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Women Performing the Modern:

Revue and the Heterotopia Space in Republic China (1920s-1930s)

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by

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Abstract

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of the history and society of modern China through the examination of Chinese revue, an all-women-cast commercial concert performance in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s. Chinese revue is an undiscovered genre of modern Chinese performance. Revue is a modern commercial performance by female performers that originated in France in the early 19th century and flourished to its zenith in the United States in the 1920s. At the same time, Japanese Takarazuka Revue Company introduced revue that has been performed to this day; the Chinese Bright Moon Ensemble developed a local Chinese version widely known as 歌舞剧 gewuju (song and dance drama), which, I argue, is in fact China's revue.

Based on historiography, performance studies, and gender studies, this project challenges the research method of reducing history into results and, instead, proposes the inextricability between the essential character of performance and the “results” of history. The research method is based on primary source in Chinese and Japanese such as the memoirs of Li Jinhui, the script of gewujut, *Shen Bao*, the *Shanghai Daily News*, and the *The Pei-yang Pictorial New Tientsin*. Combining Foucault's theory of heterotopia and theories of kinesthesia from performance studies, this thesis argues that revue performance creates a near-future heterotopia space, and that the sense of near-future experienced by the audience in the theater is modernity at that specific historical moment. The modernity represented by Chinese revue roots in the inextricable result of the characteristics of all-female performances, rather than a historical accident.

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Introduction

This thesis examines the relationship between all-female performance and modernity through the performance of Li Jinhui's revue in 1920s. I argue that Li's revue creates a heterotopia space of near-future—the experience of being in an ideal but realistic space while watching the performance and demonstrates the modes of awareness interrelated self-identifications of men and women through the female figure on revue stage. The audiences' physical sensation of experiencing the near-future space constitutes a unique embodiment of modernity during the 1920s and 1930s in Republic China.

This thesis has two purposes. First, I verify that the performance created by Li Jinhui, widely known as gewuju 歌舞剧 (song and dance drama) in China, is in fact a genre of China's revue. Originating from Shanghai, Gewuju, or Chinese revue, shared aesthetic similarities with American and Japanese revue at that time that highlight spectacle and gender-specific performance. Meanwhile, Chinese revue demonstrated its own unique characteristics by incorporating Chinese folk dance and theater culture into it. Scholars generally regarded Li Jinhui as the pioneer of the Chinese children musical because his work was used to popularize musical education and Mandarin,¹ and evaluated the gewuju as a cabaret, for his popular songs

¹ Xiang, Yansheng, *Biography of Modern Chinese Musician* 中国近现代音乐家传,

were played in dance halls and nightclubs,² There is no doubt that Li Jinhui contributed both to musical education and popular songs. However, scholars have failed to take a coherent view on the formative process of gewuju: both the popularization of Mandarin and the modern entertainment industry, are overlooked to discuss gewuju in the context of revue globalization. This thesis, therefore, will place gewuju in the context of the globalized popularity of revue in the 1920s, particularly in the interaction between Chinese revue and Japanese Takarazuka revue, and demonstrate that gewuju is a type of revue that focuses on spectacular visualization and female beauty, proposing revue as a new genre of modern Chinese performance.

Second, this thesis aims at proposing an inextricable relation between the all-female performance and modernity, which is determined by the specificity of the female body and essential character of performance. Studies of the modern era have often been based on the development of technology and the commodity economy. In gender studies, women have not escaped the male gaze. In cross-cultural studies, the localization of the West's modernity in East Asian countries is often viewed from a colonialist perspective. As a result, female

(Shenyang : Zhun Feng Wen Yi Press, 1994),189 ; Andrew F, Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age*, (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2001), 75

² Wilcox, Emily, *Revolutionary Bodies: Chinese Dance and the Socialist Legacy*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 23

performance is frequently seen as modern entertainment shaped by technological and economic developments, along with male dominance as a factor. Revue became popular in the Western world in the 1920s, and it also emerged locally in China and Japan simultaneously. Performances by females are rooted in the soil of different cultures, showing the inextricable bond between women and the modern era through revue. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the specificity of “female body” and “performance” to demonstrate a necessity connection between revue in the 1920s and modernity, rather than an accumulation of material development and male-dominated historical factors. This research suggests the possibility of using performance as a vehicle to understand history and society through an interdisciplinary perspective.

This thesis uses first-hand sources such as newspapers, magazines, memoirs of Li Jinhui and members of the Bright Moon Ensemble to analyze the visual elements of the female performers of the Bright Moon Ensemble and the audience's reactions, combining historical material on the role of the Japanese Takarazuka revue in the formation of the Chinese revue. In addition, inspired by Michel Foucault's heterotopia space theories, this thesis will incorporate the kinesthetics system of the human body in performance theory to propose a new perspective on the heterotopia space of performance.

This thesis will discuss three aspects in three sections. The first section examines the heterotopia space for performance based on Foucault's theory of Heterotopia and how this theory informs the socio-historical realities of the 1920s' Shanghai that gave birth to Chinese revue. The second section focuses on the embodiment of female and male modes of awareness in the female figures of Chinese revue, demonstrating that the female figures of revue embody the different self-identifications of women and men in the 1920s. The third section addresses the inextricability of the relationship between women's performance and the embodiment of the modern. This inextricability includes all-female performance which carries the nature of the creation of a heterotopia space of near-future, and kinesthetics of the human body which allows audiences to internalize the near-future space as a personal experience, thus gaining a sense of modernity.

1. Heterotopia space of revue

1.1 Heterotopia concept and heterotopia space of the theater

Philosopher Michel Foucault first proposed the idea of Heterotopia in his lecture in 1967 where he referred to this idea as a way of conceptualizing space.³ He perceived the interior of space from the external structure of space, or rather, the interior of space is defined by the external structure. According to Iwan Sudradjat, heterotopia is a medical term that refers to the displacement of an organ or part of the body from its normal position.⁴ Foucault used this term to refer to a space that is juxtaposed to, but incompatible with, real space.⁵ Another space that is opposed to the real space is utopia. However, according to Foucault, utopia is a space that is outside of reality, unreal, fantastic, and perfect, while heterotopia is a space that has real borders, but the interior content of the space is the other side of the world that is not integrated with reality.⁶ Foucault used the analogy of the mirror, in which the world is unreal, but the mirror itself, the object that reflects reality, is real.⁷ In other words, the space of

³ Iwan, Sudradjat, "Foucault, the Other Spaces, and Human Behaviour," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 36 (Universiti Teknologi MARA), 2012, 28

⁴ Iwan, Sudradjat, 28

⁵ Iwan, Sudradjat, 29

⁶ Michel, Foucault and Jay, Miskowiec "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, Spring, Vol. 16, No. 1. (The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1986, 23

⁷ Michel, Foucault and Jay, Miskowiec, 24

Heterotopia is a space between reality and utopia, which needs to be guided by a real object to enter an unreal world.

The space in Foucault's Heterotopia refers to a space constructed through static matter, for example, boats, cemeteries, gardens and museums. Different places are formed due to the different designs and materials that constitute them. The functionality of these places in combination with human needs determines the spatial nature of the places. For example, a cemetery consists of a monolith that people built for the deceased in order to remember them through a world after death.⁸ The space composed of monoliths with the memory of the deceased becomes a world that is both real and unreal. On the basis of the material as the constitution of space, Foucault paid major attention to the space of being seen. However, human perception of space is not by a single sense, but by the interaction of all the senses of the body, that is, the kinesthetic system. James J. Gibson defined the kinesthetic system "as one that integrates information about position, motion, and orientation with other visual, aural, and tactile information so as to construct as sense of one's location in the world."⁹ The human perception of space is not the image of space as seen, but the presence of space as felt by the

⁸ Iwan, Sudradjat, 31

⁹ Susan, Leigh, Foster, *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance*. London; New York: Routledge, 2011, 74

body. In other words, space can be an invisible but real presence that felt by the body.

Performance, body movement with visual and auditory stimuli, can also evoke the perception of space. Based on Foucault's definition of Heterotopia as both a real and unreal space, performance can create a real but invisible space of Heterotopia. This space does not come into being through people's eyes, but their senses.

Theater is the place where the heterotopia space gains its actualization through performance. As Adrian Kiernander says, "the theater space is itself the perfect example of heterotopia."¹⁰ He believes that the heterotopia nature of the theater is expressed in two ways: one is the theater as a building, a space with a special purpose in the city; the other is the stage, where actors play different roles to create another world on stage.¹¹ Kiernander adopted Foucault's theory of the theater as a subject and considers the performance and the theater separately: the place of the theater is one space, and the stage where the performance is staged is another. There is no correlation between the performance and theater. However, what does the theater exist for? Can a place be called a theater if there is no performance in it? As shown

¹⁰ Adrian, Kiernander, *Staging Heterotopia: The Theatre of Other Spaces*, Armidale, N.S.W.: University of New England, 1997, 16

¹¹ Adrian, Kiernander, 16

in the following section, the theater space in Shanghai in the 1920s and the Chinese revue that emerged from it serves as an example to show that performance creates a near-future space. The role of the theater is to materialize the invisible heterotopia space formed by the performance into a visible space.

1.2 The Birth of Chinese revue

1.2.1 The founder of Chinese revue—Li Jinhui

Gweuju 歌舞剧, song and dance drama, performed by Bright Moon Ensemble were popular in Shanghai in the late 1920s.¹² It was a new genre of song and dance composed by Li Jinhui.

Li Jinhui, who was a musician, an educator, and the father of Chinese popular music. He was born as the second son of Changtang Li, an intellectual family in Xiangtan County, Hunan Province in 1891. The Li family had been a family of intellectuals for generations. His

¹² According to the *Shenbao*'s report, from July 1st to 4th, Li Jinhui led the Bright Moon Ensemble to stage a revue at the Pantheon Theatre, which became a big hit in the city, the seats downstairs were so full that the audience even wished to stand and watch. It staged additional performance from the 23rd to the 26th. Jin Huating, "A Note on Attending the Song and Dance Festival (2)" "參觀歌舞大會記(二)," *Shen Bao*, July 4th, 1927,16; "Chinese Dance and Song Festival at Pantheon Theatre" "中華歌舞大會假座百星大戲院公演," *Shen Bao*, July 21st, 1927,18

eleven brothers and sisters made outstanding achievements in the fields of education, the arts, and science in China. In particular, eight of his male siblings were known as “Xiangtan Eight Great Sons 湘潭八駿.”¹³ His music career began with using folk music to compose school songs; after that, he set up the Bright Moon musical club in 1920 and started music activities centered on folk music. Li Jinhui used new folk songs to popularize the standard pronunciation of Mandarin during the Chinese Language Movement. To increase public interest in learning Mandarin, he choreographed new dances following children's songs. This process established the original form of children's drama; He published this work in a children's magazine, *Little Friend* 小朋友, which promoted a wide range of children's musical dramas.

In 1925, Li Jinhui resigned from his position as editor of *Little Friend*, and he began to consider advancing children's drama to a modern form. In 1927, Li Jinhui established the Chinese Song and Dance School and the Bright Moon Ensemble to perform revue. This troupe

¹³ The eldest son, Li Jinxi (1890-1978), was a linguist and inventor of the alliterative marking system. Second son, Li Jinhui (1891-1967) was a music educator and the father of Chinese popular music. Third son, Li Jinyao (1895-1954) was a mineralogist, fourth son, Li Jinxuan (1899-1954) was an educator and publisher, fifth son, Li Jinxiong (1901-1981) was a bridge architect, sixth son, Li Jinming (1905-1995) was a writer in the May Fourth Period, and seventh son Li, Jinguang (1907-1993) was a musician, and the composer of “Ye Lai Xiang.” Eighth son, Li, Jingyang (1915-2018), was a writer who lived in the United States. His play “Flower Drum Song” was adapted into a music play and performed on Broadway in 1960. Peng, Wenzhong *Hunan historical and cultural families: the Xiangtan Li family* 湖南歷代文化世家:湘潭黎氏, (Hunan People's Press), 2010, 35

gave performances centered in Shanghai and was well-liked by audiences. However, the political tension interrupted its activities in Shanghai and forced Li Jinhui to arrange a performing tour around Southern East Asia in 1929. The Bright Moon Ensemble was disbanded at the end of this tour, for several members left the troupe to stay in the local countries.

This dissolution caused Li Jinhui to become stranded for one year in Singapore with inadequate money to return. He composed one hundred family love songs to collect money, which later became the first Chinese popular songs. In 1930, he returned to Shanghai and reorganized the Bright Moon to perform in northern cities, including Beijing, Tianjin, and Shenyang. He used love songs instead of children's songs; however, the audiences distasted the visual stimulation for personal enjoyment of revue, which they considered improper and incompatible with patriotism. This failure ended Li Jinhui's leadership position at the Bright Moon Ensemble. He transferred the troupe to his brother Li Jinguang and composed Chinese popular music after leaving the troupe, which was prevalent through the nightclubs and dance halls in the 1930s to the 1940s.¹⁴

¹⁴ The career of Li Jinhui is referred to Sun, Jiunan, *Li Jinhui and His Music* 黎锦晖和黎派音乐, (Shanghai Music Academy Press 2007),1-85; Li, Jinhui, “Me and the Bright Moon (one)” “我和明月社,” *Cultural History* 3, (Culture History Press), 1982, 90-127; Li, Jinhui, “Me and the the Bright Moon (two),” *Cultural History* 4, (Culture History Press), 1983, 206-216; Peng, Wenzhong, 148-257.

The evaluation of Li Jinhui in the modern Chinese history is a tortuous process. As Jones commented that Li Jinhui's life was “ambiguity” and “complexity.”¹⁵ Li Jinhui devoted himself to popularizing the Mandarin language and nation-building with his music, while after the 1930s KMT, Chinese Nationalist Party, attempted to ban his music because of its “decadence” and “vulgarity,”¹⁶ and by 1932, when Japan began to invade China, leftist critics labeled his music as vulgar capitalist enjoyment. In particular, Nie Er, his student and member of the Bright Moon Ensemble and composer of the Chinese national anthem, criticized Li Jinhui's *Poem on Banana Leaves* in the *Shanghai Times*¹⁷ as a vulgar and low sense work. After establishing the People's Republic of China in 1949, Li Jinhui was labeled as “the founder of yellow music (decadent music),” and died in 1966; since that, his works were rarely mentioned. The change happened in the 1980s, Li Jinhui was recognized as the founder of children's drama, but the criticism of creating decadent music still remained. The position of Li Jinhui was reviewed in 1993 when Sun Jinan, a leading researcher in Li Jinhui, published *Critical Biography of Li Jinhui* 黎锦晖评传. Li Jinhui's achievements were recognized at a memorial conference celebrating the 110th anniversary of his birth in 2001,

¹⁵ Andrew F, Jones, 75

¹⁶ Andrew F, Jones, 74

¹⁷ *Shanghai Times*, July,1932,13

and his work began attracting the attention of researchers.

Scholars have rediscovered Li Jinhui's work primarily by focusing on the musical aspect. However, Li Jinhui's goal was to create a gewuju that the masses could enjoy, and music is one part of gewuju. Beyond the domestic transition of building nation and developing a modern state in China, placing China in the context of the interaction between East Asia and the world provides a new perspective on Li Jinhui's gewuju. This perspective of globalization is one that has been overlooked by scholars studying gewuju.

I argue that the widely known gewuju in the 1920's China was in fact China's revue, and Li Jinhui created this Chinese revue through productions of the Bright Moon Ensemble. Gewuju, or Chinese revue, which originated from Shanghai, shared aesthetic similarities with American and Japanese revue at that time that highlight spectacle and gender-specific performance. Meanwhile, Chinese revue demonstrated its own unique characteristics by incorporating Chinese folk dance and theater culture into it.

1.2.2 The genre of revue

Revue is "a topical, satirical show consisting of a series of scenes and episodes, usually having a central theme but not a dramatic plot, with spoken verse and prose, sketches,

songs, dances, ballet, and specialty acts.”¹⁸ It was a fusion of multiple performance forms, and the content was used to examine and satirize current events. Revue was born in France in the early nineteenth century; initially it was added to other performances as an incidental entertainment performed in pubs and clubs. In other words, it was not an independent genre of performance.

The establishment of the revue genre was in the United States in the 1920s. Broadway dance shows in the United States began to prosper as entertainment in the early twentieth century. Early American dance shows imitated the nature and custom of eighteenth-century England. The vital evolution of show dance was the arrival of the French dancer, acrobat, and choreographers. French choreographer Alexandre Placide brought a rigid and formal system and belief in female beauty as a “surest guarantee of commercial success” into America, which lay on an exacting standard of American performance.¹⁹

A performance system was established built the tradition of precision dance in American show business in 1910. The movements and positions of performers on the stage

¹⁸ “Revue” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [second edition], vol.21, 242

¹⁹ Richard, Kislak, *Hoofing on Broadway: A History of show Dancing*, (New York: Prentice Hall Press),1987, 9-11

were calculated by the dance director, and performers were trained to perform highly skilled dance movements, such as high kicking. However, the techniques that performers learned were different from ballet; it was to show the magnificent costumes and stage setting instead of supporting plot; for instance, Ned Wayburn, the choreographer of the Ziegfeld show, gave the world the famous “Ziegfeld walk.” It performed at an oblique angle, and the movement featured a highly stylized walk for the showgirls to walk safely and in comfort to respond to an uncommonly steep riser.²⁰

The establishment of a performance system corresponds to the feature of revue that is emphasizing visual sensibility rather than narrating stories to create an aggregate of beautiful factors on stage. Another feature of the revue is that its attribution of commercial show. The factors on stage need to serve to attract audience attention. Ned Wayburn said that “feminine form be as near perfect as possible in order to attract the attention of the eye of the audience as well as the ear ... Audiences will not come to the box office with their money to see ugly, misshapen girls on the stage.”²¹ Based on this concept, the elements on the revue stage required to be beautiful and a large number of young women are recruited into the revue troupe.

²⁰ Richard, Kislán, 52

²¹ Richard, Kislán, 53

In Ziegfeld's revue, which created the zenith of the revue, actresses' selection was based on "beauty" and had extremely strict standards. The examiner evaluated candidates' internal qualities based on their movements, such as walking, standing, and holding things; after they passed this section, their body suitability could be considered.²² Based on the characteristics of looks and figures, girls were assigned to different groups to perform different programs.

The conditions for selecting actresses were to stipulate "beauty artificially." Therefore, the female performers on the revue stage does not exist as women but represents a symbol of femininity. In other words, the stage of the revue is an artificial space with extreme aesthetics that focus on presenting the extreme—the most magnificent, the shiniest, and as many colors as possible, that all condensed into a feature of femininity on stage.

Performance of Chinese Revue was aurally and visually distinct from Chinese traditional opera. Unlike opera, songs of Chinese revue were not performed in dialect but were based on the pronunciation of the standard mandarin in use today. Its performances were performed in a manner similar to the usual spoken language of speech and music contained

²² Richard, Kislán, 54

both Western and traditional Chinese instruments, combining various Western dances²³. In terms of styling, the actresses wear short hair, bare feet, and dresses that show their legs and arms. Compared with women in traditional opera who were portrayed by men who expressed female features by the patterns and colors of the clothes, revue used the real female body and exposed their limbs directly. It created an unprecedented portrayal of women on stage.

1.2.3 Shaonü image and the interconnection with Takarazuka revue

Shaonü 少女, school-age girls, represented a significant feature of the Chinese revue. Li Jinhui choosing girls as performers was influenced by Japanese Takarazuka Revue. There were a few records about the interaction between the Takarazuka Revue Company and the Bright Moon Ensemble. Li Jinhui mentioned in his biography that he watched Takarazuka's historical performance in Shanghai, when he completed the new song, *Poor Qiuxiang* 可怜的秋香, in 1921. Due to this experience, he created a Chinese historical musical, *Chang Heng Ge* 长恨歌, based on the Chinese poem of Bai Jūyī 白居易.²⁴

²³ Swan Dance, Sailor Dance, Western Folk Dance, Babylonian Dance. Li, Jinhui, 1982, 118-119

²⁴ Li Jinhui, 1982, 120-121

In addition, *Shen Bao* recorded that a Japanese Shōjo²⁵ Opera Company performed in Shanghai in 1923 (image 1). Although Takarazuka was not named on the title, the Shōjo performance was present in Shanghai, which provided a convenience for Li Jinhui to experience the Japanese Shōjo revue. Consequently, in the script of *Grape Fairy* 葡萄仙子, He mentioned that creating a Shaonü performance he learned from the Takarazuka (image 2).²⁶ It can be seen that the Takarazuka Shōjo revue gave a direct impact on the formation of Chinese revue.

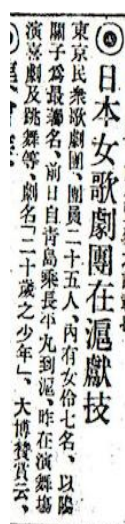


Image 1

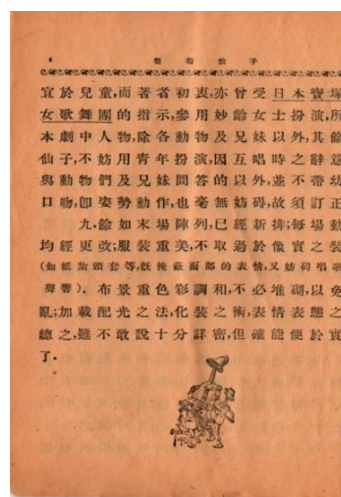


Image 2

Shōjo image of Takarazuka revue was developed in Shōjo Opera, which result in Japan creating the national opera in modern times. At the beginning of the Meiji era, Japanese

²⁵ The Japanese “Shōjo” is the same as the Chinese “Shaonü 少女.”

²⁶ Li, Jinhui, *The script of Grape Fairy*, (Zhonghua Book Press), 1928, 4

intellectuals looked towards reforming Japanese theater, attempting to establish Japanese opera to compete with Western opera. Kobayashi Ichizou of the Arima Railway Company in Osaka had an ambition to create Japanese national opera after watching the Japanese opera, Kumano 熊野, staged at the Imperial Theater in 1912.²⁷ He established the Takarazuka Girls Singing team to train female singers for Japanese opera in 1913. However, the birth of Takarazuka Revue was not only for a performing arts pursuit, but it was also an urban entertainment pursuit born along with the economic development of Japan's railways and the construction of urban modernity.

When the Takarazuka Girls Singing team was established, it was the time when Kobayashi planned to improve the utilization rate of the railway for Arima Railway Company. He designed a residential area along with the railway. In order to attract passengers to travel to the suburbs, he changed the terminal station of Takarazuka city from an exclusively hot spring area into a family-enjoyed entertainment area. The Takarazuka Girls Singing performed singing to audiences at first, but it shifted to an ensemble as Takarazuka Shojo opera to perform

²⁷ Miyamoto, Naomi, "Gender on Stage and Female Low Voice : Male Role in The Takarazuka Revue Company in Comparison with Trouser Role in Western Opera" "女声の低音と舞台上のジェンダー:オペラにおけるズボン役との比較から見た宝塚歌劇の男役," *Popular Music Studies* 18, 33-47, 2015, 35

children drama. The first performance of Takarazuka Shojo opera was held on April 1st, 1914, by 17 girls between the ages of 12 and 17, at a theatre with a remodelled indoor pool. The performances were all three, the fairy tale drama *Don Buraco*, *Ukare Daruma*, and the dance *Kocho* based on *Momotaro*.²⁸ As the show was welcomed by audiences, Kobayashi considered including male performers to organize an ideal opera played by both female and male performers. For this reason, Takarazuka recruited male performers in 1919, while audiences dissatisfied with this change by the appearance of male performers on stage destroyed the sense of purity of the all-female performance. As a result, the plan of together female and male performers only lasted 10 months, and after that, Takarazuka was performed by only female performers. In order to complement male images on stage, female performers begin to play male roles, *Otoko Yaku* 男役, in 1930. *Otoko Yaku* has become one of the characteristics of the Takarazuka performance continuing to this day.

Bright Moon Ensemble had interconnection between the and Takarazuka Revue in the later period. A review on Takarazuka by the article, “Go to Takarazuka to Watch Shōjo Opera 到宝塚去观少女歌剧” (image 3) introduced the Takarazuka in detail to Chinese

²⁸ History of Takarazuka Revue (1914-1922),
<https://kageki.hankyu.co.jp/fun/history1914.html>

audiences.²⁹ It can be seen that Takarazuka caught the attention of the Chinese intellectuals and it earned certain fame in Shanghai.



Image 3

In addition, Japanese newspapers advertised Li Jinhui’s Shaonü revue in 1931. *The Shanghai Daily News* published two advertisements of the Bright Moon Ensemble said that they would be held from June 9th to 13th in Shanghai. The titles were “Li Jinhui instructed, Special Performance by Lianhua Shaonü Ensemble (image4)” and “Chinese Shōjo Opera (image 5).”³⁰ In this advertisement, it contrasted with the Takarazuka Shōjo revue to attract Japanese audiences. It said that it is “a lovely 36-member opera company with an artistic feel

²⁹ Zha, Shiyuan, “Go to Takarazuka to Watch Shōjo Opera”, “到宝塚去观少女歌剧”, *Shen Bao*, September 13th, 1927

³⁰ From 1930, the Bright Moon Ensemble merged with the LianHua Film Company and changed its name to LianHua Ensemble.

that should be compared to the Japanese Takarazuka Shōjo opera (image 4).³¹” Therefore, not only Chinese audiences knew about Japanese Takarazuka, but also Japanese audiences began to know about the Bright Moon Ensemble. The interaction of the Shōjo performance restored the history through the newspaper.

On June 10th, 1931, the review of the Bright Moon, titled “The First Impression of the Chinese Shōjo Opera,” was published after the first-day performance (image 6). It says:

The joint Lian Hua Film Company revue, under the direction of Mr. Li Jinhui, opened its first day at Odeon Theater on North Sichuan Road on the ninth of yesterday. The cast, all of whom were young girls, was also very attractive, and the half-naked dancing, which was full of eroticism, attracted the audience. I saw the director's efforts to stir up the audience by waving a blue-and-white flag in the air at the end of the play. Although I don't think the stage set and performers were superior to those of the Japanese opera, the effort of the Chinese opera, which was full of a new spirit, was fully

³¹ *Shanghai Daily News* 上海日日新聞, June 9th, 1931

appreciated.³²

This is a late performance of the Bright Moon Ensemble in 1931. “Shōjo” was mentioned in the title, and the angle of comparing with Japanese Shōjo Opera showed that Japanese audiences had accepted the Bright Moon Ensemble as the same genre as Japanese Shōjo Opera.

院戲大安迪奧

毎日午後 三時 五時半 九時十五分の三回

黎錦暉氏指導
聯華少女歌劇團
特別公演

可愛らしい少女三十六名の歌劇團で日本の寶塚少女歌劇に比すべき藝術的白ひを有つてゐる

夜場……六十仙 一弗半
八十仙 一弗半

北四川路
オデオンシヤター

Image 4

支那少女歌劇
オデオンで

支那少女歌劇が今九月から十三日まで五日即ち北四川路オデオンで開演するが、一座は昨年八月大連に於て開演し日本人間にも好評を博した（寫眞は「努力」ことだらう）

「の一面で右から所加、茶山、張山、韓國英、黎利、魏紫、張芳菲、張群、楊依露」



Image 5

支那少女歌劇
初日の印象

黎錦暉氏指導の明月歌劇社、支那少女歌劇団、大衆公同歌劇、から北四川路オデオンで初日の幕を開けた

だが支那トーカーの準備として意氣込んで居るだけに音楽と歌唱の巧妙さは確かに支那歌劇の一翼である出演者が全部演劇たる少女揃ひであることも驚愕しがよくエロバロントの半裸體ダンスもあつて觀衆を魅したが無蓋客車としては切りの「最後優勝」が一寸氣が利いてゐる勝利に青天白日旗を振り輝したりして觀衆をやんやと輝かしたり監督の苦心が見えた、日本の歌劇に就ては無蓋客車も出演者も歸つて居るとは思へぬが新興氣分の溢れた支那歌劇の勢力は充分に顯取された

Image 6

³² *Shanghai Daily News*, June 10th, 1931

From the above newspaper reports, the interaction between China and Japan in the Shōjo revue began in the early 1920s, and Chinese Shaonü revue was influenced by Japanese Takarazuka revue. In an environment of increasing political tension, cultural exchanges in China and Japan drew closer. In the process of mutual acceptance, the phenomenon of Shōjo revue was promoted by China and Japan.

The female performers in revue were young girls, an unprecedented portrayal of women on stage. These aural and visual elements bring new sensory stimulation to the audience, and revue's performances are also seen as recent Chinese entertainment. What is the connection between an all-female performance and modernity?

1.3 Transformation of the Theatrical Space in Shanghai

1.3.1 Western Settlement in Shanghai

The birth of China revue was not the application of completely new elements. Rather, it was a new combination of cultural elements based on the ones that already exist. The space that provides the elements needed for revue is Shanghai. The settlement and the Chinese community form a space where East and West encountered and become diverse in Shanghai. Traditional Chinese performance is actively interacting with the current environment in this

space, while maintaining its tradition. In other words, the past is preserved in the present. Revue and traditional Chinese theatre reunite in the present environment, while creating a near-future space on the basis of it.

The transformation of Shanghai's theater space from a traditional style to a Western style occurred under the influence of the settlement and the birth of performance with an emphasis on visual elements. In 1843, Shanghai was officially opened as a port under the *Treaty of Nanking and the Regulations of the Five Ports of Trade*. After the opening of the port, England, France and the United States established their respective settlements in Shanghai. The British were the first to bring Western performing arts to Shanghai. They not only rebuilt the buildings and facilities of their homeland in the settlement and created a Western style living environment, but also brought their own entertainment to Shanghai. In the early days of the British Settlement, a lot of the activities were male-dominated sporting events, however as more and more people moved in with their families and the number of women increased, cultural activities such as theater, music and dances increased along with them.³³ The theater company was organized and a theater dedicated to theatrical performances was established.

³³ Enomoto, Yasuk, *Shanghai: One Hundred Years of a Multinational City* 上海:多国籍都市の百年, (Tōkyō : Chūō Kōron Shinsha), 2009, 45-48

This was the Lyceum Theater, which became the center of the performing arts in Shanghai.³⁴

In order to accompany the theater with music, amateur musicians existed, and as theater activities developed, musical activities also evolved, such as the Shanghai Public Band, founded in 1879, transforming from amateur to professional and becoming the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in 1927.³⁵ In addition, electric light was developed in Shanghai in 1882. Movies were shown for the first time in the Xuhui district of Shanghai as a new form of entertainment in 1896, and the Spanish Ramos built a special movie theater with a capacity of 250 people in 1908.³⁶ After him, movie theater were established in Shanghai in succession. Meanwhile, the introduction of electricity brought with it a variety of “watching” entertainment, such as magic, slides, and movies. The Western culture and new forms of entertainment in the settlement influenced the transformation of Shanghai's performance.

³⁴ Shanghai Lyceum Theater was named according to the British Lyceum Theater. Fujita, Takuyuki, “Shanghai Foreign Society and Lyceum” “上海の外国人社会とライシヤム劇場,” (Tokyo: Bensei Press), Asia Yugaku (183), 2015, 9

³⁵ Enomoto, Yasuko “Establishment of Shanghai Public Band: the History of Shanghai Municipal Orchestral(1)” “上海パブリックバンドの誕生:工部局交響楽団の歴史(その1),” *Language and Culture* 5, 2002, 95-96

³⁶ Shirai Keisuke “Before the Winds of Modernity: Shanghai Modern and the Dawn of Chinese Cinema” “モダンの風が吹く前に:上海モダンと中国映画の黎明期,” (Tokyo: Bensei Press), Asia Yugaku (62), 2004,159

1.3.2 From “listening” to “watching:” visual appeal and a new stage setting

In the 1910s, a movement was launched to improve traditional theater in China.³⁷

The main change was from the emphasis on “listening” to “watching.” The appreciation habits of traditional theater were divided into two ways: “northern” and “southern.” There is a saying: “Northerners listen to opera, Southerners watch it.”³⁸ Since Peking Opera performances in Beijing were associated with the court, the content and manner of the performances had to follow a set of rules.³⁹ Therefore, the audience was familiar with the style and content of Beijing opera and was interested in the voice and singing ability of the actors. This is the reason why people saying “listening to Peking Opera” in Beijing. In contrast, Fujimino Mako argues that Shanghai was a region made up of people from different regions, and because there is no common ground, audiences who do not follow tradition welcome “highly entertaining performances,” and it led to the staging of more visual plays, creating a difference in viewing

³⁷ According to Hirabayashi, the origins of theatrical reform can be traced back to "the drama reform movement at the end of the Qing dynasty, which aimed at enlightening the public through drama against the backdrop of a sense of national crisis and a desire for social revolution, while at the same time aiming to improve drama itself; Hirabayashi, Norikazu “The Opera reformation in Shanghai in the late Qing dynasty” “清末上海の改良-新戯その理念と実状,” *Chinese Literature Study* 23, 1997, 81

³⁸ Xu, Ke, *Anthology of Petty Matters in Qing* 清稗类钞, (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju Press), 1984, 5061

³⁹ Tang, Xueying, *A Study of Shanghai Opera in the Early Republican Period* 民国初期上海戏曲研究, (Beijing Shi : Beijing da xue chu ban she), 2012, 241

habits between the North and the South.⁴⁰ In other words, the emergence of visual theater resulted in the formation of “watching” customs. However, since the Ming Dynasty, there have been “Jiayue Xiban 家乐戏班,”⁴¹ family theater troupe, especially in the Jiang Nan region,⁴² which was the center of performing traditional opera. The Jiayue Xiban was a private theater group run by wealthy royalty and merchants. Audiences can watch the performance in a close distance, while the makeup and costumes of the performers were highly emphasised as a way to show the status and wealth of the royal family and merchants.⁴³ Therefore, the Shanghai habit of watching for the visual experience is thought to have been formed in the Ming Dynasty.

The reform of Peking Opera took place in the context of the viewing habits of the Shanghainese “watching.” First, the content of the Peking Opera was changed to be more story-based⁴⁴. Second, the stage sets were set up to attract more attention.⁴⁵ Last, the Dan (men

⁴⁰ Fujino, Mako, *Shanghai Peking Opera: Media and Reform* 上海の京劇:メディアと改革, (Tokyo: Chugoku Bunko), 2015, 9

⁴¹ The “Jiayue Xiban” consisted mainly of female performers in which women sang and danced. In the Yuan dynasty, the performance of “Zaju 杂剧” flourished, and in the Ming dynasty, the genre of “Xiqu 戏曲” became popular, they were the main programs of the “Jiayue Xiban.” Zhang, Fayin, *Chinese Jiayue Xiban* 中国家乐戏班(Beijing: Xueyuan Press), 2002, 9

⁴² Jiang Nan is a geographic area in China referring to lands immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, including the southern part of its delta.

⁴³ Zhang, Fayin, 147-151

⁴⁴ Tang, Xueying, 114

⁴⁵ Hirabayashi, Nobukazu, “Shanghai and ‘Kanxi’-Aspects of Modernization of Peking

playing female roles) of Peking Opera began to attract attention.⁴⁶

As Peking Opera began to emphasize visuality, the stage also shifted to assist the performance to present visuality. In 1908, Xia Yue Shan and Xia Yue Run improved the Peking Opera stage by building a new type of theater, the “New Stage,” which was the first stage along the front of China.⁴⁷ The new stage incorporated Japanese and European architectural styles, transforming the old square stage into a half-moon shape with semi-circular seating around the stage, machines that could rotate on the stage, and a backdrop and curtain, creating a space where dozens of people could perform simultaneously.⁴⁸ The emergence of modern theater makes it possible to set up a mechanical stage.

The “Liantaiben 连台本” emerged during the Republican period, which was similar in style to the traditional “Zhezixi 折子戏.” The style of the Liantaiben is similar to that of a modern TV drama. It is presented in the form of a complete story. However, the duration of each performance varies from one day to several weeks, and the number of stories also varies

opera” “上海と「看戲」-京劇近代化の一側面,” *Bulletin of Graduate Division of Literature of Waseda University*, Special issue 21,1994, 139

⁴⁶ Fujino, Mako,138

⁴⁷ Fujino, Mako, 10

⁴⁸ Tang, Xueying, 40

from two or three to dozens.⁴⁹ In order to keep the audience's attention, newer stage sets were set up, mechanical stage sets were installed, and stage backdrops were made to resemble the real thing, even using real objects to convey visual stimuli.⁵⁰

1.3.3 Women-centered performance

The main body of the performer was recognized as the stage highlighted visual stimulation. With the establishment of the new style of theater, the ticket purchasing system abolished the old system of "An Muzhi 按目制" and turned into a theater selling tickets. The An Muzhi system meant that theater tickets were held by a special group of agents and sold back to the audience. The intermediaries had the right to intervene in the repertoire staged by the theater, and the management of the theatre.⁵¹ In addition, tea and snacks were stopped being served, and watching a play became the main purpose of the theater. The advent of modern theaters improved the theater system and provided a quieter environment for actors to

⁴⁹ Fujino, Mako, 13

⁵⁰ Hirabayashi noted, "Around the same time as the introduction of electric lights in the tea gardens, a trend emerged to emphasize 'authenticity,' or the use of real objects, in the form of performances." He also pointed out two trends in the use of real objects: One is the use of real swords and spears in the Wuxi (martial arts) performances, and the other is the use of real objects in the Dengcaixi (light and colorful) performances. Hirabayashi, Nobukazu, 139

⁵¹ Tan, Fan, *You ling: the Sadness of Ancient Actors* 优伶:古代演员悲欢录. (Shanghai: Baijia Press), 2002, 65-67

perform than before. Tan argues that in traditional theater, the performance was determined by the audience, but the emergence of modern theater raised the consciousness of the theater and the actors themselves.⁵² With the advent of modern theater, the traditional relationship between the audience and the actors began to change.

With the shift of interest from the audio to the visual of a performance, the female figure on stage became the focus of the audience's attention. The audience changed from appreciating the actor's voice to appreciating the integrated stage image of the voice and the actor's body, including costumes and body movements. For example, after the reform of Peking Opera, the “Huaxing 花形” was born, which could perform a variety of “Dan 旦” roles.⁵³ Traditional Peking Opera emphasizes “singing” and was centered on the “Laosheng 老生.”⁵⁴ In the 1920s, Mei Lanfang, Cheng Yanqiu, Shang Xiaoyun and Xun Huisheng developed the art of “Dan,” and they came to be known as the “Four Great Dans.” Initially, actors could only perform one type of “Dan”. In order to accommodate the various variations on stage, the “Huaxing” came into being, which is the ability to perform more than one type of “Dan.”

⁵² Tan, Fan, 67

⁵³ In Beijing opera, “Dan” is a male playing a female role.

⁵⁴ A role in traditional Chinese drama in which the actor plays the role of a prime minister, loyal retainer, scholar, warlord, or other male actor of middle age or older.

According to Fujino, the Dan character has the ability to sing without belittling the gorgeous appearance.⁵⁵ Thus, the Dan is an artistic image that unifies the visual and auditory senses in a comprehensive image. It should be noted here that such an integrated artistic image is ultimately closer to a female image.

In sum, the influence of Western culture on Shanghai resulted in the progressive development of performance with an emphasis on visual stimuli. According to Howes and Classen, in the West, vision was considered a “noble” sense because visual information was closely linked to spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, and media such as newspapers and films deepened the connection between visuals and intellectuals in the 20th century.⁵⁶ The appreciation of performance in Shanghai shifted from an emphasis on “listening” to “watching” along with this mainstream. The focus of audience attention on the stage made the female figure the center of the performance.

It is notable that the change in the real environment was reflected in the creation of a new image of women on stage. In other words, the female figure on the stage was a realization of present moment. The development of female roles in traditional Chinese opera

⁵⁵ Fujino, Mako, 17

⁵⁶ David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society*, (New York: Routledge), 2014, 1

while preserving elements of the past. This showed that the appearance of the female figure divided the sense of time, where the space of traditional theater ceased to exist in the present of everyday life but recreated the past in the space of the present. Shanghai's diversity and emphasis on visual elements was an environment that constantly created the “new,” or the “future.” This change altered linear time into a three-dimensional space, where past, present and future overlapped. With regard to the change in human perception, Wang described the change on the concept of time by saying that “the expanding consciousness of the ‘future’ in modern China caused a significant change in the weight of the three concepts of time, ‘past,’ ‘present,’ and ‘future,’ that people have been accustomed to since ancient times.”⁵⁷ The loosening of the linear relationship of time links to the emergence of women as the center of performance. The following section will discuss the question of what the female figure on the stage represents and the significance of the emergence of the female performance revue.

⁵⁷ Wang, Fansen, *Discussion on the Continuity of the Enlightenment* 启蒙是连续的吗? (Xianggang: Xianggang cheng shi da xue chu ban she), 2020, 141

2. The image of women as a carrier of human self-identification

2.1 Female mode of awareness

2.1.1 The liberation of female bodies and May Forth Movement

The female body is the vehicle for the visual element of revue. In particular, the short hair and bare feet of women were characteristic of revue performers. According to the memoirs of Wang Renmei, a member of Bright Moon Ensemble, feudalism was once again prevalent in Shanghai after the defeat of the Northern Expedition in 1926.⁵⁸ Women had to wear long hair and stockings, or they would be criticized. However, Bright Moon Ensemble's member, Li Minghui, Li Jinhui's daughter, wore hair short and danced by barefoot.⁵⁹ The visual elements of interest here are the "short hair" and "barefoot" performances of the troupe members.

Nevertheless, the female body has not been exposed to public view in this way. It was restricted to the private area for a long time. Howes and Classen suggest that women are attracted to men in visual, auditory and touch senses, yet at the same time they are dangerous

⁵⁸ The Northern Expedition was a military campaign launched by the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) of the Kuomintang (KMT), also known as the "Chinese Nationalist Party," against the Beiyang government and other regional warlords in 1926.

⁵⁹ Wang, Renmei, "Memories of My Performing Life" "艺坛生活漫忆," *Cultural History* 2, (Culture History Press), 1981, 45

because men can be detached from the rational condition. Men's attraction also makes women vulnerable. Since society is male dominated, the solution to this problem is to hide women from the public, which means social isolation, and the absence is replaced by simple symbols.⁶⁰

Howes and Classen, from the point of view of the male senses, propose that women are hidden as a source of danger in public space and that simple symbols become a substitute for women.

In traditional Chinese society, women were not public spectacles but became private beings of male pleasure. Foot-binding was an example of male symbolization of female beauty. Female body restraints began to be noticed since foreign missionaries came to China, culminating in the May Fourth Movement.

The May Fourth Movement was a student movement that erupted in China after the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. At the end of World War I, Chinese students were irate that the Chinese government had agreed to the Versailles Treaty to transfer Shandong province to Japan. The intellectuals led the movement to build a new China. At first it was the introduction of Western ideas of democracy and science, which subsequently influenced traditional Chinese ethics, customs, literature, history, philosophy, religion, and social and

⁶⁰ Howes and Classen, 5

political institutions.⁶¹ Chow points out that the May Fourth Movement occurred as a demonstration of the new ideological movement that had emerged in earlier years.⁶² Because of the broad scope of the innovation, the term May Fourth Movement was not limited to the demonstrations of that day, but also encompassed the preceding New Culture Movement and the later reforms in various fields in China sparked by the student movement.

2.1.2 Short hair and bare feet

The short hair and bare feet of revue's performers were not only a change in women's appearance, but also in their bodies. Traditionally, both male and female bodies follow Confucian rules. Compared to the male body, the female body continues the tradition for a longer period of time. During dynastic changes, those in power would tend to change the male body while allowing the female to keep the tradition because the male was considered the subject of the state and the male body represented an identification with the legitimacy of the ruler of the state. For example, when the Manchus were the rulers, men were required to shave their hair and wear Manchu hairstyles and Manchu clothes, while women and the elderly were

⁶¹ Chow, Tse-tsung, *The May Forth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), 1960 (1980 printing), 1

⁶² Chow, Tse-tsung, 5

excluded; during the Republic of China (1912-1949), men were advocated to cut their braids to express their identity with the new regime, while women were discouraged from cutting their hair short. Men recognized their bodies as they were changed fluently. In contrast, women forgot their own bodies in keeping the tradition.

Foot binding was a traditional Chinese custom for restricting women's bodies. It was abolished since the Christian missionary work started in China after the Opium War. In the name of missionary work, Christians promoted women's education and the abolition of foot binding. This was the first time when women realized the liberation of their bodies.⁶³ During the Taiping Rebellion period, women were not allowed to bind their feet because they needed to stand and walk around to do farm work.⁶⁴ In 1897, Liang Qichao organized an “Abolishing Foot Binding Association” in Shanghai and set up branches to promote foot binding. The following year, Emperor Guangxu promulgated a ban on foot binding, and newspapers and

⁶³ Chūgoku Josei-shi Kenkyūkai edit, *One Hundred Years of Chinese Women: Their Steps in Historical Documents* 中国女性の100年:史料にみる歩み, (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten), 2004, 13

⁶⁴ Nakayama, Yoshihiro, *Thoughts and Actions of Women's Liberation in Modern China* 近代中国における女性解放の思想と行動, (Kitakyūshū-shi: Kitakyūshū Chūgoku Shoten 1983), 42

novels favored the abolition of foot binding.⁶⁵ After the Xinhai Revolution in 1912,⁶⁶ Sun Yat-sen urged each ministry to abolish foot binding as the new law admitted the equality between women and men.

The liberation of the female body also led to a spiritual break from Confucian morality and the emergence of an independent sense of individuality. Women's struggle for independence and their rights as nationals was not only a movement in China, but also a worldwide movement. For from the time of the recognition of human rights and the beginning of the individualist movement in the West, women had been excluded.⁶⁷ However, when Western individualism entered China, Liang Qichao criticized the shortcomings of Western human rights that did not include women. After the Revolution of 1911, the outline of the Tong Meng Hui designated the “Equality of men and women.” While the new ideas had not been widely accepted at the beginning.⁶⁸ It was until May Fourth Movement in 1919, Chen Duxiu

⁶⁵ Kansai Chūgoku Josei Shi Kenkyu Kai edit, *Introduction to Chinese Women's History: Women's Today and Past* 中国女性史入門: 女たちの今と昔, (Tokyo: Jimbunshoin, 2014), 66

⁶⁶ Xinhai Revolution, or the 1911 Revolution, leaded by Sun Yat-sen. It ended China's last imperial dynasty, the Manchu-led Qing dynasty, and led to the establishment of the Republic of China.

⁶⁷ *United States Declaration of Independence* in 1776 and *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* in 1779 did not include women's right.

⁶⁸ Chen, Chunkuang, Dissertation: “The Evolution of Women's Status in the Early Republic of China” “民国初期妇女地位的演变,” 16

and Hu Shi appealed that Chinese woman have their independent personalities in the New Youth Magazine.⁶⁹ At the First National Congress of the Republic of China government in 1925, a law was passed that declared men and women were equal legally in political, economic, education, and social spheres, and the law should assist in the development of women's rights.⁷⁰ The introduction of equality between men and women gave women the same rights to enter society as men. It allowed women to make their own decisions on their behaviors, which protected the independent nature of women.

As the law protects women's right to independence and equality between men and women, women had the right to express their awareness, and women's short hair was a manifestation of women's awareness. Women's hair was a custom of restricting women similar to foot binding, which appeared in 1912 when the haircut decree was promulgated to require men to cut their hair. Few women were willing to cut hair because there was no model for women's short hair in traditional customs. On the other hand, men's hairstyles were considered unsuitable for women.⁷¹ However, during the May Fourth movement, women became more

⁶⁹ Chen, Chunkuang, 12

⁷⁰ Chen, Chunkuang, 16

⁷¹ Takashima, Ko, "Women's Haircuts in China in the 1920s-Discussion, Fashion, Revolution" "1920年代の中国における女性の断髪—議論・ファッション・革命," *Study of Chinese*

enthusiastic to cut hair because it showed the determination to support the reformation of culture. Female students pioneered short hair, and the voices in favor of women's short hair spread in the newspapers.⁷² Nevertheless, in 1926, the Northern Expedition forbade women to cut hair as cutting hair represented a revolutionary determination against the warlord. Although women's short hair continuously developed in the early twentieth century, it faced government suppression as women's short hair was frequently related to politics and was regarded as a way to show women's determination.

The image of the Bright Moon Ensemble was a response to women beginning to recognize their own bodies while expressing their self-awareness. However, women performing on stage was not a modern phenomenon; the modernity lied in changes of those female bodies in performance such as short hair and bare feet. Moreover, a large number of audiences who watch visual performances were women.

2.1.3 The appearance of female performers and audiences

In addition to the performer's body being the embodiment of female self-

socialist culture, 2010, 29

⁷² Takashima, Ko, 32

awareness, the emergence of a female audience has contributed to the female figure on stage being the subject of viewing. In traditional theater, Beijing operas were initially performed only by men. However, “Maoerju 髦儿剧” in which only women performed Peking opera was born in Shanghai at the end of the 19th century. And at the same time, the Women's Theater, a place where "Maoerju" were performed, was opened.⁷³ After the birth of the men only and women only theatre, the first “tea house” where men and women performed together opened in 1895.⁷⁴ Therefore, there were three types of venues for traditional theatrical performances: men only, women only, and men and women performed together. It can be suggested that Shanghai had an environment conducive to women's performance and an audience of women's performances in the 1920s.

Although women were banned from performing in public, private performances have persisted. Women performed at the “Jiayue Xiban 家乐戏班,” a private performance group set up by the royal family and nobility in their own homes for their own entertainment,

⁷³ The Meixian Tea House opened in 1894 was the first women performed tea house in Shanghai. Zhang, Wen, “Kunju and Actresses of Chinese Opera in Modern Shanghai” “近代上海における坤劇と女優” ,*The Journal of Oriental Researches* 68, 2009, 199-200

⁷⁴ They were Yongxian Tea House and Xule Tea House, both from 1895. Shanghai Tongzhi Compilation Committee, *Shanghai Tongzhi* 8 上海通志 8, (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press), 2005, 5460

before Kangxi period of the Qing Dynasty (1662-1722) when women were forbidden to perform on stage. With the economic development of the Jiangnan region during Ming Dynasty (1573-1620), not only members of the royal family but also wealthy families began to organize their Jiaye Xiban. However, it began to perform outside commercially due to the financial support of the imperial family during the Qing Dynasty.⁷⁵ Zhang points out, “Tanghui 堂会,” where commercial Jiaye Xiban were invited to perform in noble and rich people's homes, became popular. Because of the existence of the Jiaye Xiban, it facilitated women's access to watch opera.⁷⁶ Despite the government ban, women's theater continued to be performed in private venues in practice; after the May Fourth Movement, women were able to appear in the public and to perform on stage in theater. The most representative of theater in which women participated was “Yueju 越剧.” Yueju is a type of theater for female audiences, performed entirely by female actors. When it was created in Zhejiang in 1906, the actors were men, but from 1938, female actors replaced male actors,⁷⁷ which were popular in Shanghai. In the late Qing Dynasty, women were limited to private performances, however, in the 1920s they began

⁷⁵ Zhang, Fayin, 66

⁷⁶ Zhang, Wen, 194

⁷⁷ Nakayama, Fumi, “Yuan Xuefeng and Yueju of Shanghai- Family and Woman” “袁雪芬と上海の越劇-家と女をめぐって,” *Chinese Family and Women form a gender perspective*, (Tokyo: Tohoshoten), 2004, 344

to perform on the public stage and later became highly successful in the 1930s. In China, the culture of female performers performing in theaters was never severed. It is evident that there has been a long history of recognition of female performers.

Banning women from theater did not mean banning them from going to the theater itself, but rather banning them from appearing in public. During the Daoguang period (1821-1850), it was considered a breach of etiquette for women to appear in theaters, and thus women were forbidden to attend plays. Later, women were forbidden to attend plays in temples during the Xianfeng period (1851-1861). However, the suppression of women's theater attendance was relaxed due to the political situation and the influx of foreign cultures in the Guangxu period (1875-1908). Although women were still not legally allowed to watch theater, went to theatre became a fashion and routine among women.⁷⁸ After the May Fourth Movement that a “female audience” watching plays in public without limitation. As actresses were able to perform in public, female audiences increased.

In addition to being an audience on stage, the performers of the Bright Moon Ensemble were seen as stars outside the stage. The *Pei-yang Pictorial New Tientsin*⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Xu, Ke, 5065-5066

⁷⁹ *The Pei-yang Pictorial New Tientsin*, founded on July 7, 1926, by Feng Wuyue and Tan Beilin in the French Settlement. It was the longest-running and most widely published

published a photo of Wang Renmei, which occupied half of the page (image 7).⁸⁰ In addition, the traces of actress in the city were reported to the public (image 8).⁸¹ In these reports, the female performers of the Bright Moon Ensemble were called “stars,” and they were treated to expose more information to the public. It shows that the existence of the fan community of the Bright Moon Ensemble’s female performers.



Image 7



Image 8

In summary, female actors and audiences were not absent before the May Fourth Movement because the women's liberation movement transferred female actors and audiences, which existed in the private sphere, to the public sphere. The emergence of female performances and female audiences was not a new phenomenon, but rather a reawakening of

comprehensive pictorial newspaper in northern China during the Republican period, and was privately owned and operated, covering a wide range of content.

⁸⁰ *The Pei-yang Pictorial New Tientsin*, November 15th, 1930

⁸¹ *The Pei-yang Pictorial New Tientsin*, December 23rd, 1930

what women have always ignored about women themselves. The member of Bright Moon Ensemble attracted female audiences as women embodying an awareness of themselves through watching women on stage.

Embodied in the female figure of revue was a woman's awareness and expression of herself. Berger expressed this observation about women's presence.

A woman's presence expresses her own attitude to herself and defines what can and cannot be done to her. Her presence is manifest in her gestures, voice, opinions, expressions, clothes, chosen surroundings, taste-indeed there is nothing she can do which does not contribute to her presence. Presence for a woman is so intrinsic to her person that men tend to think of it as an almost physical emanation, a kind of heat or smell or aura.⁸²

Berger points out that women affirm their existence as a personal and internal action. In other words, women transform their bodies, not necessarily to meet the gaze of men

⁸² John, Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, (London; New York: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books), 2008, 45-46

or society, but also include women's self-awareness. In contrast, men recognize themselves by changing the outside world. Berger says as following:

A man's presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. If the promise is large and credible his presence is striking. If it is small or not credible, he is found to have little presence. The promised power may be moral, physical, temperamental, economic, social, sexual - but its object is always exterior to the man. A man's presence suggests what he is capable of doing to you or for you. His presence may be fabricated, in the sense that he pretends to be capable of what he is not. But the presence is always towards a power which he exercises on others.⁸³

The embodiment of male mode of awareness is not in the transformation of his physical body, but in the expression of his will through the transformation of the things external to his body. As a human being other than a male, the female body is the one that becomes the target of male transformation. However, its purpose is not for the consideration of women, but to achieve men's social pursuit through the process of transforming women.

⁸³ John, Berger, 45

In the female figure of revue, Li Jinhui, who represented the intellectuals, attempted to achieve the desire of building a new nation through the performance of the young girls of revue. This is also a manifestation of the educational significance of the Bright Moon Ensemble, which was considered to be a male mode of resolution.

2.2 Male mode of resolution

2.2.1 National language education

Chinese revue was developed from children's drama, which were new plays formed in the popularization of the Mandarin. The founder, Li Jinhui, participated in the Chinese language movement before creating children's drama. His brother, Li Jinxi, was the leader of the Mandarin movement. Li Jinhui followed his brother and contributed in building standard of Mandarin's pronunciation, and children's education. The Chinese Language Movement in China was closely linked to the establishment of the modern Chinese nation-state. Although the revue, which developed with the original intention of popularizing the Mandarin, was transformed from a children's drama into modern entertainment, the characteristics of singing in standard Mandarin pronunciation and using songs from children's dramas have been retained. For example: *Three Butterflies*, *Grape Fairy*, and *Moonlight Night* were used in revue.

Therefore, even though revue was a genre of modern entertainment, it contained in itself the determination of male intellectuals to build a new nation.

The Chinese Language Movement, which began in the late Qing dynasty, had encompassed the purpose of promoting Mandarin as a national language; Mandarin had long been used in the bureaucracy to transmit the emperor's instructions and promote clear communication among the bureaucrats. As the capital dialect of each dynasty was decided to be Mandarin, the Qing dynasty used the Beijing dialect as its preferred version of Mandarin.⁸⁴

While numerous dialects existed at the same time in distinct areas, not all of the elite could pronounce perfect Mandarin.⁸⁵ Besides, Mandarin as a common language for bureaucrats presented substantial class limitation, as it was difficult for most people to learn.

Mandarin created class distinction, in addition to the fact that dialects existed in various places that hinder communication between people. The lack of uniformity in language resulted in a lack of access to education on the one hand and the absence of a way to form a

⁸⁴ Zhang, Meilan, *Research on Mandarin Study in Foreign Countries in the Ming and Qing Dynasty* 明清域外官话文献语言研究, (Changchun: Northeast Normal University Press), 2011, 2

⁸⁵ Karazawa, Yasuhiro, "Effectiveness of Spoken Language in Late Emperor China(1)-Social Role of Mandarin""帝政後期中国における話しことばの効用(1)-官話の社会的役割," *Todai Journal of Chinese philosophy* 10, 1996, 120

holistic sense of identity on the other. Therefore, during the Republican period, the establishment of a unified standard national language was the first step in building a unified nation-state.

In 1911, the Republic government made regulations on the standard pronunciation of the national language. Li Jinhui suggested abolishing the fifth tone, for the intricate pronunciation was difficult to sing, and promoted the “Beijing tone” as the standard of the national language.⁸⁶ In 1915, he was appointed as a member of the National Language Unification Preparatory Committee and started compiling the primary school textbooks. In 1921, the government decreed that the phonetic alphabet should be taught in primary schools to standardize students' pronunciation. Because this policy increased the demand for textbooks, Li Jinhui moved to Shanghai to compile new language textbooks at the Zhonghua Shuju. In his second year, he became the principal of the primary school attached to the National Language Institute and organized three teams, called Yuzhuan 语专, to publicize the function of the national language and the standard pronunciation through singing his innovative educational songs. During the movement of popularizing the “national tone,” Li Jinhui created children's

⁸⁶ Li, Jinxi and Ni, Haishu, *Outline of the Chinese Language Movement* 國語運動史綱, (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian), 1990 (1937), 92

musical dramas, which was the embryonic form of Chinese revue.

2.2.2 Attitude towards beauty

In addition to the fact that a unified national language was what the Chinese desperately lacked at the time, Li Jinhui found that a negative attitude toward beauty prevented people from being self-enlightened. Therefore, Li Jinhui used the female beauty in revue to emphasize the quality of love and respect for “beauty.” For example, in the introduction of *The Three Butterflies*, Li Jinhui says:

In ancient China, there are sages and gentlemen with angry eyes and fierce attitudes, born with a kind of “hate beauty, love ugly” strange temper, specializing in and beautiful people. What evil people ah, disaster ah; bad words, no room for abuse, from ancient times to the present. This culture has become a habit! Now, our custom is that this “insult to beautiful men and women” is a “great shame and stain on the Chinese nation! It is a total degradation of the Chinese culture, the essence of the nation, so I hope you will pay attention to it!”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of The Three Butterflies*, 4

In this passage, the Chinese people's attitude toward the acceptance of beauty at that time was repulsive. People were treated beautiful people and things with a denigrating attitude. According to Li Jinhui, this attitude toward beauty degraded the Chinese nation. Compared with the Chinese attitude, he complimented the Western attitude toward beauty, saying:

If we often read the old Western newspapers and various performances, we can always realize that the people of the civilized countries in Europe, the beautiful men and women, are very respectful, with one heart, love, and efforts to sponsor them and them, up one day at a time, to achieve great success, to get a good reputation, so that the loyal, brave people, no matter how difficult, always spring, never discouraged, because they love “beauty” love “good things.”⁸⁸

The West's attitude toward beauty is respect and love. Li Jinhui pointed out that the Western nations love “beauty,” which is the reason for their strength, because they can encourage the people to learn from these beautiful people, thus driving the whole nation to

⁸⁸ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of The Three Butterflies*, 5

expand in a positive direction. The beauty here is not the quality of individual beauty, rather it is the ability to appreciate the beauty of others. He commented, “what about us? naturally we all know that beauty and goodness are both lovely, but only for ‘our own,’ and not for other people, or for the public!”⁸⁹ This shows that the Chinese are not incapable of distinguishing between beauty and goodness, they can accept their own beauty, but they do not have the tolerance of other people's beauty and the ability to protect beauty in the public.

2.2.3 Female beauty

Li Jinhui proposed a sense of love for beauty, where the focus is not on what is beautiful, instead it is on the attitude of “love” and acceptance of “beauty.” The original idea of using young girls in Chinese revue was influenced by the Japanese Takarazuka. However, the beauty of young girls on stage has a Chinese local meaning.

Under the Confucian moral system, women represent private space. The display of young women’s songs and bodies on the public stage also corresponds to the time when women began to appear in public spaces. The female body is no longer a private possession attached to the male. Women who appear in public spaces become the other of men,

⁸⁹ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of The Three Butterflies*, 5

and thus become the target of denigration and exclusion. For example, Li Jinhui gave an example: “Mr. Wang praised a famous and beautiful woman, but she would not follow his wishes, so he became upset and ridiculed her at will, bullying her and destroying her reputation. The general public ‘blindly believe’ that she is a bad woman.”⁹⁰ Men were not tolerant of women who did not submit to their will at that time. In other words, women were not respected for their beauty as individual human beings. The image of women performing revue on the stage, in addition to the image of women themselves as “the Other” for men, added a layer of public character to theater viewing. Therefore, it is more unfamiliar to the male audience and has a sensory impact.

Aside from the impact of the female figure itself on the male audience, Li Jinhui also used the stage and costumes for intensifying the beauty of femininity. For example, in the volume of *Seven Sisters Playing in the Garden*, it is stated as follows:

First, the play is completely “beauty” based: beautiful people, beautiful costumes, beautiful sets, beautiful singing, beautiful posture, beautiful movements, the character of the people in the play, behavior, everything is beautiful!

⁹⁰ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of The Three Butterflies*, 5-6

Second, instead of holding a fashion show, why not perform seven sisters touring the garden, who have more clothes, may as well change seven sets, if there are seven people, each for seven sets, it becomes seventy-seven forty-nine sets, how wonderful.⁹¹

In this play, Li Jinhui pursued the beauty of not only the actors' appearance, singing, dancing and stage, but also the beauty of the content and the inner character of people. In addition, seven actors were allowed to change seven sets of costumes for each character. The costume changed visual excitement to the female beauty. Therefore, Li Jinhui pursued pure feminine beauty, and he expected to cultivate an attitude of respect and love towards beauty in the audience. How did the audience react to the revue?

2.2.4 Review and audiences

There was this review of the play in the July 26, 1927, of the *Shen Bao* (image 9).

Watching gewuju, as if in a dream, gewuju is all the rage today. Chinese

⁹¹ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of Seven Sisters Playing in the Garden*, 2

gewuju, tries a new style. it is different from the traditional drama. Very touching even beyond the ancient drama

Ms. Li Minghui has a gifted singing voice. She has a very good dancing posture. In the midst of singing and dancing, she has a different kind of lingering posture. Her smiling face is as sweet as wine. She sang “Falling Flowers and Flowing Water” that night, which could bring out a piece of one’s heart, like seeing the silk floating in the water and the willow fluttering in front of her eyes. Ms. Li Ying dancers in the “water dance” in the water edge of the clothes, softness of the square Buddha in the spring water. “The Music of Youth” was changed to “Violet,” dancing in purple clothes, with a flower belt around her waist and a graceful posture.⁹²



Image 9

⁹² Shen Bao, July 26th, 1927

This is a theater review of Li Jinhui's revue on the evening of July 25, 1927. The venue was at the Pantheon Theatre, a Western-style theater. The ticket price was at 1 yuan and 60 cents. Those who could consume the revue were middle-class income people, which were mostly intellectuals. In their eyes, the songs of the women of revue were considered sweet and the dances were soft and luscious. From lexical descriptions to metaphors, revue's performances were an attraction of femininity to the audience. The intellectuals accepted revue's feminine beauty, but with overtones of “sexual” attraction. This is contrary to the original intention of Li Jinhui, who aimed to cultivate an appreciation of female beauty.

In the image of women in revue, the male audience at that time was not free from the “sexual” gaze on female beauty. They failed to appreciate the beauty of women as a self-existing being and as a distant beauty, a sign of independence that distanced women from relying on men, because a sexual gaze had the emotion of considering the other as a private possession. The beauty that became a private property lost the emotion of appreciation. Li Jinhui noticed the people's distortion of public “beauty” at that time, and deliberately used women to perform, even using visual elements of stage and costume to enhance femininity. It can be seen as a challenge to the current male group. At the same time, he intended to use female beauty to cultivate an attitude of respect and love for beauty in the audience, leaving

behind the sexually conscious gaze because the attitude of appreciation was to create a distance between the audience and beauty. By constantly approaching beauty, it served to constantly improve the individual. This constant personal enhancement was the image of the new national that Li Jinhui expected.

Both genders, found their desires in revue's female images. In 1920s' Shanghai, where women rise a self-awareness and male desire to transform themselves into a new nation. Women expressed their self-awareness through the public image of women on stage. Li Jinhui as a male intellectual, used female beauty to challenge the current distorted attitudes toward beauty. The change of female image satisfied women's self-awareness and men's purpose of reaching self-worth by changing the outside world, which became a common carrier of both gender awareness. Thus, the female image of revue is not a symbol of gender, the power or class of one gender over the other, but a representative of the different needs of the genders that converge together, which carried the search for self-meaning and self-worth of women and men at that time.

It should be noted that the relationship between women's awareness and men's awareness was not complementary and unified; the two exist independently and coexist together. Thus, a new view of the feminine symbol is proposed through the female figure of

revue, in addition to the universal value of reaching unity based on commonality and becoming a community based on particularity. The female figure of revue shows the possibility of a new gender relationship in which individuals are independent and also can coexist.

3. Modernity as a sense of near future

3.1 Revue's near-future space

The female figure of Revue is the carrier of the female mode of awareness and the male mode of resolution, which connected to the present moment of the 1920s. However, Chinese revue was characterized not only by female figures, but by an all-female performance. Therefore, what is the peculiarity of a performance composed entirely of women in the 1920s?

An all-female group is a utopia compared to the reality dominated by all-male groups, because in reality, the existence of all-male groups was considered as a natural, for example, in the military, politics and among doctors, and lawyers. However, the all-female groups began emerged after the establishment of modern schools and the opening of girls' schools. Revue's stage, where women performed all the role on the stage, was a world dominated by women. Thus, the performance group of revue was a utopia that does not exist in society. However, the female figure, which carried female and male awareness, connected

to the real society at the time. The Chinese revue with female performance setting was in the space of heterotopia between utopia and reality.

In addition, the characteristics of the genre of revue changed people's perception of time. Hosogawa summarized the modernity of revue by three characteristics: speed, harmony and variety.⁹³ He argues that recent technological developments such as cars, planes and other machinery have accelerated people's lives. The fast rhythm of revue music matched the feeling of speed in everyday life. The music and dance also matched the smoothness of transition from scene to scene, like the flow of melody. Human consciousness flows with the performance and gained a sense of life. At last, the variety of changes represented the abundant materiality and the diverse perspectives to view the problems.⁹⁴

Chinese revue conformed to these characteristics. For example, in the *Seven Sisters Playing Garden*, Li Jinhui designed the seven female performers to change into seven sets of clothes, and in the connection of the scenes it was said that in “the second opening, the letter 'two' of 'two sisters' garden' is replaced by the letter 'three', immediately open to play the

⁹³ Hosogawa, Shuhei, *Revue レヴュー*, (Tōkyō : Yumani Shobō), 2005,59. Original work: Nakamura, Shūichi, *Review of revue レヴュー百科*, (Tokyo: Ongaku Sekaisha), 1935

⁹⁴ Hosogawa, Shuhei, 59-70

next scene, and the seven sisters change clothes on.”⁹⁵ The requirements of fast change of scenes and simultaneous appearance of the performers need to be completed in a limited time. Changing the actors' clothes seven times reflected the variety of transformations. Furthermore, the concept of creating gewuju, or Chinese revue, Li Jinhui said this:

The gewuju is a synthesis of song, dance, and drama, and it should be emphasized that these three elements are closely connected to each other. The dance is not merely a performance but develops in accordance with the emotions evoked by the lyrics. Movements and facial expressions should be natural and easy to understand. (omitted) The new one (gewuju) combines music and song to create a new dance choreography or learns and understands the basic style of each type of dance to create a new style.⁹⁶

Li Jinhui emphasized the harmony between music, dance and drama, which is the embodiment of the harmony in the characteristics of revue. The common point in the characteristics of revue was the emphasis on “time.” In the script of *Grape Fairy*⁹⁷, the

⁹⁵ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of Seven Sisters Playing in the Garden*, 23

⁹⁶ Li, Jinhui, 1982, 118

⁹⁷ Li, Jinhui, *The Scrip of the Grape Fairy*, 22

performance time of the songs and the time of the whole play were precisely measured in seconds (image 10). This precise arrangement was designed to control time. Because "fast" was characterized by the compression of time, feeling the fast change in the present moment, which means pulling the future time into the present, and feeling the transience, flow and change of time in Revue, which is not found in traditional Chinese theater.

歌 劇 仙 子 11

曲 譜 目 錄 表

次序	標 題	曲 源	幕 場 用	每 時 間	拍 子
1.	香絲影	潮州雅樂舊曲	一	1,00秒	$\frac{2}{4}$
2.	心聲	新的創作	一	2,30	$\frac{2}{4}$
3.	四季花過門	中國民間舊曲	一至六	0,15	$\frac{2}{4}$
4.	雲中曲	新的創作	二至六	1,40	$\frac{2}{4}$
5.	捲球簾	湖南農家舊曲	二	1,50	$\frac{4}{4}$
6.	傷風調	新的創作	三	1,05	$\frac{2}{4}$
7.	再會	西洋歌譜	四	1,00	$\frac{4}{4}$
8.	喜春來	新的創作	五	1,15	$\frac{2}{4}$
9.	少年時	西洋歌譜	六	2,40	$\frac{4}{4}$
10.	太子	中國民間歌劇譜	七	0,45	$\frac{4}{4}$
11.	接組組	中國民間舊曲	八	0,50	$\frac{2}{4}$

共計中國舊曲五支,西洋歌曲二支,新創作的
歌曲四支,全劇時間,計37分25秒。

Image 10

In the traditional concept, the “future” and the “present” were far apart, and the future was predicted rather than felt in the present. According to Wang, modern China was a time when the “past” was becoming increasingly less important than the “future.”⁹⁸ The

⁹⁸ Wang, Fansen, 141

development of Western thought and technology made the similarity between the present and the past to become rare, while the imagination of the future began to increase. Revue, as a female performance, created a space of heterotopia, while the revue genre itself was compressed in time, bringing the space of the near future into the present for the audience to experience. Therefore, revue does not embody the modernity of material abundance and technological development, instead it is a space where the near future could be experienced. The so-called “modernity” for the performance represents a sense of time and space rather than visible materials.

3.2 Transcendence and the shaping of a new nation

The previous section analyzed the modernity of revue as a sense of the near future. The “near future” is a direction rather than a specific goal or a definite entity. For the future, which one can only reach through imagination, is uncertain, or it does not yet exist in reality. Because of the uncertainty and non-existence, it is possible to keep exploring and approaching. This process of approaching is upward. Therefore, the audience experienced the feeling of “near future” equals an “upward spirit.”

The modern entertainment and edification of Chinese revue were considered as

contradictory existences, for the sensuality of entertainment and the rationality of edification appeared to be opposite existences. However, the edification of revue was actually a reflection of the “upward spirit” of the “near future.” Audiences feel the “near future” experience of revue at the same time as they feel the “upward” experience. The internalization of this “upward spirit” is the motivation for self-enlightenment, and thus the revue functions as a way to build a new nation.

Erving Goffman argued that people participating in social activities and influencing others in those activities is a “performance.”⁹⁹ In Goffman's thought, there is the existence of a real self, thus the relationship between human being and their environment is seen as that human being playing another role in the environment. Yet if every mask were the real self, there would be no such binary division as real and role play. In the other words, there is no original “self.” The “self” is only the state of being that the person presents in adapting to the environment. This adaptation to the environment is the ability of the body itself. Susan Foster gives the example of a map to illustrate the ability to adapt to the environment. The person first absorbs the information acquired visually before being able to determine the

⁹⁹ Erving, Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday), 1959, 15

person's position in the network and to navigate with the map information.¹⁰⁰ This process of self-localization requires internal and external recalibration of the perception of one's location. The body is required to simultaneously perceive its position, its movement, its momentum and the proximity of everything around it, even in relation to its gravity. It shows that the body's muscles have the role of sensing the surrounding environment. After sensing the environment, it automatically adjusts to incorporate the individual's body into the environment. The experienced state of the person in the environment will have the possibility of internalizing it as a part of the person through the sensation of the muscles.

The audience in the theater watching revue will automatically adjust to the environment of the theater. The audiences in the same space, because of the body's ability to adapt to the environment, have the same perception of the environment, thus creating a sense of connectedness among the audience. Susan Foster says, "Empathy consists in the fact of reproducing in one's mind the kinesthetics image of the other, images that synthesized physical and emotional."¹⁰¹ In other words, the audience itself feels the impact of the stage. The ability to feel the stage here coincides with Li Jinhui's expectation that the audience acquire the ability

¹⁰⁰ Susan, Foster, 73

¹⁰¹ Susan, Foster, 128

to appreciate beauty.

The near future is a physical sensation. Revue creates a near-future space in which the audience adjusts to the space through muscular sensations. This state is the physical experience of being in the near-future space, internalized through sensation as part of the audience's body. The audience shares this internalized experience with each other through the shared theater space, which becomes a collective experience. When the audience returns to reality, they bring the internalized near-future experience into the reality. Thus, the space that has not yet been realized on stage in the near future is realized in reality.

The presence in uncertainty would be gradually realized, which is the continuous approach to the future. The constantly approaching the future is the quality that Li Jinhui expected of a new nation that can be self-empowered. The Bright Moon Ensemble was acquired by Lian Hua Film Company in 1936, the performers joined the film industry, and since then the Chinese revue disappeared. Li Jinhui attempted to establish a new performance; however, the so-called “new performance” was also a vague concept. The birth of the revue genre in China created the space of the near future and brought “modernity,” while the Chinese revue itself was a product of the “near future.”

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that the moving bodies in performance can create Heterotopia space as well. This research extends Foucault's theory of heterotopia space that, for him, includes only the static composition of both real and unreal material. Born in Shanghai in the 1920s, the Chinese revue created a near-future space, based on the fact that the female figure on stage assumed the respective awareness of women and men in reality, and the utopia created by all women, making the original heterotopia performance space a transcendent near-future space. The audiences, in this space, physically experiences themselves in the near-future space as the body adapts to the theater environment. The internalization of this state is the embodiment of the theater's role in education. In the educational role of the theater, the shaping of the new nation is the external presentation of the near future. The body acquires the feeling that the near future space is the modern era. Therefore, the modernity is a sense of near-future, rather than a visible thing, and the birth of revue performed by all female performers in the 1920s' China due to a inextricable connection between revue and modernity.

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