

BEIJING THROUGH SIDNEY GAMBLE'S CAMERA

一百年前的北京社会—西德尼·甘博摄影图片展
首都图书馆100周年系列文化活动



100周年

CAPITAL LIBRARY OF CHINA
首都图书馆
1913-2013
100th ANNIVERSARY

Hosted by Duke University Libraries; Capital Library of China

主办：美国杜克大学图书馆 首都图书馆

Duke
UNIVERSITY

Cover: Sidney Gamble in Chair 坐轿子的西德尼·甘博
Shandong, 1919 山东, 1919年

Published by Duke University Libraries.

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一百年前的北京社会——西德尼·甘博摄影图片展

Beijing through Sidney Gamble's Camera, 1917-1932

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Beijing Through Sidney Gamble's Camera

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Sidney D. Gamble: His Life and Work 西德尼·甘博的生平与工作

Sidney D. Gamble's photographs at Duke University Libraries 杜克大学图书馆西德尼·D·甘博照片收藏

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Acknowledgements

致谢

I started working on the metadata on Gamble photograph in January 2008, when these images had been sent to Duke University Libraries (DUL) after digitization. I was immediately fascinated by these images of Chinese life more than 100 years ago as I tried to figure out the location and background of each picture, and later as I translated their titles into Chinese. Since then, I have wanted to promote this collection to audiences around the world.

In early 2012, Guo-Juin Hong and I started to work on creating an exhibition of Gamble photographs in Beijing. Among the 5,000 photographs in this collection, there are about 2,000 images related to Beijing, in which our host, Capital Library, has a special interest. Over the summer, we went through these 2000 images, narrowed down our selections and decided on the theme and arrangements. Karen Glynn, the moving archivist at DUL then, offered professional advice on the selection. In the fall, we had the good fortune of having three PhD students join the curatorial team. Jason Woerner, Ana Huang and Kshama Kumar explored the images, wrote photographic essays and assisted greatly on various curatorial tasks.

I'm also very grateful to my colleagues in the library who offered me timely professional support at different stages: Kirston Johnson and Margaret Brown helped me figure out the right size for printing the images; Sean Acry devoted a lot of time to designing and refining the website for the exhibition. Mike Adamo, quickly prepared all images to be sent to the vendor and digitize the exhibit plan blueprint. Aaron Welborn helped us copy-edit this catalog. Aaron and Laura Brinn, director of global communications at Duke University, worked out the communications plan for the exhibit. Ann Elsner helped me with budget and the contract with the vendors. I'm also grateful to the students involved in this project: Sagar Patel and Jaeho Chang worked extraordinarily hard in planning and arranging images in the exhibit hall; Hui Dong accepted all my last minute tasks and accomplished them beautifully; Christine Farrell composed the timeline of Gamble's life and work in China; Ouwen Huang helped with the design and construction of the website for the exhibition. Last but not least, I'm grateful to Naomi Nelson, director of Rubenstein Library, for her advice and continued support of this project.

I am feeling very fortunate to be able to put up the exhibition at Capital Library of China as part of their centennial celebration. I have had the warmest support from the assistant directors of Capital Library, Mr. Li Guannan and Mr. Chen Jian. I appreciate Mr. Li Cheng correcting the mistakes in the captions. I thank Mr. Liu Yang and Ms. Sun Jie for their help with handling the many details required to make this exhibition happen.

Luo Zhou
周璐

Sidney D. Gamble: His Life and Work

西德尼·甘博 的生平与工作

西德尼·甘博1917年到1932年间三次来到中国拍摄了大量的照片，为中国这一重要历史时期留下了珍贵的影像档案。甘博是北京基督教青年会的干事，负责社会调查和教育改革方面的工作。甘博是位优秀的业余摄影师和社会学家，他的镜头记录了中国的社会、中国老百姓的方方面面，这样珍贵的画面如今存世已不多。

Sidney Gamble's photography of China, shot over three trips between 1917 and 1932, represents an extraordinary contribution to the visual archive for an important period in Chinese history from which few images survive today. As an amateur photographer and trained sociologist, Gamble worked as secretary for the Beijing YMCA, helping to coordinate educational and social reform projects. Through the access these activities granted him to wide-ranging elements of Chinese society, Gamble built a deep relationship with China and its people, a closeness reflected in the intimacy of his photographs.



Sidney Gamble & Mass Education Movement Secretary
西德尼·甘博和
平民教育运动的干事定县，1931年



Sidney D. Gamble
西德尼·甘博
山海关 Shanhaiguan, 1918年



Sidney Gamble, Elizabeth Gamble and Esther Moody
甘博夫妇和埃丝特·穆迪
潭柘寺，1924年



Gamble in Chair
坐轿子的甘博
山东Shandong, 1919年



YMCA Building
基督教青年会总部
北京 Beijing, 1918年

Chronology



1890年

出生于7月12日，俄亥俄州的辛辛那提市；其祖父为保洁公司的创始人之一。

1908年

跟随父母第一次到中国杭州旅行。

1912年

毕业于普林斯顿大学，获文学学士学位。

1914-1916年

毕业于加州大学伯克利分校，获经济学硕士学位。

1916-1917年

于加州大学伯克利分校经济学系教授经济。

1916-1917年

当年5月到达中国，开始第二次旅行。与友人一起从浙江沿长江西上，深入四川腹地。

1890

Born on July 12 in Cincinnati, Ohio, grandson of James Gamble, one of the co-founders of Procter & Gamble.

1908

First sojourn in China. Traveled with parents to Hangzhou.

1912

Graduated from Princeton University with a bachelor's degree in literature.

1914-1916

Master of Arts degree in economics at the University of California at Berkeley.

1916-1917

Taught in the economics department, University of California at Berkeley.

1916-1917

Arrived in China in May for second sojourn. With friends, traveled up the Yangzi River, from Zhejiang province deep into Sichuan province.



1919 秋
到杭州旅行。



1919 冬
12月回到加州的帕萨迪纳家中，带回在中国拍摄的2500张底片。

1921年
出版第一本著作：
《北京的社会调查》。



1924 春
1月18日与伊丽莎白·普里查德-洛结婚。3月13日回到北京，重新担任基督教青年会的干事。对中国家庭进行调查。4月第一次去妙峰山。



1924 秋
旅行到承德。

1919

Traveled to Hangzhou.

1919

Returned to Pasadena, California, in December, with negatives of 2,500 photographs taken during second sojourn.

1921

Published first book, Peking: A Social Survey.

1924

Married Elizabeth Pritchard Lowe on January 18. Arrived in Beijing on March 13 to resume post as secretary of the YMCA. Conducting socio-economic surveys of Chinese family life. First trip to Miao Feng Shan in April.

1924 秋

Traveled to Tangshan.



1926 秋
11月11日陪同妻子和女儿回到美国。

1927 春
3月25日到达上海；取道青岛、天津到北京。4月拍摄妙峰山进香盛会的片子。



1927 秋
来到定县，这里是晏阳初博士领导的全国平民教育运动的总部。

1927 冬
回到美国。

1929年
当选普林斯顿-燕京基金会主席。

1926

Accompanied wife and daughter back to the United States on November 11.

1927

Arrived in Shanghai on March 25; then traveled to Beijing by way of Qingdao and Tianjin. Took film footage of pilgrimage activities on a third trip to Miao Feng Shan in April.

1927

Visited Dingxian where the National Association for the Mass Education Movement, led by Dr. James Yen, was based.

1927

Returned to the United States.

1929

Elected President of Princeton-Yenching Foundation.



1918 春

探访天津受水灾地区，旅行到北京，福州，宁波，香港等地。加入北京的基督教青年会，并成为普林斯顿在印项目成员。

1918 夏

旅行到北戴河和河北的背牛顶。

1918 秋

在燕京大学教授经济学，并在北京进行社会调查。

1919 春

春节期间旅行到保定、开封；三月份到泰山、济南和曲阜。

1918

Visited flood relief camps in Tianjin and traveled to Beijing, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, Hong Kong. Joined the YMCA in Beijing and became a member of Princeton University Center in China (Princeton Court).

1918

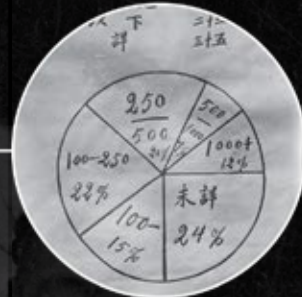
Visited Beidaihe and Bei Niu Ding (Hebei).

1918

Conducted a social survey of Beijing while teaching economics at Yenching University.

1919

Visited Baoding and Kaifeng during Spring Festival, and Taishan, Jinan, and Qufu in March.



1925 春

1月去上海，取道秦皇岛，天津回北京。4月第二次去妙峰山。

1925 秋

在燕京大学教书。

1925 夏

到日本探望在当地旅游的岳父岳母，并和他们一起回北京。

1926 春

对北京的物价，工资，生活水平进行调查。3月21日甘博的第一个孩子（女儿）出生。

1925

Traveled to Shanghai in January and returned to Beijing by way of Qinhuangdao and Tianjin. Second trip to Miao Feng Shan in April.

1925

Taught at Yenching University.

1925

Traveled to Japan to join Dr. and Mrs. Lowe, and accompanied them to Beijing.

1926

Conducted research on prices, wages, and the standard of living in Beijing. Gamble's first child born on March 21.



1931 夏

第4次也是最后一次来到中国。参与燕京大学的管理。

1931 秋

搬到定县，成为平民教育运动的干事，负责华北农村的调查。

1932 春

2月23日从上海回美国。

1933-1968年

出版发表了一系列研究中国农村和家庭生活的书和文章。当选基督教青年会全国委员会成员；普林斯顿在亚洲项目主席

1968年

3月29日在纽约去世，享年78岁。

1931

Returned to China for fourth and last sojourn. Became involved in the administration of Yenching University.

1931

Moved to Dingxian to serve as research secretary for the Mass Education Movement, and carried out surveys of village life in northern China.

1932

Departed Shanghai for the United States on February 23.

1933-1968

Published books and articles on aspects of Chinese village and family life. Elected member of the National Council of the YMCA; President of Princeton-in-Asia.

1968

Died in New York on March 29 at the age of 78.

Sidney D. Gamble's photographs at Duke University Libraries

About fifteen years after Sidney Gamble's death, his daughter, Catherine Curran, found a trove of nitrate negatives in a closet in the family's home in New York. Stored in beautiful rosewood boxes, the negatives were housed in individual paper sleeves, annotated with typed and handwritten captions. In order to better preserve them, Ms. Curran hired an archivist, who transferred the negatives into archival sleeves and transcribed the captions onto typed labels. In addition, Ms. Curran made contact sheets of all the negatives in the order in which they were found. She used these contact prints to create ten photograph albums to serve as a reference for the negative collection. In 1986, Catherine Curran established the Sidney D. Gamble Foundation for China Studies to provide for preservation and access to the photographs. A review of the first exhibit catalog prompted the Duke University Libraries' visual materials archivist to invite Ms. Curran to place Sidney Gamble's photographs in the Libraries' Archive of Documentary Arts. An agreement to bring the Gamble collection to Duke was signed in March 2006.

Duke University Libraries contracted with Chicago Albumen Works in Massachusetts to digitize the highly flammable nitrate negatives. Digitization of the Gamble collection began in October 2006 and continued through the spring of 2007. In addition to the photographs, the vendor also digitized the typed image labels to transform the labels into raw texts. This text became the foundation for the image captions and geographic headings in the Sidney D. Gamble Photographs digital collection. In early 2008, Duke University Libraries' Digital Collections staff updated the geographic names in the labels to Library of Congress Subject Headings formats, added province names to the metadata, and standardized the descriptions to support searching and browsing. The complete collection was published in fall 2008 and is available online at <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/gamble/>.

杜克大学的西德尼·D·甘博照片收藏

西德尼·戴维·甘博（1890-1968）是社会经济学家，人道主义者和摄影家。甘博出生在美国的俄亥俄州，其祖父詹姆斯·甘博（James Gamble, 1803-1891）是宝洁公司的创始人之一。西德尼·甘博1908年随父母第一次来到中国的杭州旅行，为中国的古老文化着迷，也为她的贫穷感到震惊。甘博普林斯顿大学毕业后，在加州大学伯克利分校获得了社会学硕士。随后，他三次来到中国，分别是1917—1919年、1924年—1927年以及1931年—1932年。甘博以自愿者的身份，先后任北京基督教青年会和中国平民教育运动的社会调查干事，并任职燕京大学基金会。甘博在1921年出版的《北京的社会调查》和1926出版的《二十五年来北京之物价工资及生活程度》等，最早用社会调查的方法对北京社会生活各方面进行了梳理，至今仍然是研究那个时期北京社会的重要参考资料。甘博也是一位出色的业余摄影师。他在1908-1932年间拍摄的中国各地的照片，包括有5000幅左右的黑白照片，为民国初年的中国社会建立起了一套丰富的图像档案。1984年，甘博去世十五年以后，他的女儿凯瑟琳·科伦夫人，机缘巧合在家里的阁楼里发现了这些保存完整的照片。1986年科伦夫人成立了西德尼·D·甘博中国研究基金会致力于照片的保存与推广。杜克大学图书馆于2006和科伦夫人签署了正式的收藏协议，让这些照片最终落户在杜克大学的鲁宾斯坦图书馆。

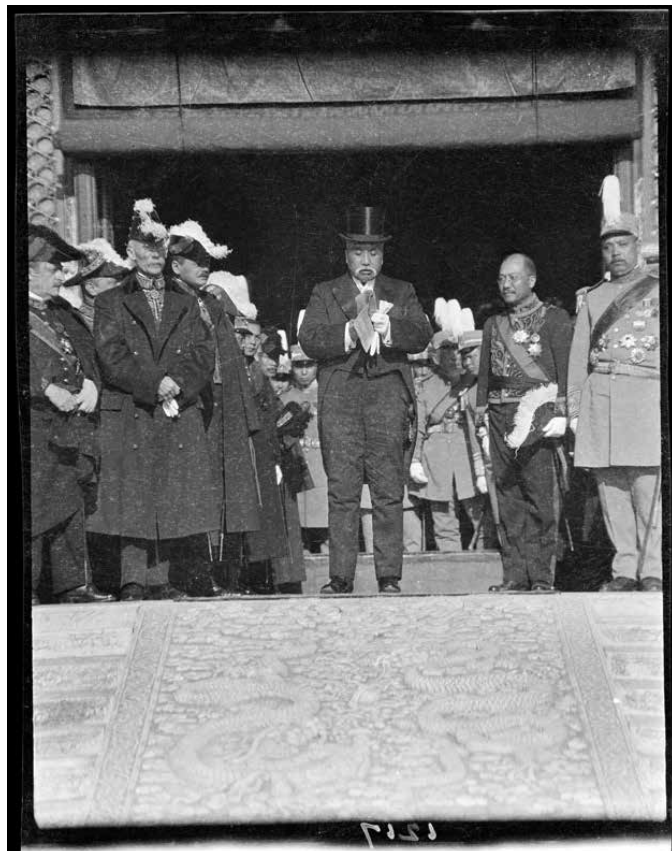
被重新发现的甘博的这些照片只有底片，存放在漂亮的紫檀木箱子里。底片是那种高度易燃的硝酸胶片。科伦夫人雇佣了一名专业的档案管理员将这些底片从箱子里取出，装进专门的档案袋里，并将甘博手写的有关每幅照片的信息，打印整齐贴在每个档案袋上。杜克大学图书馆2006年3月与科伦夫人签署协议后，就着手准备这些底片的数字化。考虑到底片的高度易燃性，图书馆将底片数字化委托给麻省的一家公司（Chicago Albumen Works）。当年的10月，底片由科伦夫人处直接运去麻省进行数字化，公司还将打印出的有关照片信息的小条也进行了扫描。这些小条经过光标字符识别后，就成为建立数字库元数据的重要依据。底片的数字化到2007年春全部完成。全部底片随后运回杜克大学永久保存。图书馆随后开始甘博照片数据库的筹划。整个数据库在2008年秋初步完成，向公众开放。这是甘博照片首次完整地向公众展示。<http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/gamble/>

Capturing History 历史的记录

甘博的镜头记录了一些重大的历史事件，1918年一次大战的庆典、1919年的五四运动以及1925年的孙中山葬礼等等，成了珍贵历史资料。

The transitions in Chinese society to which Gamble and his camera bore testimony were not limited to institutional and social change. He was also able to witness and document pivotal events in China's history, such as the Thanksgiving celebration of the victory of WWI in 1918, the May Fourth Movement in 1919, and Sun Yat-sen's funeral in 1925.

Thanksgiving Day Review, Hall of Supreme Harmony & Soldiers, Celebration of WWI victory
感恩节，庆祝一战胜利太和殿大阅兵上的军队
(1918年11月28日)



Thanksgiving Day Review,
President Making Speech Telar
感恩节大阅兵，大总统徐世昌讲演感恩
(1918年11月28日)



Carved Pillar, Old Summer Place
圆明园遗迹

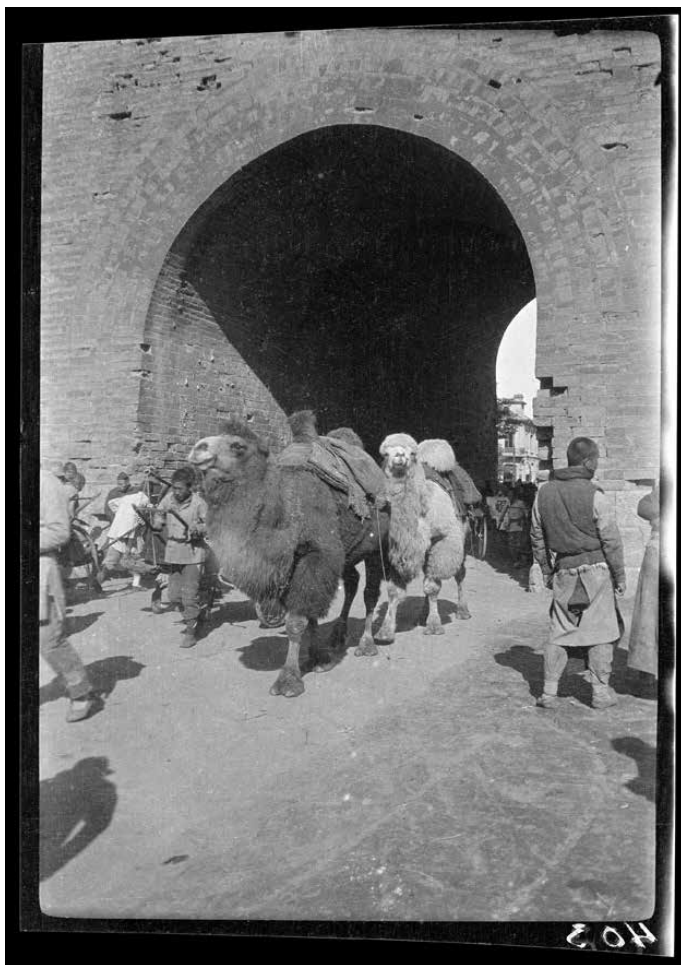


Devil Dance at Lama Temple, March 1, 1919,
Dancer in Mask
雍和宮, 1919年3月1日, 打鬼舞, 戴面具的舞者

Changing China 变化中的中国

甘博在华期间，正是中国社会经历巨变的时期。他的镜头记录了各种老式的和新式的社会机构，如：新式的学校、西式医院、新旧监狱以及各种各样的传统的和新的交通方式，展现了一幅变化中的社会图景。

Gamble visited China in the midst of its transition to a modern society. By contrasting old and new forms, his photographs represent the way people of the time adapted to the emergence of modern institutions, such as hospitals, prisons, and schools. These transitions were also marked by new modes of transportation and infrastructure that changed the Chinese landscape and way of life.



Camel and Gateway
骆驼和城门



Incense Carrier
背香者



Funeral, Ford, and Man
随葬的纸扎福特车和人



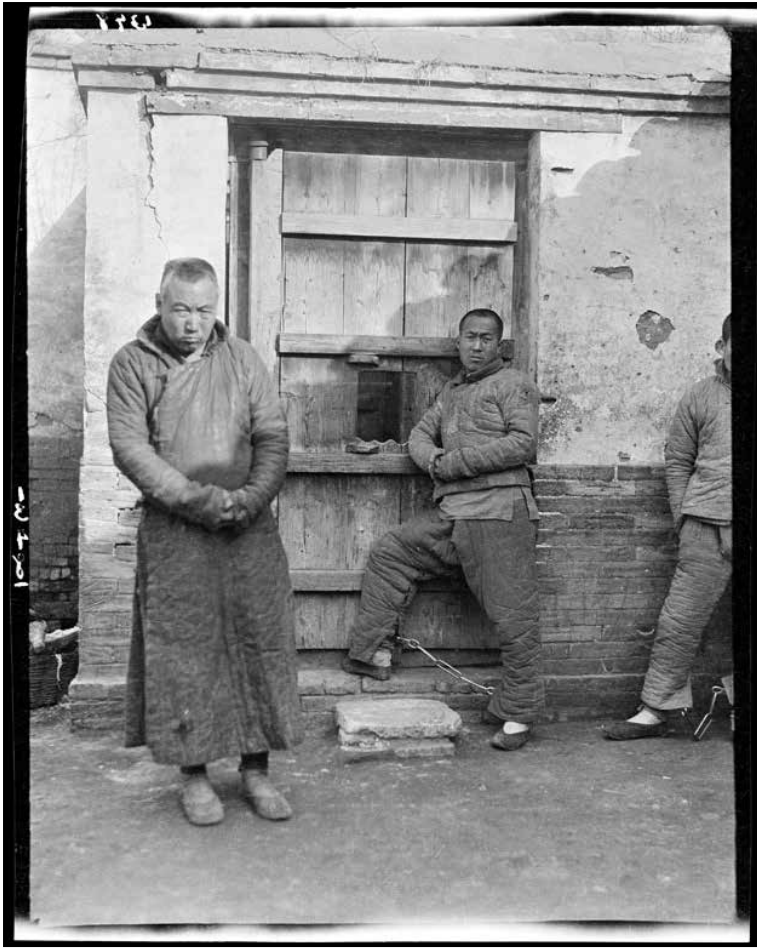
Peking Women's Hospital, Charity Ward
北京妇婴医院，慈善病房



Peking Higher Normal, Shops Engine and Pattern Making
北京高等师范 发动机和样品车间



Prison Tailor Shop
监狱,犯人做衣服



Prison, Prisoner at Gate
老式监狱 站在门边的囚犯

Poor Boys Prison, Making Baskets
不良少年教养院，做篮子



Life Through the Lens

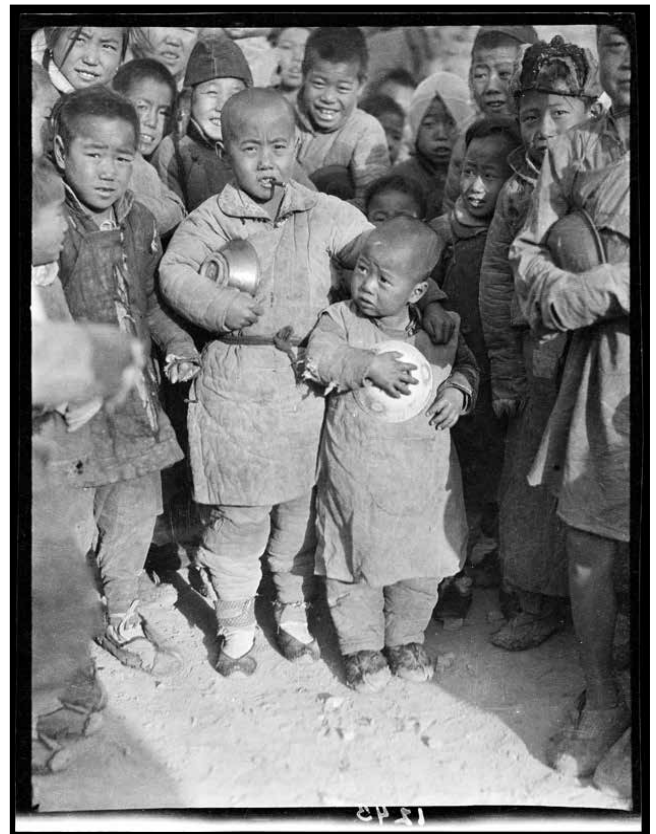
甘博镜头下的北京生活

作为受过专业训练的社会学家，甘博的镜头不是简单冰冷的记录，他捕捉到了人们生活的各种鲜活画面，透漏出了他的人道关怀。镜头下的男男女女所展示的丰富画面显示出社会变化正渗透到日常的方方面面。

Through his education in the social sciences, Gamble brings to his photography an informed perspective that extends beyond the simple documentation of the passage to modernity. His intimate photographs of people in the midst of a transitioning society demonstrate a sensitivity to individual humanity and the phenomena of everyday life. This broad array of portraits of men and women engaged in the various activities of public life provide us with a glimpse of social change not as a mere institutional process, but as the lived experience of a diversity of people.



Road to Temple Beggars
进香路两旁的乞丐



Congee Distribution, Smoking Boy and Others
施粥，抽烟的男孩和其他孩子



Boy Miner Dragging Coal from Mine
煤矿上的童工拖煤出矿井



Pulling Fish Nets
拉渔网



Gathering Pods - Moat
筒子河（护城河）里采莲子



Man Smoking Pipe, Pushing Baby Carriage
男人一手抽烟斗一手推婴儿车



Head in Cage
示众的人头



Reading
读报

A black and white photograph of a man in a hat and glasses sitting on a pack animal, with two other people carrying poles across a stone archway. The image is dark and serves as a background for the text.

PHOTO ESSAYS

論文

Penetrating the Past: Reexamining Agency and Intentionality in Sidney Gamble's Street Photography

By Jason Tonio Woerner

(Jason Tonio Woerner is a documentary photographer and PhD student in Cultural Anthropology at Duke University)

A late middle-aged woman sits behind a basket of eggs on a crowded Beijing street. Although the sun is shining directly on her, she remains bundled in winter clothes, a cloth wrapped around her head. Another woman, younger, better dressed and out of focus, crouches in front of the woman's basket, examining the eggs inside, her back to the camera. A young boy and a middle-aged man, of indeterminate relationship to the vendor and her customer, are gathered around watching this transaction take place. In this photograph, titled simply, "Buying Eggs," Sidney Gamble has produced and preserved a wealth of ethnographic information about early twentieth-century China invaluable to scholars today (see fig. 1). Images from this period in Chinese history are scarce, and Gamble's photography gives a rare glimpse into ways of life in a time of great change. Class, commerce, gender, the transition to modernity – visual representations of these issues and many others are attested to in "Buying Eggs" and the rest of Gamble's collection. By straddling the line between documentary photographer and sociologist, Sidney Gamble's work makes an especially important contribution to an otherwise gaping lacuna in the photographic record.



Figure 1: *Buying Eggs*

This laudatory description of Gamble and his work is accurate, yet far from complete. His work is rare, both for its photographic professionalism and for its being sociologically informed. It does provide an abundance of visual information about a time period in China for which the visual record is conspicuously empty. In the near century which has passed since his work in the 1910s to the 1930s, however, the standard narratives surrounding both photography and social science and the

assumptions which underlie them have undergone dramatic change. Early efforts of the surrealists notwithstanding, photography at the time was generally accorded the status of objective recorder of truth, while anthropology, burgeoning in the first half of the twentieth century, produced totalizing accounts of its ethnographic subjects that assumed a privileged position for the ethnographer as an embedded-yet-removed observer of reality. In the 1960s and 70s, the reflexive turn in the humanities caused a rethinking of both fields. Accounts of photography that placed objective value unquestioningly in the hands of the documentarian were dismantled, just as anthropologists and social scientists began to contend with the effect of the Western (colonial) presence and examine the knowledge they produced as a constructed object independent and separate from that which formed its subject. Despite these significant shifts in the academy, the standard narratives that surround Gamble and his work have gone strikingly unchanged.

In images like, "Buying Eggs," the viewer is offered access to information about forms of commerce, the organization of labor and family life and reflections of class and gender in early twentieth-century China. Such a reading of Gamble's photography, ethnographically illuminating though it is, falls short of addressing the potential understandings accessible in these photographs. These details which make up the raw material of ethnography—ways of dress, modes of economic exchange, etc. —fall into a category Roland Barthes would have called *studium*, elements of an image consciously noted and deliberately included by the photographer. As those who are familiar with Barthes already know, however, the *studium* is insufficient grounds through which to understand an image. To engage solely with the ethnographic elements of an image captured by the photographer's design is to engage purely with his or her intentionality, and thus inadvertently leave him ensconced in the seat of objective knowledge. Thus, it is necessary to look past Gamble's intentions, past his *studium*, and reread his images from a perspective of chance and the encounter.

While Roland Barthes's now classic *Camera Lucida* was not responding directly to the reflexive turn and debates about the nature of objectivity, his theorization of photography dislodging the photographer from a position of agency serves as a useful intervention into Gamble's documentary work. His concepts of *studium* and *punctum* offer a framework for understanding images which decenters intentionality and artistic choice, and instead emphasizes an intimate, personal relationship between the viewer and the photograph. Rather than engaging explicitly with questions of "truth" and "reality," Barthes bypasses the authority of the photographer entirely, decentering his aims as secondary to personal, disruptive details caught by chance through the lens and raised to importance in the eye of the viewer. The agency which Barthes ascribes to the Spectator—a photograph's individual viewer—and the decentering of intentionality in favor of chance makes for a peculiar framework to apply to Gamble's photography of China. Indeed, much of the theory presented in *Camera Lucida* seems to direct its application to intimate, personal photographs rather than the kind of ethnographic work of public spaces produced by Gamble (Barthes, in fact, seemed to have a unique disdain for any attempts at candid street photography). Yet it is precisely this incongruity that makes Gamble's work in China so compelling to consider in light of Barthes's framework. And it is also why Barthes's framework, not explicitly a part of the humanities' reflexive turn, is such a useful analytical tool to be deployed in its name.

Reexamined a century later, Gamble's work as an amateur, ethnographic photographer presents its intended subject, rural and urban Chinese life in a period of change, in many ways as a background for what chance put in front of his camera—the uncontrolled and uncontrollable effect of the photographer, the ethnographer, the Western. It is through this unintended, chance manifestation of the foreign, Western presence that I will apply Barthes to Gamble and Gamble to Barthes, interrogating images of turn-of-the-century China through studium and punctum and interrogating Camera Lucida through Gamble's photography. We shall see how chance elements of Gamble's photographs (read as punctum) shift attention away from Gamble's intended subject towards the encounter between subject and photographer. Further, we will look closely at Barthes's discussion of agency and intentionality in candid street photography and see how Gamble's work, existing in a liminal space between the candid and the posed, undermines essential formulations in Barthes's critique.

As alluded to above, Barthes's concept of studium refers to the understanding of an image as the photographer wanted it to be understood. To engage with an image on the level of studium is to exist in a world of the photographer's intentionality, to dialogue with his choices and interact with an image on his terms. The studium functions through cultural codes, through a shared semiotic language between an image's producer and viewer. Thus, Barthes tells us, the genre of ethnographic photography, in spite of the exigencies of chance inherent in fieldwork, is rife with the material of studium; it is studium itself which informs ethnographic study. Thus, it would seem that studium should serve as a useful point of entry through which to examine Gamble's photography in China. His images of a modernizing Beijing and contrasting rural hinterlands abound with the kind of ethnographic details that inform the curious viewer about life and society in turn-of-the-century China. To accept the knowledge presented by these images, however, is to remain in this realm of studium, our understanding circumscribed by a photographer's intentionality a century past, and thus also to repeat a hagiographic narrative that ascribes the privilege of objective value to photographer and social scientist.

In order to question this narrative and to engage critically with Gamble, it is necessary to exit the space delineated by his intentions. For this purpose, Barthes's punctum offers a means through which to read Gamble's work that strips it of the power with which it was originally accorded. The punctum consists of details captured within a photograph that intervene upon an image's studium to arrest the Spectator's attention and arouse emotion or reflection, to "prick" him. By definition puncta are captured by chance; they are unintentional on the part of the photographer. "Hence the detail which interests me is not," Barthes says, "or at least is not strictly, intentional, and probably must not be so; it occurs in the field of the photographed thing like a supplement that is at once inevitable and delightful." It is in this way that Barthes's framework becomes subversive, in its redistribution of power from the hands of the Operator to those of the subject, chance, and the Spectator. It is also in this way that the punctum becomes a useful tool for understanding Gamble's photography, by allowing us to deploy chance as a means through which to bypass Gamble and his photographic agency and thus see past the narrow sense of objectivity his disciplines were accorded in their time.

For Gamble, the studium of his photographs is in the ethno-

graphic details he set out to capture and record, for what it tells of the life of the Chinese peasant or laborer or urban dweller in the time he was working. For his Spectator, for us viewing his work nearly a century later, their punctum comes in the form of unintended details, details which often reveal more about Gamble's presence, the presence of the West, the presence of change, than they do about what Gamble himself was seeing. In one image, titled "Loading Baggage Cot Five" we see a group of men and boys loading cargo on the back of a pack mule in the mountains (possibly the supplies of Gamble himself) (see fig. 2). Through Gamble's intention, its studium, we learn about the China of his era: we see how people dress, how they traveled, what the landscape looked like outside the city. The punctum which advenes upon this ethnographic lesson, however, is the off-center, shifted, cocky stance of an adolescent boy looking back at Gamble, a mirrored gaze echoed (perhaps with even greater intensity) by a younger child, out of focus behind him. While it is the pack mule, the labor, the ethnographic information that is of interest to Gamble, it is the returned glance of these two boys revealing Gamble's presence that arrests our attention and shifts the meaning of the photograph from its subject to the encounter itself. This punctum, this chance detail outside the control and intention of the Operator, allows us to read Gamble's work in such a way that impedes upon and disrupts the position of the anthropologist, the social scientist, the photographer. Reread through the returned stare of two young laborers, the image becomes less about what Gamble is trying to show us, and more about Gamble himself.



Figure 2: Loading Baggage Cot

Applying Barthes's framework to Gamble's photography, or that of any historical ethnographic images, is illuminating; the unintentional, chance nature of the punctum only gain saliency through time. There is danger, however, in using Barthes to understand Gamble's work. First, the punctum of a photograph is deeply individual. Barthes goes to great extent to elaborate on the personal nature of punctum, posing it as an element which may not only not be shared by all Spectators, but one which is best realized entirely by the individual. In other words, the punctum is as much submitted by the Spectator, calling on a personal history, as it is an extant element of the image itself. Those familiar with Camera Lucida need not be reminded of the part in the text where this is made most clear. When Barthes turns to a discussion of the Winter Garden Photograph, the image of his deceased mother which served as the starting and ending point for Camera Lucida, and, indeed, around which

his entire theoretical framework is built, he refrains at the last moment from revealing to the reader the image in question, knowing full well that an image which appears to him as rife with punctum would read to us as mere studium. Thus, when we examine an image like “Woman with Cigarette,” we can identify immediately the studium: we learn something of the lives of urban Chinese of the period from the way they dress, from how they smoke, and from their collective walk (see fig. 3). The returned glance of one pale-faced woman is in this case studium, not punctum – disturbing though it is, it is clearly the incongruity of this glance among the other anonymous marchers that Gamble intended us to see. Rather, in this case, its punctum is a deeply personal one: the tension between the right-reaching gesture of a whisp of white smoke from her cigarette, mirrored above by left-reaching branches silhouetted black against the sky. Such a punctum cannot be expected to disrupt for others as it disrupts for me.



Figure 3: *Woman and Cigarette*

This pitfall notwithstanding, studium and punctum can be a particularly useful framework for decentering objectivity and the photographer’s agency by shifting attention away from Gamble’s intended subject to chance details which reframe our understanding of the photographic event to include not only the Actor, but the photographic encounter itself, particularly in cases of candid street photography. Furthermore, in some cases these chance details override the agency of both the Operator and the Spectator, offering new ways to understand Barthes’s theorization of studium and punctum.

Candid photography depends on the photographic subject being unaware of the act of his or her capture. Barthes describes this situation as one in which the act of collusion normally present between subject and photographer, an intentionality made manifest in the act of the pose, is appropriated entirely into the hands of the Operator. The photographer deploys this intentionality, referred to by Barthes as a “performance,” through the “shock,” the surprise of the moment in which a subject is photographed without his knowledge. Put another way, Barthes believes that the fundamental essence of photography is to reveal something hidden about the subject of the photograph. This essence is at its most fundamental in candid photography, when the subject’s lack of awareness of the camera’s presence

allows the photographer to capture and reveal something of the subject so well hidden that he/she may not have even been aware of it. Yet this same moment (the “shock”) also represents the total ascendancy of the photographer over the subject, the subject being completely unable to mediate his image or have any control over what is revealed about him via colluding with the photographer through the self-conscious pose. Thus, despite embodying the fundamental element of the medium, candid photography is also the mode in which the balance of power between the photographer and the subject is at its widest disparity. Bearing in mind that absence of intentionality on the part of the photographer is a necessary precondition in the formulation of the punctum, this seizure of control by the photographer, through the act of “shock,” represents for Barthes the greatest kind of departure from a mode of photography conducive to the intimate encounter around which his theory is built. In other words, what is anathema to Barthes about candid photography is that it represents the epitome of the photographer’s dominance over the agency of the subject himself; this dominance renders impossible a genuinely intimate connection between the viewer and the subject. In candid photography, the photographer’s intentionality steps in (through the act of the “shock”) to fill the gap normally occupied by the Actor whose knowledge of the camera possesses him with an intentionality of his own (embodied in the pose). Other critics have read this distaste for the intentional, especially with regards to the photographer, as a form of antitheatricity, against which the punctum serves as an ontological guarantee.

It is at this juncture that Gamble’s work offers new insight with which to consider Barthes’s studium and punctum. While not all the images Gamble produced of China from 1908 to 1932 qualify as candid (many, in fact, were set up just for his benefit), a great deal of them are devoted to photographing daily life in public spaces, what we now call “street photography.” Of these, some are candid, many are not, and the majority represent a liminal space between the candid and the posed. In this liminal space, in photographs taken of crowded streets and busy squares whose inhabitants represent varying levels of awareness of the photographer’s presence, Gamble’s images are able to respond to Barthes’s critique of candid photography. Within this body of semi-candid work, where Gamble’s labors are their most classically ethnographic, we can find instances of chance intervening upon the image to subvert the photographer’s attempted “shock,” his intentionality, his “performance,” appropriated from an unsuspecting Actor. Through these encounters between lens and unintended subject, the element of chance bypasses both the photographer and the subject, undermining and sidestepping their theatricality to intercede directly upon the Spectator himself.

One example of an image inhabiting the liminal space between candid and posed is a photograph titled simply “Experiment,” in which Gamble shows us three men attempting to sieve something over a pan while a crowd of people looks on (see fig 4). It is unclear from their reactions whether the men in the center who make up the ostensible subject are aware of the photographer’s presence or not. What is clear, however, is that a few members of the crowd have, in fact, seen Gamble and are returning the gaze back towards the lens, most notably a boy standing directly behind the “experiment” itself. Through this series of returned gazes, individuals making up the background of the image subvert what Barthes would have read as Gamble’s seizure of the intended subject’s agency; the “shock” through

which Gamble attempts to capture something essential about the men that make up the image's subject is itself reappropriated by an accidental subject whose collective stare reaches past the photographer directly to the viewer himself, forming an antitheatrical punctum that regrounds the image outside the realm of the photographer's intentions. The subversive gaze of the background subject which undermines the agentive hegemony of the Operator, further serves in the context of Gamble and his work as a photographer and social scientist, as a form of resistance to present power dynamics within the space of the photographic event.



Figure 4: *Experiment*

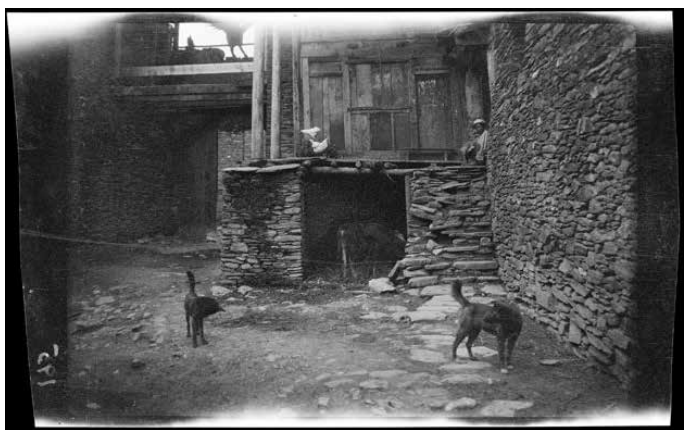


Figure 5: *House Entrance*

Another image, taken in So Village, depicts the front of a home built of stone and wood (see fig. 5). A pair of dogs on a dirt path and some chickens foreground the structure. The image's title, "House Entrance," directs us towards Gamble's ethnographic intent: a record of rural, domestic architecture. Closer examination, however, reveals a man, presumably the home's inhabitant, looking directly at the photographer, perched discreetly in front of a wooden wall, so merged with his surroundings as to appear secondary to the livestock and the structure itself. The direct gaze of this subtle figure not only reframes the image in terms of the ethnographic encounter, as with "Experiment" and "Loading Baggage Cot Five," but also undermines Gamble's attempt at genre, recasting the photograph from architectural

ethnography to one in which the overlooked subject assumes the central role. The ethnographic knowledge that comprises the studium of Gamble's intent is reclaimed by the punctum of the photograph's unintended subject.

"Buying Eggs," the image through which we first engaged with Gamble at the start of this essay, also exists in an uncertain, semi-candid space, though in this case its subversive punctum takes another form than the returned gaze of an unintended subject. As discussed in the earlier treatment, the image's studium, Gamble's intended subject, makes itself clear. We see three people squatting over baskets of eggs on a public street, while others stand or lean around going about their business. Through its details we gain ethnographic knowledge about the nature of commerce and public space. Its punctum, however, is Gamble's shadow, caused by the chance position of the sun in relation to the photographer and subject, reaching subtly into the bottom half of the frame. Through the gesture of this shadow, the viewer is reminded of the photographer's presence, and the taken-for-granted candid nature of the image is called into question. The expressions on the faces of the merchants take on a different meaning as they are no longer solely engaged in the act of commerce, but may be actively ignoring the obtrusive presence of Gamble and his camera. Thus the image is thrust uncomfortably into the liminal space between the candid and the posed, and Gamble's presumed "shock" is undermined by the possibility of pose and performance on behalf of his no-longer unsuspecting subject. In other words, once pricked by the chance punctum of Gamble's shadow, we reframe our relationship to the subject of the image to bypass the photographer's intentions, connecting around him directly to the subjects themselves.

On a few rare occasions, Gamble doffs the ethnographic photographer's mantle and acknowledges both his own presence and its effect on the people who make up his subject. Even in these scarce cases when he shifts his gaze from the fictitious, candid subject to the photographic encounter, however, the agency of his subjects evades his control and disrupts his intent, reframing the image on new grounds. In the curiously titled, "Natives Watching Photography," Gamble seemingly attempts to capture a group of people from Sichuan who had been gazing with interest at the photographer and his equipment (see fig. 6). At the moment the shot was taken, however, all of the "watching natives" averted their gazes to look in the direction of anything but "photography." Similarly, in "Boy and Film Can," a young child grasps a token souvenir from Gamble, clutching the waist of an adult, whose arm rests reassuringly on his shoulder (see fig. 7). Gamble has lowered his perspective to the boy's level, attempting a close-up shot of the child with his gift. Rather than examine the film canister or look towards the camera, however, the boy stares blankly, eyes unfocused, refusing the contrived interaction Gamble set out to capture. Thus we see not only, as in the previous images, how the "shock" of the photographer attempting candid photography is subverted by a chance, mirrored gaze or an unintended shadow, but also how explicit engagement with the encounter by the photographer is itself disrupted by the subject's own agency. By refusing complicity with the photographer, the awkward posture and limp stares of the subjects locate these images in a space outside both the candid and the posed; the uncontrolled nature of punctum, manifest in an uncooperative subject thrusts these photographs, again, into a liminal space, only this time from a realm of the posed towards the candid, rather than the other way around.

The subject's behavior may, indeed, be a kind of performance, responding to the presence of the camera, but as it rejects both collusion of the pose and the "shock" of the candid, it is a subversive performance of ultimate antitheatricality, an act of resistance against the agency, power and presumed objectivity of the Operator.



Figure 6: Natives Watching Photography



Figure 7: Boy and Film Can

It is in this way that Gamble's photography of early twentieth-century China has the greatest capacity to inform our current understanding of the period, through reading the agency of his ethnographic subject in the blurred boundaries between the candid and the posed. His images yield an abundance of ethnographic knowledge for a period in which the photographic record is thin. Reread through a more contemporary lens of the reflexive turn, they also are able to disrupt the position of the photographer and ethnographer and shift our attention from their subject to the ethnographic encounter. Yet more than that, through the unexpected and uncooperative nature of chance,

Gamble's images have the potential to engage with our very understanding of agency and the encounter itself. The chance locking of gaze with an unintended figure over subject, photographer, and century of time, an uncontrolled shadow, the refusal to cooperate in pose—these acts of chance and subjective recalcitrance not only unsettle notions of subjective, photographic agency, but also serve as minor acts of resistance to the power and authority of the lens and the West.

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- i. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 28-30.
 - ii. Barthes, 43.
 - iii. Barthes, 47.
 - iv. Barthes, 47.
 - v. Barthes, 73.

穿透历史：对西德尼·甘博街头摄影中行动性与意向性的再审视

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北京一条拥挤的大街上，一位中年妇女坐在一篮鸡蛋后面。虽然太阳正直直地照射在她身上，但她还是裹着厚厚的冬衣，头上围着一根布条。在焦点以外，还有一位较年轻、衣着较好的女子蹲伏在中年妇女的篮子前，背对镜头挑拣着篮里的鸡蛋。一位年轻的男孩和一位中年男子正在围观着这比买卖的进行，不确定他们与摊主或顾客是何关系。在这幅简单地题为《买鸡蛋》的照片中，西德尼·甘博展现并保存了有关二十世纪初的中国丰富的民族志信息，对今日的学者有着无可估量的价值。中国历史上的这一时期影像资料稀缺，而甘博的摄影作品向人们提供了窥见这一巨变时代之生活方式的难得一瞥。阶级、贸易、性别、现代性转变——这些及许多其他议题在《买鸡蛋》及甘博的其余作品中得到了视觉再现。作为横跨两个领域的纪实摄影师兼社会学家，西德尼·甘博用其作品为填补摄影史上的巨大空白作出了重要贡献。



图1: 买鸡蛋

以上这段对甘博及其作品赞誉的描述是准确的，但远非完整。他的作品确实展现出罕见的摄影专业主义与社会学知识。它也确实为中国历史上一段严重缺乏视觉记录的时期提供了丰富的视觉信息。然而，在他于二十世纪10至30年代进行拍摄之后的这将近一个世纪里，摄影与社会学的标准话语及其中暗含的假设都发生了巨大的变化。尽管早先有超现实主义者的努力，但当时，摄影在整体上仍然被看作是对真实世界的客观记录；而人类学在二十世纪上半叶迅速发展，产生了大量对其民族志研究主体的叙述，并假设了民族志学者作为“既在局内又在局外”的现实观察者的优先地位。而在二十世纪六七十年代，人文研究的反身转向同时

引发了对这两个领域的重新思考。将客观价值毫不犹豫地交到纪实摄影师手中的摄影话语被废除了，一如人类学家与社会科学家开始与西方（殖民）元素所产生的影响作斗争，并重新审视由此产生的知识，将其认定为一种建构的客体，独立而游离于组成其主体的成分之外。尽管学界发生了这些显著的变迁，但围绕甘博及其作品的标准叙述却引人注目地未发生改变。

如《买鸡蛋》这样的照片为观众提供了有关贸易形式、劳动力的组织结构以及家庭生活的信息，并反映了二十世纪早期中国的阶级与性别状况。对甘博摄影作品的此类解读虽然富于民族志的启示性，却未能顾及这些照片所有潜在的解读可能性。这些构成民族志素材的细节——穿着方式、经济交换模式等等——都属于罗兰·巴特会称之为“知面”的范畴，即一幅图像中摄影师有意识地注意到并故意包含进去的那些元素。然而，正如熟悉巴特的读者所知道的，将知面作为理解图像的基础是不充分的。如果仅仅考察图像中根据摄影师的设计捕捉到的民族志元素，就等同于只是纯粹在考察他或她的意向性，从而错误地将摄影师奉为客观知识的提供者。因此，我们有必要越过甘博的意图，越过他的知面，从偶然性与相遇的角度重新解读他的作品。

尽管罗兰·巴特现已成为经典的《明室》一书并非直接回应反身转向或是关于客观性的实质的争论，但他将摄影师逐出行动性地位的摄影理论阐述可以作为介入甘博纪实作品的有用方式。他的“知面”与“刺点”概念为解读图像提供了一种将意向性与艺术选择去中心化的理论框架，并取而代之地强调观众与照片之间私密而个人化的关系。巴特并未明确探讨“真相”与“现实”的问题，而是完全绕开了摄影师的权威，将他的目的去中心化、变为次于由镜头偶然捕捉到、在观众眼中变得重要的那些个人的、干扰性的细节。巴特赋予观看者——一幅照片的个体观众——的行动性、对意向性的去中心化以及对偶然性的重视使之成为一种独特的分析甘博中国摄影作品的理论框架。实际上，《明室》中的许多理论似乎更适用于私密的、个人的摄影作品，而非甘博创作的那种关于公共空间的民族志作品（事实上，巴特似乎对任何堪的派街头摄影企图都怀有一种独有的蔑视）。然而，也正是这种不适用性使得在巴特的框架中考量甘博的中国作品具有如此强烈的吸引力。而这同时也是为什么巴特的理论框架仍能用于以人文研究的反身转向为名的分析，虽然它并非明确为这一转向的一部分。

在一个世纪之后重新审视甘博作为一名业余的民族志摄影师的作品，可以发现它往往将其原本设想的主体（即时代变迁中的中国乡村与城市生活）呈现为衬托偶然性带到他相机前的那些东西的背景——来自摄影师、民族志学者、西方的未经控制也无法控制的影响。正是这些对外来的、西方的影响出乎意料的偶然显现，将使我得以用巴特来解读甘博、用甘博来讨论巴特，通过知面与刺点来考量世纪之交的中国影像、通过甘博的摄影作品来探讨《明室》。我们将会看到，甘博作品中的偶然性因素（解读为刺点）如何将观众的注意力从甘博所意图的主体转移到主体与摄影师的相遇上。此外，我们还将仔细审视巴特对于堪的派街头摄影的行动性与意向性的讨论，并看到甘博介于抓拍与摆拍之间过渡区域的那些作品如何挑战了巴特的批评中的核心表述。

（原文注释：我是否应该把这一点保留到最后再揭晓？——我以前觉得应该留到最后，现在觉得不应该。）

正如上文所提及的，巴特的“知面”概念是指，按摄影师所希望的解读方式去理解图像。在知面的层次上对图像的考量就是停留在摄影师的意向性世界中，与他的选择对话、并按他的要求与图像进行互动。知面通过文化符码来达到其作用，即图像作者与观众之间所共享的符号化的语言。因而，巴特阐述道，尽管突发的偶然性本就是田野调查的一部分，但民族志摄影这一类型充斥着知面的素材；民族志研究正是通过知面来传递信息的（1980，

28-30)。因此，知面可以作为考量甘博中国摄影的有用切入点。他那些关于现代化过程中的北京以及与之对比鲜明的内陆农村的作品充满了民族志细节，向好奇的观众传递有关世纪之交中国的社会与日常生活的信息。然而，如果接受了这些图像所呈现的知识，就是停留在了知面的领域中，让我们的理解被一个世纪前的摄影师的意向性所限定，从而也重复着将客观价值的特权归于摄影师与社会科学家的理想化叙述。

为了质疑这一叙述并批判地探讨甘博，我们有必要退出由他的意图所勾勒出的空间。巴特的“刺点”概念为这一目的提供了一种去除甘博作品原有权力的解读方式。“刺点”由照片中所捕捉到的、搅乱图像知面的那些细节组成，它们吸引了观看者的注意并引发其情绪或反思，亦即“刺痛”了观看者（1980, 43）。根据定义，刺点是偶然捕捉到的，对于摄影师来说它们是意料之外的。“因此，那吸引我的细节，”巴特写道，“不是或至少不完全是有意为之的，可能也不应当是；它在被拍摄的事物所在场域中自行发生，像一种无法避免而又令人高兴的补充。”（1980, 47）巴特的理论框架正是以此颠覆了传统，将操作者手中的权力重新分配给了主体、偶然性与观看者。也正是因此，刺点成为了解读甘博摄影作品的有用工具，使我们得以通过偶然性来绕过甘博和他的摄影行动性，从而超越他的学科在那个时代对客观性的狭隘认识。

对于甘博而言，他摄影作品中的知面在于他计划捕捉和记录的民族志细节，在于表现他那个年代中国农民、工人或城市居住者的生活。而对于观看者、对近一个世纪之后观看他作品的我们来说，它们的刺点则是以意料之外的细节的形式出现的，这些细节所揭示的往往更多是甘博的在场、西方的在场、时代变迁的在场，而非甘博自己看到了什么。在一幅题为《搬运包裹Cot 5》的照片中，我们能看到一群或长或少的男子在山区里往一头驮骡的背上搬运货物（这些货物很有可能就是甘博自己的）。通过甘博的意图，即图像的知面，我们了解到了他那个时代的中国：我们看到人们的穿着与出行方式，也看到了城市以外的自然风貌。而额外附加给这堂民族志课的刺点，则是一个远离中心的青春期男孩，以一种桀骜不驯的姿态回望向甘博，而与这一镜像凝视相呼应的，是他身后焦距以外一个年龄更小的孩子的目光（或许带着更加强烈的情感）。甘博所感兴趣的是驮骡、工人，是民族志信息，而抓住我们注意力的却是那两个男孩回望的目光，它揭示出甘博的在场，并将照片的内涵从它的主体转变为相遇本身。这一刺点，这一在操作者的控制与意图以外的偶然性细节，使我们得以使用一种妨碍并扰乱了人类学家、社会科学家与摄影师地位的方式来解读甘博的作品。通过两位年轻工人的回望进行重新解读后，这一图像所主要表现的不再是甘博试图展现给我们的东西，而更多是关于甘博自己。



图2: 把帆布床绑在毛驴身上

将巴特的理论框架应用于甘博的摄影作品、或任何其他历史民族志影像，是富有启发性的；刺点那意料之外的偶然性本质随时间推移只会变得越来越重要。然而，使用巴特来理解甘博的作品也存在着危险。首先，一幅照片的刺点是极度个人化的。巴特十分详细地论述了刺点的个人化实质，他提出，刺点并不一定会为所有观看者所共享，而是在个人身上才能获得最充分最完整的实现。换言之，刺点既是图像本身的现有元素，同时也是由观看者通过其个人历史所附加上去的（1980, 55）。熟悉《明室》的读者无需提醒就知道书中何处对此说明得最为清楚。当巴特讨论到那张冬季花园照片时——这张他已故母亲的照片既是《明室》的开端也是它的终点，甚至，他的整个理论框架就是围绕这张照片建立的——他在最后一刻保留了这一图像而不向读者揭露，因为他太过清楚，这张对他而言充斥着刺点的图像在我们眼中仅会是知面（1980, 73）。

因此，当我们在考察像《抽烟的女人》这样的照片时，我们能立即辨识出它的知面：我们通过她们的衣着、抽烟的样子以及集体行进的方式可以了解到一些关于那一时期中国城市生活的东西。此处，一个面色苍白的女子的回望是知面，而非刺点——虽然它看起来很扰乱画面，但很明显，甘博意图让我们看到的正是这一眼神在其他无名行进者中间的不协调。其实，在这个例子中，它的刺点是极度个人化的：她的烟上有一缕白烟向右飘去，而上方向左延伸到树枝在天空投下黑色的剪影，两者互为镜像地呼应，形成张力。这一刺点不会对其他人像对我一样有扰乱性。



图3: 抽烟的妇女

尽管有这样的陷阱存在，知面和刺点还是可以作为一种使客观性及摄影师的行动性去中心化的有用框架，因为它将注意力从甘博所意图的主体转移到了偶然性的细节上，不仅将行动者，也将摄影相遇本身囊括进来，从而重新构造了我们对摄影事件的理解，对于堪的派街头摄影来说尤其如此。此外，在一些作品中，偶然性细节同时盖过了操作者与观看者的行动性，为理解巴特关于知面与刺点的理论阐述提供了新的思路。

堪的派摄影取决于摄影主体对被捕捉到的情况不知情。巴特将这种情况描述为：原本存在于主体与摄影师之间的共谋行为，亦即通过摆拍行为表现出来的意向性，被全部挪至了操作者手中。摄影师通过“震惊”，即主体在不知情的情况下被拍下的那一时刻的惊讶，将这一意向性付诸实施，巴特称之为“表演”。换言之，巴特认为，摄影最基本的核心在于揭露有关摄影主体的一些隐蔽的东西。这一核心在堪的派摄影中尤为基础，因为主体对相机的不知情使得摄影师能够捕捉到主体某些隐蔽得连他/她自己

都可能没意识到的东西。然而，也正是这个时刻（即“震惊”）意味着摄影师对主体完全的支配地位，因为主体无法通过有意识的摆拍来与摄影师共谋，因而完全无法对其形象产生任何影响或控制自己被揭露的内容。因此，虽然堪的派摄影体现了摄影这一媒介最基本的元素，但它也是摄影师与主体之间的权力关系相差最悬殊的模式。鉴于摄影师意向性的缺席是刺点形成的必要先决条件，因此对于巴特来说，摄影师通过“震惊”行为获得的这种控制权意味着一种最为不利于私密相遇的摄影模式，而巴特是围绕私密相遇建立其理论的。亦即，巴特厌恶堪的派摄影的是，它是摄影师支配主体自身行动性的典范；这一支配使得观众与主题之间真诚私密的联系变得不再可能。在堪的派摄影中，摄影师的意向性通过“震惊”行为介入进来，取代了原本由行动者因其对相机知情而产生的自己的意向性（表现为摆拍）。有些其他评论将这种对意图（尤其对摄影师的意图）的厌弃解读为一种反戏剧性，但刺点可以从本体论上证明如此解读是错误的。

正是在这个连接点上，甘博的作品为解读巴特的知面与刺点提供了新的思路。虽然甘博在1908年至1932年间在中国拍摄的影像并非所有都符合堪的派摄影的标准（事实上，许多拍摄是为自己自己的利益预先设计好的），但其中还是有大量作品致力于拍摄公共空间中的日常生活，这在现在被称为“街头摄影”。在这些作品中，有些是抓拍的，许多并不是，而绝大多数则处在抓拍与摆拍之间的过渡区域。在这一过渡区域，在那些拍摄于拥挤的街道和繁忙的广场的照片里，其中的居住者表现出对摄影师的存在不同程度的意识，甘博的图像正是因此得以回应巴特对堪的派摄影的批评。在这一系列半堪的作品中，甘博的工人们展现出最经典的民族志信息，而我们能从中找到一些例子，其中偶然性干扰了影像，从而打破了摄影师的“震惊”企图，破坏了他从无从戒备的行动者那里挪用来的意向性、他的“表演”。通过这些镜头与意料之外的主体的相遇，偶然性元素既绕过了摄影师也绕过了主体，破坏并避开了他们试图直接向观看者诉说的戏剧性。

一个占据抓拍与摆拍之间过渡区域的图像的例子，是一幅简单地题为《实验》的照片，在其中甘博向我们展示了三个试图把一些东西筛进一口锅里的男子，同时周围有一群围观者。从他们的反应中看不出位于画面中间、看起来是主体的三位男子是否意识到摄影师的存在。然而可以确定的是，人群中的一些成员看到了甘博，事实上，有些还回望镜头，最引人注目的就是站在“实验”后方的一个男孩。通过这一系列的回望，一些在背景中的个体颠覆了会被巴特解读为甘博从其意图主体处夺来的行动性；甘博试图通过“震惊”来捕捉到作为图像主体的那些男子的一些本质的东西，而这一“震惊”本身却被意料之外的主体重新夺回了，他们的集体目光越过了摄影师直接望向观众，形成一种反戏剧性的刺点，将图像重置于摄影师的意图领域之外。背景中的主体那颠覆性的凝视破坏了操作者的行动霸权，在摄影师兼社会科学家甘博的其他作品中，这一形式继续在摄影事件范围内对现有权力动态体系进行着反抗。



图4: 做实验

另一幅在苏村拍摄的图像表现了一幢石木结构住宅的正面。前景是一条泥土小径上的两只狗和几只鸡。这幅图像的标题《房屋入口》将我们指向甘博的民族志意图：记录农村家庭建筑。然而，通过更仔细的观察可以发现，有一位男子（可推测是房屋的居住者）正直直地望向摄影师，在一面木墙前小心地坐在高处，他与周围环境如此融合，以至相比于那些家畜和整个结构反而显得次要了。这个微小的人物的直接凝视不仅将影像重新构造为一种如《实验》与《搬运包裹Cot 5》中那样的民族志相遇，而且还破坏了甘博“震惊”的企图，将照片由一种建筑民族志重塑为一张以那个被忽略的主体为中心角色的图像。民族志知识构成了甘博意图的知面，而现在它们让位于照片中意料之外的主体所创造的刺点。



图5: 房子入口

在本文开头，让我们第一次接触到甘博的图像《买鸡蛋》也处在不确定的半堪的区域，不过这幅作品的颠覆性刺点并不是一个意料之外的主体的回望。一如前文所述，这一影像的知面，即甘博所意图的主体，是十分清楚明确的。我们看到，在一条公共的街道上，三人蹲坐在一篮篮鸡蛋周围，而其他人物则站立或斜靠着在一旁忙着他们自己的事。通过它的细节，我们获得了有关贸易与公共空间属性的民族志知识。然而，它的刺点却是甘博的影子，由太阳与摄影师及主体偶然的位置关系导致，微妙地伸向画面的下半部。这个影子向观众提醒着摄影师的在场，也质疑着图像本身被认为理所当然的抓拍性质。商贩们脸上的表情具有了不同的含义，因为他们不再仅仅是忙于买卖行为，而可能是在有意识地努力忽略甘博和他的相机带来的干扰。这样一来，这一图像被不舒服地挪入了抓拍与摆拍之间的过渡区域，而甘博所意图的“震惊”也被他那些不再毫无防备的主体可能的摆拍与表演所打破。换言之，一旦被甘博影子的偶然性刺点所刺痛，我们就绕过了摄影师的意图，重新构造了我们与图像主体的关系，越过他直接与主体产生了联系。

在一些少见的情况下，甘博会丢下民族志摄影师的外衣，承认他自己的在场以及这对他的主体产生的影像。然而，即使是在这些他将目光从虚假的抓拍主体移至摄影相遇上的少数情况下，其主体的行动性还是会逃脱他的控制并搅乱他的意图，在新的基础上重新构造图像。在标题奇特的照片《当地人围观摄影》中，甘博似乎在试图捕捉一组正在好奇地注视着摄影师及其设备的四川人。然而，在照片拍下的那一刻，所有“围观的当地人”都把他们的目光移向除了“摄影”以外的各种其他方向上。类似的，在《男孩与胶卷盒》中，一个年幼的孩子从甘博手中取过一个象征性的纪念品，一边抓着一个成人的手腕，而那个成人的手臂则安慰地搭在男孩的肩上。甘博将他的镜头降低到孩子的高度，试图近距离拍摄孩子和他的礼物。然而，男孩却没有在研究胶卷盒或者望向镜头，而是眼神空白，双眼失焦，拒绝进行甘博计划捕捉的设计好的互动。因此我们看到，不仅摄影师试图进行堪的摄影

的“震惊”会被偶然的镜像回望或意料之外的影子所颠覆（就像在先前那些照片中那样），而且当摄影师明确地试图拍摄相遇行为本身时，也会被主体自己的行动性所打乱。通过拒绝摄影师的设计，主体那些别扭的姿势与无力的目光将这些影像定位在抓拍与摆拍之外；刺点的不可控性在此表现为不配合的主体，并再度将这些照片掷入了过渡区域，只是这次是从摆拍领域进入了抓拍领域，而不是反过来。主体的行为可能真的是一种回应相机的存在的表演，但当它既反抗摆拍的共谋又反抗抓拍的“震惊”时，它就成为一种终极反戏剧性的颠覆性表演，一种反抗操作者的行动性、权力与假想的客观性的行为。

摄影记录的时期提供了丰富的民族志知识。而经过更为当代的反身方式重新解读后，这些作品也能打乱摄影师和民族志学者的地位，并将我们的注意力从他们的主体转移到民族志相遇上。而更重要的是，通过偶然性的难以预期与非合作性质，甘博的作品得以影响我们对行动性与相遇本身的理解。越过主体、摄影师与一个世纪时光的那些意料之外的凝视，未受控制的影子，拒绝合作的摆拍，这些偶然性的行动与主观反抗不仅动摇了关于主体性与摄影行动性的观念，而且也反抗了镜头与西方的权力与权威。



图6: 当地人围观摄影



图7: 手拿胶卷盒的男孩

正是以这种方式，正是通过在抓拍与摆拍之间模糊的边界上解读他的民族志主体的行动性，甘博的二十世纪早期中国摄影作品能够最有效地丰富我们目前对那一时期的理解。他的影像为一个稀

Recalcitrant Flesh: Stripping Away The Historical Burden Of Chinese Women's Bodies

Ana Huang

(Ana Huang is a PhD student in Cultural Anthropology at Duke University)

"In that sense, before the 'body' there is the 'flesh,' that zero degree of social conceptualization ..."

– Hortense Spillers

BODY AND FLESH

Can women's bodies speak? Can a feminist reading of photographic archives from the early twentieth-century China offer an unmediated historical glimpse into the lived experiences of women? With the exception of voice recordings and skeletons in graves, photography is perhaps the closest point of contact we have with the material lives of Chinese women, before mass literacy enabled the majority of women to write. Sidney Gamble took hundreds of apparently uncontrived photographs of women, their bodies imprinted onto the negative with absolute mechanical precision. Scholars of Chinese history are used to reading between the lines of Chinese male authors for glimpses of women's realities in poems, fictions, political treatises, etc., but the photographic archive is able to bypass the interloping male voice, allowing us direct access to the elusive figure of the historical Chinese woman. Photography constitutes a material tracing of women's bodies, a recording of corporeal speech. It is perhaps a potent lens for feminist reconstruction of the past. However, feminist projects that simply formulate counter-histories as a response to male-centered narratives fall into a familiar trap. Counter-histories are homologous methods of historical narrativization, as modern people endowed with the retrospective position perform reading practices on the site of women's bodies in the early twentieth century. The physical body becomes a body of evidence in support of historical claims. The photo collection becomes a text upon which experts offer competing interpretations. The body is still being spoken for. Women's subjectivities are still overwhelmingly defined by the body. The classic, liberal feminist approach to Gamble's photo collection might, on first glance, offer reprieve from male-dominated discourses, by emphasizing women's experiences and highlighting women in non-stereotypical roles. But such an alternative reading reenacts the imposition of historical meaning onto women's bodies.

How then do we conduct a feminist historiography of the photographic archive that isn't self-defeating? A different approach lies in the counter-intuitive refusal to be recognized and subsumed into the grand narratives of political history. The feminist race theorist Hortense Spillers makes a distinction between the body and the flesh, as that zero degree of social conceptualization. This nuanced distinction, when used to theorize Chinese women, opens up a peculiar way of examining historical photography. By stripping away the heavy burden of social

meaning that covers the full surface of Chinese women's bodies, we will allow the possibility of recalcitrant female flesh to break through, detangled from the web of historical narratives. Only then can we hear the incoherent screams and inaudible murmurs of female flesh, rising out of the photo print.

FOOT-BINDING AND THE HISTORICAL BURDEN

China's image of modernization rests on the status of its women and their transition into qualified modern subjects. In the popular fashion of postcolonial and semi-colonial nations, women's bodies serve as the battlefield whereupon imperialism, capitalism, nationalism and socialism measure their accomplishments. Their liberation was defined by and simultaneously legitimized national projects, as various markers of progress were chosen as the sites for liberation. Chinese women's liberation in much of the twentieth century has largely been blessings from above, and mixed ones at that.

Gamble's photographs captured the terse discourses surrounding foot-binding—a repeated trope central to the perception of China as backward at this time. While the photographer's gaze shies away from intense examination of women's feet in the public environment, the feet nevertheless demand the contemporary viewers' attention, as overlaying narratives about modernity, missionaries, and feminism come into play. In the early twentieth century, to the Western world, foot-binding was a strange and barbaric practice marking patriarchy in China. To China itself, foot-binding symbolized a practice that must be eliminated in order for Chinese civilization to gain legitimacy on the modern, global stage. Much responsibility rested on women's bodies, and little attention was paid to women's agency in the anti-footbinding movement.

As Dorothy Ko demonstrated in her revisionist history of foot-binding, *Cinderella's Sisters*, women with bound feet became framed as cultural embarrassments or *femme fatales* during the anti-footbinding movement. Christian missionaries sought to rectify the disfigurement of God's creation, and their insistence on the preservation of the "heavenly foot" excluded any recognition of women's power over their own bodies. Western and Chinese reformers, often male, undertook urgent measures to rid China of the backward, stubborn female bodies, enforcing foot-letting across the country, even as many women resisted the painful reversal process. First the foot was required to be bound, and then it was required to be unbound.



Figure 1: Chi Hua Men Chapel, Old Women

In Gamble's collection, the occasional bound feet peek out of the images, as a site of tremendous contestation and social coding. Foot-binding, as well as foot-letting, was intended to turn female flesh into proper women's bodies; it subjects unruly flesh to social codes. Narratives on the practice of foot-binding, whether sympathetic or critical, further bind the body to a historical framework. Well-intended feminist attempts can be as complicit in such a process as nation-building projects that proclaim women's liberation as a complimentary benefit of socialism, and women's freedom as a positive side-effect of marketization. Women's bodies remain entangled in the web of historical narratives, and interpretations of their social presence in the photograph continue to capture raw flesh for the service of grand discourses. The contemporary feminist aversion to the legacy of Chinese foot-binding has unwittingly played into the notion of historical progress, which comforts us with the belief that Chinese women are, at the very least, more liberated today than they were before. What is left then for us to complain about?

REGULATED BODY, DISRUPTIVE FLESH

Gamble made meticulous captions for his photographs, noting ethnicity, religion, class, hairstyles – social markers that he was interested in delineating as a social scientist. But the faithful mechanical reproduction of the ephemeral moment, preserved in the photograph, betrays the intentions of the photographer and reveals many women's resistance to the camera. Sometimes, women insert themselves into the visual composition, throwing the gaze back to the camera when it attempts to capture in stealth. Norms of etiquette had not been established between Chinese bodies and cameras. Without proprietary codes, women's engagement with the camera, the white male cameraperson and the eventual public beholders of the image demonstrate an unruly attitude and an unabashed relation. Without speaking, they disrupt the credibility of visual documentation and challenge the photographer's claim to realistic indexicality, with the scoffing look in their eyes, with their cocked eyebrows, with their pointed fingers.



Figures 2: Pilgrim Women Resting; Chi Hua Men Chapel Old Women

Though Gamble sometimes composed shots and arranged people in front of his camera, women are not uniform in their bodily cooperation with the camera, as they look every other way and refuse to return the gaze when demanded to do so.

The group of old beggar women resting on the pilgrimage to the Daoist temple on Miao Feng Shan, a mountain outside of Beijing, hints at a religious life that took some women great distances in non-domestic spaces, unrestricted by bound feet. On the other hand, a group of elderly Chinese women attending a Christian church in Chaoyang Men, Beijing stand in a row and pose for a group portrait in formal outfits. Their attempt at a standardized assemblage bears great contrast to the pilgrim women, who sit haphazardly on the ground, without bourgeois decorum, showing no deference for the camera.

In the photographs of church women, we bear witness to a powerful missionary project that not only sought to save souls, but also injected Foucauldian discipline of the body into Chinese modernity. The YMCA, in which Gamble participated, was part of the numerous reformist efforts aimed at increasing social productivity, managing populations, and teaching Chinese citizens new technologies of the self. The formation of biopolitical institutions such as schools, hospitals, and prisons contributed to the creation of self-regulating subjects. The female body is particularly subject to close scrutiny and social regulation, as



Figures 2.1: Chi Hua Men Chapel Old Women

the disciplinary techniques of modernity work in tandem with other national political projects. Nevertheless, the attempt at posing by the church-going women is not a flawless performance, as each woman's scattered gaze and awkward body composure indicate that photographic self-awareness was nascent in their bodies. Their stubborn flesh was not trained to hold themselves in uniform stillness before a photographer's authoritative black box. We can almost hear Gamble's exasperated requests for them to hold still: "Look at the camera, please!" Like the stubborn bound feet that cannot easily reverse itself, the recalcitrant flesh of the old women leaks out of their upright poses, if we know how to see. Their bodies appear, on first glance, to be pliant vessels under imperialist, religious, and technological demands. But an alternative kind of historiography allows us to recognize the subtle ruptures of the flesh beneath.



Figure 3: Thanksgiving Day Presidential Review, Manchu Women – Front; North China Union Women’s College, Union Gateway; Food Distribution, Old Woman & Cane (Left to Right)

Beijing in the early twentieth century was not fully modern, yet it exhibited a kind of cosmopolitanism marking contact and the simultaneous coexistence of various worlds, made visible through women’s bodily presentations of costume, hair, and feet. In the Gamble collection, we catch a glimpse of the heterogeneous gender presentations practiced during a moment of social upheaval. Recognition of such inconsistencies constitutes a positive step towards the kind of feminist historiography that refuses assimilation by grander narratives. In the photographs, bound feet appear besides unbound ones. Female university students with short haircuts in protests coexist with Mongolian women in the palace, while female laborers and beggars mark another dimension of social difference. These bodies speak of various iterations of modernity, nationalism, and colonialism. They speak of women’s diverse responses to anti-foot-binding, the mass education movement, ethnic mixing, war, etc. The rich visual symbols in these photographs, especially on the surface of feminine bodies, are tempting materials, but we must not force historical women to speak as one body, or three, or as any number of historical representations. A different kind of historiography must begin by overlooking the social presentation on the body, in order to make room for the flesh underneath.



Figure 4: Manchu Woman Front; Manchu Woman Back

Though the photograph retains the loaded signifiers of class, ethnicity, fashion, education, and so on, it also freezes the body in that moment, in the split second that is stripped of temporal progression. The split second has the potential to free women’s bodies from historical time, as it provides neither foreground nor background. We cannot know for certain what happens before or after. Was she frowning at the glare of the sun, or was she smiling before the unwelcome approach of the eager photographer? Is she concerned about the news of the protest yesterday, or excited about the dinner guest tomorrow? Where is she going in a hurry—a visit to her mother, an illicit affair, or a quick trip

to the market? The potentiality of the next second threatens to counteract any interpretation of the present moment captured in a photograph. The bareness of the split second, ironically, relieves flesh of the burden of temporality. It escapes the incessant demand of historical narrativization.

In Gamble’s haphazard shots of women hurrying past him, we can detect the arbitrariness of the captured image and its ultimate inability to serve as textual evidence for any conclusive readings of gender and social realities. In contrast to film and its embrace of linear time, the historical photograph is better positioned to jump out of time, carrying female flesh above the timeline in a momentary line of flight. The female subject becomes light, weightless on the black and white film. The split-second quality of photography makes it a medium that does, in a sense, allow unprecedented access to female flesh. Through its negation of temporal duration, the photograph denies us the habit of historical interpretation.

Women repeatedly create a strategic distance with the photographer, so that while Gamble succeeds in capturing their image, the flesh retains its ability to refuse incorporation into historical narratives. This interaction is highlighted in the photographs of two courtly women walking arm-in-arm, passing by and turning away from Gamble, during the Thanksgiving Day Presidential Review held in the Forbidden Palace. As Gamble hurries to capture their fascinating costumes on this special occasion, their turned backs make a mockery of his eagerness. The images contain the photographer’s shadow in the foreground, dramatizing the relative positioning between the subject and the object in this interaction. The presence of Gamble’s shadow, reaching after the two women as they walk away, is reminiscent of the stereotypical, impolite tourist who takes desperate shots of the exotic animal at the zoo as it strolls away with boredom and disdain. In the act of turning away, the female couple forms a homosocial intimacy that is inaccessible to the voyeuristic masculine gaze, even while their bodies are adorned by ornate symbols of ethnic, high-class femininity. Their flesh is not subsumed by the bodily display of gender, ethnicity, and class. In the refusal to be reduced to mere social positions, the flesh offers a potential for deep-rooted agency, something more than “women’s liberation.”



Figure 5: Thanksgiving Day Review, President Making Speech Telar, Manchu Women – Front; Manchu Women – Back

In the second photograph, another pair of young women enters on the right, also with their backs turned to the camera, dressed in a vastly different style indicating their own class, ethnicity, marriage status, etc. The unintended convergence of both pairs

within the same frame brings the grand narratives suggested by this photograph to an overwhelming point of excess. The spectacle of the rich costumes underscores the over-burdening of women's bodies. The scene begins to resemble theater, or the set of a film production. The spatial configuration of the four women's bodies, juxtaposed against the shape of Gamble's own Western hat, reveals our own insatiable desire to cull social meaning from the surface of women's bodies.

A Chinese feminist consideration of the photographic archive, then, will not so much note the historical changes and tides of modernity that explain the different presentations of women's bodies we see here, but instead collaborate with the two women's simple turn away from the inquiring, external gaze. A refusal of reading, at least of certain modes of historical interpretation, constitutes an affirmation of recalcitrant female flesh, as it is stripped free of the overwhelming burden of historical progress. In fact, a feminist historiography that resists reading practices will actually make more room for illegible flesh to be included in our backward glances. We might then attend more closely to the unruly bodies that do not bear the recognizable markers of social positions.



Figure 6: *Woman ("Old Goat")*

In one of the most striking portraits Gamble took, a mysterious figure looks resolutely into the camera and commands direct engagement with the beholder. Yet we are unable to extract much conclusive meaning from the visual material. The Western style hat with a ribbon, cocked defiantly to the side; the angular, proud face; the well-worn Chinese shirt; the blurry rural background... In the archival preparations for the Gamble photo collection, one cataloger associated this photograph with a caption from Gamble that stated "old goat," while another chose to put it into the category of "women." Though archival work insists on some degree of categorization, it is impossible to assimilate this figure into a narrative of women, or men, with-

out a level of uncertainty. Here we are encountering recalcitrant flesh that can no longer be gendered and sexed. We cannot easily apply queer or transgender identities to the figure, even with the best intentions. Then there is still the Western hat. The flesh here, wrapped in a conglomerate of Chinese and Western pieces of clothing, confounds our retrospective readings, revealing the inadequacy of any historical narratives. Did Gamble's wife lend it to him/her as a prop for the portrait? Did he/she wear it while tilling the soil under the sun? Gender is not the only thing that can be thrown into question, as we ponder about this person's adventures, without hopes of every receiving an answer. Though the flesh imprinted in the film is forever silent, it has managed to make fools of us all, try as we might to absorb the body into the social field. When the flesh truly commands our attention, as in this photograph, the setting becomes out of focus and meaningless—a tree, a house, a horizon, nothing historically meaningful, nothing that weighs down flesh. In the split-second flash of the camera, the flesh jumps out of time, stripped bare of the burden of history.

i. Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17:2 (Summer 1987): 64-81.

反叛的肉体： 剥离中国女性肉体上的历史负担

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“从这种意义上说，在‘身体’以前还有‘肉体’，它是社会概念化的起点...”

——霍顿斯·斯皮勒思

身体与肉体

女性的身体能说话吗？一篇对二十世纪早期中国摄影档案的女性主义解读，能让人毫无阻隔地瞥见女性历史生命经验的一隅吗？在识字普及以前的年代，大多数中国女性还不能书写，除了录音与墓中的骨头，或许照片就是我们与她们的物质生活最近距离的接触了。甘博拍摄了上百张显然未加造作的女性照片，她们的身体被以机械化的绝对精准铭刻在底片之上。研究中国史的学者习惯于在男性中国作家的字里行间寻找着女性隐藏在诗歌、小说与政论中的真实存在，但摄影档案却能绕开干扰的男性声音，让我们得以直接接触及历史上中国女性那隐隐绰绰的身影。摄影让女性身体留下了物质踪迹，它是肉体话语的记述，或许也会为历史的女性主义重构提供一个强大的镜头。

然而，如果仅仅只是将反历史的阐述作为对男性中心话语的回应，女性主义研究便会落入一个熟悉的陷阱。当享有回顾过往的特权的现代人在二十世纪早期的女性身体上展开阐释活动时，反历史其实是与历史叙事化同出一源的方法。物质的身体变成了用以支撑历史观点的一堆证据。而摄影作品则成为了专家们竞相解读的文本。身体仍然是被言说的。女性的主体性仍然主要被身体所定义。如果使用经典的自由主义女性主义方法来探讨甘博的摄影作品，第一眼或许会显得像是缓冲了男性主导话语，因为它强调女性的经验及非刻板印象角色。但这一非传统解读却仍只是重复了将历史意义强加于女性身体之上的做法。

那么，我们应怎样对这些摄影档案开展女性主义的历史学，才不至陷于自我否定的境地？新的途径在于反直觉地拒绝被辨识并纳入政治历史的宏大叙事中。女性主义种族理论家霍顿斯·斯皮勒思提出“身体”与“肉体”的区分，将其作为社会概念化的起点。将这一细微差别的区分应用于对中国女性的理论化时，便为审视历史摄影另辟了蹊径。当我们剥离覆满中国女性身体表面的社会意义重负，反叛的女性肉体才会从历史叙事之网中突破而出。只有这样，我们才能听到女性肉体那语无伦次的尖叫与微不可闻的低语从照片中传出。

缠足与历史重负

中国的现代化形象依托于中国女性的生存状态与她们向合格的现代主体的转变。在后殖民与半殖民国家，女性的身体往往变成了帝国主义、资本主义、国族主义与社会主义比拼成果的战场。随着不同的进步标志被选择成为解放的场所，她们的解放被国家计划所定义并同时合法化。在二十世纪的大部分时间里，中国女性

的解放在很大程度上是来自上方的赐予，偶尔也掺杂一些其他因素。

甘博的摄影捕捉到了围绕着缠足的主要话语——而缠足是将彼时的中国视为落后的观点中不断重复着的核心隐喻。虽然摄影师的目光在公共场合回避着对女性足部的密切检视，但缠足仍然值得当代观众的注意，因为各种有关现代性、传教士与女性主义的话语都在此处层层叠加地发挥着影响。在二十世纪早期，对于西方世界来说，缠足是一种奇怪而野蛮的行径，它代表着中国的父权制。而对于中国自身而言，缠足则象征着一种为使中华文明在现代国际舞台上获取合法性而必须废除的行为。许多责任落在了女性的身体上，却少有人注意到女性在反缠足运动中的行动性。

正如高彦在其修正主义的缠足史《缠足：“金莲崇拜”盛极而衰的演变》一书中所述，反缠足运动将缠了足的女性构造为文化羞耻或是红颜祸水。基督教传教士们想要匡正上帝造物的畸形，而他们对于保护“天足”的坚持却将一切对女性身体自主权力的承认都排除在外。西方和中国的改革者们（通常是男性）采取了迫切的措施以使中国摆脱那落后的、顽固的女性身体，他们在全国范围内强制推行放足，即便许多女性反抗这一痛苦的逆向过程。女性的足先是被要求缠起，而后又被要求放开。



图1: 朝阳门（齐化门）教堂，老年妇女们

在甘博的作品集中，偶尔会有缠起的小脚在照片中出现，并引起大量争论及对其的社会编码。缠足，一如放足，都是以将女性肉体转变为合乎体统的女性身体为目的；它让桀骜不驯的肉体屈服于社会规范。关于缠足行为的叙事，无论是同情或批判的，往往都进一步将身体绑束在某个历史框架之上。在这一过程中，出于善意的女性主义尝试可以变得和国家建设计划一样，同谋着将女性解放赞颂为社会主义的益处，而女性自由则成为了经济市场化的正面效应。女性的身体依然被历史叙事之网纠缠，而对于她们在照片中的社会身份的阐释则仍旧是捕捉鲜活肉体来服务于宏大话语。当代女性主义对中国缠足传统的厌弃不知不觉地落入了进步史观的圈套，并一边用如此信念安慰着我们：当今的中国女性至少比过去解放了一些。那我们还有什么可抱怨的呢？

被管制的身体，扰乱性的肉体

甘博为其摄影作品取标题十分严谨细致，不忘提及族裔、地区、阶级与发型——这些是这位社会科学家喜欢用以进行描绘的社会标记。但照片保留下的对这短暂瞬间忠实的机械化重现却违背了摄影师的意图，揭示出许多女性对相机镜头的反抗。有时，女性将自己插入到这一视觉创作中，在相机试图悄悄偷拍时向它投回凝视的目光。在中国，身体与相机之间还未曾建立起一套礼仪规范。没有版权代码的烦扰，女性在与相机、与白人男性摄影师及与最终图像的公众观看者的交互中展现出一种不甘束缚的态度与

毫无羞怯的关系。她们未曾言说，却用她们那嘲笑的眼神、挑起的眉毛、指点的手指扰乱了视觉纪录的可信度，并挑战了摄影师所宣称的照片对现实的索引性。



图2: 休息中的朝圣妇女们; 朝阳门(齐化门)教堂老年妇女们

虽然甘博有时会预先编排一些拍摄并在相机前安排人们的动作，但女性在与相机的身体合作中并不整齐划一，她们看向各种别的方向，当要求回望镜头时却拒绝那么做。一组老年乞丐妇女正在去往北京城外妙峰山道观的朝圣途中休息，照片暗示着宗教生活将一些女性带到离家生活很远的空间中，不受缠足的限制。而在另一张照片中，一组年长的中国妇女前往一座位于北京朝阳门的基督教教堂参拜，她们站成一排，穿着正装为群像摆着姿势。她们试图组成标准化组合的努力与朝圣妇女们形成巨大对比，后者杂乱地坐在地上，不带任何中产阶级式的端庄礼貌，对相机没有表现出任何顺从。

表现教堂妇女的照片让我们见证到一个强势的传教计划，它不仅想要拯救灵魂，而且还将福柯式的身体规训注入到中国的现代性中。甘博所参加的基督教青年会就是无数改革努力中的一份子，这些改革致力于增加社会生产、控制人口并教会中国公民对自我的身体技术。生命政治机构的形成，如学校、医院和监狱，为创造自我管制的主体作出贡献。当现代性的规训技巧与其他国族政治计划联手，女性的身体受到了尤为细致的审查与社会管制。不过，教堂妇女的摆拍尝试也并非是无瑕的表演，每位妇女涣散的目光与努力保持镇定的别扭姿势表明对拍照的自我意识正在她们体内萌芽。她们顽固的肉体还未训练成能在摄影师那权威的黑匣子前保持整齐划一的静止状态。我们几乎能听见甘博激怒

地要求她们保持不动：“请看镜头，拜托了！”就像固执的缠足不能轻易让自己逆转一样，这些老年妇女反叛的肉体也从她们直挺挺摆出的姿势中泄露出来，只要我们知道如何观察。初看上去，她们的身体似乎是在帝国主义、宗教和技术的要求下逆来顺受的坚韧器皿。但一种非传统的历史学却让我们得以辨识出掩盖其下的肉体那细微的裂痕。

历史学与飞溅的瞬间

二十世纪的北京还不是完全现代的，但它已经展现出一种以不同世界的共存与接触为标志的世界主义，这通过女性用身体展示的服饰、发型和脚而变得可见。在甘博的作品集中，我们得以瞥见一丝那个社会动荡的年代多样的性别表现方式。对这一不协调的承认是向拒绝被宏大叙事同化的女性主义历史学迈出的积极一步。在这些照片中，缠起的小脚与未缠的足部并非出现，出于抗议而剪成短发的女大学生与宫殿里的蒙古女性同时存在，而女性劳工与乞丐则又标志着另一维度上的社会差异。这些身体不断重复述说着现代性、国族主义与殖民主义。它们言说着女性对反缠足、教育普及运动、多族裔混合、战争等事件的多样回应。这些照片中丰富的视觉符号（尤其是在女性身体表面），是诱人的素材，但我们不能强迫历史上的女性作为一个身体、或三个、或任意数量的历史再现来说话。一种不同的历史学应当始于对这些加诸于身体之上的社会表现的无视，这样才能为隐藏其下的肉体腾出空间。



图3: 感恩节总统大阅兵，满族妇女正面对照；华北协和女子学院，月亮门；粮食配给，拄拐的老妪（从左至右）



图4: 满族妇女正面对照；满族妇女背面照

虽然照片保留下了承载着阶级、种族、流行风格、教育水平等信息的能指，但它也将身体冻结在了那一时刻，在那被剥离了时间连续性的“飞溅的瞬间”。这一瞬间具有将女性身体从历史时间中解放出来的潜力，因为它既不提供前景也不提供背景。我们无法确切知晓在此前或此后发生了什么。她是在为太阳的耀眼而皱眉吗，或者在热切的摄影师不请自来地接近她之前，她是否在微笑？她是否在关心着新闻里昨天举行的抗议，或者为明天的晚宴客人而感到激动？她如此匆匆地是要去哪里——是去拜访她的母亲，还是去赴一段违禁的风流韵事，或者很快地去集市走一遭？下一秒的潜在可能性威胁着要驳斥对照片捕捉下的这一时刻的任何阐释。讽刺的是，这无头无尾的飞溅瞬间反而将肉体从时间性

的重负中解放出来。它逃脱了历史叙事对持续性的要求。在甘博杂乱拍摄的各种匆匆走过的女性中，我们能探出所捕捉到的图像的任意性，它无法作为文本依据支撑任何对性别与社会现实的有结论性的解读。与电影及其线性时间不同，历史照片更利于从时间行进中跳离，让女性的肉体在短暂的飞跃中超越于时间线之上。女性的主体在黑白胶卷上变得身轻如燕，毫无重量。照片的飞溅瞬间在某种意义上使其成为了一种允许与女性肉体获得前所未有的直接接触的媒体。通过对连续时间的否定，照片拒绝了我们进行历史性阐释的习惯。



图5: 感恩节大阅兵，大总统徐世昌讲演；感恩节总统大阅兵，满族妇女背面照

女性不断地创造出与摄影师的策略性距离，以至于甘博虽然成功拍下了她们的影像，她们的肉体却依然保留着拒绝被整合进历史叙事中去的能力。这样一种互动在两位宫廷式着装的妇女的照片中被突显出来。她们手挽着手，在紫禁城感恩节总统大阅兵时从甘博身边走过，又转身走开。当甘博急忙上前捕捉她们在这一特殊场合的迷人服饰时，她们转过身去背对他的动作像是在嘲弄他的热切渴望。图像的前景中有摄影师自己的影子，这将这一互动中主体与客体的相对位置更加戏剧化了。甘博影子的存在、它在两位妇女转身走开后伸向她们的样子，使人想起典型的无礼游客，在动物园里追着因无聊厌烦而走开的异域动物拼命地拍照。尽管她们的身体被象征族裔与上层阶级女性气质的华丽符号所装饰，在转身离开的动作中，这对妇女形成了一种同性情谊般的亲密性，拒绝窥淫的男性目光的接触。她们的肉体并未被纳入那展示在身体上的性别、族裔和阶级。在拒绝被简化为单纯的社会身份时，肉体表现出一种可能的、扎根于深处的行动性，这不正是“女性解放”。

在第二张照片中，另外一对年轻女子从画面右侧进入，同样背着镜头，穿着完全另一种风格的服装，表现出她们自己的阶级、族裔、婚姻状况等。同一画面中两对人物出乎意料的汇合使这张照片所暗示的宏大叙事达到了过度的极点。壮观的华丽服饰突显了加诸女性身体之上的过重负担。这一场景开始变得像一场戏剧，或是电影布景。四位妇女身体之间的空旷布置与甘博自己的西式帽子的影子并置，反应出我们自己难以满足的将社会意义从女性身体表面剔除的欲望。

因此，对这一摄影档案的中国女性主义的分析不会太多提及历史的变迁或现代性的浪潮，用以解释我们在此看到的对女性身体的不同表现，而是会与那两位对窥探的外部眼光直截了当背转身去的妇女合作。拒绝解读，至少拒绝某些特定模式的历史解读，构成了对反叛的女性肉体的再度肯定，因为它剥离了压倒一切的进步史观的负担。事实上，拒绝解读行为的女性主义历史学将为那晦明难辨的肉体确实确实留出更多空间，让其得以进入我们回顾过往的视线。这样，我们或许才能更密切地关注那不带任何可辨识的社会身份标记的、倔强不屈的身体。



图6: (妇女) , (老山羊) , (?)

这是甘博拍摄的最惊人的肖像之一，一个神秘的人物坚定决绝地直视着镜头，要求与观众的直接联系。然而我们从这一视觉材料中能获取的结论性信息并不多。西式帽子上的蝴蝶结挑衅地竖立在一边；棱角分明、自豪的脸；穿戴整洁的中式衬衫；模糊的乡村背景……在为甘博摄影作品集所做的档案准备中，一位编目员将这张照片与甘博写的标题“老山羊”联系在一起，而另一位则选择将其放入“女性”的类别里。虽然档案工作坚持要进行一定程度的分类，但这个人物却无法完全确定地归入任何关于女性或是男性的叙事中。此处，我们碰到的是不再能被性/别化的反叛的肉体。即使是出于好意，我们也不能简单轻易地将酷儿或跨性别认同应用于这个人物身上。此外还有那西式的帽子。此处的肉体，在中式与西式的混搭衣着包裹下，搞混了我们回溯历史的解读，揭露出任何一种历史叙事的缺陷。是甘博的妻子将帽子借给他/她作为拍摄这幅肖像的道具的吗？在他/她耕地的时候也会顶着烈日戴着这顶帽子吗？当我们不抱任何找到答案的指望揣测着这个人物的经历时，就不只是性别存疑了。虽然印在胶卷上的肉体永远都将保持沉默，但它却成功愚弄了尽力试图将那身体融入社会领域中去的我们。当肉体真正要求我们的注意时，比如像在这张照片中，历史背景将变得不再关键且毫无意义，没有什么能比肉体更重要。在快门闪烁的那飞溅的瞬间，肉体从时间中跳脱出来，褪尽了历史的重负。

Movement Defining the Modern: The role of human effort in creating Modern China

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Sidney Gamble travelled and captured a changing China in his various trips to the country in the early part of the twentieth century. His images provide an intriguing ingress into post-Qing Empire China and prove to be a window into everyday life in China during a time of tumultuous change. My interest is not only in the images themselves but also in our gaze as spectators. There are two interventions embedded within this narrative. The first intervention is Sidney Gamble's visit and photography of China in the twentieth century. The second is ours, as a twenty-first-century audience. Gamble functions in various capacities during his many trips to China. As tourist, traveler, surveyor and member of the YMCA, he dons several roles at various moments. Three of Gamble's perspectives are of concern here: Gamble's role in the Mass Education Movement, his work as a surveyor, and his aesthetic intervention through photography. Gamble moreover was in China during some of the key moments approaching modernity. He and his camera were thus key witnesses of this change.

China was moving into a new era with rapid changes. The Qing Empire had given way to a Republic, Sun Yat Sen had emerged as a popular leader, and the mobilization of people towards a changing regime was in full swing. We can see the movement of historical time in movements for socio-political change: the rickshaw pullers strike leading to the May Fourth Movement, for example. The change from monarchy to republicanism was thus motivated by a movement and mobilization of people (Figures 2 and 4). With changes in regime we can also see changes in systems, as for example, with the Mass Education Movement (Figure 5) or the prison system (Figure 8). At the individual level we see the physiognomy of people in motion captured through still photography and thereby frozen in time. Gamble for example, through his fascination in documenting street life, captures on celluloid rickshaw pullers and farm laborers, challenging stereotypes about "city life." Movement consequently defined this period, be it the large institutional and structural changes sweeping the country or the effects of such changes on the individual. But how was this change manifesting itself on the environment?

The census completed in Peking by Gamble, for example, is the beginning of a modern trend towards the disappearing "individual" or human figure. People were now commutable to statistics on paper, and in practice the coming of the machine threatened to remove the human figure from the city street. Had modernization meant industrialization devoid of the human

figure? Had the tram, for example, replaced a rickshaw puller in twentieth-century Beijing? The interaction between the human and his environment will be of thematic interest in this paper, as the dynamics between man and his environment change. Two ideas immediately emerge as important thematic elements endemic to our discussion of a modern China: movement and environment. Movement is organically entwined within this project through the aforementioned interventions; more importantly, movement begets change. These changes, both structural and individual, are reflected in the relationship between the human figure and his environment and therefore become central to our inquiry. These two ideas will therefore function as vanguards of this paper.



Figure 1: Winnowing

What, however, do I mean by movement? Gamble's work is situated at the junction of a historic and aesthetic understanding of movement. Movement in Gamble's work also functions in a dual capacity, as a historical determinant of modernity and as an aesthetic condition of modern living. Movement is both—the corporeal body caught on film and the changing China slowly pushed into "the modern." Modernity for China was a definite move away from Confucianism and monarchy towards the appropriation of "scientific thinking" or reason. The 1920s in China was the time of many movements towards a changing society, determined on the establishment of class consciousness among the laboring classes transcending regional or local parochialism. As a result we can see the Rickshaw Pullers, Oil Press Workers, the Machinists, and the Railroad Workers union movements coming to be associated with the changing face of Chinese society. Mobilization of the masses became the priority of those in power. The privileging of the working class was historically determined and it would be actualized through a restructuring of labor and the mobilization of "bodies" for the cause. Change was the mantra, and mobilization and movement of labor became the vehicles of this change. This period

was also a time of change in public welfare systems. The health, education, and prison systems were all being restructured and “modernized.” Transportation had been revolutionized by the coming of trams and trains, and all of this entailed a movement towards a different era in Chinese history. In other words, change was redefining China, in a significant way and this change is best understood in the movement of both individuals and systems. But how do we develop an aesthetic understanding of movement?

Among many artists and theorists in twentieth-century Europe who experimented with concepts of movement, time, and the human figure is the Czechoslovakian choreographer and dance theorist Rudolf Laban, who employed these concepts within his art. For Laban, “Man moves in order to satisfy a need. He aims by his movement at something valuable to him.” This value can be both spiritual and intellectual or material. He continues, “[s]o movement evidently reveals many different things.... Movement may be influenced by the environment of the mover. So, for instance, the milieu in which action takes place will color the movements of an actor or an actress.” That is, the environment shapes movement.

This image foregrounds a man winnowing. The movement is captured not only through his physiognomy and the positioning of his shadow but also through the leaves frozen against gravity. We see effort etched in every angle of this picture, an image that has itself been mechanically captured. The background centers on another working figure as well. More significantly we clearly see movement and effort. The effort behind his movements is aimed at securing an “object of value,” in this case the cost of living. We can observe how the environment has affected his movement. His movements are determined by his economic environment; he is perhaps a farm laborer and it is this environment that moulds the ways in which his body moves. The occupation is unequivocally etched in the folds and creases of his clothing, visible in the image. Like the movement, these folds are transitory and evoke the fleeting quality of movement. It is this embedded dynamism that points us towards the mobility of its central figure, a quality that is enhanced by the following image.



Figure 2: Rickshaws

Figure 2 is of the rickshaw pullers of Beijing. Their work is movement. Their figures suggest movement and their labor is

defined by movement—the movement of people and goods, the movement of the rickshaw pullers themselves, and also the movement of time, rickshaw pullers being one of the laboring classes mobilized for change. They are affected by their environment, in that their labor and effort are shaped by the demands of that economic environment. But they are also effecting change in their environment through participation in the labor movements. In Figures 1 and 2, the environment is clearly shaping the effort of the human beings, but as discussed earlier China was in a state of change. How did the environment change and what effect did it have on the human figures embedded within it?



Figure 3: Sprinkling the Street



Figure 4: Sprinkler wagon

Figures 3 and 4 capture human figures in motion, seated in the rickshaws, pulling the rickshaws, but most importantly the two figures in the foreground in both images are spraying water to calm the dusty summer storms convulsing the city. The men are part of the cleanliness and hygiene drive that was itself part of a larger structural change of different systems. However, how do we read these images as an audience? Laban notes that movement is fuelled by effort and rest is the only transitory state of being, for it is effort and movement that characterize a human being. For Laban this effort is experienced by an onlooker as rhythm. Our gaze is trained not at the effort behind the move-

ment but on the movement itself as rhythm. The experience here is not only of the person involved in the movement but also of the gaze of another human following the bodily efforts and exertions of a figure in motion. We can observe the effort intrinsic in every movement of the central human figures in both images. The rhythm of movement conveyed through not only their physiognomy but also through the spray and play of water. Moving against gravity and simultaneously frozen in space, the movement of water mirrors and is emblematic; indeed it is an extension of human movement and effort. More significantly, while the previous images explicitly showcased the ways in which the environment affected the human, Figures 3 and 4 exemplify a reversal in this process. The repartee between the figures and water highlights the ways in which man was taming and changing his environment.

These two images also underline the connections between the human figures and the change in systems, especially when compared to Figure 1. In both sets of images, we see the same form of human effort. Human economy is tied in with this effort at reorganization and restructuring. While the figure in Figure 1 is contributing his labor through the act of winnowing, he is not directly absorbed into this system of change. The two figures who are part of the hygiene drive, however, are directly connected to the structural change. The following images show even more explicitly how Gamble's work captures the way human figures are mobilized in the name of the modernization movement.



Figure 5: June 3, 1919, YMCA Students Marching

Figures 5 and 6 capture various moments from the Mass Education Movement during the 1920s. Figures 5 and 6 depict students engaged in the movement for mass education and addresses our thoughts on mobilization of people as a characteristic feature of twentieth-century Chinese movements for change. Gamble was involved with Y.C. James Yen's Mass Education Movement and actively documented its efforts for awareness building and mobilization. His photographs of schools and the YMCA's mobilization drives are ample evidence of his interest in these structural changes. These images not only inform us of the structural changes ongoing in education but also transform our understanding of movement and mobilization in the twentieth century, especially when we consider the organization and composition of the bodies, the human figures. In the images from prisons, schools, and hospitals, we can see

bodies being disciplined, governed, or otherwise manipulated by the systems they are embedded within. The bodies morph into uniformity and can be easily categorized, not unlike a neat column of statistics. This fact becomes visually apparent when we consider the next image.



Figure 6: June 3, 1919, YMCA Students Speaking, & Police



Figure 7: American Board Girls' School, Middle School Classroom

In Figure 7 we see children being structured and organized in files and rows. The individuality of the expressions captured in this image is undercut by the homogeneity imposed through uniforms and institutionalized behavior. Gamble is a central figure not only in capturing this moment but in actualizing it through his surveys. For one of the first steps towards "modernity" is the replacement of the human figure with numbers and statistics. Once human figures fit into neat columns, the process of control and discipline can begin. This thought is more cogently examined in the images from the prisons. Consider Figure 8, for example.

The human figures could be workers in a factory. However, the fact that it is a prison immediately transforms this space into a place reminiscent of a school. The prisoners here can be seen weaving cloth: it is a space for inclusion back into society. This fact should not be mistaken or misconstrued as the prison system belonging to the mainstream. It is a space for train-

ing and the gaining of skills, similar to a school or university. However, it vitally differs from the educational system when we consider different processes of discipline being enacted. The significant idea to engage with is the process by which bodies were being changed or transformed by the changes in structures and institutions. Schools and prisons operate of course in very different milieus of society, but they are bound together nonetheless by the changes convulsing them at the moment. Beyond the human figures and the structures in flux, the change that significantly altered the environment was the beginning of mass mechanization.



Figure 8: Prison, Weaving Cloth



Figure 9: First Street Car

Figure 9, the coming of the first street cars to Beijing, is an image of and from a new China, a mechanized and “modern” society. Will the rickshaw pullers be replaced by a machine? Can this city space transform completely to accommodate this

modern beast, and what would be the effect of such a transformation on the figure of the human? In Figure 9, the tram is figured centrally. The humans are marginalized and indeed made impersonal. Unlike the other images we are not drawn to the human figures but to this symbol of the mechanical. For Laban, movement can be voluntary or involuntary, that is without involving a conscious decision. Involuntary movements for him are especially embedded in modern societies where human beings have been subsumed by industry. Human beings become a part of the mechanical industry and their movements therefore become automatic. Individuals who are a part of the system perform movements without any conscious thought or contemplation. For Laban, movement or effort has been sapped of its vitality: the human actor. In engaging in repetitive motion, man finds himself becoming just a part of a machine and thereby growing far removed from his own energy. Mechanization bleeds the human being out of the landscape. Can we see this process unraveling in China?

Furthermore, for Laban movement was the cohesive force behind architecture, painting, and sculpture, to name a few forms, in the ancient world. Movement was central to our daily lives and the creative process. The modern condition for him is at a disjuncture with this notion, as human energy is sapped by the machines. Rhythm and movement which should have been integral parts our lives therefore become divorced from our everyday mechanical lives. Are the people truly detached in these images, and have the machines taken over this landscape? In the Chinese context, is the human architecture of the city being replaced by the industrial and the mechanized? China in reality was creating its own modernity. Modernity, at least in Laban’s European context, was replacing human movement with the mechanical. Machines were frequently employed to signal the coming of modernity but always at the expense of the human figure. China, however, is uniquely positioned as it is the human figure that shaped modernity; the mechanical could never become a stand-in for the human, as is evidenced in Gamble’s work. The tram is displacing the human, but the human still fills and indeed cannot be contained within its borders. The rickshaw puller is a fundamental part of the landscape, on the same stage as the car, or the students from the mass education movement. In the image we can see an implement, the pitchfork, but it is the human figure that is employing it gainfully. The rickshaw pullers are a dynamic part of the environment in flux. Systems are being restructured by the human hand. The human, after all was mobilizing a new China!

The human is never completely disassociated from this landscape; he finds new ways of inserting himself within this idea of the modern. Venturing further, Gamble’s work is also an act of the mechanized—the camera capturing the human. But it is the perspective, or rather view that remains inherently human. The perspective here belongs to Gamble, another human remaking the ways in which the modern Chinese landscape is remembered. The human is therefore integral not only to the context and content of the image but also the making of the image. It is therefore befitting that I conclude with an image, wrought by the human hand but ultimately a mechanical reproduction. The image taken by Gamble coalesces in a single frame some of the key concepts of human movement and mobility as captured by a camera. The image taken from what appears to be a train, frames another form of transportation, a boat. It perfectly ensconces the dual conditions of a uniquely Chinese modernity: the human and the mechanized. The train reminds us of a ma-

chine cutting through the landscape, while the man on the boat fuelling the boat's movement with his own effort aligns himself on the other end of the spectrum. Both are immediately set up in contrast while also distinctively combining to perform what I've come to define as the Chinese Modern.



Figure 10: Boat from Train

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- i. For more read: Tsin, Michael Tsang-Woon. *Nation, Governance, and Modernity in China : Canton, 1900-1927*. Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999. And, Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.
 - ii. For more read: Laban, Rudolf von, and F. C. Lawrence. *Effort*. London,: Macdonald & Evans, 1947. And, Laban, Rudolf von, and Lisa Ullmann. *The Mastery of Movement*. 3rd ed. Boston,: Plays, 1971.
 - iii. Laban, Rudolf von, and F. C. Lawrence. *Effort*. London,: Macdonald & Evans, 1947.p.5.
 - iv. *Ibid*, p.8.
 - v. *Ibid*, p.12.
 - vi. Laban, Rudolf von, and Lisa Ullmann. *The Mastery of Movement*. 3rd ed. Boston,: Plays, 1971.p. 2
 - vii. *Ibid*, p. 5.

定义现代的运动： 创造现代中国的人的力效

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西德尼·甘博在他二十世纪早期的多次游历中捕捉到了一个变化中的中国。他的照片为走进晚清帝国提供了十分吸引人的途径，也被公认为是一扇通往动荡年代中国的日常生活的窗口。而笔者的兴趣不仅只在于这些图像本身，还在于我们作为观看者观赏它们的目光。这些照片中内含着两种叙事干预。第一种是西德尼·甘博在二十世纪中国的游历和拍摄。第二种是我们作为二十一世纪的观众的干预。甘博在他对中国的多次访问中以各种不同身份参与到社会中。游客、旅行者、调查者或是基督教青年会（YMCA）成员，他在某些时刻同时身兼多重角色。在甘博的各种视角中，有三个将在此处做探讨：甘博在中国平民教育运动中的角色，他作为调查者的工作，以及他在摄影过程中的美学干预。另外，甘博也经历了一些中国迈向现代性的关键时刻。他和他的镜头因此也成为了这一转变的重要见证。

当时的中国以飞速的变化进入了一个崭新时代。清帝国已让位于共和政体，广受欢迎的领袖孙中山已经出现，对人民创建新政权的动员也已全面发起。我们可以在社会-政治变迁的运动中看到历史时间的行进：比如，黄包车夫罢工推动了五四运动。从君主制向共和主义的转变由此被人民的社会动员与运动所激发（图2和图4）。伴随政权的变更，我们也能看到各类体系的变化，例如平民教育运动（图5）或监狱系统（图8）。在个体层面，被静物摄影所捕捉到并冻结在时间里的相貌神情也不断发生着改变。那些甘博出于对记录街头生活的痴迷而捕捉在赛璐珞胶片上的黄包车夫与农场工人，就是这样的例子，他们挑战着有关“城市生活”的刻板印象。因此，是运动定义了这一时期，无论是大规模的、横扫整个国家的制度与结构变化，还是这些改变对个体产生的影响。然而，这种变化是如何从环境中产生的呢？

例如，甘博在北京完成的人口普查，就是“个体”或人趋于消失的现代趋势的开端。人开始被替换为纸上的统计数据，而在实际生活中，机器的来临也威胁要把人的形体从城市街道上驱除。现代化真的意味着不再有人工业化吗？比如在二十世纪的北京，有轨电车是否真的已经取代了人力黄包车？本文主要讨论的主题即是，人与其环境是如何随着其间的动态关系变化而发生互动的。这立即就让人想到了两个概念，它们是有关现代中国的讨论中特有的重要主题元素：一是运动，二是环境。运动通过前述两种干预手段有机地缠绕在现代化方案中；而更重要的是，运动孕育着变化。这些体制与个人的变化，正体现在人与其环境的关系中，因此这一关系对于本文的探究来说至关重要。因此，这两个概念将成为本文的先导。

然而，这里所说的运动究竟是指什么呢？甘博的作品处在对运动的历史学与美学阐释的交叉点上，其作品中的运动也有着双重作用，它既是一种现代性的历史决定因素，又是一种现代生活的美学条件。胶卷上捕捉到的物质身体，与变动着被缓慢推向“现

代”的中国——这两种都是运动。对于中国来说，现代性就是明确脱离孔儒之道与君主制、转而借用“科学思维”亦即理性。二十年代的中国正是许多运动风起云涌、社会发生转变的时候，由劳动阶级超越于地方主义或本地狭隘主义之上的阶级意识建立所决定。其结果就是，黄包车夫、榨油工、机器厂工人以及铁路工人的工会运动被与中国社会变化的面孔联系起来。发动群众成为了当权者的首要任务。工人阶级的优先地位被历史地决定，而它也将通过劳动结构的重组以及对“身体”的动员来实现。“改变”是当时的颂词，而改变的载体则是动员与工人运动。这一时期也是公共福利体系发生转变的时候。医疗、教育与监狱系统都被改建并“现代化”了。交通被有轨电车与火车的到来所革新，而所有这些都迫使中国历史向一个全新的纪元行进。换言之，变化显著地重新定义着中国，而个人与体制层面的运动则是这一变化最好的体现。然而，我们又该怎样对运动进行美学的阐释呢？在二十世纪欧洲众多使用运动、时间与人体概念进行实验的艺术家与理论家中，有一位是捷克斯洛伐克的舞蹈编导与理论家鲁道夫·拉班（Rudolf Laban），他把这些概念运用于他的艺术创作中。拉班认为，“人为满足一种需求而运动。他运动的目的是某样对他来说有价值的东西。”这种价值既可以是精神与思想的，也可以是一件物体的。他继续写道：“所以运动显著地揭示出许多不同的东西……运动可能被发出动作者的环境所影响。所以，譬如，行为所发生的社会语境会给行为者的动作染上颜色。”亦即，环境塑造了运动。



图1：农民扬场

这张照片以一位正在扬谷的男子为前景。这一运动被捕捉下来的不仅有男子的神态与他影子的位置，同时还有被反重力地定格在空中的叶子。我们看到，这幅被机械化地捕捉到的画面中，每个角落都显露出力效（effort）的痕迹。背景聚焦在另一个劳动着的人物身上，这里运动与力效显得更加明显清晰。在他的运动背后的力效是以保护一件“有价值的物体”为目的的，在这个例子中就是生存的开销。我们可以观察到环境如何影响了他的运动。他的运动被他的经济环境所决定；他也许是一位农场工人，而正

是这一环境塑造了他身体运动的方式。从照片中可以看到，他的职业毫不含糊地从他衣服的折痕与褶皱中显露出来。就像这个动作一样，这些褶皱也是一瞬之间的，它们唤起了这一运动的短暂流逝性。正是这深埋其中的动态感让我们看到画面中心人物的流动性，而这一属性在下一张照片中更为强烈。

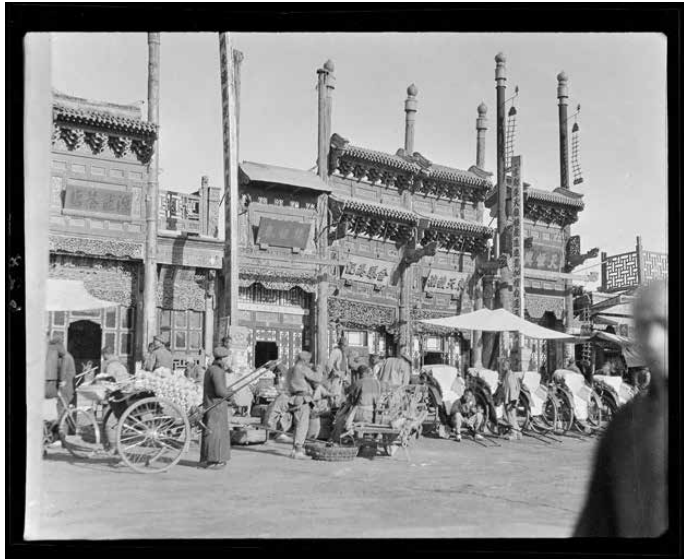


图2：人力车

图2是有关北京黄包车夫的照片。他们的工作就是运动。他们的身影表现出运动的态势，而他们的劳动也被运动所定义——车上人与货物的运动，车夫自己身体的运动，以及时间的行进，而且黄包车夫也是为改变社会而被动员起来的劳动阶级之一。他们被他们的环境所影响，因为他们的劳动与力效是被经济环境的需求所塑造的。但同时，他们也通过参与工人运动而改变着环境。在图1与图2中，可以明显看到环境塑造着人的力效，但一如前文所述，中国当时正处于一个变化中的状态。那么环境是如何改变的呢？它又怎样对根植于其中的人产生影响？



图3：用水泼街者

图3与图4捕捉的是动态的人物：在黄包车里坐着的，或是拉着黄包车的。但最重要的是，两张照片前景中的两个人物都在往路上洒水，以平息把整个城市搅得尘土满天的夏季沙尘暴。这两人是清洁卫生倡议行动的一部分，而这一行动本身则隶属于各体系更大规模的结构变动。然而，我们作为观众会怎样解读这两幅图像呢？拉班提到，运动是被力效所驱动的，而休息只是生命中仅

有的过渡状态，因为力效与运动是人所特有的。拉班认为，力效会被旁观者体验为节律。我们的目光并没有被训练得足以洞察运动背后的力效，而仅能将运动本身视作一种节律。因此，这种经验不仅属于运动所涉及的人，也属于那追随着运动中人物的力效与努力的另一人的目光。在两幅图像中，我们都能在中心人物的每一种运动中观察到内在的力效。运动的节律不仅通过他们的面部神态、也通过水的泼洒与舞动表达出来。水被反重力地移动并同时被固定在半空中，这一运动是反映性也是象征性的；事实上，它是人的运动与力效的延伸。更重要的是，之前的照片明确地展示了环境影响人的方式，但图3与图4则例证了一个与此反向的过程。人对水的随机应变突显出人驯服和改变其所处环境的方式。



图4：泼水养路

另外，这两幅图像也强调了人与体系变化之间的关系，尤其与图1形成对比。在两组照片中，我们看到了同样形式的人的力效。人的经济与这一为了重组改建而进行的力效衔接了起来。虽然图1中的人物通过扬谷的行为贡献了他的劳动力，但他并未直接被纳入到变化系统中。而卫生倡议行动中的这两个人物却直接地与社会的结构性改变产生联系。而下面的照片甚至将更加明确地展现出，甘博的作品如何捕捉到人在现代化运动中被动员起来的方式。



图5：1919年6月3日，基督教青年会学生游行



图6: 1919年6月3日, 基督教青年会学生讲演, 周围的警察

图5至图6捕捉到了二十年代平民教育运动中的各种瞬间。图5描绘了参与平教游行的学生, 而图6则涉及到了本文所思考的问题, 即二十世纪中国的改变社会运动中特有的对群众的动员。甘博参与了晏阳初的平民教育运动, 并积极记录下了其意识建设与社会动员的努力。他那些有关学校与YMCA动员倡议的照片充分证明了他对这些结构变化的兴趣。这些照片不仅让我们了解到当时教育系统中正发生着的结构变动, 也改变了我们对于二十世纪社会运动与动员的解读, 尤其是我们关于其对身体、亦即对人的组织与构建的思考。在有关监狱、学校和医院的照片中, 我们能看到身体是如何被规训、被治理、或是被它们身处的体系所操纵的。身体被变得整齐划一, 并能被轻而易举地归类, 就像统计表上干净整齐的一列。当我们分析下面这张照片时, 这一事实在视觉上变得更为明显。



图7: 美国公理会办女子寄宿学校, 中学教室

在图7中, 我们看到儿童被组织、排列成整齐的行列。照片中所捕捉到的个体性的表达被校服与制度化行为强加其上的同质性所破坏。甘博不仅捕捉下了这一瞬间, 而且也通过他的调查活动参与实现了这一场景。因为, 迈向“现代性”最初的步伐之一就是, 用数字和统计数据来代替人。一旦人被装进整洁的列表中, 控制与规训就能开始了。这一论述在有关监狱的照片中将体现得更为充分, 比如图8。



图8: 监狱, 织布

人也可以是工厂里的工人。然而, 这是一所监狱, 这个事实瞬间就把这一空间转化成了一个令人联想到学校的场所。可以看到, 这里的囚犯在织布: 这是一个重新进入社会的场所。这里的情况不应被误解为监狱系统中的主流。因为照片中的这个监狱是一个进行训练与获得技能的场所, 与中小学或大学相似。然而, 它与教育系统关键的不同在于规训被实行的过程。但重要的是, 身体都被改变了, 或是被体制结构变化所影响了。当然, 学校和监狱是在非常不同的社会文化语境中运行的, 但无论如何, 它们在照片中的这一时刻还是被撼动它们的社会变化捆绑在一起。而比人与不断变化的结构更为显著地改变了环境的, 则是大规模机械化的开始。



图9: 第一辆有轨电车

这是一幅来自新中国的照片, 一个机械化的、“现代”的社会。黄包车夫要被机器所取代了吗? 城市的空间能完全转型以容纳这

个现代野兽的居住吗？这样一种转型又将对人产生怎样的影响？在图9中，有轨电车成了中心角色。人被边缘化，甚至被变得没有人性了。与前述照片不同，我们的注意力并没有被引到人物上，而是被引到机械的象征物上。对于拉班来说，运动可以是自愿的，也可以是非自愿的——亦即不涉及一个有意识的决定。他认为，非自愿的运动尤其根植于现代社会，人类被纳入工业之中。人变成了机械工业的一部分，而他们的运动也因此变成自动化的——作为系统一部分的个体在进行运动时没有任何有意识的思想或意图。对于拉班来说，运动或力效被榨干了生命力，而这生命力正是作为行为者的人。在参与重复性动作时，人发现自己变得仅仅是机器的一部分，被剥离了他们自己的生命能量。机械化把人从整个图景中赶出。我们真的会在中国看到这个过程逐渐展开吗？

此外，拉班认为，在古代世界，运动是建筑、绘画和雕塑等各种艺术形式背后的粘合力。运动是我们日常生活与创造过程的核心。而现代社会的条件对于他来说是背离这一观点的，因为人的生命能量被机器榨干了。节律和运动本应是我们生命中不可分离的部分，现在却远离了我们的日常机械生活。这些照片中的人真的是冷漠的吗？机器真的已经占领了整个社会吗？在中国的社会语境下，城市中人的建筑已被工业的、机械化的建筑所取代了吗？现实是，中国在创造着它自己的现代性。至少在拉班的欧洲语境下，现代性就是用机械运动取代人的运动。机器频繁地被用作现代性来临的信号，而总是以人的缺失为代价。然而，中国的情况却很独特，因为是人塑造了它的现代性；机械从来都没能成为人的替代品，这在甘博的作品中就有例证。有轨电车确实是置换了人力，但人仍然填满了、甚至冲破了它的边界。黄包车夫是整个社会中的关键环节，他们和汽车、或是和平教运动的学生并行在同一个舞台上。在照片中我们可以看到一个工具，即那个干草叉，但能有效使用它的依旧是人。黄包车夫是变动的环境中充满活力的一部分。体系是被人手所改变、重建。归根结底，是人在推动着一个新的中国！

人从来没有被完全全地从整个图景中分离出去；他总是找到新的途径把自己插入到“现代”这个概念中。冒昧地进一步说，甘博的作品也是一种机械化的行为——用相机捕捉人。但是它的角度，或说视野本质上仍是属于人的。这个视角是属于甘博的，他是又一个影响了人们如何记忆现代中国图景的人。因此，人不仅是照片的社会语境与内容里不可或缺的一部分，而且也是照片的创作中不可或缺的一部分。所以在此用一幅人手所创造、但最终还是一种机械再现的图像来作为结尾是十分合适的。在这张甘博所拍摄的照片中，同一个画面就整合了与相机捕捉人的运动和流动性有关的若干关键概念。看起来这是在火车上拍摄的照片，但它却呈现了另一种交通方式：船。它完美体现了独特的中国现代性的双重条件：人和机械化。火车让我们联想到撕裂自然风光的机器，然而船上用其自身力效驱使船运动的人却又让自己成为了谱表的另一头。两者同时形成对比，但又泾渭分明地结合在一起，创造出本文所定义的中国现代性。



图10：从火车上看到的船

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| 32 | 驱魔神舞, 满族妇女 | Devil Dance, Manchu Women |
| 33 | 做矿工的男孩, 吃东西 | Boy Miner, Eating |
| 34 | 孔庙, 满族妇女 | Manchu Woman |
| 35 | 煤矿上的童工拖煤出矿井 | Boy Miner Dragging Coal from Mine |
| 36 | 着老虎服的小孩 | Child in Tiger Costume |
| 37 | 施粥, 抽烟的男孩和其他孩子 | Congee Distribution, Smoking Boy and Others |
| 38 | 粥场, 两个男孩 | Congee Distribution, Two Boys |
| 39 | 掏粪的人 | Manure Collector |
| 40 | 蒙古朝圣者 | Mongolian Pilgrim |
| 41 | 男人一手抽烟斗一手推婴儿车 | Man Smoking Pipe, Pushing Baby Carriage |

42	举着两个鸟笼的男人	Birdcage Man
43	拄着两根拐棍的老人	Two Cane Man
44	街边剃头	Street Barber Shop
45	观火台	Fire Tower
46	佛塔和庄稼	Pagoda, Planting
47	晾晒猪膀胱	Pig Bladders
48	过新年, 手拿玩具坐人力车	New Year, Rickshaws and Toys
49	买鸡蛋	Buying Eggs
50	做实验	Experiment
51	装大石	Loading Stone
52	苦力在凉棚下吃饭	Laborer Eating Under Awning
53	拉渔网	Pulling Fish Nets
54	猪市	Pig Market
55	徐世昌九弟徐世良葬礼, 撒纸钱	Funeral of Ninth Brother of Hsu Shih Chang, Throwing Paper
56	农民扬场	Winnowing
57	读报	Reading
58	穿西装的男孩们	Western-Dressed Boys
59	婚礼, 路边食物摊	Wedding, Roadside Restaurant
60	人群	Crowd Watching Picture Being Taken
61	发放粮食, 签名处	Food Distribution, Signing Book
62	带枷的男子	Man with Kang
63	施粥	Congee Distribution
64	示众的人头	Head in Cage
65	背香者	Incense Carrier
66	老人和驴	Old Man and Donkey
67	装行李	Loading Baggage
68	骆驼和城门	Camel and Gateway
69	火车隧道和城墙	Railroad Tunnel and Wall
70	从火车上看到的船	Boat from Train
71	运河里的帆船	Canal Boat
72	第一辆有轨电车	First Street Car
73	前门上的钟表, 1918年	Chienmen, Clocks
74	人力车	Rickshas
75	拉高粱秆的驴车	Wheel Barrow – Gaoliang Stalks
76	水车	Water Cart
77	驴车	Cart
78	骡轿	Mull Litter
79	舞台上的演出	Group on Stage
80	随葬的纸扎福特车和人	Funeral, Ford and Man
81	泼水养路	Sprinkler Wagon
82	用水泼街者	Sprinkling the Street
83	路边公厕	Toilet
84	老式监狱 站在门边的囚犯	Prison, Prisoner at Gate
85	老式监狱内部	Old Style Prison Interior
86	监狱, 织布	Prison, Weaving Cloth
87	贫民救济院	Men in Poorhouse
88	监狱, 犯人做衣服	Prison Tailor Shop

89	美国公理会办女子寄宿学校, 中学教室	American Board Girls' School, Middle School Classroom
90	语言学校的考试	Language School, Tests
91	监狱, 犯人做火柴	Prison, Making Matches
92	四十八人拉辘	48 Men Pulling Roller
93	老式监狱, 犯人放风	Prison, on Excise Ground
94	京师分监大门	Extension Prison Gate
95	监狱砖厂	Prison, Brick Yard
96	不良少年教养院, 做篮子	Poor Boys Prison, Making Baskets
97	盲人学校, 模范讲堂	Blind School, Model Lecture Hall
98	华北协和女子学院, 图书馆	North China Union Women's College Library
99	半日制学校, 模范讲堂	Half Day School, Model Lecture Hall
100	语言学校的考试	Language School, Tests
101	基督教青年会图书馆	YMCA Student Library
102	北京高等师范 发动机和样品车间	Peking Higher Normal, Shops Engine and Pattern Making
103	福利院的弃婴们	Babies in Foundlings Home
104	北京妇婴医院, 慈善病房	Peking Women's Hospital, Charity Ward
105	北京妇婴医院, 手术室	Peking Women's Hospital, Operating Room
106	北京妇婴医院, 婴儿们	Peking Women's Hospital, Babies
107	燕京大学建筑	Yenching Building
108	艾迪和晏阳初先生一家	Eddy and Yen Families
109	基督教青年会总部	YMCA Building
110	坐轿子的甘博	Gamble in Chair
111	西德尼·甘博	Sidney D. Gamble
112	童子军搭建木屋	Boy Scouts House
113	西德尼·甘博和平民教育运动的干事	Sidney Gamble and Mass Education Movement Secretary
114	甘博夫妇和埃丝特·穆迪	Sidney Gamble, Elizabeth Gamble and Esther Moody

