



LINGUE CULTURE MEDIAZIONI LANGUAGES CULTURES MEDIATION

12 (2025)

2

Discourse and the Contemporary Chinese Media
Media cinesi contemporanei e analisi del discorso

*Edited by
Chiara Bertulesi, Lutgard Lams, and Bettina Mottura*

EDITORIAL

Discourse and the Contemporary Chinese Media: An Expanding Research Field 5

Chiara Bertulesi, Lutgard Lams, and Bettina Mottura

A Dialogue of the Deaf? Decoding Discourse on EU-China Relations in the Chinese English-Language State Press 15

Lutgard Lams

Strategic Narratives across the Strait: A Comparative Analysis of the English, Italian, and Arabic Versions of *The Governance of China* (I) 35

Beatrice Gallelli, Luigi Miotto, and Tanina Zappone

Between Science and Silence: Media Representation of Thematic Foci in the *People's Daily* 65

Damien Ng

Mobilizing through Words: A Discursive-Pragmatic Analysis of Anti-Epidemic Slogans in Contemporary Chinese Media 97

Daniele Caccin

From Promotion to Criticism: Shifting Attitudes towards English Language Teaching in Chinese Official Media 121

Francesco Michael Scaringella

An Affective Region of Our Own: Semantic Change and Counternarrative on Chinese Social Media <i>Xingxing Yu</i>	139
“Lianhuanhua on the easel”: Framing Discourse on Chinese Comics <i>Martina Caschera</i>	161
Rewriting the Myth in Times of Permacrisis: Discourse and Ideology in Chinese Animation from <i>Princess Iron Fan</i> to <i>Havoc in Heaven</i> <i>Giovanni Ruscica</i>	183
Popularisation Strategies of Medical Knowledge and Terminology in Chinese Medical TV Series: A Preliminary Investigation <i>Natalia F. Riva and Alessandro Vallati</i>	201
Authors	223

“Lianhuanhua on the easel”: Framing Discourse on Chinese Comics

Martina Caschera

Università degli Studi di Bergamo (Italy)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7358/lcm-2025-002-casm>

ABSTRACT

Lianhuanhua 连环画 is a traditional Chinese form of comic art, consisting of one image accompanied by one caption per page. Emerging from early 20th-century illustrated narratives, it rose to prominence during the Maoist era as a major propaganda tool (Chen 1996; Mittler 2012). In this essay, I reflect on the present-day official discourse surrounding *lianhuanhua* (LHH). Specifically, I examine how media – particularly art and art-related journals – as well as the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database that disseminates and reframes these materials, construct and reinforce narratives emphasizing the close relationship between art institutions and LHH. My analysis focuses in particular on the phenomenon of “lianhuanhua on the easel” (*jiashang lianhuanhua* 架上连环画) – a form ideally designed for both print circulation and museum exhibition. Drawing on van Dijk’s take on the “discursive reproduction of power” in newsmaking (2015), I approach this subject from the perspective of media and communication studies. While attending to the textual construction of official discourse on LHH, I also explore the broader media context in which this discourse is embedded.

Keywords: China Artists Association; Chinese art discourse; Chinese art institutions; Chinese contemporary comics; Chinese media studies; comics art discourse; gallery exhibitions; lianhuanhua; lianhuanhua on the easel; Meishu.

1. INTRODUCTION

Lianhuanhua 连环画 (lit. ‘linked’ or ‘chained pictures’; LHH) is a traditional Chinese form of comics consisting of one image and one caption

per page. Emerging from illustrated narratives of the early twentieth century, it gained prominence during the Maoist era (1949-1976) as a major propaganda tool (Mittler 2012). In keeping with the centralized support of authorities, its popularity peaked again in, and then declined throughout the 1980s' (Chen 1996; Pan 2008; Stember 2023).

The recurrent reemergence of LHH in official cultural policy reflects the authorities' enduring interest in a medium that, by uniting visual and verbal languages, can achieve the highest artistic standards while remaining accessible to a broad public. From the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC)¹ to the 1980s, the highest political authorities vocally and effectively supported the production of a *new* LHH (*xin lianhuanhua* 新连环画), designed to stand in contrast to the *old* LHH², which was regarded as vulgar, violent, conservative, and aesthetically deficient. In particular, LHH's themes were required to change "from those concerning gods, ghosts, kings, ministers, scholars and beauties" to those "praising the Party, Chairman Mao, socialism, heroes of the new era, workers, peasants and soldiers" (Lent and Xu 2005, 105). LHH should "aim at propagating the socialist spiritual civilization, promoting revolutionary heroes, excellent communities and individuals" (Chen 1996, 99-100) declared Bian Chunguang, head of the Publishing Bureau, in the context of setting up the LHH Research Committee shortly after the founding of the PRC. Many cultural agents, including editors and artists, responded to this call by developing the new LHH and expanding the discourse surrounding it³. For the first seventeen years (1949-1966)⁴, LHH enjoyed greater freedom than it did during the following period, which involved stricter control over both content and form. Then, in the 1980s, previously suppressed content and styles reemerged, reviving old

¹ At the All-China Congress of Literary and Arts Workers (July 1949), Jiang Feng 江丰, a core figure in the art world of New China, maintained that LHH was among the "forms of art that contributed to the War of Liberation" (Andrews 1994, 36).

² In 1950, Mao Zedong reportedly commented on LHH (Pan 2008, 702), while the vice-president and long-standing prime minister Zhou Enlai participated in the foundation in 1951 of the Beijing People's Art Publishing House, a major LHH publisher (Jiang 2003).

³ Among them were the founders and editors of *Lianhuanhua bao* 连环画报 (*Picture Stories Magazine*), Sa Kongliao 萨空了 (1907-1988), Zhu Dan 朱丹 (1916-1988), and Jiang Weipu 姜维朴 (1926-2019). Notably, the "Lianhuanhua bao" on the cover was created by Mao Dun, the influential leftist intellectual who was minister of culture at that time.

⁴ This openness was always relative. New LHH had to be produced and old LHH suppressed, although the censorship campaigns were not always effective. For the first years of the PRC's LHH "battlefield", see Scott 2017.

biases against comics, as LHH entered its final golden era of both local and national production and distribution. Since the second half of the 1980s, scholars, artists, and journalists who took part in the discussion on LHH have aimed to (1) reflect on the industry to boost production, (2) discuss and provide advice regarding book collecting and selling, (3) criticize and/or introduce the new LHH, and (4) present memories about reading LHH⁵. During the 1990s and 2000s, when competition from imported titles intensified and LHH, as an embodiment of nostalgia, reached the status of collectible material, the discourse continuously sought an effective response to the ongoing crisis of the booklet format, which was heavily challenged by “new” forms of comics (i.e., *manhua* and *manga*) that both mirrored and caused dramatic changes to the Chinese media ecology. Meanwhile, the relevant literature witnessed an upsurge in the second, third, and fourth topics: new practices, such as book collecting, contributed to the building of a new image of LHH, now “regarded as a traditional Chinese art form nationwide” (Pan 2008, 696).

This brief outline shows that during LHH’s most prosperous periods, the medium was both supported and discursively shaped by authoritative cultural agents, who continued to reflect on and attempt to stabilize it even in times of crisis. Thus, authority, as both a concept and an operative force, emerges as a crucial element in the discourse surrounding LHH: the very definition of this medium (what it is, what it is capable of, and what it should be) has been consistently grounded in the presence and support of authoritative *voices*.

In line with this argument, in this essay, I reflect on the present-day official discourse on LHH. The discursive production surrounding LHH as a central product of state cultural initiatives is a key entry point for examining the relationships and mechanisms through which these ideas are echoed and reproduced via media and institutions. Their role in shaping the past and present trajectory of LHH is evidenced by the resilience of such platforms as the journal *Meishu*, founded in 1950⁶, and the activities of such state-run cultural institutions as the LHH Art Committee of the China Artists Association (CAA), active since 1986.

⁵ This comment is based on data from Pan (2008), who surveyed the titles of 348 articles related to Chinese comics (*xiaorensbu* and LHH) published from 1950 to 2005 to detect the general trends of LHH discourse.

⁶ *Meishu*, the oldest and most renowned of these journals, is defined on its official website as an “academic periodical” (*xueshu kanwu* 学术刊物). These journals have also been classified as trade/professional journals, being dedicated to art as both an object of study and a professional career.

To investigate how media, including art and art-related journals, as well as the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database that disseminates and reframes them, construct and reinforce specific narratives regarding the strong interrelationship between art institutions and LHH, I focus on the recent and circumscribed phenomenon of “putting LHH on the easel” (*jiashang lianbuanhua* 架上连环画; JSLHH) – a form of LHH (ideally) designed for both print circulation and museum exhibition. Following the formulation of the concept of *da lianbuanhua* 大连环画 (lit. ‘big LHH’ or ‘large-format LHH’) in 2008, the “first national exhibition of lianbuanhua on the easel” (*diyijie quanguo jiashang lianbuanhua zhanlan* 第一届全国架上连环画展览) took place in 2010. To date, eight exhibitions have been held (2010-2024) and a call for submissions for a ninth was published in June 2025. *Comics exhibitions* are a long-standing practice in the PRC: LHH is among the *xiaohuazhong* 小画种 (minor arts) often exhibited next to examples of high art and then remarked upon in the official LHH discourse⁷. However, from the 1990s to the late 2000s, the exhibited LHH were mainly *classics* and seldom newly produced ones. For this reason, JSLHH emerges as a key strategy within the broader project of reviving the medium. Positioned at the nexus of multiple forces, the phenomenon of JSLHH involves national and local museums (as sites of cultural preservation and exhibition) as well as educational institutions and academia (through courses, workshops, and scholarly publications). Lastly, and most importantly for my argument, the selected corpus frames the exhibitions as agents responsible for defining the “new course” of an art object or praxis that, in turn, takes shape through this very act of definition.

2. CORPUS AND METHODS

The investigated corpus allows us to understand how JSLHH, as a complex network of authoritative voices and talents, aims to materially and discursively shape LHH history. It comprises all academic and journalistic writings published from 2010 to 2025 retrieved from a CNKI search of the following keywords: *da lianbuanhua* 大连环画 (big LHH) and *jiashang lianbuanhua* 架上连环画 (LHH on the easel). The corpus

⁷ For example, LHH works were usually displayed at the “national exhibition of fine art” (*Quanguo meishu zuopin zhanlan* 全国美术作品展览). See Jiang 1989 and Andrews 1994.

consists of nine academic essays and six para-journalistic short essays⁸. Of the fifteen essays, fourteen were published in art-related academic journals (see *Appendix*) and one in a local non-specialized magazine. One publication consists solely of images of artworks.

I approach the JSLHH phenomenon from the perspective of media and communication studies: while addressing the official discourse on LHH as textually embodied, I explore the media context in which this discourse is fixed. Specifically, drawing on van Dijk’s (2015, 474) take on the “discursive reproduction of power” in newsmaking, I focus on framing – that is, how communicative actors construct “definitions of a situation” (Goffman 1974, 10) – to understand how “powerful groups control communicative situations and discourse structures” (Wei 2019, 39). News and academic texts disseminated through CNKI “are linked to the social practice of newsmaking, to the social cognition of news participants, and ultimately to the societal structure consisting of class, ethnicity, power, institutions, elite groups, and so on” (*ibid.*, 40).

The contextual investigation and textual analysis are guided by the following research questions: How is the launch of JSLHH in 2010 situated within the broader official discourse on LHH? Who are the principal actors (artists, organizers) involved in the exhibitions, and what are their relationships with the authors of the essays? How do the authors describe the exhibitions? Does their perspectives differ from those of the organizers, or do they overlap? What are the key discursive strategies employed to reframe LHH as a *jia-shang*-able form of art? How do these essays address the issue of who holds the authority to define LHH? How are the artworks themselves described and discussed? Are the artworks displayed within the essays – and if so, in what ways?

The content analysis considers both the written and the visual components of the articles and essays. I apply visual rhetoric tools to the images and use a coding sheet comprising 46 keywords as a framework for the in-depth textual analysis of several core themes. The keyword selection was based on Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) *Grounded Theory*, a data-driven, inductive approach⁹ that was considered here through its

⁸ I define *para-journalistic* essays as those that are mainly informative and do not delve into theoretical issues. They are centered on practical information (what, where, and when) and the purpose of the event. Their art-savvy perspective positions them at a middle point between very short academic essays and standard journalistic essays.

⁹ Glaser and Strauss (1967, 6) stated: “Creating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research”. Moreover, insights

more recent articulations that credit the researcher with greater space (Charmaz 2006; Scibetta 2025). The images are addressed in relation to their corresponding texts (i.e., the essays), with a focus on the relationship between iconic and verbal language informed by comics studies.

3. ELEVATING LIANHUAHUA: (DISCURSIVE) CONTEXT AND AUTHORITATIVE VOICES

“Lianhuanhua on the easel” is one of the official translations of JSLHH, alongside “easel lianhuanhua” and “easel comics”. A more accurate translation would be “gallery lianhuanhua”, as the essays show that what matters most to the organizers and reviewers is not the process of creating artworks but their exhibition in galleries *as* real artworks that are shareable experiences. This act of “elevation” (*shengbua* 升华 or *tigao* 提高) lies at the heart of the JSLHH discourse. To understand why core cultural agents deemed it necessary to invite the public to “enter the exhibition halls” (*zoujin zhanting* 走进展厅; Li 2025, 57), we must start from LHH crisis as reflected the official discourse.

As noted by commentators, despite the 1990s proposal of “cartoon lianhuanhua”, a label signaling a compromise between tradition and foreigner-led innovation (Pan 2008, 713), by the early 2000s almost nothing new was produced. We can infer that the discursive renovation did not work, as the Third Re-election Meeting of the LHH Art Committee of the CAA in 2008 put forth a new label: *da lianhuanhua* (Wang 2022, 88). This new (dis)course showed a willingness to evolve the discourse surrounding this medium, which was seen as needing to transcend its *small* identity to become a *big* object of scrutiny. Just two years later, the “LHH on the easel” initiative was officially launched as an actualization of the *da lianhuanhua* discourse.

As explained in the corpus, the adjective *da* refers not only to size but also to power and significance in today’s PRC. The authors argue that only by recovering the sustained engagement and investment of the authorities lost during the 1990s can LHH (re)gain people’s hearts. At the same time, its capacity to attract audiences is framed as vital for sustaining and enhancing official discourse, owing to LHH’s distinctive

and intuitions are not discarded; rather, they are “brought into relation to the data” (*ibid.*).

language combining images and words. LHH is regarded not merely as a medium but as an art form freed from specific materialities (the “old” tools, channels, or contexts, as in He 2017; Wang 2022; Li 2025). At the same time, its “usefulness” (*zuoyong* 作用; *ibid.*) and social role are never overlooked. The analysis demonstrates that LHH may enter the museum space only insofar as it preserves certain defining qualities – such as “narrativity” (*xushixing* 叙事性) – while simultaneously foregrounding others, namely its pictorial dimension. Only under these conditions can it acquire a particular label and seal of quality. According to the corpus, relocating or even abandoning its exclusively editorial context, which ensured its mass popularity during the Maoist era and its collectability during the reform era, produces two significant outcomes. First, LHH secures a place within an entirely art-related context, thereby addressing a different audience. Secondly, it augments its “material” value: a collector can now acquire not only the printed editions but also the original paintings (Wang 2022).

The authoritative *voices* in LHH-related discourse have historically been cultural agents occupying high positions within the cultural establishment: political figures, strategists in state publishing houses, or members of influential associations shaping cultural policy (Jiang 1984; Andrews 1994). The authors in the present corpus largely reproduce this pattern, adapting it to an open-market environment: they are predominantly academics affiliated with art-related departments, many of whom also hold memberships in key organizations overseeing LHH production and dissemination (see *Appendix*). Several – notably Shen, Song, Li, and Dai – are themselves celebrated LHH artists.

Shen’s (2010) essay exemplifies the overlap between practitioner and critic: originally written as the *qianyan* 前言 (preface) to the first exhibition, it was displayed on site, was later published in *Meishu*, and is now preserved in CNKI. Its guiding influence is evident in Feng (2010), who quotes it extensively to reinforce the exhibition’s core themes, and in Wang (2022). The most influential figures remain those connected to the CAA and the Lu Xun Academy. In 2019, for instance, Li Chen became director of the LHH Art Committee of the CAA, with Shen Yaoyi as honorary director, Song Menghan as secretary-general, and Wang Eryi as a committee member (Zhang 2019).

Within the corpus, exhibition reviews are written by authors who act simultaneously as spectators and protagonists – one even discusses his own work, though only to commend the scholarship received (Yu 2018). Their near-exclusive presence in CNKI scholarship on JSLHH,

combined with the absence of critical voices, consolidates their discursive dominance. Even the seemingly independent art journalists adhere to the same interpretive frame, reproducing the dominant vocabulary with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

Meishu is the most prominent journal, publishing five of the fifteen essays. Notably, Pan (2008, 697) observes that the LHH-related publications retrieved for her study were concentrated in three journals: *Meishu* was the most prominent from the 1950s to the 1990s, after which “no single periodical or journal assumed such a degree of dominance”. Thus, *Meishu* played a leading role: from being one of the few journals publishing art-related content and spared the damages of the Cultural Revolution (*ibid.*) to surviving the challenges of the reformist media ecology, it has continuously been among the most authoritative voices in the official art discourse.

This tightly knit network reproduces itself across institutional and discursive levels. The scholarship on JSLHH is concentrated within national art associations and universities – the very institutions that design and implement JSLHH practices. While it is unsurprising that those organizing and exhibiting would advance a positive narrative, what merits attention is the density of this network and how the media and academic structures of the PRC sustain a highly centralized discourse.

4. (FRAMING) DESCRIPTIVE DATA AND CONTENTS

The eight exhibitions lie at the discursive core of the essays – though their content is addressed unevenly and unsystematically, mostly through mentions of their (eventual) titles or “main subjects” (*zhuti* 主题), their core “themes”, and a few noteworthy exempla of artworks. Therefore, this section presents a foundation for understanding how the essays engage with and build upon descriptive (e.g., their locations, related activities, and contents) in shaping their arguments.

The CAA, together with its LHH Art Committee, launched the first national exhibition in 2010. The first and second exhibitions, held at the National Art Museum of China in Beijing were invitation-only; however, in 2012, the organizers attempted to make the exhibition nationally representative by involving masters from Beijing, Shanghai, Dongbei, Tianjin, and Jiangsu (listed in order of influence as art-related hubs in Wang 2022, 90).

From the third exhibition (2015) onward, the organizers acted “horizontally” by transforming the event into a “touring exhibition” (*xunzhan* 巡展), and many art-related institutions and fine arts departments became involved in its growing network¹⁰. The influential Lu Xun Academy (*Lu Xun Meishu Xueyuan* 鲁迅美术学院), the Sichuan, Yunnan, and Hubei fine arts departments and schools, Zunyi Normal University, Southwest Minzu University, Zhoukou Normal University, Central University of Finance and Economics, and Huaqiao University are mentioned as co-organizers (Li 2025).

In 2015, in addition to inviting established artists, the organizers issued an open call in a democratizing/popularizing gesture aimed at displaying different levels of artistic authority (from master to talented student) in the same context (Song 2016; Li 2025). The corpus celebrated this *opening* by comparing the initiative to the “Hundred flowers blossoming” (*Baihua qifang* 百花齐放) propaganda campaign (Wang 2022, 90). As for the fourth exhibition (2017), the old generation ensured quality and institutionality by embodying cultural capital, while the new generation helped preserve LHH’s status quo and ensure its survival (He 2017). The corpus suggests that these two exhibitions celebrated crucial historical events: the seventieth anniversary of the victory against Japan (2015), the eightieth anniversary of the Red Army’s Long March, and the ninety-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (2017).

According to Wang (2022, 90), from both institutional and media perspectives, the fourth, fifth, and sixth exhibitions represented a phase of maturity and expansion. The fourth one institutionalized JSLHH as an academic pursuit, while the fifth introduced official titles – earlier exhibitions had been primarily celebratory. The majority of these *zbuti* are syntactically constructed as *duilian* 对联 (couplets) consisting of two parallel four-character syntagms that are aesthetically balanced and feature political slogans and key terms. The “main subjects” of the fifth and sixth exhibitions, inaugurated in 2018 and 2019 in Chongqing and Shenyang, respectively, were “Tell China’s stories” (*Jiang zhongguo gushi* 讲中国故事; MJY 2018; Wang 2022) and “Glorious journey, red classics: celebrating 70 years of New China” (*Guanghui licheng hongse jingdian qingzhu xin Zhongguo chengli 70 zhounian* 光辉历程红色经典庆祝新中国成立70周年; *Shuhua shijie* 2019; Wang 2022). The former references Xi Jinping’s propaganda slogan, “Tell China’s stories well” (China Media

¹⁰ Before becoming a touring exhibition, JSLHH reportedly toured the Xinjiang Autonomous Region (Rui and Lin 2012).

Project 2021), while the latter points to the official historiographical discourse (*Dangshi xuexi jiaoyu* 2021).

The seventh exhibition's main subject was "Ethnic unity: building a dream with one hearth" (*Minzu tuanjie Tongxin zhumeng* 民族团结同心筑梦). In 2024, the eighth exhibition – "New journey, new chapter" (*Xin zhengcheng, xin pianzhang* 新征程新篇章) – was inaugurated in Ningbo. These *zhuti* refer to two other core tenets of Xi Jinping's thought: the "Chinese dream" (*Zhongguo meng* 中国梦), and the "New era" (*Xin shidai* 新时代; Tsang and Cheung 2024).

This short summary of JSLHH's evolution, as discursively built in the corpus, illustrates three aspects. First, the event expanded both vertically and horizontally, including various actors and ideally embracing the whole national territory. Second, it remained in the hands of influential art- and education-related public institutions. Third, its relationship with the past was perpetuated through the language of propaganda (*xuanchuan* 宣传), which, starting in 2018, became more explicit through the discursive practice of titling – supporting my argument that LHH evolution-cum-elevation (via JSLHH) is firmly bound to the relevant surrounding discourse: one that evolves through increasingly institutionalized language.

Regarding the exhibition content, analysis of the corpus reveals core themes of historical narratives, heroes and heroic narratives of the past and present, socialist revolution, and victory. JSLHH is generally framed as an evolution of LHH; thus, its peculiarities and loci of excellence are consistently presented. Some essays provide and discuss exempla to prove each point; others generally comment on the high quality of works selected. Notably, the works mentioned and reviewed are rarely shown, except for two essays commenting on the same exhibition (Bian 2022; Li 2025). Thus, what is shown is not what is talked about – a strategy that augments the essays' discursive possibilities, using words to comment on one thing and images to introduce another.

Although fourteen of the fifteen essays include images, only four devote considerable space to reproductions of artworks (Shen 2010; Bian 2022; *Meishu* 2022; Wang 2022). The earliest contributions feature works by more established authors, while later essays open the visual discourse to younger artists. However, these newer contributions are less consistently echoed, since different authors select different LHH. For example, the artworks of the authoritative Shen Yaoyi and Li Chen recur consistently between 2012 and 2022. Both artists are notably devoted to highly ideologically charged themes and work in a realist style; however,

while Shen’s selected works focus on the resistance war (Feng 2010; Shen 2010; He 2017; Wang 2022), the essays examine Li’s LHH biography of the model worker Wang Jinxi 王进喜 (Wang 2022) as well as less politically oriented subjects (Feng 2010; Shen 2010). The essay composed entirely of images constitutes a notable exception and merits particular attention. It displays forty-nine images from twenty-two LHH (*Meishu* 2022) belonging to the seventh exhibition. Notably, the declared objectives of the exhibition are to represent ethnic minorities, display “ethnic cultures and portray beautiful homelands” (Li 2022, 32), though it is unclear whether the artworks were actually created by ethnic minorities. The most striking feature is the works’ diversity: although all focus on “ethnic minorities”, they vary considerably in style, materiality, and content. Most are set in an atemporal space that blurs the boundary between contemporary and historical China, while a few incorporate such modern elements as smartphones and computers. These artworks evoke crowded, vibrant, poetic, or chaotic landscapes and realities; yet, their arrangement on the page and throughout the essay conveys a sense of rigor and controlled organization. The LHH are primarily presented in pairs and arranged according to different ratios that emphasize either formal or thematic correspondences (e.g., similarities in motif, style, or color palette) or deliberate contrasts.

Lastly, I consider how the discourse frames the “public”. According to the corpus, by 2024, the whole country was involved via selection procedures or touring practices: JSLHH exploited well-oiled mechanisms and networks to reach as wide a public as possible by launching, for example, scholarships, courses, and training (*peixun* 培训) programs (Wang 2022; Li 2025). However, while many essays clarify the number of received, reviewed, and selected artworks, they provide no information regarding the actual public. The absence of data on audience reception reinforces the centrality of institutional authority in JSLHH-related discourse. This absence represents more than a mere discursive gap; it reflects an ideologically driven attempt to erase the role of ‘visitors’, thereby depriving them of genuine agency. In a few instances, collateral activities connected to the broader promotion of LHH (though not directly tied to the exhibitions themselves) are acknowledged and framed as successful in fostering interest and new talents. However, such accounts concern aesthetic literacy initiatives and artistic development rather than the reception of the exhibitions and, thus, cannot substitute for the missing audience perspectives.

5. LIANHUANHUA ON THE EASEL: A FOCUS ON LEXICON AND VISUAL RHETORIC

In the previous section, I listed the titles of the exhibitions as reported and commented upon by the authors, as well as specific lexical choices to anchor the argument in the text. In the present section, I focus on rhetorical strategies to discuss common trends and features in the official JSLHH discourse. The corpus's underlying blueprint, as revealed by lexical analysis, centers on the relationship between popular/mass and high art that unfolds through several discursive nodes (i.e., change, adaptation to the times, diversity, stylistic expansion, and LHH's dialogue with painting and literature), each represented by specific keywords and semantic domains.

The first of these nodes is expressed in the opposition between *xiao* and *da*. In the late 1970s, when many previously suppressed themes and styles reemerged, LHH entered a new golden era, accompanied by the resurfacing of old biases against the medium, often alternatively defined as *xiaorensbu* 小人书 (children's book). Considering the *da* of *da lianhuanhua* versus the *xiao* of *xiaorensbu* is an apt starting point for a textual analysis: reflections on the opposition between a small (*xiao*) product mainly for children and a big (*da*), influential work exhibited in galleries appear in seven of the fifteen essays. The official discourse appropriates this conception of a *bad* *xiaorensbu* to promote a *good* LHH. While the term JSLHH occurs in every essay, *da lianhuanhua* appears in only seven. There is no theoretical essay on *da lianhuanhua*, which is generally defined vaguely or taken for granted in the corpus. However, the following statement explains the key elements of the change implied by this notion:

According to the principle that “art must follow the times” (*yishu dangsui shidai* 艺术当随时代) and in response to the developing trends of LHH, the concept of “*da lianhuanhua*” was introduced [...]. It was maintained that, in order for *lianhuanhua* to evolve, it must not only update (*gengxin* 更新) its visual language and break through (*tupo* 突破) stylistic conventions, but also keep pace with the times in both theory and practice. (Wang 2022, 88)

Evolve, update, and break through are keywords that stress the value of JSLHH as high art. During the Maoist era, when LHH was labeled as *mass art*, its artistic status remained low. In the 1980s, however, the Central Academy of Fine Arts (CAFA) opened a Department of LHH and Nianhua, inaugurating the new phase of LHH's fine-art status (Chen 1996, 3).

The relationship between past and present is mainly one of rupture and discontinuity, especially from an aesthetic standpoint. Cultural agents during the Maoist era tended to draw on “the aesthetic qualities of traditional Chinese woodcut illustrations and figure paintings” (Andrews 1994, 132-133), including the modulated or unmodulated ink-outline style. Although some variety is undeniable, Maoist production largely conformed to specific guidelines and “modules” – especially from the 1960s – shaped by the prevailing ideological and cultural climate. The corpus viewed JSLHH as enabling the departure from the Maoist model (defined by the authors as “old” and “traditional”), in which artists “primarily created works to fulfill the social propaganda of ‘promoting moral education and supporting social ethics’” (*cheng jiao hua, zhu ren lun* 成教化、助人伦; Yu 2018, 136). Now, “the artists’ own aesthetic judgment and artistic choices” (*zishen de shenmei panduan he meixue xuanze* 自身的审美判断和美学选择) are clearly and directly reflected in the artwork through personal style (*ibid.*). The authors deem this new LHH “independent” (*duli* 独立); simultaneously, they underscore its instrumental value, praising it for its role in “telling China’s stories well”. LHH, with its narrative power, and especially JSLHH, with its appeal to both refined and popular tastes, are commendable only insofar as they can be situated within the broader official discourse on cultural production. Since their distinctiveness is discursively tied to “Chinese characteristics” (*Zhongguo tese* 中国特色; Wang 2022, 92), the term “independence” acquires only relative value.

The shift from an outdated LHH to the new JSLHH, rendered through lexical items semantically related to *evolving*, *updating*, and *breaking through*, was confirmed by growing discursive attention toward the present and a distancing from the historical scrutiny typical of both the Maoist canon and the early JSLHH exhibitions. Of course, history does not disappear (rather, it forms the foundation of the LHH pedigree), but it weighed less than the desire to face contemporary society and the New Era (Bian 2022; Li 2022; Li 2025). New myths and new canons are launched based on solid and tested propaganda: as in Maoist times, “these heroes are manifestations of an attempt to translate the raw material of revolutionary ideology into images turned myths for general consumption and emulation” (Mittler 2012, 262).

The corpus repeats words belonging to the semantic field of “elevation” (*tigao* 提高, *tisheng* 提升, *shenghua* 升华, and *dengshang* 登上), further framing JSLHH within the opposition between popular and high art. A core element of elevation and a structural element necessary for LHH to

perpetuate the described network is the authority granted by academic (discursive and practical) support – i.e., “clearer academic coordinates” (*qīngxī de xuésbù zuóbìao* 清晰的学术坐标). The authors noted that such authority helps in “refreshing” (*shuàxīn* 刷新) the public’s experience and “restoring LHH artists’ confidence in this [...] old kind of painting” (*lǎohuàzhǒng* 老画种; He 2017, 24). The term *xuésbù* occurs in seven essays: each academic one after 2018. This consistency demonstrates the cultural agents’ plan of strengthening the relationship between art-related organizations and educational institutions; indeed, from the fifth exhibition (2018) onward, JSLHH acquired the label of “academic brand exhibition” (*xuésbù pǐnpái zhǎn* 学术品牌展; MJY 2018; Li 2022). The addition of a commercial layer – its “branding” – suggests the involvement of the art market, which coexists with government funding. The tight network that continuously sustains itself by drawing on political, cultural, and economic capital is underscored by author-cum-organizer Li Chen (2025, 58), who notes that the development of LHH as an art form through an “academic guarantee” (*xuésbù bǎozhàng* 学术保障), fostered by the “continued promotion of LHH exhibitions”, has led to LHH receiving “significant attention” from the National Arts Fund, a governmental institution established in 2013.

In JSLHH, the visual is clearly more important than the verbal (Bian 2022; Wang 2022), in that verbal discourse emphasizes the visual through descriptions of artistic tools, strategies, and reviews of numerous works. As already noted, however, the visual discourse (i.e., the actual images) is confined to a few exempla (excepting *Meishu* 2022), which are also programmatically excluded from direct reference in the commentary. Some of the essayists reflect on the relationship between image and text, but this crucial aspect is discussed extensively only by Yu (2018, 157), who frames it as one of *da lianhuānbuā*’s innovations: “Before, LHH employed formats such as text placed below or alongside the image. In more recent works, however, textual elements are [...] also incorporated into the visual composition as symbolic components, serving as integral structural supports within the pictorial space”. Although, in LHH, the predominance of image over caption in a page’s overall economy is undeniable, the verbal component remains fundamental – both because it is ontologically structural to the language of comics and because it serves as the primary vehicle for ideologically charged discourse. Therefore, the near-omission of the verbal in favor of the visual can be read as a further rhetorical strategy to frame LHH as an art form to be exhibited rather than edited, published, or read.

With specific respect to visual rhetoric, the corpus presents the artworks as digital images rather than photographs of the exhibited works. This choice prioritizes visual appeal at the expense of distancing the reader from the authentic, on-site experience. Of the essays, two show only pictures of the inaugural events (Rui and Lin 2012; MJY 2018), and only one provides an idea of what participating in a JSLHH exhibition actually means (Dai 2024). The usual captions are never shown (except by Dai 2024, although they are unreadable), again prioritizing the JSLHH visual stance. Finally, though the number of pictures is relatively high, the essay format gives an impression of scarcity, dedicating significant space to reviewing the artworks, but not showing them. This strategy leaves readers eager: they want to see more and to *attach* the authors’ (enthusiastic) words to actual paintings.

This coherent discursive strategy suggests two conclusions. First, JSLHH discourse is mainly weighted toward the visual, which should not be taken for granted considering the weight of captions in LHH’s historically educational role. Second, it bets on bodily experience. JSLHH organizers want to strip the ordinary from LHH and give its “original use value” back: “the unique value of the ‘authentic’ work of art has its basis in ritual” (Benjamin 1969, 6). As Li (2025, 57) notes, by actively entering the exhibition hall to view the *da lianhuanhua* the public “can appreciate the originals at close range – through the brushstrokes, through the textures of different materials, and through details that printed reproductions cannot convey – finding a sensation akin to engaging in a direct dialogue with the artist”.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This essay examines the perspective of the cultural agents who produced and disseminated a new *da lianhuanhua*, addressing their discourse as conveyed in academic and para-journalistic essays. The corpus spans 2010 to 2025 and considers only what is available on CNKI: that is, what is officially sanctioned as worth disseminating and preserving. The authors, who undoubtedly possess authoritative voices, present the initiative actualizing *da lianhuanhua* as the only way of ensuring LHH’s present and future. As Li Chen (2022, 31) states, “LHH from ‘xiaorensu’ became gallery-worthy artworks” (LHH *cong xiaorensu chengwei zhan-ting yishupin* 连环画从‘小人书’成为展厅艺术品), effectively summarizing the

JSLHH initiative's objectives and accomplishments. Crucially, it is not solely the act of being "exhibited" but also the manner in which it is "discussed" that renders LHH *jiashang*-able. The medium's ontological shift occurs both materially and discursively through the process described by these authoritative *voices*.

By building on an elevated artistic and political knowledge, the corpus presents, justifies, and enhances the strong interrelationship not only between art and comics but also and especially between art institutions and LHH. Of course, many aspects of this communication require further exploration, particularly its reception: only one essay writes about the success of the exhibitions, but audience numbers are not discussed.

Are these connected efforts working to keep LHH alive? What does the general public think about contemporary LHH? For now, we can surely state that this initiative is keeping LHH artists busy and the art institutions in charge.

APPENDIX
Core data of the corpus

AUTHOR(S)	SHORTENED TITLE	INSTITUTIONAL ROLE / AFFILIATION OF THE AUTHOR	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	JOURNAL	TYPE OF ESSAY
1 Shen Yaoyi	Thoughts on the contemporary famous painters invitational exhibition	Director of the Lianhuanhua Art Committee of the China Artists Association (CAA)	2010	<i>Meishu</i>	Academic
2 Feng Sheng	The “on the easel” form and the wisdom of hand drawing: report on the inaugural invitational exhibition	Journalist	2010	<i>Meishu guancha</i>	Para-journalistic
3 Rui Jin, Lin Qingxia	The second national LHH on the easel and illustration invitational exhibition opens in Urumqi	Journalists	2012	<i>Xinjiang xinwen chubanshe</i>	Para-journalistic
4 Song Menghan	Breakthroughs and expansion in the framework of big LHH: a review	Chief art editor of <i>Meishu</i> and chief-secretary at the CAA	2016	<i>Meishu</i>	Academic
5 He Xun	LHH on the easel: the contemporary turn of the language of LHH	Deputy director of the Art Committee Office of the CAA	2017	<i>Meishu yueji</i>	Academic
6 Yu Du	Several aspects of the breakthrough of easel LHH	Lecturer in the Fine Arts Department (Sichuan University)	2018	<i>Meishu</i>	Academic
7 Wang Yi	Dynamic display of LHH on the easel in the context of the new era	Professor at the Lu Xun Academy of Fine Arts	2018	<i>Yishu keji</i>	Academic

AUTHOR(S)	SHORTENED TITLE	INSTITUTIONAL ROLE / AFFILIATION OF THE AUTHOR	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	JOURNAL	TYPE OF ESSAY
8 Editorial team	Telling Chinese stories: the fifth exhibition	n.a.	2018	<i>Meishu Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>	Para-journalistic
9 Editorial team	Glorious journey, red classics: the sixth exhibition	n.a.	2019	<i>Shubua shijie</i>	Para-journalistic
10 Wang Eryi	Study on the development of LHH in ten tears	Professor and dean of the Fine Arts Department (Huaqiao University), member of the LHH Art Committee of the CAA	2022	<i>Meishu</i>	Academic
11 Li Chen	Review of the seventh exhibition	Director of the Comics Art Committee of the CAA and professor at the Lu Xun Academy of Fine Arts	2022	<i>Meishu</i>	Academic
12 Bian Xiaoqiang	Visual storytelling: narrative patterns in LHH on the easel	Professor and supervisor in the Fine Arts Department (Yunnan Arts University)	2022	<i>Yunnan Yisbuxueyuan bao</i>	Academic
13 Editorial team	Selected artworks of the seventh national exhibition of LHH on the easel	n.a.	2022	<i>Meishu</i>	Para-journalistic
14 Dai Lei	A new journey, a new chapter: the eighth exhibition	Member of the International CAA and council member of the Chinese Painters Association	2024	<i>Meishu jiaoyu yanjiu</i>	Para-journalistic
15 Li Chen	A focus on previous national exhibitions	Director of the Comics Art Committee of the CAA and professor at the Lu Xun Academy of Fine Arts	2025	<i>Dangdai meishu</i>	Academic

REFERENCES

- Andrews, Julia F. 1994. *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. (1935) 1969. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn, 1-26. New York: Schocken Books. [20/12/2025].
<https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/benjamin.pdf>
- Bian, Xiaoqiang 边小强. 2022. "Shejuede jiangshu: jiasang lianhuanhuazhong de jishitushi 视觉的讲述：架上连环画中的叙事图式" [Visual storytelling: narrative patterns in lianhuanhua on the easel]. *Yunnan Yishuxueyuan bao* 云南艺术学院学报 4: 92-96.
<https://doi.org/10.16230/j.cnki.yyx.2022.04.029>
- Charmaz, Kathy. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage.
- Chen, Shangyu. 1996. *Popular Art and Political Movements: An Aesthetic Inquiry into Chinese Pictorial Stories*. PhD Diss., New York University, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1996.9701484.
- China Media Project. 2021. "The CMP Dictionary: Telling China's Story Well". [20/12/2025].
https://chinamediaproject.org/the_ccp_dictionary/telling-chinas-story-well
- Dai, Lei 戴蕾. 2024. "Xin zhengcheng xin pianzhang – dibajie quanguo jiasang lianhuanhua zhanlan juban 新征程新篇章—第八届全国架上连环画展览举办" [A new journey, a new chapter: the eighth national exhibition of lianhuanhua on the easel]. *Meishu jiaoyu yanjiu* 美术教育研究 10: 6.
<https://doi.org/CNKI:SUN:MSJY.0.2024-10-061>
- Dangshi xuexi jiaoyu* 党史学习教育 2021. "Guanghui licheng 光辉历程" [Glorious journey]. *Dangshi xuexi jiaoyu*. [20/12/2025].
<https://www.12371.cn/dsxx/xds/>
- Feng, Sheng 风声. 2010. "Jiasang' de xingshi shouhuide zhihui ji shoujie 'jiasang lianhuanhua' yaoqing zhan '架上' 的形式手绘的智慧—记首届 '架上连环画' 邀请展" [The 'on the easel': form and the wisdom of hand drawing. Report on the inaugural invitational exhibition of 'lianhuanhua on the easel']. *Meishu guan cha* 美术观察 6: 36.
- Glaser, Barney, and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis*. New York: Harper & Row.
- He, Xun 贺勋. 2017. "Jiasang lianhuanhua': lianhuanhua benti yuyande dangdai zhuanxiang '架上连环画': 连环画本体语言的当代转向" [Lianhuanhua on the easel': the contemporary turn of the language of lianhuanhua]. *Meishu yueji* 美术月记 24-25.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.003071>

- Jiang, Weipu 姜维朴. 1984. "Xin lianhuanhua yishu de sanshiwu nian 新连环画艺术的三十五年" [Thirty-five years of Xin lianhuanhua]. *Meishu* 美术 7: 51-56.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.1984.07.016>
- Jiang, Weipu 姜维朴. 2003. "Zhou Enlai yu Lianhuanhua shukan chuban 周恩来与连环画书刊出版" [Zhou Enlai and Lianhuanhua publishing]. *Chuban shuliao* 出版史料 3: 4-6.
- Lent, John A., and Xu Ying. 2005. "Cartooning and China's Cultural Revolution". *International Journal of Comic Art* 7 (2): 89-125.
- Li, Chen 李晨. 2022. "Boguan yuequ houji baofa – ping diqijie quanguo jia Shang-lianhuanhua zhan 博观约取厚积薄发——评第七届全国架上连环画展" [Wide view and frugal use, profound accumulation and gradual delivery: review of the seventh national exhibition of easel comics]. *Meishu* 美术 5: 31-33.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.006758>
- Li, Chen 李晨. 2025. "Jianchi xiandai zhuyi chuanzuo jitiao. Tuijin lianhuanhua chuanxin fazhan – yi lijie 'Quanguo lianhuanhua zhanlan' wei zhongxin 坚持现实主义创作基调推进连环画创新发展——以历届‘全国架上连环画展览’为中心" [Maintaining the general principle of realistic creation and promoting the innovative development of lianhuanhua: a focus on previous 'national easel lianhuanhua' exhibitions]. *Dangdai meishu* 当代美术 3: 56-59.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.007658>
- Meishu*, ed. 2022. "Diqijie quanguo jia Shang lianhuanhua zuopin xuancheng 第七届全国架上连环画作品选登" [Selected artworks of the seventh national exhibition of lianhuanhua on the easel]. *Meishu* 美术 5: 34-44.
- Mittler, Barbara. 2012. *A Continuous Revolution: Making Sense of Cultural Revolution Culture*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Asia Center.
- MJY (*Meishu Jiaoyu Yanjiu*), ed. 2018. "Jiang Zhongguo gushi – di wu jie quanguo jia Shang lianhuanhua zha juban 讲中国故事——第五届全国架上连环画展举办" [Telling Chinese stories: the fifth lianhuanhua on the easel exhibition]. *Meishu Jiaoyu Yanjiu* 美术教育研究 10: 7.
- Pan, Lingling. 2008. "Post-Liberation History of China's Lianhuanhua (Pictorial Books)". *International Journal of Comic Art* 10 (2): 694-717.
- Rui, Jin 锐今, and Qingxia Lin 林庆霞. 2012. "'Quanguo di er jie jia Shang lianhuanhua – chaotu yaoqing zhan' zai Wu kaizhan. Xinjiang shou jie jia Shang lianhuanhua – chaotu zhuangshi '全国第二届架上连环画·插图邀请展' 在乌开展 新疆首届架上连环画·插图装帧巡展同时开展" [The second national 'lianhuanhua on the easel and illustration invitational exhibition' opens in Urumqi, alongside Xinjiang's inaugural lianhuanhua on the easel and book design touring exhibition]. *Xinjiang xinwen chubanshe* 新疆新闻出版 4: 43.
- Scibetta, Andrea. 2025. "Stampa giornalistica e analisi qualitativa con il software NVivo". In *Media cinesi*, a cura di Martina Caschera e Natalia F. Riva, 82-100. Roma: Carocci.

- Scott, Rebecca. 2017. “‘Seizing the Battlefield’ in the Face of ‘Guerrilla Vending’: The Struggle over the Dissemination of ‘Lianhuanhua’, 1949 to 1956”. *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 29 (1): 136-171.
- Shen, Yaoyi 沈尧伊. 2010. “Zhongguo dangdai minghuaia ‘Jiashang lianhuanhua yaoqingzhan’ lianxiang 中国当代名画家 ‘架上连环画邀请展’ 联想” [Thoughts on the contemporary famous painters invitational exhibition ‘lianhuanhua on the easel’]. *Meishu 美术* 8: 17-23.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.2010.08.013>
- Shuhua shijie*, ed. 2019. “Guangkui licheng hongse jingdian – Qingzhu xin zhongguo chengli 70 zhounian diliujie quanguo jiashang lianhuanhua zhanxun zhanzai shenyang kaimu 光辉历程红色经典—庆祝新中国成立70周年第六届全国架上连环画展巡展在沈阳开幕” [Glorious journey, red classics: the sixth national lianhuahua on the easel touring exhibition celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China opens in Shenyang]. *Shuhua shijie* 书画世界 12: 96.
- Song, Menghan 宋梦寒. 2016. “‘Da lianhuahua’ guanniaxiade tupo yu kuozhan – Disanjie jiashang lianhuahua zhanpingshu ‘大连环画’ 观念下的突破与拓展—第三届架上连环画展评述” [Breakthroughs and expansion in the framework of big lianhuahua: a review of the third lianhuahua on the easel exhibition]. *Meishu 美术* 2: 32-34.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.001345>
- Stember, Nick. 2023. *Low Culture Fever: Pulp Science in Chinese Comics after Mao*. PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, Apollo – University of Cambridge Repository.
- Tsang, Steve, and Olivia Cheung. 2024. *The Political Thought of Xi Jinping*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 2015. “Critical Discourse Analysis”. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed., edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, 466-485. Chichester (UK): John Wiley & Sons - Blackwell.
- Wang, Eryi 王尔义. 2022. “Jiashang lianhuahua de zhuanxing yu tiaojie – 10 nian Zhongguo lianhuahua fazhan yanjiu 架上连环画的转型与跨界—10年中国连环画发展研究” [Transformation and crossover of easel comi: study on the development of lianhuahua in ten years]. *Meishu 美术* 5: 88-93.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.006787>
- Wang, Yi 王一. 2018. “Xin shidai yujingxiade jiashang lianhuahua dongtai biao-xian 新时代语境下的架上连环画动态表现” [Dynamic display of lianhuahua on the easel in the context of the new era]. *Yishu keji 艺术科技* 31 (7): 144.
- Wei, Weixiao. 2019. “Critical Analysis of Chinese Discourse Adaptation and Transformation”. In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Discourse Analysis*, edited by Chris Shi, 36-50. London: Routledge.

- Yu, Du 余都. 2018. “Shizhe Zhongguo dangdai jiaoshang lianhuanhua chuanzuo tupode jige mianxiang 试析中国当代架上连环画创作突破的几个面向” [Several aspects of the breakthrough of easel lianhuanhua in contemporary China]. *Meishu* 美术 8: 136-137.
<https://doi.org/10.13864/j.cnki.cn11-1311/j.004951>
- Zhang, Liying 张力影. 2019. “Li Chen jiaoshou danren Zhongguo meixie lianhuanhua yi weihui zhuren 李晨教授担任中国美协连环画艺委会主任” [Prof. Li Chen becomes the director of the Lianhuanhua Art Committee of the China Artists Association]. *Lu Xun Meishu Xueyuan*, June 26. [20/12/2025].
<https://www.lumei.edu.cn/info/1195/3565.htm>

Copyright (©) 2025 Martina Caschera

Editorial format and graphical layout: copyright (©) LED Edizioni Universitarie



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons

Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives – 4.0 International License

How to cite this paper:

Caschera, Martina. 2025. “‘Lianhuanhua on the easel’: Framing Discourse on Chinese Comics”. *Lingue Culture Mediazioni / Languages Cultures Mediation – LCM* 12 (2): 161-182. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7358/lcm-2025-002-casm>