

Socialised Body in Modern China

Yoko TAKAYAMA

Introduction

The poses of human statues in public squares and parks are influenced by contemporary body representation. For instance, most statues of ancient Roman emperors are in poses with their right arms raised (**Figure1**). European kings or feudal lords have been frequently portrayed on horseback (**Figure2**, **Figure3**), and philosophers and artists are depicted in a pensive pose, holding a book or paper (**Figure4**). Similarly, statues with brawny bodies and grandiose pose have been used to commemorate military victories or the communist revolutions. These monuments clearly convey their subjects' attributes through their body representation and artistic, and even through the way their pedestals are decorated. Therefore, even if a visitor is not familiar with the figure depicted in a statue, he or she could easily speculate the person's role in the society.

That reminds us of Marcel Mauss's theory of techniques of body. He observed, 'techniques of the body are in the plural because it is possible to produce a theory of the technique of



Figure1. Statue of Augustus in Rome, 2008



Figure2. Statue of Friedrich in Berlin, 2013



Figure4. Statue of Goethe in Vienna, 2014



Figure3. Statue of Kaiser Wilhelm in Koblenz, 2013

the body in the singular on the basis of a study, an exposition, a description pure and simple of techniques of the body in the plural. By this expression I mean the way in which from society to society men know how to use their body.’¹⁾ In China, body techniques and representation witnessed a sea-change because of modernisation; the introduction of Western education, military thought, and fine art. Younger students became accustomed Western-style attire and following school discipline. The abolition of foot binding, the long-standing practice of mutilating the feet of young girls, had an enormous influence on images of the female body in modern China. Women’s emancipation from foot binding implied freedom from feudal marriage customs, which granted women access to public spaces including schools, parks and commercial areas. “Women’s physical health accordingly became a foremost

concern and almost every reformer now stressed the need to ‘unbind’ the feet of Chinese women and advocated physical exercise for women substantially if not completely ensure fit mothers for a fit nation which was able to resist imperialism in all its forms.”²⁾

This paper will look at the shifting relationship between female body representation and modernisation in China, from these perspectives: the first is introduction of Western fine art such as bronze statues into modern China. The second is the representation of revolutionary heroes and heroines in pre-Mao styles and the Mao style, which is closely connected to neoclassicism and the Soviet Socialist Realism based style of commemorating revolutionary martyrs (*Lieshi*). The third is the revival of femininity in public statues following the Cultural Revolution and the Economic Reform, when many women left the workplace. Finally, we will clarify why contemporary public statues of female revolutionary martyrs in China are quite gentle and impersonal.

The Introduction of Western Fine Art into China in the 20th Century

Public parks and bronze statues were first installed by British and French colonial governments and the private sectors in the Shanghai International Settlements in the late 19th century. In 1868, the Public Garden (known as *Huangpu Gongyuan*, today, **Figure5**), was built by Shanghai Municipal Council on the Bund and became the first park in China. Charles Alexander Winchester, a British consul, demanded for a recreational space to be established at the



Figure5. Huangpu Gongyuan, 2013

conference of the Soochow Creek and Huangpu River to serve the colony's glowing population. Ying Baoshi, a Shanghai officer, approved the project on the condition that the space would not be used for commercial activities. The Shanghai Municipal Council offered public land without compensation; therefore, on 8 August 1868, the Public Garden was inaugurated to Western residents who were natives of nations with whom the Chinese government had concluded treaties.

Consequently, many public parks, playgrounds and cemeteries were opened; Wayside Park (now *Huishan Gongyuan*) in 1908, Koukaza Park (now *Fuxing Gongyuan*, **Figure6**) in 1909, Jessfield Park (now *Zhongshan Gongyuan*) in 1914. Bronze statues of notable figures were erected, such as those of British diplomat Harry Smith Parkes (1828_1885) on the Bund (1890); French army admiral Auguste Léopold Protet (1808_1862) in the courtyard of the French Consulate Office (1870); Chinese politician Li Hongzhang (1823_1901) at the Li mausoleum of Xujiahui in Shanghai (1906); British consular officer Robert Hart (1835_1911) on the Bund (1913).³⁾

Chinese citizens were excluded from public parks and cemeteries; therefore, they were eager to build their own, and Xielu Yuan opened as a Chinese-managed public cemetery in 1909 (**Figure7**). It featured a mixture of Western and Chinese aesthetic tradition and soon became a universal cemetery open to those all nationalities and



Figure6. Fuxing Gongyuan, 2013



Figure7. International Cemetery in Shanghai, 2009

religions. This process, consequently, brought reformation of holding an expensive funeral ceremony and a burden land for burial, and establishment of monumental buildings and tombs of unknown soldiers and revolutionary martyrs. At that time, state funerals and a memorial service became established practice. The establishment of such public ceremonies and monuments in the public sphere laid the foundation for the hero worship needed by the Chinese state. By transforming private gardens into public spaces, the republican government could demonstrate its resolve to break from China's imperial past and show its concern for people's welfare.⁴⁾

Commemoration of Revolutionary Martyrs

In the early 20th century, the ceremonial commemoration of revolutionary martyrs was gradually established in China. This process included the reformation of various political and social systems, such as construction of public spaces and facilities, and introduction of new styles of fine art through modernisation, which resulted in changing body representations. The bodies of the deceased, which had conventionally been the centre of the funeral services and the ancestor worship ritual to reinforce kinship, gained another meaning through state ceremonies for modern wars: that of symbol of revolutionary martyrs. Funerals for victims of the revolution in the public sphere were quite different from traditional ceremonies. In the late imperial period, several trailblazing revolutionary movements and armed uprisings created the opportunity to commemorate victims as national heroes and bury them with reverence.

Huanghua Gang, one of the first revolutionary cemeteries in China, was built to commemorate the 72 martyrs who died during the second Guangzhou Uprising of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmenghui*), organised by Sun Yat-sen (1866_1925), Song Jiaoren (1882_1913), and others in Tokyo, Japan, on 20 August 1905. This cemetery is 'described not so much as a grave of seventy two martyrs,

but more emphatically as a monument that symbolised revolutionary commitment, political identity, patriotic loyalty to the nation-party-state, and the political legitimacy of the Nationalist regime.’⁵⁾ On 27 April 1911, members of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance led an uprising to overthrow the Qing Dynasty, however it failed, and the 72 revolutionaries were killed. They were later buried at Hong Hua Gang, later called Huanghua Gang (**Figure8**). Construction on the cemetery began in 1912 and was finished in 1921. Huanghua Gang comprises a gateway with inscribed with “*Haoqi Changcun*” (eternal noble spirit), built in 1936; the tomb of the 72 martyrs; memorial walls established in 1921; Huang Hua pavilion set up in 1926; the tomb of Pan Dawei, who collected the martyrs’ bodies and buried them at Honghua Gang; dragon pillars erected in 1926; and a square pond constructed in 1921. Until 1981, Huanghua Gang had been overlooked because it was built to commemorate martyrs supporting the Kuomintang (KMT). The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) instead built the Guangzhou martyr cemetery park in 1954 instead in order to commemorate martyrs who died during Guangzhou uprising led by the CCP in 1927. The park opened in 1958 and was later listed as a Patriotic Education Base to protect revolutionary spirit and promote tourism (**Figure9**).

Revolutionary martyrs had been commemorated not with bronze statues but with tombstones and inscriptions based on traditional Chinese worship. Chen



Figure8. Huanghua Gang, 2014



Figure9. Guangzhou Martyr Cemetery Park, 2014

Yingshi (Chen Qimei, 1878_1916), a revolutionary activist assassinated by Yuan Shikai, was commemorated with a bronze statue in Shanghai in 1930. Chen Yingshi Memorial Tower was constructed of concrete, and was 27 meters high with gold plating; it attracted citizens' attention like nothing seen before. Construction of the tower was preceded by that of statues commemorating Chiang Kai-shek; Zhang Qun (1889_1990), a former mayor of Shanghai; and Huang Hu (1880_1936), the first mayor of Shanghai. The ground-breaking ceremony on the vacant land outside the West Gate of the old town took place on 18 May 1930. On 3 November, more than 1000 participants attended the inauguration ceremony for the memorial tower, including Huang Hu, attending on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek; Jiao Yitang, attending on behalf of Director of Legislative Yuan; Zhang Qun; members of legislature; and the wife and relatives of Chen Yingshi; an opening, a musical performance, a chorus of the Party's song, kowtowing to the national flag, the party, and a picture of Sun Yat-sen, recitation of Sun Yet-San's will, a silent prayer, the reading of the closing address, a second musical performance, the unveiling, a speech, another musical performance, and the closing. Zhang Qun reported that it was no exaggeration to say that the Memorial Tower was the greatest of all public structure in Shanghai.⁶⁾

The monument and tombs of *Wusa Lieshi* (the May Thirtieth Martyr) preceded the Chen Yingshi Memorial Tower in Shanghai. Wusa Lieshi was the victim of the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, an anti-imperialism movement of students and workers in Shanghai. The incident occurred on 30 May 1925; when one Chinese worker was killed and several others wounded in a Japanese cotton mill. When the mill owner went to negotiate a dismissal of the investigation, the Shanghai Municipal Council did not prosecute them. This drove students and workers to hold a protest march. The British municipal police discharged a gun on the demonstrators and arrested dozens of people; consequently, a boycott of Japanese and British products and an anti-imperial movement spread across the country on previously unseen.

On 30 June 1925, a memorial service for 13 victims including He Bingyi, Yin

Jingyi, and Chen Yuqin, called the *Wusa Lieshi*, was held at the public gymnasium near the West Gate. At the ceremony, a representative read aloud the 13 victims' names to praise their glorious deaths, and after 5 minutes' silent tribute, they called for the abolition of the unequal treaty, withdrawal of the international settlement and the immortalisation of martyrs. The memorial displayed victims' clothes and pictures, the words 'tears of blood' (*Xuelei*) and 'brave hero' (*Jiexiong*) on the altar, suits worn by He Bingyi, Qipao Chen Yuqin and Chen Zhaochang and under the altar, clothes worn by unknown victims. On 29 May 1926, there was an unveiling ceremony of the tomb of *Wusa Lieshi*, on which the names of 25 martyrs were inscribed and a sculpture of a cock stood to show that "Cock's crowing could enlighten the world". On the following day, the first anniversary ceremony was held at the public gymnasium in Shanghai.⁷⁾

Monuments in the public sphere were urgently needed to narrate revolutionary victories. From the early 20th century, Western fine art was rapidly introduced to younger artists, such as Liu Haisu (1896_1994), who co-founded the Shanghai Academy of Chinese Painting in 1911, the first painting school in modern China, and Liu Kaiqu (1904_1993), a prestigious sculptor, whom Cai Yuanpei (1868_1940) had dispatched to France to modernise Chinese arts.

Mao Style and the Socialised Body

The Yan'an Talk was the basis of the Mao style established after the Conference on Literature and Art in May 1942. The aim of the conference was to resolve the undesirable tension between artists at the Luxun Academy of Fine Art, who had learned Western art styles in the newly built art academies in Shanghai and Hangzhou, and the local artists working in traditional Chinese art styles such as wood-cuts and ink-painting. At this conference, Mao Zedong pronounced that the artists should create works to awaken and inspire the masses to rise, urging them to

unite and struggle, and to participate in transforming their own environment. These goals were to determine the official art style of the subsequent period.

In 1949, the CCP instructed local governments to hold memorial services for revolutionary martyrs, and to establish monuments engraved with their names at the Qingming festival, which is the traditional event for Han Chinese to visit and clean their ancestors' graves. This was also to be the Martyrs' Festival. At the same time, revolutionary martyr cemeteries and memorial halls exhibiting relics of the martyrs were built in various locations.⁸⁾ The CCP aimed to show the symbolical connection between people and martyrs by identifying the Martyrs' Festival with the Qingming Festival to cultivate loyalty to the CCP.⁹⁾ In 1950, revolutionary martyrs, a concept originally predicated on Confucianism and mentioned in various commemorations of war victims, were officially defined as those killed in the Xinhai Revolution (1911), the Northern Expeditions (1924_1927), the first Chinese Civil War (1927_1937), the Anti-Japanese War (1937_1945), the second Chinese Civil War (1946_1949), and the anti-imperialism movements after the May Fourth Movement (1919).¹⁰⁾ Bereaved families were prescribed as *Lieshu*, or *Lieshi's* family. Parents, spouses, children, and siblings under 16 years old, were entitled to privileges measures including cultivated lands, agricultural implements, rationed food, curtailment of medical expenses, and assistance with school expenses.¹¹⁾

As socialist commemorative systems including the construction of a bronze statue of martyrs gradually expanded, visual symbols were needed. The CCP chose Socialist Realism, officially initiated by Stalin in 1933, to reflect the Communist ideology in bronze statues, large monuments, and propaganda posters of the revolutionary heroes. Through the Soviet Exhibition held in Beijing in 1954, Chinese artists learned the skills and notions of Socialist Realism. More than 11,300 of Soviet articles such as industrial goods, agricultural goods, publications, and artworks were displayed at the exhibition. *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman* by Vera Ignatyevna Mukhina and Boris Mihailovic Iofan was at the centre of the hall and gained the

prominence and praise as an immortal work representing both Soviet Socialist Realism and folk character.¹²⁾ Liu Kaiqu involved with the Monument to People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, stated that the Soviet sculptures had the great power to elevate the thoughts and make vivid impressions, and Chinese artists should enthusiastically learn their techniques (**Figure10**).¹³⁾ Despite the project of modernising the fine arts, there were not enough monuments in public parks and squares to create a socialist metropolis.¹⁴⁾ To replace traditional decorative pieces such as *Taihushi*, a porous stone, with Western sculptures originating from ancient Greek statues of gods and Roman emperors, a complete change in a spatial perception was necessary.¹⁵⁾ Both broad public spaces and national monuments were constructed simultaneously. Most of these monuments, associated with Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party to some degree, were destroyed during the Anti-Japanese War and the second Chinese Civil War. Therefore, after 1949, what mattered was whom socialist artists should depict as revolutionary heroes and how they would be depicted in the new artistic style.

Typical works are the Monument to People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square, the Harvest Celebration (*Qing Feng Shou*, **Figure11**), the Rent Collection Courtyard (*Shou Zu Yuan*), and Long Live the Victory of Mao Zedong's Thought, which had a great influence on other works during the Cultural Revolution.¹⁶⁾ Admittedly, the



Figure10. Monument to People's Heroes, 2009



Figure11. Harvest Celebration, 2013



Figure12. Arc de Triomphe, 2009



Figure13. Zhongshan Square, 2011

Monument to People's Heroes with the pedestal decorated with reliefs depicting revolutionary history carved by noted sculptors including Liu Kaiqu, was greatly influenced by the relief of La Marseillaise, created by François Rude in 1833₃₆, for the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (**Figure12**), as by Soviet Socialist Realism, but still has a Chinese traditional style, which is reflected in the title lettering *The People's Heroes are Immortal* by Mao Zedong in its centre. The Harvest Celebration, comprising a set of 18 farmers and 4 horses created by teachers and students of Lu Xun Academy of Fine Art and built in the China National Agricultural Centre, in 1959, has a distinctive representation of the body as a six-headed figure with stout arms and legs. A man riding on horseback is half-naked and raising his drumsticks high to show off his well-muscled torso. The depiction of cloth fluttering in the strong wind also emphasises his masculine physique.

In 1970, Long Live the Victory of Mao Zedong's Thought was erected in Hongqi Square (now Zhongshan Square, **Figure13**).¹⁷⁾ The monument was created by students from the Art Academy to honour the anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1970. A 10.5-metre statue of Mao Zedong stands on the base surrounded six sculptures depicting 56 farmers and soldiers, the titles of which A Fire at Jinggangshan (1927_1936), A Fire in the Anti-Japanese War (1937_1945), Bury the Dynasty of Chiang Kai-shek (1946_1949), Socialism is Good



Figure14. Socialism is Good, 2011

(1949_1957, **Figure14**), Long Live the Three Red Banners (1958_1965), and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966_1969). The statue is in a pose typical of those built in the 1960s and 1970s, a fighting stance with an arm raised as a reflection of Maoism and socialism.

Each different pose was intended to connote a political meaning; arm-raising suggested loyalty to Mao Zedong; an oblique pose with knee bent and an elbow pushed forward suggested advancing under the guidance of Mao Zedong; raising an arm diagonally in front and gazing at the sky suggested the brilliance of Chinese communism. These socialised body techniques were based on the Model Operas, which Jiang Qing (1914_1991) started to develop in 1963 by revising operas to reflect contemporary themes. These operas came to be considered part of the New Socialist Things during the course of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁸⁾

In 1963, Jiang Qing chose eight theatrical plays to make into revolutionary Model Operas (*Yangbanxi*): *Hongdengji* (The Story of the Red Lamp), Beijing opera and the symphony of *Shajiabang* (Shajia Village), *Zhiqu Weihushan* (Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy), *Qixi Baihutuan* (Raid on the White Tiger Regiment), *Hai gang* (On the Docks), *Hongse Niangzi Jun* (The Red Detachment of Women), and *Baimaonü* (The White-haired Girl). These works were extremely formalised to express revolutionary heroes as “Gao, Da, and Quan,” lofty, glorious, and complete. Liu Kaiqu noted that the primary purpose for making the sculptures was to create prototypical figures of national heroes,¹⁹⁾ so bronze statues in public parks and city squares were an ideal medium for commemorating them. Oversize pedestals are one of the distinctive features of Socialist Realism, incorporating religious imaginary

and traditional motives, to promote a new nation's image. Works such as *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman*, and the Monument to People's Heroes along with statues of Lenin and Stalin, stand on these oversize pedestals; all need extensive space around them to be viewed in perspective. Such public spheres were available for hold large scale ceremonies and made strong impression on visitors' minds by requiring them to walk a long distance to the monument. This was the process by which public spheres with revolutionary monuments had almost become sacred places to which people made political pilgrimages. Thus, peoples had gradually become socialised to looking up to huge monuments in expansive spaces to commemorate national heroes.

The central symbol of revolution has changed from the allegorical heroine to the exemplary martyr who died for the revolution. While equestrian statues such as Chen Qimei promptly disappeared because they were considered bourgeois, revolutionary martyrs and workers stood firm with their feet set apart and raised high as if confronting enemies.

Female Revolutionary Martyrs

In the late 19th century, the women's liberation movement was prompted by women's rights advocates such as Kang Youwei (1858_1927), Liang Qichao (1873_1929), and Tan Sitong (1865_1898). Though Tan Sitong was executed for treason as the result of the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898, their women's liberation movement had a massive influence on Chinese society and brought the professional education of women. Another trigger for women's advancement was the May Fourth Movement, in which students in Beijing criticised the Chinese government's recognition of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, which allowed Japan to receive German concessions in Qingdao (Tsingtao). This protest inspired young women to devote themselves to the Chinese Revolution; Qiu Jin (1895_1907), widely known as a beautiful woman in male attire; He Zichen (1909_1985), the third wife of Mao

Zedong from 1928 to 1939; and Zhao Yiman (1905_1936), who was executed by Japanese Army in 1936. They aspired to become ‘brave woman in a hood’ like Hua Mulan, the legendary heroine who dressed in male attire, and fought against the Tujue (Turks) in place of her ageing father. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the image of brave woman in a hood originated with Hua Mulan, Hong Niangzi (the Red Lady), who joined a peasant uprising leader led by Li Zicheng, and Liang Hongyu, a wife of General Han Shizhong, fighting against the Jurchen army in the early 12th century. The image was used as a political tool to provoke Chinese patriotism.²⁰⁾ The role of this allegorical character is analogous to that of Marianne after the French Revolution.

Hua Mulan was originally depicted in the ancient poem *Ballad of Mulan* as a beautiful fighter in male attire who was devoted to salvation. She was depicted in many other works that followed: Bai Juyi (772_846), a famous poet of Tang Dynasty, recited a poem about a lily magnolia associated with a beautiful woman in male attire; a Chinese classical play ‘Mulan serving in the war instead of her father’ was composed in the Ming Dynasty; Mulan and her sister Youlan appeared in the historical novel ‘*The Romance of the Sui and Tang Dynasty*’ written in the early Qing Dynasty, and movies such as ‘Hua Mulan’ and ‘Mulan Serving in the War’ were repeatedly produced in the 20th century.²¹⁾ In these works, Hua Mulan astonished her male comrades by appearing in female attire after fighting beside them for 12 years. She then returned home from the capital after refusing the Emperor’s reward for her many great triumphs. Though there are parallels between Hua Mulan and Jeanne d’Arc, Hua Mulan was regarded not as a heretic but as a woman loyal to her parents and nation.

Qiu Jin, who spent her early childhood in Shaoxing, Zhejiang, joined the Restoration Society (*Guangfuhui*), led by Cai Yuanpei, on the recommendation of her cousin Xu Xilin (1873_1907). In 1900, the Boxer Uprising, which erupted as a protest against imperialism and Christianity, was put down by the Eight-Nation

Alliance of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, in Beijing. The Qing government was compelled to pay a considerable indemnity to the Eight-Nation Alliance and to permit foreign countries to garrison in Beijing according to the Boxer Protocol (Xinchou Treaty) in 1901. This sparked Qiu Jin's fervent patriotism and moved her to study in Japan in 1904, despite being married with two children. She studied Japanese in a Japanese training school and dedicated herself to revolutionary action by attending the same province associations. In 1905, she joined the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance, and became leader of the Zhejiang branch. Laws to control Chinese students decreed by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1905 made her to decide to return to China. Despite taking a teaching job at Xunxi Girls' School in Shaoxing on the recommendation of Cai Yuanpei and her uncle Dan Yinan, she had to leave the school because of her unconventional behaviour, such as riding to school on a horse while carrying a Mauser rifle. After the school was closed, Xu Zihua (1873_1935), the principal of Xunxi Girls' School, founded the magazine *Chinese Women's News* in Shanghai with her sister and Qiu Jin to promote women's independence and education. Again, Qiu Jin returned to Shaoxing. Besides teaching at Datong School, which she established with Xu Xilin, she organised an armed uprising. On 6 July 1907, Xu Xilin was arrested in Anqing, Anhui. Prior to the uprising they had scheduled, and was executed the next day. On July 13, Qiu Jin was also arrested, but refused to confess her involvement in the scheduled uprising after being tortured. As the result of incriminating evidence found at Datong School, Qiu Jin was executed on July 15 at Xuanting-kou (now Jiefanghu). Her body was buried outside the West Gate by Xu Zihua and Xu Xiaotian, but her tomb was moved to near the approach to the Xiling Bridge, in accordance with her wish to be buried near the mausoleum of Yue Fei (1103_1142). Yue Fei was a resourceful general of the Song Dynasty, who was executed under a false accusation by Prime Minister Qin Hui (1090_1155), because Qin Hui afraid that Yue Fei's influence would grow. After



Figure15. Martyr Monument of Qiu Jin, 2011

being posthumously cleared of this false accusation, Yue Fei's mausoleum was built near Xihu (the West Lake) in Hangzhou, and he came to be considered a patriotic hero.

In early 1930, Cai Yuanpei took the initiative in carrying out the building plan of the memorial hall, pavilion and stele to honour Qiu Jin

as a revolutionary martyr. In 1933, due to popular demand to concrete monument on the site Qiu Jin was executed at Xuanting-kou, on which Cai Yuanpei wrote that Qiu Jin should be honoured as a revolutionary martyr to create the monument, because the tomb of Xu Xilin was Xiguo in Shaoxing, and Tao Chengzhang, a member of the Restoration Society, was buried near Donghu (the East Lake), and an arbour named Fengyu-ting (house of wind and rain) was built on the detention site (**Figure15**).

The dramatic life of Qiu Jin inspired young women to participate in revolutionary movements. For example, Zhao Yiman, born in Yibin, Sichuan, admired the story of 'The Gallant Lady of Jianhu', one of Qiu Jin's titles, in her childhood, and worked as an agent provocateur in Shanghai, Nanchang, and other cities, after joining the CCP in 1929. Arriving on the Northeast front line as a division commander, she was arrested in 1935 by the Kwantung Army and tortured by a special political police agency in Harbin. After escaping from the police, she was once again captured and was executed in Zhuhe on 2 August 1936. She immediately came to be considered a 'Heroine with a Hood', and was the subject of numerous works such as movies.

Snow-White Statues

Qiu Jin's tomb had been moved eight times until it was finally placed alongside the lake east approach to the Xiling Bridge in 1981 (**Figure16**). A white marble statue of her 2.5 metres in height, was erected. At first, area around the statue's base was unpaved; thus, the statue was often covered with mud after it rained, because it became quite dirty, no one noticed it. Furthermore, some visitors climbed onto the statue in order to take photos with Qiu Jin. The Hangzhou Department of Parks removed the iron fences and constructed steps and planted boxwood instead.²²⁾ As Deng Yingchao (1904_1992), the Chairwomen of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (1983_1988) and the wife of Zhou Enlai, had portrayed her as a precursor of the Chinese Revolution through the chant, '*Qiu Jin Nülie, Jianqiang Buqu, Yingyong Jiuyi, Yongchui Buxiu*' (Qiu Jin, female revolutionary martyr, a woman of indomitable courage, died in the course of justice, never perish), in 1987, the Square of Qiu Jin and a marble statue of her, 2.3 metres in height, were built in Shaoxing in 1997, next to the monument on the execution site of Xuantingkou. The former residence of Qiu Jin had already opened as a museum and was registered as a Cultural Movable Heritage-Cultural Property in 1988. The museum consists of an entrance hall with a white portrait bust of Qiu Jin engraved with "*Jinguo Yingxiong*" (Female Warrior) (**Figure17**), a



Figure16. Qiu Jin's Tomb and the Statue, 2011



Figure17. Entrance Hall of the Museum, 2011



Figure18. Mannequin of Qiu Jin, 2011



Figure19. Statue of He Zichen, 2007



Figure20. Statue of Yang Guifei, 2008

reception room, hall, bedroom-cum-study and dining room. A mannequin of Qiu Jin in traditional attire sits in an armchair in the bedroom-cum-study. The mannequin's facial features and two statues of Qiu Jin are slightly androgynous (**Figure18**).

Snow-white female statues can be seen in many places. A statue of He Zichen stands out among the many deep-coloured statues of male revolutionary heroes in the Statue Garden of Jinggangshan Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery (**Figure19**); a statue of Yang Guifei, Emperor Xuanxon's favourite lady, who killed herself after the An Lushun Rebellion in 756, stands out with its whiteness (**Figure20**); The Maiden of Peace in Nagasaki Peace Park, presented from China, has a vague

facial expression and a full ripe body (**Figure21**); Most statues donated by foreign countries to Nagasaki Peace Park are white and depict the mother-and-child, most commonly referred to as the Pieta. These statues could symbolise peaceful existence; Wakakuwa had argued that the female image had been construed as inactive and passive because of its lack of masculinity.²³⁾

A statue of Song Qingling (1893_1981) in Song Qingling Tomb Garden, is also snow-white (**Figure22**).²⁴⁾ In 1948 she became the honorary chairman of the KMT Revolutionary Committee, a splinter group organised in Hong Kong to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Song remained on the mainland, where she was held in great reverence by communists because she symbolised the link between the People's Republic and the older revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-san. She became an important official within the new government, and in 1951 she was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize for her work on welfare and peace committees. In 1966, early in the Cultural Revolution, she was criticised by the Red Guards, but she retained her position. She was named honorary Chairman of the People's Republic in 1981, shortly before her death. A bronze statue of Zhao Yiman created in 1986 in Harbin has a noncommittal pose in contradiction to the image of her looking upward with knitted brows with her hair fluttering in a snowfield, holding a gun as if she were a



Figure21. Maiden of Peace, 2010



Figure22. Statue of Song Qingling, 2009



Figure23. Statue of Zhao Yiman, 2015

maverick soldier (**Figure23**). In the Northeast China Revolutionary Martyrs Memorial Hall in Harbin, the narrative emphasise not only as a female provocateur but also as an affectionate mother. Narratives of He Zichen frequently describe her lovely figure which Mao Zedong favoured, and her statue in Jinggangshan Cemetery gives her appearance of a young girl, with no hint of guerrilla. Intriguingly, the expression of maternal affection and physical attractiveness dose not necessarily influence the representation of women's bodies in statues. Indeed, it is quite difficult to read any lofty ideals from their vague facial expressions and featureless poses. As Warner points out, statues of males reflect individually, whereas statues of females are impersonal.²⁵⁾ Moreover, the lack of individuality in images of female martyrs has not continued in recent years. Female workers and Red Guards frequently depicted during the Cultural Revolution had not been as socially and economically independent, but were limited to stereotyped roles in building socialist China: healthy young women devoting themselves to Mao Zedong had to hold Little Red Book in order to show the authority based on Mao's existence.²⁶⁾ Women at that time were not seen as self-reliant, but were seen much as they were in the Soviet Union: female workers bravely engaged in the construction of steel towers were described as female Hercules figure, while in reality male workers actually played the central roles while women were considered to be submissive housewives.²⁷⁾

Statues of Qiu Jin, Zhao Yiman, Song Qingling and He Zichen were erected in the post Mao period; therefore they had already lost the socialist body postures that had represented Mao Zedong's thinking or socialism. Instead, the statues that

returned to the traditional forms of femininity and became rather graceful and delicate. However, they are less individual. These figures rarely depict the women's deeds, despite their brave and heroic acts as revolutionary martyrs. These elegant but bland figures might have been inspired by the 1980s campaign 'Women Return Home', which insisted that women should make room in the workplace for men in order to let the economy develop more rapidly. Though women could have made remarkable social advances during the Mao period, the economic reform since 1978 did not allow women to participate in social activities in the same way as men. In this context, Qiu Jin's beauty was portrayed as more important than her thought and behaviour, Zhao Yiman's maternity is emphasised over her indomitable courage, and He Zichen's charm is emphasised over her guerrilla activity. This trend has been accelerating since the beginning of the Red Tourism development, which repackaged the narrative of the revolution for both for ideological and commercial purposes.

Conclusion

Following the end of the Cultural Revolution, much criticism was directed at the Mao style of sculpture, because of its excessively ideological style and lack of originality and aesthetics. Nevertheless, Western sculptures have taken root in public spaces in China, and people enjoy the statues as a form of public art. While these statues were destroyed because of their anti-communist or feudal styles, in this decade, they have been frequently reconstructed in some large cities. However, these reconstructions seldom resembled the originals, which were not considered suitable for contemporary urban environments. Public parks today are not only places that commemorate martyrs of the revolution but also the places where citizens play badminton and practice traditional Chinese martial arts. In addition, heavy traffic can often make public squares with bronze statues in them seem narrow. People thus prefer more intimate statues that depict the traditional life to those of the martyrs of

the revolution positioned on the large pedestals, which one must look up to see. In this way, the relationship between the bronze statues and public spheres shifted to reflect the sociocultural changes in modern China.

According to Ueno, female soldiers have reported they felt they should compensate for their weaker fighting strength with exceptionally self-sacrificing actions in which they could narrowly serve legitimate male power, an extremely ‘feminine’ role.²⁸⁾ Though Qiu Jin, who had performed the leading role of organising troops for an uprising just well as a male revolutionary, and is honoured as a pioneer of the Xinhai Revolution, it might not be enough to convey that her glorious heroism originated from her self-sacrificing spirit as a woman. Liu Hulan is considered a model heroine for the socialist period, because her death demonstrated sublime self-abnegation. The wide popularity of Hua Mulan, fighting in place of her aged father, and Zhao Yiman, caring affectionately for her son, both reflect to some degree traditional values of Chinese patriarchal society. In the end, heroines who recklessly approached war victory motivated only by their own convictions were hardly visible. Both communist values that endorsed gender equality and traditional values mandating that women were should be good wives and mothers were accommodated by ambiguous expressions, neither brave nor feminine, in the public representation of female statues.

Notes

- 1) Marcel Mauss, “Techniques of the Body.” Nathan Schlanger (ed.) *Techniques, Technology and Civilisation*. Berghahn Books, 1935(2006), pp. 77-78.
- 2) Fan Hong and J. A. Mangan, “A Martyr for Modernity: Qiu Jin, Feminist, Warrior and Revolutionary.” *The international Journal of the History and Sport*. 18 (1), 2001, p.28.
- 3) Toru Yusa, *Wax Effigy, Bronze Statue and Portrait: Body and Politics in Modern China*. Hakuteisha, 2011, pp. 33-40.
- 4) Shi Mingzheng, “From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: the Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing.” *Modern China*, Vol. 24 No. 3, 1998, p. 233.

- 5) Virgil Kit-yiu Ho "Martyrs or Ghosts? A Short Cultural History of a Tomb in Revolutionary Canton, 1911-1970." *East Asian History*. 27, 2004, p. 107.
- 6) "Chen Yingshi Monument." *Shenbao* on 4 November 1930.
- 7) "Memorial Day of May-Thirtieth." *Minguo Ribao* on 30 May 1926.
- 8) "Huabei Government Announces Qingming Festival should be Held to Commemorate Revolutionary Martyrs." *People's Daily* on 18 May 1949, "memorial Day of Revolutionary martyrs, Huabei Government Requests to Collect Materials of Martyrs." *People's Daily* on 5 May 1949.
- 9) Hung Chang-tai, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic*. Cornell University Press, 2011, pp.216-218.
- 10) "Interpretation on Revolutionary martyrs." *People's Daily* on 15 October 1950.
- 11) "Trial of Regulations on Preferential Treatments to Family of Revolutionary Martyrs and Revolutionary Military Personnel." *People's Daily* on 14 December 1950. *People's Dairy* on 13 February 1950.
- 12) Chen Lin, "Vigorous Development of Soviet Cultural and Educational Projects: Introduce Cultural Pavilion in the Soviet Exhibition of Economic and Cultural Achievement." *People's Daily* on 30 September 1954.
- 13) Liu Kaiqu, "Study Soviet Sculptures." *People's Daily* on 15 October 1954.
- 14) Jiang Feng, "Great Development of Art Works." *People's Daily* on 11 October 1954.
- 15) John Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (eds.) *Body, Subject and Power in China*. The University of Chicago Press. 1994, p.68.
- 16) Maria Galikowski, *Art and Politics in China 1949-1985*. The Chinese University Press, 1998, p.123.
- 17) The square used to be called Hoten Great Square, where the monument of Victory to Russo-Japanese War (1904_05), stood along Yamato Hotel, managed by the South Manchuria Railway, Japanese Police office, some Japanese banks and office buildings, had stood and had been connected to the Fengtian Station (now Shenyang Station) through the main street, during the Japanese occupation (1932_45).
- 18) Liu Wenbing, *Shanghai in the Movies: City, Women and Propaganda as Representation*. Keio University Press, 2004, pp. 144-145.
- 19) Zou Yuejin, *New Chinese Art (1949-2000)*. Hunan Art Press, 2002, pp.116-117.
- 20) Hung Chang-tai, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*. University of California Press, 1994, p.77.
- 21) Zhang Xiaoqing, "Interpretation of Patriotic Heroism in Male Attire: about the Male Disguise Disposing Scenes in 'Mulan' and 'Hua Mulan'." *Ronsen Queer (Journal of Queer Studies Japan)* 4, 2011, p.88.
- 22) "Tombs' Renewal of Revolutionary Martyrs like Qiu Jin and Xu Xilin etc." *Zhejiang*

Ribao on 31 August 1981.

- 23) Wakakuwa Midori, *History of Images*. Chikuma Gakujutsu Bunko, 2012.
- 24) “Unveiling Ceremony of Song Qingling’s Statue Held in Shanghai.” *People’s Daily* on 28 January 1984.
- 25) Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the Allegory of the Female Form*. University of California Press, 1985, p.12.
- 26) Harriet Evans, “Comrade Sisters: Gendered Bodies and Spaces.” Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald (eds.) *Picturing Power in the People’s Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*. Roman & Littlefield Publishers. 1999, p.70.
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近代中国における身体の社会主義化

高山陽子

本稿の目的は、女性革命烈士の身体表象の分析を通して近代中国における身体の社会主義化について考察することである。中国革命の犠牲者を指す烈士は、1949年の中華人民共和国成立後、正式な身分として定められ、烈士陵园や烈士記念碑、烈士資料館などにおいて顕彰されてきた。それ以前から革命の犠牲者を英雄として埋葬し、記念する慣習は始まっており、辛亥革命前の旧暦1911年3月29日に広州で起こった武装蜂起の72名の犠牲者は、黄花崗に埋葬された。また、1907年に処刑された女性革命家の秋瑾の墓は幾度も移転し、記念碑は1933年にようやく作られた。このように辛亥革命以前の犠牲者の位置づけは1980年代まで曖昧であり続けた。1980年代後半に各地で烈士陵园や記念館が再建される過程で革命烈士として正式に認められた。

秋瑾は「巾幗英雄」（頭巾をかぶった英雄、女傑）と呼ばれ、井岡山でゲリラ活動に参加した賀子珍やハルビンで活動した趙一曼などの女性革命家の憧れとなった。彼女たちの立像は1980年代に作られたが、その特徴は1960年代から1970年代において社会主義の理念を身体で表現するため右手を高く挙げる・右足を深く踏み込むというポーズが見られないことである。さらに、6頭身程度の太い胴体に太い手足は見られなくなり、1980年代の烈士像は8頭身から9頭身のスマートな身体となった。とりわけ、女性革命烈士は細く優雅な姿をしているものが多い。趙一曼の像を除く秋瑾や賀子珍、孫文夫人の宋慶齡の像は大理石で作られ、優雅さを際立たせている。これらの烈士像は優雅であるものの、革命に身を捧げた烈士たちの理想や情熱を表現しているわけではなく、没个性的であり、空虚であるようにも見える。男性烈士像に比べて女性烈士像の没个性的な姿は、社会主義における男女平等と伝統的家父長制における母性の両方を表現した結果であるといえる。