe, 1936), n.p.

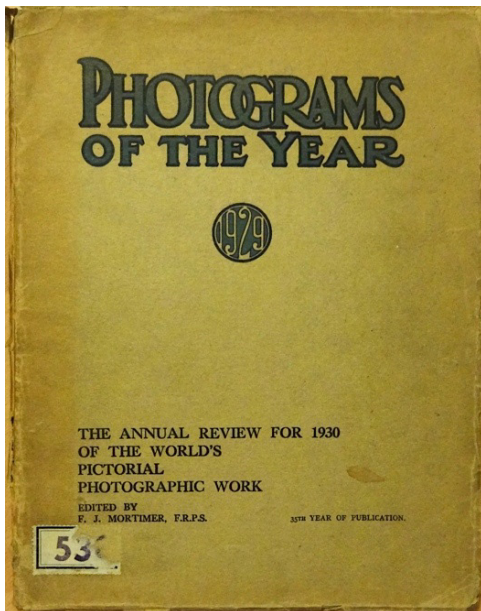


Fig.4-27 Front cover, *Photograms of the Year 1929*. Private collection.

Fig.4-28 W. Mortensen (California), “So Tired,” *Photograms of the Year 1929*, Plate XXX. Private collection.

The second and third are presumably portraits of movie stars, while the fourth captures a scene of a kissing couple. All four images in artistic photo frames are advertised as “important decorations for the modern family,” which might reflect the wide acceptance of movie stars and self-portraits as modern domestic decoration in the 1930s. In fact, many glamour photos published in *Linglong* include captions such as “Donated by San Ho Company,”⁵⁹⁴ or “Donated

⁵⁹⁴ For example, *Linglong* vol.1 no.18 (July 15, 1931), inside back cover; *Linglong* vol.1, no.20 (July 29, 1931), back cover; *Linglong* vol.1 no.21 (August 5, 1931), inside back cover and back cover.

by Columbia Company.”⁵⁹⁵ The captions strongly indicate that those images are reproduced from photos traded by the San Ho Company, and that the San Ho Company possibly had a channel to purchase photos directly from film producers such as Columbia. If this is true, then some nudes of glamorous Hollywood movie stars and dancing girls might have travelled to China via this route. Moreover, the large amount of gossip about Hollywood movie stars in the section on “Entertainment” in *Linglong*, together with curvy and sexy images of semi-nudes, might direct us to a special kind of source, so-called “fan magazines.”⁵⁹⁶ “Fan magazines” entertained readers with gossip about stars’ private lives, from their love affairs to their bodybuilding, from one’s new movie to another’s financial crisis. This was concurrent with the rise of the Hollywood film industry, as well as the “entertainment” section in *Linglong*.

Unfit for Women? Nudes from American Detective Magazines

It is very important to discern which foreign materials appeared in the journal *Linglong*. Equally important is what was *not* selected for the journal. The process of selection, I argue, was conducted through “editorial agency.” The following example shows what kind of nudes might have been considered unfit and were, thus, excluded in *Linglong*.

An “Editor’s Note” in 1932 announced that, “*zhentan qi’an*” 偵探奇案 (detective mysteries) were all translated from the newest American famous detective magazines such as *Real Detective* and *True Detective Mystery*.⁵⁹⁷ A story entitled “*Liqi de ming’an*” 離奇的命案 (A Mysterious Homicide) in Issue 61, for instance, was a detective story set in Los Angeles in 1927.⁵⁹⁸ What kind of magazine was the American “detective magazine”? In Dian Hanson’s collection of vintage American popular magazines, we can find many examples of semi or almost fully naked women in stockings, nighties and short dresses, although most of the sample collections are from the late 1930s. Images of women who were victims or murderers, sexy or

⁵⁹⁵ *Linglong* vol.1 no.20 (July 29, 1931), n.p.

⁵⁹⁶ For more discussion of fan magazines, see Anthony Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers* (University Press of Mississippi, 2010).

⁵⁹⁷ “Bianjizhe yan,” *Linglong* vol.2 no.60 (July 27, 1932), 472.

⁵⁹⁸ *Linglong* vol.1 no.61 (Aug. 3, 1932), 517-518.

seductive, fierce or helpless, lie at the centre of visual representation in the magazines.⁵⁹⁹ According to Will Straw, who owns a significant private collection of detective magazines and has published a book titled *Cyanide and Sin: Visualizing Crime in 50s America* (New York: PPP Editions, 2006, 4), “the vast majority of images in the true crime magazines were photographs, but the origins of these photographs were diverse and their status as credible documentation typically uncertain. Large numbers of these images were paintings crafted to look like photographs, or their opposites-photos retouched to make them look painterly.”⁶⁰⁰ While not focusing on visibility, Park Dietz, a well-known forensic psychiatrist and criminologist, deciphered the psychological basis of the spectatorship of detective magazines after studying the *Journal of Forensic Sciences*. He concluded in an article in 1986 that detective magazines were the preferred pornography for sexual sadists.⁶⁰¹

Unlike fan magazines and the magazines addressing feminine charm, detective magazines stereotypically exaggerate scenes of crime, violence, and sex. *Linglong*, however, did not include any images of this kind; on the contrary, it seemed to avoid or lessen the pictorial and literary impact of true crime. For instance, the story “A Mysterious Homicide” in Issue 61 only translates the plot of the story, has a simple and concise narrative, and illustrates the story with a black-white line drawing, in which a tiny and vague female figure is dressed in a white shirt and a black long skirt.⁶⁰² It is certainly not because of the technical possibility that no striking (semi-) nudes and frightening images from American true detective magazines were reproduced and published in *Linglong*. The absence of these types of images, I argue, is because they were not regarded as educational and sophisticated by editors, and because they could not be used to educate women and promote “sophisticated entertainment.”

⁵⁹⁹ “From American Hero to American Psycho: 60 Year of Detective Magazines,” in *History of Men’s Magazines*. Vol. 1, from 1900 to Post-WWII, ed. Dian Hanson (Taschen Verlag, 2004), 207-225.

⁶⁰⁰ Will Straw, *Cyanide and Sin: Visualizing Crime in 50s America* (New York: PPP Editions, 2006), 4. More samples see Kemp, Earl, and Luis Ortiz, *Cult Magazines A to Z: a Compendium of Culturally Obsessive & Curiously Expressive Publications* (Nonstop Press, 2009).

⁶⁰¹ See Hanson, *Ibid*, 207. For pulp culture in relation to modernism, see V. Penelope Pelizzon, *Tabloid, Inc.: Crimes, Newspapers, Narratives* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010); Paula Rabinowitz, *Black & White & Noir* (Columbia University Press, 2002).

⁶⁰² *Linglong* vol.2 no.61 (Aug. 3, 1932), 517-518.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the publication of popular journals was a huge business not only in China, but also in Europe and North America. Large numbers of foreign magazines were imported to China, about which we still know very little. In many cases, I presume the satirical images or short essays in *Linglong* were reproduced from French or American journals, although we lack sufficient evidence to identify precisely from which journals, or how the editors acquired them. What we do know is that foreign bookstores like Kelly and Walsh provided readers with periodicals such as *The Illustrated London News*, *Punch*, *The New Yorker* and *Vanity Fair*.⁶⁰³ Importing magazines might also have been good business for companies. In an advertisement in *Linglong*, “*Dahua zazhi gongsi*” 大華雜誌公司 (Dahua Magazine Company) claims “our company transported more than two thousands kind of novels, magazines, and newspapers from Britain, America, Germany and France.” In addition to direct sales, the company also offered subscriptions to any foreign magazine.⁶⁰⁴

Lin Zecang understood that foreign magazines were an extremely rich source for his publishing enterprise. He was also aware that a number of his well-educated readers were interested in these magazines. In an Editor’s Note in 1929, he encouraged readers to “translate the essence of magazines from all over the world, and then send them to us together with the original copy. [Readers] could also send the original copies and copperplate pictures.”⁶⁰⁵ It would not be surprising if certain readers became contributors to SYHB, and collected miscellaneous materials for the journal. *Linglong* continued the tradition, aimed at “collecting the essence of various magazines in the world,” as cited in the very beginning of this section.

This chapter sheds light on Lin Zecang and other editors’ backgrounds and editorial practices and examines how nudes were edited into *Linglong* and SYHB, two cultural products that Lin founded. I continue using “editorial agency” as a key concept to theorize editors’ power to play the roles of creators, gatekeepers, and intermediaries in the field of (trans-)cultural production. Lin’s “editorial agency” was embedded in his working practice of collecting, selecting,

⁶⁰³ Wong Hoito, “Biefa yanghang kao,” 232.

⁶⁰⁴ Advertisement, *Linglong* vol.1 no. 30 (Oct. 10, 1931), 1130.

⁶⁰⁵ “Editor’s Note,” SYHB vol.5 no.207 (Sept. 28, 1929), 49.

contextualizing, and interpreting visual and textual materials for his illustrated journals. Not only was the presence and absence of nudes – as I have focused on throughout my research – the result of “editorial agency”; but also each issue of each periodical was determined and shaped by that power. Additionally, the discovery of Chen Zhenling and Liang Xinxi’s identities provides us with a gender aspect of “editorial agency,” and this term can be applied as “male editorial agency” and “female editorial agency” to analyze the roles that male and female editors played in their practice.

As a key term in *Linglong*’s publishing goal, “sophisticated entertainment” was first and foremost an editorial strategy. It empowered editors like Lin to play with the complexity of the establishment of “taste,” the social differentiation, the cultivation of the aesthetic sensitivity among implied readers, and the pursuit of modernity. Photography belonged to this category, and so did nudes, though not all of them. Therefore, appreciation of nudes needs guidance, and it was especially so when the implied readers were gendered. One identical image could be interpreted differently in gendered and non-gendered journals. The best way to guide female implied readers was to emphasize the artistic value of photographic artworks, or emphasize the value of physically healthy beauty by being tied to a nationalist discourse. By doing so, the natural eroticism in the nudes, even in the “good” ones, could be framed and repressed. That might be why the educators of the McTyeire School for Girls considered *Linglong* “somewhat beneficial,” at least harmless, to girl students, although the journal included nudes in 1931.

In the last section, I situated Lin and his cultural products in a global context, and suggested a circulation route of visual materials between Western journals and SYHB/*Linglong* such as American/British photographic magazines, fan magazines, *Real Detective* and *True Detective Mystery*. I argued that not only what is displayed in a journal of great importance, it is also crucial to examine what was *not* selected for the journal and why, because this was precisely where “editorial agency” functioned as “gatekeeper.” *Linglong* translated stories from true detective magazines, therefore, editors also had access to the accompanying images. The typical sex and crime variety of (semi-)nudes, however, were not chosen; this was precisely because those images did not meet the criterion of “sophisticated entertainment,” or they could not be “sophisticated” by editorial interpretation.

Table 4-1 A List of Images of Unclothed Bodies in *Linglong* (1931-1933)

	Year	Issue	Page	Caption	Woman /Man	Photography /painting	Chinese ?	Note
1	1931	8	287	她悲哀痛苦的時候，要拋棄一切不顧形骸	Woman	Photography	No	德國攝影傑作
2	1931	9	323	顧影自憐	Woman	Photography	No	德國攝影傑作
3	1931	11	395	健美者的抵抗	Woman	Photography	No	美國攝影傑作 camera Study by Pierre Lacroix”?
4	1931	12	431	沉思	Woman	Photography	No	美國攝影傑作
5	1931	17	606	男子身體之鍛煉，最為重要，不特精神愉快，且可却病延壽，此影足示健美男子肌肉之飽滿，未知吾國男子具此體格者有幾人。	Man	Photography	No	
6	1931	19	686	天然	Woman	Photography	No	周三兼贈
7	1931	23	836-837	日光裸浴專號宣言	Women	Photography	No	
8	1931	23	845	前途茫茫	Woman	Painting	No	法國第一四十四年美術展覽會出品
9	1931	23	850	晨曦微風和氣暢海濱日浴身快體壯	Woman	Photography	No	
10	1931	23	855	日浴	Woman	Photography	No	法國第一四十四年美術展覽會之出品
11	1931	24	886	玉洁冰清	Woman	Painting	No	周三兼贈
12	1931	25	925	浴前試水	Woman	Photography	No	周三兼贈
13	1931	27	1006	溫柔的表現	Woman	Photography	No	周三兼贈
14	1931	29	1076-1077	裸浴運動	Men and Women	Photography (9)	No	
15	1931	29	1078	白膚凝脂	Woman	Photography	No	周三兼贈
16	1931	30	1168	自然的生活	Woman	Photography (3)	Yes	陳昺德攝
17	1931	31	1208	倦矣	Woman	Photography	No	
18	1931	32	1248	豐腴美滿	Woman	Photography	No	“Seated Figure camera Study by Pierre Lacroix”?
19	1931	34	1358	我們要擁護純潔的美。上圖就是表示神聖的美	Woman	Photography	No	
20	1931	35	1368	樂園中的微笑	Woman	Photography	Yes	陳昺德攝
21	1931-11-18	36	1414	倦	Woman	Photography	No	
22	1931	37	1458 back over	“飛騰”英國第二十二屆攝影展覽會中之傑作，配光別緻，藝術高	Woman	Photography	No	B. Leedham 作

				超，足為愛好藝術者之參考				
23	1931	38	1482~1483	她是自然的羨慕者，尤其是對於人體的美，她深信用不着做作。順其自然的那就是顯出自然的美。閱此圖就信其言的不謬了。	Woman	Photography	No	(Not clear)
24	1931	38	1488	健美的體格是我國女子所需要的，對於你的脸部不宜太看重	Woman	Photography	No	
25	1931	39	1532	德國日光浴男女戲球後之攝影	Woman/man	Photography	No	Nudism
26	1931	39	1533	日光下男女歡唱之情形	Women/men	Photography	No	Nudism
27	1931	39	1534	我國女子，往往有健而不美，美而不健之譏。上圖是健而且美的女子，誰能再謂女子無健美之體格	Woman	Photography	Yes	
28	1931	41	1626~1627	她很自然的橫臥在錦褥的上面□□可以顯出她純潔的美和柔和的狀態	Woman	Photography	No	
29	1932	42	1674	1)下圖是代表法國女子的曲線美，而且也是她健美的表露。 2)這種美的舞蹈完全要姿勢的擺佈纔能達到完全形體的象形美。但是有了這樣健康的身軀所以才能有這樣健美的姿勢。 3)舞蹈的藝術，是可以使體格健而美的最良好的方法。圖乃巴黎戲院里跳舞明星的舞姿。 4)女子有了健美的體格，隨時隨地都可以顯出她的美，上圖是法國女子體格的一般。	Woman	Photography (4 photographs)	No	大德自法寄
30	1932	43	1724	沉思	Woman	Photography	Yes	中國人體美術攝影盧施福攝 黑白影攝影展出品之一
31	1932	43	1722	上右乃該島男女在電車上的生活一般	Women/mem	Photography	No	Nudism
32	1932	43	1722	下左乃古代印地安人的一種自然生活舞蹈的優美姿勢	Man	Photography	No	
33	1932	43	1723	上左乃該島婦女運動的一種快樂情形	Woman	Photography	No	Nudism
34	1932	45	1820	金色的燦爛	Woman	Photography	Yes	中國人體美術攝影盧施福作
35	1932	47	1917	體美的舞姿	Woman	Photography	No	

36	1932	48	1958	埃及少女	Woman	Photography	No	一幅世界攝影名作
37	1932	48	1964	健康的體格為人人所羨慕的	Woman	Photography	No	
38	1932	50	2069	德國裸體生活之一瞥	Women	Photography (2)	No	Nudism
39	1932	51	23	東方人體美	Woman	Photography	Yes	盧施福攝
40	1932	52	74	健康曲線美的正背面	Woman	Photography	No	
41	1932	53	120	裸體生活	women	Photography	No	Nudism
42	1932	53	121	日光園中一個健康的少女	Woman	Photography	No	Nudism
43	1932	54	170	舞姿踴躍	Woman	Photography	No	
44	1932	55	212	肉的磁人	Woman	Photography	No	巴黎攝影名作
45	1932	59	408-409	南海佳人	Woman	Photography	Yes	
46	1932	61	507	畫室中的模特兒	Woman	Photography	Maybe	Che yu攝
47	1932	62	555	浴罷梳妝	Woman	Painting	No	法國沙龍名作
48	1932	63	600-601	他描正着向男子的心窩裏射	Woman	Painting	No	沙龍傑作
49	1932	63	600-601	No name	Woman /Man	Painting	No	/法国的描摹
50	1932	66	767	玉體橫陳	Woman	Photography	Yes	盧施福攝
51	1932	68	845	酥胸	Woman	Photography	Yes	盧施福攝
52	1932	69	894	靜的美	Woman	Photography	Yes	
53	1932	78	1323	抱琴女	Woman	Photography	Yes	黑白攝影社陳傳霖攝
54	1933	81	26	冬天的自然生活	Woman	Photography	Yes	盧施福攝
55	1933	100	974	女英雄	Woman	Photography	Yes	名攝影家陳傳霖作
56	1933	95	664	陽春裏的煩悶	Woman	Photography	No	(人體美術攝影)美國佐安包恩作
57	1933	102	1102	海潮將下去的時候 歐洲女性健康的美	Woman	Photography	No	英國攝影傑作
58	1933	107	1442	痛悔	Woman	Photography	No	世界攝影傑作
59	1933	121	2290	倦	Woman	Photography	No	參加芝加哥博覽會之美術攝影

Conclusion



Left: Fig.5-1 “Dui ying cheng san ren,” BYHB 355 (Aug. 8, 1929), 3.
 Centre: Fig.5-2 “Zhongguo shaonü zhi cexing,” SHMH 68 (Aug. 10, 1929), 6.
 Right: Fig.5-3 “Renti mei xiezhen,” *Liangyou* 40 (Oct. 1929), 29.

I begin this conclusion by showing the three photographs above. In August 1929, both BYHB and SHMH published an identical nude photograph, created by Zhang Jianwen, a photographer mentioned in Chapters Two and Three. Only one year prior to the publication of this photo in three pictorials, Zhang Jianwen edited and published the book *Nüxing renti mei*, reproducing nude photographs by Heinz von Perckhammer.⁶⁰⁶ From 1925 to the beginning of the 1930s, a large amount of Western nudes appeared in almost every popular pictorial. Professional Chinese photographers began to practice nude photography, and their works were increasingly exposed in the media. From photographic techniques to their visual motifs, these works were inevitably seen as imitations of Western nudes in China. Nonetheless, editors introduced these photographers and their works to pictorials.

This photo depicts a young and slender Chinese woman, standing in front of a mirror located in a corner, unclothed. The contour of the left side of her body is exposed to viewers, while the mirror reveals a frontal view. A soft light comes from her left side, thus her shadow

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Chapter Two. The book included another two of Zhang’s nude photographs, which depicted the same model and were from the same series as Fig. 5-1.

is cast to the wall on her right. The female figure, her reflection in the mirror, and her shadow, formed a curious visual composition. BYHB editors brilliantly grasped this feature of the photo, and chose one line from a famous Li Bai poem for the Chinese caption: “Dui ying cheng san ren” 對影成三人 (Together with My Reflections, [I] Form a Threesome).⁶⁰⁷ As with many other bilingual captions in the pictorial, BYHB also offered an English title, “Chinese Nude Study,” to further emphasize the artistic value of the photo. (Fig.5-1)

Unlike BYHB, SHMH arranged their reproduction of the photo as the 33rd piece of the series “Comparing Human Bodies across the World,” the focus of Chapter Three. (Fig.5-2) Following the theme of the series, SHMH used the photograph to articulate the “racial features” of Chinese women, and entitled the photograph “Zhongguo shaonü zhi cexing” 中國少女之側形 (The Profile of a Chinese Young Woman). The editor further delivered critical comments on “Chinese women’s bodies” in the caption, “pure [in terms of “race” - author] Chinese women’s bodies are mostly bound by their clothes, and [their bodies are] affected in many ways. For instance, little vests (*xiao majia*) have damaged their breasts, or they have marks on their waists because of wearing tight waistbands (純中國女子之體格，大都數被衣服所束縛，受了種種影響，如小馬甲之損害乳部，因束袴帶腰間起了一痕的事).” The caption fits into the editorial style of the World Series, scrutinizing female bodies from anthropological and racial perspectives. A playfully and artistically composed photograph, as presented in BYHB, became an illustration to a “scientific” topic.

Two months later, in October 1929, the same photo was again published in *Liangyou* with bilingual titles, “A Photographic Study” in English, and “Renti mei xiezhen” 人體美寫真 (A Photo of Physical Beauty) in Chinese. (Fig.5-3) The English title emphasized the medium and the artistic quality of the images, while the Chinese title included the word *renti mei* to signify the scientific and artistic connotation of the image. Additionally, *xiezhen* was one of the “return graphic loans,” referring to photographs/photography, which accentuated the novelty, the

⁶⁰⁷ The title is quoted from poet Li Bai’s (701–762) famous poem “Yuexia du zhuo” 月下獨酌 (Drinking Alone by Moonlight), which originally means “[with the moon], together with my shadow, there are three [of us].”

otherness, the modern notion of visual representation.⁶⁰⁸ A lengthy caption printed in a tiny font reads, “a healthy physique is the precondition of beauty. Clothing and make-up are artificial, while body, skin, and hair are natural and precious. Therefore, [one] should not use excessive artificial accessories and make-up; [otherwise one would] harm natural physical development and lose natural beauty. (體魄健全為美之第一條件，衣飾脂粉是人工的，身體髮膚方為天然可貴；是以不宜用過量之人工修飾，至礙天然之發育而失天然之美).”⁶⁰⁹

In contrast to BYHB and SHMH, *Liangyou* chose yet another strategy to lead the readers, engaging readers in the discourses of “healthy physique,” “natural beauty,” and “against excessive artificial accessories and make-up.” In the previous chapters, I have demonstrated that during this period, “healthy physique” was closely linked to the concept of *jianmei*; discussion of abstract beauty originated from the discourse of “aesthetic education”; and the arguments of “appreciating the natural body” and “against excessive accessories and make-up” had already appeared in early essays such as “On a Naked Beauty” in 1914, as discussed in Chapter One. These arguments continued into the 1930s, and examples can be also found in journals like *Linglong* (C.f. discussion on Fig.4-16). A nude photograph was thus used to educate readers to value the beauty of natural bodies, which also fit the holistic style of *Liangyou*, being readers’ “good companion.”

One photo was given three utterly different titles and captions, and each one represented a particular editorial strategy of interpretation. The difference revealed the significant position of editors, who harnessed their power, or “editorial agency,” to select not only nude images, but also matching terms to interpret the images. The combination of images and interpretation, together with layout, formed a certain “periodical code,” and determined the “editorial style” of a pictorial. If a periodical managed to establish its individual recognizable “editorial style,” then the periodical would have a better chance to successfully survive against competition in the field. By creating a diversity of (trans-)cultural products and editorial styles, editors did not only absorb the essence of the global cultural flow of nudes, but also expanded the dynamics

⁶⁰⁸ Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 33-35, 320.

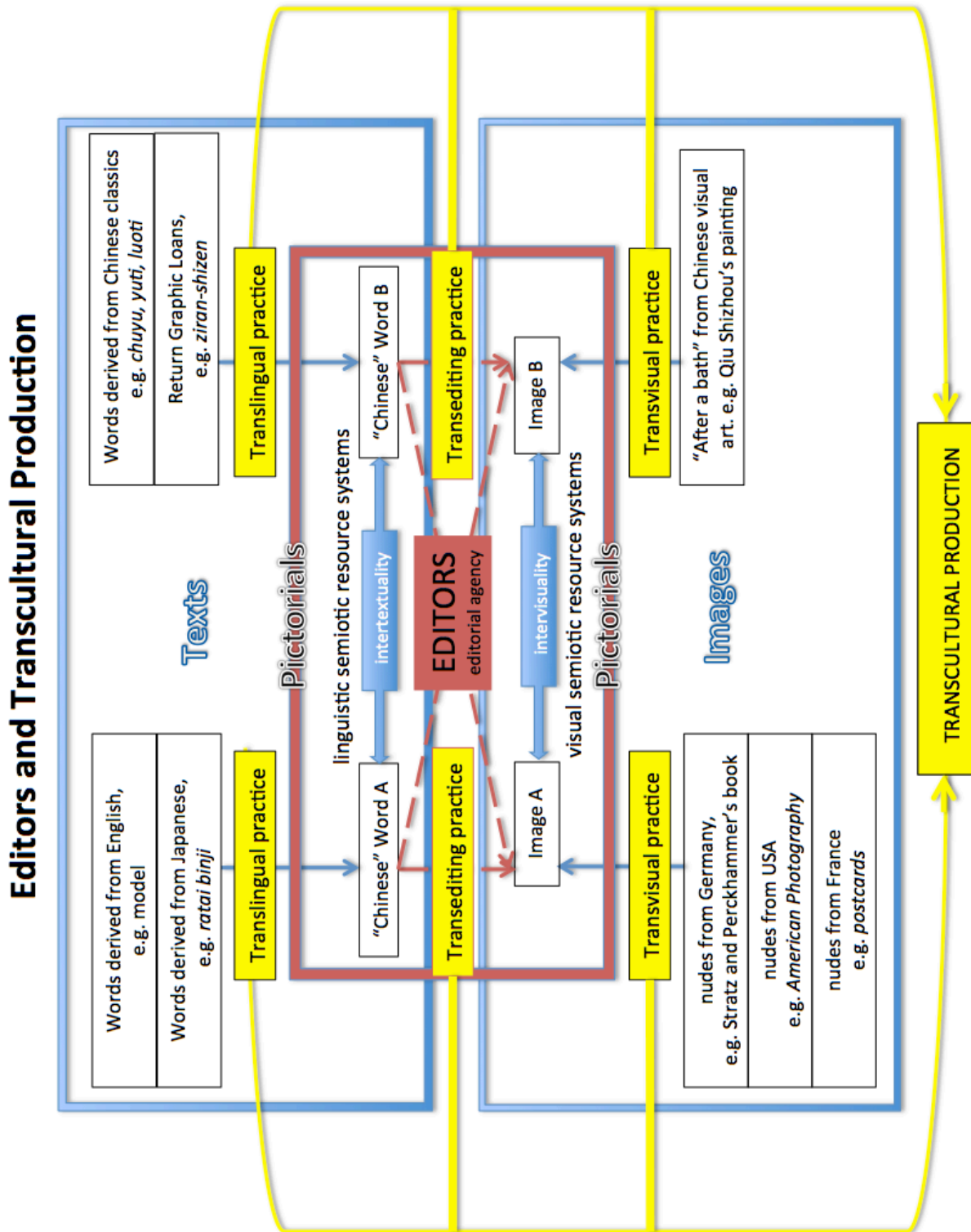
⁶⁰⁹ “Renti mei xiezhen,” *Liangyou* 40 (Oct. 1929), 29.

of transculturality, thus further becoming part of the cultural flow. This is what I ultimately argue.

To further summarize the editorial practice during “transediting,” I have designed a diagram to show the entire process. (Fig.5-4) Active in the field of “transcultural production,” pictorial editors remain the focus of this study. Their final cultural products were pictorials, including *Beiyang huabao*, *Shanghai manhua*, *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao*, discussed in the dissertation. One of the most important features of a pictorial was that it was comprised of both visual and textual material. In everyday editorial practice, editors collected, selected, framed, bricolaged, contextualized, and interpreted images in pictorials, and nudes, especially Western nudes, were one example of visual material. Through “editorial agency,” editors conducted transediting, which included translingual practice and transvisual practice.

Editors needed to decide what images went into their products, and further designated different vocabularies and discourses to legitimate and frame nudes. This practice has been discussed in detail in Chapters Two to Four. These case studies touched upon a few important themes: *shijie* (world), *sheying* (photography), *kexue* (science), *mei* (beauty/aesthetics), *meishu/yishu* (art) and *jianmei* (health and beauty). All of these themes were eventually connected to unclothed bodies. Chapter Two shows that BYHB selected a considerable amount of French postcards (or erotic postcards), as well as photographs from a German book, Heinz von Perckhammer’s album *Edle Nacktheit in China*. Holding “disseminating knowledge” and “promoting fine arts” as its publishing goals, Feng Wuyue claimed that his sole purpose of publishing nudes was to “introduce art from around the world.” To accentuate this effect, he frequently used words from (erotic) lyrics and poems, as well as playful allusions to frame the nudes; at the same time, to describe these nudes he used terms such as “masterpiece,” “famous artwork,” or “nude study.” After determining the major visual sources of these nudes were in fact erotic postcards, I argued that the “art” that Feng described was rather self-defined; his promotion of “art” was part of taste-making and aestheticization.

Fig.5-4 Editors and Transcultural Production



In this sense, Lin Zecang, founder and editor of *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao* in Chapter Four, presented great similarities to Feng Wuyue. Following the publishing goal of “*gaoshang yule* (sophisticated entertainment),” Lin claimed that he introduced photography and nudes into both journals for educational and aesthetic reasons. By closely examining examples in both journals, I argued that “sophisticated entertainment” could also be understood as “sophisticating entertainment,” for that Lin promoted his own aesthetic judgment of entertainment, differentiating the “low” from the “high,” and the “vulgar” from the “sacred” (Bourdieuian terms). Lin Zecang was also a photographer in addition to his many other roles. Evidence shows that Lin stayed in close contact with international photographic societies (British, French, and American) and introduced and reproduced works then considered as “masterpieces” throughout the world. The sources of the reproduced Western nudes included the British yearbook *Photograms of the Year*, the German yearbook *Das deutsche Lichtbild*, the American journal *American Photography*, and Hollywood fan magazines. In addition to the emphasis on the aesthetic value in their captions, *Linglong* also frequently applied words and discourses related to *jianmei*, sports, bodybuilding, similar to the way *Liangyou* treated nudes in Fig.5-3. Chapter Four also surveyed the gender background of additional *Linglong* editors and readership. This became important for distinguishing editorially manipulated, gendered voices from actual women’s voices, and researchers should be aware that the default mode of “editorial agency” was in fact “male editorial agency.”

Together with a group of cartoonists, SHMH editor Ye Qianyu created a visually fresh type of nudes not commonly seen in other pictorials, combined with an innovative way to comment on *renti* (human bodies), in conjunction with the discourse of “racial beauty” and anthropological comparison. He selected nude images from Carl H. Stratz’s book *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibs*, stating that SHMH introduced nudes for the sake of “science and art.” The editorial style in SHMH presented a middle ground between the scientification of “art” and the aestheticization of “science.” By comparing Ye’s editorial arrangement to the original German book, I found some of Ye’s comments were creative (mis-)interpretations rather than strict translations that followed the original German text. These (mis-)interpretations showed the editorial creativity in transcultural production on the one hand; on

the other hand, the arbitrariness and inaccuracy of such selective translations revealed the limitation of the “science” that SHMH promoted.

After editors decided what images and texts should appear in pictorials, they needed to use their editorial skills to arrange the layout of the pictorials. When various words and images appeared in the same pictorial, they inevitably became part of the whole sign system, interacting with each other. As shown in the diagram (Fig.5-4), Chinese words, no matter from which sources they had been translated, formed a linguistic semiotic resource system, and intertextuality could exist between word A and word B. Similarly, when images from diverse sources, such as traditional Chinese paintings or imported foreign materials, appeared in a pictorial, intertextuality could exist between any two images. These connections were further complicated through editorial agency, because editors could select either word A or B to interpret image A or B. This is precisely what happened in the three examples I show at the very beginning of this conclusion, where editors used three sets of vocabularies and discourses to frame the same image. Further examples could be found in Chapter Four where editors used different discourses to frame the same nude photograph in *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao*, targeting audiences of different gender constitution. By “transediting” foreign images such as nudes, editors eventually turned a pictorial into a form of transcultural product. In turn, the semantic and visual meanings of *luoti*/unclothed bodies developed in Chinese contexts over time.

It is my hope that the analysis on the circulation of nudes in popular media, editors and editorial practice, as well as pictorials as transcultural products, can contribute to a better understanding of early Republican print culture. By using a large amount of materials from those long ignored examples of “lowbrow” culture, Chinese or “Western,” I also hope to have demonstrated the potential of these types of materials, and how they could help us grasp the actual process of transculturation in popular culture.

From the 1910s to 1930s, visual representations of nudes survived moral panics, public debates, and governmental censorship. The media, on the one hand, was occupied by voyeuristic reports and dramatic public debates on *luoti hua* and *mote'er* in the context of institutional

establishment of Western-style painting; on the other hand, the media tried all possible ways to attract readers by including nude images. Mixing nationalism, eugenics and racial “science,” *jianmei* gradually became the umbrella term and discourse to legitimate nudes from the late 1920s, evidenced by numerous essays and images. In this context, at least thirteen kinds of illustrated magazines were named after variations of *jianmei*, appearing in this booming market between the 1930s and 1940s. Some examples include *Jian er mei yingkan* 健而美影刊 (“Emily Portrait Voice,” 1932), *Jianmei huakan* 健美畫刊 (Health and Beauty Pictorial, 1932-1933), *Jianmei yuekan* 健美月刊 (Health and Beauty Monthly, 1934-1935), and *Jianmei yu yishu* 健美與藝術 (Health, Beauty and Arts, 1935-1936). Each journal displayed a large amount of Western female nudes, exhibiting them as perfect examples to illustrate the concept of “health and beauty.”

There are three aspects my research has touched upon, but require future inquiry. One is the financial and marketing aspects of this cultural phenomenon. No matter how editors positioned, created phrases for, and legitimated the nude images, the economic motivation behind them needs to be fully considered. I have shown some evidence in the case studies. Lin Zecang initiated the reform of *Sheying huabao* to cope with the financial crisis, and one of the guidelines was “to advocate modern physical robust/healthy beauty of human bodies.” Another two pictorials, BYHB and SHMH, also compiled nudes from previous publications into books. The fact that more than a dozen magazines of *jianmei* were newly founded indicates the existence of a huge market for the consumption of nudes. We could further ask the ways in which editors operated a pictorial and survived the print market. Another aspect is the role of Japanese and French sources in the cultural flow. The terms and Chinese books presented in Chapter One often point to their Japanese source. I have documented the connections found so far, but it requires more research to evaluate Japan’s role. In later chapters, the identified sources of nudes do not show any connection to Japanese materials, and this situation is to be surveyed and questioned. Likewise, French popular journals might have played a more important role in the global circulation of nudes, particularly in the case of BYHB, but possibly also *Linglong* and *Sheying huabao*. We will have to wait for the discovery of new materials. Censorship is

the third aspect to be mentioned. I have shown in Chapter Three that SHMH editors experienced a lawsuit because of publishing nude images, which they eventually won. It is significant to explore more of the official attitude towards the circulation of nudes, and how the actual administrative practice made an impact on editorial strategies. Moreover, scope of my research is up to the year of 1933, mainly because nudes almost collectively vanished in the major pictorials after the start of New Life Movement. Yet, we have little knowledge of what exactly the connection was between the political campaign and the fall of the culture of nudes in print media. Although nudes still occasionally appeared in pictorials after 1934/1935, it was no longer at the scale as the period I have surveyed, and, in general, nudes were significantly less discussed.

The history of nudes in popular media from the 1940s to now remains understudied, although art historians have performed research, exploring the artistic practice of nude paintings and life drawings in the art academies in the first three decades of PRC history.⁶¹⁰ Public circulation of nudes were strictly limited due to cultural and ideological control; yet some art academies still offered courses to teach life drawing by using nude models. During the Socialist Education Movement (Nov. 1964-Aug. 1965), the issue of using nude models caused a great debate. The year of 1965 then marked the official ending of the classroom use of nude models, announced by the Ministry of Culture. The nude remained banned until 1977. The public display of nude figures in paintings would have to wait until after the Cultural Revolution, when Yuan Yunsheng's 袁運生 *Water Splashing Festival* appeared on the wall at Beijing International Airport in 1979. In the next year, however, it was considered obscene by some party authorities, and the unclothed women were boarded over.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ Julia Frances Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979* (University of California Press, 1994), 311-313.

⁶¹¹ Andrews, *ibid.*, 390-392.

The desire and curiosity for nudes never ceased. Once the states' control turned looser, the publishing of nudes boomed in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. For example, Chen Zui's 陳醉 book *Luoti yishu lun* 裸體藝術論 (On Art of Nudity) was published in 1987, and the first edition sold 200,000 copies.⁶¹² One year later, the first all nude exhibition opened in Beijing, and it attracted 270,000 visitors in eighteen days.⁶¹³ These publications and activities have been gradually accepted in recent art history writings. In contrast, we know little about other publications that have been considered popular, commercial, obscene, or simply "low" within art history over the last three decades. This group of publications included reproductions of nudes that also appeared in early Republican periodicals. For example, Stratz' books of racial beauty were introduced in a 1993 book entitled "*Luoshen*" *zai Zhongguo* "裸神"在中國 ("Goddess of Nudity" in China).⁶¹⁴ Eight years later, Stratz's book *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (the 16th edition, 1922) was translated into Chinese, and published under the title *Shijie nüxing renti mei* 世界女性人體美 ("Female Physical Beauty of World Nationalities") in 2001. The original images in Stratz's book were juxtaposed with other contemporary "famous paintings" and "art photographs from the world."⁶¹⁵ Not only did publishers desire nudes included in historical books, but also in those nudes published in historical periodicals. A Tianjin publishing house released a book entitled *Ershi shiji sanshi niandai xiyang nüti* 二十世紀三十年代西洋女體 (Western Female Bodies in the 1930s) in 2002. Without any explanation of the source materials, it reproduced almost all the postcard-style Western nudes

⁶¹² "Chen Zui *Luoti yishu lun* deng shougao juanxian xiandai wenxueguan," 陳醉《裸體藝術論》等手稿捐獻現代文學館 (<http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/RS/1244111.htm> accessed on Nov. 11, 2014).

⁶¹³ Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu lishi yanjiu* 20世紀中國美術教育歷史研究 (Qinghua daxue chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2006), 228-229.

⁶¹⁴ Dong Hongyou 董宏猷, and Li Xiaoming 李小明, "*Luoshen*" *zai Zhongguo* "裸神"在中國 ("Goddess of Nudity" in China) (Haikou: Nanhai chuban gongsi, 1993).

⁶¹⁵ Xiao Yang 蕭揚 trans. ed. *Shijie nüxing renti mei* 世界女性人體美 ("Female Physical Beauty of World Nationalities") (Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe, 2001.)

from BYHB.⁶¹⁶ All these publications disclosed intimate connections between recent happenings and the cultural phenomenon in the early Republican history, in spite of the countless political movements in between.

The past, even if it is an unknown past, has never really passed.

⁶¹⁶ Zhong Nianren ed., *Ershi shiji sanshi niandai xiyang nüti* 二十世紀三十年代西洋女體 (Western Female Bodies in the 1930s), in the series of “Lao ziliao congshu” 老資料叢書 (Book Series of Old Materials) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2002).

Bibliography

Primary Source Materials

I. Newspapers and Periodicals

Chinese:

- Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (“The Pei-yang Pictorial News”). Tianjin, 1926-1937. Reprint. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985. University of Heidelberg.
- Banyue* 半月 (“The Half Moon Journal”). Shanghai, 1921-1925. Harvard-Yenching Library.
- Changshi huabao* 常識畫報 (“*Le Vulgarisateur*”) November 1928-January 1929. Reprint. *Minguo huabao huibian Tianjin juan* 民國畫報彙編 天津卷 一 (*Comprehensive Pictorials in Republican China: Tianjin Vol.I*). Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2007). Tianjin Library.
- Diansheng ribao* 電聲日報 (Movietone). 1932-1933. University of Heidelberg.
- Liangyou* 良友 (“The Young Companion”). Shanghai, 1926-1945. Reprint. University of Heidelberg.
- Minguo ribao* 民國日報 (Republic Daily). Guangzhou, 1923-36. Shanghai Library.
- Jian'ermei yingkan* 健而美影刊 (“Emily Portrait Voice”). Shanghai, 1932. Shanghai library.
- Jianmei huakan* 健美畫刊(Health and Beauty Pictorial), 1932-1933. Shanghai library.
- Jianmei yuekan* 健美月刊 (Health and Beauty Monthly). Shanghai library.
- Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (The Educational Review). Shanghai, 1914-1919. Harvard-Yenching Library.
- Linglong* 玲瓏 (“Linloon Magazine”). Shanghai, 1931-1937. University of Heidelberg, Columbia University Library.
- Meiyu* 眉語 (Eyebrow Talk). Shanghai, 1914-1916. Shanghai Library; reprint, SOAS.
- Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報 (“Pictorial Shanghai”). Shanghai, 1925.06.06-1933, 847 Issues, Shanghai Library. Microfilm, University of Heidelberg.
- Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (“Shanghai Sketch”). Shanghai, 1928-1930. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1996. University of Heidelberg; Dacheng.
- Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報 (“Pictorial Weekly”, abbr. SYHB). Shanghai, 1925-1937. Shanghai Library; University of Heidelberg.
- Tianjin Shangbao tuhua zhoukan* 天津商報圖畫周刊 (Tientsin Commercial Daily News Pictorial Weekly). Tianjin, 1930-. Tianjin Library.

Other languages:

- American Photography*, 1926-1933 checked. McGill University Library.
- Das Deutsche Lichtbild* 1927-1938. Private collection.
- Photograms of the Year. London, 1925-1936 were checked. Private collection.

II. Archival Documents

- Zhang Zupei 張祖培. “Liu san shiliao” 六三史料 (Historical Materials of the June Third Incident). In *Guanghua daxue er shi wu zhounian jinian tekan* 光華大學二十五週年紀念特刊 1925-1950 (June 3, 1950), 14-16. (Shanghai Municipal Archive: U124-0-38).

“Shanghaishi gong’anju hukou dengji biao” 上海市公安局靜安分局石門二路派出所戶口登記表 (Household Registration Form Preserved by Shimenerlu Local Police Station, Jing’an District, Shanghai).

III. Monographs

- Doolittle, Justus. *A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language* 英華萃林韻府. Foochow: Rozario, Marcal, and Company, 1872.
- Giles, Herbert A. *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892.
- Guihong 歸鴻. *Ouzhou zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen* 歐洲之新生活寫真 (Depiction of European New Life). Shanghai: Ziran shuju, 1931. Reprint. Beijing: Beijing zhongxian tuofang keji fazhan youxian gongsi, 2007.
- He Shengnai 賀聖鼐 and Lai Yanyu 賴彥于. *Jindai yinshushu* 近代印刷術. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934. Reprinted, 1947.
- Huang, Shifu 黃士復 and Tie Jiang 江鈇 eds. *A Comprehensive English-Chinese Dictionary* 綜合英漢大辭典. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1927.
- Ji Zhiren 季志仁, trans. *Nüxing mei* 女性美 *La Beauté Féminine* (The Feminine Beauty). Shanghai: 北新書局, 1926. Originally by Mme. Héline Gaboriau, *Les Trois âges de la femme*. Paris: 1923.
- Li Yuyi 李寓一. *Luoti yishu tan* 裸體藝術談 (Talks on the Art of the Nudity). Shanghai: Xiandai shuju 現代書局, 1928.
- Lobscheid, W. *English and Chinese Dictionary with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* 英華字典, part III. Hong Kong: Printed and published at the *Daily Press* office, Wyndham Street, 1868.
- Mathews, R.H. ed. *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Shanghai: Inland Mission and Presbyterian Mission Press, 1931.
- Medhurst, Walter Henry. *Chinese and English Dictionary: Containing All the Words in the Chinese Imperial Dictionary, Arranged According to the Radicals, Vol. II*. Batavia: Printed at Parapattan, 1843.
- Meys, Marcel. *Xiyang nüxing quxian mei* 西洋女性曲線美 “Open Air Studies” (Beauty of Western Females’ Curves). Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1928.
- Morrison, Robert. *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts*. Macao: Printed at the Honorable East India Company’s Press, by P.P. Thoms, 1822.
- Perckhammer, Heinz von. *Edle Nacktheit in China*. Berlin: Eigenbrödler-Verlag, 1928.
- Perckhammer, Heinz von. *The Culture of the Nude in China*. Berlin: Eigenbrödler-Verlag, 1928.
- Perckhammer, Heinz von. *China and the Chinese*. London: Routledge, 1931.
- Sa Longding 薩納丁 (Roger Salardenne), and Luo Yayi 羅亞逸 (Louis Charles Royer). *Deren zhi xin shenghuo xiezhen* 德人之新生活寫真 (Depiction of German New Life). Translated by Guihong 歸鴻. Shanghai: Taidong shuju, 1931.
- Shanghai ai mei she 上海愛美社, ed. *Luoti mei zhi yanjiu* 裸體美之研究 (A Study on the Beauty of Unclothed Bodies). Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1925.
- Shao Wuzhai 邵無齋, Chai Pinlu 柴聘陸, and Xue Zhiying 薛志英 eds., *Shijie Renti Sheying Mingzuo* 世界人體攝影名作 (Masterpieces of Nude Photography in the World). Shanghai: Weimeishe, 1936.
- Shuai nüshi 淑愛女士 ed. *Nüxing mei* 女性美 (On Feminine Beauty). Shanghai: Meiyi shuju, 1931.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Die Frauen auf Java – eine gynäkologische Studie*. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1897.

- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers*. 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1898.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Die Frauenkleidung und ihre natürliche Entwicklung*. 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1900.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (The Racial Beauty of Females). 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1901.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Die Körperformen in Kunst und Leben der Japaner*. 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1902. The 4th Edition. Stuttgart: Enke, 1925.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Der Körper des Kindes und seine Pflege*. 1st edition. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1903.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Was sind Juden? Eine ethnographisch-anthropologische Studie*. Vienna: Verlag F. Tempsky; Leipzig: Verlag G. Freytag, 1903.
- Stratz, Carl Heinrich. *Lebensalter und Geschlechter*. Stuttgart: Verlag F. Enke, 1926.
- Yu Daozhen 郁道鍼. *Luoti yundong lun* 裸體運動論 (On Nudism). Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1933.
- Yu Jifan 俞寄凡. *Renti mei zhi yanjiu* 人體美之研究 (A Study on Physical Beauty). Shanghai: Shenbao yuekan she 申報月刊社, 1933.
- Yu Jifan 俞寄凡. *Nixing renti mei yu kexue meirong fa* 女性人體美與科學美容法 (Feminine Physical Beauty and Scientific Methods of Beauty Care). Shanghai: Xinya shudian, 1937.
- Zhang Jianwen 張建文. *Nixing renti mei* 女性人體美 (The Beauty of Female Bodies). Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1928.
- Zhang, Pengyun (Tsang, O.Z.) 張鵬雲. *A Complete Chinese-English Dictionary* 漢英大辭典. Shanghai: The Republican Press, 1929.
- Zheng Wenbin 鄭吻忖. *Renti mei* 人體美 (Beauty of Human Bodies). Shanghai: Guanghua shuju, 1927. Reprint in 1929.

IV. Cited Journal Articles

- “Canshan shengshui” 殘山剩水. *Minxu ribao* 民吁日報, no. 34 (Nov. 5, 1909).
- Ailisi 靄理思 (Havelock Ellis), Peng Zhaoliang tran. “Shijue yu xingmei de guanxi” 视觉与性美的关系 (Relations between Visuality and Sexual Aesthetics). *Xin wenhua* 1 no.1 (Dec. 1926): 22-23.
- Aju 阿菊. *Dianying de mote'er* 電影的模特兒 (The Model/Pattern of Movies), *Xinyue* 新月 1, no.2 (1925): 107.
- Baoheng 保衡. “Wo de xin yule - huihua mingxin pian zhi souji” 我的新娛樂——繪畫明信片之蒐集 (My New Entertainment: Collecting Postcards of Paintings). *Shenbao Supplement* (Dec. 19, 1926), 1.
- Bao, Tianxiao 包天笑. “Aishen zhi moxing” 愛神之模型 (The Model of Love Goddess), *Xingqi* 星期, no.12. 1922.
- Beifeng 北風. *Luoti* 裸體, *Minguo ribao*, November 2, 1927, 11.
- Bigong 筆公 (Feng Wuyue). “Luoti hua wenti” 裸體畫問題 (The Nude Image Question). *BYHB* 63 (Feb. 19, 1927), 3.
- Bigong. “San zhou li yu” 三週例語 (Introductory Words on our Third Anniversary). *BYHB* 341 (July 7, 1929), 2.

- Bianzhe 編者。"Beihua zhenzheng jiazhi zhi suozaì" 北畫真正價值之所在 (The Genuine Value of *Pei-yang Pictorial News*). BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928), 3.
- Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培。"Yi meiyu dai zongjiao" 以美育代宗教 (Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education). *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth) vol.3, no.6 (August 1917). Reprinted in *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu wenxuan, Shangjuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選, 上卷 (Selected Writings on Art in China in the Twentieth Century, Vol. I), edited by Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 and Shui Zhongtian 水中天, 15-20. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999. Translated by Julia F. Andrews. In *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945*, edited by Kirk A. Denton, 182-189. Stanford and California: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Cai Yuanpei. "Yangcheng youmei gaoshang sixiang: zai Shanghai Chengdong nüxue yanshuo ci" 養成優美高尚思想——在上海城東女學演說詞 (Cultivating Elegant and Sophisticated Thoughts—A Speech at Shanghai East City Girls' School). In Nie Zhenbin ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meixue mingjia wencong: Cai Yuanpei juan* 中國現代美學名家文叢：蔡元培卷, 25-28. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2009. Originally published in 1913.
- Cai Yuanpei. "Zai Aidingbao Zhongguo xueshenghui ji xueshu yanjiuhui huanyinghui yanshuoci" 在愛丁堡中國學生會及學術研究會歡迎會演說詞 (A Speech at the Reception held by Edinburgh Chinese Students' Union and Research Associate). In Nie Zhenbin ed., *Zhongguo xiandai meixue mingjia wencong: Cai Yuanpei juan* 中國現代美學名家文叢：蔡元培卷, 77. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2009. Originally published in *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊 (1921).
- Fan Jugao 范菊高。"Huaji de jiewen tupian" 滑稽的接吻畫片 (Comical Pictures of Kissing). *Banyue* 半月 (Half Moon Journal) 2, no.16 (1923).
- Gao Jianhua 高劍華。"Luoti meiren yu" 裸體美人語 (Words from a Naked Beauty). *Meiyu* 1, no. 4 (1915), 1-6. *Duanpian xiaoshuo* section.
- Guai'an 怪廠。"Mou huabao zhi dafaisuowen" 某畫報之答非所問 (An Irrelevant Answer by a Certain Pictorial). *Changshi huabao* 1 no.14 (Jan. 21, 1929), 62.
- Heke 鶴客。"Ru de weifeng" 乳的威風 (The Prestige of Breasts). BYHB 108 (July 30, 1927), 3.
- Huang Tianpeng 黃天鵬。"Wushinian lai huabao zhi bianqian" 五十年來畫報之變遷 (The Transformation of Pictorials over Fifty Years), *Liangyou* 49 (Aug. 1930), 36-37.
- Jian'an 健齋。"Di er nian" 第二年 (The Second Year). BYHB 102 (July 9, 1927), 3.
- Jizhe 記者。"Yao shuo de ji ju hua" 要說的幾句話 (A Few Words I Want to Say). BYHB 1 (July 7, 1926), 2.
- Jizhe. "Juan shou yu" 卷首語 (Inaugural Words of the Volume). BYHB 251 (Dec. 1, 1928), 2.
- Jizhe. "Si zhounian zhiyu" 四周年致語 (On the Fourth Anniversary). BYHB 495 (July 7, 1930), 2.
- Lian 蓮。"Guan xiren suo she Zhongguo luoying zhi" 觀西人所攝中國裸影誌 (Notes on Viewing Chinese Nudes Photographed by a Westerner). BYHB 2 (July 10, 1926), 3.
- Lin Handa 林漢達。"Luoti yu yishu" 裸體與藝術 (Nudity and Arts). In *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu wenxuan, Shangjuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選 上卷 (Selected Writings on Art in China in the Twentieth Century, Vol. I), edited by Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 and Shui Zhongtian 水中天, 191-194. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999. Originally published in *Wenhua huabao* 文華畫報 1 (August, 1929).
- Lin Lezhi 林樂知 (Young John Allen), Fan Wei 范禕 trans. "Zhineng conghua: mingxin pian yuanliu" 智能叢話：明信片源流 (Intellectual Talks: the Origins of Postcards). *Review of the Times* (*Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報) vol.193 (1905).

- Lin Ying 林英. “Gaoshang yule juti zuzhi zhi jianyi” 高尚娛樂具體組織之建議 (Suggestions on a Specific Organization of Sophisticated Entertainment). SYHB vol.4 no.168 (Dec. 8, 1928), 138.
- Lin Zecang. “Sanhe gongsi shiwu zhounian jinian zhi huigu” 三和公司十五週年紀念之回顧 (Looking Back on San Ho Company to Commemorate its Fifteenth Anniversary). *Diansheng* vol.6, no.1 (Jan. 1, 1937), 79-81.
- _____. “Huabao chao zhi huigu” 畫報潮之回顧 (A Retrospect of the Boom of Pictorials). SYHB vol.1 no.50 (June 1, 1926), 395.
- _____. “Huabao chao zhi chongxing” 畫報潮之重興 (The Revival of the Boom of Pictorials), SYHB vol.5 no.250 (Aug. 9, 1930), 394.
- Lin Zemin. “Canguan Yingguo huangjia sheying xuehui ji” 參觀英國皇家攝影學會記 (A Visit to the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain). SYHB 6, no.271 (Jan. 10, 1931), 167.
- Liu, Lingcang 劉凌滄. “Zhongguo huabao zhi huigu” 中國畫報之回顧 (A Retrospect of Chinese Pictorials). BYHB 888 (Jan. 31, 1933), 2.
- Lu Xun. “You tianru” 憂天乳 (Concerns about Natural Breasts). In *Yusi* 語絲 (Thread of Talk) 152 (Oct. 8, 1927). Reprinted in *Lu Xun quanji: Eryi ji* 魯迅全集: 而已集 (Complete Works of Lu Xun: And That's That). Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1981.
- Ni Yide 倪貽德. “Lun luoti yishu” 論裸體藝術 (On Arts of Nudity). In *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu wenxuan, Shangjuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選 上卷 (Selected Writings on Art in China in the Twentieth Century, Vol. I), edited by Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 and Shui Zhongtian 水中天, 123-129. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999. Originally published in *Yishu mantan* 藝術漫談 (Radom Talks on Arts), Shanghai: Guanghua shuju, 1928.
- Mozhu 墨珠. “Tianru yundong” 天乳運動 (The Natural Breasts Movement). BYHB 108 (July 30, 1927), 3.
- Qijin 泣董. “Luoti hua yu luoti mei” 裸體畫與裸體美 (Nude Paintings and the Beauty of Naked Bodies). *Yishujie zhoukan* 藝術界週刊 no. 4 (February 12, 1927): 10-12.
- QinWen 欽文. “Mote'er” 模特兒 (A Model), *Chenbao fukan* 晨報副刊 (Supplement to *Chenbao*), (Jan. 6, 1924), 3.
- Sa Kongliao 薩空了. “Wushinian lai zhongguo huabao zhi sange shiqi” 五十年來中國畫報之三個時期 (Three Phases of Chinese Pictorials over Fifty Years). In *Sakongliao wenji* 薩空了文集, edited by *Shanghai tushuguan zhongguo wenhua mingren shougaoguan* 365-371. Shanghai: shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2002.
- Tang, Juan 唐雋. “Luoti hua yu luoti zhaopian” 裸體畫與裸體照片 (Nude Paintings and Nude Photographs). *Fine Arts* 美術 2, no. 1 (March 31, 1920), 68-69.
- Tianxiao 天笑 (Bao Tianxiao). “Mote'er zishu” 模特兒自述 (An Account in a Model's Own Words), *Xinyue* 新月 1, no. 1 (1925), 23-30.
- Wang Xiaoyin 王小隱. “Yinian yilai” 一年以來 (The Past Year). BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 2.
- Wang, Tongzhao 王統照. “Chensi” 沉思 (Deep Meditation). *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (The Short Story Magazine) 2, no.1 (Jan. 11, 1921): 23-27.
- Wuyue 武越 (Feng Wuyue). “Huabao tan, zhong” 畫報談 中 (On Pictorials II). BYHB 19 (Sept. 8, 1926), 2.
- _____. “Bigong ziji” 筆公自記 (Note by Bigong). BYHB 101 (July 6, 1927), 5.
- _____. “The Past and the Future” (*Guoqu weilai* 過去未來). BYHB 101 (July 7, 1927), 2.

- Xiong Foxi 熊佛西. "Luoti" 裸體 (Unclothed Bodies). *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 21, no.11 (November 10, 1930): 1627-1630. Reprinted in *Foxi xiju disanji* 佛西戲劇第三集 (The Third Volume of Foxi's Scenarios). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933.
- Xiong Foxi 熊佛西. "Mote'er" 模特兒 (A Model), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (The Short Story Magazine) 22, no.1 (Jan. 10, 1931): 121-129. Written in the summer of 1930.
- Yexin 夜心. "Zhu beihua qizhounian jinian" 祝北畫七週年紀念 (Congratulations at BYHB's Seventh Anniversary). BYHB 956 (July 7, 1933): 2.
- Yiwan luzhu 憶婉盧主. "Dongfang zhi mei" 東方之美 (Oriental Beauty). BYHB 201 (July 7, 1928): 6.
- Yunruo 雲若. "Beihua shinian" 北畫十年 (Ten Years of *Pei-yang Pictorial News*). BYHB 1422 (July 7, 1936), 11.
- Zha Shiyuan 查士元. "Nüxing xingti zhi meihua" 女性形體之美化 (The Beautification of Female Bodies). *Yishujie zhoukan* 3 (February 5, 1927): 11-15.
- Zhang Ailing. "Tan nüren" 談女人 (On Women). *Tiandi* 天地 6 (March 1944): 16.
- Zhang, Jingsheng. "Luoti yanjiu" 裸體研究 ("A Study on *Luoti*"). In *New Culture* (新文化) 1 (December, 1926): 52-68.
- Zhang, Jingsheng. "Da nai fuxing" 大奶復興 (Reviving Big Breasts). *New Culture* (新文化) 5 (1927): 1-7.
- Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑. "Banyue zhi yinian huigu" 半月之一年回顧 (Looking Back at the First Year of the Half Moon Journal). *Banyue* 半月 vol.2 no.8 (1922): 1-12.

Secondary literature

I. Monographs

- Erotic French Postcards: From Alexandre Dupouy's Collection*. Paris; New York: Flammarion; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli International Publications, 2009.
- Erotische Postkarte*. Berlin: Lebeck, Robert Collection, 1988.
- Nude 1925*. New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1978.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- _____. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Andrews, Julia Frances. *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*. University of California Press, 1994.
- Bartosch, Günter. *Der Akt von Damals: Die Erotik in der frühen Photographie: aus der privaten Sammlung von Ernst und Günter Bartosch*. München; Berlin: Herbig, 1976.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. London: Penguin, 2008.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972.
- Bevan Paul. "Manhua Artists in Shanghai 1926-1938: From Art for Art's Sake to Wartime Propaganda." PhD Thesis, 2012, SOAS, University of London.
- Bi Keguan 畢克官. *Zhongguo manhua shihua 中國漫畫史話* (Talks on the History of Chinese Sketches). Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- _____. and Huang Yuanlin 黃遠林. *Zhongguo manhua shi 中國漫畫史* (History of Chinese Sketches). Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1986.
- _____. *Manhua de huayuhua: bainian manhua jianwen lu 漫畫的話與畫：百年漫畫見聞錄* (Words and Pictures of Sketches: A Record of One Hundred Years of Sketches). Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2002.
- Boorman, Howard L. ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge, 1984.
- _____. *The Field of Cultural Production*. Edited by Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Byron, John. *Portrait of a Chinese Paradise: Erotica and Sexual Customs of the Late Qing Period*. London: Quartet Books, 1987.
- Chu Chi-Shuan (Qiu Zhixuan) 邱稚亘. "Liudong de jiangjie: yi manhua wei li kan Minchu shanghai gaojie yu tongsu meishu de fenlei yu jiexian wenti" 流動的疆界:以漫畫為例看民初上海高階與通俗美術的分類與界線問題 (Flowing Boundaries: on Categorization and Barriers of High and Popular Art in the Early Republican Era of China Shanghai). MA thesis, National Central University, Taiwan, 2004.
- Clark, Kenneth. *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, Bollingen Series, 35. New York: Pantheon Books, 1956.
- Daum, Patrick, F. Ribemont, and Phillip Prodger. *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888-1918*. London: Merrell, 2006.
- Denton, Kirk A., and Michel Hockx, eds. *Literary Societies of Republican China*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008.

- Dikötter, Frank. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China/Jindai zhongguo zhi zhongzu guannian* 近代中國之種族觀念. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Dikötter, Frank. *Sex, Culture, and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period*. [性, 文化與現代化]. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995.
- Dong Hongyou 董宏猷, and Li Xiaoming 李小明. "Luoshen" zai Zhongguo "裸神"在中國 ("Goddess of Nudity" in China). Haikou: Nanhai chuban gongsi, 1993.
- Dupouy, Alexandre. *Erotic French Postcard: From Alexandre Dupouy's Collection*. Paris; New York: Flammarion; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli International Publications, 2009.
- Erhart, Renate, and Gerd Kaminski, eds. *Paizhao. Das Alte China in der Linse österreichischer Fotografen*, no. 54. Wien: Berichte des österreichischen Instituts für China- und Südostasienforschung, 2008.
- Field, Andrew David. *Shanghai's Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919-1954*. Chinese University Press, 2010.
- Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Fruehauf, Heinrich Otmar. *Urban Exoticism in Modern Chinese Literature, 1910-1933*. University of Chicago, 1990. Ph.D Thesis.
- Gimpel, Denise. *Lost voices of modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.
- Griffon, Jules. *The Golden Years: Masterpieces of the Erotic Postcard*. Panorama City, CA: Helios Press, 1978.
- Gulik, Robert Hans van. *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period, with an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B.C. 206-A.D. 1644*. Tokyo, 1951.
- Gulik, Robert Hans van. *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from Ca. 1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.
- Hu, Zhichuan 胡志川, Ma Yunzeng 馬運增 eds. *Zhongguo sheying shi 1840 - 1937* 中國攝影史 (History of Photography in China 1840-1937). Beijing: Zhongguo sheying chuban she, 1987.
- Hammond, Paul. *French Undressing: Naughty Postcards from 1900 to 1920*. London: Bloomsbury Books, 1988.
- Hanson, Dian. *Dian Hanson's the History of Girly Magazines: 1900-1969*. Cologne [etc.]: Taschen, 2006.
- . *History of Men's Magazines Vol. 1*. Illustrated edition. Taschen Verlag, 2004.
- Georgieff, Andrey. *Nacktheit Und Kultur: Adolf Koch Und Die Proletarische Freikörperkultur*, Passagen Kulturwissenschaften. Wien: Passagen, 2005.
- Han Hongxing 韓紅星. *Yi bao yi tiantang: Beiyang huabao guanggao yanjiu* 一報一天堂: 《北洋畫報》廣告研究 (A Pictorial, a Heaven: A Study on Advertisements in *Pei-yang Pictorial News*). Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2012.
- Hau, Michael. *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Hockx, Michel. *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003.
- ed. *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1999.

- Huang Xuelei. *Shanghai Filmmaking: Crossing Borders, Connecting to the Globe, 1922-1938*. BRILL, 2014.
- Judge, Joan. *Print and Politics: Shibao and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Jullien, François. *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Klinger, D. M. *Die Frühzeit der Erotischen Fotografie und Postkarten /The Early Period of Erotic Photography and Postcards, vol.5*. Nürnberg: DMK-Verlags-GmbH, 1984.
- Koetzle, Hans-Michael and Margie Mounier. *1000 Nudes: Uwe Scheid Collection*. Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1994.
- Köhler, Michael, ed. *Das Aktfoto Ansichten vom Körper im Fotograf. Zeitalter: Ästhetik, Geschichte, Ideologie*. München: Bucher, 1985.
- Köhler, Michael ed. *The Body Exposed: Views of the Body, 150 Years of the Nude in Photography*. Zurich: Edition Stemmler, 1995.
- Kuo, Jason C., ed. *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s*. Washington, D.C.: New Academia Pub., 2007.
- Laing, Ellen Johnston. *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Shanghai*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Lebeck, Robert. *Playgirls von Damals*. Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunikation, 1978.
- Lee Hak Keung 李克強. *Manhua hui yue: Shanghai manhua shiqi Ye Qianyu de zuopin ji qi shouzhong 1928-1930 漫畫繪閱:《上海漫畫》時期葉淺予的作品及其受眾, 1928-1930 (Ye Qianyu's Cartoons and His Readers in Shanghai Sketch, 1928-1930)*. MA thesis, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2008.
- Lee, Leo Ou-Fan. *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Leppert, Richard D. *The Nude: The Cultural Rhetoric of the Body in the Art of Western Modernity*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2007.
- Lewinski, Jorge. *The Naked and the Nude: a History of Nude Photography*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987.
- Liu, Lydia He. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. *The Body: Images of the Nude*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. *An Introduction to Visual Culture (2nd edition)*. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Mittler, Barbara. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Asia Center, 2004.
- Nead, Lynda. *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Nørgaard, Erik. *With Love: The Erotic Postcard*. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1969.
- Ouellette, William, and Barbara Mildred Jones. *Erotic Postcards*. New York: Excalibur Books, 1977.
- Pan, Lynn. *Shanghai Style: Art and Design between the Wars*. South San Francisco: Long River Press, 2008.

- Pang, Laikwan. *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-Wing Cinema Movement, 1932-1937*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.
- Pang, Laikwan. *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Pease, Allison. *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Pichler, Florian. *Südtirol in alten Lichtbildern. Die Anfänge der Photographie in Südtirol und die ältesten Photographen*. Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1979.
- Rabinowitz, Paula. *Black & White & Noir*. Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Reed, Christopher A. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004.
- Richter, Peter-Cornell. *Nude Photography: Masterpiece from the Past 150 Years*. Munich: Prestel, 1998.
- Rogaski, Ruth. *Hygienic Modernity: Meaning of Health and Disease in Treaty-port China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Ross, Chad. *Naked Germany: Health, Race and the Nation*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005.
- Saunders, Gill. *The Nude: A New Perspective*. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.
- Shanfung 山風 ed. *Ye Qianyu zixu 葉淺予自敘 (Ye Qianyu Memoirs)*. Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 1997.
- Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館. *Shanghai tushuguan guancang jinxiandai zhongwen qikan zongmu*, edited by Zhu Junzhou. 1st ed. Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2004.
- Shih, Shu-mei. *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China 1917-1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Slade, Joseph. *Pornography and Sexual Representation: A Reference Guide*. Vol. II. Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Slide, Anthony. *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers*. Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2010.
- Smith, Alison. *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality, and Art*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Stevens, Martin. *French Postcards: Album of Vintage Erotica*. New York: Universe, 2006.
- Straw, Will. *Cyanide and Sin: Visualizing Crime in 50s America*. New York: PPP Editions, 2006.
- Toepfer, Karl Eric. *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture, 1910-1935*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Wang, Fei-Hsien. "Creating New Order in the Knowledge Economy: The Curious Journey of Copyright in China, 1868--1937." Ph.D., The University of Chicago, 2012.
- Welsch, Wolfgang. "Transculturality--The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today." In *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, edited by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, 194--213. London: Sage, 1999.
- Wu Hao 吳昊. *Duhui yunshang: Xishuo Zhongguo funü fushi yu shenti geming 1911-1935 都會雲裳：細說中國婦女服飾與身體革命，1911-1935 Splendid Clothes in Metropolis: on the Revolution of Chinese Women's Clothes and Bodies (1911-1935)*. Hong Kong: Sanlian chubanshe, 2006.
- Yeh, Catherine Vance. *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.

- Xiao Yang 蕭揚 trans. ed. *Shijie nüxing renti mei* 世界女性人體美 (“Female Physical Beauty of World Nationalities”). Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe, 2001.
- Xu, Xiaoqun. *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912-1937*. Cambridge modern China series. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Xu, Youchun 徐友春 ed. *Minguo renwu da cidian* 民國人物大辭典 (Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary of the Republican Period). Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2007.
- Yan Juanying 顏娟英. *Shanghai meishu fengyun – 1872-1949 Shenbao yishu ziliao tiaomu suoyin* 上海美術風雲——1872–1949 申報藝術資料條目索引 (The Ever-Changing Shanghai Art World: Index of Art News in Shenbao 1872–1949). Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2006.
- Yeh, Catherine Vance. *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.
- Ye, Xiaoqing. *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2003.
- Zarrow, Peter Gue. *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*. Asia’s transformations. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Zhang Jingsheng 張競生. *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* 張競生文集 (Zhang Jingsheng Anthology). Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1998.
- Zhang Peizhong 張培忠. *Wenyao yu xianzhi* 文妖與先知 (Literary Wizard and Prophet: Biography of Zhang Jingsheng). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008.
- Zhu Junzhou, and Shanghai tu shu guan, eds. *Shanghai Tushuguan Guancang Jin Xian Dai Zhongwen Qikan Zongmu* 上海圖書館館藏近現代中文期刊總目 (Catalog of Holdings of Modern Chinese Periodicals in the Shanghai Library). 1st ed. Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe, 2004.
- Zhu Junzhou. *Tu jian bainian wenxian: Wanqing Minguo nianjian huabao yuanliu tedian tanjiu* 圖鑑百年文獻：晚清民國年間畫報源流特點探究. Taipei: Airiti Press Inc, 2012.
- Zhong Nianren ed., *Ershi shiji sanshi niandai xiyang nüti* 二十世紀三十年代西洋女體 (Western Female Bodies in the 1930s), in the series of “Lao ziliao congshu” 老資料叢書 (Book Series of Old Materials) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2002).

II. Articles and Book Chapters

- An Yalan 安雅蘭 (Julia Andrews). “Luoti hua lunzheng ji xiandai Zhongguo meishushi de jiangou 裸體畫論爭及現代中國美術史的建構 (The Controversy of Nude Paintings and the Construction of Modern Chinese Art History).” In *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* 海派繪畫研究文集 (*Studies on Shanghai School Painting*), 117-150. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001.
- Andrews, Julia Frances. “Pictorial Shanghai (*Shanghai Huabao*, 1925-1933) and Creation of Shanghai’s Modern Visual Culture.” *Journal of Art Studies* 藝術學研究, no.12 (September 2013): 44–128.
- _____. “Traditional Painting in New China: *Guohua* and the Anti-Rightist Campaign,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no.3 (Aug 1990): 555-586.

- Bickers, Robert. "The Lives and Deaths of Photographs in Early Treaty Port China." In *Visualising China, 1845-1965 Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives*, edited by Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh, 3–38. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Chen Yan 陳豔. "'Xin nüxing' de daibiao: cong aiguo nüxuesheng dao nü yundongyuan--ershi shiji sanshi niandai Beiyang huabao fengmian yanjiu" "新女性"的代表:從愛國女學生到女運動員--20世紀30年代《北洋畫報》封面研究. *Guangxi shehui kexue* 174 (Dec., 2009): 88-92.
- _____. "Beiyang huabao shiqi de Liu Yunruo yanjiu 《北洋畫報》時期的劉云若研究 (A Study on Liu Yunruo in Pei-yang Pictorial News Period)." *Zhongguo Xiandai Wenxue Yanjiu* no. 4 (2011): 43-55.
- _____. "Beiyang huabao yu xiandai tongshu xiaoshuo de shengchan 北洋畫報與現代通俗小說的生產 (Pei-yang Pictorial News and the Production of Modern Popular Fictions)." *Xiandai zhongwen xuekan* (Journal of Modern Chinese Studies) no. 1 (2012): 34–40.
- _____. "Beiyang huabao yu Jinpai tongshu xiaoshuo xin leixing" 《北洋畫報》與‘津派’通俗小說新類型 (Pei-yang Pictorial News and The New Genre of Tianjin School Popular Fictions), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue congkan* no. 2 (2012): 19–32.
- Clarke, David. "Iconicity and Indexicality: The Body in Chinese Art." *Semiotica* 155 (2005): 229-248.
- Elvin, Mark. "Tales of *Shen* and *Xin*: Body-Person and Heart-Mind in China during the Last 150 Years." In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body (=Zone 4)*, edited by Michel Feher, R. Naddaff, and N.Tazi, 267-349. New York: Zone Books, 1989.
- Gao, Yunxiang. "Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on *Jianmei* (Robust Beauty) during China's 'National Crisis' in the 1930s." *Gender and History* 18, no. 3 (November 2006): 546-573.
- Han Hongxing 韓紅星. "Jindai chengshihua jincheng zhong de baoye shengcun – yi Mingguo Beiyang huabao wei yanjiu duixiang," 近代城市化進程中的報業生存 (original English title: "The Survival of Newspaper in the Process of Modern Urbanization: A Case Study on the Northern Illustrated"). *Dangdai chuanbo* 3 (2011): 68-70.
- Hay, John. "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" In *Body, Subject, and Power in China*, edited by A. Zito and T.E. Barlow, 42-77. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago press, 1994.
- Hee, Wai Siam (Xu Weixian) 許維賢. "'Xingyu' de dixian: yi Zhang Jingsheng zhubian de *Xin Wenhua* yuekan wei zhongxin" 「性育」的底線：以張競生主編的《新文化》月刊為中心. *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 40, no.1 (March 2011): 75-113.
- Hee, Wai Siam 許維賢. "On Zhang Jingsheng's Sexual Discourse: Women's Liberation and Translated Discourses on Sexual Differences in 1920s China." *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 7, no. 2 (2013): 235–270.
- Hockx, Michel. "Gentility in a Shanghai Literary Salon in the 1930s." In *The Quest for Gentility in China: Negotiations Beyond Gender and Class*, edited by Chloë Starr and Daria Berg, 58–72. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Hockx, Michel. "The Chinese Literary Association (*Wenxue Yanjiu Hui*)." In *Literary Societies of Republican China*, edited by Michel Hockx and Kirk A. Denton, 79–102. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008.
- Hockx, Michel. "The Literary Field and the Field of Power: The Case of Modern China." Paragraph 35, no. 1 (March 2012): 49–65. doi:10.3366/para.2012.0041.
- Judge, Joan. "Everydayness as a Critical Category of Gender Analysis: The Case of 'Funü Shibao' (The Women's Eastern Times) 性別分析的關鍵範疇「日常性」：以《婦女時報》為中心."

- Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究, no. 20 (December 2012): 1–28.
- Laing, Ellen Johnston. “Shanghai Manhua, the Neo-Sensationist School of Literature, and Scenes of Urban Life,” MCLC Resource Centre. <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/laing.htm#fn1>, (accessed on Sept. 30, 2010).
- Legman, G. “Toward a Motif-Index of Erotic Humor.” *The Journal of American Folklore* 75, no. 297 (July 1, 1962): 227-248.
- Mittler, Barbara. “In Spite of Gentility: Women and Men in *Linglong* (Elegance), a 1930s Women’s Magazine.” In *The Quest for Gentility in China: Negotiations Beyond Gender and Class*, edited by Daria Berg and Chloe Starr, 208-234. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- _____. “New Women and Old Scandals: Making News, Mixing Genres and Gendering the Fictional and the Factual in *Linglong* (1931-1937) and earlier women’s magazines,” unpublished paper, 2007.
- Pan, Yaolang. “Cai Yuanpei yu Shanghai Huatan” 蔡元培與上海畫壇 (Cai Yuanpei and the Shanghai Art World) in *Haipai Huihuayanji Lunwenji* 海派繪畫研究論文集 (Studies on Shanghai School Painting), 833-853. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua chubanshes, 2001.
- Pang, Laikwan. “The Pictorial Turn: Realism, Modernity and China’s Print Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century.” *Visual Studies* vol.20, no.1 (April 2005): 16-36.
- Sigel, Lisa Z. “Filth in the Wrong People’s Hands: Postcards and the Expansion of Pornography in Britain and the Atlantic World, 1880-1914.” *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 4 (2000): 859-885.
- Sun, Liying. “An Exotic Self? Tracing Cultural Flows of Western Nudes in *Pei-yang Pictorial News* (1926-1933).” In *Transcultural Turbulences*, edited by C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer, 271-300. Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011.
- Sun, Liying 孫麗瑩. “1920 niandai Shanghai de huajia, zhishi fenzi yu luoti shijue wenhua--yi Zhang Jingsheng ‘Luoti yanjiu’ wei zhongxin” 1920 年代上海的畫家、知識份子與裸體視覺文化——以張競生〈裸體研究〉為中心 (Artists, Intellectuals, and the Visual Culture of Unclothed Bodies in 1920s Shanghai: Zhang Jingsheng’s “A Study of Unclothed Bodies”). *Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Literature* 10 (December 2013): 287–340. In Chinese.
- Sun, Liying 孫麗瑩. “Cong *Sheying huabao* dao *Linglong*: qikan chuban yu Sanhe gongsi de jingying celue (1920s-1930s)” 從《攝影畫報》到《玲瓏》：期刊出版與三和公司的經營策略(1920s-1930s) (From Pictorial Weekly to *Linloon* Magazine: The Periodicals Production and Publishing Strategies of San Ho Company, 1920s-1930s). *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究, no. 23 (June 2014): 127–181. In Chinese.
- Sun, Liying and Michel Hockx. “Dangerous Fiction and Obscene Images: Textual-Visual Interplay in the Banned Magazine *Meiyu* and Lu Xun’s Role as Censor,” submitted for publication.
- Sun, Liying. “Engendering a Journal: Editors, Nudes and Transcultural Production in *Linglong* and its Global Context.” In *A Space of Their Own: Women and the Periodical Press in China’s Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Joan Judge, Barbara Mittler and Michel Hockx, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Sun, Liying 孫麗瑩. “‘Gaoshang yule’? *Linglong* zhong de luoti tuxiang, shijue zaixian yu bianji juece” “高尚娛樂”？《玲瓏》中的裸體圖像，視覺再現與編輯決策 (“Sophisticated Entertainment”？Nudes, Visual Representations, and Editorial Agency in *Linglong* (1931-1937)”). In *Xingbie yu shijue--bainian Zhongguo yingxiang yanjiu* 性別與視覺——百年中國

- 影像研究 (Gender and Visuality: Research on Chinese Images from the Last One-Hundred Years), edited by Wang Zheng, Lü Xinyu. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, forthcoming. In Chinese.
- Vinograd, Richard (文以誠). “Multi-Medium, Site, and Dream-World: Aspects of Shanghai Pictorials of the 1920s and 1930s (多重媒材、地點與夢想世界：1920 至 1930 年代間上海畫報的面向),” *Yishuxue Yanjiu* 藝術學研究, no. 12 (September 2013): 171–214.
- Waara, Carrie. “The Bare Truth: Nudes, Sex, and the Modernization Project in Shanghai Pictorials.” In *Shanghai Visual Culture, 1850s-1930s*, edited by Jason C. Kuo, 163-203. Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2007.
- Waara, Carrie. “Ts’ai Yuan-pei’s Theory of Aesthetic Education.” *Spring-Autumn Papers* 1.1 (Spring 1979), 13-30.
- Wang, Cheng-hua. “New Printing Technology and Heritage Preservation: Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities in Modern China, circa 1908-1917.” In *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, edited by Joshua A. Fogel, 273–308. Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive/University of California Press, 2012.
- Wagner, Rudolf G. “Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai Huabao*.” In *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910*. SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture, edited by Rudolf G. Wagner, 105-173. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Wang, Gary. “Making ‘Opposite-Sex Love’ in Print: Discourse and Discord in Linglong Women’s Pictorial Magazine, 1931-1937.” *NAN Nü* 13, no. 2 (2011): 244–347.
- Wu Fangcheng (Wu Fangzheng) 吳方正. “Luode liyou - ershi shiji chuqi zhongguo renti xiasheng wenti de taolun” 裸的理由——二十世紀初中國人體寫生問題的討論 (The Reason for the Nude: Questions Concerning Nude Figure Drawing in China at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century). *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New Studies in History) 15, no. 2 (2004): 55-110.
- _____. “Tuhua yu shougong—Zhongguo Jindai yishu jiaoyu de dansheng” 圖畫與手工——中國近代藝術教育的誕生 (Drawing and Handicraft: The Birth of Early Modern Artistic Education in China). In *The Ever-Changing Shanghai Art World: Index of Art News in Shenbao 1872–1949* (上海美術風雲——1872–1949 申報藝術資料條目索引), edited by Yan Juanying, 1-45. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2006.
- Xu Wenming. “Jiqing yu ganga: Zhongguo yingjie de zhengyi renwu Zhou Shixun” 激情與尷尬：中國影界的爭議人物周世勳 (Passion and Embarrassment: Zhou Shixun, A Controversial Figure in Chinese Film World). *Dianying yishu* 電影藝術 2 (2011).
- Xu, Xijing 徐希景. “Xiandai dushi wenhua yu zhongguo zaoqi renti sheying” 現代都市文化與中國早期人體攝影. *Journal of Fujian Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* no.2 (2009): 93-98.
- Wu Yunxin 吳雲心. “Bianyin jingzhi de Beiyang huabao” 編印精緻的《北洋畫報》(The Finely Edited and Printed Pei-yang Pictorial News). In “Tianjin baohai gouchen” 天津報海鉤沉 (Seeking Lost Writings in the Ocean of Tianjin Newspapers), edited by *Wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui* 文史資料委員會 (Committee of Cultural and Historical Materials), 132-134. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2003.
- Yang Ruisong 楊瑞松. “Xiangxiang minzu chiru: jindai zhongguo sixiang wenhua shi shangde ‘dongya bingfu’” 想像民族恥辱：近代中國思想文化史上的“東亞病夫” (Imagining National

- Humiliation: “Sick Man of East Asia” in Modern History of Chinese Thoughts and Culture). *Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 23 (May 2005): 1-44.
- Yeh, Catherine V. “Recasting Depravity as the Icon of the Modern: The Female Nude in the *Young Companion* (*Liangyou huabao*) and the *Pei-Yang Pictorial News* (*Beiyang huabao*) of the 1920s.” 2007. Unpublished paper.
- Yeh, Catherine Vance. “The Life-Style of Four Wenren in Late Qing Shanghai.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57, no. 2 (December 1, 1997): 419–470.
- Yeh, Catherine. “Guides to a Global Paradise: Shanghai Entertainment Park Newspapers and the Invention of Chinese Urban Leisure.” In *Transcultural Turbulences*, edited by C.B. Brosius and R. Wenzlhuemer, 97–131. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011.
- Zarrow, Peter. “Liang Qichao and the Conceptualization of ‘Race’ in Late Qing China.” In *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 52 (June, 2006): 158.
- Zhang Wei. “Minguo diyikan” 民國第一刊 (The Most Significant Journal in the Republican China). In *Tanying xiaoji—Zhongguo xiandai yingtian de chenfeng yiyu* 談影小集——中國現代影壇的塵封一隅 (A Collection of Essays on Films: A Dusty Corner of Modern Chinese Film History). Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2009.
- Zhang, Yingjin. “The Corporeality of Erotic Imagination: A Study of Pictorials and Cartoons in Republican China.” In *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines and Picture Books*, 121-136, edited by John A. Lent. London: Curzon Press, 2001.
- Zhang, Yingjin. “Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials.” In *Shanghai Visual Culture, 1850s-1930s*, edited by Jason C. Kuo, 121-161. Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2007.
- Zhang Yuanqing 張元卿. “Dutu shidai de shenshang, dazhong duwu yu wenxue: jiedu Beiyang huabao” 讀圖時代的紳商、大眾讀物与文學: 解讀《北洋畫報》 (Gentry- Merchants, Popular Reading Material and Literature in the Age of Reading Images: Analyzing *Pei-yang Pictorial News*). *Tianjin shehui kexue* 4 (2002): 122–125.
- Zhang Zhongmin 張仲民. “Weisheng, zhongzu yu wanqing de xiaofei wenhua—yi baokan guanggao wei zhongxin de taolun” 衛生、種族與晚清的消費文化——以報刊廣告為中心的討論 (Hygiene, Race and Consumer Culture in Later Qing: Focusing on the Newspaper Advertisements). *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 (Academic Monthly) 40, no.4 (April 2008): 140-147.
- Zhang Zhongmin 張仲民. “Chuban yu wenhua zhengzhi: qingmo chuban de shengzhi yixue shuji jiqi duzhe” 出版与文化政治: 清末出版的生殖医学书籍及其读者 (Publishing and Cultural Politics: The Books on Reproductive Medicine and Their Readership in Late Qing). *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 (Academic Monthly) 41, no.1 (January 2009): 128-142.
- Zhang Zhongmin 張仲民. “Wanqing chuban de shengli weisheng shuji jiqi duzhe 晚清出版的生理卫生书籍及其读者” (Books of Physiology Published in Late Qing Dynasty and Their Readers). *Shilin* 4 (2008): 20-36.
- Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅. “Shanghai de huabao chao” 上海的畫報潮 (The Boom of Pictorials in Shanghai). In *Zheng Yimei xuanji (I)* 鄭逸梅選集, 945-947. Heilongjiang: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1991.

III. Online Sources

Databases and Digital Libraries

CADAL= China Academic Digital Associative Library (高等學校中英文圖書數字化國際合作計畫) <http://www.cadal.zju.edu.cn/Index.action>

Chinese Women's Magazines in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period (Abbr. WoMag) <http://womag.uni-hd.de>

CrossAsia
<http://crossasia.org/databases>

Dacheng Old Periodicals Fulltext Database (大成老舊期刊全文數據庫) via CrossAsia (Abbr. Dacheng)
<http://www.dachengdata.com/tuijian/showTuijianList.action>

Digital Library from the Meiji Era (国立国会図書館)
<http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/>

Early Chinese Periodicals Online (under construction) (Abbr. ECPO)
<http://kjc-fs1.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/ecpo/admin/index.php> (back-end)

Late Qing and Republican Periodicals Fulltext Database 1833-1949 (晚清期刊、民國期刊全文數據) via CrossAsia
http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/shangtu-qikan/www.cnbkcy.cn/shlib_tsd/simpleSearch.do

NDLOC National Digital Library of China (中國國家數字圖書館):
http://res4.nlc.gov.cn/index_mg.jsp?channelid=75011

Shenbao Fulltext Database (申報全文數據庫) via CrossAsia
<http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/shenbao2/shunpao.egreenapple.com/WEB/INDEX.html>

Other Online Materials

Alice Prin. http://www.artandpopularculture.com/Kiki_de_Montparnasse (accessed on Sept. 13, 2009).

Cahill, James. *Chinese Erotic Painting*. His blog online, <http://jamescahill.info/illustrated-writings/chinese-erotic-painting>. Accessed on 20.2.2014.

Gu, Zheng 顧錚. "Bei jingtou chuangzao chulaide zhongguo luoti wenhua" 被鏡頭創造出來的中國裸體文化 (Chinese Nude Culture Created by Camera), *Dongfang Zaobao*, May 4, 2008. C03. See <http://press.idoican.com.cn/detail/articles20080514002C032.aspx>, (accessed July 2, 2008.)

Li Anyuan 李安源. "Cong Shanghai Meizhuan dao Bolin Zhongguo meishuzhan—Liu Haisu yu Cai Yuanpei jiaowang yanjiu" 從上海美專到柏林中國美術展——劉海粟與蔡元培交往研究 (From the Shanghai Art School to an Exhibition of Chinese Arts in Berlin: A Study on the

Interaction between Teacher and Students), 21st Century 68 (November 2007),
<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/21c/supplem/essay/0701040.htm>, (accessed March 19, 2009).

OED (Oxford English Dictionary), online edition, <http://www.oed.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/Entry/128980> .

Postcard “A.Noyer.4521”. <http://storage.canalblog.com/41/07/274511/12772742.jpg> (accessed on January 21, 2010).

Postcards publishing houses: <http://www.metropostcard.com/guideinitials.html> (accessed on 25 January 2011)

Shanghai nianhua 上海年華 (“Shanghai Memory”)
http://memoire.digilib.sh.cn/SHNH/book/book_introduction.jsp?bookId=18053 (accessed on Feb. 10, 2014).

Wang Xiangfeng 王向峰. “Tu shuo lao Tianjin: Beiyang huabao chuangbanren Feng Wuyue” 圖說老天津：《北洋畫報》創辦人馮武越 (Illustrating Old Tianjin: Feng Wuyue as the Founder of Pei-yang Pictorial News) <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-07-24/00103807426.shtml> . (accessed on March, 15 2010).